











A New Discovery of a Large  
Country in AMERICA by Father  
Lewis Hennepin



A  
NEW DISCOVERY  
OF A  
VAST COUNTRY  
IN AMERICA

By Father Louis Hennepin

*Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles  
of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the  
addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index*

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

*Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"*

**In Two Volumes**

VOLUME I

(BEING PART I OF THE ORIGINAL)

CHICAGO  
A. C. McCLURG & CO.

1903

Copyright  
A. C. McCLURG & CO.  
1903  
Published October 3, 1903

*Composition by The Dial Press, Chicago.*  
*Presswork by John Wilson & Son,*  
*University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A*



F352  
H33  
1903  
v. 1

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION — <i>The Editor</i> . . . . .	ix
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA — <i>Victor Hugo Paltsits</i> . . . . .	xlv
HENNEPIN'S "A NEW DISCOVERY"— <i>Part I</i>	
Title-page (facsimile of original) . . . . .	1
Dedication to King William III . . . . .	3
Preface . . . . .	9
Contents of the Chapters . . . . .	13
Text . . . . .	23

HISTORI  
24.  
1854



ILLUSTRATIONS—VOLUME I

Amsterdam Edition. 1698.

This edition is a reprint which it follows rather closely, "even the star signature and other individuals, however, are all numbered in Roman numerals of the same number of pages, and the agreeing with the body of the text with the 1697 edition, save that the imprinted. The imprint on the title-page reads t

"A Amsterdam, / Chez Aband  
Libraire. MDCXCVIII." /

Amsterdam Edition. 1698.

This edition is a reprint of the Utrecht Edition, which it follows rather closely, "even going so far as to repeat the star signature and other individualities. The chapters, however, are all numbered in Roman numerals. The collation consists of the same number of pages, and the last page (506) is in type agreeing with the body of the text. Map and plates agree with the 1697 edition, save that the imprint on the maps is changed. The imprint on the title-page reads thus:

"A Amsterdam, / Chez Abraham van Someren, / Marchand  
Libraire. MDCXCVIII." /

# ILLUSTRATIONS—VOLUME I

(FACSIMILES OF ORIGINALS)

	PAGE
Engraved frontispiece . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Title-page . . . . .	I
“A Map of a Large Country Newly Discovered in the Northern America” . . . . .	<i>facing</i> 22
View of Niagara Falls . . . . .	“ 54
A Buffalo . . . . .	“ 146



## INTRODUCTION

ABOUT the year 1640, Louis Hennepin, the author of this book, was born in Belgium, which was then a possession of Spain. He himself testifies that this event took place in Ath, a small town on the Dender, in the south-western province of Hainaut, and some twenty miles east by south of Tournay. This assertion is credited by his biographer Felix van Hulst,<sup>1</sup> but Pierre Margry cites documents<sup>2</sup> which seem to prove that Hennepin's birth occurred at Roy, in Luxembourg province, his parents having removed thither from Ath. This conflict of testimony illustrates the confusion which has long existed in the minds of bibliophiles and students of American history with regard to many other particulars in the life and work of our author; for while few have written more profusely or in more confident tone of their own exploits, seldom have autobiographers met with so incredulous a reception.

Of his earliest years or of his antecedents, Hennepin tells us little. He says: "I was from my Infancy very fond of Travelling; and my natural Curiosity induc'd me to visit many Parts of Europe one after another;" but a few pages

---

<sup>1</sup> *Notice sur Le P. Hennepin d'Ath* (Liège, 1845).

<sup>2</sup> According to Shea, in the introduction to his translation of the *Louisiane* (N.Y., 1880); but we have ourselves been unable to find such citation in Margry's works.

further on we are assured that, "I Always found in my self a strong Inclination to retire from the World, and regulate my Life according to the Rules of pure and severe Virtue: and in compliance with this Humour, I enter'd into the Franciscan Order, designing to confine my self to an austere Way of Living." Apparently he was still a boy when he Becomes a Recollect. became a novice in the Recollect convent within the old fortified town of Béthune in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, France. The Recollects were austere proselyters, an offshoot of the Franciscan order, and from their ranks were drawn the four missionaries whom Champlain introduced to Quebec in 1615.

Hennepin appears to have been an uneasy soul, discontent to remain cloistered, and fretting to engage in travel and wild adventure. The annals of his order abounded in deeds of self-sacrifice upon the frontiers of civilization. Contemplation of the records of these early missionaries inspired the young grey-gown with "a Desire of tracing their Footsteps, and dedicating my self after their Example, to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls." This was but a pious way of saying that he longed for action; later, he more fitly characterized his ambition as an "Inclination to travel."

While in Holland, whither he had gone to study the Dutch language,—no doubt French was his family tongue, rather than Walloon,—he was, he says, urged by some Amsterdam friends to go out as a missionary to the East Indies; but one of his sisters, "that was marry'd at Ghent,



and whom I lov'd very tenderly," dissuaded him from this venture. Determined, however, to see the world, young Journeys in Europe. Hennepin compromised by a journey to Italy and Germany, "which did in some measure gratifie the Curiosity of my Temper." While abroad, he had an agreeable roving commission from his father superior, to visit "all the great Churches, and most considerable Convents of our Order."

Upon returning to the Netherlands, he was taken in charge by the bishop of Ipres, a fellow Recollect, who disapproved of the roving tendencies of the young friar and compelled him to settle down for a year as preacher in a convent in Hainaut. "After which, with Consent of my Superior, I went into the Country of Artois, from whence I was sent to Calais, to act the part of a Mendicant there in time of Herring-falting."

This was a mission more in accordance with the adventurous spirit of our author, for at the fishing port of Calais he was necessarily thrown in with sailors and other travellers, whose tales of wandering filled his soul with delight. "I Hears sea-faring tales. was," he says, "passionately in love with hearing the Relations that Masters of Ships gave of their Voyages. Afterwards I return'd to our Convent at Biez, by the way of Dunkirk: But I us'd oft-times to sculk behind the Doors of Victualling-Houses, to hear the Sea-men give an Account of their Adventures. The Smoak of tobacco was offensive to me, and created Pain in my Stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their Relations: But

for all I was very attentive to the Accounts they gave of their Encounters by Sea, the Perils they had gone through, and all the Accidents which befell them in their long Voyages. This Occupation was so agreeable and engaging, that I have spent whole Days and Nights at it without eating; for hereby I always came to understand some new thing, concerning the Customs and Ways of Living in remote Places; and concerning the Pleasantsness, Fertility, and Riches of the Countries where these Men had been." Perhaps this was not a dignified proceeding for a grey-friar in cowl and sandals; but there was always much of the boy in Hennepin. Any healthy lad who has revelled in *Treasure Island*, or listened even to the relatively commonplace sailors of our time as they spin their yarns over pipe and bowl, can but sympathize with this picturesque young Fleming who was by nature a wanderer, yet fettered by a frock which compelled him to hide, whereas he yearned to question his tap-room heroes face to face.

Fired still further by a desire to travel, the uneasy youth now "went Missionary into most part of the Towns of Holland." During eight months in 1673 he was at the fortified town of Maestricht, then a scene of activity in connection with the war which the Prince of Orange was waging with the French, in defence of the Dutch provinces. While there, he claims to have "administer'd the Sacraments to above Three thousand wounded Men," in the course of which duty he grew ill of a fever and came near to losing his life.

An army  
chaplain.

"The singular Zeal I had for promoting the Good of

Souls," declares our self-satisfied apostle, "engag'd me the Year following to be present at the Battle of Seneffe,<sup>1</sup> where I was busied in administering Comfort to the poor wounded Men: Till at length, after having endur'd all manner of Fatigue and Toil, and having run the risque of extreme Dangers at Sieges of Towns in the Trenches, and in Fields of Battel, (where I never ceas'd to expose my self for the good of Mens Souls) while those bloody Men were breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, I happily found my self in a condition to fatisfie my first Inclination." He had been called from his army chaplaincy by the father superior, and ordered to proceed to La Rochelle, then the chief port for vessels sailing to New France, and there seek an early opportunity to obtain passage for Quebec.

The Recollects were introduced into New France as evangelists to the Indians, by Champlain himself; but finding themselves, a mendicant order without funds, unequal to a task necessitating a considerable expenditure of money, they had in 1624 invited the more powerful Jesuits to share the work with them. The two orders labored together, not without some friction, until the English conquest (1629). When England released her control in 1632, the Jesuits returned alone, and it was not until 1670 that the Recollects were again brought upon the scene—this time by the intendant Talon, who wished to use them as a foil to the Jesuits, of whom he was not fond. To the little company of grey-gowns then established at Quebec,

Recollects in  
New France.

---

<sup>1</sup> Aug. 11, 1674.

five others were added in 1675, at the request of Frontenac.

We may well be sure that Hennepin used such arts as were practicable to secure service in so inviting a field as North America, which in his day offered possibilities in the line of adventure unequalled elsewhere in the world. The voyage on the Mississippi River by Joliet and Marquette had but recently been made known in Europe; and perhaps at no time was the spirit of discovery, the yearning for daring continental exploits on behalf of New France, more generally diffused.

Of that little ship's company in the summer of 1675, were three men destined to become famous in different walks of life — François-Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, bishop of the newly-established see of Quebec; René-Robert Cavelier, Hennepin sails for Quebec. Sieur de la Salle, the great explorer, who had recently been raised by the king to the dignity of an untitled nobleman and to the governorship of Fort Frontenac; and our hero. They arrived in Quebec in September, after the usual ocean-crossing incidents of the time, their vessel having been unsuccessfully attacked by Turkish and Algerian pirates in turn.

Upon the voyage, the friar was, according to his own story, rebuked by La Salle because he had sought to restrain the boisterous conduct of several young women who were being sent to Canada to find husbands among the settlers. Hennepin declares that to that trivial incident was traceable La Salle's persistent enmity to him in later years; but in his

earliest book Hennepin declares that he and La Salle were friendly, and at Fort Frontenac planned their discoveries together. It was not until after La Salle's death, when he sought to appropriate to himself credit for the former's explorations, that Hennepin alludes to this animosity. La Salle probably conceived a dislike for the missionary, while upon their Western expedition.

During the young Recollect's first four years in Canada he occupied, at least nominally, the post of preacher in Advent and Lent to the cloister of St. Augustin in the Hotel-Dieu at Quebec. Restless, as usual, he was not content to remain

Rigorous training. long within the stone walls of the dreary little capital of New France. The greater part of each year was spent as an itinerant missionary, following the hunters to their camps, visiting the Indian cantonments, and making notes on the country. In chapter ii of Part i, he gives us a vivid picture of his costume and his method of travelling — in winter, a dog-sledge carried his clothing and portable altar, while he, enveloped in gown and cowl, shuffled along behind in his snowshoes; in summer, a canoe was his conveyance, and Indians and long-haired voyageurs his companions. This rugged life, in which he trained himself for the great wilderness journeys to come, was filled with hardships and dangers — for the canoeist was in momentary peril of losing his life in rapids, and the traveller by snowshoes of “falling headlong over fearful Precipices”; Indian treachery was ever to be feared; “In the Night-time I had nothing to cover me

but a Cloak; and sometimes the Frost pierc'd to my very Bones;" while "My Commons also were very short, scarce more than to keep me from starving."

At first, his mission called him little more than a hundred miles from Quebec, from whose gates the almost unbroken wilderness stretched in all directions; but after a time he was ordered to Fort Frontenac, which had been built in 1673 upon the site of the present city of Kingston, Missionary at Fort Frontenac. Ontario, and now was commanded by his shipmate, La Salle. Here, upon the shore of Lake Ontario, "a Hundred Leagues from Quebec," in company with a brother Recollect, Father Luke Buisset, he "persuaded several of the barbarous Iroquese, to cultivate the Ground," and erected a chapel for the instruction of the tribesmen whom La Salle had persuaded to settle there. "I there gave my self much," he writes, "to the reading of Voyages, and encreas'd the Ambition I had to pursue my Design" of "making this Discovery I am about to relate"—the exploration of the Mississippi Valley.

He claims to have one winter (1676-77) visited, while at Frontenac, all of the principal cantonments of the Iroquois, or "Five Nations," his escort being a French soldier from the fort. At one time they lodged with Father Jacques Among the Iroquois. Bruyas, one of the Jesuit missionaries to the Iroquois. In April, having encountered a party of Dutch fur-traders who had come out to pick up beaver pelts, Hennepin apparently returned with these men to Albany

(then New Orange),<sup>1</sup> where he was kindly received because he spoke Dutch. There were many Dutch Catholics at New Orange, who invited the Flemish friar to settle among them as their priest; but he declares that fear of offending the French Jesuits, and of injuring the fur trade of New France, whose chief commercial rivals were the Dutch traders, impelled him to decline these advances.

After a chaplaincy of two years and a half at Fort Frontenac, — so says Hennepin, but his dates are sadly confusing, — he and Father Buisset returned in a canoe to Quebec, “where I retir’d into the Recollets Convent of St. Mary, in order to prepare and sanctifie my self for commencing our Discovery.” Throughout all of his books runs the assumption that he, Father Hennepin, was the person who originated and planned the explorations which he records, but which posterity perversely associates chiefly with the name of La Salle; although sometimes he magnanimously allows the latter, as in the foregoing sentence, equal honors with himself.

In 1677 La Salle had gone to Paris to interest the court in forwarding his gigantic scheme for an exploration which was to result in connecting Canada with the Gulf of Mexico, by means of a chain of forts upon the Great Lakes and rivers. Successful in this mission, he reached Quebec in the middle of September the following year, eager at once to commence his splendid enterprise. Practically all of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Hennepin’s account leaves the reader in small doubt as to this; but Brodhead’s *History of New York*, ii, p. 307, does not accept this conclusion.

exploring parties whose records form a part of the annals of New France contained one or more missionaries, for the work of the church went hand in hand with the service of the king; territorial expansion meant new fields not only for the beaver trade but for the possible conversion of the heathen. The Jesuits were members and annalists of several such expeditions, Marquette having thus served with Joliet; but La Salle, although educated in a Jesuit house, was now at outs with that order, and preferred the company of the humbler Recollects. Selected by his superior to accompany La Salle upon this ambitious journey into the continental interior, Hennepin, summoned to Quebec, impatiently awaited the great explorer's return.

La Salle arrived at the close of September, 1678, bringing to the friar, from Paris, the formal command of the Recollect provincial. Hennepin was forthwith entertained at dinner by the governor, Count Frontenac, and received the blessing of Bishop Laval; while both of these dignitaries gave him written certificates of their approbation. Frontenac, in particular, "a Man that testify'd a great deal of Affection for our Flemish Recollects, because of our Candour and Ingenuity . . . was pleas'd to give publicke Testimonie to the Generosity of my Undertaking, while we were set at Table."

While La Salle was preparing the details of the expedition and gathering supplies, Hennepin was sent on in advance to Fort Frontenac, "that," he grandiloquently assures us, "my Departure might oblige the rest to expedite their Affairs with speed." His own equipment

Sent on in  
advance.



was modest, such as he had often to carry upon his back during the three years to come, comprising only "my portable Chapel, one Blanket, and a Matt of Rushes, which was to serve me for Bed and Quilt." His dress was that of the order: a coarse grey robe with pointed hood, a rope about the waist, crucifix and rosary hanging from this rude girdle, and sandals upon his feet—the last-named a special concession for American missionaries, for the Recollect mendicants in Europe were barefooted. Thus attired and equipped, our hero—now some thirty-seven years of age, in the prime of his vigor and aglow with hope—joyfully descended the angling path to the strand of Lower Town, doubtless arm in arm with his brother monks. Awaiting him were two lusty voyageurs with a birch-bark canoe, into which he stepped with practised care; and soon he was waving farewell to the prayerful little group upon the shore, whose blessings he carried forth upon the strange journey wherein he was to win both fame and obloquy.

Now and then he stopped upon his way to minister to lonely little groups of habitants—fishers, hunters, voyageurs, and farmers all in one, as season or opportunity demanded—who had cut notches out of the riverside forest, and, seldom seeing a priest, were rejoiced at this unexpected visitation. Once he baptized a child, and frequently preached and said mass. At Montreal, his canoemen deserted him, evidently bribed by La Salle's commercial enemies, who were jealous of the explorer's fur-trade monopoly and these ambitious projects towards the West.

But, not disheartened, the adventurous friar promptly engaged two substitutes, and after some minor incidents of wilderness travel arrived at Fort Frontenac late in the night of the second of November. There he was greeted by his old comrade, Father Buisset, who, with Father Gabriel Ribourde, newly arrived from France, had preceded him upon this dangerous journey. Six days later, La Motte de Lussière, one of La Salle's lieutenants, arrived with the majority of the party, leaving La Salle and his chief ally, Henri de Tonty, to follow a month later.

La Motte brought orders from La Salle to dispatch an advance party of fifteen men in canoes, to notify the Indians along the lakes, especially upon Lake Michigan and in the Illinois country, of the coming of the expedition, and to win their hearts by presents and soft speeches; also to gather peltries, for La Salle had obtained a practical monopoly of the forest trade in the far West, and the costs of the enterprise, represented by the explorer's numerous debts left behind him in France and Quebec, must be met by the profits of this traffic. La Motte and Hennepin, with sixteen men, meanwhile sailed in La Salle's brigantine, of ten tons burthen, to Niagara. The tempestuous voyage occupied from the eighteenth of November to the sixth of December. At a point about two leagues up Niagara River, La Motte commenced the erection of a fort, but soon abandoned this project when it became evident that the nearest Iroquois tribe, the Senecas, were jealous of so formidable an intrusion; he thereupon contented himself with

Arrival at  
Niagara.

constructing "an Habitation encompass'd with Palifados" to protect his magazines.

Late in December, La Salle and Tonty, with the remaining supplies, set sail in "a great Barque" from Fort Frontenac. Their pilot almost succeeded in wrecking them on Christmas eve, off the Bay of Quinté. Later, they landed at the mouth of the Genesee and visited a large town of the Senecas, who Senecas conciliated. reluctantly consented to allow La Salle to transport his supplies and equipment by the portage-path around Niagara Falls, to build a vessel above the cataract, and there erect a fortified trading-house as a base of operations. Proceeding to Niagara River, La Salle again left his vessel, to select a ship-yard site above the falls; but the pilot, possibly corrupted by enemies, this time allowed the bark to be lost off shore in a storm. Of its precious cargo nothing was saved, except cables and anchors destined for the vessel which it was proposed to build for the upper lakes.

With great labor, of which the friar — after the custom of missionaries in New France — no doubt performed his full share, the heavy stores were duly portaged to the mouth of Lake Erie, "two Leagues above the great Fall," and work Building the "Griffon." commenced on the building of the "Griffon," a sailing-vessel of some forty-five tons burthen. In February (1679) La Salle made a perilous trip through the forest and over the ice to Fort Frontenac, a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles, to obtain additional equipment, to replace that lost in the bark. Meanwhile, Tonty — La Motte had returned to the settlements soon

after the arrival at Niagara — proceeded with the construction of the “Griffon”; and in due time she was launched, to the great astonishment of the simple Iroquois, who, influenced by La Salle’s opponents, had done their best to hamper the enterprise. Indeed, several of the white servants of the expedition also gave much trouble, having doubtless been bribed to spread a spirit of mutiny.

It was the end of July before La Salle returned, having been delayed by the agents of importunate creditors, whose untimely demands threatened destruction of his hopes. But the resourceful adventurer finally compromised with them, and hurried back to his men, who were now housed aboard the vessel, for the hostility of the Iroquois rendered life ashore beset with peril.

Men thrown closely together in exploring parties are often depressed by long periods of enforced idleness, and possibly misery in many other forms; in that mood they readily find occasion for quarrelling, especially with those who exercise that strict command which is essential to success. Tonty, a masterful man, had trouble not only with the servants, but with the missionary himself; the latter declares that he not  
Hennepin  
disliked  
by Tonty. only disliked all subjects of Spain, such as Hennepin still was, but suffered from jealousy, “because I kept a Journal of all the considerable Things that were transacted; and that he design’d to take the same from me. This Advice oblig’d me to stand upon my Guard, and take all other Precautions, to secure my Observations.” It is well for us that Tonty, who evidently had small patience with a man of Hen-

nepin's character, failed in his designs against the father's note-book; for to it we owe the first detailed description and illustration of Niagara Falls, as well as much else which sheds strong light on the enterprises of La Salle and the life and manners of North American savages at the time when they first came in contact with white men.

During the spring, apparently wishing to go into "retreat," Hennepin himself repaired to Fort Frontenac, in company with a Canadian for whom also Tonty had conceived Returns to Fort Frontenac. a dislike.<sup>1</sup> Descending the Niagara in a canoe, they took passage in the brigantine which had brought La Motte and the friar in the previous December, and was now engaged on La Salle's behalf in the Lake Ontario fur trade. After many adventures, and several visits to Indian villages, wherein peltries were bargained for by the master of the vessel, the travellers finally reached the fort, being fondly greeted by the four Recollects whom they found there—Ribourde, Buisset, Zenobe Membré, and Melithon Watteau, all of them compatriots of Hennepin, "Natives of the Spanish Netherlands."

At the instance of La Salle, Ribourde, Membré, and Watteau returned to Niagara with our hero, on board of the fur-trade brigantine. Stopping to trade with the Missionary recruits. Indians, the vessel lay in Irondequoit Bay, and was joined eight days later by La Salle, who came in a canoe along the southern coast of the lake.

---

<sup>1</sup> So says Hennepin. But in the apochryphal Tonty relation (Margry, *Découvertes*, i, p. 578) it is stated that Tonty sent eleven men with Hennepin.

Upon the fourth of August, La Salle and the four Flemish friars reached the "Griffon." It had been arranged by the Recollect authorities that Watteau should be left behind at the warehouse above the falls, to minister to the neighboring Senecas; while Hennepin, Ribourde, and Membré were to accompany the expedition to carry the gospel to the Western tribes.

The "Griffon," departing from the Niagara ship-yard upon the seventh of August, the first sailing-vessel to plow the waters of the upper lakes, enjoyed a pleasant passage through Lake Erie, the strait of Detroit, and Lake St. Clair. Upon Lake Huron, however, a violent storm alarmed the travellers, so that they were glad to find peaceful anchorage off Point St. Ignace, in the straits of Mackinac. The Jesuit missionaries there established made them welcome; although Hennepin, with characteristic jealousy, fails even to mention their black-gown hosts. It was from this haven that Joliet and Marquette had departed, six years previous, to discover the Mississippi River.

After a week in the Mackinac region, the "Griffon" entered Lake Michigan and ran over to Washington Island, off the mouth of Green Bay. Here La Salle found some of the advance party of traders whom he had dispatched the year before; they had accumulated a goodly store of furs, which were promptly loaded into the vessel. Such were La Salle's financial straits that he deemed it wise to hurry forward to his creditors this valuable cargo, thereby to secure

At Green Bay.

advance party of traders whom he had dispatched the year before;

the release of such of his property as they had seized at Fort Frontenac and elsewhere. The crew of the "Griffon" were accordingly ordered to sail at once to Niagara, and then "with all imaginable speed, to join us toward the Sourthen Parts of the Lake, where we should stay for them among the Illinois."

Leaving the islands upon the nineteenth of September, La Salle, with fourteen men in five heavily-laden canoes, paddled southward along the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan. It was a long and weary journey, involving much hardship, and actual danger from storms and hostile savages. In some of the encounters with the natives, the party came close to disaster; but persistence, diplomacy, and courage carried them safely through, although it was the first of

Voyage to  
St. Joseph  
River. November before they arrived at the mouth of St. Joseph River—"the River of Miamis," in Hennepin's text. Tonty and twenty men had been left behind at St. Ignace with orders to proceed to this point by way of the eastern (Michigan) shore of the lake; but it was twenty days before he succeeded in joining his master, having been detained by storms and scarcity of food. As for the "Griffon," it had not yet appeared, and for many months La Salle was heartsick with anxiety for her fate. It was not until long after, that the unfortunate pathfinder learned of her loss in a storm between Green Bay and Mackinac, owing to the unskilfulness of the pilot—although there were not lacking rumors of positive treachery.

Leaving a small garrison in the log fort which had been erected at the mouth of the St. Joseph, the remainder of the now reunited party — thirty-three in number — left upon the third of December to ascend the river and proceed over the portage (at the present South Bend, Ind.) to the Kankakee branch of the Illinois. The expedition moved On the Illinois River. slowly, for the pressure for food necessitated scouring the woods for game, so that it was the last of the month before they reached the great town of the Illinois, near the present Utica. The inhabitants were away upon their winter hunt, leaving the lodges empty, thus making it necessary for the explorers to proceed further; although in the absence of the owners they helped themselves liberally to dried corn, of which there was a large supply in concealed pits.

Upon New Year's Day (1680) the expedition reached the broadening of Illinois River which we now call Peoria Lake.

Meeting the Illinois Indians. The occasion was celebrated by the friars in saying mass; "and having wish'd a happy New-year to M. la Salle, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetical Exhortation to our Grumblers, to encourage them to go on chearfully, and inspire them with Union and Concord. Father Gabriel, Zenobe, and I, embrac'd them afterwards; and they promis'd to continue firm in their Duty." Later in the day, a short distance below the lake, they encountered an Illinois village of eighty cabins, wherein, after the usual flurry of alarm on the part of the savages, they were treated with courtesy.



But, even in this remote corner of the wilderness, La Salle soon found that his enemies were at work. That night there appeared in the village a Mascoutin chief who came to council with the Miamis; seeing La Salle, he denounced him as engaged on a mission to induce the Western tribes to unite with the Iroquois in devastating the country of the Illinois. To add to his mortification, La Salle discovered the following morning that six of his men had deserted him and disappeared within the forest, where doubtless they became *coureurs-de-bois*, the most fascinating occupation which offered itself to adventurous spirits in New France.

La Salle, having by his firm yet friendly manner disarmed criticism among his hosts, erected a palisaded defense on a hill in the vicinity of the cantonment, and called it Fort Crêvecœur (Heart-break)—a name long thought by historians to refer to the heart-rending situation in which he found himself; but apparently it was in compliment to Louis XIV of France, in allusion to that monarch's capture (1672) and subsequent demolition of a Netherlands stronghold thus named, near Bois-le-Duc.

Upon the first of March La Salle again set out for Fort Frontenac, accompanied by an Indian hunter and four Frenchmen, seeking equipment for a vessel to be erected at Crêvecœur for carrying his party down the Mississippi. It was a dangerous journey of about a thousand miles by land and water, the making of which consumed sixty-five weary days. Although met by enemies and

Enemies  
at work.

Fort  
Crêvecœur.

La Salle  
leaves for  
Canada.

grasping creditors, he contrived to duplicate the supplies of material for the new vessel, which had vainly been expected on the ill-fated "Griffon," and then set out for Crêvecœur to rejoin Tonty.

But we are in the present notice henceforth less concerned with the checkered career of La Salle — who, though continually harrassed by fate, returned again and again to the giant task to which he had set himself, only to fail at last — than we are with the progress of Hennepin, whose adventures must now exclusively claim our attention. Upon the day previous to La Salle's departure from Crêvecœur, he had dispatched our hero with two companions to descend to the mouth of the Illinois River and for some distance upon the Mississippi, and report upon the country. It appears from Hennepin's own confession, that although presumably a rugged man, he had weakened at thought of the hardships and perils of such a trip. Claiming that a disease Hennepin weakens. of the gums necessitated his return to Canada for treatment, he sought to induce Ribourde to take his place; but the latter excused himself, for he was now sixty-five years of age and feeling old — the forest missionaries of New France early became, like their barbaric wards, the victims of rheumatism and lung diseases. Membré was also approached, but that father, despite his freely-expressed dislike of the work which fell to him in the foul-smelling and turbulent villages of the Illinois, concluded in this juncture that his duty lay among a people whose language he understood; a

few months later, Ribourde was slain by Kickapoos who objected to conversion. Hence Hennepin must sacrifice himself, his fellow-travellers being Michel Accau (or Ako) and Antoine Augel, who was nicknamed "le Picard" because from Picardy. While Hennepin throughout his narrative characteristically speaks of himself as the leader, and as a rule only mentions his companions as "the two Men who were with me," Accau appears to have been the real head of the party, the grey-gown being merely the usual ecclesiastical supernumerary.

Up to the point of their reaching the mouth of the Illinois, some fifty leagues below Crêvecœur, we are, in Hennepin's journal, treading upon firm ground. By means of the accounts of La Salle, the report ascribed to Tonty, and various contemporary documents, we are able to corroborate the father's narrative; and find it in the main trustworthy, save for the vainglorious attitude which detracts from its merit, although this leads no discriminating reader astray. Henceforth, however, we are in more or less doubt, for not only are some of the father's statements, especially as given in the book here reprinted, quite impossible of credence, but we shall see that his several narratives are in themselves contradictory.

His earliest volume, *Description de la Louisiane*, was published in Paris less than three years after this adventure. In that, as well as in chapter xxxvi of the present volume (which is in large measure a direct translation of the *Louisiane*), Hen-

nepin claims that, having left Crêvecœur upon the twenty-ninth of February, "On the seventh of March we met, within two Leagues from the River Meschafipi, a Nation of the Savages call'd Tamaroa"; they were detained at this place until the twelfth of the month by "The Ice which came down from the Source of the Meschafipi." In the *Louisiane*, he claims only to have thenceforth ascended the Mississippi to its upper waters; and we have ample proof that he did make this journey, for not only does his journal abound in internal evidence of his having visited the country and the tribes therein described, but the great coureur-de-bois Du Luth has independently testified to having rescued him from the Indians.

Taken prisoners by the Sioux upon the eleventh or twelfth of April, near Lake Pepin, about five hundred miles above the mouth of the Illinois, the three French adventurers were marched to the villages of that nation in the Mille Lacs region, and accompanied their captors upon several hunting expeditions. At one time they visited the Falls of St. Anthony, at the site of the modern Minneapolis; this waterfall, like that of Niagara, Hennepin was the first to describe in a published narrative. After extended wanderings through northeastern Minnesota and northwestern Wisconsin,—during which they suffered abundant hardships, but apparently fared almost as well as their captors,—there suddenly appeared upon the scene Daniel Greysolon du Luth (or Lhut) with four French followers, who were visiting

the Sioux in the interests of Count Frontenac's fur trade. Du Luth had obtained a strong influence over the savages of this region, and succeeded in bargaining for the release of his three compatriots upon promise to return thither with goods to be exchanged for furs.

The sturdy *coureur-de-bois* was kindness itself. Turning from his search for peltries, he and his men in early autumn descended the Mississippi with Accau's party, and, after more than one thrilling adventure, escorted them up the Wisconsin River and down the Fox to the Jesuit mission of Green Bay, and eventually to the St. Ignace mission at Mackinac. In describing this journey, the ungrateful Hennepin continually vaunts his own superior bravery, even to claiming that in at least one dangerous situation Du Luth was stricken with fear, and nothing but the father's cool directions brought the company through safely. As usual, Hennepin neglects, through professional jealousy, even to notice the existence of his Jesuit hosts at Green Bay; although in describing his residence at Mackinac he incidentally mentions Father Philippe Pierson of that mission, but apparently only because the latter was his fellow-townsmen from Ath.

After a winter of Jesuit hospitality at St. Ignace, during which he and Pierson amused themselves by skating, and fishing through the ice with nets, Hennepin left in Easter week (1681) and proceeded down the lakes to Niagara, soon thereafter joining Buisset at Fort Frontenac, whence he went

to Montreal. There he was greeted by Frontenac, who chanced to be at that then far-away outpost of New France.

A ragged friar. The governor "did wonder to see me so much alter'd, being lean, tir'd, and tann'd, having lost my Cloak that the Iffati had stoll'n from me, being then cloath'd in an old Habit, patch'd up with pieces of wild Bulls-Skins [buffalo hide]. He carri'd me to his own House, where I continu'd for twelve Days to refresh my self. . . . He was much pleas'd to hear me talk of all the Hazards I had run in so long a Voyage, among so many different Nations." Not long after this episode, which no doubt has lost nothing in the telling, our hero returned to Quebec, and thence in due time sailed for Europe—probably in the following autumn.

During at least the succeeding year, Hennepin was cloistered in the convent of his order at St. Germain-en-Laye, and there he appears to have written his first book, The first book. the *Louisiane*. The royal privilege allowing the Paris publisher—the widow of Sebastian Huré—to print the volume, was granted September 3, 1682; it was registered on the books of the printers' guild a week later, and printing for the first edition was completed on the fifth of January following. The volume must have at once met with a considerable sale, for new editions appeared in 1684 and 1688, and it was translated into Italian, Dutch, and German. Nevertheless it did not fail to arouse hostile criticism. Contemporary letters have been preserved,<sup>1</sup> showing that fellow ecclesiastics

<sup>1</sup> Neill, "The Writings of Louis Hennepin," read before the Minnesota Historical Society, September 6, 1880.

in Europe had small faith in Father Louis's pretensions; and La Salle had, before the book was issued, sent home word from Fort Frontenac that the friar was fond of representing things "as he wished them to be, and not as they were."

Had Hennepin, however, been content with being a one-volume author, his reputation might still be as good as that of most other explorers of his day; it being then the custom for travellers freely to spice their narratives with imaginary deeds, and to adopt more or less of a bragging tone. The pages of our adventurous friar abound in exaggeration and self-glorification; although his geographical and ethnographical descriptions are excellent, and add much to our knowl-

A second volume. edge of the North American interior during the last third of the seventeenth century. But in 1697, encouraged by his first success, he brought forth at Utrecht another book—*Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays, situé dans l'Amérique*. This omits the description of life and manners among the Indians, which was perhaps the strongest feature of *Louisiane*, and is filled out with other matter. It is dedicated to the English king in much the same terms of fulsome flattery as he had used towards the French monarch upon the pages of his *Louisiane*. The volume appears to have leaped into popularity, for new editions in French were published in 1698, 1704, 1711, 1712, and 1737; while translations were made into Dutch, German, Spanish, and English. Apparently it was one of the most widely read books of its day.

Six years before its appearance there had been published,

although at once suppressed, Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foi*, which contained an account by Hennepin's colleague, Father Membré, of La Salle's journey from Fort Crêvecœur to the mouth of the Mississippi (1682), in which Membré participated. This account, which, because of the suppression of Le Clercq's work, was little known at the time, Hennepin boldly appropriated, with such few verbal changes as were necessary to make it appear that this was a part of his own journal of 1680: thus setting up the astonishing claim that on leaving Crêvecœur he had first journeyed to the Gulf of Mexico, and then, returning to the junction of the Illinois, experienced the adventures upon the upper Mississippi which are detailed in *Louisiane*. Yet in his first book he had taken pains to state that he had not been upon the lower reaches of the Mississippi; he had intended to go down to its mouth, he says, "but the tribes that took us prisoners gave us no time to navigate this river both up and down."

That it was quite impracticable for him to have made the alleged trip to the lower waters of the great river, is evident from the dates given by the father himself. In *Louisiane*, as in the later volume herewith reprinted, the party are said to have left the Illinois not earlier than the twelfth of March. Upon the eleventh of April his party were captured by the Sioux near Lake Pepin. This leaves a scant month for the author to have descended and ascended the Mississippi and reached the place of capture — a journey all told of some 3260 miles. Hennepin tells us that his

An impos-  
sible claim.



canoe was slow, being large and laden heavily; yet to accomplish this feat he must have ascended the river against a strong current, at the rate of sixty miles a day, nearly three and a half times the speed attained two years later by La Salle, with better boats.

The excuse made by Hennepin for waiting until ten years after La Salle's death (which had occurred in 1687), before making this claim of priority in the exploration of almost the entire length of the Mississippi, from the mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony,— and for contradicting his own express statement in *Louisiane*,— is, that fear of personal violence from La Salle or his partisans prevented an earlier relation of the entire truth regarding his travels. But this statement, repeated with elaboration at numerous points within the *Nouvelle Découverte* and its successors, does not have the ring of sincerity; and probably all historians are now agreed, as were his contemporaries, that only the original tale is to be credited. That numerous other passages and indeed chapters in all of his books subsequent to *Louisiane* were borrowed in whole or in part from Le Clercq, is evident; we have in our footnotes indicated the important thefts. The familiar charge, however, that several of the earlier chapters of even *Louisiane* are stolen from La Salle's memoir as given by Margry,<sup>1</sup> is not important; for, even if that memoir be accepted as genuine, it is quite possible that La Salle, as the leader of the expedition,

---

<sup>1</sup>“Relation des découvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle,” in *Découvertes et établissement des Français*, i, p. 435 et seq.

had access to Hennepin's original journal, and he might with propriety have freely borrowed therefrom. But it is probable that the alleged memoir is after all merely a paraphrase of Hennepin's book, by some other hand.

While historians are agreed that the Hennepin books succeeding *Louisiane* abound in clumsy plagiarisms, and that the new claim of priority over La Salle was mendacious, there is not unanimous opinion as to who was responsible.

Who was  
responsible?

Charlevoix, Kalm, Bancroft, and Parkman have all pronounced Hennepin to be a falsifier; and so at first did Shea.<sup>1</sup> But later,<sup>2</sup> Shea took opposite ground, and sought to show that an unscrupulous publisher made up the new editions out of such material as lay at hand, apparently without consulting the author. To this charitable view, Poole good-naturedly yields a hesitating adherence.<sup>3</sup> Shea considers that he has made a strong point in favor of his theory regarding *Nouvelle Découverte*, by showing that several "sections" of that book bear special "signatures" of a character indicating to his mind that the type was set up and the sheets printed in different offices. But Paltsits, in his *Bibliographical Data* accompanying the present volume, takes what we consider the right view of the case — that the mechanical peculiarities of *Nouvelle Découverte* are not such as to warrant the conclusion that it was printed in different offices. Again, we must remember that in numerous

<sup>1</sup> *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (N. Y., 1853), pp. 99-106.

<sup>2</sup> In the introduction to his translation of *Louisiane* (1880).

<sup>3</sup> *The Dial*, Chicago, i, p. 253.

places throughout the book, in dedication and preface as well as in text, Hennepin in his own inimitable manner refers with warmth to the presentation of his new claim, and seeks to answer his critics; while the same spirit which dictated this species of thievery, leads him to introduce into nearly every chapter fresh exaggerations of statement, with the view of enhancing public interest in his so-called discovery. A careful comparison between *Louisiane* and its successors leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that, as Shea originally held, the blame must rest upon the shoulders of Hennepin, quite as much as upon those of his publishers. For a barefooted mendicant friar, presumed to be living a life of austerity, Hennepin appears to have been uncommonly acute in making his wares attractive to the uncritical public.

For three years after the publication of *Louisiane* (1683-86), Hennepin was guardian of the Recollects at Renti in Artois, and from his own account appears to have been busily engaged in rebuilding the convent at that place. The commissary provincial of his order, at Paris, Father Le Fevre — possibly desiring to rusticate his erratic brother — had at one time wished him to return to America. At the time he declined to go, taking refuge in the fact that the rules of the Recollects did not permit of their being sent beyond seas save with their own consent; his reasons were, he afterwards declared, that he feared violence at the hands of La Salle. Thereupon he declares that Le Fevre, who was a friend of La Salle, began a systematic persecution, which lasted for many years.

Persecution  
by superiors.

Ordered to go to Rome, he returned only to be sent to the convent at St. Omer; and then came what purported to be a mandate from the court at Paris, ordering him to depart from French territory and betake himself to his native Flanders, which was still Spanish soil — but Hennepin asserts that he afterwards discovered this order to be a forgery. The father's appeal to King Louis XIV received no attention, and he went to Gosselies, in Brabant, where he became confessor of the Recollect nuns (Penitents). During his five years' stay there, he claims to have built a large church and in many ways advanced the prosperity of his charge. But here again he was in hot water, for Le Fevre claimed that Gosselies belonged to France, and Hennepin should remain in Flanders. The latter denied this claim, and asserted that he held protection from the King of Spain; nevertheless he appears to have retired to Ath, the home of his childhood.

By this time La Salle had been assassinated, and Hennepin was himself desirous of returning to America, but now had difficulty in obtaining permission to do so. Denied a footing in France, he won the kindly consideration of Blaithwayt, secretary of war to William III of England, who, though a Protestant, was as Prince of Orange and defender of the Netherlands an ally of Catholic Spain. William and his secretary took pity upon the persecuted friar, and used their influence in an attempt to secure for him a missionary appointment to America. But the officials of the Recollects had now changed their minds relative to the disposition of their vain-glorious brother, and at first granted

Befriended by  
King William III.

nothing but fair promises. Being in the convent of his order at Antwerp (1696), Hennepin, attired in lay clothing, set out by land for Amsterdam in company with a Venetian ship-captain. On the way they were robbed by six mounted highwaymen, and it was only after many difficulties that our hero reached the Hague and was granted an audience by his friend King William. That monarch, upon the recommendation of the king of Spain and the elector of Bavaria, and the consent of the general commissary of the Recollects at Louvain, appears to have taken the missionary into his employ — evidently another name for subsisting him; while some of the English noblemen in Flanders, possibly only to pique the French, showed the father some social civilities.

Arrived finally at Amsterdam, he sought a publisher for his second volume of American travels; but failing here to secure one, proceeded to Utrecht, and there (1697) published *Nouvelle Découverte*. There is no reason to doubt that while in Utrecht he personally supervised the printing of this volume; also his third, *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*, which appeared from the press of another Utrecht publisher in the following year. The *Nouveau Voyage* was a hasty piece of patchwork, after the manner of many a modern book produced by a popular author who is making hay while the sun shines. The accounts of Indian life in *Nouvelle Découverte* are awkwardly pieced out with matter largely taken from Le Clercq. Translations into Dutch and German appeared within the same year.

While the *Nouveau Voyage* was appearing in Utrecht, there was being printed in London an English version of The English version. Hennepin's travels, under the title of *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*. Within the year there was a re-issue of this volume, with some improvements in phraseology, arrangement, and typography; it is this second issue which we are now reprinting. Part I (our Volume I) contains the *Nouvelle Découverte*; Part II (our Volume II) is practically the *Nouveau Voyage*, with added matter introducing Marquette's voyage (1673) and like travels in North America. It is impossible to say how far Hennepin assisted in the translation and editing of *A New Discovery*; but doubtless he had a general supervision of the work, which appears to have enjoyed the personal patronage of King William, who apparently had more faith in the Flemish friar than was entertained for him in France. In some respects it is the most satisfactory of Hennepin's books. This fact, and the existence of Shea's abundantly-annotated translation of *Louisiane*, have influenced us in selecting the London volume for reproduction. There was a reprint of the second issue, in 1699.

In the fulsome preface to the English king, contained both in *Nouvelle Découverte* and *A New Discovery*, Hennepin had again sought his intercession to secure an order for a Seeks to return to America. renewal of his missionary labors in America. The father claims that the king's solicitation on his behalf obtained for him what he desired — "leave to go Missionary into America, and to continue in one of the United Prov-

inces, till I had digested into Order the Memoires of my Discovery." It would appear that in 1699 he had either won from his superiors the coveted permission, or was in a fair way to secure it; for we find Louis XIV ordering the governor of New France to arrest the obnoxious Recollect in case of his appearance there, and send him home.

Our last trace of Father Hennepin is in a letter written from Rome the first of March, 1701, wherein the writer, one Dubos, mentions that the friar, now in his sixty-first or sixty-  
The last trace. second year, was then in a convent in that city, hoping soon to return to America, under the protection of Cardinal Spada. Certain it is that our author never went upon this mission; but what adventures befell him in his later years, or when or where he died, we know not.

A mendicant friar, Father Hennepin was consumed by an unconquerable passion for worldly adventure, and thereby  
Character-ization. became estranged from his ecclesiastical colleagues, who appear to have regarded their roving brother at first with suspicion and eventually with dislike. Early thrown into association with Frenchmen, he seems to have been regarded by them as a Flemish intruder, and finally was buffeted about by his enemies and thrown upon the bounty of Protestant England, practically a man without a country. Apparently hardy, brave, and enterprising, he was lacking in spiritual qualities, and no doubt possessed a captious temper which tended still further to alienate his companions. That he was a conceited braggart in private life as well as in his books, is evident from letters of the time — La Salle

wrote with warmth concerning the missionary's exaggerations.

The opportunities afforded this evangelist for connecting his name with an important enterprise of exploration were perhaps unexampled, save in the case of Marquette himself. His first book, as the annalist of the expedition, is that of a boaster, and nearly every incident therein is obviously over-colored. He arrogates to himself much that should have been credited to his companions; with surprising audacity he adopts a patronizing tone towards even such men as La Salle and Du Luth, and discredits their deeds, which were far greater than his own. The successors to the volume are, we have seen, marred by inexcusable and bungling mendacity, which shows the author to have been morally unfitted for the ecclesiastical calling—the judgment, apparently, of his own superiors, who, despite the marshalling of foreign influence in his behalf, prevented his return to the missionary field.

Nevertheless, when all is said, we must acknowledge Hennepin's works to be invaluable contributions to the sources of American history; they deserve study, and to this day furnish rare entertainment. We can pardon much in our erratic friar, when he leaves to us such monuments as these.

While seeking to reproduce the old text as closely as practicable, with its typographic and orthographic peculiarities, it has been found advisable here and there to make a few minor changes; these consist almost wholly of palpable blemishes, the result of negligent proof-reading—such as turned letters, transposed letters, slipped letters, and mis-spacings. Such corrections have been made

Exact reproduction.



without specific mention; in some instances, however, the original error has been retained, and in juxtaposition the correction given within brackets. We indicate, throughout, the pagination of the old edition which we are reprinting, by inclosing within brackets the number of each page at its beginning, *e. g.* [14]; in the few instances where pages were, as the fruit of carelessness in make-up, misnumbered in the original, we have given the incorrect as well as the correct figure, *e. g.* [26, *i. e.* 126].

In the preparation of Notes for this reprint edition of the second London issue of 1698, the Editor has been fortunate in securing the coöperation of his competent Aid acknowledged. assistant upon the *Jesuit Relations*, Miss Emma Helen Blair, chief of the Division of Maps and Manuscripts in the Wisconsin State Historical Library. He is also under obligations to Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of Lenox Library, New York, for the admirable Bibliographical Data published herewith—the first accurate bibliography of Hennepin which has thus far been published.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., April, 1903.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

**T**HE bibliography of the works of Father Louis Hennepin, in their various editions, translations, and ramifications, is a stumbling-block which has grounded more than one unwary bibliographer. The data presented here are offered as a "setting" to the present edition. This is not the place to discuss the voluminous controversial literature which, from Hennepin's day to ours, has agitated the name or the fame of this Recollect author.

Search for information about Hennepin by a querist to the *Historical Magazine* for 1857, p. 244, inspired several replies—in vol. i, pp. 316, 317, by Samuel H. Parsons; pp. 346, 347, by John Russell Bartlett; and vol. ii (1858), pp. 24, 25, by E. B. O'Callaghan and James Lenox. These contributions, merely hints or outlines, are ill-digested and inaccurate. They deserve mention because they were, perhaps, the stimuli toward subsequent quest in the matter.

Henry Harrisse, in his *Notes sur la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1872), described the seventeenth-century French editions and translations which were known to him. He is reasonably correct, judged from the plan which he adopted for his descriptions, but a number of mistakes have been discovered; and his plan is not sufficiently elaborate for the fastidious

accuracy required in modern scientific bibliography. I do not, however, wish to convey the impression of captious criticism of Mr. HARRISSE, who as a pioneer paved the way for others, and whose many painstaking and scholarly publications have placed Americanists forever in debt to him.

In 1876, the section of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, embracing Hennepin, appeared. It was reissued separately as *A List of the Editions of the Works of Louis Hennepin and Alonso de Herrera* (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1876), as a "specimen" of the *Dictionary*, "intended to exhibit the thorough manner in which the work is performed." Sabin's article on Hennepin was fairly good work for his day in America; and, hitherto, every bibliographer has resorted to him, not always with full acknowledgment. But his method of collating was unsatisfactory; he committed quite a number of egregious mistakes; failed to record certain extant editions, and erroneously included others that never existed.

In 1880, John Gilmary Shea prefixed a "Bibliography of Hennepin" to his translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, pp. 382-392, which was also reissued as a separate pamphlet in a small edition. He used Sabin, and at times had the assistance of the late George H. Moore. Nevertheless he is responsible for some of the worst bibliographical bulls with which this subject is overburdened. They were copied, extended, and perpetuated by others, notably Winsor, Remington, and Dionne.

On September 6, 1880, the late Edward D. Neill presented a paper on *The Writings of Louis Hennepin* to the monthly meeting of the Department of American History of the Minnesota Historical Society (10 pp.), which merely touches the bibliographical side of his works, and treats them critically as to text. He finds against their author, whom he charges anew with being "deficient in Christian manhood."

John Russell Bartlett described the Hennepins in The John Carter Brown Library at Providence, in the printed Catalogue of that Library, second edition of part ii (Providence, 1882), and part iii (Providence, 1870). Of the former 100 copies were printed for private circulation, and of the latter only fifty. They are not easily available, and command good prices in the book-market. His work is also faulty.

In vol. iv (copyrighted 1884), pp. 247-256, of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Justin Winsor presented a bibliography under the heading, "Father Louis Hennepin and his real or disputed discoveries." It is merely a compilation from HARRISSE, SABIN, SHEA, and booksellers' and library catalogues; it may be termed a *résumé* embodying the mistakes of others, with the addition of errors of its own.

In 1891, Cyrus Kingsbury Remington published *The Ship-Yard of the Griffon . . . together with the most complete bibliography of Hennepin that has ever been made in any one list* [etc.]. His Hennepin bibliography covers pp. 51-74; shows very few evidences of original research, and is unique in its field for the linguistic havoc to which the French, Dutch,

German, and other foreign languages have been subjected during transcription of the title-pages. A second edition of Remington's monograph was issued at Buffalo in 1893. His bibliography also forms pp. 55-75 of the *Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara*, printed at Albany in 1893. These later publications are no improvement of that of 1891.

N. E. Dionne, of Quebec, was the last to take up the subject, in his *Hennepin, ses Voyages et ses Œuvres* (Quebec: Raoul Renault, 1897. Royal 8vo, pp. 40), of which only 150 copies were printed. He has culled from Harri-*se*, Sabin, Shea, and others, but does not refer to Remington. Dionne's titles are not lined, and his collations are inaccurate and uncritical.

Scattered data appear in many historical and bibliographical books, as well as in library and booksellers' catalogues.

A futile attempt at a chronological check-list was made by Philéas Gagnon in his *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* (Quebec, 1895), p. 224.

In the following data the original French editions and the English versions of 1698 and 1699 are given elaborate treatment. Subsequent French editions, translations, and abridgments are summarized. The descriptions in every case are from the books themselves. The absence of editions in this summary, which had been included in any of the above-mentioned bibliographies, is not evidence of incompleteness. It augurs rather that such editions do not exist.

## I—LOUISIANE.

Description | de la | Louisiane, | nouvellement decouverte  
 | au Sud' Oüest de la Nouvelle France, | par ordre du Roy.  
 | Avec la Carte du Pays : Les Mœurs | & la Maniere de vivre  
 | des Sauvages. | Dediée a Sa Majesté | Par le R. P. Louis  
 Hennepin | Missionnaire Recollet & | Notaire Apostolique.  
 | [*Monogram of Amable Auroy*] |

A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Sebastien Huré, ruë | Saint  
 Jacques, à l'Image S. Jerôme, | près S. Severin. | M. DC.  
 LXXXIII. | Avec Privilege dv Roy. |

*Collation*—Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; epistle "Au Roy,"  
 pp. (8); "Extrait du Privilege du Roy," pp. (2); text of the  
 "Description," pp. [1]—312; text of "Les Moeurs des  
 Sauvages," pp. [1]—107; verso of p. 107 blank. Signatures:  
 ã in six, A in eight, B in four, C in eight, D in four, E in  
 eight, F in four, G in eight, H in four, I in eight, K in four,  
 L in eight, M in four, N in eight, O in four, P in eight, Q  
 in four, R in eight, S in four, T in eight, V in four, X in  
 eight, Y in four, Z in eight, Aa in four, Bb in eight, Cc in  
 four, A in eight, B in four, C in eight, D in four, E in eight,  
 F in four, G in eight, H in four, I in six (but some copies  
 may end with two blank leaves, completing the signature in  
 eight). The heading and pagination of p. 223 are imperfectly  
 printed in some copies. On p. 63 of the "Mœurs" the orna-  
 ment at top is incomplete. Sig. Eiiij is misprinted Biiij, and  
 C and Cij (pp. 25–28 of part ii) are misprinted B and Bij.

The "Privilege" is dated "3 Septembre 1682," and the registry "le 10. Septembre 1682." The following note appears at the end of the "Privilege": "Achevé d'imprimer pour la première — | re fois, le 5. Janvier 1683."

A map "inue. et fecit" by N. Guerard, "Roussel scripsit," measures 11½ by 19 inches, and is entitled: Carte | de la | Nouvelle France | et de la | Louisiane | Nouvellement decouverte | dédiée | Au Roy | l' An 1683. | Par le Reuerend Pere | Louis Hennepin | Missionnaire Recollect | et Notaire Apostolique. | The watermark in the paper of the map is a bunch of grapes.

One of the copies in the New York Public Library, formerly George Bancroft's, has "John Penington & Son. | Philadelphie," | stamped under the imprint of the title-page. This has, however, no bibliographical significance, having been added at a very late day.

#### 1684 — FRENCH.

In 1684 there was a reissue of the same sheets, but with an entirely new title-page, having the following imprint:

A Paris, | Chez Amable Auroy, ruë | Saint Jacques, à l'Image S. Jérôme, | Proche la fontaine S. Severin. | M. DC. LXXXIV. | Avec Privilege, du Roy. |

The publisher had married the widow of Huré, and it is a curious fact that the monogram of Amable Auroy occurs on the title-pages of both issues, notwithstanding the disparity of the imprints.



## 1688 — FRENCH.

This is an entirely new edition, evidently set up after one of the earlier issues, but embodying typographical and verbal changes, such as capitalization, spelling, and changes in the form of place-nomenclature. The publisher is Amable Auroy. At the end of the "Privilege" this information is given: "Achevé d'imprimer pour la fecon — | de fois, le 10. Mars 1688. | De l' Imprimerie de Laurent | Rondet." | The map is the same plate as in the first edition.

## 1720 — FRENCH.

A little tract of 45 pp., by "M. le chevalier de Bonrepos," is usually considered as an abridgment of Hennepin's *Louisiane*. It was published at Rouen and Paris in 1720.

LOUISIANE — *Translations.**Italian* —

1686 — *Descrizione della Lvigiana*. The imprint is: In Bologna, per Giacomo Monti. 1686. | Con licenza de' Superiori. | The John Carter Brown Library has an uncut copy.

1691 — Abridgment in vol. ii, pp. 423-455 of "Il Genio Vagante Biblioteca curiosa," printed at Parma.

*Dutch* —

1688 — *Beschryving van Louisania* (Engraved title: *Ontdekking van Louisania*). The imprint is: t'Amsterdam, | By Jan ten Hoorn, Boekverkooper over't Oude | Heeren Logement, in de Hiftori-Schryver. A. 1688. |

O, which would go to prove that the "Table" was printed after all the text was in shape to be tabulated. The type is the same in the text throughout, except the last page, which is printed with a smaller font to bring it within the page — not an unusual circumstance in books of the period. Altogether considered, the volume has evident traces of having been "built up" while in press. The author's "Avis au Lecteur" and other considerations would seem to indicate that he supervised the work personally.

## 1698 — FRENCH.

In 1698 a reprint was issued in Amsterdam, which followed the original edition rather closely, even going so far as to repeat the star signature and other individualities. The chapters, however, are all numbered in Roman numerals. The collation consists of the same number of pages, and the last page (506) is in type agreeing with the body of the text. Maps and plates agree with the 1697 edition, save that the imprint on the maps is changed. The imprint on the title-page reads thus:

"A Amsterdam, | Chez Abraham van Someren, | Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVIII." |

## FRENCH EDITIONS.

1704 — Voyage ou Nouvelle Découverte (also La Borde's Voyage, with separate title). The imprint is: A Amsterdam, | Chez Adriaan Braakman, Marchand Libraire près le Dam. | M D CC IV. |

1704—Voyage Curieux (also La Borde's Voyage, with separate title). The main title has imprint: A La Haye, | Chez Jean Kitto, Marchand Libraire, dans | le Spuy-ftraet. 1704. | La Borde's title has imprint: A Leide | Chez Pierre vander Aa, | MDCC IV. | An issue also exists with this latter imprint on the main title-page, but with the date in Arabic numerals. Both varieties are in the John Carter Brown Library.

1711—Voyage Curieux (also La Borde). The title is folded in, and has the following imprint: A Amsterdam, | Aux depens de la Compagnie. | M. DCCXI. |

1712—Voyage OÙ nouvelle Découverte. A Amsterdam, | Chez Jacques Desbordes, Libraire vis-à-vis | la Grande Porte de la Bourfe, 1712. |

1737—In vol. ix of Jean Frederic Bernard's "Recueil de Voiages au Nord." Amsterdam.

1737—In vol. 2, pp. 223-373, and table of chapters pp. (3), of Garcilasso de la Vega's "Histoire des Yncas," with imprint: A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, | MDCCXXVII. | The date is a misprint for 1737.

NOUVELLE DECOUVERTE — *Translations.*

*Dutch* —

1699—Nieuwe Ontdekkinge. The imprint is: Tot Amsterdam, | By Abraham van Someren. 1699. |

1702—Nieuwe Ontdekkinge. The imprint is: Tot Amsterdam, | By Andries van Damme, | Boekverkooper op't Rokkin bezyden de Beurs, 1702. |

1704 — Aenmerkelyke Voyagie. The imprint is: Te Leyden, | By Pieter vander Aa, 1704. | It is usually found in the collection entitled: “De Gedenkwaardige West-Indise Voyagien.” Leyden: Pieter vander Aa, 1704.

1704 — Aanmerkelyke Voyagie. The imprint is: Te Rotterdam. | By Barent Bos Boekverkooper 1704. | It is usually found in the collection entitled: “De Gedenkwaardige West-Indise Voyagien.” Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704.

*German* —

1699 — Neue Entdeckung. The imprint is: Bremen, | In Verlegung Philip Gottfr. Saurmans, Buchh. 1699. |

1739 — Neue Reise=Beschreibung. Nürnberg, 1739. | In Verlag Christ. Friedr. Feifse. |

*Spanish* —

1699 — An abridgment entitled: “Relacion de un Pais,” with imprint: En Brusselas, | En Casa de Lamberto Marchant, | Mercader de Libros. | M. DC. XCIX. |

*English* —

[1720] — An abridgment entitled: “A Discovery of a Large, Rich, and Plentiful Country,” with imprint: London: | Printed for W. Boreham, at the Angel in | Pater-Noster Row. (Price Six Pence.) |

### III—NOUVEAU VOYAGE.

Nouveau | Voyage | d’un Pais plus grand que | l’Europe  
| Avec les reflections des entreprifes du Sieur | de la Salle,  
sur les Mines de St. Barbe, &c. | Enrichi de la Carte, de

figures expressives, des mœurs | & manieres de vivre des Sauvages du Nord, | & du Sud, de la prise de Quebec Ville Capital- | le de la Nouvelle France, par les Anglois, & des | avantages qu'on peut retirer du chemin recourci | de la Chine & du Japon, par le moien de tant | de Vastes Contrées, & de Nouvelles Colonies. | Avec approbation & dedié à sa Majesté | Guillaume III. | Roy de la grande | Bretagne | par le | R. P. Louis Hennepin, | Missionnaire Recollet & Notaire Apostolique. |

A Utrecht, | Chez Antoine Schouten, | Marchand Libraire. 1698. |

*Collation.*—Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; dedication, pp. (20); "Preface," pp. (38); "Table des Chapitres," pp. (10); one blank leaf; text, pp. [1]–389; verso of p. 389 blank. Signatures: \*—\*\*\* in twelves, A—Q in twelves, R in three (copies in original binding probably have a blank leaf, completing R in four). No mispaging.

*Plates.*—Engraved and designed by "I. van Vianen"; p. 19 "Avantures mal heureuses du Sieur de la Salle"; p. 73 "Le Sieur de la Salle mal-heureusement [sic] affaibli"; p. 204 "Cruauté inouïe des sauvages Iroquois"; p. 343 "Prise de Quebeck [sic] par les Anglois." Map entitled, "Carte | d'un nouveau | Monde, | entre le nouveau | Mexique, | et la mer Glaciale | Nouvellement decouvert par le | R. P. Louis de Hennepin | Missionnaire Recollet [sic] natif d'Aht. | en Hainaut | dediée a sa Majesté | Britanique, le Roy | Guillaume Troisième." It measures 18 $\frac{3}{8}$  by 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches, and was engraved by "*Gasp. Boutats.*"

There is also an issue of 1698 with the imprint "Utrecht, chez Ernestus Voskuyl, Imprimeur, 1698." It is very uncommon, and is known to me only from Félix van Hulst's *Notice sur Le P. Hennepin d'Atb*: Liège, 1845, p. 36; and from a copy offered for sale in the spring of 1902 by a Jesuit in France, in correspondence with Mr. Thwaites.

## FRENCH EDITIONS.

1720—Voyage en un Pays plus grand que l'Europe. Embraces pp. 199-381 of Relations | de la | Louisiane, | et du | Fleuve | Mississipi. | Où l'on voit l'état de ce grand Païs & | les avantages qu'il peut produire &c. | [*Cut*] | A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, | M. D CC. XX. | The John Carter Brown Library has this volume in two states, one with the title in black, the other with three lines in red.

1734—In Bernard's *Voyages*, published at Amsterdam, vol. v (called "Troisième édition"). There are, perhaps, Bernard editions of other dates than the above.

NOUVEAU VOYAGE—*Translations.**Dutch*—

1698—Aenmerckelycke Historische Reys-Beschryvinge. The imprint is: Tot Utrecht, | By Anthony Schouten. 1698. |

*German*—

1698—Neue Reise-Beschreibung. The imprint is: Bremen. | In verlegung Phil. Gottfr. Saurmans, | 1698. |

1742—Reisen und seltsahme Begebenheiten. Bremen, | bey Nathanael Saurmann, 1742. |

## COMPOSITE ENGLISH EDITIONS.

There are two distinct English editions of 1698; the first we designate as the "Bon- | " edition, and the second (the one herein reprinted) the "Tonfon, | " edition; naming them after the ending of the first imprint line of their respective title-pages. There is only one edition of 1699.

The text-page of the Bon- | edition measures  $6\frac{1}{8}$  by  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches, and the Tonfon, | edition  $6\frac{5}{8}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches. The translations of the 1698 editions at times vary considerably; the 1699 edition seems to follow closely the text of the Tonfon, | edition, with changes, however, in capitalization and spelling.

## 1698 — BON- | EDITION.

A | New Discovery | of a | Vast Country in America, | Ex-  
tending above Four Thousand Miles, | between | New France  
and New Mexico. | With a | Description of the Great Lakes,  
Cata- | racts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals: | Also, The Man-  
ners, Customs, and Languages, of the | several Native In-  
dians; And the Advantage of | Commerce with those dif-  
ferent Nations. | With a | Continuation: | Giving an Account  
of the | Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the | Mines  
of St. Barbe &c. The Taking of | Quebec by the English;  
With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to China and Japan.  
| Both Parts Illustrated with Maps and Figures, | and Ded-  
icated to His Majesty K. William. | By L. Hennepin, now  
Resident in Holland. | To which is added, Several New Dis-  
coveries in North- | America, not publish'd in the French  
Edition. |

London: Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonfon, H. Bon- |  
wick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manship. 1698. |

*Collation.*—Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); “The Preface,” pp. (4); “Contents of the Chapters,” pp. (8); text of “A New Discovery,” pp. 1–299; verso of p. 299 blank; title to “A Continuation of the New Discovery,” with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (9); blank (1); “The Preface,” pp. (16); “A Table of the Chapters,” pp. (4); text headed “A Voyage through a Vast Country Larger than Europe,” pp. 1–178; half-title: “An Account of several New Discoveries in North-America,” with verso blank, 1 leaf; text, pp. 303–355; verso of p. 355 blank. Signatures: A in eight, a in four, B—T in eights, V in six, Aa in six, Bb—Ee in eights, \*ee in two, Ff—Nn in eights, Oo in three, and two leaves carried over and completing V (given above) in eight, X—Z in eights, Aa in two (perhaps belonging to the preceding sig. Aa to complete it in eight). Mispaging: Part i, pp. 94 and 95 transposed; 202 and 203 are given as 102 and 103, respectively; 206 as 109; 207 as 107. Part ii, pp. 45–48 are duplicated by insertion of sig. \*ee between Ee and Ff; some copies have 91 mispaged 81, and others have the numeral “1” superior to the “9”; 131 mispaged 141. In part ii, chapter-heading xxiii is in some copies misprinted xxii. The “Continuation” is printed with a smaller type than the remainder of the volume. This is an insert between the blank p. 300 of the “New Discovery” and the half-title called “An | Account | of several | New Discoveries | in | North-Amer-



ica." The addition of the "Continuation" evidently was an afterthought, as its erratic position and the difference of the typography both amply show. The plates in part ii are not as good art as in the Tonson 1698 edition, *q. v.* for details.

*Plates.* — Part i, p. 29, View of Niagara Falls; p. 114, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 9, "The unfortunate Adventures of the Sieur de la Salle"; p. 33, "The Sieur de la Salle unhappily assassinated"; p. 89, "Vnheard of Crueltys of the Iroquois"; p. 157, "Taking of Quebec by the English." Also "A Map of a Large Country Newly Discovered in the Northern America," 17 by 14½ inches; and "A Map of A New World," 17½ by 10⅝ inches.

1698 — TONSON, | EDITION.<sup>1</sup>

A | New Discovery | of a | Vast Country in America, |  
 Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | between | New  
 France and New Mexico; | with a | Description of the Great  
 Lakes, Cata- | racts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals. | Also, the  
 Manners, Customs, and Languages of the fe- | veral Native  
 Indians; and the Advantage of Com- | merce with those  
 different Nations. | With a | Continuation, | Giving an Ac-  
 count of the | Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the  
 | Mines of St. Barbe, &c. The Taking of | Quebec by the  
 English; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to China  
 and Japan. | Both Parts Illustrated with Maps, and Figures,  
 | and Dedicated to His Majesty K. William. | By L. Hen-  
 nepin, now Resident in Holland. | To which are added,

<sup>1</sup>The one followed in the present reprint.—ED.

Several New Discoveries in North- | America, not publish'd  
in the French Edition. |

London, Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonson, | H. Bon-  
wick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manship. 1698. |

*Collation.*—Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (4); "Contents of the Chapters," pp. (8); text of "A New Discovery," pp. 1-243; verso of p. 243 blank; title to "A Continuation of the New Discovery," with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (15); "The Contents," pp. (7); text headed "A Voyage into a Newly Discover'd Country," pp. 1-184; "An Account of several New Discoveries in North-America," pp. 185-228. Signatures: A in eight, a in four, B—Q in eights, R in two; A in eight, a in eight, B—M in eights, N in four, O and P in eights, Q in six. In part i, pp. 186 and 206 are mispaged 168 and 106, respectively; no mispaging in part ii.

*Plates.*—Part i, p. 24, View of Niagara Falls; p. 90, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 9, "The Unfortunate adventures of Mons<sup>r</sup>. de la Salle"; p. 33, "The Murther of Mons<sup>r</sup>. de la Salle"; p. 98, "The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois"; p. 161, "The Taking of Quebec by The English." The two plates in part i are the same as those in the Bon- | edition, except that the page reference of each plate has been altered to conform to this edition. The plates in part ii are superior to those in the Bon- | edition, and all but one have the engraver's name, "M. Vander Gucht Scul:". In this Tonson edition the plates

of part ii are reversed from those in the Bon- | edition. The two large folded maps are the same as in the Bon- | edition.

## 1699 EDITION.

A | New Discovery | of a | Vast Country in America, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | between | New France & New Mexico; | with a | Description [*sic*] of the Great Lakes, Cataracts, | Rivers, Plants, and Animals. | Also, the Manners, Customs, and Languages of the several | Native Indians; And the Advantage of Commerce with | those different Nations. | With a | Continuation | Giving an Account of the | Attempts of the Sieur de la Salle upon the | Mines of St. Barbe, &c. The Taking of Quebec | by the English; With the Advantages of a | shorter Cut to China and Japan. | Both Illustrated with Maps, and Figures; and Dedicated | to His Majesty King William. | By L. Hennepin now Resident in Holland. | To which are added, Several New Discoveries in North- | America, not Publish'd in the French Edition. |

London, Printed by for Henry Bonwicke, at the Red Lion | in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1699. |

*Collation.* — Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (4); "The Contents of the Chapters," pp. (6); text of "A New Discovery," pp. 1-138, 155-170, 161-240 (total 234); title to "A Continuation of the New Discovery," with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (6); "The Preface," pp. (11);

"The Contents," pp. (5); text headed "A Voyage into a Newly Discover'd Country," pp. 1-173; "An Account of several New Discoveries in North-America," pp. 174-216. Signatures: A—Hh in eights.

*Plates.*—These are the same as in the Tonson | 1698 edition, with the page references changed, and one plate shifted to part i from part ii. The six plates should be located thus: Part i, p. 22, View of Niagara; p. 51, "The Taking of Quebec by The English" (shifted in this edition, as above); p. 86, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 8, "The Unfortunate adventures of Monsr. de la Salle"; p. 31, "The Murther of Monsr. de la Salle"; p. 92, "The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois." The two maps are the same as in the 1698 editions.





A  
New Discovery  
OF A  
*Vast Country in AMERICA.*  
Extending above Four Thousand Miles,  
BETWEEN  
New France *and* New Mexico;  
WITH A  
Description of the Great Lakes, Cata-  
racts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals.

Also, the *Manners, Customs, and Languages* of the fe-  
veral Native *Indians*; and the Advantage of Com-  
merce with those different Nations.

---

WITH A  
CONTINUATION,

Giving an ACCOUNT of the  
Attempts of the *Sieur De la SALLE* upon the  
Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of  
*Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages  
of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

---

Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps*, and *Figures*,  
and Dedicated to His Majesty *K. William*.

---

By *L. Hemepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

---

To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-*  
*America*, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

---

L O N D O N, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonson*,  
*H. Bonwick*, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manship*. 1698.





[iii] TO

*His most Excellent Majesty*

WILLIAM III.

*King of Great Britain, &c.*

SIR,

THIS Account of the greatest DISCOVERY that has been made in this Age, of several Large Countries, situate between the *Frozen Sea* and *New Mexico*, I make bold humbly to Dedicate to your Majesty. Having liv'd Eleven Years<sup>1</sup> in the *Northern America*, I have had an Opportunity to penetrate farther into that Unknown Continent than any before me; wherein I have discover'd New Countries, which may be justly call'd the *Delights of that New World*. [iv] They are larger than *Europe*, water'd with an infinite number of fine Rivers, the Course of one of which is above 800 Leagues

---

<sup>1</sup> This is an exaggerated statement, for Hennepin in his *Louisiane* distinctly states that he returned to Canada, from his Western voyage, in 1681; and he clearly implies (pp. 309, 310) that he went back to France in the same year. As he first came to Canada with Bishop Laval (1675), his entire sojourn in America was but six years. Cf., however, his own explanation of this statement in section 4 of the Preface to part ii (our vol. ii) of the present work.—ED.

long, flock'd with all sorts of harmless Beasts, and other Things necessary for the Conveniency of Life; and blest'd with so mild a Temperature of Air, that nothing is there wanting to lay the Foundation of one of the Greatest Empires in the World.

I should think my self very happy, and sufficiently rewarded for my Laborious Travels, if they could any ways contribute to make those Countries better known, under the Glorious Name of Your Majesty; and if through Your Royal Protection I might serve as Guide to your Subjects, to carry into those Parts the Light of the Gospel, and the Fame of your Heroical Virtues: My Name would be blest'd amongst those numerous Nations, who live without Laws and Religion, only because no body endeavours [v] to instruct them; and they would have the Happiness of being converted to the Christian Faith, and the Advantage of seeing at the same time, their Fierceness and rude Manners softned and civiliz'd, by the Commerce of a Polite and Generous Nation, rul'd by the most Magnanimous King in the World.

This Enterprize is worthy of Your Majesty, who never frames but Noble Designs, and pursues them with such a Prudence and Vigour, that they are always crown'd with a Glorious Success.

I dare not presume to give here a particular Account of what Your Majesty's unparallell'd Valour and Prudence have done for the Felicity of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the *United Provinces*; the Happiness of your Kingdoms, and

the Mildness of Your Majesty's Government, proclaim that Truth to all the World, as also the Tranquillity of the *United Netherlands*, [vi] amidst a dreadful War, which ravages most Parts of *Europe*. Your Majesty drove back a formidable Enemy, who had penetrated into their very Heart, and keeps him since at such a distance, that they have nothing to fear from his Ambitious Designs.

The rest of *Europe* is no less indebted to Your Majesty than your own Kingdoms and the *United Netherlands*; for Your Majesty exposes every Year your Life, at the Head of your Armies and theirs, to protect their Country and preserve their Liberties from a fatal Invasion. The Allies know, and own with Gratitude, That Your Majesty's Prudence, and the great Respect which so many Princes have for your Personal Merit, are the only Cement that was able to maintain the Great Alliance. into which *Europe* is enter'd for its Preservation.

Your Majesty's Glorious Atchievements being a Theme above my Pen, [vii] I must not presume to speak of them; but my Religion obliges me to mention what I have seen with my own Eyes, and publish to all the World, That I have seen Your Majesty *Preserving*, with the utmost Care, *Our Churches* in the *Netherlands*, while *Others*, who, by a Principle of Conscience, were oblig'd to Protect them, left them expos'd to the Insolence of their Soldiers, violating in the face of the Sun the Respect all Christians owe them.

It is this great Generosity and Equity of your Majesty,

as much as your other incomparable Exploits, which have gain'd you the Esteem and the Hearts of all Christian Princes, one alone excepted; and have engag'd the King of *Spain* my lawful Sovereign, the most Catholick Prince in the World, to make so strict an Alliance with Your Majesty.

That Great Monarch being too remote from the *Netherlands* to defend [viii] his Dominions, has found in Your Majesty a Valiant and Trusty Defender; who being seconded by the Invincible Elector of *Bavaria*, protects the *Spanish* Dominions against a Prince, who makes all Possible Efforts to deprive his Catholick Majesty thereof, notwithstanding their Proximity of Blood, and his professing the same Religion.<sup>1</sup>

His Catholick Majesty having therefore so often experienc'd, that Your Majesty's Royal Word is more firm than other Princes Treaties and Solemn Oaths, could not also but leave his Dominions to your Disposál; shewing by that unparallell'd Piece of Trust, how much he relies upon Your Majesty's Honour, and what Esteem he has for your Royal Vertues, which are mix'd with no manner of Imperfections.

---

<sup>1</sup>In 1689 William III of England had declared war against France, on account of the aid given by Louis XIV to the deposed king of England, James II. This was quickly followed by an alliance of the leading European powers against France, mainly inspired by their dread of Louis's growing ambition. This war, in which William was probably the most distinguished and influential of the allied princes, was finally terminated by the peace of Ryswick (October 30, 1697). The King of Spain at this time was Charles II; the heir to his crown was Ferdinand, elector of Bavaria, but that prince died on February 6, 1699.—ED.

I don't question but many, out of Envy or Malice, will blame me for entring into Your Majesty's Service; [ix] but I care very little for what they say, since it is by the Permission of his Catholick Majesty, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Superiours of my Order. I design to keep the Integrity of my Faith, and serve faithfully the Great Monarch who has honour'd me with his Royal Protection. I owe my Services to the Generous Protector of my Country, and of our Altars, who besides has so kindly receiv'd me at his Court, while other Princes neglected me, or forbad me their Presence. It is then out of Gratitude, that I devote my self to Your Majesty's Service, and in order to contribute to the Conversion of the several Nations I have discover'd, and to the Advantage of your Subjects, if they will improve this Opportunity, and make Plantations in a Country, which is so fertile as to afford Two Crops every Year.

The Gentleman with whom I began this Discovery, had form'd great [x] Designs, and especially upon the Mines of *St. Barbe* in *New Mexico*; but his Tragical Death prevented their execution.<sup>1</sup>

I humble beseech Your Majesty to accept this Publick

---

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the noted explorer, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, who was murdered by some of his own followers (March 19, 1687), while searching for the Mississippi River that he might secure aid for his starving colonists at Matagorda Bay, Texas.

The mines here mentioned were those of Santa Barbara, located in the San Bartolomé valley, in what is now Southern Chihuahua, Mexico—a region notable for the richness of its silver mines. A Spanish settlement was made there about 1563.—ED

Mark of my Respect and Gratitude; having pray'd the Almighty for the Preservation of Your Sacred Majesty's Person, and the Prosperity of your Reign, I beg leave to subscribe my self, with all the Submission and Respect imaginable,

S I R,

Your MAJESTY'S

*Most Humble, most Faithful, and*

*Most Obedient Servant,*

F. Louis Hennepin,

*Missionary Recollect.*<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The Recollects (Fr. *Récollets*), thus termed because they devoted themselves to religious meditation (*récollection*), were the most austere of all the Franciscan orders. Missionaries from this order were brought to New France by Champlain in 1615, and labored among the Indian tribes until the seizure of Canada by the English in 1629, when both they and the Jesuits were sent back to France. The Recollects did not again enter Canada until 1670, when Talon brought over some of them, apparently to serve as a check on the Jesuits. Most of their work was among the French colonists, whom they often served as curés.—ED.

## P R E F A C E.

I PRESENT here the Reader with the First Part of the Account of the Voyage I made from the Year 1679, to the Year 1682, in the Northern America; in which I discover'd a Country, unknown before me, as large or larger than Europe. I had resolv'd long ago to oblige the Publick with it; but my Resolution was prevented by some Reasons, which it would be too long to relate.

'Tis true, I publish'd part of it in the Year 1684, in my Account of Louisiana; Printed at Paris by Order of the French King; but I was then oblig'd to say nothing of the Course of the River Melchafipi, from the Mouth of the River of the Illinois down to the Sea, for fear of disobliging M. la Salle, with whom I began my Discovery. This Gentleman wou'd alone have the Glory of having discover'd the Course of that River: But when he heard that I had done it two Years before him, he could never forgive me, though, as I have said, I was so modest [xii] as to publish nothing of it. This is the true cause of his Malice against me, and of all the barbarous Usage I have met with in France; which they carry'd so far, as to oblige the Marquis de Louvois to command me to depart the French King's Dominions; which I did willingly, tho' I saw sufficient Grounds to believe this Order was forg'd after Monsieur de Louvois was dead.

The pretended Reasons of that violent Order, were, because I

*refused to return in-[to] America, where I had been already Eleven Years; tho' the particular Laws of our Order oblige none of us to go beyond-Sea against their Will. I would have however return'd very willingly, had I not sufficiently known the Malice of M. la Salle, who wou'd have expos'd me, to make me perish, as he did one of the Men who accompany'd me in my Discovery. God knows, that I am sorry for his unfortunate Death; but the Judgments of the Almighty are always just; for that Gentleman was kill'd by one of his own Men, who were at last sensible that he expos'd them to visible Dangers, without any Necessity, and for his private Desigus.*

*I presented some time after a Petition to the French King, while he was encamp'd at Harlemont in Brabant, setting forth my Services, and the Injustice of my Enemies; but that Prince had so many Affairs, [xiii] that, I suppose, they hinder'd him from considering my Petition; and so I cou'd obtain no Satisfaction. I continu'd since at Gosseliers and Aeth; and just as they were raising another Persecution against me, the Divine Providence brought me acquainted with Mr. Blathwait, Secretary of War to his Majesty William the Third, King of Great Britain; who, by Order of His Majesty, wrote a Letter to Father Payez, General Commissary of our Order at Louvain, to desire him to give me leave to go Missionary into America, and to continue in one of the United Provinces, till I had digested into Order the Memoires of my Discovery. This General Commissary being informed that the King of Spain, and the Elektor of Bavaria consented that I shou'd enter into the Service of His Majesty of Great Britain, granted me what I desir'd, and sent me to Antwerp, to take there in our*



*Convent a Lay-Habit; and from thence I went into Holland, having receiv'd some Money from Mr. Hill, by Order of Mr. Blathwait.*

*I design'd to live at Amsterdam for some time; but some Reasons oblig'd me to go to Utrecht, where I finish'd this First Volume of the Account of my Discovery; which I hope will prove advantageous to Europe, [xiv] and especially to the English Nation, to whose Service I entirely devote my self.*

*I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the Favours of Mr. Blathwait, who has so generously provided for my Subsistence, and did me the Honour to present me to His Majesty before his Departure for England. I am also very much oblig'd to the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Athlone, for the Civilities I have receiv'd from them: They have often admitted me to their Table, and granted several Protections in Flanders upon my Recommendation.*

*I hope the Reader will be pleas'd with the Account of my Discovery; not for the Fineness of the Language, and the Nobleness of the Expression, but only upon Account of its Importance, and of the Sincerity wherewith 'tis written. The Bookseller has added a Map, and some other Cutts, which are an Ornament to the Book, and very useful for the better understanding of it.*



[xv] CONTENTS of the CHAPTERS.

THE Occasion of undertaking this Voyage.

CHAP. I.

*The Motives which engag'd the Author of this Discovery to undertake the Voyage, whereof you have here a Relation.*

CHAP. II.

*The Means by which the Author accuslom'd himself to endure the Travail and Fatigue of his laborious Mission.*

CHAP. III.

*A Description of those Canon's that they make use of in the Summer-time, in America, for the Conveniency of travelling.*

CHAP. IV.

*Other Motives that induc'd the Author more forcibly to undertake this Discovery.*

CHAP. V.

*A Description of Fort Catarokouy, call'd since Fort Frontenac.*

CHAP. VI.

*A Description of some Fresh-water Lakes, the greatest and the pleasanest in the Universe.*

CHAP. VII.

*A Description of the Fall of the River Niagara, that is to be seen betwixt the Lake Ontario and that of Erié.*

CHAP. VIII.

*A Description of the Lake Erié.*

CHAP. IX.

*A Description of the Lake Huron.*

## C H A P. X.

*A Description of the Lake call'd by the Savages Illinouack, and by the French, Illinois.*

## C H A P. XI.

*A short Description of the Upper Lake.*

## C H A P. XII.

*What is the Predominant Genius of the Inhabitants of Canada.*

## [xvi] C H A P. XIII.

*A Description of my first Imbarkment in a Canow at Quebec, the Capital City of Canada, being bound for the South-West of New-France, or Canada.*

## C H A P. XIV.

*A Description of my second Imbarkment at Fort Frontenack, in a Brigantine upon the Lake Ontario or Frontenac.*

## C H A P. XV.

*An Account of the Embassie to the Iroquese Tsonnontouans.*

## C H A P. XVI.

*A Description of a Ship of Sixty Tuns, which we built near the Streights of the Lake Erie, during the Winter and Spring of the Year 1679.*

## C H A P. XVII.

*The Author's Return to Fort Frontenac.*

## C H A P. XVIII.

*An Account of our Second Embarkment from Fort Frontenac.*

## C H A P. XIX.

*An Account of our Third Embarkment from the Mouth of the Lake Erie.*

## C H A P. XX.

*An Account of what hapned in our Passage from the Lake Erie, unto the Lake Huron.*

## C H A P. XXI.

*An Account of our Navigation on the Lake Huron to Miffilimakinak.*

## C H A P. XXII.

*An Account of our Sailing from Miffilimakinak, into the Lake of the Illinois.*

## C H A P. XXIII.

*An Account of our Embarkment in Canows to continue our Discovery, from the Bay of Puans, to the Miami's on the Lake of the Illinois.*

## C H A P. XXIV.

*A Description of the Calumet, or Great Pipe.*

## [xvii] C H A P. XXV.

*A Continuation of our Discovery; with an Account of our Navigation to the farther End of the Lake of the Illinois in our Canou's.*

## C H A P. XXVI.

*An Account of the Peace made between us and the Outtougami's.*

## C H A P. XXVII.

*An Account of the Building of a Fort and a House near the River of Miamis.*

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*A Continuation of our Voyage from Fort Miamis to the River of the Illinois.*

## C H A P. XXIX.

*An Account of our Embarkment at the Head of the River of the Illinois.*

## C H A P. XXX.

*A Description of the Hunting of the wild Bulls and Cows, by the Savages; Of the bigness of those Beasts; and of the Advantages and Improvements that may be made of the Plain where they Pasture; and of the Woods thereabouts.*

## C H A P. XXXI.

*An Account of our Arrival to the Country of the Illinois, one of the most numerous Nations of the Savages of America.*

## C H A P. XXXII.

*An Account of what hapned to us while we remain'd among the Illinois, till the Building of a New Fort.*

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*Reflections upon the Temper and Manners of the Illinois, and the little Disposition they have to embrace Christianity.*

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*An Account of the Building of a New Fort on the River of the Illinois, named by the Savages Checagou, and by us Fort Crevecœur; as also a Barque to go down the River Meschafipi.*

## [xviii] C H A P. XXXV.

*Containing an Account of what was transacted at Fort Crevecœur before M. la Salle's return to Fort Frontenac; and the Instructions we receiv'd from a Savage concerning the River Meschafipi.*

## C H A P. XXXVI.

*The Author sets out from Fort Crevecœur, to continue his Voyage.*

## C H A P. XXXVII.

*The Course of the River Meschafipi from the Mouth of the River of the Illinois, to the Sea; which the Author did not think fit to publish in his Louisiana; with an Account of the Reasons he had to undertake that Discovery.*

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*A Continuation of our Voyage on the River Meschafipi.*

## C H A P. XXXIX.

*Reasons which oblig'd us to return towards the Source of the River Meschafipi, without going any farther toward the Sea.*

## C H A P. XL.

*An Account of our Departure from Koroa, to continue our Voyage.*

## C H A P. XLI.

*A particular Account of the River Meschafipi; Of the Country thro' which it flows; and of the Mines of Copper, Lead, and Coals we discover'd in our Voyage.*

## C H A P. XLII.

*An Account of the various Languages of the Nations inhabiting the Banks of the Meschafipi; of their Submission to their Chief; of the Difference of their Manners from the Savages of Canada; and of the Difficulties, or rather Impossibilities attending their Conversion.*

## C H A P. XLIII.

*An Account of the Fishery of the Sturgeons; and of the Course we took, for fear of meeting some of our Men from Fort Crevecœur.*

## [xix] C H A P. XLIV.

*A short Account of the Rivers that fall into the Meschafipi; of the Lake of Tears; of the Fall of St. Anthony; of the wild Oats of that Country; and several other Circumstances of our Voyage.*

## C H A P. XLV.

*The Author and his Canou-Men are taken by the Savages, who, after several Attempts upon their Lives, carry them away with them into their Country above the River Meschafipi.*

## C H A P. XLVI.

*The Resolution which the Barbarians took to carry the Author and his two Men along with them up into their Country, above the River Meschafipi.*

## C H A P. XLVII.

*The many Outrages done us by the Savages, before we arriv'd in their Country. They frequently design against our Lives.*

## C H A P. XLVIII.

*The Advantages which the Savages of the North have over those of the South, in relation to the War: As also the Ceremony which was perform'd by one of our Captains, having caus'd us to halt at Noon.*

## C H A P. XLIX.

*What Tricks and Artifices were us'd by Aquipaguetin to cheat us handsomely of our Goods; with many other Accidents that hapned in our Voyage.*

## C H A P. L.

*The Elders weep for us during the Night. New Outrages done us by Aquipaguetin. The manner how the Savages make Fire by Friction.*

## C H A P. LI.

*Ceremonies us'd by the Savages when they share their Prisoners. Continuation of our Journey by Land.*

## C H A P. LII.

*A great Contest arises amongst the Savages, about dividing our Merchandise and Equipage; as also my Sacerdotal Ornaments and little Chest.*

## [xx] C H A P. LIII.

*The Troop approaches the Village. A Grand Consult amongst the Savages, whether they should kill us, or save and adopt us for their Sons. The Reception which we had from them; and the use they made of my Chasuble.*

## C H A P. LIV.

*The Authors Reception by the Relations of Aquipaguetin. They make him sweat to recover him of his Fatigues. The use they make of his Chasuble and other Ornaments.*



## C H A P. LV.

*The Author like to be famish'd. They admire his Compass, and an Iron Pot which he had. He makes a Dictionary, and instructs them in Points of Religion, in relation to Poligamy and Celibacy.*

## C H A P. LVI.

*The most considerable Captain of the Iffati and Nadoueffians upbraid those that took us. The Author baptizes the Daughter of Mamenifi.*

## C H A P. LVII.

*An Embassy sent to the Iffati by the Savages that inhabit to the West of them. Whence it appears that there is no such thing as the Streights of Anian; and that Japan is on the same Continent as Louifiana.*

## C H A P. LVIII.

*The Iffati assemble to hunt the Wild-Bull. Refusal of the two Canow-Men to take the Author into their Canow, in order to go down the River of St. Francis.*

## C H A P. LIX.

*The Savages halt above the Fall of St. Anthony of Padua. They are streighten'd for Provisions. The Author, with Picard, returns to the River Ouifconfin. The Adventures of the Voyage.*

## C H A P. LX.

*The Hunting of the Tortoise. The Author's Canow is carry'd off by a sudden blast of Wind, which was like to have reduc'd him and his Companions to great Streights.*

## [xxi] C H A P. LXI.

*We continue our Course in search of the River Ouifconfin. Aquipaguetin finds us, and gets thither before us. We subsist meerly by Providence.*

## C H A P. LXII.

*Great Streights which the Author and his Companion are reduc'd to in their Voyage. They at last meet again with the Savages at their return from Hunting.*

## C H A P. LXIII.

*The Savage Women hide their Provisions up and down in private Holes. They go down the River again a second time. Address of the Savages. Bravery of one of the Savages.*

## C H A P. LXIV.

*Arrival of the Sieur du Luth in our Camp. He desires us to return with him and his Followers to the Country of the Iffati and Nadoueffians. I cast my Coverlet over a dead Man. The Savages are pleas'd at it.*

## C H A P. LXV.

*The Author takes his leave of the Savages to return to Canada. A Savage is slain by his Chief, for advising to kill us. Dispute between the Sieur du Luth and me, about the Sacrifice of Barbarians.*

## C H A P. LXVI.

*The Sieur du Luth is in a great Consternation at the Appearance of a Fleet of the Savages, who surpriz'd us before we were got into the River Ouifconfin.*

## C H A P. LXVII.

*The Author's Voyage from the Mouth of the River Ouifconfin, to the great Bay of the Puans.*

## C H A P. LXVIII.

*The Author and his Company stay some time amongst the Puans. Original of the Name. They celebrated the Mafs here, and winter at Miffilimakinak.*

## C H A P. LXIX.

*The Author's Departure from Missilimakinak. He passes two great Lakes. Taking of a Great Bear. Some Particulars relating to the Flesh of that Beast.*

## [xxii] C H A P. LXX.

*The Meeting of the Author and a certain Captain of the Outtaouacts, nam'd Talon by the Intendant of that Name, upon the Lake of Erie; who recounts to him many Adventures of his Family and Nation. Further Observations upon the great Fall or Cataract of Niagara.*

## C H A P. LXXI.

*The Author sets out from the Fort which is at the Mouth of the River Niagara, and obliges the Iroquois assembl'd in Council, to deliver up the Slaves they had made upon the Outtaouacts.*

## C H A P. LXXII.

*The Author sets out from the Tsonnontouans Iroquois, and comes to Fort Frontenac.*

## C H A P. LXXIII.

*The Author sets out from Fort Frontenac, and passes over the rapid Stream, which is call'd The Long Fall. He is kindly receiv'd at Montreal by Count Frontenac.*

## C H A P. LXXIV.

*A great Defeat of the Illinois, that were attack'd and surpriz'd by the Iroquois.*

## C H A P. LXXV.

*The Savages Kikapoux murder Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, a Recollect Missionary.*

## C H A P. LXXVI.


*The Author's Return from his Discovery to Quebec; and what hapned at his Arrival at the Convent of Our Lady of Angels near that Town.*



The first part of the paper is devoted to a general  
 description of the country and its resources.  
 It is then divided into several sections, each  
 dealing with a different aspect of the subject.  
 The first section is on the geology of the  
 country, and the second is on the mineral  
 resources. The third section is on the  
 agriculture, and the fourth is on the  
 commerce and industry. The fifth section  
 is on the population, and the sixth is on  
 the government and administration. The  
 seventh section is on the education, and  
 the eighth is on the public works.  
 The paper concludes with a summary of the  
 main results of the investigation.

THE  
 GEOLOGICAL  
 SURVEY  
 OF  
 THE  
 UNITED STATES  
 DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
 GEOLOGICAL SURVEY  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.  
 1877



  
 A MAP  
 of a Large Country  
 Newly Discovered  
 in the  
 NORTHERN AMERICA  
 Situated between  
 NEW MEXICO  
 And the Frozen Sea  
 together with the Course  
 of the Great River  
 MESSINA 1709  
 Dedicated to his Majesty  
 WILLIAM III  
 King of Great Britain  
 By Father  
 LEWIS HENNEPIN  
 Missionary Recollect and  
 Apostolic Secretary

Testimony or Nation  
 of the Madecais

NEW  
 PART  
 OF NEW SPAIN

FLORIDA

GULFE  
OF MEXICO

HUDSONS  
BAY

Brador

NEW

FRANC  
CANADA

The upper Lake

Lake  
of the  
Karegnondi

Lake  
of the  
Hurons

Great Villages  
of the Hurons

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

A  
New Discovery  
OF A  
Country greater than *EUROPE*;  
*Situated in America, betwixt New-Mexico  
and the Frozen-Sea.*

---

*The Occasion of undertaking this Voyage.*

**M**EN are never weary of contemplating those Objects that are before their Eyes, because they discover a thousand ravishing Excellencies therein, capable to afford 'em both Satisfaction and Instruction. The Wonders they there meet with, are so surprizing, and (as it were) enchanting, that they are necessarily engaged to survey the same with all possible Exactness, in order to satisfy their natural Curiosity, and inform their Minds.

The Condition of Travellers is very near the same. They're never weary of making new Discoveries. They're indefatigable in rambling through unknown Countries and Kingdoms not mention'd [2] in History; feasting their Minds with the Satisfaction of gratifying and enriching the World with something unheard of and whereof they had never any Idea

before. 'Tis true, fuch Enterprizes expofe 'em to infinite Fatigue and Danger: But herewith they folace themfelves, and perfevere to fuffer all with Pleafure in that they hope to contribute thereby both to the publick Good, and to the glory of God, while at the fame time they are gratifying their own natural Inclinations; and hence it is, they are fo powerfully bent to make thefe Discoveries, to feek out ftrange Countries and unknown Nations, whereof they had never before heard of.

Thofe whose Aim in undertaking Voyages, is to enlarge the Bounds of Chrif's Kingdom, and advance the Glory of God, do upon that Proſpect alone valiantly venture their Lives, making 'em of no Account. They endure the greateft Fatigues, and traverse the moft unpaſſable Ways and horrid Precipices, in order to the Execution of their Defigns; being puſh'd on by the Hopes they entertain of Promoting by thefe means the Glory of him who created 'em, and under whose Condu&t they undertake fuch toilsome Voyages.

It's uſual to fee ſome undaunted Men boldly encounter the moſt frightful of Deaths, both in Battles and in dangerous Voyages: they are fuch as are not difcouraged by all the Hazards that furround 'em either by Sea or Land; nothing being able to withſtand the Valour and Courage that prompts 'em to attempt any thing. Therefore is it, that we oftentimes fee 'em ſucceed in obtaining their Defigns, and compaſſing their moſt difficult Enterprizes. Yet it's to be acknowledg'd, that if they took a ſerious View before hand, of the Perils they're about to encounter, and confider'd 'em in cold Blood,



they would perhaps find Difficulty to persuade themselves into such resolute Thoughts; at least, they would [3] not form their Designs after such a daring and fearless manner. But generally speaking, they do not survey their Dangers beforehand, any otherwise than by the Lump, and with a transient View; and having once set their Hands to the Work, Occasion engages 'em insensibly, and entices 'em further on than they cou'd have believ'd at first. Infomuch that many of the great Discoveries owing to Voyages, are rather the Result of Chance, than any well form'd Design.

Something of the same Nature has happen'd to my self in the Discovery I now bring to Light. I was from my Infancy very fond of Travelling; and my natural Curiosity induc'd me to visit many Parts of *Europe* one after another. But not being satisfied with that, I found my self inclin'd to entertain more distant Prospects, and was eager upon seeing remoter Countries and Nations that had not yet been heard of; and in gratifying this natural Itch, was I led to this Discovery of a vast and large Country, where no *European* ever was before my self.

'Tis true indeed, I could not foresee the Embarrassing Difficulties and Dangers I must of necessity encounter with in this my painful Voyage. Nay, perhaps the very Thoughts of 'em might have discourag'd and scar'd me from attempting a Design so laborious and toilsome, and environ'd with such frightful Difficulties. But maugre all these Discouragements, I've at length perfected my Design, the Undertaking of which was enough to frighten any other but my self. In

which I've fatisfy'd my Defires, both in regard to the curiofity I had to fee new Countries, and ftrange Faces; and alfo upon the Account of my Refolution to employ and dedicate my felf to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

Thus it was that I difcover'd a wonderful Country never known till now; of which I here give an ample [4] Defcription; and (as I think) circumftantiated enough: It being divided into feveral fmall Chapters, for the Conveniency of the Reader. I hope the Publick will return me Thanks for my Pains, becaufe of the Advantage that may accrue to it by the fame. However the World's Approbation fhall fufficiently recompenfe all the Trouble and Dangers I've gone through.

I am not infenfible of the Reflections I fhall meet with from fuch as never dar'd to travel themfelves, or never read the Hiftories of the Curious and Brave, who have given Relations of the ftrange Countries they have taken upon them to fee; I doubt not but that fort of Cattle will account of this my Difcovery as being falfe and incredible. But what they fay fhall not trouble me much: They themfelves were never Masters of the Courage and Valour which infpires Men to undertake the glorious Enterprizes that gain 'em Reputation in the World, being confin'd within narrow Bounds, and wanting a Soul to atchieve any thing that can procure 'em a diftinguifhing and advantageous Character among Men. It were better therefore for fuch to admire what they cannot comprehend, and reft fatisfy'd in a wife and profound Silence, than thus foolifhly to blame what they know nothing of.

Travellers are generally accus'd of venting an Infinity of

Lyes and Impostures: But Men of a magnanimous and firm Courage are above such silly Raileries: For when they've done all to blacken our Reputation, we shall still receive for our Reward, the Esteem and Approbation of Men of Honour, who being endow'd with knowing and penetrating Souls, are capable to give an equal and impartial Judgment of Travels, and of the just Merit of such as have hazarded their Lives for the Glory of God, and the Good of the Publick. It is this happy and agreeable Recompence that makes the daring Travellers [5] so valiantly expose themselves to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers, that by so doing, they may become useful to Mankind.

## CHAP. I.

*The Motives which engag'd the Author of this Discovery to undertake the Voyage, whereof you have here a Relation.*

I ALWAYS found in my self a strong Inclination to retire from the World, and regulate my Life according to the Rules of pure and severe Virtue: and in compliance with this Humour, I enter'd into the *Franciscan Order*, designing to confine my self to an austere Way of Living. I was overjoy'd then, when I read in History the Travels and Voyages of the Fathers of my own Order, who indeed were the first that undertook Missions into any foreign Country. And oft-times represented to my self, that there could be nothing greater or more glorious than to instruct the Ignorant and Barbarous, and lead 'em to the light of the Gospel; and having remark'd, that the *Franciscans* had behav'd themselves in this Work with a great deal of Zeal and Success, I found this begat in my Mind a Desire of tracing their Footsteps, and dedicating my self after their Example, to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

In reading the History of our Order, I observ'd, that in a general Assembly held in the Year 1621, it was reckon'd, that since the first going of the Reverend Father *Martin de Valence* (one of our first Reformers) into *America*, there had been

five hundred Convents of Recollects, establish'd in that New World, and distributed into Two and twenty Provinces. As I advanc'd in Years, this Inclination to travel did so much the more fix it self in my Mind. It is true, [6] one of my Sisters that was marry'd at *Ghent*, and whom I lov'd very tenderly, did dissuade me from my Design as much as she could, and never ceas'd to redouble her Sollicitations to that purpose, while I had occasion to be with her in that great City, whither I had gone to learn the *Dutch* Language: But being sollicitated on the other hand, by many of my Friends at *Amsterdam*, to go to the *East-Indies*, my natural Inclination, join'd to the Influence of their Requests, did move me much, and had almost determin'd me to undertake a Sea-Voyage.

Seeing then that all the Remonstrances of my Sister could not dissuade me from travelling, I first undertook a Journey into *Italy*; and in Obedience to the Orders of my Superiour, visited all the great Churches, and most considerable Convents of our Order, both in that Country, and in *Germany*; which did in some measure gratifie the Curiosity of my Temper. But having return'd to the *Netherlands*, the Reverend Father *William Herinx*, late Bishop of *Ipres*, manifested his averfeness to the Resolution I had taken of continuing to travel, by detaining me in the Convent of *Halles* in *Hainault*, where I was oblig'd to perform the Office of Preacher for a Year. After which, with the Consent of my Superiour, I went into the Country of *Artois*, from whence I was sent to *Calais*, to act the part of a *Mendicant* there in time of Herring-salting.

Being there, I was passionately in love with hearing the

Relations that Masters of Ships gave of their Voyages. Afterwards I return'd to our Convent at *Biez*, by the way of *Dunkirk*: But I us'd oft-times to sculk behind the Doors of Victualling-Houses, to hear the Sea-men give an Account of their Adventures. The Smoak of Tobacco was offensive to me, and created Pain in my Stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their Relations: But for all I was very attentive to the Accounts they gave of [7] their Encounters by Sea, the Perils they had gone through, and all the Accidents which befell them in their long Voyages. This Occupation was so agreeable and engaging, that I have spent whole Days and Nights at it without eating; for hereby I always came to understand some new thing, concerning the Customs and Ways of Living in remote Places; and concerning the Pleasantness, Fertility, and Riches of the Countries where these Men had been.

This confirm'd me more and more in my former Resolution; and that I might advance it yet further, I went Missionary into most part of the Towns of *Holland*; and stopp'd at length at *Mastrecht*, for eight Months together, where I administer'd the Sacraments to above Three thousand wounded Men: In which Occupation I ventur'd many Dangers among the Sick People, being taken ill both of a Spotted Fever and a Dyfenterie, which brought me very low, and near unto Death: But God at length restor'd me to my former Health, by the Care and Help of a very skilful *Dutch* Physician.

The singular Zeal I had for promoting the Good of Souls, engag'd me the Year following to be present at the Battle of

*Seneffe*, where I was busied in administering Comfort to the poor wounded Men: Till at length, after having endur'd all manner of Fatigue and Toil, and having run the risque of extreme Dangers at Sieges of Towns in the Trenches, and in Fields of Battel, (where I never ceas'd to expose my self for the good of Mens Souls) while these bloody Men were breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, I happily found my self in a condition to satisfie my first Inclination: For I then receiv'd Orders from my Superiours to go for *Rochel*, in order to embark in Quality of Missionary for *Canada*. Within Two Leagues of that City I perform'd the Function of a Curate near two Months; being invited so to do by the Pastor of the Place, who had occasion [8] to be absent from his Charge. But afterwards I totally resign'd my self to the Providence of God, and begun a Voyage of Twelve or Thirteen hundred Leagues over, and perhaps the greatest that can be made by Sea.

I embark'd in the Company of Mr. *Francis de Laval*, created then Bishop of *Petrée in partibus Infidelium*, and since Bishop of *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*; and now my Inclination to travel increas'd more and more: Yet I staid in that Country four Years, and was sent thence in Mission, while the Abbot of *Fenelon*, present Archbishop of *Cambray*, resided there.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The statements of this paragraph are inexact. François de Laval de Montmorency had been bishop of *Petræa* since 1658, and came to *Canada* in the following year as vicar apostolic of *New France*. Not until Oct. 1, 1674, was the see of *Quebec* erected, Laval being its first bishop, a dignity which he held until his resignation in 1685. Returning to *Canada* three years later, he spent the rest of his life there, dying at *Quebec* May 6, 1708.

The *Fénelon* who labored in *Canada* was not the noted archbishop, but his

I shall not here recount the several Adventures of our Voyage, nor the Fights we were engag'd in with the Ships of *Turkey, Tunis, and Algiers*, who attempted several times to have taken us; but without success. Nor shall I stay to relate our Approach to *Cape Breton*, where we beheld with incredible Delight, the Battle ordinarily fought betwixt the Fishes call'd *Espadons* [swordfish] and the Whales, their mortal Enemies; neither am I to detain my Reader with an Account of what vast Quantities of Fish we took at Forty Fathom Water, upon the Great Bank of *New-found-Land*; or what great Numbers of Ships we rencounter'd with, that were bound thither from different Nations to fish in these Places, which afford such infinite Numbers of all manner of Fishes. These diverting Sightings were very agreeable to all our Crew, which was then about an Hundred Men strong, to three Fourths of whom I administr'd the Sacraments, they being Catholics. I perform'd likewise Divine Service every Day while the Weather was calm; and we sung the Itinerary of the Clergy, translated into *French Verse*, after the Evening Prayers.

[9] Thus we sweetly pass'd our Time a-board, 'till at length we arriv'd at *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

---

half-brother, François de Salignac, abbé de Fénelon. This priest, a Sulpitian, was a missionary among the Cayugas at Quinté Bay from 1668 to 1673. In the following year he was sent back to France by Frontenac, having incurred the governor's displeasure. — Ed.



## CHAP. II.

*The Means by which the Author accustom'd himself to endure the Travail and Fatigue of his laborious Mission.*

**M**R. *Francis de Laval*, Bishop of *Petrée*, having taken possession of the Bishoprick of *Quebec*, which was conferr'd upon him by Pope *Clement X.* and that contrary to the Sentiments of many Persons of Quality, who, by means of his Preferment, were frustrated of their own Pretensions: This Reverend Prelate (I say) having taken into consideration the Fervency of my Zeal in Preaching the Gospel in my Voyage, my assiduous Diligence in performing Divine Service, and the Care I had taken to hinder the Young Fellows of our Crew from keeping loose Company with the Women and Maids that came along with us (for which I had oft-times been rewarded with Anger and Hatred;) these Reasons, and such like, procur'd me the Favour and Applause of this Illustrious Prelate, he obliging me to preach in *Advent* and *Lent* to the Cloister of *St. Augustin*, in the Hospital of *Quebec*.

But in the mean while, all this did not satisfy my natural Inclination: I us'd oft-times to go some Twenty or Thirty Leagues off the Town to see the Country, wearing a little Hood, and making use of large Rackets,<sup>1</sup> without which I

<sup>1</sup>These were snowshoes, called by the Canadians *raquettes*.—Ed.

had been in danger of falling headlong over fearful Precipices. Sometimes to ease my self a little, I made a great Dog I had brought with me, drag my little Baggage along, that I might arrive the sooner at *Trois Rivieres*, *St. Anne*, and *Cape Tourmente*, *Bourgroyal*,<sup>1</sup> the *Point de Levi*, [10] and at the *Island of St. Laurence*,<sup>2</sup> whither I design'd to go. There I affembled together, in one of the largest Cottages of that Country, as many People as I could gather; whom in some time I admitted to Confession, and to the Holy Communion. In the Night-time I had nothing to cover me but a Cloak; and sometimes the Frost pierc'd to my very Bones, which oblig'd me to make a Fire five or six times in a Night, to prevent my freezing to death. My Commons also were very short, scarce more than to keep me from starving.

