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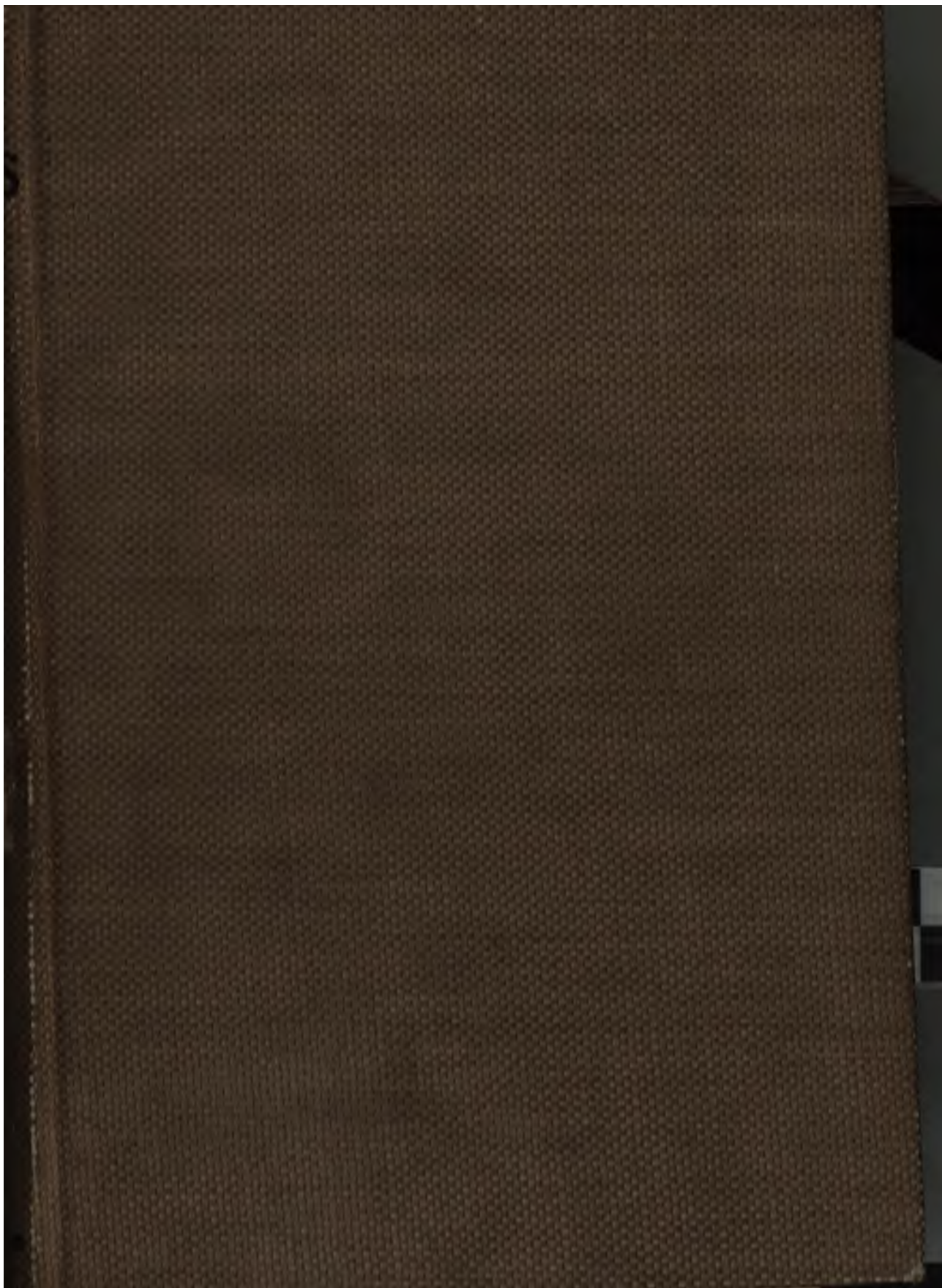
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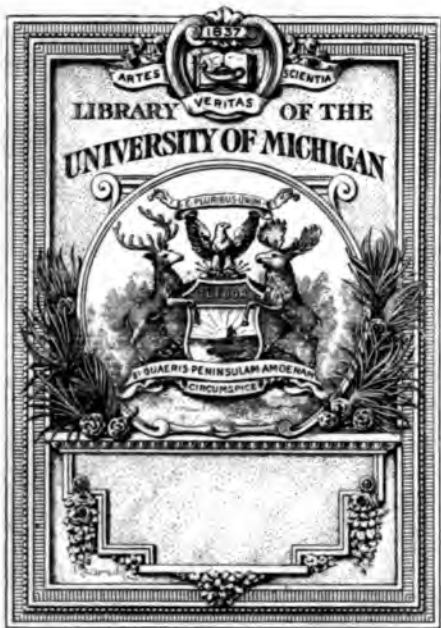
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**THE JESUIT RELATIONS
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ALLIED DOCUMENTS**

VOL. XXXIV

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GABRIEL LALEMANT, S.J.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

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TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. XXXIV

LOWER CANADA, HURONS: 1649

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PREFACE TO VOL. XXXIV

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in the present volume:

LXVIII. This is a letter by Buteux to the father general, dated at Three Rivers, September 21, 1649. In reply to a note from the latter, the missionary returns thanks for promised aid, which is especially needed at this time, when the French are continually harassed by Iroquois raids. The little settlement of Three Rivers is so slightly defended that the French are in daily peril of their lives; but all connected with the mission — not only the priests, but their servants — are ready to lay down their lives, if need be, for the sake of the little Indian church which they have there founded.

LXIX. This is a vivid and sympathetic account of the martyrdom of Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, written by Christophe Regnaut, one of the donnés in the Huron mission. Although he did not witness this tragedy, he obtained full particulars of it from the Christian Hurons taken captive by the Iroquois, who were present throughout the horrible torments inflicted upon the unfortunate Jesuits. He relates these in detail, and then describes the condition of the martyrs' remains, which he has helped to bring from St. Ignace to Ste. Marie, and afterward carefully examines, finding that the appearance of the bodies

fully confirms the statements of the Hurons. The bones of these victims are carried to Quebec, "where they are held in great veneration."

LXX. The annals of the Quebec colony are continued by the *Journal des Jésuites* for 1649. Little is recorded for January outside of the usual list of New-year's gifts; but "on the 19th, occurred the first execution by the hand of the hangman, in the case of a Creature of 15 or 16 years, a thief." At the same time, Abraham Martin is imprisoned on a scandalous charge connected with this poor girl; but "his trial is postponed till the arrival of the vessels." A few weeks later, "the 2nd execution of Justice took place."

Little else of importance occurs during the cold season. "The winter's Work was to pile sand for building and wood for heating." The bonfire was again made, this year, on St. Joseph's eve; "but the material was separated from the spiritual." At the governor's request, Lalemant kindles the fire. "The river St. Charles became open on the 27th and 28th, and sowing was begun."

✕ Early in May, news comes from Three Rivers and Montreal that famine prevails there. There is also great scarcity at Quebec; but the Jesuits are able to aid the people there, with "more than 40 casks of grain," for seed and for food. On June 6, thirty-four Frenchmen are sent to the Huron country. A grant of two leagues of land, opposite Montreal, is made to the Jesuits.

"At 3 rivers, no bonfire was made on St. John's day,—the governor claiming that the warehouse ought to make it, and the warehouse referring it to the governor." The usual fisheries, especially that

of salmon, are this year almost a failure, except that of sturgeon, of which unusual numbers are caught.

In July, thirty Abenaki Indians come to Quebec; but they are forbidden to come hither again. They bring the first news of the year from France, for the fleet has not yet arrived. Savages from Tadoussac also bring items of information which they have gathered from the fishermen on the coast. On the 20th, the sad tidings come from Huronia that those tribes are destroyed, and that some of the Fathers have become martyrs. A few weeks later, aid is sent to the Huron mission,—a detachment of soldiers, and several donnés.

The long-delayed fleet finally arrives, August 23 and 24; it brings a new missionary, Charles Albanel. Another ship had, in March, left France for Canada; but, as it has not arrived, it is accounted lost; the Jesuits thus incur a loss of 4,000 livres.

September 20–22, Father Bressani arrives from the Huron country, with two bands of Indians; and the French traders and soldiers come down, bringing 5,000 livres' weight of beaver skins. Bressani sets out on his return to the Huron mission; but, a few days later, he comes back with his Huron companions, who—probably through fear of the Iroquois—refuse to go beyond the river Des Prairies. When the last vessel returns to France, it conveys an Iroquois captive. This year's trade amounts to 100,000 livres. A number of Hurons come down to Three Rivers and Quebec to spend the winter; they are aided by the Jesuits with food, blankets, etc.

At the departure of the vessels, this year, begins “an exaction of 20 sols on each passenger ticket, to be paid to the Governor's secretary; and money was

taken from the fines, for salary or perquisites to the same secretary, and to other officers." The king has "appropriated 19,000 livres for the affairs of the country;" and out of this sum a defensive wall is begun at Sillery. The masonry of the Jesuits' building is finished, this season, and the roof put on. Their estate of Notre Dame des Anges is rented, at 100 écus.

LXXI. The *Relation* of 1648-49 contains only Ragueneau's report of the Huron mission for the year ending May 1, 1649. It recounts the destruction of that mission, the martyrdom of three priests, and the dispersion of the Huron converts, in a sanguinary raid made by the Iroquois. Accompanying it is a brief note from Lalemant, superior of the Canadian missions, to his provincial in France, explaining why he sends this year no report for the St. Lawrence missions.

Ragueneau begins by relating the capture, by the Iroquois, of the mission village of St. Joseph (Teanaustayé), on July 4 of the preceding summer (1648). Father Daniel, in charge of that mission, is killed while encouraging his flock to resist the enemy, whose sudden and unexpected attack finds the Christians at their little church, attending the celebration of mass. They make such resistance as they can, but it avails little; the enemy soon master the village, and set it on fire, massacring the helpless inhabitants—men, women, and children alike. Daniel soon sees that all is lost; and he hastens through the cabins, baptizing all whom he can reach, that at least their souls may be saved. Finally, as the enemy approach the church, Daniel goes forth alone to meet them, that he may engage

their attention, and give his disciples a better opportunity to escape. They overwhelm him with arrow and gun shots, and throw his naked corpse into the flames which are consuming the church,—truly a noble funeral pyre. While they delay thus, many of the converts are enabled to escape; but many others are slain or captured—especially mothers burdened with their infants. Ragueneau describes the zeal and devotion which animated Daniel throughout his missionary career; and the apparitions of his departed spirit which were visible to his brethren. In the capture of St. Joseph, about 700 Hurons are slain or taken captive; but a much larger number than this escape, and take refuge in other villages,—many at Ste. Marie. The relief, both temporal and spiritual, needed by these desolate fugitives casts a heavy burden upon the mission.

Early in September, a reinforcement arrives, consisting of four additional missionaries, and a score of Frenchmen besides. This gives the Fathers new courage, and they even strive to extend their labors to more distant tribes. They maintain eleven missions,—eight Huron, and three Algonkin. “Everywhere, the progress of the Faith has surpassed our hopes,—most minds, even those formerly most fierce, becoming so docile, and submissive to the preaching of the Gospel, that it was sufficiently apparent that the Angels were laboring there much more than we.” About 1,800 persons have been baptized during the year, not including those baptized by Daniel at the destruction of St. Joseph. A new mission has been established among the Ottawas on Manitoulin Island. The writer gives a brief survey of the older missions in the country, among

which La Conception (Ossossané) is conspicuous for the number and zeal of its Christians; numerous instances of their piety are related. In this mission, the Father in charge has entire control of his people, and is regarded as the chief of all their captains.

The other missions show the blessed results of these noble examples; and the superior is rejoiced at the piety and devotion which he sees everywhere among the native Christians. "But what has most delighted me is, to see that the sentiments of the Faith have so far entered these hearts, which we formerly called Barbarian, that I may truthfully say that grace has stifled in many of them the fears, the desires, the joys, and the feelings of Nature."

"The blessings of Heaven were flowing down in abundance upon these peoples," when another and more crushing blow was dealt them by their enemies. On March 16, 1649, a thousand Iroquois, well armed—"mostly with firearms, which they obtain from the Dutch, their allies"—make a sudden attack, at daybreak, on the village of St. Ignace (not more than ten miles southeast of Ste. Marie itself). This place, although well fortified, is taken "almost without a blow," the people being asleep; and nearly all of them are slain or captured. Not stopping here, the enemy immediately proceed to the attack of St. Louis, the next village on the road to Ste. Marie. This, although bravely defended by its few warriors, is soon captured and burned; and the enemy cast into the flames all whom they cannot take with them as prisoners—the old, the sick and wounded, and the little children. Here occur two more martyrdoms; Father Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant are in charge of this mission, and

they refuse to desert their flock in order to save their own lives; and, like Daniel, they devote themselves to comforting, encouraging, or baptizing all who need their ministrations. At last, the enemy forces an entrance, and most of the Christians are made prisoners, as well as the two Fathers. The Iroquois plan to attack Ste. Marie next; but a partial defeat of their advance-guard, and a sudden panic which, on St. Joseph's day, seizes them, induce them to give up this scheme. They accordingly depart homeward, after having burned to death many captives, most of these being Christians.

A chapter is devoted to "the blessed deaths" of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant; this is mainly a repetition, in somewhat different form, of Regnaut's account in document LXIX. preceding. Ragueneau adds a sketch of Gabriel Lalemant's life and character, with a copy of certain pious meditations written by the latter and found after his death; he also devotes more than a fourth part of this *Relation* to a similar account of Brébeuf,—recounting at length the religious experiences and visions, and praising the virtues, of this pioneer missionary. For the former, he finds material in the personal memoirs written by Brébeuf at his superior's command.

Ragueneau concludes this *Relation* with a review of "the present state of Christianity, and means of helping these Peoples." The blows dealt by the Iroquois have filled the Huron land with consternation, and its people are dispersing in every direction. To add to their wretchedness, famine is raging everywhere—worse than for fifty years past. The Jesuits help all whom they can; in less than a year, they have received and aided at Ste. Marie over

of
filled the
in hand
times, too

6,000 persons. Fifteen villages have been abandoned by their inhabitants, who have fled — some westward, to the Tobacco tribes; others to St. Joseph (Charity) Island in Georgian Bay; others still talk of going to the Manitoulin Islands. To this last refuge the Fathers intend at first to follow their flock, abandoning their residence of Ste. Marie; they consider it a central and convenient location from which to extend their work among the Northern and Western Algonkin tribes, and to maintain the trade of these with Quebec and Three Rivers. Ragueneau's final decision, however, is to go to St. Joseph Island, whither most of the fugitive Hurons decide to flee. To that island the residence of Ste. Marie will be transferred; and it will be, as at the old location, the center of mission activities in Western Canada. A letter is appended, written by Chaumonot, who during the past year has been in charge of a mission on St. Joseph.

R This *Relation*, as originally published, ends with Chaumonot's letter; but the second edition appends a postscript, containing additional news — brought by a later vessel from Canada — of the fortunes of the Huron mission. One of the letters thus received — written from St. Joseph Island, in August, 1649 — states that three hundred Huron families have taken refuge on that island; and that the Jesuits have also gone thither, having abandoned Ste. Marie. Here all suffer fearful privations; for, having fled from their cultivated fields to a wilderness, they must resort for food to wild roots and fruits. The Fathers are, however, consoled by the eagerness of these people to embrace the Faith; during the past thirteen months, they have baptized

over 2,700 persons, besides those who received that rite at the hands of the martyrs, at the storming of their villages. The Paris editor adds the description of a terrible shipwreck which occurred last summer off the Great Banks; and the miraculous rescue, by an English vessel, of the lost ship's crew, when, reduced to the last extremity, they were about to eat the flesh of one of their own number. This shipwreck is apparently that of the vessel mentioned as lost, by Lalemant, in the *Journal des Jésuites*, in the last entry under August, 1649 (q.v. in the present volume).

In this volume, we take pleasure in presenting an excellent portrait of Rev. Arthur Edward Jones, S.J., the learned archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, in whose keeping are many of the precious literary remains of the early Jesuit missionaries in New France. To Father Jones's friendly counsels and active bibliographical assistance the Editor has, from the first inception of the present enterprise, been deeply indebted. We also publish herewith Father Jones's map of Huronia, made for this series; and his accompanying notes, which have geographical as well as antiquarian interest.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., November, 1898.

LXVIII—LXX

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS, 1649

- LXVIII.—Epistola P. Jacobi Buteux ad R. P. Vincentium Caraffam, Præpositum Generalem Societatis Jesu; ad Tria flumina, 21 septembri, 1649
- LXIX.—Recit veritable du Martyre et de la Bien heureuse mort, du Pere Jean de Brebœuf et du Pere Gabriel L'Alemant, par Christophe Regnaut; undated
- LXX.—Journal des PP. Jésuites, en l'année 1649

SOURCES: Doc. LXVIII. is from Martin's apograph of the original Latin (*ex. MSS. Soc. Jes.*), in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Doc. LXIX. we take from Brymner's *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1884, pp. xiv, xv, lxiii-lxvii. Doc. LXX. we obtain from the original MS. in the library of Laval University, Quebec.

Epistola Patris Jacobi Buteux ad R. P. Vincentium
Caraffam, Præpositum Generalem
Societatis Jesu.

REVERENDE ADMODUM IN X^{to} PATER

P. Vinc. Caraffa, R. G. S. J. Pax Christi.

Venere litteræ P^{ti}. V^æ 3^o. Calendas octobris
datæ in nostras manus. . . . Commodum cum
nos undique mala circumstarent, foris pugnæ quas
truculenti barbari hostes infensissimi Xⁿⁱ nominis
concitarent, intus timores ne copiosa neophytorum
multitudo a nobis deseratur per sylvas pecudis instar,
ut prius, erratura; qui consolatur humiles consolatus
est nos per litteras P^{ti} V^æ in quibus subsidium
nobis pollicetur, tum operariorum ex Gallia, quos
jam excepimus, tum sacrificiorum ex Patribus socie-
tatis quod speramus, quod si usquam iis indiguimus,
hoc maxime tempore, cum in aperto salutis disci-
mine versamur. Eosdem quippe cruciatus et acerbi-
tates (Ni deus avertat) subituri sumus quas Patres
nostri apud Hurones subiere, ut ex ipsorum litteris
V^æ P^{ti} constabit. hic enim ad Tria flumina, ubi
Gallorum simul ac sylvestrium curam gerimus, nulla
propugnacula, nisi lignea, nulla mœnia, nisi paludes
[for pali or pala] quæ facile concipiant ignem, nulla
domus nisi corticea vel straminea in quibus degimus

Letter of Father Jacques Buteux to the Very
Reverend Father Vincent Caraffa, Gen-
eral of the Society of Jesus.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
Father Vincent Caraffa, Very Reverend
General of the Society of Jesus, Pax Christi.

Your Paternity's letter, dated September 29, came to us. . . . Just when misfortunes were surrounding us on all sides: conflicts without, which the fierce barbarians, most vindictive enemies of the Christian name, were stirring up; fears within, lest a great multitude of neophytes be abandoned by us, to wander, as before, like beasts through the forests. He who consoles the lowly has consoled us through Your Paternity's letter, in which you promise relief to us,—not only those workmen from France whom we have already received, but also what we hope for in the way of masses from the Fathers of the society; if ever we have needed these, we need them most at this time, when we are involved in manifest peril of our safety. For indeed we are likely to undergo the same tortures and afflictions (Unless God avert them) which our Fathers among the Hurons have undergone, as will be evident to Your Paternity from their own letters. For here at Three rivers, where we take charge of the French as well as of the savages, there are no defenses except of wood; no walls except palings, which easily catch fire; there is no house except of bark or thatch; and in these we live,

nullatenus muniti contra barbaros incursus et incendia. Si Deus pro sua bonitate me peccatorem illorum furori committat, libens volensque pro ipsius gloria proque ovibus meis ponam animam quam non facio pretiosiores illorum salute. Ea plane sunt mente quotquot hic agunt Patres fratresque nostri, imo et domestici. quinque sumus omnino ex societate, tres sacerdotes, fratres duo, domestici sex quorum opera magnopere indigemus in excolenda terra, juvandisque in id ipsum silvestribus; neophytos dico et maxime novella germina hujus anni; quibuscum provolvimur omnes pedibus V^{re} P^{ris}. ipsius sanctam benedictionem accepturi.

JAC. BUTEUX

Ad Tria flumina
21 septembri 1649

with no defense against barbarian attacks and fires. If God in his goodness deliver me, a sinner, to their fury, gladly and willingly for his glory, and for my sheep, will I lay down my life, which I do not hold more precious than their salvation. Of quite the same disposition are all of our Fathers and brethren who live here,—nay, even the domestics. We are five in all, of the society,—three priests and two brethren; and we have six domestics, whose labor we greatly need for cultivating the earth, and for aiding the savages in the same way. I mean the neophytes, and especially the newly-sprouted plants of this year,—with whom we all are prostrate at Your Paternity's feet, expecting to receive your holy blessing.

JACQUES BUTEUX.

At Three rivers,
September 21, 1649.

Recit veritable du Martyre et de la Bien heureuse mort, du Pere Jean de Brebœuf et du Pere Gabriel L'Alemant En la Nouvelle France, dans le pays des hurons par les Iroquois, ennemis de la Foy.

LE Pere Jean de Brebœuf et le Pere Gabriel L'Alemant partirent de nostre cabane, pour aller à vn petit Bourg, nommé St Ignace esloigné de nostre cabane, enuiron vn petit quart de Lieüe pour instruire les Sauuages, et les nouveaux Chrétiens de ce Bourg. Ce fut le 16^m Jour de Mars au matin que nous apperceumes vn grand feu, au lieu ou estoient allés ces deux bons Peres; Ce feu nous mist fort en peine, Nous ne sçauions si c'estoit des ennemis ou bien que le feu auroit pris a quelque cabane de ce village. Le R^d Pere Paul Raguenu nostre Supérieur, prist aussi tost la Resolution denuoyer quelqu'vn pour sçauoir ce que ce pourrait estre. Mais nous n'eusmes pas plus tost pris le dessein d'y aller voir que nous apperceumes plusieurs sauuages dans le chemin qui venoient droit à nous. Nous pensions tous que ce fust des Iroquois, qui nous venoient attaquer, mais les ayant considerés de plus pres nous apperceumes que c'estoient des hurons, qui s'enfuyoient de la meslée et qui s'estoient eschappés du combat; Ces pauvres sauuages nous faisoient grand pitié, Ils estoient tous blessés. L'vn auoit la teste cassée, l'autre le bras rompu; L'autre vne fleche

- famille de Sauvagey errante, composé environ de 20 personnes, en la chappelle
duquel lieu, se receberoient la dicitte messe, si tout que (y) Reueurs pibits qui sont
par dela leur annee. Sions: amies, attendant que la chappelle don-Seba-Sait mentem
y apou soit construite, il deplu donne a par y presentis donner par donation entre-
vits irrevocable, et en la mesme forme qui s'est fait a (a-dict) visd'ann-de-la
Compagnie de Dites qui est en habitation appellee de St Joseph, par queux Renuelle
franc, et amptant par la. Et pere Estienne isinet provincial de (a-dict).
Compagnie en la proynat de France, et le Reueurs pere Charles Salemant
Procureur de la Mission d'icelle pibits en la nouvelle France a n' presentis, et
soubz le bon plaisir du Reueursissime pere Gerard de (a-dict) Compagnie, auquel
d'icelle Reueurs pere mandant d'icelle mission ny presentis, (a) Comme de vingt
mille Paris tounois a priver son tout (a) finant qui appoitie au dit sieur Donateur
de (vingt) mille de (a) dit de (a) dit, dont il trouuira coppie de. Contes, quitteant,
et p'icelle justification d'icelle finant a (a) dit aux d'icelle pibits, pour laquelle
somme d'icelle visd'ann de Reueurs d'icelle aide au proportion de (a) dit
somme de vingt mille (a) dit tounois a remmené de jour de (a) dit d'icelle Reueurs

FACSIMILE OF HANDWRITING OF GABRIEL LALEMAN, S.J.

[Selected from his copy of Chevalier de Sillery's donation to the Jesuits, dated Paris, February 21, 1699.]

A veritable Account of the Martyrdom and Blessed death of Father Jean de Brebœuf and of Father Gabriel L'Alemant, In New france, in the country of the hurons, by the Iroquois, enemies of the Faith.

FATHER Jean de Brebœuf and Father Gabriel L'Alemant¹ had set out from our cabin, to go to a small Village, called St. Ignace, distant from our cabin about a short quarter of a League, to instruct the Savages and the new Christians of that Village. It was on the 16th Day of March, in the morning, that we perceived a great fire at the place to which these two good Fathers had gone. This fire made us very uneasy; we did not know whether it were enemies, or if the fire had caught in some of the huts of the village. The Reverend Father Paul Raguenu, our Superior, immediately Resolved to send some one to learn what might be the cause. But no sooner had we formed the design of going there to see, than we perceived several savages on the road, coming straight toward us. We all thought it was the Iroquois who were coming to attack us; but, having considered them more closely, we perceived that they were hurons who were fleeing from the fight, and who had escaped from the combat. These poor savages caused great pity in us. They were all covered with wounds. One had his head fractured; another his arm broken; another had an

dans l'œil; l'autre auoit la main coupée d'un coup de hache. Enfin la journée se passa à recevoir dans nostre cabane tous ces pauvres blessés, et a regarder par compassion, le feu et le lieu ou estoient ces deux bons Peres. Nous voyons le feu et les barbares, mais nous ne peûmes voir aucun des deux Peres.

Voicy ce que nous dirent ces Sauvages de la prise du Bourg de St Ignace et des Peres Jean de Brebœuf et Gabriel L'Allemant.

Les Iroquois sont venus au nombre d'environ douze cents hommes, ont pris nostre vilage, ont pris le Pere Brebœuf et son compagnon, ont mis le feu par toutes les cabanes. Ils vont decharger leur rage sur ces deux Peres, car ils les ont pris tous deux et les ont depouillez tous nuds, et attachez chacun à vn posteau. Ils ont les deux mains liées ensemble. Ils leur ont arraché les ongles des doigts, Ils leur ont déchargè vne gresle de coups de baston sur les épaules, sur les reins, sur le ventre, sur les jambes, et sur le visage n'y ayant aucune partie de leur corps qui n'ayt enduré ce tourment; Ils nous dirent encore; quoyque le Pere de Brebœuf fust accable sous la pesanteur de ces coups de baston, Il ne laissoit pas de tousiours parler de Dieu et d'encourager tous les nouveaux Chretiens qui estoient captifs comme luy, de bien souffrir, afin de bien mourir pour aller de compagnie avec luy dans le Paradis. Pendant que ce bon Pere encourageoit ainsi ces bonnes gents, vn miserable huron renégat, qui demeuroit captif avec les Iroquois, que le Pere de Brebœuf auoit autrefois instruit et baptisé, L'entendant parler du Paradis et du St Baptesme fut irité et luy dist, Echon, c'est le nom du Pere de Brebœuf en Huron, Tu dis que le

arrow in his eye; another had his hand cut off by a blow from a hatchet. In fine, the day was passed in receiving into our cabins all these poor wounded people, and in looking with compassion toward the fire, and the place where were those two good Fathers. We saw the fire and the barbarians, but we could not see anything of the two Fathers.

This is what these Savages told us of the taking of the Village of St. Ignace, and about Fathers Jean de Brebœuf and Gabriel L'Allemant:

“The Iroquois came, to the number of twelve hundred men; took our village, and seized Father Brebœuf and his companion; and set fire to all the huts. They proceeded to vent their rage on those two Fathers; for they took them both and stripped them entirely naked, and fastened each to a post. They tied both of their hands together. They tore the nails from their fingers. They beat them with a shower of blows from cudgels, on the shoulders, the loins, the belly, the legs, and the face,—there being no part of their body which did not endure this torment.” The savages told us further, that, although Father de Brebœuf was overwhelmed under the weight of these blows, he did not cease continually to speak of God, and to encourage all the new Christians who were captives like himself to suffer well, that they might die well, in order to go in company with him to Paradise. While the good Father was thus encouraging these good people, a wretched huron renegade,—who had remained a captive with the Iroquois, and whom Father de Brebœuf had formerly instructed and baptized,—hearing him speak of Paradise and Holy Baptism, was irritated, and said

Baptisme et les souffrances de cette vie meine droit en Paradis, tu irras bien tost, Car ie te vais baptiser et te bien faire souffrir, afin d'aller au plus tost dans ton Paradis: Le barbare ayant dit cela, prist vn chaudron plein d'eau toute bouillante, et le renverse sur son corps par trois diuerses fois en derision du St baptisme. Et a chaque fois qu'il le baptisoit de la sorte le barbare lui disoit par railleries picquantes va au Ciel, car te voila bien baptisé. Apres cela ils luy firent souffrir plusieurs autres tourments: Le 1^r fut de faire rougir des haches toutes rouges de feu et les appliquer sur les reins et sous les aisselles, Ils font vn collier de ces haches toutes rouges de feu et le mettent au col de ce bon Pere. Voicy la façon que iay veu faire ce collier pour d'autres captifs; Ils font rougir six haches prennent vne grosse hart de bois vert passent les 6 haches par le gros bout de la hart, prennent les deux bouts ensemble et puis le mettent au col du patient. Je nay point veu de tourment qui m'ait plus esmeu a compassion que celuy là. Car vo⁹ voyez vn homme tout nud, lié a vn posteau, qui ayant ce collier au col, ne seroit [*sc. sçait*] en quelle posture se mettre Car s'il se penche sur le deuant celles de dessus les epaules pesent dauantage; s'il se veut pencher en arriere, celles de son estomach lui font souffrir le mesme tourment; s'il se tient tout droit sans pencher de costé ny d'autre, Les haches ardantes de feu, appliquées egallement des deux costez luy donnent vn double supplice.

Apres cela ils luy mirent vne ceinture d'ecorce toute pleine de poix et de raisine et y mirent le feu qui grilla tout son corps, Pendant tous ces tourments, le Pere de Brebœuf souffroit comme vn rocher

to him, "Echon," that is Father de Breboëuf's name in Huron, "thou sayest that Baptism and the sufferings of this life lead straight to Paradise; thou wilt go soon, for I am going to baptize thee, and to make thee suffer well, in order to go the sooner to thy Paradise." The barbarian, having said that, took a kettle full of boiling water, which he poured over his body three different times, in derision of Holy baptism. And, each time that he baptized him in this manner, the barbarian said to him, with bitter sarcasm, "Go to Heaven, for thou art well baptized." After that, they made him suffer several other torments. The 1st was to make hatchets red-hot, and to apply them to the loins and under the armpits. They made a collar of these red-hot hatchets, and put it on the neck of this good Father. This is the fashion in which I have seen the collar made for other prisoners: They make six hatchets red-hot, take a large withe of green wood, pass the 6 hatchets over the large end of the withe, take the two ends together, and then put it over the neck of the sufferer. I have seen no torment which more moved me to compassion than that. For you see a man, bound naked to a post, who, having this collar on his neck, cannot tell what posture to take. For, if he lean forward, those above his shoulders weigh the more on him; if he lean back, those on his stomach make him suffer the same torment; if he keep erect, without leaning to one side or other, the burning hatchets, applied equally on both sides, give him a double torture.

After that they put on him a belt of bark, full of pitch and resin, and set fire to it, which roasted his whole body. During all these torments, Father de

insensible aux feux et aux flammes, qui estonnoient tous les boureaux qui le tourmentoient. Son zele estoit si grand qu'il preschoit tousjours a ces infidelles pour tascher a les conuertir; ses boureaux indignez contre luy de ce qu'il leur parloit tousjours de Dieu et de leur conuersion. Pour l'empescher den plus parler ils luy couperent la langue et les leures dembas et denhaut. Apres cela ils se mirent tous a luy decharner toute la chair des jambes, des cuisses et des bras iusqu'aux os, et la mettent rostir devant lui pour la manger.

Pendant qu'ils le tourmentoient de la sorte ces miserables se moquoient de luy, en luy disant, Tu vois bien que nous te traitons d'amy puisque no^s serons cause de ton bonheur Eternel, remercie no^s donc de ces bons offices que no^s te rendons, car plus tu souffriras, plus ton Dieu t'en recompensera.

Ces bourreaux voyant que ce bon Pere commençoit à deuenir foible, ils le firent asseoir contre terre, et l'vn deux prenant vn couteau, luy coupent la peau qui couure le crane de la teste, vn autre de ces barbares, voyant que le bon Pere alloit bientost mourir, luy fait vne ouverture au dessus de la poitrine et luy arrache le cœur le fait rostir et la mange. D'autres vinrent boire son sang tout chaud, qu'ils beuuoient avec les deux mains disant que le Pere de Brebœuf auoit esté bien courageux a souffrir tant de mal, qu'ils luy auoient fait et qu'en beuuant son sang ils deuiendroient courageux comme luy.

Voila ce que nous auons appris du Martyre et de la bien-heureuse mort du Pere Jean de Brebœuf par plusieurs Chretiens sauvages dignes de foy qui ont tousjours esté presents depuis que le bon Pere

Brebœuf endured like a rock, insensible to fire and flames, which astonished all the bloodthirsty wretches who tormented him. His zeal was so great that he preached continually to these infidels, to try to convert them. His executioners were enraged against him for constantly speaking to them of God and of their conversion. To prevent him from speaking more, they cut off his tongue, and both his upper and lower lips. After that, they set themselves to strip the flesh from his legs, thighs, and arms, to the very bone; and then put it to roast before his eyes, in order to eat it.

While they tormented him in this manner, those wretches derided him, saying: "Thou seest plainly that we treat thee as a friend, since we shall be the cause of thy Eternal happiness; thank us, then, for these good offices which we render thee,—for, the more thou shalt suffer, the more will thy God reward thee."

Those butchers, seeing that the good Father began to grow weak, made him sit down on the ground; and, one of them, taking a knife, cut off the skin covering his skull. Another one of those barbarians, seeing that the good Father would soon die, made an opening in the upper part of his chest, and tore out his heart, which he roasted and ate. Others came to drink his blood, still warm, which they drank with both hands,—saying that Father de Brebœuf had been very courageous to endure so much pain as they had given him, and that, by drinking his blood, they would become courageous like him.

This is what we learned of the Martyrdom and blessed death of Father Jean de Brebœuf, by several Christian savages worthy of belief, who had been

fut pris jusqu'à la mort. Ces bons Chrestiens estoient captifs des Iroquois et les menoit en leur pays po⁹ les faire mourir, mais nôtre bon Dieu leur fist la grace de se pouvoir sauver par les chemins et no⁹ sont venus raconter tout ce que iay mis par escrit.

Le Pere de Brebœuf fut pris le 16^e jour de Mars au matin avec le Pere Lalemant en l'année 1649. Le Pere de Brebœuf mourut le mesme jour de sa prise sur les 4 heures du soir. Ces barbares jetterent le reste de son corps dans le feu, mais la graisse qui restait encor a son corps esteignit le feu et ne fut point consommé.

Je ne doute point que tout ce que ie viens de raconter ne soit vray et ie le signerois de mon sang, puisque iay veu faire le mesme traitem^t aux captifs Iroquois que les sauvages hurons avoient pris en guerre, a la reserve de l'eau bouillante que ie nay point veu verser sur aucun.

Je m'en vay vo⁹ decrire au vray ce que iay veu du Martyre et de la B h mort du Pere Jean de Brebœuf et du Pere Gabriel L'alemant des le lendemain matin que nous eusmes assurance du depart de l'ennemy, nous allasmes sur la place, chercher le reste de leur corps, au lieu ou ils auoient este faits mourir, Nous les trouuames tous deux, mais vn peu escartez l'vn de l'autre; on les rapporte à nostre cabane, et on les exposa sur des escorces de bois ou ie les considéré à loisir plus de deux heures de temps, pour voir si ce que les sauvages nous auoient dit de leur martyre et de leur mort estoit vray; je considéré prem^t, Le Corps du Pere de Brebœuf qui faisoit pitié à voir, aussi bien que celuy du Pere L'alemant; le Pere de Brebœuf auoit les jambes, les cuisses et les bras tous

constantly present from the time the good Father was taken until his death. These good Christians were prisoners to the Iroquois, who were taking them into their country to be put to death. But our good God granted them the favor of enabling them to escape by the way; and they came to us to recount all that I have set down in writing.

Father de Brebœuf was captured on the 16th day of March, in the morning, with Father Lalemant, in the year 1649. Father de Brebœuf died the same day as his capture, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Those barbarians threw the remains of his body into the fire; but the fat which still remained on his body extinguished the fire, and he was not consumed.

I do not doubt that all which I have just related is true, and I would seal it with my blood; for I have seen the same treatment given to Iroquois prisoners whom the huron savages had taken in war, with the exception of the boiling water, which I have not seen poured on any one.

I am about to describe to you truly what I saw of the Martyrdom and of the Blessed deaths of Father Jean de Brebœuf and of Father Gabriel L'alemant. On the next morning, when we had assurance of the departure of the enemy, we went to the spot to seek for the remains of their bodies, to the place where their lives had been taken. We found them both, but a little apart from each other. They were brought to our cabin, and laid uncovered upon the bark of trees,—where I examined them at leisure, for more than two hours, to see if what the savages had told us of their martyrdom and death were true. I examined first the Body of Father de Brebœuf, which was pitiful to see, as well as that of Father

decharnez iusqu'aux os; jay veu et touché quantité de grosses ampoules qu'il auoit en plusieurs endroits de son corps; de l'eau botüillante que ces barbares lui auoient versé en dérision du St Baptesme. Jay veu et touché la plaie d'vne ceinture d'écorce toute plaine de poix et de raisine qui grilla tout son corps. Jay veu et touché les bruleures du Colier des haches quon luy mist sur les epaules et sur l'estomach; Jay veu et touché ses deux leures qu'on luy auoit coupées a cause qu'il parloit tousjours de Dieu pendant qu'on le faisoit souffrir.

Jay veu et touché tous les endroits de son corps, qui auoit receu plus de deux cents coups de baston; Jay veu et touché le dessus de sa teste ecorché; Jay veu et touché louverture que ces barbares luy firent po⁹ luy arracher le cœur.

Enfin, jay veu et touché toutes les playes de son corps, comme les sauages nous l'auoient dit et assuré; nous enseuelismes ces precieuses Reliques le Dimanche 21^{me} jour de mars 1649 avec bien de la Consolation.

J'euz le bonheur de les porter en terre et de les inhumer, avec celles du Pere Gabriel l'alemant; Lorsque nous partismes du pays des hurons nous levasmes les deux corps de terre et nous les mismes a botüillir dans de forte lesive. On gratta bien tous les os, et on me donna le soin de les faire seicher; Je les mettois tous les jours dans vn petit four de terre, que nous auions, apres l'auoir vn peu chauffé Et estant en état de les serrer on les enueloppa separém^t dans de l'étoffe de soye Puis on les mist en deux petits coffres, et nous les apportasmes a Québec, ou ils sont en grande veneration.

L'alemant. Father de Brebœuf had his legs, thighs, and arms stripped of flesh to the very bone; I saw and touched a large number of great blisters, which he had on several places on his body, from the boiling water which these barbarians had poured over him in mockery of Holy Baptism. I saw and touched the wound from a belt of bark, full of pitch and resin, which roasted his whole body. I saw and touched the marks of burns from the Collar of hatchets placed on his shoulders and stomach. I saw and touched his two lips, which they had cut off because he constantly spoke of God while they made him suffer.

I saw and touched all parts of his body, which had received more than two hundred blows from a stick. I saw and touched the top of his scalped head; I saw and touched the opening which these barbarians had made to tear out his heart.

In fine, I saw and touched all the wounds of his body, as the savages had told and declared to us; we buried these precious Relics on Sunday, the 21st day of March, 1649, with much Consolation.

I had the happiness of carrying them to the grave, and of burying them with those of Father Gabriel l'alemant. When we left the country of the hurons, we raised both bodies out of the ground, and set them to boil in strong lye. All the bones were well scraped, and the care of drying them was given to me. I put them every day into a little oven which we had, made of clay, after having heated it slightly; and, when in a state to be packed, they were separately enveloped in silk stuff. Then they were put into two small chests, and we brought them to Québec, where they are held in great veneration.

Ce n'est pas vn Docteur de Sorbonne qui a composé cecy vous le voyez bien; cest vn reste d'Iroquois et vne personne qui a vescu plus qu'il ne pensoit, qui est et sera toujours.

Monsieur

Votre Tres Humble et tres obéissant serviteur,
CHRISTOPHE REGNAUT.

It is not a Doctor of the Sorbonne who has composed this, as you may easily see; it is a relic from the Iroquois, and a person who has lived more than thought,— who is, and shall ever be,

Sir,

Your Very Humble and very obedient servant,
CHRISTOPHE REGNAUT.^s

Journal des Pères Jésuites, en l'année
1649.

IANUIER. 1649.

orts funestes.

LE 1^{er}. Jour fut apportée la nouvelle des 3. riu. de la suffocãon en prison de trois soldats; par la fumée de charbon, & d'eau de vie; c'estoient yurognes blasphemeurs, & mutins.

Mons^r. le gouu. enuoya le matin son sommelier apporter deux bouteilles de vin d'Espagne, vn coq d'Inde, & vn Agn^{vs} dei.

Estreines.

Autant au p. Vimou, & le double de vin d'Espagne au p. le Jeune.

les Hospitalieres nvf enuoyerent vn baril de vin d'Espagne, & deux Chapons.

les Vrsul^{es}. rien, mais leur ayant enuoyé vne couple de bouquets de fleurs aussy bien qu'aux Hospitalieres, elles enuoyerent le soir vn Chapelet avec vne medaille en reliquaire.

Hyer

Sur la fin de l'année, & au commēcem^t. de la nouvelle le froid fut excessif.

Ie donné vn petit liure a Mademoys. la gouuernante & vne croix de relique a Mons^r. le gouu. vn gerson a son Nepueu.

P. duperon.

le P. duperon propter. N. vint demeurer a Quebek le t 24.

cion de Justice

le 19. premiere execution de la main du

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year
1649.

JANUARY, 1649.

ON the 1st Day, news was brought from 3 rivers of the suffocation of three soldiers in prison, by the fumes of charcoal and brandy; they were drunken blasphemers, and mutineers. *Melancholy deaths.*

Monsieur the governor sent his butler in the morning, to bring us two bottles of Spanish wine, a Turkey, and an Agnus dei;

The same to father Vimont, and twice as much Spanish wine to father le Jeune. *New-year's gifts.*

The Hospital nuns sent us a cask of Spanish wine, and two Capons.

The Ursulines sent nothing; but—as we sent a few bouquets of flowers to them, as well as to the Hospital nuns—they sent at evening a Rosary with a reliquary medal.

Toward the end of the year, and at the beginning of the new one, the cold was excessive. *Winter.*

I gave a little book to Mademoyselle the governor's wife, and a relic-cross to Monsieur the governor; a gerson to his Nephew.

Father duperon, *propter* N., came to live at Quebec on the 24th. *Father duperon.*

On the 19th, occurred the first execution by the hand of the hangman, in the case of a *Execution of Justice.*

boureau sur vne Creature de 15. ou 16. ans laronesse: on accusoit en mesme temps M. Abraham de l'auoir violée; il en fut en prison, & son proces differé a l'arriuée des vaisseaus: & le 15. de feburier La 2°. execũon de Iustice.