In the Summer-season I was oblig'd, in order to continue my *Mission*, to travel in *Canou's*, that is, a sort of little Boats (which I shall describe hereafter) that they make use of in Lakes and Rivers: Which sort of Contrivance succeeded well enough where the Water was shallow, or about two or three Foot deep; But when we came to any deeper Place, then the Boat, which was round underneath, was in danger of overturning, infomuch that I had certainly perish'd in the Water, had not I taken a circumspèct Care of my self.

However, I found my self oblig'd to travel after this manner, for there were no passable Roads in this Country; it

<sup>1</sup> A small settlement near Quebec, probably at the entrance of Cap Rouge River, where Jacques Cartier wintered in 1541-2, calling his post Charlesbourg-Royal.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to Orleans Island.—ED.

being impossible to travel over-land in these new Colonies, because of that infinite number of Trees and Woods that beset them on all sides, which must needs be cut down or burn'd before any passable Way be made.

## [11] CHAP. III.

*A Description of those Canou's that they make use of in the Summer-time in America, for the Conveniency of travelling.*

THESE Canou's are round underneath, as I said but now, and pointed at the two Ends, not unlike the *Venetian Gondals*: Without them it were impossible to travel in *America*, for the Country is full of vast and wide-extended Forests: Besides, the impetuous Winds sometimes pluck up the Trees by the Roots, and Time it self ranverses great numbers of 'em, which tumbling down through Age, are piled so one upon another, that the Ways are totally embaras'd, and render'd unpaffable.

The Savages are very ingenious in making these Canou's: They make them of the Bark of Birch-Trees, which they pull very neatly off that sort of Trees, they being considerably bigger than those of *Europe*. They betake themselves to this Work generally about the end of Winter, in the vast Forests that lie towards the Northern Parts of these Countries.

For supporting this Bark they line it within with Ribs or Pieces of white Wood, or Cedar, about four Fingers broad; this they furbish up with small Poles made smooth, that make the Circumference of the Canou; then by other Poles going a-crofs, about an Inch, or an Inch and a half thick, which are

very smoothly polish'd; these they join on both sides to the Bark by small Roots of Trees cloven in two, not much unlike the Willows that we make our Baskets of in *Europe*.

These Canou's have no Rudder, as the bigger Shallops have, for they row them along merely by the [12] force of their Arms with some small Oars; and can turn them with an incredible swiftness, and direct them whither they list. Those that are accustom'd to manage them, can make 'em sail at a wonderful rate, even in calm Weather; but when the Wind is favourable, they are expedite to a Miracle; for they then make use of little Sails made of the same Bark, but thinner than that of the Canou's. As for the *Europeans*, that by long usage come to be well vers'd in this sort of Tackling, they make use of about four Ells of Linen Cloth, hoisted up on a little Mast, the Foot of which stands in a Hole made in a square piece of light Wood, that is fastned betwixt the Ribs and the Bark of the Canou's towards the Bottom.

Those that are well skill'd in managing these Canou's, can sail Thirty or Thirty five Leagues in a Day down a River, and sometimes more in Lakes, if the Wind be favourable: But some of 'em are much bigger than others. They carry generally about a Thousand pound Weight, some Twelve hundred, and the biggest not above Fifteen hundred pounds. The least of 'em can carry Three or four hundred pound weight, together with two Men or Women to steer them along. But the Greater must have Three or Four Men to manage them, and sometimes when Business requires Expedition, Seven or Eight to quicken their pace.

## CHAP. IV.

*Other Motives that induc'd the Author more forcibly to undertake this Discovery.*

I WAS passionately zealous, in imitation of many Fathers of my Order, for enlarging the Limits of Christianity, and converting the barbarous *Americans* to the Belief of the Gospel; and in pursuance [13] of that Design, I look'd upon the Employment of a *Missionary* as a most Honourable Post for me; so that whenever I found the opportunity of a Mission, I willingly embrac'd it; tho' it oblig'd me to travel more than Twelve hundred Leagues off *Canada*: Yet I perswaded several to accompany me in my Voyage; and neglected not any thing that might tend to the furtherance of my Design.

At first, for a Trial I was sent in Mission about a Hundred and twenty Leagues beyond *Quebec*. I went up by the way of the River *St. Laurence*, and arriv'd at length at the brink of a lake call'd by the Natives *Ontario*, which I shall describe hereafter. Being there, I perswaded several of the barbarous *Iroquese*, to cultivate the Ground, and prepare some Wood for building a Lodge for us. Then I made them erect a Cross of an extraordinary heighth and bigness; and built a Chapel near to the Lake, and settled my self there, with another of my own Order, by Name, Father *Luke Buisset*, whom I had

induc'd to come along with me, and who died since in our *Franciscan* Convent upon the *Sambre*: I shall have occasion afterwards to speak of him, for that we cohabited in *Canada* for a long time, and were Fellow-Labourers in our Settlement at *Catarokouy*<sup>1</sup>; which was the Place where we oft-times concerted the Measures of making this Discovery I am about to relate. I there gave my self much to the reading of Voyages, and encreas'd the Ambition I had to pursue my Design, from what Light the Savages imparted to us in that matter: In fine, I plainly perceiv'd by what Relations I had receiv'd of several Particulars in different Nations, that it was a matter of no great difficulty to make considerable Establishments to the South-East of the great Lakes; and that by the conveniency of a great River call'd *Hoio* [Ohio], which passes through the Country of the *Iroquese*, a Passage might be made into the Sea at Cape *Florida*.

[14] While I resided in that place, I made several little Tours, sometimes with the Inhabitants of *Canada*, that we had brought along to settle at our Fort of *Catarokouy*; sometimes in company of the Savages alone, with whom I convers'd frequently. And as I foresaw that the *Iroquese* might become jealous and suspicious of our Discoveries, I resolv'd to make a Tour round their Five Cantons; and in pursuance of this Design, threw my self among 'em, being accompany'd only with a Soldier of our Fort, who travell'd with me Seventy Leagues, or near the Matter, on this Occasion; we having our

---

<sup>1</sup>The Iroquois name of the place where Frontenac built, in 1673, the fort long called by his name, on the site of the present city of Kingston, Ont.—Ed.

Feet arm'd with large Rackets, to prevent the Injury of the Snow, which abounds in that Country in time of Winter.

I had already acquir'd some small knowledge of the *Iroquefe* Language; and while I travell'd in this manner among them, they were surpriz'd to see me walk in the Midst of Snow, and lodge my self in the wild Forests that their Country is full of. We were oblig'd to dig four Foot deep into the Snow, to make Fire at Night, after having journey'd Ten or Twelve Leagues over-day. Our Shoes were made after the Fashion of those of the Natives, but were not able to keep out the Snow, which melted as soon as our Feet touch'd it, it having receiv'd heat from the motion of us walking along. We made use of the Barks of Trees to cover us when we went to sleep; and were carefully sollicitous to keep in great Fires to defend us from the nipping Colds. In this lonesome Condition spent we the Nights, waiting the welcome return of the Sun, that we might go on in our Journey. As for Food, we had none, save the *Indian* Corn grinded small, which we diluted with Water, to make it go down the better.

Thus we pass'd through the Countries of the *Honnebiouts* and *Honnontages*,<sup>1</sup> who gave us a very kind [15] reception,

---

<sup>1</sup>The tribes included in the Iroquois League (called by themselves "the Long House" or "the Five Cabins," and by English writers usually "the Five Nations") were thus located: The westernmost and largest were the Senecas (Tsonnontouans); their principal villages were at the present Mendon and Victor, N. Y. Next were the Cayugas (Oiogouins, or Goyogouins), near Savannah and Union Springs. The Onondagas (Onnontaés, Honnontages) were the central and most influential of these tribes, near Manlius and Jamesville. East of them were the Oneidas (Onneiouts, Honnehiouts), in Madison county. Finally came the Mohawks (called by the French Agniers or Aniés), occupying the lower part of the Mohawk River valley; these were apparently the fiercest, most implacable, and most treacherous of the five tribes. For



and are the most Warlike People of all the *Iroquefe*. When they ſaw us, they put their Forefingers to their Mouths ſignifying how much ſurpris'd they were at the troubleſom and difficult Journey we had made in the middle of Winter. Then looking upon the mean and mortifying Habit of St. *Francis*, they cry'd aloud, *Hetchitagon!* that is, Bare-foot; and did with all manner of paſſion and aſtoniſhment pronounce the Word *Gannoron*; intimating, that it muſt needs have been a Buſineſs of great Importance that mov'd us to attempt ſuch a difficult Journey at ſo unſeaſonable a time.

Theſe Savages regal'd us with Elk and Veniſon, dreſs'd after their own faſhion, which we eat of, and afterwards took leave of 'em, going further on in our Journey. When we departed, we carry'd our Bed-cloaths on our Backs, and took with us a little Pot to boyl their Corn in. We paſs'd through Ways that were overflown with Water, and ſuch as wou'd have been unpaffable by any *European*: For when we came at vaſt Marſhes and overflowing Brooks, we were oblig'd to crawl along by the Trees. At length with much difficulty we arriv'd at *Ganniekez*, or *Agniez*, which is one of the Five Cantons of the *Iroquefe*, ſituated about a large Day's Journey from *New-Holland*, call'd now *New-York*: Being there, we were forc'd to ſeaſon our *Indian* Corn (which we were wont to bruize betwixt two Stones) with little Frogs that the Natives gather'd in the Meadows towards *Eaſter*, when the Snow was all gone.

---

more detailed information regarding theſe peoples, ſee *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites's edition—the one cited throughout theſe notes), viii, pp. 293, 297-301; and li, pp. 293-295 (with map).—ED.

We stay'd some time among these People, lodging with a *Jesuite* that had been born at *Lions*, to transcribe an *Iroquese* Dictionary.<sup>1</sup> When the Weather began to be more favourable, we chanc'd one day to meet with three *Dutch*-men on Horse-back, who had come thither to traffick in Beavers Skins: They were sent thither by Major *Andrews*, who is [16] the Person that subdu'd *Boston* and *New-York* for the King of *England*, and is at present Governour of *Virginia*.<sup>2</sup>

These Gentlemen alighted from their Horses, that we might mount 'em, taking us along with them to *New-Orange* to be regal'd there. As soon as they heard me speak *Dutch*, they testify'd a great deal of Friendship to me, and told me they had read several Histories of the Discoveries made by those of our *Franciscan* Order in the Northern Parts of *America*, but had never before seen any wear the Habit in these Countries as we did. They likewise express'd the great Desire they had to have me stay among them, for the Spiritual Comfort and Advantage of many Catholicks who had come from our *Netherlands*, and settled there: And I should very willingly have yielded to their Intreaties in residing there, but that I was afraid of giving any Jealousie to the *Jesuites*, who had receiv'd me very Kindly; and besides, I was aware of [their] injuring the Colony of *Canada*, in respect to the

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a reference to Jacques Bruyas, a missionary among the Iroquois from 1667 until his death in 1712. He was an able linguist, and left a MS. grammar of the Mohawk language, the oldest known to exist. This was published by the regents of the University of New York, in their *Sixteenth Annual Report of State Cabinet* (Albany, 1863), pp. 3-123.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edmund Andros, long the governor of New York colony, and later of Virginia.—ED.

Commerce they had with the Savages of my Acquaintance in Beavers and Skins. We therefore having testified how much oblig'd we were to the Gentlemen for their Kindness, return'd again to *Catarokouy* with much less difficulty than we went. But all this had no other effect than to augment the Itching I had to discover remoter Countries.

## CHAP. V.

*A Description of Fort Catarokouy, call'd since Fort Frontenac.*

**T**HIS Fort is situated a Hundred Leagues from *Quebec* (the Capital City of *Canada*) up the River *St. Laurence* Southwards. It is built near to the [17] Place where the *Lake Ontario* (which is as much as to say, the pretty Lake<sup>1</sup>) discharges it self. It was surrounded with a Rampart, great Stakes and Palisado's, and four Bastions, by the Order of Count *Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada*. They found it necessary to build this Fort for a Bulwark against the Excursions of the *Iroquese*, and to interrupt the Trade of Skins that these Savages maintain with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and the *Hollanders*, who have settled a new Colony there; for they furnish the Savages with Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada*.

The *Iroquese* are an Insolent and barbarous Nation, that has shed the Blood of more than Two millions of Souls in that vast-extended Country. They would never cease from disturbing the Repose of the *Europeans*, were it not for fear of their Fire-Arms: For they entertain no Commerce with

---

<sup>1</sup> Many writers say that the word *Ontario* means "beautiful lake"; but *Horatio Hale* thinks that its original signification was "great lake" (*Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 176).—ED.

them, save in the Merchandise-Goods they stand in need of, and in Arms, which they buy on purpose to use against their Neighbours; and by the means of which, they have compass'd the Destruction of an infinite Number of People, extending their bloody Conquest above 5 or 600 Leagues beyond their own Precincts, and exterminating whatever Nations they hate.

This Fort, which at first was only surrounded with Stakes, Palifado's, and earthen Ramparts, has been enlarg'd since the commencement of my Mission into these Countries, to the circumference of Three hundred and sixty Toises (each of these being six Foot in length<sup>1</sup>) and is now adorn'd with Free-Stone, which they find naturally polish'd by the shock of the Water upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*. They wrought at this Fort with so much diligence and expedition, that in two Years time it was advanc'd to this perfection, by the Care and Conduct of *Sieur-Cavelier de la Sallé*, who was a *Norman* [18] born; a Man of great Conduct and profound Policy. He oft-times pretended to me, that he was a *Parisian* by Birth,<sup>2</sup> thinking thereby to engage *Father Luke Buisset* before-Mention'd, and me, to put more confidence in him: For he had quickly observ'd from our ordinary Conversation, that the *Flemings*, and several other Nations, are prone to be jealous of the *Normans*. I am sensible that there are Men of

---

<sup>1</sup> The toise is a French linear measure, of six French feet, equivalent to 6.395 English feet.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> For biography of La Salle, see Parkman's *La Salle* (citations in the present work are made from the edition of 1892); Gravier's *Découvertes et établissements de Cavelier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870); *Jes. Relations*, lvii, pp. 315-317, and lx, 319, 320.—ED.

Honour and Probity in *Normandy*, as well as elfewhere; but nevertheless it is certain, that other Nations are generally more free, and lefs fly and intriguing, than the Inhabitants of that Province of *France*.

This Fort *Frontenac* lies to the Northward of this Lake, near to its Mouth, where it discharges it self; and is situated in a *Peninsula*, of which the *Isthmus* is digg'd into a Ditch. On the other side, it has partly the Brink of the Lake surrounding it, partly a pretty fort of a natural Mould, where all manner of Ships may ride safely.

The Situation of this Fort is so advantageous, that they can easily prevent the Sallies and Returns of the *Iroquefe*; and in the space of Twenty four Hours, can wage War with them in the Heart of their own Country. This is easily compass'd by the help of their Barques, of which I saw Three all deck'd and mounted, at my last departure thence. With these Barques, in a very little time, they can convey themselves to the South-side of the Lake, and pillage (if it be needful) the Country of the *Tsonnontouans*, who are the most numerous of all the Provinces of the *Iroquefe*. They manure a great deal of Ground for sowing their *Indian* Corn in, of which they reap ordinarily in one Harvest as much as serves 'em for two Years: Then they put it into Caves digg'd in the Earth, and cover'd after such a manner, that no Rain can come at it.

[19] The Ground which lies along the Brink of this Lake is very fertile: In the space of two Years and a half that I resided there in discharge of my *Mission*, they cultivated more

than a hundred Acres of it. Both the *Indian* and *European* Corn, Pulfe, Pot-Herbs, Gourds, and Water-Melons, throve very well. It is true indeed, that at first the Corn was much spoil'd by Grasshoppers; but this is a thing that happens in all the Parts of *Canada* at the first cultivating the Ground, by reason of the extream Humidity of all that Country. The first Planters we sent thither, bred up Poultry there, and transported with them Horned Beasts, which multiply'd there extreamly. They have stately Trees, fit for building of Houses or Ships. Their Winter is by three Months shorter than at *Canada*. In fine, we have all the reason to hope, that e're long, a considerable Colony will be settled in that Place. When I undertook my great Voyage, I left there about Fifteen or Sixteen Families together,<sup>1</sup> with Father *Luke Buiffet* a *Recollet*, with whom I had us'd to administer the Sacraments in the Chapel of that Fort.

While the Brink of the Lake was frozen, I walk'd upon the Ice to an *Iroquefe* Village, call'd *Gannecoufe*, near to *Kentè*, about nine Leagues off the Fort,<sup>2</sup> in company of the *Sieur de la Salle* above-mention'd. These Savages presented us with the Flesh of Elks and Porcupines, which we fed upon. After having discours'd them some time, we return'd, bringing with us a considerable number of the Natives, in order to form a little Village of about Forty Cottages to be inhabited by

---

<sup>1</sup> These were French colonists, drawn to Fort Frontenac by La Salle, who made them grants of land, and was their feudal seignior.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> In 1668, Sulpitians from Montreal began a mission at Quinté (Kenté) Bay, on the north side of Lake Ontario, among a colony of Cayugas who had recently settled there. The Sulpitians were replaced by Recollect missionaries, about 1673.—Ed.

them, lying betwixt the Fort and our House of Mission. These Barbarians turn'd up the Ground for sowing of *Indian* Corn and Pulse, of which we gave them some for their Gardens. We likewise taught them, contrary to their usual custom of eating, to feed upon Soupe, made with Pulse and Herbs, as we did.

[20] Father *Luke* and I made one Remark upon their Language, that they pronounc'd no Labial Letters, such as *B, P, M, F*. We had the Apostolick Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and our ordinary Litany, translated into the *Iroquefe* Language, which we caus'd them to get by heart, and repeat to their Children; and forc'd their Children to pronounce as we did, by inculcating to them the Labial Letters, and obliging 'em to frequent converse with the Children of the *Europeans* that inhabited the Fort; so that they mutually taught one another their Mother-Languages; which serv'd likewise to entertain a good Correspondence with the *Iroquefe*.

These Barbarians stay'd always with us, except when they went a hunting; which was the thing we were much concern'd about: for when they went for five or six Months ravaging through their vast huge Forests, and sometimes Two hundred Leagues from their ordinary abode, they took their whole Family along with them. And thus they liv'd together, feeding upon the Flesh of the wild Beasts they kill'd with the Fire-Arms they us'd to receive of the *Europeans*, in exchange of their Skins: And it was impossible for any Missionary to follow them into these wild Desarts; so that their Children being



absent all the season of Hunting, forgot what we had infill'd into them at Fort *Frontenac*.

The Inhabitants of *Canada* towards *Quebec*, *Trois Rivieres*, and the Isle of *Mon[t]real*, being sick of their long Winters; and seeing those of the *Franciscan* Order settle themselves at *Frontenac*, where the Winter was three Months shorter, many of 'em resolv'd to transport their Families thither, and reside there. They represented to themselves the Advantage that should accrue to them, by having the Sacraments administr'd, and their Children educated by us, and that for nothing; for we ordinarily took no Compensation for the Instruction we gave.

[21] There have always been some sort of People who endeavour'd to render themselves Masters of *Canada*, and become Arbiters and Judges over all the Settlements there; for the compassing of which Design, they left no means untry'd. They attributed to themselves the Glory of all the Good Success that was had there: They dispers'd their Missionaries over all the Country, and endeavour'd to obstruct all our Designs at Fort *Frontenac*. In fine, they oblig'd our *Recollets* to remove thence by the help of the Marquis *de Benonville*, the then Governour of *Canada*, whom they had wheedled into their Interests, and who had suffer'd himself to be impos'd upon by the Artifices of these Men.<sup>1</sup>

I hope, that some time or other God will re-establish our

---

<sup>1</sup> A sarcastic allusion to the Jesuits. Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, was governor of New France from August, 1685 to October, 1689.—Ed.

poor Monks in that Place; for their Designs were always innocent and good; and they could never have been made to retire thence, without doing them Injustice. God leaves nothing unpunish'd: The Day shall come when he shall take Vengeance on those who did this Injury. I heard some time ago, that the *Iroquese*, who wage continual War with the *French* of *Canada*, have seiz'd the Fort of *Catarockouy*<sup>1</sup>; as also that the cruel Savages did smook in their Pipes some of the Fingers of those who had procur'd the departure of our poor *Recollets* from that Fort; and that the present Inhabitants of *Canada* have upbraided those who were the Authors of that Injustice, with it.

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1689 Denonville, feeling unable to maintain Fort Frontenac, ordered its abandonment; it was soon after seized by the Iroquois, who found therein large quantities of stores and ammunition. Orders were given by Louis XIV, in the following year, that the walls of the fort be razed; but it was restored by Frontenac in 1695. See *Jes. Relations*, lxiv, pp. 97, 276.—ED.

CHAP. VI.

*A Description of some Fresh-water Lakes, the greatest and the pleafantest in the Universe.*

HERE commence the Description of the most remarkable Things in this great Discovery, that the Reader may the more easily attain to a full Knowledge [22] of our Voyage, by following the Map we have provided for that purpose.

The Lake *Ontario* receiv'd the Name of the Lake *Frontenac*, from the Illustrious Count *de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada*. All the World is acquainted with the Merit and Vertue of that Noble Person: It is likewise well known, how ancient that Family is from which he is descended, and what a glorious Train of Illustrious Ancestors went before him, who were always thought worthy of the most weighty Employments both Civil and Military! His Family was always inviolably firm to the Interests of their Sovereign, even in the most perplex'd Times: Nay, I may say upon this occasion, without giving Offence to the other Governours of *Canada*, that have either preceded, or are to succeed him, That this Country was never govern'd with so much Wisdom, Moderation, and Equity, as by the Count *de Frontenac*.

I know very well, that those Men who aspire to be Masters over all, have endeavour'd to blacken his Reputation, to

eclipse his Glory, and render him suspected. But I am bound to say, to the Praise of that Illustrious Nobleman, That for all the Ten Years he liv'd in that Country, he was a Father to the Poor; a Protector to those that were in danger of being oppress'd; nay, in short, his Conversation was a perfect Model of Vertue and Piety. Those of his Countrymen who were stirr'd up against him, by an Effect of their natural Levity and Fickleness, had the Mortification to see him re-establish'd in that very same Government, of which their Calumnies and malignant Intrigues had endeavour'd to dispossess him. They had engag'd the Intendant of *Cbesneau* in the same Combination, having over-reach'd him by their cunning Artifices. Yet notwithstanding all these unjust Censures, I came to understand of late, that they regret much the want of that Illustrious Count.<sup>1</sup>

[23] It was therefore in Honour of this Worthy Count, that they gave to the Lake the Name of *Frontenac*, in order to perpetuate his Memory in that Country. This Lake is Eighty Leagues long, and Twenty five Leagues broad: It

<sup>1</sup> Louis de Buade, count de Frontenac, was probably the ablest and most distinguished, except Champlain, among the governors of New France. Appointed in 1672, he governed the colony with great ability, and kept the Iroquois tribes in awe; but his fiery temper and headstrong will so involved him in quarrels with both civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and with the fur-traders, that Louis XIV, losing patience, recalled him in 1682. The inefficiency of his successors made it necessary to send him back to Canada (1689), which he saved from what seemed imminent destruction. In 1696, he led in person an expedition into the Iroquois country, effectually breaking the power of that ferocious people. Frontenac died on Nov. 28, 1698, regretted by the people. Although hostile to the Jesuits, and little inclined toward the diocesan authorities at Quebec, he had always favored and aided the Récollets; hence Hennepin's somewhat extravagant laudation.

Jacques Duchesneau was intendant of Canada from 1675 to 1682.—ED.

abounds with Fishes, is deep, and navigable all over. The Five Cantons, or Districts, of the *Iroquese*, do inhabit for the most part the South-side of this Lake, viz. the *Ganniegez*, or *Agniez* (the nighest Neighbours to *New-Holland*, or *New-York*) the *Onnontagues*, or those who live in the Mountains, who are the most Warlike People of all that Nation; the *Onneiouts* and *Tsonnontouans* the most populous of them all. There are likewise on the South-side<sup>1</sup> of the Lake, these *Iroquese* Villages, viz. *Tejajagon*, *Kenté*, and *Ganneouffe*, which is not distant from *Frontenac* above Nine Leagues.

The great River of *St. Laurence* derives its Source from the Lake *Ontario*, which is likewise call'd in the *Iroquese* Language, *Skanadario*; that is to say, a very pretty Lake. It springs likewise partly from the Lakes that are higher up in the Country, as we shall have occasion to observe afterwards.

This Lake *Ontario* is of an Oval Figure, and extends it self from East to West. Its Water is fresh and sweet, and very pleasant to drink; the Lands which border upon it being likewise very fertile. It is very navigable, and can receive large Vessels: Only in Winter it is more difficult, because of the outrageous Winds which are frequent there. From this Lake one may go by Barques, or by greater Vessels to the foot of a great Rock<sup>2</sup> that is about two Leagues off the Fall of the River *Niagara*, which I am now to describe.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently an oversight of Hennepin's English translator, for these Cayuga villages were all on the north side of Lake Ontario.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> O. H. Marshall says (*Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, i, pp. 265, 266): "This 'great rock' can still be seen under the western end of the old Suspension bridge, the ruins of which now span the river at that point . . . and perpetuates his memory under the name of 'Hennepin's Rock.'"—ED.

## [24] CHAP. VII.

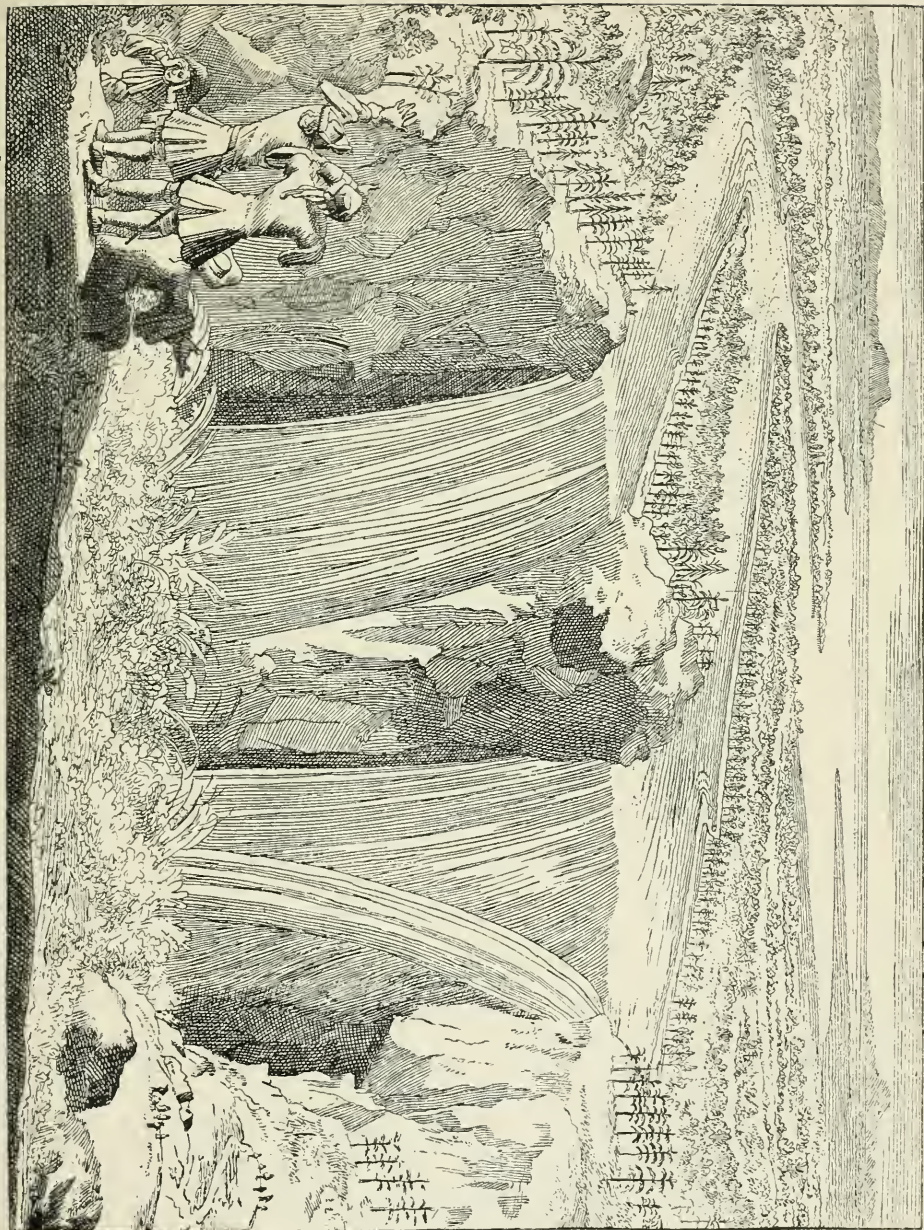
*A Description of the Fall of the River Niagara, that is to be seen betwixt the Lake Ontario and that of Erié.*

**B**ETWIXT the Lake *Ontario* and *Erié*, there is a vast and prodigious Cadence of Water which falls down after a surprizing and astonishing manner, insomuch that the Universe does not afford its Parallel. 'Tis true, *Italy* and *Suedeland* boast of some such Things; but we may well say they are but sorry Patterns, when compar'd to this of which we now speak. At the foot of this horrible Precipice, we meet with the River *Niagara*, which is not above half a quarter of a League broad, but is wonderfully deep in some places. It is so rapid above this Descent, that it violently hurries down the wild Beasts while endeavouring to pass it to feed on the other side, they not being able to withstand the force of its Current, which inevitably casts them down headlong above Six hundred foot.

This wonderful Downfall is compounded of two great Cross-streams of Water, and two Falls, with an Isle sloping along the middle of it.<sup>1</sup> The Waters which fall from this vast height, do foam and boil after the most hideous manner

---

<sup>1</sup> Goat Island, with the so-called "Horseshoe" and "American" falls.—Ed.







imaginable, making an outrageous Noise, more terrible than that of Thunder; for when the Wind blows from off the South, their dismal roaring may be heard above fifteen Leagues off.

The River *Niagara* having thrown it self down this incredible Precipice, continues its impetuous course for two Leagues together, to the great Rock above-mention'd, with an inexpressible Rapidity: But having pass'd that, its Impetuosity relents, gliding [25] along more gently for two Leagues, till it arrives at the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*.

Any Barque or greater Vessel may pass from the Fort to the foot of this huge Rock above-mention'd. This Rock lies to the Westward, and is cut off from the Land by the River *Niagara*, about two Leagues farther down than the great Fall; for which two Leagues the People are oblig'd to carry their Goods over-land; but the way is very good, and the Trees are but few, and they chiefly Firrs and Oaks.

From the great Fall unto this Rock, which is to the West of the River, the two Brinks of it are so prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look steadily upon the Water, rolling along with a Rapidity not to be imagin'd. Were it not for this vast Cataract, which interrupts Navigation, they might sail with Barks or greater Vessels, above Four hundred and fifty Leagues further, cross the Lake of Hurons, and up to the farther end of the Lake *Illinois* [Michigan]; which two Lakes we may well say are little Seas of fresh Water.

Sieur *de la Salle* had a design to have built a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*; and might easily have compass'd it, had he known how to have kept himself within bounds, and to be confin'd there for one Year. His design was to curb and keep under the *Iroquefe*, and especially the *Tsonnontouans*, who are the most numerous People, and the most given to War of all that Nation. In short, such a Fort as this might easily have interrupted the Commerce betwixt these People and the *English* and *Dutch* in *New-York*. Their custom is to carry to *New-York* the Skins of Elks, Beavers, and several sorts of Beasts, which they hunt and seek after some 2 or 300 Leagues from their own home. Now they being oblig'd to pass and repass near to this Mouth of the River *Niagara*, we might easily stop them by fair means in time of [26] Peace, or by open force in time of War; and thus oblige them to turn their Commerce upon *Canada*.

But having observ'd that the *Iroquefe* were push'd on to stop the Execution of this Design, not so much by the *English* and *Dutch*, as by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who many of them endeavour'd by all means to traverse this our Discovery; they contented themselves to build a House at the Mouth of the River to the Eastward, where the Place was naturally fortifi'd.<sup>1</sup> On one side of this House there is a very good Haven, where Ships may safely ride; nay, by the help of a Captane, they may easily be hall'd upon Land. Besides, at

---

<sup>1</sup> La Salle built (1679) a blockhouse on the point of land at the eastern angle between Lake Ontario and the Niagara River. Various fortifications have since occupied this site, at present that of Fort Niagara.—ED.

this Place they take an infinite quantity of Whittings, Sturgeons, and all other sorts of Fishes, which are incomparably good and sweet; infomuch, that in the proper Season of Fishing, they might furnish the greatest City in *Europe* with plenty of Fish.

## CHAP. VIII.

*A Description of the Lake Erié.*

THE *Iroquefe* give to this Lake the Name of *Erié Tejocharontiong*, which extends it felf from East to West perhaps a hundred and forty Leagues in Length. But no *European* has ever furvey'd it all; only I and thofe who accompany'd me in this Difcovery, have view'd the greater Part of it, with a Veffel of Sixty Tun burden, which we caus'd to be made on purpofe, about two Leagues above the fore-mention'd Fall of *Niagara*, as I fhall have occafion to obferve more largely hereafter.

This Lake *Erie*, or *Tejocharontiong*, enclofes on its Southern Bank a Tract of Land as large as the Kingdom of *France*. It divides it felf at a certain place into two Channels, becaufe of a great Ifland enclos'd betwixt them<sup>1</sup>: Thus continuing its courfe for fourteen [27] Leagues, it falls into the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, and this is that which they call the River *Niagara*.

Betwixt the Lake *Erie* and *Huron*, there is almoft fuch another Streight thirty Leagues long,<sup>2</sup> which is of an equal

---

<sup>1</sup> Grand Island; the two divisions of the river are known as Chippewa and Tonawanda channels.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Detroit and St. Clair Rivers.—Ed.

breadth almost all over, except in the middle, that it enlarges it self by help of another Lake, far less than any of the rest, which is of a circular Form about six Leagues over, according to the Observation of our Pilot. We gave it the Name of Lake *St. Claire*, though the *Iroquese*, who pass over it frequently when they are upon Warlike Expeditions, call it *Ossi Keta*. The Country which borders upon this most agreeable and charming Streight, is a pleasant Champagne Country, as I shall relate afterwards. All these different Rivers, which are distinguish'd by so many different Names, are nothing else but the Continuation of the great River *St. Laurence*; and this Lake *St. Claire* is form'd by the same.

## CHAP. IX.

*A Description of the Lake Huron.*

THE Lake *Huron* was so call'd by the People of *Canada*, because the Savage *Hurons*, who inhabited the adjacent Country, us'd to have their Hair so burn'd, that their Head resembled the Head of a Wild Boar.<sup>1</sup> The Savages themselves call it the Lake *Karegnondy*. Heretofore the *Hurons* liv'd near this Lake, but they have been in a great measure destroy'd by the *Iroquesse*.<sup>2</sup>

The Circumference of this Lake may be reckon'd to be about Seven hundred Leagues, and its Length Two hundred; but the Breadth is very unequal. To the West of it near its Mouth, it contains several great Islands, and is navigable all over. Betwixt this Lake and that of the *Illinois*, we meet with another [28] Streight, which discharges it self into this Lake, being about Three Leagues long, and One broad, its Course running West-North-West.<sup>3</sup>

There is yet another Streight or narrow Canal towards

---

<sup>1</sup> When first encountered by the French, these savages so dressed their hair that it formed one or more ridges upon the head, suggesting the bristles of a wild boar (*Fr. bure*). See *Jes. Relations*, xvi, pp. 229, 231; xxxviii, 249.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> In 1649-50 the Huron tribes, then living in the peninsula between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, were attacked and nearly destroyed by the Iroquois. The remnants of the Hurons then dispersed, taking refuge, some at Quebec, some among friendly Algonquian tribes, and others along Lake Huron.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> The Strait of Mackinac.—ED.

the upper Lake (that runs into this of *Huron*) about Five Leagues broad, and Fifteen Leagues long, which is interrupted by several Islands, and becomes narrower by degrees, till it comes at the Fall of *St. Mary*. This Fall is a Precipice full of Rocks, over which the Water of the upper Lake, which flows thither in great abundance, casts it self with a most violent Impetuosity: Notwithstanding which, a Canou may go up it on one side, provided the People in it row vigorously.<sup>1</sup> But the safer way is to carry the Canou over-land for so little a space, together with the Commodities that those of *Canada* carry thither to exchange with the Savages that live to the Northward of the upper Lake. This Fall is call'd the Fall of *St. Mary Missilimakinak*. It lies at the Mouth of the upper Lake, and discharges it self partly into the Mouth of the Lake *Illinois* towards the great Bay of *Puans*<sup>2</sup>; all which shall afterwards be more fully discours'd of, when I come to relate our Return from *Iffati*.

---

<sup>1</sup> The St. Mary's River; and the rapids therein, at the present city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> A name applied to Green Bay, on the western side of Lake Michigan. See Thwaites's *Father Marquette* (N. Y., 1902), pp. 146-148, for origin and explanation of the term.—ED.

## CHAP. X.

*A Description of the Lake call'd by the Savages Illinouack, and by the French, Illinois.*

**T**HE Lake *Illinois*, in the Natives Language, signifies *The Lake of Men*; for the word *Illinois* signifies *a Man of full Age in the vigour of his Years*. It lies on the West of the Lake *Huron*, standing North and South, and is about a Hundred and twenty, or a Hundred and thirty Leagues in Length, and Forty in Breadth, being in Circuit about Four hundred [29] Leagues. It is call'd by the *Miami's*, *Mischigonong*, that is, *The Great Lake*. It extends it self from North to South, and falls into the Southern-side of the Lake *Huron*; and is distant from the upper Lake about Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues, its Source lies near a River which the *Iroquese* call *Hobio*, where the River *Miamis* discharges it self into the same Lake.

It is navigable all over, and has to the Westward a great Bay call'd the Bay of *Puans*, by reason that the Savages who now inhabit the Land surrounding this Bay, had deserted their former Habitation, because of some stinking (in *French Puans*) Waters towards the Sea that annoy'd them.



CHAP. XI.

*A short Description of the Upper Lake.*

**T**HIS Upper Lake runs from East to West, and may have more than a Hundred and fifty Leagues in length, Sixty in breadth, and Five hundred in circuit. We never went quite over it, as we did over all the others I've hitherto mention'd; but we founded some of its greatest Depths, and it resembles the Ocean, having neither Bottom nor Banks.

I shall not here stay to mention the infinite numbers of Rivers that discharge themselves into this prodigious Lake, which together with that of *Illinois*, and the Rivers that are swallow'd in them, make up the Source of that great River *St. Laurence*, which runs into the Ocean at the Island of *Assumption*<sup>1</sup> towards *New-found-land*. We sail'd upon this River about Six hundred Leagues from its Mouth to its Source.

I've already observ'd, That all these Lakes may well be call'd Fresh-water Seas. They abound extremely [30] in Whittings, that are larger than Carps, and which are extraordinary good; nay, at Twenty or Thirty Fathom Water, there are Salmon-Trouts taken of Fifty or Sixty pound

---

<sup>1</sup>The name applied by Jacques Cartier to the large island at the mouth of the *St. Lawrence* now known as *Anticosti*.—ED.

weight. It were easie to build on the sides of these great Lakes, an infinite Number of considerable Towns, which might have Communication one with another by Navigation for Five hundred Leagues together, and by an inconceivable Commerce which would establish it self among 'em. And to be sure, the Soil, if cultivated by *Europeans*, would prove very fertile. Those that can conceive the Largeness and Beauty of these Lakes, may easily understand, by the help of our Map, what course we steer'd in making the great Discovery hereafter mention'd.

## CHAP. XII.

*What is the Predominant Genius of the Inhabitants of Canada.*

THE Spaniards were the first who discover'd *Canada*; but at their first arrival, having found nothing considerable in it, they abandon'd the Country, and call'd it *Il Capo di Nada*; that is, *A Cape of Nothing*; hence by corruption sprung the Word *Canada*, which we use in all our Maps.<sup>1</sup>

Since I left that Country, I understand that all things continue very near in the same State as they were whilst I resided there. Those who have the Government of *Canada* committed to their Care, are mov'd with such a malignant Spirit, as obliges all who do not approve their Design, to moan secretly before God. Men of Probity that are zealous for Religion, find nothing there of what they expected; but, on the contrary, such Repulses and ill Usage, that no body could have foreseen. Several resort [31] thither, with a design to Sacrifice their Repose and Life, to the Temporal and Spiritual Succour of an Infant-Church; but the loss of Reputation and Honour, are the Sacrifices they're after all forc'd to make. Others go thither in the hopes of spending

---

<sup>1</sup> The name *Canada* is of Iroquois origin; most historical writers regard it as meaning "village," but some think that it means "lake." See *Jes. Relations*, ii, p. 301.—ED.

their Lives in Peace and perfect Concord ; whereas they meet with nothing but Jarrs, Divisions, and a Sea of Troubles. In lieu of their fair Hopes, they reap nothing but Crosses and Persecution ; and all for not pleasing the Humours of Two or Three Men, who are the over-ruling Wits of that Country. What a vast disparity distance there is betwixt the Humor of these Men, and our *Flemish Sincerity* ! I mean that Candour and Evenness of Mind which make up the true Character of a Christian, and is observ'd every where else.

But without entring farther into any Particulars, I leave the Judgment of all unto God ; and shall only say, that we who are *Flemings* by Birth, went to *Canada* without any other private Design, having renounc'd our Native Country, meerly for the Service of our Religion, after having quitted all other Enjoyments for embracing a Religious Profession. And therefore it was not a small Surprize to us, upon our arrival in that Country, to see our Sincerity and Uprightness of Heart so forrily entertain'd. There is a certain sort of People, who are jealous of every thing, and whom it is impossible to retrieve from under the first impressions they've receiv'd. Though a Man were never so complaisant, yet if he be not altogether of their Stamp, or if he endeavours to represent Things fairly and rationally unto them, tho' with wise and soft Remonstrances, yet shall he pass among 'em for a Fellow of a turbulent Spirit. Such Conduct as this, does not favour of Christianity, neither doth it bespeak any other Prospect than that of temporal Interest. This Consideration mov'd me oft-times to say to the Three *Flemish* Monks I had [32]

brought to *Canada* with me, that it had been much better for us who had quitted all our Enjoyments, and exchange'd them for the Poverty of a Monastick Life, to have gone in Mission among Strangers, to preach Repentance to Infidels, and propagate the Kingdom of our Saviour among barbarous Nations.

And indeed kind Providence seconded my good Intentions; for the Reverend Father *Germain Allart*<sup>1</sup> Recollet, late Bishop of *Vence* in *Provence*, sent me Orders to undertake the Discovery which I am about to relate.

---

<sup>1</sup>This priest was superior of the first party of Récollets who came to Canada in 1670.—ED.

## CHAP. XIII.

*A Description of my first Imbarkment in a Canow at Quebec, the Capital City of Canada, being bound for the South-West of New-France, or Canada.*

I REMAIN'D Two Years and a half at Fort *Frontenac*, till I saw the House of *Mission* finish'd, that Father *Luke Buisset* and I had caus'd to be built there. This engag'd us in Travels, which inseparably attend New Establishments. Accordingly we went in a Canou down the River *St. Laurence*; and after a Hundred and twenty Leagues sailing, arriv'd at *Quebec*, where I retir'd into the *Recollets* Convent of *St. Mary*, in order to prepare and sanctifie my self for commencing our Discovery.

And indeed I must frankly own, that when at the foot of the Cross I pensively consider'd this important Mission, weighing it in the Scales of Humane Reason, and measuring the weight of its Difficulties by Humane Force, it seem'd altogether a terrible, as well as a rash and inconsiderate Attempt. But when I look'd up to GOD, and view'd it as an effect of his Goodness, in chusing me for so great a Work, and as his Commandment directed [33] to me by the Mouth of my Superiours, who are the Instruments and Interpreters of his Will unto me: These Thoughts, I say, presently inspir'd

me with Courage and Resolution to undertake this Discovery, with all the Fidelity and Constancy imaginable.

I persuaded my self, that since it was the peculiar Work of God, to open the hard Hearts of that barbarous People, to whom I was sent to publish the glad Tidings of his Gospel, it were as easie for him to compass it by a feeble Instrument, such as I was, as by the most worthy Person in the World.

Having thus prepar'd my self to enter upon the discharge of my *Mission*, and seeing that those who were expected from *Europe* to bear part in this Discovery, were now arriv'd; that the Pilote, Seamen, and Ship-Carpenters were in readines, and that the Arms, Goods, and Rigging for the Ships were all at hand; I took with me from our Convent a portable Chapel all compleat for my self, and afterwards went and receiv'd the Benediction of the Bishop of *Quebec*, together with his Approbation in Writing; which I likewise receiv'd of Count *Frontenac*, who was a Man that testify'd a great deal of Affection for our *Flemish* Recollects, because of our Candour and Ingenuity; and who was pleas'd to give publick Testimonie to the Generosity of my Undertaking, while we were set at Table.

In short, I embark'd in a little Canou made of the Barks of Birch-Trees, carrying nothing along with me save my portable Chapel, one Blanket, and a Matt of Rufhes, which was to serve me for Bed and Quilt; and this was the whole of my Equipage. It was concerted so, that I should go off first, that my Departure might oblige the rest to expedite

their Affairs with speed. The Inhabitants of *Canada*, upon both sides the River of *St. Laurence*, betwixt *Quebec* and *Montreal*, entreated me to officiate among [34] them, and administer the Sacraments: For they could not assist at Divine Service oftner than five or six times a Year, because there were only Four *Missionaries* in that Country for the extent of Fifty Leagues.

I baptiz'd a Child at a certain Place call'd *St. Hour*,<sup>1</sup> and acquainted the absent Missionary of the Place with the same; which done, I continu'd my Voyage; and as I pass'd by *Harpentinie*, the Lord of the Place of one of the ancientest Families in *Canada*,<sup>2</sup> would have sent one of his Sons along with me; but the Canou was too narrow for Four Persons. At length I arriv'd at *Trois Rivieres*, which is a Town only surrounded with Palifado's, lying about Thirty Leagues higher than *Quebec*. Not meeting there Father *Sixte*,<sup>3</sup> a Recollet-Missionary, who was gone from thence in Mission, the Inhabitants beseech'd me to preach and perform Divine Service on the First of *October*. The next day, the *Sieur Bonivet*, Lieutenant-General Justiciary of that Place, convey'd me a League up the River *St. Laurence*.

The most laudable Enterprizes are oft-times retarded by surprizing and unexpected Obstacles; for when I arriv'd at *Montreal*, they debauch'd and entic'd away my Two Boat-

<sup>1</sup> *St. Ours*, a small town in Richelieu county, Que.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> A variant of *Repentigny*, now the name of a village 17 miles N. E. of *Montreal*. The name was bestowed by its founder, *Pierre le Gardeur, sieur de Repentigny*, one of the earliest colonists of *Canada* (1636).—ED.

<sup>3</sup> *Sixte le Tac*.—ED.



Men; so that I was forc'd to take advantage of an offer which two other Men made to conduct me along in their little shatter'd Boat. Thus was it that those who envy'd the Success of my Undertaking, began to set themselves in opposition to it, and endeavour'd to hinder the most considerable and famous Discovery that has been made in that New World in this Age.

In going up the River, as I pass'd the Lake of *St. Louis*, a little above the Isle of *Montreal*, which is about Twenty five Leagues in circumference, I observ'd that this River *St. Laurence* divides it self into Two Branches; of which one leads to the ancient Country of the *Hurons*, the *Outaouais*, [35] and several other Nations situate to the Northward<sup>1</sup>; and the other to the Country of the *Iroquese*. We went up this last for about Sixty Leagues, in most rapid and horrible Currents, full of great Rocks, where the Water roars Night and Day like Thunder, for Three or Four Leagues together. All which does not hinder the Boat-Men and their Canou's to descend down among these huge Rocks with so much swiftness, that those who are in the Canou are for the time quite blinded. They generally carry Elks-Claws and Skins with them, which they exchange for other Goods, with the Savages of that Country.

I shall not offer to give any circumstantial Account of the Accidents that befel me, which are inseparable Companions of all great Voyages: What is needful to be said is, That I

---

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the Ottawa River, which was by early travelers and writers often regarded as a principal fork, rather than a tributary, of the St. Lawrence.—ED.

arriv'd at Fort *Catarokouy*, or *Frontenac*, about Eleven a Clock at Night, the next Day after *All-Saints*; where our Recollet-Fathers, *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, and *Luke Buiffet*, Miffionaries, receiv'd me with all Expreffions of Joy into our House of Miffion, which we had caus'd to be built the Year before, upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario*, near to Fort *Frontenac*. This Fort lies about forty four Degrees and fome Minutes of Northern Latitude.

I had forgot to acquaint you, that this Lake *Ontario* is form'd by the River *St. Laurence*, and that it is deep enough for large Veffels; for at feventy Fathom we could difcern no Ground. The Waves there are tofs'd by mighty Winds which are very frequent; and their Surges are full as high as thofe of the Sea, but much more dangerous; for they are fhorter and fteeper; fo that a Veffel riding along cannot yield and keep touch with 'em. There are likewise fome very plain appearances of a Flux and Reflux; for they obferve the Water to flow and ebb [36] by little Tides, and that it flows oft-times againft the Wind when very high.

The Fifhing of this Lake, as of all the other Lakes before-mention'd, is very confiderable for all manner of excellent Fifhes, efpecially for Salmon-Trouts, which are there much bigger than our biggeft Salmons. The adjacent Country is very fertile, as is confirm'd by the Experience of thofe who cultivated it in feveral places. There is excellent Game there for all forts of Wild Beafts and Wild Fowl: Their Forests are replenifh'd with the prettieft Trees in the

World, Pines, Cedars, and *Epinetes*,<sup>1</sup> (a sort of Fir-tree very common in that Country.) They have likewise very good Iron-Mines; and no doubt but other Metals might be found if sought after.

While I abode at *Catarokouy*, waiting the coming up of the rest of our Company, I had time to confer with the Reverend Fathers of our Order, concerning what Measures we were to take for converting unto Christ Jesus, such a numerous Train of Nations that had never heard of the Gospel; for it is certain, that such poor helpless Priests as we of the *Franciscan* Order, destitute of all temporal Enjoyments, and cut off from all Humane Means and Assistance, cannot be too cautious in managing the Concerns of so important a Mission, because of the infinite variety of the Tempers of those that were to accompany us in this Voyage; for we had in company some *Flemings*, some *Italians*, and some *Normans*, who were all of different Interests; and it was a very difficult Task for us to comply with, and please so many different Humours; especially when engag'd in such a Voyage as this, in which Laws could not be observ'd with the same Exactness, or retain the same Rigour as in *Europe*, where Men may be entic'd to Good, and scar'd from Evil, by the Love of Rewards or fear of Punishment. But I resign'd my self wholly to the Exercise of [37] my Duty, leaving the Conduct of all

---

<sup>1</sup>The popular name of the hemlock spruce (*Abies Canadensis*); its leaves and bark were often used as medicine by the early colonists, and the Indians used the bark to cover their cabins.—ED.

unto God's Providence, and being ready to encounter whatever Accidents might fall in my way.

The *Iroquefe* whom we had brought to settle near this Fort (as was above related) came oft-times to visit us, and made us Presents of the Flesh of Elks, and Roe-bucks; in lieu of which we gave 'em little Knives and some Tobacco, which we had for that purpose. These Savages, when they reflected upon our designed Voyage, us'd to clap their Four Fingers on their Mouths (as they generally do when touch'd with the Admiration of any thing they cannot comprehend) and cry'd aloud, *Otchitagon, Gannoron!* that is, *Bare-Feet, what ye are about to undertake, is of great Importance:* And added, that their most valiant Adventurers had much ado to extricate themselves out of the hands of those barbarous Nations we were going to visit. It is certain, that the *Iroquefe* had a most tender Respect for the *Franciscan* Monks, having observ'd them to live all in common, without reserving any particular Possessions.

The Food of the *Iroquefe* is in common among 'em. The ancientest Women in the House distribute about to the other Persons in the Family according to their Seniority. When they sit at their Meals, they give freely to eat unto all that come into their Houses; for they would rather chuse to fast for a whole Day, than suffer any one to go from their Houses, without offering them a share of whatever they had.

The *Sieur de la Salle* arriv'd at the Fort some time after me: God preserv'd him (as he did me) from the infinite Dangers he was expos'd to in this great Voyage betwixt

Quebec and the Fort, having pass'd the great fall of Water mention'd last, and several other most rapid Currents in his way thither. The same Year he sent off Fifteen of our Boatmen, who [38] were to go before us. They made as if they had been going in their Canou towards the *Illinois*, and the other Neighbouring Nations that border upon the River, call'd by the *Illinois*, *Meschasipi*; that is, a great River; which Name it has in the Map. All this was only to secure to us a good Correspondence with the Savages, and to prepare for us in that Country some Provisions, and other Necessaries, to further this Discovery. But there being among them some villainous Fellows, they stopp'd in the upper Lake at *Missilimakinak*, and diverted themselves with the Savages that live to the Northward of that Lake, lavishing and squandering away the best of the Commodities they had taken with 'em, instead of providing such Things as were needful for building a Ship, which we greatly wanted in order to pass from Lake to Lake to the River *Meschasipi*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A reference to La Salle's first Western expedition (1678-80); Hennepin accompanied him as chaplain. For detailed accounts of La Salle's explorations, see Parkman's *La Salle*, Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, and Gabriel Gravier's *Cavalier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870).—ED.

## CHAP. XIV.

*A Description of my second Imbarkment at Fort Frontenack, in a Brigantine upon the Lake Ontario or Frontenac.*

**T**HAT very same Year, on the Eighteenth of *November*, I took leave of our Monks at Fort *Frontenac*, and after mutual Embraces and Expreffions of Brotherly and Christian Charity, I embark'd in a Brigantine of about ten Tuns. The Winds and the Cold of the Autumn were then very violent, infomuch that our Crew was afraid to go into fo little a Veffel. This oblig'd us and the *Sieur de la Motte* our Commander,<sup>1</sup> to keep our course on the North-side of the Lake, to fhelter our selves under the Coast, againft the North-west Wind, which otherwise wou'd have forc'd us upon the Southern Coast of the Lake. This Voyage prov'd very difficult [39] and dangerous, becaufe of the unseasonable time of the Year, Winter being near at hand:

On the 26<sup>th</sup>, we were in great danger about Two large Leagues off the Land, where we were oblig'd to lie at an

---

<sup>1</sup> Pierre de St. Paul, sieur de la Motte-Lussière, a French military officer, was in Canada from 1665 to 1670, and perhaps longer. La Salle, meeting him in Paris in 1678, made La Motte an associate in his Western schemes, and placed him in charge of Fort Frontenac; it was he also who built for La Salle the blockhouse at Niagara. Their association did not apparently last long; in 1683 La Motte obtained a seigniory in Canada, where he spent the rest of his life; he was slain by Iroquois raiders, on Sept. 22, 1690.—ED.

Anchor all that Night at sixty Fathom Water and above; but at length the Wind coming to the North-East, we fail'd on, and arriv'd safely at the further end of the Lake *Ontario*, call'd by the *Iroquese*, *Skannadario*. We came pretty near to one of their Villages call'd *Tajajagon*, lying about Seventy Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, or *Catarokouy*.

We barter'd some *Indian* Corn with the *Iroquese*, who could not sufficiently admire us, and came frequently to see us on board our Brigantine, which for our greater security, we had brought to an Anchor into a River,<sup>1</sup> though before we could get in, we run a ground three times, which oblig'd us to put Fourteen Men into Canou's, and cast the Balast of our Ship over-board to get her off again. That River falls into the Lake; but for fear of being frozen up therein, we were forc'd to cut the Ice with Axes and other Instruments.

The Wind turning then contrary, we were oblig'd to tarry there till the 15th of *December*, 1678, when we fail'd from the Northern Coast to the Southern, where the River *Niagara* runs into the Lake; but could not reach it that Day, though it is but Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues distant, and therefore cast Anchor within Five Leagues of the Shore, where we had very bad Weather all the Night long.

On the 6th, being St. *Nicholas's* Day, we got into the fine River *Niagara*, into which never any such Ship as ours enter'd before. We sung there *Te Deum*, and other Prayers, to return our Thanks to God Almighty for our prosperous Voyage. The *Iroquese Tsonnontouans* inhabiting the little Village,

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Humber River, at the mouth of which Toronto is situated.—ED.

situated at the mouth of the River, took above Three Hundred Whitings, which are bigger than Carps, and the [40] best relish'd, as well as the wholesomest Fish in the World; which they presented all to us, imputing their good Luck to our Arrival. They were much surprized at our Ship, which they call'd the *great wooden Canou*.

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, we went in a Canou two Leagues up the River, to look for a convenient Place for Building; but not being able to get the Canou farther up, because the Current was too rapid for us to master, we went over land about three Leagues higher, though we found no Land fit for culture. We lay that Night near a River, which runs from the Westward,<sup>1</sup> within a League above the great Fall of *Niagara*, which, as we have already said, is the greatest in the World. The Snow was then a Foot deep, and we were oblig'd to dig it up to make room for our Fire.

The next day we return'd the same way we went, and saw great Numbers of Wild Goats, and Wild Turkey-Cocks, and on the 11<sup>th</sup>, we said the first Mass that ever was said in that Country. The Carpenters and the rest of the Crew were set to work; but Monsieur *de la Motte*, who had the Direction of them, being not able to endure the Fatigues of so laborious a Life, gave over his Design, and return'd to *Canada*, having about two hundred Leagues to travel.

The 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup>, the Wind was not favourable enough to sail up the River as far as the rapid Current above mention'd, where we had resolv'd to build some Houses.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is supposed to be Chippewa Creek.—ED.



Whofoever confiders our Map, will eafily fee, that this New Enterprize of building a Fort and fome Houfes on the River *Niagara*, befides the Fort of *Frontenac*, was like to give Jealoufie to the *Iroquefe*, and even to the *English*, who live in this Neighbourhood, and have a great Commerce with them. Therefore to prevent the ill Confequences of it, it [41] was thought fit to fend an Embaffie to the *Iroquefe*, as it will be mention'd in the next Chapter.

The 15<sup>th</sup>, I was defir'd to fit at the Helm of our Brigantine, while three of our Men hall'd the fame from the Shore with a Rope; and at laft we brought her up, and moor'd her to the Shore with a Halfer, near a Rock of a prodigious heighth, lying upon the rapid Currents we have already mention'd. The 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup>, we were bufie in making a Cabin with Palifadoes, to ferve for a Magazine; but the Ground was fo frozen, that we were forced to throw feveral times boiling water upon it to facilitate the beating in and driving down the Stakes. The 20<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>d</sup>, and 23<sup>d</sup>, our Ship was in great danger to be dafh'd in pieces, by the vaft pieces of Ice that were hurl'd down the River; to prevent which, our Carpenters made a Capftane to haul her afhore; but our great Cable broke in three pieces; whereupon one of our Carpenters furrounded the Veffel with a Cable, and ty'd to it feveral Ropes, whereby we got her afhore, tho' with much difficulty, and fav'd her from the danger of being broke to pieces, or carried away by the Ice, which came down with an extream violence from the great Fall of *Niagara*.

## C H A P. XV.

*An Account of the Embassie to the Iroquese Tsonnontouans.*

THESE Savages being the most numerous Nation of that Country, it was requisite to avoid giving them any manner of suspicion; and in order thereto, we thought fit to prepossess those of the little Village of *Niagara* with a favourable opinion of our Design: We told them, that we did not intend to build a Fort on the Bank of their River *Niagara*, [42] but only a great *Hanger* or Store-house, to keep the Commodities we had brought to supply their Occasions. We accompany'd our Discourse with some small Presents, and told them that we should remain with them, while Six or Seven of our Company went to the great Village of the *Tsonnontouans*, to treat with their chief Captains. And truly it was absolutely necessary to go thither, to remove the Suspicion the Enemies of our Discovery had suggest'd to that People concerning our Designs.

As I was building a little Cabin of Bark, to perform Divine Service therein, *M. de la Motte*, who was still with us, desir'd me to accompany him in his Embassie, which I was very unwilling to comply with; and therefore intreated him to suffer me to stay there with the greater number of our Men. But notwithstanding the Arguments I us'd, he told me

that he was resolv'd to take along with him 7 Men out of 16, that we were in all; that I understood in a manner the Language of their Nation, having been often in conference with them at the Fort of *Frontenac*; that the Glory of God was concern'd in this Undertaking; that he would not trust those that were to accompany him; and in short, that if our Enterprize should miscarry upon that account, the Blame would lie at my door. These with some other secret Reasons, oblig'd me to comply with his Desire, and to follow him.

We travell'd with Shooes made after the *Indian* way, of a single Skin, but without Soles, because the Earth was still cover'd with Snow, and past through Forests for thirty two Leagues together, carrying upon our Backs our Coverings and other Baggage, lying often in open Field, and having with us no other Food but some roasted *Indian* Corn: 'Tis true, we met upon our Road some *Iroquese* a hunting, who gave us some wild Goats, and fifteen or sixteen black Squirrels, which are excellent [43] Meat. However, after five Days Journey, we came to *Tagarondies*, a great Village of the *Iroquese Tsonnontouans*,<sup>1</sup> and were immediately carry'd to the Cabin of their Principal Chief, where Women and Children flock'd to see us, our Men being very well drest and arm'd. An old Man having according to Custom made publick Cries, to give Notice of our arrival to their Village; the younger Savages wash'd our Feet, which afterwards they rubb'd over with

---

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the village located on Boughton Hill, near Victor, N. Y.; it is mentioned by the Jesuit missionaries as Gandagaro. See W. M. Beauchamp's map (with notes) of Iroquois village sites, in *Jes. Relations*, li, p. 293.—ED.

the Greafe of Deers, wild Goats, and other Beasts, and the Oil of Bears.

The next Day, which was the First of the Year 1679, after the ordinary Service, I preach'd in a little Chapel made of Barks of Trees, in presence of two Jesuites, *viz.* Father *Garnier* and *Rafeix*<sup>1</sup>; and afterwards we had a Conference with 42 old Men, who make up their Council. These Savages are for the most part tall, and very well shap'd, cover'd with a sort of Robe made of Beavers and Wolves-Skins, or of black Squirrels, holding a Pipe or *Calumet* in their Hands. The Senators of *Venice* do not appear with a graver Countenance, and perhaps don't speak with more Majesty and Solidity, than those ancient *Iroquese*.

This Nation is the most cruel and barbarous of all *America*, especially to their Slaves, whom they take above two or three hundred Leagues from their Country, as I shall shew in my Second Volume; however, I must do them the Justice to observe, that they have many good Qualities; and that they love the *Europeans*, to whom they sell their Commodities at very reasonable Rates. They have a mortal Hatred for those, who being too self-interested and covetous, are always endeavouring to enrich themselves to the Prejudice of others. Their chief Commodities are Beavers-Skins, which they bring from above a hundred and fifty Leagues off their Habitations, to exchange them with the *English* and [44] *Dutch*, whom they

---

<sup>1</sup> Julien Garnier and Pierre Raffeix, long missionaries among the Iroquois tribes—the former from 1668 to 1685, the latter from 1671 to 1680.—ED.

affect more than the Inhabitants of *Canada*, because they are more affable, and sell them their Commodities cheaper.

One of our own Men, nam'd *Anthony Brossard*, who understood very well the Language of the *Iroquese*, and therefore was Interpreter to *M. de la Motte*, told their Assembly,

*First*, That we were come to pay them a Vifit, and smoak with them in their Pipes, a Ceremony which I shall describe anon: And then we deliver'd our Presents, confifiting of Axes, Knives, a great Collar of white and blue Porcelain,<sup>1</sup> with fome Gowns. We made Presents upon every Point we propos'd to them, of the fame nature as the former.

*Secondly*, We desir'd them, in the next place to give Notice to the five Cantons of their Nation, that we were about to build a Ship, or great wooden Canow above the great Fall of the River *Niagara*, to go and fetch *European* Commodities by a more convenient passage than the ordinary one, by the River *St. Laurence*, whose rapid Currents make it dangerous and long; and that by these means we should afford them our Commodities cheaper than the *English* and *Dutch* of *Boston* and *New-York*. This Pretence was specious enough, and very well contriv'd to engage that barbarous Nation to extirpate

---

<sup>1</sup>The term commonly used by the French for the beads which served the Indians as both money and adornment; the same as the "wampum" of English writers. Originally cut from shells by crude and slow methods, these beads were largely replaced, when the savages began to trade with white men, by others of glass, porcelain, etc., manufactured in Europe. They were strung together on cords or threads; or were woven into bands one to four inches wide, which were called "belts" or "collars." For description, use, and history of wampum, or porcelain, see *Jes. Relations*, viii, pp. 312-314; xii, 277; xli, 301.—ED.

the *English* and *Dutch* out of *America*: For they suffer the *Europeans* among them only for the Fear they have of them, or else for the Profit they make in Bartering their Commodities with them.

*Thirdly*, We told them farther, that we should provide them at the River *Niagara* with a Black-smith and a Gun-smith, to mend their Guns, Axes, &c. having no body among them that understood that Trade, and that for the conveniency of their whole Nation, we would settle those Workmen on the Lake of *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*. [45] We threw again among them seven or eight Gowns, and some Pieces of fine Cloth, which they cover themselves with from the Waist to the Knees. This was in order to engage them on our side, and prevent their giving ear to any who might suggest ill things of us, entreating them first to acquaint us with the Reports that should be made unto them to our Prejudice, before they yielded their Belief to the same.

We added many other Reasons which we thought proper to persuade them to favour our Design. The Presents we made unto them, either in Cloth or Iron, were worth above 400 Livres,<sup>1</sup> besides some other *European* Commodities, very scarce in that Country: For the best Reasons in the World are not listned to among them, unless they are enforced with Presents.

I forgot to observe, that before our Interpreter began to

---

<sup>1</sup> A French money of account, in value nearly equal to the modern franc (or about twenty cents U. S. money). The livre of Tours was worth 20 sous, that of Paris 25 sous.—ED.

talk of these matters with the Council, *M. de la Motte* order'd him to tell the *Iroquefe*, That he would enter into no Particulars in prefence of Father *Garnier* a Jefuite, whom he much fufpected: Whereupon the old Senators order'd the faid Father to withdraw. As I had a great Refpect for him, I went out likewise to bear part of the Affront put upon him, and to let *M. la Motte* fee that he had no reason to defire me to go to the Council with him, fince he had resolv'd to affront in my prefence a Jefuite-Miffionary, who was amongft that barbarous Nation, without any other Defign but to inftroct them in the Truth of the Gofpel. This was the reason why I was not prefent in the Council the firft Day that we acquainted the *Iroquefe* with the fubject of our Embaffie. I eafily obferv'd that *M. la Motte* had been bred up amongft People profefs'd Enemies of all Monks and Priests; from whence I concluded, that he would lay upon me all the Overfights he might commit in his Negotiation: But I [46] thought it was better he fhould be deceiv'd by thofe he employ'd, than to be fo my felf; and therefore would never meddle with any Temporal Concerns, though earneftly defir'd by him and others. The *Iroquefe*, and other wild Nations, had a great Love for me upon that Account: They have fupply'd me with Food for my fubfiftance, and reliev'd me upon other Occafions, only becaufe they obferv'd I was not guided by a private felf-Intereft; and truly whenever they made me any Prefents in return of thofe I had made unto them, I immediately gave them to their Children.

The next Day the *Iroquefe* answer'd our Difcourfe and

Presents Article by Article, having laid upon the Ground several little pieces of Wood, to put them in mind of what had been said the Day before in the Council; their Speaker, or President, held in his Hand one of these Pieces of Wood, and when he had answer'd one Article of our Propofal, he laid it down, with some Presents of black and white Porcelain, which they use to string upon the smallest Sinews of Beasts; and then took up another Piece of Wood; and so of all the rest, till he had fully answer'd our Speech, of which those Pieces of Wood, and our Presents put them in mind. When his Discourse was ended, the oldest Man of their Assembly cry'd aloud for three times, *Niaoua*; that is to say, *It is well, I thank thee*; which was repeated with a full Voice, and in a tuneful manner by all the other Senators.

'Tis to be observ'd here, that the Savages, though some are more cunning than others, are generally all addicted to their own Interests; and therefore though the *Iroquese* seem'd to be pleas'd with our Proposals, they were not really so; for the *English* and *Dutch* affording them the *European* Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada*, they had a greater Inclination for them than for us. That People, tho' [47] so barbarous and rude in their Manners, have however a Piece of Civility peculiar to themselves; for a Man would be accounted very impertinent, if he contradicted any thing that is said in their Council, and if he does not approve even the greatest Absurdities therein propos'd; and therefore they always answer, *Niaoua*; that is to say, *Thou art in the right, Brother; that is well*.



Notwithstanding that seeming Approbation, they believe what they please and no more; and therefore 'tis impossible to know when they are really persuaded of those things you have mention'd unto them, which I take to be one of the greatest Obstructions to their Conversion; For their Civility hindring them from making any Objection, or contradicting what is said unto them, they seem to approve of it, though perhaps they laugh at it in private, or else never bestow a Moment to reflect upon it, such being their Indifference for a future Life. From these Observations, I conclude that the Conversion of that People is to be despair'd of, 'till they are subdu'd by the *Europeans*, and that their Children have another sort of Education, unless God be pleas'd to work a Miracle in their Favour.

While we were still with the *Iroquesse*, their Parties made an Excursion toward *Virginia*, and brought two Prisoners with them, one whereof was *Houtouagaba*,<sup>1</sup> which in the Language of the *Iroquesse*, signifies a talkative or babling Fellow, and the other of the Nation of *Gannieffinga*,<sup>2</sup> whither some *English Franciscans* were sent Missionaries. The *Iroquesse* spar'd the Life of this last, but put to death the former, with such

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably a misprint for *Ontouagannha*, the name given by the Iroquois to the Algonquian tribe generally known as Shawnese. The term is defined by Jesuit missionary writers as indicating a people who use a barbarous dialect, or who are ignorant and rude. The Shawnese, a migratory people, wandered, at various times, from the Tennessee River to the mountainous region of Pennsylvania, and westward into Ohio (where they probably were in Hennepin's time). See *Jes. Relations*, xlvii, pp. 145, 316; lxi, p. 249.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a reference to the Gannaouens, or Kanawhas, the same as the Piscato-ways; a tribe in Maryland, friendly to the English; they lived on the upper Potomac River.—ED.

exquisite Torments, that *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Maximilian*, never invented the like, to exercise the Patience of the Martyrs of the Primitive Church with all.

They use commonly that Inhumanity towards all the Prisoners they take in their Warlike Expeditions; but the worst of it is, that their Torments last [48] sometimes a Month. When they have brought them into their *Canton*, they lay them upon some pieces of Wood, made like a *St. Andrew's* Cross, to which they tie the Legs and Arms of those miserable Wretches, and expose them to Gnats and other Flies, who sting them to death. The Children of those barbarous Parents, cut pieces of Flesh out of their Flanks, Thighs, or some other part of their Bodies; and when they have boyl'd it, force those poor Wretches to eat thereof. The *Iroquese* eat some pieces of it themselves, as well as their Children; and the better to inspire those little Canibals with Hatred for their Enemies, and the desire to extirpate them, they give them their Blood to drink in some little Porrengers made of Barks of Trees. Thus do these poor Creatures end their Life after a long and unspeakable Torment.

That horrid Cruelty oblig'd us to leave the Cabin, or Cotage of the chief Captain of that barbarous People, to shew them the Horrour we had of their Inhumanity, and never eat with them since, but return'd the same way we went through the Woods to the River *Niagara*. And this was all the success of our Ambassie.

CHAP. XVI.

*A Description of a Ship of Sixty Tuns, which we built near the Straights of the Lake Erie, during the Winter and Spring of the Year 1679.*

ON the 14th of *January* we arrived at our Habitation of *Niagara*, very weary of the Fatigues of our Voyage. We had no other Food but *Indian Corn*; but by good luck for us, the Fishery of the *Whittings*, I have already spoken of, was then in season, and made our *Indian Corn* more relishing. We [49] made use of the Water, in which the Fish was boiled, instead of Broth of Meat; for when it grows cold in the Pot, it congeals it self like some *Veal-Broth*.

On the 20th arrived *M. de la Salle* from *Fort Frontenac*, from whence he was sent with a great Barque to supply us with Provisions, Rigging, and Tackling for the Ship we design'd to build at the Mouth of the *Lake Erie*; but that Barque was unfortunately cast away on the Southern Coast of the *Lake Ontario*, by the fault of two Pilots, who could not agree about the Course they were to steer, tho' they were then only within two Leagues of *Niagara*. The Sea-men have call'd this Place the *Mad-Cape*. The Anchors and Cables were sav'd, but several Canows made of Barks of Trees with Goods and Commodities were lost. These disappointments

were such as would have dissuaded from any farther Enterprize all other Persons but such who had form'd the generous Design of making a New Discovery in the Country.

M. *de la Salle* told us, that before he lost his Barque, he had been with the *Iroquese Tsonnontouans*, and had so dexterously gain'd their Affection, that they had talk'd to him of our Embassie with Applause, and had given him their Consent for the Execution of our Undertaking. This good Intelligence lasted but a little while; for certain Persons, who made it their Business to cross our Design, inspir'd the *Iroquese* with many Suspicions about the Fort we were building at *Niagara*, which was in a great forwardness; and their Suspicions grew so high, that we were oblig'd to give over our Building for some time, contenting our selves with an Habitation encompass'd with Palisado's.

On the 22th of the said Month, we went two Leagues above the great Fall of *Niagara*, where we made a Dock for Building the Ship we wanted for our Voyage. This was the most convenient place [50] we could pitch upon, being upon a River which falls into the Streight between the Lake *Erie* and the great Fall of *Niagara*.<sup>1</sup> The 26th, the Keel of the Ship and some other Pieces being ready, M. *de la Salle* sent the Master-Carpenter to desire me to drive in the first Pin; but my Profession obliging me to decline that Honour, he did it himself,

---

<sup>1</sup> The location of this place, where was built the first sailing-vessel on the Upper Lakes, is identified by Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 132, note) as the mouth of Cayuga Creek, N. Y. See O. H. Marshall's "Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679," in *Publications of Buffalo Historical Society*, i (Buffalo, 1879); and C. K. Remington's *Shipyards of the Griffon* (Buffalo, 1891).—ED.

and promis'd Ten *Louis d'Or's*, to encourage the Carpenter and further the Work. The Winter being not half so hard in that Country as in *Canada*, we employ'd one of the two Savages of the Nation call'd the *Wolf*, whom we kept for Hunting, in building some Cabins made of Rinds of Trees; and I had one made on purpose to perform Divine Service therein on *Sundays*, and other occasions.

M. *de la Salle* having some urgent Business of his own, return'd to Fort *Frontenac*, leaving for our Commander one *Tonti*, an *Italian* by Birth, who had been forc'd to retire into *France* after the Revolution of *Naples*, in which his Father was concern'd.<sup>1</sup> I conducted M. *de la Salle* as far as the Lake *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*, where he order'd a House to be built for the Smith we had promis'd to the *Iroquese*; but this was only to amuze them, and therefore I cannot but own that the Savages are not to be blam'd for having not believ'd every thing they were told by M. *la Motte* in his Embassie already related.

He undertook his Journey a-foot over the Snow, having no other Provisions but a little Sack of *Indian* Corn roasted, which fail'd him two Days before he came to the Fort, which is above fourscore Leagues distant from the Place where he left us. However, he got home safely with two Men, and a Dog, who dragg'd his Baggage over the Ice, or frozen Snow.

When I return'd to our Dock, I understood that most

---

<sup>1</sup> Henri de Tonty was La Salle's lieutenant and trusted friend, amid all the difficulties, dangers, and losses in which the explorer was involved. It was Tonty who built Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, where he remained until 1700; he then joined Iberville on the Mississippi. In 1704 he died at Mobile, of yellow fever.—Ed.

of the *Iroquefe* were gone to wage War with a Nation on the other fide of the Lake *Erie*. In the [51] mean time, our Men continu'd with great Application to build our Ship; for the *Iroquefe* who were left behind, being but a fmall number, were not fo infolent as before, though they came now and then to our Dock, and exprefs'd fome Difcontent at what we were doing. One of them in particular, feigning himfelf drunk, attempted to kill our Smith, but was vigorously repuls'd by him with a red-hot Iron-barr, which, together with the Reprimand he receiv'd from me, oblig'd him to be gone. Some few Days after, a Savage Woman gave us notice, that the *Tfonnontouans* had resolv'd to burn our Ship in the Dock, and had certainly done it, had we not been always upon our Guard.

Thefe frequent Alarms from the Natives, together with the Fears we were in of wanting Provisions, having loft the great Barque from Fort *Frontenac*, which fould have reliev'd us, and the *Tfonnontouans* at the fame time refusing to give us of their Corn for Money, were a great Discouragement to our Carpenters, whom, on the other hand, a Villain amongft us endeavour'd to feduce: That pitiful Fellow had feveral times attempted to run away from us into *New-York*, and would have been likely to pervert our Carpenters, had I not confirm'd them in their good Refolution, by the Exhortations I us'd to make every Holy-day after Divine Service; in which I repreſented to them, that the Glory of God was concern'd in our Undertaking, befides the Good and Advantage of our Chriſtian Colonies; and therefore exhorted them to redouble

their Diligence, in order to free our selves from all those Inconveniencies and Apprehensions we then lay under.

The two Savages we had taken into our Service, went all this while a Hunting, and supply'd us with Wild-Goats, and other Beasts for our Subsistence; which encourag'd our Workmen to go on with their Work more briskly than before, infomuch that in a [52] short time our Ship was in a readines to be launch'd; which we did, after having blefs'd the same according to the use of the *Romish* Church. We made all the haste we could to get it a-float, though not altogether finish'd, to prevent the Designs of the Natives, who had resolv'd to burn it.

The Ship was call'd the *Griffin*, alluding to the Arms of Count *Frontenac*, which have two *Griffins* for *Supporters*; and besides, M. *la Salle* us'd to say of this Ship, while yet upon the Stocks, That he would make the *Griffin* fly above the *Ravens*.<sup>1</sup> We fir'd three Guns, and sung *Te Deum*, which was attended with loud Acclamations of Joy; of which those of the *Iroquese*, who were accidentally present at this Ceremony, were also Partakers; for we gave them some Brandy to drink, as well as to our Men, who immediately quitted their Cabins of Rinds of Trees, and hang'd their Hammocks under the Deck of the Ship, there to lie with more security than a-fhoar. We did the like, infomuch that the very same Day we were all on board, and thereby out of the reach of the Insults of the Savages.

The *Iroquese* being return'd from Hunting Beavers, were mightily surpriz'd to see our Ship a-float, and call'd us *Otkon*,

---

<sup>1</sup> In sarcastic allusion to the black gowns of the Jesuits.— Ed.

that is in their Language, *Most penetrating Wits*: For they could not apprehend how in so short a time we had been able to build so great a Ship, though it was but 60 Tuns.<sup>1</sup> It might have been indeed call'd a moving Fortrefs; for all the Savages inhabiting the Banks of those Lakes and Rivers I have mention'd, for five hundred Leagues together, were fill'd with Fear as well as Admiration when they saw it.

The best Designs are often cross'd by some unexpected Accidents, which God permits to happen, to try Mens Constancy, as I experienc'd at that time. One of our Crew gave me notice, that the *Sieur de Tonti* our Commander entertain'd some Jealousie of [53] me, because I kept a Journal of all the considerable Things that were transacted; and that he design'd to take the same from me. This Advice oblig'd me to stand upon my Guard, and take all other Precautions, to secure my Observations, and remove the Jealousie that Gentleman had of me: For I had no other Design but to keep our Men to their Duty, and to Exercises of Piety and Devotion, for preventing Disorders, and for the furtherance of our Common Undertaking.

In the mean time, our Enemies spread very disadvantageous Reports of us in *Canada*, where we were represented as rash and inconsiderate Persons, for venturing upon so dangerous a Voyage, from which, in their Opinion, none of us would ever return. This, together with the Difficulties we labour'd under for transporting the Rigging of our Ship,

---

<sup>1</sup> In his *Louisiane* (ed. 1683, p. 46), Hennepin says that it was of forty-five tons.—Ed.



and the other Inconveniencies necessarily attending a Voyage through an unknown Country, Lakes, and Rivers, where no *European* had travell'd before, and the Oppositions from the *Iroquefe*, wrought in me an unparallel'd Vexation. But these Reports were still more prejudicial to *M. la Salle*, whose Creditors, without enquiring into the Truth of the Matter, or expecting his Return from Fort *Frontenac*, seiz'd all his Effects in *Canada*; though that very Fort alone, the Property whereof belong'd to him, was worth twice more than all the Debts he ow'd. However, it being impossible to stop the Mouth of our Enemies, who had no other Design, but to oblige us to give over our Enterprize, notwithstanding the Trouble and great Charge we had been at for our Preparations, we resolv'd to wait with Patience, the Opportunities Divine Providence would present us with, and to pursue with Vigour and Constancy our Design.

Being thus prepar'd against all Discouragements, I went up in a Canou with one of our Savages to the [54] Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, notwithstanding the strong Current which I master'd with great difficulty. I founded the Mouth of the Lake, and found, contrary to the Relations that had been made unto me, that a Ship with a brisk Gale might sail up to the Lake, and surmount the Rapidity of the Current; and that therefore with a strong North, or North-East Wind, we might bring our Ship into the Lake *Erie*. I took also a view of the Banks of the Streight, and found that in case of need we might put some of our Men a-shoar to hall the Ship, if the Wind was not strong enough.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The Author's Return to Fort Frontenac.*

**B**EFORE we could go on with our intended Discovery, I was oblig'd to return to Fort *Frontenac*, to bring along with me two Monks of my own Order, to help me in the Function of my Ministry. I left our Ship riding upon two Anchors, within a league and a half of the Lake *Erie*, in the Streight, between the said Lake and the great Fall of *Niagara*. Mr. *Charon*, an Inhabitant of *Canada*, desir'd to go with me, to avoid the ill Usage he receiv'd from M. *Tonti*, who was an irreconcilable Enemy of all the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, having been, as he thought, hardly us'd by the *Spaniards*, in the Revolution of *Naples*, in which he was concern'd as well as his Father.

We embark'd in a Canou with one of our Savages, and fell down the Streight till we came to the great Fall, where we went a-shoar, and carry'd our Canou over-land to the Foot of the great Rock already mention'd, and from thence we continu'd our Course to the Mouth of the Lake *Ontario*, where [55] we found the Barque or Brigantine we have spoken of, which the *Sieur la Forest*<sup>1</sup> had brought from Fort

---

<sup>1</sup> La Forest was a lieutenant under La Salle, who left him in charge of Fort Frontenac; La Forest remained there until 1685, when he joined Tonty in Illinois. Five years later, these two obtained a grant of Fort St. Louis, and a limited trading-permit—

*Frontenac.* M. la Forest having spent some Days in that place for Bartering his Commodities with the Natives, we embark'd on board his Brigantine, together with fifteen or sixteen Savage Women, who took the opportunity to sail forty Leagues by Water, which otherwise they had been oblig'd to travel a-foot over-land through the Woods; but they not being us'd to this way of Travelling, fell so sick, that their vomiting created an insufferable Stink in our Ship. Being arriv'd into the River of *Aoueguen*,<sup>1</sup> M. la Forest exchange'd some Brandy for Beaver-Skins; but I must confess this Commerce of Strong-Waters was never acceptable to me; for if the Savages drink but a little too much of that Liquor, they are worse and more dangerous than mad Men. Having done our Business in that Place, we sail'd from the Southern to the Northern Coasts of the Lake; and the Wind being favourable we quickly pass'd by the Village which lies on the other side of *Kente* and *Ganeouffe*, but were becalm'd not far from Fort *Frontenac*, which oblig'd me to get into a Canou with two Savages to manage it. We landed in the Island of *Goilans*,<sup>2</sup> so nam'd from Sea-Fouls of that Name, who abound in that Place, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, where they are hatch'd by the Heat of the Sun. I carry'd away along with us four Baskets full of them, which we found very relishing in Omelets and Pancakes.

---

favors which were afterward revoked, La Forest being ordered back to Canada. He was commandant at Detroit from 1710 until his death in 1714.—ED.

<sup>1</sup> More often written Chouaguen; the Oswego River.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Gull Island, according to Shea (in his translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, p. 88, note †).—ED.

I was kindly receiv'd by four Missionaries of my own Order that I found there, *viz.* Father *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, *Luke Buiffet*, *Zenobe Mambre*, and *Milithon Watteau*, all Natives of the *Spanish Netherlands*. They told me that they knew how much I had suffer'd in my *Mission* during the Winter, and chiefly from that *Italian* who deserted the Service of his Natural Prince, that is *Tonti* I have already spoken of. I [56] conceal'd part of the Discouragements I had met with, because I design'd to engage Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* in our Voyage, and also because I knew that *M. de la Salle*, whose Temper I was acquainted with by my own Experience, made a constant use of this famous Maxim, *Divide & impera*, to dispose with a greater facility of the Men under him to compass his own Designs: And having as great a Passion as he to discover some New Countries, I thought it best to make no Complaints, which he took very kindly, and receiv'd me in a very obliging manner.

That Gentleman was Judicious, and of extraordinary Parts, and very desirous to make himself famous by some New Discoveries, about which we had frequent Conferences. He told me several times, That he knew no Religious Order so fit as ours for improving New Colonies; and he was a very good Judge in those Matters, having spent nine or ten Years in another Order, of which he had disingag'd himself by Consent of the General,<sup>1</sup> who in the Act of his Dismission under his own Hand, gives this noble Character of him, That he

---

<sup>1</sup> La Salle was a pupil of the Jesuits in Rouen, until his fifteenth year; and became a novice in that order at Paris, Oct. 5, 1658. Two years later, he took the three vows

had liv'd amongst the Monks of his Order, without giving the least suspicion of *Venial Sin*. These are the very Words of the Act, for I have perus'd it my self. He likewise told me, That being perswaded that we might be very useful to him in his Designs, he was resolv'd to do something in favour of our Order; and having call'd us together on the 27th of May, 1679, he acquainted us, That being Proprietary and Governor of Fort *Frontenac*, he would order in his Will, That no other religious Order but ours, should be suffer'd to settle themselves near the Fort; he afterwards mark'd out a Church-yard; and having created a publick Notary, he order'd him to draw up an Instrument, whereby the said M. *la Salle* gave to our Order the Property of Eighteen Acres of Ground [57] along the side of the Lake *Ontario* near the Fort, and above a Hundred Acres more in the next Forest to be clear'd and grubb'd up. We accepted this Gift in the Name of our Order, and sign'd the Deed, which was the first that ever was transacted in that Country. The Notary's Name was *la Meterie*.

This being done, he desir'd those *Franciscans* that were to come with me, to prepare themselves for their Voyage; but the Wind being against us, we had a sufficient time for it, and to take our Measures concerning our dangerous Mission. We made frequent Visits to the Savages, whom we had perswaded to settle themselves near the Fort, who, together with

---

of a Jesuit, assumed the name of Ignatius, and was known in the order as Frère Robert Ignace. . . . On March 28, 1667, he left the order, and departed from the college at La Flèche; he did not go to Canada until 1668.—*Jes. Relations*, lx, pp. 319-320.

their Children, whom we had taught to read and write, lamented much our Departure; and assur'd us, That if we did return in a short time, they would persuade the rest of the Inhabitants of the Village of *Ganeouffe*, to come and settle themselves in the Neighbourhood of the Fort.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*An Account of our Second Embarkment from Fort Frontenac.*

AFTER some few Days, the Wind coming fair, Fathers Gabriel, Zenobe, and I, went on board the Brigantine, and in a short time arriv'd in the River of the *Tsonnontouans*,<sup>1</sup> which runs into the Lake *Ontario*, where we continu'd several Days, our Men being very busie in bartering their Commodities with the Natives, who flock'd in great numbers about us to see our Brigantine, which they admir'd, and to exchange their Skins for Knives, Guns, Powder and Shot, but especially for Brandy, which they love above all things. In the mean time, we had built a small Cabin of Barks of Trees about [58] half a League in the Woods, to perform Divine Service therein without interruption, and waited till all our Men had done their Businefs. M. *la Salle* arriv'd in a Canou about eight Days after; he had taken his course by the Southern Coast of the Lake, to go to the Village of the *Tsonnontouans*, to whom he made several Presents to engage them in our Interest, and remove the Jealousie they had conceiv'd of our Undertaking, through the Suggestions of our Enemies. All

---

<sup>1</sup> Irondequoit Creek, which flows into Irondequoit Bay, a little east of the Genesee River.—ED.

these Impediments retarded us so long, that we could not reach the River *Niagara* before the 30th of *July*.

On the 4th of the said Month, I went over-land to the Fall of *Niagara*, with a Serjeant call'd *la Fleur*, and thence to our Dock within six Leagues of the Lake *Ontario*; but we did not find there the Ship we had built: And met with a new Misfortune; for two young Savages robb'd us of the Bisket we had for our subsistence, which reduc'd us to great Extremity. We found at last a half rotten Canou without Oars, which we mended as well as we could; and having made an Oar, we ventur'd our selves in that weak and shatter'd Canou, and went up the Streight to look for our Ship, which we found riding within a league of the pleasant Lake *Erie*. We were very kindly receiv'd, and likewise very glad to find our Ship well rigg'd, and ready fitted out with all the Necessaries for sailing. She carry'd five small Guns, two whereof were Brass, and three Harquebuze *a-crock*.<sup>1</sup> The Beak-head was adorn'd with a flying Griffin, and an Eagle above it; and the rest of the Ship had the same Ornaments as Men of War use to have.

The *Iroquesse* were then returning from a Warlike Expedition with several Slaves, and were much surpriz'd to see so big a Ship, which they compar'd to a Fort, beyond their Limits. Several came on board, and seem'd to admire above all things the bigness of [59] our Anchors; for they could not apprehend how we had been able to bring them through the

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *à croc*; that is, with a prop or support.—ED.



rapid Currents of the River *St. Laurence*. This oblig'd them to use often the Word *Gannorom*, which in their Language signifies, That is wonderful. They wonder'd also to find there a Ship, having seen none when they went; and did not know from whence it came, it being about 250 Leagues from *Canada*.

Having forbid the Pilot to attempt to sail up the Currents of the Streight till farther order, we return'd the 16th and 17th to the Lake *Ontario*, and brought up our Bark to the great Rock of *Niagara*, and anchor'd at the foot of the three Mountains,<sup>1</sup> where we were oblig'd to make our *Portage*; that is, to carry over-land our Canou's and Provisions, and other Things, above the great Fall of the River, which interrupts the Navigation: And because most of the Rivers of that Country are interrupted with great Rocks, and that therefore those who sail upon the same, are oblig'd to go over-land above those Falls, and carry upon their Backs their Canou's and other Things. They express it with this Word, To make our *Portage*; of which the Reader is desir'd to take notice, for otherwise the following Account, as well as the Map, would be unintelligible to many.

Father *Gabriel*, though of Sixty five Years of Age, bore with great Vigour the Fatigue of that Voyage, and went thrice up and down those three Mountains, which are pretty high and steep. Our Men had a great deal of trouble; for

---

<sup>1</sup>This term refers to the three grades of the acclivity opposite the "great rock" (p. 31, note 2, ante), which stands at the foot of the rapids above Lewiston, Ont. The triple ascent on the east shore formed the portage, or carrying-place, of travelers around the Falls. See Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 132, note.—ED.

they were oblig'd to make several Turns to carry the Provisions and Ammunition, and the Portage was two Leagues long. Our Anchors were so big, that four Men had much ado to carry one; but the Brandy we gave them was such an Encouragement, that they surmounted cheerfully all the Difficulties of that Journey; and so we got on board our [60] Ship all our Provisions, Ammunitions, and Commodities.

While we continu'd there, M. *la Salle* told me, That he understood by some of our Men, that I very much blam'd the Intrigues of some Monks of *Canada* with the *Iroquese*, and their Neighbours of *New-York* and *New-Orange*; which oblig'd me in his presence, to tell my Brethren the *Franciscans*, That I perceiv'd that M. *la Salle* was minded to surprize me, and oblige me to revile some Persons, whom he represented as Traders and Merchants; and then abating somewhat of my Tone, I concluded, That notwithstanding the false Reports that had been made to him, I would entertain a good Opinion of those very Persons whom he design'd to make my Enemies; and that I wou'd rather give over our Enterprize than be impos'd upon at that rate. This vigorous Answer surpriz'd M. *la Salle*, who told me, That he was persuaded that those who had made him those Reports, were not honest Men; and that therefore he would take all imaginable care of my Person during the Voyage, and espouse my Interest on all occasions. He was indeed afraid that I should leave him, which had been a great disappointment to his Affairs; for Father *Gabriel* would have left him also. That good Man was come with us without any leave of his Superi-

our, only upon a Letter from the Provincial Commissioner of *Canada*, whose Name was *Valentin le Roux*, wherein he told *M. la Salle*, that the said Father *Gabriel* might go along with him. However, he did not believe that he would do so without an Order in Writing; and for that reason came, some Days after our departure, to Fort *Frontenac*, where *M. la Salle* obtain'd that Order from him, for fear of being accus'd to have expos'd a Man of that Age to so dangerous a Voyage, in which he was like to perish, as really he did, as we shall see by and by.

[61] *M. la Salle* understanding that I and the said Father *Gabriel*, were gone to view the great Fall of *Niagara*, he came to us with some Refreshments to reconcile himself with me, and prevent my return to *Canada*. He met with no great difficulty; for the great desire I had to discover a New Country, made me very easie; so that we return'd on board our Ship in the beginning of *August*, 1679.

## CHAP. XIX.

*An Account of our Third Embarkment from the Mouth of the Lake Erie.*

WE have already observ'd, that the *Spaniards* were the first Discoverers of *Canada*, and that the *Recolleets* are the first Religious Order, who attended the *French* Colonies in that Country. Those Good Men liv'd in great Friendship with the Savages call'd *Hurons*, by whom they understood that the *Iroquese* made frequent Excursions beyond *Virginia* and *New-Sweden*, near a great Lake, from whence they brought a great many Slaves; which gave occasion to the *Hurons* to call that Lake *Erige*, or *Erike*; that is to say, the Lake of the *Cat*. The Inhabitants of *Canada* have softned that Word, and call it *Erie*, as we have already observ'd.

We endeavour'd several times to sail up that Lake; but the Wind being not strong enough, we were forc'd to wait for it. In the mean time, *M. la Salle* caus'd our Men to grub up some Land, and sow several sorts of Pot-Herbs and Pulse, for the conveniency of those who should settle themselves there, to maintain our Correspondence with Fort *Frontenac*. We found there a great quantity of wild Cherries and *Rocambol*, a sort of Garlick, which grow naturally in that Ground. We left Father *Melithon*, with [62] some Work-men,

at our Habitation above the Fall of *Niagara*; and most of our Men went a-shoar to lighten our Ships, the better to fail up the Lake.

The Wind veering to the North-East, and the Ship being well provided, we made all the Sail we could, and with the help of Twelve Men who hall'd from the Shoar, overcame the Rapidity of the Current, and got up into the Lake. The Stream is so violent, that our Pilot himself despair'd of Success. When it was done, we sung *Te Deum*, and discharg'd our Cannon and other Fire-Arms, in presence of a great many *Iroquesse*, who came from a Warlike Expedition against the Savages of *Tintonba*; that is to say, the *Nation of the Meadows*,<sup>1</sup> who live above four hundred Leagues from that Place. The *Iroquesse* and their Prisoners were much surpriz'd to see us in the Lake, and did not think before that, we should be able to overcome the Rapidity of the Current: They cry'd several times *Gannorom*, to shew their Admiration. Some of the *Iroquesse* had taken the measure of our Ship, and immediately went for *New-York*, to give notice to the *English* and *Dutch* of our failing into the Lake: For those Nations affording their Commodities cheaper than the *French*, are also more belov'd by the Natives.

On the 7th of *August*, 1679, we went on board, being in all four and thirty Men, including two *Recolleÿts* who came to

---

<sup>1</sup> The Teton or Ti'-to<sup>n</sup>-wa<sup>n</sup> ("Prairie dwellers"), a Siouan tribe, a branch of the Dakota confederacy. Early Siouan traditions indicate that the Teton took possession of the Black Hills region long before white men came among them; at present, they are located on reservations in both North and South Dakota. See W. J. McGee's "Siouan Indians," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1893-94, pp. 160, 190.—Ed.

us, and fail'd from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, steering our Course West-South-West, with a favourable Wind; and though the Enemies of our Discovery had given out, on purpose to deterr us from our Enterprize, That the Lake *Erie* was full of Rocks and Sands, which render'd the Navigation impracticable, we run above twenty Leagues during the Night, though we founded all that while. The next Day the Wind being more favourable, we made above five and forty Leagues, keeping at an equal distance from the Banks of the Lake, and doubled a [63] Cape to the West-ward, which we call'd the Cape of *St. Francis*. The next Day we doubled two other Capes,<sup>1</sup> and met with no manner of Rocks or Sands. We discover'd a pretty large Island towards the South-West, about seven or eight Leagues from the Northern Coast; that Island faces the Streight that comes from the Lake *Huron*.

The 10th, very early in the Morning, we pass'd between that Island and 7 or 8 lesser ones; and having fail'd near another, which is nothing but Sand, to the West of the Lake, we came to an Anchor at the Mouth of the Streight, which runs from the Lake *Huron* into that of *Erie*. The 11th, we went farther into the Streight, and pass'd between two small Islands, which make one of the finest Prospects in the World. This Streight is finer than that of *Niagara*, being thirty Leagues long, and every-where one League broad, except in the middle, which is wider, forming the Lake we have call'd *St. Claire*. The Navigation is easie on both sides, the Coast

---

<sup>1</sup> Hennepin's "Cape St. Francis" was probably the "Long Point" of to-day; and the other two, the projections now known as Pointe aux Pins and Pointe Pelée.—ED.

being low and even. It runs directly from North to South.

The Country between those two Lakes is very well situated, and the Soil very fertile. The Banks of the Streight are vast Meadows, and the Prospect is terminated with some Hills covered with Vineyards, Trees bearing good Fruit, Groves, and Forests, so well dispos'd, that one would think Nature alone could not have made, without the Help of Art, so charming a Prospect. That Country is stock'd with Stags, Wild-Goats,<sup>1</sup> and Bears, which are good for Food, and not fierce as in other Countries; some think they are better than our Pork. Turkey-Cocks and Swans are there also very common; and our Men brought several other Beasts and Birds, whose Names are unknown to us, but they are extraordinary relishing.

[64] The Forests are chiefly made up of Walnut-trees, Chesnut-trees, Plum-trees, and Pear-trees, loaded with their own Fruit and Vines. There is also abundance of Timber fit for Building; so that those whose who shall be so happy as to inhabit that Noble Country, cannot but remember with Gratitude those who have discover'd the way, by venturing to sail upon an unknown Lake for above one hundred Leagues. That charming Streight lies between 40 and 41 Degrees of Northern Latitude.

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably small deer.— Ed.

## CHAP. XX.

*An Account of what hapned in our Passage from the Lake Erie, unto the Lake Huron.*

I HAD often advis'd M. *la Salle* to make a Settlement upon the Streight, between the Lake *Erie* and *Ontario*, where the Fishery is more plentiful; for that Settlement would have been very advantageous to us, to maintain our Communication with Fort *Frontenac*. I told him also, that it were fit to leave in that Settlement the Smith he and M. *la Motte* had promis'd to the *Iroquese*; and that it would be a means to engage that wild Nation in our Interest, and to trade only with us, whereby he would grow rich in a little time: But M. *la Salle*, and the Adventurers who were with him, would not hearken to my Advice; and told me, that they would make no Settlement within 100 Leagues of their Fort, lest other *Europeans* should get before them into the Country they were going to discover. This was their Pretence; but I soon observ'd that their Intention was to buy all the Furs and Skins of the remotest Savages, who, as they thought, did not know their Value; and so enrich themselves in one single Voyage.

[65] I endeavour'd also to perswade him to make a Settlement upon this charming Streight; for being in the midst of



so many Nations of Savages, we could not but have a good Trade amongst them. This was the Argument I made use of; but the main Reason, which I kept to my self, was to have an Opportunity to preach the Gospel to those ignorant Nations. M. *la Salle* would by no means hearken to my Advice, and told me he wonder'd at my Proposal, considering the great Passion I had a few Months before for the Discovery of a New Country.

The Current of that Streight is very violent, but not half so much as that of *Niagara*; and therefore we fail'd up with a brisk Gale, and got into the Streight between the Lake *Huron*, and the Lake *St. Claire*; this last is very shallow, especially at its Mouth. The Lake *Huron* falls into this of *St. Claire* by several Canals, which are commonly interrupted by Sands and Rocks. We founded all of them, and found one at last about one League broad without any Sands, its Depth being every where from three to eight Fathoms Water. We fail'd up that Canal, but were forc'd to drop our Anchors near the Mouth of the Lake; for the extraordinary quantity of Waters which came down from the upper Lake, and that of *Illinois*, because of a strong North-West Wind, had so much augmented the Rapidity of the Current of this Streight, that it was as violent as that of *Niagara*.

The Wind turning Southerly, we fail'd again; and with the help of twelve Men, who hall'd our Ship from the Shoar, got safely the 23th of *August* into the Lake *Huron*. We sung *Te Deum* a second time, to return our Thanks to the Almighty for our happy Navigation. We found in that Lake

a large Bay, the Banks of which the ancient *Hurons* inhabited.<sup>1</sup> They were converted to the Christian Religion [66] by the first *Franciscans* that came into *Canada*<sup>2</sup>; but the *Iroquese* have in a great measure destroy'd that Nation.

---

<sup>1</sup> Georgian Bay, which is separated from Lake Huron by the Manitoulin and other islands.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Récollet missionaries began a mission to the Hurons in 1623; but their feeble resources, and the vastness of the field, led them to call upon the Jesuits for aid. The latter order made prompt response, and sent thither missionaries in 1626; but all the missionaries were by the English conquerors deported to France in 1629, and it was the Jesuits alone who later evangelized all the Huron tribes. Their work is ignored by Hennepin.—ED.

## CHAP. XXI.

*An Account of our Navigation on the Lake Huron to Miffilimakinak.*

HAVING thus travell'd above 300 Leagues from *Quebec* to the *Lake Huron*, notwithstanding the rapid Currents and Lakes we went through, we continu'd our Voyage from the Mouth of this Lake, steering our Course North-North-East; but the next day, finding our selves near the Land, we steer'd North-North-West, and cross'd a Bay call'd *Sakinam*,<sup>1</sup> which may be thirty Leagues broad. The 24th, we run the same Course, but were becalm'd between some Islands, where we found but two Fathoms Water, which oblig'd us to make an easie sail part of the Night, to look for a good Anchorage, but in vain; and the Wind turning then Westerly, we bore to the North, to avoid the Coast till the Day appear'd. We founded all the Night long, because our Pilot, though a very understanding Man, was somewhat negligent. The 25th, we lay becalm'd till Noon, but then run North-West with a brisk Southerly Gale. The Wind turning South-West, we bore to the North to double a Cape; but then the Wind grew so violent, that we were forc'd to lie by all the Night. The 26th, the Storm continuing, we brought down our Main

---

<sup>1</sup> Saginaw, the large bay on the western side of Lake Huron.—ED.

Yards and Top-Mast, and let the Ship drive at the Mercy of the Wind, knowing no place to run into to shelter our selves. *M. la Salle*, notwithstanding he was a Courageous Man, began to fear, and told us we were undone; and therefore every body fell upon his Knees to say his Prayers, [67] and prepare himself for Death, except our Pilot, whom we could never oblige to pray; and he did nothing all that while but curse and swear against *M. la Salle*, who, as he said, had brought him thither to make him perish in a nasty Lake, and lose the Glory he had acquir'd by his long and happy Navigations on the Ocean. However, the Wind being somewhat abated, we hoisted up our Sail, and so we drove not above two Leagues. The 27th, in the Morning, we continu'd our Course North-West with a South-East Wind, which carry'd us the same Day to *Missilimakinak*, where we anchor'd in a Bay at six Fathoms Water, upon a slimy white Bottom. That Bay is shelter'd by the Coast, and a Bank lying from the South-West to the North; but it lies expos'd to the South Winds, which are very violent in that Country.

*Missilimakinak* is a Neck of Land to the North of the Mouth of the Streight, through which the Lake of the *Illinois* discharges it self into the Lake *Huron*.<sup>1</sup> That Canal is about three Leagues long, and one broad. About fifteen Leagues to the Eastward of *Missilimakinak*, there is another Point at the Mouth of the Streight, whereby the upper Lake

---

<sup>1</sup> Reference is evidently made here, not to the island, but to that projection of the north shore which lies between East Moran and West Moran Bays, and terminates in *Pointe la Barbe*. At the western end of East Moran Bay is the present village of *St. Ignace*; here must have been their anchorage.—ED.

runs into that of *Huron*; which Streight is about five Leagues broad at its Mouth, and about fifteen Leagues long; but it grows narrow towards the Fall of *St. Mary*, which is a rapid Stream interrupted by several Rocks. However a Canow may go up by one side, but it requires a great Fatigue; and therefore the safest and easiest way is to make a Portage above the Fall, to go and trade with the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the upper Lake.

We lay between two different Nations of Savages; those who inhabit the Point of *Missilimakinak* are called *Hurons*, and the others, who are about three or four Leagues more Northward, are *Outtaouatz*.<sup>1</sup> Those Savages were equally surpriz'd to see [68] a Ship in their Country; and the Noise of our Cannon, of which we made a general Discharge, fill'd them with great astonishment. We went to see the *Outtaouatz*, and celebrated Mafs in their Habitation. *M. la Salle* was finely drefs'd, having a Scarlet Cloak with a broad Gold Lace, and most of his Men with their Arms attended him. The Chief Captains of that People receiv'd us with great Civilities after their own way, and some of them came on board with us to see our Ship, which rode all that while in the Bay or Creek I have spoken of. It was a diverting Prospekt to see every

---

<sup>1</sup> A name (with many variants), anglicized as Ottawas, originally signifying "forest dwellers," referring to a sedentary Algonquian tribe whom Champlain found (1615) at the southern end of Georgian Bay. During the seventeenth century they gradually migrated, retreating before the Iroquois, to the mainland north of Georgian Bay, by way of the Manitoulin Islands. Many Hurons, after the dispersion of their nation (1649-50) took refuge among the Ottawas. Various bands of Ottawas still reside in Michigan and Ontario, especially on Manitoulin Island. Full accounts of this people and their early history are given in *Jes. Relations* (see Index, *art.* Ottawas).—ED.

Day above fixscore Canou's about it, and the Savages staring and admiring that fine Woodden Canou, as they call'd it. They brought us abundance of Whitings, and some Trouts of 50 and 60 pound Weight.

We went the next Day to pay a Vifit to the *Hurons*, who inhabit a rifing Ground on a Neck of Land over-againft *Miffilimakinak*. Their Villages are fortifi'd with Pallifado's of 25 foot high, and always fituated upon Eminences or Hills. They receiv'd us with more Refpect than the *Outtaouatz*, for they made a triple Difcharge of all the fmall Guns they had, having learn'd from fome *Europeans*, that it is the greateft Civility amongft us. However, they took fuch a Jealoufie to our Ship, that, as we underftood fince, they endeavour'd to make our Expedition odious to all the Nations about them.

The *Hurons* and *Outtaouatz* are in Confederacy together againft the *Iroquefe* their Common Enemy. They fow *Indian* Corn, which is their ordinary Food; for they have nothing elfe to live upon, except fome Fish they take in the Lakes. They boil it with their *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Broth made with Water and the Flour of the Corn, which they beat in a Mortar, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire.

[69] There is another Settlement of Savages near the Fall of *St. Mary*. The *French* call them *Leapers*, becaufe they live near that great Fall which they call a *Leap*.<sup>1</sup> Thefe fubfift

---

<sup>1</sup> A poor translation of *sault*, a "fall of water," and *Sauteurs*, "dwellers at the Sault," the French appellation of the Ojibwas (more commonly known as Chipewas).—ED.

together by Hunting Staggs, Elks, Beavers, and other Beasts, as also upon the Whitings we have already spoken of; who are taken with so much difficulty in this Place, that none but themselves are able to catch any. They sow no *Indian* Corn, because of the thick Fogs that are commonly on the Banks of the upper Lake, which stifle Corn before it grows.

*Miffilimakinak* and the Fall of *St. Mary*, are the two most considerable Passages that all the Savages have of the West and North; for there are above two hundred Canou's that come through these Passes every Year, to carry their Commodities to the *French* at *Montreal* below *Fort Frontenac*.

Our Enterprize had been very successful hitherto; and we had reason to expect, that every body would have contributed to carry on vigorously our great Design to promote the Glory of God, as well as the Good of our Colonies: However, some of our own Men oppos'd it as much as they could; they represented us to the *Outtoauats* and their Neighbours as dangerous and ambitious Adventurers, who design'd to engross all the Trade of Furrs and Skins, and invade their Liberty, the only thing which is dear to that People. The fifteen Men that *M. la Salle* had sent before him, had been seduc'd and almost drawn from his Service. The Goods which he had given them to exchange with the Natives, were dissipated and wasted; and instead of advancing as far as the *Illinois*, as they were order'd, they remain'd amongst the *Hurons*, notwithstanding the Exhortations and the Prayers of *M. Tonti* who Commanded them.

Our Men went into the Country to trade with the Natives, and engag'd themselves too far; so that they did not return to *Missilimakinak* till *November*: [70] M. *la Salle* being told that the Winds made the Navigation of the Lake very dangerous in the beginning of the Winter, resolv'd to continue his Voyage without tarrying any longer for the return of his Men.



## CHAP. XXII.

*An Account of our Sailing from Missilimakinak, into the Lake of the Illinois.*

ON the 2d of September we weigh'd Anchor, and sail'd into the Lake of the *Illinois*; and came to an Island just at the Mouth of the Bay of the *Puans*, lying about forty Leagues from *Missilimakinak*: It is inhabited by some Savages of the Nation call'd *Poutouatami's*,<sup>1</sup> with whom some of the Men *M. la Salle* had sent the Year before, had barter'd a great quantity of *Furrs* and *Skins*. We found our Men in the Island, who began to be very impatient, having so long waited our arrival.

The chief of that Nation had been formerly in *Canada*, and had an extraordinary Respect for Count *Frontenac*, who was Governour thereof; and upon that account receiv'd us with all the civility imaginable, and caus'd his Men to dance the *Calumet*, or Pipe, before us. This is a piece of Civility we shall describe anon. Our Ship was riding in the Bay about thirty Paces from the furthest Point of the Land, at a pretty good Anchorage, where we rode safely, notwithstanding a violent Storm which lasted four Days. And upon

<sup>1</sup> Formerly named, on this account, *Isle des Pouteouatamis* ("Pottawattomic Island"); now *Washington Island*.—ED.

this occasion, I cannot omit, without Injustice, the Generosity of that Brave Captain, who seeing our Ship tofs'd up by the Waves, and not knowing it was able to resist, ventur'd himself in his little Canou, and came to our assistance. He had the good Luck to get safe on board, and [71] told us he would at all times venture his Life, for saving the Children of *Onnontio*, Governour of *Canada*, who was his particular Friend. It must be observ'd, that that Governour is call'd *Onnontio*<sup>1</sup> by all the Savages.

M. *la Salle*, without asking any body's Advice, resolv'd to send back his Ship to *Niagara*, laden with Furr and Skins to discharge his Debts; our Pilot and five Men with him were therefore sent back, and order'd to return with all imaginable speed, to join us toward the Southern Parts of the Lake, where we should stay for them among the *Illinois*. They sail'd the 18th of *September* with a Westerly Wind, and fir'd a Gun to take their leave. Tho' the Wind was favourable, it was never known what Course they steer'd, nor how they perish'd; for after all the Enquiries we have been able to make, we could never learn any thing else but the following Particulars.

The Ship came to an Anchor to the North of the Lake of the *Illinois*, where she was seen by some Savages, who told us that they advis'd our Men to sail along the Coast, and

---

<sup>1</sup> An Iroquois appellation, literally translating the name of Montmagny ("great Mountain"), first governor of Montreal. This name was afterward given, by the Hurons and Iroquois, to all governors of Canada and New York, and even to the monarchs of France and England. It was finally adopted also by the Algonquian tribes east of the Mississippi.—ED.

not towards the middle of the Lake, because of the Sands that make the Navigation dangerous when there is any high Wind. Our Pilot, as I said before, was dissatisfy'd, and would steer as he pleas'd, without hearkning to the Advice of the Savages, who, generally speaking, have more Sense than the *Europeans* think at first; but the Ship was hardly a League from the Coast, when it was toss'd up by a violent Storm in such a manner, that our Men were never heard of since; and it is suppos'd that the Ship struck upon a Sand, and was there bury'd. This was a great loss for M. *la Salle* and other Adventurers; for that Ship, with its Cargo, cost above sixty thousand Livres. This will seem incredible to many, but not to those who will consider that the Rigging, Anchors, and Goods were [72] brought by Canou's from *Quebec* to Fort *Frontenac*; which is such a vast Charge, that the Carriage of every hundred Weight, either of Anchors, Cabels, and the like, cost eleven Livres.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*An Account of our Embarkment in Canows to continue our Discovery, from the Bay of Puans, to the Miamis on the Lake of the Illinois.*

WE left the *Poutouatamis* on the 19th of *September* to continue our Voyage, being fourteen Men in all, in four Canou's. I had the Conduct of the smallest, though it carry'd 500 Weight and two Men; but my Fellow being newly come from *Europe*, and consequently unskill'd to manage these sort of Boats, I had the whole trouble upon me in any stormy Weather. The other four Canou's were laden with a Smith's Forge, and Instruments, and Tools for Carpenters, Joyners, and Sawers, besides our Goods and Arms.

We steer'd to the South towards the Continent, from which the Island of the *Poutouatamis* is near forty Leagues distant; but about the middle of the way, in the Night-time, we were surpriz'd with a sudden Storm, whereby we were in great danger. The Waves came into our Canou's; and the Night was so dark, that we had much ado to keep Company together: However, we got a-shoar the next Day, where we continu'd till the Lake grew calm again, which was four Days after. In the mean time our Savage went a Hunting, but could kill nothing but a *Porcupine*, which made our Gourds and *Indian* Corn more relishing.

[73] The Weather being fair, we continu'd our Voyage the 25th, and row'd all the Day, and best part of the Night, all along the Western Coast of the Lake of the *Illinois*; but the Wind growing too high for us, we thought fit to land upon a Rock, where we had nothing to shelter our selves against the Snow and the Rain but our Blankets. We continu'd there two Days, having made a little Fire with the Wood the Waves did supply us with. The 28th we proceeded on our Voyage; but the Wind forc'd us towards Night on a Rock cover'd with thick Bushes, where we remain'd three Days, and there made an end of all our Provisions, which consisted of Gourds and *Indian* Corn we had brought from the *Poutouatami's*. Our Canou's were so loaded, that we could not provide our selves for a longer time, and we expected to find provisions enough in our way.

We left that dismal Place the 1st of *October*, and after twelve Leagues rowing, though fasting, came to another Village of the *Poutouatami's*, who came upon the Shoar to receive us: But *M. la Salle* would not suffer any one to land, lest his Men should run away; and notwithstanding the bad Weather, we follow'd him three Leagues farther. We were in so great danger, that he flung himself into the Water with his three Men, and carry'd a-shoar their Canou upon their Shoulders, for else it had been broken to pieces. We were all oblig'd to do the same; and by these means sav'd our Canou's and Goods. I carry'd upon my Back that good Man Father *Gabriel*, whose great Age did not permit him to venture himself into the Water.

As we had no manner of Acquaintance with the Savages of the Village near which we landed, our Men prepar'd themselves to make a vigorous Defence in case they were attack'd; and in order to it, possessed our selves of a rising Ground, where we could not [74] be surpriz'd, and where we might make head against a great number of Savages. We sent afterwards three Men to buy Provisions in the Village with the *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, which the *Poutouatami's* of the Island had given us. I had forgot to mention that when they made us that Present, they observ'd a great many Ceremonies; and because that *Calumet* of Peace is the most sacred Thing amongst the Savages, I think fit to describe the same in the next Chapter.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*A Description of the Calumet, or Great Pipe.*

**T**HIS *Calumet* is the most mysterious Thing in the World among the Savages of the Continent of the Northern America; for it is us'd in all their important Transactions: However, it is nothing else but a large Tobacco-Pipe made of Red, Black, or White Marble: The Head is finely polish'd, and the *Quill*, which is commonly two Foot and a half long; is made of a pretty strong Reed, or Cane, adorn'd with Feathers of all Colours, interlac'd with Locks of Womens Hair. They tie to it two Wings of the most curious Birds they find, which makes their *Calumet* not much unlike *Mercury's* Wand, or that Staff Ambassadors did formerly carry when they went to treat of Peace. They sheath that Reed into the Neck of Birds they call *Huars*,<sup>1</sup> which are as big as our Geese, and spotted with Black and White; or else of a sort of Ducks who make their Nests upon Trees, though Water be their ordinary Element, and whose Feathers are of many different Colours. However, every Nation adorns the *Calumet* as they think fit according to their own Genius and the Birds they have in their Country.

[75] A Pipe, such as I have describ'd it, is a Pafs and safe

<sup>1</sup>This word means "loons," according to Shea (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 113, note †).—ED.

Conduct amongst all the Allies of the Nation who has given it; and in all Embassies, the Ambassadors carry that *Calumet* as the Symbol of Peace, which is always respected; for the Savages are generally persuaded, that a great Misfortune would befall 'em, if they violated the Publick Faith of the *Calumet*. All their Enterprizes, Delarations of War, or Conclusion of Peace, as well as all the rest of their Ceremonies, are sealed, if I may be permitted to say so, with this *Calumet*. They fill that Pipe with the best Tobacco they have, and then present it to those with whom they have concluded any great Affair, and smook out of the same after them.<sup>1</sup> I had certainly perisht in my Voyage, had it not been for this *Calumet* or Pipe, as the Reader will observe in perusing the following Account.

Our three Men, provided with this Pipe as a Pass, and very well Arm'd, went to the little Village of the Savages, which was about three Leagues from the place where we landed; but they found no body therein; for the Savages having heard that we had refus'd to land at the other Village, thought we were Enemies, and therefore had left their Habitation. Our Men finding no body in their Cabins, took some *Indian* Corn, and left in stead of it some Goods, to let them see that we were no Robbers, nor their Enemies. However, the Savages, to the number of twenty Men, arm'd with Axes, small Guns, Bows, and a sort of Club, which in their

---

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the use and importance of the calumet, or peace-pipe, see *Jes. Relations*, xii, p. 277; xxvi, 157, 161; xxviii, 295, 299; lviii, 97-99; lix, 115-119, 131; lxii, 267; lxx, 123-125, 267; lxxviii, 159-161, 195, 203. See also Perrot's *Mémoire* (Tailhan's ed.), pp. 99, 100.—ED.



Language they call *Break-heads*,<sup>1</sup> advanc'd near the Place where we stood; whereupon M. *la Salle*, with four Men very well arm'd, went toward them to speak with them, and desir'd them to come near us, for fear, as he said, a Party of our Men, who were gone a Hunting, should meet with them and kill them. They were persuaded to sit down at the foot of the Eminence where we were posted, and M. *la* [76] *Salle* spoke to them all the while of the subject matter of his Voyage, which he had undertaken for their good and advantage, as he told them. This was only to amuse them till our three Men return'd; who appearing with the *Calumet* of Peace, the Savages made a great Shout, and rose, and began to dance. We made them some Excuse because of our Men having taken some of their Corn, and told them they had left the true Value of it in Goods; which they took so well, that they sent immediately for more, and gave us the next Day as much as we could conveniently carry in our Canou's. They retir'd towards the Evening; and M. *la Salle* order'd some Trees to be cut down, and laid cross the way, to prevent any Surprise from the Savages.

The next Morning about ten a Clock, the Oldest of them came to us with their *Calumet* of Peace, and entertain'd us with some wild Goats they had taken. We return'd them our Thanks, and presented them with some Axes, Knives, and several little Toys for their Wives, with which they were very much pleas'd.

---

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *casse-tête*, war-club; thus described by the missionary Sebastian Rale (*Jes. Relations*, lxvii, pp. 171, 173): "The war-club is made of a deer's horn or of wood, shaped like a cutlass, with a large ball at the end."—ED.

## CHAP. XXV.

*A Continuation of our Discovery; with an Account of our Navigation to the farther End of the Lake of the Illinois in our Canous.*

WE left that Place the 2d of *October*, and continu'd our Voyage all along the Coast of the Lake, which is so steep that we could hardly find any Place to land; and the Violence of the Wind oblig'd us to drag our Canou's sometimes to the top of the Rocks, to prevent their being dash'd in pieces by the Waves. The stormy Weather [77] lasted four Days, during which we suffer'd very much; for every time we went a-shoar we were forc'd to step into the Water, and carry our Canou's upon our Shoulders, and to do the like when we embark'd again. The Water being very cold, most of us were sick, and our Provisions fail'd us again; which, together with the Fatigues of Rowing, caus'd old Father *Gabriel* to faint away in such a manner, that I verily thought he could not live; however, I brought him again to his Senses by means of some Confection of *Hyacinth*,<sup>1</sup> which I found very useful in our Voyage. We had no other Subsistence but a handful of *Indian* Corn once every four and twenty Hours, which we roasted, or else boyled in Water;

<sup>1</sup>The jacinth or hyacinth, a precious stone (the silicate of zircon), was formerly believed to possess medicinal virtues, and may often be found in old formulas.—ED.

and yet we row'd almost every Day from Morning 'till Night. Our Men found some Hawthorn-Berries and other wild Fruit, which they ate so greedily, that most of them fell sick, and were thought to be poison'd; yet the more we suffer'd, the more by the Grace of God I was strong and vigorous; so that I could often outrow all our other Canou's.

Being in that distress, He that takes care of the meanest Creatures, afforded us an unexpected Relief; We saw upon the Coast a great many Ravens and Eagles; from whence we conjectur'd that there was some Prey; and having landed on that Place, we found above the half of a fat wild Goat, which the Wolves had strangled. This Provision was very acceptable to us, and the rudest of our Men could not but praise the Divine Providence, who took so particular a care of us.

Having thus refresh'd our selves, we continu'd our Voyage directly to the Southern Parts of the Lake, finding every day the Country finer, and the Weather more temperate. On the 16th of *October* we met with abundance of Game: Our Savage kill'd several Staggs and wild Goats, and our Men [78] a great many Turkey-Cocks very fat and big, where-with we provided our selves for several Days, and so embark'd again. On the 18th we came to the farther end of the Lake, where we landed: Our Men were immediately sent to view the Country round about that Place, and found a great quantity of ripe Grapes, each Grain of which was as big as a Damascen<sup>1</sup>: We fell'd several Trees to gather them, and made pretty good Wine, which we kept in Gourds, and

<sup>1</sup> In modern form "damson," a small black plum.—ED.

bury'd in Sand to prevent its growing four. All the Trees in that Country are loaded with Vines, which, if cultivated, would make as good Wine as any in *Europe*. That Fruit was more relishing to us than Flesh, because we wanted Bread.

Our Men discover'd some fresh Prints of Mens Feet, which oblig'd us to stand upon our Guard, without making any Noise till we had rested some time. That Order was not long observ'd; for one of our Men having espy'd a Bear upon a Tree, shot him down dead, and dragg'd him to our Cabins. *M. la Salle* was very angry with him, and to avoid any Surprise, put a Sentinal near our Canou's, under which we had put our Goods to shelter 'em from the Rain.

There were sixscore Savages of the Nation of the *Outouagamis*<sup>1</sup> inhabiting the Bay of *Puans*, encamp'd not far from us; who having heard the Noise our Man had made, took the Alarm, and sent some of their Men to discover who we were. These creeping upon their Bellies, and keeping great Silence, came in the Night to our Canou's, and stole away the Coat of *M. la Salle's* Footman, and part of the Goods that were under it: But the Sentinel having heard some Noise, call'd us, and every body run to his Arms. The Savages being discover'd, and thinking we were more numerous, cry'd, That they were Friends; but we answer'd them, That Friends did not come in so unseasonable Hours; and that [79] they look'd rather like Robbers, who design'd to

---

<sup>1</sup> The Algonquian tribe called Outagamis (Fr. *Rénards*, Eng. *Foxes*), resident in Eastern and Central Wisconsin. For full accounts of this people, and of their wars with other tribes and with the French, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. xvi (Madison, 1902).—ED.

murder us: Their Captain reply'd, That having heard the Noife of a Gun, and knowing that none of their Neighbours use Fire-Arms, they thought we were a Party of *Iroquefe*, and were come with a Defign to murder them; but that understanding we were some *Europeans* of *Canada*, whom they lov'd as their Brethren, they could hardly wait till Day to vifit us, and fmoak in our *Calumet*, or large Pipe. This is the ufual Compliment of the Savages, and the greateft Mark they can give of their Affection.

We feem'd to be fatisfy'd with their Reafons, and gave leave to four of them only to come to us, telling them that we would not fuffer a great number becaufe their Youth was addicted to fteal, and that our Men could not fuffer it. Four old Men came to us, whom we entertain'd till Day, and then they retir'd. After they were gone, we found we had been robb'd; and knowing the Genius of the Savages, and that if we did fuffer this Affront, we fhould be expos'd every Night to their Infults; it was refolv'd to exact Satisfaction from them: Accordingly *M. la Salle* went abroad with fome of our Men, to endeavour to take fome of them Prifoners; and having difcover'd one of their Hunters, he feiz'd him, and examin'd him concerning the Robbery they had committed: He confefs'd the Fact, with all the Circumftances; where-upon he left him to the cuftody of two Men; and advancing farther into the Country, took another, whom he brought along with him, and having fhew'd him his Companion, fent him back to tell their Captain, That he would kill him, unlefs they return'd what they had robb'd.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*An Account of the Peace made between us and the Outtougami's.*

THE Savages were mightily puzzl'd at the Message sent by *M. la Salle*; for having cut in pieces the Coat, and other Goods they had stoll'n, and divided the Buttons, they could not make a full Restitution; and therefore they resolv'd to deliver their Man by force; and accordingly the next Morning, *October 30*, they advanc'd to attack us. The *Peninsula* where we were encamp'd, was separated from the Forest, where the Savages lay, by a little sandy Plain; and there being near the Wood two or three Eminences, *M. la Salle* resolv'd to possess himself of the higher, and detach'd five Men for that Service, following himself at a little distance with the rest, every one having roll'd his Covering about the left Arm, to defend themselves against the Arrows of the Savages; for there was not above eight of them who had Fire-Arms.

The Savages seeing our Men advancing up to them, were frighted; and the youngest retir'd behind a great Tree, but their Captains stood their ground, while we possessed our selves of the Eminence I have already mention'd. I left the two *Franciscans* reading the usual Prayers, and went with our Men to exhort them to their duty; for having seen some Battels and Sieges in *Europe*, I was very little afraid of the

Savages. I saw two of our Men turning pale; but when I had spoken to them, they seem'd hearty enough; and *M. la Salle* was mightily pleas'd with my Exhortations. However I consider'd the consequence this Quarrel might have, and how advantageous and Christian-like it would be to prevent [81] the effusion of Blood, and end it in a friendly manner; therefore I advanc'd towards the oldest Savage, who seeing me without any Arms, thought I came with a design to be Mediator, and receiv'd me with Civility; but in the mean time one of our Men having observ'd, that one of the Savages had a piece of the Cloth they had stoll'n about his Head, came up to him, and snatch'd it away. That vigorous Action so much terrify'd the Savages, that though they were near sixscore Men against eleven, they presented me the Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which I receiv'd. *M. la Salle* having pass'd his Word that they might come safe to him, two old Men told him in a Speech, That they did not approve what their young Men had done: That they would have restor'd the Goods taken, if it had been possible; but that having been cut in pieces, they could do no more but offer to restore what was not spoil'd, and pay for the rest. They presented us at the same time with some Gowns made of Beavers-Skins to appease *M. la Salle*, who having frown'd a little, told them, That as he design'd to wrong or affront no body, he would neither suffer any wrong or affront to be put upon him; but that seeing they did not approve what their Youth had done, and were willing to make satisfaction for the same, he accepted their Offers, and would be their Friend.

The Conditions were fully perform'd, and the Peace happily concluded without farther Hostility.

The next Day was spent in Dancing, Feasting, and Speeches; and the Chief Captain having taken a particular notice of the Behaviour of the *Franciscans*, said, *These Grey Coats we value very much; they go barefoot as well as we: They scorn our Beaver-Gowns, and refuse all other Presents: They carry no Arms to kill us: They flatter and make much of our Children, and give them Knives and other Toys, without expecting any Reward. Those amongst us who have been in Canada, tell us, That [82] Onnontio (so they call the Governour) loves them very much; and that they have quitted all to come to see us. Therefore be pleas'd, Thou who art Captain of these Men, to leave amongst us one of these Grey Coats, whom we shall bring to our Village, when we have kill'd wild Bulls,<sup>1</sup> and make much of him. Thou art likewise Master of these Warriours, and therefore remain amongst us, instead of going among the Illinois, who have resolv'd to murther thee and all thy Soldiers: And how canst thou resist so great a Nation?*

The Captain of the Savages told us, that the *Illinois* had burnt alive an *Iroquese*, who confests'd that the War the *Iroquese* made against them, had been fomented by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who hated them. He told us also many other things, which frightened our Men, and made *M. la Salle* very melancholly; for all the Savages we had already met, had told us almost the same thing. However, knowing how great

---

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the buffalo, which was usually called, by early writers and explorers, "wild cow," or "wild ox."—ED.



was the Malice of our Enemies, and therefore suspecting that these things might have been suggested to the Savages, in order to oblige us to give over our Enterprize; or else that it was a Contrivance of the Neighbours of the *Illinois*, who were afraid that they should grow too powerful, if we taught them the use of Fire-Arms, we resolv'd to go on with our Voyage, taking in the mean time all necessary Precautions for our Security. We told the *Outtouagami's*, That we were much oblig'd to them for their kind Offers and Advice; but that we were not afraid of the *Illinois*; for the *Spirits* know how to gain the Friendship of any Nation, by Reason or by Force. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the Savages being not able to conceive how the *Europeans* can have more Wit than they, and admiring some Toys and other Things we bring from *Europe*, own that they are but Men, but that we are *Spirits*, and therefore call us so.<sup>1</sup>

[83] The next Day, *November 1*, we embark'd on the Lake of the *Illinois*, and came to the Mouth of the River of the *Miami's*,<sup>2</sup> which runs from the South, and falls into the Lake. We had appointed that Place for our Rendezvous, and expected to meet there the twenty Men we had left at *Missilimakinak*; who being order'd to come along the other Coast of the Lake, had a much shorter cut than we, and besides their Canou's were not so much loaded as ours. However, we found no body there, nor any Mark whereby it could appear that they had been in that Place. We resolv'd to tell

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. La Potherie's *Amérique Septentrionale*, ii, pp. 87-89.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> An early appellation of the St. Joseph River, on which were settled part of the Miami tribe; an easy portage therefrom to the Kankakee caused this route to be generally used by travelers from Michillimackinac to the Illinois settlements.—ED.

M. *la Salle*, that it was not fit to tarry any longer for them, nor expose our selves to the Hardship of the Winter; and that it would be then very difficult to meet with the *Illinois*, because they divided themselves into Tribes or Families, to subsist more conveniently; that if we were forc'd to remain there during the Winter, and that the Game should come to fail us, all his Men would certainly perish with Hunger; whereas we might expect to find some *Indian* Corn amongst the *Illinois*, who would rather supply with Provisions fourteen Men than two and thirty. We told him likewise, that it would be in a manner impossible to continue our Voyage till the Winter was over, if he tarry'd any longer, because the Rivers would be frozen all over, and therefore we could not make use of our Canou's. Notwithstanding these Reasons, M. *la Salle* told us, that it was necessary to expect the rest of his Men, because we should be then in a Condition to discover our selves to the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them; whereas we should be expos'd to their Mercy and Scorn, if we offer'd to enter their Country with so few Men; but that in the mean time he would endeavour to meet with some of that Nation, and gain them by Presents to learn their Language; concluding, that although all his Men should run away, he would remain alone [84] with our Savage, and find means to maintain the Three Missionaries, meaning I and my two Brethren.

Having therefore call'd his Men together, he told them, That he was resolv'd to expect the rest of their Companions; and propos'd to build a Fort in that Place for securing our

Ship; for we did not know then that it had perish'd; as also to secure our Goods and our selves too, in case of any Disgrace. Our Men seem'd very much dissatisfied; but he us'd so many Reasons, that they told him at last, they would entirely follow his Direction.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*An Account of the Building of a Fort and a House near the River of Miamis.*

**J**UST at the Mouth of the River, there was an Eminence, with a kind of a Platform naturally fortify'd: It was pretty high and steep, of a Triangular Form, defended on two sides by the River, and on the other by a deep Ditch, which the Fall of Waters had made. We fell'd the Trees that were on the top of that Hill, and having clear'd the same from Bushes for about two Musket-shot, we began to build a Redoubt of forty Foot long, and eighty broad, with great square pieces of Timber laid one upon the other; and prepar'd a great Number of Stakes of about twenty five Foot long, to drive into the Ground, to make our Fort the more unaccessible on the River side. We imploy'd the whole Month of *November* about that Work, which was very hard, though we had no other Food but the Bears-flesh our Savage kill'd. Those Beasts are very common in that place, because of the great quantity of Grapes they find there; but their Flesh [85] being too fat and luscious, our Men began to be weary of it, and desir'd leave to go a hunting, to kill some wild Goats. *M. la Salle* deny'd them that Liberty, which caus'd some Murmurs amongst them; and it was but un-

willingly that they continu'd their Work. This together with the approach of the Winter, and the apprehension M. *la Salle* had that his Ship was lost, made him very melancholy, though he conceal'd it as much as he could. We had made a Cabin, wherein we perform'd Divine Service every *Sunday*, and Father *Gabriel* and I, who preach'd alternatively, took care to take such Texts as were suitable to our present Circumstances, and fit to inspire us with Courage, Concord, and brotherly Love. Our Exhortations produc'd a very good Effect, and hindred our Men from deserting, as they design'd.

We founded in the mean time, the Mouth of the River, and having found a Sand on which our Ship might strike, we fix'd two great posts therein, to which we fastned Bear-Skins as so many Buoyes to direct the Course of our Ship through the Channel she ought to pass; and for a greater Precaution, two Men were sent back to *Miffilimakinak*, to wait there till the return of our Ship, and serve as Pilots.

The 20th of *November* M. *Tonti* arriv'd with two Canou's laden with Stags and Deers, which was a welcom Refreshment to our Men, but he did not bring above half of our Men with him, the rest being left on the other side of the Lake, within three Days Journey from our Fort. M. *la Salle* was very angry with him upon that Account, being afraid that they would run away.

They told us that our Ship had not put into the Bay of *Miffilimakinak*, as they were order'd, and that they had heard nothing of her since we sail'd, notwithstanding they had enquir'd as much as they could, from the Savages inhabiting

the Coast of the Lake. This confirm'd the Suspicion, or rather the [86] Belief we had that she was cast away: However, M. *la Salle* continu'd the Building of his Fort, which was at last perfected, and call'd *Fort Miamis*.

The Winter drawing so nigh, and M. *la Salle* being afraid that the Ice would stop his Voyage, sent back M. *Tonti* to fetch the Men he had left, and command them to come to him immediately; but meeting with a violent Storm, their Canou was driven against the Coast, and broke in pieces, whereby they lost their Guns and Equipage, and were oblig'd to return over-land. Few Days after, all our Men arriv'd except two, who deserted; so that we prepar'd our selves to continue our Voyage, the Rains that fell about that time having melted the Ice, and made the Rivers navigable.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*A Continuation of our Voyage from Fort Miamis to the River of the Illinois.*

WE embark'd on the *Third of December*, being Three and thirty Men in Eight Canou's, and having left the Lake of the *Illinois*, went up the River *Miamis*, which we had founded before. We made about five and twenty Leagues to the South-Weſt, but cou'd not diſcover the Place where we were to land, and carry our Canou's and Equipage into the River of the *Illinois*, which falls into that of *Mefchaſipi*; that is, in the Language of the *Illinois*, the *Great River*. We had already paſſed the place of the *Portage*, but not knowing whereabouts we were, we thought fit to ſtay there, to expect *M. la Salle*, who was landed to view the Country: We ſtaid a great while, and ſeeing he did not come, I went very far into the Woods with two of our Men, who fir'd their Guns to give him notice of the Place [87] where we were; and in the mean time two others went up the River in their Canou, in order to find him out; but all our Endeavours were in vain, ſo that we return'd towards Evening.

The next Day I went up the River my ſelf, but hearing nothing of him, I came back, and found our Men very much perplex'd, fearing he was loſt; but about four a-clock in the

Afternoon he return'd to us, having his Face and Hands as black as Pitch. He brought along with him two Beasts as big as Musk'd Rats, whose Skins was very fine, and like Ermins. He had kill'd them with a Stick, as they hung by their Tails to the Boughs of Trees.<sup>1</sup>

He told us, that the Marshes he had met in his way, had oblig'd him to fetch a great Compass; and that being much annoy'd by the Snow which fell very thick, it was past Midnight before he could arrive upon the Banks of the River; where he fir'd his Gun twice, and that hearing no answer, he concluded we were gone up higher, and had therefore march'd that way. He added, that after three Hours March, he saw a Fire upon a little Hill, whither he went directly, and hail'd us several Times, but hearing no Answer, he approach'd and found no Body near the Fire, but only some dry Herbs, upon which a Man was a little while afore laid, as he conjectur'd, because they were still warm. He suppos'd that it was a Savage, who lay thereabouts in an Ambuscade, and therefore call'd to him in two or three Languages; but no Body answering, he cry'd as loud as he could, that to shew he was not afraid of him, he was going to lie in his room. However, for fear of any Surprize, he cut several Boughs and Bushes, to imbarass the way, and sat down by the Fire, which had made his Hands and Face black, as I have observ'd. Having thus warm'd and rested himself, he lay down upon the dry Herbs the Savage had gather'd under a Tree,

---

<sup>1</sup>The opossum, or tree-rat (*Didelphys Virginiana*).—ED.



and slept very [88] well, notwithstanding the Frost and Snow. Father *Gabriel* and I desir'd him to remain with his Men, and not expose himself for the future, because the Success of our Enterprize depended only upon him; and he promis'd us to follow our Advice.

Our Savage, who remain'd behind for hunting, finding none of us at the Place of the *Portage*, came up higher on the River, and told us, we had mist it; therefore he was sent back with all our Canou's, except one which I kept; for M. *la Salle* was so weary, that he was oblig'd to lie there that Night. I made a little Cabin with Mats of Marish Rushes, wherein we lay together, but were in great danger of being burnt, for it took fire by an unhappy Accident, while we were fast asleep. The next Morning we joy'n'd our Men at the Place of *Portage*, where Father *Gabriel* had made the Day before several Crosses upon the Trees, that we might not miss it another time. We found there a great quantity of Horns and Bones of wild Bulls, as also some Canou's the Savages had made with the Skins of Beasts, to cross the River with their Provisions. This *Portage* lies at the farther End of a large Champion piece of Ground; and at the other End, to the West, lies a Village of the Savages *Miami's*, *Mascouteins*, and *Oiatinon*,<sup>1</sup> who live together. The River of the *Illinois* has its Source near that Village, and springs out of some

---

<sup>1</sup>All these were Algonquian tribes; the Miamis were closely related to the Illinois. The Mascoutens had dwelt in Wisconsin, whence part of the tribe migrated southward — finding their way, in the early part of the eighteenth century, as far as the Ohio River. The Ouiatanons (called Weas by the English) were settled mainly along the Wabash River.— ED.

marshy Lands, which are as so many Quagmires, that one can scarcely walk over them. The Head of the River is only a League and half from that of *Miamis*, and so our *Portage* was not long. We mark'd the way from Place to Place with some Trees for the convenience of those we expected after us; and left at the *Portage*, as well as Fort *Miamis*, Letters hanging down from the Trees, containing M. *la Salle's* Instructions to our Pilot, and the other five and twenty Men, who were to come with him.

[89] CHAP. XXIX.

*An Account of our Embarkment at the Head of the River of the Illinois.*

THIS River is navigable within a hundred Paces from its Source; I mean for Canou's of Bark of Trees, and not for others; but it increases so much a little way from thence, that it is as deep and broad as the *Meuse* and the *Sambre* joyn'd together. It runs through vast Marshes, and though it be rappid enough, it makes so many Turnings and Windings, that after a whole Day's Journey, we found we were hardly two Leagues from the Place we left in the Morning. That Country is nothing but Marshes full of Alder-Trees and Rushes; and we could have hardly found for forty Leagues together, any Place to plant our Cabins, had it not been for the Frost, which made the Earth more firm and solid.

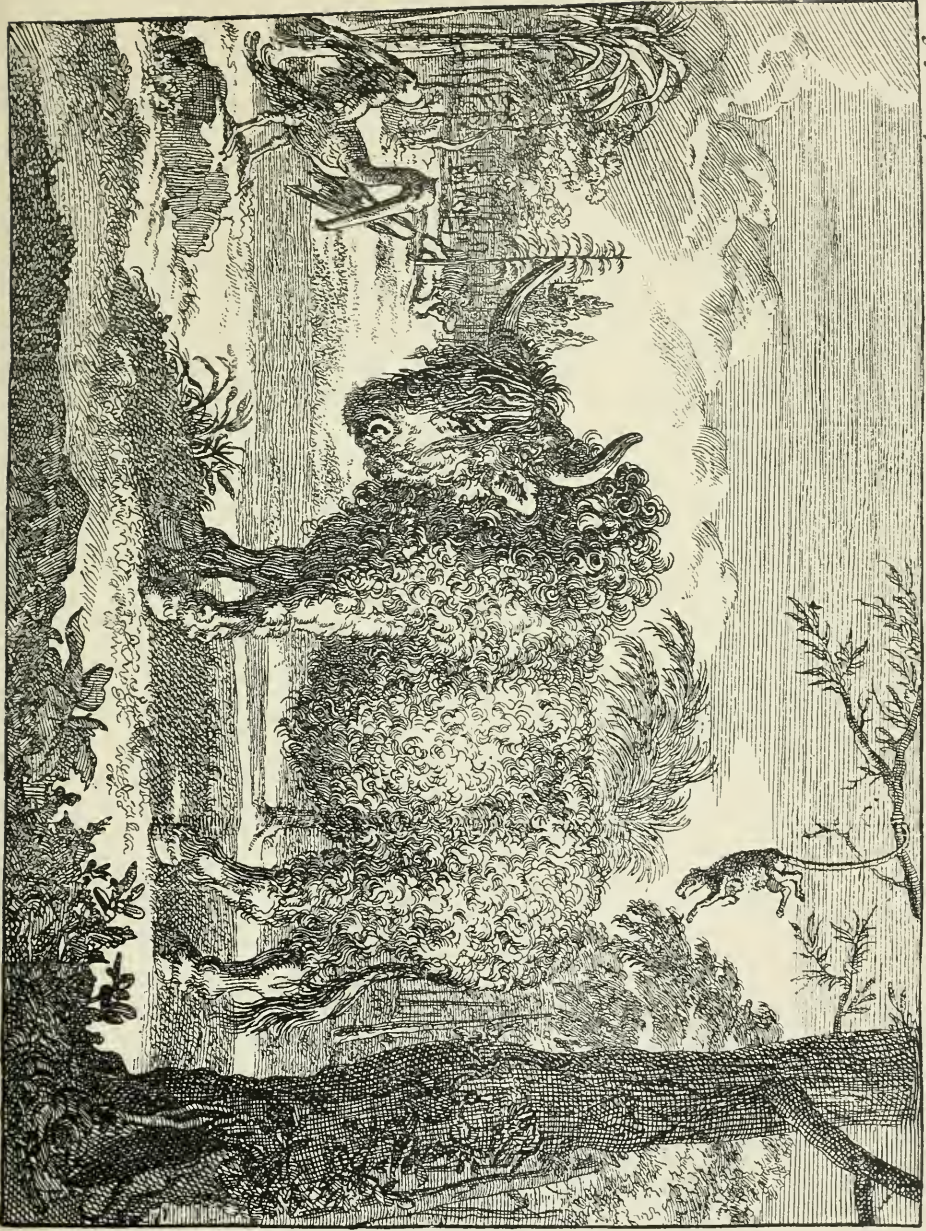
Having past through great Marshes, we found a vast Plain, on which nothing grows but only some Herbs, which were dry at that time, and burnt, because the *Miami's* set them on fire every Year, in their hunting wild Bulls, as I shall mention anon. We found no manner of Game, which was a great Disappointment to us, our Provisions beginning to fail. Our Men travell'd about sixty Miles without killing any thing else but a lean Stag, a small wild Goat, some few Swans, and two

Buffards, which was no sufficient Maintenance for two and thirty Men. Most of them were so weary of this laborious Life, that they would have run away, if possible, and gone to the Savages, who were not very far from us, as we judg'd by the great Fires we saw in the Plain. There must be an innumerable [90] quantity of wild Bulls in that Country, since the Earth is cover'd with their Horns. The *Miami's* hunt them towards the latter end of *Autumn*.

We continu'd our Course upon this River very near the whole Month of *December*; but toward the latter end of the said Month, 1679, we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*, which lies near one hundred and thirty Leagues from Fort *Miamis*, on the Lake of the *Illinois*.<sup>1</sup> We suffer'd very much in this Passage; for the Savages having set the Herbs of the Plain on fire, the wild Bulls were fled away, and so we could kill but one, and some Turkey-Cocks. God's Providence supported us all the while; and when we thought that the Extremities we were reduc'd to, were past all hopes of Remedy, we found a prodigious big wild Bull, lying fast in the Mud of the River. We kill'd him and had much ado to get him out of the Mud. This was a great Refreshment to our Men, and reviv'd their Courage; for being so timely and unexpectedly reliev'd, they concluded that God approv'd our Design.

---

<sup>1</sup>This village was located near the site of the present Utica, Ill.; it was here that Marquette (1675) and Allouez (1677) founded the Illinois mission, among the Kaskaskia tribe. For description, population, etc., see Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 156, note 2.—ED.





## CHAP. XXX.

*A Description of the Hunting of the wild Bulls and Cows, by the Savages; Of the bigness of those Beasts; and of the Advantages and Improvements that may be made of the Plain where they Pasture; and of the Woods thereabouts.*

WHEN the Savages discover a great Number of those Beasts together, they likewise assemble their whole Tribe to encompass the Bulls, and then set on fire the dry Herbs about them, except in some places, which they leave free; and therein lay themselves in Ambuscade. The Bulls seeing the Flame round about them, run away through those [91] Passages where they see no Fire; and there fall into the Hands of the Savages, who by these Means will kill sometimes above sixscore in a day. They divide these Beasts according to the number of each Family; and send their Wives to flay them, and bring the Flesh to their Cabins. These Women are so lusty and strong, that they carry on their Back two or three hundred weight, besides their Children; and notwithstanding that Burthen, they run as swiftly as any of our Soldiers with their Arms.

Those Bulls have a very fine Coat, more like Wooll than Hair, and their Cows have it longer than the Males; their Horns are almost black, and much thicker, though somewhat

shorter than those of *Europe*: Their Head is of a prodigious Bigness, as well as their Neck very thick, but at the same time exceeding short: They have a kind of Bump between the two Shoulders: Their Legs are big and short, cover'd with long Wooll; and they have between the two Horns an ugly Bush of Hair, which falls upon their Eyes, and makes them look horrid.

The Flesh of these Beasts is very relishing, and full of Juice, especially in *Autumn*; for having grazed all the Summer long in those vast Meadows, where the Herbs are as high as they, they are then very fat. There is also amongst them abundance of Stags, Deers, and wild Goats; and that nothing might be wanting in that Country, for the Convenience of those Creatures, there are Forests at certain distances, where they retire to rest, and shelter themselves against the violence of the Sun.

They change their Country according to the Seasons of the Year; for upon the approach of the Winter, they leave the North to go to the Southern Parts. They follow one another, so that you may see a Drove of them for above a League together, and stop all at the same place; and the Ground where they use to lie is cover'd with wild Purslain; which makes [92] me believe, that the Cows Dung is very fit to produce that Herb. Their Ways are as beaten as our great Roads, and no Herb grows therein. They swim over the Rivers they meet in their Way, to go and graze in other Meadows. But the Care of the Cows for their Young Ones, cannot be too much admir'd; for there being in those Meadows a great quantity of Wolves, who might surprize them,



they go to calve in the Islands of the Rivers, from whence they don't stir till the young Calves are able to follow them; for then they can protect them against any Beast whatsoever.

These Bulls being very convenient for the Subsistence of the Savages, they take care not to scare them from their Country; and they pursue only those whom they have wounded with their Arrows: But these Creatures multiply in such a manner, that notwithstanding the great Numbers they kill every Year, they are as numerous as ever.

The Women spin the Wooll of these Bulls, and make Sacks thereof to carry their Flesh in, which they dry in the Sun, or broil upon Gridirons. They have no Salt, and yet they prepare their Flesh so well, that it keeps above four Months without breeding any Corruption; and it looks then so fresh, that one wou'd think it was newly kill'd. They commonly boil it, and drink the Broth of it instead of Water. This is the ordinary Drink of all the Savages of *America*, who have no Commerce with the *Europeans*. We follow'd their Example in this particular; and it must be confes'd, that that Broath is very wholesome.

The Skin of one of those Bulls usually weighs about six-score Pound; but the Savages make use only of the thinnest part, as that of the Belly, which they dress with the Brains of all sorts of Beasts, and thereby make it as soft as our *Shamoi's* Skins. They paint them with several Colours, and adorn with pieces [93] of Porcupine-Skins, red and white,<sup>1</sup> the

---

<sup>1</sup> Hennepin apparently refers to the embroidery done by Indian women, among nearly all Northern tribes, with quills from the porcupine; these are dyed in various colors.—ED.

Gowns they make thereof, to appear splendidly at Feasts, and on other solemn Occasions. They make other Gowns against cold Weather, wherewith they cover themselves during the Winter; but these plain Gowns, cover'd with curl'd Wooll, are, in my Opinion, the finest as well as the best.

When they kill any Cows, their young Calves follow them, and lick their Hands. They bring them to their Children, who eat them, after having for some time play'd with them. They keep the Hoofs of those little Creatures, and when they are very dry, they tie them to some Wand, and move them according to the various Postures of those who sing and dance. This is the most ridiculous Musical Instrument that I ever met with.

These young Calves might be easily tam'd, and made use of to plow the Land, which would be very advantageous to the Savages. These Bulls find in all Seasons Forrage to subsist by; for if they are surpriz'd in the Northern Countries by the Snow, before they can reach the Southern Parts, they have the dexterity to remove the Snow, and eat the Grass under it. They bellow like our *European* Bulls, but not so frequently.

Though these Bulls are taller and bigger than those of *Europe*, they are however so swift, that no Savage can overtake them: They are so timorous, that they run away from any Man, except when they are wounded; for then they are dangerous, and often kill the Savage who pursues them. 'Tis a diverting Prospect to see near the Banks of the Rivers,

several Drovers of those Bulls of about four or five hundred together, grazing in those green Meadows.

There are several other Beasts in that Country, as I observ'd in my Account of *Louisiana*, as Stags, wild Goats, Beavers, and Otters; there are also Bustards, which have an excellent Taste; Swans, Tortoises, [94] Turkey-Cocks, Parrots, and Partridges. There are also an incredible quantity of Pelicans, whose Bills are of a prodigious Size; and a great many other sorts of Birds, and other Beasts.

The Rivers are plentifully stock'd with Fish, and the Soil is very fertile. The Forests afford all manner of Timber fit for Building, and especially Oak; which is there much better than in *Canada*, and would be excellent for building Ships. That Timber might be squar'd, saw'd, and ready prepar'd upon the Spot, and brought over into *Europe*; which would be very convenient, and give time to the Trees of our Forests to grow, whereas they are in a manner exhausted.

There are in those Forests abundance of Trees bearing good Fruit, and of wild Vines, which produce Bunches of Grapes a foot and a half long, and of which when ripe may be made very good Wine. One may see there also large Countries cover'd with good Hemp, growing naturally six or seven foot in height. In short, by the Experiments I made among the *Iffati*, and the *Illinois*, I am perswaded that the Soil of that Country would produce all manner of Corn, Fruits, &c. even more plentifully than in any part of *Europe*, seeing there are two Crops every Year.

The Air is very temperate, clear, and open, and the Country, water'd with several Lakes, Brooks, and Rivers, which are for the most part navigable. The Gnats and other little Flies that are so troublesome in *Canada*, and some other dangerous Beasts, are unknown in this Country; which in two Years time might supply its Inhabitants, if cultivated, with all things necessary for Life, without wanting any thing from *Europe*; and the Islands of *America*, with Wine, Bread, and Fleth. The *Bucaniers* might kill in that Country a greater number of Bulls than in all the Islands they resort to. There are Mines of [95] Coal, Slate, and Iron; and several Pieces of fine red Copper, which I have found now and then upon the Surface of the Earth, makes me believe that there are Mines of it; and doubtless of other Metals and Minerals, which may be discover'd one time or another. They have already found Allom [alum] in the Country of the *Iroquefe*.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*An Account of our Arrival to the Country of the Illinois, one of the most numerous Nations of the Savages of America.*

THIS Word *Illinois* comes, as it has been already observ'd, from *Illini*, which in the Language of that Nation signifies *A perfect and accomplish'd Man*. The Villages of the *Illinois* are situated in a Marshy Plain, about the Fortieth Degree of Latitude, on the Right side of the River, which is as broad as the *Meuse*. Their greatest Village may have in it Four or five hundred Cabins, every Cabin five or six Fires, and each Fire one or two Families, who live together in great Concord. Their Cabins are cover'd with Mats of flat Rushes, so closely sew'd together, that no Wind, Rain, or Snow can go thro' it. The Union that reigns amongst that Barbarous People, ought to cover with Shame the Christians; amongst whom we can see no Trace of that brotherly Love, which united the Primitive Professors of Christianity.

When the Savages have gather'd in their *Indian* Corn, they dig some Holes in the Ground, where they keep it for Summer-time, because Meat does not keep in hot Weather; whereas they have very little occasion for it in Winter; and 'tis then their Custom to leave their Villages, and with their whole Families to go a hunting wild Bulls, Beavers, &c.

carrying [96] with them but a small quantity of their Corn, which however they value so much, that the most sensible Wrong one can do them, in their Opinion, is to take some of their Corn in their absence. We found no Body in the Village, as we had foreseen; for the *Illinois* had divided themselves, according to their Custom, and were gone a hunting. Their Absence caus'd a great Perplexity amongst us; for we wanted Provisions, and yet durst not meddle with the *Indian* Corn the Savages had laid under Ground, for their Subsistence, and to sow their Lands with. However, our Necessity being very great, and it being impossible to continue our Voyage without any Provisions, especially seeing the Bulls and other Beasts had been driven from the Banks of the River, by means of Fire, as I have related in my former Chapter, M. *la Salle* resolv'd to take about forty Bushels of Corn, in hopes to appease the Savages with some Presents.

We embark'd again with these fresh Provisions, and continu'd to fall down the River, which runs directly to the South. Four Days after, being the First of *January*, 1680, we said Mass; and having wish'd a happy New-year to M. *la Salle*, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetic Exhortation to our Grumblers, to encourage them to go on cheerfully, and inspire them with Union and Concord. Father *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, embrac'd them afterwards; and they promis'd us to continue firm in their Duty. The same Day we went thro' a Lake form'd by the River, about seven Leagues long, and one broad.<sup>1</sup> The Savages call that Place

<sup>1</sup> The expansion of the Illinois River which is now known as Peoria Lake.—Ed.

*Pimiteoui*<sup>1</sup>; that is, in their Tongue, *A Place where there is abundance of fat Beasts*. When the River of the *Illinois* freezes, which is but seldom, it freezes only to this Lake, and never from thence to the *Meschabipi*, into which this River falls. *M. la Salle* observ'd here the Elevation of the Pole, and found that this Lake lies [97] in the Latitude of thirty three Degrees and forty five Minutes.

We had been inform'd that the *Illinois* were our Enemies; and therefore *M. la Salle* had resolv'd to use all manner of Precaution when we should meet with them; but we found our selves on a sudden in the middle of their Camp, which took up both sides of the River. *M. la Salle* order'd immediately his Men to make their Arms ready, and brought his Canou's into a Line, placing himself to the Right, and *M. Tonti* to the Left; so that we took almost the whole breadth of the River. The *Illinois*, who had not yet discover'd our Fleet, were very much surpriz'd to see us coming so swiftly upon them; for the Stream was extraordinary rapid in that Place: Some run to their Arms; but most took their Flight, with horrid Cries and Howlings.

The Current brought us in the mean time to their Camp; and *M. la Salle* went the very first a-shoar, follow'd by his Men; which increas'd the Consternation of the Savages, whom we might have easily defeated; but as it was not our Design, we made a Halt to give them time to recover themselves, and

<sup>1</sup>Shea says (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 155, note \*) that from this point to the end of the chapter "the *Nouvelle Découverte* here abandons the original narrative and (pp. 200-207) copies almost literally from Le Clercq, *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 153-159."—ED.

fee that we were no Enemies. *M. la Salle* might have prevented their Confusion, by shewing his *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; but he was afraid the Savages wou'd impute it to our Weakness.

The *Illinois* being exceedingly terrify'd, tho' they were several thousand Men, tender'd us the *Calumet* of Peace; and then we offer'd them ours; which being accepted on both sides, an extraordinary Joy succeeded the terrible Fears they had been under upon our landing. They sent immediately to fetch back those who fled away; and Father *Zenobe* and I went to their Cabins. We took their Children by the Hand, and exprefs'd our Love for them with all the Signs we cou'd: We did the like to the Old Men, having Compassion of those poor Creatures, who [98] are so miserable as to be ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer.

Most of the Savages, who had run away upon our landing, understanding that we were Friends, return'd; but some others had been so terrifi'd, that they did not come back till three or four Days after, that they were told that we had smok'd in their *Calumet* of Peace. In the mean time we had discours'd the Chief of the *Illinois* by our Interpreter, and told them, that we were Inhabitants of *Canada*, and their Friends; that we were come to teach them the Knowledge of the Captain of Heaven and Earth, and the Use of Fire-arms, which were unknown to them; with several other things relating to their advantage. We were forc'd to make use of these metaphorical Expressions, to give them some *Idea* of the Supreme DEITY. They heard our Discourses with great



attention, and afterwards gave a great Shout for Joy, repeating these Words: *Tepatoui-Nika*; That is, *Well, my Brother, my Friend*; *thou hast done very well*. These Savages have more Humanity than all the others of the Northern *America*; and understanding the Subject of our Errand, express'd great Gratitude thereupon. They rubb'd our Legs and Feet near the Fire, with Oil of Bears and Wild Bulls Fat, which, after much Travel, is an incomparable Refreshment; and presented us some Flesh to eat, putting the three first Morfels into our Mouth with great Ceremonies. This is a great piece of Civility amongst them.

M. *la Salle* presented them with some Tobacco from *Martinico*, and some Axes; and told them, that he had desir'd them to meet to treat about some weighty Matters; but that there was one in particular, which he would discourse them upon before any other. He added, that he knew how necessary their Corn was to them; but that being reduc'd to an unspeakable Necessity when he came to their Village, [99] and seeing no probability to subsist, he had been forc'd to take some Corn from their Habitations without their leave: That he would give 'em Axes, and other things, in lieu of it, if they could spare it; that if they could not, they were free to take it again; concluding, That if they were not able to supply us with Provisions, he design'd to continue his Voyage, and go to their Neighbours, who would heartily give him what was necessary for his Subsistence; but however, to shew them his Kindness, he would leave a Smith among them, to mend their Axes and other Tools we should supply them with. The

Savages having consider'd our Proposals, granted all our Demands, and made Alliance with us.

We were oblig'd to use many Precautions to make our Alliance lasting and solid, because our Enemies did their utmost to prevent it. The very same Day we came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, one of the Chief Captains of the *Mascoutens*, whose Name was *Monso*,<sup>1</sup> arriv'd also with some *Miami's*, and other young Men, who brought with them some Axes, Knives, Kettles, and other Goods. Our Enemies had chosen him for that Embassie, knowing that the *Illinois* would rather believe him than the *Miamis*, because they had never been in War with the *Mascoutens*. This Savage arriv'd pretty late, and caball'd all the Night long against us: He told them, That *M. la Salle* was a great Friend of the *Iroquese*, who were to follow him speedily, with some of the *Europeans* from *Canada*, to invade them, and destroy their Nation; and that he was sent by some of the *Europeans* themselves, who could not approve that Treachery of their Countrymen, to give them notice thereof, that they might not be surpriz'd. He enforc'd his Arguments, by presenting them with all the Goods he had brought along with him; and thinking he had gain'd his Point, went back the same Night, fearing, with much Reason, that *M. la Salle* would resent [100] that Master-piece of Villany, and punish him for it. The *Illinois* were assembled in Council all the Night, (for they never treat of any secret Affairs during the Day) and did not know what Measures to take; for tho' they did

<sup>1</sup> Probably Monso is a misprint for Mouso. — PARKMAN (*La Salle*, p. 161, note 1).

not believe all the Stories the *Mascouten* had made unto them, yet the next Day they appear'd very indifferent, and mistrustful of us. As they seem'd to contrive something against us, we began to be uneasie; but M. *la Salle*, who suspected that their sudden Alteration towards us was the Effect of a false Report, made such Presents to one of their Chiefs, that he told him all the Particulars of the Embassie and Negotiation of *Monso*; and thereby enabled him to remove the Jealousie of the *Illinois*, and confound the wicked Designs of our Enemies.

He manag'd that Point with such Dexterity, that he did not only regain the Friendship of that Nation, but likewise undeceiv'd the *Mascouten* and *Miami's*; and was Mediator between the latter and the *Illinois*, who by his means made an Alliance, which lasted all the while we remain'd in those Countries.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*An Account of what hapned to us while we remain'd among the Illinois, till the Building of a New Fort.*

SOME Days after, *Nikanape*, Brother to *Cheffagouasse*, the most considerable Chief of the *Illinois*, who was then absent, invited us to a great Feast; and before we sat down to eat, made a long Speech, very different from what the other Captains had told us upon our arrival. He said that he had invited us not so much to give us a Treat, as to endeavour to dissuade us from the Resolution we had taken, to go down to the Sea by the great River *Meschafipi*. He added, That several had perish'd, having ventur'd [101] upon the same Enterprize, the Banks of that River being inhabited by barbarous and bloody Nations, whom we should be unable to resist, notwithstanding our Valour and the Goodness of our Arms; that that River was full of dangerous Monsters, as Crocodiles, Tritons, (meaning a Sea-monster) and Serpents; that supposing the Barque we design'd to build was big enough to protect us against the Dangers he had mention'd, yet it would avail us nothing against another which was inevitable: *For, said he, the River Meschafipi is so full of Rocks and Falls towards its Mouth, that the Rapidity of the Current cannot be master'd, which will carry your Barque into a*

*horrid Whirlpool, that swallows up every thing that comes near it; and even the River it self, which appears no more, losing it self in that hideous and bottomless Gulf.*

He added so many other Circumstances, and appear'd so serious, and so much concern'd for us, that two of our Men, who understood their Language, but not their Politicks, were moved at it, and their Fear appear'd in their Faces. We observ'd it, but could not help it; for it would be an unpardonable Affront to interrupt a Savage; and besides, we had perhaps encreas'd the Alarms of our Men. When *Nikanape* had made an end of his Discourse, we answer'd him in so calm a manner, that he cou'd not fancy we were surpris'd at his Objections against our Voyage.

Our Interpreter told him, by order of *M. la Salle*, that we were much oblig'd to him for the Advices he gave us; but that the Difficulties and Dangers he had mention'd, would make our Enterprize still more glorious; that we fear'd the Master of the Life of all Men, who rul'd the Sea, and all the World; and therefore wou'd think it a Happiness to lay down our Lives to make his Name known to all his Creatures. We added, that we believ'd that most of the Dangers he had mention'd were not in being; but that [102] the Friendship he had for us, had put him upon that Invention, to oblige us to remain with them. We thought fit, however, to let him know, that we perceiv'd our Enemies had fomented some Jealousies in their Mind, and that they seem'd to mistrust our Designs; but as we were sincere in our Dealings, we desir'd them to let us know freely, and without

any Disguise, the Grounds of their Suspensions, that we might satisfy them, and clear our selves; concluding, that seeing our Demand was so just and equitable, we expected they would grant it, or else that we should have reason to think that the Joy they had express'd upon our Arrival, and the Friendship they had since shew'd to us, was nothing but a Deceit and Dissimulation. *Nikanape* was not able to answer us, and therefore chang'd his Discourse, desiring us to eat.

The Dinner being over, our Interpreter reassum'd his Discourse, and told the Company, that we were not surpriz'd at the Envy their Neighbours express'd about our Arrival into their Country, because they knew too well the Advantages of Commerce, and therefore would engross it to themselves, and obstruct by all means our good Correspondence; but that we wonder'd that they wou'd give Ear to the Suggestions of our common Enemies, and conceal any thing from us, since we had so sincerely acquainted them with our Designs.

*We did not sleep, Brother,* said he, directing his Discourse to *Nicanape*, when *Monso* was caballing amongst you in the Night to our Prejudice, endeavouring to make you believe that we were Spies of the Iroquese. *The Presents he made to enforce his Lies, are still hid in this Cabin. But why has he run away immediately after, instead of appearing publickly to justify his Accusation? Thou art a Witness thy self, that upon our landing we might have kill'd all thy Nephews, and done what our Enemies tell you we design to do, after we have made Alliance with thee,*

*and settled our selves amongst you. But if it were our Design, [103] why should we defer to put it into execution? And who hinders our Warriours, who are here with me, to kill all of you, whilst your young Men are a hunting? Thou hast been told, that our Valour is terrible to the Iroquese themselves; and therefore we need not their Assistance to wage War with thee, if it were our Design.*

*But to remove even the least Pretence of Suspicion and Jealousie, send somebody to bring back that malicious Accuser, and we will stay here to confute him in thy Presence: For how can he know us, seeing he never saw us in his Life? And how can he be acquainted with the secret League we have made with the Iroquese, whom he knows only by Name? Consider our Equipage; we have nothing but Tools and Goods, which can never be made use of, but for the Good of thy Nation, and not for its Destruction, as our Enemies would make thee believe.*

This Discourse mov'd them very much; and they sent after *Monso* to bring him back; but the Snow which fell that Night spoil'd the Tract [*sc.* Track], and so he could not be over-taken. He had remain'd for some Days not far from us, to know what would be the success of his Embassie. However, some of our Men lay under such terrible Apprehensions, that we could never recover their Courage, nor remove their Fears; so that six of them who had the Guard that Night (amongst which were two Sawers, the most necessary of our Workmen for building our Ship) run away, taking with them what they thought necessary; but considering the

Country through which they were to travel, and the Season of the year, we may say, that for avoiding an uncertain Peril, they expos'd themselves to a most certain Danger.

M. *la Salle* seeing that those six Men were gone, and fearing that this Desertion would make a disadvantageous Impression upon the Savages, he order'd his Men to tell the *Illinois*, that he had resolv'd to send after them to punish them as they deserv'd; but that the Season being so hard, he was loth to expose [104] his Men; and that those Deserters would be severely punish'd in *Canada*. In the mean time we exhorted the rest to continue firm in their Duty, assuring them, That if any were afraid of venturing themselves upon the River *Meschasipi*, because of the Dangers *Nikanape* had mention'd, M. *la Salle* would give them leave to return next Spring to *Canada*, and allow them a Canou to make their Voyage; whereas they could not venture to return home at this time of the Year, without exposing themselves to perish with Hunger, Cold, or the Hands of the Savages.

They promis'd Wonders; but M. *la Salle* knowing their Inconstancy, and dissembling the Vexation their want of Courage and Resolution caus'd him, resolv'd to prevent any farther Subornation, and to leave the Camp of the *Illinois*; but lest his Men should not consent to it, he call'd them together and told them we were not safe among the *Illinois*, and that perhaps the *Iroquese* would come in a little time to attack them; and that these being not able to resist, they were like to run away, and betake themselves to the Woods, and leave us expos'd to the Mercy of the *Iroquese*, whose



Cruelty was sufficiently known to us; therefore he knew no other Remedy but to fortifie a Post, where we might defend our selves both against the *Illinois* and *Iroquesse*, as occasion should require. These Reasons, with some other Arguments which I added to the same purpose, proved powerful enough to engage them to approve M. *la Salle's* Design; and so it was resolv'd to build a Fort in a very advantageous Place on the River, four Day's Journey below the great Village of the *Illinois*.

*3. July 17. arrived at the Village of the Illinois*

## [105] CHAP. XXXIII.

*Reflections upon the Temper and Manners of the Illinois, and the little Disposition they have to embrace Christianity.*

**B**EFORE I speak in particular of the *Illinois*, I think fit to observe here, that there is a Nation of the *Miami's*, who inhabit the Banks of a fine River, within fifteen Leagues from the Lake, in the Latitude of 41 Degrees. The *Maskoutens* and *Outtouagami's* live more Northward on the River *Mellioki* [Milwaukee], which runs into the Lake in the Latitude of 43 Degrees. To the West of it live the *Kikapous* and *Ainoves*,<sup>1</sup> who have two Villages; and to the West of these there is the Village of the *Illinois Cascafbia*, situated towards the Source of the River *Cbecagoumenans* [Chicago]. The *Autboutantas* and *Maskoutens-Nadouessians* live within one hundred and thirty Leagues of the *Illinois*, in three great Villages, on the Banks of a fine River which discharges it self into the great River

---

<sup>1</sup>The Aiouas, or Iowas, a Siouan tribe; called by André (1676) Nadoessi Mascouteins, or "Sioux of the Prairies." When first known to the white men, this tribe were located in Southern Minnesota; but early in the nineteenth century dwelt on the Iowa and Des Moines Rivers, in the present State of Iowa.

The Kickapoos, an Algonquian tribe of Southern Wisconsin, were closely allied to the Mascoutens, whom they finally absorbed. The Kaskaskias were located south (not west) of the Kickapoos, near Utica, Ill. (see p. 146, note 1, ante). The other peoples here named are the Otoes and some other Siouan tribe (perhaps one of the Teton division; see p. 107, note 1, ante).—ED.

*Meschafipi*. We shall have occasion to talk of these and several other Nations.

Most of these Savages, and especially the *Illinois*, make their Cabins of flat Rushes, which they sew together, and line them with the same; so that no Rain can go through it. They are tall, strong, and manage their Bows and Arrows with great dexterity; for they did not know the use of Fire-Arms before we came into their Country. They are Lazy, Vagabonds, Timorous, Pettish, Thieves, and so fond of their Liberty, that they have no great Respect for their Chiefs.

Their Villages are open, and not enclos'd with Palisado's, as in some other Places, because they have not Courage enough to defend them, for they fly [106] away as soon as they hear their Enemies approach. Besides their Arrows, they use two other Weapons, a kind of a Pike, and a Club of Wood. Their Country is so fertile, that it supplies them with all Necessaries for Life, and especially since we taught them the use of Iron Tools to cultivate it.

*Hermaphrodites* are very common amongst them, which is so much the more surprizing, because I have not observ'd any such thing amongst the other Nations of the Northern *America*. Poligamy is allow'd amongst them; and they generally marry several Sisters, thinking they agree better than Strangers. They are exceedingly jealous, and cut the Noses of their Wives upon the least suspicion. Notwithstanding they have several Wives, they are so lascivious as to be guilty of Sodomy, and keep Boys whom they cloath with Womens Apparel, because they make of them that abominable Use.

These Boys live in their Families amongst Women, without going either to their Wars or Hunting.<sup>1</sup> As to their Religion I observ'd that they are very superstitious; but I cou'd never discover that they had any Worship, nor any Reason for their Superstition. They are great Gamesters, as well as all the other Savages that I have known in *America*.

As there are some stony Places in this Country, where there is a great quantity of Serpents, very trou[ble]some to the *Illinois*, they know several Herbs which are a quicker and surer Remedy against their Venom, than our Treacle or Orvietan. They rub themselves with these Herbs, after which they play with those dangerous Serpents, without receiving any hurt. They take the young ones and put them sometimes into their Mouth. They go stark naked in Summer-time, wearing only a kind of Shooes made of the Skins of Bulls; but the Winter being pretty severe in their Country, tho' very short, they wear Gowns made of the Skins of Wild Beasts, or of Bulls, which [107] they dress and paint most curiously, as I have already observ'd.

The *Illinois*, as most of the Savages of *America*, being brutish, wild, and stupid, and their Manners being so opposite to the Morals of the Gospel, their Conversion is to be despair'd of, till Time and Commerce with the *Europeans* has remov'd their natural Fierceness and Ignorance, and thereby made 'em more apt to be sensible of the Charms of Chris-

---

<sup>1</sup> A custom prevalent among the Southern and Western tribes, and mentioned by many travelers and writers, even down to a comparatively recent period. These boys and men, commonly known as "berdashes" (Fr. *bardache*), were held by the savages in the utmost contempt.—*Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 309, 310.

tianity. I have met with some who were more teachable; and Father *Zenobe* told me, that he Baptiz'd two or three of them at the point of Death, because they desir'd it; and shew'd some good Disposition to induce him to grant that Demand. They will readily suffer us to baptize their Children, and would not refuse it themselves; but they are incapable of any previous Instruction concerning the Truth of the Gospel, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments. Would I follow the Example of some other Missionaries, I could have boasted of many Conversions; for I might have easily baptiz'd all those Nations, and then say, as I am afraid they do without any ground, That I had converted them.

Father *Zenobe* had met with two Savages, who had promis'd to follow him every where, whom he instructed and baptiz'd; but tho' they were more tractable than the rest, they would not leave their Country; and he understood afterwards, that one of them, whose Name was *Cbassagouache*, was dead in the hands of the *Junglers*,<sup>1</sup> and consequently in the Superstitions of his Country-Men; so that his Baptism serv'd only to make him *duplo Filius Gebennæ*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the medicine-men of the Indians, commonly called "jugglers" or "sorcerers" by French writers. For full accounts of their practices, as physicians, diviners, and sorcerers, see *Jes. Relations* (*art.* Indians: mythology, etc.—medicine-men).—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Shea points out (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 175, note †) that the entire chapter here ended is taken from Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 173-181.—ED.

## [108] CHAP. XXXIV.

*An Account of the Building of a New Fort on the River of the Illinois, named by the Savages Checagou, and by us Fort Crevecœur; as also a Barque to go down the River Mefchafipi.*

I MUST observe here, that the hardest Winter lasts not above two Months in this charming Country; so that on the 15th of *January* there came a sudden Thaw, which made the Rivers navigable, and the Weather so mild as it is with us in the middle of the Spring. *M. la Salle* improving this fair Season, desir'd me to go down the River with him to choose a Place fit to build our Fort. After having view'd the Country we pitch'd upon an Eminence on the Bank of the River, defended on that side by the River, and on two others by two Ditches the Rains had made very deep by succession of Time; so that it was accessible only by one way; therefore we cast a Line to joyn those two natural Ditches, and made the Eminence steep on every side, supporting the Earth with great pieces of Timber. We made a hasty Lodgment thereupon, to be ready to defend us in case the Savages would obstruct the building of our Fort; but no body offering to disturb us, we went on diligently with our work. Fathers *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, made in the mean time a Cabin of Planks, wherein our Workmen came to Prayers

every Morning and Evening; but having no Wine, we could not say Mass. The Fort being half finish'd, M. *la Salle* lodg'd himself in the middle with M. *Tonti*; and every body took his Post. We plac'd our Forge along the Courtin on the side of the Wood, and laid in a great quantity of Coals for that use.

In the mean time our thoughts were always bent [109] towards our Discovery, and M. *la Salle* and I had frequent Conferences about it: But our greatest difficulty was to build a Barque; for our Sawers being gone, we did not know what to do. However, as the Timber was cheap enough, we told our Men, that if any of them would undertake to saw Boards for Building the said Barque, we might surmount all other Difficulties. Two Men undertook it; and though they had never try'd it before, they succeeded very well, so that we began to build a Barque, the Keel whereof was forty two Foot long. Our Men went on so briskly with the Work, that on the first of *March* our Barque was half built, and all the Timber ready prepar'd for the finishing of it. Our Fort was also very near finish'd; and we nam'd it the Fort of *Crevecœur*, because the desertion of our Men, and the other Difficulties we labour'd under, had almost broke our Hearts.<sup>1</sup>

Though the Winter is not harder nor longer in the Country of the *Illinois*, than in *Provence*, the Snow remain'd upon the Earth, in the Year 1680, for twenty days together,

---

<sup>1</sup> Shea thinks (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 175, note †) that La Salle thus named his fort out of compliment to Louis XIV, in allusion to his capture (1672) and subsequent demolition of Fort Crèvecœur, a stronghold in the Netherlands, near Bois-le-Duc. La Salle's fort was located a little below Peoria.— ED.

which had not been seen in the Memory of Man. This made the Savages mightily concern'd, and brought upon us a World of inconveniencies, besides the many others we suffer'd. In the mean time we perfected our Fort; and our Barque was in such a forwardness, that we might have expected to be in a condition to fail in a very short time, had we been provided with all other Necessaries; but hearing nothing of our Ship, and therefore wanting the Rigging and other Tackle for our Barque, we found our selves in great perplexity, and did not know what to do in this sad Juncture, being above five hundred Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, whither it was almost impossible to return at that time, because the Snow made the travelling very dangerous by Land, and the Ice made it impracticable to our Canou's.

[110] M. *la Salle* did not doubt then but his belov'd *Griffin* was lost<sup>1</sup>; but neither this nor the other Difficulties dejected him; his great Courage buoy'd him up, and he resolv'd to return to Fort *Frontenac* by Land, notwithstanding the Snow, and the unspeakable Dangers attending so great a Voyage. We had a long Conference about it in private, wherein having examin'd all things, it was resolv'd, that he should return to Fort *Frontenac* with three Men, to bring along with him the necessary things to proceed on our Discovery, while I with two Men should go in a Canou to the River *Meschafipi*, and endeavour to get the Friendship of those Nations inhabiting the Banks of that River. Our Resolution was certainly very great and bold; but there was this essential

<sup>1</sup> See concluding portion of chap. xxii *ante*.—ED.



difference, that the Inhabitants of the Countries through which M. *la Salle* was to travel, knew the *Europeans*; whereas those Savages, whom I design'd to visit, had never heard of us in their Life; and had been represented by the *Illinois*, as the most barbarous Nations in the World. However, M. *la Salle* and I had Courage enough to undertake our difficult Task; but we had much ado to persuade five of our Men to follow us, or to engage to expect our Return at Fort *Crevecaur*.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*Containing an Account of what was transacted at Fort Crevecoeur before M. la Salle's return to Fort Frontenac; and the Instructions we receiv'd from a Savage concerning the River Mefchafipi.*

**B**EFORE M. la Salle and I parted, we found means to undeceive our Men, and remov'd the groundless Fears they had conceiv'd from what the *Illinois*, through the Suggestions of *Monso*, had told us concerning [111] the Dangers, or rather the Impossibility of Sailing upon the River *Mefchafipi*. Some Savages inhabiting beyond that River, came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, and gave us an Account of it, very different from what *Nikanape* had told us; some other Savages own'd that it was navigable, and not interrupted by Rocks and Falls, as the *Illinois* would make us believe; and one of the *Illinois* themselves, being gain'd by some small Presents, told us in great secrecie, that the Account their Chief had given us, was a downright Forgery, contriv'd on purpose to oblige us to give over our Enterprize. This reviv'd somewhat our Men; but yet they were still wavering and irresolute; and therefore M. la Salle said, that he would fully convince them, that the *Illinois* had resolv'd in their

Council to forge that Account, in order to stop our Voyage; and few days after we met with a favourable opportunity for it.

The *Illinois* had made an Excursion South-ward; as they were returning with some Prisoners, one of their Warriours came before their Comrades, and visited us at our Fort; we entertain'd him as well as we could, and ask'd him several Questions touching the River *Meschasipi*, from whence he came, and where he had been oftentimes, giving him to understand that some other Savage had given us an Account of it. He took a piece of Charcoal, and drew a Map of the Course of that River, which I found afterwards pretty exact; and told us, that he had been in a *Pyroque*; that is, a Canou made of the Trunk of a Tree, from the Mouth of this River, very near the Place where the *Meschasipi* falls into the great Lake; for so they call the Sea: That there was neither Falls, nor rapid Currents, as we had been told; that it was very broad towards the great Lake, and interrupted with Banks of Sand; but that there were large Canals betwixt them, deep enough for any *Pyroque*. He told [112] us also the Name of several Nations inhabiting the Banks of *Meschasipi*, and of several Rivers that fall into it. I set down in my Journal all that he told us, of which I shall perhaps give a larger Account in another place. We made him a small Present, to thank him for his Kindness, in discovering a Truth, which the Chief of his Nation had so carefully conceal'd. He desir'd us to hold our tongue, and never to mention him, which we prom-

is'd; and gave him an Axe, wherewith we shut his mouth, according to the Custom of the Savages, when they recommend a Secret.

The next day, after Prayers, we went to the Village of the *Illinois*; whom we found in the Cabin of one of their Chiefs; who entertain'd them with a Bear, whose Flesh is much valu'd among them. They desir'd us to sit down upon a fine Mat of Rushes: And some time after our Interpreter told them, that we were come to acquaint them, that the Maker of all Things, and the Master of the Lives of Men, took a particular Care of us, and had been pleas'd to let us have a true Account of the River *Meschasipi*; the Navigation whereof they had represented to us as impracticable. We added all the Particulars we had learn'd, but in such Terms, that it was impossible they should suspect any of their Men.

The Savages were much surpriz'd, and did not doubt but we had that Account by some extraordinary Way; therefore they shut their Mouths with their Hands; which is their usual Custom to express their Admiration by. They told us frankly afterwards, that the great desire they had to stop amongst them our Captain, and the *Grey-Coats* or *Barefoot*, as they call the *Franciscans*, had oblig'd them to forge the Stories they had told us, and to conceal the Truth; but since we had come to the Knowledge of it by another way, they would tell us all that they knew; and confirm'd every Particular their Warriour had [113] told us. This Confession remov'd the Fears of our Men, who were few days after still more fully perswaded that the *Illinois* had only design'd to frighten us

from our Discovery: For several Savages of the Nations of *Osages*, *Cikaga*, and *Akansfa*,<sup>1</sup> came to see us, and brought fine Furrs to barter for our Axes. They told us that the *Meschafipi* was navigable almost from its Source to the Sea; and gave us great Encouragement to go on with our Design, assuring us, that all the Nations inhabiting along the River, from the Mouth of that of the *Illinois*, to the Sea, would come to meet us, and dance the *Calumet* of Peace,<sup>2</sup> as they express it, and make an Alliance with us.

The *Miami's* arriv'd much about that time, and danc'd the *Calumet* with the *Illinois*, making an Alliance with them against the *Iroquese*, their implacable Enemies. We were Witnessees to their Treaty; and M. *la Salle* made them some Presents, the better to oblige both Parties to the Observation of their League.

We were three Missionaries for that handful of *Europeans* at *Fort Crevecœur*; and therefore we thought fit to divide our

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey thinks (*Amer. Naturalist*, xx, pp. 211-222) that, ages ago, all the Siouan race dwelt east of the Mississippi, and gradually moved westward. Five tribes — the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas — were then together as one nation; they were called Arkansa (Akansa) by the Illinois tribes, and lived near the Ohio. At the mouth of that river they separated (prior to 1540), the Kwapas descending, the other tribes ascending, the Mississippi. At another and later separation, after these latter tribes had gone some distance up the Missouri, the Osages and Kansas settled on the rivers bearing those respective names.

The Chicasas (*Cikaga*, Chickasaws), a Maskoki tribe in Northern Mississippi, were warlike and enterprising, and carried on trade with the English as early as 1700. Frequent hostilities occurred between them and the French, and tribes defeated by the latter sought refuge among the Chicasas. — *Jes. Relations*, lxiv, pp. 279, 280; lxxviii, 328.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the calumet dance, see *Jes. Relations*, li, pp. 47-49; lix, 129, 137, 159, 311 (where is given the notation of the song accompanying the dance); lxiv, 29; lxxv, 121, 125, 149, 267; lxxvii, 249-253, 299; lxix, 289. Cf. Charlevoix's *Journal historique*, pp. 296, 297; and *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1881-82, pp. 276-282. — Ed.

felves: Father *Gabriel* being very old, was to continue with our Men; and Father *Zenobe* among the *Illinois*, having desir'd it himself, in hopes to convert that numerous Nation: And I, as I have already related, was to go on with our Discovery. Father *Zenobe* liv'd already among the *Illinois*, but the rude Manners of that People made him soon weary of it. His Landlord, whose Name was *Omabouba*, that is to say *Wolf*, was the Head of a Tribe, and took a special Care of Father *Zenobe*, especially after *M. la Salle* had made him some Presents: He lov'd him as his Child; but however, I perceiv'd in the Visits he made us, (for he liv'd but within half a League of our Fort) that he was not satisfi'd to live amongst that brutish Nation, though he had already learn'd their Tongue. This oblig'd me to offer him [114] to take his place, provided he would supply mine, and go on with our Discovery amongst several Nations, whose Language we did not understand, and who had never heard of us; but Father *Zenobe* foreseeing the Danger and Fatigue I was like to be expos'd to, chose to remain with the *Illinois*, whose Temper he knew, and with whom he was able to converse.

*M. la Salle* left *M. Tonti* to command in Fort *Crevecaur*, and order'd our Carpenter to prepare some thick Planks of Oak, to fence the Deck of our Barque in the nature of a Parapet, to cover it against the Arrows of the Savages, in case they design'd to shoot at us from the Shoar. Then calling his Men together, he desir'd them to obey *M. Tonti's* Orders in his Absence, to live in a Christian Union and Charity; to be courageous and firm in their Design; and

above all, to give no credit to the false Reports that the Savages might make unto them, either of him, or of their Comrades that were going with me. He assur'd them, that he would return with all the speed imaginable, and bring along with him a fresh Supply of Men, Ammunition, and Rigging for our Barque; and that in the mean time he left them Arms, and other things necessary for a vigorous Defence, in case their Enemies should attack them before his Return.

He told me afterwards, that he expected I should depart without any farther Delay; but I told him, that tho' I had promis'd him to do it, yet a Defluxion I had on my Gums a Year since, as he knew very well, oblig'd me to return to *Canada*, to be cur'd; and that I would then come back with him. He was very much surpriz'd, and told me, he would write to my Superiours, that I had obstructed the good Success of our Mission, and desir'd Father *Gabriel* to persuade me to the contrary. That good Man had been my Master, during my *Novitiate* in [115] our Convent of *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois*; and therefore I had so great a Respect for him, that I yielded to his Advice; and consider'd, that since a Man of his Age had ventur'd to come along with me in so dangerous a Mission, it would look as Pusillanimity in me to return and leave him. That Father had left a very good Estate, being Heir of a Noble Family of the Province of *Burgundy*; and I must own, that his Example reviv'd my Courage upon several Occasions.

M. *la Salle* was mightily pleas'd when I told him I was

resolv'd to go, notwithstanding my Indisposition: He embrac'd me, and gave me a *Calumet* of Peace; and two Men to manage our Canou, whose Names were *Anthony Auguel*, firnam'd the *Picard du Gay*; and *Mitchel Ako*,<sup>1</sup> of the Province of *Poictou*, to whom he gave some Commodities to the value of about 1000 Livres, to trade with the Savages, or make Prefents. He gave to me in particular, and for my own use, ten Knives, twelve Shooe-maker's Auls or Bodkins, a small Roll of Tobacco from *Martinico*, about two Pounds of *Raf-fade*<sup>2</sup>; that is to say, Little Pearls or Rings of colour'd Glafs, wherewith the Savages make Bracelets, and other Works, and a small Parcel of Needles to give to the Savages; telling me, that he would have given me a greater quantity, if it had been in his Power.

The Reader may judge by these Particulars, of the rest of my Equipage for so great an Undertaking; however, relying my self on the Providence of God, I took my leave of *M. la Salle*, and embrac'd all our Men, receiving the Blessing of Father *Gabriel*, who told me several things, to inspire me with Courage; concluding his Exhortation by these Words of the Scripture, *Viriliter age, & confortetur Cor tuum.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Antoine Auguel was called "le Picard," because he came from the province of Picardy. Michel Accau (Ako) was a trader, who had married the daughter of a Kaskaskia chief. Parkman says (*La Salle*, p. 173, note 1): "It appears, from La Salle's letters, that Accau was the real chief of the party; that their orders were to explore, not only the Illinois, but also a part of the Mississippi; and that Hennepin volunteered to go with the others."—ED.

<sup>2</sup>The term *rassade* was applied to spherical or ovate wampum beads; the long tubular beads were called *canons*.—ED.



M. *la Salle* fet out a few days after for *Canada*, with three Men, without any Provisions, but what they kill'd in their Journey, during which they suffer'd [116] very much, by reason of the Snow, Hunger and cold Weather.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*The Author sets out from Fort Crevecœur, to continue his Voyage.*

WHOSOEVER will consider the Dangers to which I was going to expose my self, in an unknown Country, where no *European* had travell'd before, and amongst some Savages, whose Language I did not understand, will not blame the Reluctancy I expressed against that Voyage: I had such an Idea of it, that neither the fair Words, or Threats of *M. la Salle*, would have been able to engage me to venture my Life so rashly, had I not felt within my self a secret but strong Assurance, if I may use that Word, that God would help and prosper my Undertaking.

We set out from Fort *Crevecœur* on the 29th of *February*, 1680, and as we fell down the River, we met with several Companies of Savages, who return'd to their Habitations, with their *Pirogues* or Wooden-Canou's, loaded with the Bulls they had kill'd: they would fain persuade us to return with them, and the two Men who were with me, were very willing to follow their Advice; telling me that *M. la Salle* had as good to have murther'd us: But I oppos'd their Design, and told them that the rest of our Men wou'd stop them as they shou'd come by the Fort, if they offer'd to return, and so we continu'd our Voyage. They confes'd to me the next

Day, that they had resolv'd to leave me with the Savages, and make their Escape with the Canou and Commodities, thinking that there was no Sin in that, since *M. la Salle* was indebted to them in a great deal more than their Value; and that I had been very safe. This was the [117] first Discouragement I met with, and the Forerunner of a great many others.

The River of the *Illinois* is very near as deep and broad as the *Meuse* and *Sambre* before *Namur*; but we found some Places where 'tis about a quarter of a League broad. The Banks of the River are not even, but interrupted with Hills, dispos'd almost at an equal distance, and cover'd with fine Trees. The Valley between them is a Marshy Ground, which is overflow'd after great Rains, especially in the Autumn and the Spring. We had the Curiosity to go up one of those Hills, from whence we discover'd vast Meadows, with Forests, such as we had seen before we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*. The River flows so softly, that the Current is hardly perceptible, except when it swells: But it will carry at all times great Barques for above 100 Leagues; that is, from the said Village to its Mouth. It runs directly to the South-west. On the 7th of *March* we met, within two Leagues from the River *Meschaspipi*, a Nation of the Savages call'd *Tamaroa* or *Maroa*,<sup>1</sup> consisting of about 200 Families. They design'd to bring us along with them to their Village, which lies to the

---

<sup>1</sup> An Illinois tribe, settled at that time on the east side of the Mississippi, with another tribe called Kaoukia (whence the later name of the French town there established, Cahokia); that tribe was eventually absorbed by the Tamaroas.—ED.

West of *Meschasipi*, about seven Leagues from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*; but my Men follow'd my Advice, and wou'd not stop, in hopes to exchange their Commodities with more Advantage in a more remote Place. Our Resolution was very good; for I don't question but they would have robb'd us; for seeing we had some Arms, they thought we were going to carry them to their Enemies. They pursu'd us in their *Pyrogues* or Wooden-Canows; but ours being made of Bark of Birch-Trees, and consequently ten times lighter than theirs, and better fram'd, we laught at their Endeavours, and got clear of them. They had sent a Party of their Warriours to lie in Ambuscade on a Neck of Land advancing into the River, where they thought we should pass that Evening or the next Morning; [118] but having discover'd some Smoak on that Point, we spoil'd their Design, and therefore cross'd the River, and landed in a small Island near the other side, where we lay all the Night, leaving our Canou in the Water, under the Guard of a little Dog; who doubtless wou'd have awak'd us, if any body had offer'd to come near him; as we expected the Savages might attempt it, swimming over in the Night; but no body came to disturb us. Having thus avoided those Savages, we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, distant from their great Village about 100 Leagues, and 50 from Fort *Crevecœur*. It falls into the *Meschasipi* between 35 and 36 Degrees of Latitude, and within 120 or 130 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, according to our Conjecture, without including the

Turnings and Windings of the *Meschafipi*, from thence to the Sea.

The Angle between the two Rivers on the South-side, is a steep Rock of forty Foot high, and flat on the Top, and consequently a fit Place to build a Fort; and on the other side of the River, the Ground appears blackish, from whence I judge that it would prove fertile, and afford two Crops every Year, for the subsistence of a Colony. The Soil looks as if it had been already manur'd.

The Ice which came down from the Source of the *Meschafipi*, stopp'd us in that Place till the 12th of *March*; for we were afraid of our Canou: But when we saw the Danger over, we continu'd our Course, founding the River, to know whether it was navigable. There are three small Islands over-against the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which stop the Trees and Pieces of Timber that come down the River; which by succession of time, has form'd some Banks: But the Canals are deep enough for the greatest Barques; and I judge that in the driest Summer, there is Water enough for flat-bottom-Boats.

[119] The *Meschafipi* runs to the South-South-West, between two Ridges of Mountains, which follow the great Windings of the River. They are near the Banks, at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and are not very high; but in other Places, they are some Leagues distant; and the Meadows between the River and the Foot of those Hills, are cover'd with an infinite number of wild Bulls. The

Country beyond those Hills is so fine and pleasant, that according to the Account I have had, one might justly call it the *Delight of America*.

The *Meschafipi* is in some places a League broad, and half a League where it is narrowest. The Rapidity in its Current is somewhat abated, by a great number of Islands, cover'd with fine Trees interlac'd with Vines. It receives but two Rivers from the west Side, one whereof is call'd *Otontenta*; and the other discharges it self into it near the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padoua*, as we shall observe hereafter<sup>1</sup>; But so many others run into the *Meschafipi* from the North, that it swells very much toward its Mouth.

I am resolv'd to give here an Account of the Course of that River; which I have hither to conceal'd, for the Sake of *M. la Salle*, who wou'd ascribe to himself alone the Glory, and the most secret Part of this Discovery. He was so fond of it, that he has expos'd to visible danger several Persons, that they might not publish what they had seen, and thereby prejudice his secret Designs.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Des Moines and Minnesota Rivers; and the Falls of St. Anthony, at the present Minneapolis, Minn.—Ed.

## [120] CHAP. XXXVII.

*The Course of the River Mefchafipi from the Mouth of the River of the Illinois, to the Sea; which the Author did not think fit to publish in his Louisiana; with an Account of the Reasons he had to undertake that Discovery.*

THERE is no Man but remembers with Pleasure the great Dangers he has escap'd; and I must confess, that when I call to mind the great Difficulties I was under at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and the Perils I was expos'd to in the Discovery of the Course of the *Mefchafipi*, my Joy and Satisfaction cannot be exprefs'd. I was as good as sure that M. *la Salle* wou'd slander me, and represent me to my Superiors as a wilful and obstinate Man, if I presum'd to go down the *Mefchafipi* instead of going up to the *North*, as I was desir'd, and as we had conferted together; and therefore I was very loath to undertake it: But on the other Hand, I was expos'd to starve, and threatned by my two Men, that if I oppos'd their Resolution of going down the River, they would leave me a-shoar during the Night, and carry away the Canou where-ever they pleased; so that I thought it was reasonable to prefer my own Preservation to the Ambition of M. *la Salle*; and so I agreed to follow my

Men; who seeing me in that good Disposition, promis'd that they would be faithful to me.<sup>1</sup>

We shook Hands, to seal these Promises; and after Prayers, imbark'd in our Canou the 8th of *March*, 1680. The Ice which came down from the North, gave us a great deal of trouble; but we were so careful, that our Canou receiv'd no hurt; and after six Hours rowing, we came to a River of a Nation call'd *Osages*, who live toward the *Messorites*.<sup>2</sup> That [121] River comes from the Westward, and seems as big as the *Meschabipi*; but the Water is so muddy, that 'tis almost impossible to drink of it.

The *Iffati*,<sup>3</sup> who inhabit toward the Source of the *Meschabipi*, make sometimes Excursions as far as the Place where I was then; and I understood afterwards from them, having learn'd their Language, that this River of the *Osages* and *Messorites*, is form'd from several other Rivers, which spring from a Mountain about twelve Day's Journey from its Mouth. They told me farther, that from that Mountain

---

<sup>1</sup> Here begins Hennepin's pretended account of a voyage down the Mississippi, which, as Parkman (*La Salle*, pp. 225-230) and other writers claim, was largely adapted and expanded from Membré's account of his voyage with La Salle, as given in Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foy*, ii, beginning at p. 216 (see Shea's translation of that work, ii, pp. 163-184). In the *Louisiane* (p. 218), Hennepin distinctly states that he did not explore the lower Mississippi, being prevented from doing so by his captivity among the Sioux.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> By early explorers, the Missouri was often called River of Osages, from that tribe of Indians; the name was afterward restricted to a tributary of the Missouri, the Osage River. The Missouris (Messorites) were a Siouan tribe, allied to the Iowas and Otoes, and then living on the river which bears their name.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> The Isanti (now called Santee), a tribe of the Dakota confederacy, whose early home was on Spirit Lake, Minn.—ED.



one might see the Sea, and now and then some great Ships; that the Banks of that River are inhabited by several Nations; and that they have abundance of wild Bulls and Beavers.

Tho' this River is very big, the *Meschafipi* does not visibly swell by the accession of it; but its Waters continue muddy to its Mouth, albeit seven other Rivers fall into it, which are near as big as the *Meschafipi*, and whose Waters are extraordinary clear.

We lay every Night in Islands, at least if it were possible, for our greater Security; and as soon as we had roasted or boyl'd our *Indian* Corn, we were very careful to put out our Fire; for in these Countries they smell Fire at two or three Leagues distance, according to the Wind. The Savages take a particular notice of it, to discover where their Enemies are, and endeavour to surprize them.

The 9th we continu'd our Voyage, and six Leagues from the River of the *Osages*, discover'd on the South-side of the *Meschafipi*, a Village, which we thought to be inhabited by the *Tamaroa*, who had pursu'd us, as I have related. Seeing no body appear, we landed, and went into their Cabins, wherein we found *Indian* Corn, of which we took some Bushels, leaving in lieu of it six Knives, and a small quantity of little Glafs-Beads. This was good luck for us; for we [122] durst not leave the River, and go a hunting for fear of falling into the Hands of the Savages.

The next Day, being the Tenth of *March*, we came to a River within Forty Leagues of *Tamaroa*; near which, as the *Illinois* inform'd us, there is a Nation of Savages call'd

*Ouadebache*.<sup>1</sup> We remain'd there till the Fourteenth, because one of our Men kill'd a wild Cow, as she was swimming over the River, whose Flesh we were oblig'd to dry with Smoak, to preserve it from putrifying. Being thus provided with *Indian* Corn and Flesh, we left that Place the Fourteenth, and saw nothing worth Observation. The Banks of the River are so muddy, and so full of Rushes and Reeds, that we had much ado to find a Place to go ashore.

The Fifteenth we discover'd three Savages, who came from Hunting, or from some Expedition. As we were able to make head against them, we landed, and march'd up to them; whereupon they run away; but after some Signs, one return'd, and presented us the *Calumet* of Peace, which we receiv'd; and the others came back. We did not understand a Word of what they said; nor they, I suppose, what we told them: Tho' having nam'd them two or three different Nations, one answer'd three times *Cbikacha*, or *Sikacha*, which was likely the Name of his Nation. They gave us some *Pelicans* they had kill'd with their Arrows; and we presented them with part of our Meat. Our Canou being too little to take them in, they continu'd their way, making several Signs with their Hands, to follow them along the Shore; but we quickly lost the Sight of them.

Two days after, we saw a great number of Savages near

---

<sup>1</sup> Evidently referring to the Ohio River, the lower part of which was then commonly known as the Ouabache. Shea regards this sentence as one of the evidences that Hennepin was not responsible for this interpolated matter regarding the lower Mississippi; he says (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 345, note †): "Hennepin knew enough about the country not to make a nation called Ouadebache, as is done here."—ED.

the River-side; and heard immediately after a certain Noise, as of a Drum; and as we came near the Shore, the Savages cry'd aloud *Sasacouest*; that is to say, *Who goes there?* as I have been inform'd.<sup>1</sup> We were unwilling to land; but they sent us a *Pirogue* [123] or heavy Wooden Canou, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire; and we discover'd amongst them the three Savages we had met two Days before. We presented our *Calumet* of Peace, which they receiv'd; but gave us to understand by Signs, that we must go to the *Akanfa*; for they repeated so often that Word, pointing at the Savages a-shore, that I believe this is the right Name of their Nation. We cou'd not avoid it; and as soon as we were landed, the three *Cbikacha* took our Canou upon their Shoulders, and carry'd it to the Village. The Savages receiv'd us very kindly, and gave us a Cabin for our selves alone; and presented us with Beans, *Indian* Corn, and Flesh to eat. We made them also some Presents of our *European* Commodities, which they admir'd: They put their Fingers upon their Mouth, especially when they saw our Guns; and I think this way of expressing their Surprize, is common to all the Savages of the Northern *America*.

These Savages are very different from those of the North, who are commonly sad, pensive, and severe; whereas these appear'd jovial, civil, and free. Their Youth are so modest,

---

<sup>1</sup> Also cited by Shea (*ut supra*, p. 346, note †) to prove that Hennepin did not write this account: "Sasacouest, that is to say war-cries (Le Clercq, ii, p. 235), and in the East, Chichiquois was a word adopted by the French, and is used by Membre. Hennepin must have known its meaning, and would not have made the blunder here committed."—ED.

that they dare not speak before Old Men, unless they are ask'd any Question. I observed they have tame Poultry, as Hens, Turkey-Cocks, and Bustards, which are as tame as our Geese. Their Trees began to shew their Fruit, as Peaches, and the like; which must be a great deal bigger than ours. Our Men lik'd very well the Manner of these People; and if they had found any Furrs and Skins to barter for their Commodities, they would have left me amongst them; but I told them, that our Discovery was more important to them than their Trade; and advis'd them to hide their Commodities under-ground, which they might take again upon our return, and exchange them with the Savages of the North. They approv'd my Advice, and were [124] sensible that they should prevent many Dangers; for Men are covetous in all Countries.

The Eighteenth we embark'd again, after having been entertain'd with Dancing and Feasting; and carry'd away our Commodities, tho' the Savages were very loth to part with them; but having accepted our *Calumet* of Peace, they did not presume to stop us by Force.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*A Continuation of our Voyage on the River Mefchafipi.*

AS we fell down the River, we look'd for a fit Place to hide our Commodities, and at laſt pitch'd upon one between two Eminences near a Wood. We took up the green Sodds, lay'd them by, and digg'd a Hole in the Earth, where we put our Goods, and cover'd them with Pieces of Timber and Earth, and then put on again the green Turf; ſo that 'twas impoſſible to ſuſpect that any Hole had been digg'd under it, for we flung the Earth into the River. We tore afterwards the Bark of three Oaks and of a large Cotton-tree, and ingrav'd thereon four Croſſes, that we might not miſs the Place at our Return. We embark'd again with all ſpeed, and paſt by another Village of Savages about ſix Leagues from *Akanſa*, and then landed at another two Leagues lower, where we were kindly entertain'd. Men, Women, and Children came to meet us; which makes me believe that the firſt *Akanſa* had given notice of our arrival, to all the Villages of their Nation. We made them ſome Prefents of little Value, which they thought very conſiderable. Prefents are the Symbols of Peace in all thoſe Countries.

The Twenty firſt thoſe Savages carry'd us in a *Pyrogue* to ſee a Nation farther off into the Country, [125] which they

call *Taensa*; for they repeated often that Word, so that we could not but remember it. Those Savages inhabit the Banks of a Lake form'd by the *Meschafipi*; but I had not time enough to make any particular Observation concerning several of the Villages which I saw.<sup>1</sup>

These Savages receiv'd us with much more Ceremonies than the *Akanfa*; for their Chief came in great Solemnity to the Shore to meet us. He had a kind of a white Gown on, made of Cloth of Bark of Trees, which their Women spun<sup>2</sup>; and two Men carry'd before him a thin Plate of Copper, as shining as Gold. We presented our *Calumet* of Peace, which he receiv'd with Joy and much Gravity. The Men, Women, and Children, who attended him, express'd a great Respect for me, and kiss'd the Sleeves of the *Habit of St. Francis*; which made me believe that they had seen some *Spanish Franciscans* from *New Mexico*, it being usual there to kiss the *Habit of our Order*: But this is a meer Conjecture; tho' I observ'd they did not pay that Respect to the two Men that were with me.

The *Taensa* conducted us into a fine Cabin of flat Rushes and shining Reeds,<sup>3</sup> and entertain'd us as well as their Country

<sup>1</sup>The Taensa tribe were located in what is now Tensas county, La., on the east side of the Mississippi. When Iberville visited them (1700), they had seven villages, grouped around a lake, probably Lake St. Joseph.—*Jes. Relations*, lxx, 267.

<sup>2</sup>Cloth was spun, by the women of Southern tribes, from the bark of the mulberry tree; see description of this process in Le Page du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758), ii, pp. 191-193. See also Holmes's "Prehistoric Textile Art," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 3-46.—ED.

<sup>3</sup>These "reeds" were obtained from the "canebrakes" of that region—a dense growth formed by the stems of *Arundinaria macrosperma*, a tall, woody grass, allied to the bamboo.—ED.

could afford; and then Men and Women, who are half cover'd in that Country, danc'd together before us. Their way of Dancing is much more difficult than ours, but perhaps as pleafant, were it not for their Mufick, which is very difagreeable. Women repeat every Word the Men have fung.

That Country is full of Palm-trees, wild Laurels, Plum-trees, Mulbery-trees, Peach-trees, Apple-trees, and Walnut-trees of five or fix kinds, whofe Nuts are a great deal bigger than ours. They have alfo feveral forts of Fruit-trees unknown in *Europe*, but I could not difcern the Fruit, becaufe of the Seafon of the Year.

[126] The Manners and Temper of that Nation is very different from that of the *Iroquefe*, *Hurons*, and *Illinois*. Thefe are Civil, Eafie, Tractable, and capable of Inftuctions; whereas the others are meer Brutes, as fierce and cruel as any wild Beafts. We lay that Night in their Village, and were entertain'd as civilly as we could have wifh'd for; and we did likewise our utmoft to oblige them: We fhew'd them the Effect of our Fire-Arms, and a Piftol which fhot four Bullets one after another, without needing to be new charg'd. Our Men took their beft Cloth, which pleas'd them very much; and they feem'd well fatisfy'd with us, as they exprefs'd by many Signs and Demonftrations. They fent overnight to the *Koraa*,<sup>1</sup> who are their Allies, to give them notice of our Arrival; and their Chief came next Morning in great

---

<sup>1</sup> This tribe were then living on the west fide of the *Missiffippi*, above *Natchez*; later, they wandered to the *Yazoo River*. They were finally merged in the *Cha'htas* (*Choctaws*).—ED.

Ceremony to see us. They seem'd transported with Joy, and 'tis great pity we could not understand what they told us, to know what Opinion they entertain'd of us, and from what Part of the World they fancied we came. I order'd my Men to square a Tree, and having made a Cross, we planted it near the Cabin where we lay.

The Twenty second we left that obliging People, and the Chief of the *Koroa* attended us to his Village, which is situated about ten Leagues lower, upon the River, in a fertile Soil, which produces abundance of *Indian* Corn, and other things necessary for Life. We presented them with three Axes, six Knives, seven Yards of good Tobacco, several Awls and Needles. They receiv'd our Presents with great Shouts, and their Chief presented us with a *Calumet* of Peace of red Marble, the Quill whereof was adorn'd with Feathers of five or six sorts of Birds.

They gave us also a Noble Treat according to their own way, which I lik'd very well; and after we had din'd, the Chief of that Nation understanding by our Signs which way we were bound, took a Stick, and [127] made such Demonstrations, that we understood that we had not above seven Days Journey to the Sea, which he represented as a great Lake with large wooden Canou's. The next Day we prepar'd to continue our Voyage; but they made such Signs to oblige us to stay a Day or two longer, that I was almost perswaded to do it; but seeing the Weather so favourable for our Journey, we embark'd again. The Chief of that Nation, seeing we were resolv'd to be gone, sent several Men



in two *Pyrogues*, to attend us to the Mouth of the River with Provisions; but when I saw that the three *Cbikacha*, of whom I have spoken, follow'd us every where, I bid my Men to have care of them, and observe their Motions upon our landing, for fear of any Surprize. It was then *Easter-day*, which we kept with great Devotion, tho' we could not say Mass for want of Wine; but we spent all the Day in Prayers in sight of the Savages, who wonder'd much at it.

The *Meschafipi* divides it self into two Channels, and thereby forms a large Island, which to our thinking was very long, and might be about sixty Leagues broad. The *Koroa* oblig'd us to follow the Canal to the Westward, tho' the *Cbikacha*, who were in their *Pyrogues*, endeavour'd to persuade me to take the other: But as we had some suspicion of them, we refus'd to follow their Advice; tho' I was afterwards convinc'd, that they design'd only to have the Honour to bring us to several Nations on the other Side of the River, whom we visited in our return.

We lost quickly the Company of our Savages; for the Stream being very rapid in this Place, they could not follow us in their *Pyrogues*, which are very heavy. We made that Day near forty Leagues, and landed in the Evening upon the Island, where we pitch'd our Cabin.

The Twenty fourth we continu'd our Voyage; and about five and thirty Leagues below the Place [128] we had lain, we discover'd two Fishermen, who immediately ran away. We heard some time after a great Cry, and the Noise of a Drum; but as we suspected the *Cbikacha*, we kept in the

middle of the River, rowing as fast as we could. This was the Nation of *Quinipissa*,<sup>1</sup> as we understood since. We landed that Night in a Village belonging to the Nation of *Tangibao*, as we have been inform'd; but the Inhabitants had been surpriz'd by their Enemies, for we found ten of them murther'd in their Cabins; which oblig'd us to embark again, and cross the River, where we landed, and having made a Fire, roasted our *Indian Corn*.

The Twenty fifth we left the Place early in the Morning; and after having row'd the best part of the Day, came to a Point where the *Meschafipi* divides it self into three Chanel: We took the middle one, which is very broad and deep. The Water began there to taste brackish, but four Leagues lower it was as salt as the Sea. We rowed about four Leagues farther, and discover'd the Sea, which oblig'd us to go a-shore to the Eastward of the River.

---

<sup>1</sup> Also called, by some writers, Acolapissas; a Cha'hta band who had migrated to the region north of New Orleans; Hennepin may have confounded them with the Mugulashas and Bayagoulas, who dwelt in one village—"64 leagues from the sea," according to Iberville. See Shea's notes on this account, in his translation of Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, pp. 176, 177.—ED.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Reasons which oblig'd us to return towards the Source of the River  
Mefchafipi, without going any farther toward the Sea.*

MY two Men were very much afraid of the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who inhabit to the Westward of this River; and they were perpetually telling me, that if they were taken, the *Spaniards* would never spare their Lives, or at least give them the Liberty to return into *Europe*. I knew their Fears were not altogether unreasonable; and therefore I resolv'd to go no farther, tho' I had no reason to be [129] afraid for my self, our Order being so numerous in *New Mexico*, that, on the contrary, I might expect to have had in that Country a peaceable and easie Life.

I don't pretend to be a Mathematician, but having learn'd to take the Elevation of the Pole, and make use of the Astrolabe, I might have made some exact Observations, had M. *la Salle* trusted me with that Instrument: However, I observ'd that the *Mefchafipi* falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, between the 27th and 28th Degrees of Latitude, where, as I believe, our Maps mark a River call'd *Rio Escondido*, the Hidden River. The *Magdalen* River<sup>1</sup> runs between this

---

<sup>1</sup> A name vaguely applied, on various early maps, to the Sabine, the San Antonio, and the Rio Grande.—ED.

River and the Mines of *St. Barbe* that are in *New Mexico*.

The Mouth of the *Meschafipi* may be about thirty Leagues from *Rio Bravo*, sixty from *Palmas*, and eighty or a hundred from *Rio Panuco*, the nearest Habitation of the *Spaniards*; and according to these Observations, the Bay *di Spirito Santo*<sup>1</sup> lies to the North-East of the *Meschafipi*, which from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, runs directly to the South, or South-West, except in its Windings and Turnings, which are so great, that by our Computation there are about 340 Leagues from the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, whereas there are not above 150 in a direct Line. The *Meschafipi* is very deep, without being interrupted by any Sands, so that the biggest Ships may come into it. Its Course from its Source to the Sea, may be 800 Leagues, including Windings and Turnings, as I shall observe anon, having travell'd from its Mouth to its Head.

My Men were very glad of this Discovery, and to have escap'd so many Dangers; but, on the other hand, they express'd a great deal of dissatisfaction to have been at such trouble, without making any Profit, having found no Furrs to exchange for their Commodities. They were so impatient to return, that they would never suffer me to build a Cabin upon [130] the Shoar, and continue there for some days, the better to observe where we were. They squar'd a Tree of twelve foot high, and made a Cross thereof, which we erected

---

<sup>1</sup> The name first given by the Spaniards to Mobile Bay. Rio Bravo was an early name of the Rio Grande; Rio Palmas seems to correspond to the present Rio de San Fernando; and at the mouth of Rio Panuco is the city of Tampico, Mex.—ED.

in that Place, leaving there a Letter sign'd by me and my two Men, containing an Account of our Voyage, of our Country, and Profession. We kneel'd then near the Crofs, and having fung the *Vexilla Regis*, and some other Hymns, embark'd again on the firft of *April* to return towards the Source of the River.

We faw no body while we continu'd there, and therefore cannot tell whether any Natives inhabit that Coaft. We lay, during the time we remain'd a-shoar, under our Canou's, fupported with four Forks; and the better to protect us againft the Rain, we had fome Rolls of Birch-Bark, where-with we made a kind of Curtains about our Canou, hanging from the top down to the ground. 'Tis obfervable, that during the whole Courfe of our Sailing, God protected us againft the Crocodiles, which are very numerous in that River, and efppecially towards the Mouth: They look'd dreadful, and would have attack'd us, had we not been very careful to avoid them. We were very good Husbands of our *Indian* Corn; for the Banks of the River being full of Reeds, it was almoft impoffible to land to endeavour to kill fome Beasts for our Subfiftence.

Our Canou being loaded only with three Men and our Provifions, did not draw three Inches Water, and therefore we could row very near the Shoar, and avoid the Current of the River; and befides, my Men had fuch a defire to return to the North, that that very day we came to *Tangibao*; but becaufe the Savages we had found murther'd in their Cabins, made us believe, that that Place was not fafe, we continu'd

our Voyage all the Night long, after having fupp'd, lighting a great Match to fright the Crocodiles away for they fear nothing fo much as Fire.