FEBURIER.

Purification

le Iour de la purifiçãon on fit cõe les années precedêtes, on fournit la Cire de la paroisse, mais auec resolũon de ne la plvf fournir quand l'Eglise seroit faite: vn de nos ff. en surplis porta a Mons^r. & a Mademoys. la gouuernante, deux bougies plvf honneste, il y en auoit deux autres prestres p^r. deux des Messieurs du Conseil qu'on pensoit qui y deussēt assister, mais ils n'y assisterent pas. Mons^r. de S^t. Sauueur n'y assista pas, n'y paroissant point de besoin. les litanies apres vespres. a l'ordinaire des festes de nõe Dame. il n'y eut qu'Instruction deuant le benediction, & vn mot de nõe dame apres l'Euangile, c'est asses.

Jours gras.

les Iours gras a l'ordinaire, salut apres Vespres le dimanche a la paroisse; le lundy a l'hospital, le mardy aux Vrsul^{es}. a 4. heures, ils exposent le S^t. Sacrem^t. des le matin: cela se fait pour les affaires publiques du pays, & auec quelque estoit [*sc.* effort—*Laverd.*] d'approcher a ce qui se fait en france.

Nos pp. de Sillery furent inuités de nvf venir voir.

Creature of 15 or 16 years, a thief. At the same time, they accused Monsieur Abraham of having violated her; he was imprisoned for this, and his trial was postponed till the arrival of the vessels. On the 15th of february, The 2nd execution of Justice took place.

FEBRUARY.

On the Day of the purification, we did as in preceding years; we furnished Wax for the parish church, but with the resolution to furnish it no more, when the Church should be finished. One of our brethren, in surplice, carried to Monsieur the governor and to Mademoyselle his wife two handsomer tapers. There were two other priests to do the same for two of the Gentlemen of the Council,—who, it was thought, were to be present; but they were not present. Monsieur de St. Sauveur did not assist, as there appeared to be no need therefor. Litany after vespers, as usual at the feasts of our Lady. There was merely Instruction before the blessing, and a word about our lady after the Gospel; this is enough.

Shrovetide as usual; benediction after Vespers on sunday, at the parish church; on monday at the hospital, on tuesday at the Ursulines', at 4 o'clock. They expose the Blessed Sacrament from morning forward: that is done in behalf of the country's affairs, and with some effort to approach what is done in france.

Purification.

Shrovetide.

le Mercredi des Cendres cõe l'année precedente.

MARS. 1649.

*Predictons du
Caresme*

le p. Vimont prescha Ce Caresme aux Vrsul^{es}. & aux Hospitalieres le Mercredi & le Vendredy, & faisoit le Catechisme a la paroisse. le p. bailloquet les Dimâches aux Vrsul^{es}.

conferences.

Je finis la Conferẽce des Assemblées des vendredys pendant l'hyuer par vne reueüe g^{nal} des actions p^r. aduertir des defauts; & les deux dernieres *par la lecture des reigles des prestres & des Coadiuteurs.* mais celles-cy vn Iour de feste ou Dimâche. en ces Conferences ordinaires du Vendredy, ie lisois les reigles ou le dernier traité de rodriguez qui ê excellent & bien propre.

le Trauail de l'hyuer fut a amasser du sable, & du bois p^r. bastir & se chauffer.

la St. Ioseph.

On refit cette année le feu la veuille de S^t. Ioseph, mais on separa le materiel d'avec le spirituel; on fit le salut sur les 6. heures, & sur les 7. Mons^r. le gouu. me vint prier de m'y trouuer, & voulut que i'y misse le feu, ie l'y mis Aux Vrsul^{es}. cõe l'an passé mais l'on oublia l'oraison p^r. la fondatrice, pro deuotis amicis.

le Iour le tout alla cõe l'an passé & alla bien.

le Iour de S^t. Ioachim se fit la vesture de la sœur de bologne dite de S^t. Dominique aux Vrsul^{es}.

Our fathers of Sillery were invited to come and see us.

Ash Wednesday, as last year.

MARCH, 1649.

Father Vimont preached This Lent at the Ursulines' and at the Hospital nuns', on Wednesday and Friday, and heard the Catechism at the parish church; father bailloquet on Sundays at the Ursulines'.

Lenten Preaching.

I ended the Lecturing at the friday Assemblies held during the winter, with a general review of the actions for warning in regard to faults; and the two last, *by reading the rules for priests and Coadjutors*,—but the latter, on a feast-Day or Sunday. At these usual Friday Lectures, I read the rules or the last treatise of rodriguez,⁸ which is excellent and very suitable.

Lectures.

The winter's Work was to pile sand for building, and wood for heating.

The bonfire was made again this year, on the eve of St. Joseph's day; but the material was separated from the spiritual. Benediction was held about 6 o'clock; and, about 7, Monsieur the governor came to beg me to attend, and wished me to start the fire, which I did. At the Ursulines', the same as last year; but the prayer for the foundress, and that *pro devotis amicis*, were forgotten.

St. Joseph's day.

On the Day, everything took place as last year, and went well.

On St. Joachim's Day occurred the investiture of sister de bologne,—called sister St. Dominique,—at the Ursulines'.⁴

départ des sauvages

Environ ce temps vn peu auparauant partirent les sauvages pour leur grande chasse avec S^t. Denys & le fils de Thomas hayot.

Dimanche de la passion.

le Dimanche de la Passion a l'hospital le tout cõe l'an passé excepté qu'on y chanta le laudate D. ões gentes, au lieu de D^{me} saluū fac regē; mais il ne faut ny l'vn ny l'autre mais au lieu de cela adiouster apres l'Aue regina, l'oraison pro deuotis amicis au singulier p^r. Mad. la duchesse d'Eguillon la fondatrice.

Annonciation.

le Iour de l'Annonciation on decouurit la Croix & Images dubiū ē vtrū fieri debeat, baste p^r. vn tableau ou statue de nõe Dame, mais non la Croix &c.

Dimanche des rameaux.

Le Dimanche des rameaus le tout cõe l'an passé: vn de nos ff. en surplis porta a mons^r. le gouu. son rameau (Madem. la gouu. n'y estoit pas, on luy en eut porté si elle y eut esté avec son mary) & le mesme ensuite alla porter deux rameaus a Mons^r. de Chauigny & a mons^r. Giffar cõe du Conseil le reste a l'ordinaire du pain benit: i'aduertis qu'il falloît tenir les rameaus a la passion, & a l'Eleuāon & ce dernier n'est pas vray mais seulem^t. le 1^{er}. Ie chanté seul la passion.

1649. AURIL.

le Tout a la sepmaine S^t. a peu pres cõe l'an passé le lauem^t. des pieds a l'hospital le Ieudy a 2. h. apres midy, où i'officié comme superieur l'heure estant commode, ie ne

About this time, or a little before, the savages started for their great hunt, with St. Denys and the son of Thomas hayot.⁵

Departure of the savages.

On Passion Sunday at the hospital, everything occurred the same as last year,— except that the *laudate Dominum omnes gentes* was sung, instead of *Domine salvum fac regem*. However, neither the one nor the other is proper; but, instead of that, there should be added after the *Ave regina* the prayer *pro devotis amicis*, in the singular, in behalf of Madame the duchess d'Eguillon, the foundress.

Passion Sunday.

On Annunciation Day the Cross and Images were uncovered; *dubium est utrum fieri debeat*,— suffice it for a picture or statue of our Lady, but not the Cross, etc.

Annunciation.

On palm Sunday, all took place the same as last year. One of our brethren, in surplice, carried to monsieur the governor his palm (Mademoyselle the governor's wife was not there; they would have carried one to her, if she had been there with her husband); and the same brother afterward went to carry two palms to Monsieur de Chavigny and to monsieur Giffar, as members of the Council. The rest, as is usual with the consecrated bread. I gave notice that the palms must be held at the passion and at the Elevation,—and this last is not correct, but only the 1st. I sang the passion alone.

Palm Sunday,

1649, APRIL.

All took place in Holy week very nearly as last year; the washing of feet at the hospital

l'auois fait les années precedentes a raison que l'heure estoit Incommode le matin: ce faisant a telle heure expedit ad ædificat^m. Super^m. hæc facere: aux Vrsul^{es}. le matin la 1^{re}. Cõnion de leurs filles i'y presché demy heure.

*sonnerie du ieudy et
samedy saint.*

Les Vrsul^{es}. & Hospitalieres: ne firent point de faute a la verité en sonnand le Ieudy apres nvf, ou le Samedy deuant nvf; mais elles manquerent en ce que elles ne sonnerēt pas avec nvf *car elles le doivent faire soit le Ieudy soit le Samedy: mais sur tout le Samedy soit qu'elles ayent dit les propheties soit qu'elles ne les ayant pas dites; elles peuuent sonner la clochete de l'Eleuãon pendant le gloria si elles ont fait deuant mais non la grosse cloche de dehors, elles le doivent faire seulem^t. quand la paroisse a commēce & sonner avec elle.*

Semaine St.

les Vrsul^{es}. firent vne faute remarquable en ce que pendant les tenebres des 3. Iours, ils n'eurent de chandelier Triangulaire, ny Cierge allumés sur l'Autel sinon le 1^{er}. ou 2. Iour deux cierges blancs.

le p. le Ieune publiã a Sillery le Dimãche des rameaus qu'il falloit aller a la paroisse mais qu'il auoit obtenu cõgé heureux de Communier a Sillery.

Le Dimanche de Pasque, le p. Vimont a la fin de sa Messe fit quelque chose de semblable a ce que fit le p. le Ieune l'an passé;

was on Thursday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, at which I officiated, as superior, the hour being convenient. I had not done so in the preceding years, because the hour was Inconvenient in the morning; doing this at such an hour, *expedit ad ædificationem Superiorem hæc facere*. At the Ursulines', in the morning, was the 1st Communion of their girls; I preached there half an hour.

The Ursulines and Hospital nuns made no mistake, in truth, by ringing after us on Thursday, or before us on Saturday; but they were at fault in this, that they did not ring with us. *For they ought to do so, either on Thursday or on Saturday, but especially on Saturday,—* whether they have or have not said the prophecies. They may ring the Elevation bell during the *gloria*, if they have finished before us, but not the great bell outside,—this they should do only when the parish bell has begun, and should ring with it.

The Ursulines made a remarkable mistake in that, during the *tenebræ* of the 3 Days, they had no Triangular candlestick or Taper lighted on the Altar,—save, on the 1st or 2nd Day, two white tapers.

Father le Jeune announced at Sillery, on palm Sunday, that they must go to the parish church; but that he had fortunately obtained leave to receive Communion at Sillery.

On Easter Sunday, father Vimont at the end of his Mass did something similar to what father le Jeune did last year. Experience showed me that it would be quite proper that,

*Bell-ringing on holy
thursday and easter
even.*

Holy Week.

l'experience me fit voir qu'il seroit bien a propos qu'au lieu d'un sermon le matin, des cinq heures qu'il y a du monde a l'Eglise il seroit a propos qu'il y eut un Pere qui entretint le monde iusques a la 1^e. Messe, siue ex libro par exemple des meditãons de Dupont, soit de la feste soit de la Communion; on se pouroit mettre au lutrin le tournant commodem^t. p^r. estre entendu: & a la grande Messe suffit un quart d'heure apres l'Euãgile a l'ordinaire.

Mons^r. de S^t. Sauueur ne fut point trop viste aux leçons du Samedy S^t. mais il fut a son ordinaire trop long aux litanies, il m'assista bien a son ordinaire. Le chanté seul la passion le Vendredy.

I'aduertis le Iour de pasque que le salut se fairoit le soir sur les 7. h. & les Iours suiuaus le salut aux maisons religieuses a l'issue de vespres de la paroisse.

le grand effort du Iour de pasque & la grande presse cessa apres la grande Messe, il y eut 4. messes.

le Dimanche de Quasimodo I'aduertis des principaux defauts de la paroisse qui n'v pouuoient faire craindre la colere de Dieu.

I'allé aux Exercices le Mardy d'apres scauoir le 13. n^oe f. feoté alla aux 3. riu. en chaloupe avec 8. ou 9. matelots excellens, il partit le 22. & en reuint le 29. mais il falloit attendre plv^t tard on risqua trop, les glaces n'estant pas encore passées, on se trouua bien

*Dimanche de
Quasimodo*

*Voyage de n^oe f.
feoté*

instead of a sermon in the morning,—as soon after five o'clock as there are people in the Church,—there should be a Father to occupy the people until the 1st Mass: *sive ex libro*,—for instance, with the meditations of Dupont; or about the feast, or the Communion. One might take one's place at the lectern, turning it conveniently to be understood; and, at high Mass, a quarter-hour is sufficient after the Gospel, as usual.

Monsieur de St. Sauveur was not too fast at the lessons of Easter Even; but, as usual with him, he was too slow with the litany. He assisted me satisfactorily, as is his wont. I sang the passion alone, on Friday.

I gave notice on easter Day that the benediction would take place at evening about 7 o'clock;⁶ and, on the following Days, the benediction at the religious houses at the end of vespers at the parish church.

The great stress of easter Day, and the great crowd, ceased after high Mass. There were 4 masses.

On Low Sunday I gave warning of the principal shortcomings of the parish, which might cause us to fear the wrath of God.

I went into Retreat on the subsequent Tuesday,—namely, the 13th. Our brother feoté went to 3 rivers in a shallop with 8 or 9 excellent sailors; he left on the 22nd, and came back on the 29th, but he should have waited till later. They risked too much; the ice not yet having passed away, they found themselves much embarrassed. The journey,

Low Sunday.

Our brother feoté's journey.

embarassé; le voyage ce neantmoins fut fort heureux il raporta 14 ou 15. bariques de grain p^r. le moins.

St. Marc

le Iour de St. Marc qui fut le Dimanche, on fit procession aux Vrsul^{es}. seulem^t., il n'y auoit que cela de faisable, apres Vespres.

degel

la riuere de St. Charles se rompit le 27. & 28. & on commença a semer

Mort funeste.

le dernier d'Auril vn vieillard M^{re}. valet au magasin soubçonné de larcin, & menacé de Iustice, se trouua perdu, on crut qu'il s'alla noyer.

MAY.

famine

retour des Chaloupes des 3. riu. & de Montreal, où partout on trouua famine: nvf secourusmes le monde icy bas p^r. la semence, & pour la nourriture & ce au nombre de plvf de [blank space] par 16. bariques de blé enuoyé des 3. riu. & plusieurs poinçons de pois & de blé d'Inde: & de plvf par la mouture du moulin, le tout faisant plvf de 40. bariques de grain.

St. Michel

le 8. Je fus dire la messe basse a St. Michel de Sillery & voila tout ce qui y fut fait de Solemnité cette année, hoc ê nihil; neq. expedit.

Tadousac

le 9. partit le p. Druilletes p^r. Tadousac avec l'Epinau.

rogatons.

Ce mesme Iour fut fait la procession a l'Issue de vespres, on alla a l'hospital, puis par M^r. Hebou, & par la grande allée on vint aux

despite this, was very successful; he brought back at least 14 or 15 casks of grain.

On St. Mark's Day, which was on Sunday, we made a procession to the Ursulines'; only that was feasible, after Vespers.

The river St. Charles became open on the 27th and 28th, and sowing was begun.

On the last of April, an old man,—Head servant at the warehouse,—suspected of theft and threatened with Justice, proved to be lost; it was believed that he went to drown himself.

MAY.

Return of the Shallops from 3 rivers and Montreal, where famine was found on all sides. We succored the people down here, in the matter of seed and food,—and this to the number of more than [blank space],—with 16 casks of wheat sent from 3 rivers, and several puncheons of peas and Indian corn; and, furthermore, by the grist of the mill,—making in all more than 40 casks of grain.

On the 8th, I went to say low mass at St. Michel de Sillery, and that is all that was done there in the way of Solemnity this year; *hoc est nihil, neque expedit.*

On the 9th, father Druilletes left for Tadousac with l'Epinay.⁷

This same Day the procession was made at the Conclusion of vespers; we went to the hospital, then past Monsieur Hebou's; and, along the *grande allée*, we came to the Ursulines'. That went well; the other half of the

St. Mark.

Thaw.

Sad death.

Famine.

St. Michel.

Tadousac.

Rogation.

Vrsul^{es}. cela alla bien; l'autre demy tour ayant esté fait l'an passé par le Cap aux diamans, la grange &c.

on Chanta a l'hospital & aux Vrsul^{es}. quelques articles des litanies de la vierge, & ensuite fut dite l'oraison defende, & celle des rogãons: puis a l'hospital o crux aue, & l'oraison de la messe de cruce; & aux Vrsul^{es}. l'Antienne de St. Ioseph & l'oraison a l'ordinaire selon ce qu'en dit le rituel, p^r. les Eglises oû les processions passent. on porta le Cierge paschal a la procession.

Visite a l'hospital: Au commencement. de may ie fis visite a l'hospital.

*fuite d'yroquois
Voyage aux 3. riu.
& a Montreal.
Massacre & Capture
reciproque de Sauvages,
& d'un françois.* le 17. nous partismes p^r. les 3. riu. Nvf y arriuasmes le lendemain; & deux Iours apres s'enfuirent trois yroquois Captifs. Nous en partismes le 29. pour Montreal, oû le 30. fut pris vn pauvre françois serrurier.

IUIN

feste Dieu le 1^{er}. de Iuin nvf arriuasmes a Montreal; le trois qui estoit le Iour de la feste de Dieu, on ne fist procession nulle part a raison de la pluye; mais le Dimanche on la fit a Quebec & a Montreal, oû ie porté le St. Sacrem^t. 12. soldats marchans deuant teste Couuerte quod graue mihi admodû fuit, nec deinceps tolerandû:

Voyage aux Hurons. Ce mesme 6. de Iuin partirent ceux qui s'en alloient aux Hurons au nombre de 34 françois; & deux Hurons, dans douze Canots.

circuit was made last year by way of the Cap aux diamans, the grange, etc.

At the hospital and at the Ursulines', we Sang some articles of the litany of the virgin, and then was said the prayer *defende*, and that of rogation; then, at the hospital, *o crux ave*, and the prayer of the mass *de cruce*; and at the Ursulines', the Anthem of St. Joseph and the prayer as usual,—according to the tenor of the ritual, for the Churches by which the processions pass. The paschal Taper was borne in the procession.

At the beginning of may, I made a visitation at the hospital.

On the 17th, we left for 3 rivers. We arrived there the next day, and, two Days later, three Captive yroquois fled. We started on the 29th for Montreal, where, on the 30th, a poor french locksmith was captured.

JUNE.

On the 1st of June, we arrived at Montreal. On the third, which was the Day of Corpus Christi, we made no procession anywhere, on account of the rain; but on Sunday one was made at Quebec, also at Montreal, where I bore the Blessed Sacrament; 12 soldiers marched in front, their heads Covered,—*quod grave mihi admodum fuit, nec deinceps tolerandum.*

On that same 6th of June, those who were going to the Hurons left,—to the number of 34 frenchmen and two Hurons, in twelve Canoes.

Visitation at the hospital.

Flight of some yroquois.

Journey to 3 rivers and to Montreal.

Massacre, and twofold Capture of Savages and of a frenchman.

Corpus Christi.

Journey to the Hurons.

a Lieues de Terre a nous concédés.

Il prit possession des deux lieues de terre vis a vis de Montreal, de la Concession de M. de Lauzon.

Pesche extraordin. d'Esturgeon a Montreal.

On prit plvf de 300. Esturgeons en 15. Iours a Montreal pendant nõe seiour.

Algonq. pris par Les Yroquois.

Nvf en partismes le 11. & arriuasmes aux 3. riu. le lendemain; où nvf apprismes la prise de 14. Algonq. par les yroquois au dessvf du 2. sault des 3. riu.

yroquois tués.

Vn peu apres arriua le grand basteau de montreal, qui aportoit les Sauuages, & leur pelleterie, sauuages dis-ie Algonq. qui estoient allés en traite a la petite nation; 3. d'entr'eux ayant esté surpris du feu pris a la poudre qu'ils auoient, vn ou deux estoient morts, & vn 3^e. demeuré sur le lieu bien malade: ils apporterent la nouvelle de 7. Yroquois tués par ceux de la petite nation.

feu de la St. Iean.

on ne fit point de feu a la St. Iean aux 3. riu. le gouuern^r. pretendant que le magazin le deuoit faire & le magazin s'en remetant au gouuerneur. on en fit a Quebec ce fut le p. Vimont au defaut d'autre.

la pesche mâque icy bas.

Nvf partismes des 3. riu. le 26. nvf fusmes icy de retour le 27. arriuant, nvf apprismes qu'un pauure *matelot s'estoit noyé*; & qu'il n'y auoit eu que peu de pesche, le poisson ayant manqué & tout le monde ayant leué ses rets apres vn moys de temps perdu. Il y eut force Esturgeon de prix qui ayda le monde a viure: mais de saulmon si peu que rien.

Esturgeons.

I took possession of the two leagues of land opposite Montreal, from the Grant of Monsieur de Lauzon.

a Leagues of Land granted to us.

More than 300 Sturgeon were taken in 15 Days, at Montreal, during our sojourn.

Extraordinary catch of Sturgeon at Montreal.

We started thence on the 11th, and arrived the next day at 3 rivers, where we learned of the capture of 14 Algonquains by the yroquois, above the 2nd sault from 3 rivers.

Algonquains taken by The Yroquois.

A little later, arrived the great boat from montreal, which brought the Savages and their peltry,—Algonquain savages, I mean, who had gone to trade with the petite nation. 3 of these having been surprised by fire catching in some powder that they had, one or two had died; and a 3rd had remained on the spot, very sick. They brought news that 7 Yroquois had been killed by those of the petite nation.

Yroquois killed.

At 3 rivers, no bonfire was made on St. John's day,—the governor claiming that the warehouse ought to make it, and the warehouse referring it to the governor. They made one at Quebec: it was father Vimont who took part therein, for want of another.

St. John's fire.

We left 3 rivers on the 26th, and returned hither on the 27th. On arriving, we learned that a poor sailor had been drowned, and that there had been but little fishing,—the fish having failed, and every one having taken up his nets after a month of time lost. There were plenty of fine Sturgeon, which helped people to live; but there were few if any salmon.

The fishery down here is a failure.

Sturgeon.

JUILLET 1649.

Départ de M^r. bourdon & du p. bailloquet.

le 1^{er}. partit M. bourdon dans vne barque p^r. aller roder iusques a gaspé & ramasser des commodités; avec luy allerent 12. ou 15. habitans; & le pere bailloquet p^r. s'arrester a Tadousac, & assister quelque temps le p. Druilletes.

Abnaquiois

le 16. & 17. arriuée des Abnakiois au nombre de 30. ausquels on signifie, qu'ils n'ayent plvf a venir & qu'ils seront pillés s'ils reuiennent. . . Ils apporterent lettres des Anglois. il y en auoit vne de Madem. de repentigny a son mari du 31. de Iuillet 1648. ou estoit la mort de M^r. de chastelets.

res. nouvelles de france.

Itē vint de Tadousac par la voye des sauuages le retour du p. lyonne a Misk^x, les troubles de france &c. & le peu d'esperâce de vaisseaux.

& des Hurons. Leur destruction.

le 20. la nuit arriuèrent les tristes nouvelles de la destruction des Hurons, & du martyre des 3. pp. v. relationē huivf anni.

les Abnaquiois repartent & emportent 20. paquets de Castor.

la St. Ignace.

le Iour de S^t. Ignace se passa en cette maniere: on ne fit point de salut la veuille; le Iour grande messe; Vespres & sermon a l'hospital chantées par les MM. & le salut aux Vrsulines.

AOUST

le 2. retourne M bourdon, avec le p. baillo-

JULY, 1649.

On the 1st, Monsieur bourdon sailed in a bark, to cruise as far as gaspé, and pick up commodities; with him went 12 or 15 habitants. Father bailloquet also went, to stop at Tadousac and assist father Druilletes for some time.

*Departure of
Monsieur bourdon
and father
bailloquet.*

On the 16th and 17th, the Abnakiouis arrived, to the number of 30; they are notified that they are not to come again, and that their goods will be plundered if they return. . . They brought letters from the English. There was one from Mademoyselle de repentigny to her husband, dated 31st of July, 1648, with news of the death of Monsieur de chastelets.

Abnakiouis.

*1st news from
france.*

Item, came from Tadousac, by way of the savages, news of father lyonne's return to Miskou; of the troubles in france, etc.; and of the uncertainty as to the vessels.

On the 20th at night, arrived the sad news of the destruction of the Hurons, and of the martyrdom of 3 fathers. *Vide relationem hujus anni.*

*and from the
Hurons.
Their destruction.*

The Abnakiouis take their departure, and carry away 20 bundles of Beaver.

The Day of St. Ignatius passed in this manner: there was no benediction on the eve; high mass was said on the Day; Vespers and sermon at the hospital, sung by the Mothers; and benediction at the Ursulines'.

St. Ignatius.

AUGUST.

On the 2nd, Monsieur bourdon returns

- retour de Mr. bourdon.* quet. le voyage fut assés heureux, il apporta sel, morue &c.
- Voyage des Hurons.* le 7. nouvelles de l'arriuée d'une 20^e. de Hurons aux 3. riu. & ensuite le 12. depart des soldats & Domestiques p^r. les Hurons Tourmête, roger, Oliueau, raison.
- depart de nos Domestiques.* le mesme 12. depart de maurice, & de pierre oliueau p^r. les 3. riu.
- Visite generale des grains du päys.
- le P. Ch. albanel arriuée des vaisseaux.* le 23. arriuée de trois vaisseaus, & entr'autres le lendemain du Cardinal; le p. Charles Albanel, de la prouince de Toulouse vint dans le premier, & le p. la place & nœ f. liegeois le lendemain dans le Cardinal avec Medar.
- Le P. delaplace Le f. Liegeois.*
- perte de 4000^{fl}.* le nauire Nœuf, parti de france au moys de mars, n'estant arriué, il fut censé perdu. nvf y perdimes la valeur de 4000^{fl}.

1649. SEPTEMBRE

- Depart de 2. vaisseaux. L. P. Lyonne.* le 7. Arriua le vaisseau du Cap poulet dans lequel estoit le p. lyonne.
- le 19. repartit nœ f. liegeois avec l'Anglois; & vn peu auparauant repartit le Cap. faloup.
- Arriuée du p. bressany* Arriuée du p. bressany avec les deux bandes l'une des Hurons & l'autre du chemin; le 22. les françois rapporterent pesant cinq mille de Castor qui estoit plv^f de 26. mille liures p^r. eux. & des fosses soldat avec son frere qui y auoient esté vn an aux Hurons apporterent p^r. leur part 747^{fl}. pesant qui leur fut payé a 4. francs la liure, & l'autre a 5^{fl}. 5.s.
- & des marchans françois des Hurons.*

with father bailloquet; the journey was quite successful: he brought salt, codfish, etc.

On the 7th, news of the arrival of 20 Hurons at 3 rivers; and then, on the 12th, departure of the soldiers, and of Domestics for the Hurons,—Tourmente, roger, Oliveau, and raison.

On the same 12th, departure of maurice and pierre oliveau, for 3 rivers.

General inspection of the grains of the country.

On the 23rd, the arrival of three vessels, and, among others, next day, of the *Cardinal*. Father Charles Albanel,⁸ of the province of Toulouse, came in the first; and father la place and our brother liegeois, the next day, in the *Cardinal* with Medar.

The ship *Næuf*, which sailed from france in the month of march, not having arrived, was accounted lost. We lost thereby the value of 4000 livres.

1649, SEPTEMBER.

On the 7th, Captain poulet's vessel Arrived, in which was father lyonne.

On the 19th, our brother liegeois left again with the *Anglois*; and, a little previously, Captain faloup.

Arrival of father bressany with two bands — one from the Huron country, and the other encountered on the way. On the 22nd, the french brought back five thousand livres' weight of Beaver, which was more than 26 thousand livres for them; one desfosses, a soldier, with his brother, who had been a year

Return of Monsieur bourdon.

Journey to the Hurons.

Departure of our Domestics.

Father Charles albanel.

Arrival of the vessels.

Father delaplace, Brother Liegeois.

Loss of 4000 livres.

Departure of a vessels.

Father Lyonne.

Arrival of father bressany,

and of the french traders from the Hurons.

Arrivée de la n^{oe} Dame
P. and. Richar.
f. feuville.
départ & retour du p. bressany.

le 27. arriua le p. *André richar*; & le 28. n^{oe} f. feuville ils vinrent au bord de la n^{oe} Dame, qui n'arriua icy que le moys d'oct.
 le 28. repartit le p. bressany p^r. les Hurons, & le p. Charles Albanel pour Montreal.

OCTOBRE

le 3. repartit le p. bressany des 3. riu. avec 4. Canots.

le 7. partit le Capit. Poulet, & enuiron le mesme temps retourna le p. bressany avec ses Hurons qui arriués a la riu. des prairies rebrousserent chemin.

départ des derniers vaisseaux

le dernier d'octobre partit le p. le Ieune dans la fregate & tout l'équipage avec vn yroquois captif Itē la n^{oe} dame.

Traite de cette année.

Cette année la traite arriua a 100. poinçons, les rescriptions a cent mille liures.

Sur la fin de ce mesme mois partit le p. Druilletes p^r. aller hyuerner avec les Sauvages.

NOUEMBRE

barque de Montreal.

La barque p^r. Montreal partie d'icy le 27. de Sept. arriua a Montreal le 3. de nou. & fut de retour icy le 22. ou 23.

40. heures & Indulgences.

le 1^{er}. Dim. de l'Aduent qui tomboit le 28. se firent les 40. h. a l'hospital avec Indulgence pleniere, & ce l'espace de 4. Iours.

le 2^{on}. les mesmes Indulgences aux Vrsul^{es}. le tout en vertu du pouuoir & d'vn priuilege

among the Hurons, brought for their share 747 livres' weight, for which they were paid at 4 francs a livre, and the rest at 5 livres, 5 sols.

On the 27th, arrived father *André richar*; and, on the 28th, our brother feuville. They came on board the *nostre Dame*, which did not arrive here until the month of october.

*Arrival of the nostre Dame.
Father andré Richar.
Brother feuville.*

On the 28th, father bressany left again for the Hurons, and father Charles Albanel for Montreal.

Departure and return of father bressany.

OCTOBER.

On the 3rd, father bressany left 3 rivers again, with 4 Canoes.

On the 7th, Captain Poulet sailed; and about the same time father bressany returned with his Hurons,—who, having arrived at the river des prairies, had turned back.

On the last day of october, father le Jeune sailed in the frigate, also the entire crew, with a captive yroquois. *Item*, sailed the *nostre dame*.

Departure of the last vessels.

This year the trade reached 100 puncheons; the orders, a hundred thousand livres.

Trade for this year.

About the end of this same month, father Druilletes departed to winter with the Savages.

NOVEMBER.

The bark for Montreal, which sailed from here the 27th of September, arrived at Montreal on the 3rd of november, and returned hither by the 22nd or 23rd.

Bark for Montreal.

On the 1st Sunday in Advent, which fell on the 28th, the 40 hours' devotion was observed at the hospital, with plenary Indulgence,—and this for the space of 4 Days.

40 hours, and Indulgences.

particulier enuoyé au super^r. d'icy pour 15. ans.

Hurons hyuernans. Plusieurs Hurons hyuernoient icy bas 20. aux 3. riu. & 20. Icy bas, dont vn moitié ou enuiron logeoit a l'hospital p^r. les assister nvf donnasmes de premier abord vne barique d'Anguille, & vne barique de blé d'Inde, & 6. Couvertures 2. paires de raquette &c. p^r. leur Cabane v. Infra.

FIN DE L'ANNÉE. 1649.

maltostes. Cette année au depart des vaisseaus on commença a faire payer 20. s. pour le billet du passage au secretaire du Gouverneur: & prist-on sur les amendes dequoy payer ou gratifier le mesme secretaire & autres officiers.

Muraille de Sillery Cette mesme année on commença la muraille de Sillery sur les deniers de la Communauté: c'est a dire les 19000ff. affectés par le roy p^r. les affaires du päys.

bastiment Nõe bastiment aussy fut acheué quant a la massonerie du dehors & couuert, mais le dedans n'estoit encores fait

Exhortäons. I'allé a Sillery les moys de nou. & Dec. vn vendredy faire exhortäon Itē en Ianuier february, & Mars.

Employs le p. bressany prechoit a l'Eglise, & le p^r. Vimont y faisoit le Catechisme.

le P. la place y estoit procureur & Ministre.
de dame des Anges. On loüa nõe dame des Anges p^r. le prix de cent escvf sans aucune charge.

On the 2nd, the same Indulgences at the Ursulines',—all by virtue of the authority and special privilege sent to the superior here for 15 years.

Many Hurons wintered here below,—20 at 3 rivers, and 20 down Here,—half of whom, or thereabout, lodged at the hospital. To assist them, we gave them, at the start, a cask of Eels, and a barrel of Indian corn; also 6 Blankets, 2 pairs of snowshoes, etc. For their Cabin, *vide Infra*.

Hurons to spend the winter.

END OF THE YEAR 1649.

This year, at the departure of the vessels, there began an exaction of 20 sols on each passenger ticket, to be paid to the Governor's secretary; and money was taken from the fines, for salary or perquisites to the same secretary, and to other officers.

Exactions.

This same year, the wall at Sillery was begun with the Community's funds,—that is to say, the 19,000 livres appropriated by the king for the affairs of the country.

Wall at Sillery.

Our building also was finished as to the outside masonry, and covered; but the inside was not yet done.

Building.

I went to Sillery in the months of november and December, on a friday, to give an exhortation; *item*, in January, february, and March.

Exhortations.

Father bressany preached at the Church, and father Vimont taught Catechism there.

Occupations.

Father la place was procuror and Minister there.

Nostre dame des Anges.

We rented nostre dame des Anges at the

- f. pierre* A Sillery les sauuages se retirerent de l'enclos des la Toussaincts & s'en allerent dans le bois: nœ f. pierre & robert le Coq y passerent l'hyuer a la forge.
- Nuict de Noel* les matines de Noel se dirent cœ l'an passé; on pouroit se contenter de sonner le dernier vn peu deuant 10. h. le tout alla bien le p. bressany y dit la messe de minuit & y prescha, il y auoit pendant matines quatre Confesseurs: trois suffisent i'allé dire la messe de minuit aux Vrsul^{es}. avec vne basse messe ensuite, & la derniere sur les 9. h.
- Messe*
- festes de Noel* On alla les deux festes suiuanes aux religions p^r. y saluer la St. Vierge & leur Creche, on y dit les litanies de la Vierge, & Noe a la fin.
- Nouvelles des 3. riu.* Nouvelles des 3. riu. par Hurons & Algonq. le dernier Iour au soir ie donné des Images de velin.

price of a hundred écus, without any encumbrance.

At Sillery, the savages withdrew from the enclosure as early as All Saints' day, and went away to the woods; our brother pierre and robert le Coq spent the winter there, at the forge.

Brother pierre.

Savages of Sillery.

Christmas matins were said, the same as last year; one might be satisfied with ringing the last bell a little before 10 o'clock. All went well; father bressany said the midnight mass and preached. There were four Confessors during matins; three are enough. I went to say the midnight mass at the Ursulines', with a low mass following, and the last one about 9 o'clock.

Christmas Night.

Mass.

We went, on the two following feast-days, to the religious houses, in order to salute there the Blessed Virgin and their Manger. We said the litanies of the Virgin and of the Infant Jesus, at the close.

Christmas festivals.

News from 3 rivers, by the Hurons and Algonquains. On the last Day, at evening, I gave Images in vellum.

News from 3 rivers.

LXXI

RELATION OF 1648-49

PARIS: SEBASTIEN ET GABRIEL CRAMOISY, 1650

SOURCE: For the body of the *Relation*, we follow the "Lamoignon copy" of the first edition, in Lenox Library; for the addendum (pp. 104-114, original pagination), the Lenox copy of the second edition.

RELATION

DE CE

QVI S'EST PASSE'

en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de IESVS aux Hurons, pays de la Nouvelle France, és années 1648. & 1649.

Enuoyée

AV R. P. HIEROSME LALEMANT,
Superieur des Missions de la Compagnie de
IESVS, en la Nouvelle France.

Par le P. PAUL RAGVENEAV, de la
mesme Compagnie.

Pour la faire veoir au R. P. Provincial de la
mesme Compagnie.



A PARIS,

Chez { SEBASTIEN GRAMOISY,
Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy,
& de la Reyne Regente,
ET
GABRIEL GRAMOISY, } roisfrainc
Jacques
aux Cacao
gnec.

M. D. C. L.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

RELATION

OF

WHAT OCCURRED

In the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS among the Hurons, a country of New France, in the years 1648 and 1649.

Sent to

REV. FATHER HIEROSME LALEMANT,
Superior of the Missions of the Society of
JESUS, in New France.

By Father PAUL RAGUENEAU, of the same Society.

To be forwarded to the Reverend Father Provincial of the same Society.

PARIS,

Printed by { SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, }
Printer in ordinary to the King }
and to the Queen Regent, }
AND }
GABRIEL CRAMOISY, }
ruë saint Jacques, at the Sign of the Storcks.

M. DC. L.

BY ROYAL LICENSE.

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Extrait du Priuilege du Roy.

PAR grace & Priuilege du Roy, il est permis à SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY Marchand Libraire Iuré en l'Vniuersité de Paris, & Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy & de la Reyne Regente, Bourgeois & ancien Escheuin de cette Ville de Paris, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer vn Liure intitulé, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de IESVS aux Hurons, pays de la Nouvelle France, és années 1648. & 1649. Enuoyée au R. P. Ierosme Lalemant Superieur des Missions de la Compagnie de IESVS, en la Nouvelle France, &c.* Et ce, pendant le temps & espace de dix années consecutiues; avec defenes à tous Libraires & Imprimeurs, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer ledit Liure, sous pretexte de déguifement ou changement qu'ils y pourroient faire, à peine de confiscation & de l'amende portée par ledit Priuilege. Donné à Paris en Decembre 1649.

Signé, Par le Roy en son Conseil,

CRAMOISY.

Extract from the Royal License.

BY grace and Privilege of the King, SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Sworn Merchant Bookseller in the University of Paris, and Printer in ordinary to the King and to the Queen Regent, Citizen and sometime Alderman of this City of Paris, is permitted to print, or cause to be printed, a Book entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de JESUS aux Hurons, pays de la Nouvelle France, es années 1648. et 1649. Envoyée au R. P. Jerosme Lalemant Superieur des Missions de la Compagnie de JESUS, en la Nouvelle France, etc.* And this, during the time and space of ten consecutive years; with prohibition to all Booksellers and Printers to print, or cause to be printed, the said Book, under pretext of disguise or alteration that they might make in it; under penalty of confiscation, and the fine imposed by the said License. Given at Paris, in December, 1649.

Signed By the King in his Council,

CRAMOISY.

Permiffion du R. P. Vice-Prouincial.

NOVS Louis le Mairat Vice-Prouincial de la Compagnie de IESVS en la Prouince de France, auons accordé pour l'aduenir au fleur Sebastien Cramoify Marchand Libraire, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy & de la Reyne Regente, Bourgeois & ancien Efcheuin de cette Ville de Paris, l'impreffion des Relations de la Nouvelle France. Fait à Paris ce 24. Nouembre 1649.

LOVIS LE MAIRAT.

Permission of the Rev. Father Vice-Provincial.

WE, Louis le Mairat, Vice-Provincial of the Society of JESUS in the Province of France, have granted for the future to sieur Sebastian Cramoisy, Merchant Bookseller, Printer in ordinary to the King and to the Queen Regent, Citizen and sometime Alderman of this City of Paris, the right to print the Relations of New France. Done at Paris, this 24th of November, 1649.

LOUIS LE MAIRAT.

[1] Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Mission
des Peres de la Compagnie de IESVS aux
Hurons pays de la Nouvelle France,
és années 1648. & 1649.

*Au R. P. Hierosme Lalemant, Superieur des Missions de la Com-
pagnie de IESVS, en la Nouvelle France.*

Pax Christfi.

MON R. PERE,
*Cette Relation que i'adresse à vostre Reuerence,
luy fera voir les progresz de la Foy sur ces peuples,
plus notables que iamais ils n'auoient esté par le passé. Et
en suite la desolation de ces Pays, dans le temps [2] que le
Christianisme y a paru avec plus grand éclat. Ce qui
nous console dans ces desolations, c'est que le Ciel s'en-
richit de nos pertes, & se remplit des dépouilles de cette
Eglise militante, qui se soustient dedans l'orage, & qui
dans le plus fort des miseres qui l'accueillent de toutes
parts, se maintient fortement dans sa foy, & s'anime
dans l'esperance d'une vie immortelle, qui est son unique
support. Nous voyons l'ouurage de nos mains dissipé, ou
plustost l'ouurage de la main de Dieu seul; quantité
d'Eglises naissantes, qui portent sur elles mesmes la vraye
marque du Christianisme, ie veux dire la croix de Iesus
Christ: vn grand nombre de nos Chrestiens qui ont passé
par le fil de l'espee; les autres qui ont souffert & les feux
& les flammes: des hommes, des femmes & des enfans;
& ceux qui ont eschappé le fleau de la guerre, contraints
d'abandonner leurs biens, leurs maisons, leur pays; &*

[1] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS among the Hurons, a country of New France, in the years 1648 and 1649.

To the Reverend Father Hierosme Lalemant, Superior of the Missions of the Society of JESUS in New France.

Pax Christi.

MY REVEREND FATHER,
This Relation which I address to your Reverence will show you the progress of the Faith with regard to these peoples,—more notable than ever it had been in the past; and, next, the desolation of these Countries during the time [2] in which Christianity has appeared in them with greatest luster. What consoles us in these desolations is, that Heaven becomes enriched by our losses, and is filled with the spoils of this Church militant,—which sustains itself in the storm, and which, at the climax of the miseries which assail it on all sides, maintains itself steadfastly in its faith, and animates itself in the hope of an immortal life, which is its sole support. We see the work of our hands scattered,—or, rather, the work of the hand of God alone: a number of rising Churches which bear upon themselves the true mark of Christianity,—I mean to say, the cross of Jesus Christ. We see a great number of our Christians, who have died by the edge of the sword; others, who have suffered both the fires and the flames,—men, women, and children; and those who have escaped the scourge of war, constrained to abandon their goods, their houses, their country, and to go into the woods,—to

d'aller mourir dans les bois de mesaises & de faim, pour fuir [3] vne mort plus cruelle. Ce nous est vn bon-heur, qu'une partie de cette croix vrayement pesante, soit à nous mesmes nostre partage, que nous ayons veu de nos freres y respandre leur sang, & y endurer des tourmens, dont la cause les pourra bien faire passer quelque iour pour martyrs; qu'il n'y en ait pas vn de nous qui ne puisse esperer de les suiure, au milieu des braziers ardents, où ils ont esté consumez: & que maintenant l'estat des affaires soit tel, que nous soyons heureusement necestitez de beaucoup souffrir, & de tout craindre, au service du grand Maistre dont nous annonçons les grandeurs en ces pays Barbares. Nous adorons ses diuines conduites, & sur nous & sur nostre troupeau; nous le benissons du passé; & nous attendons avec amour, & ie puis dire avec la ioye de nostre cœur, ce que nostre nature pourroit redouter dauantage, car c'est ainsi qu'il merite luy seul d'estre seruy. Nous le prions que ses diuines volontez soient accomplies [4] sur nous, & en la vie & en la mort: vostre Reuerence nous assistera pour cét effet de ses prieres, & tous ceux qui ont quelque amour pour la conuersion de ces Peuples.

MON R. PERE,

*De la Maison de Sainte
Marie aux Hurons, ce 1.
iour de May 1649.*

Vostre tres-humble & obeyffant
seruiteur en nostre Seigneur
PAVL RAGVENEAV.

die from privations and hunger, in order to avoid [3] a more cruel death. It is a blessing for us that a part of this truly heavy cross is our portion for ourselves; that we have seen some of our brethren there shedding their blood and enduring torments, the cause of which may indeed enable them to pass some day for martyrs; that there is not one of us who may not expect to follow them in the midst of the burning fires, wherein they have been consumed; and that now the state of affairs is such that we are happily compelled to suffer much, and to fear everything, in the service of the great Master whose grandeur we announce in these Barbarous countries. We adore his divine guidance, over both us and our flock; we bless him for the past; and we await with love—and, I may say, with joy in our hearts—that which our nature would especially dread; for it is thus alone that he deserves to be served. We pray him that his divine will be accomplished [4] upon us, both in life and in death. Your Reverence will assist us for this purpose with your prayers, as will all those who have any love for the conversion of these Peoples.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

*From the House of Sainte Marie
among the Hurons, this 1st day
of May, 1649.*

Your very humble and obedient
servant in our Lord,
PAUL RAGUENEAU.

[5] Av R. Pere le Pere Clavde de Lingendes, Provincial de la Compagnie de IESVS en la Prouince de France.

MON R. PERE,
La Relation des Hurons que i'enuoye à vostre Reuerence, luy fera voir la déroutte & la desolation de ces pauures nations d'enhaut, le massacre de la fleur de nos Chrestiens, la mort glorieuse de trois de leurs Pasteurs, & leur retraite, avec vne partie de leur troupeau, dans vne Isle de leur grand lac.

Après tout, le Baptesme de plus de deux mille Sauvages, le courage & l'esperance pour l'aduenir, dont Dieu remplit les esprits & les cœurs de tous ceux qui sont parmy les Hurons, me fait beaucoup esperer pour l'auenir.

[6] *Monfieur d'Ailleboust nostre Gouverneur, a fait le possible pour secourir le país en cette occasion, y enuoyant des forces & des munitions pour resister aux ennemis: environ soixante François y sont montez cette année en deux bandes, dont la premiere deuoit retourner cette Automne, & l'autre hiuerner dans le país: nous ne sçauons pas encore le succès de leur voyage, ie prie Dieu qu'il soit heureux.*

Je n'enuoye pour cette année autre relation à Vostre Reuerence, que celle des Hurons, non pas que nous manquions de suiet de donner autant de consolation à Vostre Reuerence, que iamais pour les Missions d'icy bas, où les Chrestiens Sauvages vont croissant en nombre, & en vertu au delà de toutes nos esperances; mais pour interrompre le cours des Relations ordinaires d'icy bas, dont la continu-

[5] To the Reverend Father, Father Claude de Lingendes, Provincial of the Society of JESUS in the Province of France.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

The Relation of the Hurons which I send to your Reverence will show you the discomfiture and desolation of those poor upper nations, the massacre of the flower of our Christians, the glorious death of three of their Pastors, and their retreat with a part of their flock into an Island of their great lake.

After all, the Baptism of more than two thousand Savages, and the courage and hope for the future wherewith God fills the minds and hearts of all those who are among the Hurons, cause me to hope much for the future.

[6] *Monsieur d'Ailleboust, our Governor, has done his utmost to help the country on this occasion, sending thither forces and munitions to resist the enemies: about sixty Frenchmen have gone up thither this year in two bands, the first of which was to return this Autumn, and the other to winter in the country. We do not yet know the outcome of their journey; I pray God that it be fortunate.*

I do not send for this year any other relation to Your Reverence than that of the Hurons,—not that we lack cause for furnishing as much consolation as ever to Your Reverence in regard to the Missions down here, where the Savage Christians are increasing in number and in virtue beyond all our hopes,—but in order to interrupt the course of the usual Relations for this lower region. Their continuation without intermission, particularly on the

ation sans relasche, particulièrement dans la rencontre d'une relation si extraordinaire [7] des païs d'enhaut, pourroit sembler importune & affectée.

Les Iroquois nous ont un peu donné de repos icy bas; mais ie ne sçay si ce sera pour long-temps: nostre consolation est que les differences des temps sont aussi bien sullettes à Dieu que celles des lieux, & que nous ne devons estre que trop contens de tout ce qu'il plaira à sa diuine Maieité d'en ordonner.

Quoy que c'en soit, Vostre Reuerence voit assez que nous auons besoin d'un secours extraordinaire de ses saincts Sacrifices & Prieres; c'est ce que nous la prions tres-humblement de nous oëtroyer, & ce que nous esperons entierement de sa bonté, & charité en nostre endroit,

DE V. REVERENCE,

De Quebec ce 8.

Septembre 1649.

Seruiteur tres-humble &
tres-obeyffant en N. S.
HIEROSME LALEMANT.

occasion of so extraordinary a relation [7] for the upper countries, might seem intrusive and affected.

The Iroquois have given us a little repose down here, but I know not whether it will be for long. Our consolation is, that the differences of times are as subject to God as those of places; and that we ought to be only too content with everything which it shall please his divine Majesty to ordain.

Be this as it may, Your Reverence sufficiently sees that we have need of extraordinary help from your holy Sacrifices and Prayers, which we very humbly pray you to grant us, and which we confidently expect from your goodness and charity toward us.

YOUR REVERENCE'S

*From Quebec, this 8th
of September, 1649.*

Very humble and very obedient servant in Our Lord,
HIEROSME LALEMANT.

[8] CHAPITRE PREMIER.

DE LA PRISE DES BOURGS DE LA MISSION DE S.
IOSEPH, L'ESTÉ DE L'ANNÉE 1648.

L'ESTÉ dernier de l'an passé 1648. les Iroquois ennemis des Hurons, leur enleuerent deux bourgs frontiers, dont la plupart des hommes de defense estoient fortis, quelques-vns pour la chasse, quelques autres pour des desseins de guerre, qui ne pûrent leur reüssir. Ces deux places frontieres faisoient la Mission, que nous nommions de S. Ioseph; dont le bourg principal comptoit environ 400. familles, où la Foy se soustenoit depuis long-temps avec éclat, & où les Chrestiens alloient croiffans en nombre, & plus encore en saincteté, par les trauaux infatigables du Pere Antoine Daniel, vn des premiers Missionnaires de ces contrées.

A peine le Pere acheuoit-il la Messe, & les Chrestiens, qui selon leur coustume auoient remply l'Eglise après le leuer du [9] Soleil, y continuoient encore leurs deuotions, qu'on crie aux armes, & à repouffer l'ennemy, lequel estant venu à l'improuiste, auoit fait ses approches de nuit. Les vns courent au combat, les autres à la fuite, ce n'est qu'effroy & que terreur par tout. Le Pere se iettant des premiers où il voit le peril plus grand, encourage les siens à vne genereuse defense: & comme s'il eust veu le Paradis ouuert pour les Chrestiens, & l'Enfer sur le point d'abîmer tous les Infideles, il leur parle d'vn ton si

[8] CHAPTER FIRST.

OF THE CAPTURE OF THE VILLAGES OF THE MISSION OF ST. JOSEPH, IN THE SUMMER OF THE YEAR 1648.

LAST Summer, in the past year, 1648, the Iroquois, enemies of the Hurons, took from them two frontier villages, from which most of the defenders had gone forth,—some for the chase, and others for purposes of war, in which they could meet no success. These two frontier places composed the Mission which we named for St. Joseph;⁹ the principal of these villages contained about 400 families, where the Faith had long sustained itself with luster, and where the Christians were increasing in number, and still more in holiness, through the indefatigable labors of Father Antoine Daniel, one of the earliest Missionaries in these regions.

Hardly had the Father ended Mass, and the Christians—who, according to their custom, had filled the Church after the rising of the [9] Sun—were still continuing their devotions there, when the cry arose, “To arms! and repel the enemy!”—who, having come unexpectedly, had made his approaches by night. Some hasten to the combat, others to flight: there is naught but alarm and terror everywhere. The Father, among the first to rush where he sees the danger greatest, encourages his people to a brave defense; and—as if he had seen Paradise open for the Christians, and Hell on the point of swallowing up all the Infidels—he speaks to them in a tone so

animé de l'esprit qui le possédoit, qu'ayant fait breche dans les cœurs, qui jusqu'alors avoient esté les plus rebelles, il leur donna vn cœur Chrestien. Le nombre s'en trouue si grand, que ne pouuant pas y suffire, les baptizant les vns après les autres, il fut contraint de tremper son mouchoir en l'eau (qui estoit tout ce que la necessité luy presentoit alors) pour répandre au plustost cette grace sur ces pauvres Sauvages, qui luy crioient misericorde, se feruant de la façon de baptizer qu'on appelle par asperzion.

Cependant l'ennemy continuoit ses attaques plus furieusement que iamais: & sans doute que ce fut vn grand bonheur [10] pour le salut de quelques-vns, qu'au moment de leur mort, le Baptême leur eût donné la vie de l'ame, & les mit dans la possession d'une vie immortelle.

Comme le Pere eût veu que l'Iroquois se rendoit maistre de la place, au lieu de prendre la fuite avec ceux qui l'inuitoient de se fauver en leur compagnie; s'oubliant de foy-mesme, il se souuint de quelques vieillards & malades, qu'il auoit de long-temps difpofez au Baptême: il parcourt les cabanes, il les va remplissant de son zele, les Infideles mesmes luy presentans leurs enfans à la foule, pour en faire des Chrestiens.

Cependant l'ennemy desia victorieux auoit mis tout en feu, & le sang des fêmes mesme & des enfans irritoit leur fureur. Le Pere voulant mourir dans son Eglise, la trouue pleine de Chrestiens, & de Catechumenes qui luy demandent le Baptême. C'estoit bien pour lors que leur foy animoit leurs prieres, & que leur cœur ne pouuoit démentir leur langue. Il baptize les vns, donne l'abfolution aux autres, &

animated with the spirit which was possessing him, that, having made a breach in hearts which till then had been most rebellious, he gave them a Christian heart. The number of these proved to be so great that, unable to cope with it by baptizing them one after the other, he was constrained to dip his handkerchief in the water (which was all that necessity then offered him), in order to shed abroad as quickly as possible this grace on those poor Savages, who cried mercy to him,—using the manner of baptizing which is called “by aspersion.”

Meanwhile, the enemy continued his attacks more furiously than ever; and, without doubt, it was a great blessing [10] for the salvation of some that, at the moment of their death, Baptism had given them the life of the soul, and put them in possession of an immortal life.

When the Father saw that the Iroquois were becoming masters of the place, he,—instead of taking flight with those who were inviting him to escape in their company,—forgetting himself, remembered some old men and sick people, whom he had long ago prepared for Baptism. He goes through the cabins, and proceeds to fill them with his zeal,—the Infidels themselves presenting their children in crowds, in order to make Christians of them.

Meanwhile the enemy, already victorious, had set everything on fire, and the blood of even the women and children irritated their fury. The Father, wishing to die in his Church, finds it full of Christians, and of Catechumens who ask him for Baptism. It was indeed at that time that their faith animated their prayers, and that their hearts could not belie their tongues. He baptizes some, gives absolution

les console tous de l'esperance la plus douce des Saints, n'ayant quasi d'autres paroles en bouche que celles-cy; Mes Freres [11] nous ferons aujourd'uy dans le Ciel.

L'ennemy fut aduertty que les Chrestiens s'estoient rendus en tres-grand nōbre dans l'Eglise; & que c'estoit la proye la plus facile, & la plus riche qu'il eût pû esperer. Il y accourt avec des hurlemens barbares, & des cris étonnans. Au bruit de ces approches, Fuyez mes Freres, dit le Pere à ses nouveaux Chrestiens, & portez avec vous vostre foy iusqu'au dernier soûpir. Pour moy (adiousta-t'il) ie dois mourir icy, tandis que i'y verray quelque ame à gagner pour le Ciel; & y mourant pour vous sauuer, ma vie ne m'est plus rien; nous nous reuerrons dans le Ciel. En mesme temps il fort du costé d'où vient l'ennemy, qui s'arreste dans l'estonnement de voir vn homme feul luy venir au rencontre, & mesme recule en arriere, comme s'il eût porté sur son visage la terreur, & l'effroy d'une compagnie toute entiere. Enfin s'estans vn peu reconnus, & s'estonnans d'eux-mesmes, ils s'animent les vns les autres, ils l'environnent de toutes parts, ils le couurent de fleches, iusqu'à ce que l'ayans frappé d'un coup mortel, d'une arquebuse qui le perça de part en part tout au milieu de la poitrine, il tomba prononçant [12] le nom de IESVS, en rendant heureusement son ame à Dieu; vrayment en bon Pasteur, qui expose & son ame & sa vie pour le salut de son troupeau.

Ce fut alors que ces Barbares se ruerent sur luy, avec autant de rage que si luy feul eût esté l'obiet de leur haine. Ils le dépouillent nud, ils exercent sur luy mille indignitez, & il n'y en eût quasi aucun, qui

to others, and consoles them all with the sweetest hope of the Saints,—having hardly other words on his lips than these: “ My Brothers, [11] to-day we shall be in Heaven.”

The enemy was warned that the Christians had betaken themselves, in very great number, into the Church, and that it was the easiest and the richest prey that he could have hoped for; he hastens thither, with barbarous howls and stunning yells. At the noise of these approaches, “ Flee, my Brothers,” said the Father to his new Christians, “ and bear with you your faith even to the last sigh. As for me ” (he added), “ I must face death here, as long as I shall see here any soul to be gained for Heaven; and, dying here to save you, my life is no longer anything to me; we shall see one another again in Heaven.” At the same time, he goes out in the direction whence come the enemy, who stop in astonishment to see one man alone come to meet them, and even recoil backward, as if he bore upon his face the terrible and frightful appearance of a whole company. Finally,—having come to their senses a little, and being astonished at themselves,—they incite one another; they surround him on all sides, and cover him with arrows, until, having inflicted upon him a mortal wound from an arquebus shot,—which pierced him through and through, in the very middle of his breast,—he fell. Pronouncing [12] the name of JESUS, he blessedly yielded up his soul to God,—truly as a good Pastor, who exposes both his soul and his life for the salvation of his flock.

It was then that those Barbarians rushed upon him with as much rage as if he alone had been the object of their hatred. They strip him naked, they exercise

ne vouluſt prendre la gloire de luy auoir donné ſon coup, meſme le voyant mort.

Le feu cependant confumoit les cabanes, & lors qu'il eût gagné iufqu'à l'Eglife, le Pere y fut ietté dans le plus fort des flammes, qui en firent bien toſt vn holocauſte entier. Quoy qu'il en foit, il n'eût pû eſtre plus glorieuſement confumé que dans les feux, & les lumieres d'vne Chapelle ardente.

Tandis que l'ennemy s'arreſte ſur le Pateur de cette Eglife, ſon pauvre troupeau diſſipé auoit toujours plus de loifir de ſe ſauuer; & pluſieurs en effet ſe rendirent en lieu d'affeurance, redeuables de leur vie à la mort de leur pere. Les autres ne pûrent ſe ſauuer aſſez promptement, principalement des pauvres meres deſolées, qui ſuccomboient ſous la peſanteur de trois [13] & quatre enfans; ou qui s'eſtans voulu cacher dans l'épaiſſeur des bois, s'y voyent découuertes par les cris innocens d'vn âge qui ſe trahit ſoy meſme, appellant ſur ſoy le malheur qu'il craint dauantage.

Il y auoit quatorze ans que ce bon Pere traualloit en cette Miſſiõ des Hurõs avec vn ſoin infatigable, vn courage genereux dans les entrepriſes, vne patience infurmontable, vne douceur inalterable, & avec vne charité qui ſçauoit tout excuſer, tout ſupporter & tout aymer. Son humilité eſtoit ſincere, ſon obeyſſance entiere, & toujours preſte à tout pâtir & à tout faire. Son zele l'a accompagné iufqu'à la mort, qui ne l'a pas ſurpris au dépourueu, quoy qu'elle ait eſté bien ſubite. Car il portoit toujours ſon ame entre ſes mains, y ayant plus de neuf ans, qu'il demeueroit dans les places les plus frontieres de ce pays, & dans les Miſſions les plus expoſées à l'ennemy, attendant

upon him a thousand indignities; and there was hardly any one who did not try to assume the glory of having given him the final blow, even on seeing him dead.

The fire meanwhile was consuming the cabins; and when it had spread as far as the Church, the Father was cast into it, at the height of the flames, which soon made of him a whole burnt-offering. Be this as it may, he could not have been more gloriously consumed than in the fires and lights of a *Chapelle ardente*.

While the enemy delayed around the Pastor of that Church, his poor scattered flock had at least more leisure to escape; and many, in fact, betook themselves to a place of safety,—indebted for their lives to the death of their father. The others could not escape promptly enough,—especially some poor distressed mothers, who succumbed beneath the burden of three [13] or four children; or who, having attempted to hide themselves in the depth of the forest, saw themselves discovered there through the innocent cries of an age which betrays itself, calling upon itself the misfortune which it most fears.

It was fourteen years during which this good Father had been working in this Mission of the Hurons,—with an indefatigable care, a generous courage in enterprises, an insurmountable patience, and an unalterable meekness; and with a charity which knew how to excuse everything, bear everything, and love every one. His humility was sincere; his obedience was thorough, and always ready to endure all and to do all. His zeal accompanied him even to death, which did not surprise him unexpectedly, although it was very sudden. For he always

avec esperance & amour le bonheur de la mort, qui luy est écheuë en partage.

Mais sans doute que la Prouidence de Dieu l'auoit conduit à cette mort d'une façon particuliere; n'y ayant que deux iours qu'il auoit fait vne confession generale, [14] & qu'il auoit acheué en cette Maifon de Sainte Marie, les Exercices Spirituels de la Compagnie, dans vne retraite de huit iours, qu'il auoit pris exprés pour vaquer à Dieu feul, & se difpofer au paffage de l'Eternité. Ce fut là qu'il s'enflamma plus que iamais, dans les defirs de répandre & fon fang & fa vie pour le falut des ames: en telle forte qu'ayant finy fes Exercices, il ne voulut pas prendre mefme vn iour de repos, fe fentant appellé de Dieu dans les trauaux de fa Miffion; où il porta ce feu du Ciel, dont fans doute fon ame eftoit plus embrafée, que iamais fon corps ne l'ayt esté, quoy que fainctement confumé dans le milieu des flammes. Il s'estoit feparé de nous le fecond iour de Iuillet; le lendemain eftant arriué en fa Miffion, il prefcha à tous les Chreftiens, & en confessa vn grand nombre, leur difant qu'ils fe preparaffent à la mort. Le 4. iour de Iuillet, lors mefme que l'ennemy parut, il ne faifoit que fortir de l'autel, & prefchoit derechef à ces bons Neophytes des ioyes du Paradis, & du bonheur de ceux qui meurent au feruice de Dieu. C'estoit fes derniers entretiens, eftant plus proche de la mort qu'il ne penfoit; mais [15] Dieu l'y conduifoit avec autant de faincteté, que s'il en eût eu quelque affeurance.

C'est le premier de nostre Compagnie, qui foit mort en cette Miffion des Hurons. Il eftoit natif de Dieppe, de parens tres-honneftes & tres gens de bien; il sembloit n'estre né que pour le falut de ces

bore his soul in his hands,—it being over nine years that he had spent in the most frontier districts of this country, and in the Missions most exposed to the enemy,—awaiting with hope and love the blessing of the death which fell to his portion.

But, no doubt, the Providence of God had led him to this death in a special manner; for it was only two days since he had made a general confession, [14] and had finished, in this House of Sainte Marie, the Spiritual Exercises of the Society in a retreat of eight days, which he had taken expressly for dealing with God alone, and for preparing himself for the passage to Eternity. It was there that he became more than ever inflamed with the desire to lavish his blood and his life for the salvation of souls,—in such sort that, having finished his Exercises, he would not take even a day of rest, feeling himself called by God to the labors of his Mission, whereinto he bore that fire from Heaven with which, no doubt, his soul was more ablaze than ever his body has been, though blessedly consumed in the midst of the flames. He had separated himself from us on the second day of July; the next day, having arrived in his Mission, he preached to all the Christians, and confessed a great number of them,—telling them that they should prepare themselves for death. On the 4th day of July, at the very time when the enemy appeared, he had just left the altar, and was again preaching to those good Neophytes about the joys of Paradise, and the happiness of those who die in the service of God. These were his last discourses,—being nearer to death than he thought; but [15] God was conducting him thither with as much blessedness as if he had had some assurance of it.

Peuples, & n'auoit point de defir plus violent que de mourir pour eux. Nous espérons que dans le Ciel, tout ce pays aura en fa perſonne vn puiffant interceffeur auprès de Dieu.

Quoy que quelques raiſõs m'obligeaſſent peut-eſtre, d'eſtre plus referué à publier ce qui fuit, toutefois i'ay creu deuoir en rendre à Dieu la gloire qui luy en eſt deuë. Ce bon Pere ſ'apparut après ſa mort à vn des noſtres par deux diuerſes fois. En l'vne il ſe fit voir en eſtat de gloire, portant le viſage d'vn homme d'environ trente ans, quoy qu'il foit mort en l'âge de quarante-huict. La plus forte penſée qu'eut celuy auquel il ſ'apparut, fut de luy demander, comment la diuine bonté auoit permis, que le corps de ſon ſeruiteur fuſt traité ſi indignement après ſa mort, & tellement réduit en poudre, que meſme nous [16] n'euffions pas eü le bonheur d'en pouuoir recueillir les cendres. *Magnus Dominus, & laudabilis nimis*, reſpondit-il, Oüy Dieu eſt grand, & adorable à tout iamais: il a ietté les yeux ſur les opprobres de ce ſien ſeruiteur, & afin de les recompenſer en Dieu, grand comme il eſt, il m'a donné quantité d'ames qui eſtoient dans le Purgatoire, leſquelles ont accompagné mon entrée, & mon triomphe dans le Ciel.

Vne autrefois il fut veu aſſiſter à vne aſſemblée que nous tenions, touchant les moyens d'auancer la Foy en ces pays: & alors il paroiffoit nous fortifiant de ſon courage, nous rempliffant de ſes lumieres, & de l'eſprit de Dieu dont il eſtoit tout inueſty.

Quoy qu'il en foit, il nous a laiffé après ſoy l'exemple de toutes ſes vertus, & à tous les Sauages, meſmes Infideles, vne affection ſi tendre pour ſa memoire, que ie puis dire en verité, qu'il a rauy le cœur de tous ceux qui iamais l'ont connu.

He is the first of our Society who has died in this Mission of the Hurons. He was a native of Dieppe, being born of very honest and worthy parents. He seemed to have been born only for the salvation of these Peoples, and had no stronger desire than to die for them. We hope that in Heaven all this country will have in him a powerful intercessor before God.

Although some reasons might oblige me, perhaps, to be more reserved in publishing what follows, I have nevertheless believed it my duty to render to God the glory which is due him herein. That good Father appeared after his death to one of ours, on two different occasions; on one, he showed himself in a state of glory, wearing the aspect of a man about thirty years old, although he died at the age of forty-eight. The thought which most readily occurred to the person to whom he appeared was, to ask him how the divine goodness had permitted the body of his servant to be so unworthily treated after his death, and so reduced to powder that we even [16] had not had the happiness of being able to gather up its ashes. *Magnus Dominus, et laudabilis nimis*, he answered,—“ Truly, God is great and adorable forever; he has regarded the reproaches cast upon this his servant, and, in order to recompense them in God, great as he is, he has given me many souls which were in Purgatory,—who have accompanied my entrance into Heaven and my triumph there.”

Another time, he was seen to be present at an assembly that we held in regard to means for advancing the Faith in these countries,—when he appeared, strengthening us with his courage, and filling us with his light, and with the spirit of God with which he was completely invested.

Vne partie de ceux qui s'estoient eschappez de la prise & incendie de cette Mission de Saint Ioseph, vinrent se refugier proche de nostre maison de Sainte Marie. Le nombre de ceux qui y auoient esté [17] tuez ou emmenez captifs, estoit bien d'environ sept cens ames, la pluspart de femmes & enfans. Le nombre de ceux qui se sauuerent fut bien plus grand. Nous taschâmes de les secourir de nostre pauureté, de reuestir les nuds, de repaître ces pauvres gens qui se mouroient de faim; de pleurer avec les affigez, & de les consoler dans l'esperance du Paradis. Pourueu que Dieu tire sa gloire de nos pertes, elles nous feront tousiours aymables; & ce nous est assez, quoy qui puisse nous en couster, pourueu que nous voyiõs le nombre des Esleus s'accroistre pour l'eternité, puisque c'est pour le Ciel que nous trauiillons, & non pas pour la terre.

Be this as it may, he has left behind him with us the example of all his virtues; and with all the Savages, even the Infidels, so tender an affection for his memory, that I may say in truth that he has ravished the hearts of all those who have ever known him.

A part of those who had escaped from the capture and burning of that Mission of Saint Joseph came to take refuge near our house of Sainte Marie. The number of those who had there been [17] killed or taken captive was probably about seven hundred souls, mostly women and children; the number of those who escaped was much greater. We tried to assist them out of our poverty,—to clothe the naked, and to feed those poor people, who were dying of hunger; to mourn with the afflicted, and to console them with the hope of Paradise. If only God receive his glory from our losses they will always be a source of gladness to us; and that is enough for us, whatever it may cost us, provided that we see the number of the Elect increase for eternity, since it is for Heaven that we labor, and not for the earth.

CHAPITRE II.

ESTAT DU CHRISTIANISME EN CES PAYS, L'HYUER DE
LA MESME ANNÉE 1648.

LE retour victorieux de la flotte Huronne, qui estoit descenduë aux trois riuieres dès le Printemps, & le secours de quatre de nos Peres, & d'une vingtaine de François, qui arriuerent heureusement icy au commencement du mois de Septembre, [18] fut vn coup de l'amour de Dieu sur ces Peuples, & le salut de plusieurs ames, qu'il vouloit disposer pour le Ciel. Car nous estans veu plus capables de porter plus au loin la parole & le nom de Dieu, nostre nombre estant augmenté de dix huit de nos Peres que nous estions icy, vne quinzaine se partagerent en onze diuerfes Missions, me sentant obligé d'en enuoyer la plus grande part sans autre compagnie, sinon des Anges tutelaires de ces Peuples; ayant donné les quatre Peres nouveaux venus pour seruir de seconds, dans les Missions les plus laborieuses, où y rendant quelque assistance, ils y pûssent en mesme temps apprendre la langue du pays.

De ces onze Missions, huit ont esté pour le peuple de la langue Huronne; & les trois autres pour les Missions de la langue Algonquine. Par tout, les progres de la Foy ont surmonté nos esperances; la plupart des esprits, mesme autrefois les plus farouches, se rendans si dociles & si souples à la predication de l'Euangile, qu'il paroissoit assez que les Anges y traualloient bien plus que nous.

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CHAPTER II.

STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THESE COUNTRIES, IN
THE WINTER OF THE SAME YEAR, 1648.

THE victorious return of the Huron fleet, which had gone down to three rivers in the Spring, and the aid received,—four of our Fathers, and a score of Frenchmen, who fortunately arrived here at the beginning of the month of September,—[18] was an act of God's love over these Peoples, and the salvation of many souls whom he wished to prepare for Heaven. For, finding ourselves more capable of bearing to a greater distance the word and the name of God,—our number being increased above the eighteen of our Fathers who were here,—fifteen were distributed among eleven various Missions. I felt myself obliged to send the greater part of them without other company save that of the guardian Angels of these Peoples, having given the four newly-arrived Fathers to serve as assistants in the most arduous Missions,—where, while rendering some assistance, they could at the same time learn the language of the country.

Of these eleven Missions, eight have been for the people of the Huron tongue, and the three others for the Missions of the Algonquin language. Everywhere, the progress of the Faith has surpassed our hopes,—most minds, even those formerly most fierce, becoming so docile, and so submissive to the preaching of the Gospel, that it was sufficiently apparent that

Le nombre de ceux qui ont receu le [19] sainct Baptême depuis vn an, est d'environ dix-huit cens perfonnes; fans y comprendre vne foule de monde qui furent baptizez par le Pere Antoine Daniel, le iour de la priſe de Sainct Iofeph, dont nous n'auons pû tenir compte: auffi peu que de ceux que le Pere Iean de Brebeuf, & le Pere Gabriel Lalemant, baptizerent à la priſe des bourgs de la Miſſion de ſainct Ignace, comme nous dirons cy-aprés. Ce nous eſt aſſez que le Ciel en ait tenu bon compte, puisqu'à vray dire, ces Baptêmes n'ont eſté que pour enrichir l'Egliſe triomphante.

Nous ne ſçauons pas encore le ſuccés d'une nouvelle Miſſion, que nous commençâmes l'Automne dernier dans vne Nation Algonquine, eſloignée environ foixante lieuës de nous. Vn de nos Peres y fut enuoyé pour hyuerner avec ces Peuples, qui nous preſſoient depuis quelques années de les aller inſtruire.

Nous n'auons pû en recevoir aucunes nouvelles, depuis huit mois qu'il nous quitta. Ce dont nous ne pouuons douter, eſt, qu'il y aura eu beaucoup à ſouffrir: mais ce qui nous conſole, c'eſt que nous ſçauons bien, que par tout les ſouffrances [20] ont eſté le vray prix de la conuerſion des Nations conquiſes au Royaume de Ieſus-Chriſt. Ces peuples habitent dans vne Iſle, qui a de tour environ foixante lieuës dedans noſtre grand Lac ou Mer douce, tirant vers l'Occident. Cette Iſle ſe nomme *Ekaentoton*, qui a donné le nom aux peuples qui l'habitent: nous l'auons nommé l'Iſle de Sainte Marie.

La Miſſion de la Conception eſtant plus ancienne que toutes les autres, non ſeulement a continué de

the Angels were laboring there much more than we.

The number of those who have received [19] holy Baptism within a year is about eighteen hundred persons, without including therein a multitude of people who were baptized by Father Antoine Daniel on the day of the capture of Saint Joseph. Of these we have been as little able to keep account, as of those whom Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant baptized at the capture of the villages in the Mission of saint Ignace, as we shall relate hereafter. It is enough for us that Heaven has kept good account of them; since, truly speaking, these Baptisms have served only to enrich the Church triumphant.

We do not yet know the success of a new Mission which we began last Autumn in an Algonquin Nation, about sixty leagues distant from us. One of our Fathers was sent thither to winter with those Peoples, who had been urging us for several years to go and instruct them.

We have not been able to receive any news of him during the eight months since he left us. What we cannot doubt is, that he must have had much to suffer there: but what consoles us is, our certain knowledge that everywhere sufferings [20] have been the price due for the conversion of the Nations conquered for the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. These peoples inhabit an Island which has a circumference of about sixty leagues, in our great Lake or fresh-water Sea, as we go toward the West. This Island is named *Ekaentoton*, which has given the name to the peoples who inhabit it; we have named it the Island of Sainte Marie.¹⁰

The Mission of la Conception, being older than

porter les fruits les plus murs pour le Ciel; mais elle s'est tellement formée dans l'esprit véritable du Christianisme, qu'elle a seruy d'exemple & de modele à toutes les autres Nations, qui ont veu en ses mœurs ce que peut la Foy dans vn pays, quoy que Barbare quand il est deuenu Chrestien. Les hommes, les femmes, & les enfans y ont fait vne profession si publique de ce qu'ils vouloient estre iusqu'à la mort, que souuent les nations voisines ne leur donnoient point d'autre nom, sinon en les nommant la Nation des Chrestiens.

En effet, leurs Capitaines y ont esté ardens à soutenir la foy; & toutes les familles s'y font soufmises si generalement, [21] que ne restant plus parmy eux que fort peu d'Infideles, les Chrestiens n'y ont plus voulu tolerer aucune de leurs anciennes coustumes, qui estoient de reste de l'Infidelité, ou qui heurtoient les bonnes mœurs.

Dés le commencement de l'Hyuer, ces bons Neophytes assemblèrent vn Conseil general, pour conferer des moyens d'affermir la Foy parmy eux. Leur conclusion fut qu'il falloit venir trouuer le Pere qui a soin de cette Mission, afin qu'il retranchast dans leurs coustumes, celles qui sont contraires à la Foy; qu'il corrigeast des autres de foy indifferentes, tout le mal qui pourroit en quelque façon en corrompre l'usage: Qu'ils luy obeïroient de tout poinct, & le regarderoyēt comme portant la parole de Dieu, & en suite le premier de leurs Capitaines. Le meilleur est, qu'ils ont tenu en cela leur parole, & qu'aux moindres doutes qui pouoient suruenir, les Capitaines mesmes venoient au Pere pour receuoir ses ordres, & les executer.



[Photographic facsimile of water-color sketch, made on the spot by Father Felix Martin in 1855, and now in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.]

all the others, not only has continued to bear the ripest fruits for Heaven, but it has become so fashioned in the true spirit of Christianity that it has served as example and model for all the other Nations, which have seen in its morals what the Faith can do in a country, although Barbarian, when it has become Christian.¹¹ Men, women, and children there have made so open a profession of what they wished to be till death, that often the neighboring nations gave them no other name save this, "the Nation of Christians."

In fact, their Captains have been ardent there in maintaining the faith; and all the families have so generally submitted themselves to it [21] that, as very few Infidels remained among them, the Christians would no longer tolerate any of their former customs which remained from Infidelity, or which clashed with good morals.

At the beginning of the Winter, these good Neophytes assembled a general Council, in order to confer upon means of strengthening the Faith among them. Their conclusion was that it was necessary to apply to the Father who has charge of that Mission, that he might cut off, in their customs, those which are contrary to the Faith; that he should correct in others, unimportant in themselves, all evil which might in any way corrupt the use of them; and that they would obey him in every point, and would regard him as bearing the word of God,—and, hereafter, as the chief of their Captains. The best is, that they have kept their word in that; and that in the slightest doubts which could arise, the Captains themselves came to the Father to receive and execute his orders.

Sur la fin de l'Hyuer, quelques Infideles plus opiniastres, ayans voulu pour la guerifon d'un malade, auoir recours à de certains [22] remedes, où l'impudicité est comme dans son regne, les filles tenant à honneur en ces rencontres, de prostituer leur honneur mesme: on ne pût en trouuer aucune qui voulust y entendre. Quelques Capitaines Infideles des Nations voisines, qui auoient esté appellez pour fauoriser ce dessein & y prester leur voix, furent cōtraints de se retirer avec leur confusion, ayans trouué & des cœurs à l'espreuue, & des oreilles qui n'estoient plus ouuertes que pour les paroles du Ciel.

Voicy vn coup de zele qui m'a paru considerable, en vn vieillard, âgé prés de quatre-vingts ans, qui ne peut auoir de chaleur que ce que la Foy luy en donne. En vne recreation publique, où la coustume du pays est, qu'aux guerriers entrans dans vne espece de fureur martiale, il soit permis de rompre & de brifer les portes des cabanes, comme on feroit donnant l'affaut, & attaquant quelque place ennemie: vn certain Infidele homme de grand credit, pour faire vn coup hardy, & croit-on pour se venger, sous vn pretexte specieux, de quelque refus que les Chrestiens luy auoient fait, de quelque chose où ils y craignoient du peché; entreprit de rompre [23] la porte de l'Eglise, & d'abattre vn arbre, au haut duquel estoit penduë la cloche qui sonnoit pour le signal des Messes & des Prieres publiques: & afin de faire son coup avec plus d'affurance, cét Infidele alloit penetrant les cabanes, & chantant d'un ton animé de fureur, que son songe luy auoit commandé d'abattre la cloche des François: c'est à dire que selon les coustumes de ce pais, c'eust esté vn crime inotiy, de s'opposer le moins du monde

Toward the end of the Winter, some of the more stubborn Infidels having wished, for the cure of a sick man, to have recourse to certain [22] remedies, wherein indecency is, as it were, in its kingdom,—the girls deeming it an honor, on these occasions, to prostitute their honor itself,—not one of these Christians could be found who would listen to it. Some Infidel Captains of the neighboring Nations, who had been called in to aid this design, and to lend their voices to it, were constrained to withdraw, to their own confusion,—having found both hearts that were proof against temptation, and ears which were no longer open save for the words of Heaven.

Here is an act of zeal which has appeared to me considerable, in an old man aged nearly eighty years, who can have no warmth but that which the Faith gives him. It happened at a public recreation, where the custom of the country is, that the warriors, entering into a kind of martial fury, are permitted to burst open and break in the doors of the cabins,—as they would do while giving assault, and attacking some hostile place. A certain Infidel, a man of great credit for making a bold stroke,—and, as is supposed, in order to avenge himself, under a specious pretext, for some refusal which the Christians had given him in some matter wherein they feared sin,—undertook to break open [23] the door of the Church, and to fell a tree, at the top of which was hung the bell which rang as a signal for Masses and for public Prayers. In order to deal his blow with more assurance, this Infidel went about, entering the cabins, and singing, in a tone animated with fury, that his dream had commanded him to strike down the Frenchmen's bell. This means that, according to

à l'exécution d'un songe proclamé si publiquement. Un bon vieillard Chrestien entendant ces menaces, eut recours à nostre Seigneur, & l'adorant, luy offrit sa vie, plustost que de permettre vne insolence, qu'il iugeoit deuoir estre à l'opprobre du Christianisme. Après auoir fait sa priere, entendant la voix de l'Infidele qui s'auançoit la hache en main; sur le poinct de rabattre son coup, il se met entre deux: Un coup de hache, disoit-il, tombera mieux dessus ma teste, que sur vne maison consacrée à l'honneur de Dieu. L'Infidele est tout estonné: Non, non, dit le Chrestien, ie professe publiquement que pour ma mort, ie ne veux pas qu'on en tire aucune iustice; ny le public, ny celuy [24] qui m'aura affommé n'en feront point en peine: mais ie ne puis voir de mes yeux que la saincteté d'une maison, où Dieu est adoré, soit ainsi profanée, & que la voix soit abatuë, qui nous inuite à l'inuoquer, (c'est ainsi qu'il nommoit la cloche de l'Eglise.) L'Infidele, qui selon la coustume de ces Païs, eust deu plustost se faire massacrer que d'arrester son coup; se trouua si surpris par cette forte d'opposition, que iamais il n'eust attenduë, qu'il deuint plus froid que du marbre; admirant & le zeile de ce bon vieillard, & s'admirant soy-mesme, d'auoir trouué vne resistance, & si puissante à son dessein, & ensemble si douce, dans vn procedé qui en effect n'auoit rien de la Nature.

Les autres Missions ont esté puissamment aidées de ces exemples, qui ont presché plus haut que nos paroles. Et sans doute que les Anges du Ciel ont pris plaisir de voir en toutes les contrées de ce païs, la Foy y estre respectée, & les Chrestiens y faire gloire de ce nom, qui y estoit en opprobre il n'y a que fort

the customs of this country, it would have been an unheard-of crime to oppose in the least degree the fulfillment of a dream proclaimed so openly. A good old Christian, hearing these threats, had recourse to our Lord, and, adoring him, offered him his life, rather than to permit an insolence which, he judged, would be to the reproach of Christianity. After having offered his prayer, hearing the voice of the Infidel,—who was advancing, hatchet in hand, on the point of dealing his blow,—he puts himself in between. “A blow from the hatchet,” he said, “will better fall on my head than on a house consecrated to the honor of God.” The Infidel is quite astonished. “No, no,” said the Christian, “I openly profess that, as regards my death, I do not wish that any justice be exacted for it; neither the public, nor the man [24] who should kill me, will be in trouble about that. But I cannot be a witness of such profanation to the holiness of a house where God is adored; nor can I consent that the voice be brought low which summons us to invoke him” (thus he named the Church bell). The Infidel—who, according to the custom of these Countries, ought rather to have let himself be slain than to stop his own blow—found himself so surprised by this kind of opposition, which he had never expected, that he became colder than marble,—both admiring the zeal of that good old man, and wondering at himself for having met with resistance, at once so earnest in its purpose and so gentle, through a working which indeed had nothing of Nature about it.

The other Missions have been efficiently aided by these examples, which have preached louder than our words; and, no doubt, the Angels of Heaven have

peu d'années. Pour moy, ie n'eusse iamais creu pou-
voir voir après cinquante ans de trauail, la dixième
partie de la pieté, de la vertu, & de [25] la saincteté
dont par tout i'ay esté témoin dans les visites que i'y
ay faites de ces Eglises, qui ont esté se produisant au
milieu de l'Infidelité. Ce m'a esté vne ioye tout à
fait sensible, de voir la diligence des Chrestiens, qui
preuenoit le leuer du Soleil, pour venir aux prieres
publiques: & que ces pauures gens harassez de tra-
uail, vinssent à la foule auant la nuit, rendre à Dieu
de nouveaux hommages; de voir les enfans imiter
la pieté de leurs peres, s'accoustumans dans cet âge
innocent, d'offrir à Dieu leurs peines, leurs douleurs
& leurs petits trauaux. Souuēt de petites filletes allât
dans la forest y couper quelque bois de chauffage,
n'auoir point d'entretien plus aimable, que de dire
leur Chapelet, & d'une saincte emulation, prendre
tout leur plaisir à qui surmonteroit ses petites com-
pagnes en cette pieté. Mais ce qui m'a le plus rauy,
c'est de voir que les sentimens de la Foy, soient
entrez si auant dans des cœurs, qu'autrefois nous
appellions Barbares, que ie puis dire en verité, que
la grace y a estouffé en plusieurs, les craintes, les
desirs, & les ioyes les sentimens de la Nature.

Vn petit enfant de six ans estoit extrêmement [26]
malade dans la Mission de sainct Michel. Sa mere
ne pouuant contenir ses larmes, voyant l'excés de la
douleur, & les approches de la mort de ce sien fils
vnique: Ma mere, luy dit cet enfant, pourquoy pleu-
rez vous? vos larmes ne me rendront pas la santé:
mais plustost prions Dieu ensemble, afin que ie sois
bien-heureux dans le Ciel. Après quelques prieres,
Mon fils, luy dit sa mere, il faut que ie te porte à

taken pleasure in seeing, in all the regions of this country, the Faith respected, and the Christians glorying in that name which was in reproach there only a very few years ago. As for me, I would never have believed that I could see, after fifty years of labor, the tenth part of the piety, the virtue, and [25] the holiness of which I have everywhere been witness in the visits that I have made to these Churches, which have been arising in the midst of Infidelity. It has been a most heartfelt joy to me, to see the diligence of the Christians, which anticipated the Sunrise, in order to come to the public prayers, and how these poor people, harassed with toil, would come in a crowd before night, to render new homage to God; to see the children imitate the piety of their fathers,—accustoming themselves, at that innocent age, to offer to God their pains, their griefs, and their little labors. Often little girls, going into the forest to cut some firewood there, have no more delightful conversation than to say their Rosaries; and, with a holy emulation, they take all their pleasure in seeing who might surpass her little companions in this piety. But what has most delighted me is to see that the sentiments of the Faith have so far entered these hearts, which we formerly called Barbarian, that I may truthfully say that grace has stifled in many of them the fears, the desires, the joys, and the feelings of Nature.