[131] The next day, *April 2.* we faw towards break of Day a great Smoak not far from us, and a little while after we difcover'd four Savage Women loaded with Wood, and marching as faft as they could to get to their Village before us; but we prov'd too nimble for them at firft. However, fome Buftards coming near us, one of my Men could not forbear to fhoot at them; which fo much frightened thefe Women, that they left their Load of Wood, and run away to their Village, where they arriv'd before us. The Savages having heard the Noife, were in as great fear as their Wives, and left the Village upon our approach; but I landed immediately, and advanc'd alone with the *Calumet* of Peace; whereupon they return'd, and receiv'd us with all the Refpect and Civility imaginable. They brought us into a great Cabin, and gave us feveral things to eat, fending notice in the mean time to their Allies, that we were arriv'd there; fo that a great number of People crowd'd about to fee us. They admir'd our Guns, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, made us conceive they compar'd them to Thunder and Lightning; but feeing us fhoot Birds at a great diftance, they were fo amaz'd that they could not fpeak a word. Our Men were fo kindly entertain'd, that had it not been for the Commodities they had hid under-ground, they would have remain'd amongft that Nation; and truly it was chiefly to prevent any fuch thing, that I order'd them to do it; judging from the

Civility of those Savages, that they were like to be tempted to remain with them. This Nation call'd themselves *Quinipiffa*.

We made them some small Presents, to shew our Gratitude for their kind Entertainment, and left that Place, *April 4.* and row'd with such diligence, that we arriv'd the same day at *Koroa*. That Nation was not frighted as at the first time, but receiv'd us with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, carrying our [132] Canou upon their Shoulders in a triumphant manner, and twelve Men dancing before us with fine Feathers in their hands. The Women follow'd us with their Children, who held me by my Gown and Girdle, expressing much the same Kindness to my two Men. They conducted me in that manner to the Cabin they had prepar'd for us, made of fine Mats of painted Rushes, and adorn'd with white Coverings made of the Bark of Trees, spun as finely as our Linen-Cloth; and after we had refresh'd our selves, with the Victuals they had prepar'd for us, they left us alone, to give us time to rest our selves, which we did all the Night long. The next Morning I was surpriz'd to see their *Indian* Corn, which we left very green, grown already to Maturity; but I have learn'd since, that that Corn is ripe sixty days after it is sown. I observ'd there also another sort of Corn; but for want of understanding their Language, I was not able to know its Use and Name.

## C H A P. XL.

*An Account of our Departure from Koroa, to continue our Voyage.*

I LEFT *Koroa* the next day, *April 5.* with a design to visit several Nations inhabiting the Coast of the *Meschafipi*, but my Men would never consent thereunto, telling me that they had no Business there, and they were oblig'd to make all the haste they could towards the North, to exchange their Commodities for Furrs. I told them, that the Publick Good was to be preferr'd to Private Interest; but I could not persuade them to any such thing; and they told me that every one ought to be free; that they were resolv'd to go towards the Source of the River, but that I might remain amongst those Nations, if I thought fit. In short, I found my self oblig'd to submit to [133] their Will, though they had receiv'd Orders to obey my Direction. We arriv'd the 7th in the Habitation of the *Taensa's*, who had already been inform'd of our return from the Sea, and were prepar'd to receive us; having for that end sent for their Allies inhabiting the inland Country to the West-ward of the River. They us'd all possible endeavours to oblige us to remain with them, and offer'd us a great many things; but our Men would not stay one single day; though I confess the Civility of that People, and the good Disposition I observ'd in them, wou'd have



stopp'd me amongst them, had I been provided with things necessary for the Function of my Ministry.

We parted the 8th, and the *Taensa's* follow'd us several Leagues in their lightest *Pyrogues*, but were at last oblig'd to quit us, being not able to keep pace with our Canou. One of our Men shot three Wild-Ducks at once, which they admir'd above all things, it being impossible to do so with their Arrows. We gave them some Tobacco, and parted from them, our Men rowing with all their Strength, to let them see we had kept company with them out of meer Civility.

The 9th, we came to the Place where our Men had hidden their Commodities; but when my Men saw that the Savages had burnt the Trees which we had mark'd, they were so afraid, that they were near foundering away, and did not doubt but their Goods were lost. We went a-shoar; and while I was mending our Canou, they went to look for their Treasure, which they found in good condition. They were so transported with Joy, that *Picard* came immediately to tell me that all was well. In the mean time, the *Akanfa's* having receiv'd advice of our Return, came down in great numbers along the River to meet us; and lest they should see our Men taking again their Goods from under the Ground, I advanced to meet them with the *Calumet* of Peace, and [134] stopt them to smook, it being a sacred Law amongst them to smook in such a Juncture; and whosoever would refuse, must run the danger of being murther'd by the Savages, who have an extraordinary Veneration for the *Calumet*.

Whilst I stopt them, my Men put their Commodities into their Canou, and came to take me into it. The Savages saw nothing of it, of which I was very glad; for though they were our own, perhaps they might claim part of them upon some Pretence or other. I made several signs upon the Sand, to make them apprehend what I thought; but with what Success I don't know, for I could not understand a word of what they said, their Language having no affinity with those of their Neighbours I have convers'd withal, both since and after my Voyage to the Mouth of the *Meschafipi*.

I got into the Canou, and went by Water to the Village of the *Akanfa's*, while they went by Land; but our Men row'd so fast, that they could hardly keep pace with us. One of them, who was a good Runner, arriv'd at the Village before us, and came to the Shoar with the Women and Children to receive us, which they did even with more Civility than they had express'd the first time. Our Men suspected that this was only to get our Commodities, which they admir'd; but they are certainly a good sort of People; and instead of deserving the Name of a Barbarous Nation, as the *Europeans* call all the Natives of *America*, I think they have more Humanity than many Natives of *Europe*, who pretend to be very civil and affable to Strangers.

It would be needless to give here an exact Account of the Feasts and Dances that were made for our Entertainment, or of the Melancholy they express'd upon our Departure. I must own, that I had much a-do to leave them, but my two Men would not give me leave to tarry a day, seeing these

Nations, having [135] had no Commerce with the *Europeans*, did not know the Value of Beavers Skins, or other Furs, whereas they thought that the Savages inhabiting about the Source of the *Meschafipi*, might have been inform'd thereof by the Inhabitants of the Banks of the upper or Great Lake, which we found to be true, as we shall observe anon. We left the *Akanfa's* upon the 24th of *April*, having presented them with several little Toys, which they receiv'd with an extraordinary Joy; and during sixty Leagues, saw no Savage neither of the Nation of *Cbikacha*, or *Mefforite*, which made us believe they were gone a hunting with their Families, or else fled away, for fear of the Savages of *Tintonba*, that is to say, such as inhabit the Meadows, who are their irreconcilable Enemies.

This made our Voyage the more easie, for our Men landed several times to kill some Fowl and other Game, with which the Banks of the *Meschafipi* are plentifully stock'd; however, before we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, we discover'd several of the *Mefforites*, who came down all along the River; but as they had no *Pyrogues* with them, we cross'd to the other side; and to avoid any Surprise during the Night, we made no fire; and thereby the Savages could not discover whereabout we were; for doubtless they would have murder'd us, thinking we were their Enemies.

I had quite forgot to relate, that the *Illinois* had told us, that towards the Cape, which I have call'd in my Map *St. Anthony* near the Nation of the *Mefforites*, there were some

*Tritons*, and other Sea-Monsters painted, which the boldest Men durst not look upon, there being some Enchantment in their Faces. I thought this was a Story; but when we came near the Place they had mention'd, we saw instead of these Monsters, a Horse and some other Beasts painted upon the Rock with red Colours by the Savages.<sup>1</sup> The *Illinois* had told us likewise, that the Rock on which [136] these dreadful Monsters stood, was so steep that no Man could climb up to it; but had we not been afraid of the Savages more than of the Monsters, we had certainly got up to them. There is a common Tradition amongst that People, That a great number of *Miami's* were drown'd in that Place, being pursu'd by the Savages of *Matsigamea*<sup>2</sup>; and since that time, the Savages going by the Rock, use to smok, and offer Tobacco to those Beasts, to appease, as they say, the *Manitou*, that is, in the Language of the *Algonquins* and *Accadians*,<sup>3</sup> an evil Spirit, which the *Iroquese* call *Otkon*; but the Name is the only thing they know of him.

<sup>1</sup> These painted figures are described by Marquette (*Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 139, 141; cf. 312), who saw them in 1673. The rock whereon they were depicted was "immediately above the city of Alton, Ill." (Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 59, note 1). Amos Stoddard saw them in 1812; but since then they have been effaced by time.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Mitchigamia*; an Algonquian tribe living near the mouth of St. Francis River, in Arkansas, when visited by Marquette; later, they had migrated toward Kaskaskia, Ill., and were probably absorbed by the Kaskaskia tribe.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to the *Abenakis*, the most numerous Indian tribe in Maine—a region which was long in dispute between the French and English, as belonging to *Acadia*, to which both nations laid claim.

Tobacco, as an article highly prized by the Indians, was frequently offered by them to the spirits whom they rudely worshipped, especially to those of the winds and waters.—ED.

While I was at *Quebec*, I understood that M. *Jolliet*<sup>1</sup> had been upon the *Meschafipi*, and oblig'd to return without going down that River, because of the Monsters I have spoken of, who had frighted him, as also because he was afraid to be taken by the *Spaniards*; and having an Opportunity to know the Truth of that Story from M. *Jolliet* himself, with whom I had often travell'd upon the River *St. Lawrence*, I ask'd him whether he had been as far as the *Akanfa's*? That Gentleman answer'd me, That the *Outtaouats* had often spoke to him of those Monsters; but that he had never gone farther than the *Hurons* and *Outtaouats*, with whom we had remain'd to exchange our *European* Commodities with their *Furrs*. He added, that the Savages had told him, that it was not safe to go down the River, because of the *Spaniards*. But notwithstanding this Report, I have found no-where upon that River any Mark, as *Crosses*, and the like, that could persuade me that the *Spaniards* had been there; and the Savages inhabiting the *Meschafipi* would not have express'd such Admiration as they did when they saw us, if they had seen any *Europeans* before. I'll examine this Question more at large in my Second Volume.

---

<sup>1</sup> Louis Joliet, of Quebec, was sent by Frontenac to explore the Mississippi River; he was accompanied from Michillimackinac by the Jesuit Marquette. They followed the great river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas; then, fearing capture by the Spaniards, they returned to Michillimackinac. The voyage lasted from May 17 to the end of September in the year 1673.—ED.

## [137] CHAP. XLI.

*A particular Account of the River Meschafipi; Of the Country thro' which it flows; and of the Mines of Copper, Lead, and Coals we discover'd in our Voyage.*

FROM thirty Leagues below *Maroa*, down to the Sea, the Banks of the *Meschafipi* are full of Reeds or Canes; but we observ'd about forty places, where one may land with great facility. The River overflows its Banks now and then; but the Inundation is not very considerable, because of the little Hills which stop its Waters. The Country beyond those Hills is the finest that ever I saw, it being a Plain, whose Bounds I don't know, adorn'd now and then with some Hills and Eminences cover'd with fine Trees, making the rarest Prospect in the World. The Banks of the small Rivers flowing through the Plain, are planted with Trees, which look as if they had been dispos'd into that curious Order by the Art of Men; and they are plentifully stock'd with Fish, as well as the *Meschafipi*. The Crocodiles are very dangerous upon this great River, as I have already observ'd; and they devour a Man if they can surprize him; but 'tis easie to avoid them, for they don't swim after Men, nor follow them a-shoar.

The Country affords all sorts of Game, as Turkey-Cocks,

Partridges, Quails, Parrots, Wood-Cocks, Turtle-Doves, and Wood-Pidgeons; and abundance of wild Bulls, wild Goats, Stags, Beavers, Otters, Martins, and wild Cats: But as we approach'd nearer the Sea, we saw no Beavers. I design to give a particular Account of these Creatures in another place; in the mean time we shall take notice of two others, who are unknown in *Europe*.

[138] I have already mention'd a little Animal, like a Musk'd-Rat, that M. *la Salle* kill'd as we came from Fort *Miamis* to the *Illinois*, which deserves a particular Description. It looks like a Rat as to the Shape of its Body, but it is as big as a Cat: His Skin looks Silver-like, with some fair black Hair, which makes the Colour the more admirable. His Tail is without any Hair, as big as a Man's Finger, and about a Foot long, wherewith he hangs himself to the Boughs of Trees. That Creature has under the Belly a kind of a Bag, wherein they put their young ones when they are pursu'd; which is one of the most wonderful things of the World, and a clear Demonstration of the Providence and Goodness of the Almighty, who takes so particular a Care of the meanest of his Creatures.

There is no fierce Beast in all that Country that dares attack Men; for the *Mechibichi*, the most terrible of all, and who devours all other Beasts whatsoever, runs away upon the approach of a Savage. The Head of that Creature is very like that of the spotted Lynx, but somewhat bigger: his Body is long, and as large as a wild Goat, but his Legs are shorter; his Paws are like a Cat's-Foot; but the Claws are

fo long and ftrong, that no other Beaft can refift them. When they have kill'd any Beaft, they eat part of it, and carry the reft upon their Back, to hide it in the Woods; and I have been told that no other Beaft dare meddle with it. Their Skin is much like that of a Lion, as well as their Tail; but their Head is much bigger.<sup>1</sup>

The Savages gave us to underftand that to the Weftward of their Habitation, there are fome BeafTs who carry Men upon their Backs, and fhew'd us the Hoof and part of the Leg of one, which was certainly the Hoof of a Horfe; and furely Horfes muft not be utterly unknown in the Northern *America*: for then how cou'd the Savages have drawn [139] upon the Rock I have mention'd, the Figure of that Animal?

They have in that Country all forts of Trees we have in *Europe*, and a great many other unknown to us. There are the fineft Cedars in the World; and another fort of Tree, from which drops a moft fragrant Gum, which in my opinion exceeds our beft Perfumes.<sup>2</sup> The Cotton-Trees are of a prodigious height; the Savages make them hollow with Fire, to make their *Pyrogues* of them; and we have feen fome of them all of a-piece, above an hundred Foot long. The Oak is fo good, that I believe it exceeds ours for building Ships. I have obferv'd that Hemp grows naturally in that Country, and that they make Tarr and Pitch toward the Sea-Coafts;

---

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the panther, or catamount (*Felis concolor*). *Micipici* (*Mechibichi*) is an Algonkin word meaning "great lynx," and is a generic term for all large felines.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The sweet-gum tree (*Liquidambar styraciflua*).—ED.



and as I don't question but that there are some Iron-Mines, the Building of Men of War wou'd be very cheap in the River *Meschafpi*.

I took notice in my Description of *Louisiana*, that there are vast Meadows, which need not to be grubb'd up, but are ready for the Plow and Seed; and certainly the Soil must be very fruitful, since Beans grow naturally, without any Culture. Their Stalks subsist several Years, bearing Fruit in the proper Seasons: They are as big as one's Arm, and climb up the highest Trees, just as Ivy does. The Peach-Trees are like ours, and so fruitful, that they wou'd break if they were not supported. Their Forests are full of Mulberry-Trees and Plum-Trees, whose Fruit is bemusk'd. They have also plenty of Pomegranate-Trees and Chestnut-Trees: And 'tis observable, that all these Trees are cover'd with Vines, whose Grapes are very big and sweet.

They have three or four Crops of *Indian* Corn in one Year; for they have no other Winter than some Rains. We had not time enough to look for Mines; but we found in several Places some Pit-Coal; and the Savages shew'd us great Mines of Lead and Copper. [140] They have also Quarries of Freestone; and of black, white, and Jasper-like Marble, of which they make their *Calumets*.

These Savages are good-natur'd Men, affable, civil, and obliging; but I design to make a particular Tract concerning their Manners, in my *Second Volume*. It seems they have no Sentiments of Religion; though one may judge from their

Actions that they have a kind of Veneration for the Sun, which they acknowledge, as it seems, for the Maker and Preserver of all things.

When the *Nadoueffians* and *Iffati* take Tobacco, they look upon the Sun, which they call in their Language *Louis*; and as soon as they have lighted their Pipe, they present it to the Sun with these Words, *Tcbendiouba Louis*, that is to say, *Smoak Sun*; which I took for a kind of Adoration. I was glad when I heard that this only *Deity* was call'd *Louis*, because it was also my Name.<sup>1</sup> They call the Moon *Louis Basatsche*, that is to say, *The Sun of the Night*; so that the Moon and Sun have the same Name, except that the Moon is distinguish'd by the Word *Basatsche*.

They offer also to the Sun the best Part of the Beast they kill, which they carry to the Cabin of their Chief, who makes his Profit thereof, and mumbles some Words as it raises. They offer also the first Smoak of their *Calumets*, and then blow the Smoak towards the four Corners of the World. This is all I have observ'd concerning their Religion; which makes me believe that they have a religious Veneration for the Sun.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Yankton band of Sioux call the sun *ouee*, which, it is evident, represents the French pronunciation of *Louis*, omitting the initial letter. This Hennepin would be apt enough to supply, thereby conferring a compliment alike on himself and on Louis XIV, who, to the indignation of his brother monarchs, had chosen the sun as his emblem.—PARKMAN'S *La Salle*, p. 231, note 2.

## [141] CHAP. XLII.

*An Account of the various Languages of the Nations inhabiting the Banks of the Meschafipi; of their Submission to their Chief; of the Difference of their Manners from the Savages of Canada; and of the Difficulties, or rather Impossibilities attending their Conversion.*

'T IS very strange that every Nation of the Savages of the Northern *America* should have a peculiar Language; for though some of them live not ten Leagues one from another, they must use an Interpreter to talk together, there being no universal Language amongst them; as one may call the *Lingua Franca*, which is understood upon all the Coast of the *Mediterranean-Sea*; or the *Latin Tongue*, common to all the Learned Men of *Europe*. However, those who live so near one another, understand some Words us'd amongst their Neighbours, but not well enough to treat together without an Interpreter; and therefore they us'd to send one of their Men to each of their Allies, to learn their Language, and remain with them as their Resident, and take Care of their Concerns.

These Savages differ from those of *Canada* both in their Manners, Customs, Temper, Inclinations, and even in the

Shape of their Heads; those of the *Meschafpi* having their Heads very flat. They have large Places in their Villages, where they meet together upon any publick Rejoicings; and where they have publick Games at certain Seasons of the Year. They are lively and active, having nothing of that Morosity and Pensiveness of the *Iroquese* and others. Their Chiefs have a more absolute Authority than those of the other Savages, which Power is very narrow; and those who live the nearest to the Mouth of the River, have such a Deference for their [142] Chief, that they dare not pass between him and a Flambeau, which is always carry'd before him in all Ceremonies. These Chiefs have Servants and Officers to wait upon them: They distribute Rewards and Presents as they think fit. In short, they have amongst them a Form of Political Government; and I must own they make a tolerable use of their Reason.

They were altogether ignorant of Fire-Arms, and all other Instruments and Tools of Iron and Steel, their Knives and Axes being made of Flint, and other sharp Stones: And whereas we were told that the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* liv'd not above forty Leagues from them, and supply'd them with all the Tools, and other Commodities of *Europe*; we found nothing among them that might be suspected to come from the *Europeans*, unless it be some little pieces of Glass strung upon a Thread, with which their Women use to adorn their Heads. They wear Bracelets and Ear-Rings of fine Pearls, which they spoil, having nothing to boar them with, but with

Fire. They made us to understand that they have them in exchange for their *Calumets*, from some Nations inhabiting the Coast of the great Lake to the South-ward, which I take to be the *Gulph of Florida*.

I'll say nothing here, or at least very little, concerning their Conversion, reserving to discourse fully upon that Subject, in another *Volume*, wherein I promise my self to undeceive many People about the false Opinions they entertain on this Matter. Where-ever the Apostles appear'd, they converted so great a number of People, that the Gospel was known and believ'd in a short time, thro' most part of the then known World. But our Modern Missions are not attended with that Grace and Power, and therefore we are not to expect those miraculous Conversions. I have imparted to them, as well as I cou'd, the chief and general Truths of the *Christian Religion*: But, as [143] I have observ'd already, the Languages of those Nations having little or no Affinity one with another, I cannot say that my Endeavours have been very successful, tho' I learn'd the Language of the *Iffati* or *Nadouffians*, and understood indifferently well that of the *Illinois*: But the Truths of Christianity are so sublime, that I fear, neither my Words nor Signs and Actions have been able to give them an Idea of what I preach'd unto them. GOD alone, who knows the Hearts of Men, knows also what Success my Endeavours have had. The Baptism I have administer'd to several Children, of whose Death I was morally assur'd, is the only certain Fruit of my Mission. But

after all, I have only discover'd the Way for other Missionaries, and shall be ready at all times to return thither, thinking my self very happy if I can spend the rest of my Days in endeavouring my own and other Mens Salvation; and especially in favour of those poor Nations, who have been hitherto ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer. But lest I shou'd tire the Reader, I reassume the Thread of my Discourse.

## CHAP. XLIII.

*An Account of the Fishery of the Sturgeons; and of the Course we took, for fear of meeting some of our Men from Fort Crevecœur.*

WE embarqu'd the Twenty fourth of *April*, as I have already said; and our Provisions being spent some Days after, we had nothing to live upon, but the Game we kill'd, or the Fish we cou'd catch. Stags, wild Goats, and even wild Bulls are pretty scarce toward the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*; for this Nation comes as far as the *Meschasipi* to hunt them; but by good chance we found a great quantity [144] of Sturgeons, with *long Bills*, as we call'd them, from the shape of their Head.<sup>1</sup> It was then the Season that these Fishes spawn; and they come as near the Shore as they can; so that we kill'd as many as we wou'd with our Axes and Swords, without spending our Powder and Shot. They were so numerous, that we took nothing but the Belly, and other dainty Parts, throwing off the rest.

As we came near the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, my Men begun to be very afraid to meet with their Comrades of Fort *Crevecœur*; for having not yet exchange'd their Commodities, as they were order'd, and refus'd to go North-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the spade-fish (*Polyodon spatula*), described more fully by Marquette (*Jes. Relations*, lix, p. 111); and by Le Page du Pratz (*Hist. Louisiane*, ii, p. 154; see illustration at p. 152).—ED.

ward at first, as I desir'd them, they had great reason to fear that they wou'd stop them, and punish them for not having follow'd my Directions. I was likewise afraid that by these Means our Voyage towards the Sea wou'd be discover'd, (there being some Reasons to keep it secret, as I shall observe in another place) and our farther Discovery stopt; and therefore to prevent any such thing, I advis'd them to row all the Night, and to rest our selves during the Day in the Islands, which are so numerous in that River. The Trees and Vines wherewith those Islands are cover'd, are so thick, that one can hardly land; and so we might lie there very safe, it being impossible to discover us. This Advice was approv'd, and thereby we avoided any Rencounter; for I did not doubt but our Men came now and then from Fort *Crevecœur*, to observe the *Meschasipi*, and get Intelligence of us. But when we found our selves pretty far from the River of the *Illinois*, we travell'd in the Day-time, as we used to do, in order to make our Observations, and view the Country; which does not appear so fertile, nor cover'd with so fine Trees above the River of the *Illinois*, as it is below, down the *Meschasipi* to the Sea.



## [145] CHAP. XLIV.

*A short Account of the Rivers that fall into the Mefchafipi; of the Lake of Tears; of the Fall of St. Anthony; of the wild Oats of that Country; and several other Circumstances of our Voyage.*

NO Rivers, as I have already said, run into the *Mefchafipi* between the River of the *Illinois* and the Fall of *St. Anthony*, from the Westward, but the River *Ottenta*, and another which discharges it self into it within eight Leagues of the said Fall: But on the Eastward we met with a pretty large River, call'd *Ouisconsin*, or *Misconsin* [*Wisconsin*], which comes from the Northward. This River is near as large as that of the *Illinois*; but I cannot give an exact Account of the length of its Course, for we left it about sixty Leagues from its Mouth, to make a *Portage* into another River, which runs into the Bay of *Puans*, as I shall observe when I come to speak of our return from *Iffati* into *Canada*. This River *Ouisconsin* runs into the *Mefchafipi* about an hundred Leagues above that of the *Illinois*.

Within five and twenty Leagues after, we met another River coming from the Eastward, nam'd by the *Iffati* and *Nadouffians*, *Chebadeba*, that is, *The Black River*. I can say very little of it, having observ'd only its Mouth; but I judge

from that, that it is not very confiderable. About thirty Leagues higher we found the Lake of *Tears*, which we nam'd fo becaufe the Savages, who took us, as it will be hereafter related, confulted in this Place what they fhould do with their Prifoners; and thofe who were for murthuring us, cry'd all the Night upon us, to oblige, by their Tears, their Companions to confent to our Death. This Lake is form'd by the *Mefchafipi*, and may be [146] feven Leagues long, and five broad. Its Waters are almoft ftagnant, the Stream being hardly perceptible in the middle.<sup>1</sup> We met, within a League above the Lake, another River, call'd, *The River of the Wild Bulls*,<sup>2</sup> becaufe of the great number of thofe Beafts grazing upon its Banks. It falls with a great rapidity into the *Mefchafipi*; but fome Leagues above its Mouth, the Stream is very gentle and moderate. There is an infinite number of large Tortoifes in that River, which are very relifhing. A Row of Mountains fence its Banks in fome places.

There is another River, which falls forty Leagues above this laft, into the *Mefchafipi*; thro' which one may go into the Upper Lake, by making a *Portage* from it into the River *Niffipikouet*, which runs into the fame Lake.<sup>3</sup> It is full of Rocks and rapid Streams. We nam'd it *The River of the Grave*, or *Maufolæum*, becaufe the Savages bury'd there one of their Men, who was bitten by a Rattle-Snake. They us'd

<sup>1</sup> Lake Pepin, lying between Wisconsin and Minnesota.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The present Buffalo River, Wisconsin.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the St. Croix and Bois Brulé Rivers, long an important fur-trade route between the Mississippi and Lake Superior.—ED.

great Ceremonies in his Funeral, which I shall describe in another place; and I put upon his Corps a white Covering; for which the Savages return'd me their publick Thanks, and made a great Feast, to which above an hundred Men were invited.

The Navigation of the *Meschafipi* is interrupted ten Leagues above this River of the *Grave*, by a Fall of fifty or sixty Foot, which we call'd *The Fall of St. Anthony of Padua*, whom we had taken for the Protector of our Discovery. There is a Rock of a Pyramidal Figure, just in the middle of the Fall of the River.

The Row of Mountains fencing the Banks of the *Meschafipi*, ends at the Mouth of the River of *Ouisconsin*; and there we likewise observ'd, that that River, which runs from thence to the Sea almost directly North and South, runs then from the Westward or the North-West. The Misfortune we had of being taken Prisoners, hindred us from going as far as its [147] Source, which we cou'd never learn from the Savages, who told us only, that about twenty or thirty Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony*, there is another Fall; near which a Nation of Savages inhabit at certain Seasons of the Year. They call those Nations *Tintonha*, that is, *The Inhabitants of the Meadows*.

Eight Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony*, we met with the River of the *Iffati* or *Nadouffians*, which is very narrow at the Mouth. It comes out from the Lake of the *Iffati*, lying about seventy Leagues from its Mouth. We call'd this

River *The River of St. Francis*<sup>1</sup>; and it was in this Place that we were made Slaves by the *Iffati*.

The Courfe of the *Mefchafipi*, according to our beft Computation, is about Eight hundred Leagues long, from *Tintonba* to the Sea, including its Windings and Turnings; which are very great, and may be navigable from the Fall of *St. Anthony*, for flat-bottom'd Boats, provided the Iflands were clear'd from Trees, and epecially from Vines; which having ty'd the Trees together, wou'd ftop a Boat in many Places.

The Country about the Lake *Iffati* is a Marfhy Ground, wherein grows abundance of wild Oats, which grow without any Culture or Sowing, in Lakes, provided they are not above three Foot deep. That Corn is fomewhat like our Oats, but much better; and its Stalks are a great deal longer when it is ripe.<sup>2</sup> The Savages gather it, and live thereupon feveral Months of the Year, making a kind of Broath thereof. The Savage Women are oblig'd to tie feveral Stalks together with White Bark of Trees, to fright away the Ducks, Teals, or Swans, which otherwise wou'd fpoil it before it be ripe.

This Lake of *Iffati* lies within fixty Leagues to the Weftward of the Upper Lake; but 'tis impoffible to travel by Land from one to the other, unlefs it be in [148] a hard Froft, becaufe of the Marfhy Grounds, which otherwise fink under a Man; but, as I have already faid, they may ufe their

<sup>1</sup> Rum River, the outlet of the lake known as Mille Lacs.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The wild rice, *Zizania aquatica*. For full information regarding this grain and its use as food, see A. E. Jenks's excellent monograph, "Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in 19th *Annual Report* of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.—ED.

Canou's, tho' it be very troublefom, because of the many *Portages*, and the length of the Way, which, by Reason of the Windings of the River, is about a hundred and fifty Leagues. The shortest way is by the River of the *Grave* [St. Croix], thro' which we went in our return. We found nothing but the Bones of the Savage we had bury'd there, the Bears having pull'd out with their Paws the great Stakes the Savages had beat deep into the Ground round about the Corps; which is their usual Way of Burying their Dead. We found near the Grave a *Calumet* or Pipe of War, and a Pot, in which the Savages had left some fat Meat of Wild Bulls, for the Use of their dead Friend, during his Voyage into the Country of *Souls*; which sheweth that they believe their Immortality.

There are many other Lakes near the River *Iffati*, from which several Rivers spring. The Banks of those Rivers are inhabited by the *Iffati*, the *Nadoussians*, the *Tintonha* or *Inhabitants of Meadows*, the *Ouadebatbon* or *Men of Rivers*, the *Chongasketon* or *Nation of the Wolf* or *the Dog*, for *Chonga* signifies either of these Creatures. There are also several other Nations, which we include under the general Denomination of *Nadoussians*.<sup>1</sup> These Savages may bring into the

---

<sup>1</sup> For information regarding the history, organization, customs, and present status of the Siouan tribes, see the *Reports* of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, especially that for 1885-86 (Powell's "Indian Linguistic Families"), and for 1893-94 (McGee's "Siouan Indians," and Dorsey's "Siouan Sociology"); Riggs's "Dakota Grammar," etc., vol. ix of *U. S. Geog. and Geol. Survey of Rocky Mountain Region* (Washington, 1893); and Neill's *Hist. Minnesota, and Dakkotab Land* (Phila., 1859).—ED.

Field eight or nine thousand Men: They are Brave, Bold, great Runners, and good Marksmen with their Arrows. It was a Party of these Savages that took us Prisoners, and carry'd us to the *Iffati*, as I am going to relate in the following Chapter.

[149] CHAP. XLV.

*The Author and his Canou-Men are taken by the Savages, who, after several Attempts upon their Lives, carry them away with them into their Country above the River Mefchafipi.*

WE used to go to Prayers thrice a Day, as I have elsewhere observ'd; and my constant Request to God was, That when we shou'd first meet the Savages, it might happen to be by Day. Their Custom is, to kill as Enemies all they meet by Night, to enrich themselves with their Spoils, which are nothing but a parcel of Hatchets, Knives, and such like Trifles; which yet they value more than we do Gold or Silver. They make no scruple to assassinate even their own Allies, when they think they can handsomly conceal the Murder; for by such Exploits it is they hope to gain the Reputation of being great Soldiers, and to pass for Men of Courage and Resolution.

'Twas with a great deal of Satisfaction that we survey'd the Pleasures of the River *Mefchafipi*, all along our Passage up it, which had been since the first of *April*. Nothing as yet had interrupted our Observations, whether it were navigable above or below. In our way we kill'd seven or eight Bustards or Wild Turkeys, which in these Countries encrease mightily, as well as all other Wild Creatures. We had also

plenty of Bulls, Deers, Castors [Beavers], Fish, and Bears Flesh; which last we kill'd as they were swimming over the River.

And here I cannot forbear seriously reflecting on that secret Pleasure and Satisfaction of Mind, which is to be found in Prayer, and the real Advantages which may be drawn from thence, when I consider how [150] effectually my own were heard: For the same Day, being the Twelfth of *April*, as our two Men were boiling one of the Bustards, and my self refitting our Canou on the Banks of the River, I perceiv'd all of a sudden, about Two in the Afternoon, no less than fifty Canou's, which were made of Bark, and mann'd with a hundred and twenty Savages, who were stark naked, and came down the River with an extraordinary Swiftness, to surprize the *Miami's*, *Illinois*, and *Marobans* [Tamaroas], their Enemies.

We threw away the Broath which was a preparing, and getting aboard as fast as we cou'd, made towards them, crying out thrice, *Mistigouche* and *Diatchez*, which in the Language of the *Iroquese* and *Algonquins*, is as much as to say, *Comrades, we are Men of Wooden Canou's*; for so they call those that sail in great Vessels. This had no effect, for the Barbarians understood not what we said; so that they surrounded us immediately, and began to let fly their Arrows at a distance, till the Eldest amongst them perceiving that I had a *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace in my hand, came up to us, and prevented our being murdered by their Warriours.

These Men who are more brutal than those of the lower



River, fell a jumping out of their Canou's, some upon Land, others into the Water; furrounding us on all Sides with Shrieks and Out-cries that were indeed very terrifying. 'Twas to no purpose to resist, being but three to so great a number. One of them snatch'd the Pipe of Peace out of my Hand, as our Canou and theirs were fastned together on the Bank of the River. We presented them with some small Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco, because it was better than what they had. As they receiv'd it, the Elders of them cry'd out *Miabima, Miabima*; but what they meant by it, we knew not. However, we made Signs with our Oars upon the Sand, that the *Miami's* their Enemies, whom they were in search of, had [151] pass'd the River, and were upon their Flight to join the *Illinois*.

When they saw themselves discover'd, and consequently out of all hopes of surprizing their Enemies, three or four of the eldest of them laid their hands on my Head, and began to weep bitterly, accompanying their Tears with such mournful Accents as can hardly be express'd; till with a sorry Handkerchief of *Armenian* Cloth, which I had left, I made a Shift to dry up their Tears: However, to very little purpose; for refusing to smook in our *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, they thereby gave us to understand, that their design was still to murder us. Hereupon with an horrid Out-cry, which they set up all at once, to make it yet the more terrible, they hurry'd us cross the River, forcing us to redouble the Stroaks of our Oar, to make the more speed; and entertaining us all the while with such dismal Howlings, as were

capable of striking Terror into the most resolute and daring Souls. Being come a-shoar on the other side, we unloaded our Canou, and landed our Things, part of which they had robb'd us of already. Some time after our Landing, we made a fire a second time, to make an end of boiling our Bustard. Two others we presented the Barbarians, who having consulted together what they should do with us, two of their Leaders came up to us, and made us to understand by Signs, that their Warriours were resolv'd upon our Death. This oblig'd me, whilst one of our Canou-Men look'd after our Things, to go with the other, and apply my self to their Chiefs. Six Hatchets, fifteen Knives, some pieces of Tobacco, was the Present that I made them. After which, bending my Neck, and pointing to a Hatchet, I signifi'd to them by that Submission, that we threw our selves on their Mercy.

The Present had the good effect to soften some of them, who, according to their Custom, gave us [152] some Flesh of Beaver to eat, themselves putting the three first Bits in our Mouths; having first blown upon it, because the Meat was hot. After this they set their Platter before us, which was made of the Bark of a Tree, leaving us at liberty to feed after our own fashion. These Civilities did not hinder us from passing the Night very uneasily, because in the Evening before they went to sleep, they had return'd us our *Calumet* of Peace. The two Canou-Men resolv'd to sell their Lives as dear as they could, and to defend themselves like Men to the last, in case they shou'd attack us. For my part, I told

them I resolv'd to suffer my self to be slain without the least Resistance, in Imitation of our Saviour, who resign'd himself up voluntarily into the hand of his Executioner. However, we watch'd all Night by turns, that we might not be surpriz'd in our Sleep.

## CHAP. XLVI.

*The Resolution which the Barbarians took to carry the Author and his two Men along with them up into their Country, above the River Meschafipi.*

THE 13th of *April*, very early in the Morning, one of their Captains, whose Name was *Narrbetoba*, being one of those who had been for killing us, and whose Body was painted all over, came and demanded my Pipe of Peace. It being deliver'd him, he fill'd it with Tobacco of their own growth, and made those of his own Band smook in it first; then all the rest that had been for putting us to death. After this he made Signs, that we must go with them into their Country, whither they were then about to return. This Proposal did not startle me much, for having caus'd the Enterprize which they had [153] fram'd against their Enemies to miscarry, I was not unwilling to embrace any opportunity of making farther Discoveries amongst these barbarous Nations.

That which perplex'd me most, was the Difficulty I had of saying my Office, and performing the rest of my Devotions, in the presence of these Wretches. Many of them observing my Lips to move, told me in a harsh and severe Tone, *Ouac-kanche*; from whence, because we understood not a word of their Language, we concluded them to be very angry.

*Michael Ako*, one of the Canou-Men, told me with a frightful Air, that if I continu'd to say my Breviary, we should infallibly be murther'd by them. *Picard du Gay* desir'd me at least to say my Prayers in private, for fear of enraging them too far. The last Advice seem'd the best; but the more I endeavour'd to conceal my self, the more of them had I at my Heels. If at any time I retir'd into the Woods, they immediately concluded 'twas to hide something: So that I knew not which way to turn me for the performance of my Duty; for they would never suffer me a moment out of their Sight.

This compell'd me at last to acquaint the two Canou-Men, that I cou'd no longer dispense with my self in omitting the Duty of my Office: That if they shou'd murder us on this Account, I shou'd indeed be the innocent Cause of their Death as well as my own; that therefore I ran the same Risque as they, but that no Danger was great enough to justify me in the dispensing with my Duty. In fine, the Barbarians understood by the Word *Ouackanche*, that the Book in which I read, was an evil Spirit, as I afterwards understood by being amongst them. However, I then knew by their Gestures, that they had an aversion for it. Wherefore to use them to it by degrees, I was wont to sing the Litanies, as we were upon the Way, holding the Book in my Hand. They [154] fondly believ'd my Breviary was a Spirit, which taught me to sing thus for their Diverfion. All these People naturally love Singing.

## CHAP. XLVII.

*The many Outrages done us by the Savages, before we arriv'd in their Country. They frequently design against our Lives.*

THE many Outrages which were done us by these Barbarians, through the whole Course of our Voyage, are not to be imagin'd. Our Canou was both bigger and heavier laden than theirs. They seldom carry any thing but a Quiver full of Arrows, a Bow, and some sorry Skin or other, which usually serves two of them for a Coverlet. The Nights were sharp as yet for the Season, by reason of our advancing still Northwards; so that at Night 'twas necessary to keep our selves as warm as we could.

Our Conductors observing that we did not make so much way as themselves, order'd three of their Warriours to go aboard us. One seated himself on my Left, the other two behind the Men, to help them to row, that we might make the more haste. The Barbarians sometimes row no less than thirty Leagues a day, when they are in haste to take the Field, and design to surprize their Enemies. Those who took us were of divers Villages, and as much divided in their Sentiments, in regard of us. Every Evening 'twas our peculiar Care to plant our Cabin near the young Chief, who had

taken Tobacco in our Pipe of Peace; signifying to him thereby, that we put our selves under his Protection.

This we did, by reason of the Divisions which reign'd amongst the Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, one of their Chiefs, who had a Son kill'd by the *Miami's*, [155] finding he could not revenge himself of that Nation, thought of venting his Passion upon us. Every Night would he bewail his Son, whom he had lost in the War, thinking thereby to stir up those of his Band to revenge his Death, by killing us, seizing our Effects, and after that pursuing the *Miami's*. But the other Savages, who were very fond of *European* Commodities, thought it more adviseable to protect us, that other *Europeans* might be encourag'd to come amongst them. They chiefly desir'd Guns, upon which they set the highest Value, having seen the use of them upon one of our Canou-Men's killing three or four Bustards or wild Turkeys, at one single Discharge of his Fusil; whereas they could not kill above one at a time with their Bows.

We have understood by them since, that the Words *Manza Ouackanche* signifie *Iron possess'd by an Evil Spirit*. So they call the Fusil, which breaks a Man's Bones; whereas their Arrows glide only between the Flesh and the Muscles, which they pierce without breaking the Bone at all, or very seldom at least. For which reason it is, that these People do much easier cure the Wounds which are made by the Arrow or Dart, than those of the Fusil.

When we were first taken by the Barbarians, we were got about an hundred and fifty Leagues up the River, from that

of the *Illinois*. We row'd afterwards in their Company for nineteen Days together, sometimes North, sometimes North-East, as we judg'd by the Quarters from whence the Wind blew, and according to the best Observations we cou'd make by our Compaſs. So that after theſe Barbarians had forc'd us to follow them, we made more than two hundred and fifty Leagues upon that ſame River. The Savages are of an extraordinary Force in a Canou. They'll row from Morning to Night without reſting, or hardly allowing themſelves fo much time as to eat their Victuals.

[156] To oblige us to follow them the faſter, there were uſually four or five of their Men a-board us; for our Canou was larger, and deeper loaden than theirs, ſo that we had need of their Aſſiſtance, to be able to keep 'em company. When it rain'd, we ſet up our Tilts; but when 'twas fair, the Heavens were our Canopy. By this means we had leiſure to take our Obſervations from the Moon and the Stars when it was clear. Notwithſtanding the fatigue of the Day, the youngeſt of the Warriours went at Night and danc'd the *Reed*<sup>1</sup> before four or five of their Captains till Midnight. The Captain to whoſe Quarter they went, ſent with a deal of Ceremony to thoſe that danc'd, a Warriour of his own Family, to make them ſmoak one after another in his own *Reed* of War, which is diſtinguiſh'd from that of Peace by its Feathers.

This ſort of Ceremony is always concluded by the two

---

<sup>1</sup> Calumet (reed) dance. Thus termed becauſe the ſtem of the pipe, or calumet, was made from a hollow reed.—ED.



Youngest of those who have had any Relations kill'd in the Wars. These take several Arrows, and laying them a-crofs at the point, present them in that manner to their Captains, weeping very bitterly; who, notwithstanding the excess of their Sorrow, return them back to be kiss'd. In short, neither the Fatigues of the Day, nor Watchings, are sufficient to prevail with the Elders so much as to shut their Eyes, most of them watching till almost Break of Day, for fear of being surpriz'd by their Enemies. As soon as the Morning appears, one of them sets up the ordinary Cry, when in a moment the Warriours are all in their Canou's. Some are sent to encompass the Islands, and to see what Game they can meet with; whilst others that are more swift, go by Land to discover by the Smoak the Place where the Enemies lie.

## [157] CHAP. XLVIII.

*The Advantages which the Savages of the North have over those of the South, in relation to the War: As also the Ceremony which was perform'd by one of our Captains, having caus'd us to halt at Noon.*

WHEN the Savages of the North are at War, 'tis their Custom to post themselves upon the point of some one of those many Islands, of which this River is full, where they look upon themselves to be always safe. Those of the South, who are their Enemies, having nothing but *Pyrogues*, or Canou's of Wood, with which they cannot go very fast, because of their weight. None but the Northern Nations have Birch to make Canou's of their Bark. The People of the South are depriv'd of this Advantage, whereas those of the North can with an admirable facility pass from Lake to Lake, and River to River, to attack their Enemy. Nay, when they are discover'd, they value it not, provided they have time to recover their Canou's; for 'tis impossible for those who pursue them either by Land, or in the *Pyrogues*, to do it with any Success.

As to what relates to Ambuscades, no Nation in the World comes near those Northern Savages, being patient of Hunger, and the utmost Severities of the Weather, beyond

belief. 'Tis their sure Game; and they never fail being succour'd by three or four of their Comrades, whenever their Enemies attack 'em. So that they always bring their Designs about this way, at least, if not over power'd so by Numbers, as not to be able to recover their Canou's, and save themselves by flight.

One of the nineteen Days of our most tiresome Voyage, a Captain call'd *Aquipaguetin*, who afterwards [158] adopted me for his Son, as we shall see anon, thought it advisable to halt about Noon in a fine large Meadow, situate on the West of the River *Meschafipi*. This Chief had kill'd a large fat Bear, to which he invited the principal Captains of the Warriours. After the Repast, these Savages having all of them certain Marks in the Face, and their Bodies painted with the Figure of some Beast, such as every one fancy'd best, their Hair being also anointed with the Oil of Bears, and stuck all over with red and white Feathers, and their Heads cover'd with the Down of Birds, began to dance with their Hands all upon their Hip, and striking the Soles of their Feet with that violence against the Earth, that the very Marks appear'd. During the Dance, one of the Sons of the Master of the Ceremonies, made 'em all smoak in the Pipe of War, himself shedding abundance of Tears during the whole Action. And the Father, who marshall'd the whole melancholy Scene, accompany'd him with a Voice so lamentable and broken, with so many rising Sighs, as were capable of melting the most obdurate Heart, bathing himself all the while in his Tears: Sometimes would he address himself to

the Warriour, fometimes to me, laying his Hands on my Head, as he did also on my Mens. Sometimes would he lift up his Eyes to Heaven, repeating the Word *Louis*, which in their Speech signifies the Sun, appealing to him for Justice on the Murderers of his Son, and hoping to engage his Followers to avenge his Death.

As for us, as far as we could judge, all this Grimace boded us no good: And indeed we afterwards understood, that this Barbarian meant nothing less than our Destruction by it, as well now as at other times. But finding the opposition he was like to meet with from the other Chiefs, who were of a contrary Opinion, he was content to suffer us to re-embark, resolving however to make use of some other [159] Stratagem to get into his own Hands by little and little the rest of our Things. To take them from us openly by force, tho' he easily could, he durst not, for fear of those of his own Nation, who for such an Action would have accus'd him of a Baseness of Spirit, which even the most barbarous disdain.

## CHAP. XLIX.

*What Tricks and Artifices were us'd by Aquipaguetin to cheat us handsomely of our Goods; with many other Accidents that hapned in our Voyage.*

BY what has been said, it plainly appears that *Aquipaguetin* was a crafty designing Knave. He had with him the Bones of one of his deceas'd Friends, which he kept very choicely in the Skin of a Beast, adorn'd with several red and black Lifts of a Porcupine's. He would be from time to time assembling his Followers to make them smoak; and then would he fend for us one after another, and oblige us to cover the Bones of their Deceas'd with some of our *European* Merchandise, in order to dry up the Tears which he had shed for him and his Son, who had been kill'd by the *Miami's*.

To appease the crafty old Savage, we strew'd on the Bones of the Deceas'd several Pieces of *Martinico-Tobacco*, Hatchets, Knives, Beads, and some Bracelets of black and white Porcelain. Thus you see how we were drain'd by such Methods and Pretences, as we could not easily gainfay. He gave us to understand, That what he had thus demanded of us, was not for himself but the Dead, and to give the Warriors that he brought with him; and indeed he distributed amongst them whatever he took from us. He would have

had us understood by this, That [160] as a Captain he would take nothing himself but what we should freely present him with.

All this while we lay at the point of the *Lake of Tears*; we nam'd it so by reason of the Tears which this Chief did shed here every Night. When he was weary of Weeping, he made one of his Sons come and supply his Place. His Design in this was to excite the Compassion of the Warriors, and to prevail with them to kill us, and after that to pursue their Enemies; and so revenge the Death of his Son which he had lost.

Sometimes they sent the swiftest amongst them by Land to seek for prey, who would drive whole Drovers of wild Bulls before them, and force them to swim the River. Of these they sometimes kill'd forty or fifty, but took only the Tongues, and some other of the best Pieces: The rest they left, not to burden themselves, that they might make the more haste home.

'Tis true, we had Provisions plenty and good; but then we had neither Bread nor Wine, nor Salt, nor indeed any thing else to season it; and this lasted during the Four last Years of the almost Twelve that I liv'd in *America*. In our last Voyage, we liv'd much after the same manner, sometimes abounding, and at other times again reduc'd to the last Extremity; so that we have not eat a bit for four and twenty hours together, and sometimes longer. The reason is, because in small Canou's of Bark, one can stow but little: So that whatever Precaution a Man may use, he will often find himself

destitute of all things necessary for Life. Did the Religious of *Europe* undergo half the Fatigues, or did they but observe the Fasts that we have kept for so long a time together in *America*, there would need no Proofs to Canonize them. But then it must be own'd, that what destroys the Merits of our Fasts, was, that if we did suffer on such occasions, our Sufferings proceeded [161] not from our Choice; but, as the proverbial Saying is, our Virtue was our Necessity.

## C H A P. L.

*The Elders weep for us during the Night. New Outrages done us by Aquipaguetin. The manner how the Savages make Fire by Friction.*

MANY Nights together some or other of the Elders came and wept over us. They rubb'd our Arms and Bodies very often with their Hands, which they afterwards laid on our Heads. These Tears gave us many uneasy Thoughts; 'twas impossible to sleep for them; and yet we had need enough of Rest, after the great Fatigues of the Day. Nor was I easier by Day: I knew not what to think; sometimes I fancied that they bewail'd us, as knowing some of the Warriors had resolv'd to kill us; and other times again I flatter'd my self, that their Tears were the effect of their Compassion, for the evil Treatment they made us undergo. However it were, I am sure these Tears affected me more than those that shed them.

About this time, *Aquipaguetin* had another opportunity of persecuting us afresh: He had so dexterously manag'd the Matter with the Warriors of his Party, that it was one Day impracticable for us to encamp near the young Chief *Narbetoba*, who protected us, but were forc'd to go and place



our selves, with our Canou and Effects at the end of the Camp. Then it was that these Barbarians gave us to understand, that the aforefaid Captain was fully resolv'd to have our Heads. This oblig'd us to have recourse once more to our Chest, and to take out twenty Knives and some Tobacco, which we distributed among [162] them with an Air that sufficiently testify'd our Discontent.

The unreasonable Wretch look'd earnestly upon his Followers one after another, as if he were in doubt what to do, and consequently to demand their Advice, whether he ought to receive our Present or refuse it. But whilst we were inclining our Necks, and delivering him the Ax, the young Commander, who seem'd to be our Protector (and it may be really was) came and snatch'd us by the Arm, and all in a rage hurry'd us away to his Cabin. His Brother too taking up some Arrows, broke 'em in our sight, to assure us by that Action, that he would protect our Lives at the hazard of his own.

The next Day they left us alone in our Canou, without putting any of their Men a-board to assist us, as they had hitherto done: However, they kept all in the rear of us. After rowing four or five Leagues, another of their Captains came up to us, and made us land. As soon as we got on shoar, he fell to cutting of Grass, which he made into three little Heaps, and bade us sit down upon them: Then he took a piece of Cedar, which was full of little round Holes, into one of which he thrust a Stick of a harder Substance than the

Cedar, and began to rub it about pretty fast between the Palms of his Hands, till at length it took fire.<sup>1</sup> The use he put it to was to light the Tobacco in his great Pipe; and after he had wept some time over us, and laid his Hands on our Heads, he made me fmoak in a *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; and then acquainted us by Signs,<sup>2</sup> that within sixteen Days we should be at home.

---

<sup>1</sup> This method of making fire was used by many other tribes, notably the Huron; the Eastern Algonquian peoples generally employed stones containing iron (usually found in the form of iron pyrites),— a method still in use among some Eskimo tribes,— often with flint. The appliances introduced by white men—the flint and steel, with tinder-box, and the matches—soon superseded the primitive aboriginal methods. For detailed account of these, see Hough's "Fire-making Apparatus," in U. S. National Museum *Report*, 1887-88, pp. 531-587. Cf. *Jes. Relations*, vi, p. 217; xii, 117, 272; xxii, 267, 319.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> See Garrick Mallery's "Sign Language among North American Indians," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1879-80, pp. 263-552.—ED.

## [163] CHAP. LI.

*Ceremonies us'd by the Savages when they share their Prisoners.  
Continuation of our Journey by Land.*

HAVING thus travell'd nineteen Days in our Canou by Water, we arriv'd at length within five or six Leagues of the Fall, to which we had formerly given the Name of *St. Anthony*, as we came to understand afterwards. Here the Barbarians order'd us to land in a Creek of the River *Mefchafpi*; after which, they held an Assembly, to consult what they were to do with us. In short, they separated, and gave us to three of their Chiefs, instead of three of their Sons which had been kill'd in the War: Then they seiz'd our Canou, and took away all our Equipage. The Canou they pull'd to pieces, for fear it might assist us to return to their Enemies: Their own they hid amongst the Alders, to use again when they should have occasion to hunt that way. So that tho' we might have gone conveniently enough quite up into their Country by Water, yet were we oblig'd, by their Conduct, to travel no less than sixty Leagues a-foot.

Our ordinary Marches were from break of Day till ten at Night: And when we met with any Rivers, we swam them, themselves (who for the Most part are of an extraordinary size) carrying our Clothes and Equipage on their Heads,

and the Canou-Men, who were less than me, upon their Shoulders, because they could not swim. As I us'd to come out of the Water, which was often full of Ice, for we travell'd still North, I was hardly able to stand upon my Legs. In these Parts the Frosts continue all Night even at this time of the Year; so [164] that our Legs were all over Blood, being cut by the Ice, which we broke by degrees in our Passage as we waded o'er the Lakes and Rivers. We never eat but once in four and twenty Hours, and then nothing but a few Scraps of Meat dry'd in Smoak after their Fashion, which they afforded us with abundance of regret.

I was so weak that I often laid me down, resolving rather to die than follow these Savages any farther, who travell'd at a rate so extraordinary, as far surpasses the Strength of any *European*. However, to hasten us, they sometimes set fire to the dry Grass in the Meadows through which we pass'd; so that our Choice was march or burn. I had a Hat which I had taken with me, to fence me from the Sun during the Heats of the Summer. This would often fall from my Head into the Fire, because it was not over-fit, and the Fire so very near. The Barbarians would snatch it out again, and lend me a hand to save me from the Flames, which they had kindled, as well as to hasten our March, as I have said, as to give notice to their People of their return. I must here acknowledge, that had it not been for *du Gay*, who did all he could to encourage me, through the whole Course of this tiresome March, I had certainly sunk under the Fatigues of it, having neither Spirits nor Strength left to support me.

## [165] CHAP. LII.

*A great Contest arises amongst the Savages, about dividing our Merchandise and Equipage; as also my Sacerdotal Ornaments and little Chest.*

AFTER having travell'd about sixty Leagues a-foot, and undergone all the Fatigues of Hunger, Thirst, and Cold, besides a thousand Outrages daily done us in our Persons, after we had march'd Night and Day without ceasing, wading through Lakes and Rivers, and sometimes swam. As we now began to approach the Habitations of the Barbarians, which are situated in Morasses inaccessible to their Enemies, they thought it a proper time to divide the Merchandise which they had taken from us. Here they had like to have fallen out and cut one another's Throats, about the Roll of *Martinico-Tobacco*, which might still weigh about fifty Pound. These People value this Commodity far beyond what we do Silver or Gold. They have very good of their own growth; but this was so well dress'd, and made up into such beautiful Rings, that they were perfectly charm'd with it. The most reasonable amongst them made us understand by Signs, that they would give their [*sc.* our] Canou-Men several Castor-Skins in return for what they had taken: But others looking upon us as Slaves, because they said we had furnish'd Arms

to their Enemies, maintain'd that they were no ways oblig'd to make any return for the Things they had taken.

The reason why they divided the Spoil here, was, because this Band was compos'd of two or three different People: So. that those that liv'd at a distance, were apprehensive lest the others, who were just at home, might detain all the Merchandise which they [166] had taken, in the first Villages they should come at; and therefore were resolv'd to play a sure Game, and have their Share beforehand. Nor had they any greater Respect for what belong'd to me, than for the Merchandise which they took from the Canou-men; for they seiz'd my Brocard Chasuble, and all the Ornaments of my portable Chapel, except the Chalice, which they durst not touch. They observ'd that this Vessel, which was of Silver gilt, cast a glittering Light, so that as often as they chanc'd to look towards it, they would shut their Eyes: The reason was, as we understood afterwards, because they believ'd it to be a Spirit which would kill them. I had a little Chest, which I kept lock'd; they made me understand by Signs, that if I did not open it, or break the Lock, they would do it for me, against some sharp Stones which they shew'd me. The reason why they threatned me thus, was, because they had not been able to open it all the way, though they attempted it several times, to see what was in it. These People understand nothing of Locks and Keys: Besides, their Design was not to cumber themselves with the Box it self, but only to take out the Things that were in it. After I had open'd it, and they saw there was little or nothing in it but Books and Papers, they left it me untouch'd.

## CHAP. LIII.

*The Troop approaches the Village. A Grand Consult amongst the Savages, whether they should kill us, or save and adopt us for their Sons. The Reception which we had from them; and the use they made of my Chasuble.*

AFTER five hard Days travel, without so much as resting, except a little by Night in the open Air, we perceiv'd at last abundance of Women and [167] Children coming out to meet our little Army: All the Elders of the Nation were assembled upon this Occasion. We observ'd several Cabins, near the Posts of which lay several Trusses of Straw and dry'd Weeds, where these Barbarians are wont to fasten and burn the Slaves which they bring home with them from their Wars. Here they order'd *Picard du Gay* to sing, who all the time rattled a hollow Gourd full of little round Stones, which he held in his Hand. I observ'd moreover, that his Hair and Face were painted with different Colours, and that they had fastned a Tuft of white Feathers to his Head. These Ceremonies renew'd our Fears; and we thought we had more reason than ever to believe, that they had still a Design to put us to death. Nor were our Fears groundless, since these, with many others, are the Ceremonies which they use at the burning of their Enemies.

The worst was, we could not make our selves be under-

food. However, after many Vows and secret Prayers which we offer'd up to God on this Occasion, the Barbarians at last gave us some wild Oats to eat, of which I have spoken elsewhere. They gave them us in great Dishes made of Birch-trees; and the Savage Women season'd them with *Bluez*.<sup>1</sup> This is a sort of Black Grain, which they dry in the Sun in the Summer, and are as good as Corrans: The *Dutch* call them *Clake-besien*.

All the while the Feast lasted, which was the best Meal that we had made ever since we had been taken, there was a high Dispute between *Aquipaguetin* and the others, about the Distribution they were to make of the two Canou-men and my self. At last *Aquipaguetin*, as Head of the Party, carry'd it; who turning from one of the principal Captains towards me, presented me to smook in his *Calumet* of Peace, receiving from me at the same time that which we had brought, as a certain Pledge of the Union which [168] was to be for the future 'twixt them and us. After this, he adopted me for his Son, in the room of him that he had lost in the War.

*Narbetoba* and another Captain did the same by the two Canou-men. This Separation was very grievous to us, tho' somewhat allay'd by the Satisfaction we had to find that our Lives were safe. *Du Gay* took me aside to confess him, being sensible of the uncertain Condition his Life was in, amongst so barbarous a People. This oblig'd him to embrace me very heartily, and to beg my Pardon for what was past,

---

<sup>1</sup>The common blueberry (*Vaccinium Canadense*), called *bluet* by the French habitants. It was a favorite article of food among the Indians, in its season; they also dried it for winter use.—ED.



having first made the same Request to God. I should have been overjoy'd to have seen *Michael Ako* as well dispos'd: However, I did not omit to shew both the one and the other all the Marks of a most tender Affection.

In short, the Savages having parted us, led us away each to his own Village. Our Way lay over a Morass, where we march'd half way the Leg in Water for a League together, at the end of which we were met by five of *Aquipaguetin's* Wives, who receiv'd me in one of the three Canou's of Bark which they had brought with them, and then carry'd me a little League farther into a small Island, where their Cabins were.

## CHAP. LIV.

*The Authors Reception by the Relations of Aquipaguetin. They make him sweat to recover him of his Fatigues. The use they make of his Chasuble and other Ornaments.*

I ARRIV'D at this Place in the Month of *May*, 1680. the Day I cannot precisely tell; for I was so harass'd by the Savages on the Way, that I could not make all the little Observations which otherwise I would have done: Besides, there is some seven or [169] eight Hours difference between the Days and Nights of *Europe*, and those of *North-America*, because of the Retrogradation of the Sun. The Cape<sup>1</sup> was always to West of us from *Rochel* [La Rochelle] to *Quebec*; but to South-west from thence, till we came to *Meschafipi*, which made a considerable Variation in the Needle.

This Variation was occasion'd by the unconstant motion of the Needle, which in certain Latitudes would encline to the North, or North-East; whereas in others 'twould turn from the North to the North-west. We never could be so well assur'd of our Computations in our long Voyages, as to know exactly the way our Canou's made in a Day, or what was the Variation of the Needle in each Latitude. But we

---

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *cap*, apparently a reference to the *cap* of the compass, defined by Larousse as "a diameter traced in the compass-box, which indicates the axis of the ship."—ED.

found there were many Minutes of Variation, according to the Point the Wind was in. To say the truth, able Men might have lost the Memory of many things under the same Circumstances with my self.

At the entry of the Captain's Cabin who had adopted me, one of the Barbarians, who seem'd to be very old, presented me with a great Pipe to smoke in, and weeping over me all the while with abundance of Tears, rubb'd both my Arms and my Head. This was to shew how concern'd he was to see me so harass'd and fatigu'd: And indeed I had often need enough of two Men to support me when I was up, or raise me when I was down. There was a Bears-Skin before the Fire, upon which the youngest Boy of the Cabin caus'd me to lie down, and then with the Grease of wild Cats anointed my Thighs, Legs, and Soles of my Feet.

*Aquipaguein's* Son, who call'd me Brother, had got my Brocard Chafuble, and was strutting up and down with it upon his naked Back. He had wrapp'd up in it the Bones of a Man who had been very considerable amongst them, for whose Memory they had still a wonderful Respect. The Priest's Girdle, which [170] was made of red and white Wooll, with two Loops at the end, serv'd him to fasten it, whilst he carry'd it up and down in Triumph, calling it *Louis Chinnen*, which signifies, as I since understand, the Robe of him, who is nam'd the *Sun*. After they had for some time us'd my Chafuble as an Ornament to cover the Bones of their Dead, at the celebrating their most solemn Rites, they made a Present of it to a People in Alliance with them, who

liv'd 4 or 500 Leagues distant towards the West, but were come in Embassie, and had danc'd the *Calumet*.

The Day after my Arrival, *Aquipaguetin*, who was Head of a Great Family, put me on a Robe which was made of the Skins of the Bellies of wild Bulls: He gave me a second, made of ten large Castor-Skins. Then he shew'd me six or seven of his Wives, (for Poligamy is in fashion here;) he told them, as I afterwards understood, That they were to esteem me as one of their Sons. After this, he set a Bark-Dish before me, in which were Bremes, and other white Fish, to regale me withal. He gave Orders to those about him, to give me the Title that was due to the Rank which I was to hold amongst my new Kindred.

Farther; this new Father of mine observing that I could not well rise without two or three to help me, order'd a Stove to be made, into which he caus'd me to enter stark-naked with four Savages; who before they began to sweat, ty'd their *Prepuces* about with certain Strings made of the Bark of a white Wood. This Stove was cover'd with the Skins of wild Bulls, and in it they put Flints and other Stones red-hot. They order'd me by Signs to hold my Breath, time after time, as long as I could, which I did, as well as those that were with me. As for the Privy Parts, I had only a Handkerchief to cover me.

[171] As soon as the Savages that were with me had let go their Breath, which they did with a great force, *Aquipaguetin* began to sing with a loud and thundring Voice; the others seconded him; and laying their Hands on my Body,

began to rub it, and at the same time to weep bitterly. I was like to fall into a Swoon, and so was forc'd to quit the Stove. At my coming out, I was scarce able to take up my Habit of St. *Francis* to cover me withal, I was so weak: However, they continu'd to make me sweat thrice a Week, which at last restor'd me to my pristine Vigour, so that I found my self as well as ever.

## CHAP. LV.

*The Author like to be famish'd. They admire his Compass, and an Iron Pot which he had. He makes a Dictionary, and instructs them in Points of Religion, in relation to Poligamy and Celibacy.*

MANY a melancholy Day did I pass amongst these Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, who adopted me, gave me nothing to eat but a few wild Oats five or six times a Week, and the Roes of dry'd Fish. All this Trash the Women boil'd up in an Earthen Pot: Besides, he sent me into a Neighbouring Isle, with his Wives, Children, and Servants, where I was to hough and dig with a Pick-axe and Shovel, which I had recover'd from those that robb'd us. Here we planted Tobacco, and some *European* Pulse, which I brought from thence, and were highly priz'd by *Aquipaguetin*.

This Man, to make himself the more considerable amongst those of his Tribe, would often assemble the Ancients of his Village, and in presence of them, send for my Compass, which I had still by me. Upon my turning the Needle with a Key, he took occasion [172] to tell them, and with Truth enough, That by the Guidance of that Machine it was, that we *Europeans* travell'd the whole World. Nay, being an able Spokesman, he possess'd them farther, That we were Spirits;

and that we were capable of bringing things to pass that were altogether out of their power. At the end of his Discourse, which was very pathetick, all the Elders wept over me, admiring in me what they could not comprehend.

I had an Iron Pot about three foot round, which had the Figure of a Lion on it, which during our Voyage serv'd us to bake our Victuals in. This Vessel was not so apt to break as our ordinary Kettles, which are more brittle; for which reason it was, not being likely to meet with Braziers to furnish us with new upon occasion, that we took this with us. This Pot the Barbarians durst never so much as touch, without covering their Hands first in something of Castor-Skin. And so great a Terrour was it to the Women, that they had it hung abroad upon the Bough of a Tree; for they durst not come or sleep in the Cabin when it was there.

We would have made a Present of it to some of their Chiefs; but none of them would either accept or make use of it, because they thought that there was a Spirit hid within, that would certainly kill them. These People are all of them subject to the like Superstition. Their Jugglers impose whatever they think fit upon their Belief. 'Twas some time I spent amongst 'em, before I could make my self be understood. But Hunger beginning to press me hard, I set about making a Dictionary in their Tongue, the which I did by means of their Children, with whom I made my self as familiar as possible, to inform my self by their Prattle.

When once I had got the Word *Tabetchiaben*, which signifies in their Language, *How call you this?* I began to

be soon able to talk of such things as are [173] most familiar. This difficulty was hard to surmount at first, because there was no Interpreter that understood both Tongues. For Example; If I had a mind to know what *to run* was in their Tongue, I was forc'd to mend my pace, and indeed actually run from one end of the Cabin to t'other, till they understood what I meant, and had told me the Word; which I presently set down in my Dictionary. The Principal of them observing the great Inclination I had to learn their Language, would often tell me, *Vatchison égagabé, Spirit, thou takest a great deal of Pains. Put Black to White.* One day they told me the Names of all the Parts of a Man's Body. However, I forbore setting down several immodest Terms, which these People scruple not to use every foot. Observing it, they would often cry *égagabé, égagabé; Spirit, Spirit, set down that Word as well as the rest.*

Thus would they divert themselves with me, and often say to one another, *When we ask Father Louis any thing, (for they had heard our Canou-Men call me so) he does not answer us. But when he has lookt upon the White, (for they have no word for Paper) he then talks, and makes us understand his Thoughts. This White thing, wou'd they add, must needs be a Spirit, which teaches him to understand all we say.* Hence they concluded, that neither of the Canou-Men had so much Wit as my self, because they could not *work upon that which was White.* So that this Qualification in me, made them fondly imagine that I could do any thing else.

One day, seeing the Rain fall in such abundance, that they



fear'd 'twould spoil their hunting, they order'd me to bid it cease. I told them, pointing with my Finger to the Clouds, *That He, who was the Great Captain of Heaven, was the sole Master of the Rain and Sunshine; That He was the Great Disposer of all the Events that happen to Mortals, or the Universe in general; That what they bid me do, depended not on me, but the First Mover, who had sent me thither, to teach them to acknowledge him for their Creatour and Redeemer.*

[174] Observing me distinguish'd from the Canou-Men by my Habit, and having no Notion of *Celibacy*, they would often ask what Age I was, and what Wives and Children I had. Their way of reck'ning their Years is by Winters. These Wretches, void of Light and Instruction, were strangely surpriz'd at the Answer I made them. I told them, pointing to the two Canou-Men, whom I was come three Leagues to visit, *That with us, one Man might marry but one Wife, and that nothing cou'd separate him again from that One, but Death: That for my self, I had promis'd the Great Master of Life never to marry any; but to come and dwell amongst them, and instruct them in the Commands of the Great Master of Heaven and Earth, and to live poorly amongst them, far from my own Country, where all good Things did abound.*

'Tis true, says one of them, *here is little or no Hunting in these Parts, and thou suffereest much: But have but patience till Summer, we shall then go into the hot Countries, where we shall kill Bulls enough, and then thou wilt make thy self sufficient amends for the time thou hast spent here.* I had been well content, had they let me eat as their Children did; but they hid the

Victuals from me, and wou'd rise to eat in the Night, when I knew nothing of it. And although Women have usually more Compassion than Men, yet they kept the little Fish that they had, all for their Children. They consider'd me as a Slave whom their Warriours had taken in their Enemy's Country; and preferr'd the Lives of their Children before any Consideration they had for me; as indeed it was but reasonable they shou'd.

However, some of the Elders would come often, and mourn over me in a very doleful manner. One wou'd call me *Grandson*, another *Nephew*; and all would say to me, *I am strangely afflicted to see thee so long without eating, and to understand thou hast been so ill treated in thy Journey. Those were young Warriours without Courage, who wou'd have kill'd thee, and who robb'd thee of what [175] thou hadst. If thou wou'dst have had Robes of Castors, or wild Bulls, to dry thy Tears, we wou'd have given 'em thee; but thou wouldst accept of nothing we have presented thee.*

CHAP. LVI.

*The most considerable Captain of the Iffati and Nadoueffians upbraid those that took us. The Author baptizes the Daughter of Mamenifi.*

**O**UASICOUDE, that is to say, *The Pierc'd Pine*, the wisest and most considerable of all the Chiefs of the *Iffati* and *Nadoueffians*, made it publickly appear, that he was highly incens'd against the Warriors that had us'd us so very ill. He said once in a full Council, That those who had robb'd us of our Things, were to be compar'd to famish'd Dogs, which having stole a piece of Flesh out of a Dish, sneak away with it when they have done: That they that had acted much after the same rate in regard of us, ought to be look'd upon as Dogs, who cou'd put such unworthy Affronts upon Men, who brought them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which they had no knowledge of, though they were found to be so useful: That for Himself, he shou'd one day have an opportunity of being reveng'd on him, who had been Author of all our Sufferings. This Reprimand was worthy the Character of a Person of *Ouasicoude's* Authority: And the Generosity of the Action redounded since to the Benefit of the whole Nation, as we shall see anon.

Going one day, as I often did, to visit the Cabins, I

found the Infant-Child of one call'd *Mamenifi*, very sick. Having a little examin'd the Symptoms of its Distemper, I found the Child past hopes of Recovery. I desir'd our two Canou-Men to give me their [176] Opinions, telling them, I thought my self oblig'd in Conscience to baptize it. *Michael Ako* cou'd not be prevail'd with to enter the Cabin where the Infant lay. He said in excuse, That I could not forget what a Risque we had run once already, of being murder'd by the Savages through my Obstinacy, in persisting to say my Breviary; whence 'twas to be fear'd, that what I was now going to do, might expose us again to the same Danger.

The Wretch had rather comply with certain Superstitions of the Barbarians, than assist me in so pious a Design. Being follow'd then by none but *Picard du Gay*, who assisted as God-father, or rather Witness of the Baptism, I christen'd the Child, and nam'd it *Antonetta*, from St. *Anthony of Padua*; and the rather, because the said *Peter<sup>1</sup> du Gay's* Name was *Anthony Auguelle*, Native of *Amiens*, and Nephew of Monsieur *du Canroi*, Proctor-General of the *Premonstres*,<sup>2</sup> and since Abbot of *Beaulieu*, to whom I presented him safe at our Return from *Canada*. But to proceed; for want of more proper Utenfils, I took a wooden Dish, and having put some common ordinary Water into it, sprinkled it upon the Head of the little

<sup>1</sup>This is an error for Picard, a nick-name given to Auguelle from his native province (see p. 180, note 1, ante).—ED.

<sup>2</sup>The Premonstrants were a monastic order founded by Saint Norbert in 1120, at Prémontré, France; his object was to correct the disorders prevalent among the chapters of canons. The order soon grew rich and powerful, but in course of time became itself corrupt, and fell into decay. The term "proctor," which Hennepin here uses, is more often translated "procurator" (Fr. *procurateur*).—ED.

Savage, pronouncing the following Words, *Creature of God, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Then I took half my Altar-Cloth, which I had snatch'd out of the Hands of a Savage, who had stole it from me, and spread it o'er the Body of the Infant.

The Baptism was accompany'd with no other Ceremony, because I was no longer in a Condition to say Mass, my Sacerdotal Robes being all taken from me. I believ'd the Linen could not serve to a more proper End than a Winding-Sheet to the first Infant of the Country, that had the Happiness to be baptized. I know not how far its Pains might be asswag'd by Virtue of the Linen, or what Alterations it might feel. I am sure I saw it laughing the next Day in [177] its Mother's Arms, who believ'd I had cur'd her Child. However it dy'd some time after. which affected me more with Joy than Grief.

Had this Child recover'd, 'twas much to be fear'd 'twou'd have trod in the Steps of its Fore-fathers, and been overgrown with their infamous Superstitions, for want of a Preacher to instruct it. For indeed, if those of its Nation dwelling in Darknes and Ignorance, *continue to sin without Law, they shall also perish without Law*, as we are told by the Apostle. Upon these Considerations I was glad it had pleas'd God to take this little Christian out of the World, lest it might have fall'n into Temptations, had it recover'd, which might have engag'd it in Error and Superstition. I have often attributed my Preservation amidst the greatest Dangers which I have since run, to the Care I took for its Baptism.

## CHAP. LVII.

*An Embassy sent to the Iffati by the Savages that inhabit to the West of them. Whence it appears that there is no such thing as the Streights of Anian; and that Japan is on the same Continent as Louifiana.*

UNDER the Reign of the Emperour *Charles V.* the Fathers Recluse<sup>1</sup> of our Order were the first that were sent by his Command into *New-Mexico*; since which time there have been of them beyond the *Vermilion-Sea*. The most Remarkable Epoque of the Streights of *Anian*, commences from the time of that most excellent Religious of our Order, *Martin de Valencia*, who was the First Bishop of the great City of *Mexico*. We have spoke of him elsewhere.

In process of time 'twas believ'd that the said Streights were only imaginary: Many Persons noted for great Learning, are of this Opinion; and to [178] evince the Truth of it, I will here subjoin one evident Proof, to those which are already produc'd by them: and it is this. During my stay amongst the *Iffati* and *Nadouffians*, there arriv'd four Savages in Embassie to these People. They had come above five hundred Leagues from the West; and told us by the Interpreters of the *Iffati*, that they were four Moons upon the

<sup>1</sup> The Récollet branch of the Franciscan order (see p. 8, note 1, ante).—ED.

Way; for so it is they call their Months. They added, that their Country was to the West, and that we lay to the East in respect of them; that they had march'd the whole time without resting, except to sleep, or kill Game for their Subsistence. They assur'd us there was no such thing as the Streights of *Anian*; and that in their whole Journey they had neither met with, nor pass'd over any *Great Lake*; by which Phrase they always mean the Sea, nor any Arm of it.<sup>1</sup>

They farther inform'd us, that the Nation of the *Affenipoulacs*,<sup>2</sup> whose Lake is down in the Map, and who lie North-East of the *Iffati*, was not above six or seven Days Journey from us: That none of the Nations within their Knowledge, who lie to the West and North-West of them, had any great Lake about their Countries, which were very large, but only Rivers, which coming from the North, run cross the Countries of their Neighbouring Nations, which border on their Confines on the side of the Great Lake, which in the Language of the Savages is the same as Sea: That Spirits, and Pigmies, or Men of little Stature, did inhabit there, as they had been inform'd by the People that liv'd farther up than themselves; and that all the Nations which lie beyond their Country, and

<sup>1</sup> The name given by early geographers to an imaginary strait, supposed to afford a northern passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is shown on many old maps—even as late as Herman Moll's (about 1715), and Robert de Vaugondy's of 1750 (revised edition of 1783). For origin of the name *Anian*, see H. H. Bancroft's *Hist. of Northwest Coast*, i, pp. 53-56.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Also written *Assinipoualak*; the *Asiniboin* tribe of the *Siouan* stock. They are regarded by our ethnologists as an offshoot from one of the *Dakota* tribes, and Carver (*Travels*, ed. 1778, p. 76) speaks of them as "a revolted band of the *Naudowessies*"; their habitat is mostly in Canada. The lake here called by their name is *Lake Winnipeg*.—ED.

those which are next to them, do dwell in Meadows and large Fields, where are many wild Bulls and Castors, which are greyer than those of the North, and<sup>1</sup> have their Coat more inclining to Black; with many other wild Beasts, which yield very fine Furrs.

[179] The four Savages of the said Embassy affur'd us farther, that there were very few Forests in the Countries through which they pass'd in their way hither; insomuch that now and then they were so put to it for Fuel, that they were forc'd to make Fires of Bull's Dung, to boil their Victuals with in Earthen-Pots, which they make use of, as neither having, nor knowing of any better.<sup>2</sup>

All these Circumstances which I have here inserted, make it appear, that there is no such thing as the Streights of *Anian*, as we usually see them set down in Maps. To assert the Truth of what I say, I here frankly offer my self to return into these Parts, with such Ships as His *Britannick Majesty*, or their *High and Mightinesses*,<sup>3</sup> the *States General*, shall think

---

<sup>1</sup> An obvious error in translation; for "and" read "which" (see *Nouvelle Découverte* — Utrecht, 1697 — p. 370). — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Remains of earthen pottery have been found in mounds opened in Iowa and Dakota; but Dorsey says (*U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 276-277): "Pottery has not been made by the Omahas for more than fifty years; the art of making it has been forgotten by the tribe. . . . When pottery was made, they used bowls and kettles (and spoons)." Those Siouan tribes who did not make pottery could easily, and doubtless did, procure utensils by barter among the tribes along the Mississippi. See W. H. Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of Mississippi Valley," in *Report for 1882-83*, pp. 361-436. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> High mightinesses: a term applied to the members of the States-General, or legislative body, of Holland. — ED.



fit to fend thither, in order to a full Discovery; in which I have no other Aim but the Glory of God, the Propagation of the Gospel, Instruction of those blind and ignorant People, who have been neglected for so many Ages, Improvement of Trade, which, the better 'tis understood, the more will it daily encrease between the Subjects of the King of *Spain* my Master, and those of His *Britannick Majesty* and *States General*: And lastly, That Correspondence and Union so necessary to be maintain'd amongst them, that they may live and labour together for the Common Good. I declare, I have no other Design; that my Intentions are sincere and upright, and that my Desire is to be serviceable to all *Europe*; Respect being first had, as I am in Duty bound, to my Natural Prince, the King of *England*, and the *States*; to whom I am singularly engag'd, for the good Reception they were pleas'd to honour me with. Others perhaps would have us'd me ill, in return of all my Services, and the many dangerous Voyages I have made, with no other Design, but to contribute what in me lay, to the Glory of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the Good of all *Christendom*. I know [180] well what I say. But to return: Whatever Efforts have been made for many Years past, by the *English* and *Dutch*, the two Nations of the World, who are the greatest Navigators, to find out a Passage to *China* and *Japan*, thro' the Frozen-Sea, they have not as yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my Discovery, and the Assistance of God, I doubt not to let all *Europe* see that a Passage may still be found thither, and that an easie one

too. For Example; One may be transported into the *Pacifick-Sea* by Rivers, which are large, and capable of carrying great Veffels, and from thence 'tis eafie to go to *Cbina* and *Japan*, without crossing the Equinoctial Line. Those that read my Relation, and will never fo little examine the *Maps* which are annex to it, will foon acknowledge the Truth of what I fay.

## CHAP. LVIII.

*The Iffati assemble to hunt the Wild-Bull. Refusal of the two Canow-Men to take the Author into their Canow, in order to go down the River of St. Francis.*

AFTER three Months or thereabouts, spent very ill amongst the *Iffati* and *Nadouessians*, these Nations assembled to hunt the Wild-Bull; and their Captains having assign'd them their Stations, that they might not fall in with one another, they separated themselves into many Bands.

*Aquipaguetin*, the Chief, that had adopted me for his Son, wou'd have carry'd me to the West with about 200 Families. But remembering the Reproaches which the great Captain *Ouafcoude* had made him, upon the Score of our ill usage, I was apprehensive lest he shou'd lay hold of this Opportunity to avenge himself on me. I told him therefore, I expected some Spirits, which in their Language is as much as [181] to say *Europeans*, at the River *Ouisconsin*, which discharges itself into the River *Meschafipi*; that according to the Promise made me by the *Sieur de la Salle*, they wou'd meet me there with Iron, and other Commodities, which as yet they were unacquainted with; and that if he would think of turning his Expedition that way, I shou'd be very glad to accompany

him. He heard my Propofal, and was willing to embrace it; but thofe of his Band wou'd not let him.

In the beginning of *July*, 1680, we began to defcend towards the South, with the great Captain *Ouafcoude*, and about 80 Cabins, containing 130 Families and 250 Warriors. The Savages who had nothing but old Canou's, cou'd not make me room; fo that they went four Days Journey lower, to get fome Birchen-Bark, to make more new ones. I made a hole in the Ground, in which I hid my gilt Chalice, with my Books and Papers, till we fhould return from hunting; and took nothing with me but my Breviary, that I might not cumber my felf.

I Plac'd my felf upon the Brink of the Lake which forms the River of *St. Francis*, where I held out my Hands to the Canou-Men, as they paff very fwiftly by, to defire them to take me in. Our two *Europeans* were in a Canow, which had been given them by the Savages. However, I cou'd not prevail with them to receive me. *Michael Ako* told me very brutifhly, he had carry'd me long enough. This rough and unhandfome Anfwer made me very melancholy, when I faw my felf forfaken by thofe of my own Country and Religion, whom I had always endeavour'd to oblige, as themfelves had often acknowledg'd before Perfons of the firft Quality, where I was us'd to be receiv'd with all the Marks of Diftinction, while themfelves were fuffer'd to ftand and cool their Heels at the Door.

[182] But God, who of his Mercy never forfook me throughout all my Adventures, infpir'd two of the Savages

with so much Compassion, as to take me with them into their Canou, though it were less than that of the *Europeans*. Here I was continually employ'd in laving out Water, which soak'd in again as fast as 'twas thrown out, through abundance of little Chinks. This Work was uneasy enough; besides that, I could not keep my self from being thoroughly wet. However, 'twas necessary to have Patience. It might have been properly said of this little Vessel, that when a Man was in it, he was in his Coffin; so crazy was it, and ready to break. This sort of Canou's seldom weigh above 50 Pounds, and the least Motion of the Body oversets them, at least if you have not been long acquainted with this sort of Navigation.

At Evening when we landed, *Picard* began to excuse himself, pretending their Canou was a very rotten one, that it would certainly have burst, had we been all three in it, and that we must needs have been left by the way. Notwithstanding these Excuses, I told them, that being Christians, they had not done well to use me as they did, especially considering among whom we were: That they had forsaken me very unseasonably, having left me all alone at above 800 Leagues distance from *Canada*, allowing for the Reaches we were to make, before we cou'd get thither: That if they had receiv'd any good Usage from the Savages, 'twas owing to my Ingenuity more than their own, having been capable of letting several of them Blood, and otherwise assisting 'em in their Sickness by my Orvietan, and some other Medicines which I carefully kept by me.

To this I added, that by the same means I had cur'd

others of them that had been bitten by Rattle-Snakes, of which I shall speak in my *Second Volume*. That I shav'd the Crowns of their Children's Heads, [183] (on which they wear the Hair till eighteen or twenty) which was no small matter, considering they cou'd not do it themselves, without putting them to great Pain, by burning off the Hair with flat Stones, which they heat red-hot in the Fire: That hitherto indeed, I had made but little advance in order to their Salvation, by reason of their natural Stupidity; but that the best way to take the Soul was to begin with the Body: That, in short I had gain'd their Friendship by my Services, and that they would have certainly kill'd us at the time they us'd us so ill, but that they knew I had certain Remedies about me proper to restore Health to the Sick; which they thought was a Treasure never to be valu'd as it ought.

None was with me during this Harangue, but *Picard du Gay*, who, as he was going to his Cabin, desir'd me to pardon him. But the great Captain *Ouafcoude* having heard of this barbarous Action of the two Canow-Men, order'd them to appear before the Council, and told them, that for the future he wou'd take care to remove me out of the reach, not only of *Aquipaguetin*, who had so often attempted my Life, and yet adopted me for his Son, but likewise from their Company, who, like two Villains, as they were, had so basely deserted me. Had I not luckily bethought my self to break three Arrows in the presence of this brave Chief, the Canow-Men being yet by, he had infallibly caus'd them to have been put

to death that very Minute. I shall never forget the Humanity of this great Captain, who treated me so favourably on all Occasions. The two Canow-Men were surpriz'd at what had happen'd, and promis'd me an entire Obedience for the future.

## [184] CHAP. LIX.

*The Savages halt above the Fall of St. Anthony of Padua. They are streighten'd for Provisions. The Author, with Picard, returns to the River Ouisconsin. The Adventures of the Voyage.*

FOUR Days after our Departure to hunt the wild Bulls, the Barbarians made a Halt some eight Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, upon an Eminence, over against the River of *St. Francis*. The Savage Women prepar'd little Docks to build the new Canou's in, against the return of those who were gone for Bark. The Youth in the mean time went out to hunt the Stag, the wild Goat and the Castor; but with so little Success, that the Prey they brought home was so disproportionable to the Number that were to feed on't, that we had hardly every one a Mouthful. Happy the Man that once in four and twenty Hours cou'd get so much as a Sup of Broath.

This put *Picard* and my self upon hunting after Gooseberries, and other wild Fruits, which often did us more harm than good. And I am confident, that had it not been for my Orvietan-Powder, which in a great measure corrected the bad Nutriment which we took in, our Lives had been in great Danger. This extreme Want, made us take a Reso-



lution, upon *Michael Ako's* refusing to accompany us, to venture our selves in a little forry Canou as far as the River *Ouisconsin*, which was at no less distance from us than 130 Leagues, to see if the *Sieur de Salle* had kept his Word with us: For he had promis'd us positively to send Men with Powder, and Lead, and other Merchandizes, to the place which I have already mention'd: And of this he assured me [185] more than once, before his departure from the *Illinois*.

The Savages wou'd never have suffer'd us to have made this Voyage, without one of the three being left with them: And my self was the Man they pitch'd upon to stay, by the Advice of the great Captain *Ouaficoude*, whilst the two Canou-Men were at liberty to proceed on their Voyage. But *Michael Ako*, who was apprehensive of the many Hardships he was like to meet with in this Expedition, could never be prevail'd upon to consent to it: So that seeing he began to relish the Barbarians way of living, I desir'd their Chief, that I might have leave to accompany *Picard* in his stead; who accordingly granted my Request.

Our whole Equipage consisted of fifteen or twenty Charges of Powder, a Fusil, a little forry Earthen Pot, which the Barbarians gave us, a Knife between us both, and a Garment of Castor. Thus were we equipt for a Voyage of 250 Leagues; but our greatest Trust was in Providence. As we were carrying our little Canou to the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, we perceiv'd five or six Savages, who were got there before us. One of them was got up into an Oak over against the great Fall of Water, where he was weeping most

bitterly, having fasten'd to one of the Branches of the Tree, a Robe of Castor, which was white within-side, and garnish'd with Porcupine.

The poor Wretch had offer'd it in Sacrifice to the Fall; which, indeed, of it self is terrible, and hath something in it very astonishing: However, it doth not come near that of *Niagara*. I could hear him say, as he was addressing himself to the Cascade, with Tears in his Eyes; *Thou art a Spirit, grant that Those of my Nation may pass here without any Disaster; That we may meet with a great many wild Bulls; and that we may be so happy as to vanquish our Enemy, and take a great many Slaves, whom, when we have made [168, i. e. 186] them suffer according to their Merits, we will bring hither, and slay in thy Presence. The Messenacks ('tis so they call the Nation of the Outtouagami's) have slain some of our Kindred: Grant we may be able to revenge our selves upon 'em for that Affront.*

The last part of his Request hapned to be fulfill'd sooner, I believe, than he expected: For as they return'd from hunting the wild Bulls, they attack'd their Enemy, kill'd a good many of them, and carry'd off several Slaves, whom they put to death before the Fall, after the most barbarous and inhumane manner in the World, as we shall see in the *Second Volume*. Now if after such a barbarous Ceremony as I have been describing, it happen but once that the Success answers the Request, 'tis sufficient to render them obstinate in their superstitious Custom, tho' it miscarry a hundred times for once that it hits. As for the Castor-Robe, which

was thus offer'd as a sort of Sacrifice, one of our *Europeans* made bold with it at his return, and wou'd have been glad of having more frequent Opportunities of profiting by their Devotions.

When we had got about a League below the Fall, *Picard* mis'd his Powder-Horn, and remembring he had left it there, was forc'd to go back and fetch it. At his Return I shew'd him a huge Serpent, as big as a Man's Leg, and seven or eight Foot long. She was working her self insensibly up a steep craggy Rock, to get at the Swallows Nests which are there in great Numbers: And at the Bottom of the Mountain we saw the Feathers of those she had already devour'd. We pelted her so long with Stones, till at length she fell into the River. Her Tongue which was in form of a Lance, was of an extraordinary length. Her Hiss might be heard a great way, and the Noise of it seiz'd us with Horror. Poor *Picard* dreamt of her at Night, and was in a great Agony [187] all the while. He told me, I had done him a sensible Kindness in waking him; for though he was a Man intrepid enough, yet he was all in a sweat with the fright of his Dream. I have likewise my self been often disturb'd in my Sleep with the Image of her; so great an Impression did the sight of this Monster make upon our Spirits.

As we were falling down the River *Meschasipi* with extraordinary Swiftnes, because the Current is very rapid in this place, by reason 'tis so near the Fall, we found some of the Savages of our Band, in the Islands of the River, where they had set up their Cabins, and were well provided with Bulls

Flesh. They offer'd us very freely of what they had. But about two Hours after our landing, we thought we should have been all murder'd: Fifteen or sixteen Savages came into the middle of the Place where we were, with their great Clubs in their Hands. The first thing they did was to over-set the Cabin of those that had invited us. Then they took away all their Victuals, and what Bears-Oil they could find in their Bladders, or elsewhere, with which they rubb'd themselves all over from Head to Foot.

We took them at first for Enemies; and *Picard* was very near sticking the first that came in with his Sword. At the first surprize, I began to lay hold of the two Pocket-Pistols that *du Gay* had left me; but by good luck I contain'd myself, or otherwise, without doubt, there had been an end of us; for their Companions would not have fail'd to have reveng'd upon us the Death of those we had kill'd.

We knew not what these Savages were at first; but it appear'd they were some of those that we had left above at the Fall of *St. Anthony*. One of them, who call'd himself my Uncle, told me, that those who had given us Victuals, had done basely to go and forestal the others in the Chase; and that according to the Laws and Customs of their [188] Country, 'twas lawful for them to plunder them, since they had been the cause that the Bulls were all run away, before the Nation could get together, which was a great Injury to the Publick; For when they are all met, they make a great Slaughter amongst the Bulls; for they surround them so on every side, that 'tis impossible for them to escape.

## CHAP. LX.

*The Hunting of the Tortoise. The Author's Canow is carry'd off by a sudden blast of Wind, which was like to have reduc'd him and his Companion to great Streights.*

IN about threecore Leagues rowing, we had kill'd but one wild-Goat, which we did as she was crossing the River. The Heats were now grown so excessive, that our Provisions would be spoil'd in twenty four Hours. This put us upon Hunting the Tortoise; but 'twas with much difficulty that we could take any; for being very quick of hearing, they would throw themselves into the Water upon the least noise. However, we took one at last, which was much larger than any we had seen: His Shell was thin, and the Flesh very fat. Whilst I was contriving to cut off his Head, he had like to have been before-hand with me, by snapping of my Finger with his Teeth, which are very sharp.

Whilst we were managing this Affair, we had halled our Canou a-shoar; but it seems a sudden and violent Blast of Wind had carry'd her off again into the middle of the River. *Picard* was gone into the Meadows, to see if he could kill a wild Bull; so that I was left alone with the Canou. This oblig'd me to throw my Habit as fast as I could over the Tortoise, which I had turn'd, for fear he should get [189]

away. I likewise laid several Stones upon my Clothes, the better to secure him. When I had done, I fell a swimming after our Canow, which went very fast down the River, being carry'd by a very quick Stream, because 'twas just at the turning of a Point. After I had recover'd it with a great deal of difficulty, I durst not get into it, for fear of being overfet, and wetting the Woollen Coverlet that was in it, which I us'd to sleep on, and the rest of our little Equipage: For which reason I was forc'd to push it sometimes before me, and sometimes tug it after me, till by little and little I gain'd the Shoar, a small half quarter of a League below the Place where I had left the Tortoise.

*Picard* returning from the Chace, where he had kill'd nothing; and finding only my Habit upon the Tortoise, but no Canow, had reason to think that some Savage or other having found me alone, had kill'd me. In great suspense, he return'd into the Meadows, to look about if he could see any body. In the mean time, I had made what haste I cou'd up the River with my Canow; and had no sooner, taken up my Clothes, but I 'spy'd a Drove of sixty Bulls and Cows, with their Calves, crossing the River, towards the Land on the South-side. I pursu'd them in my Canow, and set up as great a Cry as I could, to give *Picard* notice of it. He made up to the Noise, and had time enough to get into the Canow, whilst a Dog which we had with us, by his Barking, had drove them to a Bay in the Isles of the River. When we were prepared, the Dog drove them from thence; and as they pass'd by us, *Picard* kill'd one of them with his Fufil, having lodg'd

the Bullet in his Head. Having dragg'd it to the fide of the River, it prov'd to be a Cow, that weigh'd about five or fix hundred weight. The Bulls have more Flefh, and weigh heavier; but becaufe we could not get it quite to Land, we contented our [190] felves with cutting the beft Pieces, and left the reft in the Water.

'Twas almoft now eight and forty Hours fince we eat laft; fo that we fell a kindling a Fire as faft as we could, which we made of the Wood the River had thrown upon the Sands; and as faft as *Picard* skinn'd it, I put the Pieces of Flefh into our little earthen Pot to boil. We eat of it with that greedinefs, that both of us were fick; fo that we were oblig'd to hide our felves in an Ifland, where we refted two Days for the recovery of our Health by the help of my *Orvietan*, which was a great Benefit to us during the whole Voyage. Whilst I was fetching the Pieces of Flefh which *Picard* gave me, I went backward and forward very often clofe by a Rattle-Snake, feven or eight Foot long, without perceiving him, as he lay wrapt afleep in the Sun. I told *Picard* of it, who came and kill'd him with our Oar, and afterwards threw him into the River.

To be fhort, we could not charge our felves with much Provisions, becaufe of the fmallnefs of our Canow; befides that, the exceffive Heat tainted it prefently, fo that 'twou'd fwarm with Worms in an infant. For thefe Reafons we were foon in the fame condition; and when we embark'd in the Morning, we knew not whether we fhould have any thing to eat at Night. Never had we more reafon to admire the

Goodness of Providence, than during this Voyage. 'Twas not every Day we met with any Game, nor when we did, were we sure to kill it.

The Eagles, which are to be seen in abundance in these vast Countries, will sometimes drop a Breme, a large Carp, or some other Fish, as they are carrying them to their Nests in their Talons, to feed their young. One day we 'spy'd an Otter, which was feeding on a great Fish upon the Bank of the River; which Fish had upon its Head a sort of [191] Beak about five Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long. As soon as *Picard* 'spy'd it, he cry'd out he saw the Devil between the Claws of the Otter. This Surprise was not so great, but that we made bold to feed heartily upon it. The Flesh of it was good; and we nam'd it the Sturgeon with the long Beak.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 219, note 1, ante.—ED.



## CHAP. LXI.

*We continue our Course in search of the River Ouifconfin. Aquipaguetin finds us, and gets thither before us. We subsist meerly by Providence.*

NOTWITHSTANDING we had row'd so many Leagues, yet cou'd we not find the River of *Ouifconfin*: This made us believe that it was still at a great distance from us; when behold *Aquipaguetin*, whom we believ'd to be above 200 Leagues off, appear'd all on a sudden, with ten Warriors with him, towards the middle of *July*, 1680. We thought at first he came to kill us, because we had quitted him, though 'twere by the consent of the other Savages: But he gave us some wild Oats, with a Piece of good Bull's Flesh; and ask'd us if we had found the *Europeans* who were to meet us with their Merchandise. Our Answer not satisfying him, he was resolv'd to go to *Ouifconfin* himself; but when he came there, found no body. He return'd at the end of three Days, as we were still pursuing our Voyage, being resolv'd to acquit our selves fully of the Promise which we had made the *Sieur de Salle*, to come thither and meet those that he should send.

When *Aquipaguetin* first appear'd at his return, *Picard* was gone to Hunt in the Meads, and my self remain'd alone in a little Cabin, which [192] we had fet up under our Coverlet,

which one of the Savages had return'd me, to shade us from the Sun-beams, which were very scorching at this Season. *Aquipaguetin* seeing me alone, came up to me with his Club in his Hand: I immediately laid hold of my two Pocket-Pistols and a Knife, which *Picard* had recover'd out of the Hands of the Barbarians. I had no mind to kill the Man that had adopted me, but only frighten him, and keep him from murdering me, in case that were his intent.

*Aquipaguetin* began to reprimand me for exposing my self in the manner I did to the Insults of their Enemies; and that at least I ought to have kept the other side of the River. He would have carry'd me with him, telling me, that he had 300 Hunters with him, who kill'd more Game than those that I was engag'd with. And probably it had been more adviseable for me to have follow'd his Advice, than to prosecute my Voyage any farther. However, our Resolution then was, to continue our course towards the River *Ouisconsin*; where when we came, we found none of the Men the *Sieur de la Salle* had promis'd to send us. *Picard* and my self had like to have perish'd on a thousand different Occasions, as we came down the River: And now we found our selves oblig'd to go up it again, which could not be done without repeating the same Hazards, and other Difficulties not to be imagin'd.

## [193] CHAP. LXII.

*The great Streights which the Author and his Companion are reduc'd to in their Voyage. They at last meet again with the Savages at their return from Hunting.*

PICARD, who had been very ill us'd by the Savages, had rather venture all than go up the River with *Aquipaguetin*. Six Charges of Powder was all that we had left, which oblig'd us to husband it as well as we could; wherefore we divided it into twenty, to shoot only for the future at Turtles or Wild Pigeons. When these also were spent, we had recourse to three Hooks, which we baited with some stinking Barbel that an Eagle hapned to drop. We took nothing the two first Days, and were destitute of all means of subsistence, This made us, you must think, betake our selves to Prayers with greater fervency than ever. And yet *Picard*, 'midst all our Misfortunes, could not forbear telling me, that he should pray to God with a much better Heart if his Belly were full.

I comforted both him and my self as well as I could, and desir'd him to row with all the force he had left, to see if we could catch a Tortoise. The next Morning, having row'd the best part of the Night, we found a Tortoise, which was no bigger than an ordinary Plate. We went to boiling him the same Minute on the Fire that we had kindled. We

devour'd it fo haftily, that I did not obferve that I cut the Gall, which made my Mouth as bitter as it felf; but I ran immediately and gargled my Throat, and fo fell to't again, with the fame eagernefs as before.

Notwithftanding our famifh'd Condition, we got at laft to the *River of Bulls* [Buffalo River]: Here we caft our Hooks, which we baited with a white Fifh that an Eagle [194] had let fall. God, who never abandons thofe that truft in him, fuccour'd us very vifibly on this occafion; for we had fcarce finish'd our Prayers towards ten at Night, when *Picard*, who heard the Noife, quitted his Devotion, and ran to the Hooks, where he found two Barbels hung, which were fo large, that I was forc'd to help him to get them out of the Water. We did not ftand to ftudy what Sauce we fhould make for thefe monftrous Fifh, which weigh'd above twenty five pound both; but having cut them to pieces, broil'd 'em on the Coals. Boil them we could not, our little Earthen Pot being unhappily broke fome time before.

When we had fatisfy'd our Appetite, and return'd our Thanks to Him, whofe Providence had fo feafonably reliev'd us, we heard a noife about two in the Morning, upon the Bank of the *River of Bulls*, where we then were. After the *Who-goes-there?* we heard the Anfwer was, *Tepatoni Nika*, and the Word *Nikanagi*; which is as much as to fay, *Friends, all is well*. I told *Picard*, that by the Language I believ'd them to be *Illinois*, or *Outouagamis*, who are Enemies of the *Iffati*, or *Nadoueffans*. But the Moon fhining very bright, and the Day beginning to appear, I perceiv'd 'twas the Savage

*Mamenifi*, whose Infant-Daughter I Baptiz'd, when *Picard* assisted as Godfather, or Witness. He knew us again presently; and being just come from Hunting, where they had had plenty of Game, he gave us what Victuals we pleas'd; and inform'd us, that all those of his Nation were coming down the *River of Bulls*, which discharges it self into the *Meschafipi*, having their Wives and Children with them.

What he said was true; for the Savages, with whom *Michael Ako* had staid behind, were all descending the *River of Bulls* with their Fleet of Canow's well stor'd with Provisions. *Aquipaguetin* by the way had acquainted those of his Nation, how [195] *Picard* and my self had expos'd our selves in our Voyage to *Ouisconsin*, and what great Hazards we had ran. The Chiefs of the Savages gave us to understand, that they were very well satisfi'd with what we had done: But all of them reproach'd *Michael Ako* for a Base Fellow, who had refus'd to accompany us for fear of being famish'd by the way. *Picard* too, but that I did what I could to hinder it, would have us'd him ill before all the Company, so incens'd was he against him, for his want of Courage and Affection.

## CHAP. LXIII.

*The Savage Women hide their Provisions up-and-down in private Holes. They go down the River again a second time. Address of the Savages. Bravery of one of the Savages.*

THE Savage Women being come to the Mouth of the *River of Bulls*, hid their Provisions up-and-down the little Islands that are there, and in hollow Places under-ground. These People have a way to preserve their Meat thus, without Salt, as we shall see hereafter. We fell down the River a second time, in company of a multitude of Canow's, of which I have already spoke, Hunting all the way as we went, and were got a matter of fourscore Leagues. The Savages from time to time hid their Canows in the little Island, or in the Reeds upon the Bank of the River, and went seven or eight Leagues up the Country into the Meadows beyond the Mountains, where at several times they kill'd between an hundred and sixscore Cows and Bulls. Whilst they are at the Chase, they always leave some Old Men on the top of the Mountains, to see if they can discover the Enemy.

All this while I had a Savage under my Cure, who usually call'd me Brother: He had run a [196] Thorn very deep into his Foot, and I was then putting a Plaister on it, when on a sudden the Alarm was taken in our Camp. Two hundred

Archers immediately ran to see what was the matter; and the generous Savage, whose Foot I had laid open, in order to get out the Thorn, which was very deep, sprung likewise from me on a sudden, and ran as fast as the best, that he might not lose his share in the Action. But instead of the Enemy, they could see nothing but about an hundred Stags, which were running away as fast as they could. My poor Patient had much ado to recover the Camp. All the while the Alarm lasted, the Women and Maids kept singing in a very sad and melancholy Tone.

*Picard* being gone to his Host, I was left alone with one *Otcimbi*; but after the second Hunting, I was forc'd to carry an Old Woman with me in my Canow, who was above fourscore: For all that, she help'd me to row, and with her Oar would now-and-then pat two or three little Children, that lay and disturb'd us in the middle of our Canow. The Men were very kind to me; but for all that, 'twas necessary to make a Court to the Women; for the Victuals were all in their Custody, who deliver'd every one his Mefs. This I did by shaving now-and-then the Crowns of their Children's Heads, who wear their Hair shorn not unlike our Monks. They let it grow till they are fifteen, sixteen, or eighteen Years old, as well on the top of the Head, as elsewhere; but at that Age, their Parents take it off, by burning it with flat stones made red-hot in the Fire: So that the Women thought themselves mightily beholding to me for shaving their Children, because I took off the Hair without pain.

We had again another Alarm in our Camp: The Old

Men, who had their Station on the top of the Mountains, sent to give notice that they had descry'd some Warriors from afar. The Archers [197] ran as hard as they could drive, towards the Place where the Enemy was said to appear, every one endeavouring to be first in the Action. But after all this Noise, they brought nothing back with them but two Women of their own Nation, who were come to acquaint them that one of their Parties being gone a Hunting, towards the end of the Upper Lake, had light upon five Spirits, by which Name it is they call the *Europeans*. They added, That these Spirits had talk'd to 'em, by means of some of their Nation who had seen us, and had been Slaves amongst the *Outouagamis* and *Iroquese*, whose Language they understood: That they had also desir'd them to conduct them to the Place where we were, because they should be very glad to know whether we were *English*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, or *Canadians*: And farther, That they could not imagine how we had been able to penetrate so far up into the Country amongst these People.

I must observe hereupon, that there are certain Persons at *Canada*, who have got the Management of all Affairs there into their hands, as I have elsewhere said. These People being very angry, that we had been beforehand with them in our Discoveries, had sent Men after us to share in the Glory of the Action: For they hoped by our Means to get a Knowledge of the Nations which we had seen, in order to Trade thither, as soon as they should have a Pretence of sending us back to *Europe*.



## [198] CHAP. LXIV.

*Arrival of the Sieur Du Luth in our Camp. He desires us to return with him and his Followers to the Country of the Iffati and Nadoueffians. The Author cast my Coverlet over a dead Man. The Savages are pleas'd at it.*

THE 28th of July, 1680, we began to ascend the River *Meschassipi* the third time. The Savages, who had made a grand Hunt with good Success, were resolv'd to return home to their own Villages, and press'd us to go with them; promising to conduct us as far as the Nations that inhabited at the End of the Upper-Lake [Lake Superior]. They said they had a design to make an Alliance with those People through our Means. The Sieur *du Luth*<sup>1</sup> was arriv'd there from *Canada*, accompany'd with five Men, whose Equipage was half Soldier, half Merchant.

They came up to us in company with the two Savage-Women an hundred and twenty Leagues, or thereabouts, from the Country of the *Barbarians*, that had taken us.

---

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Greysolon du Luth (Lhut) was especially prominent among Northwestern explorers. An officer in the army of France, he came to Canada about 1676; two years later, he conducted a French expedition into the Sioux country, of which he took formal possession (1679) for France. He spent nearly ten years in explorations (mainly beyond Lake Superior) and fur-trading; he was for a time commandant of the Northwest. In 1689, he had returned to the St. Lawrence; he died in 1710.—ED.

They desir'd us, because we had some knowledge of the Language of the *Iffati*, to accompany them back to the Villages of those People. I readily agreed to their request, especially when I understood that they had not receiv'd the Sacraments in the whole two Years and a half that they had been out upon their Voyage. The *Sieur du Luth*, who pass'd for their Captain, was overjoy'd to see me, and told me as a Secret, that those who had sent him, wou'd miss of their aim, as he wou'd let me know more at leisure. And observing how I shav'd the Crowns of the Young Savages, he order'd them to be told I was his eldest Brother.

[199] All this made the Savages treat me better than ever, and furnish me very plentifully with provisions. I apply'd my self also more than ever to the means of their Salvation; and 'tis true they hearken'd to me attentively enough. But then, to make any progress, one must live whole Years amongst them, they are so ignorant, and grounded in Superstition.

The *Sieur du Luth* was charm'd at the sight of the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, which was the Name we had given it, and in all appearance will remain with it.<sup>1</sup> I also shew'd him the craggy Rock, where the monstrous Serpent was climbing up to devour the young Swallows in their Nests; and re-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Louisiane* (p. 200), Hennepin makes the Falls of St. Anthony "forty or fifty feet in height." Carver (*Travels*, p. 69) says that the perpendicular fall is thirty feet, with a considerable descent besides in the lower rapids; see the engraving at p. 70, representing the falls as seen by him in 1766. But little now remains of this noble cataract: the rock over which it falls, a soft sandstone, has been gradually worn away by the action of the water; and the utilization of the swift current for manufacturing purposes has aided the work of destruction.—ED.

counted to him the Horror that seiz'd *Picard*, at the Image his Fancy fram'd of that terrible Animal in his Dream.