A little child of six years was extremely [26] sick in the Mission of saint Michel. His mother was unable to contain her tears, seeing the excess of his pain, and the approach of death to this her only son. “My mother,” said to her this child, “why do you weep? your tears will not give me back my health; but rather let us pray to God together, so that I may

Saincte Marie, afin que les François te rendent la fanté. Helas ma mere, luy dit ce petit innocent, i'ay vn feu qui bruste dans ma teste, pourroient-ils bien l'esteindre? ie ne fonge plus à la vie; n'en ayez point aucun desir pour moy: mais ie vous auertiray de ma mort, & quand elle fera proche, ie vous prieray de me porter à Saincte Marie, car ie veux y mourir, & y estre enterré avec les excellens Chrestiens. En effet, quelques iours après, cet enfant aduertit sa mere que sa mort estoit proche, qu'il estoit temps de l'apporter. C'est la coustume en ces païs, quand quelqu'un est proche de mourir, de faire vn festin solennel où on inuite tous les amis, & les personnes les plus considerables, enuiron vne centaine. La mere ne voulut [27] pas manquer à ce deuoir, desirant aussi aduertir tout le monde, des sentimens que son fils auoit pour la Foy. Cet enfant ayant veu les preparatifs du festin, He quoy! ma mere, luy dit-il, voulez vous me faire pecher si proche de ma mort; ie renonce à toutes ces superstitions du païs; ie veux mourir en bon Chrestien. Cet enfant croyoit que cette coustume fust au nōbre des defenduës; & quoy que sa mere excellente Chrestienne, l'asseurast qu'il n'y auoit aucun mal en cela, iamais il ne la voulut croire, & ne put se refoudre à luy condescendre, que le Pere qui a soin de cette Mission, ne l'eust assure qu'en ce festin il n'y auoit aucun peché. Ce petit Ange nous fut apporté, & il mourut entre nos bras, priant iusqu'à la mort, & nous disant qu'il alloit droit au Ciel, qu'il prioit Dieu pour nous, & mesme il demanda à sa mere, pour qui de ses parens elle vouloit qu'il priaist dauantage, lors qu'il feroit auprès de Dieu, que sans doute il feroit exaucé. Il l'a esté, car

be very happy in Heaven.” After some prayers, his mother said to him, “ My son, I must carry thee to Sainte Marie, so that the French may restore thee thy health.” “ Alas! my mother,” said to her this little innocent, “ I have a fire burning in my head; could they indeed quench it? I no longer think of life,—have no desire of it for me; but I will warn you of my death, and, when it is near, I will pray you to carry me to Sainte Marie, for I wish to die there, and to be buried there with the excellent Christians.” In fact, some days later, this child warned his mother that his death was near, and that it was time to carry him to us. It is the custom in these countries, when any one is near death, to make a solemn feast to which are invited all the friends and the most considerable persons,—about a hundred. The mother would not [27] fail in this obligation,—desiring also to apprise all the people of the sentiments which her son had toward the Faith. This child, having seen the preparations for the feast, said to her: “ What! my mother, would you have me sin so nigh to my death? I renounce all these superstitions of the country; I wish to die a good Christian.” This child believed that that custom was among the number of those forbidden; and although his mother, an excellent Christian, assured him that there was no evil in that, he would never believe her, and could not resolve to comply with her wish, until the Father who has charge of that Mission had assured him that in that feast there was no sin. This little Angel was brought to us; and he died in our arms, praying even till death, and telling us that he was going straight to Heaven, and that he would pray to God for us; and he even asked his mother

peu de temps après sa mort, un sien oncle des plus rebelles à la Foy qui fust en ces païs, & une sienne tante, nous demanderent l'instruction, & se font faits Chrestiens.

[28] Vne petite fille de cinq ans de la Mission de saint Ignace, de parens Infideles, venoit tous les iours aux prieres matin & soir, & s'estoit maintenuë si constamment dans ce deuoir, mesme contre la volonté, & les defenes de ses parens, que nous ne pûmes luy refuser le Saint Baptesme; voyât que l'esprit de la Foy suppleoit abôdâment en elle, les années qui pouuoient luy manquer, pour disposer avec liberté de foy-mesme, en vne affaire où la grace a plus de droit que la nature. Quelque temps après, cet enfant tomba malade: les parens Infideles ayans recours aux superstitiôs du païs, enuoyerët querir le Magicien, ou à mieux dire un imposteur, qui faisoit profession de ce mestier d'enfer. Ce iongleur ne manque pas à son ordinaire, de dire qu'un certain Demon auoit reduit leur fille en cét état; & que pour le chasser, il falloit faire present à la malade de quelques parures & ornemens d'habits, dont les filles de cét âge font assez desireuses. La petite malade, quoy qu'elle fust bien basse, eut toutefois assez de force, & sa foy luy donna assez de courage pour démêtir cet imposteur: Je suis Chrestienne, dit-elle à ses parens, les Diables n'ont plus [29] aucun pouuoir sur moy; ie ne consens point au peché que vous venez de faire, ayant consulté les Demons; ie ne veux point de leurs remedes, Dieu seul me guerira; que ce Magicien se retire. Les pere & mere, & toute l'affistance furent bien estonnez de cette reprimende si innocente, mais toutefois si efficace,

for which of his relatives she wished him to pray chiefly, when he should be near God,—saying that no doubt he would be heard. He has been; for, shortly after his death, an uncle of his, one of those most rebellious against the Faith in these countries, and an aunt of his, asked us for instruction, and have become Christians.

[28] A little girl of five years, at the Mission of saint Ignace, of Infidel parents, came every day to prayers, morning and evening. She had so constantly adhered to this duty, even against the wishes and the prohibitions of her parents, that we could not refuse her Holy Baptism,—seeing that the spirit of the Faith was abundantly compensating in her for the years that she might lack in order freely to dispose of herself in a matter wherein grace has more right than nature. Some time after, this child fell sick; the Infidel parents, having recourse to the superstitions of the country, sent to fetch the Magician,—or, to speak more correctly, an impostor who made profession of that trade of hell. This juggler does not fail to say, as is his wont, that a certain Demon had reduced their daughter to that state; and that, in order to expel him, it was necessary to present the patient with some embellishments and ornaments of clothing, of which the girls of that age are sufficiently desirous. The little sick girl, although she was very low, nevertheless had strength enough, and her faith gave her courage enough, to belie this impostor. “I am a Christian,” she said to her parents; “the Devils have no longer [29] any power over me. I do not consent to the sin that you have just committed, in consulting the Demons; I do not wish their remedies. God alone will cure me; let

qu'on fit retirer ce iongleur, ne voulans pas attrister cette enfât malade: mais leur estonnemēt s'accrēt lors que le iour mesme cette enfant demanda d'estre portée à l'Eglise, asseurant qu'elle gueriroit, comme en effet il arriua. Ce coup a esté la conuersion du pere & de la mere, qui ont pris la foy de leur fille, & ont receu le Baptême après elle, beniffans Dieu de les y auoir appellez avec tant de douceur.

Vne ieune fille de quinze ans, des plus accōplies du païs, encore Catechumene, auoit esté prise captifue sur la fin de l'Hyuer de l'an passé: mais toutefois les ennemis luy auoient donné la vie, & elle demeroit avec eux dans sa captiuité. Elle estoit fille & sœur de deux excellentes Chrestiennes qui ne regrettoient rien dauantage dans la perte qu'ils auoient fait, sinon que cette pauvre captiue n'eût pas [30] encore esté baptizée. Elle aussi dans sa captiuité ne s'oubloit pas de sa foy, & fouuent s'écrioit à Dieu: Mon Dieu, & le Dieu de ma mere & de ma sœur qui vous connoissent mieux que moy, et qui vous seruent si fidelement, ayez pitié de moy: ie n'ay pas esté baptizée, faites moy cette grace auant que de mourir. Vn iour comme cette pauvre affligée estoit dans vn champ de bled d'Inde, qu'elle feroit pour ceux dont elle estoit esclau; elle entendit des voix du Ciel, qui chantoient vne musique rauissante dans l'air, du chant de nos Vespres, qu'elle auoit autrefois entenduës. Elle regarde autour de foy, croyant que quelques François l'abordassent: mais elle ne voit rien autre chose. Elle se met à genoux, elle prie Dieu de tout son cœur, & conçoit vne esperance de se voir deliurée de sa captiuité, sans en voir les moyens, ny aucune apparence. Quelques iours par après

this Magician go away." The father and mother, and all those present, were much astonished at this rebuke,—so innocent, but yet so efficacious that they made that juggler withdraw, not wishing to grieve this sick child. But their astonishment increased when, on that very day, this child asked to be carried to the Church, asserting that she would get well,—as, in fact, it happened. This event has been the means of converting the father and the mother, who have adopted their daughter's faith, and have received Baptism after her,—blessing God for having called them with so much gentleness.

A young girl of fifteen years, among the most accomplished in the country, still a Catechumen, had been taken captive toward the end of last year's Winter; the enemies, however, had spared her life, and she remained with them in her captivity. She was the daughter and sister of two excellent Christians, who had no greater regret in the loss which they had incurred, than that this poor captive had not [30] yet been baptized. She, too, in her captivity did not forget her faith, and often exclaimed to God: "My God,—and the God of my mother and my sister, who know you better than I, and who serve you so faithfully,—have pity on me! I have not been baptized; grant me this favor before I die." One day, when this poor afflicted one was in a field of Indian corn, which she was planting for those whose slave she was, she heard voices from Heaven which were singing a ravishing music in the air, from the chant of our Vespers, which she had formerly heard. She looks about her, supposing that some Frenchmen would accost her; but she sees nothing else. She kneels down, and prays to God

le meſme luy arriua; elle ſe iette encore à genoux avec les meſmes ſentimens. Enfin ayant pour la troiſième fois entendu ces meſmes voix du Ciel, & ſentant ſes conſiances redoublées, & ſon courage plus animé, elle prie Dieu, & ſe iette dans vn chemin qu'elle [31] ne connoiſſoit pas, pour reuenir en ces païs; ſans viures, ſans prouiſions, ſans eſcorte, mais non pas ſans la conduite de celui ſeuil qui l'auoit inſpirée, & qui luy donna aſſez de forces pour arriuer icy, ayant fait plus de quatre-vingts lieuës, ſans aucun mauuais rencontre.

Elle nous demanda le Baptême dès le iour de ſon arriuée, & voyant la main de Dieu ſur elle avec tant d'amour, nous ne pûmes la differer. Elle eſtoit venuë droit en cette maiſon de Sainte Marie, quoy que ſon chemin plus court l'eufſt porté au bourg d'où eſtoient ſes parens. Du depuis elle a touſiours augmenté en ferueur, & ne peut ſe laſſer de raconter à tout le monde les miſericordes de Dieu. Souuent dans ſa captiuité elle ſe veid ſollicitée à ce qu'elle ne pouuoit accorder ſans perdre l'innocence, & iamais on ne pût tirer de ſa bouche, meſme vn ſeuil mot d'agreement. Juſque-là meſme que la voyant de cette humeur, qui ne plaifoit pas à ces Barbares impudiques, d'aucuns auoient ſouent parlé de l'affommer; & elle attendoit cette mort avec patience, aimant mieux mourir que de commettre aucun peché.

Ce chapitre n'auroit point de fin, ſi ie [32] voulois raconter les effets de la grace ſur ces pauvres Sauvages, que nous admirons tous les iours, & dont nous benirons Dieu à tout iamais dans le Ciel, ſans laſſitude & ſans dégouſt. Je ne puis toutefois omettre vn ſentiment aſſez vniuerſel de quantité de bons Chre-

which we admire every day, and for which we will bless God forever in Heaven, without weariness and without distaste. I cannot, however, omit a sufficiently prevailing sentiment of many good Christians, who—having lost all their property, their children, and what they had most precious in this world, and being even upon the point of undergoing a voluntary exile from their country which they were forsaking in order to avoid the cruelty of the Iroquois, their enemies—thanked God for it, and said to him: “ My God, may you be blessed; I cannot regret these losses, since the Faith has taught me that the love which you have for the Christians is not in regard to the goods of this world, but for eternity. I bless you in my losses, with as good a heart as I have ever done; for you are my Father, and it is enough that I know that you love me, that I should be content with all the evils which can happen to me.”

But what most astonishes me in these encounters is, that these feelings do not come at a late hour, after nature and passion might have possessed the first [33] emotions of the heart; grace often anticipates them, and becomes mistress even of the first impulses, which incline toward Heaven more readily than to the things of earth. May God be forever blessed for this.

CHAPITRE III.

DE LA PRISE DES BOURGS DE LA MISSION DE S.
IGNACE, AU MOIS DE MARS DE
L'ANNÉE 1649.

LES progresz de la Foy alloient croissant de iour en iour, & les benedictions du Ciel découloient en abondance sur ces peuples, lors que Dieu a voulu en tirer sa gloire par des voyes adorables, & qui font du reffort de sa diuine prouidence, quoy qu'elles nous ayent esté bien rudes, & qu'elles ne fussent pas dans nos attentes.

Le 16. iour de Mars de la presente année 1649. a donné commencement à nos malheurs, si toutefois c'est vn malheur, ce qui sans doute a esté le salut de plusieurs des esleus de Dieu.

[34] Les Iroquois ennemis des Hurons, au nombre d'environ mille hommes, armez à l'auantage, & la plupart d'armes à feu, qu'ils ont des Hollandois leurs alliez, arriuerent de nuit à la frontiere de ce pays, sans qu'on eust eu aucune cognoissance de leurs approches; quoy qu'ils fussent partis de leur pays depuis l'Automne, chassans dans les forests tout le long de l'Hyuer, & ayans fait dessus les neges prés de deux cens lieuës d'un chemin tres-penible pour nous venir surprendre. Ils reconnurent de nuit l'estat de la premiere place sur laquelle ils auoient desseïn, qui estoit entourée d'une palissade de pins, de la hauteur de quinze à seize pieds, & d'un fossé

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CAPTURE OF THE VILLAGES OF THE MISSION OF
ST. IGNACE, IN THE MONTH OF MARCH
OF THE YEAR 1649.

THE progress of the Faith kept increasing from day to day, and the blessings of Heaven were flowing down in abundance upon these peoples, when God chose to derive from them his glory in ways which are adorable, and which belong to the jurisdiction of his divine providence,—although they have been very severe for us, and were not in our expectations.

The 16th day of March in the present year, 1649, marked the beginning of our misfortunes,—if, however, that be a misfortune which no doubt has been the salvation of many of God's elect.

[34] The Iroquois, enemies of the Hurons, to the number of about a thousand men, well furnished with weapons,—and mostly with firearms, which they obtain from the Dutch, their allies,—arrived by night at the frontier of this country, without our having had any knowledge of their approach; although they had started from their country in the Autumn, hunting in the forests throughout the Winter, and had made over the snow nearly two hundred leagues of a very difficult road, in order to come and surprise us. They reconnoitered by night the condition of the first place upon which they had designs,—which was surrounded with a stockade of pine-trees,

profond, dont la nature auoit puissamment fortifié ce lieu par trois costez, ne restant qu'un petit espace plus foible que les autres.

Ce fut par là que l'ennemy fit irruption à la pointe du iour, mais si secretement & promptement, qu'il estoit maistre de la place auant qu'on se mist en defense, le monde estant alors dans un profond sommeil, & n'ayant pas eu le loisir de se reconnoistre. Ainsi ce bourg fut pris quasi sans coup ferir, n'y ayant eu que dix Iroquois [35] de tuez, tous les Hurons, hommes, femmes & enfans ayant esté vne partie massacrez sur l'heure mesme, les autres faits captifs, & referuez à des cruautez plus terribles que la mort.

Trois hommes seulement s'eschaperent quasi nuds à trauers les neges; qui porterent l'allarme & l'espouuente à un autre bourg plus prochain, éloigné environ d'une lieuë. Ce premier bourg estoit celuy que nous nommions de Saint Ignace, lequel auoit esté abandonné de la pluspart de son monde dès le commencement de l'Hyuer; les plus craintifs & les plus clairvoyans s'en estant retirez dans l'apprehension du danger: ainsi la perte n'en fut pas si considerable, & ne monta qu'environ à quatre cens ames.

L'ennemy ne s'arreste pas là, il poursuit dedans sa victoire, & auant le Soleil leué il se presente en armes, pour attaquer le bourg de Saint Louys, fortifié d'une palissade assez bonne. Les femmes pour la pluspart, & les enfans n'en faisoient que sortir, au bruit de la nouvelle qui estoit arriüée des approches de l'Iroquois. Les gens de meilleur cœur environ quatre-vingts personnes, resolus de se [36] bien defendre, repoussent avec courage le premier & le second affaut, ayans tué à l'ennemy vne trêtaine de ses

from fifteen to sixteen feet in height, and with a deep ditch, wherewith nature had strongly fortified this place on three sides,—there remaining only a little space which was weaker than the others.

It was at that point that the enemy made a breach at daybreak, but so secretly and promptly that he was master of the place before people had put themselves on the defensive,—all being then in a deep sleep, and not having leisure to reconnoiter their situation. Thus this village was taken, almost without striking a blow, there having been only ten Iroquois [35] killed. Part of the Hurons—men, women, and children—were massacred then and there; the others were made captives, and reserved for cruelties more terrible than death.

Three men alone escaped, almost naked, across the snows; they bore the alarm and terror to another and neighboring village, about a league distant. This first village was the one which we called Saint Ignace, which had been abandoned by most of its people at the beginning of the Winter,—the most apprehensive and most clear-sighted having withdrawn from it, foreboding the danger; thus the loss of it was not so considerable, and amounted only to about four hundred souls.

The enemy does not stop there; he follows up his victory, and before Sunrise he appears in arms to attack the village of Saint Louys, which was fortified with a fairly good stockade. Most of the women, and the children, had just gone from it, upon hearing the news which had arrived regarding the approach of the Iroquois. The people of most courage, about eighty persons, being resolved to [36] defend themselves well, repulse with courage the

hommes les plus hazardeux, outre quantité de bleffez. Mais enfin le nombre l'emporte, les Iroquois ayans fappé à coups de haches la paliffade de pieux, & s'estans fait passage par des brèches assez raisonnables.

Sur les neuf heures du matin, nous apperceûmes de nostre maison de Sainte Marie, le feu qui confumoit les cabanes de ce bourg, où l'ennemy entré victorieux auoit tout mis dans la defolation, iettant au milieu des flammes les vieillards, les malades, les enfans qui n'auoient pas pû se fauer, & tous ceux qui estant trop bleffez, n'euffent pas pû les fuiure dans la captiuité. A la veuë de ces flâmes, & à la couleur de la fumée qui en fortoit, nous iugeafmes assez de ce qui en estoit, ce bourg de Saint Louys n'estant pas elloigné de nous plus d'une lieuë. Deux Chrestiens qui s'eschaperent de l'incendie, arriuerent quasi au mesme temps, & nous en donnerent afluence.

Dans ce bourg de Saint Louys estoient alors deux de nos Peres, le Pere Iean de Brebeuf, & le Pere Gabriel Lallement, [37] qui auoient soin de cinq bourgades assez voisines, lesquelles ne faisoient qu'une des onze Missions, dont nous auons parlé cy-dessus; nous la nommions la Mission de S. Ignace.

Quelques Chrestiens auoient prié les Peres de conferuer leur vie pour la gloire de Dieu, ce qui leur eût esté aussi facile, qu'à plus de 500. personnes qui fortirent à la premiere alarme, & eurent tout loisir d'arriuer en lieu de feureté, mais leur zele ne leur pût permettre, & le salut de leur troupeau leur fut plus cher que l'amour de leur vie. Ils employerent tous les momens de ce temps-là, comme les plus precieux

first and the second assault, having killed among the enemy some thirty of their most venturesome men, besides many wounded. But, finally, number has the advantage,—the Iroquois having undermined with blows of their hatchets the palisade of stakes, and having made a passage for themselves through considerable breaches.

Toward nine o'clock in the morning, we perceived from our house at Sainte Marie the fire which was consuming the cabins of that village, where the enemy, having entered victoriously, had reduced everything to desolation,—casting into the midst of the flames the old men, the sick, the children who had not been able to escape, and all those who, being too severely wounded, could not have followed them into captivity. At the sight of those flames, and by the color of the smoke which issued from them, we understood sufficiently what was happening,—this village of Saint Louys not being farther distant from us than one league. Two Christians, who escaped from the fire, arrived almost at the same time, and gave us assurance of it.

In this village of Saint Louys were at that time two of our Fathers,—Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Gabriel Lallement, [37] who had charge of five closely neighboring villages; these formed but one of the eleven Missions of which we have spoken above; we named it the Mission of St. Ignace.

Some Christians had begged the Fathers to preserve their lives for the glory of God,—which would have been as easy for them as for the more than 500 persons who went away at the first alarm, and had abundant leisure to reach a place of security; but their zeal could not permit them, and the salvation

qu'ils euffent iamais eu au monde; & pendant la chaleur du combat, leur cœur n'estoit que feu pour le falut des ames. L'un estoit à la brèche baptizant les Catechumenes, l'autre donnant l'abfolution aux Neophytes, tous deux animans les Chrestiens à mourir dans les sentimens de pieté, dont ils les confoloient dans leurs misereres. Aussi iamais leur foy ne fut plus vifue, ny l'amour qu'ils eurent pour leurs bons Peres & leurs Pasteurs.

Vn Infidele voyant les affaires dans le defefpoir, parla de prendre la fuite: vn [38] Chrestien nommé Estienne Annaotaha, le plus considerable du pays pour son courage, & ses exploits sur l'ennemy, ne voulut iamais le permettre. He quoy, dit-il, pourrions nous bien abandonner ces deux bons Peres, qui pour nous ont exposé leur vie? L'amour qu'ils ont eu de nostre falut, fera la cause de leur mort: il n'est plus temps pour eux de fuir à trauers les neges? mourons donc avec eux, & nous irons de compagnie au Ciel.

Cet homme s'estoit confessé generalement fort peu de iours auparauant, ayant eu vn presentiment du danger où il se veid enueloppé; & difant qu'il vouloit que la mort le trouuast disposé pour le Ciel. Et en effet, il s'estoit mis dans la ferueur d'une façon si extraordinaire, aussi bien que quantité d'autres Chrestiens, que iamais nous ne pourrons assez en benir les conduites de Dieu sur tant d'ames predestinées, dont sa diuine Prouidence va conduifant avec amour tous les momens, & de la vie & de la mort.

Toute cette troupe de Chrestiens tomberent pour la pluspart en vie, entre les mains de l'ennemy, & avec eux nos deux Peres Pasteurs de cette Eglise. Ils ne furent [39] pas tuez sur le lieu, Dieu les

of their flock was dearer to them than love for their own lives. They employed all the moments of that time, as the most precious which they had ever had in the world; and, during the heat of the combat, their hearts were only fire for the salvation of souls. One was at the breach, baptizing the Catechumens; the other, giving absolution to the Neophytes,—both animating the Christians to die in the sentiments of piety, with which they consoled them in their miseries. Accordingly, never was their faith, or the love which they had for their good Fathers and Pastors, more lively.

An Infidel, seeing affairs in a desperate condition, spoke of taking to flight; a [38] Christian, named Estienne Annaotaha, the most esteemed in the country for his courage and his exploits over the enemy, would never allow it. “What!” he said, “could we ever abandon these two good Fathers, who for us have exposed their lives? The love which they have had for our salvation will be the cause of their death; there is no longer time for them to flee across the snows. Let us then die with them, and we shall go in company to Heaven.”

This man had made a general confession a very few days previously,—having had a presentiment of the danger wherein he saw himself involved, and saying that he wished that death should find him disposed for Heaven. And indeed he, as well as many other Christians, had abandoned himself to fervor in a manner so extraordinary, that we shall never be sufficiently able to bless the guidance of God over so many predestinated souls, for whom his divine Providence continues directing with love all the moments, both of life and of death.

referuoit à des couronnes bien plus grandes, dont nous parlerons cy-aprés.

L'Iroquois ayant fait son coup, & tout reduit en feu le bourg de Saint Louys; retourna sur ses pas dans le bourg de Saint Ignace, où ils auoient laissé vne bonne garnison, afin que ce leur fust vne retraite affeurée en cas de malheur; & que les viures qu'ils y auoient trouuez, leur seruissent de rafraischifsemens, & de provisions pour leur retour.

Le soir du mesme iour ils enuoyerent des decouureurs pour reconnoistre l'estat de nostre maison de Sainte Marie; lesquels ayans fait leur rapport dans le Conseil de guerre, la conclusion fut prise de venir nous attaquer le lendemain matin, se promettans vne victoire, qui leur feroit plus glorieuse, que tous les succez de leurs armes par le passé. Nous estions en estat de bonne defense, & ne voyons aucun de nos François, qui ne fust resolu de vendre bien cher sa vie, & de mourir en vne cause, qui estant pour les interets de la Foy, & la maintien du Christianisme en ces pays, estoit plus la cause de Dieu que la nostre: aussi nostre plus grande confiance estoit en luy.

[40] Cependant vne partie des Hurons qui s'appellent Atinniaonten (c'est à dire la nation de ceux qui portent vn Ours en leurs armoiries) ayans armé en haste, se trouuerent le lendemain matin dixseptième de Mars, enuiron trois cens guerriers qui attendans vn plus puissant secours, se tenoient secretement aux auenuës, à dessein de surprétre quelque part l'ennemy.

Enuiron deux cens Iroquois s'estans détachés de leur gros pour prendre le deuant, & venir commencer l'attaque de nostre maison, eurent au rencontre quelques auant-coueurs de cette troupe Huronne, qui

All this band of Christians fell, mostly alive, into the hands of the enemy; and with them, our two Fathers, the Pastors of that Church. They were [39] not killed on the spot; God was reserving them for much nobler crowns, of which we will speak hereafter.

The Iroquois having dealt their blow, and wholly reduced to fire the village of Saint Louys, retraced their steps into that of Saint Ignace, where they had left a good garrison, that it might be for them a sure retreat in case of misfortune, and that the victuals which they had found there might serve them as refreshments and provisions for their return.

On the evening of the same day, they sent scouts to reconnoiter the condition of our house at Sainte Marie; their report having been made in the Council of war, the decision was adopted to come and attack us the next morning,—promising themselves a victory which would be more glorious to them than all the successes of their arms in the past. We were in a good state of defense, and saw not one of our Frenchmen who was not resolved to sell his life very dear, and to die in a cause which—being for the interests of the Faith, and the maintenance of Christianity in these countries—was more the cause of God than ours; moreover, our greatest confidence was in him.

[40] Meanwhile, a part of the Hurons, who are called Atinniaonten (that is to say, the nation of those who wear a Bear on their coat of arms), having armed in haste, were at hand the next morning, the seventeenth of March, about three hundred warriors,—who, while awaiting a more powerful help,

prireut assez tost la fuite, après quelque escarmouche, & furent pourfuiuis vifurement iufqu'à la veuë de nostre fort; quantité ayant esté tuez dans le defordre au milieu des neges. Mais les plus courageux des Hurons, ayans tenu pied ferme contre ceux qui s'attachèrent au combat avec eux, eurent du bon de leur costé, & contraignirent l'Iroquois de se refugier dans la paliffade du bourg de Sainct Louys, laquelle n'auoit point esté brulée, mais feulement les cabanes. On força ces Iroquois dans cette paliffade, & on en prit enuiron trente de captifs.

[41] Le gros des ennemis ayant entendu la défaite des siens, vint fondre sur nos gens tout au milieu de leur victoire. C'estoit l'élite des Chrestiens du bourg de la Conception, & quelques autres du bourg de la Magdelaine. Leur courage ne s'abbatit pas, quoy qu'ils ne fussent qu'enuiron cent cinquante. Ils se mettent en prieres, & soustiennent l'assaut d'une place, qui ayant esté si fraichement prise & reprise, n'estoit plus d'une defenfe raisonnable. Le choc fut furieux de part & d'autre, nos gens ayans fait quantité de forties, nonobstant leur petit nombre, & ayans contraint l'ennemy souuent de lascher pied. Mais le combat ayant continué assez auant dans la nuit, ne restant plus qu'une vingtaine de Chrestiens bleffez pour la plupart, la victoire demeura entiere entre les mains des Infideles, quoy qu'elle leur eut cousté bien cher; leur Chef ayant esté griefuement bleffé, & y ayans perdu prés de cent hommes sur la place, de leurs meilleurs courages.

Toute la nuit nos François font en armes, attendans de voir à nos portes cet ennemy victorieux. Nous redoublons nos deuotions, qui estoient le plus

secreted themselves in the ways of approach, intending to surprise some portion of the enemy.

About two hundred Iroquois having detached themselves from their main body, in order to get the start and proceed to the attack of our house, encountered some advance-guards of that Huron troop. The latter straightway took flight after some skirmishing, and were eagerly pursued until within sight of our fort,—many having been killed while they were in disorder in the midst of the snows. But the more courageous of the Hurons, having stood firm against those who joined combat with them, had some advantage on their side, and constrained the Iroquois to take refuge within the palisades of the village of Saint Louys,—which had not been burned, but only the cabins. These Iroquois were forced into that palisade, and about thirty of them were taken captives.

[41] The main body of the enemy, having heard of the defeat of their men, came to attack our people in the very midst of their victory. Our men were the choicest Christians of the village of la Conception, and some others of the village of la Magdelaine. Their courage was not depressed, although they were only about one hundred and fifty. They proceed to prayers, and sustain the assault of a place which, having been so recently captured and recaptured, was no longer adequate for defense. The shock was furious on both sides,—our people having made many sallies, notwithstanding their small number, and having often constrained the enemy to give way. But,—the combat having continued quite far into the night,—as not more than a score of Christians, mostly wounded, were left, the victory remained wholly in the hands of the Infidels. It had, however,

fort de nos [42] esperances, nostre secours ne pouuant venir que du Ciel. Nous voyans à la veille de la feste du glorieux Sainct Ioseph, Patron de ce pays, nous nous sentismes obligez d'auoir recours à vn Protecteur si puissant. Nous fismes vœu de dire tous les mois chacun vne Messe en son honneur, l'espace d'vn an entier, pour ceux qui feroient Prestres: Et tous tant qu'il y auoit de monde icy, y ioignirent par vœu diuerfes Penitences, afin de nous disposer plus sainctement à l'accomplissement des volonte de Dieu sur nous, soit pour la vie, soit pour la mort: nous considerans tous comme autant de victimes consacrées à Nostre Seigneur, qui doiuent attendre de sa main l'heure qu'elles feront immolées pour sa gloire, sans entreprendre d'en retarder, ou de vouloir en hasten les momens.

Tout le iour se passa dans vn profond silence de part & d'autre; le pays estant dans l'effroy, & dans l'attente de quelque nouveau malheur.

Le dixneuuesme, iour du grand Sainct Ioseph, vne espouuente subite se ietta dans le camp ennemy, les vns se retirans avec desordre, les autres ne songeans qu'à [43] la fuite. Leurs Capitaines furent contraincts d'obeyr à la terreur qui les auoit faisis. Ils precipitent leur retraite, faisant sortir en haste vne partie de leurs captifs, chargez au dessus de leurs forces, comme des cheuaux de voiture, des dépoüilles qu'emportoient les victorieux, qui referuoient à quelque autre occasion de les faire mourir.

Pour les autres captifs qui leur restoient destinez à mourir sur le lieu, ils les attacherent à des pieux fichez en terre, qu'ils auoient disposez en diuerfes cabanes, où en fortant du bourg, ils mirent le feu de

cost them very dear, as their Chief had been seriously wounded, and they had lost nearly a hundred men on the spot, of their best and most courageous.

All night our French were in arms, waiting to see at our gates this victorious enemy. We redoubled our devotions, in which were our strongest [42] hopes, since our help could only come from Heaven. Seeing ourselves on the eve of the feast of the glorious Saint Joseph, the Patron of this country, we felt ourselves constrained to have recourse to a Protector so powerful. We made a vow to say, every month, each a Mass in his honor, during the space of a whole year, for those who should be Priests. And all, as many as there were people here, joined to this, by vow, sundry Penances, to the end of preparing us more holily for the accomplishment of the will of God concerning us, whether for life or for death; for we all regarded ourselves as so many victims consecrated to Our Lord, who must await from his hand the hour when they should be sacrificed for his glory, without undertaking to delay or to wish to hasten the moments thereof.

The whole day passed in a profound silence on both sides,—the country being in terror and in the expectation of some new misfortune.

On the nineteenth, the day of the great Saint Joseph, a sudden panic fell upon the hostile camp,—some withdrawing in disorder, and others thinking only of [43] flight. Their Captains were constrained to yield to the terror which had seized them; they precipitated their retreat, driving forth in haste a part of their captives, who were burdened above their strength, like packhorses, with the spoils which the victorious were carrying off,—their captors

tous costez; prenans plaisir à leur depart, de se repaistre des cris espouventables que pouffoient ces pauvres victimes au milieu de ces flammes, où des enfans grilloient à costé de leurs meres; où vn mary voyoit sa femme rostir auprès de foy, où la cruauté mesme eust eu de la compassion, dans vn spectacle qui n'auoit rien d'humain, sinon l'innocence de ceux qui estoient au suplice, dont la plupart estoient Chrestiens.

Vne vieille femme eschapée du milieu de cet incendie, en porta les nouvelles au bourg de Saint Michel, où il y auoit enuiron [44] sept cens hommes en armes, qui courent fus à l'ennemy: mais n'ayans pû l'atteindre après deux iournées de chemin; partie le manquement de viures, partie la crainte de combattre sans auantage vn ennemy encouragé de ses victoires, & qui auoient pour la plupart des armes à feu, nos Hurons en ayans fort peu; toutes ces choses les obligerent de retourner sur leurs pas, sans auoir rien fait. Ils trouuerent sur les chemins de temps en temps diuers captifs, qui n'ayās pas assez de force pour fuiure le vainqueur, qui precipitoit sa retraite, auoient eu la teste fenduë d'vn coup de hache, les autres restoient demy bruslez à vn poteau.

reserving for some other occasion the matter of their death.

As for the other captives who were left to them, destined to die on the spot, they attached them to stakes fastened in the earth, which they had arranged in various cabins. To these, on leaving the village, they set fire on all sides,—taking pleasure, at their departure, in feasting upon the frightful cries which these poor victims uttered in the midst of those flames, where children were broiling beside their mothers; where a husband saw his wife roasting near him; where cruelty itself would have had compassion at a spectacle which had nothing human about it, except the innocence of those who were in torture, most of whom were Christians.

An old woman, escaped from the midst of that fire, bore the news of it to the village of Saint Michel, where there were about [44] seven hundred men in arms, who charged upon the enemy; but, not having been able to overtake him after two days' march, partly the want of provisions, partly the dread of combatting without advantage an enemy encouraged by his victories, and one who had mostly firearms, of which our Hurons have very few,—all these things obliged them to retrace their steps, without having done aught. They found upon the roads, from time to time, various captives, who—not having strength enough to follow the conqueror, who was precipitating his retreat—had had their heads split by a blow of the hatchet; others remained, half burned, at a post.

CHAPITRE IV.

DE L'HEUREUSE MORT DU P. IEAN DE BREBEUF, &
DU PERE GABRIEL LALLEMENT.

DEZ le lendemain matin que nous eûmes affeurance du depart de l'ennemy, ayant eu auant cela des nouvelles certaines, par quelques captifs eschapez, de la mort du Pere Iean de Brebeuf, & du Pere Gabriel Lallement, nous enuoyafmes [45] vn de nos Peres, & sept autres François, chercher leurs corps au lieu de leur supplice. Ils y trouuerent vn spectacle d'horreur, les restes de la cruauté mesme: ou plustost les restes de l'amour de Dieu, qui feul triôphe dans la mort des Martyrs.

Je les appellerois volontiers, s'il m'estoit permis, de ce nom glorieux, non pas seulement à cause que volontairement, pour l'amour de Dieu, & pour le salut de leur prochain, ils se sôt exposez à la mort, & à vne mort cruelle si iamais il y en eût au monde; ayans pû facilement & fans peché, mettre leur vie en affeurance, s'ils n'euffent esté plus remplis de l'amour de Dieu, que d'eux-mesmes. Mais bien plûstost à cause qu'outre les dispositions de charité qu'ils y ont apporté de leur part, la haine de la Foy, & le mespris du nom de Dieu, ont esté vn des motifs des plus puiffans, qui ait agi dans l'esprit des Barbares, pour exercer sur eux autant de cruantez que iamais la rage des tyrans en ait fait endurer aux

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE BLESSED DEATHS OF FATHER JEAN DE BREBEUF, AND FATHER GABRIEL LALLEMENT.

AS early as the next morning, when we had assurance of the departure of the enemy,—having had, before that, certain news, through some escaped captives, of the deaths of Father Jean de Brebeuf and of Father Gabriel Lallement,—we sent [45] one of our Fathers and seven other Frenchmen to seek their bodies at the place of their torture. They found there a spectacle of horror,—the remains of cruelty itself: or rather the relics of the love of God, which alone triumphs in the death of Martyrs.

I would gladly call them, if I were allowed, by that glorious name, not only because voluntarily, for the love of God and for the salvation of their neighbor, they exposed themselves to death, and to a cruel death, if ever there was one in the world,—for they could easily and without sin have put their lives in safety, if they had not been filled with love for God rather than for themselves. But much rather would I thus call them, because, in addition to the charitable dispositions which they have manifested on their side, hatred for the Faith and contempt for the name of God have been among the most powerful incentives which have influenced the mind of the Barbarians to practice upon them as many cruelties as ever the rage of tyrants obliged the Martyrs to

Martyrs, qui ont triomphé & de la vie & de la mort, dans le plus fort de leurs supplices.

Dés le moment qu'ils furent pris captifs, on les dépoüilla nuds, on leur arracha [46] quelques ongles, & l'accueil dont on les receut entrant dans le bourg S. Ignace, fut d'une gresle de coups de bastons sur leurs espaules, sur les reins, sur les iambes, sur l'estomac, sur le ventre, & sur le visage, n'y ayant partie de leur corps qui n'eût deslors enduré chacune sō tourmēt.

Le Pere Iean de Brebeuf accablé sous la pesanteur de ces coups, ne perdit pas pour tout cela le foin de son troupeau; se voyant entouré de Chrestiens qu'il auoit instruits, & qui estoient dans la captiuité avec luy. Mes enfans, leur dit-il, leuons les yeux au Ciel dans le plus fort de nos douleurs, souuenons nous que Dieu est le tesmoin de nos souffrances, & en fera bien-tost nostre trop grande recompense. Mourons dans cette foy, & esperons de sa bonté l'accomplissement de ses promesses. I'ay pitié plus de vous que de moy; mais soustenez avec courage le peu qui reste de tourmens; ils finiront avec nos vies; la gloire qui les fuit n'aura iamais de fin. Echon, luy dirent-ils, (c'est le nom que les Hurons donnoient au Pere) nostre esprit fera dans le Ciel, lors que nos corps souffriront en terre. Prie Dieu pour nous qu'il nous fasse misericorde, nous l'inuoquerons [47] iusqu'à la mort.

Quelques Infideles Hurons, anciens captifs des Iroquois, naturalisez avec eux, & anciens ennemis de la Foy, furent irritez de ces paroles, & de ce que nos Peres dans leur captiuité n'auoient pas la langue captiue. Ils coupent à l'un les mains, ils percent l'autre

endure, who, at the climax of their tortures, have triumphed over both life and death.

As soon as they were taken captive, they were stripped naked, and [46] some of their nails were torn out; and the welcome which they received upon entering the village of St. Ignace was a hailstorm of blows with sticks upon their shoulders, their loins, their legs, their breasts, their bellies, and their faces,—there being no part of their bodies which did not then endure its torment.

Father Jean de Brebeuf, overwhelmed under the burden of these blows, did not on that account lose care for his flock; seeing himself surrounded with Christians whom he had instructed, and who were in captivity with him, he said to them: “ My children, let us lift our eyes to Heaven at the height of our afflictions; let us remember that God is the witness of our sufferings, and will soon be our exceeding great reward. Let us die in this faith; and let us hope from his goodness the fulfillment of his promises. I have more pity for you than for myself; but sustain with courage the few remaining torments. They will end with our lives; the glory which follows them will never have an end.” “ Echon,” they said to him (this is the name which the Hurons gave the Father), “ our spirits will be in Heaven when our bodies shall be suffering on earth. Pray to God for us, that he may show us mercy; we will invoke him [47] even until death.”

Some Huron Infidels—former captives of the Iroquois, naturalized among them, and former enemies of the Faith—were irritated by these words, and because our Fathers in their captivity had not their tongues captive. They cut off the hands of one, and

d'alaines aiguës, & de pointes de fer, ils leur appliquent sous les aixelles & sur les reins, des haches toutes rouges de feu, & leur en mettent vn collier à l'entour du col, en sorte que tous les mouuemens de leurs corps leur donnoient vn nouveau supplice: car voulans se pancher en deuant, les haches toutes en feu qui pendoient par derriere, leur brusloient toutes les espaulles; & s'ils pensoient à éviter cette douleur, se plians vn peu en arriere, leur estomac, & leur poitrine trouuoient vn semblable tourment; de demeurer tous droits sans pancher de costé ny d'autre, ces haches ardentes appliquées également de tous costez leur estoient vn double supplice. Ils leur mirent des ceintures d'efcorce toute pleine de poix & de rafine, où ils mirent le feu qui grilla tout leurs corps.

Dans le plus fort de ces tourmens, le [48] Pere Gabriel Lallement leuoit les yeux au Ciel, ioignant les mains de fois à autres, & iettant des soupirs à Dieu qu'il inuquoit à son secours. Le Pere Iean de Brebeuf souffroit comme vn rocher, insensible aux feux & aux flammes, sans pouffer aucun cry, & demeurant dans vn profond silence, qui estonnoit ses bourreaux mesmes; sans doute que son cœur repositoit alors en son Dieu. Puis reuenant à foy, il preschoit à ces Infideles, & plus encore à quantité de bons Chrestiens captifs, qui auoient compassion de luy.

Ces bourreaux indignez de son zele, pour l'empescher de plus parler de Dieu, luy cernerent la bouche, luy couperent le nez, & luy arracherent les léures: mais son sang parloit bien plus haut que n'auoient fait ses léures, & son cœur n'estant pas encore arraché, sa langue ne laissa pas de luy rendre seruice

pierce the other with sharp awls and iron points; they apply under their armpits and upon their loins hatchets heated red in the fire, and put a necklace of these about their necks in such a way that all the motions of their bodies gave them a new torture. For, if they attempted to lean forward, the red-hot hatchets which hung behind them burned the shoulders everywhere; and if they thought to avoid that pain, bending back a little, their stomachs and breasts experienced a similar torment; if they stood upright, without leaning to one side or the other, these glowing hatchets, touching them alike on all sides, were a double torture to them. They put about them belts of bark, filled with pitch and resin, to which they set fire, which scorched the whole of their bodies.

At the height of these torments, [48] Father Gabriel Lallement lifted his eyes to Heaven, clasping his hands from time to time, and uttering sighs to God, whom he invoked to his aid. Father Jean de Brebeuf suffered like a rock, insensible to the fires and the flames, without uttering any cry, and keeping a profound silence, which astonished his executioners themselves: no doubt, his heart was then reposing in his God. Then, returning to himself, he preached to those Infidels, and still more to many good Christian captives, who had compassion on him.

Those butchers, indignant at his zeal, in order to hinder him from further speaking of God, girdled his mouth, cut off his nose, and tore off his lips; but his blood spoke much more loudly than his lips had done; and, his heart not being yet torn out, his tongue did not fail to render him service until the last sigh, for blessing God for these torments, and

iufqu'au dernier fofpir, pour benir Dieu de ces tourmens, & pour animer les Chreftiens plus puiffamment qu'il n'auoit iamais fait.

En derifion du fainct Baptesme, que ces bons Peres auoient adminiftré fi charitablement mefme à la brefche, & au plus chaud de la meflée; ces malheureux, ennemis [49] de la Foy, s'aduiferent de les baptizer d'eau botillante. Tout leur corps en fut ondoyé plus de deux & trois fois, avec des railleries piquantes qui accompagnoient ces tourmens. Nous te baptizons, difoient ces miferables, afin que tu fois bienheureux dans le Ciel; car fans vn bon Baptesme on ne peut pas eftre fauüé. D'autres adiouftoient en fe moquant, Nous te traitons d'amy, puisque nous ferons caufe de ton plus grand bonheur là haut au Ciel: remercie nous de tant de bons offices, car plus tu fouffriras, plus ton Dieu t'en recompenfera.

C'eftoient des Hurons Infideles, anciens captifs des Iroquois, anciens ennemis de la Foy, qui autrefois ayans eu affez d'instruction pour leur falut, en mefvoient avec impieté, en effet pour la gloire des Peres; mais il eft bien à craindre que ce ne fust auffi pour leur propre malheur.

Plus on redoubloit ces tourmens, les Peres prioient Dieu que leurs pechez ne fuffent pas la caufe de la reprobation de ces pauvres aueugles, aufquels ils pardonnoient de tout leur cœur. C'eft bien maintenant qu'ils difent en repos, *Tranfuimus* [50] *per ignem, & aquam, & eduxisti nos in refrigerium.*

Lors qu'on les attacha au poteau, où ils fouffrirët ces tourmens, & où ils deuoient mourir, ils fe mirent à genoux, ils l'embrafferent avec ioye, & le baiferent fainctement comme l'obiet de leurs defirs, de leurs

for animating the Christians more vigorously than he had ever done.

In derision of holy Baptism,—which these good Fathers had so charitably administered even at the breach, and in the hottest of the fight,—those wretches, enemies [49] of the Faith, bethought themselves to baptize them with boiling water. Their bodies were entirely bathed with it, two or three times, and more, with biting gibes, which accompanied these torments. “We baptize thee,” said these wretches, “to the end that thou mayst be blessed in Heaven; for without proper Baptism one cannot be saved.” Others added, mocking, “We treat thee as a friend, since we shall be the cause of thy greatest happiness up in Heaven; thank us for so many good offices,—for, the more thou sufferest, the more thy God will reward thee.”

These were Infidel Hurons, former captives of the Iroquois, and, of old, enemies of the Faith,—who, having previously had sufficient instruction for their salvation, impiously abused it,—in reality, for the glory of the Fathers; but it is much to be feared that it was also for their own misfortune.

The more these torments were augmented, the more the Fathers entreated God that their sins should not be the cause of the reprobation of these poor blind ones, whom they pardoned with all their heart. It is surely now that they say in repose, *Transivimus* [50] *per ignem et aquam; et eduxisti nos in refrigerium.*

When they were fastened to the post where they suffered these torments, and where they were to die, they knelt down, they embraced it with joy, and kissed it piously as the object of their desires and their love, and as a sure and final pledge of their

amours, & vn gage affeuré, & le dernier de leur salut. Ils y furent quelque temps en prieres, & plus longtemps que ces bourreaux ne voulurent leur en permettre. Ils creuerent les yeux au Pere Gabriel Lallement, & appliquerent des charbons ardens dans le creux d'iceux.

Leurs supplices ne furent pas en mesme temps. Le Pere Iean de Brebeuf fut dans le fort de ses tourmens enuiron trois heures, le mesme iour de sa prife le 16. iour de Mars, & rendit l'ame sur les quatre heures du soir. Le Pere Gabriel Lallement endura plus longtemps, depuis les six heures du soir, iufqu'enuiron neuf heures du lendemain matin dix-septiesme de Mars.

Auant leur mort, on leur arracha le cœur à tous deux, leur ayant fait vne ouuerture au dessus de la poitrine; & ces Barbares s'en repeurent inhumainement, beuant leur sang tout chaud, qu'ils puifoient en [51] sa source d'une main sacrilege. Estans encore tout pleins de vie, on enleuoit des morceaux de chair de leurs cuiffes, du gras des iambes & de leurs bras, que ces bourreaux faisoient rostir sur des charbons, & les mangeoient à leur veüe.

Ils auoient tailladé leurs corps en diuerfes parties, & pour accroistre le sentiment de la douleur, ils auoient fourré dans ces playes des haches toutes en feu.

Le Pere Iean de Brebeuf auoit eu la peau arrachée qui couure le crane de la teste: ils luy auoient coupé les pieds, & décharné les cuiffes iufqu'aux os, & luy auoient fendu d'un coup de hache, vne machoire en deux.

Le Pere Gabriel Lallement auoit receu vn coup de

salvation. They were there some time in prayers, and longer than those butchers were willing to permit them. They put out Father Gabriel Lallement's eyes and applied burning coals in the hollows of the same.

Their tortures were not of the same duration. Father Jean de Brebeuf was at the height of his torments at about three o'clock on the same day of the capture, the 16th day of March, and rendered up his soul about four o'clock in the evening. Father Gabriel Lallement endured longer, from six o'clock in the evening until about nine o'clock the next morning, the seventeenth of March.

Before their death, both their hearts were torn out, by means of an opening above the breast; and those Barbarians inhumanly feasted thereon, drinking their blood quite warm, which they drew from [51] its source with sacrilegious hands. While still quite full of life, pieces of flesh were removed from their thighs, from the calves of the legs, and from their arms,—which those executioners placed on coals to roast, and ate in their sight.

They had slashed their bodies in various parts; and, in order to increase the feeling of pain, they had thrust into these wounds red-hot hatchets.

Father Jean de Brebeuf had had the skin which covered his skull torn away; they had cut off his feet and torn the flesh from his thighs, even to the bone, and had split, with the blow of a hatchet, one of his jaws in two.

Father Gabriel Lallement had received a hatchet-blow on the left ear, which they had driven into his brain, which appeared exposed; we saw no part of his body, from the feet even to the head, which had

hache sur l'oreille gauche, qu'ils luy auoiēt enfoncé iufque dans la ceruelle qui paroiffoit à découuert; nous ne vifmes aucune partie de fon corps, depuis les pieds iufqu'à la teſte qui n'eut eſté grillée, & dans laquelle il n'eut eſté brûlé tout vif; meſme les yeux où ces impies auoient fourré des charbons ardens.

Ils leur auoient grillé la langue, leur mettant à diuerſes fois dans la bouche, des tifons enflammez, & des flambeaux d'écorce: [52] ne voulans pas qu'ils inuouaſſent en mourant, celui pour lequel ils ſouffroient, & qui iamais ne pouuoit mourir en leur cœur. I'ay ſceu tout cecy de perſonnes dignes de foy, qui l'ont veu, & me l'ont rapporté à moy-meſme, & qui alors eſtoient captifs avec eux, mais qui ayant eſté referuez pour eſtre mis à mort en vn autre temps, ont trouué les moyens de ſe ſauuer.

Mais laifſons ces obiets d'horreur, & ces monſtres de cruauté; puis qu'un iour toutes ces parties feront dotiées d'une gloire immortelle, que la grandeur de leurs tourmens fera la meſure de leur bonheur, & que dès maintenant ils viuent dans le repos des Saints, & y feront pour un iamais.

Nous enſeueliſmes ces pretieufes reliques, le Dimanche 21. iour de Mars, avec tant de conſolation, & des ſentimēs de deuotion ſi tendres, en tous ceux qui aſſiſterent à leurs obſèques, que ie n'en ſçache aucun qui ne ſouhaittaſt une mort ſemblable, pluſtoſt que de la craindre; & qui ne ſe creuſt tres-heureux de ſe voir en un lieu, où peut-eſtre à deux iours de là, Dieu luy feroit la grace de répandre & fon ſang, [53] & ſa vie en une pareille occaſion. Pas un de nous ne pût iamais gagner ſur foy, de prier Dieu pour eux, cōme s'ils en euſſent eu quelque beſoin: mais

not been broiled, and in which he had not been burned alive,—even the eyes, into which those impious ones had thrust burning coals.

They had broiled their tongues, repeatedly putting into their mouths flaming brands, and burning pieces of bark,—[52] not willing that they should invoke, in dying, him for whom they were suffering, and who could never die in their hearts. I have learned all this from persons worthy of credence, who have seen it, and reported it to me personally, and who were then captives with them,—but who, having been reserved to be put to death at another time, found means to escape.

But let us leave these objects of horror, and these monsters of cruelty; since one day all those parts will be endowed with an immortal glory, the greatness of their torments will be the measure of their happiness, and, from now on, they live in the repose of the Saints, and will dwell in it forever.

We buried these precious relics on Sunday, the 21st day of March, with so much consolation and such tender feelings of devotion in all those who were present at their obsequies, that I know none who did not desire a similar death, rather than fear it; and who did not regard himself as blest to stand in a place where, it might be, two days thence, God would accord him the grace of shedding both his blood [53] and his life on a like occasion. Not one of us could ever prevail upon himself to pray to God for them, as if they had had any need of it; but our spirits were at once directed toward Heaven, where we doubted not that their souls were. Be this as it may, I entreat God that he fulfill upon

notre esprit se portoit incontinent au Ciel, où il ne doutoit point que ne fussent leurs ames. Quoy qu'il en foit, ie prie Dieu qu'il accomplisse deffus nous ses volonteZ iufqu'à la mort, comme il a fait en leurs perfonnes.

Le Pere Gabriel Lallement estoit venu le dernier au combat, & toutefois a rauy heureusement vne des premieres couronnes. Je veux dire, que n'y ayant que six mois qu'il estoit arriué en cette Miffion des Hurons, & le dernier de tous; il a esté choifi de Dieu pour estre vne des premieres victimes immolées à la haine du nom Chrestien, & de la Foy.

Il y auoit plusieurs années qu'il demandoit à Dieu avec des larmes & des fofpirs, d'estre enuoyé en cette Miffion du bout du monde, nonobftant fa complexion tres-delicate, & que fon corps n'eût point de forces, finon ce que l'efprit de Dieu, & le defir de fouffrir pour fon nom pouuoient luy en donner. Je ne puis enuier au public vn écrit feeret de fa main, que i'ay trouué après fa mort, des motifs qu'il [54] auoit eus de fouhaitter fi ardemment l'employ de ces Miffions. Voicy ses propres termes.

C'est mon Dieu mon Sauueur, 1. pour me reuancher des obligations que ie vous ay: car si vous auez abandonné vos contentemens, vos honneurs, vostre fanté, vos ioyes & vostre vie, pour me faouer moy miserable; n'est-il pas plus que raisonnable que i'abandonne à vostre exemple toutes ces choses, pour le falut des ames que vous estimez vostres, qui vous ont cousté vostre sang, que vous auez aymées iufqu'à la mort, & defquelles vous auez dit, *Quod vni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis.*

2. Quand bien mefme ie ne ferois point émeu par

us his will, even to death, as he has done in their persons.

Father Gabriel Lallement was the last to come to the combat, and yet has fortunately borne away one of the first crowns. I mean to say that, although it is but six months since he arrived in this Mission of the Hurons,—and that, last of all,—he has been chosen by God as one of the first victims sacrificed to the hatred for the Christian name and Faith.

For several years, he had been asking God, with tears and sighs, to be sent to this Mission in the end of the world, notwithstanding his very delicate constitution, and the fact that his body had no strength except what the spirit of God, and the desire of suffering for his name, could give him. I cannot grudge to the public a private writing from his hand, which I found after his death, concerning the motives which he [54] had had, for so ardently desiring occupation in these Missions. Here are his own words:

“ It is, my God, my Savior, 1st, to make good the obligations which I feel toward you: for if you abandoned your contentments, your honors, your comfort, your joys, and your life, in order to save me, wretched one,—is it more than reasonable that I abandon, after your example, all these things for the salvation of souls,—which you esteem yours, which have cost you your blood; which you have loved even until death, and of which you have said, *Quod uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis?*

“ 2. Even though, indeed, I were not moved by a spirit of gratitude, in making you these burnt-offerings of myself, I would do so with all my heart in consideration of the grandeurs of your adorable Majesty, and of your infinitely infinite goodness,—

vn esprit de gratitude, à vous faire ces holocaustes de moy-mesme, ie le ferois de tout mon cœur en consideration des grandeurs de vostre adorable Maiesté, & de vostre bonté infiniment infinie, qui merite qu'un homme s'immole à vostre seruice, & qu'il se perde heureusement soy-mesme, pour accomplir fidelement ce qu'il iuge estre de vostre volonté sur luy, & des inspirations particulieres qu'il vous plaist luy donner, pour le bien de vostre [55] plus grande gloire.

3. Puis que i'ay esté si miserable que de tant offenser vostre bonté, ô mon IESVS, il est iuste de vous satisfaire par des peines extraordinaires: & ainsi ie dois marcher deuant vostre face, le reste de ma vie, le cœur humilié & contrit dans la souffrance des maux, que vous auez le premier soufferts pour moy.

4. Je suis redevable à mes parens, à ma mere, à mes freres, & ie dois attirer sur eux les effets de vos misericordes. Mon Dieu ne permettez iamais qu'aucun de cette famille, pour laquelle vous auez eu tant d'amour, perisse en vostre presence, & qu'il soit du nombre de ceux qui vous doiuent blasphemer eternellement. Que ie fois pour eux la victime, *Quoniam ego in flagella paratus sum; hinc ure, hinc seca, ut in æternum parcas.*

5. Oüy mon IESVS, & mon amour, il faut aussi que vostre sang versé pour les Barbares aussi bien que pour nous, soit appliqué efficacement pour leur salut; & c'est en quoy ie veux cooperer à vostre grace, & m'immoler pour eux.

6. Il faut que vostre nom soit adoré, que vostre Royaume soit estendu par toutes les [56] Nations du monde; & que ie consomme ma vie pour retirer des

which deserves that a man sacrifice himself to your service, and that he blessedly cast himself away, in order to accomplish faithfully what he judges to be your will concerning him, and special inspirations which it pleases you to give him for the good of your [55] greater glory.

“ 3. Since I have been so wicked as to offend so greatly your goodness, O my JESUS, it is right to make amends to you by extraordinary pains: and thus I must walk before your face the remainder of my life, with my heart humbled and contrite in the endurance of the evils which you first suffered for me.

“ 4. I am indebted to my parents, to my mother, and to my brothers, and I must draw upon them the effects of your mercies. My God, never permit that any of this family, for which you have had so much love, shall perish in your presence, or that he be of the number of those who are destined to blaspheme you eternally. Let me be for them the victim,—
Quoniam ego in flagella paratus sum; hinc ure, hinc seca, ut in æternum parcas.

“ 5. Yes, my JESUS and my love, it must therefore be that your blood, shed for the Barbarians as well as for us, be efficaciously applied for their salvation; and this is wherein I wish to coöperate with your grace, and to sacrifice myself for them.

“ 6. It must be that your name be adored, that your Kingdom be extended through all the [56] Nations of the world; and that I consume my life, in order to withdraw from the hands of Satan, your enemy, these poor souls who have cost you both your blood and your life.

“ 7. Finally, if it be reasonable that some one

mains de Satan vostre ennemy, ces pauvres ames, qui vous ont cousté & vostre sang & vostre vie.

7. Enfin s'il est raisonnable, que quelqu'un se porte d'amour à donner ce contentement à Iesus-Christ, au peril de cent mille vies, s'il en auoit autant, avec la perte de tout ce qui est de plus doux, & agreable à la nature; tu ne trouueras iamais personne qui soit plus obligé à l'entreprendre que toy. Sus donc, mon ame, perdons nous faintement, pour donner ce contentement au cœur sacré de Iesus-Christ; il le merite, & tu ne peux t'en dispenser, si tu ne voulois viure & mourir ingrate à son amour.

Ce font là les motifs qui auoient animé son zele à venir mourir avec nous, au milieu de cette barbarie. Il n'estoit rien de plus innocent que luy, ayant quitté le monde dès sa tendre ieunesse: & depuis dixneuf ans qu'il estoit Religieux de nostre Compagnie, ayant tousiours marché avec vne conscience si pure, que la moindre ombre, ie ne diray pas du peché, mais des pensées qui en approchent, & qui n'ont rien de criminel, ne seruoit que [57] pour l'ayder à s'vnir dauantage à Dieu.

Depuis son arriuée icy dans les Hurons, il s'estoit appliqué avec tant d'ardeur à apprendre vne langue ingrate, si iamais il y en eut au monde, & en fuite y auoit fait tant de progresz, que nous ne doutions point que Dieu ne voulust se seruir de luy en ces païs, pour l'aduancement de sa gloire. Sa charité ne trouuoit point de difference entre l'estude des sciences plus hautes, qui l'auoient occupé iusqu'alors, & les difficultez espineuses d'une langue barbare, qui n'a rien d'attrayant, sinon autant que le zele du salut du prochain y fait rencontrer de beautez. Ce n'est pas vne

incline, from love, to give this satisfaction to Jesus Christ,—though at the risk of a hundred thousand lives, if he had so many, and with the loss of everything which is sweetest and most agreeable to nature,—thou wilt never find any one who is more obliged to undertake it than thou. Up then, my soul, let us blessedly cast ourselves away, in order to give this satisfaction to the sacred heart of Jesus Christ; he deserves it, and thou canst not forego it, if thou wouldst not live and die ungrateful to his love.”

Such are the motives which had animated his zeal to come and die with us in the midst of this barbarism. There was no one more innocent than he, for he had left the world since his tender youth; and, in the nineteen years since he had been a Religious of our Society, he had always walked with a conscience so pure that the least shadow,—I will not say of sin, but of thoughts which approach it, and are not at all criminal,—served only [57] to aid him in uniting himself more to God.

After his arrival here among the Hurons, he had applied himself with so much ardor to learn the language,—thankless, if ever there were such a one in the world,—and subsequently had made in it so much progress, that we did not doubt that God wished to use him in these countries for the advancement of his glory. His charity found no difference between the study of the higher sciences, which had occupied him until then, and the thorny difficulties of a barbarous language, which has nothing attractive about it,—except in so far as zeal for the salvation of one's neighbor leads one to find beauties in it. It is not one of the least difficulties in these countries,

des peines des plus petites en ces païs, qu'il faille deuenir enfant pour apprendre à parler à l'âge de 39. ans.

Après tout, sa courſe a eſté bien-toſt conſommée, mais en ce peu de temps, il a remply les attentes que la terre & le Ciel pouoient auoir de ſes trauaux. Il eſt mort en la cauſe de Dieu, & a trouué en ces païs, la Croix de Ieſus-Chriſt, qu'il y cherchoit, dont il a porté deſſus ſoy les marques bien ſanglantes.

Quoy que quittant le monde, il eût quitté la part que ſa naiſſance luy donnoit à [58] des charges honorables: toutefois ie puis dire avec verité, que la robe qu'il a empourprée de ſon ſang, eſt mille fois plus pretieufe que la pourpre, & les plus hautes eſperances, que le monde luy euſt pû promettre.

Il naquit à Paris, le 31. d'Octobre de l'année 1610. Il entra en noſtre Compagnie le 24. de Mars de l'année 1630. Il y eſt mort dans vn liçt de gloire le 17. de Mars de la preſente année 1649. Les Hurons le nommoient Atironta.

that it is necessary to become a child at the age of 39 years, in order to learn to speak.

After all, his course has been quickly finished; but in this little time he has fulfilled the expectations which earth and Heaven could have for his labors. He has died in the cause of God, and has found in these countries the Cross of Jesus Christ which he sought in them,—of which he has borne upon himself the truly bloody marks.

Although, in leaving the world, he had left the share which his birth gave him in [58] honorable offices, yet I can say, with truth, that the robe which he has crimsoned with his blood is a thousand times more precious than the purple, or the loftiest expectations which the world could have promised him.

He was born at Paris, on the 31st of October in the year 1610. He entered our Society on the 24th of March in the year 1630; he died in it, upon a bed of glory, on the 17th of March in the current year, 1649. The Hurons named him Atironta.

CHAPITRE V.

QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR LA VIE DU PERE IEAN
DE BREBEUF.

LE Pere Iean de Brebeuf auoit esté choisi de Dieu, pour estre le premier Apostre des Hurons, le premier de nostre Compagnie qui y ait mis le pied, & qui n'y ayant pas trouué vn feul Sauuage qui inuoquaft le nom de Dieu, y a si heureusement tra-uailié pour le salut de ces pauures Barbares, qu'auant sa mort il a eu la consolation d'y voir prés de sept mille baptizez, & la Croix de Iesus-Christ, arborée [59] par tout avec gloire, & adorée en vn païs, qui depuis la naissance du monde n'auoit iamais esté Chrestien.

Il fut enuoyé en la Nouvelle France l'année 1625. par le Reuerend Pere Pierre Coton; & pour son coup d'essay, pour son premier apprentissage, il hyuerna errant dedans les bois, avec les peuples Montagnez plus voifins de Kebec, où il eut beaucoup à souffrir, attendant l'Esté de l'année sui-uante 1626. qu'il monta icy aux Hurons, deuant les difficultez de ces langues barbares, avec vn succés si heureux, qu'il sembloit n'estre né que pour ces païs, accommodant son naturel, & son humeur aux façons d'agir de ces peuples, avec tant de conduite, se faifant tout à tous pour les gagner à Iesus-Christ, qu'il leur auoit rauy le cœur, & y estoit vniquement aymé, lors qu'il fut contraint de retourner en France l'année 1629. les Anglois s'estans rendus les maistres de ce païs, &

CHAPTER V.

SOME REMARKS ON THE LIFE OF FATHER JEAN DE BREBEUF.

FATHER Jean de Brebeuf had been chosen by God to be the first Apostle of the Hurons, the first of our Society who set foot there,—and who, not having found there a single Savage who invoked the name of God, labored there so successfully for the salvation of those poor Barbarians that before his death he had the consolation of seeing nearly seven thousand baptized there, and the Cross of Jesus Christ planted [59] everywhere with glory, and adored in a country which, from the birth of the world, had never been Christian.

He was sent to New France in the year 1625, by the Reverend Father Pierre Coton; and for his first attempt, his first apprenticeship, he spent the winter roving in the woods, with the Montagnais tribes nearest Kebec, in which life he had much to suffer, until the Summer of the following year, 1626. He then came up here to the Hurons, devouring the difficulties of these barbarous languages with a success so felicitous that he seemed to have been born only for these countries. He adapted his own nature and temperament to the customs among these peoples, with so much ability,—becoming all things to all men, in order to win them to Jesus Christ,—that he had ravished their hearts, and was singularly loved there, when he was constrained to return to France,

ne voulans pas y souffrir les Predicateurs de la Foy.

L'Anglois ayant esté contraint de lâcher prise, & se retirer d'un païs qu'il occupoit iniustement; le mesme Pere y fut renuoyé l'année 1633 en laquelle il se veid [60] obligé d'hyuerner encore à Kebec, n'ayât pû monter aux Hurons que la suiuate année; desia maistre en la langue, & remply des esperances qu'il auoit de la conuersion de ces peuples.

Il falloit vn homme accompli pour vne si haute entrepise, & sur tout d'une sainteté eminente. C'est ce qu'il ne voyoit pas en soy-mesme, mais ce que tous ceux qui l'ont connu ont tousiours admiré en luy; vne vertu à qui rien ne manquoit, & qui sembloit luy estre naturelle; quoy que ce qui paroissoit au dehors, ne fust rien en comparaison des thresors de grace, dont Dieu l'alloit enrichissant de iour en iour, & des faueurs qu'il luy faisoit.

Souuent Nostre Seigneur s'est apparu à luy, quelquefois en estat de gloire, mais d'ordinaire portant sa Croix, ou bien y estant attaché; qui imprimoit dedans son cœur des desirs si ardens de beaucoup souffrir pour son nom, que quoy qu'il eut beaucoup souffert en mille occasions, des peines, des fatigues, des persecutions, des douleurs; tout ne luy estoit rien, & se plaignoit de son malheur, croyant que iamais il n'auoit rien souffert, & que Dieu ne le trouuoit pas digne de luy faire porter la [61] moindre partie de sa Croix.

Nostre Dame luy est aussi tres-souuent apparuë, qui d'ordinaire laissoit en son ame des desirs de souffrir, mais avec des douceurs si grandes, & vne telle soumission aux volontez de Dieu, qu'en fuite son esprit en demouroit dans vne paix profonde, & dans vn

in the year 1629,—the English having made themselves masters of this country, and not being willing to suffer in it the Preachers of the Faith.

The Englishman having been constrained to let go his hold, and to withdraw from a country which he occupied unjustly, the same Father was sent back to it in the year 1633, when he found himself [60] obliged to winter again at Kebec, being unable to go up to the Hurons before the following year,—though he was already master of the language, and was filled with the hopes that he had for the conversion of these tribes.

For so high an enterprise was required an accomplished man, and especially one of eminent holiness. This is what he did not see in himself, but what all those who have known him have always admired in him,—a virtue in which nothing was wanting, and which seemed to be natural to him, although that which appeared without was nothing in comparison with the treasures of grace wherewith God continued to enrich him, from day to day, and with the favors which he showed him.

Often, Our Lord appeared to him,—sometimes in a state of glory, but usually bearing his Cross, or indeed, being attached to it; these visions implanted in his heart such ardent desires to suffer much for his name, that, although he had greatly suffered on a thousand occasions,—difficulties, fatigues, persecutions, griefs,—all was naught to him, and he complained of his misfortune,—believing that he had never suffered anything, and that God did not find him worthy of having him bear the [61] least share in his Cross.

Our Lady also appeared to him very often; she usually left in his soul desires for suffering, but with

fentiment esleué des grandeurs de Dieu, l'espace de plusieurs iours.

L'année 1640. qu'il passa tout l'Hyuer en Miffiō dans la Nation Neutre, vne grāde croix luy apparut, qui venoit du costé des Nations Iroquoifes. Il le dit au Pere qui l'accompagnoit; lequel luy demandant quelques particularitez plus grandes de cette apparition, il ne luy respondit autre chose, finō que cette croix estoit si grande, qu'il y en auoit assez pour attacher non seulement vne personne, mais tous tant que nous estions en ces païs.

Il auoit eu commandement d'escrire ces choses extraordinaires, qui se passoient en luy, au moins celles dont il pourroit plus aisément se ressouuenir, car elles estoient trop frequentes, & le soin du salut du prochain, à peine luy donnoit-il quelque loisir d'escrire de fois à autre. Voicy les deux dernieres choses que i'ay trouuées [62] dans ses memoires.

Quantité de croix me font apparues, que i'embrassois toutes tres-volontiers. La nuit suiuant estant en oraison, me conformant aux volonte de Dieu sur moy, & luy disant, *Fiat voluntas tua, Domine quid me vis facere?* i'ay entendu vne voix qui m'a dit, *Tolle, Lege.* Le iour estant venu, i'ay pris en main le petit liure de l'Imitation de-Iesus-Christ, & sans dessein ie suis tombé sur le chapitre *De regia viâ sanctæ crucis.* Depuis ce temps-là, i'ay fenty dans mon ame vne grande paix, & vn repos dans les occasions de souffrir.

Sur le soir estât en oraison deuant le tres-saint Sacrement, i'ay veu en esprit sur mes habits, & sur les habits de tous nos Peres, sans qu'aucun en fust excepté, des taches toutes de sang, ce qui m'a laissé dans vn fentiment d'admiration.

feelings so serene, and such submission to the will of God, that afterward his spirit remained for the space of several days in deep peace and in a lofty realization of the greatness of God.

In the year 1640, when he spent the whole Winter on a Mission to the Neutral Nation, a great cross appeared to him, which came from the direction of the Iroquois Nations. He mentioned it to the Father who accompanied him; the latter asking him for some further details of this apparition, he answered him only this, that this cross was so great that it was adequate to hold not only one person, but all of us who were in these countries.

He had been commanded to write these extraordinary things which occurred within his soul,—at least, those which he could most easily remember; for they were too frequent, and care for the salvation of his neighbor hardly gave him any leisure to write from time to time. Here are the last two items which I have found [62] in his memoirs.

“Many crosses appeared to me, all of which I very gladly embraced. On the following night, while in prayer,—conforming myself to the will of God concerning me, and saying to him, *Fiat voluntas tua, Domine; quid me vis facere?*—I heard a voice which said to me, *Tolle, Lege*. The day having come on, I took in hand the little book of the ‘Imitation of Jesus Christ;’¹⁸ and, without design, I fell upon the chapter, *De regia via sanctæ crucis*. From that time I felt in my soul a great peace, and repose in occasions of suffering.

“Toward evening, being in prayer before the most blessed Sacrament, I saw in spirit, upon my clothes and upon the clothes of all our Fathers,

Nous n'en fçauons pas dauantage, & fi peut-estre Dieu n'a point voulu nous aduertir, & par ces croix, & par ce fang, qu'il nous fera la mefme grace, dont il a voulu recompenfer les merites de ce bon Pere, de mourir pour fon nom, & de répandre noftre fang pour l'establiffement de fa gloire. Quoy qu'il en foit, nous le [63] prions que fa tres-fainte volonté foit accomplie fur nous iufqu'à la mort.

Ce bon Pere fe fentoit tellement porté de procurer la gloire de Dieu, & n'auoir que cela en veuë, que plus d'onze ans auant fa mort, il s'obligea par vœu, de faire & de patir tout ce que le refte de fa vie il pourroit reconnoiftre deuoir estre à la plus grande gloire de Dieu; vœu qu'il renouuelloit tous les iours à l'autel, au temps de la tres-fainte Communion.

Du depuis ie ne voy rien de plus frequent dans fes memoires, que les fentimens qu'il auoit de mourir pour la gloire de Iefus-Chrift. *Sentio me vehementer impelli ad moriendum pro Chrifto.* Defirs qui luy continuoient les huit & les dix iours de fuite. Enfin voulant fe faire vn holocauste, & vne viétime confacrée à la mort: & afin de preuenir plus faintement le bon-heur du martyre qui l'attendoit, il s'y votia par vœu qu'il conceut en ces termes:

Quid retribuam tibi, Domine mi Iefu, pro omnibus quæ retribuifti mihi? Calicem tuum accipiam, & nomen tuum inuocabo. Voueo ergo in confpectu æterni Patris tui, fanctique Spiritus, in confpectu facratiffimæ Matris tuæ, caftiffimique eius fponfi Iofephi; coram Angelis, [64] Apoftolis & Martyribus, fanctisque meis parentibus Ignatio, & Francisco Xauerio; Voueo inquam tibi, Domine mi Iefu, fi mihi vnquam indigno famulo tuo, Martyrij gratia misericorditer à te oblata fuerit, me huic

without any exception, spots all of blood,— which left me in a sentiment of admiration.’’

We know nothing further of this; and yet perhaps God has not chosen to warn us, by those crosses and that blood, that he will accord us the same favor with which he has chosen to recompense the merits of this good Father,—to die for his name, and to shed our blood for the establishment of his glory. Be this as it may, we [63] pray him that his most holy will be fulfilled regarding us, even to death.

This good Father felt himself so inclined to procure the glory of God, and to have only that in sight, that, more than eleven years before his death, he bound himself by a vow to do and suffer all that, during the remainder of his life, he might recognize as requisite to the greater glory of God,—a vow which he renewed every day at the altar, at the time of the most holy Communion.

From that time, I see nothing more frequent in his memoirs than the desires which he had to die for the glory of Jesus Christ: *Sentio me vehementer impelli ad moriendum pro Christo*,—desires which continued with him eight or ten days in succession. Finally, wishing to become a burnt-offering, and a victim consecrated to death, and in order to anticipate more holily the happiness of the martyrdom which was awaiting him, he devoted himself to it in a vow which he conceived in these terms:

Quid retribuam tibi, Domine mi Jesu, pro omnibus quæ retribuisti mihi? Calicem tuum accipiam, et nomen tuum invocabo. Voveo ergo in conspectu æterni Patris tui, sanctique Spiritus, in conspectu sacratissimæ Matris tuæ, castissimique ejus sponsi Josephi; coram Angelis, [64] Apostolis et Martyribus, sanctisque meis parentibus

gratiæ non defuturum: sic ut in posterum licere mihi nunquam velim, aut quæ sese offerent moriendi pro te occasiones declinare, (nisi ita fieri ad maiorem gloriam tuam iudicarem) aut iam inflictum mortis ictum, non acceptare gaudenter. Tibi ergo Domine mi Iesu, & sanguinem & corpus, & spiritum meum iam ab hac die gaudenter offero, ut pro te si ita dones, moriar; qui pro me mori dignatus es. Fac ut sic viuam, ut ita mori tandem me velis. Ita Domine calicem tuum accipiam, & nomen tuum inuocabo. Iesu, Iesu, Iesu.

Mon Dieu & mon Sauueur Iesus, que pourray-ie vous rendre pour tous les biens, dont vous m'auiez preueni? Je prendray de vostre main le calice de vos souffrances, & i'inoqueray vostre Nom. Je fais donc vœu en la presence de vostre Pere Eternel, & du Saint Esprit, en la presence de vostre Mere tres-sacrée, & de son tres-chaste espoux Sainct Ioseph, deuant les Anges, les Apostres & Martyrs, & mes bien-heureux Peres Sainct Ignace, & S. [65] François Xauier: oüy, mon Sauueur Iesus, ie vous fais vœu de ne iamais manquer de mon costé à la grace du martyre, si par vostre infinie misericorde vous me la presentez quelque iour, à moy vostre indigne feruiteur. Je m'y oblige en telle façon, que ie pretès que tout le reste de ma vie, ce ne me soit plus vne chose licite, qui demeure en ma liberté, de fuir les occasions de mourir, & de resprendre mon sang pour vous. (N'estoit que dans quelque rencontre ie iugeasse pour lors, qu'il fust des interets de vostre gloire, de m'y comporter autrement.) Et quand i'auray receu le coup de mort, ie m'oblige à l'accepter de vostre main, avec tout l'agrément, & la ioye de mon cœur. Et partant, mon aimable Iesus, ie vous offre dés

Ignatio, et Francisco Xaverio; Voveo, inquam, tibi, Domine mi Jesu, si mihi unquam indigno famulo tuo, Martyrii gratia misericorditer à te oblata fuerit, me huic gratiæ non defuturum: sic ut in posterum licere mihi nunquam velim, aut quæ sese offerent moriendi pro te occasiones declinare, (nisi ita fieri ad majorem gloriam tuam judicarem) aut jam inflictum mortis ictum, non acceptare gaudenter. Tibi ergo, Domine mi Jesu, et sanguinem et corpus, et spiritum meum jam ab hac die gaudenter offero, ut pro te, si ita dones, moriar; qui pro me mori dignatus es. Fac ut sic vivam, ut ita mori tandem me velis. Ita, Domine, calicem tuum accipiam, et nomen tuum invocabo, Jesu, Jesu, Jesu.

“ My God and my Savior Jesus, what can I render to you for all the benefits which you have conferred upon me? I will take from your hand the cup of your sufferings, and I will invoke your Name. I then make a vow,—in the presence of your Eternal Father and of the Holy Ghost; in the presence of your most sacred Mother, and of her most chaste spouse, Saint Joseph; before the Angels, the Apostles and Martyrs, and my blessed Fathers Saint Ignatius and St. [65] Francis Xavier,—yes, my Savior Jesus, I make a vow to you never to fail, on my side, in the grace of martyrdom, if by your infinite mercy you offer it to me some day, to me, your unworthy servant. I bind myself to it in such a way that I intend that, during all the rest of my life, it shall no longer be a lawful thing for me, when remaining at my option, to avoid opportunities of dying and of shedding my blood for you. (Save only that, in some emergency, I should judge that, for the time being, it might be to the interests of your glory to behave otherwise in the matter.) And when I shall have

aujourd'huy, dans les sentimens de ioye que i'en ay, & mon sang, & mon corps, & ma vie; afin que ie ne meure que pour vous, si vous me faites cette grace, puisque vous avez bien daigné mourir pour moy. Faites que ie viue en telle façon, qu'enfin vous m'octroyez cette faueur, de mourir si heureusement. Ainsi mon Dieu, & mon Sauueur, ie prendray de vostre main le calice de vos souffrances, & i'inuoyeray vostre [66] Nom, IESVS, IESVS, IESVS.

Souuent les Infideles ont conspiré la mort. Si quelque malheur estoit arriué au païs, c'estoient les Iesuites qui en estoient la cause, & Echon le premier de tous. Si la peste regnoit, & si les maladies contagieuses depeuploient quelques bourgs, c'estoit luy qui par ses sortileges faisoit venir ces Demons de l'enfer, avec lesquels on l'accusoit d'auoir commerce. La famine ne paroissoit icy que par ses ordres; & si la guerre ne leur estoit pas fauorable, c'estoit Echon qui auoit des intelligences secretes avec leurs ennemis, qui sous main receuoit d'eux des pensions pour trahir le païs, & n'estoit venu de la France, sinon pour exterminer tous les peuples avec lesquels il agiroit, sous le pretexte d'y venir annoncer la Foy, & de procurer leur bonheur. En vn mot, le nom d'Echon a esté l'espace de quelques années, tellement en horreur, qu'on s'en seruoit pour espouuenter les enfans, & souuent on a fait croire à des malades, que la veuë estoit le Demon qui les auoit enforcelez, & qui donnoit le coup de mort. Mais son heure n'estant pas venuë, tous ces mauuais desseins qu'on auoit contre luy, ne seruoient qu'à [67] augmenter sa confiance en Dieu, & faire qu'il marchast tous les iours comme vne victime consacree à la mort, qu'il

received the stroke of death, I bind myself to accept it from your hand with all pleasure, and with joy in my heart. And consequently, my beloved Jesus, I offer to you from to-day, in the feelings of joy that I have thereat, my blood, my body, and my life; so that I may die only for you, if you grant me this favor, since you have indeed condescended to die for me. Enable me to live in such a way that finally you may grant me this favor, to die so happily. Thus, my God and my Savior, I will take from your hand the cup of your sufferings, and I will invoke your [66] Name, JESUS, JESUS, JESUS."

Often the Infidels conspired for his death. If any misfortune had befallen the country, it was the Jesuits who were the cause of it, and Echon the chief of all. If pestilence prevailed, and contagious diseases depopulated certain villages, it was he who by his spells caused those Demons of hell to come, with whom he was accused of having dealings. Famine appeared here only by his orders; and, if the war were not favorable to them, it was Echon who had a secret understanding with their enemies; who surreptitiously received pensions from them, for betraying the country; and who had come from France only to exterminate all the tribes with whom he should deal, under the pretext of coming to announce the Faith there, and of procuring their welfare. In a word, the name of Echon has been, for the space of some years, held in such abhorrence that it was used for terrifying the children; and often sick people have been made to believe that his look was the Demon who had bewitched them and who gave the death-blow. But his hour was not come; all those evil designs which they had against him

n'attendoit qu'avec amour, mais dont il n'ozoit pas aduancer les momens.

Nostre Seigneur luy donna souuent à connoistre, qu'il nous tenoit en sa protection, & que les puiffances d'enfer pouuoient bien entrer en rage contre nous, mais qu'elles n'estoient pas déchainées. L'année 1637. qu'on crioit par tout le pais, au meurtre! & au maffacre! comme si nous eussions esté les auteurs des maladies contagieuses qui rauageoient par tout, & qu'on auoit conclu de nous exterminer, vne troupe de Demons s'apparurent diuerses fois à luy, tantost comme des hommes qui entroient en fureur, d'autres fois comme des monstres espouventables, des ours, des lions, des cheuaux indomptez, qui veulent fondre dessus luy. Ces spectres ne luy donnoient aucune horreur, ny aucun mouuement de crainte; il iettoit sa confiance en Dieu. Il leur disoit, Faites sur moy ce que Dieu vous permet, car sans sa volonté vn cheueu ne tombera pas de ma teste. Et à ces mots, tous ces Demons disparoissoient en vn moment.

[68] D'autrefois il voyoit la mort attachée les mains par derriere, à vn poteau, proche de luy, qui tafchoit de s'élancer avec fureur: mais ne pouuant pas rompre les liens dont il la voyoit retenuë, elle tomboit à ses pieds sans force, & sans vigueur, ne pouuant pas luy nuire.

L'année 1640. estant à la Nation Neutre, il dit vn foir au Pere qui estoit avec luy, que la mort comme vne squelette décharnée, s'estoit presentée à luy en le menaçant, & ne sçachant que cela vouloit dire, il fut bien estonné que le lendemain matin, vn de nos bons amis, Capitaine du bourg où ils estoient, vint apporter les nouvelles à nos Peres, qu'vn Huron

served only to [67] augment his confidence in God, and to cause that every day he walked like a victim devoted to death, which he awaited only with loving desire, but of which he dared not speed the moments.

Our Lord often gave him to understand that he held us in his protection, and that the powers of hell might indeed become furious against us, but that they were not unchained. In the year 1637, when the cry arose throughout the country, "Murder them!" "Massacre them!"—as if we had been the authors of the contagious diseases which ravaged everywhere,—and when they had decided to exterminate us, a troop of Demons appeared to him at sundry times. These were now like men who were becoming enraged, at other times like awful monsters,—bears, lions, untamed horses,—which strove to fall upon him. These spectres gave him no horror, nor any impulse of fear; he placed his confidence in God. He said to them, "Do upon me that which God permits you; for without his will a hair will not fall from my head." And at these words, all those Demons disappeared in a moment.

[68] At other times, he saw death attached, with hands behind, to a post near him, endeavoring to spring forward in fury; but, unable to burst the bonds with which he saw it restrained, it fell at his feet without strength and without vigor, powerless to hurt him.

In the year 1640, being in the Neutral Nation, he said one evening to the Father who was with him that death, like a fleshless skeleton, had appeared to him threatening him. Not knowing what that signified, he was much astonished when, the next morning, one of our good friends, Captain of the village

Infidèle nommé Aoenhokoui, fraîchement arriué à la Nation Neutre, & député des anciens du pays, ayant conuoqué le Confeil, y auoit fait present de neuf haches (ce font en ce païs de grandes richesses) à ce qu'ils affommaffent nos Peres, & que les consequences de ce meurtre ne pûffent pas tomber fur les Hurons. Cette affaire auoit occupé le Confeil toute la nuit, mais enfin les Capitaines de la Nation Neutre, ne voulurent pas y entendre.

[69] Il puifoit cet esprit de confiance en Dieu dans l'oraifon, dans laquelle il estoit fouuent tres-esleué, vn seul mot luy donnant de l'entretien les heures entieres; non pas à son esprit, de l'inaction duquel il se plaignoit pour l'ordinaire; mais à son cœur, qui fauouroit les eternelles veritez de la Foy, & qui s'y tenoit attaché avec repos, avec amour & avec ioye: & nonobstant cette facilité d'entretien avec Dieu, il se preparoit à l'oraifon, auffi exactement que feroit vn Nouice dans ses premiers commencemens.