I must here observe, that seeing my self at Liberty to say my Office after the Arrival of the *Sieur du Luth*, to be more exact in the Service, I thought I wou'd ask him the Day of the Month: He told me as freely, he cou'd not satisfy me in that Point, for he had no Notion of it left. Upon this I recounted to him the ill usage which we receiv'd at the Hands of the *Barbarians*, at their first taking us, which proceeded many times so far as to threaten our Lives; that therefore he ought not to be surpriz'd, if through the Terrors and Apprehensions which I had lain so long under, I had forgot even the Day of the Week.

We arriv'd at the Villages of the *Iffati* on the 14<sup>th</sup> of *August*, 1680, where I found my *Cbalice* very safe, with the Books and Papers which I had hid under-ground, in presence of the Savages themselves. These Wretches had never had so much as a thought to meddle with them, being fearful and superstitious in relation to Spirits, and believing there is Witchcraft in everything they cannot apprehend. [200] The Tobacco which I planted before our Departure, was half choak'd with Grasse. But the Cabbage, and other things which I had sown, were of a prodigious growth. The Stalks of the Purslain were as big as Reeds: But the Savages were afraid so much as to taste them.

A little after our return, the Savages invited us to a great Feast after their own fashion. There were above an hundred and twenty Men at it naked. *Ouafcoude*, the first Captain of

the Nation, and Kinsman of the Deceas'd, whose dead Body I cover'd when they brought him back to the Village in a Canow, brought me some dry'd Flesh and wild Oats in a dish of Bark, which he fet before me upon a Bull's Hide, whiten'd, and garnish'd with Porcupine Skins on the one side, and curl'd Wooll on the other.

After I had eat, this Chief put the same Robe on my Head, and cover'd my Face with it, saying with a loud Voice before all that were present, *He whose dead Body thou didst cover, covers thine while alive. He has carry'd the Tydings of it to the Country of Souls,* (for these People believe the Transmigration of Souls:) *What thou didst in respect of the Dead, is highly to be esteem'd: All the Nation applauds and thanks thee for it.*

After this he gently reproach'd the *Sieur du Luth*, that he did not cover the Dead, as I had done. To which the *Sieur* desir'd me to answer, That he never cover'd the Bodies of any but such Captains as himself. To which the Savage answer'd, *Father Louis* (for so he heard the *Europeans* call me) *is a greater Captain than thou: His Robe* (speaking of my Brocard Chafuble, which they had taken from me, and was afterwards sent as a Present to our Allies who liv'd three Moons distance from this Country) *was finer than what thou wearest.*

When these Savages speak of a Journey of three or more Moons, they mean Months. They march well, and will travel fifteen Leagues a Day. By [201] which the Reader may judge what an extent of Ground they can go in three Month.

CHAP. LXV.

*The Author takes his leave of the Savages to return to Canada. A Savage is slain by his Chief, for advising to kill us. Dispute between the Sieur du Luth and the Author, about the Sacrifice of Barbarians.*

TOWARDS the end of *September*, seeing we had no Tools proper to build a House to dwell in during the Winter, amongst these People; and considering that we were destitute of Provisions necessary to subsist there, as our Design was at first to have done, we resolv'd to let them understand, that to procure them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which were useful for them, 'twas convenient that we shou'd return to *Canada*, and that at a certain time which we shou'd agree upon between us, they shou'd come half the way with their Furrs, and we the other half with our *European* Commodities: That they might let two of their Warriors go with us, whom we wou'd carry into our Country, and likewise bring back again the next Year to the place appointed for meeting, from whence they might proceed to acquaint them of our return, in order to their meeting us with their Effects.

Upon this they held a great Council, to consider whether they shou'd send some of their Nation with us or no. Two there were who were for it, and offer'd themselves to be the

Men: But they alter'd their Opinion the Day of our Departure, alledging for a Reason, That we were obliged to pass through many Nations who were their sworn Enemies, and wou'd be sure to seize their Men, and take them out of our Hands, either to burn them, or put them [202] otherwise to Death by exquisite Torments, and that without our being able to hinder it, being so few in Number as we were.

I answer'd, That all those People, whom they were afraid of, were our Friends and Allies, and that in consideration of us, they wou'd forbear to injure any of their Nation that were with us. These Barbarians want no Wit; on the contrary, their Natural Parts are extraordinary. They told us in return, that since we were to pass through these People, who were their sworn Enemies, we shou'd do well to destroy them, at whose Hands they had receiv'd so many Injuries; that then their Men shou'd go and return with us to fetch them Iron, and other Commodities which they wanted, and wou'd gladly treat with us about. From whence we may gather, that these Barbarians are full of Repentment, and Thoughts of Revenge, Dispositions not altogether so well prepar'd, to receive the meek Doctrine of the Gospel.

In fine, *Ouafcoude* their Chief Captain, having consented to our Return, in a full Council, gave us some Bushels of Wild-Oats, for our Subsistence by the way, having first regal'd us in the best manner he cou'd, after their fashion. We have already observ'd, that these Oats are better and more wholesome than Rice. After this, with a Pencil, he mark'd down on a Sheet of Paper, which I had left, the Course that we were

to keep for four hundred Leagues together. In fhort, this natural Geographer defcrib'd our Way fo exactly, that this Chart ferv'd us as well as my Compaſs cou'd have done. For by obſerving it punctually, we arriv'd at the Place which we deſign'd, without loſing our way in the leaſt.

All things being ready, we diſpos'd our ſelves to depart, being eight *Europeans* of us in all. We put [203] our ſelves into two Canows, and took our leaves of our Friends, with a Volly of our Men's Fuſils, which put them into a terrible Fright. We fell down the River of St. *Francis*, and then that of the *Mefchaſipi*. Two of our Men, without ſaying anything, had taken down two Robes of Caſtor, from before the Fall of St. *Anthony of Padua*, where the Barbarians had hung them upon a Tree as a ſort of Sacrifice. Hereupon aroſe a Diſpute between the *Sieur du Luth* and my ſelf. I commended what they had done, ſaying, *The Barbarians might judge by it, that we diſapprov'd their Superſtition.* On the contrary, the *Sieur du Luth* maintain'd, That they ought to have let the things alone in that place where they were, for that the Savages wou'd not fail to revenge the Affront which we had put upon them by this Action, and that it was to be fear'd leſt they ſhou'd purſue and inſult us by the Way.

I own he had ſome grounds for what he ſaid, and that he argu'd according to the Rules of Humane Prudence. But the two Men answer'd him bluntly, that the things fitted them, and therefore they ſhou'd not trouble their Heads about the Savages, nor their Superſtitions. The *Sieur du Luth* fell into ſo violent a Paſſion at theſe Words, that he had like to have

fruck the Fellow that spake them; but I got between, and reconcil'd the Matter: For *Picard* and *Michael Ako* began to fide with those that had taken away the things in question, which might have prov'd of ill consequence. I assur'd the *Sieur du Luth*, that the Savages durst not hurt us, for that I was perswaded their Grand Captain *Ouafcoude* wou'd always make our Cause his own, and that we might rely on his Word, and the great Credit he had amongst those of his Nation. Thus the Bufiness was peaceably made up, and we failed [204] down the River together as good Friends as ever, hunting the Wild-Beasts as we went.

When we were got almost as far as the River *Ouisconsin*, we made a stop, to smoak after the manner of the Country, the Flesh of the Bulls which we had kill'd by the Way. During our stay here, for the Reason aforesaid, three Savages of the same Nation, which we had lately left, came up to us in their Canow, to acquaint us that their Grand Captain *Ouafcoude* having learnt that another Chief of the same Nation had a Design to pursue and murder us, he came into the Cabin where the said Captain and his Associates were consulting about it, and gave him a Blow on the Head with so much Fury, that his Brains flew out upon those that were present at the Consult, resolving by this means effectually to prevent the Execution of his pernicious Design. We regal'd the three Savages for their good News very nobly, having plenty of Provisions at that time.

The *Sieur du Luth*, as soon as the Savages were gone, fell into as great a Passion as before, and seem'd very apprehensive



left they shou'd still pursue and set upon us in our Voyage. He wou'd have carri'd Matters farther, but that he found our Men wou'd not bate him an Ace, and were not in an Humour to be bulli'd. I took upon me to moderate the Matter once more, and pacifi'd them in the End, by assuring them that God wou'd not leave us in Distress, provided we put our Trust in him, and that he was able to deliver us from all our Enemies.

## [205] CHAP. LXVI.

*The Sieur du Luth is in a great Consternation at the Appearance of a Fleet of the Savages, who surprized us before we were got into the River Ouisconsin.*

THE *Sieur du Luth* had reason to believe that the three Savages but now mention'd were really Spies sent to observe our Actions; for indeed they knew that we had taken away the Robes of Castor from before the Fall of *St. Anthony*. He cou'd not forego his Fears, but told me, we should serve the Fellow that did it but right, if we shou'd force him to carry them back, and leave them in the place where he found them. I forefaw Discord wou'd be our Destruction, and so made my self Mediator of the Peace once more. I appeas'd the Fray, by remonstrating, That God who had preserv'd us hitherto in the greatest Dangers, wou'd have a more peculiar Care of us on this Occasion, because the Man's Action was good in it self.

Two days after, all our Provisions being drefs'd, and fit to keep, we prepar'd to depart: But the *Sieur du Luth* was mightily surpriz'd when he perceiv'd a Fleet of an hundred and forty Canows, carrying about an hundred and fifty Men, bearing down directly upon us. Our Mens Consternation was

no less than the *Sieur's*: But when they saw me take out from amongst our Equipage, a Calumet of Peace which the *Iffati* had given us as a Pledge of their Friendship and Protection, they took Heart, and told me they would act as I should direct.

I order'd two of them to embark with me in a Canow, to meet the Savages: But the *Sieur* desir'd me to take a third to row, that by standing in the [106, *i. e.* 206] middle of the Canow, I might the better show the Pipe of Peace, which I carry'd in my hand, to appease the Barbarians, whose Language I understood indifferently well. The other four of our Men I left with the *Sieur du Luth*, and told them, in case any of the young Warriors should Land, and come up to them, they should by no means discourse or be familiar with them; but that they should keep their Posts with their Arms ready fixt. Having given these Orders, I went into my Canow, to the Barbarians who were a coming down the River in theirs.

Seeing no Chief amongst them, I call'd out as loud as I cou'd, *Ouafcoude, Ouafcoude*, repeating his Name several times. At last I perceiv'd him rowing up towards me: All this while none of his People had affronted us, which I look'd upon as a good Omen. I conceal'd my Reed of Peace, the better to let them see how much I rely'd upon their Word. Soon after we landed, and entred the Cabin where the *Sieur du Luth* was, who would have embrac'd their Captain. Here we must observe, that 'tis not the Custom of the Savages to embrace after the manner of the *French*.

I told the *Sieur du Luth* that he need only present him with a piece of the best boyl'd Meat that he had, and that in case he eat of it, we were safe.

It hapned according to our Wish; all the rest of the Captains of this little Army came to visit us. It cost our Folks nothing but a few Pipes of *Martinico*-Tobacco, which these People are passionately fond of, though their own be stronger, more agreeable, and of a much better Scent. Thus the Barbarians were very civil to us, without ever mentioning the Robes of Castor. The Chief *Ouafcoude* advis'd me to present some Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco to the Chief *Aquipaguetin*, who had adopted me for his Son. This Civility had strange effects upon the [207] Barbarians, who went off shouting, and repeating the Word *Louis*, which, as we said, signifies the *Sun*: So that I must say without Vanity, my Name will be as it were immortal amongst these People, by reason of its jumping so accidentally with that of the Sun.

CHAP. LXVII.

*The Author's Voyage from the Mouth of the River Ouisconsin, to the great Bay of the Puans.*

THE Savages having left us to go and War upon the *Mefforites, Maboras, Illinois*, and other Nations, which inhabit towards the lower part of the River *Meschafipi*, and are irreconcilable Enemies to the People of the *North*; the *Sieur du Luth*, who upon many Occasions approv'd himself to be much my Friend, cou'd not forbear telling our People, that I had all the reason in the World to believe that the Viceroy of *Canada* wou'd give me a very kind Reception, in case we cou'd arrive there before Winter; and that he wish'd with all his heart he had been among so many different Nations as my self.

As we went up the River *Ouisconsin*, we found it was as large as that of the *Illinois*, which is navigable for large Vessels above an hundred Leagues. We cou'd not sufficiently admire the Extent of those vast Countries, and the Charming Lands through which we pass'd, which lye all untill'd. The cruel Wars which these Nations have one with another, are the cause that they have not People enough to cultivate them. And the more bloody Wars which have rag'd so long in all parts of *Europe*, have hinder'd the sending Christian

Colonies to settle there. However, I must needs say, that the poorer sort of [208] our Countrymen wou'd do well to think of it, and go and plant themselves in this fine Country, where for a little Pains in tilling the Earth, they wou'd live happier, and subsist much better than they do here. I have seen Lands there, which wou'd yield three Crops in a Year: And the Air is incomparably more sweet and temperate than in *Holland*.

After we had row'd about seventy Leagues upon the River *Ouisconsin*, we came to a Place where we were forc'd to carry our Canow for half a League, which *Ouascoude* had set down in his Chart.<sup>1</sup> We lay at this place all Night, and left Marks of our having been there, by the Crosses which we cut on the Barks of the Trees. Next Day, having carri'd our Canows and the rest of our little Equipage over this Piece of Land, we entred into a River, which makes almost as many Meanders as that of the *Illinois* doth at its Rise: For after six Hours rowing, which we did very fast, we found our selves, notwithstanding all the Pains we had been at, over-against the Place where we embark'd. One of our Men must needs shoot at a Bird flying, which overset his Canow; but by good luck he was within his depth.

We were forc'd to break several Sluces which the Castors had made for our Canows to pass; otherwise we cou'd not

---

<sup>1</sup> The narrow portage between the waters of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, at the site of the present Portage, Wis., which lies 145 miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin. Along the old portage-trail has been cut a government ship-canal, which unites the waters of the two rivers.—ED.

have continued our Way, or carri'd our things to embark them again above these Sluces.

These Creatures make them with so much Art, that Man cannot equal it. We shall speak of them in our *Second Volume*. We found several of these Ponds, or Stops of Water, which these Creatures make with Pieces of Wood, like a Caufey.<sup>1</sup>

After this we pass'd over four Lakes, which are all made by this River. Here formerly dwelt the *Miamis*; but now the *Maskoutens*, *Kikapous*, and *Outoagamis*, who sow their *Indian Wheat*<sup>2</sup> here, on [209] which they chiefly subsist. We made some Broath of the Water of a certain Fall, which they call *Kakalin*<sup>3</sup>; because the Savages come often hither to ease themselves, and lye on their Backs, with their Faces expos'd to the Sun.

Thus having made more than Four hundred Leagues by Water since our departure from the Country of the *Iffati* and *Nadoueffans*, we arriv'd at last at the great Bay of the *Puans*, which makes part of the Lake of the *Illinois*.

---

<sup>1</sup> For valuable descriptive and historical information concerning the beaver, see Horace F. Martin's *Castorologia* (Montreal, 1892).—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Indian corn, originally called by European writers "wheat of India, or of Turkey."—ED.

<sup>3</sup> The Grand Kakalin, or Kekaling, the name given to the rapids at the present Kaukauna, Wis., which, with the portage around them, formed a noted landmark on the Fox-Wisconsin trade-route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. Another but smaller descent in the river is the Little Kakalin, above De Pere.—ED.

## CHAP. LXVIII.

*The Author and his Company stay some time amongst the Puans. The Original of the Name. They celebrated Mass here, and wintered at Missilimakinak.*

WE found many *Canadians* in this Bay of the *Puans*. The Nation that inhabits here, is so call'd, because formerly they dwelt in certain Marshy Places, full of stinking Waters, situate on the *South-Sea*. But being drove out thence by their Enemy, they came and settled in this Bay, which is to the East of the *Illinois*. The *Canadians* were come hither to Trade with the People of this Bay, contrary to an Order of the Viceroy. They had still a little of the Wine left, which they brought with them, and kept in a Pewter Flagon. I made use of it for Mass. Till now, I had nothing but a Chalice, and a Marble Altar, which was pretty light, and very handsomly engrav'd: But here by good Fortune I met with the Sacerdotal Robes too. Some *Illinois* who had happily escap'd their Enemies the *Iroquese*, who had attack'd and almost destroy'd them since my Voyage, and the time that I had been a Slave amongst the Barbarians,<sup>1</sup> had brought with

---

<sup>1</sup> On September 10, 1680, a large force of Iroquois appeared before the Illinois village which La Salle and Hennepin had earlier visited (see end of chap. xxix). Its inhabitants fled, in fear of this merciless foe; whereupon the Iroquois destroyed the village, and, having deluded the Illinois by a pretended treaty, attacked them,



them the Ornaments of the Chapel of Father *Zenobius Mambre*, [210] whom we had left among the *Illinois*. Some of these, I say, who were escap'd to the Place where we were, deliver'd me up all the Ornaments of the Chapel, except the Chalice. They promis'd to get me that too for a little Tobacco, which I was to give them; and were as good as their Word, for they brought it me some few Days after.

'Twas more than nine Months since I had celebrated the Sacrament of the Mass, for want of Wine. We might indeed have done it in our Voyage, had we had Vessels proper to keep Wine in: But we cou'd not charge our Canow with such, being very unfit to carry things of Burden. 'Tis true, we met with Grapes in many Places through which we pass'd, and had made some Wine too, which we put into Gourds; but it fail'd us whilst we were among the *Illinois*, as I have elsewhere observ'd. As for the rest, I had still some Wafers by me, which were as good as ever, having been kept in a Steel-Box shut very close.

We stay'd two Days at the Bay of the *Puans*; where we sung *Te Deum*, and my self said Mass, and Preach'd. Our

---

capturing nearly all the women and children of the Tamaroas, whom they tortured to death with most revolting atrocities. Tonty (who had vainly striven to pacify the Iroquois) was compelled, with the two Récollet priests and three other Frenchmen, to retreat for safety to Wisconsin. After many hardships, they finally reached friendly Pottawatomies at Green Bay. On the same day when they left the Illinois village, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde was slain by some prowling savages. See Hennepin's account of these episodes (chap. lxxiv-lxxv, *post*). There, and in the *Louisiane* (pp. 306-308), he accuses Tonty of having in panic fear abandoned the aged missionary—a statement which is refuted by the narrative of Membré, who was with Tonty at that time; see Shea's translation of Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 145-147.—ED.

Men prepar'd themselves for the Holy Sacrament, which we receiv'd, in order to render our Thanks to God, who had preserv'd us amidst the many Dangers we had run, the Difficulties we had surmounted, and Monsters we had overcome.

One of our Canow-Men truck'd [*i. e.*, traded] a Fufil with a Savage for a Canow larger than our own, in which, after an hundred Leagues rowing, having coasted all along the great Bay of the *Puans*, we arriv'd at *Missilimakinak*, in the Lake of *Huron*, where we were forc'd to Winter: For our Way lying still North, we shou'd infallibly have perish'd amongst the Ice and Snow, had we proceeded any further.

By the Course we were oblig'd to take, we were still about Four hundred Leagues from *Canada*. Amongst these People, I met, to my no little Satisfaction, [211] Father *Pierfon*, a Jesuit, who is a Son of the King's Receiver for the Town of *Aeth* in *Hainault*.<sup>1</sup> He was come hither to learn their Language, and spoke it then passably well. This *Religious*, who retain'd still the free and open Humour of his Countrymen, had made himself belov'd by his obliging Behaviour, and seem'd to be an utter Enemy of Caballing and Intrigues, having a candid Spirit, generous and sincere. In a word, He appear'd to me to be such as every good Christian ought to be. The Reader may judge how agreeably I pass'd the Win-

---

<sup>1</sup> Philippe Pierson came to Canada in 1666; he labored among the Hurons at Michillimackinac from 1673 to 1683, and, during the next five years, with the Sioux tribes west of Lake Superior. He died at Quebec in 1688.

It will be noticed that, save for this mention of his compatriot Pierson, Hennepin does not even mention the Jesuit mission at Michillimackinac, or that at Green Bay, both of which had entertained him as a guest.—ED.

ter in fuch good Company, after the Miferies and Fatigues I had undergone in the Courfe of our Discoveries.

To make the beft ufe of my time that I cou'd, I Preach'd all the Holy-days and Sundays in *Advent* and *Lent*, for the Edification of our Men, and other *Canadians*, who were come four or five Leagues out of their Country, to Trade for Furrs amongst thefe Savages: From whence we may obferve, that there are fome whom I fhall forbear to name, who notwithstanding all their pretended Aufferities, are yet no lefs covetous of the Things of this World, than the moft Secular Perfon in it. The *Outtaouaëts* and the *Hurons* wou'd often affift at our Ceremonies in a Church cover'd with Rufhes and a few Boards, which the *Canadians* had built here: But they came more out of Curiofity than any Defign to conform themfelves to the Rules of our Holy Religion.

The latter of thefe Savages would tell us, fpeaking of our Discoveries, That themfelves were but Men; but for us *Europeans*, we muft needs be Spirits: That if they had gone fo far up amongst ftrange Nations as we had done, they fhould have been fure to have been kill'd by them without Mercy; whereas we pafs'd every where without danger, and knew how to procure the Friendfhip of all we met.

During the Winter, we broke Holes in the Ice of the Lake *Huron*, and by means of feveral large [212] Stones, funk our Nets fometimes twenty, fometimes twenty five Fathom under Water to catch Fifh, which we did in great abundance. We took Salmon-Trouts, which often weigh'd from forty to fifty pounds. Thefe made our *Indian* Wheat

go down the better, which was our ordinary Diet. Our Beverage was nothing but Broth made of Whiteings, which we drank hot; because as it cools it turns to Jelly, as if it had been made of Veal.

During our stay here, Father *Pierſon* and I would often divert our ſelves on the Ice, where we skated on the Lake as they do in *Holland*. I had learn'd this Slight when I was at *Ghent*, from whence to *Bruffels* one may run in three Hours with abundance of Pleaſure when the Canal is frozen. 'Tis the uſual Diverſion with which the Inhabitants of theſe two Cities entertain themſelves during the Winter, by favour of the Ice.

It muſt be allow'd, without reflecting on any other Order, That thoſe of *St. Francis* are very proper for the ſetling of Colonies. They make a ſtriſt Vow of Poverty, and have a Property in nothing as their own: They enjoy only a ſimple Uſe of Things neceſſary to Life. Thoſe that give us any Moveables, continue ſtill to be the owners of them, and may take them again at pleaſure. 'Tis this Poverty which is recommended to us by many Popes; but above all by our Rule, which is the only one I find infered in the Canon-Law.

What paſſ'd at *Miffilimakinak* during this Winter, is a Proof of what I ſay. Two and forty *Canadians*, who were come hither upon the account of the Trade which they drive here with the Savages, deſir'd me to preſent them with the Cord of *St. Francis*. I compli'd with their Requeſt; and each time I deliver'd a Cord, made a ſmall Harangue by way of Exhortation to the Perſon receiving it, and then affiliated

him to the Prayers of the Order. They [213] would have kept me with them, and made me a Settlement, where from time to time they might have resort to me. They promis'd me moreover, since I would accept of no Furrs, that they would prevail with the Savages to furnish out my Subsistence in the best manner which could be expected for the Country. But because the greatest part of them that made me this Offer, Traded into these Parts without permission, I gave them to understand, That the Common Good of our Discoveries, ought to be preferr'd before their private Advantages; so desir'd them to excuse me, and permit me to return to *Canada* for a more Publick Good.

## CHAP. LXIX.

*The Author's Departure from Missilimakinak. He passes two great Lakes. The taking of a Great Bear. Some Particulars relating to the Flesh of that Beast.*

WE parted from *Missilimakinak* in *Easter-Week*, 1681, and for twelve or thirteen Leagues together, were oblig'd to draw our Provisions and Canow's after us over the Ice, up the *Lake Huron*, the sides of which continu'd still froze five or six Leagues broad. The Ice being broke, we embark'd, after the Solemnity of the *Quasimodo*,<sup>1</sup> which we had an opportunity to celebrate, having by good Fortune met with a little Wine, which a *Canadian* had brought with him, and serv'd us all the rest of our Voyage. After we had row'd a hundred Leagues all along the sides of the *Lake Huron*, we pass'd the Streights, which are thirty Leagues through, and the *Lake of St. Claire*, which is in the middle: Thence we arriv'd at the *Lake Erie*, or of the *Cat*, where we staid some time to kill Sturgeon, which come here in great numbers, to cast their Spawn on the [214] side of the Lake. We took nothing but the Belly of the Fish, which is the most delicious part, and threw away the rest.

This Place afforded also plenty of Venison and Fowl. As

<sup>1</sup> The Sunday next after Easter; also called "Low Sunday" and "White Sunday."—ED.

we were standing in the Lake, upon a large Point of Land which runs it self very far into the Water, we perceiv'd a Bear in it as far as we could see. We could not imagine how this Creature got there; 'twas very improbable that he shou'd swim from one side to t'other, that was thirty or forty Leagues over. It hapned to be very calm; and so two of our Men leaving us on the Point, put off to attack the Bear, that was near a quarter of a League out in the Lake. They made two Shot at him one after another, otherwise the Beast had certainly sunk them. As soon as they had fir'd, they were forc'd to sheer off as fast as they could to charge again; which when they had done, they return'd to the Attack. The Bear was forc'd to stand it; and it cost them no less than seven Shot before they could compass him.

As they were endeavouring to get him aboard, they were like to have been over-set; which if they had, they must have been infallibly lost: All they could do was to fasten him to the Bar that is in the middle of the Canow, and so drag him on Shoar; which they did at last with much ado, and great hazard of their Lives. We had all the leisure that was requisite for the dressing and ordering him, so as to make him keep; and in the mean time took out his Intrails, and having cleans'd and boil'd them, eat heartily of them. These are as good a Dish as those of our Sucking-Pigs in *Europe*. His Flesh serv'd us the rest of our Voyage, which we usually eat with lean Goats-flesh, because it is too fat to eat by it self: So that we liv'd for an hundred Leagues upon the Game that we kill'd in this Place.

## [215] CHAP. LXX.

*The Meeting of the Author and a certain Captain of the Outtaouaëts, nam'd Talon by the Intendant of that Name, upon the Lake of Erie; who recounts to him many Adventures of his Family and Nation. Further Observations upon the Great Fall or Cataraëts of Niagara.*

THERE was a certain Captain of the *Outtaouaëts*, to whom the Intendant *Talon*<sup>1</sup> gave his own Name, whilst he was at *Quebec*. He us'd to come often to that City with those of his Nation, who brought Furrs thither: We were strangely surpriz'd at the sight of this Man, whom we found almost famish'd, and more like a Skeleton than a living Man. He told us the Name of *Talon* would be soon extinct in this Country, since he resolv'd not to survive the Loss of six of his Family who had been starved to Death. He added, That the Fishery and Chace had both fail'd this Year, which was the occasion of this sad Disaster.

He told us moreover, That though the *Iroquese* were not in War with his Nation, yet had they taken and carri'd into Slavery an entire Family of Twelve Souls. He begg'd very

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste Talon was intendant of Canada from 1663 to 1675 (except during 1668-69). He displayed in this office great honesty and executive ability, and did much to promote exploration, and the development of the country's natural resources.—ED.



earnestly of me, that I would use my utmost Endeavours to have them releas'd, if they were yet alive; and gave me two Necklaces of Black and White Porcelain, that I might be sure not to neglect a Business which he laid so much to heart. *I can rely upon thee, Bare-foot, (for so they always call'd us) and am confident that the Iroquese will hearken to thy Reasons sooner than any ones. Thou didst often advise them at their Councils, which were held then at the Fort of Katarockoui, where thou hast caus'd a great Cabin to be built. Had I been at my Village when thou cam'st through it, I would have done all that I could to have kept [216] thee, instead of the Black Coat (so they call the Jesuites) which was there.* When the poor Captain had done speaking, I solemnly promis'd him to use my utmost Interest with the *Iroquese*, for the releasement of his Friends.

After we had row'd above an hundred and forty Leagues upon the Lake *Erie*, by reason of the many Windings of the Bays and Creeks which we were forc'd to coast, we pass'd by the Great Fall of *Niagara*, and spent half a Day in considering the Wonders of that prodigious Cascade.

I could not conceive how it came to pass, that four great Lakes, the least of which is 400 Leagues in compass, should empty themselves one into another, and then all centre and discharge themselves at this Great Fall, and yet not drown good part of *America*. What is yet more surprizing, the Ground from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, down to the Great Fall, appears almost level and flat. 'Tis scarce discernable that there is the least Rise or Fall for six Leagues together: The

more than ordinary fwiftnefs of the Stream, is the only thing that makes it be obferv'd. And that which makes it yet the franger is, That for two Leagues together below the Fall, towards the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, the Lands are as level as they are above it towards the Lake of *Erie*.

Our Surprife was ftill greater, when we obferv'd there were no Mountains within two good Leagues of this Cafcade; and yet the vaft quantity of Water which is difcharg'd by thefe four frefh Seas, ftops or centers here, and fo falls above fix hundred Foot down into a Gulph, which one cannot look upon without Horror. Two other great Out-lets, or Falls of Water, which are on the two fides of a fmall floping Ifland, which is in the midft, fall gently and without noife, and fo glide away quietly enough: But when this prodigious quantity of Water, of which I fpeak, comes to fall, there is fuch a din, and fuch [217] a noife, that is more deafning than the loudeft Thunder.

The rebounding of thefe Waters is fo great, that a fort of Cloud arifes from the Foam of it, which are feen hanging over this Abyfs even at Noon-day, when the Sun is at its heighth. In the midft of Summer, when the Weather is hotteft, they arife above the talleft Firrs, and other great Trees, which grow in the flooping Ifland which make the two Falls of Waters that I fpoke of.

I wifh'd an hundred times that fomebody had been with us, who could have defcrib'd the Wonders of this prodigious frightful Fall, fo as to give the Reader a juft and natural Idea of it, fuch as might fatisfy him, and create in him an Admira-

tion of this Prodigy of Nature as great as it deserves. In the mean time, accept the following Draught, such as it is; in which however I have endeavour'd to give the curious Reader as just an Image of it as I could.

We must call to mind what I observ'd of it in the beginning of my Voyage, which is to be seen in the Seventh Chapter of this Book. From the Mouth of the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall, are reckon'd six Leagues, as I have said, which is the continuation of the Great River of *St. Lawrence*, which arises out of the four Lakes above-mention'd. The River, you must needs think, is very rapid for these six Leagues, because of the vast Discharge of Waters which fall into it out of the said Lakes. The Lands, which lie on both sides of it to the East and West, are all level from the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall. Its Banks are not steep; on the contrary, the Water is almost always level with the Land. 'Tis certain, that the Ground towards the Fall is lower, by the more than ordinary swiftness of the Stream; and yet 'tis not perceivable to the Eye for the six Leagues abovesaid.

After it has run thus violently for six Leagues, it [218] meets with a small sloping Island, about half a quarter of a League long, and near three hundred Foot broad, as well as one can guess by the Eye; for it is impossible to come at it in a Canow of Bark, the Waters run with that force. The Isle is full of Cedar and Firr; but the Land of it lies no higher than that on the Banks of the River. It seems to be all level, even as far as the two great Cascades that make the Main Fall.

The two fides of the Channels, which are made by the Isle, and run on both fides of it, overflow almost the very Surface of the Earth of the said Isle, as well as the Land that lies on the Banks of the River to the East and West, as it runs South and North. But we must observe, that at the end of the Isle, on the side of the two great Falls, there is a slooping Rock which reaches as far as the Great Gulph, into which the said Waters fall; and yet the Rock is not at all wetted by the two Cascades which fall on both fides, because the two Torrents which are made by the Isle, throw themselves with a prodigious force, one towards the East, and the other towards the West, from off the end of the Isle, where the Great Fall of all is.

After then these two Torrents have thus run by the two fides of the Isle, they cast their Waters all of a sudden down into the Gulph by two Great Falls; which Waters are push'd so violently on by their own Weight, and so sustain'd by the swiftness of the motion, that they don't wet the Rock in the least. And here it is that they tumble down into an Abyfs above 600 Foot in depth.

The Waters that flow on the side of the East, do not throw themselves with that violence as those that fall on the West. The reason is, because the Rock at the end of the Island, rises something more on this side, than it does on the West; and so the Waters being supported by it somewhat longer than [219] they are on the other side, are carry'd the smoother off: But on the West the Rock slooping more, the Waters, for want of a Support, become the sooner broke,

and fall with the greater precipitation. Another reason is, the Lands that lie on the West are lower than those that lie on the East. We also observ'd, that the Waters of the Fall, that is to the West, made a sort of a square Figure as they fell, which made a third Cascade, less than the other two, which fell betwixt the South and North.

And because there is a rising Ground which lies before those two Cascades to the North, the Gulph is much larger there than to the East. Moreover, we must observe, that from the rising Ground that lies over against the two last Falls which are on the West of the main Fall, one may go down as far as the bottom of this terrible Gulph. The Author of this Discovery was down there, the more narrowly to observe the Fall of these prodigious Cascades. From hence we could discover a Spot of Ground, which lay under the Fall of Water which is to the East, big enough for four Coaches to drive a breast without being wet; but because the Ground, which is to the East of the sloping Rock, where the first Fall empties it self into the Gulph, is very steep, and almost perpendicular, 'tis impossible for a Man to get down on that side, into the Place where the four Coaches may go a-breast, or to make his way through such a quantity of Water as falls towards the Gulph: So that 'tis very probable, that to this dry Place it is that the Rattle-Snakes retire, by certain Passages which they find under ground.

From the end then of this Island it is, that these two Great Falls of Waters, as also the third but now mention'd, throw themselves, after a most surprizing manner, down into a dread-

ful Gulph six hundred Foot and more in depth. I have already said, that the Waters which Discharge themselves at the [220] Cascade to the East, fall with lesser force; whereas those to the West tumble all at once, making two Cascades; one moderate, the other very violent and strong, which at last make a kind of Crochet, or square Figure, falling from South to North, and West to East. After this, they rejoin the Waters of the other Cascade that falls to the East, and so tumble down altogether, though unequally, into the Gulph, with all the violence that can be imagin'd, from a Fall of six hundred Foot, which makes the most Beautiful, and at the same time most Frightful Cascade in the World.

After these Waters have thus discharg'd themselves into this dreadful Gulph, they begin to resume their Course, and continue the great River of *St. Lawrence* for two Leagues, as far as the three Mountains which are on the East of the River, and the great Rock which is on the West, and lifts it self three Fathoms above the Waters, or thereabouts. The Gulph into which these Waters are discharg'd, continues it self thus two Leagues together, between a Chain of Rocks, flowing with a prodigious Torrent, which is bridled and kept in by the Rocks that lie on each side of the River.

Into this Gulph it is, that these several Cascades empty themselves, with a violence equal to the height from whence they fall, and the quantity of Waters, which they discharge. Hence arise those deafning Sounds, that dreadful roaring and bellowing of the Waters which drown the loudest Thunder,

as also the perpetual Mists that hang over the Gulph, and rise above the tallest Pines that are in the little Isle so often mention'd. After a Channel is again made at the bottom of this dreadful Fall by the Chain of Rocks, and fill'd by that prodigious quantity of Waters which are continually falling, the River of *St. Lawrence* resumes its Course: But with that violence, and his Waters beat against the [221] Rocks with so prodigious a force, that 'tis impossible to pass even in a Canow of Bark, though in one of them a Man may venture safe enough upon the most rapid Streams, by keeping close to the Shoar.

These Rocks, as also the prodigious Torrent, last for two Leagues; that is, from the great Fall, to the three Mountains and great Rock: But then it begins insensibly to abate, and the Land to be again almost on a level with the Water; and so it continues as far as the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

When one stands near the Fall, and looks down into this most dreadful Gulph, one is seized with Horror, and the Head turns round, so that one cannot look long or steadfastly upon it. But this vast Deluge beginning insensibly to abate, and even to fall to nothing about the three Mountains, the Waters of the River *St. Lawrence* begin to glide more gently along, and to be almost upon a level with the Lands; so that it becomes navigable again, as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, over which we pass to come to the New Canal, which is made by the discharge of its Waters. Then we enter again upon the River *St. Lawrence*, which not long after makes

that which they call the *Long Fall*, an hundred Leagues from *Niagara*.<sup>1</sup>

I have often heard talk of the Cataracts of the *Nile*, which make the People deaf that live near them. I know not whether the *Iroquefe*, who formerly inhabited near this Fall, and liv'd upon the Beasts which from time to time are born down by the violence of its Torrent, withdrew themselves from its Neighbourhood, lest they should likewise become deaf; or out of the continual fear they were in of Rattle-Snakes, which are very common in this Place during the great Heats, and lodge in Holes all along the Rocks as far as the Mountains, which lie two Leagues lower.

Be it as it will, these dangerous Creatures are to [222] be met with as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, on the South-side; but because they are never to be seen but in the midst of Summer, and then only when the Heats are excessive, they are not so afraid of them here as elsewhere. However, 'tis reasonable to presume, that the horrid noise of the Fall, and the fear of these poisonous Serpents, might oblige the Savages to seek out a more commodious Habitation.

Having carry'd our Canow from the Great Fall of *Niagara*, as far as the three Mountains, which are two Leagues below, in all which Way we perceiv'd never a Snake; we proceeded in our Voyage, and arriv'd at the Lake of *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Long Sault of the St. Lawrence, situated above Cornwall, Ont., nearly opposite the boundary line between New York and Quebec. Navigation past these rapids is made practicable by the Cornwall Canal.—ED.



## CHAP. LXXI.

*The Author sets out from the Fort which is at the Mouth of the River Niagara, and obliges the Iroquefe assembl'd in Council, to deliver up the Slaves they had made of the Outtaouacts.*

WE met none of the Savages in the little Village of the *Iroquefe*, which is near the Mouth of the River *Niagara*; for they sow there but very little *Indian Corn*; and inhabit the Village but in Harvest-time, or in the Season they go a fishing for Sturgeons, or Whiteings which are there in great plenty. We thought also we should find some *Canadians* at the Fort of the River which we had begun to build, at the beginning of our Discovery: But these Forts were only built for a Show, to cover the secret Trade of Furrs, and countenance the great Hopes *M. de la Salle* had given to the *French Court*.

It must be granted, that such Discoveries are beyond any private Mens Power, and they must be [223] countenanc'd by a Sovereign Authority, to be successful. Therefore *M. de la Salle* had got the *French Court's* Protection; but instead of making a good use of it for the publick Good, he did chiefly aim at his own private Interest, and for that reason neglected a great many things necessary to carry on his

Enterprize. The Fort of the River of *Niagara* was become a deserted Place, and might have serv'd to countenance his Design. We came along the Southern Coasts of the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*; and after having sail'd thirty Leagues, we arriv'd about *Whitsuntide* in the Year 1681, at the great Village of the *Tsonnontouans* [Senecas] *Iroquefe*.

The Savages came to meet us, repeating often this Word *Otchitagon*, meaning by it, that the *Bare-foot* was return'd from the great Voyage he had undertook, to visit the Nations that are beyond the River *Hobio* and *Meschafipi*; and though our Faces were burnt by the Sun, and my Clothes patch'd up with wild Bull-Skins, yet they knew me, and carry'd me with my two Men into one of their Officer's Cottages.

They did call their Council, which met to the number of Thirty, or thereabouts, wearing their Gowns in a stately manner, made up with all sorts of Skins, twist'd about their Arms, with the *Calumet* in their Hands. They gave order that we shou'd be entertain'd according to their own Fashion, while they did smoak without eating.

After we had done eating, I told them by a *Canadian* that was my Interpreter, that their Warriors had brought 12 *Outtaouaëts* as Slaves, though they were their Confederates and *Onontio's* Friends, ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) breaking thereby the Peace, and proclaiming War against *Canada*: And the better to oblige them to deliver up to us the *Outtaouaëts*, who by good Fortune were still alive,

we flung in the middle of the Assembly two Collars of Porcelain, that Captain [224] *Talon* had given us; This is the only way among them, to enter upon any Affair.

The next day the Council met, and the *Iroquefe* answer'd me with some other Collars of Porcelain; and told me, That those who had made these Men Slaves, were young Warriors without Consideration; That we might assure *Onontio*, (who was then Count *Frontenac*) that their Nation wou'd always respect him in all things; That they shou'd live with him as true Children with their Father, and that they wou'd deliver up the Men who had been taken.

*Teganeot*, one of the chieft, who spoke for the whole Nation in the Council, presented me with some Skins of Otter, Martin, and Bever, to the value of thirty Crowns. I took his Present with one Hand, and deliver'd it with the other to his Son, whom he lov'd tenderly. I told him, That I made him that Present, that he might Exchange it with some Merchandizes of *Europe*; and that the *Bare-feet* will accept of no Present at all, not out of Contempt, but because we are disinterested in all things; assuring him, I would acquaint the Governor with his Friendship.

The *Iroquefe* was surpriz'd that I did not accept of his Present; and seeing besides, that I gave a little Looking-Glass to his Son, he said to those of his Nation, that the other *Canadians* were not of that Temper: And they sent us several Fowls, as an acknowledgment of their Gratitude for the care we took, to teach their Children some Prayers in

their own Tongue. After the Promises the Savages gave us to live in good correspondency with us, we took our leave of them, and got our selves ready, in order to continue our Voyage.

## [225] CHAP. LXXII.

*The Author sets out from the Tsonnontouans Iroquefe, and comes to Fort Frontenac.*

I MUST confess it is a great Pleasure for one to come out of Slavery, or the Hands of Savages, and to reflect upon past Miseries; especially when he returns among Friends, to rest himself after so many Hardships and Troubles.

We had still about Fourscore Leagues to go upon the Lake *Ontario*, before we cou'd arrive at Fort *Catarokoui*, or *Frontenac*; but we were all the Way very merry. I had help'd *Picard du Gay* and *Michael Ako*, my Fellow-Travellers, with some Skins, to make amends for the Hardship and Pains they suffer'd in that Voyage. We had much ado to row off our Canow, it being much bigger than that we made use of when we set out from the *Iffati* and *Nadoueffians*; but nevertheless we came in four Days to the Fort, and kill'd in our way some Bustards and Teals. We wanted then neither Powder nor Shot, and therefore we shot at random all that we met, either small Birds, or Turtles, and Wood-Pigeons, which were then coming from Foreign Countries in so great Numbers, that they did appear in the Air like Clouds.

I observ'd upon this Occasion, and many other times during our Voyage, a thing worthy of Admiration: The

Birds that were flying at the Head of the others, keep often back, to ease and help those among them that are tir'd; which may be a Lesson to Men to help one another in time of need. Father *Luke Buisset*, and Sergeant *la Fleur*, who had the Command in the Fort in the Absence of M. *la Salle*, receiv'd us in the House of our Order, that we had built together.

[226] They were much surpriz'd to see us, having been told that the Savages had hang'd me with St. *Francis's* Rope two Years ago. All the Inhabitants of *Canada*, and the Savages that we had encourag'd to live near Fort *Frontenac*, to Till the Ground, made me an extraordinary Reception, and shew'd much Joy to see me again. The Savages put their Hand upon their Mouth, and repeated often this Word, *Otkon*, meaning, That the *Bare-foot* must be a Spirit, having travell'd so far, through so many Nations that wou'd have kill'd them, if they had been there. Tho' we were kindly us'd in this Fort, yet my Men had a great Mind to return into *Canada*; and having escap'd so many Dangers together, I was willing to make an End of the Voyage with them; therefore we took leave of Father *Luke Buisset*, and of all our Friends that liv'd in that Fort, and went for *Quebec*.

## CHAP. LXXIII.

*The Author sets out from Fort Frontenac, and passes over the rapid Stream, which is call'd The Long Fall. He is kindly receiv'd at Montreal by Count Frontenac.*

WE set out from the Fort sooner than I thought, not being able to keep any longer my Men, and in our Way took a more exact View of the Mouth of the Lake Ontario, or *Frontenac*. This Place is call'd *Thousand Islands*, because there are so many of them, that 'tis impossible to tell them. The Stream is here very rapid; but its Swiftness is prodigiously increas'd, by the great Quantity of Waters that come from the other Lakes abovemention'd, and a great many Rivers that run into this, in the Place call'd, *The Long Fall*, which makes it as dreadful as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

[227] But besides this great Quantity of Waters, and the Declivity of the Channel, which makes the Current so rapid, there are also on the Banks, and in the middle of the River of *St. Laurence*, about eight or Ten Leagues below the said Lake, great Rocks, which appear above Water, which stopping the Stream of the River, makes as great a Noise as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

This dreadful Encounter of Water that beats so furiously against these Rocks, continues about two Leagues, the Waters

fpurt up ten or twelve Yards high, and appear like huge Snow-Balls, Hail, and Rain, with dreadful Thunder, and a Noife like Hiffing and Howling of Fierce Beasts: And I do certainly believe, that if a Man continued there a considerable time, he wou'd become Deaf, without any Hope of Cure.

My Men refusing to carry by Land the Canow, and the Skins they had got, I was forc'd to adventure with them; which I did willingly, having formerly pafs'd these Streams in a Canow: I trusted my self again to the same GOD who had deliver'd me from fo many great Dangers. The Stream is fo rapid, that we cou'd not tell the Trees that were on the Bank, and yet there was hardly room for our Canow to pafs between the Rocks. We were carri'd away by these horrid Currents above two great Leagues in a very fhort time; and in two Days we came from *Frontenac* to *Montreal*, which are about Threescore Leagues diftant one from another. Before our landing at *Montreal*, my Men defir'd me to leave them with the Skins in a neighbouring Island, to fave some Duties, or rather to keep off from M. *la Salle's* Creditors, who wou'd have feiz'd the Commodities they had got in their long Voyage with me in our great Discovery.

[228] Count *Frontenac*, who was at *Montreal*, looking out of a Window, faw me alone in a Canow, and took me for Father *Luke Fillatre*, one of our *Recolleets*, who ferv'd him as Chaplain. But one of his Guards, knowing me again, went to him, and acquainted him with my coming; he was fo kind as to come to meet me, and made me the beft Reception that a Miffionary might expect from a Perfon of that Rank



and Quality. He thought I had been murther'd by the Savages two Years ago. He was at first surpriz'd, thinking I was some other *Recolleſt* that came from *Virginia*: But at laſt he knew me, and gave me a very kind Entertainment.

This Lord did wonder to ſee me ſo much alter'd, being lean, tir'd, and tann'd, having loſt my Cloak that the *Iffati* had ſtoll'n from me, being then cloath'd in an old Habit, patch'd up with pieces of wild Bulls-Skins. He carri'd me to his own Houſe, where I continu'd for twelve Days to reſreſh my ſelf. He forbid all his Servants to give me any thing to eat, without his expreſs Order, becauſe he was afraid I ſhou'd fall ſick if I was left to my own Diſcretion, to eat as much as I wou'd after ſo long Hardſhips; and he gave me himſelf what he thought was beſt.

He was much pleas'd to hear me talk of all the Hazards I had run in ſo long a Voyage among ſo many different Nations. I repreſented to him what great Advantages might be got by our Diſcovery: But having obſerv'd that he was always repeating the ſame Queſtions he ask'd me the firſt Day I was with him, I told him I had acquainted him with what I knew; and that I did not queſtion but *M. la Salle*, who was to go to the Court of *France* about his Affairs, had acquainted him with all the Particulars of our Voyage, having been in our Company till he was forc'd to leave us to return into *Canada*.

[229] I knew that *M. la Salle* was a Man that wou'd never forgive me, if I had told all that I knew of our Voyage; therefore I kept ſecret the whole Diſcovery we had

made of the River *Meschafipi*. My Men were as much concern'd as I, in concealing our Voyage; for they had been certainly punish'd for having undertaken it against Orders; and the Skins they had got in their return from the *Iffati* with *M. du Luth*, who did stay for that reason among the *Outtaouaëts*, had likewise been confiscated.<sup>1</sup>

Count *Frontenac* shew'd me in private a Letter *M. du Luth* had sent him by a *Huron*, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood of the *Outtaouaëts*, by which he acquainted him, he cou'd never learn any thing about our Voyage, neither from me, nor from the Men who attended me. I cou'd not forbear then to tell him, that *M. du Luth* was not so much devoted to his Service as he thought; and that I might assure him that some Men that were his Opponents, had stopp'd *M. du Luth's* Mouth; and that I was fully persuadèd he had been sent by them with a secret Order, to pump me; but I was bound by my Character, and in Charity, to spare those Men, tho' on many Occasions they had not dealt so justly with me; but I was willing to leave all to God, who *will render to every one according to his Works*.

*Francis de Laval*, the first Lord Bishop of *Quebec*, came along the River *St. Laurence*, to make his Visitation, while I

---

<sup>1</sup> All these statements refer to the restrictions imposed on the colonists of Canada in the fur trade, — which was a monopoly, granted successively to various commercial companies, — and the consequent illegal traffic carried on by them. *Du Luth* and many others of his class were known as *coureurs de bois* ("wood-rangers"); they traded with the Indians for peltries, which they shipped to the English and Dutch at Albany as well as to the French at Montreal, and remained in the wilderness, outside the reach of Canadian officials — who were often accused of collusion, and even of private partnership, with the *coureurs de bois*. — ED.

was coming to *Quebec* with the Lord *Frontenac*. We met him near Fort *Champlain*,<sup>1</sup> which had been fortifi'd, to put a Stop to the Inroads of the *Iroquefe*: The Lord *Frontenac* ask'd me, if I had got an Ague; and then looking upon those that attended him, he said, that the feeling of the Pulse increas'd the Fever; insinuating to me thereby, that there was a Design laid against me, to get out cunningly what I kept secret in my Heart.

[230] After a short Conversation with the Bishop, I ask'd his Episcopal Blessing, tho' I did not think fit to reveal to him all that I knew of our Discoveries. We were going to discourse more largely upon this Subject, when the Lord *Frontenac* came in, to invite the Bishop to Dine with him, and thereby to give me an opportunity to put an end to our Conversation.

I was much puzzl'd in the Company of these two Great Men, the Bishop was the Chief of the Company; but I was yet to pay a great Respect to the Lord *Frontenac*. I did avoid talking of Matters that might be troublesome to me; and I told the Bishop, that the Lord *Frontenac* had prescrib'd me a Course of Diet, lest I shou'd fall sick, after all the Hardships I had endur'd, and the bad Food I fed upon among the Savages; therefore I desir'd him to give me leave to return to *Quebec*, that I might live there in private; for I was not able then to Catechise the Children, nor to perform any Functions of a Missionary in his Visitation; and that I wanted

---

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a reference to Fort Ste. Anne, which was built about 1666 at the entrance to Lake Champlain, by La Mothe, afterward La Salle's lieutenant.—Ed.

some Rest, that I might work more vigorously afterwards. By these Means I avoided a Conversation with the Bishop, that wou'd have prov'd very troublesome, to me; for he gave me leave to retire to our Monastery, to rest there after all my Fatigues.

## [231] CHAP. LXXIV.

*A great Defeat of the Illinois, that were attack'd and surpriz'd by the Iroquefe.*

WHILE I was resting after my great Labours, the Lord *Frontenac* did receive Letters from Father *Zenobe Mambre*, whom I left among the *Illinois*. He sent him Word, that the *Iroquefe* had drawn the *Miamis* into their Party; and that being join'd together, they had form'd a great Army, and were fall'n on a sudden upon the *Illinois*, to destroy that Nation; and that they were got together to the number of Nine hundred, all Fusiliers; these two Nations being well provided with Guns, and all sort of Ammunitions of War, by the Commerce they have with the *Europeans*.

The *Iroquefe* were projecting this Enterprize about the 12<sup>th</sup> of *September*, 1680, while I was about the Discovery of the River *Meschafipi*. The *Illinois* did not mistrust them; for they had concluded a Treaty of Peace with these two Nations; and *M. la Salle* had assur'd them, that he wou'd do his utmost Endeavours to oblige them to observe the Treaty; therefore the *Illinois* were easily surpriz'd, having sent most part of their Youth to make War in another Country.

A *Cbaouanon*, Confederate to the *Illinois*, returning from their Country home, came back again, to give them notice

that he had discover'd an Army of *Iroquefe* and *Miamis*, who were already enter'd into their Country on purpose to surprize them.

This News frighted the *Illinois*; yet the next Day they appear'd in the Field, and march'd directly to the Enemy; and as soon as they were in fight, they charg'd them. The Fight was very sharp, [232] and a great many Men were kill'd on both sides.

M. *Tonti*, whom M. *la Salle* had left in the Fort of *Crevecœur*, to command there in his Absence, hearing of this Irruption, was in fear for the *Illinois's* sake; for though their Army was more numerous than that of their Enemy, yet they had no Guns; therefore he offer'd himself to go *Askenon*, that is *Mediator*, carrying the *Calumet* of Peace in his Hand, in order to bring them to an Agreement.

The *Iroquefe* finding more resistance than they thought at first, and seeing that the *Illinois* were resolv'd to continue the War, consented to a Treaty of Peace, accepting Mr. *Tonti's* Mediation, and hearken'd to the Proposals he made them from the *Illinois*, who had chosen him for Mediator.

M. *Tonti* represented to them, that the *Illinois* were *Onontio's* ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) Children and Confederates as well as themselves; and that it wou'd be very unpleasant to him, who lov'd them all, to hear that they had begun the War; therefore he earnestly intreated them to return home, and trouble the *Illinois* no further, seeing they had religiously observ'd the Treaty of Peace.

These Proposals did not please some of the young *Iroquefe*, who had a great mind to fight, and therefore charg'd on a sudden M. *Tonti* and his Men with several Shots; and a desperate young Fellow of the Country of *Onnontagbe*, gave him a Wound with a Knife, near the Heart; but by chance a Rib warded off the Stroke: Several others did fall upon him, and wou'd take him away; but one taking notice of his Hat, and that his Ears were not bor'd, knew thereby that he was not an *Illinois*, and for that reason an old Man cry'd out, That they shou'd [233] spare him; and flung to him a Collar of Porcelain, meaning thereby to make him Satisfaction for the Blood he had lost, and the Wound he had receiv'd.

A young Man of the *Iroquefe's* Crew, took M. *Tonti's* Hat, and hung it on his Gun, to fright the *Illinois* therewith; who thinking by that Signal that *Tonti*, Father *Zenobe*, and all the *Europeans* that were in his Company, had been kill'd by the *Iroquefe*, were so much surpriz'd and disquieted with that horrid Attempt, that they fanci'd themselves deliver'd up into the Hands of their Enemies, and were upon running away: Yet the *Iroquefe* having made a Signal to Father *Zenobe* to draw near, that they might confer with him about the means to prevent both Armies to come to fight, they receiv'd the *Calumet* of Peace, and made a Motion as if they had a mind to withdraw: But the *Illinois* were hardly come to their Village, before that they saw the *Iroquefe's* Army appearing upon some Hills, which were over-against them.

This Motion oblig'd Father *Zenobe*, at the *Illinois's* Re-

quest, to go to them to know the reason of a Proceeding so contrary to what they had done in accepting of the *Calumet* of Peace. But that Embassy did not please those Barbarians, who wou'd not lose so fair an Opportunity. Father *Zenobe* did run the hazard of being murther'd by these unmerciful Men; yet the same God who had preserv'd many of our Fellow-Missionaries in the like Encounters, and my self in this Discovery, kept him from the Hand of these furious Men. He was a Man of a short Stature, but very couragious, and went boldly among the *Iroquese*, who receiv'd him very civilly.

They told him, that the Want they were reduc'd to, had forc'd them to this new Step, having no Provisions for their Army, and their great Number having driven away the Wild-Bulls from that Country. [234] Father *Zenobe* brought their Answer to the *Illinois*, who presently sent them some *Indian* Corn, and all things necessary for their Subsistence, and propos'd to them a Treaty of Commerce, having in that Country a great plenty of Beaver's Skins and other Furs.

The *Iroquese* accepted of these Proposals; they did exchange Hostages, and Father *Zenobe* went into their Camp, and did lie there, to lose no time to bring all Matters to an Agreement, and conclude a Treaty between them. But the *Iroquese* repairing in great Numbers into the Quarters of the *Illinois*, who suspected no ill Design, they advanc'd as far as their Village, where they wasted the *Mausoleums* that they us'd to raise to their Dead, which are commonly seven or eight Foot high: They spoil'd the *Indian* Corn that was sown;



and having deceiv'd the *Illinois*, under a false pretence of Peace, fortifi'd themselves in their Village.

In this Confusion the *Iroquefe* join'd with the *Miamis*, carri'd away eight hundred *Illinois* Women and Children; and their Fury went so far, that these *Antropophages* did eat some Old Men of that Nation, and burnt some others who were not able to follow them, and so return'd with the Slaves they had made, to their own Habitations, which were four hundred Leagues off the Country they had so cruelly plunder'd.

Upon the first News of the Approach of the *Iroquefe*, the *Illinois* had sent most part of their Families to the other side of a little Hill, to secure them from their Fury, and that they might get over the River *Meschafpi*; and the others that were fit for War, did flock together on the Tops of the Hills that were near their Habitations, and then went to the other side of the River, to look after their Families, and provide for their Subsistence.

[235] After this perfidious Expedition, these Barbarians wou'd fain alledge some Pretences to excuse their Treachery, and wou'd persuade our Fathers to retire from the *Illinois's* Country, since they were all fled away; and that there was no likelihood they shou'd want them for the future to teach them their Prayers, as the *Atsientafsi*, or the Black-Gowns do in their Countries, meaning the Jesuits whom they call by that Name. They told Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe*, that they should do better to return into *Canada*, and that they would attempt nothing against the Life of the Children of *Onontio*,

Governor of *Canada*, desiring to have a Letter under their Hand, to shew it as a Testimony of their honest proceeding in this occasion, and assuring them that they would no more stand by their Enemies.

Our two Fathers being so forsaken by their Hosts, and finding themselves expos'd to the Fury of a Cruel and Victorious Enemy, resolv'd to return home, according to the *Iroquese* Advice; and being suppli'd by them with a Canow, they embark'd for *Canada*.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>This action was taken by mutual consent of not only the two priests, but of Tonty and the three other Frenchmen who accompanied him; see Membre's account (Shea's translation of *Le Clercq*, ii, p. 145).—ED.

CHAP. LXXVII [*i. e.*, LXXV].

*The Savages Kikapoux murder Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, a Recollect Missionary.*

GOD has given me the Grace to be insensible of the Wrong I have suffer'd from my Enemies, and to be thankful for the Kindnesses I have receiv'd from my Friends. But if ever I had reason to be thankful to those that have taken care of my Instruction, certainly I must confess it was to this Good Father *Gabriel*, who was my Master during my Novitiate in the Monastery of our Order at *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois*; therefore I [236] think, that I am bound in Duty to mention so Honest a Man in this Relation of my Discovery, especially having had so sad a Share therein, as to be murder'd by the Savages *Kikapoux*, as I will relate it.

It must be observ'd, That M. *Tonti* could stay no longer at Fort *Crevecoeur*, after the *Illinois* Defeat<sup>1</sup>; therefore he desir'd Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* to get, with two young Boys that were left there, into a Canow, and return into *Canada*. All the rest of the Inhabitants had deserted that Country since that unfortunate Accident, by the Suggestion

---

<sup>1</sup>This must be an oversight on Hennepin's part; for Fort Crèvecoeur had been plundered and deserted in March of that same year, by the French who had been left by La Salle as its garrison. Tonty was in the Illinois village near Utica, at the time of its destruction by the Iroquois.—ED.

of some Men of *Canada*, who were the Predominant *Genius* of the Country, who had flatter'd them with great Hopes, to oblige them to forfake *M. de la Salle's* Design.

Our said Fathers being so forc'd to leave that Country after such a Defeat, embark'd the 18th of *September* following, wanting all sorts of Provisions, except what they could kill with their Guns; but being arriv'd about eight Leagues from the *Illinois*, their Canow touching upon a Rock, let in Water, and so were forc'd to land about Noon to mend it.

While they were about careening the same, Father *Gabriel*, charm'd with the fine Meadows, the little Hills, and the pleafant Groves in that Country, which are dispers'd at such distances, that they look as if they had been planted on purpose to adorn the Country, went so far into those Woods, that he lost his Way. At Night Father *Zenobe* went to look after him, as also the rest of the Company; for he was generally lov'd by all that knew him. But *M. Tonti* was suddenly seiz'd with panick Fears, thinking that every moment the *Iroquese* wou'd fall upon him: So that he sent for Father *Zenobe*, and forc'd all his Men to retire into the Canow, and so got over the River on the *Illinois*-side, and left [237] the Old Father expos'd to the Barbarians Insults, without any respect to his Age, or to his Personal Merits.

'Tis true, that in the Evening one of the Young Men that were in the Canow with Father *Zenobe*, fir'd a Gun by *M. Tonti's* Order, and lighted a great Fire; but all was in vain.

The next Day, *M. Tonti* seeing he had behav'd himself

cowardly on this occasion, went back again by break of Day to the Place where we had left the Day before Father *Gabriel*, and continu'd there till Noon looking after the poor Christian. But though some of his Men enter'd into the Groves, where they saw the fresh Steps of a Man, which were also printed in the Meadows along the Bank of the River, they could never hear of him. M. *Tonti* said since, to excuse himself for having so basely forsaken Father *Gabriel*, That he thought the *Iroquese* had laid an Ambuscade to surprize him; for they had seen him flying away, and they might fancy he had declar'd himself for the *Illinois*.

But M. *Tonti* might have remember'd he had given his Letters for *Canada* to these *Iroquese*; and that if they had form'd any Design upon his Life, they would have executed it when he was among them: But they were so far from it, that when he was wounded, they presented him with a Collar of Porcelain; which they never do but when some unlucky Accidents happen. The Savages don't use so much circumspection; and therefore this Excuse is groundless and frivolous. Father *Zenobe* has left us in Writing, That he would stay for Father *Gabriel*: But M. *Tonti* forc'd him to embark at Three a Clock in the Afternoon; saying, That certainly he had been kill'd by the Enemies, or else he was gone a-foot along the Banks of the River; and that they would see him in their way. However, they could hear [238] nothing of him; and the farther they went, the greater Father *Zenobe's* Afflictions grew. They were then in such a want of Provisions, that they had nothing to feed upon but

Potatoes, Wild Garlick, and some small Roots they had scratch'd out of the Ground with their own Fingers.

We have heard since, that Father *Gabriel* had been kill'd a little while after his landing. The Nation of the *Kikapoux*, who, as one may see in our Map, inhabit to the Westward of the Bay of *Puans*, had sent their Youth to make War against the *Iroquesse*; but hearing that these Barbarians were got into the Country of the *Illinois*, they went seeking about to surprize them. Three *Kikapoux*, making the Vanguard, met with Father *Gabriel*, and came up to him as near as they could, hiding themselves among the Grass, which is very high in that Country; and though they knew he was not an *Iroquesse*, yet they knock'd him down with their Clubs, call'd *Head-breakers*, which are made of a very hard Wood. They left his Body on the spot, and carri'd away his Breviary and Journal, which since came to the Hands of a Jesuite, whom I will mention in my other Volume, wherein I design to speak of the First Introduction of the Faith into *Canada*. These Barbarians took off the Skin of his Head, and carri'd it in triumph to their Village, giving out that it was the Hair of an *Iroquesse* whom they had kill'd.

Thus di'd this Good Old Man; to whom we may apply what the Scripture says of those whom *Herod* in his Fury caus'd to be Slain, *Non erat qui sepeliret*; There was no body to Bury him. This Worthy Man was wont in the Lessons he made us in our Novitiate, to prepare us against the like Accidents by Mortifications. And it seems that he had some foresight of what befel him. So Good a Man deserv'd a

Better Fate, if a Better might be wish'd for, [239] than to die in the Functions of an Apostolical Mission, by the Hands of those same Nations, to whom the Divine Providence had sent him to convert them.

Father *Gabriel* was about 65 Years old. He had not only liv'd an exemplary Life, such as our Good Fathers do, but had also perform'd all the Duties of the Employments he had in that Order, either when he was at home Guardian, Superior, Inferior, and Master of the Novices; or abroad when he was in *Canada*, where he continu'd from the Year 1670, until his Death. I understood several times by his Discourses, that he was much oblig'd to the *Flemings*, who had maintain'd him a long time: He often talk'd to us about it, to inspire us, by his Example, with some Sentiments of Gratitude towards our Benefactors. I have seen him mov'd with Grief, considering that so many Nations liv'd in the Ignorance of the Way to Salvation; and he was willing to lose his Life, to deliver them out of their Stupidity.

The *Iroquesse* said of him, That he had been brought to bed, because his Great Belly was become flat by his frequent Fastings, and the Austerity of his Life.

M. *Tonti* can never clear himself of his Baseness, for forsaking Father *Gabriel*, under pretence of being afraid of the *Iroquesse*: For though they are a Wild Nation, yet they lov'd that Good Old Man, who had been often among them: But M. *Tonti* might bear him some Secret Grudge; because Father *Gabriel*, after the *Illinois* Defeat, seeing that M. *Tonti* had over-laden the Canow with Beavers-Skins, so that there

was no room for him, he did throw many of these Skins to the *Iroquefe*, to shew them that he was not come into that Country to get Skins or other Commodities.

[240] Father *Zenobe* had neither Credit nor Courage enough to persuade M. *Tonti* to stay a while for that Good Father, who was thus sacrific'd to secure some Beavers-Skins. I do not doubt but the Death of that *venerable* Old Man was very precious in the sight of God, and I hope it will produce one time or other its Effects, when it shall please God to set forth his Mercy towards these Wild Nations; and I do wish it might please him to make use of a feeble means, as I am, to finish what I have, through His Grace, and with Labour, so happily begun.



CHAP. LXXVI.

*The Author's Return from his Discovery, to Quebec; and what hapned at his Arrival at the Convent of Our Lady of Angels near that Town.*

COUNT *Frontenac*, Viceroy of *Canada*, gave me two of his Guards, who understood very well to manage a Canow, to carry me to *Quebec*. We set out from *Champlain's* Fort, mention'd above; and being near the Town, I landed, and went a-foot through the Lands newly grubb'd up, to our Monastery, bidding the Guards to carry the Canow along with them.

I would not land at *Quebec*, because the Bishop had given order to his Vicar-General to receive me in his Episcopal Palace, that he might have more time to enquire about our Great Discovery: But Count *Frontenac* had expressly order'd his Major that was in the Town, to prevent that Meeting, and to take care that I might first be brought to our Monastery, to confer with Father *Valentin de Roux*, a Man of great Understanding, and Provincial-Commiffary of the Recollects in *Canada*.

[241] There was then in our Monastery of Our *Lady of Angels*, but Three Missionaries with the said Commiffary; all

the rest were dispers'd up-and-down in several Missions above a hundred Leagues from *Quebec*. One may easily imagine that I was welcome to our Monastery; Father *Hilarion Jeunet* seem'd surpriz'd, and told me with a smiling Countenance, *Lazare veni foras*. Whereupon I ask'd him why he did apply to me what had been said of *Lazarus*? To which he answer'd, that two Years ago a Mass of *Requiem* had been sung for me in the Monastery, because some Savages had given out for certain, to a Black Gown, *i. e.* a Jesuit, That the Nation whom the *Iroquese* call *Hontouagaba*,<sup>1</sup> had hung me to a Tree with St. *Francis's* Rope; and that two Men who accompani'd me, had been also in a very cruel manner put to Death by the same Savages.

Here I must confess, That all Men have their Friends and their Enemies. There are some Men who, like the Fire that blackens the Wood it cannot burn, must needs raise Stories against their Neighbours; and therefore some having not been able to get me into their Party, spread abroad this Rumour of my Death, to stain my Reputation; and that Noise had given occasion to several Discourses in *Canada* to my Prejudice. However, (for I will, if it please God, declare my Mind farther upon this matter in another Volume) I ought to acknowledge that God has preserv'd me by a sort of Miracle, in this great and dangerous Voyage, of which you have an Account in this Volume. And when I think on it with attention, I am persuaded that Providence has kept

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 87, note 1, *ante*.—ED.

me for publishing to the World the Great Discoveries I have made in Eleven Years time, or thereabouts, that I have liv'd in the *West-Indies*.

[242] It muſt be obſerv'd, That a great many Men meddle with Buſineſs that don't belong to them, and will conceive a Jealouſy againſt thoſe that won't conform to their Humour. The Provincial-Commiſſary, of whom I have ſpoken before, was very urgent to have a Copy of the Journal of the Diſcovery I had made in a Voyage of almoſt four Years, telling me he would keep it ſecret. I took his Word; for I thought, and I think ſtill, he was a Man of Honour and Probity. Beſides, I did conſider that he could inſtruct the Biſhop of *Quebec*, and Count *Frontenac*, with what they had a mind to know of this Diſcovery, and ſatiſfy them both, without expoſing my ſelf.

For this purpoſe were intended all the Care he took of me, and all the extraordinary Civilities he did ſhew me, in entertaining me with all he could get then, and calling me often the *Rais'd-again*. He deſir'd me to return into *Europe*, to acquaint the Publick with the great Discoveries I had made, and that by this way I ſhould avoid the Jealouſy of theſe two Men; that it was very difficult to pleaſe two Maſters, whoſe Employment and Interests were ſo different.

He had then, before my Return into *Europe*, all the time that was neceſſary to Copy out my whole Voyage on the River *Mefcaſipi*, which I had undertook againſt M. *de la Salle's* Opinion, who has made ſince a Voyage from the

*Illinois* to the Gulph of *Mexico*, in the Year 1682, and two Years after me.<sup>1</sup> He had had some fuspicion I had made that Voyage; yet he could not know the Truth of it at my Return to Fort *Frontenac*, because he had then undertook a Voyage to the *Outouagamis*, not knowing whether the Savages had murther'd me, as it had been given out.

I follow'd our Commiffary's Advice, and the Refolution to return into *Europe*; but before I fet out, [243] I fhew'd him that it was absolutely neceffary for the Settlement of Colonies in our Discoveries, and make fome progrefs towards the eftablifhing of the Gofpel, to keep all thefe feveral Nations in peace, even the moft remote, and affift them againft the *Iroquefe*, who are their Common Enemies: That thefe Barbarians never make a True Peace with thofe that they have once beaten, or they hope to overcome, in fpreading Divifions among them; that the common Maxim of the *Iroquefe* had always been fuch, and by this means they had deftroy'd above Two Millions of Souls.

The Provincial-Commiffary agreed with me upon all this, and told me that for the future he fhould give me all the neceffary Inftuctions for that purpofe.

---

<sup>1</sup> With a text abounding in references of this character, difparaging La Salle and setting up the claim that the author, first of all white men, voyaged on the lower Mississippi, it is surprising that Shea should advance the theory, in his edition of *Louisiane*, that the account of this voyage was interpolated by another hand, for which Hennepin should not be held responsible. If this is not Hennepin's claim, then all of his latest books are open to the suspicion that he had nothing to do with them — and this is inadmissible; from Preface to *Finis*, the narrative is clothed in his unmistakable style.—ED.

I will give an Account, if it please God, in my Second Volume, of the Ways and Measures that are to be taken for the establishing of the Faith among the many Nations of so different Languages; and how good Colonies might be settled in those great Countries, which might be call'd the Delights of *America*, and become one of the greatest Empires in the World.

*FINIS.*

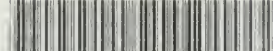
[End of Volume I.—ED.]

21  
S.F. 450 B









L 006 505 135 1

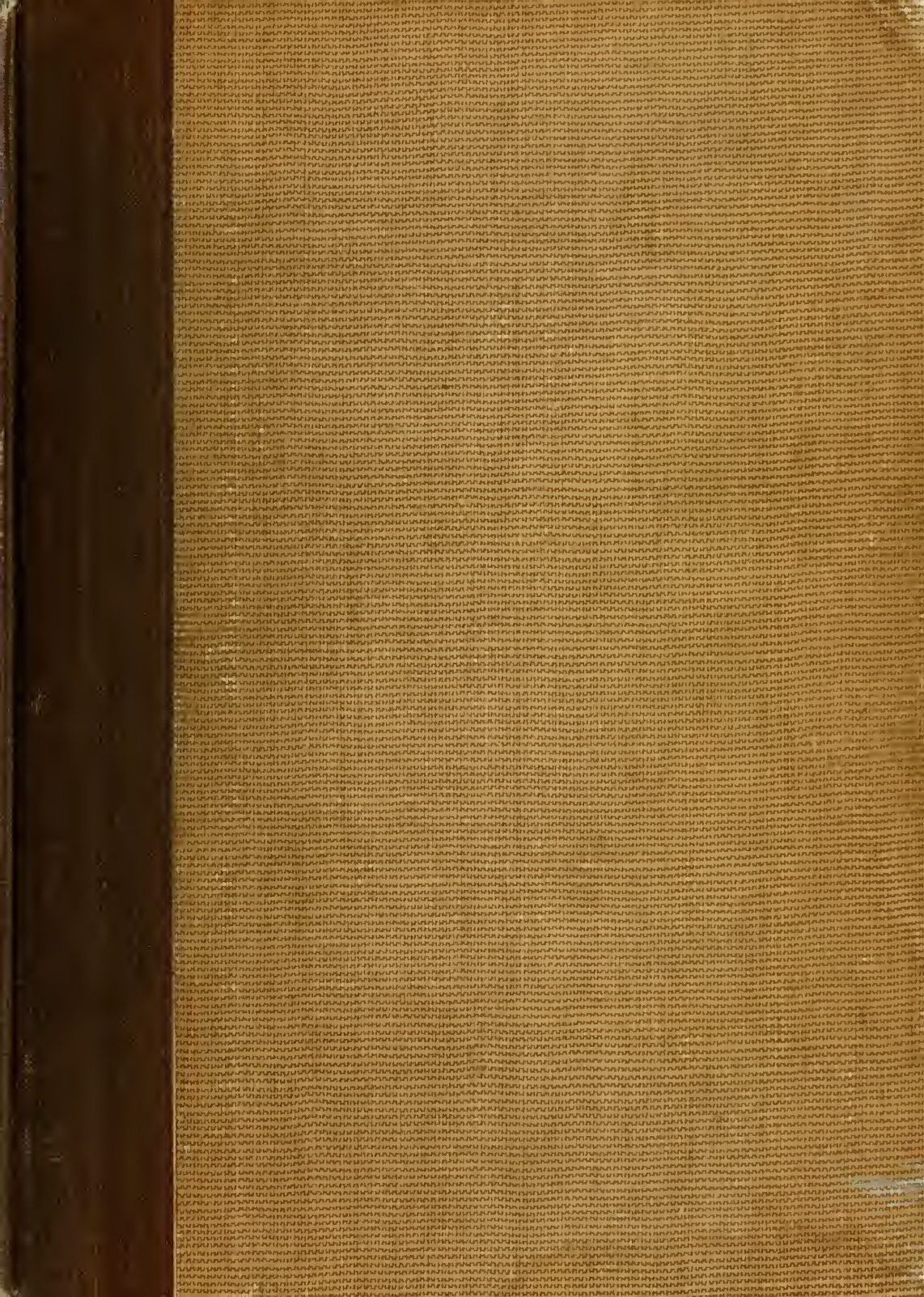
UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



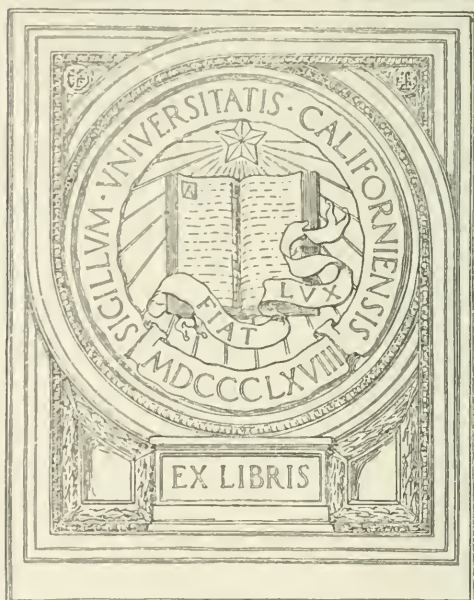
AA 001 178 501 1







UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
AT LOS ANGELES



EX LIBRIS





HENNEPIN'S  
A NEW DISCOVERY

EDITED BY  
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

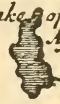
VOLUME II





270

Lake of



f. Mission  
Recollects

Nadoufaw

r Isaac  
leadows  
The Fall of  
way of



A  
NEW DISCOVERY  
OF A  
VAST COUNTRY  
IN AMERICA

By Father Louis Hennepin

*Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles  
of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the  
addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index*

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

*Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"*

**In Two Volumes**

VOLUME II

(BEING PART II OF THE ORIGINAL)

CHICAGO  
A. C. McCLURG & CO.  
1903

Copyright  
A. C. McCLURG & CO.  
1903  
Published October 3, 1903

*Composition by The Dial Press, Chicago.*  
*Presswork by John Wilson & Son,*  
*University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A*

F 352  
H 39  
1903  
v. 2

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

	PAGE
HENNEPIN'S "A NEW DISCOVERY"— <i>Part II</i>	
Title-page, "A Continuation of the New Discovery" (facsimile of original) . . . . .	355
Dedication to King William III . . . . .	357
Preface . . . . .	363
The Contents . . . . .	377
A Voyage into a Newly Discover'd Country . . . . .	383
An Account of several New Discoveries . . . . .	621
Postscript . . . . .	673
INDEX— <i>The Editor</i> . . . . .	675



## ILLUSTRATIONS—VOLUME II

(FACSIMILES OF ORIGINALS)

	PAGE
“A Map of A New World” . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
“The Unfortunate Adventures of Mons <sup>r</sup> . de la Salle” . . . . .	<i>facing</i> 372
“The Murther of Mons <sup>r</sup> . de la Salle” . . . . .	“ 424
“The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois” . . . . .	“ 504
“The Taking of Quebec by The English” . . . . .	“ 588









A  
CONTINUATION,  
OF THE  
New Discovery  
OF A  
*Vast Country in AMERICA,*  
Extending above Four Thousand Miles,  
BETWEEN  
New France *and* New Mexico;  
Giving an  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE

Attempts of the *Sieur De la SALLE* upon the  
Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of  
*Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages  
of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

---

By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

---

To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-*  
*America*, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

---

L O N D O N, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonson*,  
*H. Bonwick*, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manship*. 1698.



[iii] To His Majesty

# William III.

By the Grace of God

King of *Great Britain*.

SIR,

**H**IS Catholick Majesty, His Electoral Highness of *Bavaria*, and the Superiors of my Order having given me leave to come into these happy Provinces, according to Your Majesty's direction, to publish the Discoveries I have made in *America*; [iv] and Your Majesty having been graciously pleased to accept my first Volume, I make bold to offer You also this Second Part; wherein I insert the Travels of a Gentleman whom I have accompanied several Years, and whose violent Death, by the Hands of his own Men, disappointed the great Designs he had formed upon the Mines of *St. Barbe* in *New Mexico*.<sup>1</sup> The Observations I make upon his Voyage will shew unto Posterity, that a Man must never be ungratefull to his Friends, nor revenge himself of his Enemies, but as much as it concerns the Publick Good, which ought always to prevail upon the private Interest.

This is a Character peculiar to the Illustrious House of

---

<sup>1</sup> Referring to La Salle, and to his murder in 1687.—ED.

*Nassau*, who has formerly fill'd the *Roman* Imperial Throne,<sup>1</sup> and who is now cloathed in Your Majesty's Person with a Royal Power over Three great Kingdoms, and [v] other large Dominions which form the *British* Empire.

All the World agrees, that Nature and Grace have happily conspir'd to unite in Your Sacred Person all the Christian, Political and Military Virtue of Your Renowned Ancestors. The great Elevation of Your *Genius*, which has manifested it self by Your noble and generous Designs; Your Generosity and Liberality so worthy of Your Illustrious Birth; Your noble Inclination to do good to all Men, even to Your Enemies themselves, and the unparallell'd Constancy and greatness of Soul which You have express'd in the greatest Adversities, the true Touchstone of true Merit, are so conspicuous, that every one is convinc'd of Your Majesty's Magnanimity, Valour, Justice, Equity, Sincerity and Piety.

Your Majesty signaliz'd the Love You had for Your own Country, when [vi] You took the Command of the Armies of the States General against a powerfull and victorious Conquerour, whom Your Majesty forced to abandon almost in one Day the Conquest he had made in the united Provinces. All the World admir'd Your Valour, and more still Your unparallell'd Prudence, which no body expected in such a degree from a Prince of Three and twenty Years of Age.

---

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to the Holy Roman Empire, which was founded by Charlemagne in the year 800, and was long the temporal arm of the Roman See, throughout Catholic Europe. Its last head was Francis II, who on Aug. 6, 1806, resigned this imperial dignity, confining his sway to his own hereditary dominion of Austria. The emperor referred to by Hennenpin was Adolph, count of Nassau, who reigned as head of the Roman Empire from 1292 to 1298.—ED.

Never Prince was more master of that nice Art of softening the different Tempers of Nations, managing their different Interest, giving Life to their Resolutions, and therefore no Prince had been able hitherto to form and cement such an Alliance as we see at this Day for the safety of *Europe*. Those great Qualities and incomparable Virtues make Your Majesty the Darling of Your People and the Terror of Your Enemies, and keep Rebels and Factious men in awe, when Your Majesty's [vii] absence out of Your own Kingdoms seems to give them a fair Opportunity to disturb the Tranquility of *Great Britain*: As You ascended the Throne without any effusion of Blood, God, whose Glory has been always Your chiefest Care, having been pleased to crown with a glorious and unexpected Success, the Equity of Your Intentions, so Mercy and Clemency have been ever since the Basis of it, notwithstanding the many repeated Provocations of ill-disposed Persons, whose Obstinacy deserv'd to be punish'd.

The Confederate Princes having chosen Your Majesty for their *Generalissimo*, and given proof in their choice both of the Respect and Trust they have in Your Majesty, nothing seems wanting to compleat Your Glory but to procure to *Europe* a solid and lasting Peace, which we hope is near at hand, and which will shew Your Majesty's incomparable Prudence and Wisdom, as [viii] the management of the War has shewn Your Valour and Magnanimity. The so much admir'd Prudence of *Cæsar*, and the Valour of *Alexander*, come very short of what Your Majesty has already express'd,

and all impartial Men will agree, that Your Majesty has exceeded the most famous Heroes mentioned in History; but I must leave off this Subject for fear of offending Your *Modesty*, which is an inseparable Companion of all great Souls.

I must beg Your Majesty's Pardon for the Liberty I take to complain against some Inhabitants of this City of *Utrecht*, who, though of the same Religion as I am, endeavour to render me odious, because, being a *Franciscan*, I have dedicated to Your Majesty two Volumes of the Discovery I have made in *America*. They ought to know that I have done nothing but by Your Majesty's Permission and that of the States, and therefore they [ix] have not a due respect for Your Sacred Majesty and their High and Mightinesses. I hope those very Persons will acknowledge one time or other their mistake and the sincerity of my Intentions, which are such, that I may confidently say, I propose nothing to myself but the Glory of God, and to find out, under Your Majesty's Protection, a Passage into *China* and *Japan* without crossing twice the Line, which the *English* and *Dutch* have so often vainly attempted, through the Frozen Sea: I hope, Sir, through the Assistance of God, and the Favour of Your Majesty, to succeed in my Design, and discover it before the end of this Age.

By these means a great many Barbarous Nations will be brought to the knowledge of the true God and their Redeemer Jesus Christ, which I am sure is a sufficient motive for Your Majesty to give all Incouragement for this Undertaking; for being convinc'd of [x] Your Majesty's Piety, I need not use



for an Argument the Temporal Advantages, that will accrue thereby to Your Kingdoms.

That God be pleased to blefs Your Majesty with all forts of Prosperities, Your Undertakings with a glorious Succes, and Your Subjects with an everlasting Felicity, is and will always be the Prayer of,

*S I R,*

*Your Majesty's most Humble*

*and most Obedient Servant,*

**F. Lewis Hennepin,**

*Missionary Recolleſt and Notary Apoſtolick.*



## P R E F A C E.

I NEED not make a long Preface to this Book, the Subject Matter thereof is able to recommend it self to the perusal of all Inquisitive Readers. The World, tho' unjust in most cases, do however Justice to Travellers, and the Accounts of their Voyages meet, generally speaking, with a more favourable Reception than any other Performances. This is a kind of Reward to Travellers for the unspeakable Fatigues they have suffer'd. Notwithstanding I have not travelled through Polite Nations, nor seen any wonderfull Edifices in the Countries I have discovered, I have met with that Reward; the Description of the Cabins of Reeds and Rushes, which are the Habitations of above 200 Nations unknown before me, have been as acceptable to Ingenious Readers as the Description of their noble Palaces and Temples of China in some other Authors. My Description of Louisiana was printed several times, and the [xii] late Volume I published has met with such a Reception, that I may presume this will have the same fate. And really the Discovery of 200 different Nations unknown hitherto to the Europeans is, one would think, a fit Subject to excite any one's Curiosity.

I would therefore break off my Preface in this place, were I not obliged to answer some false Accusations my Enemies have raised against me, and because I am in a Religious Order, I think fit to begin with inserting two Attestations or Certificates of Fathers

*of my own Order, which will prevent some further Calumnies on that Point.*

**I** UNDERWRITTEN certify to have read and examined a Book entituled, *A Description of Louisiana*, newly discovered to the *South-west* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, written by Father *Hennepin* a Recollect Preacher, and Apostolick Missionary, and to have found nothing therein contrary to Faith or good Manners, but that on the contrary, the said Book contains many Reflections and Remarks, which may be of great use for the Conversion of the Savages, and the Advantages of the Kingdom. Given at our Co[n]vent of Recollects in *Paris*, December 13, 1682.

F. Cesaree Harveau *Lector in Divinity, Father Provincial and Custos of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denys in France.*

[xiii]

**I** HAVE read a book entituled, *A Description of Louisiana*, newly discovered to the *South-west* of *New France*, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, in which I have found nothing but what is conformable to the Faith of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman Church*, the Laws of the Kingdom, and good Manners; and it may be very usefull towards establishing the Faith of Jesus Christ in that new World, and extending the Empire of our Monarch in that fertile and delicious Country. Given at *St. Germain en Laye* in our Co[n]vent of Recollects, December 14, 1682.

F. Innocent Micault *Definitor of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denys in France, and General Commissioner in the Province of Recollects of St. Anthony in Artois.*

*Having premised these two Certificates, I come now to answer the Objections my Enemies urge against me.*

1. *How, say they, can a Franciscan, and consequently a Priest of the Church of Rome, solicit a Protestant Prince to send him to preach the Gospel unto the Ignorant Nations he has discovered? For is it not more reasonable to think, that that Monarch will rather convert that People to his own Religion, than suffer Catholick Missionaries [xiv] to convert them to the Church of Rome? What Opinion then ought Men to have of the Religion of Father Hennepin? This is the chief Argument insisted on by my Enemies to make me odious to those of my Religion, or rather to the ignorant part of it; but I may easily confute that silly Calumny: For in the first place, His Majesty of Great Britain has not exacted nor demanded any Promise of me, when He was pleased to admit me into His Service, that may be directly or indirectly contrary to my Religion. These Bigots ought by the same reason to censure the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Electors of the Empire, and Bishops of Liege, Munster, &c. who are entred into so strict an Alliance with His Majesty of Great Britain, and conclude from thence, that those Catholick Princes have formed some Design against the Catholick Religion. But supposing that the English convert those numerous Nations to their Religion, and that I contribute something to it, am I for all that to be blamed? I hope no body will say so, unless it be those morose Bigots, who think that the ignorant Americans who worship the Devil, or any other Creature, are nearer to the Kingdom of God than Protestants who worship the same God as we, hope in the same Redeemer, and are separated from us only upon some points; which Opinion I look upon as a Frenzy worthy of my Com-*

*passion, and not of a Reply. But who told them that the Catholick Faith cannot be preached under the Protection of King William, or the States General? Those who censure me, enjoy their Religion [xv] under that very Protection, and the Reader will find at the latter end of this Volume, what offers the English made to our Recollects in America. But let them say what they please, I have the Approbation of His Catholick Majesty, the Elektor of Bavaria, and the permission of the Superiors of my Order.*

2. *Some others think that I impose upon them in the Account I give of the course of the Meschasipi, and that it is not possible I should have travelled in so short a time from its Mouth to its Source. To these I reply, that they are not acquainted with Canoes made of Bark of Trees, which are so light that one may travel 20, 25, and in case of need 30 Leagues in a Day against the Stream of a River, whereas by my Account it does not come to Ten in a Day. But if one follows the Stream, as we did from the River of the Illinois to the Mouth of the Meschasipi, the swiftness is so great, that I am sure we spent twice more than was requir'd.*

3. *When wicked and malicious Persons conspire the Ruin of a Man they hate, or else who gives them some umbrage, they make use of all Artifices; therefore my Enemies being afraid, that the publishing of my Discoveries may prejudice their Interest, they have done their utmost to dissuade the Booksellers of this City of Utrecht from printing my Books; insinuating, that this was but a Repetition of my Description of Louisiana published many Years agoe, and translated, as they say, into Dutch; but really this is very impertinent; for my Louisiana contains not 20 Sheets, and how is it [xvi] possible that the Abstract of it should contain 50? 'Tis true, I repeat*

*some few things I published then, because otherwise I had been unintelligible, but most commonly I refer the Reader to that Book, which certainly I would not have done, if this last were nothing but the Repetition of the former. But I would ask these Gentlemen, whether they have found in the Description of Louisiana, any Account of the Course of the Meschasipi from the River of the Illinois into the Gulph of Mexico; nor the Account of Mr. de la Salle's unfortunate Travels, with my Additions, and many other things: And as there is no body so impudent to say they have, they confute themselves, and must own, that these two Books I have dedicated to His Majesty were not printed before. I have however the Comfort that they don't accuse me to have robb'd others; the Louisiana was my own Work, and I think I may be as free to borrow something from it in case of need, as others have done.*

4. *A Learned Man has observ'd in a very civil manner, that I have said that I have spent about 11 Years in my Discovery, and yet it does not appear by my Account of it that I have been so long; but he must observe, that when I say Eleven Years, I reckon from the time that I set out from Flanders, which was just after the Battel of Seneff, where I was in great danger of my life, to the second Edition of my Description of Louisiana, which was in 1688; and therefore I might have said Fourteen Years instead of Eleven; for [xvii] I have been all that while about it, either in Europe or America.*

5. *Some other peevish Criticks urge, that when I say that the of Savages of Iffati call the Sun Louis, I designed to flatter the King France; but this is a foolish Suggestion, and a far fetch'd Flattery, the name of Louis being common to the King and the meanest of*

*his Subjects; therefore I repeat, how that having liv'd a considerable time in the Family of Aquipaguetin, one of the chief of the Iffati, and learned their Language, I was assured, that they call the Sun by no other name than Louis, and the Moon Louis Bafetche, that is the Sun of the Night.*

6. *Others having no Objection to make, tells us, That I relate nothing extraordinary; but in the name of Wonder, what will this People have? For if the Description of 4 or 5 Lakes, or rather Fresh-water Seas, some of which are in circuit 4, 5 and 700 Leagues, upon which we sailed with a Ship of 60 Tuns for 500 Leagues together, to the great amazement of the Savages, who had never seen the like, nor heard the noise of Cannon: If the Description of the fall of Ni[a]gara, which is one of the most surprizing things in the World, the Water falling from above 700 Foot high: If the Discovery of 200 different Nations unknown before, and of whom no Traveller had made mention; if all these things, I say, with the Description of that delicious Country, does not seem extraordinary, I don't know what will seem such to those Gentlemen. I relate what I have seen, and [xviii] really I lie under no temptation to forge any surprizing Discovery to recommend my Book, the real things I have observ'd being worthy of the Consideration of all ingenious Men.*

7. *Such who have not travelled, nor read many Accounts of Voyages, are very apt to blame what they don't understand, and therefore laugh when one tells them of a new discovered Country larger than Europe, for they fancy there can be no such thing; and when they talk of Canada, they talk of it as if it were no larger than a Principality in Germany; but Men of Parts and Reading*



are of another Opinion: I have demonstrated that Canada is about 700 Leagues long, and that the Coast of the River St. Laurence, which I have survey'd from its Mouth to the great Lake from which it springs is near 800 Leagues long. I say the same thing of the incomparable River Meschafipi, which is larger and bigger than the former; and to shew the probability of the thing, I have set down in the general Map of my Discovery the Course of the River of the Amazons, in the Southern America, which is esteemed much the same, though in my Opinion the Meschafipi and the River St. Laurence have a longer Course. From the Course of these Rivers, and the Extent of the Lakes, I conclude that the Continent I have discovered is larger than Europe, which might in time form one of the greatest Empires in the World.

I intend to describe in this Volume those Countries, to treat of the nature of their Soil, and of [xix] the Customs, Manners, and Genius of the Inhabitants; and what sort of Trades may be settled in those Parts; therefore I thought fit to add an Abstract of the Voyage Mr. de la Salle made thither after me. The whole is divided into Chapters, according to the Method I followed in the First Part.

I design the latter end of my Book to treat of the few Conversions our Missionaries have wrought in Canada, notwithstanding their Zeal and indefatigable Labours, which ought to make us thankful towards God, who out of his infinite kindness has been pleased to bless us with his Knowledge, whilst so many thousands of our fellow Creatures are wholly left to themselves, without any Knowledge of God. I am however fully convinced, that the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the Meschafipi will be more susceptible and

capable of embracing our Holy Religion, because they are not so fierce, than the Savages of the North, who are commonly Cruel and Obstinate.

To make this Volume more usefull, I have made some Reflections on Mr. de la Salle's last Voyage, because I was better acquainted with those vast Countries than Father Christian le Clercqz,<sup>1</sup> Defnitor of our Recolleſts of the Province of Artois, who has published an Account of it. I have a great esteem for that Father, and was always his Friend, and must own, that he has given a good Account of Canada, and Gaspeſia; but at the same time I must say, that the Account he gives of the Inhabitants of Louiſiana and about the Meſchaſipi is not to [xx] be rely'd upon, for he never was within 1200 Leagues of that Country. Gaspee in Accadia, and Quebec, the neareſt places where he has been, being above that diſtance. 'Tis true, the Diary of my Discovery, of which I gave a Copy to Father Valentin le Roux, as I have observed in my first Volume, was communicated unto him, as also some Memoirs of Father Zenobe Mambre, who remained among the Illinois, while I was sent to discover the Course of the Meſchaſipi; and so far Father le Clercqz is right, but his Additions are not of the same Coyne. I do not wonder that he should commend so much Father

---

<sup>1</sup> Chrestien le Clercq was a missionary in Gaspé from 1675 to 1689, and wrote an account of his labors there — *Relation de la Gaspésie* (Paris, 1691). In 1681 he went to France, and returned to Canada in the following year, commissioned by his superiors to establish a Récollet residence at Montreal. In 1690 he was recalled to France. Hennepin here refers to Le Clercq's other book, which we have often cited, *Premier Établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1691), which gives full accounts of La Salle's voyages.

The final "z" in Le Clercq's name, as here given, is doubtless an error of the English printer, arising from either some flourish at the end of "q," or the contraction for "ue" (z), often used in early French MSS. — ED.

Mambre, *who was his own Cousin, and a very good Man besides.* We travelled together as far as Fort Crevecœur mentioned in my first Volume, where I left him among the Illinois, and have been always good Friends. After his return from America he came to see me in our Co[n]vent of Chateau Cambresis [Cambray], and told me, he was going again into America with Mr. de la Salle, and that he expected he should have an Opportunity to make more exact Observations on the Meschasipi than those I had done in the Year 1680, because Mr. de la Salle designed to undertake that Voyage with such a number of Men as to fear nothing from the Insults of the Savages. But if I do not blame Father le Clercqz for the honourable mention he makes of his Relation, I think every body will condemn him for his concealing the name of the Author he has transcrib'd, and thereby attributing to himself the glory of my perilous Voyage.<sup>1</sup> This [xxi] piece of Injustice is common enough in this Age.

Mr. de la Salle undertook to go down the Meschasipi from the River of the Illinois in the Year 1682, that is, two Years after me, which was the source and cause of his Animosity against me, and of the rigorous Orders they obtained from the Court of France, to command me to depart the Dominions of the French King, upon

---

<sup>1</sup>This aspersion is hardly justified by Le Clercq's own words; he says (Shea's translation of *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 125, 128, 129): "Father Louis . . . has published the description of the countries which he visited, and into which he carried the Gospel. I, therefore, must refer my reader to it without repeating any part of it here. . . . As I continue the account of a discovery in which Father Zenobius [Membré] took a considerable part and was constantly present, and as we derive from his letters the chief information we can have about it . . . it corresponds with many fragments which we have of the Sieur de la Salle, and the testimony of Frenchmen and Indians who accompanied them."—ED.

*pretence that I was a Subject of the King of Spain, as I have mentioned in my Preface to my first Volume. This Order, as I may presume to say so, was as contrary to the Rule of Justice, as of Politicks, for they might very well foresee that I should acquaint some person or other with my Discoveries, and cross thereby their Designs.*

*From these Observations it is plain, that as I was the first European who discovered the Course of the Meschasipi, and the delicious Country about it; so all others have seen nothing but what I had seen before, and have related nothing material, but what they have abstracted out of the Copy of the Journal of my Voyage which I gave to Father Valentin le Roux, and was by him communicated to Father Hyacinth le Fevre.*

*Mr. de la Salle had begun a Settlement in the Island of Montreal in Canada, which is 25 Leagues about, and this small Colony is so much improv'd as to be now a great and populous Village.<sup>1</sup> They call it China, because while Mr. de la Salle lived there, and began the Settlement, he spoke very often of the Mines of St. Barbe, and said, that as soon as he had taken those Mines, he would go [xxii] into China and Japan without crossing the Line, and to that end, find a Passage into the South-Sea. This was the chief Subject of our Conversations, and as the Discoveries I have made cannot be far from the Pacifick Sea, I don't question but Mr. de la Salle, whose great Courage was proof against all Difficulties and Misfortunes, would have succeeded in his Design.*

---

<sup>1</sup>The village of La Chine. Hennepin exaggerates its growth; for the official census of October, 1698, gives the total population of Lachine, Bout de l'Isle, and Rivière St. Pierre as but 270 souls (including children).—ED.



M. Vander Gucht Scul.

*The Unfortunate adventures of Mons<sup>r</sup>. de la Salle.*



*Those who are skill'd in Geography have long agoe suspected that Japan is contiguous to the Lands of the Northern America; and the Learned Grævius,<sup>1</sup> so well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, having carefully examined our Discovery, was pleased to tell me very lately in a meeting of Vertuosi, in this City of Utrecht, That he was of my Opinion, and did not think that Japan was an Island, as it is commonly said, but that it joyns with the large Country I had discovered.*

*I have made use of a proof in my last Volume, Chapter 37, which I crave leave to repeat in this place, because it is a Matter of Fact: While I was amongst the Iffati and Nadoueffans there came an Embassy of Savages from a very remote Nation to the Westward. I was in the Cabin when my Foster Father Aquipaguetin (for he had adopted me his Son) gave them Audience, and having asked them some Questions by an Interpreter, they told me that they came from a remote Country to the Westward, that they had marched 3 Moons, (that is, Months) without meeting with any Lasa, that is in their meaning, the Seas; which certainly [xxiii] could not be true, was there any such a thing as the Streight of Agnian set down in most of our Mapps.*

*The English and Dutch have in vain attempted to find out a Passage to China and Japan through the Frozen-Sea, but if they are pleased to send me about it, I am confident that I shall find some great River running into the Pacifick-Sea, whereby, and by means of the Meschasipi, it will be easie to trade and have Com-*

---

<sup>1</sup> Joannes G. Graef (Latinized, Grævius), a German philologist and archæologist, professor in the university of Utrecht (where he died in 1703), and author of numerous books.—ED.

*munication with China and Japan without crossing twice the Line: and losing abundance of Men.*

*I am so fully convinced of what I say, that I am willing to return into America to shew the Way unto others; some will blame me for this rash Undertaking, but why should I have less Zeal for the Service of God than those Pious Recolleets who ventured into the Kingdom of Voxu in the Eastern part of Japan, and converted the King thereof to the Knowledge of God. That Prince was so Zealous for the true Religion, that he burnt 800 Idols, and sent an Ambassador into Europe with a Retinue of 100 Gentlemen. They embarked October 28. 1613, and arrived in Spain November 10. 1614, being conducted by Father Lewis Sotello a Recolleet, who presented the said Ambasdor to his Catholick Majesty, and afterwards to the Pope, whom he assured, that the King his Master and most of his Subjects had renounced their Idolatry and embraced the Christian Religion. The Reader will forgive me if I relate two or three things more for the Honour of my Order.<sup>1</sup> The [xxiv] Franciscans were the first who accompanied Christopher Columbus into his newly discovered Country, and had the Honour to preach first of all the Knowledge of God to the Indians. The Conquest of the Spaniards arrived to the highest pitch in the Years 1540 and 1541, and yet no other Religious Order had been employed to bring those lost Sheep into the Flock of the Lord, and they alone had converted a great part of the Subjects of the King of*

---

<sup>1</sup> The Franciscan order (also called Gray Friars, and Friars Minor) was founded in 1209, by St. Francis d'Assisi. Not long after his death, his order numbered 200,000 priests and 8,000 convents. The Récollets were an offshoot from the Franciscans (about 1531).—ED.



*Japan unto the Christian Faith: So that having those great Models before me, I may say, that I long to make an end of my Discovery.*

*That short passage into China, would, I think, prove as advantageous to Europe, as any Discovery that has been yet made; and this is another great Encouragement for me, for what greater satisfaction can a rational Being propose to himself, than to do good to Mankind, and find out something usefull to his Country? Having therefore all Power and Patents necessary for my Mission, I am ready for that great Voyage, and I hope, through the Grace of God to be able to go through that Discovery, and thereby convince the World of the Equity of my Intentions.*

*The Reader may observe, that the Settlements that shall be made in that Country will absolutely be managed by Laicks, and that supposing the Franciscans should be employ'd 500 Years about the Conversion of the Natives, they should not have there an inch of Land to themselves, it being against the Laws of their Order; whereas in some other Countries, where another Order has got a [xxv] footing, they are Masters now of the Temporal as well as the Spiritual, the best Lordships and Mannors [Manors] belonging to them. How they have discharged their Spiritual Function, I don't know, but sure I am, they have taken a great care of their Temporal Interest, as I intend to shew in a third Volume, which I shall publish in this City of Utrecht, if it is thought convenient.*

*I should have a fair opportunity to avenge my self in this Preface of certain Persons of this very Town, who have aspersed me with the utmost Malice, and kept for their own use the Money*

*I had received from his Majesty of Great Britain, and which I advanc'd to them for my Subsistence. This is a very foul Action, and worthy to be publickly taken notice of; but my Religion teaching me to forgive my Enemies, I follow that Precept, and do heartily forgive them.*

# THE CONTENTS.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAP. I.

*An Account of M. de la Salle's Undertaking to discover the River  
Meschafipi by the Gulph of Mexico, and his establishing a  
small Colony at the Bay of St. Lewis,* p. 1

## CHAP. II.

*An Account of several Misfortunes that befell M. de la Salle at  
the Bay of St. Lewis,* p. 9

## CHAP. III.

*A Continuation of the Misfortunes of M. de la Salle, with an  
Account of two Voyages he undertook to find out the Country of  
the Illinois,* p. 16

## CHAP. IV.

*A Continuation of M. de la Salle's Voyage and Discovery, and  
how he was receiv'd by the Savages Cenis,* p. 22

## [xxvii] CHAP. V.

*A short Description of Fort Lewis, of its advantageous Situation,  
and of the Fertility of the Country about it,* p. 28

## CHAP. VI.

*An Account of M. de la Salle's second Voyage from the Bay of St.  
Lewis to the Illinois,* p. 30

---

<sup>1</sup>The page numbers herein given refer to the original pagination, indicated in the text by bracketed numerals.—ED.

## C H A P. VII.

*M. de la Salle and three more are unfortunately murther'd by some of their own Party.* p. 33

## C H A P. VIII.

*The Author's Reflections upon the Life and Death of M. de la Salle, whose Murtherers kill'd one another.* p. 36

## C H A P. IX.

*The Cenis permit M. Cavelier the Priest, and Father Anastafius, with their Company, to continue their Journey througb several barbarous Nations.* p. 41

## C H A P. X.

*The Voyage of the Sieur Cavelier a Priest, and Father Anastafius a Recolleſt in a Pyrogue to [xxviii] the Illinois, and several Observations concerning their Return.* p. 46

## C H A P. XI.

*Reflections of the Author on the Voyage to China; on the Belief of most of the Savages of North America concerning the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul,* p. 52

## C H A P. XII.

*Of the most proper means to convert the Savages; who those are to whom the Missionaries ought to refuse or administer Baptism,* p. 60

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Barbarians of the Northern America don't acknowledge a God. Of the pretended Souls of Terrestrial Animals,* p. 65

## C H A P. XIV.

*Of the great difficulties in converting the Savages: of the Prayers they get by Rote, and of Martyrdom,* p. 69

The CONTENTS. 379

CHAP. XV.

*The manner of Feasting among the Savages,* p. 71

[xxix] CHAP. XVI.

*Of the manner of adopting the Europeans amongst the Savages,*  
p. 74

CHAP. XVII.

*Of the Marriages of the Savages in North America,* p. 77

CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the Remedies which the Savages administer to the Sick: they have Mountebanks among them; their Opinion of Infant-Baptism when the Author liv'd there,* p. 82

CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Constitution or Temper of the Savages.* p. 85

CHAP. XX.

*Description of the Savages that go naked, and those that do not,*  
p. 88

CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Games, and Sports of the Savages,* p. 91

CHAP. XXII.

*The manner of making War among the Savages, [xxx] they are very much given to Revenge,* p. 94

CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the Cruelty of the Savages in general, and particularly of the Iroquois,* p. 98

CHAP. XXIV.

*Of the Policy of the Savage Iroquois,* p. 103

## The CONTENTS.

## C H A P. XXV.

*Of the manner of the Savages hunting of all sorts of wild Beasts, and of the admirable Industry of the Castors or Beavers,* p. 104

## C H A P. XXVI.

*Of their manner of fishing,* p. 109

## C H A P. XXVII.

*Of the Utenfils of the Savages in their Cabbins, and of their extraordinary manner they strike Fire,* p. 112

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Of the manner of their interring their dead; of the Festival of the dead, with some Reflections concerning the Immortality of the Soul,* p. 115

## [xxxix] C H A P. XXIX.

*Of the Superstitions of the Savages, and of the ridiculous things they believe,* p. 119

## C H A P. XXX.

*Of the Obstacles that are found in the Conversion of the Savages,* p. 123

## C H A P. XXXI.

*Of the barbarous and uncivil Manners of the Savages,* p. 128

## C H A P. XXXII.

*Of the great Indifferency of the humours of the Savages,* p. 123

## C H A P. XXXIII

*Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country of the Savages, that powerfull Colonies may be easily planted on the North and South,* p. 134

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Of the Method of the Savages in their Councils, against their Enemies, and their Cruelty against the Europeans, and how a stop may be put to them,* p. 142

## [xxxii] C H A P. XXXV.

*Of the proper Method to establish good Colonies; Thoughts and Opinion of the Savages concerning Heaven and Earth,* p. 148

## C H A P. XXXVI.

*The History of the Irruption which the English made into Canada in the year 1628; the taking of Quebec the Metropolis of Canada in 1629, the most honourable Treatment they gave the Recollects,* p. 161

## C H A P. XXXVII.

*How the Religious of St. Francis in their Missions through the habitable World have been before the Jesuits,* p. 195

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

*The Sentiments that a Missionary ought to have of the little Progress they find in their Labours,* p. 181





[1] A  
V O Y A G E  
INTO A  
Newly Discover'd Country  
Larger than  
E U R O P E,  
Situate between the  
*Frozen Sea and New Mexico.*

---

CHAP. I.