Le iour, les necessitez du prochain ne luy permettant pas de vacquer seul à seul avec Dieu, selon l'estenduë des desirs de son cœur, il preuenoit l'heure ordinaire, se leuant de tres-grand matin; quoy que pour le mesme fuiet, il perçast tous les iours bien auant dans la nuit, iufqu'à ce que la nature n'en pouuant plus, & le sommeil le contraignant de succomber, il se couchoit à terre, tout habillé comme il estoit, vne piece de bois luy feruant de cheuet, & ne donnant au corps, que ce qu'il n'eust pas pû luy dénier en conscience. Tantost ie treuue en ses escrits, que Dieu dans l'oraifon l'a détaché de tous les sens, [70] & l'a vny à foy, tantost qu'il a esté rauy en Dieu, & l'embraffoit avec effort; d'autresfois il dit, que tout

where they were, came to bring the news to our Fathers that an Infidel Huron, named Aoenhokoui,—recently arrived in the Neutral Nation, and a deputy from the elders of the country,—having convoked the Council, had made a present there of nine hatchets (these are great riches in this country), in order that they should strike our Fathers dead, and that the consequences of this murder might not fall upon the Hurons. This affair had occupied the Council all night; but finally the Captains of the Neutral Nation would not listen to it.

[69] He derived this spirit of confidence in God from prayer, in which he was often much uplifted. A single word would give him a theme for whole hours,—not to his intellect, of whose inaction he was wont to complain, but to his heart, which relished the eternal truths of the Faith, and which remained attached to them with serenity, with love, and with joy. And, notwithstanding this facility of converse with God, he prepared himself for prayer as punctiliously as a Novice would do in his early stages.

By day,—his neighbor's needs not allowing him to occupy himself in solitude with God, according to the extent of his heart's desires,—he anticipated the usual hour, rising very early. Nevertheless, for the same reason, he urged every day far into the night, until nature was powerless to go further; and, sleep constraining him to succumb, he lay upon the ground,—fully dressed as he was, and a piece of wood serving him as pillow,—giving to the body only what he could not, in conscience, have denied it. At one time I find in his writings that, while he was in prayer, God detached him from all his senses, [70] and united him to himself; again, that he was

son cœur s'est transporté en Dieu par des esclaves d'amour qui estoient extatiques. Mais sur tout, cet amour estoit tendre à l'endroit de la sacrée personne de Iesus-Christ, & de Iesus-Christ patissant.

Souvent il sentoit cet amour, comme vn feu, qui s'estant enflammé dans son cœur, alloit croissant de iour en iour, & consumant en luy l'impureté de la nature, pour y faire regner l'esprit de grace, & l'esprit adorable de Iesus-Christ.

Aux festes de la Pentecoste de l'année 1640. estant de nuit en oraison, en la presence du tres-sainct Sacrement, il se veid en vn moment inuesti d'vn grand feu, qui brusloit sans rien consumer, toutes les choses qui estoient là autour de luy: & tandis que ces flammes durerent, il se sentoit interieurement enflammé de l'amour de Dieu, plus ardemment qu'il n'auoit iamais fait.

Il a eu quantité de notables apparitions de Nostre Dame, de Sainct Ioseph, des Anges & des Saints. Il voyoit vn iour vne haute montagne toute couuerte de S^{tes} [71] Vierges, qui estoient dans la gloire, en sorte que depuis le pied de la montagne iusqu'au sommet, les rangs alloient diminuant, iusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent reduits à l'vnité, qui estoit Nostre Dame, assise sur le sommet de cette colline.

Quelquesfois à la veüe des seuls habits, dont la tres-saincte Vierge luy apparoissoit estre vestuë, & des franges qui pendoient au bas de sa robe, il estoit tellement occupé, & absorbé des éclats de sa gloire, qu'il n'ozoit pas leuer les yeux plus haut, crainte d'estre opprimé de l'excès des lumieres qui iailliroient de son visage.

Mais ce n'estoient pas là les graces qu'il desiroit,

enraptured in God, and fervently embraced him; at other times, he says that his whole heart was transported to God by bursts of love which were ecstatic. But above all, this love was tender with respect to the sacred person of Jesus Christ, and of Jesus Christ suffering.

Often he felt this love as a fire, which, having inflamed itself in his heart, kept increasing from day to day, and consuming in him the impurity of nature, in order to cause the spirit of grace and the adorable spirit of Jesus Christ to rule in him.

At the feasts of Pentecost in the year 1640,— being at night in prayer, in the presence of the most blessed Sacrament, he saw himself in a moment invested with a great fire, which burned, without consuming aught, everything which was there around him: and, while these flames lasted, he felt himself inwardly on fire with the love of God, more ardently than he had ever been.

He had many notable apparitions of Our Lady, of Saint Joseph, of the Angels, and of the Saints. He saw one day a high mountain all covered with Blessed [71] Virgins, who were in glory,—in such sort that, from the foot of the mountain even to the summit, the ranks continued to decrease, until they were reduced to a unit, which was Our Lady, seated on the summit of that hill.

Sometimes, merely at the sight of the clothes with which the most blessed Virgin appeared to him to be clad, and of the fringes which hung at the bottom of her robe, he was so much occupied and absorbed in the luster of her glory that he dared not raise his eyes higher, for fear of being oppressed with the excess of the lights which might flash from her face.

ny qu'il eust iamais desirées. Et il tenoit ces faueurs là si secretes & cachées, sinon à ceux aufquels il ne pouuoit en confcience rien celer, que iamais il n'en a parlé, ny mesme donné à qui que ce soit le moindre indice. Et la conclusion qu'il en tiroit à chaque fois, estoit de s'en humilier dauantage, de se défier de foy-mesme, de s'estimer le moindre de la maison, & de craindre que le Diable ne le trompast. Enfin iamais il ne s'est conduit par ces veuës, quoy que souuent Dieu luy eût [72] donné à connoistre les choses esloignées, & mesme luy donnaist de grandes lumieres dans le secret des consciences, & le profond des cœurs. Mais il se conduisoit vniquement sur les principes de la Foy, par les mouuemens de l'obeïffance, & les lumieres de la raison.

Vn iour parlât en oraïson à N. Seigneur, & luy difant, *Domine, quid me vis facere?* il entendit cette responce que Iesus-Christ fit autrefois à S. Paul: *Vade ad Ananiam, & ipse dicet tibi quid te oporteat facere:* & depuis ce temps-là il fut si confirmé dans les resolutions qu'il auoit, de ne chercher iamais autre conduite que celle de l'obeyffance; que ie puis dire en verité, que cette vertu estoit parfaite en luy: ne regardant que Dieu en la personne du Superieur, luy découurant son cœur avec vne simplicité d'enfant; vne docilité entiere aux responces qu'on luy donnoit, acquiesçât sans resistance à tout ce qui luy estoit dit, quoy que contraire à ses inclinations naturelles: non seulement pour ce qui paroïffoit aux yeux des hommes, mais dans le profond de son cœur, où il sçauoit que Dieu recherchoit la veritable obeyffance.

[73] Il disoit qu'il n'estoit propre qu'à obeyr, & que cette vertu luy estoit naturelle; à cause que

But those were not the favors which he desired, nor which he had ever desired. And he kept those favors so secret and concealed, except to those from whom he could not in conscience conceal anything, that he never spoke of them, nor even gave any one at all the least indication of them. And the conclusion which he drew from them, every time, was to humiliate himself further, to distrust himself, to esteem himself the least of the household, and to fear lest the Devil should deceive him. Finally, he never guided himself by these visions, although often God had [72] given him to understand things, afar off, and even gave him great illuminations in the secret place of conscience, and in the depth of the heart. But he guided himself solely by the principles of the Faith, through the operations of obedience and the lights of reason.

One day, speaking in prayer to Our Lord, and saying to him, *Domine, quid me vis facere?* — he heard this answer, which Jesus Christ formerly made to St. Paul: *Vade ad Ananiam, et ipse dicet tibi quid te oporteat facere.* And from that time he was so confirmed in the resolutions which he had, of never seeking other guidance than that of obedience, that I may say, in truth, that this virtue was perfect in him,—seeing only God in the person of the Superior, discovering his heart to him with a child's simplicity, showing an entire docility to the answers which were given him, and acquiescing without resistance in everything which was said to him, although contrary to his natural inclinations,—not only in that which appeared to the eyes of men, but in the depth of his heart, where he knew that God sought the true obedience.

n'ayant pas grand esprit, & grande prudence, & qu'estant incapable de se conduire foy-mefme, il auoit autant de plaisir à obeyr, qu'un enfant qui n'a pas assez de forces pour marcher, prend plaisir à se laisser porter dans le fein de sa mere, en quelque lieu qu'il faille aller. *Agnoui in me nullum esse talentum* (dit-il en un papier qu'il escriuit l'année 1631.) *tantum primum esse me ad obediendum, mihi visus sum aptus ad ianuam custodiendam, ad triclinium parandum, ad culinam faciendam. Geram me in Societate, ac si essem mendicus, per gratiam admissus in Societatem, & omnia mihi cogitabo fieri ex mera gratia.* Et toutefois il estoit d'un tres-excellent iugement, & d'une prudence aussi sainte, & autant dégagée des passions, qui nous trompent pour l'ordinaire, que ie l'admirois tous les iours dans la conduite des affaires, dont on le consultoit, ou dont on luy donnoit le maniement.

Il auoit demandé entrant en la Compagnie, d'estre Frere Coadiuteur; & auant que faire ses vœux, il le propofa derechef, s'estimant indigne du Sacerdoce, & tres-propre [74] pour les offices les plus hùbles, desquels en effet il s'acquittoit excellemmēt, toutes les fois qu'on l'y a appliqué, soit par necessité, soit quelquefois pour obeyr en cela à son humilité. Mais il n'estoit pas moins capable des grandes choses. Et lors qu'il a esté Superieur de cette Mission, & que i'ay eu le bien d'estre sous luy, i'admirois sa conduite, sa douceur qui gagnoit les cœurs, son courage vrayement genereux dans les entreprises, sa longanimité à attendre les momens de Dieu, sa patience à tout souffrir, & son zele à tout entreprendre ce qu'il voyoit pour la gloire de Dieu.

Il est bien vray que son humilité luy faisoit em-

[73] He said that he was fit only to obey, and that this virtue was natural to him, because—not having great intelligence and great prudence, and being incapable of guiding himself—he had as much pleasure in obeying as a child, who, not having enough strength to walk, takes pleasure in allowing himself to be carried in his mother's bosom, to whatever place it is necessary to go. *Agnovi in me nullum esse talentum* (he says in a paper which he wrote in the year 1631), *tantum pronum esse me ad obediendum; mihi visus sum aptus ad januam custodiendam, ad triclinium parandum, ad culinam faciendam. Geram me in Societate, ac si essem mendicus, per gratiam admissus in Societatem, et omnia mihi cogitabo fieri ex mera gratia.* And yet he had a very excellent judgment, and a prudence as holy; and he was so detached from the passions which usually deceive us that I admired him every day in the conduct of the affairs wherein he was consulted, or of which he was given the management.

He had asked, on entering the Society, to be a Brother Coadjutor; and, before taking his vows, he proposed this again, esteeming himself unworthy of the Priesthood, and best fitted [74] for the humblest offices,—which, in fact, he discharged extremely well whenever he was directed to them, either through necessity, or sometimes in obedience to his own humility. But he was not less capable of great things; and when he was Superior of this Mission, and when I had the benefit of being under him, I admired his management; his gentleness, which won hearts; his courage, truly generous in enterprises; his long-suffering in awaiting the moments of God; his patience in suffering everything; and his zeal in

braffer avec plus d'amour, plus de ioye, & ie puis dire avec plus d'inclination de nature, les choses les plus humbles, & les plus penibles; si on estoit en vn voyage, il portoit les plus peffans fardeaux; s'il falloit aller par canaux, il ramoit depuis le matin iufqu'au soir: c'estoit luy qui se iettoit tout le premier à l'eau, & en fortoit tout le dernier, nonobstant les rigueurs du froid & des glaces; ses iambes nuës en estoient toutes rouges, & son corps tout transi. Il estoit le premier leué [75] pour faire le feu & la cuisine, & le dernier couché de tous, acheuant de nuit ses prieres, & ses deuotions: & quelque haraffé qu'il fust, quelques fatigues qu'il supportast, par des chemins qui font horreur, & dans lesquels les corps les plus robustes perdent courage; après tous les trauaux du iour, & quelquefois de trente iours de fuite, sans repos, sans rafraichiffemens, sans relasche, fouuent mesme n'ayant pas le moyen de prēdre vn feul repas avec loisir; il trouuoit toutefois le loisir de s'acquiter de tout ce que nos regles demāderoiēt d'un homme, qui ne feroit point dans ces empressēmēs, n'obmettant aucune de ses deuotions ordinaires, quelque occupation qui luy pust suruenir. Aussi disoit-il quelquefois, que Dieu nous donnoit le iour pour agir avec le prochain, & les nuits pour conuerfer avec luy. Et ce qui estoit de plus remarquable dans ces fatigues, qu'il prenoit dessus soy, c'est qu'il le faisoit si paisiblement, & si adroitement, qu'on eust cru à le voir, que sa nature y eust trouué son compte. Je suis vn bœuf, disoit-il faisant allusion à son nom, & ne suis propre qu'à porter la charge.

Aux souffrances continuelles, qui font [76] inseparables des emplois qu'il auoit dans les Missions, dans

undertaking everything which he saw for the glory of God.

It is very true that his humility caused him to embrace with more love, more joy,—and, I may say, with more natural inclination,—the humblest and the most painful duties. If we were on a journey, he bore the heaviest burdens; if it were necessary to go through channels, he rowed from morning till evening; it was he who first sped to the water, and left it the very last,—notwithstanding the rigors of the cold and ice, when his bare legs were all red therefrom, and his body all chilled. He was the first to rise, [75] to make the fire and to cook, and the last of all in bed, finishing by night his prayers and his devotions. And, however harassed he was; whatever fatigues he endured, over roads which cause horror, and in which the most vigorous bodies lose courage; after all the labors of the day,—and sometimes thirty days in succession without rest, without refreshments, without relaxation, often even not having the means to take a single meal with leisure,—he nevertheless found time to acquit himself of all which our rules would require from a man who should not be so urgently employed, omitting none of his usual devotions, whatever occupation might come unexpectedly upon him. Accordingly, he sometimes said that God gave us the day for dealing with our neighbor, and the night for conversing with him. And what was most remarkable in those fatigues which he took upon himself is, that he did this so quietly and so cleverly that one might have supposed, to see him, that his nature had found its motive therein. “I am an ox,” he said, alluding to his name, “and am fit only to bear burdens.”

les voyages, en quelque lieu qu'il fust; & à celles que la charité luy faisoit embrasser souuent au deffus de ses forces, quoy qu'au deffous de son courage; il y adioustoit quantité de mortifications volontaires, des disciplines iournalieres, & souuent deux fois chaque iour, des ieufnes tres-frequens, des cilices, des ceintures de pointes de fer, des veilles qui perçoient bien auant dans la nuit. Et après tout son cœur ne pouuoit se rassasier des souffrances, & il croyoit n'auoir iamais rien enduré. Fort peu d'années auant sa mort, escriuant de foy-mefme, il en parle en ces termes: *Timui meam reprobationem, ed quodd nimis sua- uiter haftenus mecum egerit Deus, tunc benè de mea salute sperabo, cum patiendi occasiones se dederint.* I'ay eu crainte que ie ne fois du nombre des reprouuez, voyant que Dieu m'a traité iusqu'à maintenant avec tant de douceur: alors i'espereray que Dieu me voudra faire misericorde, lors que sa bonté me fournira les occasions de souffrir quelque chose pour son amour. Et toutefois nous pouons dire que sa vie n'a esté qu'une fuite de croix, & de souffrances.

[77] Quand il luy arriuoit quelque humiliation, il en beniffoit Dieu, & en ressentoit vne ioye interieure, difant à ceux aufquels il ne pouuoit cacher tous les mouuemens de son cœur, que ce n'estoient pas des humiliations pour luy, à caufe qu'en quelque bas lieu qu'il puft estre, il se voyoit tousiours plus haut qu'il ne vouloit; & qu'il auoit autant de pente à descendre tousiours plus bas, qu'une pierre qui iamais n'a de pente à monter. Aussi prioit-il les Superieurs de l'humilier; & le bon est, que quand pour cooperer à la grace de Dieu sur luy, on ne l'espargnoit pas, on

To the continual sufferings which are [76] inseparable from the duties which he had in the Missions, on the journeys, in whatever place he was; and to those which charity caused him to embrace,—often above his strength, although below his courage,—he added many voluntary mortifications: disciplines every day, and often twice each day; very frequent fasts; haircloths, and belts with iron points; vigils which advanced far into the night. And, after all these, his heart could not be satiated with sufferings, and he believed that he had never endured aught. A very few years before his death, writing of himself, he speaks of the matter in these terms: *Timui meam reprobationem, eò quòd nimis suaviter hactenus mecum egerit Deus; tunc benè de mea salute sperabo, cùm patiendi occasiones se dederint,*—“ I have been afraid lest I be of the number of the reprobate, seeing that God has treated me hitherto with so much mildness: then I shall hope that God will choose to show me mercy, when his goodness shall furnish me opportunities of suffering something for his love.” And yet we may say that his life was but one continuation of crosses and of sufferings.

[77] When any humiliation befell him, he blessed God for it, and felt from it an inward joy,—saying to those from whom he could not conceal all the emotions of his heart that those were not humiliations for him, because in whatever low place he might be, he always saw himself higher than he wished; and that he had as much inclination for descending continually lower as has a stone, which never has a tendency to rise. Accordingly, he begged the Superiors to humiliate him; and the good thing is that when, in order to coöperate with the grace of God.

trouuoit tousiours vn esprit esgal, vn cœur content, & vn vifage tout remply de douceur.

Cette douceur estoit en luy la vertu qui sembloit furnager au dessus de toutes les autres, elle estoit à l'espreue de tout. Depuis douze ans que ie l'ay connu, que ie l'ay veu superieur, inferieur, esgal à tout le monde; tantost dans les affaires temporelles, tantost dans les trauaux, & les fatigues des Missions, agissant avec les Sauuages Chrestiens, Infideles, Ennemis; dans les souffrances, dans les persecutions & calomnies, iamais ie ne l'ay veu ou en [78] cholere, ou mesme dans l'apparence de quelque indignation. Souuent mesme quelques-vns ont voulu le picquer exprés, & le surprendre dans les choses qu'ils croyoient luy deuoir estre plus sensibles: mais tousiours son œil estoit bening, ses paroles dans la douceur, & son cœur dans le calme. Aussi Nostre Seigneur luy auoit donné nommément cette grace.

L'année 1634. faisant les Exercices Spirituels de la Compagnie, nostre Seigneur s'apparut à luy couronné d'épines, & luy dit ces mots: *Habebis deinceps unctiorem Spiritus in verbis tuis*: Tu auras dorefnauât en tes paroles l'onction du Sainct Esprit. Et l'année 1640. en son action de grace après la saincte Messe, il veid & fentit vne main qui oignoit & son cœur, & les puiffances de son ame, d'vn baume sacré. *Ex qua visione, summa animi mei pax, & tranquillitas, consecuta est*, adiouste-t'il dans ses memoires.

Fort peu de iours après cette vision, vne sedition s'estant esleuée contre nous dans le bourg Sainct Ioseph, dans laquelle il auoit esté bien battu, & avec luy quelques-vns de nos Peres: les Capitaines mesmes estans les boute-feux qui allumoient la sedition, [79]

upon him, we did not spare him, we always found an even spirit, a contented heart, and a most serene countenance.

This sweetness of temper was the virtue in him which seemed to float above all the others; it was proof against everything. In the twelve years during which I have known him, when I have seen him as superior, as inferior, or as the equal of all,—now in temporal affairs, now in the labors and fatigues of the Missions; dealing with the Christian Savages, with Infidels, with Enemies; in sufferings, in persecutions, and in calumnies,—never have I seen him either in [78] anger, or even in the appearance of any indignation. Often, indeed, some persons have specially endeavored to annoy him, and to attack him unawares at what they believed must be his most sensitive points; but his look was always benign, his words were in mildness, and his heart in calmness. Accordingly, Our Lord had especially given him this grace.

In the year 1634, while accomplishing the Spiritual Exercises of the Society, our Lord appeared to him, crowned with thorns, and said to him these words: *Habebis deinceps unctionem Spiritus in verbis tuis*,—“Thou shalt have henceforth in thy words the anointing of the Holy Spirit.” And in the year 1640, in his act of thanks after holy Mass, he saw and felt a hand which anointed both his heart and the powers of his soul with a sacred balm. *Ex qua visione, summa animi mei pax, et tranquillitas, consecuta est*,—he adds in his memoirs.

A very few days after this vision, a sedition arose against us in the village of Saint Joseph, in which he was severely beaten, and with him some of our

animans la populace contre nous, qui nous chargeoit d'iniures, & menaçoit de nous bruler. Le soir comme le Pere remercioit Dieu de tout ce qui estoit arriué, sentant toutefois en son cœur quelque detresse, prouenant de la crainte que ces malheureux n'empeschassent les progrès de la Foy: Nostre Dame luy apparut, qui auoit le cœur transpercé de trois espées: & en mesme temps il sentit vne voix interieure, qui luy disoit que la tres-saincte Vierge auoit tousiours esté parfaitement soumise aux volontez de Dieu, quoy que souuent son cœur eust esté bien auant dans l'affliction, & qu'il deuoit la prendre en son aduersité, pour exemple de ce que Dieu vouloit de luy.

L'huile de cette douceur n'esteignoit point les ardeurs de son zele, mais plûtost elle l'enflammoit, & estoit vn des moyens des plus puiffans, que Dieu luy eust donné pour gagner les cœurs à la Foy. Il le reconnoist luy mesme en ces termes, dans quelques remarques qu'il escriuoit l'année 1638. faisant vne reueü de l'estat de son ame. Dieu, dit-il, par sa bonté, m'a donné vne mansuetude, benignité & charité, à l'endroit de tout le monde: [80] vne indifference à quoy que ce soit; vne patience à souffrir les aduersitez: & sa même bonté a voulu que par ces talens qu'il m'a donnez, ie m'aduâce en la perfection, & que ie conduise les autres à la vie eternelle. Et partant, adiouste-t'il, ie feray dorefnauant mon examen particulier, voyât si en effet ie fais vn bon vsage de ces talens, dont ie suis responnable.

Voicy vne chose bien remarquable, qui luy arriua l'année 1640. durât le temps de sa retraite pour les Exercices Spirituels; il l'escrit en ces termes: Enuisageant l'enormité de mes pechez, & leur nombre

Fathers,—the Captains themselves being the fire-brands which kindled the sedition, [79] exciting against us the populace, who loaded us with insults, and threatened to burn us. At evening, when the Father was thanking God for all that had happened,—feeling, nevertheless, some distress in his heart, proceeding from the fear lest those wretches should impede the progress of the Faith,—Our Lady appeared to him, having her heart pierced with three swords; and at the same time he was aware of an inward voice, which told him that the most blessed Virgin had always been perfectly submissive to the will of God, although often her heart had been deep in affliction: and that he must take her in his adversity for an example of what God wished from him.

The oil of this mildness did not extinguish the ardor of his zeal, but rather inflamed it, and was one of the most powerful means which God had given him for winning hearts to the Faith. He acknowledges this himself in these terms, in some remarks that he wrote in the year 1638, while making a review of the state of his soul. “God,” he says, “through his goodness has given me a gentleness, benignity, and charity with respect to every one; [80] an indifference to whatsoever may happen; a patience for suffering adversities; and the same goodness has willed that, through these talents which he has given me, I shall advance to perfection, and shall lead others to eternal life. And consequently,” he adds, “I will henceforth make my examination thorough, to see whether I indeed make a good use of those talents, for which I am responsible.”

Here is a truly remarkable thing, which happened to him in the year 1640, during the time of his retreat

innombrable, i'ay veu Nostre Seigneur, qui d'une misericorde infinie, m'estendoit ses bras amoureux pour m'embrasser; qui me pardonnoit le passé, & s'oublioit de mes pechez; qui ressuscitoit en mon ame, & ses dons & ses graces; qui m'appelloit à son amour, & me disoit ce qu'autrefois il a dit à Saint Paul, *Vas electionis est iste, ut portet nomen meum in gentibus, ostendam ibi quanta oporteat eum pro nomine meo pati.* Entendant ces paroles, ie l'en ay remercié, ie m'y suis offert, & luy ay dit, *Quid me vis facere? fac me virum secundum cor tuum, nihil me in posterum separabit à charitate tua, non nuditas, [81] non gladius, non mors, &c.*

C'estoit dans l'ardeur de ce zele, qu'il s'offroit tres-fouvent à Dieu, à souffrir tous les martyres du monde, pour la conuersion de ces peuples. O mon Dieu, que n'estes vous connu! escriuoit-il quelque temps auant de mourir; que ce pays Barbare n'est-il tout conuert à vous! que le peché n'en est-il aboly! que n'estes vous aimé! Oüy, mon Dieu, si tous les tourmens que les captifs peuuent endurer en ces pais, dans la cruauté des supplices, deuoient tomber sur moy, ie m'y offre de tout mon cœur, & moy seul ie les souffriray.

En vn autre endroit, il escrit ces mots: Deux iours consecutifs i'ay ressenty en moy vn grand desir du martyre, & d'endurer tous les tourmens que les Martyrs ont soufferts.

Ce qui luy donnoit ce courage, estoit d'un costé la défiance de soy-mesme, & d'autre part la confiance en Dieu, dans la conformité entiere qu'il auoit à ses diuines volonte. Vn iour luy demandant si estant pris des Iroquois, il n'auroit pas vne repugnance bien

for the Spiritual Exercises. He writes it in these terms: "Contemplating the enormity of my sins, and their countless number, I saw Our Lord, who, with an infinite mercy, was holding out his loving arms to embrace me. He pardoned me the past, and forgot my sins; he restored in my soul both his gifts and his graces; he called me to his love, and said to me what formerly he said to Saint Paul: *Vas electionis est iste, ut portet nomen meum in gentibus; ostendam ibi quanta oporteat eum pro nomine meo pati.* Hearing these words, I thanked him for them, I offered myself for that, and said to him: *Quid me vis facere? fac me virum secundum cor tuum; nihil me in posterum separabit à charitate tua: non nuditas, [81] non gladius, non mors,*" etc.

It was in the ardor of this zeal that he offered himself very often to God, to suffer all the martyrdoms in the world, for the conversion of these peoples. "O my God, why are you not known?" he wrote some time before dying; "why is this Barbarous country not all converted to you? Why is not sin abolished from it? Why are you not loved? Yes, my God, if all the torments which the captives can endure in these countries in the cruelty of the tortures, were to fall on me, I offer myself thereto with all my heart, and I alone will suffer them."

In another place, he writes these words: "Two days in succession, I have felt in me a great desire for martyrdom, and for enduring all the torments which the Martyrs have suffered."

What gave him this courage was, on one side, distrust of himself; and, on another side, confidence in God, in the complete conformity which he had to his divine will. One day, asking him whether, if he

grande, s'ils le faisoient dépouiller nud? Non, me respondit-il, [82] car ce feroit la volonté de Dieu; & alors ie ne songerois pas à moy mesme, mais à Dieu. Luy demandant s'il n'auoit point d'horreur du feu? Ie le craindrois, dit-il, si i'enuifageois ma foiblesse; car la picqueure d'une mouche feroit capable de m'impatienter: mais i'espere que Dieu m'affistera tousiours, & aydé de sa grace, ie ne crains pas plus les tourmens effroyables du feu, que la picqueure d'une espingle.

Ie n'aurois iamais fait, de parcourir les vertus qui estoient en luy. Ie puis dire avec verité, que i'ay de quoy en composer vne vie toute entiere, qui feroit pleine de lumieres, qu'il auoit tres-grandes dans les voyes de la sainteté, & des faueurs de Dieu sur luy, qui estoient extraordinaires; & de la fidelité continuelle, avec laquelle il correspondoit à ces graces, aussi bien dans les petites choses, que dans les grandes; car il n'estimoit rien de petit au seruice de Dieu.

Sa pauvreté estoit si dépouillée, que mesme il n'auoit pas vne seule medaille, ny quoy que ce soit en ce monde, dont il voulust auoir l'usage, sinon pour la seule necessité. L'année 1637. nostre Seigneur luy fit voir vn superbe Palais, richement [83] basty, dans des beautés inconceuables, & tant de varietés si surprenantes, qu'il en estoit tout rauy hors de soy, & ne pouuoit pas se comprendre soy mesme. Comme ce Palais estoit vuide, n'y ayant personne dedans, il luy fut donné à entendre, qu'il estoit préparé pour ceux qui demeuroient dans de pauvres cabanes, & qui s'y étoient condamnez pour l'amour de Dieu. Ce qui le confola beaucoup.

Sa chasteté estoit à l'esprouue, & en cette matiere ses yeux estoient si fideles à son cœur, qu'ils n'auoient

were taken by the Iroquois, he would not feel a very great repugnance if they had him stripped naked, "No," he answered me, [82] "for it would be the will of God; and then I should not think of myself, but of God." Being asked whether he had not a horror of the fire, "I would fear it," he said, "if I contemplated my weakness; for the sting of a fly would be able to vex my patience. But I hope that God will always assist me, and, aided by his grace, I no more fear the terrible torments of the fire than the pricking of a pin."

I would never be at an end of perusing the virtues which were in him. I may say, with truth, that I have material for composing a whole biography of them,—which would be full of the glorious illuminations which he had in the ways of holiness; of the favors of God toward him, which were extraordinary; and of the continual fidelity with which he responded to those favors, as well in little things as in great ones, for he esteemed nothing little in the service of God.

His poverty was so destitute that he had not even a single medal, nor anything at all in this world of which he desired to have the use, unless for necessity alone. In the year 1637, our Lord showed him a superb Palace, richly [83] built, in beauties inconceivable, and in so many and such surprising varieties, that he was quite ravished out of himself, and could not comprehend even his own feelings. As this Palace was empty,—there being no one in it,—it was given him to understand that it was prepared for those who should dwell in poor cabins, and who had condemned themselves to these for the love of God; this greatly consoled him.

His chastity was proof; and in that matter his eyes

point de veuë pour les obiets, qui euffent pû endommager la pureté. Son corps n'estoit point rebelle à l'esprit, & au milieu de l'impureté mesme, qui regne ce femble en ce païs, il viuoit dans vne innocence auffi grande, que s'il fust demeuré au milieu d'un desert inaccessible à ce peché. Vne femme se presenta vn iour à luy, en vn lieu assez escarté, luy portant vne parole deshonneſte, & le souffle d'un feu qui ne pouoit venir que d'un tifon d'enfer. Le Pere se voyant ainſi attaqué, fit fur foy le ſigne de la croix, fans répondre aucun mot, & ce ſpectre déguifé ſous habit d'une femme, diſparut au meſme moment.

[84] La pureté de ſa conſcience eſtoit comme la prunelle de l'œil qui ne peut ſouffrir la moindre petite pouſſiere, ny vn ſeuil grain de fable. Dés l'année 1630. il eſcrit qu'il ne ſentoit en foy-meſme aucune attache à aucun peché veniel, ny le moindre plaifir du monde; que ſa volonté en eſtoit eſloignée comme de ſon plus grand ennemy, & qu'il choifiroit pluſtoſt toutes les peines des enfers, que le moindre peché. Et toutefois vn peu après le meſme iour, il adiouſte ces mots: *Ne me Deus tanquam infructuoſam arborem ſuccideret, orauit ut me dimitteret adhuc hoc anno, & promiſi me meliores fruſtus allaturum.* Crainte que Dieu ne me coupast par la racine, comme vn arbre ſans fruit, ie l'ay prié qu'il me laiſſast encore cette année ſur pied, & luy ay promis que ie luy porterois des fruits meilleurs que par le paſſé.

Il luy eſchappa vne fois de dire à vn de nos Peres, que depuis qu'il étoit aux Hurõs, il n'auoit recherché pas meſme vne ſeuile fois ſon gouſt au manger. Pour moy, quoy que ie l'aye pratiqué tres-intimement, autant qu'homme du monde, ie n'ay iamais

were so faithful to his heart, that they had no sight for the objects which might have soiled purity. His body was not rebellious to the spirit; and in the midst of impurity itself,—which reigns, it seems, in this country,—he lived in an innocence as great as if he had sojourned in the midst of a desert inaccessible to that sin. A woman presented herself one day to him, in a place somewhat isolated, uttering to him unseemly language, and breathing a fire which could come only from a firebrand of hell. The Father, seeing himself thus attacked, made upon himself the sign of the cross, without answering any word; and this spectre, disguised beneath a woman's dress, disappeared at the same moment.

[84] The purity of his conscience was like the apple of the eye, which cannot suffer the least little dust, or a single grain of sand. From the year 1630, he writes that he felt in himself no attachment for any venial sin, nor the least pleasure in the world; that his will was as averse to it as to his greatest enemy; and that he would rather choose all the pains of hell than the least sin. And yet a little after, on the same day, he adds these words: *Ne me Deus tanquam infructuosam arborem succideret, oravi ut me dimitteret adhuc hoc anno, et promisi me meliores fructus allaturum*,—"For fear that God should cut me off at the root, as a fruitless tree, I have prayed him that he still suffer me to stand, this year; and I have promised him that I would yield him better fruits than in the past."

It once escaped him to tell one of our Fathers, that, since he had been among the Hurons, he had not sought even a single time his own taste in eating. As for me,—though I have been very

pû reconnoître en luy aucune faute, non feulement qui fust peché, mais non pas [85] meſme contre la moindre de nos Regles. Auffi c'eſtoit vn de ſes bons propos depuis près de vingt ans: *Diſrumpar potiùs quam vt voluntariè regulam vllam infringam.* Et cette exactitude n'eſtoit pas feulement en ce qui paroiffoit à la veuë, mais penetroit dans le plus profond de ſon cœur. *Nullum in corde commercium mihi habendum cum creaturis.* Tout le commerce de mon cœur fera avec Dieu, les creatures ne me feront plus rien. *Numquam quieſcam, numquam dicam ſatis;* ie ne prendray aucun repos, iamais ie ne diray que i'auray affez fait.

Plus de quinze ans auant que de mourir, dans les memoires qu'il eſcriuoit, faiſant la reueuë de ſa conſcience de mois en mois, voicy ce qu'il dit de ſoy-meſme: Ie ſens en moy vn grand deſir de mourir, pour iouir de Dieu; ie ſens vne grande auerſion de toutes les choſes créées, qu'il faudra quitter à la mort. C'eſt en Dieu ſeul que repoſe mon cœur, & hors de luy tout ne m'eſt rien, ſinon pour luy.

Sa mort a couronné ſa vie, & la perfeuerance a eſté le cachet de ſa ſainteté. Il eſt mort âgé de 56. ans. Il naſquit le 25. de Mars de l'année 1593. iour de l'Annonciation de Noſtre Dame, d'honneſtes parens, [86] dans le Dioceſe de Bayeux. Il entra en noſtre Compagnie l'année 1617. le cinquième iour du mois d'Octobre. Il eſt mort en preſchant, & faiſant les fonctions vrayement Apoſtoliques, & d'une mort que meritoit le premier Apoſtre des Hurons. Son martyre fut accompli le 16. iour de Mars de la preſente année 1649.

intimately associated with him, as much as any man in the world,—I have never been able to recognize in him any fault, not only what was sin, but not [85] even what infringed the least of our Rules. This also was one of his good sayings for nearly twenty years: *Disrumpar potius quam ut voluntariè regulam ullam infringam.* And this exactness was not only in that which appeared to the sight, but penetrated into the deepest recess of his heart. *Nullum in corde commercium mihi habendum cum creaturis,*—“The whole converse of my heart shall be with God; creatures shall no longer be aught to me.” *Numquam quiescam, numquam dicam satis,*—“I will take no rest; never will I say that I shall have done enough.”

More than fifteen years before dying, in the memoirs that he wrote, making the review of his conscience from month to month,—here follows what he says of himself: “I feel in me a great desire to die, in order to enjoy God; I feel a great aversion for all things created, which it will be necessary to leave at death. It is in God alone that my heart rests; and, outside of him, all is naught to me, except for him.”

His death has crowned his life, and perseverance has been the seal of his holiness. He died at the age of 56 years. He was born on the 25th of March in the year 1593, the day of the Annunciation of Our Lady,—of worthy parents, [86] in the Diocese of Bayeux; he entered our Society in the year 1617, on the fifth day of the month of October. He died while preaching, and exercising truly Apostolic offices,—and by a death which the first Apostle to the Hurons deserved. His martyrdom took place on the 16th day of March in the current year, 1649.

CHAPITRE VI.

ESTAT PRESENT DU CHRISTIANISME, & DES MOYENS
DE SECOURIR CES PEUPLES.

EN fuite des pertes arriuées, vne partie du pays des Hurons s'est veü dans la defolation, quinze bourgs ont esté abandonnez, chacun se dissipant où il a pû dans les bois & forests, dans les lacs & riuieres, & dans les Isles plus inconnuës à l'ennemy. Les autres se font retirez dans les Nations voisines, plus capables de soutenir les efforts de la guerre. En moins de quinze iours, nostre Maison de Sainte Marie se veid dépotüillée de tous costez & l'vnique qui resta sur pied, däs ces lieux de terreur, plus exposez aux incurfions de l'ennemy: ceux qui auoiët quitté leurs anciennes [87] demeures, y ayans mis le feu eux-mefmes, crainte qu'elles ne seruissent de retraite & de fortereffes aux Iroquois.

Ce qui augmente la misere publique, c'est que la famine a esté grande cette année en toutes ces contrées, plus qu'on ne l'auoit veu depuis cinquante ans: la plupart n'ayans pas de quoy viure, & estans contraints ou de mâger du gland, ou bien d'aller chercher dans les bois des racines sauuages, dont ils soustienent vne miserable vie: encore trop heureux de n'estre pas tombez entre les mains d'vn ennemy, mille fois plus cruel que les bestes feroces, & que toutes les famines du mōde. La pesche en nourrit quelques-vns. Mais après tout, en quelque endroit

CHAPTER VI.

PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, AND MEANS OF
HELPING THESE PEOPLES.

IN consequence of the losses incurred, a part of the country of the Hurons is seen to be in desolation; fifteen villages have been abandoned, the people of each scattering where they could,—in the woods and forests, on the lakes and rivers, and among the Islands most unknown to the enemy. Others have taken refuge in the neighboring Nations, more capable of sustaining the stress of war. In less than fifteen days, our House of Sainte Marie has seen itself stripped bare on every side, and the only one which remained standing in these places of terror, most exposed to the incursions of the enemy,—those who had left their former [87] dwellings having set fire to these themselves, fearing lest they should serve as retreat and fortresses to the Iroquois.

What increases the public misery is, that famine has been prevalent this year in all these regions, more than it had been seen in fifty years,—most of the people not having wherewith to live, and being constrained either to eat acorns, or else to go and seek in the woods some wild roots. With these they sustain a wretched life,—still too happy not to have fallen into the hands of an enemy a thousand times more cruel than the wild beasts, and than all the famines in the world. Fishing supports some of

que nous allions, nous n'y voyons rien que des croix, des miseres presentes, & des craintes d'un plus grand mal; la mort estant à la plupart, le moindre des maux qui leur puisse arriuer.

Les esperances du Paradis que la Foy fournit aux Chrestiens, font l'unique consolation qui les soustient dans ces rencontres, & qui leur fait estimer plus que iamais, les auantages du bon-heur qu'ils possèdent; qui ne peut leur estre rauy, ny par les cruantez des Iroquois, ny par les [88] langueurs d'une famine, qui va les pourfuiuant dans leur fuite, & de laquelle ils ne peuuent fuyr.

Nous auons tafché toutefois de secourir de nostre pauureté, vne partie de ces pauvres Chrestiens, & depuis ces miseres publiques, qui commencerent il n'y a pas vn an, nous en auons receu dans l'hospice de cette Maison de Sainte Marie, plus de six mille de compte fait; & tous les iours le nombre croist aussi bien que leurs miseres, que Dieu en soit beny à tout iamais. Quoy qu'il arriue, ce nous doit estre assez qu'il en tire sa gloire: & s'il luy plaist augmenter la foy de ces peuples, multipliant ses croix, & sur eux & sur nous; nostre cœur y est préparé, nous les embrasserons avec ioye, & nous luy dirons sur la montagne de Caluaire d'aussi bon cœur, que s'il nous auoit transporté sur la montagne de sa gloire, *Bonum est nos hïc esse.*

Il parle de la forte, à cause que ie crains qu'on ne craigne par trop pour nous, *Æstimati sumus sicut oues occisionis, sed in his omnibus superamus, propter eum qui dilexit nos.* Depuis la naissance du Christianisme, & depuis que Iesus-Christ n'a racheté le monde, que par son sang respandu sur la [89] Croix, nous sommes

them. But, after all, to whatever place we go, we see there nothing but crosses, present miseries, and fears of a greater evil,—death being, for most, the least of the evils that can befall them.

The hopes of Paradise which the Faith furnishes to the Christians are the only consolation which sustains them at this critical time, and which makes them more than ever esteem the advantages of the blessing which they possess, which cannot be snatched from them, either by the cruelties of the Iroquois or by the [88] prostration of a famine which continually pursues them in their flight, and from which they cannot escape.

We have, nevertheless, tried to assist, out of our own poverty, a part of these poor Christians; and since those public miseries, which began not a year ago, we have received in the hospice of this House of Sainte Marie more than six thousand, by actual count; and every day the number increases, as well as their miseries. May God be blessed forever. Whatever befalls, it must be enough for us that he derive his glory from it; and if it please him to augment the faith of these peoples by multiplying his crosses both upon them and upon us, our hearts are prepared for it, and we shall embrace them with joy; and we will say to him upon the mountain of Calvary, with as good heart as if he had transported us upon the mountain of his glory, *Bonum est nos hinc esse.*

I speak in this way because I fear lest too much fear be felt for us. *Æstimati sumus sicut oves occisionis, sed in his omnibus superamus, propter eum qui dilexit nos.* From the birth of Christianity, and since Jesus Christ redeemed the world only through his blood

affeurez que la Foy n'a esté plantée en aucun lieu du monde, qu'au milieu des croix & des souffrances. Ainsi ces defolations nous consolent, & au milieu de la perfecution, dans le plus fort des maux qui nous attaquent, & des plus grands malheurs dont on nous puisse menacer, nous sommes tous remplis de ioye, & nostre cœur nous dit que iamais Dieu n'a eût vn amour plus tendre pour nous, que celuy qu'il a maintenant.

Au reste il ne faut pas croire que tout soit perdu. *Non est abbreviata manus Domini.* Les Chrestiens qui sont fugitifs, n'ont pas perdu leurs ames avec leurs biens, ils portent dans leur cœur la vraye Foy, qui fait en eux vne Eglise viuante. Les Peuples qui restent à conuertir, sont du domaine de Iesus-Christ, qui nous donne assez de lumieres, pour pouuoir esperer raisonnablement que nous pourrons en faire vn peuple tout Chrestien: nonobstant les pertes passées, & les defolations qui ont precedé. Il est vray que le plus fort de nos esperances est en Dieu seul; mais il en est de mesme dans toutes les affaires qui ne sont pas du reffort de la nature. Où seroit nostre merite & nostre foy, si nous ne marchions [90] à trauers ces obscuritez? où nostre confiance en Dieu, si nostre appuy estoit tout entier sur les moyens humains? Qui veut voir trop clair en ses affaires, ne s'abandonne pas assez aux conduites de Dieu, & ce n'est plus en Dieu qu'il se confie, mais en foy-mesme. Nous prions nostre Seigneur, que iamais il ne permette en nous vne infidelité si grande, dans le maniement des affaires qu'il nous a mises en main, qui sont les siennes plus que les nostres.