*An Account of M. de la Salle's Undertaking to discover the River  
Mefchafipi by the Gulph of Mexico, and his establishing a  
small Colony at the Bay of St. Lewis.*

**R**EASON ought to rule Men in all cases, and whenever they think themselves wrong'd by others, they ought, as Christians, to impute it rather to their Pre-occupation or Prejudices, than to their Malice; and this Maxim I propose to my self as my rule, as the Readers will observe in the following Narration.

I liv'd near three Years together as Missionary with Mr. *Robert Cavalier de la Salle* at Fort *Katarokou* or *Frontenac*, whereof he was Governor and Proprietor; and during that

time, we read together the Voyages [2] of *John Pontius de Leon*, *Pamphilio Narvaez* *Christopher Columbus*, *Ferdinand Soto*,<sup>1</sup> and several other Travellers, the better to fit and prepare our selves for the great Discovery we intended to make. *M. de la Salle* was a fit Man for the greatest Undertakings, and may be justly rank'd amongst the most famous Travellers that ever were, as it will appear to whomsoever will consider that he spent his own Estate about the greatest, most important, and most perillous Discovery that has been yet made; which he undertook with a handfull of Men, whom he preserv'd from the numerous Nations he discover'd, amongst whom all other Travellers, except *Columbus*, perish'd without reaping any advantage from their Enterprizes, which however cost them above 100000 Men: so that upon the whole, I may boldly conclude, that no body, before *M. de la Salle* and I, undertook so dangerous an Expedition with so few Men.

Our design was to endeavour to find out, if possible, a Passage from the Northern to the South Sea without crossing the Line, which a great many have hitherto sought in vain. The River *Meschafipi* does not indeed run that way, but however *M. de la Salle* was in hopes to discover by the means of the *Meschafipi*, some other River running into the South Sea, and knowing his great Courage and Ability, I don't question but he would have succeeded, had God been pleas'd to preserve his Life. As that unfortunate Gentleman was about it, he was murther'd; and if the divine Providence has

---

<sup>1</sup> Juan Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida; Pamphilio de Narvaez, another noted Spanish officer in Florida; Cristoforo Colombo, who discovered the New World; and Hernando de Soto, who first made known the Mississippi River.—ED.

ſpar'd me, 'tis it ſeems, that I may acquaint the World with a ſhort way to go to *China* and *Japan*, which I hope may be done by means of my Discoveries: Therefore if his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, or the States General are willing to ſend any body to find out that ſo much talk'd of Paſſage, and that I may accompany them, I am morally ſure that by the Grace of God, we ſhall ſucceed before the end of this Age.

[3] The Country of the *Illinois*, and other neighbouring Nations, being the Center of our Diſcovery, M. *de la Salle* deſign'd to ſettle there a Colony; and therefore any Prince or State, who will purſue ſo generous a Deſign, muſt follow the ſame method, and build Forts from Place to Place, to have an uninterrupted Communication, and keep in awe the Inhabitants of theſe vaſt Countries. The firſt thing M. *de la Salle* did in order thereto, was to endeavour to find out by Sea the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the Gulph of *Mexico*, as it has been ſaid in my firſt Volume, to ſettle there a Colony, and build a good Fort to be as his Magazine, and ſerve as a retreat both by Sea and Land in caſe of any miſhap. He made his Propoſals to the *French King's* Council; which were perus'd and approv'd by *Monſieur de Seignelay* Secretary and Miniſter of State, and Intendent General of the Commerce and Navigation of *France*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty<sup>1</sup> approved likewise his Deſign, gave him all

---

<sup>1</sup> Louis XIV was then King of France. Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Seignelay, ſon of the great Colbert, was one of his miniſters until his death in 1691. Larouſſe ſays of Seignelay: "Under his adminiſtration the French marine attained a degree of proſperity which it has never known ſince, and could compete with the combined fleets of England and Holland."—ED.

necessary Authority, and supply'd him with Ships, Men and Money.

M. *de la Salle* having obtain'd what he desir'd from the King, thought of chusing able Missionaries to convert those barbarous and wild Nations unto the Christian Religion, and resolv'd to use two different Orders; but as this choice was a nice and difficult thing, he apply'd himself to Monsieur *Tronfon* Superiour of the *Seminary* of St. *Sulpicius* at *Paris*,<sup>1</sup> who appointed three Men of great Vertue, Zeal and Capacity to attend M. *de la Salle* as Missionaries; these were M. *Cavelier* Brother to M. *de la Salle*, M. *Chefdeville* a Relation of his, and M. *Majulle*, Priests in the said *Seminary*.

I had attended M. *de la Salle* near twelve Years in the Discovery of *Louisiana*, and Father *Zenobe*, and *Gabriel de la Ribourde* and my self had likewise accompanied him into the Country of the *Illinois*, where *Gabriel* was murdered by the Savages, therefore [4] M. *de la Salle* resolv'd to have some *Recolleÿts* to endeavour to establish the Knowledge of God in those vast Countries, and to that end applied himself to Father *Hyacinth le Fevre*, who was then for a second time *Provincial Commissary* of the Province of St. *Denys* in *France*, who granted him the Missionaries he demanded, viz. Father *Zenobe Mambré* of *Bapaume* as Superiour, Father *Maxime le*

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean Jacques Olier, a priest at Paris, founded (1640) an association of priests at Vaugirard, which he transferred in the following year to Paris, where it expanded into the Seminary of St. Sulpice, its priests being known as Sulpitians. In 1657, some were sent to Montreal, and six years later the Associates of Montreal surrendered to the Seminary their newly-formed colony, with their seigniorial rights over Montreal Island — possessions which have made the Montreal branch of the order enormously wealthy. — ED.

*Clerc* of *Lille* in *Flanders*, *Anastase Douay* of *Quesnoy* in *Hainault*, and *Denys Morquet* of *Arras*, all *Recolleets* of the Province of *St. Anthony* in *Artois*. The first, as I have said, had been as far as the *Illinois* with *M. de la Salle*, and I toward the latter end of the Year 1679. And the beginning of the following, and two Years after, viz. 1682 he went with *M. de la Salle* to the Mouth of the *Meschasipi* in the Gulph of *Mexico*, about two Years after my Discovery. The second Father had been five Years Missionary in *Canada*, and had performed the Functions of his Ministry with great Diligence and much Edification, especially in the Mission of the *Seven Islands* and *Anticosti*. Father *Douay*, who is now Vicar of the *Recolleets* of *Cambray*, had never been in *America*, no more than Father *Denys*, who fell so sick three days after he went on board, that he was forced to go a-shore and return into his Province.

The *Provincial* of the Order acquainted with this Mission the Congregation *de propaganda fide*,<sup>1</sup> to obtain the Power and Authority necessary for that Enterprize, who sent a Decree according to the usual Form; and Pope *Innocent XI.* added a Brief thereunto, containing several Powers and Commissions in 36 Articles, that are usually granted to Missionaries going into remote Countries, where they cannot refer certain Cases to Bishops. The Bishop of *Quebec* oppos'd it with all his Interest, but Cardinal *d'Etrees*<sup>2</sup> shew'd, that his

---

<sup>1</sup> This body was formed by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1622, to spread the Roman Catholic faith, and to direct all missions of that church — a work which it still continues. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> César d' Estrées, a French cardinal; a noted ecclesiastic and diplomatist of the seventeenth century. — ED.

Opposition was unreasonable, seeing the Country where these Missionaries were to preach the [5] Gospel, was 1000 Leagues distant from *Quebec*.

The advantages they expected in *France* from our Discovery were so great, that several young Gentlemen offer'd themselves to accompany M. *de la Salle* as Volunteers, tho' they knew him only by the character I had given of him in my Description of *Louisiana*, which I publish'd after my return into *France*. This also gain'd him the esteem of Monsieur *Seignelay*, which was very advantageous to him. That Minister sent for me several times to discourse with him about the circumstances of our Discovery, which I told him sincerely, concealing only my Discovery of the Course of the *Meschassipi* from the River of the *Illinois* to the Gulph of *Mexico*, out of pure kindness for M. *de la Salle*, who thereby recommended himself to the favour of the late Prince of *Conti*<sup>1</sup> and Monsieur *Seignelay*.

All things being thus favourably disposed, M. *de la Salle* chose twelve Gentlemen, who appear'd to him vigorous, and like to bear the Fatigues of that Voyage, and amongst them, he took two of his own Nephews, *viz.* Mr. *Moranger* and Mr. *Cavelier*, tho' this last was but fourteen Years of Age. One *Martin*, Son to a rich Merchant of *Rochel*, went also with him. In the mean time, they fitted out in that Harbour his small Fleet, which consisted of four Ships, *viz.* the *Toby*, one of the King's Men of War; the *Handsom*, a small Frigate; a

---

<sup>1</sup> Louis Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti, who died in 1685; a dissolute but brave nobleman.—ED.

Fly-Boat, call'd *l'Aimable*, and a Ketch, call'd *St. Francis*. The Man of War was commanded by Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, with whom I have had several Conversations since his return, at *Dunkirk*. This Officer is known by his great Services and long Experience, as well as his Lieutenant, the Chevalier *de Here*, who is now Captain of a Man of War. The Ensign was called *de Hamel*, a Gentleman of *Bretaigny*, of a strong and vigorous Constitution. It were to be wished that [6] the Crew of the Ships, as well as the Soldiers, had answered the Character of the Officers; but while M. *de la Salle* was at Court, those whom he employed to make his Levies, lifted about 150 poor Beggars, deformed, lame, and unfit for the hard Services they were design'd for: He had also desir'd them to engage Men of several Professions, as Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Masons, and the like; but when he came to try them, he found they were dull and ignorant Creatures, so that he was forced to find out new Soldiers and Workmen, which took up much of his time. About ten Families of the Neighbourhood of *Rochel* offer'd themselves to go with him to settle a Colony, which he accepted, and advanc'd them Money to buy what was thought most necessary for their Establishment.

His Preparations being finished, the Fleet sailed *July 24*, 1684 from *Rochel*, but a violent Storm oblig'd them to come back, and they continued in the Road till *Augúst 5*, that they sail'd for *St. Domingo*. They met with another Storm on the 14 of *September*, which separated the Fleet; the Fly-boat remain'd alone with the Frigat, and arriv'd together at *Petit-*

*Guaves*, where they found the *Toby*, and heard that the *St. Francis*, on board which were their Merchandizes, was arriv'd at *Port de Paix*. The bad Weather being over, the Ketch failed for *Petit-Guaves*, the Rendezvous of the Fleet, but was unhappily taken in her way by the *Spanish* Cruisers.

I remember that in our Conversations at Fort *Frontenac*, *M. de la Salle* told me several times, that he would die satisfied and contented, could he but make himself Master of the Mine of *St. Barbe* in *New Mexico*; I gave him no answer at first, but seeing that he repeated it too often, tho' I knew I was a Subject of the King of *Spain*, I could not forbear to express my Affection for my lawfull Sovereign, and told him, that tho' I [7] was with him I had not forgot my Native Country concluding my answer with these words, *Vincit amor Patriæ*. This was perhaps the first cause of all the hardships and injustices I have suffer'd since that time, and which I might therefore have avoided, had I been capable of dissembling, as the Generality of Mankind do. But to return to *M. la Salles*, the loss of the Ketch was of a fatal consequence to him, not so much for the value of the Merchandizes, but because the *Spaniards* had notice of his designs against their Mines.

*M. la Salles* was hardly recover'd of a dangerous Distemper, when those unhappy Tydings were brought to him, and was like to relapse upon that occasion; but the rest of his company being not as couragious as he, were quite dispirited, and neglected to keep the Soldiers under a severe Discipline, who giving up themselves to the Lewdness and Dissoluteness,



so common in those Islands, contracted such Distempers that a great many died before they left *Petit-Guaves*, and the others continued sickly all their Life. As soon as *M. de la Salle* was able to walk abroad, he made his Preparations for leaving the Island, and by the assistance of *Monfieur de St. Laurence* Governour General of the *French* Islands, and *Monfieur Begon*, Intendent of the same; he put his Fleet in a condition to sail from thence, *November 25, 1684*, having taken on board all sorts of Refreshments, a great quantity of *Indian* Corn, and of all sorts of tame Beasts to stock the new Country they were going to inhabit.

They sail'd along the Islands of *Caimano*, and touch'd at the Island of *Peace* for fresh Water, and from thence sail'd to *St. Anthony* in the Island of *Cuba*, where they anchor'd. The Sweetness and Situation of that place invited them to land, and they found a good Store of Refreshments, and even some Wine which the *Spaniards* had left in that place, having run away with too great a Precipitation. They continued there two [8] days, and then sail'd, steering towards the Gulph of *Mexico*.

*M. de la Salle* was a very understanding Man, and hardly to be impos'd upon, yet he was deceiv'd by some Men of *St. Domingo*, and it was by their advice that he steer'd a wrong Course. They had told him that the Northern Winds were very dangerous at the entrance of the Gulph, and this fear oblig'd him to return thence upon the Coast of *Cuba*; but at last he overcame all Difficulties, and got into the Gulph, *January 1. 1685.* and descry'd a Fortnight after the Coast of

*Florida*, where they were surpriz'd by a strong Wind, which parted the Fleet, the *Toby* keeping off from the Coast, and the Frigate and the Fly-boat as near the Land as possible: they had told him also, that the Current of the Gulph runs with a great Rapidity towards the Channel of *Babama*, but he found himself mistaken, and lost thereby his Course, for thinking he was too far to the North, he sail'd by the Bay of *Spirito Santo* [Mobile], and overshoot the Mouth of the *Meschafipi*. They were undeceiv'd by the Coast of the Gulph, which bends in that place to the Southward, and having taken the Elevation of the Pole, they found they were within 50 Leagues of the *Meschafipi*. The three Ships joyned again about the middle of *February* in the Bay *di Spirito Santo*, where it was agreed to alter their Course; and about 10 Leagues off they found a large Bay, which they called *St. Lewis*.<sup>1</sup> The Provisions growing scarce, the Soldiers were sent a-shore, and *M. de la Salle* founded the Bay, which he found deep, and the bottom a good Anchorage, so that the Frigate got in happily on the 18th. The Channel is very deep, but somewhat narrow, and there is a Sand at the Mouth of it: *M. de la Salle* took that Bay for the right Arm of the *Meschafipi*, and indeed there was much likelihood of it.

---

<sup>1</sup> Now Matagorda Bay, on the coast of Texas.—ED.

[9] CHAP. II.

*An Account of several Misfortunes that befell M. de la Salle at the Bay of St. Lewis.*

**M.** LA SALLE had expressly forbid the Captain of the Fly-boat to attempt to come into the Bay, without having on board the Pilot of the Frigat, who was an experienc'd Man; and for a greater security he had commanded him to unlade his Guns into the Pinnacle to make his Ship the lighter; yet that Brute neglected those Orders and Advice, and without taking any notice of the Marks or Poles they had placed on the Sands to shew him the Channel, and the Advice of the Seamen, he sail'd his Ship at random, and ran her against a Sand where she remain'd: M. *de la Salle* was a-shore, and fearing the fate of his Ship, was going on board to save her, but was prevented by about 120 Savages who came to attack him: He put his Men in a posture of defence, but the noise alone of the Drums put the Savages to flight: M. *de la Salle* follow'd them and presented them the *Calumet* of Peace, which they accepted, and came along with him to his Camp, where he entertain'd them, and sent them back with some Presents; they were so pleas'd, that they brought some Provisions the next day, and made Alliance with M. *de la Salle*, whereby they engag'd themselves to supply him with

some Pyrogues or wooden Canou's: That Alliance would likely have prov'd very advantageous to M. *de la Salle*, had not an unforeseen Accident broke that good Intelligence.

As they were unlading the Fly boat which had struck upon the Sand to endeavour to get her off, a Pack of Blankets fell into the Sea, which the Waves [10] drove upon the shore: The Savages found it, and M. *de la Salle* having notice thereof, sent to demand it of them in a very civil manner. They shew'd some Reluctancy, whereupon the Officer instead of acting the prudent part, threatned to kill them unless they restor'd it immediately. They were so frighted and incens'd against them, that they resolv'd to be aveng'd of that Affront; and in order thereto, got together in the Night time between the 6 and 7 of *March*, and march'd to surprize the *French* Camp. They advanc'd as near as they would, the Sentry being asleep, and made a discharge of their Arrows which killed 4 Gentlemen Officers and Volunteers, and wounded M. *Moranger* and another Volunteer. The *French* ran to their Arms, and fired upon the Savages, who run away tho' none was wounded: they found the next day two of M. *de la Salle's* Men whom they murdered as they were sleeping.

In the mean time they unladed the Fly-boat, which was too far sunk to be got off, and saved most of the Goods, and as they were endeavouring to save the rest, she was dashed in Pieces by the violence of the Wind and Waves, and several Men were in great danger of being drowned, but by the Grace of God all escap'd.

Monfieur *Beaujeu* seeing all the Goods and Merchandizes

landed, and a Fort almost finished, sailed the 12th of *March* for *France*, and *M. de la Salle* having fortified his Magazine or Fort, which they call *Hangar*, left 100 men under the Command of his Nephew *M. Moranger*, for the defence of it; and with the rest, being 50, and 3 Missionaries, viz. *M. Cavelier*, and Father *Zenobe* and *Maxime*, advanced into the Country following the Bay, in hopes to find the *Meschafipi*.<sup>1</sup> The Captain of the Frigate was ordered to found at the same time the Channel, and bring his Ship as high as he could with safety, which he did, [11] and brought his Ship to an Anchor at a place which was call'd *Hurier*, from the name of the Officer who was left at that place for the Security of that Port, which was absolutely necessary to maintain the Communication between the first Habitation, and another *M. de la Salle* made on the 2d of *April* at the bottom of the Bay upon the Banks of a fine River, which was called the River of the *Cows*,<sup>2</sup> because of the vast number of those Beasts that were discover'd in those parts. The Savages came to attack our Men, but were so warmly receiv'd, that they retir'd without doing the *French* any harm.

On the 21st, being *Easter-Eve*, *M. de la Salle* return'd to the first Camp, and the next day was spent in Devotions; but the 23d they began to carry all the Effects from the two Forts, to the Settlement *M. de la Salle* had made upon the River above-mention'd, and when they had made an end of

---

<sup>1</sup> For detailed account of this expedition of La Salle, and his attempt to found a colony on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 322-387.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Now called the Lavaca River.—ED.

it, they razed the said Forts. They had sown some Pulse and Corn, but either the Soil was not good, or else the Seed was spoil'd by Salt Water, for it did not rise at all. *M. de la Salle* might have remembred what I had formerly told him in our Voyage to the *Illinois*, that Corn and other Seeds which we bring from *Europe*, must either be in their Ears or Hulls, for otherwise they lose their Vertue at Sea, and cannot grow in a Soil that was never cultivated before.

They built a Fort in a very advantageous Post, with so much diligence, that it was in a few days in a good Posture of Defence, being defended by 12 Pieces of Cannon. They made a great Magazine under ground to preserve their Goods and Provisions from Fire. It is to be observed that the Forts in *America*, I mean such as I speak of now, require not so much Art and Labour, as in *Europe*, since the Savages have no Artillery to attack them. They are so afraid of Fire-Arms, that none of those Nations ever durst attack [12] these mean Fortifications, except the *Iroquois*, who attempted to force the *French* in their Intrenchments in the Island of *Orleans*, now called *St. Lawrence* near *Quebec*. The *French* had fortified themselves with Pallisadoes, which the *Iroquois* set on Fire, and to cover themselves against the *French* in their Approach, every one of them carry'd before him a thick Plank or board Musket-proof, and thereby forced the *French* to leave their Entrenchments. They use also another Strategem against our Forts, unless they are defended by some Pieces of Cannon to keep them off; they tye to their Arrows a lighted Match, and then shoot them in such manner, as to make

them fall on the Top or Roof of the Forts, which is made of Planks, and thereby set them on Fire. *M. de la Salle*, who knew all their Artifices, took also all imaginable Precautions to disappoint them, which he did by covering the Roof with green Turf.

In the mean time, his men grew so sickly, that a great many died in a few days, notwithstanding they were carefully look'd after, and supplied with proper Remedies, and besides this misfortune, he was forc'd to make an open War against the Savages. On the 9th of *August* three of his men were gone a shooting, there being abundance of Game in those Parts. The noise of their Guns gave notice of their Approach to the Savages, who immediately got together in great numbers and surrounded the three *Europeans*, who put themselves in a readiness to fight, and killed with the first shot the General of the Savages. This sad accident terrified them so much, that they ran away, notwithstanding the Disproportion in number. They continued lurking about the Fort, and kill'd a *French* man who had advanc'd too far into the Woods.

*M. de la Salle* seeing no way to bring them to an Alliance, resolv'd to make War upon them to oblige them to come to Peace, and supply him with their [13] *Pyrogues* or Wooden Canou's which he wanted. Therefore set out from his Fort on the 13th of *October*, with 60 stout Men to look for the Savages, having provided them with a kind of Breast-piece of Wood, to cover them against the Arrows of the Savages. He was not far advanced when he found the Savages

incamped, with whom he had several Skirmishes, killing and wounding a great many, and returned with many Prisoners especially young Children; amongst whom was a Girl of about four Years of Age, which was Christened, and died some Days after.

While *M. de la Salle* was building and perfecting his Fort, those Families he had brought to begin a Colony, grubb'd up the Land, and sowed several forts of Corn and Pulse, which they had brought in their Ear and Hulls, which succeeded very well. They made some Cannons, and crossed over to the other side of the Bay, where they found a fine River, and a prodigious Number of wild Oxen and Turkeys. The tame Beasts they had brought from *St. Domingo*, as Cows, Hogs, and Fowls multiplied very much; and in short the small Colony began to thrive, since the War had removed the Savages from their Habitations, and 'tis likely that *M. de la Salle* would have succeeded, had not a new Misfortune worse than all the former, disappointed his Noble Designs.

*M. de la Salle* had often entertain'd me with the unheard of Cruelties exercised by the *Spaniards* in *New Mexico*, and *Peru*, against the Inhabitants of those vast Empires, whom they destroyed as much as ever they could, preserving only their Children to make new People. He exclaimed against that Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, as unworthy of Men of Honour, and contrary to the Doctrine of the Christian Religion. I blamed them my self; but yet I offered now and then some Reasons to excuse them, as the Necessities [14] they found themselves under of exterminating those Nations, or perishing



themselves, and forfaking their Conquest; for whenever they thought themselves safe, they were suddenly invaded by great Armies, and therefore in a perpetual Danger. *M. de la Salle* experienced himself that Necessity in *Canada*, for the Savages do not understand the Doctrine of forgiving or forgetting Injuries; and notwithstanding all Treaties of Peace, they will revenge themselves one time or other. The French of *Canada* have done all that is possible, humanly speaking, to gain the Friendship of the *Iroquois*, yet they have not been able to heal the first Breach that happened between them, which has been the Source of many Wars, which lasts at this very time; whereas that barbarous People has never had any quarrel with the Dutch inhabiting *New York*, because these have always used them very kindly, dissembling some insignificant Injuries, or accepting their satisfaction. *M. de la Salle* knew better than any Body the Temper of the Savages, and the Methods how to gain them; therefore I wonder that he would make Wars upon the Neighbours of his new Colony, for this was almost an infallible way to ruine it, and cut off the hope of the Conversion of those ignorant Nations. From these observations we may conclude, that Meekness and Charity so much recommended in the Gospel, are two Virtues absolutely necessary for the establishment of Colonies in those new Countries; for otherwise the new Inhabitants must destroy the Ancient, or be destroyed by them, either of which is a cruel Necessity unworthy of a Christian. *M. de la Salle* had ordered the Captain of the Frigate to sound the Bay, and to suffer none of his Men to lie a-shoar; however the Captain

himself, and six of his best Men being charmed with the Sweetness of the Country went ashore, and leaving their Canou's upon the Owze with their Arms, went into a Meadow where [15] they fell asleep, and were murdered by the Savages, who broke their Arms and Canou. This sad Accident put the Colony in a dreadful Consternation. M. *de la Salle* having buried his Men, resolv'd to travel along the Coast to find out the Mouth of the *Meschassipi*, and having left the Inhabitants and Soldiers who were to remain in the Fort, set out with 20 Men, and M. *Cavelier* his Brother.

This Bay of *St. Lewis* is formed by several Rivers, and lies in the Latitude of 27 Degrees 45 Minutes. None of these Rivers was broad and deep enough to be an Arm of the *Meschassipi*, but M. *de la Salle* thought they might be Branches of one of the Arms of that River, therefore he resolv'd to follow one of them, which cost him a world of Trouble, for he found several other Rivers running into that, too deep to be forded, which they crossed, laying together several Branches of Trees, of which they made use instead of Boats. They met with several Nations of Savages and were forced to entrench themselves every Night, for fear of being surpris'd. The continual Rains that fell during his Voyage, made the ways very bad, and swell'd several small Rivulets, which increased his Trouble. At last, on the 13th of *February*, he thought to have found his so much wish'd for River; and having fortified a Post on its Bank, and left part of his Men for its security; he advanced farther into the Country, which appeared unto him the most delicious and fertile that ever he

law. He visited several Nations who received him with much Humanity, and returned to his Fort on the 31<sup>st</sup> of *March*, charmed with his Discovery.

The satisfaction he expressed upon this account can hardly be expressed, but the Grief which the loss of his Frigate caused him, over-balance'd it. This was the only Ship left unto him, with which he intended to sail in few Days for *St. Domingo*, to [16] bring a new Supply of Men and Goods to carry on his Design; but it ran unfortunately a ground through the Negligence of the Pilot, and was dash'd in pieces. All the Men were drowned except the *Sieur Chefdeville* one of the Missionaries, the Captain and 4 Seamen; the Goods, Linen, and Cloath of the Colony, with the Provisions and Tools were absolutely lost. *M. de la Salle* was a Man of an extraordinary Courage, and unparallel'd Constancy; yet 'tis likely he would have sunk under this Misfortune, had not God assisted him in an extraordinary manner.

## CHAP. III.

*A Continuation of the Misfortunes of M. de la Salle, with an Account of two Voyages he undertook to find out the Country of the Illinois.*

THOSE who have conversed with Accounts of new Discoveries, are convinced that those who take upon them so difficult a Task, are obliged to do a thousand things, which prove useles and unnecessary; for looking for the right way, and no body being there to shew it unto them, 'tis no wonder if they mistake it. And as to the Misfortunes that befell the worthy Gentleman I speak of, it is nothing but what he, or any body else that shall go about the like Enterprize, must expect with a very inconsiderable Difference. The pious Design he was upon, in relation to the Conversion of those ignorant Nations, deserved it seems a better Fate; but as God's ways are not our ways, we must submit to Divine Providence, without troubling our selves about a vain inquiry into the Secrets of God Almighty. *M. de la Salle* who was a good Christian, knew admirably well the Practice [17] of this Doctrine, and without being dejected by the Misfortunes already mention'd, he resolv'd to go on with his Discovery.

As I am more concern'd than any body else to know

whether *M. de la Salle* had really discover'd the *Mefchafpi*, when he return'd into *Canada* over land, because I am the first *European* that ever travell'd upon that River, I have carefully perus'd all the printed Accounts of his Voyage, as also private Memoirs, but after all, I found that the account published by Father *Anastase* is the most exact, and may be depended upon.<sup>1</sup>

*M. de la Salle* seeing all his Affairs ruin'd by the loss of his Ships, and having no way to return into *Europe* but by *Canada*, resolv'd upon so dangerous a Journey, and took 20 men along with him, with one Savage call'd *Nikana*, that is to say, Companion of the Nation of *Choumon*.<sup>2</sup> This man had follow'd him into *France*, and had given such proofs of his Affection to his Master on several nice occasions, that he relied more upon him than upon any *European*. *M. Cavelier*, *M. Moranger*, and Father *Anastase* desir'd likewise to accompany him. They took four Pound of Powder, Shot in Proportion, two Axes, two Dozen of Knives, several Pound of *Rassade* or Glafs Beads, and two Kettles to boil their Meat, contenting himself with these Provisions, in hopes to find out easily the *Illinois* and return in a short time. Having assisted at the divine Service in the Chapel of the Fort to implore God's Mercy and Protection, he set out the 22d of

---

<sup>1</sup> Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 397, note 2) regards the narrative of Henri Joutel (Paris, 1713) as the best; Douay's (given in Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, Shea's trans., ii, pp. 229-282), although brief, agrees therewith in essentials. Jean Cavelier's *Relation* (printed by Shea in 1858) is regarded by Parkman as somewhat inaccurate.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> A misprint for Chouanon (Shawnese).—ED.

*April*, 1686 directing his March to the North East, for the *Meschafipi* running directly from the North to the South, into the Gulph of *Mexico*, the Country of the *Illinois* is situated to the N. E. of the place where *M. de la Salle* left.

'Tis likely that they wanted *Pyrogues* and *Canou's*, since Father *Anastase* makes no mention of any, [18] and 'tis likely that *M. de la Salle* was not sure that he had found out the Mouth of the *Meschafipi*, for then he might have easily met with the *Illinois* by means of that River, knowing that the River of the *Illinois* runs into the *Meschafipi*.

After three days March, they discover'd the finest *Champaign* Country in the World, and were met by a great many men on Horse-back, with Boots, Spurs and Saddles. This Nation invited them to come to their Habitations, but *M. de la Salle* having taken some Informations from them concerning his way, thank'd them for their kindness, and would not accept of their Offers. The Reader may judge, that all this was transacted by signs, for they did not understand one another. The Equipage of the Nation sheweth they had Commerce with the *Spaniards*. Our men having continued their March all the day long, incamp'd upon a rising ground, which they fortified by cutting down some Trees to avoid any Surprize.

Having march'd two days through vast Meadows, they came upon the Banks of a River which they called *Robeck*, where they found such numbers of wild Oxen, call'd by the *Spaniards Cibola*, that the least Drove consisted of about 400:

They killed ten of them, and rested two or three days to broil the Meat for the rest of their Voyage.

Within a League and a half from the *Robeck* they met with another River broader and deeper than the *Seine* before *Paris*, its Banks being adorn'd with great Trees, so well dispos'd by Nature, that they seem as many Walks artificially planted. One side of the River is cover'd with Woods, and the other is a continued Meadow. They were oblig'd to cut Branches of Trees and tie them together to cross it over. They call'd it the *Wicked*.<sup>1</sup> The Country between this *Wicked* River and another they met few days after, is full of Trees, bearing all sorts of Fruit, [19] and especially of Mulberry-trees, but the Vines are so common, that the whole seems a Vineyard, and the highest Trees are cover'd with them. They call'd the last River *Hiens*, because one of them, a *German* by Birth, of the Country of *Wirtemberg*, stuck so fast in the Mud, that they had much ado to get him off.

The Raft or floating-boat of Branches, which they commonly us'd to cross the Rivers, taking up much of their time, and this River being narrow, *M. de la Salle* caus'd one of his men to swim over with an Ax, to fell down a Tree, while they fell another on their side, and these two Trees meeting together, made a kind of Bridge; this way was both safer and easier, and therefore they always made use of it, whenever the narrowness of the River would permit it.

*M. de la Salle* alter'd here his course, marching directly to

---

<sup>1</sup> Rivière Maligne, on early maps; apparently the Brazos River of Texas.—ED.

the Eastward. As he told no body the reasons of it, it is impossible to know what was his motive; that Man was secret to a fault, and likely would have prosper'd better, had he been somewhat more communicative. After some days March through a pleafant Country, they found another, which, according to their account, may be call'd the Paradife of the World, inhabited by a numerous Nation, who receiv'd them with all imaginable marks of Friendship and Kindness; their Women embrac'd them chearfully, and caus'd them to sit upon some fine Mats near their Captains, who presented them their *Calumet* of Peace, adorn'd with Feathers of several Colours, and wherein they desir'd them to smoak. They presented them afterwards with a Dish of *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Pap made with the Root of a Shrub call'd *Tique* or *Toquo*, which looks like a Briar without Thorns:<sup>1</sup> Its Root is very big, and having wash'd it and dry'd it by the Sun, they pound it in a Mortar. This *Sagamittee* tasted pretty well. These honest [20] Savages presented them with some Skins of wild Oxen finely drest and good for Shooes, which are very necessary in that Country, because of some sharp cutting Herbs. M. de la Salle presented them, in return of their kindness, some Glafs Beads of black Colour, which is much valu'd amongst them, they continued some days amongst that Nation, which time M. de la Salle improv'd to give them some Idea of the Grandeur and Power of the King his

---

<sup>1</sup> Lucien Carr regards this (*Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, 1895, p. 168) as the tuckahoe, or koonti, of the South. This plant is an underground fungus (*Pachyma cocos*); it is bitter to the taste, but eatable when baked in hot ashes.—ED.



Master, whom he represented higher and greater than the Sun. These People understood something of it by his Signs, and were struck with a wonderful Admiracion. *M. Cavalier* and Father *Anastase* endeavour'd also to give them some Notions of God, but with what success no body can tell.

That Nation is call'd *Biskatronge*, but the *Europeans* call'd them the *Weeping*, and their River the River of *Tears*, because when they arriv'd there, those Savages wept for about a quarter of an Hour. They receive so all Strangers, whom they think to come from remote Countries, because this puts them in mind of their deceas'd Relations whom they think upon a long Journey, and whose return they expect. That honest People gave *M. de la Salle* some Guides, and supply'd his men with whatever they wanted, and crossed them over their River in their Pyrogues.

They pass'd three or four other Rivers in three days time, and met with no considerable adventure, but on the fourth day as they were near a Village, *Nikana* the Savage, who attended *M. de la Salle*, shot a wild Goat, which frighted so much the Inhabitants of that Village, that they ran away. *M. de la Salle* put his men in a readiness to fight, and enter'd the said Village, which consisted of above 300 Cabbins. They march'd to the most considerable, wherein they found the Wife of the chief of the Savages, who had been forc'd to stay alone because of her great Age. *M. de la* [21] *Salle* made the most significant Signs he could think on to let her know that he was a Friend, which being perceiv'd by her three Sons, who advanc'd as near as they could without being

discover'd, to observe what our men would do, they brought back their men, and offer'd M. *de la Salle* their *Calumet* of Peace, which being accepted, the day was concluded with the Dance of the *Calumet* and other Demonſtrations of Joy.

However M. *de la Salle* did not think fit to truſt himſelf in their hands, and therefore refus'd to lie in their Cabbins and went to encamp among ſome Canes or great Reeds hard by, through which it was impoſſible to come without making a great noiſe. This was a Maſterpiece of Prudence, for otherwiſe they might have been murther'd; for a Band of Savages got together to ſurprize them: The ratling noiſe of the Canes having given notice of their Approach to M. *de la Salle*, he awak'd his men, and ſpoke in ſo bold a Tone to the Savages that they retir'd. They left that place the next day, parting from them very civilly, and having march'd fix Leagues further, they were met by another Band of Savages, who had Ears of *Indian* Corn in their Hands; they embrac'd M. *de la Salle* according to their way, and invited him by Signs to go to their Village, which he conſented to. They made him underſtand, that there was a Nation to the Weſtward who deſtroyed all other men; and by the Deſcription they made, he judg'd they meant the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, with whom this Nation was at War. The Village having notice of the Arrival of M. *de la Salle*, all flock'd about them, expreſſing their joy by Signs and other Poſtures, and making him underſtand that he would oblige them to remain with them to aſſiſt them againſt their Enemies: M. *de la Salle* would not agree to that, but promis'd to return in a

short time, with a greater number of men; [22] and after having made them some Presents and receiv'd other things they gave them, he left that place, the Savages carrying him and all his men over their River in their Pyrogues. This Nation is called *Kirononas*.

They continued their March to the Eastward through fine Meadows, and three days after, having left the *Kirononas*, *Nikana* their Savage cry'd out of a sudden that he was a dead man, having been stung by a *Rattle-Snake*. This sad accident oblig'd them to tarry some days in that place: They gave him immediately some Orvietan, and having scarified the Wound, they apply'd upon it some Salt of Vipers, whereby he was recover'd.

## CHAP. IV.

*A Continuation of M. de la Salle's Voyage and Discovery; and how he was receiv'd by the Savages Cenis.*

THEY march'd several days without meeting with any Savages or any Accidents, and came to a River very broad and rapid, which they judg'd to be near the Sea: They made a Raft to crofs it, and M. *de la Salle*, and M. *Cavelier*, and part of his men ventur'd upon that floating Boat, which the Rapidity of the Stream carry'd down with fuch a violence, that they were in few minutes out of fight, leaving their Comrades on the fhore under an unfpeakable Grief. Father *Anafafe* comforted them as much as he could, being himfelf under a great affliction; for befides their Savage, who was of great ufe to them, had loft his way, and was wandering in the Woods: They continued in that condition all the day, but in [23] the Evening they heard M. *de la Salle* hailing them from the other Shore. Their Raft had been ftopp'd by a Sand in the middle of the River, which gave them time to recover their ftrength, in fo much, that they mafter'd the Current and got happily over; tho' one of them attempting to catch a Branch of a Tree, fell into the Water and was carry'd away. They thought him drown'd, but being an excellent Swimmer, and knowing it was in vain to ftrive

against the Stream, but by degrees he was carry'd down a great way, and at last got a-shore and rejoyn'd Father *Anastase* and his Companions, who having eat nothing all day long, were exceeding hungry. They found no Game about them, and wanting all manner of Provisions, they were reduc'd to a great Extremity: the divine Providence, who takes care of the meanest of his Creatures, reliev'd them also at this time, two young Eagles fell from a Cedar, which afforded them a Meal, tho' it was but a small matter for ten almost starv'd Travellers.

They tarry'd in that place that night, and the next day they endeavour'd to cross the River, and by the advice of M. *de la Salle*, they made a Raft of Canes, which with the help of two men that swam to defend it against the Rapidity of the Stream, they got all over except their Savage. Being thus rejoyn'd they march'd two days through a Forest of Canes, through which they were forced to cut their way with their Axes, and on the third day they found *Nikana* with three wild Goats already broyl'd, and another which he had just kill'd. M. *de la Salle* ordered two or three Guns to be fir'd to shew his Joy.

Having refresh'd themselves they continu'd their March Eastward, travelling through a most delicious Country, where they found Savages, who had nothing barbarous but their Name. They met one of them who came from shooting with his Wife and Family; [24] he presented M. *de la Salle* with a Horse and some Flesh, desiring him by signs to go along with him to his Habitation, and lest he should have any Suf-

pcion, he left his Wife and Family with him, and went to his Village, where he was accompany'd by *Nikana*, and a Footman of *M. de la Salle*. They return'd two days after with two Horses loaded with Provisions, and acquainted their Master with the civility of that People, who sent their chief Commanders and young Warriors to complement them. They were handsomly cover'd with drefs'd Skins, adorned with Feathers of different Colours. *M. de la Salle* thought fit to advance, and within three Leagues of the Village he met the Savages, who presented them their *Calumet* of Peace in great Ceremony. They conducted them in triumph to the Cabbin of their General, where a great number of People came to see them. *M. de la Salle* observ'd that the young Warriours mounted the Guard and were reliev'd by turns. The great civility of that People oblig'd *M. de la Salle* to leave the Village and encamp about two Miles off, for having observ'd that the Women were exceeding kind to them, and pretty handsom, he was afraid his men would be debauch'd, which might have been of a fatal consequence. They tarry'd there four days, and bought some Horses for some of our *European* Commodities.

This Village belongs to the *Cenis*,<sup>1</sup> and is one of the most populous and largest of *America*, being about 20 Leagues long, not in a continued Street, but because the Hamlets are so near one another, that the whole looks as if it were but one. Their Cabbins are extraordinary fine, of about 50 Foot

---

<sup>1</sup> A Pawnee tribe (of the Caddoan family), then located on the Trinity River, Texas, but now extinct.—ED.

long, and built as Bee-Hives. They plant Trees round-about, whose Branches joyn over their Cabins, and which they tie together: Their Beds are placed round-about their Cabins, four Foot higher than the floor, and they [25] make their Fire in the middle. Each Cabin is for two Families. They found amongst them several things which they must have from the *Spaniards*, as some Pieces of Eight, Silver Spoons, Lace, Cloaths and Horses. They had also a Bull of the Pope, exempting the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* from fasting in Summer time. How they came by it, they could never understand. The Horses are so common, that one of M. *de la Salle's* men had one given him for his Ax, and another offer'd a fine one for Father *Anastase's* Capuch. They have however no direct Trade with the *Spaniards*, but get these things from the *Choumans*<sup>1</sup> their Allies, who being Neighbours of the *Europeans* are often in War with them. M. *de la Salle* having always the Mines of *St. Barbe* in his Thoughts, desir'd them by Signs to draw a Map of the Country, and the Course of their River, which they understood, and with a Piece of Coal, they made on the white Bark of a Tree a Description of their Country and River, that M. *de la Salle* understood they were within six days journey from the *Spaniards*, whom they knew, their Warriors going often to assist the *Choumans* against them.

M. *de la Salle*, who had a particular art to gain the Friendship of the Savages, told them a great many things of the

---

<sup>1</sup>The Comanches, a Shoshonean tribe, whose habitat was on the upper waters of the Arkansas, Red, and Rio Grande rivers.—ED.

Grandeur of the King his Master, whom he represented as the greatest Captain of the World, and as much above the *Spaniards* as the Sun above the Earth: he gave them an account of his signal Victories: At which, says Father *Anastase*, they put their Fingers upon their Mouth to express their Admiration: but seeing M. *de la Salle* did not speak their Language, I would fain know how the *Cenis* understood the account he gave them of the glorious Actions of the King of *France*. Surely this is a Fiction, or at best, too long a Comment upon a Conversation which was acted by signs; and Father *Anastase* [26] might have spar'd this Reflection upon the *Spaniards*, for tho' the King of *France* is a great Monarch, yet the King of *Spain* possesses such Countries in the old and new World, that no Prince can be compar'd to him in that respect, and the Motto of the Catholick Kings, *Sol mihi nunquam occidit*, may be more easily justified, than the *Nec pluribus impar* of the King of *France*. Those who will consider the extent of the Dominions of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, will find that they are above 2500 Leagues in length, which I think the great Master of M. *de la Salle* can never match.

There were at that time some Ambassadors of the *Choumans*, at the Village of the *Cenis*, who paid a Visit to M. *de la Salle*, and at their coming in made the Sign of the Cross, and kneeling down kissed Father *Anastase's* Gown, lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and giving them to understand, that Men clothed with like Habits taught their Neighbours.



They made such signs as convinced the French that they had been at Mass; and one of them drew with a Coal a tall Woman weeping at the Foot of the Cross, for the Death of her Son who was nail'd to it. This he must needs have seen over an Altar in the Spanish Churches, and 'tis no wonder if they knew Father *Anastase's* Gown, for the *Franciscans* are very numerous in that Country. Our Authour adds, that they told M. *de la Salle*, that the *Spaniards* made a great slaughter of the *Indians*, and that if he would go along with them with his fire Arms, it would be easie to conquer them, seeing they are Cowards, and so Effeminate as to have two Men before them, when they walk in Summer-time each with a large Fann to refresh them.

This puts me in mind of several Conversations which I had with M. *de la Salle*, at Fort *Frontenac* concerning our Discoveries, and speaking of Missionaries and the Qualities they ought to have, I remember [27] he told me often that the Jesuits of the Colledge of *Goa* in the East-Indies, which was given them by a Bp [Bishop] of the Order of St. *Francis*, and whose Revenues amount now to a prodigious Summ, travel in a Litter, where they perform this Mission, having two Men on each side to cool them with a Fann. This he knew from some of those Jesuits themselves, but as he had left this Society, I did not altogether believe what he told me of it; but I wonder that Father *Anastase* would charge upon the *Spaniards* of New *Mexico*, what M. *de la Salle* told me of the Jesuits of *Goa*. The reason may be easily discover'd,

the *Spaniards* will either scorn this Reflection, or let it go without Vengeance, whereas the *Jesuits* are never affronted with Impunity.

*M. de la Salle* having tarried several Days among the *Cenis*, continued his March through the Habitations of the *Naffonis*; these two Nations are in confederacy, and divided by a large River,<sup>1</sup> on the Banks of which the Villages are situated: They have much the same customs and manners.

Within five Leagues of that Place four of *M. de la Salle's* men ran away to the *Naffonis*, which sadly vex'd him; and few Days after, he together with *M. Moranger* his Nephew, fell sick of a violent Fever, which oblig'd our Travellers to tarry in that Place for several Weeks, for notwithstanding they recover'd, it was a long time before they were able to continue their Voyage. This Distemper disappointed all their measures, and was the occasion of several misfortunes that befell them afterwards. They tarried there two whole Months, being reduc'd to the greatest Extremities; their Powder was most spent, tho' they were not advanced above 150 Leagues in a direct Line; some of their men had deserted, others began to be irresolute; and all these things being carefully consider'd by *M. de la Salle*, he resolv'd to return to Fort *Lewis*. [28] Every body approv'd his Design, and so they returned the same way without meeting with any remarkable Accident, except that one of them was swallowed

---

<sup>1</sup> Either the *Neches* or the *Sabine River*. The *Nassonis* (*Assony*) were apparently a *Caddoan* tribe.—ED.

by a Crocodile of a prodigious Size, as they repassed the *Wicked River*.

They returned to their Camp the 17th of *October* 1686, being received with an incredible Joy by their Companions, who thought them as good as lost amongst these barbarous Nations.

## CHAP. V.

*A Short Description of Fort Lewis, of its advantageous Situation, and of the Fertility of the Country about it.*

WHAT has been already observed is enough to shew the Character of M. *de la Salle*, and that never Traveller was more undaunted, and constant in his undertakings than him. All the misfortunes and accidents we have mention'd, were not enough to deject his Courage, nor deterr him from his former Desigins, in which through the Grace of God he expected to succeed.

He remained two Months and a half at Fort *Lewis*, during which time he took a view of all the Rivers that run into that Bay, and found above 50 which are Navigable, if we may believe Father *Anastase*, who was with him: They come most of them from the West and North-West. The Fort is situated in a sandy Ground, but the Soil about is very fertile. There are large Meadows in which the Grass grows as high as our Wheat in *Europe*. These Rivers are very frequent, being commonly at 2 or 3 Leagues distance. Their Banks are adorn'd with Oak, Mulberry-Trees, [29] and other Sorts of Trees, some whereof are altogether unknown in *Europe*. The Country is all alike going to the Westward, till within two Day's Journey of the *Spaniards*.

This Fort is situated on a rising Ground, on the Bank of

a River, having the Sea to the South-East, the Meadows to the West, and two large Ponds, and a Forest to the South-West; the nearest Neighbours are the *Guaquis*, who have abundance of Horses, and the *Babamos* and *Guinets*, who are wandering Nations, with whom M. de la Salles was in War. He forgot nothing during that time to comfort his small Colony, which began to multiply, several Children being born since their Arrival. He employed his men about grubbing up the Lands, which as I have said, proved very good and fertile. In the mean time our Missionaries applied themselves to the Instruction of some Savage Families, who left their own Nation to live with the *Europeans*. M. de la Salle us'd them with all possible kindness, knowing how advantageous it would be to win those barbarous Nations over to his Interest.

M. de la Salle having cast up an Intrenchment about a large Inclosure, wherein were the Habitations of the Colony, under the Cannon of the Fort, and taken all other precautions for their Security, called the Inhabitants together, and made so pathetic a Speech to them about the Necessity he was under to make a Voyage to the *Illinois* Country, that he drew Tears from every one of the Assembly, considering the Danger and Fatigue of so great a Voyage, for he was very much beloved. He took 20 men with him with his Brother, his two Nephews, Father *Anastase*, and one *Joussel à Ploto*; and after publick Prayers, he set out a second time from Fort *Lewis*, resolv'd not to return till he had found the *Illinois*.

## [30] CHAP. VI.

*An Account of M. de la Salle's second Voyage, from the Bay of St. Lewis, to the Illinois.*

**M.** DE LA SALLE with 20 men fet out from his Fort on the 7th of *January* 1687, and met the first Day a great Band of *Babamos*, who were going upon a military Expedition against the Savages, called *Trigoanna*. He made alliance with them, and designed to do the like with the *Guinets*, whom he met also, but they ran away upon his approach: However having overtaken them by means of his Horses, they agreed together, and promised on both sides an inviolable Peace.

They continued their March to the North-East, and crossed the first River, which they had called before the River of *Canes*, because the Banks of it are covered with them. The Country is diversified with Meadows and Woods, and the Soil is so fertile, that Grass grows 10 or 12 Foot high. There are several populous Villages of Savages upon that River, but they visited only the *Guaras* and *Anachorema*. They crossed the second River of *Canes*, distant 3 Leagues from the former.<sup>1</sup> Its Banks are inhabited by several different Nations, and the Country is full of Hemp which

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Colorado of Texas.—ED.

grows naturally in those Parts. They met 5 Leagues further another River call'd *Sablonniere*, because it flows through a sandy ground, tho' the Grasse of the Meadows near its Banks sheweth the Fertility of the Soil.

Having pass'd three or four small Rivers, they found 8 Leagues from the *Sablonniere* the River *Robeck*,<sup>1</sup> whose Banks are peopled with several Villages of Savages, who speak, in a manner from their Throat. They are in War with the *Spaniards*, and desir'd M. [31] *de la Salle* to joyn with them, but he had business else where, and with 20 men alone he was not able to do any great things against the *Spaniards*. He remain'd five or six days with them, and from thence continued his march to the *Wicked River*, so called, because a Crocodile had devour'd one of his men. That River has a long course, and is inhabited by 40 Villages of Savages, which compose the Nation *Kanoatinno*, which are likewise at War with the *Spaniards*. They went through some of their Villages where they were kindly receiv'd; tho', if we may believe Father *Anastase*, the cruelties of the *Spaniards* have somewhat chang'd their good Nature into fierceness. This, I take to be M. *de la Salle's* Opinion; for in all his Travels he endeavoured to represent the *Spaniards* as the most odious and cruel Nation in the World. I must own, as I have already intimated, that the *Spaniards* were forc'd to destroy several Nations in *New Mexico*, but they were oblig'd to it to preserve themselves against them, for else the Natives

---

<sup>1</sup> Thus named from a river in the vicinity of Rouen, France; it may have been the St. Bernard.—ED.

would have destroy'd them. 'Tis certain, that the Savages have no kindness for the *Europeans*, and keep fair with them, only as long as they fear them. But I wonder, that M. *de la Salle* should blame so much the *Spaniards*, and yet form the Enterprize he was about, seeing it was impossible for him to succeed without destroying the *Spaniards* themselves; and as to their Tyranny, I remember to have convinc'd him more than once, that the *Spanish* Domination is easier and milder than any other he could name.

M. *de la Salle* having got some Horses from those Savages, crossed the River in Canou's made of Skins of wild Oxen, the Horses swimming over; and four Leagues from thence cross'd the River *Hiens* or *Hans*, already mention'd, continuing their march to the North-East. They cross'd several other Rivers and Brooks, which were mightily swoln by the Rains [32] that fall in that Country about that time, which is their Winter, the difference of Seasons being only known by those Rains. The Country they travell'd through is diversified with Meadows, Woods, Groves, Hills and Springs. They came at last to three great Villages call'd *Taraba*, *Tyakappan* and *Palonna*, where they found good Horses. They met some Leagues further the *Palaqueffons*, a People compos'd of ten Villages. These are in Alliance with the *Spaniards*.

I cannot but wonder at Father *Anastase's* neglecting to make a more exact Diary of their Voyage, and to be more particular about so many different Nations he speaks off, and therefore I desire the Reader to give me leave to make now



and then some Reflections upon this Voyage of M. *de la Salle*, having so intimately known that Gentleman, and travell'd so long with him in *America*. My Description of *Louisiana*, which I printed at *Paris*, did him a very great kindness in relation to his Enterprize.

## [33] CHAP. VII.

*M. de la Salle and three more are unfortunately murtber'd by some of their own Party.*

AFTER they had gone through so many different Nations as is above related, there fell out a most unhappy Accident, to wit, the Affassination of *M. de la Salle*, his Nephew *Moranger*, and some others. *M. de la Salle* was then in a fine Country for hunting: His People regal'd themselves very plentifully, and refresh'd themselves after their tiresome Travel with excellent good Chear for several days together: He had sent *M. Moranger* his Nephew, his Laquey *Saget*, and seven or eight of his men to a certain place, where *Nika* his Huntsman, who was a Savage *Chaouenon* had laid up a stock of wild Bulls Flesh, that they might get it smoak'd and dry'd to carry along with them, and so not be oblig'd to halt so frequently to hunt for Provisions.

With all his Prudence, *M. de la Salle* could not discover the Conspiracy of some of his People to kill his Nephew, for they resolv'd upon it, and put it in Execution all of a sudden on the 17th of *March*, wounding him in the head with a Hatchet. The Blow was struck by a Person whom Father *Anastafius* out of Charity would not name; they slew likewise the Laquey and poor *Nika*, who had provided for them by



*The Murther of Mons.<sup>r</sup> de la Salle*

*M. Vander Gucht Scul.*



his Hunting for three years together with toil and danger: *Moranger* languished under his Wound for two Hours, during which time, he gave all possible tokens of his Piety, forgiving his Murtherers, and embracing them frequently, resigning himself up to God's good Pleasure, and relying upon his Saviour's Merits, as his very Murtherers acknowledg'd, when their [34] Rage was cool'd: He was a very honest man and a good Christian.

These Wretches not content with this bloody Fact, resolv'd not to stick there, but contriv'd how to kill their Master too, for they fear'd he would have justly punish'd them for their Crime. Father *Anastafius* says, They were two Leagues off the place where *Moranger* was kill'd, and that M. *de la Salle* being concern'd at his Nephews tarrying so long (for they had been gone two or three days) was afraid they might have been surpriz'd by some Party of the Savages; whereupon he desir'd Father *Anastafius* to go with him to look after his Nephew, and took two Savages along with him; upon the way M. *de la Salle* entertain'd 'em with a pious Discourse of Grace and Predestination; but chiefly he enlarg'd upon the great Obligations he was under to divine Providence for preserving him in the many dangers he had undergone during a twenty Years abode in *America*, nine of which he spent in travelling, and I with him; he seem'd to be peculiarly affected with God's Goodness to him, when all of a sudden, Father *Anastafius* observ'd that he fell into a deep Sorrow of which he himself could give no account; he grew mighty unquiet and full of trouble, a temper he was

never seen in before; Father *Anastafius* did all he could to recover him out of it.

They were got about two Leagues, when he found his Lacquey's bloody Cravat, and perceiv'd two Eagles (a common Bird in those parts) hovering over his head, at the same time he spied his People by the Water-side: he went up to them and enquired for his Nephew, they made him little answer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father *Anastafius* kept going on by the River side, till at last they came to the fatal place, where two of the Villains lay hid in the Grass, one on one side, and one on the other, with [35] their Pieces cock'd, the first presented at M. *de la Salle* but mis'd Fire, the other fired at the same time, and shot him into the head, of which he dy'd an Hour after, *March 19. 1687.*<sup>1</sup>

Father *Anastafius* expected the same fate, but did not reflect upon the danger he was in; he was sensibly touch'd at this cruel Spectacle, seeing M. *de la Salle* fall a little way off from him with his Face all bloody; he ran to him, took him up in his Arms, and wept over him, exhorting him as well as he could in this Conjunction to die like a good Christian; the unfortunate Gentleman had been at his Devotions just before they set out, and had just time enough to confess part of his Life to Father *Anastafius*, who gave him Absolution, and soon after he died: In these his last Moments he perform'd as far as he was capable what soever was proper for one in his condition, he press'd the Father's hand at every

---

<sup>1</sup> On early eighteenth-century maps, the locality of the assassination is marked on a southern branch of Trinity River.—ED.

thing he said to him, especially when he admonish'd him to forgive his Enemies; mean while the Murtherers struck with Horror at what they had committed, began to beat their Breasts, and detest their Rashness. Father *Anastafius* would not stir from the place till he had bury'd the Body as decently as he could, and plac'd a Cross over his Grave.

Thus fell the *Sieur Robert Cavalier de la Salle*, a Man of considerable Merit, constant in Adversities, fearless, generous, courteous, ingenious, learned and capable of every thing; he labour'd for twenty years together to civilize the savage Humours and Manners of a great number of barbarous People among whom he travell'd, and had the ill hap to be maffacred by his own Servants, whom he had enrich'd: he dy'd in the Vigour of his Age in the middle of his Course, before he could execute the designs he had form'd upon *New Mexico*.

## [36] CHAP. VIII.

*The Author's Reflections upon the Life and Death of M. de la Salle, whose Murtherers kill'd one another.*

**M** DE LA SALLE told me several times, whilst we were together in Fort *Frontenac*, before we went upon our Discoveries, and also when we were in pursuit of them, that when he was a Jesuit, having liv'd 10 or 11 years in that Order, the Fathers of that Society caus'd frequent Lectures to be read during the first two Years to all those that enter'd into the Society, of the tragical Deaths and fatal Miscarriages that overtook such as had quitted their Order; and this was done to fix those that were newly entred; I ought to say this out of Justice to M. *de la Salle*, who formerly deposited in my hands all his Papers, whilst he took a Voyage to *France*, and I staid at Fort *Frontenac*, that he quitted his Order with the consent of his Superiours, and that he had written Testimonials of his good Conduct during his stay in that Society. He shew'd me a Letter written at *Rome* by the General of that Order, wherein he testified that the said *Sieur de la Salle* had behav'd himself prudently in every thing without giving the least occasion to be suspected guilty of a venial Sin.

I have a hundred times reflected upon what he has said to me, when we entertain'd our selves with the Stories of our



new Discoveries, and I ador'd God for the unfearchableness of his ways, who accomplishes his Will by those means he is pleas'd to appoint; and uncertain as I was of my Destiny, I gave my self up to his good pleasure, resolv'd to submit patiently in every thing to his divine Providence. Father *Anastafius* [37] arriv'd at length where was M. *Cavelier*, a Priest, Brother of the Defunct M. *de la Salle*, to whom he related his Death, the Murtherers came rudely into the same Cabbin or Hut presently after, and seiz'd upon all they found in it, the good Father had not leisure for a long Harangue, but his Countenance bath'd in Tears, was a sufficient Intimation of what he had to say: M. *Cavelier* at first sight of him, cry'd out, ah! my Brother is dead. I cannot forbear presenting the publick with some account of this Priest, M. *Cavelier*, with whom I sojourn'd in *Canada* during one Summer of my Mission to Fort *Frontenac*, of which his Brother was Governour and Proprietor. He was a pious and discreet Ecclesiastick, perfectly qualified for a Missionary: He no sooner heard this fatal News, but he fell down upon his Knees, and so did the *Sieur Cavelier* his Nephew, expecting the Villains came to butcher them, and therefore prepar'd themselves to die like Christians; but the Assaffines mov'd with Compassion at the sight of the venerable old Man, and being sorry besides for their late wicked Deeds, resolv'd to spare them, upon condition that they should never return into *France*, but they were a long time e'er they fixt upon granting them Mercy; some of them that had a mind to see their Kindred once again, endeavour'd as well as they could

to clear themselves from fo detestable an Action; others said, 'twas safest to rid their hands of these two innocent men, or else they might one day call them to an account, if ever they met again in *France*.

They chose for their Leader the Murtherer of *M. de la Salle*, and upon Deliberation they resolv'd to go to the famous Nation of the *Cenis* already spoken of; so they march'd altogether for several days, and pass'd divers Rivers. These infamous Murtherers made the two *Caveliers* serve them as Valets, and gave them nothing but their leavings to eat. They arriv'd without [38] any rub at the place they wish'd for. A Contest rises betwixt a *German* of *Wittemburg*, nam'd *Hans*, and him that murther'd *M. de la Salle*, about the Superiority of Command, upon this their men divide themselves into two Parties, one follows *Hans*, the other the Murtherer. They were come away from the *Cenis* amongst whom they tarry'd some time, and arriv'd at the *Nassonis*, where the four Deferters whom I mention'd before, rejoyn'd them. Thus they were all got together upon *Ascension Eve*, and the Quarrel betwixt the two Parties, being blown up to that height, that they determin'd to murther one another, Father *Anastafius* made an Exhortation to them upon the Festival day, with which they seem'd to be so touch'd, that they made as if they would confes themselves; but they did not continue long in that mind. Those that most regretted their Masters murther, took to *Hans's* side. This man two days after taking his opportunity, punish'd one crime with another, for he fir'd a

Pistol at the Murtherer of *M. de la Salle*, the Bullet peirc'd his Heart, and he drop'd dead upon the place. One of *Hans's* Crew shot him that kill'd *M. Moranger* in the side, and before he could well recover himself, another let fly just at his Head, there was no Ball in his Musket, but the Powder fet fire to his Hair, which catch'd his Shirt and Cloaths with so much violence and quickness, that he could not put it out, but expir'd in the Flame. The third Conspirator took to his Heels and sav'd himself; *Hans* was mighty eager to make sure of him, and finish in his Death, the vengeance due to *M. de la Salle*; but the *Sieur Joutel* made 'em Friends, and fo the matter rested for that time.

Thus *Hans* became the chief Leader of this miserable Troop; they resolv'd to return to the *Cenis*, amongst whom they design'd to settle, for they durst not venture back into *Europe* for fear of meeting the punishment [39] their Crimes deserv'd: At that time the *Cenis* were up in arms and ready to march out to fight with the *Kanoatinnos* a cruel People, their implacable Enemies. When they take any Prisoners, they throw them alive into a Caldron and boyl them. The *Cenis* then took *Hans* and some other *Europeans* along with them, the rest waited till they should return, though *Hans* would fain have perswaded them all to go, but they would not stir. When *Hans* was gone, they departed out of the Country of the *Cenis*, and amongst 'em were the two *Caveliers*, the *Sieur Joutel*, Father *Anastafius* and others; each had his Horse, Powder, and Lead, with some Goods to defray their

Charges upon the way; they made a halt in the Country of the *Nassonis* to celebrate the *Octave* of *la fete dieu*. In their Relations, they say, that the people entertain'd them perpetually with Stories of the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards the *Americans*, and told them twenty several Nations were going to make war upon the *Spaniards*, and invited them to go along with them, because, said they, you will do more execution with your Guns, than all our Warriors with their Maces and Arrows. But they had other designs in their Heads, and took occasion in these Discourses to give them to understand that they were come amongst them by express order from God, to instruct them in the knowledge of the Truth, and set them right in the way to Salvation, and this was their employment for 10 or 12 days to the 3d of *June*.

I make no question, but *M. Cavalier* the Priest, and Father *Anastafus* endeavour'd to their utmost to give light to these *Nassonis* and deliver them out of their ignorance. But the four other *Europeans* that were in their company were not enough in number to terrifie the *Spaniards* who are us'd to fire-arms; besides they did not understand the Language of these [40] People, and therefore I cannot easily comprehend how they could gather from the Discourse of these *Nassonis*, that the *Spaniards* were so cruel to the *Americans*; they had no Interpreters along with them, so that they could not understand a word of what was said to them by these People, who had never seen any other *Europeans* before them.

Moreover 'tis certain, that since the days of the Emperour

*Charles* the Fifth, the *Spaniards* have not dar'd to execute any Cruelties upon the Natives of *New Mexico*, because they have too few of their own Subjects to guard their Conquests against the insults of their neighbouring *Indians*, were they irritated. No, they live peaceably with them, and trouble no body, unless they are first attack'd.

## [41] CHAP. IX.

*The Cenis permit M. Cavelier the Priest, and Father Anastasius with their Company, to continue their Journey thorough several barbarous Nations.*

THE *Cenis* gave these six *Europeans* two Savages for Guides, who took their way thorough the finest Country in the World Northwards, and North-Eastwards; they pass'd over four great Rivers, and many Channels made by the Rain, inhabited by divers Nations Eastward, they came among the *Haquis*, the *Nabiri*, or the *Naansi*, a valiant People at War with the *Cenis*, at length they arrived near the *Cadodacchos*,<sup>1</sup> June the 13th, one of their Guides went before to inform the Barbarians of their coming. The chief Men and the Youth, whom they found a League from their Village, receiv'd them with the *Calumet*, and gave them some Tobacco; some led their Horses by the Bridle, and others carried them about in Triumph; they said they were Spirits come from the other World.

All the Village being come together, the Women according to their Custom wash'd their Heads and Feet with warm Water, after which they were seated upon a Bench cover'd

<sup>1</sup> The Caddoes, on Red River.—ED.

with neat white Mats; then they went to revelling, dancing to the *Calumet*, and made other publick rejoycings Day and Night. These People knew nothing of the *Europeans* but by Report, 'tis to be presum'd they have some shadow of Religion amongst 'em, but all their *Ideas* are very confus'd, and their Notions unaccountable, they seem to worship the Sun, because they send up the Smoak of their Tobacco to him, though they have their [42] share on't; their Ceremonial Habits have commonly two Suns described upon them, and upon the rest of the Body representations of wild Bulls, Deer, Serpents, or other Animals; the two religious *Europeans* took occasion from hence, to give them some Lessons concerning the true God, and the principal Mysteries of Christianity; 'tis to be suppos'd all this was done by Signs.

In this place God afflicted them by a Tragical Accident, the Sieur *Marne* maugre all Diffusions, would needs bath himself, June the 24th at Night. M. *Cavelier*, Nephew to M. *de la Salle* went along with him to the River-side, which lies pretty near the Village. *Marne* threw himself into the Water, and never came up again. 'Twas a Whirlpool that suck'd him in, and drowned him in a moment.

A little after his Body was drawn out of the Water, and carried to the Captain's House; all the Village lamented his Death: The Captain's Wife wrapt him up decently in a handsome Mat, while some young Men dug a Grave for him, which Father *Anastafius* blest; and then they committed him to the Earth with all possible Solemnity. The *Barbarians*

admir'd the Ceremonies of his Interment, and above all, the finging of the Pſalms at his Obſequies. Upon this they offer'd them inſtructions about the immortality of the Soul, and continued to teach them for Eight days, for ſo long they tarried after in that fatal Place; the dead Man was buried upon an Eminence near the Village, his Grave was fenc'd about with Pallifado's, and a great Crofs ſet up over it which was made by the Savages: They departed out of this Country, *July* the 2d.

Theſe People dwell upon the Side of a River, where three other Nations inhabit, the *Natchboos*, *Natchetes* and *Ouidiches*. The Travellers were receiv'd very kindly by all of them. From the River of [43] the *Cenis*, where they firſt met with Beavers and Otters; the farther they advanced Northward, the greater Number they found of thoſe Animals. Whilſt they ſojourn'd among the *Ouidiches*, they met with three Warriours of two Nations call'd the *Cabinnio*, and the *Mentous*, who dwelt twenty five Leagues farther, Eaſt-North-Eaſt, and had ſeen ſome Frenchmen. They offer'd to conduct 'em to their Countrymen, and by the way they croſs'd four Rivers and Brooks, or Torrents made by the Rain, there they were receiv'd by theſe Nations with the *Calumet* of Peace in their Hands, with all poſſible Tokens of Gladneſs and Eſteem. Many of theſe Savages talkt to 'em of an *European*, who was a Captain, and had but one Hand; this was the *Sieur de Tonti* a Neapolitan, mention'd in my firſt Volume. They added, that he told 'em, that a greater Captain than himſelf would



probably pass by their Village; meaning the *Sieur de la Salle*.

The chief Man among them lodg'd them in his Cabbin or Hutt, and made his Family go out of it; there they were treated several Days with all sorts of good Cheer. Nay, they order'd a solemn Feast to be kept publickly, wherein they danc'd to the *Calumet* four and twenty Hours together, and sung Songs made purposely for the occasion, which their Captain dictated to them as loud as he could, they entertain'd 'em as Envoys from the Sun, who came to defend them from their Enemies with Thunderbolts, meaning their Musquets which they had never seen before; in the heat of these rejoicings the younger *Cavelier* let off his Pistol three times, crying out *Vive le Roy*, which the Barbarians repeated with a loud Voice; adding, long live the Sun.

These Savages have a prodigious Number of Beavers and Otters in their Country, which might be easily exported by a River near the Village; these [44] Savages would have loaded their Horses with them, but they refus'd them to shew they were free from any Self design, and presented the Barbarians with Hatchets and Knives; at last they went away with two *Cabinnio's* to guide them; after they had receiv'd the Ambassadors from the *Analau*, the *Tanico*, and other Nations Northwest, and South Westward, they travers'd for some Days the finest Country in the World full of Rivers, Meadows, little Woods, Hills, and Vineyards.

Among others they cross'd over four large Navigable Rivers, and after a March of about sixty Leagues, they came

to the *Ojotteez*,<sup>1</sup> who dwell upon a Noble River running from the North-Weft, upon whose Banks grow the fineft Woods in the Univerfe.

The Skins of Beavers and Otters are every where found in fo great a Quantity, as well as all other kinds of Hides and Skins of Beasts, that they throw 'em all in a heap and burn them, of fo little value are they accounted. 'Tis upon the famous River of the *Akanfa* that fo many Villages ftand, as I mention'd in the firft Tome of my Discoveries.

Father *Anaftafus* fays in his Relation, that there they began to know where-about they were: At the fame time he knew very well, that neither he nor any Man in his Company had ever been upon the River *Mefchafpi*: Indeed I went up it by my felf, with two Indians in a Canou in 1680, and afterwards in 1682, M. *de la Salle* went up it as high as *Akanfa*: 'Tis highly probable, Father *Anaftafus* thought he was then at Fort *Crevecœur*, fituated in the Country of the *Illinois*, becaufe he found a great Crofs there, and beneath it the King of *France's* Arms; befides he faw a Houfe built after the *European* way, and upon this the Sieur *Joutel*, and two more that were left difcharged their Mufquets. At the Noife of the Guns out came two French *Canadans*, their Commander's [45] Name was M. *Couture*,<sup>2</sup> whom I knew particularly well

<sup>1</sup>The U-zú-ti-ú-hi (in nomenclature of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology; called by early writers Sitteou or Sauthois); a division of the Siouan Kwapa (Kappa) tribe (see p. 177, note 1, ante).—ED.

<sup>2</sup>Couture, a carpenter from Rouen, had accompanied Tonty in his fruitless search for La Salle (in the fpring of 1686). Tonty left fix of his men at the Indian villages on the Arkansas River; among thefe was Couture.—ED.

when I lived in *Canada*, and was one that made the Voyage along with us to discover the *Louisiana*. This M. *Couture* gave them to know, that he was Posted there by the *Sieur de Tonti*, by order of M. *de la Salle*, to keep up an Alliance with the Neighbouring Savage Nations, and guard them against the Insults of the *Iroquois*, their sworn Foes.

They visited three Villages, the *Forimans*, the *Dodinga*,<sup>1</sup> and the *Kappa*; they receiv'd 'em every where with Feasts, Speeches, Dances, and all other Expressions of Joy. They were lodg'd in the House belonging to this small Fort. These of *Canada* that were settled there entertain'd 'em very kindly, and made them Masters of all. Whatever Affairs these Savages contested about they never decided them immediately, but summon'd together the Chief men, and the most Ancient of the Villages, and deliberated upon the matter in dispute. These Travellers ask'd them for a *Pyroque*, and some Savages in it to go up the River *Meschafipi*, as far as the *Illinois*, by the River of that Nation, which in my Map of *Louisiana*, I call the River of *Seignelay*, in honour to the Minister of State of that Name, who favour'd and took care about our Discovery. Father *Anastafus* says they offer'd their Horses, some Powder and Lead in exchange for the *Pyroque*. After the Counsel had met upon this Subject, they came to a resolution to grant them the *Pyroque* they demanded, and four Savages to man it, one of each Nation to signify the

---

<sup>1</sup> These names are more correctly given by the Jesuit Paul de Poisson (*Jes. Relations*, lxvii, p. 319), as *Tourimas* and *Tougingas*; they also were *Kwapa* bands.—ED.

strict Alliance they had made with them. This was punctually executed, so they dismiss'd the *Cabinnio* with Presents to their satisfaction.

Upon this Head I would observe, without pretending to reflect upon M. *de la Salle*, that he undoubtedly never found out the true Mouth of the River *Meschasipi*, nor Father *Anastafius* neither, who never [46] was in that Part of the Country; and if the last did luckily light upon it by help of the Savages that guided him, 'twas owing to the Directions he receiv'd from M. *Couture*, Commander of the Skonce<sup>1</sup>; but it may be he will give us more light into this matter hereafter.

---

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a misprint for Akansa.—ED.

CHAP. X.

*The Voyage of the Sieur Cavalier a Priest, and Father Anastasius a Recollect in a Pyrogue to the Illinois, and several Observations concerning their Return.*

AFTER they had tarried a little time among these People, M. Cavalier, and Father Anastasius, Embarked in the River of *Meschasipi*, Aug. 1. they crossed the River the same Day in a *Pyrogue* of 40 Foot long. The stream was very strong in that Place, so they went all a-shoar to travel the rest of the Journey on Foot, because they had left their Horses at *Akanfa*, though they had done better perhaps to have kept them: They left no Soul in the *Pyrogue* but young Cavalier, whose tender Age joyn'd with the Fatigue of travelling so far, made him incapable of prosecuting the Journey on Foot. Father Anastasius thinks that from the place where they set out to the *Illinois*, they had 400 Leagues to march a foot before they could get thither; but all this is spoken by guesses.

One of the Savages went aboard the *Pyrogue* to steer it along the River, and one of his Comerades reliev'd him from time to time. The rest of the Company made no use of the *Pyrogue*, but only when they had occasion to avoid a dangerous Place, or cross any Rivers; [47] they underwent a great deal of Toil in this Voyage, the Heats were excessive in that

season, the sand was burnt by the Sun, but more than all, the want of Food, which they endur'd several days, reduc'd 'em to extreme hardship.

Father *Anastafius* adds, That they were got 200 Leagues over land from the Bay of *St. Louis*, that is to say, 100 Leagues to the *Cenis*, 60 to the North North-East, and 40 to the East North-East: from the *Nassonis* to the *Cadodacchos* 40 North North-Eastward, from the *Cadodacchos* to the *Cabinnio* and the *Mentous* 25 to the East North-East, and from the *Cabinnio* to the *Akanfa* 60 East North-East.

They continued their Progress up the River by the same way, that they had heard *M. de la Salle* went in 82, except that they went to *Sicacha*.<sup>1</sup> Father *Anastafius*, says *M. de la Salle* was not there. I made mention of this Nation in my Discovery in 80, in the preceding Volume; their principal Village is twenty five Leagues East from *Akanfa*. The People are robust and numerous, consisting at least of 4000 fighting Men: They have abundance of all sorts of Skins and Hides. Their Leaders often brought the *Calumet* to them to signify that they were willing to make an Alliance with them; nay they offer'd to go and settle themselves upon the River *Ouabache* to be nearer Fort *Crevecœur* in the Country of the *Illinois*, whither they were travelling.

This famous River of *Ouabache* [Ohio] is full as large as *Meschafipi*; a great many other Rivers run into it, the outlet where it discharges it self into *Meschafipi* is 200 Leagues

---

<sup>1</sup> A village of the Chicasas; the distance here given would locate it on the Yazoo River.—ED.

from *Akanfa* according to M. de la Salle's Computation; the truth is it is not so far cross the Country, but it may be as much in following the course of the River *Meschafipi*, which winds about very much. Straight over land 'tis not above 5 good days journey.

[48] They cross'd the River *Ouabache*, August 26. and found it full 60 Leagues along the River *Meschafipi* to the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, about 6 Leagues below the mouth of that River North-Westward, is the famous River of the *Maffourites* or the *Osages*, which is as large at least as the River it falls into. It is made up of several other known navigable Rivers inhabited by numerous Nations, as the *Panimaba*, who have but one Captain and 22 Villages, the least of which contains 200 Cabbins. The *Paneassa*, the *Pana*, the *Panaloga*, and the *Metotantes*, each of which is as considerable as the *Panimaba*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Osages* have 17 Villages upon a River of their name, that discharges it self into that of the *Maffourites*. Our Maps and those of M. de la Salle, have placed the *Osages* there. Formerly the *Akanfa* dwelt a great way up one of these Rivers, which bears their name still, and which I take notice of about the midst of the passage of the River *Ouabache* to that of the *Maffourites*<sup>2</sup>; there lies the Cape of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, and thereabouts live the Savage Nation of the *Mansopolea*.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the various Pawnee tribes.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this was the Saline River, which empties into the Mississippi a little below Ste. Genevieve, Mo. Although a small stream, it was regarded as important on account of the salt-springs near it; salt-works were established there at an early date.—Ed.

*Sept.* 5. M. *Cavelier* and Father *Anastafius* arriv'd at the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*: 'tis reckon'd 100 Leagues from thence to Fort *Crevecœur*, as I remark'd in my first Volume. The passage all the way is clear and navigable by large Vessels. A *Chaouenon* nam'd *Turpin*, having seen them enter his Village, ran by land to carry the News to M. *Belle Fontaine*, Commander of that Fort; he could not believe what he told him, but they follow'd apace after the Barbarian, and came to the Fort, *Sept.* 14. presently they conducted them to the Chapel, where *Te Deum* was thankfully sung. The *Canadians* that were in the place, and some Savages fir'd Volleys of Muskets.

M. *de Tonti*, whom M. *de la Salle* design'd to be Commander of Fort *Crevecœur*, was gone among the [49] *Iroquois* to dispose those Barbarians to an Alliance. These Travellers were receiv'd with all the kindness imaginable, and M. *de Belle-Fountain* omitted no Testimony of his joy to see them safely arriv'd.

It must be confess'd, that no man can evade his Destiny. At the same time it must likewise be acknowledged that the Disaster of M. *de la Salle* had something very fatal in it; he undertook this great Voyage with design to find out the mouth of the River *Meschasipi*, but unfortunately fell by the way without succeeding in his enterprize, and yet just after his Death, his Brother, Father *Anastafius*, &c. went up that River and arriv'd at the *Illinois*.

'Tis indubitable, nevertheless, that there is an excellent Haven at the mouth of this River, as I observ'd in 80. The



entry into it is very convenient, as may be easily seen. Of the three arms that compose this out-let, I always follow'd the Channel of that in the middle. 'Tis a commodious Harbour, and has several places fit to raise Fortresses upon, that are in no danger of being overflow'd, as has formerly been thought. The lower part or mouth of the River is habitable, and is inhabited by several savage Nations that don't lie far from it. The greatest Vessels may go up above 200 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, as far as the mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which River is navigable for above 100 Leagues, and discharges it self into the River *Meschasipi*. At the lower end of the River dwell several other Nations, which I forgot, as the *Picheno*, the *Ozanbogus*, the *Tangibao*, the *Otonika*, the *Movisa*, and many others, whose names easily escape ones Memory, when one passes through them without leisure, or conveniency to take necessary observations and notes.

'Tis probable that *M. de la Salle* not finding the Mouth of that River in the Sea, fancied that the Bay of *St. Lewis*, was not above 40 or 50 Leagues from the [50] Mouth of one of its Arms, at least in a strait line; but by misfortune he never was at it. God sets bounds to all Men, and their Enterprises, to all the desires of their Hearts, as well as to the vast Ocean.

Doubtless God permitted it so to be, that Father *Anastafius* who is now Vicar of the Recollects at *Cambray*, should discover 110 Nations in his Travels, without taking into the Number many more Savage People well known to those he

convers'd with *en passant*, because they traffick with them, which at the same time were never seen by any *European*.

These People, as I have already noted, have very good Horses, fit for any service in abundance. They think themselves well paid for a Horse, if one gives them a Hatchet.

Father *Anastafus* went from the Bay of St. *Lewis* to the Gulph of *Mexico* with design to settle a Mission among the *Cenis* in his 2d Voyage. Father *Zenobius Mambré* Recollect, who staid behind at the said Bay, was to have come and joyn'd him, to the end they might spread the Faith among the neighbouring Nations. They expected from *Europe* a great number of Labourers, but the death of M. *de la Salle* obliging him to proceed further he don't doubt but Father *Zenobius* has been there to look for him.

So it may be he is now in that Country with Father *Maximus* a Recollect and Native of *Lisle* in *Flanders*, and that they have left the *Sieur Chefdeville* a Missionary of St. *Sulpicius*, at the Mission of the Port in that Bay. He determin'd himself to be there, because there were nine or ten *European* Families there with their Children, besides some of M. *de la Salle's* men have marry'd with the Women of the Country to augment the little Colony. This is the Extract of Father *Anastafus's* account of his toilsome Voyage. What are become of the people left in those parts since that time, we know not.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In April, 1689, a Spanish expedition, commanded by Alonzo de Leon, reached La Salle's Fort St. Louis in Texas; they found that it had been captured, three months before, by the Tejas (Texas) Indians, who slew most of the remaining colonists. Leon ransomed the few survivors, who had been enslaved by the Indians.

[51] Father *Anastafius* conceal'd the deplorable Fate of *M. de la Salle*, because 'twas his duty as well as *M. Cavelier's* the Priest, to carry the first news of it to Court, and secure the effects of the deceas'd in the said Fort of the *Illinois*, because he advanc'd Money upon the enterprize.<sup>1</sup> He departed from the *Illinois* in the Spring, 1688, together with Father *Anastafius*, young *Cavelier*, *M. Joutel*, and one Barbarian, who dwells at present near *Versailles*; they arriv'd at *Quebec*, July 27, and set sail for *France* the 20th of *August* following. God granted them a favourable passage to *Paris*, after having run through incredible Dangers; and they gave an account of their Voyage to the late Marquis *de Seignelay*.

This is the story of *M. de la Salle's* last Voyage, which I thought my self oblig'd to give the world, because 'tis a continuation of mine, and confirms several things related in my account. I go on now to describe the Religion and Manners of those barbarous Nations, which I discover'd in my Voyage.

---

For more detailed accounts, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 442-446; and A. F. Bandelier's "Southwestern Historical Contributions," in *Papers* (Amer. series) of Archæological Institute of America, vol. v, pp. 180, 181.—ED.

<sup>1</sup> Not only Douay, but even Cavelier (*La Salle's* own brother), deceived Tonty in this matter, telling him that *La Salle* was well, and would soon return to *Illinois*. Apparently this was done that Cavelier might secure goods and money from Tonty in *La Salle's* name. See Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 435, 437.—ED.

## [52] CHAP. XI.

*The Author's Reflections upon the Voyage to China; the opinion of most of the Savages of North America concerning the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.*

'TIS a common saying, that Truth is the very Soul and Effence of History: now this account of the Manners of the Savages of *North America* being taken sincerely, needs no other recommendation. Novelty and Variety joyn together to please the Reader, tho' I treat of barbarous unpolish'd People; and therefore I hope, that a Description of 200 different Nations, which I have either seen my self, or been inform'd of by some religious that have been among them, will divert the curious.

The Son of God having foretold, that his Gospel should be preach'd throughout the Universe, the faithfull have always interested themselves in forwarding the accomplishment of that Prophecy, and labour'd to convert those barbarous Nations who have no knowledge of the true God. 'Tis true, that multitude of savage People which inhabit the vast Countries of *America*, have had their Eyes shut against the Light of Truth: but we have already begun to preach Christ crucifi'd to them, to the best of our skill, that we might bring them to Salvation. We hope therefore that those who are stirr'd up by

the Love of God, will not be wanting for the future to finish what we have begun, but endeavour the Salvation [53] of so many Souls, who might not perish, if Christians would help them to get out of their natural Blindness. To clear the way, and direct the means to it, we are going to give an account of the Ideas these People have of Religion, and likewise of their Manners, that so we may the more readily contrive the method of their Conversion, and in what manner to instruct them, to render them capable of receiving the truth and eternal Salvation.

Our Discoveries have acquainted us with most part of *North America*, so that I don't question if the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of *Holland* should think fit to send us back thither to finish what we have so happily begun, but we should demonstrate what we could never yet give a clear account of, though many attempts have been made to it. It has been found impossible hitherto to go to *Japan* by the Frozen Sea; that Voyage has often been frustrated; and I am morally assur'd, that we can never succeed in it, till we have first discovered the Continent betwixt the Frozen Sea and *New Mexico*. I am perswaded that God preserv'd me in all the great dangers of my long Voyages, that I might perfect that happy Discovery; and I here offer my self to undertake it, not doubting the success of the Enterprize (God willing) provided I am furnish'd with convenient means.

I don't wonder, that the learned are at a loss how *America* was peopled, and that infinite number of Nations settled upon that vast Continent. *America* is half the terrestrial

Globe. The most expert Geographers are not thoroughly acquainted with it, and the inhabitants themselves, whom we discover'd, and who in all likelihood should know best, don't know [54] how their Ancestors came thither; and certainly if in *Europe* we wanted the Art of Writing (as those People do) which in a manner makes the dead live again, recalls what's past, and preserves the memory of things, I am afraid we should not be less ignorant than those Savages.

The greatest part of the Barbarians in *North America* have generally a Notion of some sort of Creation of the World; they say, Heaven, Earth and Mankind were made by a Woman, and that she and her Son govern the World, and for this reason, perhaps it is, that they reckon their Genealogies by Women. They say farther, that the Son is the Author of all good things, and the Woman of all Evil. That both of them enjoy perfect Felicity. The Woman, they say, fell out of Heaven big with Child, and lighted upon the back of a Tortoise, who sav'd her from drowning.<sup>1</sup> When we object against the Ridiculousness of their Belief, they usually answer, that such an Objection is of force with them that make it, but is of no weight against them, because they look upon themselves to be created after another manner than the *Europeans* are.

Other Savages upon the same Continent, are of opinion,

---

<sup>1</sup> This myth was current among the Huron tribes, and was related of a divinity named E-yă'-ta-hěn-tsik (Ataentsic); her son was Iouskeha. They are regarded by Brinton as personifications of the moon and sun, respectively; and, by J. B. Hewitt, as representing the goddess of night and earth, and the reproductive power which pervades Nature. See *Jes. Relations*, viii, p. 303; x, 323.—ED.

that a certain Spirit call'd *Otkon* by the *Iroquois*, and *Atabauta* by the other Barbarians at the Mouth of the River of *St. Laurence*, is the Creator of the World, and that one *Messou* repair'd it after the Deluge. In this manner do they alter and confound by their Traditions that Knowledge of the univerfal Deluge, which their Ancestors probably had: they say, that this *Messou* or *Otkon* being a hunting one day, his Dogs loft themselves in a great Lake, which thereupon overflowing, cover'd the whole Earth in a [55] short time, and swallow'd up the World. They add, That this *Messou* or *Otkon* gather'd a little Earth together by the help of some Animals, and made use of this Earth to repair the World again.<sup>1</sup> They think the *Europeans* inhabit another World different from theirs; and when we go about to undeceive them, and teach them truly how the universe was created, they say all that may be true enough of the World we live upon, but 'tis quite another thing with theirs; Nay, they often ask us, whether we have a Sun and Moon in *Europe* as well as they.

There are another sort of Savages who dwell at the Mouth of the River of *St. Laurence* and *Meschafipi*, that tell us a very odd Story; they say much like the former that a Woman came down from Heaven, and hover'd a while in the Air, because she could find no place to set her Foot upon. The Fish of the Sea compassionating her, held a Council to determine who should receive her. The Tortoise offer'd

---

<sup>1</sup> Messou (the same as Manabozhu and Michabou), a divinity revered among the Algonquian tribes. See *Jes. Relations*, index, under above names.—ED.

himself, and presented his Back above Water, the Woman plac'd her self upon it, and staid there. In time the Filth of the Sea gathering and settling about the Tortoise by little and little, form'd a great extent of Land, which at present is that we call *America*.

Now say they, this same Woman being uneasie at her living solitarily, and troubled to have no body to pass the time with, more agreeably than she did; there descended from on high a Spirit, who found her fallen asleep with melancholy; he approach'd her unperceiv'd, and from that Conjunction came forth two Sons out of her side; these two Children could never agree together after they were grown up. One was a better Hunter than t'other, and every day there was some scuffling between 'em. At length [56] their Animofities grew to that Extremity, that they could not endure one another: One of them especially was of a very violent humour, and had a mortal hatred for his Brother, who was better temper'd, the last unable any longer to submit to the rude behaviour, and ill treatment which the other bestow'd upon him perpetually, resolv'd to separate himself from him; so he flew up into Heaven, whence to denote his just repentment, he rattles his Thunder from time to time over his unhappy Brother's head.

Some time after the Spirit came down again to the Woman, and then she brought forth a Daughter from whom say the Savages is descended, that numerous People who now take up one of the largest Parts of the Universe.

How fabulous soever this Story be in it self, yet we may



discern a run of Truth in it. This Womans sleep and the Birth of two Sons, has something in it akin to *Adam's* sleep, whilst God took one of his Ribs to form *Eve*.

The disagreement of the two Brothers resembles the irreconcilable Hatred of *Cain* and *Abel*; the retreat of one of 'em to Heaven, represents the Death of *Abel*, and the Thunder grumbling in the Sky may be compar'd with the Curse pronounc'd by God, upon the wretched *Cain*, for inhumanly killing his Brother.

'Tis a lamentable thing to consider what wild Chimæra's the Devil puts in these People's heads. Tho' they believe that the Soul is Corporeal (for they understand nothing else by their *Otkon*, *Atabauta*, or *Manitou*,<sup>1</sup> but some material principal Being, that [57] gives life and motion to all things) nevertheless they profess their Belief of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Life to come, in which they shall enjoy all sorts of pleasure; as Hunting, and Fish in abundance, Corn for those that sow it, for some never sow Corn; Tobacco, and a thousand other Curiosities and Conveniencies. They say the Soul does not leave the Body as soon as it dies, and therefore they take care to lay by the Body a Bow, Arrows, Corn, and fat Meat, for the Dead to subsist upon till they reach the Country of Souls.

And because they think all sensible things have Souls, therefore they reckon that after Death, men hunt the Souls of Beavers, Elks, Foxes, Otters, and other Animals. They

---

<sup>1</sup> General appellations given by the Indians to spirits of all kinds; applied, by extension, to anything mysterious or inexplicable.—ED.

believe that the Souls of those Rackets which they wear under their Feet in Winter-time to keep 'em from sinking into the Snow, serve 'em for the same use in the next Life, as well as the Souls of Bows and Arrows to kill Beasts with. And so they fantasie of the Fish likewise, and therefore the Souls will have occasion say they for the Arms interr'd with the Dead; the dead Bodies have no need of the Arms and Victuals that are set by 'em, no longer than till they get to the Country of Souls.

They imagine that the Souls walk visibly for some time in the Villages, and partake of their Feasts and Revels, therefore they always set aside a Portion for them. Nay several of these Nations go so far as to make certain general Feasts for the Dead, accompanied with Songs and horrible Cries, Feasts wherein all that is brought is to be eaten up; Dances and Presents of divers kinds. They take up the dead Bodies in the Village, and the very Bones of those that are consumed which they call Packets of Souls,<sup>1</sup> they [58] remove 'em from one Sepulchre to another, adorn'd with dress'd Skins, Collars of Porcelain, and other like Riches, such as their Country affords: They believe all this contributes mainly to the Happiness of the Dead.

I will not be tedious in summing up particularly all their superstitious Opinions upon this Subject, in relation to the different Places or Employs they assign to them, the manner

---

<sup>1</sup> It was believed, by many tribes, that the soul dwelt in the bones, not only during the physical life, but for at least a time after death; and that it might afterward be reincarnated, if the bones remained unbroken. See *Jes. Relations*, xx, p. 310.—ED.

of their living, their Wars, Peace, Policy and Laws: All extravagant, ridiculous Traditions founded upon Fables invented by their Ancestours, and deliver'd to their Posterity for credible Truths, and as such receiv'd and firmly held by them.

One would be apt to suspect that these Savages of *America* originally sprung from the Jews, some of whom might casually have been wreckt, and cast upon that Part of the World; for they have several Customs not unlike theirs; they make their Cabbins in the form of Tents, like as the Jews did; they anoint themselves with Oil, and are superstitiously addicted to Divination from Dreams. They bewail over the Dead with great lamentation. The Women go into mourning for their near Relations a whole Year, during which time they abstain from dancing and feasting, and wear a sort of a Hood upon their Heads, and commonly the Father or Brother of the Deceas'd take care of the Widow.

Besides it seems as if God had laid a particular Malediction upon 'em, as he did upon the Jews: They are brutish, and persist unalterably in their Opinions; they have no certain fix'd Place of Abode; they are very lascivious, and have such gross Conceptions, [59] that when we tell 'em Souls are immortal and immaterial, they ask what they eat in the other World. Moreover we may observe some Conformity between *Moses's* Relation of the Creation of the World, and the Belief of these Savages about it, as I observed above. But to speak frankly, these Barbarians seem to have no kind of *Idea* of the Deity, and yet they believe another Life in which

they hope to enjoy the same Delights, that they are pleased with here. They live without any subordination, without Laws or any form of Government or Policy. They are stupid in matters of Religion, subtle and crafty in their Worldly concerns; but excessively superstitious.

## [60] CHAP. XII.

*What Method is most proper to convert the Savages; what Manner of Persons they are that ought not to be baptized.*

OUR ancient Missionary Recollects of *Canada*, and those that succeeded them in that work, have always given it for their opinion, as I now own 'tis mine, that the way to succeed in converting the Barbarians, is to endeavour to make them men before we go about to make them Christians. Now in order to civilize them, 'tis necessary that the *Europeans* should mix with them, and that they should dwell together, which can never be done for certain till the Colonies are augmented: but it must be acknowledged, that the Company of *Canada* Merchants, have made great Obstacles to the encreasing of the Colonies; for out of greediness to keep all the Trade in their own hands, these Gentlemen would never permit any particular Society to settle themselves in the Country, nor suffer the Missionaries to persuade the Barbarians to dwell constantly in a place. Yet before this be done, there's no way to convert these Unbelievers. Thus the covetousness of those who are for getting a great deal in a short time, has mightily retarded the establishment of the Gospel among the Savages.

Hence 'tis manifest, that the office of a Missionary is very

troublesome and laborious, amongst these numerous Nations, and it must be granted that 'tis necessary to spend many Years, and undergo a great deal of pains to civilize People so extremely stupid and barbarous.

[61] And therefore, one would not venture without much caution, to administer the Sacraments to adult Persons, who pretend themselves Converts; for we see that after so many Years of Mission, there has been but little progress made, though no pains have been wanting on the Missionary's hands.

So that Christianity is not like to gain much ground among the Savages, till the Colonies are strengthened by a great Number of Inhabitants, Artisans and Workmen, and then the Treaty betwixt the Barbarians and us should be freer, and extended to all *Europeans*: But chiefly it should be endeavour'd to fix the Barbarians to a certain dwelling Place, and introduce our Customs and Laws amongst them, further'd by the Assistance of zealous People in *Europe*, Colleges might be founded to breed up the young Savages in the Christian Faith, which might in time contribute very much to the Conversion of their Country-men. This is a very proper Method without doubt, to strengthen the Temporal and Spiritual Interests of the Colonies; but the generality of Mankind are bent upon Gain and Traffick, and are little concern'd to procure God's Blessing upon them, and endeavour the advancement of his Glory.

God is often pleas'd to prove his Children, and amongst 'em those that employ themselves in saving Souls, by those means that most afflict them, but Dangers, Labours, Suffer-

ings, and even Death it self would be welcome to them, provided in sacrificing themselves for the Salvation of their Brethren, God would afford them the Consolation to see their Undertakings Crown'd with success to his Glory, and the Conversion of Infidels.

[62] It is impossible for us to look upon so great a Number of People as this relation mentions, and consider the little progress Religion has made among the Savages of these vast Countries, but we must needs admire the inscrutable Decrees of God, and cry out with the Apostle, *O the Depth of the Riches of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God!* a great Number of learned secular Priests, and zealous Religious men of our Order, have carried the Light of the Gospel into all Parts of the Earth, and labour'd hard in the Lord's Vineyard. But God would have us know, that the Conversion of Souls is the Work of his Grace, the blessed Moments of which are not yet come.

I cannot help saying with Grief, that there is a great deal of difference between the modern Missions into *America*, and those which our Recollects began in the New World, and continued in the Southern Parts of *America*; there they daily converted Millions of Souls; but in *Canada* we find the Ground barren and unfruitfull, nothing but blindness and insensibility, a prodigious Distance from God, and even an entire opposition to the Mystery of our Faith. Whole Ages are requir'd to prepare these Barbarians for the Gospel, before we can expect to see it flourish there: And to add to our affliction God has permitted that the Country should

be in the hands of a Company of Merchants, who think of nothing but their private Interest, and are unconcern'd for the Propagation of the Faith.

Our Ancient Missionary's Recollects did not grant the Sacrament of Baptism to the Savages but with great Caution, for fear the Sacred Mystery should be profaned by the Barbarians; and in our Days we see these Nations not at all dispos'd to Christianity: They [63] seem to have no Sense at all of Religion in general to be incapable of the most common reasonings, that lead other Men to the knowledge of a Deity true or false.

These miserable dark Creatures listen to all we say concerning our Mysteries, just as if 'twere a Song; they are naturally very vitious, and addicted to some Superstitions that signify nothing; their Customs are savage, brutal and barbarous; they will suffer themselves to be baptized ten times a Day for a Glass of Brandy, or a Pipe of Tobacco, and offer their Children to be baptiz'd, but all without any Religious Motive. Those that one takes the pains to instruct, for a Winter together, as I my self taught some of them while I dwelt at Fort *Frontenac*, give no better signs of Edification, than others in our Articles of Faith: So wrapt up are they in Insensibility, to what concerns Religion, which occasion'd terrible Checks of Conscience in our Religious, in the beginning of their Mission among the People of *Canada*; they saw that the few Persons of years of Discretion that they had instructed, and afterwards admitted to Baptism, soon fell again into their ordinary indifference for Salvation,



and that the Children follow'd the unhappy Example of their Parents, infomuch that 'twas no better than a plain profanation of Baptism to administer it to them.

The Case was search'd into to the bottom, and argued upon with much application; nay, 'twas carried into the *Sorbonne*<sup>1</sup>; at length, after all possible diligent Scrutiny into the matter it was concluded, that as for Persons of years, and Children near the Point of Death, and who in all humane Probability would certainly soon give up the Ghost; they might venture to baptize them if they demanded it, because it [64] might be justly presum'd, that in that extremity God inspir'd the adult Persons with his Grace, as 'twas thought it had been obvious in some of them; but they declar'd, that as for the other Savages, they ought not to be baptiz'd, until after long observation and experience, they were perceiv'd to be well inclined and instructed, having a right apprehension of our Mysteries, and had quitted their barbarous Customs, they declar'd further that they might administer Baptism to those who dwelt constantly among the Christians, were brought up in the same way of living, were civiliz'd, and above all were well instructed, and that they should baptize their Children; and they compos'd a Form, and likewise a kind of fundamental Canon, for a Rule to these Missionaries, to which they were absolutely to conform themselves in the Functions of their Employ.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the condemnation by the Sorbonne of Fléché's too hasty baptisms in Acadia (1610); see *Jes. Relations*, i, 311. The Sorbonne was a celebrated school of theology, founded at Paris in 1253 by Robert Sorbon. It ceased to exist in 1790; and in 1808 its buildings were given to the University of France.—ED.

## [65] CHAP. XIII.

*The Barbarians of North-America don't acknowledg any God.  
Of the pretended Souls of terrestrial Animals.*

OUR antient Missionaries Recollects were acquainted with several different Nations within the compas of 600 Leagues in *North-America*; and I have been among many more, because I went farther than any of them, having made a Voyage all along the River of *St. Lawrence*, and *Meschafipi*. I observed, as my Predecessors, that the Savages don't want good Sense in what concerns the general and particular Interest of their Nation. They pursue their Point, and take right Methods to come to the end of their designs: but 'tis what I am astonish'd at, that whilst they are so clear sighted in their common Affairs, they should have such extravagant notions of the concerns of Religion, the Manners, Laws, and Maxims of Life.

We must all of us own, that almost all the Savages in general have no Belief of a Deity, and that they are incapable of the common and ordinary Arguments and Reasonings that the rest of Mankind are led by upon this Subject; so dark and stupid are their Understandings. At the same time we may acknowledg, that now and then in some of them we discover some glimmerings of a confus'd Notion of God.

Some will confefs, but very cloudily, that the Sun is God : Others fay, 'tis a Genius that rules in the Air : Some again look upon the Heavens as a kind of Divinity. But thefe only make a fhew of believing fomewhat [66] that we can hardly guefs at : we can't fix them to any fettled Principle. The Nations Southward feem to believe an Univerfal Spirit that governs all : they imagine after a fafhion, that there's a Spirit in every thing, even in thofe that are inanimate ; and they addrefs themfelves to it fometimes, and beg fomewhat of it ; as we took notice of one Barbarian, who made a kind of Sacrifice upon an Oak, at the Cascade of St. *Antony of Padua*, upon the River *Mefchafipi*.<sup>1</sup>

All thefe Nations don't profefs their Belief of a Deity out of any refpect to Religion : They talk of it ordinarily, as a thing they were prepofted with ; or frolickfomly, not regarding any thing they fay themfelves, any otherwife than as a kind of Fable. They have no outward Ceremony to fignify that they worship any Deity : There's no Sacrifice, Prieft, Temple, nor any other Token of Religion amongft them.

Their Dreams are to them inftead of Prophecy, Infpiration, Laws, Commandments, and Rules, in all their Enterprizes, in War, Peace, Commerce, and Hunting : They regard them as Oracles. The Opinion they have of their Dreams draws them into a kind of neceffity to be ruled by them ; for they think 'tis an Univerfal Spirit, that infpires them by Dreams, and advifeth them what to do : And they carry this fo far,

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 278, *ante*.—ED.

that if their Dream orders them to kill a Person, or commit any other wicked Action, they presently execute it, and make satisfaction for it afterwards, as we shall shew anon. The Parents dream for their Children, the Captains for their Village. There are some among them, that take upon them to interpret Dreams, and explain them after their own fancy or inclination; and if their Interpretations don't prove true, they are not lookt upon as Cheats ere the more for that.

[67] Some have taken notice, that when they meet with any Cascade or Fall of Waters, which is difficult to cross, and apprehend any danger, they throw a Bever's Skin, Tobacco, Porcelain, or some such matter into it by way of Sacrifice, to gain the Favour of the Spirit that presides there.

There's no Nation but what have their Jugglers, which some count Sorcerers: but 'tis not likely that they are under any Covenant, or hold communication with the Devil. At the same time, one may venture to say, that the evil Spirit has a hand in the Tricks of these Jugglers, and makes use of them to amuse these poor People, and render them more incapable of receiving the Knowledge of the true God. They are very fond of these Jugglers, tho they cozen them perpetually.

These Impostors would be counted Prophets, who foretel things to come: they would be look'd upon as having almost an infinite Power: they boast that they make Rain or fair Weather, Calms and Storms, Fruitfulness or Barrenness of the Ground, Hunting lucky or unlucky. They serve for

Physicians too, and frequently apply such Remedies, as have no manner of virtue to cure the Distemper.

Nothing can be imagin'd more horrible than the Cries and Yellings, and the strange Contorsions of these Rascals, when they fall to juggling or conjuring; at the same time they do it very cleverly. They never cure any one, nor predict any thing that falls out, but purely by chance: meantime they have a thousand Fetches to bubble [*i. e.*, cheat] the poor people, when the accident does not answer their Predictions and Remedies; for, as I said, they are both Prophets and Quacks. They do nothing without Presents or Reward. 'Tis true, if these Impostors are not very dexterous at recommending themselves, and bringing themselves off, when any person dies under their [68] hands, or Enterprizes do not succeed as they promis'd, they are sometimes murdered upon the place, without any more Formality.

These blind Wretches are wedded to many other Superstitions, which the Devil makes use of to delude them: They believe that several kinds of Animals have a reasonable Soul: They have an unaccountable Veneration for certain Bones of Elks, Bevers, and other Beasts; they never throw these to their Dogs, which are the only Domestick Animals they keep, because they serve for Hunting: So they preserve these precious Bones, and are very unwilling to cast them into the River. They pretend, that the Souls of these Animals come back into the World to see how they treat their Bodies, and give notice accordingly to the rest of the Beasts both dead

and living; and that if they should find they are ill us'd, the Beasts of that kind would never let themselves be taken, neither in this World nor the next.

One may say, that the Corruption of Sin has spread a strange Darknes in the Souls of these unhappy people, and a perfect Insensibility to all Religion; insomuch that they are not to be match'd in any History. 'Tis true, they are obstinately superstitious in some things; and yet at the same time, they are not mov'd by any principle of Religion. 'Tis nothing but strong Prejudice and Imagination. When we dispute with them, and put them to a nonplus, they hold their tongues; their Minds are stupid, their Faculties are befotted. If we propose our Mysteries to them, they heed them as indifferently as their own nonsensical Whimsies. I have met with some of them, who seem to acknowledg that there is one first Principle that made all things; but this makes but a slight Impression upon their Mind, which returns again to its ordinary Deadness, and former Insensibility.

## [69] CHAP. XIV.

*Of the great difficulties in converting the Savages. Of the Prayers they get by rote ; and of Martyrdom.*

THE great Insensibility of these Barbarians is caused principally by their Carelessness and neglect to be thoroughly instructed. They come to us, and attend to what we say, purely out of Idleness, and natural Curiosity to converse with us, as we with them ; or rather they are tempted to follow us, by the Kindness and Flatteries we express towards them, or because of the Benefit their Sick receive from us, or out of hope to gain by trafficking with us ; or lastly, because we are Europeans, and they think us stouter than themselves, and hope we will defend them from their Enemies.

We teach them Prayers ; but they repeat them like Songs, without any distinction by Faith. Those we have catechized a long time, are very wavering, except some few : They renounce all, return into their Woods, and take up their old Superstitions upon the least Crotchet that comes into their Heads.

I don't know whether their Predecessors had any Knowledge of a God ; but 'tis certain their Language, which is very natural and expressive in every thing else, is so barren on this

Subject, that we can't find any expression in it to signify the Deity, or any one of our Mysteries, not even the most common: this gives us great perplexity when we would convert them.

Another great Obstacle to their Conversion is this: Most of them have several Wives; and in the Northern parts they change them as often as they please: [70] They can't conceive how people can tie themselves indissolubly to one person in Marriage. See how silly you are, cry they, when we argue with them about it. My Wife is uneasy to me, I am so to her; she'll agree very well with such a one, who is at odds with his Wife: now why should we four lead a miserable Life all our days?

Another hindrance lies in a Custom of theirs, not to contradict any Man; they think every one ought to be left to his own Opinion, without being thwarted: they believe, or make as if they believed all you say to them; but 'tis their Insensibility, and Indifference for every thing, especially Matters of Religion, which they never trouble themselves about.

*America* is no place to go to out of a desire to suffer Martyrdom, taking the Word in a Theological Sense: The Savages never put any Christian to death upon the score of his Religion; they leave every body at liberty in Belief: They like the outward Ceremonies of our Church, but no more. These Barbarians never make War, but for the Interest of their Nation; they don't kill people, but in par-



ticular Quarrels, or when they are brutish, or drunk, or in revenge, or infatuated with a Dream, or some extravagant Vision: they are incapable of taking away any Person's Life out of hatred to his Religion.

They are brutish in all their Inclinations; they are naturally Gluttons, and know no other Happiness in this Life, but the pleasure of eating and drinking: This is remarkable in their very Eyes, and their Diversions, which are always begun and ended with feasting.

The Passion of Revenge which they are possessed with, is another great Obstacle to Christianity: They are very tender and affectionate to their own Nation, but cruel and revengeful beyond imagination towards their Enemies: They are naturally Inconstant, [71] Revilers, Scoffers, and Lascivious. In short, among all the Vices they are addicted to, we can perceive no Principle of Religion or Morality; and to be sure this must needs render their Conversion extremely difficult.