Voicy les pensées que nous auons; le temps y

shed upon the [89] Cross, we are assured that the Faith has not been planted in any region of the world except in the midst of crosses and sufferings. Thus these desolations console us; and in the midst of persecution, at the climax of the evils which attack us, and of the greatest misfortunes with which one can threaten us, we are all filled with joy, and our hearts tell us that God has never had a more tender love for us than that which he now has.

Moreover, it must not be supposed that all is lost. *Non est abbreviata manus Domini.* The Christians who are fugitives have not lost their souls with their goods; they bear in their hearts the true Faith, which makes of them a living Church. The Peoples which remain to be converted are of the domain of Jesus Christ, who gives us sufficient enlightenment to enable us reasonably to hope that we can make from them a people wholly Christian, notwithstanding the past losses and desolations which have preceded. It is true that the strongest of our hopes is in God alone; but it is the same in all affairs which are not of the jurisdiction of nature. Where would our merit and our faith be, if we did not journey [90] through these obscurities? where our confidence in God, if our support were altogether upon human agencies? He who wishes to see too clearly in his affairs, does not sufficiently abandon himself to the guidance of God; and it is no longer in God that he trusts, but in himself. We pray our Lord that he may never permit in us so great unfaithfulness in the management of the affairs which he has put in our hands,—which are his own, more than ours.

donnera plus de iour. Il est difficile que la Foy subsiste en ces païs, si nous n'auons vn lieu, qui soit comme le centre de toutes nos Missions; d'où nous puissions enuoyer les Predicateurs de l'Euangile, dans les Nations répanduës en toutes ces contrées, & où nous puissions nous r'assembler de fois à autres, pour y conferer des moyens que Dieu nous fournira de procurer sa gloire, & des lumieres qu'il nous donnera pour cét effet. Cette maison de Sainte Marie, où nous auons esté iusqu'à maintenant, estoit dans le lieu le plus auantageux pour ce dessein, qu'on eût pû choisir, en quelque part que nous [91] eussions esté. Mais les affaires estant dans l'estat où nous les voyons maintenant, ce seroit vne temerité à nous de demeurer en vn lieu abandonné, d'où les Hurons se retirans, & où les Algonquins ne pouuans plus auoir aucun commerce, pas vn ne viendroit nous y voir, sinon les Ennemis qui déchargeroient sur nous seuls tout le poids de leurs armes. Ainsi nous sommes resolu de fuiure nostre troupeau, & fuir avec les fuyans, puisque nous ne viuons pas icy pour nous mesmes, mais pour le salut des ames, & pour la conuersion de ces Peuples.

Mais les bourgades Hurones, qui se font disperfées, ayant pris diuerfes routes en leur fuite; les vns s'estans iettez dans des montagnes que nous appelons la Nation du Petun, où trois de nos Peres cultivoient cét hyuer dernier, trois Missions diuerfes; les autres ayans pris party dans vne Isle, que nous nommons l'Isle de S. Ioseph, où nous commençâmes, il y a prés d'vn an, vne nouvelle Mission: Enfin les autres estans dans le dessein d'aller dans des Isles plus esloignées de nostre grād Lac ou Mer douce; Nous fuiurons

These are the opinions that we have; time will shed more light on them. It is difficult for the Faith to remain alive in these countries, unless we have a place which may be, as it were, the center of all our Missions; whence we can send the Preachers of the Gospel into the Nations who are spread abroad in all these regions; and where we can assemble from time to time, in order to confer there on the means which God will supply to us for procuring his glory, and on the light that he shall give us for that purpose. This house of Sainte Marie, where we have been until now, was at the most advantageous location that we could have chosen for this purpose, wherever we [91] might have been. But, affairs being in the condition in which we see them now, it would be but rashness in us to dwell in a forsaken place, whence the Hurons had retired, and where the Algonquins were unable to have further trade; not one would come to see us there, unless the Enemies, who would discharge upon us alone the whole weight of their hostility. Consequently, we are resolved to follow our flock, and to flee with the fleeing, since we do not live here for ourselves, but for the salvation of souls, and for the conversion of these Peoples.

But the Huron villages, which have become scattered, have taken various routes in their flight,—some having fled to the mountains where dwell those whom we call the Tobacco Nation, where three of our Fathers were cultivating, this last winter, three separate Missions; others having taken their stand on an Island which we name St. Joseph Island,¹⁸ where we began, nearly a year ago, a new Mission; others, finally, having the intention of going into the

ceux-cy, & nous tâcherons d'establiir nostre principale demeure, [92] & le centre de nos Missions, dans vne Isle que nous nommons l'Isle de Sainte Marie, que les Hurons appellent Ekaentoton. C'est cette Isle dont i'ay parlé dans le second Chapitre, où i'ay dit que nous commençâmes l'Automne dernier, vne nouvelle Mission, parmy les peuples Algonquins qui l'habitent, & qui est éloignée de nous environ foixante lieuës.

Cette Isle nous a paru deuoir estre vne demeure plus conuenable à nostre dessein; à cause que de ce lieu nous pourrons plus que d'aucun autre, vacquer à la conuersion des Hurons, & des Algonquins: car nous approcherons des Algonquins Efkiaeronnon, Aoechifaeronon, Aoeatfioaenronnon, & d'une infinité d'autres peuples alliez, tirant tousiours vers l'Occident & nous esloignant des Iroquois nos Ennemis. De ce mesme lieu, nous pourrons aussi enuoyer par canot vers la Nation du Petun, & vers les Peuples de la Nation Neutre, qui nous desirent, quelques-vns de nos Peres, qui auront soin des Missions de ce costé là. De plus en cette Isle de Sainte Marie, nous ferons tousiours dans la commodité plus grande que d'aucun autre lieu, d'entretenir & conferuer le [93] commerce des Algonquins & des Hurons, avec nos François des Trois-Riuieres & de Kebec: ce qui est necessaire, & pour le maintien de la Foy en toutes ces contrées, & pour le bien des colonies Françoises, & le soustien de la Nouvelle France. Mais il faut attendre ce temps là, avec patience & courage; car ie croy que pour quelques années, nos Hurons auront de la peine à faire ce voyage, estans pressés de la famine, & obligés de fuir le fleau de la guerre. Quand ils auront

more distant Islands of our great Lake or fresh-water Sea. We will follow the latter, and we will try to establish our principal dwelling, [92] and the center of our Missions, in an Island which we call Sainte Marie Island, which the Hurons call Ekaentoton.¹⁰ It is this Island of which I spoke in the second Chapter, in which I said that we began last Autumn a new Mission, among the Algonquin peoples which inhabit it, and which is about sixty leagues distant from us.

This Island, it has seemed to us must be a more suitable abode, for our purpose, because in that place we shall be better able than in any other to occupy ourselves with the conversion of the Hurons and of the Algonquins; for we shall approach the Eskiaeronnon, Aoechisaeronon, and Aoeatsioaenronnon Algonquins and countless other allied peoples, continually proceeding Westward, and removing ourselves from the Iroquois our Enemies. From that same place, we shall be able also to send, by canoe, to the Tobacco Nation and the Peoples of the Neutral Nation, who desire us, some of our Fathers, who will take charge of the Missions in that quarter. Moreover, in that Island of Sainte Marie we shall always be able, more conveniently than in any other place, to maintain and preserve the [93] trade of the Algonquins and Hurons with our French at Three Rivers and at Kebec,—which is necessary for the maintenance of the Faith in all these regions, for the good of the French colonies, and for the support of New France. But we must await that time with patience and courage; for I believe that our Hurons will have difficulty for several years in making this voyage, being beset with famine and obliged to flee the scourge of war. When they shall have had leisure to come to themselves,

eû le loisir de se reconnoistre, alors ils pourront retrouver le chemin de Kebec, non seulement par la grande Riviere de S. Laurent, qui peut-estre fera tousiours trop infectée des Ennemis Iroquois; mais par des voyes écartées, par lesquelles ils pourront faire ce voyage avec plus de seureté.

Cette Isle de Sainte Marie est abondante en poisson; & les terres y sont bonnes pour estre cultiuées, selon le rapport qui nous en est fait. Volontiers nous mettrons la main à la charuë, pour y viure à la fueur de nostre visage, & de nostre trauail, si les viures nous manquent d'ailleurs: car iusques à maintenant c'estoient les bourgades Hurones qui nous fourniffoient leur [94] bled d'Inde, qui a esté le principal & quasi le total de nostre nourriture. Nous n'estimons pas cét employ indigne de nos foins: & s'il estoit neccessaire de nous rendre esclaves de nos ennemis mesmes, afin de trouuer les moyens de conferuer dans la captiuité la Foy de ces Eglises, que Dieu a fait naistre au milieu de la barbarie; & d'annoncer à tous les Peuples qui restent à conuertir en ces contrées, le nom de Dieu qu'ils n'ont pas encore adoré; Volontiers nous abandonnerions & nostre liberté, & nos vies, à la cruauté des Iroquois, & nous irions mourir au milieu de leurs feux & de leurs braziers.

Nous ne sçauons pas ce que Dieu nous reserue, & si peut-estre vn bûcher & les flammes ne feront point nostre partage, aussi bien qu'à nos Freres qui y sont morts depuis si peu de iours, pour la cause de Dieu. Quoy qui puisse nous arriuer nous ferons trop heureux d'auoir confommé nos vies à son seruice, puis qu'il merite que tous les hommes s'immolent pour sa gloire; & qu'ils n'ayent pas vn seul moment de vie, sinon

then they will be able again to find the way to Ke-
bec, not only by the great River of St. Lawrence,—
which perhaps will always be too much infested
with the Iroquois Enemies,—but by sequestered
routes, over which they can make this voyage with
more security.

That Island of Sainte Marie abounds in fish; and
the lands there, according to the report made to us
about them, are good for cultivation. We will gladly
put our hands to the plough, in order to live there by
the sweat of our brows and by our own labor, if pro-
visions fail us otherwise,—for hitherto it was the
Huron villages which furnished us their [94] Indian
corn, which has been the bulk and almost the total
of our food. We do not esteem this occupation un-
worthy of our cares; and,—if it were necessary for
us to become slaves of our enemies themselves, that
we might find means to preserve, during the captiv-
ity, the Faith of these Churches which God has
raised up in the midst of barbarism; and to announce,
to all the Peoples which remain to be converted in
these regions, the name of God, which they have
not yet adored,—gladly would we abandon both our
liberty and our lives to the cruelty of the Iroquois,
and we would go to die in the midst of their flames
and fires.

We know not what God reserves for us, and
whether a stake and the flames will not perhaps be
our portion, as well as that of our Brethren who have
died here within so few days for the cause of God.
Whatever may befall us, we shall be too happy to
have spent our lives in his service, since he deserves
that all men sacrifice themselves for his glory; and
that they have not a single moment of life except for

pour son sainct amour, & pour le falut des ames, qu'il a aimées iufques à la mort.

[95] Depuis ce que deffus efcrit, la plupart des bourgades Huronnes qui s'estoient diffipées, ayant defir de se retinir dans l'Isle de S. Iofeph; douze des Capitaines les plus confiderables, font venus nous coniuurer au nom de tout ce pauvre Peuple defolé, Que nous euffions pitié de leur misere; Que fans nous ils se voyoient la proye de l'ennemy; Qu'aucun nous ils s'estimoient trop forts pour [ne pas] se defendre avec courage: Que nous euffions compassion de leurs veuves, & des pauvres enfans Chrestiens; Que tous ceux qui reftoient d'Infideles, estoient tous refolus d'embrasser nostre Foy, & que nous ferions de cette Isle, vne Isle de Chrestiens.

Aprés auoir parlé plus de trois heures entieres, avec vne eloquence auffi puiffante pour nous fléchir, que l'art des Orateurs en pourroit fournir au milieu de la France, à la plupart de ceux qui appellent ces pays barbares; ils firent montre de dix grands colliers de pourcelaine (ce font les perles & les diamans de ces pays) ils nous dirent que c'estoit là la voix de leurs femmes & enfans, qui nous faisoient present du peu qu'il leur reftoit dans leur misere; Que nous fçauions assez en quelle estime [96] ils auoient ces colliers, qui font leurs ornemens, & toute leur beauté; mais qu'ils vouloient que nous fceuffions que la Foy leur feroit plus pretieuse que leurs biens, & que nos instructions leur feroient plus aymables, que tout ce que la terre leur pourroit fournir de richesses. Qu'ils faisoient ces presens, pour faire reuiure en nos perfonnes le zele & le nom du Pere Echon (c'est le nom que les Hurons ont tousiours donné au Pere Iean de

his holy love, and for the salvation of the souls which he loved even until death.

[95] Since the above writing, most of the Huron villages which had become scattered have conceived the desire to reunite in the Island of St. Joseph; and twelve of the most considerable Captains have come to entreat us, in the name of all this poor desolate People, that we should have pity on their misery. They said that, without us, they saw themselves the prey of the enemy; that, with us, they esteemed themselves too strong not to defend themselves with courage; that we must have compassion on their widows, and on the poor Christian children; that those who remained Infidels were all resolved to embrace our Faith; and that we would make that Island an Island of Christians.

After having spoken more than three whole hours,—with an eloquence as powerful to bend us as the art of Orators could furnish, in the midst of France, to most of those who call these countries barbarous,—they made a display of ten large collars of porcelain (the pearls and diamonds of these countries); they told us that that was the voice of their women and children, who made us a present of the little which was left to them in their misery. They added that we knew well enough in what esteem [96] they held these necklaces, which are their ornaments and all their beauty; but that they wished us to know that the Faith would be more precious to them than were their goods; and that our instructions would be held dearer by them than all the riches which the earth could furnish them. They said that they made these presents in order to revive in our persons the zeal and the name of Father Echon (the name

Brebeuf.) Qu'il auoit esté le premier Apôstre du pays; Qu'il estoit mort pour les assister, iusqu'au dernier soupir; Qu'ils esperoient que son exemple nous toucheroit, & que nos cœurs ne pouuoient pas leur refuser de mourir avec eux, puis qu'ils vouloient viure Chrestiens.

En vn mot leur eloquence nous emporta, ou plustost la disposition de leurs ames, & les raisons que la nature pouuoit leur fournir. Nous ne pûmes douter que Dieu n'eût voulu nous parler par leur bouche, & quoy qu'à leur abord, nous eussions tous esté dans vn autre dessein, nous nous trouuâmes tous changez auant leur depart, & d'vn commun consentement nous crûmes qu'il falloit fuiure Dieu, la part où [97] il nous vouloit appeller, quelque peril qu'il pût y auoir pour nos vies, & quelque espaisseur de tenebres où nous puissions rester, pour la fuite du temps futur, qui n'est pas en nostre pouuoir.

Ainsi nostre dessein est de transporter tout le gros de nos forces, & cette maison de saincte Marie dans l'Isle de S. Ioseph, qui fera le centre de nos missions, & ensemble le bouleuart de ces pays. Nous auons besoin plus que iamais des prieres de la France. Quoy qui puisse nous arriuer, nous portons avec ioye nos ames entre nos mains, & nostre mort fera nostre desir, pourueu que nos vies ne soient consommées que pour le maintien de la Foy, & la gloire de Dieu en toutes ces contrées.

Il ne fera pas hors de propos d'adiouster en ce Chapitre la lettre qu'écrivit le Pere qui auoit soin de cette Mission, au R. P. Hierôme Lalemant Superieur

which the Hurons have always given to Father Jean de Brebeuf); that he had been the first Apostle to the country; that he had died in order to assist them even to his last sigh; that they hoped that his example would touch us, and that our hearts could not refuse to die with them, since they wished to live as Christians.

In a word, their eloquence—or, rather, the disposition of their souls, and the reasons which nature could supply to them—conquered us. We could not doubt that God had chosen to speak to us by their lips; and although, at their coming, we all had entertained another design, we all found ourselves changed before their departure, and with a common consent we believed that it was necessary to follow God in the direction whither [97] he chose to call us,—whatever peril there might be in it for our lives, and in whatever depth of darkness we may continue,—for the remaining future, which is not in our power.

Our design is, therefore, to transfer the entire body of our forces, and this house of sainte Marie, to the Island of St. Joseph, which will be at once the center of our missions, and the bulwark of these countries. We have need more than ever of the prayers of France. Whatever may befall us, we carry with joy our souls in our hands, and our death will be our desire,—provided that our lives be spent only for the maintenance of the Faith and the glory of God in all these regions.

It will not be inappropriate to add, in this Chapter, the letter which the Father who had charge of that Mission writes to the Reverend Father Hierôme

à Kebec, puis qu'elle nous donne vne plus ample cognoissance de l'estat de cette Mission.

Pax Christi.

MON REVEREND PERE,
Après la mort du petit Iacques Dotiard [98] affassiné l'an passé, ie me fouuins d'auoir offert à Dieu en holocauste ce que i'auois de plus cher en ce monde, dans la pensée qui me venoit, qu'il n'y auoit rien pour pretieux qu'il fust, dont nous [ne] deussions aimer l'aneantissement, pourueu que d'iceluy quelque gloire en reuinft à Dieu; entre autres choses que i'offrois à Dieu comme celles que ie cherissois le plus au monde, estoient les Chrestiens de la Conception dont i'auois le foin, & puis la maison de S. Marie; le bon Dieu a accepté mon offrande. Tous mes pauvres Chrestiens de la Conception à la referue de 3. ou 4. ont esté tuez, ou pris captifs par les Iroquois, & la maison de saincte Marie a esté destruite, quoy que plus doucement, qu'à ce que ie m'estois resolu dés long-temps auparauant en mes meditations. Mais les bons Peres de Brebeuf & Lalemant ont offert à Dieu vn bien plus agreable sacrifice, *non aliena, non sua, sed seipsos immolando.* Pretieux holocauste de ces vertueux Peres, que ne puis-ie vous faire continuer en ma personne? ce fera quand il plaira à Dieu; tous tant que nous sommes de Peres icy nous n'auons iamais plus aimé nostre vocation qu'après auoir veu qu'elle [99] nous peut esleuer iusques à la gloire du martyre; il n'y a que mes imperfections qui m'en puissent faire quitter ma part; Helas mon Reuerend Pere, que i'ay besoin d'humilité, & de

Lalemant, Superior at Kebec, since it gives us a more ample knowledge of the state of that Mission.

Pax Christi.

MY REVEREND FATHER,
After the death of little Jacques Douard, [98] who was assassinated last year,¹⁴ I remember that I offered to God, as a burnt-offering, the dearest thing I had in this world. I did this, in the thought which came to me that there was nothing, however precious it might be, the annihilation of which we ought not to delight in, provided that some glory accrued from the same to God. Among other things which I was offering to God, as those which I cherished the most in the world, were the Christians of la Conception, of whom I had charge, and then the house of Ste. Marie; the good God has accepted my offering. All my poor Christians of la Conception, except 3 or 4, have been killed or taken captive by the Iroquois; and the house of sainte Marie has been destroyed, although more quietly than I had persuaded myself it would be, long before, in my meditations. But the good Fathers de Brebeuf and Lalemant have offered to God a much more agreeable sacrifice, *non aliena, non sua, sed seipsos immolando*. Precious burnt-offering of those virtuous Fathers! why can I not continue you in my person? This will be when God shall please. We all, as many Fathers as we are here, have never loved our vocation more, than after having seen that it [99] can raise us even to the glory of martyrdom; there is nothing but my imperfections which can make me give up my part. Alas, my Reverend Father, how I need humility and purity of heart, in order to be able to aspire to the honor

pureté de cœur pour pouuoir aspirer à l'honneur que le bon Dieu a fait à son nepueu: si V. R. la demande pour moy au bon Iesus par les merites de ses quatre grands seruiteurs les PP. Iogues, Daniel, de Brebeuf, & Lalemant, i'espere qu'elle me l'obtiendra, & en suite le bon Iesus me pourroit bien faire la grace de mourir pour l'aduancement de son Royaume; Je suis depuis vn mois à Ahændoe l'Isle de S. Ioseph, où la plufpart de nos pauures Hurons se sont refugiez; c'est icy où ie vois vne partie des miserables que la guerre, & la famine, ont caufé à ce pauure peuple desolé, leur nourriture ordinaire n'est plus que de gland, ou d'une certaine racine amere qu'ils nomment otfa, & bienheureux encore qui en peut auoir, ceux qui n'en ont pas, viuent partie d'ail cuit sous les cendres, ou dans l'eau sans autre fauce, & partie de poisson boucané, dont ils affaifonnent l'eau toute pure qu'ils boient, comme ils faisoient auparauant leur sagement; il s'en trouue [100] encore de plus pauures que tout cela, qui n'ont ny bled, ny gland, ny ail, ny poisson, & sont de pauures malades qui ne scauroient chercher leur vie; adioustez à cette paureté, qu'il faut qu'ils trauaillent à défricher de nouvelles forests, à faire des cabanes, & à faire des palissades pour se garantir l'année qui vient de la famine, & de la guerre, en sorte que les voyant vous iugeriez que ce sont de pauures morts déterrez. Je voudrois pouuoir représenter à toutes les personnes affectionnées à nos Hurons, l'estat pitoyable auquel ils sont réduits: certainement elles ne pourroient se contenir de sangloter & de pleurer à chaudes larmes. Helas que ie leur dirois volontiers de la part de tout ce pauure

which the good God has shown your nephew! If Your Reverence ask it for me from the good Jesus, through the merits of his four great servants, Fathers Jogues, Daniel, de Brebeuf, and Lalemant, I hope that you will obtain it for me; and then the good Jesus might indeed give me grace to die for the advancement of his Kingdom. I have been for a month at Ahwendoe, on the Island of St. Joseph, where most of our poor Hurons have taken refuge; it is here that I see a part of the miseries which war and famine have caused to this poor desolate people. Their ordinary food is now nothing but acorns, or a certain bitter root which they name *otsa*; and yet, fortunate is he who can have any of these. Those who have none, live partly on garlic baked under the ashes, or cooked in water, without other sauce; and partly on smoked fish, wherewith they season the clear water which they drink, as they formerly did their *sagamité*. There are found [100] still poorer ones than all that,—who have neither corn, nor acorns, nor garlic, nor fish, and are poor sick people who cannot seek their living. Add to this poverty that they must work to clear new forests, make cabins, and erect palisades, in order to secure themselves in the coming year from famine and war; indeed, seeing them, you might conclude that these are poor corpses unearthed. I would that I could represent, to all the persons having affection for our Hurons, the pitiful state to which they are reduced; certainly they could not contain themselves from sobbing, and shedding warm tears. Alas! how gladly would I tell them on the part of all this poor people, *Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos, amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me.* The most benign Jesus was

peuple, *Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me.* Le tres-benin Iefus fut touché de compaffion à la veuë d'une feule veuve, dont on portoit le fils en terre; comment feroit-il poffible que ces imitateurs de Iefus-Chrift, ne fuffent émeus à pieté [*sc.* pitié] à la veuë des centaines, & centaines de veuves dont non feulement les enfans, mais quafi les parents ont efté outrageufement ou tuez, ou emmenez captifs, & puis [101] inhumainement bruslez, cuits, déchirez, & deuorez des ennemis. Ceux qui me touchent dauantage ce font les pauvres veuves, & orphelins de la Conception, qui eftoit le Bourg communément nommé par les Hurons le Bourg Croyant, & ce avec raifon; car il y auoit fort peu d'infideles de reſte: l'hyuer paſſé il ne s'y eftoit commis aucun peché public, les Chreftiens eftans les plus forts pour empescher les Infideles qui en euſſent voulu faire. Entre autres il y eut vn deſir d'une Danſe Dſtetha, à laquelle le Meneftrier venu d'un autre Bourg vouloit annexer vn feſtin d'Endakſandet; ce qu'ayans entendu les Chreftiens ils s'y oppoferent ſi puiffamment, qu'il n'y eut pas vn Capitaine qui vouluſt en faire la criée; de forte que le Meneftrier fut contraint de vuidier, & de s'en retourner avec ſa courte honte à ſon Bourg: ce fut la derniere action que firent nos Chreftiens en profeſſion de leur Foy, car trois iours après les Iroquois les tuerent, n'en ayant emmené que ſix prifonniers, tout le reſte ayant combattu genereufement iufques à la mort pour la deſenſe de leur patrie. On m'a dit que Charles Ondaiadiondiont voyant que l'ennemy [102] les emportoit à force de monde ſe mit à genoux pour prier Dieu, & que fort peu après il fut tué d'un coup

touched with compassion at the sight of a single widow, whose son they were carrying to the grave; how would it be possible that these imitators of Jesus Christ should not be moved to pity at the sight of the hundreds and hundreds of widows,— whose children not only, but almost all their kindred, have been either outrageously killed, or taken captive, and then [101] inhumanly burned, cooked, torn, and devoured by the enemy? Those who touch me still more are the poor widows and orphans of la Conception, which was the Village commonly named by the Hurons “the Believing Village,”—and that with reason, for there were very few infidels left. Last winter, there had not been any public sin committed there,—the Christians being the strongest, so that they could hinder the Infidels who might have wished to commit such. Among others, there was a desire for a Douthetha Dance,—to which the Musician, who had come from another Village, wished to annex a feast of Endakwandet. Having heard of this, the Christians opposed it so vigorously that there was not one Captain who was willing to make the proclamation of it; the Musician was therefore constrained to depart, and to return abashed to his own Village. This was the last act that our Christians accomplished in profession of their Faith; for, three days later, the Iroquois killed them, having taken away only six of them as prisoners,—all the rest having bravely fought, even to death, for the defense of their native country. I have been told that Charles Ondaiaiondiont, seeing that the enemy [102] was overwhelming by dint of numbers, knelt to pray to God; and that, a very little later, he was killed by an arquebus shot. Acowendoutie, of Arentet, bap-

d'arquebuze. Acoſendſtie d'Arentet baptizé là bas, fut trouué les mains iointes après ſa mort, ce fut vn des Hurons qui retrouuerent le corps du Pere de Noue les mains iointes, ſans doute qu'il l'a voulu imiter. Je veux pour acheuer ma lettre faire part à V. R. de la priere que fit le bon René Tfondihſannen au depart des Chreſtiens de la Cõception qui alloient au deuant de l'ennemy: Seigneur Dieu, Maĩſtre de nos vies, ayez pitié des Chreſtiens qui vont rencontrer les Iroquois, ne les abandonnez pas, de peur que le progrès de la Foy ne ſoit retardé par vos ennemis, s'ils ont le deffus. Quoy que le bon homme n'obtint pas l'effet de ſa priere, il ne laiffa pas de venir adorer Dieu, en fuite de la mort de Tfoendiai ſon gendre, & de la captiuité d'Ihanneufa ſon fils. I'entendis encore la priere qu'il fit en telle forme, Mon Dieu ce qui eſt arriué que nos freres ſont morts eſt le meilleur, nous n'auons point d'eſprit nous autres hõmes qui pretendiõs que l'iffuë n'arriue-t'elle ainſi? vous ſeuł cõnoiſſez ce qui doit eſtre pour le mieux. Pour [103] lors nous adouẽrons dans le Ciel quand nous y arriuerons, que les chofes ſont bien arriuées ainſi qu'elles ſont arriuées, & qu'elles ne feroient pas bien allées, ſi elles fuſſent arriuées autrement. V. R. voit par là que *diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*. I'ay eu l'honneur d'eſtre enuiron trois ſepmaines durant Maĩſtre en la langue Huronne de ſon bon Nepueu, *incredibile eſt dictu quantum infudaret linguæ addiſcendæ, quantumque proficeret. In præmium iſtiusmodi ſolertiæ nonnulli putarunt fuiſſe illi à Deo conceſſam tam felicem mortẽ*. La peine qu'il prenoit à apprendre la langue Huronne, & le progres qu'il y faifoit eſt preſque incroyable; quelques-vns de nos Peres ont eſtimé

tized over there, was found, after his death, with his hands clasped; he was one of the Hurons who recovered the body of Father de Noue, with his hands clasped, and, no doubt, he desired to imitate him. I wish, at the close of my letter, to communicate to Your Reverence the prayer offered by the good René Tsondihwannen at the departure of the Christians of la Conception, who were going to meet the enemy: "Lord God, Master of our lives, have pity on the Christians who are going to encounter the Iroquois; do not abandon them, lest the progress of the Faith be retarded by your enemies, if they have the upper hand." Although the good man did not obtain the effect of his prayer, he nevertheless came to adore God, in consequence of the death of Tsoendiai, his son-in-law, and of the captivity of Ihanneusa his son. I again heard the prayer which he made, in this form: "My God, what has happened, that our brothers have died, is the best; we have no sense, we men who demand, 'Why does the issue not happen thus?' You alone know what must be for the best. As for [103] that time, we will avow in Heaven, when we shall arrive there, that matters, as they have come about, have well happened; and that they would not have gone well if they had happened otherwise." Your Reverence sees by that, that *diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*. I had the honor to be, for about three weeks, Instructor in the Huron language to your good Nephew,—*incredibile est dictu quantum insudaret linguæ addiscendæ quantumque proficeret. In præmium istiusmodi solertiæ nonnulli putarunt fuisse illi à Deo concessam tam felicem mortem.* "The pains that he took in learning the Huron language, and the progress that he made in it, are

que Dieu a recompensé cette grande diligence de
cette heureuse mort. Adieu mō Reuerend Pere,

Que V. R. ne s'oublie pas en ses

SS. sacrifices, & prieres de

Son tres-humble & tres-obeyffant
feruiteur I. M. CHAVMONOT,
de la Compagnie de I E S V S.

De l'Isle de S. Ioseph,

ce 1. Iuin 1649.

almost incredible; some of our Fathers have thought that God has rewarded this great diligence by that blessed death." Adieu, my Reverend Father;

Let not Your Reverence forget, in your

Holy sacrifices and prayers,

Your very humble and very obedient

servant, J. M. CHAUMONOT,

of the Society of JESUS.

From the Island of St. Joseph,

this 1st of June, 1649.

[From second edition of the *Relation*.]

[104] **D**EPVIS que cette Relation a paru au iour, vn vaisseau nouvellement arriué de ce nouveau Monde, nous a rendu quelques lettres assez amples, qui parlent de ce qui s'est passé aux Hurons, nous n'en mettrons icy qu'un petit échantillon, reseruant le reste en son temps.

LES Bourgades Huronnes (*dit vn Pere de la Compagnie écrivant du pays des Hurons*) s'estant dissipées en diuers endroits, le plus gros de ces peuples s'est réfugié en la Nation du Petun, d'où i'ay grand peur que la crainte des ennemis ne les chaffe. D'autres ont dessein d'establir vne Colonie à Kebec, où vn Capitaine s'est transporté tout expres, au trauers de mille dangers, pour voir si les François aggreeroient leur dessein, & s'ils leur pourroient donner quelque secours. En verité cette pauvre Eglise est digne de compassion. Je ne doute point que nos Peres qui font là ne les reçoient à bras ouuerts, & ne les secourent selon leur petit [105] pouuoir. Il les faut consoler dans la defolation generale de tout leur pays; c'est vn peuple nouvellement acquis à Dieu, il ne l'abandonnera pas.

Trois cens familles quasi toutes Chrestiennes, se font retirées dans l'Isle de S. Ioseph. Nous ayons priez de nous ioindre avec eux, nous auons mis le feu dans nostre maison de Sainte Marie de peur que l'ennemy ne s'en emparât. Cet edifice paroissoit magnifique aux yeux des Sauvages; nous l'auons quitté le quinzième iour de May de cette année

[From second edition of the *Relation*:]

[104] **S**INCE this *Relation* was published, a vessel, recently arrived from that new World, has brought us letters of considerable length, treating of occurrences among the Hurons. We shall give here merely a brief specimen of these letters, reserving the remainder until its proper time.

WHEN the inhabitants of the Huron Villages (*says a Father of the Society, writing from the country of the Hurons*) were scattered in different directions, the great mass of these peoples sought refuge with the Tobacco Nation, whence I greatly fear the dread of the enemy may drive them. Others purpose planting a Colony at Kebec, whither a Captain made his way through a thousand dangers, expressly to see whether the French would approve their plan and be able to render them some assistance. Verily, this poor Church is worthy of compassion. I doubt not that our Fathers who are there would receive its members with open arms, and succor them to the best of their slender [105] ability. In the general devastation of their whole country, they need consolation. They are a people newly won to God, and he will not forsake them.

Three hundred families, nearly all Christian, took refuge on St. Joseph Island. Being entreated to join them, we set fire to our house at Sainte Marie, lest the enemy might take possession of it. This was a magnificent edifice, in the eyes of the Savages.

1649. non fans quelque petit retour de la Nature: car il l'a fallu destruire, au point qu'il estoit capable de recevoir les pauvres vieillards, & les personnes malades ou vîées, & cassées dans des trauaux capables de terrasser des Geans. Nous auons aussi abandonné les terres, & les champs, d'où dépendoit vne bonne partie de nostre nourriture; & nous voila dans vne forest, plus dénué de secours, que nous n'estions à nostre premier abord dans ce pays. Iamais nous ne fîmes plus contens, & iamais nous n'auons eu de subjects d'vne plus sensible tristesse.

Depuis deux mois ou enuiron que nous [106] sommes entrez dans cette Isle, Dieu nous a si puissamment secourus, que nous croyons estre en estat d'vne iuste deffense, en forte que l'ennemy avec tous ses efforts, nous est peu redoutable dans nostre Reduit: mais il regne dans toute la Campagne du continent voisin de nostre Isle; & en fuite il nous iette dans vne famine plus rude que la guerre. Les Hurons que nous auons fuiuis ont quitté leurs terres aussi bien que nous, & en mesme temps il faut qu'ils se fortifient, & qu'eux & nous bastiffions des maisons, ou pluystost des cabanes; & si nous voulons recueillir des bleds l'an prochain, il faut abbattre des forests pour auoir des champs & des campagnes. Ces trauaux trauersez par la crainte des ennemis sont bien pesans, il n'y a que Dieu qui les puisse addoucir.

Ce n'est pas tout, comme ces pauvres Gens n'ont ny chasse, ny pesche, ny bleds, ils s'escartét qui deça qui delà pour trouuer du gland & des racines; nos Peres qui ne les peuuent abandonner, les accompagnent quand ils sont en quelque nombre, aimans mieux perir de faim, que de leur dénier le pain de

We left it on May fifteenth of the present year, 1649,—not without some little return of Natural feeling; for we were forced to destroy it at the very time it might have sheltered the poor old people and all who were sick or exhausted, or shattered by labors capable of prostrating Giants. We also abandoned the lands and fields whereon our sustenance largely depended; and here we are in a forest, more destitute of succor than when we first came to this country. Never were we more filled with content, and never have we had cause for keener sorrow.

During the two months, or thereabout, since we [106] came to this Island, God has rendered us such effectual succor that we believe ourselves to be in a complete state of defense, so that the enemy, despite all he can do, is little dreaded by us in our Intrenchments; but he holds sway on all the Mainland near our Island, and consequently reduces us to a state of famine more terrible than war. The Hurons whom we followed left their lands, just as we did; and they are forced to fortify themselves, and both they and we are obliged to build houses,—or, rather, cabins,—all at the same time; while, if we wish to harvest any grain next year, we must clear away forests in order to have fields and open lands. These labors, hindered by the fear of the enemy, are indeed arduous, and God alone can lighten them.

That is not all. As these poor People have neither hunting, nor fishing, nor grain, they scatter hither and thither in quest of acorns and roots. Our Fathers, unable to forsake them, accompany them when they constitute any considerable body,—preferring to perish with hunger rather than deny them the bread of the Gospel. [107] In this service, acorns

l'Euangile, le [107] gland & les racines fort ameres, leur semblent vn mets plus delicieux dans cet exercice, que les plus friands morceaux de l'Europe. Ceux qui n'ont iamais gousté Dieu fans les creatures, ne sçauent pas combien il est doux pris tout seul pour ainsi parler. *Non ex solo pane uiuit homo.*

Quoy qu'il en foit, ces miserables nous doivent sembler d'autant plus agreables, qu'elles nous donnent plus abondamment ce que nous venons chercher en ce bout du monde. Les Sauvages nous ont tant & tant de fois reproché que la foy estoit l'vnique cause de leurs calamitez. Il est vray que cette vaine persuasion nous a fait beaucoup souffrir, & qu'elle a mis les armes en la main de plusieurs de ces barbares, contre les Peres nouvellement massacrez; & apres tout nous voyons à l'œil, que la Croix qui a fait mourir le Fils de Dieu, donne la vie à ces peuples, & que les persecutions engendrent la foy. Depuis la mort du Pere Antoine Daniel, qui fut le quatriesme de Iuillet l'an passé mil six cens quarante-huit, iusques à la mort du Pere Iean de Brebeuf & du Pere Gabriel Lallemant bruslez & mangez le 16. & 17. du mois [de Mars] de cette année 1649. nous [108] auons baptizé plus de treize cens personnes: & depuis les derniers massacres iusques au mois d'Aouft, nous en auons baptizé plus de quatorze cens. Voila l'Eglise Chrestienne accruë de plus de [deux] mille sept cens ames en treize mois, fans cõpter ceux qui furent baptizez à la Breche, & ceux qui ont esté faits Chrestiens es autres endroits. Tant ces parolles sont veritables, *Sanguis Martyrum semen est Christianorum*: le sang des Martyrs, si on les ose ainsi nommer, est la graine & la semence des Chrestiens.

and exceedingly bitter roots seem to them a dish more delicious than the daintiest morsels of Europe. Those who have never tasted God without any creature comforts know not how sweet he is, taken all alone, so to speak. *Non ex solo pane vivit homo.*

At all events, these hardships cannot but seem all the more acceptable to us, the more abundantly they give us what we have come to seek in this remote corner of the world. Many a time have the Savages reproached us with the assertion that the faith was the sole cause of their calamities. That groundless belief has, it is true, caused us much suffering, and it aroused many of these barbarians to hostilities against the Fathers who were recently murdered; and yet we see plainly that the Cross, which caused the death of the Son of God, gives life to these people, and that persecutions beget faith. From the death of Father Antoine Daniel, which occurred July fourth of last year, sixteen hundred and forty-eight, up to that of Father Jean de Brebeuf and of Father Gabriel Lallemand, who were burned and eaten on the 16th and 17th of the month of March in the present year, 1649, we [108] baptized more than thirteen hundred persons; and, from the latter murders up to the month of August, we baptized more than fourteen hundred. Thus the Christian Church was increased by more than two thousand seven hundred souls in thirteen months, without counting those baptized at the Breach [i.e., the storming of the Huron villages], and those who were made Christians in other places. So true are those words, *Sanguis Martyrum semen est Christianorum*—"The blood of the Martyrs," if they may be so named, "is the seed and germ of Christians."

Je m'oubliais quasi de vous dire, qu'on a trouué vn papier dans les esclis du Pere Gabriel Lallemant, par lequel on cognoit, que deuant qu'il arriuât en la Nouvelle France, il s'estoit vouié & consacré à Nostre Seigneur, pour receuoir de sa main vne mort violente, foit en s'exposant au tour des pestiferez en l'Ancienne France, foit en la pourfuitte du falut des Sauuages en la Nouvelle. Adjoustant que ce luy feroit vne faueur de mourir pour sa gloire en la fleur de son âge. Cette grace luy a esté abondamment accordée.

Pour conclusion, il y a long-temps que l'experience nous apprend que les [109] biens qui nous font venus de la Croix de Iesus-Christ, se recueillent & se communiquent bien plus efficacement par les croix & par les souffrances, que par les prosperitez. C'est ce qui nous console dans nos persecutions, & dans nos difettes. Ne laissez pas neantmoins de nous secourir tant que vous pourrez, Dieu ne veut pas que nous trauailions tout seuls en l'accomplissement de son ouirage: quantité d'Ames saintes doiuent participer à cet honneur. Saint Paul dit qu'il est mort & qu'il est viuant; c'est ainsi que Dieu traite cette nouvelle Eglise, pour laquelle il n'y a perfonne entre nous qui ne desire de donner sa vie, & de resprendre son sang.

Puis que nous auons inseré le fragment d'une lettre dans cette seconde edition, ie croy qu'il ne sera pas mal à propos d'ajouter vn trait fort remarquable, ou plustost vn miracle de la diuine Prouidence, sur l'equipage d'un Vaisseau, qui estoit party ce Printemps dernier pour aller en la Nouvelle France. Ce vaisseau voguant en pleine mer, assez proche du grand banc, où on pesche les

I nearly forgot to tell you that, among Father Gabriel Lallemand's manuscripts, was found a paper from which we learned that, before coming to New France, he had devoted and consecrated himself to Our Lord for the purpose of receiving from his hand a violent death, either in exposing himself among the plague-stricken in Old France, or in seeking to save the Savages in the New,—with the added clause that he would esteem it a favor to be allowed to die for his Lord's glory in the flower of his age. That favor was granted to him richly.

In conclusion, experience taught us long ago that the [109] blessings which have come to us from the Cross of Jesus Christ are much more effectively received and communicated by crosses and sufferings than by prosperity. That is what consoles us amid persecution and want. Do not, however, cease to render us all the succor in your power, as it is not God's will that we should labor entirely alone in performing his work; many holy Souls are to share that honor. Saint Paul says that he is dead, and yet alive; thus it is that God treats this new Church, for which there is not one among us who does not wish to give his life and shed his blood.