To persuade them to any thing, and dispose them to the Faith, 'tis requisite to make them familiar with us, and contract a good acquaintance with them; but this is not to be done presently, because first of all the Colonies ought to be multiplied, and planted every where. When they have pass'd away a few Weeks with the Europeans, they are oblig'd to go to War, Hunting, or Fishing, for their Subsistence, and this depraves 'em extremely. They should be fix'd, inticed to clear the Ground, and cultivate it, and work at several Trades, as the Europeans do; and then we should see 'em

reform their barbarous Customs, and become more civiliz'd, as well towards one another as us.

In another place we shall treat of the other Southern Nations, who seem better dispos'd to receive the Gospel than those of the North.

## CHAP. XV.

*The manner of Feasting among the Savages.*

THEY have Feasts at parting from one another, Feasts of Thanks, War, Peace, Death, Marriage, and Health. They continue revelling night and day, particularly when they hold those Feasts, which they term, *Eat up all*: For then they don't permit any one to quit the Company till all be eaten up. And if a Person is not able to stuff any longer, he is oblig'd to hire another into his place.

[72] They have other Feasts for the recovery of the Sick, and some ordinary common Feasts. Formerly they kept wanton Festivals, where the Men and Women mingled together promiscuously, and plaid most abominable lewd Pranks. But if they make such Entertainments now a-days, 'tis very rarely, and when they are at a great distance from the Europeans.

When they undertake a War, 'tis commonly to recover satisfaction for some Injury, that they pretend has been done to them: Sometimes they engage in it, upon account of a Dream, and often as a Fancy takes 'em: Sometimes they enter into it, because other People jeer them: You're a Coward, say they; You never were in a Battle; You have kill'd no Body yet. Then are they rous'd by Honour, and

after they have kill'd some Fallow Deer, make a Feast, and exhort their Neighbours to accompany them in their Enterprize.

When they have a mind to go singly, and alone, they make no Feasts, but only order their Wives to get them some Meal of Indian Corn, because they are going to War. But if they would have Companions, they go through all the Villages to invite the young Men, who take their Platters of Wood, or Bark of Birch: Then they rendezvouz at the Cabin of him who invited them, which they commonly enter, singing Warlike Songs. I am going to War, I will revenge the Death of such a Kinsman, I will slay, I will burn, I will bring away Slaves, I will eat Men, and such like Expressions that breathe nothing but Cruelty.

When all the Crew are assembled, they fill the Kettles of those that have any, or else their Porringers of Wood or Bark: then they sit down to eat; and during the Entertainment, he that invited them to the Feast, sings without intermission, and exhorts them to follow him.

All this while they speak not one word, and eat up [73] all they have given them in profound Silence, except one or other of 'em between whiles applauds him that made the Feast of War, by answering *Netbo*, or *Joguenske*. When the Orator has done, he says to 'em all, 'Tis well; I'll march to morrow, or within two or three days, according as he hath projected. The next day those who are willing to accompany him to the War, go to him, and assure him that they will follow him any where to revenge him upon his Enemies.

'Tis very well, Nephews, says he, we'll be going three days hence. And the Savages make twelve or fifteen Feasts of this kind before they set out.

These Barbarians had us'd to make very lascivious Feasts. The Leader of the Party ordered a young Woman to prostitute her self to such or such a one as he pointed at. If she refus'd to gratify them, they attributed all their Miscarriages in their Enterprizes to her; so cunning is the Devil in cherishing their impure Imaginations.

When they marry their Children, they seldom make a Feast. But if they do think fit to make any, they observe certain Ceremonies in it: the first thing they do, is to prepare Victuals. To this end they fill with Meat those Kettles which they have truck'd for with the Europeans, or great Earthen Pots which the Women make. They provide as many of them as they design to have Guests: when the Meat, or *Sagamite* is dress'd, they go to invite their Guests, and this they do by putting a little stick into their hand, and saying, I invite thee to my Feast. No sooner said, but 'tis done, they need not be ask'd twice. They all come with their usual Utensils. The Master of the Cabin distributes to each an equal Mess, and he that provides the Feast, or some other in his place, sings without ceasing till they have eaten all up: after the Banquet they sing and dance, and at last without any Formality of [74] returning Thanks to the Donor, they go back every one to their Cabin without speaking a word. None but those who have convers'd with the Europeans, return Thanks to those that invited them.

The Feasts made to recover the Sick are much after the same manner: But they do more good to the Guests than to the sick weak Persons. The Feasts for the Dead are more doleful and sad. No Body sings or dances then. The Kindred of the Dead are in a deep mournful Silence. They look mightily troubl'd, to move their Guests to Compassion: all that go to these Feasts, carry Presents with 'em; and laying them at the feet of the near Kindred to the Deceas'd, say, here's something to cover him, towards building a Cabin, or making a Palifade round his Sepulchre, according to the nature of their Presents: then they feed plentifully, and return home without speaking a word.

As for the ordinary Feasts, they order 'em several ways according to their Fancy: if they have any Knives bought of the Europeans, and have eaten and cut fat Meat with them, they ordinarily wipe their Knives with their Hair. They commonly eat sitting upon the ground, and have nothing to wipe upon. So they are forc'd to wipe their greasy Knives in their Hair, and then rub their Faces all over with it. These frequent Unctions without doubt harden them, and make 'um capable of undergoing much Toil.

CHAP. XVI.

*The manner of Adopting the Europeans among the Savages.*

I TOOK notice in my former Volume that a Barbarian Captain of the *Iffati*, or *Nadoueffans*, named *Aquipaguetin*, adopted me in the place of his Son, who was [75] kill'd in Battle by the *Miamis*, and that this help'd me to gain Credit among these People, and insinuate my self into 'em, the better to dispose 'em to believe the Gospel. This is what the Missionaries should aim at, when they are among the Savages; they should endeavour to insinuate themselves into the Favour of him who is most famous of all the Leaders among 'em, and most inclin'd to the *Europeans*. Then this Captain brings them forth, for that's the term the Savages use to signify their Adoption; and this is done in a Feast. The Captain, I say, adopts a Missionary for his Son, or for his Brother, according to his Age and Quality; after which all the Nation look upon him as if he were actually born in their Country, and a-kin to their Captain: by means of this Ceremony he gets admission into the Family, in the quality of a Son, a Brother, Uncle, Nephew, or Cousin, with respect to those of the Family, and according to the rank they hold in it by their Birth.

And to carry on their Designs the better, the Missionaries

caufe a Council to be affembled, to fet themfelves off the more to the Barbarians. And here let it be obferv'd, that all Affemblies, held by order of their Captains, are call'd *Councils*. Thofe that come to thefe Affemblies, fit upon the Ground in a Cabin, or in open Field; they keep filence whilft their Leader makes his Harangue, and religiously obferve whatever they once firmly conclude upon.

The Miffionaries deliver themfelves, in thefe Affemblies, either by word of Mouth, if they underftand the Language of the People, or elfe by Interpreters. They tell 'em that they come among them to make an Alliance and Friendfhip with them, and at the fame time to invite them to traffick with their Nation; in conclufion, they defire the Savages to permit them to dwell in their Country, to inftroct them in God's Law, which is the only way to Heaven.

[76] The Savages often accept the Offers of the Miffionaries, and affure them they are well fatisfied with their Perfons: but to win the Barbarians, 'tis requifite that the Miffionaries give them Hatchets, Knives, or other European Merchandizes, which the Savages, efpecially thofe who never yet had any Commerce with the Europeans, fet a high value upon. We never treat of any Affair with them without prefenting them with fomething of that nature, which they value more than we in *Europe* do Gold. After this the Barbarians *bring forth*, that is to fay, adopt thofe that have made Prefents to them. They publickly declare them Citizens, or Children of their Country; and according to their Age, as I faid before, the Savages call the adopted Perfons, Sons, Brothers,



Coufins, according to the degrees of Relation: And they cherish them whom they have once adopted, as much as if they were their own natural Brothers or Children.

I forgot to take notice in my former Volume, that the great Captain of the *Iffati*, named *Ouaficoude*, or pierced Pine-tree, call'd me his Brother. There are no examples among the other Nations of adopting any one for a Brother to a Captain so absolute as he. He had been several times at war with seventeen or eighteen Nations, Enemies to his, and brought away their Heads, or made them Prisoners.

Those that are Valiant and Couragious are very much esteem'd by the Savages. They ordinarily use no other Arms than Bows, Arrows, and Maces [*i. e.*, war-clubs]; but they use them very dexterously. They are clear-limb'd, active, and robust: I never saw any blind, crooked, or deform'd Person among them.

## [77] CHAP. XVII.

*Of the Marriages of the Savages in North America.*

MARRIAGE is not a Civil Contract among these People; the Man and Woman don't intend to bind themselves together for as long as they live, they live together no longer than they agree together, and love one another. As soon as they are discontented with each other, they say, as I have before observed, My Wife is uneasy to me, and I to her, she'll agree well enough with such a one who is weary of his Wife; there's no reason why we four should live unquietly all our days: So without more ado, without any Clamor or Noise, they separate, and remain perfectly indifferent for each other.

These Barbarians sometimes marry their Daughters at nine or ten Years old, not that the young Couple come together so soon, their Age is too green for that, but they expect to make some Advantage of their Sons-in-law; for when they return from hunting, the Girl's Father has the disposal of the Skins, and the Flesh they have taken: but at the same time the Girl is obliged to bring the *Sagamite*, or Milk thicken'd with Indian Corn, and the Meat provided for her Husband's eating, tho she do not yet cohabit with him: sometimes 'tis five or six Years before they consummate.

When they marry, they make Feasts with great pomp

and rejoicing; all the Village is invited by turns: every one makes good Chear. After the Banquet they sing and dance, as the Europeans upon that occasion, but after their own way.

[78] They often marry clandestinely, and there goes but one word to the Bargain. A Savage unmarried Man goes to a Maid, or unmarried Woman; without more Courtship, he tells her, if she will go with him, she shall be his Wife: She makes no Reply at first, but pauses a little while, holding her Head betwixt both her Hands while she is considering what to do; the Man holds his Head in the same posture, and stands silent. After she has thought a little of the matter, she says *Netbo*, or *Niaoua*, which signifies, I am content: The Man lifts up his Head presently, and replies, *Oné*, that is to say, 'tis a Match. At Night the Woman or Maid takes an Iron Hatchet, or if her Nation have no Commerce with the Europeans, she takes one made of Stone that will cut; she goes and cuts as much good Wood as she can carry, brings it to the door of the Savage's Cabin, and lays it down; she goes in and sits down by the Man, who does not offer to care for her: when they have sat together long enough without speaking, the Husband tells her in the *Iroquoise* Tongue, *Sentaouy*, 'tis time to lie down, repose your self: sometime after he comes and lays himself down by her.

'Tis very rarely seen that any of 'em make Love after the European manner, courting, dallying, and jesting fondly and merrily; they re-enter into a reciprocal Kindness with as much ease as they broke it off before: They part very quietly, for they make no more words on't than, *I quit thee*; that's all:

they are perfectly indifferent to each other after when they meet, and take no more notice than if they had never seen one another. 'Tis true, they sometimes fight before they part, but that happens very rarely.

Among the Northern Savages, and particularly the *Iroquois*, some have two Wives, but not for any long time: when they part, sometimes the Woman carries away all the Clothes and Skins; but at other [79] times again she carries nothing away but the piece of Stuff that serves her for a little Petticoat, and her Blanket. Commonly the Children follow their Mothers, who continue to nurse and bring them up, because the Estate of every Tribe or Family lies in common: there are some that stay with their Fathers; but almost all the Savages that are divorced leave their Children to their Wives, saying, they don't believe they are theirs; wherein they frequently tell truth, for there are very few Women among them that withstand the temptation of a woollen Blanket, or any other trivial Present.

When their Children are begotten by an European, one may perceive it by their Face or Eyes; the Children of the Savages are perfectly black, and not pale or swarthy like the Europeans; they see farther into the Woods likewise, and with more quickness than ours: Their Eyes are more piercing than the Europeans.

If the Savage Women were capable of contracting Marriage, and keep stedfast in it, we might marry as many of them as we would to the Europeans; but they have no inclination to Constancy, they can't keep their Conjugal Vows

inviolated, and are very ready to leave their Husbands: this we know by Experience, and their common discourse upon this Subject confirms us in it. When a Barbarian who has no Wife passes through a Village, he hires a Woman for a Night or two, whilst he tarries from home, or is hunting Bevers, or for some Weeks, according to his fancy; the Parents never hinder it: on the contrary, they make the first advances, and are over-joy'd that their Daughters gain some Clothes or Skins.

There are all sorts of Humours reigning among the Savages, as among the Europeans: some love their Wives very tenderly, others slight 'em; some beat and use them very hardly, but that does not last [80] long, because they turn them off; nay, there are some of them that are jealous, as I saw one who beat his Wife because she danc'd with other Men. Those that are good Hunters have the choice of the finest Women, the rest have none but the homeliest, and the Refuse. When they grow old, they rarely part with their Wives; and if they do, 'tis for weighty Reasons. Some of them live twelve or fifteen Years with their Wives, who are ready to go distracted if their Husband is a good Hunter, and leaves them: sometimes they are so grieved at it, that they poison themselves; I have known some attempt it, and have saved their Lives by giving them Treacle.

When these Barbarians go to hunt the Bever in the Spring-time, they frequently leave their Wives in the Village to sow Indian Corn and Gourds, and then they hire another to go along with them: When they are about to return, they

give them a Bever or two, and fend 'em back to their Cabin; then they go home to their Wives as tho they had done nothing blameable: but if the last pleases them best, they take her, and turn away the first without more ado: and these Savages wonder the Europeans don't take the same course.

One day whilst I liv'd at Fort *Frontenac* amongst the *Iroquois*, the Husband of one of our Women of *Canada* was gone twenty or thirty Leagues from thence; the Women Savages came to her, and told her she had no sense, take another Man till your Husband returns. This great Inconstancy, and continual change of Women, are two things very opposite to the Maxims of the Gospel, which we endeavour to instil into the Savages: 'Tis one of the most considerable Obstacles to the Faith; but among the Southern Nations, and those of *Meschasipi*, Polygamy is in fashion. In all the Countries of the *Louisiana* there are Savages to be met with that have often ten or [81] twelve Wives; they frequently marry three Sisters, and give this reason for so doing, that they agree better together than with Strangers.

When a Man has given Presents to the Father and Mother of the Maid that he would espouse, she becomes his own for Life if he please. Sometimes the Parents take their Son-in-law's Children, and then they give 'em back the Presents they made 'em, but this happens very seldom. If any Woman defile her Marriage-bed, the Husband cuts off her Nose, or an Ear, or gives her a slash in the Face with a stone Knife; if he kill her, he is clear'd for a Present which he gives to her Parents to *wipe away their Tears*, 'tis the very

Expression they use: I have seen several marks in the Face.

The Men of the hot Country are more jealous of their Wives than those of the North; the first are so jealous in this matter, that they wound themselves, and sometimes kill themselves in a blind passion of Love, which prompts them to this Fury.

One thing is very remarkable, and that is, young Warlike Savages seldom have to do with Women till thirty Years of Age, because, say they, their Commerce with Women exhausts their Strength, weakens their Knees, and renders them heavy in the Course; those that marry before that Age, are look'd upon as Men unfit for War or Hunting, and are despised as Effeminate Persons.

The Southern Men commonly go naked, but their Women are partly covered with a Skin finely drest, especially in their Dances and Ceremonies: The Maids oil their Hair, curl it, and tie it in Locks: The Women wear their Hair like the Bohemians, they grease it too, and paint their Faces with all sorts of Colours, and so do the Men.

## [82] CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the Remedies which the Savages administer to the Sick; they have Mountebanks among them. Their opinion of Infant-Baptism when the Author liv'd there.*

WHEN the Savages are tired and weary, they go into a Stove<sup>1</sup> to recruit the strength of their Limbs; and if they have a pain in their Thighs or Legs, they take a Knife or a Stone that will cut, which they can get, and make a fort of Scarification upon the Part that is grieved; while the Blood runs, they scrape it off with their Knives or Stones till it has done running, and then they rub the Wounds with Bear's Oil, or Deer's Grease; this is a soveraign Remedy, and they use the same when they have a Pain in the Head or Arms.

To cure Tertian or Quartan Agues, they compose a Medicine with a certain Bark which they boil, and give it to the sick Person to swallow after his Fit. They have some knowledg in Herbs and Roots, with which they cure several Distempers: They have infallible Remedies against the Poison

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, a sweat-box; within a little tent or hut were placed stones heated red-hot, on which water was poured, the hut being thereby filled with steam. This process was regarded as a valuable therapeutic agency, and was also employed in superstitious rites.—ED.



of Toads, Rattlesnakes, and other dangerous Animals; but none against the Small-Pox, as we have.

There are Mountebanks or Quacks among them, whom we have already spoke of under the name of Jugglers: These are some old Savages who live at other Peoples Cost, by counterfeiting themselves Physicians, after a very superstitious manner. They make no use of Medicines but when they are call'd to a sick Person; they make themselves be sued to, as tho they were to do some thing very extraordinary [83] and difficult: at last, after much intreaty, the Juggler comes, he approaches the sick Person, feels his Body all over; and after he has well handled and consider'd it, he tells 'em, there's a Charm or Spell in such a part, in the Head, Leg, or Stomach, or where he thinks fit; he adds, that he must remove this same Charm, and that it can't be done but with a great deal of difficulty, and 'tis necessary to do a great many things before he can succeed in it.

This Charm is very malign, says he, but it must be fetch'd out cost what it will: The sick Person's Friends, who blindly believe all the Quack tells 'em, make answer, *Tcbagon, Tcbagon*, Courage, Courage, Do what you can, spare nothing that you know will do him good: Then the Juggler sets himself down very gravely, and considers some time what Remedies to make use of; by and by he rises up, as out of a profound Sleep, and cries, It shall be done. You such a one, the Life of your Wife, or your Child is very dear to you, then spare nothing that may save it; you must make a Feast to day, you must give one thing or other, you must do this or that: at the

same time they never fail to execute the Juggler's Orders. The other Savages go all together into a Stove, and sing as loud as they can bawl, and make a ratling with Tortoise Shells, or Pumpkins made hollow, and Indian Corn put into 'em; and to this Noise the Men and Women dance: nay, sometimes they get drunk with Brandy bought of the Europeans, and then they make a horrible din and clutter.

While they are all taken up in this manner, the old Juggler keeps close to the sick Person, whom he torments by holding his or her Feet and Legs, and gripes them hard in the part where the pretended Charm lies; he makes 'em suffer incredible Pain, enough to kill 'em, and often makes the Blood start out at the end of their Fingers or Toes; at length [84] after he has done all this, he shews a piece of Skin, a lock of Woman's Hair, or some such thing, and tells 'em 'tis the Charm which he has drawn out of the sick Person's Body, when at the bottom 'tis all a piece of Roguery.

Once I baptiz'd a little Child which seem'd to me to be at the point of Death, and next day it recovered contrary to my expectation; a while after the Mother told several Women in my presence, that I had cur'd her Child: She took me for a Juggler, saying, I was an admirable Fellow, that I knew how to cure all sorts of Diseases with sprinkling Water upon the Head and Face.

The Jugglers spited at the Woman's Character of me, began to tell 'em that I was of an austere melancholy Humour, that I fed upon Serpents and Poison, that such Folks

as I eat Thunderbolts. The Savages were astonish'd at the strange Stories these Rascals made upon me on the occasion of baptizing the Child; nay, these impostors added, that we had all Tails like Beasts, that the European Women have but one Pap in the middle of the Breast, and bear five or six Children at a time, and a great deal more of such stuff to make us odious; and this they did because they thought that what I did would lessen their Credit, and thereby they should be depriv'd of many a good Treat.

These poor honest People, who are easily put upon, began to suspect me: when one of them fell sick, they came and ask'd me whether I had poison'd him or no? and threaten'd to kill me if I did not cure him. I had much ado to undeceive them, and I was forc'd more than once to appease them, by giving them Knives, Needles, Awls, and other such like Trifles of little value with us, but much priz'd by the Savages. After which I gave a Dose of Treacle to the sick Man, and so I quieted them. The Savages often [85] have recourse to our Medicines, because they find them good; if they don't operate successfully, they lay the fault upon the Remedy, and never upon the ill Disposition of the sick Person.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Constitution or Temper of the Savages.*

GENERALLY speaking, the Savages are very robust; the Men, Women and Children are of an extraordinary vigorous Constitution, therefore they are very rarely troubled with Distempers. They don't know what it is to cocker and make much of themselves; thence it comes that they are not subject to any of those Indispositions that our Luxury brings upon us. They are not afflicted with Gout, Dropsy, or Gravel, nor are they feverish; they are hardly ever incommoded with those Diseases which the Europeans fall into for want of Exercise; they are seldom troubled with loss of Appetite; they are usually addicted to gormandizing, inso-much that they rise in the Night to eat; if by good luck they have Meat or *Sagamite* by them, they fall to it like Dogs without getting up.

And yet they can undergo such long Abstinences as would doubtless be intolerable to the Europeans; sometimes they fast two or three days together, when there's a necessity for it, and this without discontinuing their business, whether it be War, Hunting, or Fishing. The Children of the Savages that dwell towards the North, are so harden'd against Cold, that in the depth of Winter they run stark naked through the

Snow, and tumble about in it, as Hogs wallow in the Dirt in Summer-time. When the Air [86] is fill'd with *Maringouins*, [*i. e.*, mosquitoes] they don't feel their stinging.

'Tis true, the sharp Air they expose themselves to as soon as they can run about, contributes in some sort to harden their Skin for any Fatigue; but yet it must be confessed that this great Insensibility is owing to a strong robust Temper of Body: for tho' our Hands and Face are always expos'd to the Weather, yet they are never the less sensible of Cold. When the Men are a hunting, especially in the Spring-time, they are almost continually in the Water, notwithstanding it be very cold; and yet they come out of it fresh and gay, and return to their Cabins without complaining.

When they go to War, they sometimes post themselves behind a Tree three or four days together, eating a very inconsiderable quantity of Victuals all that while; and thus they lie hid in ambush, waiting to make a favourable Blow. They are indefatigable Hunters, they run very swift, and hold it a long time.

The Nations of *Louisiana*, and of the River *Meschasipi*, run much faster than the *Iroquois*; there are no wild Bulls or Cows which they can't overtake. The Savages of the South, tho' inhabiting a warmer Country, and more pleasant than the North, are no less robust, nor less accustomed to Fatigue than the Savages of the North, who sleep upon the Snow wrapt in a little Blanket, without Fire or Cabin.

The Constitution of the Women is no less vigorous than that of the Men Savages, nay they are rather more robust;

the Women serve for Porters, and are so strong, that few Men in *Europe* can match them; they'll carry Packs that two or three can hardly lift up: I observ'd in my first Volume, that they usually carry two or three hundred Weight, and set their Children a top of their Burden, who are not [87] reckon'd into the Weight: 'tis true they walk slowly, but they never fail to meet at the rendezvous of the Nation. The warlike Savages undertake Voyages of three or four hundred Leagues, as if 'twere no more than a kind of Walk, as from *Amsterdam* to *Breda*: They don't carry their Provision along with them; they live by Hunting, which they follow daily; they take nothing but a Knife with them to make Bows and Arrows with; and in that Equipage they will go a thousand Leagues, if they are minded.

The Women Savages are brought to bed without any great Pain; some of them go out of their Cabins, and retire aside by themselves into the next Wood; they come back agen presently with the new born Infant wrapt up in their Blanket or dressed Skin: Others, if they fall in labour in the Night time, deliver themselves of their Children upon their Mats, without crying out, or making a noise; the next morning they rise, and go about their ordinary Business within doors or without, as tho nothing had happened. 'Tis further remarkable, that whilst they are big with Child, they stir about, carry heavy Burdens, sow Indian Corn, and Gourds; and what is more strange than all this, their Children are very well shap'd, there are few of them crooked or

deformed, they have no natural Faults in their Bodies; which makes me think, that their Mind might easily be fashioned as comely as their outward Form, if it were cultivated, and if we conversed more with them to polish their wild barbarous Humour.

## [88] CHAP. XX.

*A Description of the Savages that go clothed, and those that do not.*

THE Savages of *North America* on the North side, according to the report of their antient Men, have always gone cover'd, even before they had any Commerce with the Europeans: The Men and Women cloth'd themselves with drefs'd Skins; they are now cloth'd after the same manner, but those that have any Commerce with the Europeans have commonly a Shirt, a great Coat, such as the Mariners watch in at Sea, with a Cowl to it, and a Piece of Cloth made fast before and behind, with a Girdle which comes down to their Knees; besides they have Stockings without Feet, and Shoes made of drefs'd Skins.

When they return from Hunting in Spring time, they truck their Skins for Coats, Shoes, and Stockings: some wear Hats out of complaisance to the Europeans: Some of them have Blankets in which they wrap themselves, holding two Corners of it in their Hands, when they are in their Cabins, they often go quite naked, having nothing but a Piece of Cloth, which they gird about them in Winter; 'tis fasten'd about their Loins, and hangs down between their Thighs as low as their Knees. When these Barbarians go to War, or to a Feast, they dawb their Faces all over with red



or black, that their Enemies may not perceive they turn pale with Fear; they likewise colour their Hair red, and cut it in several fashions, especially the Northern Savages: Those of the South cut all their Hair off, or rather they singe it off with Stones made red hot in the Fire, till it be so short, that it does not cover their Ears: [89] Often-times the People of the North let their Hair hang down in Curls on one side, and cut the other side close, according to their Fancy. There are some that rub their Hair with Oil, and afterwards clap some Down, or little Feathers upon their Heads: sometimes they fasten near their Ears great Plumes of Feathers; some make themselves Wreaths of Flowers, others make 'em of Birchen Bark, and some of drefs'd Skins, that are work'd very prettily; then they look like some of *Cesar's* Soldiers, who were painted of divers colours: They make themselves taken notice of for their Fantasticalness.

The Northern Women are clothed like the Men, except that they wear a piece of Stuff made like a Petticoat, which reaches down almost to their Knees: When they go to Feasts, they drefs themselves in all their best Attire, bedawb their Temples, their Cheeks, and the Tip of their Chin with three sorts of Colours. The Boys go stark naked, till they are capable of Marriage; and even when they are clothed, those Parts, which Nature forbids Men to discover, are always left uncover'd, at least if they have no Shirts. The Girls begin to put on Clothes at five or six years old; and then they wear a piece of Stuff, that goes round 'em, reaching from their Loins down to their Knees. When we went into their Cabins

to instruct them, we obliged them to cover themselves: this produced a good effect; now they begin to be ashamed of their Nakedness, and cover themselves a little better than they did formerly.

'Tis otherwise with the Women and Girls of the *Louisiana* and *Meschafipi*, which lie Southwest of *Canada* above a thousand Leagues from *Quebec*; there we see the Girls *in puris naturalibus*, just as they came out of their Mothers Belly, till they arrive at a fit Age to marry; mean time they are not at all ashamed, because us'd to it.

[90] The Men and Women, and especially the Girls, wear about their Necks Sea-shells of all Figures; they have likewise some Shells of about a Finger's length, made like little Pipes, which they wear at their Ears for Pendants; they have Girdles likewise, some made of Porcelain, others of Porcupines Hair, some of Bears Hair, and others of both mixt together.

The more considerable Savages carry at their Backs with much Gravity, a little Bag, wherein is their *Calumet* or Pipe, their Tobacco, their Steel to strike fire, and other Trifles. They have Skill enough to make a little Cloke or sort of Robe with dressed Skins of Bears, Beavers, Otters, black Squirrels, Wolves, Lions, and other Animals: they put 'em on when they go to their Assemblies, where they sit as gravely when they are at Council, as the Senators of *Venice*. But the Savages of our last discovery betwixt the frozen Sea and new *Mexico*, appear always naked upon all occasions; from whence I took occasion to tell Father *Gabriel* one day, whilst we were

among the *Illinois*, that probably these Savages did not sin in *Adam*; because he cover'd himself with Leaves, and then had a Habit of Skins given him after he had sinned: These Savages have really no manner of Shame to see themselves naked; nay they seem to glory in it. When they talk with one another, they often make use of those Terms, *Tchetanga*, which are obscene, and would make me write 'em down, when I was about composing a Dictionary, and they nam'd the Parts of the Body to me. Whatever I might say to Father *Gabriel de la Ribourd*, I am nevertheless perswaded by the Scripture, that all Mankind are descended from *Adam*; and therefore the Savages as well as others, are Sinners, and corrupted by their Birth, and that they will perish in their Sins if they don't receive the Gospel; for there is no other name by which Men can be saved, but the Name of Christ. [91] I know very well that Habits don't save any body; but in short, if these poor People would observe the Precepts of the Law of Nature, God would work a Miracle in their favour, rather than suffer 'em to perish in their Ignorance; and therefore he would lead 'em into the knowledg of the Truth, by means worthy of his Wisdom. But these unhappy Barbarians violate the Precepts of the Law of Nature, and live in Stupidity, and in the disorders of a dreadful Corruption, which makes them fit Subjects of God's Wrath. Mean time, Christians, who are guided by the saving Rays of Truth, ought to labour with all their power to bring these People out of Darkness, into the Light of the Gospel, and the Hopes of Salvation; so may they help to extend the King-

dom of Jesus Christ, and draw these poor People out of Condemnation. To this end they should establish strong Colonies, who by trafficking and conversing with the Barbarians, will dispose them to imitate them; engaging them, by works of Charity, their Instructions, and good Examples, and even by the temporal Advantages to be drawn from the Conversation of the Europeans, to embrace Christianity, and grow more tractable and gentle than they are yet.

CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Games and Sports of the Savages.*

THE Savages of *North America*, have Games for Men, and some for Children. The Men commonly play with the Stones of certain Fruits that are red on one side, and black on t'other; they put 'em into a pretty large Wooden-platter, not very deep, or into a Bason of Birchen-Bark, upon a Woollen-Blanket, on a dressed [92] Skin, upon a Robe of Bever, or upon a large Coat; they play six or seven together, but there are but two of them that take hold of the Platter with their two Hands, one after another; they lift it up, and strike the bottom of the Platter against the Ground, to hustle these six Nuts together: If there come up five red or five black all of a side, that's one Game won; for they make three or four Games up, more or less, according as they agree upon it. All the Gamesters play one after another. Some of the Savages are so addicted to this Game, that they play away all they have to their great Coat, and their furr'd Gown. When they are at play, they bawl as loud as they can shout, as earnestly as if the decision of an Empire were in agitation: and all this Noise is made as if the Chance were to be forc'd to fall on their side. When they shake the

Platter, they lay themselves over the Shoulders at such a rate, that they make themselves black and blue with the Blows. These Barbarians play often with Straws or Broom-sprigs, half a foot long, or thereabouts; one of them takes them all in his hand, and then without looking upon 'em, divides 'em into two parts, and gives one to his Adversary: he that has the even, or the odd Number, according to their Agreement, wins the Game.<sup>1</sup> The Children Savages likewise often play at this Game, but they don't follow it so eagerly as the Men, because they have nothing to stake. The Women or Girls dare not meddle with this Game, I don't know for what reason.

The Savages have another Game which is common among the European Children. They take some Grains of Indian Corn, or some such thing; then they put some into their Hand, and ask how many is there: he that guesses right, has the Game.

They have another Game that they are mightily pleas'd with, and which in the *Iroquoise* Tongue they call *Ounon bayenti*; but 'tis rather a sort of Traffick [93] and Barter than a Game: they go into two Cabins, six into one and six into t'other, then comes one with some Skins, Clothes, or what else they have a mind to truck; he goes to the Door of one Cabin, makes a certain Cry; and they within answer him: then he tells 'em, singing aloud, that he will sell or

<sup>1</sup> For full accounts of these and other games played by Indians, see *Jes. Relations*, index, *art.* Indians: social and economic life — games and recreations.— ED.

truck what he holds in his hands, repeating, *Ounon bayenti*: Those within the Cabin make answer with a hollow Voice, *Hon, Hon, Hon, Hon, Hon*, five times. The Crier or Seller having ended his Song, throws the Goods into the Cabin, and returns home.

Then the six in t'other Cabin, after they have conferr'd about the Price of the things that this Person threw into the Cabin, depute one of their Number to ask the Seller if he is willing to take in exchange, a great Coat, a Shirt, a pair of Shoes, or such like Commodity; and then a 2d Person carries the Equivalent to the other Cabin, or else they deliver back their Goods again that they threw in, if they can't agree about it, or if it is not worth as much as what they offer in exchange.

These Ceremonies are accompany'd with Songs on all sides: sometimes whole Villages of Savages visit one another alternately, more for the diversion of this Game of *Ounon bayenti*, than to see one another. This word signifies a Bargain, where one gives to receive again. The *Iroquoise* Tongue has compound words in it; one of their Terms imports sometimes five or six French words, as the word *Gannoron* is as much as to say, This is an Affair of great Consequence. |

Their Children have another Game. They take a Bow and two Sticks, one big, one little: they hold the little one in their right hand, and strike it up as high as they can with the other; another looks where it falls, and throws it up again to him that struck it. This Play has likewise something

in it [94] like some among the European Children. They likewise make a Ball of Rufhes or Leaves of Indian Corn; they tofs it up, and catch it upon the point of a ftick. The great People, Men and Women, pafs away the Winter-Nights a telling Stories over the Fire, like the Europeans.



CHAP. XXII.

*The manner of making War among the Savages; they are very much given to Revenge.*

THE Savages of *America* have almost all of them a strong Propension to War, because they are very Revengeful: when once they have taken a disgust to any one that is not of their own Nation, they must be reveng'd sooner or later, tho they wait an Opportunity to the third or fourth Generation. They are restless day and night till they have taken Satisfaction for an Affront, by destroying, if they can, most of that Nation they are enrag'd at: And then they make the rest dwell amongst them, and take up their way of living in every thing. The *Iroquois*, whom the Sweeds, then the Dutch, the English, and French, have furnished with Fire-Arms, are reckon'd at present the most Warlike of all the Savages yet known: They have slain the best Warriours among the *Hurons*, and forc'd the rest of that Nation to join with them, to make War together against all their Enemies situated 5 or 600 Leagues distant from their five Cantons. They have destroy'd above two Millions of Men, and are now actually at War with the Inhabitants of *Canada*.

If *France* do not send Succours of Ammunition and Provision to the *Canadans*, the *Iroquois* may be able [95] to ruin

them by the means I have mention'd in my former Volume.

These Barbarians can spoil their Neighbours, as we have seen by experience: we can gain nothing from them, because all we can plunder them of is worth little or nothing; this fierce Nation I say may easily ruin the Commerce of their Neighbours, who chiefly subsist by trafficking for Skins with the Savages. The European Colonies are not yet sufficiently established, and cannot subsist without Commerce, unless every thing necessary for Life be brought them by Ship; besides the *Iroquois* are mischievous and crafty, yet like wild Horses who don't know their own strength. They are certainly able to ruin their Neighbours, for some Reasons which 'tis not prudent to make publick. They had utterly ruin'd *Canada* long ago, if the Count *de Frontenac* had not won them by gentle Methods. They are the most formidable Enemies that the Europeans have in all *America*. I do but hint it here, but am assur'd of it, from what I know of those People; I dwelt four whole years among them; I have been sent in Ambassy to them, and they have carried themselves very friendly towards me.

This People have over-run many different Nations, and those who remain'd, after the defeat of the rest, have been always forc'd to submit to them. The *Iroquois* have considerable Men among them who are their Leaders, and Governours in their Voyages. They have those under their command that will follow them any where, and do all they are order'd: before they set out, they provide themselves

with good Firelocks, which they get in exchange from the Europeans for Skins, and Furs; they take Powder, Ball, Kettles, Hatchets, and other necessary Implements in War along with 'em. Sometimes they have young Women and Lads, that go along with [96] them, and in this Equipage they march three or four hundred Leagues.

When they come near the place where they design to make War, they march slowly, and with much Precaution; then they never kill Deer with their Fire-arms, for fear of being discover'd. They only use their Arrows upon that occasion, which make no noise in flying. When they would shoot, they look carefully round them, for fear of a Surprise. They send out Spies, to discover the entrance into the Villages, and see where best to begin their Attack: and if they see any one come out of the Village, they surprize and take him if they can, which often succeeds, for they do all their business treacherously.

There are no Warriours like them in all *America* for Ambuscades: They lay wait for Men hid behind a Tree, as tho their Design was upon some Beast. They count him a good Warriour that is cunning at surprizing his Enemies. If they can escape handfomly, after they have given their blow, from their Enemies, they are reckon'd incomparable Fellows. 'Tis not to be conceived how quick they skip round a Tree with their Firelock in their hands, to defend themselves from the Arrows that are shot against them. They are very nimble at leaping over the Trees that are

fallen down in the Woods as they run along: There are abundance of these Trees of a prodigious bigness, which fall with Age for want of Roots.

Their Patience is admirable. When they find they are cleverly hid, they'll tarry behind the Trees two or three days without eating, waiting a favourable opportunity to kill an Enemy: Sometimes they will shew themselves fairly, but that's very rare; and if they were not almost certain of their Blow, they would hardly expose themselves, at least if they were not back'd by a great number of their own Men. These Barbarians don't fight after the European [97] manner, because they are not disciplin'd to it, and can't keep their Ranks so well in open Field: So that they can't stand a Skirmish so well as our well-commanded Souldiers: Nevertheless when they are once heated and animated, they are incomparable.

They are so malicious, that they set fire to the Corn of their Europeans when they are dead: They burn their Houses, which they set fire to with lighted Cotton, fastned to the Point of their Arrows; for then the Fire takes hold of the Boards, or of the Straw that their Houses are thatch'd with; for the Savages let fly their Arrows with extraordinary Force, so the Houses are soon in flames.

There was an *Iroquois* Captain nam'd *Attréouati Onnontagé*, whom I know very well, that treated me very civilly in my Voyage from *Fort Frontenac* to *New York*; we call'd him *La grande Gueule*, because his Mouth was very broad. This Man having mis'd his aim once, ran into *Montreal* in *Canada*,



*The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois*



crying, *Hai, Hai*, which is a token of Peace: He was very kindly receiv'd, and made much of; nay, they gave him considerable Presents, because they had a mind to have a good Understanding with that insolent Nation. When he withdrew from that place, the perfidious Villain kill'd two Men that were thatching a House.

Some of them told us, that they had been at War as far as the Spanish Territories in *New Mexico*; for they said they had been in a Country where the Inhabitants gather'd red Earth, and carry'd it to sell to a Nation who gave them Hatchets and Kettles for it; and this they said was call'd *the Country of Gold*: but 'tis likely this Story was devised by the Savages to please Mr. *de la Salle* when he was at *Fort Frontenac*, for he greedily heard any one talk of the Golden Mines of *St. Barbe*. I have been among all the Nations of the River *Meschafipi*, none of whom except the *Illinois* ever mention'd the *Iroquois* otherwise than [98] as certain People, Neighbours of the *Illinois*, from whom they learnt that the *Iroquois* are a very cruel People, tho' not stout, but only because they have Fire-arms, which they bought of the Europeans: That without them they never durst attack the *Illinois*, who are valianter, and more dexterous at Bows and Arrows than the *Iroquois*.

Those *Iroquois* that don't go out to fight, are contemn'd, and pass for Cowards and effeminate Men. Because they have Firelocks, they invade all other Nations between both Seas, that is, from North to South: and no Nation in *America* can stand before the *Iroquois* on account of their Firelocks.

This renders them haughty and insufferable. They call themselves *Men* by way of Excellence, as the other Nations were no more than Brutes in comparison with them.<sup>1</sup> I understand very well how to bring the *Iroquois* to a better pass: but a Man of my Character ought not to talk of these Matters but with a great deal of Caution, because the Remedies which I would propose, might perhaps be worse than the Mischief that might be apprehended from that Nation; nevertheless I may discover my Sentiments in due time to those high Persons that put me upon writing this Work.

---

<sup>1</sup> This sort of arrogance was common to many other tribes; for instance, Illinois is but the Gallicized form of Illini, a variant of *irini*, "the men."—ED.



CHAP. XXIII.

*Of the Cruelty of the Savages in general, and particularly of the Iroquois.*

THERE are no Savages in all the Northern *America* but what are very cruel to their Enemies. We are astonish'd at the Cruelties which the *Neroes*, the *Dioclesians*, and the *Maximins* inflicted upon the Christians, and have their Names in Detestation and [99] Horror; but the Inhumanity of the *Iroquois* towards the Nations they make Slaves goes beyond theirs.

When the *Iroquois* have kill'd a Man, they tear off the Skin of his Scull, and carry it home with them as a certain Mark of their Victory. When they take a Slave, they tie him, and make him run after them; if he is unable to follow them, they stick their Hatchet into his Head, and there leave him, after they have torn off Skin and Hair together. They don't spare fucking infants: If the Slave can march after them, they tie him every Night to a piece of Wood made in the form of a *St. Andrew's Cross*, and leave him expos'd to be stung by the *Maringoins*, and other Flies, in Summer-time, and use him as cruelly as may be.

Sometimes they fix four Pegs into the Ground, to which they fasten their Slaves by the Feet and Hands, and so

leave them all Night long upon the Ground in the sharpest Weather. I omit a hundred other Sufferings which these miserable Wretches undergo in the day-time. When they are near their Villages, they set up loud Cries, whereby their Nation knows that their Warriours are return'd with Slaves. Then the Men and Women put on their best Apparel, and go to the entrance of the Village to receive them; there they make a lane for the Slaves to pass through them. But 'tis a lamentable Reception for these poor People: The Rabble fall upon them like Dogs or Wolves upon their Prey, and begin to torment them, whilst the Warriours march on in File, mightily puff'd up with their own Exploits.

Some kick the Slaves, some cudgel them, some cut them with Knives, some tear off their Ears, cut off their Noses or Lips, infomuch that most of them die in this pompous Entry. Those that resist against these rude Treatments, are reserv'd for exemplary Punishment. Sometimes they save some, but very [100] rarely. When the Warriours are entred into their Cabins, the Antients assemble themselves to hear the relation of what pass'd in the War.

If the Father of a Savage Woman has been kill'd, they give her a Slave for him, and 'tis free for that Woman either to put him to Death, or save him alive. When they burn them, this is their manner; They bind the Slave to a Post by the Hands and Feet, then they heat red-hot Musquet-barrels, Hatchets, and other Iron Instruments, and apply them red-hot from head to foot, all over their Body; they tear off their Nails, and pluck out their Teeth; they cut Collops of Flesh

out of their Backs, and often flea [flay] their Skin off from their Scull: After all this they throw hot Ashes upon their Wounds, cut out their Tongues, and treat them as cruelly as they can devise. If they don't die under all these Torments, they make them run and follow them, laying them on with Sticks. 'Tis reported, that once a Slave ran so well, that he sav'd himself in the Woods, and could not be catch'd again. 'Tis probable he died there for want of Succour. But what is more surprizing is, that the Slaves sing in the midst of their Torments, which frets their Executioners exceedingly.

An *Iroquois* told us that there was one Slave whom they tormented cruelly; but he told them, You have no Ingenuity, you don't know how to torment your Prisoners, you are mere Blockheads; if I had you in my Circumstances, I'd use you after another manner: but whilst he ran on so boldly, a Savage Woman gets a little Iron Spit heated red-hot, and runs it into his Yard: this made him roar; but he told the Woman, You are cunning, you understand something, this is the Course you should take with us.

When the Slave which they burn is dead, they eat him; and before his Death they make their Children [101] drink some of his Blood, to render them cruel and inhumane. Those that they give their Lives to, live with them, and serve them like Slaves: But in length of time they recover their Liberty, and are look'd upon as if they were of their own Nation.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the treatment of Indian captives, see *Jes. Relations*, index, art. Indians: social and economic life — captives.— ED.

The Savages of the *Louisiana* that dwell along the River *Meschafpi*, and are situated seven or eight hundred Leagues beyond the *Iroquois*, as the *Iffati* and *Nadoueffans*, amongst whom I was a Slave, are not less brave than the *Iroquois*; they make all the Nations round them tremble, tho they have nothing but Bows, Arrows, and Maces. They run swifter than the *Iroquois*, and make excellent Souldiers; but they are not so cruel: they don't eat the Flesh of their Enemies; they are content to burn them only. Once having taken a *Huron*, who eat humane Flesh as the *Iroquois*, they cut off pieces of Flesh from his own Body, and said to him, You that love Man's Flesh, eat of your own, to let your Nation know, who now live among the *Iroquois*, that we detest and abominate your Barbarities; for these People are like hungry Dogs that devour any sort of Meat.<sup>1</sup>

The *Iroquois* are the only Savages of *North America* that eat humane Flesh; and yet they don't do it but in cases extraordinary, when they are resolved to exterminate a whole Nation. They don't eat humane Flesh to satisfy their Appetites; 'tis to signify to the *Iroquoise* Nation, that they ought to fight without ever submitting to their Enemies; that they ought rather to eat them than leave any of them alive: They eat it to animate their Warriours; for they always march out of their five Cantons the day after, to fight with their Enemies; for the Rendezvous for next day is always given notice of by these Feasts of humane Flesh.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This story is told by Perrot (*Mémoire*, p. 103), of an Ottawa chief.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jes. Relations*, index, art. Cannibalism.—ED.

If the Europeans would leave furnishing the *Iroquois* with Fire-arms, who are not so dextrous at the Bow [102] as formerly they were, the other Nations on the contrary having always been us'd to it, they would infallibly root out the *Iroquois*, their common Enemies, who dwell four and five hundred Leagues off from them.

The first Canton of the *Iroquois* lies Southward; they call it *Gagniequez*, or *Agniez*; they are Neighbours to *New York*, and have three Villages which I have been in; they make up at most four hundred fighting Men. The Second lies Westward, and is call'd *Onneiouts*, and make up about a hundred and fifty fighting Men. The Third, which lies Westward likewise, contains the *Onnontaguez* or Mountaineers, a People situated upon the only Eminence in the five Cantons; they border upon the *Onneiouts*. These *Onnontaguez* have three hundred fighting Men, the bravest of the whole Nation. The Fourth lies about thirty Leagues further Westward, where live the *Oiuguens*, divided into three Villages, who make up three hundred fighting Men. The Fifth contains the *Tsonnontouans*, towards the further end of the Lake *Frontenac* or *Ontario*: These People are the greatest and most considerable of all the *Iroquois* Cantons. They comprehend in three Villages three hundred fighting Men.

I took notice in my first Volume of three or four *Iroquois* Villages on the North-side of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*; but I don't describe these five Cantons of the *Iroquois* here, I only treat of their Barbarity and Cruelty; and add, that they have subdued a very large Country since within these

fifty Years; that they have extended their Territories, and multiplied their Nation by the Destruction of other People, the Remainder of whom they have made Slaves, to encrease the number of their Troops.

[103] CHAP. XXIV.

*The Policy of the Savage Iroquois.*

THE Councils held continually by these Barbarians for ordering all Affairs, ought to be consider'd as the main Cause of their Preservation, and the fear all the Nations of *North America* are put in by them. They assemble for every little Business that is to be done, and consult what Methods they should take to gain their ends. They undertake nothing hand over head. Their old Men, who are wise and prudent, watch over the Publick. If one complains that some Person has robb'd him, they carefully inform themselves who it is that committed the Theft. If they can't find him out, or if he is not able to make restitution, provided they be satisfied of the truth of the Fact, they repair the Loss, by giving some Present to the injur'd Party, to his Content.

When they would put any body to death for an enormous Crime, which they are perswaded he is guilty of, they hire a Man, whom they make drunk with Brandy, (for these People are very greedy of it) that the Kinsfolks of the Criminal may not seek to revenge his Death. After this drunken Man has kill'd him whom they judg culpable, they give this account of

it, that he that flew him was mad and drunk when he struck the blow.<sup>1</sup> Formerly they had another way of doing Justice, but 'tis abrogated; They had a Feast once a Year, which we may call, *The Feast of Fools*, for they play'd the fool in good earnest, running about from Cabin to Cabin.<sup>2</sup> If during that day they fell foul upon any one, or took away any thing, the cunning old Men next day excus'd [104] all, by alledging that he that had done the Mischief was a Fool, and out of his Wits. Afterwards they made some Presents to wipe off the Tears of the Kindred of the Person who was maliciously kill'd. His Relations take up with that Excuse, without proceeding to take Vengeance. Then these Antients hir'd secretly some Person, who acted the Fool, and kill'd the Person pitch'd upon, whom they had a mind to get rid of.

The *Iroquois* have Spies and hir'd Men amongst them, who come and go perpetually, and tell them all the News they learn. They are crafty enough in Traffick, and are not easily cheated: They deliberate maturely upon every thing, and endeavour to understand the Merchandize before they truck for it.

The *Onnontagez*, or *Iroquois* Highlanders, are more subtle and crafty than the rest: They steal very cleverly. The *Algon-*

---

<sup>1</sup> Drunkenness was regarded by the Indians as a sufficient excuse for a crime committed under its influence; they held that the liquor, and not the man who drank it, was responsible for the deed; see *Jes. Relations*, liii, p. 257. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the Huron-Iroquois feast called Ononharoia, or "feast of dreams," wherein each person desired others to guess what he had dreamed, and to make him presents accordingly. See *Jes. Relations*, under the above title. — ED.



*kains*, the *Abenaki*, the *Esquimoves*, and abundance more Savages that have convers'd with the Europeans, are as sharp and politick as they. We are not to imagine that these People are Brutes, and irrational; no, they understand their own Interest thorowly, and order their Affairs very discreetly.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Of the manner of the Savages hunting of all sorts of wild Beasts; and of the admirable Industry of the Castors or Bevers.*

THE Savages observe the Time, the Seasons, and the Moons of the Year very punctually, for the better ordering their Hunting. They call their [105] Moons from the Name of those Beasts which at certain Seasons appear the most. They call it the Moon of Frogs, when the Frogs make their greatest Croaking; the Moon of Bulls, when those wild Beasts appear; the Moon of Swallows, when those Birds come, and when they go. These Barbarians reckon thus, because they have no other Names to distinguish their Months by, as the Europeans have. They use the same Method for the Names of Men, calling them, Serpent, Wolf, wild Cat, &c.

They hunt the Elk and the Goat in all seasons, but more particularly when there is Snow. They hunt the wild Cat and the Marmoset<sup>1</sup> in Winter, the Porcupine, the Castor, and the Otter, in the Spring, and sometimes in Autumn. They take the Elk in a Gin by the Neck, and the Castor in Traps. They kill the Bears with Arrows or Shot, upon the Oaks,

---

<sup>1</sup>This word should be "marmot," referring to the animal of that name, which is abundant in Canada and the northern United States. The genus is *Arctomys*; the two most common species are the hoary marmot, or whistler (*A. pruinosus*), and the woodchuck (*A. monax*).—ED.

when they eat the Acorns. As to the wild Cats, they fell the Tree they are upon, and then the wild Dogs<sup>1</sup> fall upon them and kill them. The Porcupines are taken almost in the same manner, with this only difference, that they kill them with a Hatchet or Fork when the Tree is fahn; for the Dogs cannot come near them, because of their Quills, which are sharper than Awls, and by little and little pierce a Man's Body in an imperceptible manner; and these Beasts would infallibly be the death of those Dogs that should attack them: These Beasts do not run swift, a Man may easily overtake them in running. They take the Otters in Traps, where they kill them with Arrows or Shot; they seldom kill them with Hatchets, because they are quick of hearing.

They take the Castors in Winter under the Ice: they first seek out for the Ponds where these Beasts frequent: The Castors shew an admirable Skill and Industry in the building of their little Cabins. When they change their abode, they seek out some [106] Brook in the Woods, and run upwards along the side of it till they come to some flat Country fit to make a Pond in; then after they have well viewed the place on every side, they begin to make a Dam to stop the Water: They make it as strong as the Dam of any Pond in *Europe*, of Wood, Earth, and Mud; and sometimes so big, that it will hold the Water of a Pond a quarter of a League long. They make their Cabins about the middle of the Level of the Water, with Wood, Rushes and Mud; and they plaister it all smoothly together with their Tails, which are longer,

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably a mistranslation; it would better read "the dogs of the savages."—ED.

and full as broad as a Mason's Trowel. Their Buildings are three or four Stories high, filled almost full with Mats of Rushes; and in this place the Females bring forth their young ones.

At the bottom of the Water there are Passages higher and lower. When the Ponds are frozen over, they can only go under the Ice: And for this reason at the beginning of Winter they make a provision of Aspen Wood, which is their ordinary Food: They keep it in the Water round about their Cabins. The Savages pierce the Ice about the Cabin with the handle of a Hatchet, or a Stake; and when they have made a hole, they found the bottom of the Water to find out the *Castor's* Track: When they have found it out, they put in a Net a fathom long, and two Sticks, of which the two ends below touch the ground, and the two ends above come out at the hole which is made in the Ice. They have two Cords fixed to the Sticks to draw the Net when the *Castor* is taken.

But to the end this subtle Animal may not see the Net, nor the Men, they strow upon the Surface of the Ice rotten Wood, Cotton, and such like things. One Savage stays to watch near the Net with a Hatchet, to draw the *Castor* upon the Ice when he is taken, while the rest break down the Cabins with a great deal of labour: They often find more than a [107] foot of Wood and Earth, which they are forced to hew with a Hatchet, for it's frozen as hard as a Stone. When that is done, they found the Pond, and wherefoever they find a hole, they break the Ice for fear the *Castors* should hide themselves under it; so driving them from place to

place, at last they force them into the Net. They labour extremely hard in this manner from Morning till Night without eating any thing, and for all that do not take above three or four *Castors*.

The Savages take also in the Spring these Beasts with Traps in the following manner. When the Ice begins to thaw, they observe the *Castor's* Passage, and set a Trap there; they bait that with a branch of the Aspin Tree, which reaches from the Trap into the Water. When the *Castor* finds, he eats it even in the Trap, and then falls upon two great Logs of Wood which kill him. They take the *Martens* almost in the same manner, with this difference only, that they put no Bait for them.

All the Southern Nations towards the River *Meschafipi* are more superstitious in their hunting than the Northern People, and particularly the *Iroques*. Whilst I was among them, their old Men, six days before the hunting of the wild Bulls, sent four or five of their most expert Hunters upon the Mountains to dance the *Calumet* with as many Ceremonies, as amongst the Nations to which they are wont to send Embassies, to make some Alliance. At the return of these Men, they openly exposed for three days together one of the great Caldrons they had taken from us: They had wreathed it round about with Feathers of divers Colours, and laid a Gun across over it. For three days together the chief Wife of a Captain carried this Caldron upon her Back, with Flowers in great Pomp, at the head of above two hundred Hunters: They all followed an old Man who had fastned [108] one of

our Indian Handkerchiefs to the end of a Pole like a Banner, holding his Bow and Arrows; he marched with great Gravity and Silence.

This old Man made the Hunters halt three or four times, to lament bitterly the Death of those Bulls they hop'd to kill. At the last Stage where they rested, the most antient of the Company sent two of their nimblest Hunters to discover wild Bulls. They whispered softly to them at their return, before they began the hunting of these Beasts. Afterwards they made a Fire of Bulls Dung dry'd in the Sun, and with this Fire they lighted their Pipes or *Calumets*, to smoak the two Hunters which had been sent to make the Discovery. Presently after this Ceremony was over, a hundred Men went on one side behind the Mountain, and a hundred on the other, to encompass the Bulls, which were in great numbers: They killed a great many in Confusion with their Arrows, and we Europeans seven or eight with Shot. These Barbarians did wonderfully admire the effect of our Guns: They heard the Report, but did not see the Bullets, and they thought it was the Noise that kill'd them; they laid their Hands on their Mouths, to show how much they were astonish'd, and cry'd out, *Manfa Ouacanbe*, which signifies in the Language of the *Iffati*, this Iron does harm to Men and Beasts: We do not know how it comes to pass, but we cannot sufficiently admire how the Noise of this round Instrument breaks the Bones of the largest Beast.

It was no small matter of Admiration to see these Savages flea [flay] the Bull, and get it in pieces; they had neither

Knives nor Hatchets, but some few they had stole from us, and yet they did it dexterously with the Point of their Arrows, which was made of a sharp Stone: Afterwards they took Stones, and broke the Bones, and with them they separated one piece [109] from another. After they had thus dismembred the Beast, their Wives dry'd them in the Sun, and the Smoak of small Fire, upon wooden Gridirons. While the Hunting lasts, they only eat the Intrals, and the worst pieces of those Beasts, and carry the best part home to their Villages, which are above two hundred Leagues from the place of hunting.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Of their manner of Fishing.*

THE Savages that dwell in the North fish in a different manner from those of the South: The first catch all sorts of Fish with Nets, Hooks, and Harping-irons [*i. e.*, harpoons], as they do in *Europe*. I have seen them fish in a very pleasant manner: They take a Fork of Wood with two Grains or Points, and fit a Gin to it, almost the same way that in *France* they catch Partridges: After they put it in the Water, and when the Fish, which are in greater plenty by far than with us, go to pass through, and find they are entred into the Gin, they snap together this sort of Nippers or Pinchers, and catch the Fish by the Gills.

The *Iroques* in the fishing season sometimes make use of a Net of forty or fifty fathom long, which they put in a great *Canow*; after they cast it in an oval Form in convenient places in the Rivers. I have often admired their dexterity in this Affair. They take sometimes four hundred white Fish, besides many Sturgeons, which they draw to the Bank of the River with Nets made of Nettles.<sup>1</sup> To fish in this

<sup>1</sup> La Potherie describes (*Amér. Septentrionale*, iii, p. 34) the way in which the fibers of the nettle (*Urtica*) were spun by the Iroquois women into cords, with which they made fish-nets. See also Holmes's "Prehistoric Textile Art," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 3-46.—ED.



manner, there must be two Men at each end of the Net, to draw it dexterously to the shoar. They take [110] likewise a prodigious quantity of Fish in the River of *Niagara*, which are extremely well tasted.

The Fishery is so great in this place, that it's capable to furnish with Fish of several sorts the greatest City in *Europe*. It's not to be wonder'd at. The Fish continually swim up the River from the Sea towards the Spring, to find convenient places to spawn in. The River of *St. Laurence* receives in this part of *Niagara* an infinite quantity of Water from the four great Lakes of which we have spoke, and which may properly be called little fresh-water Seas. This great deluge of Water tumbling furiously over the greatest and most dreadful Leap in the World, an infinite number of Fish take great delight to spawn here, and as it were stagnate here, because they cannot get over this huge Cataract: So that the quantity taken here is incredible.

Whilst I was in the Mission of the Fort *Frontenac*, I went to see this Leap, which comes from a River in the North, and falls into a great *Bassin* of the Lake *Ontario*, big enough to hold a hundred Men of War. Being there, I taught the Savages to catch Fish with their Hands: I caused Trees to be cut down in the Spring, and to be rolled down to the Bank of the River, that I might lie upon them without wetting me; and after I thrust my Arm into the Water up to the Elbow, where I found a prodigious quantity of Fish of different Species; I laid hold on them by the Gills, gently stroking them; and when I had at several times taken fifty

or sixty large Fish, I went to warm and refresh me, that I might return fresher to the Sport: I cast them into a Sack which a Savage held in his hand. With these I fed above fifty *Iroquesse* Families of *Ganneouffe*, and by the assistance of *Monsieur de la Salle*, taught them to plant the Indian Corn, and to instruct their Children in the Christian Religion at the Fort *Frontenac*.

[III] The most considerable Fishery of the Savages is that of Eels, which are very large, of Salmon, and Salmon-trouts, and white Fish. The Fishery of the *Iroques Agnies* which are near *New York*, is of Frogs, which they take, and put them whole into their Caldrons without skinning them, to season their *Sagamite*, which is a sort of Pottage made of Indian Corn. The Salmon-trouts are taken in many other places of the Rivers which fall into the Lake of *Frontenac*: There are there such quantities of them, that they kill them with Sticks.

They take the Eels in the Night when it's calm: These come down all along the River of *St. Laurence*, and are taken in this manner. The Savages put a large Bark of the Birch-Tree, with some Earth upon the end of a Stake, after which they light a sort of a Flambleau which gives a clear Light; after that one or two go into a *Canow*, with a Harping-Iron placed between the two Grains of a little Fork: when they see the Eels by the light of the Fire, they strike an infinite quantity of them, because the great white Porpoises which pursue them make them fly towards the Banks of the River where the Porpoise cannot follow, because of the shallowness

of the Water. They take Salmons with Harping-Irons, and the white Fish with Nets.

The Southern People which dwell upon the River *Mefchafipi* are so crafty, and have such quick and piercing Eyes, that tho the Fish swim very fast, they will not fail to strike them with Darts a great depth in the Water, which they shoot with a Bow. Besides, they have long Poles sharp at one end, which they dart most dexterously: In this manner they kill great Sturgeons, and Trouts, which are seven or eight fathom in the Water.

## [112] CHAP. XXVII.

*Of the Utensils of the Savages in their Cabins; and of the extraordinary manner they strike Fire.*

**B**EFORE the Europeans arrived in the *North America*, the Savages of the North and the South made use (as they do even to this day) of Pots of Earth<sup>1</sup>; especially those that have no Commerce with the Europeans, and can procure no Caldrons or other Utensils: Instead of Hatchets and Knives, they make use of sharp Stones, which they tie with Thongs of Leather in the end of a cleft Stick. Instead of Awls, they make use of a certain sharp Bone, which is above the Heel of the Elk: They have no Fire-Arms, but only make use of Bows and Arrows.

For to make Fire in a new manner, new, and quite unknown to us, they take a Triangle of Cedar Wood, of a foot and half, in which they make some Holes of a small depth: After they take a Switch or little Stick of hard Wood; they twirl it between both their Hands in the Hole, and by the quick Motion, produce a kind of Duft or Meal, which is converted into Fire; after they pour out this white Poudre

---

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the use of pottery among the Indian tribes, see Beauchamp's "Earthenware of the New York Aborigines" (No. 22 of N. Y. State Museum *Bulletins*); Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1882-83, pp. 367-463.—ED.

upon a Bunch of dried Herbs, and rubbing altogether, and blowing upon this Pouder, which is upon the Herbs, the Fire blazes in a moment.

When they would make Platters, or wooden Spoons, or Porringers, they drill their Wood with their stone Hatchets, and hollow it with Fire, and do after scrape it, and polish it with a Bever's Tooth.

[113] The Northern Nations, who have commonly very sharp Winters, make use of Rackets to go over the Snow; they make them of the Thongs of Skins cut out as broad as little Ribbons, neater than our Tennis Rackets: These Rackets have no Handles, as those of the Tennis Court, but they are longer and broader; they leave in the middle a Slit the breadth of their Toes, that they may be at more liberty to walk with their savage Shoes: They will perform a greater Journey in a Day than without them. Without these Rackets they would sink into the Snow, which is commonly six or seven foot deep, and sometimes more in Winter; in some places it's higher than the highest Houses in *Europe*, being driven into Mountains by the Wind.

Those Savages which are near the Europeans, have at present Guns, Hatchets, Caldrons, Awls, Knives, Tongs, and such like Utenfils.

To plant their Indian Corn, they make use of Pickax's of Wood, for want of those of Iron: They have large Gourds in which they put the Fat of Bears, wild Cats, &c. There is none, but has his leather Bag for his Pipe and Tobacco. The Women make Bags of the Rind of *Linden* Tree, or of Rufhes,

to put their Corn in: They make Thred of Nettles, and of the Bark of the *Line* Tree, and of certain Roots, whose Names I know not. To sew their savage Shoes they make use of very small Thongs: They make likewise Mats of Bulrushes to lie upon; and when they have none, they make use of the Barks of Trees. They swathe their Children as the European Women do, with this only difference, that they make use of swathing Bands of large Skins, and a sort of Cotton, that they may not be too hot: After they have swathed them, they tie them upon a Board, or Plank with a Skin Girdle; after they hang this Plank upon the Branch of a Tree, or in some place [114] of their Cabin, so that their little ones never lie in Bed; they hang perpendicularly: And to the end their Urine may not hurt them, they place conveniently a piece of Birch-tree Bark; so that it runs away as it were in a Gutter, and touches not the Child's Body.

These Women have so great a care of their Children, that they avoid all carnal Commerce with their Husbands, till the Child be three or four Years old: The European Women do not so, because 'tis easy to supply the defect of the Mother's Milk, with the Milk of Cows, and other domestick Animals; but they have none of this sort of Cattel: They avoid therefore the Commerce of their Husbands while they are Nurfes; for if they should prove with child, their Infants would undoubtedly perish, they having nothing suitable for a Child of seven or eight Months old.

The Savages which have Commerce with the Europeans,

begin to make use of Iron Crooks and Pot-hooks, which they hang upon a Stick, which rests upon two-forked Sticks fixed in the Ground: but those that have no Commerce, make use of the Branches of Trees to hang their earthen Pots upon to boil their Victuals.

## [115] CHAP. XXVIII.

*Of the Manner of their Interring their Dead: Of the Festival of the Dead, with some Reflections on the Immortality of the Soul.*

THE Savages bury their Dead with the greatest Magnificence they can devise, especially their Relations, and particularly their Captains or Heads of their Clans or Tribes: They put on their best Attire, and paint their Face and Body with all sorts of Colours. They put them in a sort of Coffin made of the Bark of Trees, and they polish the outside neatly with light Pumice Stones; and they make a Place where they bury them in the manner of a *Mausoleum*, which they encompass round about with Stakes or Palifades twelve or thirteen foot high.

These *Mausoleums* are commonly erected in the most eminent Place of their Savage Borough. They send every Year solemn Embassies to their neighbouring Nations, to solemnize the Feast of the Dead. All the People of the Northern *America* spare nothing to honour their dead Friends and Relations, whom they go to lament: They make Presents esteemed among them very considerable, as Girdles dyed with Sea-Purple, and Pipes made with the most precious Stones that can be found; and in a word with what they look upon to be the most estimable to the Parents of the



Defunct. They conduct them to the Mausoleum, muttering a sort of Prayers, accompanied with Tears and Sighs, before the Bones, whose Memory they honour for their great Exploits in Peace and War.

[116] These Savages have particular Ceremonies for the Children of their deceas'd Friends: When they design to bury these little ones, as soon as they are dead they wrap their Bodies in a white pinked Skin in the presence of their Parents; it's painted with many Colours: After they carry it and place it upon a kind of Sledg, and so carry it to be buried: but instead of making Presents to the Parents of the deceased Infants, as they do for those of riper Years, they themselves receive them to wipe away their Tears, which they shed in abundance, in the presence of the Parents.

The Savages have likewise a Custom of putting in the Coffin of the deceased of riper Years, whatever they esteem valuable, tho to the value of two or three hundred Crowns: They put there Shoes of pinked Skins, garnished with red and black Porcupine, a Pair of Tongs, a Hatchet, Necklaces of Purple,<sup>1</sup> a Pipe, a Caldron, and a potful of *Sagamite*, or Pottage of Indian Corn, with some fat Meat. If he be a Man, they bury him with a Gun, Powder, and Ball; but those that have no Fire-Arms, content themselves with putting in their Coffin their Bows and Arrows, that when they are in the *Country of Souls* (as they phrase it) and of the Dead, they may make use of them in Hunting.

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, of wampum beads of the purple variety, regarded by the Indians as more valuable than the white.—ED.

When I was among the *Iffati Nadoueffans*, there died one of the Savages, that had been bit with a Rattle-Snake; I came not time enough to give him my infallible Remedy, *viz.* Orvietan in Pouder. If this Accident happened to any one in my prefence, I made them presently be scarified upon the place that was bit, and caſt ſome of the Pouder upon it; afterward I made them ſwallow ſome of it, to keep the Poiſon from the Heart. Theſe Barbarians ſtrangely admired me, that I cured one of their Chieftains, that had been bit by one of theſe Serpents: [117] They ſaid to me, *Spirit*, for ſo they call all *Europeans*, we fought after you, and the other two *Spirits* your Companions; but we were ſo unfortunate, that we could not find you; leave us no more, we'll take care of you for the future: if you had been with us, our Chieftain, whom you ſee dead, would have been in a condition to have been merry with you: He was excellently well verſed in the trade of ſurprizing and killing his Enemies; he with hunting maintained his ten Wives: He would have been in a condition to have been your Benefactor, if you had been here to ſave his Life: You could have done it eaſily, ſince you have cured ſo many of our Relations; you would have done him this important piece of Service, and ſpared our Tears.

Theſe poor People ſeeing our Method, but not comprehending it, believe we are capable of doing any thing even of arreſting Death: They often admired the effects of the Remedies, which I gave to their Sick, with a deſign to cure their Spiritual Maladies, in bringing them to the Knowledge of the true God, by the Care I took of their Bodies.

I admired how neatly these Savages had laid out the dead Corps; they had laid him upon fine Mats, and put him in the posture of a Warriour, with his Bow and Arrows: They painted his Body with divers Colours; one would have thought at first he had been alive. They said I must give him some Tobacco of *Martineco*, of which I had a small quantity, that the Defunct might have something to smook: This gave me an occasion to tell them, that the dead did neither smook nor eat in the Country of *Souls*, and that they have no more need of Bows and Arrows; for in the Country whither those Souls go, they go no more a hunting: That if they would learn to know the great Captain, they would be so much satisfied with seeing him, that they would think no [118] more of Hunting, neither of eating or drinking; for the Souls do not need it.

They made but a gross Conception of what I said to them: afterwards I made them a Present of two Fathom of our black Tobacco; they love it passionately: Theirs is not so well cured, nor so strong as that of *Martineco*, of which I made them a Present. I made them understand, that I gave it them to smook, and not to the deceased, because he had no need of it. Some of those Savages present gave me an attentive Ear, and were pleased with my Discourse of another Life; others said in their Language, *Tepatoui*, which is as much as to say *very well*: Afterwards they sat them down, and fell a smoking, taking no further notice of my Discourse.

I observed that the Tears which they shed, and the Ceremonies they practised, as rubbing the Defunct with Bears

Fat, and such like things, were rather the Effects of Custom, derived to them by Tradition, which seems to retain something of Judaism, than of any strong *Attache* [attachment] they have for them. I do not absolutely despair of the future Salvation of these Barbarians. I believe God will raise up some proper means to enlighten them with the Light of the Gospel; for his Holy Gospel is to be preached to all the World before the Day of Judgment.

## [119] CHAP. XXIX.

*Of the Superstitions of the Savages, and of the ridiculous things they believe.*

I ALWAYS observed that the strongest Arguments that can be brought for the Conversion of Infidels are of no value till God give a Blessing. How shall they believe in him whom they have not heard speak? says *St. Paul*. How shall they understand, if some do not preach to them? And how shall they preach if they be not sent? The sound of the Apostles is gone through the World, and their Words are heard even to the ends of the World. I ardently beg that the sound of the Successors of the Apostles may bring to the Pastures of Life that infinite number of Savages which I have seen in my Travels. Great pains have been taken a long time, but as yet no considerable progress is made, for the generality of them are strongly fixed in their Superstitions.

These Barbarians are one more superstitious than another, the Old Men especially; and the Women most obstinately retain the Traditions of their Ancestors. When I told them it was a Foolery to believe so many Dreams and Fancies; they ask'd me how old I was? You are not above thirty five or forty years old, and do you pretend to know more than our Antient Men? Go, go, you know not what you say;

you may know what passes in your own Country, because your Ancestors have told you, but you cannot tell what has passed in ours, before the *Spirits*, that's to say the Europeans, came hither.

I reply'd to these Barbarians, that we knew all by the Scripture, which the great Master of Life has given [120] us by his Son; that this Son died to deliver Men from a place where burns an eternal Fire, which would have been their lot, if he had not come into the World to save us from Sin and from Death; that all Mankind were Sinners in *Adam*, the first Man of the World. These Savages, who have a large share of common Sense, often ask'd me, Did you *Spirits* know of our being here before you came hither? I answered them, No: You do not learn therefore all things by Scripture; it tells you not all things, reply'd they.

It requires a great deal of time to shew them the Falsity of their Superstitions, and much more to persuade them to imbrace the Verities of the Gospel: There's none but God can do it by the Unction of his Grace and Holy Spirit. But for all this the Evangelical Reapers must not desert the Harvest. A time will come that Men will prefer the Interests of Jesus Christ, before their own: then there will be but one Shepherd, and one Sheepfold.

There are many of the Savages that make the Stories of their Antients the subject of their Raillery, but others believe them. I have formerly given an account of the Sentiments they have of their Origine, and of the Cure of their Maladies. They have some Sentiments of the Immortality

of the Soul. They say there is a delicious Country towards the West, where there's good Hunting, and where they kill as many Beasts as they please. It's thither they say their Souls go. They hope to see one another there. But they are yet more ridiculous, in believing that the Souls of Caldrons, Guns and other Arms, which they place near the Sepulchre of the Dead, go with them to be made use of in the Country of Souls.

A young Savage Maid dying after Baptism, the Mother seeing one of her Slaves at the point of Death, said, my Daughter is all alone in the Country of the Dead, among the Europeans, without Relations, [121] and without Friends: The Spring is at hand; it's time to sow Indian Corn, and Citruls,<sup>1</sup> or Pompions; baptize my Slave, says she, that she may go and serve my Daughter in the Country of the Europeans.<sup>2</sup>

A Savage Woman being at the last Gasps, cried out that she would not be baptized, for the Savages that die Christians are burned in the Country of Souls by the Europeans. Some of them told me one day, that we baptized them to make them our Slaves in the other World. Others asked me, if there was good Hunting in the Country, whither their dying newly baptized Infants were going? When I answer'd them, that they lived there without eating and drinking, because they are there satiated with the Contemplation of the great Master of Life: We will not go thither, say they, be-

---

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *citronilles*; the summer squash (*Cucurbita polymorpha*).—ED.

<sup>2</sup> This story is told of a Seneca woman, in *Jes. Relations*, liv, pp. 93-95.—ED.

caufe we muft eat. If we reply that they will have no need of Food, they clap their Hands upon their Mouths in fign of Admiration, and fay, you are a great Liar; Can one live without eating?

A Savage told us one day this Story: One of our old Men, fays he, being dead, and being come to the Country of Souls, he found there firft Europeans that careffed him, and made much of him; after he came to the place where his Country-men were, who likewife received him very kindly: There were Feafts there every day, to which the Europeans were often invited; for there are there neither Quarrels nor War: After this old Man had taken a full view of the Country, he returned home, and recounted all his Adventures to thofe of his Nation. We asked the Savage if he believed this Story? He answered, No, that their Anceftors related it, but they might tell a Lie.

These People admit fome fort of Genius in every thing; they all believe one Mafter of Life, but they make divers applications of it. Some have a lean [122] Crow, which they carry always about with them, and which they call their Mafter of Life. Others have an Owl, others a Bone, fome the Shell of a Fifh, and fuch like things. When they hear the Owl hout, they tremble, and take it for an ill Omen. They are great believers of Dreams. They go unto their Baths to procure good weather for Hunting. They never give the Bones of Bevers or Otters to their Dogs. I asked them the reafon; they answered me, that there was an *Otkon*, or Spirit, in the Wood which would tell the Bevers and Ot-



ters, and after that they would catch none. I asked them what that Spirit was; they answered me that it was a Woman that knew every thing, who was the Lady of Hunting. But the greatest part of them do not believe these Fables.

Whilst I was in the Mission of *Frontenac*, a Savage Woman was poisoned in the Wood by accident: The Hunters brought her into her Cabin; I went to see her after she was dead. I heard them discoursing near the Body of the Dead; they said they had seen upon the Snow the winding Tracts of a Serpent which came out of her Mouth. They related this very seriously. While they were discoursing thus, an old superstitious Beldam said, she had seen the Spirit that had killed her.

I have seen a Boy of about eighteen years old, who believed himself to be a Girl; and this Fancy wrought so strongly upon him, that he acted all things accordingly: He habited himself like a Girl, and employed himself in their sort of work. A Savage which we had decoyed into the Fort, and who was the Chief of his Village, told me one day that *Ontio*, which is the Name they give to the Governour-General of *Canada*, who at that time was the Count of *Frontenac*, would come such a day, when the Sun was in such a place: which precisely came to pass as he had [123] said. This same old Man, who was called *Ganneuse Kaera*, that is to say, the *bearded*, was the only Man of all the Savages which I saw with a Beard. The People of the Northern *America* commonly pluck away the Beard when it is but Down, and for this reason they have no Beards. I must confess I knew not what

to say when I saw the Count *de Frontenac* arrive. This Man had heard no News from any body. When I asked him how he came to know it; he said he had learned it of a Jugler who pretended to foretel things. But I believe their Predictions are rather the effect of Hazard, than of any Commerce they have with the Devil.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Of the Obstacles that are found in the Conversion of the Savages.*

THERE are many Obstacles that hinder the Conversion of the Savages; but in general the difficulty proceeds from the indifferency they have to every thing. When one speaks to them of the Creation of the World, and of the Mysteries of the Christian Religion; they say we have Reason: and they applaud in general all that we say on the grand Affair of our Salvation. They would think themselves guilty of a great Incivility, if they should shew the least suspicion of Incredulity, in respect of what is proposed. But after having approved all the Discourses upon these Matters; they pretend likewise on their side, that we ought to pay all possible Deference to the Relations and Reasonings that they make on their part. And when we make answer, That what they tell us is false; they reply, that they have acquiesced [124] to all that we said, and that it's want of Judgment to interrupt a Man that speaks, and to tell him that he advances a false Proposition. All that you have taught touching those of your Country, is as you say: But it's not the same as to us, who are of another Nation, and inhabit the Lands which are on this side the great Lake.

The second Obstacle which hinders their Conversion, pro-

ceeds from their great Superstition, as we have insinuated before.

The third Obstacle consists in this, that they are not fixt to a place. While I was at Fort *Frontenac*, Father *Luke Buisset*, and my self, were employed a great part of the Year to teach many Children our ordinary Prayers, and to read in the *Iroquois* Language; their Parents assisted at the Service in the Chappel: they lift up their Hands to Heaven, and kneeled, beating their Breasts, and behaved themselves with great respect in our Presence. They seemed to be moved with our Ceremonies; but they did so to please us, and their only aim seemed to be to get some Presents from the Europeans.

But in case they had had some laudable Design, they would quickly have renounced it, because they stay no longer in their Villages than till Harvest be over, which is but a small time: All the rest of the Year they pass in Wars and Hunting. Then they carry their Families with them, and are absent eight or nine Months: Their Children then, which have begun to learn something, forget all, and fall to their former Superstitions and methods of living. Besides, their Juglers, and their old Superstitious Men, minding nothing but their Interest, endeavour to create in them a hatred towards us, lest they should believe what we teach them.

The Merchants who deal commonly with the Savages, with a design to gain by their Traffick, are [125] likewise another Obstacle: St. *Augustine* long since said of them, *Continua est in illis meditatio doli, & tritura mendacii*; They think

of nothing but cheating and lying, to become rich in a short time. They use all manner of Stratagems to get the Furs of the Savages cheap. They make use of Lies and Cheats to gain double if they can. This without doubt causes an aversion against a Religion which they see accompanied by the Professors of it with so many Artifices and Cheats.

It must likewise be confessed, that there are some Missionaries which in part hinder the progress. It's hard to learn their Languages, they being so different one from another, that they are nothing like. There is then required a great deal of time to be able to teach them the Mysteries of our Religion; and unless the Holy Ghost inspire extraordinarily, little Fruit is to be expected from these barbarous People.

Besides, the different methods that are used to instruct them, retard much their Conversion. One begins by the Animal part, and another by the Spiritual. There are diversity of Beliefs among the Christians; every one abounds in his own Sense, and believes his own Faith the purest, and his Method the best. There ought therefore to be an uniformity in Belief and Method, as there is but one Truth, and one Redeemer, otherwise these Barbarians will not know what to resolve.

I put a great deal of difference between the zeal and indefatigable pains of the Missioners, and the pretended Successes which are vaunted of in the World. They who are absolutely disengaged from the love of Riches, and who have been in the Mission among the People of the Southern *America*, have without doubt made a great progress in those

Countries. There are forty or fifty Provinces of our Order, where the publick Service is performed. They are in possession [126] to preach with Authority, after having destroyed Idolatry.

But we must confess, that those who have laboured in the Northern *America*, have not had the same progress. They have made it their application to civilize those barbarous People, and make them capable of something of *Policy*. They have endeavoured to put a stop to the Current of their Brutal Sallies, and so prepare the way of our Lord: notwithstanding we must confess they have made little Progress. These barbarous Nations, by I know not what fatality of Interest, are almost as Savage, and have as great an *Attache* to their antient Maxims, to Gluttony, Pride, Curfing and Cruelty, and a thousand other abominable Vices as ever.

They are the same they were forty years ago, and above: And yet many Books are published of the great Conversions of the *Iroquois* and *Hurons*. We were told for certain, that these Barbarians had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had destroyed, and yet they are still Enemies of all the good Maxims of Christianity.

I do not deny here but that the Missionaries have faithfully discharged their Ministry: But the Seed has fallen upon an ungrateful Soil, either on the Highway, or among the Thorns; so that they'l remain inexcusable at the day of Judgment, having resisted so clear Convictions.

Be it as it will, every day a great many Children are

baptized, and some grown Men on their Death-beds if they desire it, which is a great step to Eternity: But as to those in Health, few are converted, and fewer persevere. But the Pains, and the entire Sacrifice of the Life of a Missionary, would be well employ'd, and gloriously recompens'd, if they had had the Happiness to convert and save one only Soul.

[127] The principal and most assured part of a Missioner consists in the Administration of the Sacraments to those who go to barter among the Savages. And we may to our shame truly say, that as soon as the Furs and the Bevers begin to grow scarce among the Savages, the Europeans retire, and not one is to be found. The Savages reproached us with it once in the Presence of Monsieur the Count *de Frontenac*, in full Council, at the three Rivers of *Canada*, saying, While we have Bevers and Furs, he that prayed was with us; he instructed our Children, and taught them their Prayers and Catechisms; he was inseparable from us, and honoured us sometimes at our Feasts: but when our Merchandize failed, these Missioners thought they could do no further Service among us.

It's likewise true, that the greatest part of those Missions which were established above forty Years ago have failed: Witness those of the great Bay of *St. Lawrence*, of *Ristigouch*, of *Nipisiguit*, of *Miskou*, *Cape Breton*, *Port-royal*, of the River *Wolf*, of the Cape of *St. Mary Magdalen*, of the three Rivers, and many more which were established among the *Hurons* at

the head of this River.<sup>1</sup> Those that were Missionaries in those Parts, thought good to quit them, and even *Tadoussac* it self, to establish themselves at *Cbigoutimi*.

If God give me Health and Life, in a third Tome I'll give an account of other Obstacles more considerable, which hinder the propagation of the Gospel: I'll only say in this place, that those that would employ themselves to the purpose in those Parts in this painful Ministry, must tread under foot the Riches of the World, and content themselves with a mean Subsistence, according to the Doctrine of the Apostles.

---

<sup>1</sup> Misco (Miskou) is a small island at the mouth of Baie des Chaleurs, the inlet separating New Brunswick and Gaspé. Restigouche and Nepisiguit are rivers flowing into that bay. Port Royal is the early name of Annapolis in Nova Scotia (Acadia). By "River Wolf" is meant Rivière du Loup, a river in Kamouraska and Temiscouata counties, Que. Cap de la Magdelaine was the headland near Laprairie, in the vicinity of Montreal. Three Rivers is a town at the mouth of the River St. Maurice, above Quebec. Jesuit missions had been conducted at all these places, but many of them were for various reasons abandoned at the time when Hennepin wrote. In some cases, the Indians had removed to other places, or had been exterminated by pestilence, famine, or intemperance. The Acadian missions were transferred to the Capuchins, after the retrocession of Canada to France (1632). The Laprairie mission was transferred (1676) to the present Caughnawaga, opposite Montreal. "The Hurons at the head of this River" is a vague and inaccurate phrase. The Huron missions were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649-50; and the remnants of that people were scattered in various directions. — ED.



[128]      C H A P. XXXI.

*Of the barbarous and uncivil Manners of the Savages.*

THE Savages have small regard to the Civilities of *Europe*: They make a Mockery of the Civilities we use one to another: When they come to a place, they seldom salute those that are there: They sit upon their Breech, and have no regard even to those that come to visit them. They enter into the first Cabin they meet with, without speaking a word: They take a Seat where they can, and after light their Pipe or *Calumet*: They smok without saying any thing, and even so go away again.

When they enter into a House built and furnished after the European Mode, they take the chief place: If there be a Chair before the middle of the Fire, they seize upon it, and never rise up for any body, tho he were a Prince or a King. They look upon themselves as the best Men of the World.

In the Northern Parts the Men and Women hide nothing but their Nakedness; all else is exposed to view. The Savages of the South are quite naked, having not the least sentiment of Shame: They do the Necessities of Nature before all the World, without the least scruple, and without regard to any Man. They treat their Elders with great Incivility when

they are out of Council. The common Discourse both of Men and Women is down-right Bawdy.

But as to the Commerce which Men have with their Wives, for the most part it's in private: But sometimes it's done with so little Precaution, that they are often surprized. Besides, the Savages observe [129] none of the Rules of that natural Honesty which is used among the Europeans of both Sexes. They never practise any Careffes or Endearments, which are common among the People of *Europe*; all is done grossly, and with a great deal of Brutality.

They never wash their Platters made of Wood or Bark, nor their Spoons. When the Savage Women have cleaned their little Infants with their hands, they wipe them very superficially upon a piece of Bark, after which they will handle the Meat that they eat. This often turned my Stomach, that I could not eat with them when I was invited to their Cabins. They seldom or never wash their Hands or Face.

The Children shew but small Respect to their Parents: Sometimes they will beat them without being chastised for it; for they think Correction would intimidate them, and make them bad Souldiers. They eat sometimes snuffling and blowing like Beasts. As soon as they enter into a Cabin, they fall a fmoaking. If they find a Pot covered, they make no difficulty to take off the Lid to see what's in it. They eat in the Platter where their Dogs have eaten, without wiping it. When they eat fat Meat, they rub their Hands upon their Face and Hair to clean them: They are perpetually belching.

Those that have trucked Shirts with the Europeans, never wash them; they commonly let them rot on their backs: They seldom cut their Nails: They seldom wash the Meat they dress. Their Cabins in the North are commonly filthy. I was surprized one day to see an old Woman bite the Hair of a Child, and eat the Lice. The Women are not ashamed to make water before all the World: but they had rather go a League in the Woods than any body should see them go to stool. When the Children have pissed their Coverlets, they cast away their [130] piss with their hands. One may often see them eat lying along like Dogs. In a word, they act every thing brutally.

For all that there are many things found among them honest and civil. When any one enters into their Cabins when they are eating, they commonly present him with a plate-full of Meat, and they are extremely pleased when all is eaten that they give. They had rather fast two days without Victuals, than let you go without heartily presenting you with part of all they have. If by chance the Portions be distributed when one comes in, the Wife who makes the Distribution orders the matter so, that she gives [her] share to the New-comer.

Some Savages presented us the finest Mats, and the best place in the Cabin, when we paid them a Visit. Those who frequent the Company of Europeans, salute us when they meet us. It's likewise the Custom of these People to return Present for Present.

Altho they shew small Respect to their old Men, yet they

have a great Deference for their Counfels. They follow them exactly, and confefs that they have more Experience, and know Affairs better than themfelves. If an antient Man fhould fay to a young Man, by way of Reproach, before others, *Tbou haft no Wit*, he would prefently go and poifon himfelf, they are fo fenfible of Ignominy and Difgrace. In the Affemblies which are held for debating their Affairs, the young People dare not fay a word unlefs they be asked.

In their Feafts they often give to the moft confiderable of the reft the whole Head of the Beaft which they have killed, or the beft portion of what is drefsed: They never eat on the fame Plate, unlefs it be in War, for then they obferve no meafures. They have a great Deference for the old Men, in that they leave them the whole Government [131] of Affairs, which is eftemed honourable among them.

There are few that falute after the mode of *Europe*. I knew a Savage who was called *Garagontie*,<sup>1</sup> which is as much as to fay, the Sun that moves; he one day made an Harangue before Monfieur the Count of *Frontenac*; and every time he began a new Difcourfe, he took off his Cap, and made a Speech like an Orator. Another Captain of the *Hojogoins* [Cayugas] feeing his little Daughter which he had given to the Count *de Frontenac* to be instructed, faid very civilly to him, *Onnontio*, (for fo they call the Governour of *Canada*, which word fignifies a beautiful Mountain) thou art the Mafter of this Girl; order the bufinefs fo that fhe may

---

<sup>1</sup> Or Garakontié; a converted Onondaga chief, who greatly aided the Jesuit miffionaries among his people.—ED.

learn to write and read well; and when she grows great, either send her home, or take her for a Wife. Which shows you, that the *Iroquois* look upon themselves as much as the greatest Persons in the World.

I knew another *Iroques* who was called *Atreovati*,<sup>1</sup> which signifies *great Throat*: this Man eat as the Europeans do; he washed his Hands in a Basin with the Governour; he sat down at the Table, and opened his Napkin handsomely, and eat with his Fork; and did all things after our mode: But often he did it out of Craft or Imitation, to get some Present from the Governour. The Count *de Frontenac* was very complaisant with these Savages; because he knew that the *Iroquois* were the Enemies most to be dreaded by the French, of all the People in the North *America*.

---

<sup>1</sup>Otrewa'ti, an Onondaga chief; called by the French *Grande Gueule* ("Big Throat"), a name afterward corrupted into *Garangula*.—ED.

## [132] CHAP. XXXII.

*Of the great Indifferency of the Humours of the Savages.*

GENERALLY speaking, all the Savages of the Nations I have seen in the Northern *America*, have an extream Indifference for all things: They have no particular *Attache* to any thing, and set no great value upon the most precious thing they have: They look upon every thing as very much below them; and if they had a thousand Crowns, or any thing of equal value, they would part with it without trouble, and give it all to have what they desire. But of all the Northern Nations there is none so indifferent as the *Iroquois*: they look upon themselves as Masters of other People, and have often dared to declare War against the French in *Canada*, and would have conquered it if they had known their Forces.

Notwithstanding, their Indifference for all things either of Peace or War, often induced them to make a counterfeit Peace with those of *Canada*. Besides, they are persuaded, that unless one send great Reinforcements thither, they can absolutely destroy them when they please, and ruin the Commerce. Let the Efforts be never so great against them, they can never extirpate them; and it will never pay the Charges which will be necessary to do it: There is nothing but blows to be got; and it will be a difficult thing to defend ones self

from their Treacheries: One can get but small Booties among them.

Their Indifference is such, that there is nothing like it under the copes of Heaven: They have a great Complaisance for all that is said to them, and in appearance [133] do all seriously you entreat them to do. When we say to them, Pray to God with us, they presently do it, and answer word for word, according to the Prayers they have been taught in their Tongue. Kneel down, they kneel; take off your Bonnet, they take it off; hold your tongue, they do it. If one say to them, Hear me, they hearken diligently. If one give them some Image, Crucifix, or Beads, they use them as Jewels to adorn themselves with. When I said to them, To morrow is *Sunday*, or Prayer-day, they answered me, *Niaora*, that's well, I am content. I said to them sometimes, Promise the great Master of Life never to be drunk any more; they answered, *Netbo*, I promise you I'll commit no more such Folly: but as soon as they got *Aquavitæ* [*i. e.*, brandy], or other strong Liquors, which they trucked with the French, English, and Hollanders, for their Furs, they began afresh to be drunk.

When I asked them if they believed in the Great Master of Life, of Heaven and Earth; they answered, Yes. Notwithstanding, the Savage Women which some Missioners had baptized, and who were married in the face of the Church with some French Men of *Canada*, often left their Husbands, and took others, saying, they were not subject to the Laws of the Christians, and that they did not marry but with a

design to stay with their Husbands as long as they agreed together: but if they did not agree well, they were at liberty to change.

It's necessary to civilize this Nation before they be made to embrace the Christian Faith. If they be not under the Yoak, it's in vain to labour their Conversion, unless God by a particular Grace should do some Miracle in favour of this People. This is all I can say upon this Subject, founded upon the Experience I as well as many other *Recolets* have had of them.



[134] CHAP. XXXIII.

*Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country of the Savages: That powerful Colonies may easily be planted on the North and the South.*

BEFORE I enter into the Particulars of these charming Countries which are in the North and the South of the Northern *America*, I'll speak two words of the Countries of the North, to the end one may see that it's easy to establish there powerful Colonies.

We must confess that there are vast Forests to be rid up, which reach from *Canada* to the Country of *Louisiana*, all along the River of *Meschafipi*; so that it would require a great deal of time to clear the Ground. But this is incident to all new Establishments.

Considerable Advantages were formerly made, and are so still, from the Fishery, of which they dried one part, because they sold them in the hot Countries; in which Traffick were employed in the past Age a thousand or twelve hundred Vessels. The great Bank of *Newfoundland*, the adjacent Banks, the neighbouring Isles, *Cape Breton*, the broken Island,<sup>1</sup> and *Acadia*, have the most Fish in the World. I do

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably he means Isle Percée ("the pierced island"), a small island on the east coast of Gaspé; it has even now the most extensive cod-fishery in Quebec province.—ED.

not speak here of the Fishery of the North, which *France* pretends a Right to, under the Title of the first Possessors. These Fisheries would be inexhaustible Mines for the Kingdom, which could not be taken from it, if they were supported by good Colonies. A great many Vessels might go every Year to fish for the Porpoise, the Whale, and the Sea-wolf [*i. e.*, Seal], which would furnish us with an infinite quantity of Oil for [135] our Domestick Manufactures, of which a part might be transported into Foreign Countries.

It's granted that the Traffick of Fishing which is upon these Coasts of *Canada*, gave birth to the first Establishments which were made in those Parts of *America*. There has not been time enough, nor Means to search the Country for Mines; without doubt there are Mines of Tin, Lead, Copper and Iron in many places, which are left for the Discovery of future Ages. The Country, by reason of the vast Forests, will furnish all sorts of Wood necessary to compleat the Mines. In many places is found a sort of bastard Marble, and great Bands of Coal fit for the Forges; there is also a sort of Plaster which much resembles Alabaſter.

The further one advances into the Country, the more beautiful Forests are found, full of gummy Trees, fit to make Pitch for Ships, as also infinite store of Trees fit for Masts, of Pines, Firs, Cedars, Maples, fit for all sorts of Work, especially for the building of Ships: Great Men of War might be built there, Mariners might always find employ enough, and get sufficient to maintain their Families; they would become abler Sea-men by this Navigation and Com-

merce of the West, than of the *Levant*, and their Experience would be greater.

At the first beginning of the Establishment of the Colony in *Canada*, the Community gain'd every Year a hundred thousand Crowns, besides the Gains of private Persons. In the Year 1687, this Sum was tripled and above, by the Furs which were sent to *France*: And tho the Merchants are forc'd to advance further into the Country than at first, it's notwithstanding an inexhaustible Commerce, as we have observed, by the great Discoveries we have made.

It must be granted, that there are no Nations in *Europe* that have such an Inclination for Colonies as [136] the *English* and the *Hollanders*: The Genius of those People will not permit them to be idle at home. So the vast Countries of *America* which I have described, may be made the Soul of their Commerce. Private Persons who shall undertake it, without interesting their own Country, may bring it to a happy issue: They may easily contract Alliances with the Savages, and civilize them. The Colonies which they shall establish there will quickly be well peopled, and they may fortify themselves there at a very small Expence: They may content themselves at first with a moderate Gain, but in a short time it will be extremely considerable.

There are in *England* and *Holland* a great many sorts of Merchandizes and Manufactures of all sorts, which cannot be consumed upon the place, but in time here might be had a prodigious utterance of them. And from hence one may better learn to understand, than hitherto we have done, the

admirable Providence of God, whose Will and Pleasure it was that every Country in the World should not be equally furnished with all things, to the end Society and Commerce between different Nations might be established, and the glad Tidings of the Gospel be divulged to the ends of the World.

It is something great and glorious to gain Battles, and subdue rebellious Subjects; but it's infinitely more glorious to gain Souls to Christ: And I must needs say, that the principal aim I propose in publishing this great Discovery, is to animate Christians to extend the Dominions of our Saviour, and to aggrandize his Empire.

It's certain, to return to our Discourse of Trade and Commerce, that the Trade of Furs in the North is of infinite Profit and Advantage. There are to be had Skins of Elks or *Orignaux*,<sup>1</sup> as they are called in *Canada*, of Bears, Bevers, of the white Wolf or [137] Lynx, of black Foxes, which are wonderfully beautiful, which were sometimes valued at five or six hundred Franks; of common Foxes, Otters, Martens, wild Cats, wild Goats, Harts, Porcupines; of Turkies, which are of an extraordinary bigness, Bustards, and an infinity of other Animals, whose Names I know not.

There may be catch'd, as I said before, Sturgeons, Salmons, Piques [Pikes], Carps, large Breems, Eels, Sword-fish, Gilt-heads, Barbels of an extraordinary bigness, and other

---

<sup>1</sup> *Orignal* is a name (of Basque origin) given in Canada to the moose (often called also "Canadian elk").—ED.

forts of Fish without number. There is infinite Gain for the Fowlers: There is an infinity of Sea-Larks, which are a lump of Fat: There are Partridges, Ducks of all forts, Huars, a kind of Dottrel, which imitates Mens Voices, which have an admirable diverfity of beautiful Colours, Turtles, Ring-doves, Cranes, Herons, Swans, Buftards, which have a relifh of all forts of Meat when you eat them, and a great abundance of all fuch like Game.

The great River of St. *Laurence*, which I have often mentioned, runs through the middle of the Country of the *Iroques*, and makes a great Lake there which they call *Ontario*, viz. the beautiful Lake; it's near 100 Leagues long, and a vaft number of Towns might be built upon it. Thefe places having Correspondence with *New York*, judicious Perfons will eafily fee of what vaft Profit the Trade will be; and here it's to be obferved, that the middle of this River is nearer *New York* than *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

The River of St. *Laurence* on the South<sup>1</sup> has a Branch which comes from a Nation which is called *Nez*, or the *Outtaouaets*; on the North are the *Algonquins*, where the *French* have taken poffeffion: Towards the Eaft dwells the Nation of *Wolves* [Mohicans] near *New Holland* or *York*: On the South of the fame River is fituated *New England* or *Boston*, where are many [138] trading Ships: On the South-weft is

---

<sup>1</sup>This fould be "North"; the reference is evidently to the Ottawa River, and the tribe of the fame name. By "Nez," Hennepin apparently means the Amikoués, or Beaver tribe — known to the French as Nez Percés ("Pierced Noses"); they were located on the north fide of Georgian Bay.—ED.

*Virginia*, which together with *New Holland* was formerly called *New Sweedland*<sup>1</sup>: On the East [*sc.* West] is the Country of the *Hurons*, so called, because they burn their Hair, and leave but a little Tuft upon their Head, which stares like a wild Boar's Bristles. This Nation has been almost destroy'd by the *Iroques*, who have incorporated the Remainder among themselves. I have added many other Countries towards the North of the River of *St. Laurence* in the general and particular Map, which I have published in the first Volume of our Discovery.

The great Bay called *Hudson's*, is on the North of this River; it was discovered by the *Sieur Desgroseillers Rochebouart*,<sup>2</sup> with whom I was often in a Canoo during my stay in *Canada*. The *English* have given him a Pension; and Mr. *Blatwait*, first Secretary of War to *William* the Third King of *England*, told me the last Year, that *Sieur Desgroseillers* was then living in *England*.

This *Hudson's*-Bay is situated on the North of *New France*, and of the River of *St. Laurence*; it has above four hundred

---

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the colony planted in 1638 by the Swedes, at the site of the present Wilmington, Del.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, came from France to Canada about 1641. His name is inseparably linked with that of Pierre Esprit Radisson, his brother-in-law, in the history of exploration in northern North America. During 1654-56 and 1659-60 they traveled through the region of Lakes Michigan and Superior; and the period of 1668-83 was mainly devoted by them to exploration and traffic around Hudson Bay; during a large part of this time they were in the English service, and one result of their discoveries was the formation in England of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670. Groseilliers went back to England in 1683, where, so far as is known, he spent the rest of his life.—ED.

Leagues Extent, and by Land it is not far from *Quebec*, as it may be observed in my Charts: Notwithstanding we count it eight hundred Leagues from *Quebec* by the River to the Sea. And the Navigation it self has something of difficulty, because of the continual Fogs.

While I was at *Quebec*, the *Canadins* told me that *Sieur Desgrofeliens* assured them he had great trouble to get thither by reason of the Ice, which was seven or eight foot thick, which was driven from the Northward with whole Trees, and the Earth it self together. Birds were seen which had there built their Nests, so that they looked like so many little Islands. I do not affirm that it's altogether just as I say: But the said *Sieur Desgrofeliens* and others [139] have assured me, that they have passed through Ice for two Leagues together, and that it's prodigiously thick, one piece upon another, driven by the Winds higher than the Towers of great Cities. So that we are not to admire<sup>1</sup> what Sea-men tell us, that upon those great Banks of Ice they have placed their Forges, and made Anchors.

The *English* have in *Hudson's-Bay* the Forts of *Nelson* and *Neufavane*. The Court of *France* ordered heretofore the Traders in *Canada* to drive the *English* hence; but they had notice of it, and prevented the *Canadins*, by sending four great Ships to their assistance.

In the Countries to the North of the River of *St. Laurence* are found Mines of Iron and Steel, which would yield 40 or

---

<sup>1</sup> The word is here used in the literal sense of its etymology, "wonder at."—ED.

50 *per Cent.* There are Lead-Mines which would yield about 30 *per Cent.* and Copper which would yield 18: And according to all appearance there might be found Mines of Silver and Gold. Miners were sent thither while I was there: but the *French* are too quick in their Enterprizes; they would be rich too soon, and threw them up, because they did not presently find what they sought for.

*Messieurs Genins*, the Father and the Son, who were sent thither to see the Work go on, then told me, That since the Company did not perform their Contract, they had taken a Resolution to return home to *Paris*. That if the *French* who were in *Canada* had had as much Patience as other Nations, as Mr. *Genin* sen. told me at that time, they had without doubt gain'd their Point.

In short, all the Countries upon the River of *St. Laurence* produce all sorts of Herbage and Seeds. There are all sorts of Materials, as Oak, and all other sorts of Wood fit for building of Ships; and the prodigious quantity of Firs furnish Pitch in abundance. [140] Above all this, the Firs of which we have spoke, and Ashes fit to make Potashes of, which may yield more than a hundred and fifty thousand Livers a Year, and which alone are sufficient to subsist a great number of poor People; all these things, I say, are capable of producing a considerable Profit for the subsistence of the Colonies which may be established there.

That which is most remarkable is, that those who are Masters of those Countries may keep in awe above a thousand Vessels which go every Year to fish, and who bring back



Whale-Oil, and a great quantity of Salmon, and Poor-Jack,<sup>1</sup> enough to furnish whole Kingdoms. All those Ships must of necessity come to the *Pierced Island*,<sup>2</sup> where our *Recolets* have a little Mission House near the Fishers Huts, because there is no other convenience in those Countries. There is no Fortrefs at the entrance of the River, at least I saw none. An Establishment in this place without doubt would gain the Trade, and make it very advantagious in case a good Colony were settled there, which were very easy.

In the Description which we have published of *Louifiana*, and the Countries of the South, which may truly be called the Paradise of *America*, we have made mention of all the Animals, of which we have spoke here above; but besides them, there are a great quantity of Bulls and wild Cows, which have a frised Wool; they may be tamed and made fit for labour: besides they would serve for Food, and might be shorn every Year like Sheep, and as good Cloth made of them as any in *Europe*. The Savages that dwell in those Countries were never able to destroy these Beasts, because they change their Country according to the seasons.

There are many Medicinal Herbs which are not in *Europe*, whose Effects are infallible, according to [141] the Experience of the Savages: They cure with them all sorts of Wounds, the Tertian and Quartan Agues; some of them purge well, and allay the Pains in the Reins, and such like Maladies.

---

<sup>1</sup> A popular term for the hake (*Merluccius vulgaris*), a sea-fish of the cod family, but coarser and poorer: it was formerly proverbial as a cheap sort of food.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Isle Percée; see page 555, note 1, ante.— Ed.

There are likewise great quantities of Poisons, as the Rind of the wild Gourd, and others which they make use of to destroy their Enemies. Serpents are common in some Parts, particularly Adders, Aspicks, and Rattle-snakes; they are of a prodigious length and bigness, and bite dangerously poor Passengers: But they have Sovereign Remedies against their biting. There are in these Countries Frogs of a stupendous bigness, their croaking is as loud as the lowing of Cows.

There are here all sorts of European Trees, and many of different species from ours, as I have already mentioned: Those are, for Example, the Cotton Tree,<sup>1</sup> and many others. These Trees take deep rooting, and become very tall, which shews the goodness of the Soil. But the greatest advantage that may be drawn from our Discovery between the frozen Sea and *New Mexico* consists in this, as I have said, that by the means of these Countries of the South, a Passage may be found to *Cbina* and *Japan*, without being obliged to pass the Equinoctial Line.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Platanus occidentalis*, or American sycamore.—ED.

## [142] CHAP. XXXIV.

*Of the Methods of the Savages in their Councils. Their crafty Policies against their Enemies, and their Cruelty against the Europeans; and how a stop may be put to them.*

IT often happens that the Savages exercise great Cruelties against the Europeans, when they pretend to have been insulted. These Barbarians make Proclamation of War by three or four old Men in all their Villages: They do it with so loud a Voice, and so dreadful a Tone, that all that are in their Cabins, as well Men as Women, tremble for fear.

Presently all the antient Men, and all those who are to share in their Counsels, meet at one of their great Cabins, where the Chief of their Nation dwells: There one of their Chiefs speaks to them always in this manner; My Brethren, and my Nephews, one of such a Nation has killed one of our People. For tho they have but a small occasion of Discontent, they always give out they are killed: We must then, says the Chief, make War upon them, extirpate them, and revenge the Evil they have done. If all those that assist at the Council answer one after another, *Netbo*, or *Togenskè*; and if they smoak in the *Calumet*, or Pipe of War, whilst a little Savage takes care from time to time to ram it with Tobacco; this is taken for an unanimous Consent of the Nation, and their

Allies. Then one may see from time to time Troops of Souldiers marching to surprize their Enemies, tho they be often very innocent, and 'tis wholly upon the false suggestion of some ill-minded Savage.

[143] One day the *Iroques* pretending an Injury done by a French-man of *Canada*, they would not attack the whole Nation, but contented themselves to discharge their Fury upon two of them, whom they killed with Hatchets; after they tied their Bodies to great Stones, and cast them into the River to conceal this black Action; and there had never been any thing known of it, if after some time the Ropes had not broke, and the River brought their Bodies to the Bank.

The Savages perceiving that they were suspected, because they were forbidden to come near the Fort and the Houses of the Inhabitants, began to fear lest the *Canadins* should revenge this barbarous Action: To prevent the Effects of it, they went up to the three Rivers, and held a Council of about eight hundred Men: The Result of their Assembly was, that they should endeavour to surprize and cut the Throats of all the People in *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*, at that time but poorly inhabited.

It's hard to keep Secrecy in a Council of so many Men at once, who without doubt were not all of one sentiment: Providence therefore, that watched for the Conservation of this little growing Colony, permitted that one of the Savages, called *Foriere*, whom some of our Order of *St. Francis* had instructed at the three Rivers two years together, who had a

great kindness for them, gave Advice to one of our Friars, called Friar *Pacificus*,<sup>1</sup> who presently gave notice to the Government. This obliged them to intrench themselves in a little wooden Fort, fortified with Stakes, and ill-ordered Palisades. This Savage was highly rewarded, and more was promised him, to oblige him not only to discover their further Designs, but also to endeavour to divert them from their Enterprize against the *Canadins*.