Since we have inserted a part of a letter in this second edition, I believe it will not be out of place to add a very remarkable incident,—or rather, a miracle wrought by divine Providence on the crew of a Vessel which set sail this last Spring for New France. While this vessel was sailing on the open sea,—at no great distance from the great bank, where the cod-fishery is carried on,—the mainmast broke its step, or came out of it, and pierced the Ship's bottom, so [110] that a flood of water rushed in. The crew, composed of about

mouluës, fon grand mats rompit fa ca[r]lingue, ou en fortit, & tranſperça le fond du Nauire, en [110] forte que les eaux y entrerent en grande abondance. L'équipage compoſé d'environ trente-ſept perſonnes, s'efforce d'arreſter cette ſource: Les vns tirent à la pompe, les autres puifent avec des ſeaux. Quelques-vns iettent les canons, & la charge du Nauire en la mer: mais ils ne peuuēt avec tous leurs efforts épuiſer ce torrent qui abyma le Nauire en peu de temps. Comme ils auoient deſſein de faire peſcherie, ils auoient embarqué trois Chaloupes, dans leſquelles ils ſe ietterent, ſans auoir le moyen d'embarquer aucuns viures avec eux; on nous a rapporté qu'ils n'auoient ſauué qu'un peu d'eau de vie. Les voila donc ſans biſcuit & ſans eau douce, dans trois petits batteaux flottans à la mercy des vents & des ondes, qui venoient d'engloutir leur Nauire. Ils ne voyoient que le Ciel & la mer, eſtans eſloignez de plus de cent lieuës des plus prochaines terres. L'une de ces trois Chaloupes s'écarta des deux autres dans vne nuit, ou dans quelque tempeſte: nous ne ſçauons pas encor ce qu'elle eſt deuenüë. Les deux autres ayant recours aux vœux & aux prieres, s'adreſſent à la tres-ſaincte Vierge, comme au [111] refuge ordinaire des pauvres abandonnez. Ils voguerent treize iours ſur ces abyſmes d'eaux, & firent environ trois cens quarâte lieuës ſans manger & ſans boire, ſinon vne petite goutte d'eau de vie; quelques-vns diſent, que ſouuent ils ſe contentoient de tremper vn baſton dans cette liqueur, & qu'ils le ſucçoient deux fois le iour pour toute nourriture. Je ne ſçay lequel des deux eſt plus eſtonnant, ou qu'ils aient veſcu ſi long-temps ſans manger, ou qu'ils ſoiēt demeurés tant de iours ſans

thirty-seven persons, strove to check this flow,—some working the pump, others dipping water with buckets, while still others threw overboard the cannon and the Ship's cargo; but with all their efforts they could not overcome that torrent of water, and it soon sank the Vessel. As they were intending to fish, they had lowered three Shallops, into which they leaped without being able to take any provisions with them,—only a little brandy being saved, as we were told. Behold them, then, with no biscuit or fresh water, in three small boats floating at the mercy of the winds, and of the waves which had just swallowed up their Ship. They saw nothing but Sky and sea, being more than a hundred leagues from the nearest land. One of these three Shallops became separated from the two others in the night, or in some storm, and we do not yet know what became of it. The occupants of the two others, having recourse to vows and prayers, appealed to the most holy Virgin, as to the [111] usual refuge of poor forsaken mortals. Thirteen days they pursued their way over those watery depths, accomplishing about three hundred and forty leagues, eating nothing, and drinking naught but a mere drop of brandy,—often contenting themselves, as some say, with wetting a stick in that liquor, and sucking it twice a day as their sole nourishment. I know not which is more marvelous, their living so long without eating, or their continuing so many days on the broad Ocean without perishing. When they felt their strength ebbing away, they talked of drawing lots to see which of them should serve the others for food. One of the number, who was rather stout and fleshy, said to them: “Do not resort to chance; I see no one in the

perir au beau milieu de l'Océan. Comme ils se sentoient affoiblir, ils parlerent de tirer au fort, pour voir qui d'eux tous seruiroit d'aliment aux autres. L'un d'eux assez gros & assez replet, leur dit, Ne tentez point le hazard, ie n'en voy point dans la troupe qui vous puisse mieux nourrir que moy. Sur ces entrefaites parut vne tortuë de mer auprès de leurs Chaloupes, ils s'en faiffent, & l'ayant embarquée ils en succerent le sang qui les soutint quelque peu de tēps. La vigueur qu'ils auoiēt tirée de ce froid aliment, estant passée, ils parlerent derechef de tirer au fort à qui feroit mangé des autres. Tout le monde s'y accorde. [112] Enfin le fort tomba sur ce bon gros garçon qui s'estoit présenté; Hé bien, leur dit-il, ne vous difoy-je pas bien que Dieu vouloit que vous me mangeassiez? Voila donc la victime toute preste: mais comme les François ne font pas des Sauvages, l'horreur de manger de la chair humaine, & encor toute cruë (car il est bien croyable qu'ils n'auoient ny bois, ny foier) fit que l'un deux monta sur le haut du mats pour ietter sa veuë le plus loing qu'il pourroit sur la mer, de bonne fortune il apperceut vn Vaiffeau, il s'écrie, Nauire, Nauire, ie voy vn Nauire. A cette parole tout le monde commence à reuiure; ils tirent droit à ce Vaiffeau qui fut bien estonné voyant tant de monde. Ils se iettent à genoux, prians qu'on leur fauuât la vie. C'estoient des Anglois, qui au commencement firent difficulté de les receuoir, difans qu'ils n'auoient pas assez de viures pour tant de personnes. Ils les supplient à mains iointes de leur donner seulement tous les iours le gros d'un pouce de biscuit pour les empescher de mourir. Quelques femmes Angloises qui se trouue-

company better able to afford you nourishment than myself." At this juncture a sea-turtle appeared near their Shallops. They seized it, dragged it in, and sucked its blood, which sustained them for some little time. When the strength derived from this cold nutriment had passed away, they again talked of drawing lots to decide who should be eaten by the others. All agreed to this. [112] Finally, the lot fell to that good, stout youngster who had already offered himself. "There," said he to them, "did not I tell you that it was God's will that you should eat me?" There was the victim, then, all ready; but as the French are not Savages, their abhorrence of eating human flesh,—and raw at that (for it will readily be believed that they had neither wood nor fireplace),—made one of them climb to the mast-head, to take as wide a view as possible of the sea. By good luck, he saw a Vessel, and cried out, "A Ship, a Ship! I see a Ship!" At that word, all began to breathe new life; and they made straight for that Vessel, whose crew were greatly surprised at seeing so many men. The Frenchmen fell on their knees, and prayed that their lives might be saved. The others were Englishmen, who at first objected to receiving them, saying they had not enough food for so many. The French implored them, with clasped hands, only to give them daily a piece of biscuit as large as one's thumb, to keep them from dying. Some English women on board this Vessel threw themselves at their husbands' feet, and besought them [113] to take pity on those poor shipwrecked men,—offering even to fast a part of the time, for their sake. The men, moved by these good women's tenderness, received the suppliants;

rent dans ce Vaiffeau, fe ietterent aux pieds de leurs maris, les conjurans [113] d'auoir pitié de ces pauvres naufragans, s'offrant mefme de ieſner vne partie du temps en leur confideration. Les hommes flechis par la tendrefſe de ces bonnes femmes, les receurent; Et pour premier mets, ils leur donnerent à chacun vn verre d'eau douce, & puis vn peu de botüillie: Le lendemain ils leur en donnerent vn peu dauantage, pour eſlargir petit à petit leur eſtomach, retrefſy par vn ſi long ieufne. En vn mot ils leur fauerent la vie, & puis les menerent en l'Iſle de Madere, où ils les déchargèrent. Ces bonnes gens furent affez mal traitez, à ce qu'ils difent, iufques à ce qu'ayans fait rencontre d'vn Pere de noſtre Compagnie; & luy ayans raconté leur déconuenueſ, les habitans de cette Iſle voyans que nos Peres les fecouroient, leur donnerent fort amoureuſement toutes les chofes dont ils auoient beſoin. Ce naufrage a caufé bien de la perte à nos Peres de la Nouvelle France, & à pluſieurs de ſes habitans: mais Dieu foit beny que les hommes ſe foient faueez, nous n'en auõs appris les particularitez qu'en gros, & comme à baſtons rompus. L'vne des plus remarquables eſt que ces pauvres [114] naufragans eſtans arriuez en France, font allez tous enfemble accomplir leurs vœux és maifons de la Sainte Vierge à Saumur, & de Sainte Anne en Bretagne, deuant que de rentrer en leurs propres maifons, ny ſaluër aucuns de leurs parens ou amis.

FIN.

and they gave to each, as a first dish, a glass of fresh water, and then a little pap. The next day they gave them a little more, to enlarge their stomachs by degrees, contracted as they were by so long a fast. In short, they saved their lives, and then took the men to the Island of Madeira, where they landed them. These good people were treated rather ill, according to their account, until they met with a Father of our Society and told him about their disaster; then the residents on that Island, seeing that our Fathers lent them aid, readily gave them everything they needed. This shipwreck caused serious loss to our Fathers in New France, and to many of its inhabitants; but God be blessed that the men were saved.¹⁵ We have learned the circumstances from them only in general, and, as it were, in fragments. One of the most noteworthy details is that those poor [114] shipwrecked men, upon arriving in France, went in a body to fulfill their vows in the house of the Holy Virgin at Saumur, and in that of Saint Anne in Brittany, before returning to their own houses, or greeting any of their relatives or friends.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. XXXIV

LXVIII

This is a Latin letter written by Jacques Buteux to the father general (Caraffa), dated at Three Rivers, September 21, 1649. The original MS. rests in the archives of the Society, where, presumably in 1858, Father Martin made a copy of it. Six years later, Martin's translation of it into French was published in Carayon's *Première Mission*, pp. 247-253. In the present publication, we follow Martin's Latin apograph, now in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, and our English translation is made therefrom.

LXIX

Christophe Regnaut, a *donné* in the Huron mission, was sent with others, in the spring of 1649, to recover the bodies of the martyred Fathers Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant. This is his report of the expedition, with such particulars of their deaths as he could learn from Indian eye-witnesses. It is a graphic and interesting account, but is without date. We infer from the style, however, that it was written not long after the event, therefore have given it this order in our chronological arrangement.

The original MS. was obtained in Paris by Douglas Brymner, archivist of the Dominion of Canada, and rests in the archives at Ottawa. Mr. Brymner

published the text of the original, and his English translation thereof, in his *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1884, pp. xiv, xv, lxiii–lxvii. We have here followed him in both, save a few verbal changes in the translation.

LXX

For bibliographical particulars of the *Journal des Jésuites*, see Vol. XXVII.

LXXI

The *Relation* of 1648–49 (Paris, 1650) consists only of Ragueneau's Huron report to his superior. Jerome Lalemant did not render a personal account in this year to the provincial of the order in France. Ragueneau's *Relation* is represented by three French editions, and two distinct Latin versions. In reprinting the French text, we follow a copy of the first edition in the Lenox Library, known there as the "Lamoignon copy." But the addendum beginning, "*Depuis que cette Relation,*" is taken from the Lenox copy of the second edition—the edition in which it first appeared. The first edition is usually referred to as "H. 90," and the second as "H. 91," because described in Harrisse's *Notes*, nos. 90 and 91. For the sake of convenience, and as a distinguishing mark, we shall use Harrisse's numbering.

Collation of H. 90 (first edition): Sig. *a* in four, consisting of one blank leaf; title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; "Table des Chapitres," 1 leaf; "Priilege," with "Permission" on the verso, 1 leaf; Ragueneau's letter to his superior, Jerome Lalemant, pp. 1–4; Lalemant's introductory epistle to the provincial, Claude de Lingendes, pp. 5–7; text, pp. 8–103;

verso of p. 103, blank. A letter from Chaumonot, dated "De l'Isle de S. Ioseph, ce 1. Iuin 1649," begins on p. 97, and concludes *this* edition. Signatures: *a* in four, A–F in eights, and G in four. There is no mispaging.

The second edition (H. 91) is an entirely distinct edition from the preceding, and is differently composed. The title-pages agree so exactly in matter, punctuation, capitalization, and line-endings, that transcription would give them the appearance of identity; but they are not the same. The tail of the Q in "QVI," in the third line, varies in the two editions, and the ornament in H. 91 (the second edition) is a simple composition of printer's elements, such as enter into the make-up of head-ornaments. The tail-piece on p. 2 of the "Table des Chapitres" in H. 90, is lacking in H. 91; and the two editions have different ornamental initials and head-ornaments throughout. The second edition has also an addendum of eleven pages, beginning on p. 104, which is headed "*DEPVIS QVE CETTE Relation,*" etc.

Collation of H. 91 (second edition): Title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; "Table des Chapitres," 1 leaf; Ragueneau's letter to Lalemant, pp. 1–4; Lalemant's epistle to the provincial, pp. 5–7; text, pp. 8–103; "*Depuis que cette Relation,*" pp. 104–114; "Priuilege" on p. 115, and "Permiffion" on p. 116. Signatures: *a* in two, A–G in eights, H in two. There is no mispaging.

The third edition of this *Relation* was printed at Lille, and is much smaller in size than the Paris editions. HARRISSE (*Notes*, no. 92) had not seen it, but bases his title and description on Mr. James

Lenox's desiderata list of *Livres Curieux* (New York, 1854), no. 86. A *de visu* description follows:

Relation | de ce qui s'est passé | en la Mission des
Peres | de la Compagnie | de Iesvs | avx Hv-
rons, | Pays de la Nouvelle France, és | années 1648.
& 1649. | Enuoyée | av R. P. Hierosme Lale-
mant, | Superieur des Missions de la Compagnie | de
Iesvs, en la Nouvelle France. | Par le P. Pavl
Ragvneav, de la | mesme Compagnie. | Pour la faire
tenir au R. P. Prouvincial de la | mesme Compagnie. |
[Cut of I H S, surrounded by rays and four cherubs] |

A Lille, | De l'Imprimerie de la Vefve de Pierre
de | Rache, à la Bible d'Or, 1650.

Collation of H. 92 (third edition): Title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; Ragueneau's letter to Lalemant, pp. 3-5; Lalemant's epistle to the provincial, pp. 6-8; text, pp. 9-110; "*Depuis que cette Relation,*" pp. 111-121; "Table des Chapitres," pp. (2); "Approbation," p. (1). Signatures: A-G in eights, H in four, and I in two. The privilege and permission of former editions are replaced by the "Approbation," which was "*Faict à Lille ce 2. de Mars 1650,*" and is signed by "*IEAN PARENT Prestre Censeur des Liures.*" There is no mispaging.

There are two distinct Latin versions of the *Relation* of 1648-49. The first is Gobat's translation, which follows the first French edition (H. 90), and appeared in the same year as the original text. It is HARRISSE's no. 93. A description follows:

Narratio | Historica | eorvm, quæ So- | cietas Iesv
in | Nova Francia | Fortiter egit, & passa est, | Annis
M.DC.XLIIX. & XLIX. | è Gallico in Latinum tran-
slata | a P. Georgio Gobat | eiusdem Societatis
Iesv | Theologo. | [*Ornament*] |

Œniponti. | Typis Hieronymi Agricolaë. | Anno 1650. | Cum facultate Superiorum.

Collation: Title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; "Epistola Dedicatoria," pp. (12); "Interpretis. Ad Lectorem Præfatio," pp. (10); Ragueneau's letter to Lalemant, pp. 1-5; Lalemant's epistle to the provincial, pp. 6-10; text, pp. 11-228; "Protestatio Interpretis," pp. 229-232; table, entitled "Elenchvs hvivs libelli capitum," pp. (2); "Menda," with verso blank, 1 leaf. Signatures: A-L in twelves, the last two leaves being blank. Signature K₄ is misnumbered L₄; and page 213 is misprinted as 113. Œnipons is the Latin form for Innsbruck, the capital of Austrian Tyrol. The Agricola family of printers carried on business there as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century.

The second Latin version, poorly described by HARRISSE (*Notes*, no. 99), has already been referred to in our Vol. XIV., pp. 283-284. It is in fact only an excerpt from the first Paris edition of Ragueneau's volume; and the rather free translation is given in a condensed form. It ends with the paragraph that speaks of Brébeuf's death crowning his life, and which corresponds to pp. 85 and 86 of the first Paris edition, and to pp. 187 and 188 of Gobat's Latin version. The volume of which it forms part I. is described as follows:

Progressvs Fidei | Catholicae | in Novo Orbe. | I. | Jn Canada, Sive | Noua Francia. | II. | Jn Cochin China. | III. | In magno Chinensi | Regno: | De quo R. P. Nicolaus Trigautius | Societ. Iesv libris V. copiosè & accuratè | scripsit. | [*Six lines and ornament*] |

Coloniaë Agrippinaë, | Apud Joannem Kinchium

fub | Monocerote veteri. | Anno M.DC.LIII. | Per-
missu Superior. & Priuil. S. C. M. general.

Collation: Title, with "Lectori," etc., on the verso, 1 leaf; text of Part I., pp. 3-34; text of Part II., pp. 34-49; text of Part III., pp. 49-60; "Omnia | ad maiorem | Dei | gloriam, | piorumque Catholicorum | consolationem. |," with verso blank, 1 leaf. The volume is extremely rare, the only copy known to us being in the private library of John Nicholas Brown, of Providence, R. I.

Copies of the first Paris edition are in the following collections: Lenox, Brown (private), Ayer (private), Laval University (Quebec), Public Library of Toronto, British Museum, and Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris). Copies have been sold or priced as follows: Maisonneuve, of Paris, priced (1878) at 200 francs; Barlow sale (1890), nos. 1296 and 1297, sold for \$5 and \$6, respectively; Chadenat, of Paris, priced (1890) at 280 francs; Dufossé, of Paris, priced (1891 and 1892) at 200 and 150 francs, respectively; Dodd, Mead & Co., priced in list no. 42 (April, 1896), at \$55.

Copies of the second Paris edition are in the following collections: Lenox, Brown (private), Laval University (Quebec), Library of Parliament (Ottawa), and British Museum. Copies have been sold or priced as follows: O'Callaghan sale (1882), no. 1228, sold for \$50, and had cost him \$37.50 in gold; Harrassowitz (1882), no. 33, priced at 160 marks; Chadenat, priced (1889, 1890, and 1893) at 250, 200, and 250 francs, respectively; Barlow sale (1890), no. 1298, sold for \$70; and Dufossé (1891), priced at 200 francs.

Copies of the third or Lille edition are in Lenox and Harvard libraries. We have no record of copies sold or offered.

The Latin version of Gobat is in the following collections: Lenox, Harvard, Brown (private), British Museum, and undoubtedly, in several of the other collections of *Relations*. It is often catalogued vaguely, and apart from the French volumes, and hence does not appear under its proper heading. Copies have been sold or priced as follows: Leclerc (1878), no. 2578, priced at 130 francs; O'Callaghan (1882), no. 1227, sold for \$12; and Barlow (1890), no. 1016, sold for \$21.

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NOTES TO VOL. XXXIV

(*Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.*)

1 (p. 25).—Gabriel Lalemant, nephew of Jerome and Charles, was born at Paris, Oct. 10, 1610, the youngest of a family of six,—all of whom, except the second son, entered the religious life; as also did the mother, after Gabriel's death. He became a Jesuit novice Mar. 24, 1630; he was an instructor at Moulins, 1632–35 and 1641–44, the intervening time being spent at Bourges and La Flèche; and, later, was prefect of the college at Bourges for two years. Departing thence in June, 1646, he came to Canada, where he spent two years in ministrations at the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. He arrived in the Huron country in August, 1648, and his martyrdom took place on March 17 following.

Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, t. ii., p. 87, *note*) says that some letters of Gabriel are in existence, written to his eldest sister.

2 (p. 37).—This document, preserved in the Canadian archives, was obtained by Brymner in Paris, as explained in *Canad. Archives*, 1884, p. xv. It is cited by Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, t. ii., pp. 89–90), who mentions it as "a letter addressed from Quebec to the Jesuits of Caen, in 1678." This statement is, however, open to question; it is derived from a few lines at the end of the letter, which appear to be explanatory of Regnaut's ecclesiastical status in later years. Brymner thus prints them in the *Archives* (p. lxxv.): *Christophe Regnaut, coadjuteur Frere aux Jésuites de Caen 1678 compagnon des peres brebœuf et Lallemand cy-dessus*; and his accompanying translation renders this as "Coadjutor Brother with the Jesuits of Caen, 1678, companion of Fathers Brebœuf and Lallemand above mentioned." It appears to be simply a note of explanation identifying the writer, and may have been added by some other hand. Brymner's rendition is made more probably correct by the information given in *Journ. des Jésuites*,—that, on Nov. 1, 1650, Christophe Renant (Renaut) and another, who are expressly mentioned as being then *domestici perpetui*, or *donnés*, left Quebec for France; his name does not again appear in the *Journal*, or in the *Relations*.

Regnaut's account of the martyrdom, doubtless written soon after the event, is evidently the basis for that given in chap. iv. of the *Huron Relation* for 1649. Rochemonteix publishes (*Jésuites*, t. ii., pp. 464-465) a short letter from Garnier, of similar tenor. Another epistle describing the tragic death of these Fathers—dated Sept. 15, 1649, but unsigned, and apparently a fragment—is found in the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels; for a copy of this, we are indebted to the courtesy of J. van den Gheyn, S.J., conservator of MSS. in that library; it traverses the same ground as the other documents mentioned.

3 (p. 43).—For information regarding Rodriguez, see vol. xxvii., *note 17*.

4 (p. 43).—*Sœur de bologne* (Boulogne): see vol. xxxii., *note 18*.

5 (p. 45).—Nicolas, sieur de St. Denis, was the second son of Jean Juchereau, sieur de Maure; the latter was brother of Noël, sieur des Chastelets (vol. xxvii., *note 14*). Nicolas married (Sept. 22, 1649) Marie Thérèse Giffard, then less than ten years old; they had twelve children. In April, 1656, St. Denis obtained an estate at Kamouraska, now St. Roch des Aulnais; in 1663, he was a member of the Tadoussac trading company. His death occurred in October, 1692.

Concerning Hayot, see vol. xxviii., *note 25*.

6 (p. 49).—At this point, a few lines are crossed off, "probably by Father Jerome himself, since the rest of the paragraph, which is also in his handwriting, appears on the margin facing this" (Quebec ed. of *Journal*). The passage referred to reads thus, when translated: "*et hoc male*,—I was obliged to correct myself, and say that it would be held about 4 or 5 o'clock, *ut possint redire domum qui sunt remoti, seu longe distant*."

7 (p. 51).—L'Epinau was Guillaume Couillard (vol. xii., *note 27*).

8 (p. 59).—Charles Albanel, a native of Auvergne, was born in 1616, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of seventeen. He was an instructor in various colleges,—Cahors, Carcassonne, Mauriac, Aurillac,—and pursued his theological studies at Tournon. Joining the Canadian mission in 1649, he was employed at various French settlements, but mainly at Tadoussac, from which post he made numerous journeys into the neighboring regions, spending at least four winters among the Montagnais savages. In 1666, he accompanied De Tracy's expedition against the Iroquois. Albanel's most notable and important voyage was in 1671-72, to Hudson Bay; it is claimed that this was the first French expedition and the first overland journey thither,—although Radisson makes the claim in his *Journal* (*Prince Soc. Pubs.*, no. 16, 1885) that he and Groseil-

liers reached the waters of Hudson Bay, overland from Lake Superior, in 1660-61. The *Relation* of 1672 contains Albanel's Journal of this voyage; he went, accompanied by Paul Denys de St. Simon,—by direction of Talon, intendant of Canada,—to take possession of that region in the name of the French king. In 1674 he again went to the Bay, that he might continue the missionary labors begun on his previous journey; but he was imprisoned by the English already stationed there (see sketch of Groseilliers, vol. xxviii, note 32), and sent back to Europe. Upon regaining his freedom, he returned to Canada (July 22, 1676), and at once began work in the Ottawa missions; he was stationed at Green Bay (De Pere), Wis., from that time until 1683, and perhaps longer, and held the office of superior in 1677-78. The remainder of his life was spent in these missions; he was at Sault Ste. Marie in 1695, where, it is probable, his death occurred, Jan. 11, 1696.

Rochemonteix says of Albanel (*Jésuites*, t. ii., pp. 372, 373): "There was in him more of the explorer than of the missionary; he would rather travel than make converts, and observe new nations than evangelize them;" and he cites letters from Albanel's superiors, which indicate that, for many years, they were not satisfied with him, from the standpoint of religion. His later years, however, made due amends for such deficiency.

9 (p. 87).—Regarding the site of Teanaustayé (St. Joseph), see vol. xiii., note 2. Cf. Father Jones's opinion, as given in his notes on the map of Huronia, at the end of this volume.

10 (p. 103).—This was the island afterward known as Manitoulin; the Ottawa tribe dwelt there (vol. xiv., note 9).

11 (p. 105).—La Conception mission was located at the Indian village of Ossossané; Hunter (vol. v., note 60) identifies its site as in the sixth concession, Martin as in the eighth, of Tiny township. We take pleasure in presenting to our readers (facing p. 105 of this volume) an illustration of the site of Ossossané, as identified by Martin, from a water-color sketch made by him in 1855. The original sketch is in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, where it is to be found on p. 93 of Martin's "Blue Volume" (MS.), entitled *Voyage et Recherches dans l'ancien pays des Hurons en 1855*. The author makes therein the following observations on this site: "It seems to me to correspond fully with the description of Ossossané which we have. The point projects into the lake nearly 300 feet. The hillock of sand which it forms is extensive enough for a large village. The ground, on the side toward the land, is level with the surrounding shores, and, consequently, the place is not easy of access. Without doubt will be found, some day, about a quarter of

a league inland, the tomb of which Father de Brébeuf has given us a description, and at which he saw solemnized the Feast of the Dead."

12 (p. 163).—Regarding the authorship of this book, see vol. xxv., *note* 3.

13 (p. 203).—This island, called by the Hurons Ahoendoe,—on Du Creux's map, Gahoendoe,—is now known as Christian Island; it is eighteen miles from Penetanguishene. The name of Charity Island has also been applied to it.

14 (p. 213).—In the last chapter of the *Relation* of 1648, Ragneau gives an account of this murder, and of the reparation, according to savage custom, made therefor by the Hurons.

15 (p. 235).—The ship thus lost was probably that mentioned in *Journ. des Jésuites*, at p. 59 of this volume.



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THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MAP OF
HURONIA.

CONDENSED FROM A MONOGRAPH BY REV. ARTHUR E. JONES, S.J.

[Arthur Edward Jones was born in Brockville, Ont., Nov. 17, 1838. At the age of nineteen, he entered the Jesuit novitiate, at Angers, France; he studied four years there and at Amiens and Vals. Returning to Canada, he spent a year as instructor in St. Mary's College, Montreal, pursuing his studies at Boston and at Fordham, N. Y. From January, 1864, until the summer of 1870, he was a professor at Fordham; and during the next four years he studied theology at Woodstock, Md., being ordained there July 2, 1873. Another year he spent as a professor in St. Francis Xavier's College, New York City, and then went to Canada. Since 1876,—except one year (1881-82) at Guelph, Ont.,—he has ministered to the church of the Gesù, connected with St. Mary's College at Montreal. Since 1880, he has also been archivist of that college; and, for the last eight years, editor of the *Canadian Messenger*.

The map at the end of this volume has been prepared by Father Jones after long research, and with great care, for a monograph upon the above subject,—the MS. of which he has kindly loaned to us for use in the present series. From it we select and condense the following notes upon the localities of Indian and mission villages named in the Jesuit *Relations*. In his monograph, Father Jones has also made elaborate philological studies of the Huron names of these places, and discussed both the names and sites of various localities mentioned by Champlain and Sagard; but space will not allow us to quote from these.—ED.]

The map used in determining the sites of Huron villages and permanent encampments is that of Simcoe County in Miles's *Atlas of Ontario* (Toronto, 1879). The present map can be only theoretical in locating the above-mentioned sites, except as regards the two mission residences named Ste. Marie,—one on the River Wye, the other on Christian Island,—for these two sites alone are known with absolute certainty, the ruins of the old forts thereon remaining to the present day. Since, however, no distances from Ste. Marie II. to other points are given in the *Relations*, save that to Ste. Marie I., the latter is the only accurate point of departure in reconstructing the map of Huronia,—an enterprise which offers, in this very

fact, a problem of serious difficulty; since we need another point for establishing a base-line from which distances may be reckoned to our entire satisfaction. I trust, however, to show that this difficulty is not insuperable.

Nearly all the distances mentioned in the old records are given in leagues; but these distances are not mathematically accurate,—they were never actually measured, and, consequently, are but approximate. They are, moreover, often modified by such expressions as *environ, une petite lieue, deux grandes lieues*, etc. It is well known, also, that leagues of different lengths were in use in France,—varying both at different periods, and in different parts of the country. Clifton-Grimaux (London and Paris, last ed.) makes the “league” equivalent to four kilometers, or 2.4233 English miles; the “posting league,” to 2,000 toises, or 3,898.07 meters, or 2.4221 English miles; the “marine league” (twenty to a degree of longitude), to 5,556 meters, or 3.45 statute miles, or three geographical miles. Worcester (Boston, 1882) states that the “common league” of France is equivalent to 2.76 statute miles, and the “legal league” to 2.42 of these. As for the estimates of distance made in the *Relations*, they were not only approximate, but must also have been more or less affected by various circumstances,—as the familiarity of the writers with the region in question, inequalities in its surface, greater or less difficulty in the trail followed, and its deviations resulting from lakes, hills, or other natural obstructions.

The prevailing opinion that Indian villages were generally remote from the lake-shore, or from watercourses, so as to escape observation, seems to me baseless, especially if it be formulated as a rule for general application; the choice of location must have depended upon various circumstances. Powerful tribes had little hesitation in selecting prominent sites for their villages, as witness the Iroquois “castles” along the Mohawk River. Moreover, I find no mention made of any contrary practice. When a tribe had encountered a long series of reverses, we can easily understand that it might strive to establish its transient dwellings in more secluded spots; but such was the case with the Hurons during only the last few years preceding their expulsion from their old homes. Sagard, who had lived among these tribes, gives some hints as to the locations of their villages,—of which, in his time, there were about twenty-five, large and small,—in his *Grand Voyage* (Tross ed.), p. 80. These were strongholds, he tells us, not only on account of their artificial defenses,—palisades and barred gateways,—but also because of the configuration of the ground. “The Hurons chose a site with fine discrimination, that it should be in close proximity to some convenient stream; on an eminence, and surrounded, if

possible, by a natural depression in the soil, similar to a moat; and permitting the construction of a circular barrier, with the village in one compact mass within,—leaving, however, a wide empty space between the dwellings and the walls, the better to do battle, and to defend themselves against an enemy who might attack them; while they could, as opportunity offered, make sorties." The description of Ossossané given by Father Charles Garnier, though not as complete, tallies with the above.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind that ossuaries are not indications of village sites, although they were never far removed from the Indian towns. As numerous clans, and even tribes, united in celebrating the "Feast of the Dead" at stated intervals, the place of final sepulture was so chosen as to be within easy distance of the most remote villages taking part in the burial ceremonies. A profusion of hatchets or arrow-heads, moreover, is not always a certain indication of a village site. They may mark the place where a hostile encounter occurred; but these, as the *Relations* inform us, often took place at considerable distances from towns or villages. Another element of uncertainty in the identification of sites is found in the supposed frequency of change in location of a village, as the wood in its vicinity became scarce,—although I think that the importance of this consideration has been overestimated. It should not be too strenuously urged, especially with reference to the principal fortified centers in the Huron country. "La Pointe," as the missionaries often called the peninsula lying west and north of Penetanguishene Bay, was thickly strewn with village sites; and even the region south and east of this, between the Coldwater and Nottawasaga Rivers, was so studded with Indian settlements as to preclude the removal of any considerable village far from its original site. However, some changes of locality are known to have occurred; in some of these cases, new names were given to the villages. The *Relations* mention many new places, which seem to have been unknown to Champlain and Sagard; while some names appear on Du Creux's map which are not to be found elsewhere.

In locating sites upon the accompanying map, I have, while keeping in mind the above-named considerations, followed, as closely and conscientiously as possible, the statements made in the *Relations* and other old records; and I have endeavored to use the little definite knowledge on this subject which we possess, as stepping-stones to what is unknown or uncertain. But I cannot claim absolute certainty for these conclusions, which, as I feel, can be little more than an approximation to the truth; which, also, will doubtless be in some cases modified by the discoveries made in local research. I trust, however, that this contribution to Huronian

archæology may aid in making such researches more systematic and accurate.

Ste. Marie I.—Located in township of Tay, on lot 16 of third concession, on the line subdividing the lot. This site is positively known, since the ruins of the old fort still remain; but its location is so accurately described in the *Relation* of 1640 that it could be identified with certainty, even if no vestige of its buildings were left. See vol. xix. of this series, pp. 133-135; also Quebec ed., p. 63, col. 2.

Ste. Marie II.—On north side of the great bay which indents the southeast coast-line of Christian Island. The remains of this fort also are visible, lying about 120 feet from the lake-shore. This site was probably first visited by Father Pierre Chazelle, S.J., in 1844; but in June, 1845, it was also examined by Rev. G. Hallen, who made a tracing of the remains. Father Martin's MS. notes (1856) give, among others, the following interesting details: "This fort is a square flanked by four bastions, and solidly built of stone and mortar,—much more regular in shape than that of Ste. Marie I. The walls, in their present condition, stand in some places nearly seven feet above ground; according to Ragueneau, they were originally fourteen feet high. In the center of the fort is a cistern, nine feet square, in solid masonry; within, it is about four feet deep; and there are indications that it once had a flooring of planks. A wall which extends some sixteen feet within the enclosure abuts, at right angles, upon the west curtain; what its object was, would be difficult to determine. There are traces of a moat around the fort; but the trees which cover the site, and the marshy nature of the ground in the immediate vicinity, render it difficult to ascertain the dimensions. The foundations of the fort are bedded deeply in the soil, and the joining of the masonry affords evidence of careful workmanship and skilled labor. In 1848, interesting and significant relics were found in the northwest bastion by Mr. Boucher, of Penetanguishene." This fort is mentioned in the *Relation* of 1649 (p. 225 of this volume; Quebec ed., p. 31, col. 1), and in that of 1650 (Quebec ed., p. 3, col. 2).

Ossossané (La Rochelle, La Conception).—In township of Tiny, lot 18 in eighth concession; Point Varwood, on Nottawasaga Bay. The distance from this point to Ste. Marie I. is, in a bee-line, a trifle over eight miles. If it can be made clear that this was the site of Ossossané, a very satisfactory base-line for further computations is thus assured. In the *Relations*, the distance between Ossossané and Ste. Marie I. is given as about three leagues; see

Relation of 1640 (vol. xx., p. 81; Quebec ed., p. 103, col. 1), where Joseph Chihwatenhwa is mentioned as residing at that distance from Ste. Marie; and, as a resident at La Conception (Ossossané), in *Relation* of 1641 (vol. xxi., p. 147; Quebec ed., p. 63, col. 1). This village must have been originally situated on the lake-shore, since the first Frenchmen who visited it gave it the name of La Rochelle, the great fortified seaport of France,—an appellation which would be naturally suggested by such a location, and by its fortifications. Sagard gives some description of this place (*Canada*, Tross ed., p. 200); and Charles Garnier, writing thence to his brother Henry (Apr. 28, 1638), says: "This village has been named by the French La Rochelle, as it was formerly situated on a height within a circumjacent moat, the handiwork of nature." The characteristic features mentioned above find, it appears, their replica in the conformation of the ground at Point Varwood. The position I assign to Ossossané is that of the *old* La Rochelle; the site of this village was often shifted, but within a small radius, so that it was never far from Point Varwood. Brébeuf mentions one of these changes, in *Relation* of 1636 (vol. x., p. 291; Quebec ed., p. 134, col. 1): "All the souls of eight or nine Villages had reached la Rochelle. . . . We were lodged a quarter of a league away, at the old Village." Father Martin was, I believe, the first to determine the site of Ossossané, and made (1856) a sketch of Varwood Point, which is reproduced in this volume, facing p. 105.

Ihonatiria (St. Joseph I.).—In Tiny, on lot 6 of twenty-first concession; Todd's Point. Martin (and Parkman, nearly) located this site on the north side of the outer Bay of Penetanguishene, a little inland, near the line between lots 1 and A of the sixteenth concession in Tiny. But this does not agree with the mention in *Relation* of 1637 (vol. xiii., p. 229; Quebec ed., p. 149, col. 2) of Ondichaouan as "a large Island which we can see from here," that is, from Ihonatiria. The only large island which could be seen from the Martin site is that named on Du Creux's map Schiondekiaria (now Prince William Henry, or Beausoleil Island); while in sight of Ihonatiria, as located on the map herewith given, Du Creux places a large island (now called Giant's Tomb), with the name Ondiocana. This name would seem—remembering the variations in nomenclature found on the maps and in written narratives of that early time, and the many causes of those differences—to be practically synonymous with the Ondichaouan of Le Mercier. The latter's statement, above quoted, seems to me to establish the real site of Ihonatiria. This village, moreover, must have been in very close proximity to the lake, as is clearly implied in the speech of Aenons to Brébeuf, given in the *Relation* of 1636 (vol. x., p. 243;

Quebec ed., p. 124, col. 2). Ihonatiria was distant from Ossossané four leagues, as stated in *Relation* of 1636 (vol. x., p. 291; Quebec ed., p. 134, col. 1), and elsewhere. To this distance the site of the former, as above identified, corresponds better than that assigned by Martin and Parkman.

Teanaostaiaë (Teanaustayé, St. Joseph II.).—In township of Flos, on lot 1 of third concession. Martin located it on Penetanguishene Road, two miles N. W. from Craighurst, and about 1¼ miles N. E. from the site I have assigned. My conclusion is derived from a careful comparison of various statements in the *Relations*, regarding distances of Teanaostaiaë from Ihonatiria and Ossossané; e.g., *Relation* of 1646 (vol. xxx., p. 99; Quebec ed., p. 79, col. 1), *Relation* of 1644 (vol. xxvi., p. 211; Quebec ed., p. 76, col. 2), *Relation* of 1635 (vol. viii., p. 139; Quebec ed., p. 39, col. 1).

Scanonaenrat (St. Michel).—In Flos, on lot 71 of second concession; 2½ miles N. E. of Elmvale, and two miles S. W. by S. of Waverly. It was three leagues from Ste. Marie I., according to *Relation* of 1646 (vol. xxx., p. 91, 95; Quebec ed., p. 78, col. 1), and 1¼ leagues from Teanaostaiaë, *Relation* of 1639 (vol. xvii., p. 87; Quebec ed., p. 72, col. 1). Cf. the map of Du Creux, who locates this mission nearly as I have done, but a little nearer to Cranberry Lake.

Toanche.—This village is mentioned by Brébeuf, in *Relation* of 1635 (vol. viii., pp. 89–93; Quebec ed., p. 28), as having changed its location between his two sojourns in that country. The earlier site I believe to have been the same as the Otouacha of Champlain (Laverdière's ed. of *Voyages*, p. 514–515); this I would locate on the east side of Douglas or Thunder Bay, in Tiny township, on lot 12 of nineteenth concession. The later site, mentioned by Brébeuf (*ut supra*), must have been on lots 6 and 7 of the same concession, about 1½ miles S. S. E. of Point Todd; it was also known as Teandeouiata.

Arontaen.—In Tiny, on lot 20 of seventeenth concession; about 1½ miles N. W. of La Fontaine. This village seems to be identical with Champlain's Carhagouha and Carantouan, and Du Creux's Taruentutunum.

Arenté.—The only definite location of this village is that of Du Creux. I judge it to be on lot 10 or 20 of thirteenth concession in Tiny; about 1¼ miles southerly from La Fontaine.

Tondakhra (Tondakea of Du Creux).—I place it (a little north of Du Creux's site) on lot 20 or 21 of twentieth concession in Tiny; four miles N. W. of La Fontaine, and about a mile S. E. of Clover Point.

Onnentsati.—Probably on lot 9 of fourteenth concession in Tiny; but this is only an approximate location, as the *Relations* do not mention any distances from this village to others on the Point.

Khinonascarant.—In Tiny, lots 23 and 24 of nineteenth concession; $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. W. of La Fontaine; opposite south point of Christian Island, but a little inland. Three villages were grouped under that name, at two leagues from Ihonatiria, according to *Relation* of 1637 (vol. xiii., p. 125; Quebec ed., p. 128, col. 1).

Oénrio.—In Tiny, on lot 10 of seventeenth concession; about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. E. of La Fontaine, and about four miles N. W. of Penetanguishene. It was distant one league from Ihonatiria, says the *Relation* of 1637 (vol. xiii., p. 169; Quebec ed., p. 137, col. 1); and its people had at one time formed part of the same community with those of Ihonatiria and Toanché (vol. xiv., p. 23); see also *Relation* of 1635 (vol. viii., pp. 91, 95, 105; Quebec ed., pp. 28, 31).

Anonatea.—In Tiny, on lot 5 of seventeenth concession; about three miles N. W. from Penetanguishene.

Angoutenc (Angwiens).—In Tiny, on lot 12 of tenth concession, nearly a mile S. E. of St. Patrick's. It was three-quarters of a league from Ossossané, according to *Relation* of 1638 (vol. xv., p. 23; Quebec ed., p. 34, col. 1); and, in 1636, was being fortified with the usual palisade.

St. François Xavier.—In Tiny, on lot 95 west, Penetanguishene road; about three-quarters of a mile west of Wyebridge. This is about the position given it on Du Creux's map.

St. Louis.—In township of Tay, on lot 9 of sixth concession; on east bank of Hog River, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from its mouth. This corresponds to Du Creux's location. It was one league from Ste. Marie I., and was fortified with palisades, according to *Relation* of 1649 (present volume, pp. 125-127; Quebec ed., pp. 10, 11).

St. Denis.—In Tay, lot 6 of fourth concession; about one mile N. N. W. of Vasey, on east bank of Hog River (following Du Creux).

St. Jean.—In Tay, lot 6 of eleventh concession; a little west of Fesserton (also Du Creux's location). Some have confounded this mission with that of St. Jean Baptiste; but their difference is clearly shown in the *Relation* of 1640 (vol. xix., p. 167, and vol. xx., pp. 19-21; Quebec ed., p. 70, col. 1, and p. 90).

Ste. Anne.—In Tay, on lot 9 of fourth concession; nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. N. W. of Vasey. It occupied the site given by Du Creux as that of Keiotia. This and the four preceding villages were grouped together to form the mission of Ste. Marie I.

Taenhatentaron (St. Ignace I).— In township of Medonte, on lots 14 and 15 of third concession; about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Mount St. Louis P. O.; on the east bank of Sturgeon River, as shown on Du Creux's map. According to *Relation* of 1639 (vol. xvii., p. 99; Quebec ed., p. 74, col. 2), it was two leagues from St. Joseph (Teanaos-taiäë); and, as stated in *Relation* of 1644 (vol. xxvii., p. 29; Quebec ed., p. 99, col. 1), six leagues from St. Jean Baptiste.

St. Ignace II.— In Medonte, on lot 24 of eighth concession; half-way between Vasey and Coldwater. But the one linear distance given in the *Relations* is not sufficient, alone, to determine its site; it might as well be placed in the fourth, fifth, sixth, or seventh concessions. I have chosen the above location, on account of the statement made in *Relation* of 1649 (present volume, p. 137; Quebec ed., p. 13, col. 1) regarding the delay of the people of St. Michel in pursuing the Iroquois after the latter had destroyed St. Ignace. No Huron name for St. Ignace II. is given in the *Relations*.

St. Joachim.— In Medonte, on lot 22 of eighth or ninth concession. The former location would accord better with that given on Du Creux's map; but I have placed this site on the ninth concession.

Ste. Elizabeth.— Located by Du Creux in township of North Orillia, a little S. W. of Washago P. O. It should not be forgotten that this was not a Huron, but an Algonquin, mission, undertaken for the benefit of the tribes about Lake Nipissing, who came south to spend the winters, sometimes near the villages of the Point, sometimes along the shores of Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching; and the mission to them was therefore, like themselves, nomadic.

St. Jean Baptiste.— In township of Oro, on lots 20 and 21 of eleventh concession; on the N. W. side of Hawkstone C. H. This is doubtless identical with the Cahigué of Champlain, and possibly with the Contarea of the *Relations*; though I think it probable that Contarea was somewhat farther east than St. Jean Baptiste. The *Relation* of 1644 (vol. xxvii., p. 37; Quebec ed., p. 100, col. 2) states that the mission of Ste. Elizabeth was at first near that of St. Jean Baptiste; but on Du Creux's map (1660), they are located at a considerable distance apart. The reason for this is, doubtless, that toward the close of the Huron mission most of the wandering Algonquins had chosen their winter quarters to the north, rather than to the south, of Lake Couchiching. In view of the nomadic and inconstant habits of these tribes, we may safely accept the correctness of the sites assigned by Du Creux to the above missions, provided we refer them to the last years of the Jesuit mission in Huronia, and suppose that, in previous years, the mission center of Ste.

Elizabeth was at the Algonkin encampments described as being close to the Arendaronon village of St. Jean Baptiste, in the vicinity of Hawkstone. This line of reasoning has been followed in the present map.