This Savage acquitted himself very well of his [144] Commission: He manag'd this Affair so happily, that he not only made them to quit their former Design, but fully perswaded them to reconcile themselves with the French, and to obtain Provisions, of which they stood much in need at that time. The Savages sent to this end forty Canoos with Women to fetch in Provisions. The *Canadins* furnished them with as much as the time would permit.

The French received with a great deal of Joy the Propositions of Peace, which were made them in full Council by the Savage *Foriere* on the part of the *Iroques*, whom he had appeased. They were told that the Chiefs and Captains of the Nation should give up the Murderers to the *Canadins* to dispose of them as they thought good: To this effect their Antients should have Orders to come to *Quebec* to treat on this Affair.

The Proposition which *Foriere* made to the Savages on this Subject, at first frightened them; but afterwards reflecting upon the Weakness, and the sweet Temper of the French in

---

<sup>1</sup> The Récollet brother Pacificus du Plessis; he died at Quebec in 1619.—ED.

*Canada*, and relying upon the Credit of Father *Joseph Caron* a *Recolet*,<sup>1</sup> whom they esteemed their Friend, they perswaded one of the two who was the less guilty, to go down with them to *Quebec*. In the mean time the *Iroques* ordered their little Army to make a halt half a League from the French Fort, to expect [*i. e.*, await] the Success of the Negotiation.

The *Iroques* presented their Criminals to the *Canadins*, with a quantity of Bever Robes, which they gave to wipe away their Tears, according to their Custom. In effect they made up the Business by their Presents: It's thus they commonly appease the Anger of those they have provoked, and engage their Allies, make Peace, deliver Prisoners, and as I may say, raise the Dead: In short, there's neither Proposal nor Answer, but by Presents, [145] which serve instead of Words in their Harangues.

The Presents which the Savages make for a Man who has been murdered, are many; but commonly it's not he that committed the Murder that offers them; but the Custom is that it be done by his Parents, Township, or sometimes by the whole Nation, according to the Quality of him who was killed. If the Murderer be met with by the Parents of the Defunct, before he has made satisfaction, he's put to Death immediately. According to this Custom, before *Foriere*, the Antients and Captains of the Savages began to speak, who made a Present of twelve Elk Skins to sweeten the *Canadins*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Joseph le Caron was one of the first party of Récollet missionaries sent to Canada (1615), and was superior of the mission from 1617 to 1629, when the English sent all its workers back to France. Le Caron died in 1632.—ED.

After they had treated, they made a second Present, and laid it at the Feet of the *Canadins*, saying, It was to cleanse the bloody Part of the Place where the Murder was committed, protesting they had no knowledg of this Affair till it was done; and that all the Chiefs of the Nation had condemned the Attempt. The third was to strengthen the Arms of those who had found the Bodies on the Bank of the River, and who had carried them into the Woods: They gave them also two Robes of Bever, to repose upon, and refresh themselves after the Labour they had suffered in burying them. The fourth was to wash and cleanse those who were polluted with the Murder, and to obtain the Spirit again which they had lost, when they gave the unfortunate Stroke. The fifth to efface all the Resentments the *Canadins* might have. The sixth was to make an inviolable Peace with the French; adding, that for the future they would cast away their Hatchets, so far that they should never be found; which was as much as to say, that their Nation being in perfect Peace with the Europeans, they would have no use of any Arms, only for Hunting. The seventh was to evidence the Desire they had that the *Canadins* would have their [146] Ears pierced; which is to say in their Language, that they would be open to the Sweetness of Peace, to pardon the two Murderers the Fault they had committed.

They offered a Quantity of Chains of Sea-Purple-Shells, to light a Fire of Counsel (as they phrased it) at the three Rivers, where the *Iroques* then were, and another at *Quebec*. They added another Present of two thousand Grains of black

and blue Purple, to ferve in Wood and Fewel for thefe two Fires.

Here the Reader is to obferve, that the Savages feldom have any Affemblies, but they have their Pipe in their Mouth; Fire being neceffary to light their Pipes, they always have it ready in their Confults: fo that it's the fame thing among them to light a Fire of Counfel, as to affemble to confult. The eighth Prefent was to defire a Union of their Nation with the *Canadins*; and then they offered a great Chain of Sea Purple, with ten Robes of Bever and Elk; to confirm all they had faid.

Whatfoever purpofe was made at *Quebec* to punifh the Murderers, to prevent the like Mifchiefs for the future, they were obliged to defift from it, and pardon the Murderers; becaufe they were not in a condition to refift fuch a powerful Enemy: fo all was concluded, and two Hoftages were demanded of the Savages for the performance of their Promifes. They put into Father *Joseph's* Hands two young *Iroques* Boys, called *Nigamon* and *Tebachi*, to be inftructed. In conclufion, the guilty Perfons were fent back notwithstanding, upon condition that at the arrival of the Ships which were expected from *Europe*, this Affair fhould have its final Decifion.<sup>1</sup>

I remember when I was in *Canada*, I heard the French often murmur that this Affair was managed thus, and that the Murderers fhould avoid the Stroke of Juftice. After

---

<sup>1</sup> This is only another version of the account given by Le Clercq in *Établissement de la Foy*; fee Shea's translation, i, pp. 121-127.—ED.



this the *Iroques* committed a great [147] many such like Enormities, saying they should be quit for a few Skins of wild Beasts, instead of those of the *Canadins*, whom they would flea off alive; and that those of their Nation would not suffer such like Actions without a futable Revenge, tho the whole Nation of the *Iroques* should perish to a Man.

In effect these Barbarians grew every day more insolent upon it, and despised the *Canadins*, as People of no Courage; so that whatsoever Face they put upon the Matter in their Treaty, it was only done out of Policy to advantage themselves by their Commerce of Furs for the Merchandises of *Europe*.

We see at this day, that the War which the *Iroques* have at present with the French in *Canada*, furnishes us with continual Examples of their Cruelty. The Europeans ought to take away their Fire-Arms, to reduce them, and to make them reside in one Place, and to live after the mode of *Europe*: This would be the means to convert them to Christianity. The Spaniards took this Method with the Mexicans, who dare not carry Fire-Arms, it being punished with Death; nevertheless they are not the worse used, and the Mexicans are as good Catholics as any in the World and carry the easiest Yoak of any Subjects in the Universe.

Our first Recollets in the first Colony of *Canada*, saw a necessity of overthrowing the Council of the *Iroques*, which are the most redoubted Enemies of the *Europeans*: They observed that all the Peaces which these Savages made, were only Feints to cover the Breaches of former Treaties. Our

Fathers often represented this to the Court of *France*, that to convert these Barbarians, and to hinder them from taking Measures prejudicial to the Colony of *Canada*, it was necessary to found a Seminary of fifty or sixty young *Iroques* for seven or eight years only; after [148] which they might be maintained of the Revenue of the Ground, which might be cultivated during that time. That those Children offered themselves every day to our Religious by consent of their Parents, to be instructed and brought up in the Christian Religion. That the *Iroques* and other Savages, seeing their Children educated in this manner, would form no more Enterprizes against the Colony, as long as their Children were in the Seminary, as Guarantees of the Fidelity of their Parents.

CHAP. XXXV.

*Of the proper Methods to establish good Colonies. The Thoughts and Opinions of the Savages touching Heaven and Earth.*

THE Religious of our Order of *St. Francis* can possess nothing in Property, neither can they according to their Institute, buy or possess any Revenues. There is no Order so fit as ours to support the Colonies that are established by the Catholicks in *America*: The Truth of what I say is seen by those which the Emperor *Charles* the fifth sent into new *Mexico*; where are to be seen this day an Infinity of great Families, that have made great Advantages of the Disinterestedness of our Religious; the best Lands have not been swallowed up, as we see in *Canada*, where we see the richest and most fertile Places in the hands of some Communities, who have laid hold of them during the absence of the Recollects; who notwithstanding are the first Missioners of *Canada*, having near fourscore Years ago attempted the planting of the Gospel there.

The People of *New France* having earnestly desired our Return, after a long forced absence, we [149] found that the best Lands of our Establishment of the Convent of our Lady

of Angels,<sup>1</sup> were feized upon; where I have often renewed and marked the Bounds which remained, to prevent the Designs of those who would feize upon the Remainder: But my Design is not to tax or offend any body; tho I publish those things that may displease some, I shall speak nothing but Truth.

I shall not speak here of the great Advantages which have accrued to the four Parts of the World by the Missions of our Recollets, it would require large Volumes; I shall only relate here the Labours of our Religious in this Age, and the great Discoveries made by us in *America*. When the French Colony of *Canada* was established, our Recollets asked nothing of the Government, but a dozen Men fit for Husbandry-Affairs; which were to be commanded by a secular Master of a Family, for the Subsistence of fifty or sixty young Savage Children, whilst our Religious extended themselves on all sides in the Mission to draw others to Christianity. These Religious expose their Lives, and subject themselves to all sorts of Trouble and Fatigue, in order to plant the Gospel all over the World.

Our Religious long ago advised that Christian Religion, and the Authority of Justice, should be supported by a good Garison, established in some convenient Place in the *Northern*

---

<sup>1</sup>The convent of Notre-Dame des Anges was built by the Récollets on the St. Charles River, about half a (French) league from the fort of Quebec. After the return of the French to Canada (1632), the house and lands of the Récollets were used by the Jesuits, as the former order was not then allowed to resume its Canadian missions. Permission was finally granted, however, in 1670; and the Récollet missionaries then sent over again occupied their former possessions. A few years later, Count Frontenac, who was their firm friend, built for them a house at his own expense.—ED.

*America*, which might keep in subjection more than eight hundred Leagues of Country all along the River of *St. Lawrence*: There is no way to approach thither, but by the Mouth of this great River. This would be the true means to make Trade flourish: The Power of the Prince would be augmented, and his Dominions far extended by the Possession of this great River.

There might be joined to this many great Countries which might be seized upon in this vast Continent [150] upon the River *Meschafpi*, which is far more convenient than the River of *St. Lawrence* to establish Colonies in: for here may be had two Harvests a year, and in some places three, besides a great many other advantages. To which may be added, that by this means a great many Countries would become tributary, and might be joined to these new Colonies. To this I would heartily contribute, being ready to sacrifice the remainder of my Days to such a good work.

*First*, To bring to a happy conclusion so noble an Enterprize, it's necessary that the Princes or States, which would make use of our Discoveries, should very exactly administer Justice. The beginnings of all Colonies are difficult. It's necessary therefore to prevent Thefts, Murders, Debaucheries, Blasphemies, and all other sorts of Crimes, which are too common with the Europeans that inhabit *America*.

*Secondly*, A Fort ought to be built at the mouth of the River of *St. Laurence*, and above all at the mouth of *Meschafpi*, which are the only places where Ships can come. Then the Inhabitants might extend themselves, and clear the

Ground twenty, or twenty five Leagues round about. They might have several Harvests in the Year, and might employ themselves in taming wild Bulls, which might be made use of several ways: besides, advantage must be drawn from Mines and Sugar-Canes, which are here far more frequent than in the Isles of *America*, the Ground being richer and fitter for Canes; among which may be sown great quantities of several sorts of Grain, which never come to maturity in those Islands. The Climate of the Countries which are betwixt the frozen Sea and the Gulph of *Mexico*, is far more temperate along the River *Meschafipi* than in the Isles above mention'd. The Air is of the same Temperature as in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Provence*. The Men and Women go always [151] with their Heads bare, and are taller than the Europeans.

As to the Sentiments these Barbarians have of Heaven and Earth; when they are asked, Who is he that made them? some of their more antient and abler Men answer, That as to the Heavens they know not who made them. If you have been there, say they, you must know something of the matter: it's a foolish Question, say they, to ask what we think of a place so high above our Heads; how would you have us to speak of a place that never none saw?

But, say they, can you shew by the Scripture of which you speak, a Man that ever came from thence, and the manner how he mounted up thither? When we answer, that our Souls being unfettered from the Body, are of infinite agility, and that in the twinkling of an Eye they mount up thither to receive the recompence of their Works from the hand of

the Master of Life; these People, who have a great indifference for whatsoever is said to them, and are cunning enough in seeming to approve in outward appearance, whatsoever is thought convenient to propose to them; being harder pressed, they answer, It's well for those of your Country; but we Americans do not go to Heaven after Death: We only go to the Country of Souls, whither our People go to hunt fat Beasts, where they live in greater Tranquillity than here. All that you say is good for those that dwell beyond the great Lake; for so they call the Sea. They further say, that as to themselves they are made in another manner than the People of *Europe*: So that their Conversion does solely depend upon the good will and pleasure of God, who must water our planting.

As to the Sentiments of the Savages relating to the Earth, they make use of a certain Genius which they call *Micaboche*,<sup>1</sup> who covered all the Earth with Water, [152] which seems to retain some Tradition of the Deluge. These Savages believe that there are between Heaven and Earth, certain Spirits in the Air, which have power to predict future things; and others that are excellent Physicians, for the cure of all sorts of Maladies. This makes them very superstitious, and to consult the Oracles with great exactness.

One of these Master-Juglers, who passed for a Wizard and Conjuror among them, made a Cabin be erected with ten great Stakes well fix'd in the Ground. He made a dreadful

---

<sup>1</sup> A poor phonetization of Missibizi, or Manabozho, the name of an Algonkin divinity (see p. 451, *note 1, ante*).—ED.

Noise about consulting the Spirits, to know if there would quickly fall abundance of Snow, for the better hunting of Elks and Bevers. This famous Jugler cried out all on a sudden, that he saw great store of Elks which were at a distance, but that they were coming within seven or eight Leagues of their Cabins. This made these poor People rejoice exceedingly.

It's to be observ'd that when the Jugler, or pretended Prophet, misses the mark, they have no less esteem for him; it's sufficient that he hath guessed right three or four times, to gain him a lasting Reputation. I told them that the great Master of Heaven, who governs all things, ought only to be address'd in our Petitions and Necessities. They answered me that they knew him not, and that they would be glad to know whether he could send them Elks and Bevers; so blind are these People. I told them once that we Europeans knew how all things were made, and by whom. They told me that if I would go and live with them, they would send their Children to be instructed. These Sentiments of the Savages let us see, that the greatest good that can be done among them, is to baptize their dying Infants.

The Missions of the Northern *America* are far different from others. There is nothing to be found agreeable to Nature, nothing but what contradicts the [153] inclination of the Senses: One must submit to infinite Fatigues, and barren and ingrateful Labour. Notwithstanding those who apply themselves with zeal, confess they find a secret Charm



which inclines them to this work; so that if any Necessity diverts them from it, they are much perplexed.

This seems to me to be a good Prefage for the Missions of these Countries, and that God Almighty will not suffer them always to remain in the Shadows of Death; since by his Grace he makes the Missioners find so much pleasure in those Labours, so contrary to Flesh and Blood.

Patience is absolutely necessary for this Employ. All along our Travels in *America* we din'd upon the Ground, or upon some Mat of Bulrushes when we were in the Cabins of some Savage. A Fagot of Cedar was our Pillow in the Night; our Cloaks our Coverlets; our Knees our Table; some Bushes tied together, our Seats; the Leaves of Indian Corn, our Napkins. We had some Knives, but they were of no use to us for want of Bread to cut. Except in the time of the great Hunting, and certain Seasons of the Year, Flesh-meat was so scarce that we were oft six Weeks, or two Months, without eating any, unless it were a morsel of a wild Dog, or some piece of a Bear, or Fox, which the Savages gave us at their Feasts.

Our common Food was the same with the Savages, *viz.* *Sagamite*, or Pottage made of Water and Indian Corn with Gourds: To give it a Relish, we put into it Marjoram, and a sort of Balm, with wild Onions which we found in the Woods and Fields. Our ordinary Drink was Water. If any of us was indisposed, while the Sap was up in the Trees, we made a hole in the Bark of a Maple, and there dropt out a

sweet Sugar-like Juice, which we saved in a Platter made of the Bark of a Birch-tree; we drank it as a Sovereign [154] Remedy, tho it had but small effects. There are in the Vallies of those Forests great store of Maples, from whence may be drawn distill'd Waters. After a long boiling, we made of it a kind of reddish Sugar, much better than that which is drawn from the ordinary Canes in the Isles of *America*.

Our Spanish Wine failing us, we made more of wild Grapes which were very good; we put it into a little Barrel, in which our Wine was kept that we brought with us, and some Bottles. A Wooden-Mortar and an Altar-Towel was our Press. The Fat [Vat] was a Bucket of Bark. Our Candle was Chips of the Bark of Birch-tree, which lasted a small while. We were forced to read and write by the light of the Fire in Winter, which was very inconvenient.

While we were at the Fort of *Frontenac*, about sixscore Leagues from *Quebec* towards the South, we made up a little Garden, and paled it in to keep out the Savage Children: Peas, Herbs, and whatsoever Pulse we sowed there, grew extremely well. We had had great store, if we had had proper Tools to work with at the beginning of the establishment of that Fort, which was but then fortified with great Stakes: We made use of sharp-pointed Sticks, because we had no other Husbandry-Tools. All our Consolation was, in the midst of these Fatigues, to see the Gospel of Christ advanced.

The Savages seem'd to have some Inclination; they were attentive and diligent in coming to their Prayers, tho they

had none of that openness of Spirit which is necessary to enter into the Verities of Religion. They came to seek Instruction with a Spirit of Interest, to have our Knives, Awls, and such like things.

I owe the following Thoughts to an excellent Religious Man of our Order, whom I shall name in my third Volume, if it please God I perfect my Design.

[155] I make a great deal of difference between the Zeal, the Labours of true Missioners, and the pretended Successes which have been so often bragg'd of, without any probability of Truth. The Justice we are obliged to pay to the painful Fatigues of Apostolical Men in *New-France*, is that they cannot be expressed: They equal the Enterprizes, Courage, and Sufferings of *St. Paul*, who was exposed to great Dangers, to Famine, Thirst, &c. Their Silence it self was great and laudable among the Calumnies of their Enemies. But the Conduct of the Missioners in the Christian World is justified by it self, and puts them above such-like Reproaches, as well in regard of *Canada*, as any place else.

Formerly it employed all my Thoughts, as well as those of other Missioners among the *Iroquois*, to civilize these Savages, to make them capable of Laws and Civil Policy, and to put a stop to their brutal Sallies as much as possible. I have done my utmost to disabuse them, and shew them the folly of their vain Superstitions; and so I prepared the way of our Lord to the utmost of my power. But it must be confessed the Harvest was little; those People are as Savage as ever, always fixed to their antient Maxims, to their profane

Customs, to Pride, Drunkennes, Cruelty, being even incapable of Instruction and Obedience. They are the same they were thirty or forty years ago. Since the French of *Canada* made a Peace with them, and that the Jesuits became their Missioners, altho they had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had destroyed, these *Iroquois*, who may justly be called the unconquerable *Philistines*, have made no progress in Faith: To speak truth, we see the quite contrary at this day. These Barbarians maintain a cruel War with the French. I must confess it's hard for me to conceive that Christians should have a War with such brutal People, [156] whom I had managed with all the dexterity I could, during the six or seven Years I was among them; sometimes by Embassies, which I was charged with; sometimes by the Instructions I gave them for Reading and Writing, and for Religion it self. We continued this warlike Nation in Peace as much as possible.

The *Iroquois*, who call the Religious of our Order *Cbitagon*, that is to say, *naked Feet*, have often regretted our Absence about the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, where they had a Mission-house. I have often heard say, that when a Priest of St. *Sulpitius*, a Jesuit, or any other Ecclesiastick of *Canada*, asked them how it happen'd that they gave them no share of their Game, as they were wont to give the *naked Feet*? They answered, that our *Recolets* liv'd in common as they did, and that they took no Recompence of all the Presents that they made them: That they neither took Furs, of which all the Europeans are so greedy, nor any other

Recompence, for all that our Religious did for them. This shews, that one must begin by the Animal part with those People, and after proceed to the Spiritual. And that if, as in the Primitive Church, the Christians of this Age were of one Heart, and one Soul, and wholly disinterested, without doubt this Nation would be easier converted.

It's true, that while I was a Missioner at *Fort Frontenac*, among the *Iroquois*, and that the Jesuits were scattered here and there in their Country, these Religious served to other purposes than my self: For as those Barbarians are wholly led by Sense, they then looked upon the Jesuit Missioners as Captains, and Men of considerable Quality, as Envoys, and perpetual Residents of the French Colony of *Canada*, who maintained the Alliance which was among them, who disposed of Peace and War, who served for Hostages when they went to trade in the inhabited [157] parts of *Canada*; otherwise these Barbarians would have had perpetual Diffidences, and would have been afraid of being detained for want of Hostages, and of this Security for their Lives and Goods.

It's observed, that the Missioners of whom I speak, undertake the Tutelage of the Savages, of which they acquit themselves very well. They draw these Barbarians into their Residences, and exercise them in clearing the Ground of their Settlements, which contributes much to the Advantage of the Colony, and the Church it self. To their Reputation and Zeal must be attributed many considerable Foundations for this Mission, which they have obtained from many powerful and zealous Persons, whose Liberality they manage as well as

the annual Gratifications of the King for the same purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Besides, these Missions are the places where true Saints are formed, by the Labours of an indefatigable Zeal, a fervent Charity, accompanied with Patience and Humility, and by a great Disinterestedness; by an extraordinary Sweetness, and by a lively and pure Faith: but it's a kind of an Apostleship different from that of other Nations.

But to speak here one word of the Progress of these Missions. Is it possible that this pretended prodigious number of converted Savages should escape the Knowledge of a croud of French Canadins, who go abroad every Year from home at least three or four hundred Leagues, to the utmost Borders of the discovered Countries, to trade, where some of them sojourn whole Years for to barter their Commodities? How happen'd it that these devout Churches disappeared when I travelled through the middle of the Countries? How comes it to pass, that so many Men of Sense should not discern them?

Besides, it's well known that the Savages come every Year in great Troops into *Canada* with their [158] Canoos loaden with Furs. There is to be seen a Concourse of all sorts of

---

<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit missions in Canada were granted, from the year 1647, an annual pension of 5,000 livres; from 1684, they were exempted from payment of tithes; an instructor was long maintained by the King at the college of Quebec; and other gifts and allowances were, at various times, granted them by the government. Besides these, they possessed large and valuable landed estates, given by the King or by private persons. When Canada was conquered by the English (1760), the property of the Jesuits was appropriated by the English government, which held it for more than a century; finally (1871), ceding the Jesuit estates to the Provincial government of Quebec. For further details, and citations of authorities, see *Jes. Relations*, lxxi, pp. 392, 393.—ED.

Savages, who are as it were the select People of all those different Nations. All the Country are Witnessees, that in their Manners and Doings nothing appears but Barbarity, without any sign or mark of Religion. All the Proof they can give, is, that like Idols they assist at our Mysteries and Instructions: for the rest we may see them indifferent, without discovering any Faith or Spirit of Religion. It may be called rather an effect of their Curiosity: Some of them come upon the account of Interest, others upon a Motive of Fear, or some particular Esteem they have for the Person of some Missioner, whom they often regard as a considerable Chief.

All therefore that can be done, is to draw out of the Woods some Families which shew the most Docility, and to dispose them to settle in some inhabited Place. There are two Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec*, and two other higher up upon the River of *St. Lawrence*, near *Mont-royal*, which are separated from the Commerce of the Europeans. It's therefore in those Parts that the Church of the Savages is to be found. Tho' their Language as well as Manners are altogether savage, yet for all that those *Neophytes* are kept in their Devoir. Great pains is taken to educate them in Piety, yet not much is gain'd upon their Spirit. There are some that are Christians in good earnest; but there are many entire Families who escape from the Missioners after having abode with them ten or twelve Years, and return to the Woods to their first mode of living.

It may be reply'd by some, that we see many Christians in *Europe* swerve from their Duty, and disgrace their Char-

after by a Libertine Conduct; but we do not discourse here of the Corruption of the Manners of the Savages, but of their adhesion to Christianity: It's certain they quite apostatize from it.

[159] The contrary has been declar'd in *France*, in several Relations, which have been publish'd upon this Subject, which were order'd to be read to the Pensionaries of the *Ursulines*. It's said, that there are a great many Indians converted, and others ready for the Sacrament of Confirmation, and that some of them have received the lesser Orders. Would to God that all those Churches spoke of in the Relations were as real, as all the judicious People of *Canada* know they are chimerical. If they were formerly, what's become of them now? after almost an Age they are no more to be seen; and yet the Colony of *Canada* increases. The Trade is greater than formerly, and it's better known, so that the pretended number of Converts would be easily discovered.

When formerly these Relations were read to Persons who had not that knowledg of *Canada* we have at present, it gained Credit with every body according to their Inclinations. It was easy to impose upon People in this respect. But as to me who have been upon the Place, and who have always spoke my mind with a great deal of Candor and Liberty, I content my self to appeal to all the Inhabitants of *New France*, who are at present fifteen or sixteen thousand Souls<sup>1</sup>; I am assured they will confess ingenuously, there is

---

<sup>1</sup>The population of Canada is given by Sulte (*Canad.-Français*, v, p. 89; vi, 46-48) as follows: In 1681, 9,677; in 1691, 12,000; in 1698, about 16,000.—ED.



scarce any Christianity among the Savages at this day, except some particular Persons, and those in small numbers, very fickle and inconstant, ready at every moment for any small Interest to abandon their Religion.

It may be that some Advances are made towards the civilizing those Barbarians, and to make them more polite than they were. But all the Inhabitants of those Countries know, that they are no more Christians than formerly. Notwithstanding it's very probable that they would have adhered better to the Christian Religion, if they had trod in the steps [160] of the Religious of our Order, if they had kept a solid Peace with the *Iroquois* and other Savage Nations, and if they had been mingled among the Europeans, to make them more docible and more tractable.

While I was in the Mission of *Canada*, I bethought me one day to ask some judicious Men, how it happen'd that we had no more Annual Relations of the Missions of *Canada*. When those whom I had asked gave me no Answer, a certain Person who thought no ill, told me, that the Court of *Rome* had order'd that the Relations of foreign Missions should be exactly true: That the Congregation *De propaganda Fide* had order'd that no more should be published that were not of publick Notoriety, and clear as the Sun at Noon. This seem'd to me to be a judicious Answer.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>In the preceding four pages, Hennepin has attacked the missionary labors of the Jesuits in Canada, although without mentioning that order by name. The published reports here alluded to are the annual *Relations* sent by the Jesuit missionaries in Canada to their superiors in France or at Rome; these were regularly published from 1632 until 1672. From that time they ceased to appear, in consequence of an order

Reflecting upon this, we ought to admire the Judgments of God upon these barbarous Nations, and to acknowledge his Mercy toward us, that he has been pleased to let us be born of Parents illuminated with the bright Rays of the Christian Faith, in a Country where we are betimes formed to Piety, and all manner of Vertues; where the multitude of interiour Graces and exterior Helps present us the means to secure our Salvation, if we be faithful.

We ought to give him the Glory that is due to him for the excellent Lights we have received, and which distinguish us so advantageously from so many Nations who are in the Darknes of Error and Blindnes. This ought to oblige us to make our Election sure by all sorts of good Works, setting before our Eyes the account we must one day give before the dreadful Tribunal of God, of the use we have made of all his Graces and Benefits.

---

issued (Dec. 19, 1672) by the Congregation of the Propaganda, and enforced by a brief (Apr. 6, 1673) of Pope Clement X, forbidding the publication (without written permission from the Congregation) of any books about missions. See *Jes. Relations*, especially lv, pp. 315, 316.—ED.



*The Taking of Quebec by The English*  
M Vander Gucht Scul



## [161] CHAP. XXXVI.

*The History of the Irruption which the English made into Canada in the Year 1628. The taking of Quebec, the Metropolis of Canada, in the Year 1629. The most honourable Treatment they gave the Recolets.*

I THOUGHT my self obliged to publish the Observations which I have drawn from the Reverend Father *Valentine le Roux*, Provincial Commissary of our *Recolets of Canada*, who is a Man of singular Merit. I have told you in my first Volume, that I communicated to him my Journal of the Discovery I made of all the River of *Meschasipi*. This Man, who has a deep and piercing Judgment, has published what he knows of the Intrigues of *Canada* under a borrowed Name<sup>1</sup>; and he shews in his Work, that the Conduct of Providence is always admirable, and that she accomplishes her Designs by ways impenetrable, in their Beginning, in their Progress, and in their Perfection.

The Colony of *New France*, says this clear-sighted Religious, for a long time flourished more and more; great Discoveries were made, Trade advanced, the People encreased, Chappels and Oratories were built in many places, and the

---

<sup>1</sup> See the first sentence of the following chapter (xxxvii). Hennepin here gives a sort of paraphrase of chap. xii in Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*.—ED.

Country had a new face of Government: But God permitted all this to be ruined by the descent of the English, who pretend that their Sovereign is not only King of three Kingdoms, but also of the Sea.

Some English, zealous for their Nation, armed a Fleet in 1628,<sup>1</sup> to seize upon *Canada*, in the Reign of *Lewis XIII*, Father of the present King. Two Turtles,<sup>2</sup> [162] of which great Flights are in this Country, fell of themselves in a very calm time into the Fort of *Quebec* the 9th of *July* the same Year. The Inhabitants of *Canada* took it for a Prefage of the Change that happen'd.

The English in their *Route* seized upon a French Vessel which was at the Mouth of the River of *St. Francis*,<sup>3</sup> in that part of the Isle which is called *Pierced*, because of a small Cape of Land which shoots out into the Sea, in the middle of which is a great Arch which is naturally pierced in the Rock, under which the *Cbaloups* that fish for *Poor Jack* pass

---

<sup>1</sup> Reference is here made to the London trading company called "Merchant Adventurers to Canada." Its founder, Sir William Alexander, had obtained from James I of England a grant of all the territory from the St. Croix River to the St. Lawrence, ignoring all French claims to that region. In 1627, Alexander settled a small colony in Nova Scotia; and in the following year David Kirk, another of the associates, seized all the French fishing vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, threatened Quebec, and captured a French squadron sent with supplies for that town. In 1629, he returned to the attack, captured Quebec, and took possession of Canada for England.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The passenger pigeon (*Columba migratoria*); formerly abundant, but now practically extinct, in the United States. The word "Turtles" is, however, an absurd error of either Hennepin or his English translator; for this incident, as originally related by Sagard (*Canada*, Tross ed., pp. 831, 832, 887), was that of the sudden fall, without apparent cause, of two small towers (Fr. *tourelles*) of the fort.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> The Mal Baie River, in Gaspé; Isle Percée is not far from its mouth.—ED.

when they return from Fishing. The English sail'd with a fair Wind, and advanced up the River as far as *Tadoussac*,<sup>1</sup> which is a River that falls into this, and comes from the Countries which are towards *Hudson's Bay*, as may be seen in the Maps.

The English found a Bark, which they made use of to land 20 Souldiers: These were sent to seize upon Cape *Tourment*, so called, because of the danger the Ships are in there during the Tempests, which are more frequent here than in any part of the River. Two Savages who lived among the Europeans having discovered them, gave advice to *Quebec*, which is but about seven or eight Leagues from the Cape.

Monfieur *Champlin*,<sup>2</sup> who was Governour of that City, entreated Father *Joseph Caron*, Superiour of the *Recolets*, to go near the English Fleet in a Canoo of Bark, to know the Truth. The Advice was but too true. He found it confirm'd about five Leagues from *Quebec*, and had no other time but presently to run a shoar, and save himself in the Woods. The two Religious we had at Cape *Tourment* came by Land to *Quebec*, with the Sieur *Faucher*, who was Commandant there, to give an account of the taking of Cape

---

<sup>1</sup> Tadoussac is the seaport village at the mouth of the Saguenay River, Que. This river rises in Lake St. John, into which fall rivers that connect, by portages, with the streams flowing into Hudson Bay.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel de Champlain, the great explorer of Canada and the New England coast. His *Voyages*—of which several editions were published during his life, and which has also been translated into English—is one of the prime authorities on early Canadian history and geography. He founded Quebec (1608), and was the first governor of the colony (1612 until his death, Dec. 25, 1635—except during the English occupation, 1629–32).—ED.

*Tourment.* The English there seized upon all the Effects valuable, and the Inhabitants fled into the [163] Woods. There were but three that fell into the hands of the English; one of whom was called *Piver*,<sup>1</sup> with his Wife and his Niece. Soon after they appeared before *Quebec*, accompanied with an Officer of Mr. *Kirk*, Admiral of the English Fleet.

This Officer summoned them by a Letter from the Admiral to surrender the Place: but the Governour, who was a gallant Man of his Person, tho much *embarass'd* with this Invasion, remaining firm and undaunted, made them so fierce an Answer, that the English, who will rather perish than desist from an Enterprize, believed by this Answer that the Fort of *Quebec* was in a better condition than they thought it was. So this time they let it alone, and putting off their Design to a more convenient time, they set sail for *England*.

The English General then putting off the Design to the Year following, contented himself with taking a great number of Prisoners, which he carried into *England*, and among the rest a young Savage *Huron*, called *Lewis of the Holy Faith*,<sup>2</sup> who had been baptized two Years before by the Archbishop of *Rouen*. The rest of the Prisoners, doubtless with a design to be the more valued, said, that that Savage was the Son of the King of *Canada*. The English General believed that so considerable a Prisoner would much facilitate the Conquest of the whole Country the Year following. But he was much surprized when after he had taken *Quebec*, he under-

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas Pivert, one of the first settlers at Beaupré, Que.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Louis de Sainte-Foi, whose Huron name was Amantacha.—ED.



stood that the Father of this Savage was a poor miserable *Huron*, who had neither Credit nor Power in his own Nation. This was the Reason that the Son was restored in a pitiful Habit: The English took from him all the Equipage they had given him, as supposing he had been the Son of a King. The Reputation this Savage was in for some time was the Cause of his Ruin, and it may be of his eternal Damnation; for being [164] among the Savages, he lost all the Ideas of Christian Religion.

In the fright that every body was in upon the Arrival of the English, many Savage Mountaineers came to offer their Service to the *Recolets* of *Quebec*: among the rest the above-mentioned *Napaga Biscou*, who having been instructed and baptized by Father *Joseph Caron*, endeavoured to do the best service he could to his Benefactor. As soon therefore as he could make his Escape from the English, he represented to Father *Joseph*, that if the Enemy did the same at *Quebec* they had done at *Cape Tourment*, the Savages would find no Retreat any more for their Comfort during Winter: I beg of you Father, says this Savage, that you would be pleased to let two or three of your Friars go along with me; they will say Prayers for us, and instruct our Children, and those of our Nation who have not as yet seen any *Naked Feet*, for so they call our *Recolets*: I'll support them; they shall be treated as my self, and we'll come from time to time to visit you.

Father *Joseph* liked well this Proposition: the Savage took two along with him, which he led to a place where this In-

dian dwelt, who likewise begg'd that Friar *Gervase Mobier*, a Lay-brother, might be one of them: they designed to pass that Winter among the *Algonquins*. They presently therefore departed for the three Rivers, and run a great many risques in the Journey: Their Canoes were bilged about fifteen Leagues below the three Rivers, so that they were forced to go the rest of the Journey thorow the Woods. They thought to be carried by the Tide, which flows up the River of *St. Lawrence* above a hundred and thirty six Leagues from the Sea: At last by the help of a Canoo which they light upon by chance, they came to the three Rivers,<sup>1</sup> where were Villages erected by the Mountaineers and *Algonquins*: [165] these Savages were expecting there the Harvest-time for their Indian Corn. They made great demonstrations of the real Affection they had for them, of whom they had heard much Discourse from Father to Son.

Being there, they understood the English were gone out of the River, and that before that they had fought and vanquished the French Fleet which came into *Canada*. This News obliged Monsieur *Champlin*, Governour of *Quebec*, as well as all the rest of the French, to desire Father *Joseph* to come back.

While things passed thus, twenty Canoes were seen to arrive, conducted by the *Hurons*, who brought along with them

---

<sup>1</sup> An appellation of the *St. Maurice River*, given on account of the three divisions or branches of its current made by two islands which lie near its mouth; a French settlement was founded by Champlain (1634) at its mouth, which is now the city of Three Rivers, Que.—ED.

Father *Joseph de la Roche Daillon*,<sup>1</sup> Recolet. The Grief of *Nepaga Buscon* is not to be expressed when he was to part with this Religious: But the Order was peremptory. I cannot here forget the dexterous Contrivance of a young Christian Savage to rid himself out of the hands of the English, or rather to procure some Present from the French: He was called *Peter Antony Arekouanon*,<sup>2</sup> and had been baptized in *France*, and educated in a College at the Expence of the Prince of *Guimeni*: He was at *Tadoussac* when the English appeared there, and so was taken Prisoner with the rest, and carried aboard: he was interrogated in French and Latin, but made as if he understood nothing of what he was asked.

Captain *Michel*<sup>3</sup> a French-man, who out of Discontent had a long time before gone over to the English, knew this Savage, and that he understood both Languages: He gave an account to the General of it, who kept him for an Interpreter for the English when they should go to traffick with the Indians. *Peter Antony* could no longer conceal his Knowledge of the two Languages, and that he was a Christian; but he bethought him of a Stratagem: He pretended [166] he would really espouse the part of the *English*. He told the Admiral he was to keep some measures with the *French*; and

---

<sup>1</sup> This Récollet missionary came to Canada in 1625, and labored among the Hurons from 1626 to 1628; he then went to Quebec, and was sent back to France by Kirk in the following year.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Antoine Atetkouanon (according to Le Clercq; but Pastedechouan, in the Jesuit *Relations*, q. v. under that name).—ED.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Michel, mentioned in the *Relations* as a Huguenot.—ED.

above all, that he was much obliged to the *Recollets* who had converted him, and who had taught him what he understood of Latin and French. He begg'd of the Admiral, that he would not carry him to *Quebec*, that he could be more serviceable to him if he would be pleas'd to let him go to the three Rivers with Canoos loaden with Provisions and Merchandizes; and that he would induce a great number of Savages to come and trade. The Admiral believed what he said, and granted him all he demanded: But this Man seeing himself out of the hands of the *English*, who had treated him very civilly, went straight to the *Red Island*,<sup>1</sup> cross'd the River of *St. Laurence*, came to the River of *Wolves* [*Rivière du Loup*], and afterwards the Admiral heard no farther tidings of him.

They had a hard Winter of it at *Quebec*, for they wanted all sorts of Necessaries; and because the Ships which brought Provisions were seized on by the *English*, they were therefore obliged to divide the small Provision that was left. Our Religious might have had their share as well as others, but they contented themselves with Indian Corn, and the Pulse they had sown. Madam *Hebers*<sup>2</sup> made them a Present of two Barrels of Pease, which are extraordinary good and large in *Canada*; besides they had Raisins, and had made a provision of Acorns in case of necessity, and they were so happy as to catch some Eels, which are plentiful in that River.

<sup>1</sup> An island in the *St. Lawrence*, opposite the mouth of the *Saguenay*; in early times, noted for its seal-fisheries.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Marie Rollet, widow of Louis Hebert; he was the first agricultural settler in *Canada* (1617). He died in 1627.—ED.

Providence multiplied their Provisions so, that they were able to furnish three Seminaries of Savages, and many more who were in great Necessity.

The Jesuits, who for some time had made use of one half of our House, having built one for themselves, where they now dwell, did their utmost to succour the *French*.

[167] Early in the Spring Monsieur *de Champlin* seeing the Necessity we were in all Winter, which was very sharp in *Canada*, inasmuch that for the most part the Snow was five or six foot deep, and continued so, for it seldom rains in Winter, begged of Father *Joseph* to grant him a part of our Lands towards *Hair-point*, or *Point aux lievres*<sup>1</sup>: Some other private Persons granted other Lands: They were plowed in haste, and there was sown bearded Wheat, Pease and Indian Wheat, at the beginning and middle of *May*. They were forced to do so, because Wheat there cannot endure the Winter as in our Parts of *Europe*, because of the extrem Cold.

The said *Sieur Champlin* had sent People towards *Gaspè*, which is between the *Pierced Island* and *Boston*, which belongs to the *English*, to see if they could hear any tidings of any French Vessel; they went in a Chaloup, but could hear no news of any. But they were assured that the *Gaspesian* Savages offered to maintain twenty intire Families. The *Algonquins* and Mountaneers offered larger Supplies. A Ship was equipped to go into *France*; the *Sieur de Boulè*, *Sieur*

---

<sup>1</sup> "Point of Hares"; a headland on the St. Lawrence shore, near Quebec; the Jesuits had a cattle-farm there.—ED.

*Champlin's* Brother-in-law, was made Captain of her; he took the *Sieur des Dames*<sup>1</sup> Commiffary of the Company, for his Lieutenant.

Being come near *Gaspè* in the Bay of *St. Laurence*, they happily met with a French Ship commanded by the *Sieur Emeric de Caen*, who brought them Supplies. He told them that the King did fend the *Sieur de Rafilly* to fight the *English*, and save the Country.<sup>2</sup> The Ship was laden, and the *Sieur de Boulle* returned towards *Quebec*, and then was taken by an English Vessel, and was made a Prisoner of War with all his Crew.

In the interim the *Hurons* arrived at *Quebec* with twenty Canoos, we bought their Indian Corn: Monsieur de *Champlin* gave one part to the Jesuits, who [168] had taken upon them the charge to take care of several; and our *Recollets* having also receiv'd a supply of Victuals, subsisted till the arrival of the *English*, which was not long.

The *English* Fleet surpris'd the *French* in *Canada*; they appeared in the Morning the 19<sup>th</sup> of *July* 1629, over against

<sup>1</sup>Thierry Desdames, a naval captain; he came to Canada as early as 1622, and remained until the conquest. Returning after the retrocession of that country, he was commandant at Miscou from 1639 to 1646.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>Emery de Caen, a Huguenot naval officer, was prominent in the early history of Canada. During 1620-27 he, with his uncle Guillaume de Caen, was at the head of a mercantile company who had obtained the monopoly of the Canadian fur trade; for full account of this and several other commercial companies, see H. P. Biggar's *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901). He was also provisional governor of Quebec during the first year of the French reoccupation.

Isaac de Razilly, a naval officer of high standing, was ordered to relieve the suffering Quebec colonists; but, through some misunderstanding or neglect of orders, the ships failed to reach the place in time to prevent its capture by Kirk. Razilly is best known as governor of Acadia (1632-35.—ED.

the great Bay of *Quebec*, at the Point of the Isle of *Orleans*. The Fleet consisted of three Ships, and six others which stay'd at *Tadoussac*, and followed them. The Missioners, Jesuits, and *Recollets* had Orders to retire into the Fort of *Quebec* with the Inhabitants. Father *Valentine le Roux* assures us there was only Powder for three or four Discharges of Cannon, and eight or nine hundred Loads for Musquets.

Mr. *Kirk*, General of the English Fleet, sent an English Gentleman to *Sieur de Champlin* to summon the Place, and to deliver a very honourable Letter. The miserable state of the Country, which had neither Provisions nor Ammunition, for there had come no Supply for two Years past, obliged the Governor to return a more supple Answer than the Year past.

He therefore deputed Father *Joseph Caron*, Superior of the *Recollets*, and sent him aboard the English Admiral, to treat of the Surrender of *Quebec* upon advantagious Terms; and above all, to obtain some delay, if possible. Father *Joseph* demanded fifteen days, but the English General knowing the weak condition of the place, would admit of no delay. The Father insisted still upon fifteen days, upon which the English call'd a Council, and the Result was, they would only grant them that day till night. The Admiral gave Orders to Father *Joseph* to return to *Quebec* with this Answer, and that they should there make the Articles of Capitulation ready, which should be punctually perform'd.

[169] The English Admiral in a very civil and obliging manner told Father *Joseph*, that he with his Religious might

return to their Convent, and bid him be of good chear, for no harm should be done them, happen what would.

Two French Prisoners, the one called *Bailli*,<sup>1</sup> formerly Commissary of the Company of Merchants, and *Peter le Roy*, by trade a Waggoner, had done ill Offices to the Jesuits with one of the English Captains: They perswaded him that he should find with them great Riches. This was the reason that this Captain told Father *Joseph* in a heat, that if the Wind had proved good, they would have begun with their College first. Father *Joseph* at his return told them of the design, on purpose that they might take care of their Affairs in the Articles of the Treaty which were to be made.

Father *Joseph* having receiv'd this Answer from the Admiral, who shewed him the Ships with all the Ammunition, and the Souldiers with their Arms; in conclusion, he was set a shoar, and made his Report to Monsieur *Champlin* at *Quebec*.

A Council was held, and they were divided in their Sentiments. Two French Men who had accompanied Father *Joseph*, observed that the English were but few in number, and that they had not above two or three hundred Men of regular Troops, with some others that had not the Mein of Souldiers: Besides, they confided much in the Courage of the Inhabitants of *Quebec*; they were therefore much inclined, as well as the Jesuits, and our Religious, to run the risk of a Siege. But the Experience that Monsieur *Champlin* had of the Bravery of the *English*, who would rather perish than

<sup>1</sup> Called Le Baillif in the *Jesuit Relations*.—ED.



desist from an Enterprize which they had once begun, advised the Council rather to surrender upon honourable Terms than ruin all. The Articles of Capitulation were drawn up according [170] to Monsieur *Champlin's* Advice: Father *Joseph* was commissioned to carry them aboard the English Admiral; and all things being adjusted, they demanded time till the next day.

At the same time the Savages that were lovers of our Religious, and above all, the afore-mentioned *Chaumin*, solicited Father *Joseph* and our Friars, that they would be pleased to grant, that two or three of our Religious might retire into the Woods, and from thence into their Country. Altho *Chaumin* was not yet well confirmed in the Christian Religion, he had a very great love and esteem for our Religious, because they lived in common as the Savages do. Then having deliberated on this Proposition, they considered on the one side, that the *English* would not be any long time in possession of the Country, and that sooner or later the King of *France* would re-enter by Treaty, or some other ways; that in the interim it would advance the common good amongst the Savages, who offered to entertain our Religious; and that when the Country returned under the Dominion of *France*, our Religious might still be found in *Canada*, and in estate to continue their ordinary Labours, and support their begun Establishment. They were the more invited to embrace this Proposal, because the English General had given so great marks of Friendship to Father *Joseph*: In conclusion, two of our Religious offered to go. Father *Joseph* at the same time

did not go far off, and during this he thought it good to lose no time, since they must depart and escape, as some of the *French* did, who went away with the Savages in a Canoo; and it was not little Grief to the Missioners to be stop't by force in their just Designs.

The Council of *Quebec* and the other Chieftains oppos'd their departure, and it was concluded for divers Reasons politick and purely human; which [171] whether it was for the Reproach they pretended to have reason to fear in *France*, or whether it was the distrust of Providence towards our Religious, or whether, in short, it was they did not believe the *French* would return again into *Canada*, they were forced to yield.

This afforded matter to build a Complaint upon at Court, and particularly by our Friars of the Province of *St. Denis*, against Father *Joseph*, as not having that Firmness and Zeal which he ought to have had on this occasion; and that the Savages who had put all their Confidence in the *Recollets*, had been better dispos'd to the Christian Religion than ever before.

Father *Joseph* justified himself the best he could, and affirmed he had done nothing but executed the Orders of the Council of *Quebec*, as the Answers make evident, when he gave an account to the Definitor of his Province at his return, giving an account of his Mission.

The next day, being the 20th of *July*, in the Year 1629, the *Sieur de Champlin* having been on board the English Admiral, the Articles of Capitulation were signed by both

Parties; after which the *English* went ashore, and were put in possession of *Canada* by the *Sieur de Champlin*.

Father *Valentine de Roux*, an antient *Commiffaire*, Provincial of the Friars of *Canada*, whom I saw at my return from my Discovery, hath all the Articles of Capitulation made by the *French* at *Quebec* with the *English*, when the *English* took possession; he said the *Sieur de Champlin* saved with his Family all his Effects, and even found some advantage by this Treaty by the good Entertainment the *English* shew'd him. The *French* Inhabitants who were then in the Country had every one twenty Crowns, and all the rest of their Goods were to remain to the Conquerors; [172] and from this was made the great Complaint, because there were found some particular Persons who were enrich'd upon this occasion. Those who were willing to stay in the Country, obtained great Advantages of the *English*, but most of all the Family of Monsieur *Hebert*, whom I have often conversed with at *Mount Royal*, when I pass'd by to go to the Fort of *Frontenac*. The Religious, I confess, were much indebted to the Generosity of the *English* for divers singular Favours, which has always made me have a great Esteem for that brave Nation: They kept punctually their Word given by their Admiral, not suffering any Injury to be done to the Convent of our Lady of Angels at *Quebec*, nor to our first Residence, which was the place where now stands the Cathedral Church of *Quebec*, our Religious not having been re-establiſhed there since.<sup>1</sup> But

---

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently an error; as we have already seen, the Récollets returned to Quebec in 1670.—ED.

notwithstanding all the Diligence that the English Officers made use of in our favour, they could not hinder but one of their Souldiers stole from us a Silver Chalice: But the English Officers, who are naturally generous, testified much Trouble at it to our Religious, and swore solemnly to take Revenge on the Party if he could be discovered.

The Jesuits, who came not into *Canada* till fourteen or fifteen Years after our Friars<sup>1</sup> (who by consequence were the first Missioners of *America*) met with a Treatment far different; their House was pillaged, and all that was found was given as a Prey to the Souldiers; and they were obliged to imbark the next day with the *Sieur Champlin*, and all the *French* except twenty seven, who set sail towards *Tadoussac*: But the two Brothers *Lewis* and [Thomas] *Kirk*, the one Admiral, and the other Vice-Admiral of the *English*, permitted our Religious to stay at *Quebec*: The *English* testifying then publickly, that they left us in *Canada*, to instruct the Natives in the [173] Principles of the Christian Religion, and that with the consent of the King of *England*, that we might be hindred from returning into *France*. They had at the same time as much familiarity with them in all things, to say or do, or make Visits, with the same liberty as before the taking of *Quebec*; also they were so far from hindering the exercise of the Romish Religion, that they prayed them to take from them Wine for the Mass; which they knew was before de-

---

<sup>1</sup> The Récollets in Canada, finding themselves unequal to so great a task, invited the Jesuits (1624) to aid them in evangelizing the Indian tribes. In accordance with this request, a party of Jesuit missionaries came to Canada in the following year; and the two orders labored together until the conquest (1629).—ED.

puted for the ordinary Service of the Church, which there they heartily offered. Our Recollects lived so above six Weeks after the taking of *Quebec*, and received much Civility from the English, who solicited them to stay amongst them, having liberty to instruct the Natives who dealt with them. This continued till the 9th of *September* following, when they embarked us aboard the *Sieur Pontgrave*,<sup>1</sup> who remained at *Canada*, because of his Indisposition, with a design to rejoin the *Sieur Champlin*, the Jesuits, and all the French of *Canada*, who were ordered to pass to *Tadoussac*, the day after the taking *Quebec*. I leave you to think how great Sorrow the Missioners were plunged into, when enforced to abandon a Mission so long followed, and with so much application.

The hopes that our Friars had of returning in some good time into *Canada*, made them hide in several places part of their Utenfils, and closed up in a Case of Elk Skins, put into a good Box, which no Air could get into, the principal Ornaments of the Church. The English Fleet set sail the 14th of *September* for *England*, and arrived at *Plimouth* the 18th of *October*, where our Recollects staid five or six days; after which they were conducted to *London*, with some more French; from *London* they got to *Callice* [*Calais*] the 24th of the same Month, and from thence to our Convent of *Paris*.

[174] The Publick may remark, that the English having conferved our Convent of *Quebec*, and that of our Lady of Angels, the last of which was found in good estate to receive

---

<sup>1</sup> François du Pont (also called Pontgravé) was a French merchant who came with his friend Champlain to Canada in 1603; he was engaged in the fur trade from that time until the conquest.—ED.

the Jesuits at their return into *Canada*, whilst their House was making ready; our Religious having told them of the place where they had hid their Ornaments, gave power to the Jesuits to make use of them, or any thing they had there, as by their consent declared to Father *John* the Jesuit,<sup>1</sup> which they were pleased to accept, and made use of our Goods as their own; also of our House, of our Church, and of our Lands, of which one part they hold at present, from a place called the *Gribanne*, unto the side of the Convent of our Lady of Angels. From which it is to be observed, that a Letter attributed to Father *L'Allemant* Jesuit, and related in the 13th Tome of the *French Mercury*, must be a Forgery: For there he, amongst other things contrary to Truth, makes him say that he was of the Sentiments of his Provincial, to whom he writ, to dedicate their Church to our Lady of Angels, and that ours was consecrated to St. *Charles*; which clearly demonstrates that this Letter was not Father *L'Allemant's*, as is said: He was better vers'd in the History of *America*, than to be ignorant that the first Church in *Canada* belonged to the Recollects, who were the first Missioners, and that it was consecrated under the name of *our Lady of Angels*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a blunder for Paul le Jeune, who was first of the Jesuits to return to Canada in 1632. He was one of the most noted among the Canadian missionaries of that order, and was superior of the missions during 1632-39. In 1649 he returned to France.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to a letter written (Aug. 1, 1626) by Charles Lalemant, then superior of Canadian missions, to his brother Jérôme, also a Jesuit. It was published at Paris in 1627, and reprinted in the *Mercurie François*, then the chief periodical journal of France. Hennepin's statement that this letter is a forgery seems to have no valid foundation. See Shea's *Le Clercq*, p. 329, note\*; also *Jes. Relations*, iv, pp. 185-227, 248-250 — where the letter is republished in full.—ED.

[175] CHAP. XXXVII.

*How the Religious of the Order of St. Francis, in their Missions through the habitable World, have been before the Jesuits.*

I CANNOT but follow the Sentiments of Father *Valentine le Roux*, whom I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, which he hath been pleased to publish under the Name of Father *Christian le Clerc*.

It is a great Glory, and a great subject of Consolation, for our Holy Order of the Religious of St. *Francis*, to have had the advantage to be the first Forerunners of the Reverend Fathers of that Company of Jesus, in all places, by preaching the Gospel, and first digging, and preparing the Vineyard of our Lord, in all Apostolical things, in both the *Indies East and West*, in *Asia*, in *Barbary*, in *Turky*, and generally through all parts; where the Children of St. *Ignatius* have since walked in the Steps of the Children of St. *Francis*.

In the *East-Indies*, where the Jesuits are at this day great in Credit, in Merit, and in Wealth, having the Dew of Heaven, and the Fat of the Earth; the Receiver-General, whose Name I have forgot, made this Discourse in my presence, at the Table of Monsieur *Comte de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *New-France*: That eight Friars Minors were sent in the Year of our Lord 1500, and preached the Gospel at

*Callicute*, and *Cochim*<sup>1</sup>; there receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, all except Father *Henry*, who at his return into *Spain* was made Confessor to the King of *Portugal*, and Bishop of *Ceuta*.

[176] In 1502, there was ordered a great Mission of our Religious, who opened the way much farther to advance the Standard of the Cross; and there made a very great progress of the Gospel, by the Conversion of a prodigious number of these People.

In the Year 1510, our Religious of the Order of St. *Francis* built the famous College or Seminary of *Goa*,<sup>2</sup> the capital City of the *East-Indies*; and our Religious had the Conduct of it, and what accrued to it, for the space of 28 Years; till at the last, in the Year 1542, our Religious gave it to St. *Francis Xavierius*, that he might apply himself wholly, with his Disciples, to preach the Gospel to those barbarous Nations; of which the Historians of those times give evidence, and the Life of St. *Francis Xavierius*, the first Edition, does declare; above all Father *Horace Torcelin*, in a later Edition, alloweth it: But a certain late Author of the Jesuits has been pleased to suppress this mark of Acknowledgment, which of Justice is due to us.<sup>3</sup>

It is well known we have had the honour both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and even in *Japan*, where we have been

<sup>1</sup> These names should be Calicut and Cochin, cities on the west coast of Southern Hindostan.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> One of the most important cities on the west coast of India.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> The Society of Jesus was founded in 1534, by Ignacio de Loyola; his most prominent disciple was Francisco de Xavier. These two were afterward canonized, as St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. The latter began, in 1541, the missionary labors which have made him famous as "the apostle of the Indies"; in India and



sharers with the Fathers in the Crown of Martyrdom; our Religious having planted the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Voxu*, part of the East of *Japan*, as I have shewn in the Preface of this Book: and it is in these vast Countries where the Jesuits have been afterwards introduced, supported, loved, favoured, and joined with them in the Apostolical Labours.

It is not less evident in other parts of the World; the Religious of St. *Francis* having supported and employed to this day, as powerful Missioners as any since the beginning of their Order.

*Alexander* the Fourth, in the Year 1254, gives Testimony, in one of his Epistles, that our Religious had spread themselves in all Countries, not only of [177] Schismatics, but amongst those of Infidels. Remark the words of the Sovereign Pontiff.

“*Alexander, &c.* To Our well-beloved the Friars-minors, “who have been sent Missioners into the Land of the *Sarazens*, “*Painims*, *Greeks*, *Bulgarians*, *Cumanians*, *Ethiopians*, *Syrians*, “*Iberians*, *Jacobites*, *Nubians*, *Nestorians*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, “*Indians*, *Monosolites*, *Tartars*, the Higher and Lower *Hungary*, to the Christian Captives among the *Turks*, and to “other unbelieving Nations of the East, or in any other parts “where they are, wishing them Health, and sending them our “Apostolick Benediction.

In 1272, our Reverend Father *Jerom d' Ascole*, afterwards  
Japan his preaching converted thousands to the Christian faith, and in this occupation he died (1552).

Orazio Torsellini (Torcellin) was a professor in the Jesuit college at Rome, and wrote many historical and poetical works; he died in 1599.—ED.

created Pope *Nicolas* the Fourth, with his Disciples, not only managed the Reconciliation of the Greek with the Latin Church, but preached also the Gospel in *Tartary*; and by this means the Religious of our Order were sent for by the Princes of the Higher and Lower *Armenia*, in 1289, and continued their Conquests in 1332.

*Turky*, with the Kingdoms and Countries under the Grand Signior, have been, and are yet the Theaters of the Zeal of the Religious of St. *Francis*, and are demonstrations of our Travels. In the Holy Land, and other places, now subject to the Turks, the Christians are yet governed by the direction of the Children of St. *Francis*. Those who keep the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, have done considerable Service to the Reverend Fathers Jesuits; others of them upon divers occasions have willingly served them.

History maketh mention, that in the Year 1342, our Missioners went into *Bosnia* and *Sclavonia*, amongst the Infidels, amongst the great *Tartars*; who now possess *China*, and into *Persia*, *Media*, and *Chaldea*.

[178] In 1370 our Mission was reinforced by *Urban* the fifth with 60 of our Religious; the Order being then honoured by a great number of *Martyrs*.

The Embassy of *Eugenius* the 4th, and the Mission of 40 of our Religious to *Prester John*<sup>1</sup> in 1439, supported afterward

---

<sup>1</sup> Prester (*i. e.*, Priest) John was the title given, in the middle ages, to a supposed Christian sovereign and priest in Central Asia. It is said that this notion arose from the conversion by Nestorian missionaries, in the eleventh or the twelfth century, of a Tartar chief named Ung Khan, which was corrupted or incorrectly translated into Prester John.—ED.

by a greater Number, is well known, as well as the Reduction of these States by them to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

I should never have done, if I should undertake to give an account of all the famous Missions we have been honoured with through all the World; in which the Reverend Fathers Jesuits have since spread themselves, and are now entred into our Labours, or rather we have the Advantage of continuing them with us, and acting together in perfect Union for the Glory of God, and Propagation of his Gospel, which we only seek.

It is for this reason, that our Recolets of *Paris* called into *Canada* the Jesuits to help them, that they might labour together for the gaining of Souls: But it is remarkable, that when the English had restored *Canada* to the French after four Years abode there, the Jesuits, who had better Helps for returning thither than our Religious, and as it were by Intrigues, a Bar was put to the Return of our Recolets. It was a sensible trouble to see, that since we had preceded all the Jesuits in all other Missions of the Christian World, that of *New France* was the only Place where we had not the Consolation to continue with them in the Apostolical Labours; and by so much the more, because that reciprocal Charity, which was not in the least diminished between the two Bodies, perswaded us that the Jesuits, full of Vertue and Merit, had much regretted our absence, as seems to be evident by their Letters at that time.

It would require a Volume to describe the Difficulties that

our Religious have had, to return into our [179] Missions of *Canada*, and the Intrigues that some have made use of to hinder it: but nothing was omitted as to that. In conclusion, about thirty years after the Deputies of *Canada*, who were impatient for the return of our Recolets, told our Religious more than they were willing to know, and more than Charity would permit to publish; the Deputies told our Religious, they wanted some to make Curats at *Quebec*, and in some other places; that their Consciences were much troubled to have to do with the same People, both for Spirituals and Temporals, there being no Persons to whom they might communicate the difficulties of their Consciences, but to the Jesuits; and that the Recolets not being suffered to be amongst them was a great loss.

The Directors of the Company of *Canada*<sup>1</sup> discourfured us to the like purpose, particularly Monsieur *Rose*, in company of Monsieur *Margonne*, *Berbubier*, and others; who speaking to our Recolets, exprefs'd himself in these terms. 'My Fathers, it had been better you had returned into *Canada* than any others; it is a high Injustice done to them, and the Inhabitants: we now see where the Fault lay, present your Reasons, and you, and those of the Country, shall have all the Justice we can do you. The Secretary of the Company

---

<sup>1</sup> The commercial company (formed 1627) by Richelieu and other French officials, with many wealthy merchants, for carrying on the fur trade; it was called "Company of New France," also "the Hundred Associates." It had a monopoly of all Canadian trade, and thus gained enormous profits. In 1663 the company surrendered its charter to the crown. Margonne and Jean Rozée were directors of the company; the other name is probably a misprint for Berthier (Alexandre).—ED.

likewise spoke thus to the Religious. 'At other times, my  
'Fathers, I have been against you, for which I have begged  
'God's pardon: I was mistaken at that present; I see well I  
'have offended; and I pray God you may be suffered to re-  
'turn into *Canada*, after so long time, there to take charge  
'of your Cures: you are much longed for, for the repose of  
'Consciences.

Father *Zachary Moreau*, Recolet, who died the death of  
the Just in my Arms, in our Convent of *St. Germain en Lay*,  
and *Paul Huett*, who hath been my Father and Master from  
my Youth, at our Convent [180] of Recolets at *Montargis*,  
said to the Deputies of the Company of *Canada*; 'That tho'  
'they would even permit us to return, we would not pretend  
'to exercise the Function of Curats, lest we should give  
'Jealousy to any: But if the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits  
'should do us the same favour that our antient Fathers had  
'done them, in the Year 1625, when our Father *Joseph le*  
'*Caron*, Superiour of our Convent of *Quebec*, permitted them,  
'and even pray'd them out of love to exercise the Function  
'of Cures by turns. But all at last served for nothing; the  
'Company sent back our Religious to the Council of *Quebec*,  
'to amuse them; because the Council was composed of a  
'Governour, and Persons who were Creatures of the Rev-  
'erend Fathers Jesuits, as were the Superiour of the Mission  
'of [*sc.* and] the *Sindic*, and [some] of the Inhabitants, whom  
'they easily gained to hinder our return into *Canada*. The  
'Father Provincial of the Jesuits, and the Father *L'Allemont*  
'Superiour of the Profest House, was then in *France*, Supe-

'riour of the Missions, which all center'd to prolong our 'return. The Reader may judg, that if the Reverend Fathers Jesuits had been in our place, and our Recolets in theirs, whether we should have been wanting to put a value upon their Requests, and employed our Credit to serve them: Our Recolets stood firm for them against the whole Country, who were against their coming into *Canada*; and after their arrival, when the Governour and Inhabitants opposed their Reception, in the Year 1625, we supported them.

True Charity, which is right and simple, perswaded us the Reverend Fathers Jesuits would not be wanting to make us a willing return of the like, upon this present occasion; and they assured us by their Letter the Year following, that it was only want of Power and Credit in the Council of *Quebec*, that they could not do us the Service they desired.

[181] From this it is easy to judg, that there was not one favourable Resolution given towards our Religious: The Director-General of the Company, Monsieur *Lauzon*, appearing to be careless of our return, and in it a very great Obstacle; he passing in quality of Governour of *Canada*, having often promised our Re-admission: and afterwards going Governour, pretended not to be wanting to do us good Offices. The Marquês *de Deno[n]ville*, who after the great Discovery I had made, went over in quality of Governour of *Canada*, made us the like Promises of Monsieur *Lauzon*,<sup>1</sup> for the progress of our Discovery: besides, the

<sup>1</sup> Jean de Lauzon (one of the Hundred Associates) was Governor of Canada during 1651-56. Both he and Denonville were friendly to the Jesuits. — ED.

Marquefs had Orders to fupport our Recolets in their Inftitute, from the Court of *France*; but it proved quite contrary. The Court afterwards recalling him from his Government, it was given to Monfieur the Count *de Frontenac*, who hath been in my time a true Father to our Recolets, and a great fupport to our Miffions in *Canada*; as I have fpoke at large in my Description of my *Louifiana*, and more in my former Volume.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Of the Sentiments that a Missioner ought to have of the little Progresses they find in their Labours.*

ALL the Christian World acknowledg for a certain and undoubted Truth, and Maxim of Religion, and one of the chief Principles of Faith, that the Vocation and true Conversion of People and Nations, is the great Work and Mercy of the Power of God, and of the triumphant Efficacy of his Grace and Spirit. But if this be true of Nations that are Infidels and Idolaters, which are already under some [182] Laws and Rules, and so better prepared to receive the Instructions of Christian Religion; the Apostolick Man ought much more to acknowledg this dependance upon the Sovereign Lord, in respect of those barbarous Nations who have not any regard of any Religion true or false, who live without Rule, without Order, without Law, without God, without Worship, where Reason is buried in Matter, and incapable of reasoning the most common things of Religion and Faith.

Such are the People of *Canada*, all along the River of *St. Laurence*, and generally a prodigious quantity of People, of sundry Nations; which I have given an account of in my *Louisiana*, or former Book. And that which I offer is that they would in earnest acknowledg, that the Work of



the conversion of so many blind Nations, is above our strength, and that it only appertains to the Father of Spirits, as saith St. *Paul*, who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands, and who only is able to remove the Vail which covereth the Eyes of these Barbarians, and to clear their Understanding, to dissipate the Chaos of darkness, wherein they are buried, to bend their Inclinations, soften their hard and inflexible Hearts, and civilize them, and make them capable of those Laws which right Reason suggests; and so submit themselves to that which Religion prescribes.

This is the Foundation of a true Apostleship, in respect of the Natives of *Canada*, and all our great Discoveries twelve hundred Leagues beyond it. They ought to have all Moral and Theological Vertues, who are designed for so great a work as the Conversion of so many Nations; for whose Salvation I would willingly expose my Life. But before one sacrifices, and wholly devotes himself to this great Mission, he ought to lay it down for a certain Principle, That none can be drawn efficaciously to Jesus Christ, if the [183] Father of Lights do not draw him by the force of his victorious Grace: This his invisible Spirit breathes where and when he pleases; that the moments of Grace are known to God, and in the hands of the Power of the Father; and that having called all Men to Faith, in the preparation of his good Will, common to all, he gives them in his own time, exterior, interior, and sufficient Grace to obtain it: That the work is not only of him that runs, nor him that wills, but principally of him who illuminates and touches the Heart. The Glory

does not belong to him that preaches, nor to him that plants, nor to him that waters, but to him that gives the increase. That a Sacrifice of all Nature is not able to merit of *right*, the first Grace of Creation, which does not fall under that head. That it's in vain to endeavour to erect a Spiritual Edifice, if God do not assist by his preparing and preventing Grace.

An humble Simplicity must be the sole of all their Apostolical Labours, and a profound Annihilation of themselves, and submission to the holy Will of God. When their Zeal has not its effect, they must be content to say, We have done our part, as to what is required of our Ministry, but we are unprofitable Servants.

I now beg of my Lord God upon my Knees, with my hands lifted up to Heaven, that he would be pleased to continue and imprint in my Heart even to death, the Sentiments of Submission to the Will of God, and my Superiors, touching the Salvation of the Souls of so many Savages, who are in the darkness of Ignorance; that I may make an intire Sacrifice of the rest of my days in so laudable an Affair, exposing my Soul to all the Events of the Providence of God, living and dying; and that I may be so happy as to leave Sentiments truly Apostolical, full of light, capacity, Vertue and Grace, of Zeal and Courage to undertake [184] any thing for the Conversion of Souls, to suffer patiently the greatest Difficulties, and the severest Contradictions, for the accomplishment of their Ministry.

I beg of God from the bottom of my Heart, that all the

Missioners of the Universe may with me be of the number of the Vessels of Election, destinated to carry the Name of our Lord to People and Barbarous Nations, to the utmost ends of the World; and that the adorable Providence of God would be pleased to fortify his Militant Church with a number of Workmen, to labour in his Vineyard, to second the Labours of all other Orders, Secular and Regular, in the new establishments of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

*FINIS.*



[185] *An Account of several New Discoveries in  
North-America.*

*Of New-France.*

**M**R. *Joliet*, who was sent by Count *Frontenac* to discover a Way into the *South-Sea*, brought an exact Account of his Voyage, with a Map of it; But his Canow being over-set, at the Foot of the Fall of *St. Louis*, in sight of *Montroyal*, his Chest and his two Men were lost; therefore the following Account contains only what he has remembred.<sup>1</sup>

I set out from the Bay of *Puans* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 4 Minutes, and having travell'd about 60 Leagues to the Westward, I found a *Portage*; and carrying our Canows over-land for half a League, I embark'd with six Men on the River *Misconfing*, which brought us into the *Meschafipi* in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and an half, on the 15th of *June*, 1674. This *Portage* is but 40 Leagues from the *Mississipi*. This River is half a League broad; its Stream is gentle to the Latitude of 38 degrees; for a River, from the West-North which runs into it, increase so much its Rapidity, that we

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a poor and inaccurate abridgment of the account given in a contemporary MS. which is published by Margry in his *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, i, pp. 262-270; it is reproduced (with translation) in *Jes. Relations*, lviii, pp. 92-109.—ED.

cou'd make but five Leagues a Day in our Return. The Savages told us, that the Current is not half so great in Winter. The Banks of that River are covered with Woods down to the Sea; but the Cotton-Trees are so big, that I have seen some Canows made of those Trees, eighty Foot long, and three broad, which carry thirty Men. I saw 180 of those Wooden-Canows in one Village of the Savages, [186] consisting of 300 Cabins. They have abundance of Holly Trees, and other Trees, the Bark whereof is White; Grapes, Apples, Plums, Chesnuts, Pomegranates, Mulberries, besides other Nuts unknown to *Europe*; plenty of Turkey-Cocks, Parrots, Quails, Wild-Bulls, Stags, and Wild-Goats. These Savages are affable, civil and obliging; and the first I met with presented me with a Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which is a Protection even in a Fight. Their Women and old Men take care of the Culture of the Ground, which is so fertile as to afford three Crops of *Indian* Corn every Year. They have abundance of Water-Melons, Citruls, and Gourds. When they have sown their Corn, they go a Hunting for Wild Bulls, whose Flesh they eat, and the Skin serves for their Coverings, having dress'd the same with a sort of Earth, which serves also to dye them. They have Axes and Knives from the *French* and *Spaniards*, in exchange of their Beavers, and Skins of Wild Goats. Those who live near the Sea have some Fire-Arms.

The *Mississipi* has few Windings and Turnings, and runs directly to the South, and having follow'd its Course till the 33<sup>d</sup> Degree of Latitude, I resolv'd to return home, seeing

that River did not discharge it self into *Mar Vermejo*,<sup>1</sup> which we look'd for, as also because the *Spaniards* observ'd our Motions for six Days together. The Savages told me, that the *Spaniards* live within thirty Leagues to the Westward.

The said M. *Joliet* adds, That he had set down in his Journal an exact Description of the Iron-Mines they discover'd, as also of the Quarries of Marble, and Cole-Pits, and Places where they find Salt-Petre, with several other things. He had also observ'd what were the fittest Places to settle Colonies, &c. The Soil is very fertile, and produces abundance of Grapes, which might make delicious Wines.

[187] The River of *St. Lewis*,<sup>2</sup> which hath its Source near *Missibiganen* [Michigan], is the biggest, and the most convenient for a Colony, its Mouth into the Lake being very convenient for an Harbour. It is deep and broad, and well flock'd with Sturgeons, and other Fishes. The Stags, Bulls, Wild-Goats, Turkey-Cocks, and other Game, are more plentiful on the Banks of the said River, than any where else. There are Meadows Ten or Twenty Leagues broad, encompass'd with fine Forests; behind which are other Meadows, in which Grass grows six Foot high. Hemp grows naturally in all that Country.

Those who shall settle themselves there, need not be oblig'd, as we are here, to bestow Ten Years labour for felling down the Trees, and grubbing up the Land, before it is fit for Corn; for the Ground is ready for the Plough in that

<sup>1</sup> The Vermillion Sea, now the Gulf of California.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> So called by Joliet, but later known as the Illinois River.—ED.

fortunate Country, where they may have good Wine. Their young Wild Bulls may be easily learn'd to plough their Land; and their long curl'd Hair, or rather Wool, may serve to make good Cloth for their wearing. In short, that Soil wou'd afford any thing necessary for Life, except Salt, which they might have another way.



[188] *An Account of M. La Salles Voyage to the River  
Mississippi. Directed to Count Frontenac, Gov-  
ernor of New-France.*

THE River of *Niagara* is Navigable for three Leagues, that is, from the Fall to the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*; but the Stream is so rapid, that it is almost impossible for a Bark to sail up into the Lake, without a strong Gale, and the help of many Men to hale from the Shore at the same time. But besides all this, it requires so many other Precautions, that one cannot expect always to succeed.

The Mouth of the Lake *Erie* is full of Sands, which make it dangerous; therefore to avoid that Danger, and not venture a Ship every Voyage, it will be safer to leave it at an Anchor, in a River which runs into the Lake six Leagues from the River *Niagara*, and is the only Harbour and Anchorage in this Lake.

There are three great Points which advance above ten Leagues into it; but being chiefly made up of Sand, they are so low that there is great Danger of running a Ship against them before they are discover'd, and therefore a Pilot must be very skilful and careful to steer a Ship in this dangerous Lake.

The Streight or Canal between the Lake *Erie*, and the *Huron*, is very rapid, and no less difficult than that of *Niagara*,

though much deeper. The Streight of *Mifflikinac* between the Lake *Huron*, and that of the *Illinois*, is attended with no less Difficulties, for the Current is commonly against the Wind. There is no Anchorage in the Lake [189] *Huron*, nor any Harbour in that of the *Illinois*, upon the Northern, Western, and Southern Coasts. There are many Islands in both Lakes, which make the Navigation of that of the *Illinois* very perilous; for there being no Harbour to run into for shelter, and the Storms being very terrible on that Lake, 'tis a great Providence when a Ship escapes being dash'd in pieces against those Islands. However, some Canals and Anchorages may be discover'd in time, which will remove those great Difficulties, as has hapned in the Lake of *Frontenac*, the Navigation whereof is now easy, whereas it was at first as dangerous as that of the Lake *Huron* or *Illinois*.

The Creek through which we went from the Lake of the *Illinois*, into the *Divine River*, is so shallow, and so much expos'd to the Storms, that no Ship can venture to get in, unless it be in a great Calm.<sup>1</sup> Neither is the Country between the said Creek and the *Divine River*, fit for a Canal; for the Meadows between them are drown'd after any great Rain, and so a Canal will be immediately fill'd up with Sands: And besides, it is impossible to dig up the Ground, because

---

<sup>1</sup>This "creek" was the Chicago River; and the Divine River was the Des Plaines, the northern fork of the Illinois; on Joliet's map of 1674 the name Divine is applied to the entire course of the Illinois. The old portage-trail and these two rivers have been made the route for the great Chicago Drainage Canal, which extends from Chicago to Joliet, and furnishes a waterway for navigation (thus far, not open to large vessels) between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.—ED.

of the Water, that Country being nothing but a Morafs: But fupposing it were poffible to cut the Canal, it wou'd be however ufelefs; for the *Divine River* is not navigable for forty Leagues together; that is, from that Place to the Village of the *Illinois*, except for Canows, who have hardly Water enough in Summer-time. Befides this Difficulty, there is a Fall near the Village.

We have feen no Mines there, though feveral Pieces of Copper are found in the Sand when the River is low. There is the beft Hemp in that Country I have feen any where, though it grows naturally without any culture. The Savages tell us, that they have found near this Village fome yellow Metal; but that cannot be Gold, according to [190] their own Relation, for the Oar [Ore] of Gold cannot be fo fine and bright as they told us. There are Coal-Pits on that River.

The Wild Bulls are grown fomewhat fcarce fince the *Illinois* have been at War with their Neighbours, for now all Parties are continually Hunting of them. The Navigation is eafy from Fort *Crevecaeur* to the Sea; and *New-Mexico* is not above twenty Days Journey from the faid Fort. The Nations of the *Metontonta*,<sup>1</sup> who live within Ten Days Journey from the faid Fort, came to fee M. *la Salle*, and brought a Horfe's Hoof with them: They told us, That the *Spaniards* make a cruel War upon them, and that they ufe Spears more commonly than Fire-Arms. One may go by Water from Fort *Crevecaeur* to the Habitation of thefe Savages.

---

<sup>1</sup> Or Otontenta; the Des Moines River, and tribes dwelling thereon.—ED.

There are no *Europeans* at the Mouth of the River *Colbert* (or *Mississipi*); and the Monster of which M. *Joliet* gives so dreadful a Description, is a Fancy of some Savages, and had never any Original. It is within a Days Journey and a half from Fort *Crevecaeur*; but had M. *Joliet* gone down the River, he might have seen a more terrible one. That Gentleman has not consider'd that the *Mosopoela*, of whom he takes notice in his Map, were altogether destroy'd before he set out for his Voyage. He sets down also in his Maps several Nations, which are nothing but Families of the *Illinois*. The *Pronevoa*, *Carcarilica*, *Tamaroa*, *Koracocnitonon*, *Cbinko*, *Caokia*, *Choponsca*, *Amonokoa*, *Cankia*, *Ocanfa*, and several others, make up the Nation and the Village of the *Illinois*, consisting of about 400 Cabins cover'd with Rushes, without any Fortifications. I have told 1800 fighting Men amongst them. They have Peace now with all their Neighbours, except the *Iroquesse*; and it wou'd be easy to reconcile them, were it not to be fear'd that they wou'd afterwards fall upon the *Outouats*, whom they mortally hate, and disturb [191] thereby our Commerce; so that we must leave them as they are; for as long as they shall have occasion for us, they will be ready to comply with any thing that we can desire from them, and keep in awe the Nations inhabiting to the Westward, who are much afraid of the *Illinois*.

The Banks of seven or eight Rivers, which discharge themselves into the *Mississipi*, or *Colbert-River*, the least whereof runs above 300 Leagues, are cover'd with Fine Timber for Building Ships.

M. la Salle has seen some Savages of three Nations through which *Ferdinand Sotro* pass'd with his Army, viz. the *Sicachia*, *Cascin*, and *Aminoya*<sup>1</sup>: They told him that we might go by Water from *Crevecœur* into their Country.

It is highly necessary to carry on this Discovery; for the River inhabited by the *Sicachia*, which in all likelihood is the true *Cbukagoua*, has its Source near *Carolina*, and consequently very near the Habitation of the *English*, about three hundred Leagues to the Eastward of the *Mississippi* in the *French Florida*, at the foot of the *Apalachin Hills*: For had the *English* notice of it, they might by means of this River-Trade with the *Illinois*, *Miamis*, *Nadouessians*, and other Savages, spoil for ever our Commerce.

The Winter has been as hard in the Country of the *Illinois* as at *Fort Frontenac*; for though the Weather was there in *January* as temperate as in *Provence*, yet the River was still frozen on the 22d of *March*; and therefore I conclude 'tis much the same Climate as the Country of the *Iroquese*.

The Country between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the Lake *Erie*, is a row of Mountains for a hundred Leagues together, from whence spring a great number of Rivers, which run to the Westward into the Lake of the *Illinois*, to the North into the Lake *Huron*, to the East into the Lake *Erie*, and to the South into the River *Ohio*.<sup>2</sup> Their Sources

<sup>1</sup> *Sicachia* were *Chicasas*. The *Tennessee River* was on early maps called *Casquinambo*; one of these, by *De l' Isle*, names it "River of the *Casquinambaux* or *Cheraquis*" (*Cherokees*). It is apparently the *Tennessee River* which is mentioned in the following paragraph.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The southeastern watershed of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan varies from 400

are so near one [192] another, that in three Days Journey I cross'd twenty two, the least whereof is bigger than that of *Richelieu*. The top of these Mountains are flat, and full of Bogs and Morasses, which being not frozen, have prov'd an insupportable difficulty and trouble in our Voyage. There are now-and-then some Plains, which I take to be very fertile; they are cover'd with Bears, Stags, Wild-Goats, Turkey-Cocks, and Wolves, who are so fierce as hardly to be frighted away by the Noise of our Guns. There is a River in the bottom of the Lake *Erie*, within Ten Leagues of the Canal, which may very much shorten the way to the *Illinois*, it being navigable for Canows till within two Leagues of theirs<sup>1</sup>; but the most convenient of all is the River *Ohio*, which being navigable for Barks, will save all the trouble of making a Communication between the Lake of the *Illinois* and the *Divine River*, and the great Expences of making the said River navigable to Fort *Crevecœur*.

One must not fancy that the Ground in the Country of the *Illinois* is ready for the Plough; some of them are too dry, others too wet; and in short, all require some Toil and Trouble; but I am sure they can sufficiently recompence in a little time, those who will be at the pains to cultivate them.

The Nations through which we have pass'd have receiv'd us very kindly, because of our *Calumet* of Peace, which is a

---

to 600 feet in altitude. Hennepin mentions it as a "row of Mountains" simply because it rises abruptly from a trough or depression (with an altitude of not over 72 feet) which extends across the center of the Peninsula; this sudden rise gives the effect of an apparently much greater height to the watershed.—ED.

<sup>1</sup>The Maumee River.—ED.

safe Conduct and a sufficient Recommendation amongst the Savages.

The *Illinois* offer'd to accompany us to the Sea, in hopes, as we told them, that we would supply them that way with *European* Commodities; for the want of Knives, Axes, &c. makes them very officious. The young Calves may be easily tam'd, and very useful for fetling our Plantations. The *Illinois* have also many Slaves<sup>1</sup> which may be of great use to us.

There are as many idle Fellows amongst them as among other Nations, and a great many more Women [193] than Men. They marry several Wives, sometimes nine or ten, and commonly all Sisters if they can, thinking they agree better in their Family.

I have seen three Children who have been Baptiz'd; one call'd *Peter*, the other *Joseph*, and the third *Mary*, who nevertheless are like to live as their Father, who has marry'd three Sisters; for they have no farther Christian Instruction; Father *Allouez*,<sup>2</sup> who Baptiz'd them, having left that Country, unless one would think that the Stick that Father left amongst them, as a Mark that the Country belongs to him, has any extraordinary Virtue to promote Christianity. These are the

---

<sup>1</sup>The Illinois Indians were especially active in collecting, and selling to other tribes, slaves captured from the regions beyond the Mississippi. The French who settled at Kaskaskia and other places on the great river adopted from the savages the custom of slaveholding — first of Indian captives, and later of negroes brought from Louisiana.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>Claude Jean Allouez came to Canada in 1658, and labored in the Western missions from 1665 until his death (Aug. 27, 1689). He founded the Jesuit missions at Chequamegon Bay and Green Bay, and succeeded Marquette among the Illinois tribes; at the time of his death, he was laboring with the Miamis on St. Joseph River.—ED.

only Christians I have found amongst them, which I am sure cannot be such but *in Fide Ecclesiæ*.

Father *Allouez* lives now in a Village of the *Miamis*, *Mafkoutens*, and *Ochiakenens*, who have quitted their own Nation and Ancient Habitations, to confederate themselves with the *Iroquefe* against the *Illinois*; and for that purpose they sent last Summer an Embassy into the Country of the *Iroquefe*, with a Letter of Father *Allouez*. The end of that Embassy was, as I have said, to oblige 'em to unite themselves with them against the *Illinois*; and they were negotiating the Alliance, when I arriv'd at the Village of the *Tjonnontouans*; and upon notice thereof, a Woman was sent to tell them to run away, for fear the *Iroquefe* should kill them. They had however no design to do them any harm, as it appear'd afterwards; for the *Iroquefe* having overtaken the said Ambassadors, they were kindly us'd; but they enter'd upon no Business, as long as I continu'd there. I met with one of the said Ambassadors since that time in their own Country, who told me such horrid things, that I cannot entirely believe them; and I rather suspect the *Miamis* to be Contrivers thereof. However, Father *Allouez* had no sooner intelligence that I was arriv'd at the Village of the [194] *Illinois*, than that they sent one *Monso*, one of their Chiefs, with four large Kettles, twelve Axes, and twenty Knives, to persuade the *Illinois* that I was Brother of the *Iroquefe*; that my Breath smell'd like theirs; that I eat Serpents; that I was sent to betray them, and attack them one way, while the *Iroquefe* should attack them



by another; that I was hated by all the *Black-Gowns*, who forsook me because I design'd to destroy the *Miamis*, having taken two of them Prisoners; and, lastly, that I understood Physick enough to poyson all the World. Their Suggestions were so ridiculous and so false, that I had no great difficulty to convince the *Illinois* of the Malice of my Enemies; and *Monso* was in great danger of losing his Life for his pains. They told him he had an *Iroquese* Serpent under his Tongue, meaning his Baseness and Malice; that his Comrades who had been Ambassadors into their Country, had brought that Venom, and had breathed in the Malice of the *Iroquese* in smoaking in their *Calumet*. I was oblig'd to intercede for him, for else they would have murder'd him.

'Tis certain, that their Design is to engage Count *Frontenac* into a War with the *Iroquese*; and having tri'd in vain several Ways to succeed, they think there is no better than to persuade the Nation of the *Miamis*, who are our Confederates, to settle themselves near the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them, infomuch that the *Iroquese* cannot attack one Nation, without breaking with the other, and thereby oblige your Lordship either to forsake our Allies, or declare Wars against the *Iroquese*. This is not a rash and groundless Judgment; for these *Miamis*, with whom Father *Allouez* lives, have kill'd several *Iroquese* this Winter; and having cut the Fingers of another, they sent him back to tell their Nation that the *Miamis* are join'd with the *Illinois* against them. Perhaps that Perfidiousness obliges [195] Father *Allouez* to quit them

next Spring, as I understand he designs to do. However, I am confident to stop the Progress of this Cabal, if your Lordship comes this Year to weep *for the Death of the Onon-take* [Onondagas], who have been kill'd; for the *Illinois* have promis'd me to release some Slaves, and forbear their Excursions against the *Iroquese*, who having been inform'd of my Good Offices, have express'd a great Gratitude thereof. This *Weeping* is a common Ceremony among the Savages, when any of their Warriors have been kill'd.

I do not wonder that the *Iroquese* should talk of invading our Allies; for they are every Year provok'd; and I have seen at *Missilinaokinak*, amongst the *Poutouatamits* and the *Miamis*, the Heads of several *Iroquese*, whom they have kill'd by Treachery, as they were a Hunting last Spring. This is come to the Knowledge of the *Iroquese*; for our Allies have been so impudent as to boast of it; and especially the *Poutouatamits*, who dancing the *Calumet* at *Missilinaokinak* before three *Agneiz*, or Envoys of the *Iroquese*, boasted of their Treachery, and held in their Hands several Heads of Hair of *Iroquese*'s.

I cannot forbear to take notice of the Discourse I had with a Savage of the Nation of the *Wolf*, who being convinc'd of the Truth of the Christian Religion, and press'd by some Missionaries to embrace the Catholick, and by some *English* Ministers to embrace Theirs, was in great perplexity which of the two he should chuse; for, as he told me, these Men are very unlike the Apostles; the former because of their great Covetousness, and the latter because of their being

marri'd. But having observ'd in the *Recolleets* both Chastity and the Contempt of the Riches of the World, he was Baptiz'd by them.

I have seen in this Country abundance of Green Parrots, bigger and finer than those of our Islands.

[196] *A Discovery of some New Countries and Nations in the Northern America. By Father Marquette.*

ON the 13th of *May*, 1673, I embark'd with *M. Joliet*, who was chosen to be our Director in this Undertaking, and five other *French-men*, in two Canows made of Barks of Trees, with some *Indian Corn* and boil'd [*sc.* smoked] Flesh for our Subsistence. We had taken care to get from the Savages all the Intelligence we could, concerning the Countries through which we design'd to travel, and had drawn a Map of the same, according to their Relation, in which we had mark'd the Rivers, and the Name of the Nations we were to meet, and the Rhombs of the Wind we were to make use of in our Journey.

The first Nation we met with, is call'd the *Nation of the Wild-Oats*<sup>1</sup>: I went into their River to visit that People, to whom we have preach'd the Gospel for several Years, and amongst whom there are many good Christians. The *Wild-Oats*, from which they have got their Name, is a sort of Corn which grows naturally in the small Rivers, the bottom whereof is *Owzie*,<sup>2</sup> as also in marshy Grounds. It is much like our

<sup>1</sup>The Menominees, whose name means "wild-rice people"—so called because that grain (*Zizania aquatica*) is abundant in their country, and an important part of their food. They lived on the river which still bears their name; it forms part of the boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>That is, oozy, meaning "slimy" or "muddy."—ED.

*European Oats*; the Stem is knotted, and grows about two Foot above the Surface of the Water. The Corn is not bigger than ours, but it is twice as long, and therefore it yields much more Meal. It grows above the Water in *June*, and the Savages gather it about *September* in this [197] manner: They go in their Canows into those Rivers, and as they go they shake the Ears of the Corn in their Canows, which easily falls, if it be ripe: They dry it upon the Fire; and when it is very dry, they put it into a kind of Sack made with the Skin of Beasts; and having made a Hole in the Ground, they put their Sack therein, and tread on it till they see the Chaff is separated from the Corn, which they Winnow afterwards. They pound it in a Mortar to reduce it into Meal, or else boil it in Water, and season it with Grease, which makes it near as good as our Rice.

I acquainted that Nation with the Design I had to travel farther into the Country, to discover the remotest Nations, and teach them the Mysteries of our Holy Religion; at which they were mightily surpriz'd, and did their utmost to dissuade me from that Enterprize. They told me that I should meet some Nations who spare no Strangers, whom they kill without any Provocation or Mercy; that the War those different Nations had one with the other, should daily expose me to be taken by their Warriors, who are perpetually abroad to surprize their Enemies: That the great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of dreadful Monsters, who devour'd Men, and even the Canows themselves. They added, That a Devil stopp'd the Passage of the said River, and sunk those

who were so bold as to come near the place where he stood; and, in short, that the Heat was so excessive in those Parts, that we should never be able to preserve our Health.

I return'd them my hearty Thanks for their good Advices; but told them I would not follow them, since the Salvation of a great many Souls were concern'd in our Undertaking, for whom I should be glad to lose my Life. I added, That I laugh'd at their pretended Devils and Monsters, and that their [198] Informations would oblige us to stand the more upon our Guard to avoid any Surprise. And so having pray'd to God with them, and given them some Instructions, we parted from them, and arriv'd at the Bay of *Puans* [Green Bay], where our Fathers make a considerable Progress towards the Conversion of those Ignorant Nations.

The Name of this Bay sounds better in the Language of the Savages than in ours; for according to the Word they make use of, one may call it as well the *Salted Bay*, as the *Stinking Bay*; for they call the Sea after the same Name. This oblig'd us to enquire whether there were in that Country any Salt Springs, as there is one among the *Iroquese*; but we could find none; and therefore we think that this Name was given to this Bay, because of the great quantity of Mud and Owze that is there, from whence such Vapours arise, that occasion the most dreadful Thunders that ever I heard in any Country.

This Bay is about thirty Leagues long, and about eight

broad, that is to say in its greatest breadth; for it grows narrower, and forms a Cone at the extremity; where one may easily observe, that this Bay has its settled Tides just as the Sea. This is not a proper place to enquire whether the Flowing and Ebbing of the Water of this Bay, may be properly call'd a Tide, or whether they are occasion'd by the Winds, which never, or very seldom fail to blow from the same Point upon the Moon's ascending our Horizon; but this I may say, That in the greatest Calm, the Waters in this Bay flow and ebb according to the Motion of the Moon; though I will not deny but that the Winds, which move the Waters towards the middle of the Lake, may contribute to this effect.<sup>1</sup>

We left this Bay to go into a River that discharges it self therein; and found its Mouth very [199] broad and deep. It flows very gently; but after we had advanc'd some Leagues into it, we saw it was interrupted by several Rocks and rapid Streams; and so shallow in some places, that it would hardly bear our Canows. The bottom is full of Flints, which are as so many Razors that cut the Canows, and made it impossible for our Men to walk therein, to make the Canows more light, when the shallowness of the Water did not permit us to row away.<sup>2</sup> It is full of Bustard, Ducks, and Teals, because of the Wild Oats in the Marshes thereabouts. However, we conquer'd those Difficulties, and

---

<sup>1</sup> See the observations made by the Jesuit Louis André upon these tides (*Jes. Relations*, lvi, pp. 137-139; lvii, 301-305; lx, 205-207).—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The (Lower) Fox River of Wisconsin, the outlet of Lake Winnebago.—ED.

came to an Habitation of the *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux*<sup>1</sup>; but before we arriv'd at the Village, I had the Curiosity to taste the Mineral Water of a River near it, and found a Simple of a wonderful Virtue against the Venom of the Serpents. A Savage who knew it, had shown it to Father *Allouez*, who had often occasion to try its Virtues, God having been pleased to provide that Country with that wonderful Antidote against the Serpents, who are very dangerous in those Parts. The Root of that Simple is very hot, and tastes like Gunpowder; they chew it, and apply it to the Part of the Body stung by the Serpents; and this without any other Mystery cures the Wound; and the Serpents have such an Antipathy against the Herb, that they run away from any Man who has rubb'd his Body with the same. It produces several Stalks about a foot high; the Leaves are somewhat long; the Flower is white, and the whole looks like our Gilliflowers. I took one into our Canow, the better to examine it.

This Bay of *Puans* had been hitherto, as one may say, the *Ultima Tbulæ* of the *French*, for they never durst advance further into the Country. This Village, as I have intimated, consists of three several Nations, *viz.* *Miamis*, *Maskoutens*, and *Kikabeux* [Kickapoos]. The first are more civil than the other, and better [200] shap'd, as well as more liberal. They wear long Hair over their Ears, which looks well

<sup>1</sup> The site of this Indian village cannot be identified, further than to locate it on the Upper Fox River, above Lake Winnebago — probably in Green Lake County. See discussion of the subject in *Jes. Relations*, liv, p. 308; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 42, note 1.—ED.



enough. They are accounted valiant Men amongst their Neighbours; but are so cunning, that they seldom return from their warlike Expeditions without Booty. They are apt to learn any thing, for they love to hear the *European's* Talk; and Father *Allouez* told me, That they had such a violent desire to be instructed, that they often disturb'd his Rest to ask him Questions about what he had told them the Day before. The *Maskoutens* and *Kikabeux* are more Clownish; and there is as much difference between the *Miamis* and them, as between our Boors and Citizens. As the Rind of Birch-Trees are scarce in this Country, they are oblig'd to make their Cabins with Rushes, which serve as well for covering the same, as for Walls. It must be own'd that these Cabins are very convenient; for they take them down when they please, and carry them by small Parcels wherever they will, without any trouble.

When I arriv'd there, I was very glad to see a great Cross set up in the middle of the Village, adorn'd with several White Skins, Red Girdles, Bows and Arrows, which that good People had offer'd to the Great *Manitou*, to return him their Thanks for the care he had taken of them during the Winter, and that he had granted them a prosperous Hunting. *Manitou* is the Name they give in general to all Spirits whom they think to be above the Nature of Man.<sup>1</sup>

Their Village is situated on a Hill, from whence one may

---

<sup>1</sup> The cross had to these savages a symbolic meaning, long before they saw white men. See W. J. Hoffman's explanation of its use by the Medicine society among the Menominees, in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1885-86, p. 155.—ED.

discover the largeſt Meadows in the World, adorn'd at certain diſtance with Groves and Woods. The Soil is very fertile, and produces a great quantity of *Indian Corn*. They preferve alſo Plums and Grapes.

[201] As ſoon as we were arriv'd, M. *Joliet* and I deſir'd the Eldeſt of the Savages to meet us, and I told them that M. *Joliet* was ſent by the Governor of *Canada* to diſcover new Countries, and I from God Almighty to teach them the Knowledge of their Creator, who being abſolute Maſter of all his Creatures, will have all Nations to know him; and that therefore to comply with his Will, I did not value my Life, which I freely expos'd to all manner of Dangers; Concluding, That we wanted two Guides to put us in our Way, which we deſir'd them to grant us. We enforc'd our Compliment with ſome Preſents that were kindly accepted by the Savages; who anſwer'd us likewiſe with a Preſent, *viz.* a *Mat*, which was our Bed during our Voyage. They granted us alſo two Guides, to accompany us for ſome Days. The next Day, being the 10th of *June*, the two *Miamis* who were to conduct us, imbark'd with us in ſight of all the Inhabitants of the Village, who could not admire enough that ſeven *Europeans* ſhould venture upon ſo dangerous and extraordinary an Undertaking.

We were inform'd, that within three Leagues of the *Maskoutens*, there was a River which runs into the \**Henepin* calls \**Miſſiſſipi*, and that we were to go directly to the *it Meſchaſſipi*.  
 Weſt-South-Weſt, to find it; but there are ſo many Moraffes and Lakes between it, that had it not been for our Guide,

we had never been able to find it; and the River upon which we row'd, to find the Place we were to Land and carry our Canow into the other, was so full of Wild-Oats, that it lookt rather like a Corn-Field than a River; infomuch that we cou'd hardly discover its Channel. As the *Miamis* frequented this Place, they conducted us to the usual Place of *Portage*, and help'd us to carry our Canow over-land into the other River, distant from the former about two Miles and a half<sup>1</sup>; from [202] whence they return'd home, leaving us in an unknown Country, having nothing to rely upon but the Divine Providence. We made a Solemn Vow in this place, and resolv'd to use some particular Prayers every Day to the Blessed Virgin, to recommend our Persons and Enterprize to her Protection, and afterwards embark'd.

This River is call'd *Mesconsin* [Wisconsin]: It is very broad, but the Sands make its Navigation difficult; and this Difficulty is increas'd by an infinite Number of Islands cover'd with Vines. The Country through which it flows is very fine; the Groves dispos'd at certain Distances in the Meadows, make a noble Prospect; and the Fruit of the Trees discovers the Fertility of the Soil. Those Groves are full of Walnut-Trees, as also of Oaks, and of another sort of Trees unknown to us in *Europe*, the Boughs whereof are arm'd with long Thorns. We saw no other Game in these Meadows but abundance of Wild-Goats, and Wild-Bulls. Within thirty Leagues of this Place where we embark'd, we found some Iron-Mines; and one of our Company, who had formerly

---

<sup>1</sup> The Fox-Wisconsin portage (see p. 306, note 1, ante).—ED.

seen such Mines, told us that these were extraordinary good: They are not above three Foot deep, and are situate near a Row of Rocks, the Foot whereof is cover'd with fine Woods. After having row'd ten Leagues further, that is, forty Leagues in all from the Place where we embark'd, we came into the *Mississippi* on the 17th of *June*. The Mouth of the *Mesconsin* is about forty two Degrees and a half of Latitude. The Satisfaction I had to see this famous River, is almost incredible; for though the Savages had often spoken of it to our Men, none of them had been so bold as to venture so far in this unknown Country. This oblig'd me to consider this River with a greater Attention than otherwise I wou'd have done, as the Reader will perceive in perusing the following Account.

[203] The *Mississippi* is form'd by several Lakes in the North-Country, from whence it runs to the South. Its Channel is pretty narrow at the Mouth of the *Mesconsin*, being streighten'd by a Row of high Mountains on the other side; but however its Stream is very gentle, because of its depth; for we found there nineteen Fathom Water. But a little below that Place, it enlarges it self, and is about three quarters of a League broad. Its Banks are very fine; but three Days after, we discover'd a much better Country. The Trees are higher, and the Islands so beautiful, that I verily believe there is nothing like it in the World. The Meadows are cover'd with an infinite number of Wild-Goats and Bulls, and the River with Bustards and Swans without Wings, because their Feathers fall in this Country about that

time. We saw extraordinary Fishes, and one of them was so big, that our Canow was like to be broke into Pieces, because it run against it. We saw also a very hideous Sea-Monster; his Head was like that of a Tyger; but his Nose was somewhat sharper, and like a Wild-Cat; his Beard was long, his Ears stood upright, the Colour of his Head being Grey, and the Neck Black. He look'd upon us for some time; but as we came near him, our Oars frighted him away: This is the only one we saw.<sup>1</sup> We caught abundance of Sturgeons, and another sort of Fish somewhat like our Trouts, except that their Eyes and Nose are much lesser, and that they have near the Nose a Bone like a Woman's Busk, three Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long, the End whereof is flat and very broad, infomuch that when they leap out of the Water, the Weight of that Bone makes them fall backwards. We saw also abundance of Turkey-Cocks on the Banks of the River.

[204] The *Pifikious*, which we call *Wild-Bulls*, are not much unlike ours; they are not altogether so long, but twice as big: We shot one of them, and thirteen Men had much ado to drag him from the Place where he fell. Their Head is of a prodigious bigness, their Forehead broad and flat, and their Horns (between which there is at least a Foot and a half distance) are all black, and much longer than those of our *European* Cattle. They have a Bump on the Back; and their Head, Breast, and part of the Shoulders, are cover'd

---

<sup>1</sup> Probably a panther. The fish here described is the spade-fish (p. 219, *note 1, ante*).—ED.

with long Hair. They have in the middle of their Forehead an ugly Tuff of long Hair, which falling down over their Eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look dreadful. The rest of the Body is cover'd with curl'd Hair, or rather Wooll, like our Sheep, but much thicker and ruffer. Their Hair falls in Summer-time, and then their Skin is as soft as Velvet, nothing remaining but a kind of short Down. The Savages make use of their Skins for Gowns, which they paint with several Colours. Their Flesh and Fat is excellent, and the best Dish of the Savages, who destroy abundance of them, though they are very fierce and dangerous; and if they can but take a Man with their Horns, they toss him up, and then tread upon him. The Savages hide themselves when they have shot at them, for else they shou'd be in great danger of their Lives, those Beasts being fiercer when wounded; they follow them at certain distances, till they have lost so much Blood as to be unable to do them any hurt, or to defend themselves. They Graze upon the Banks of the River; and I have seen above four hundred together.<sup>1</sup>

We continu'd to fall down the River, having seen nothing for above a hundred Leagues, but Beasts and Birds; however, we were always upon our Guard, and especially during the Night, for [205] fear of any Surprize. We landed in the Evening to dress our Supper, and made but a little Fire, and then left the Shore, casting an Anchor near the middle

---

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the bison (usually known as buffalo), see monographs in *U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, Ann. Rep.*, 1875, pp. 443-587; and *Smithsonian Inst. Rep.*, 1887, pt. 2, pp. 367-548.—ED.

of the River, where we lay, as the safest Place, and yet one of us watch'd always by turns. On the 25th of *June* we went a-shore, and found some fresh Traces of Men upon the Sand, and then found a Path which led into a Meadow. We call'd our Men together, and it was resolv'd that our Men shou'd continue in the Canows, while M. *Joliet* and I shou'd follow that Path, and endeavour to find the Habitation of the Savages. This Undertaking was very bold, yet relying upon God Almighty, we went on, and within ten Leagues from thence, discover'd a Village on the Banks of a River, and two other Villages on a Hill within half a League from the former. Having again implor'd God's Protection, we advanc'd so near to the Savages, that we cou'd hear them talk, and therefore thought it was time to give them notice of our Arrival, which we did with a loud Cry, and then stopp'd. The Savages immediately came out of their Cabins, and seeing but two Men, they were not frighted, and especially because we had acquainted them by our Cry, with our Approach; therefore they sent four of their Old Men to talk to us, and see who we were, and what Business we came upon. They carri'd two Pipes adorn'd with Feathers of several Colours, which they presented to the Sun, without speaking a Word. They march'd so slowly, that we began to be impatient; and when they came near us, they stopp'd, and us'd many Ceremonies. We were very glad to see them cover'd with Cloth, for thereby we judg'd they were either our Allies, or Friends of our Allies; and therefore I spoke to them, and ask'd them who they were? They answer'd,

That they were *Illinois*, and [206] presented us their Pipe to smoak, desiring us also to walk to their Habitations. Those Pipes are call'd both by the Savages and *Europeans*, *Calumets*; and therefore I shall make use of their Word for the future, having often occasion to mention these Pipes.

They conducted us to a Cabin, where an Old Man waited for us, in a very extraordinary Posture, which, as I understand since, is the usual Ceremony they use for the Reception of Strangers. This Man stood before the Cabin, having both his Hands lifted up to Heaven, opposite to the Sun, inso-much that it darted its Rays through his Fingers, upon his Face; and when we came near him, he told us, *What a fair Day this is since thou comest to visit us! All our People wait for thee, and thou shalt enter our Cabin in Peace.* Having repeated the Compliment to M. *Joliet*, he conducted us into his Cabin, where abundance of People crowded to see us, keeping however a great Silence, that we heard nothing a great while, but now and then these Words, *You have done well, Brothers, to come and see us.*

As soon as we sat down, they presented us, according to Custom, their *Calumet*, which one must needs accept, for else he shou'd be lookt upon as an open Enemy, or a meer Brute; however, it is not necessary to smoak; and provided one puts it to his Mouth, it is enough. While the Old Man smoak'd in our Cabin to entertain us, the Great Captain of the *Illinois* sent us word to come to his Village, where he design'd to confer with us; and accordingly we went to him, being attended by all the Inhabitants of this Village, who having



never seen any *Europeans* before, accompani'd us all the Way. We met that Captain at the Door of his Cabin, in the middle of Ten Old Men; all of them were standing, and each had his *Calumet* [207] towards the Sun. He made us a short Speech, to congratulate our happy Arrival in that Country; and presented us his *Calumet*, wherein we were oblig'd to smook before we went into his Cabin.

This Ceremony being over, he conducted us, and desir'd us to sit down upon a Mat, and the Old Men of that Nation being present, I thought fit to acquaint them with the Subject of our Voyage, and therefore I told them, 1. That we design'd to visit all Nations that were on that River, down to the Sea. 2. That God Almighty, their Creator, took pity on them, and had sent me to bring them to the Knowledge of his Being, and therefore expected a full Submission from them. 3. That the Great Captain of the *French* had commanded me to tell them, that he had subdu'd the *Iroquese*, and wou'd have every Body to live in Peace. 4. We desir'd them to tell us whatever they knew concerning the Nations we were to meet along the River. We enforc'd every Point of our Speech with a Present, and then sat down. The Captain of the *Illinois* answer'd, That he was very glad to hear of the great Actions of our Captain, meaning the Governor of *Canada*, and desir'd us to remain amongst them, because of the great Dangers to which we shou'd be expos'd in continuing our Voyage; but I told them that we did not fear to lose our Lives for the Glory of God; at which they were mightily surpriz'd. He presented us with a *Calumet*,

the most mysterious thing in the World ; of which I shall give an Account in another Place.

The Council being over, we were invited to a Feast, which we were oblig'd to accept. The first Mefs was a Dish of *Sagamittee*, that is, some Meal of *Indian* Corn boil'd with Water, and season'd with Grease: The Master of Ceremonies holding [208] a kind of Spoon-full of that *Sagamittee*, put some thrice into my Mouth, and then did the like to M. *Joliet*. They brought for a Second Course, three Fishes in a Dish, whereof he took a Piece, and having took out the Bones, and blown upon it to cool it, he put it into my Mouth, just as a Bird feeds his young ones. The Third Service was a huge Dog, whom they kill'd on purpose ; but understanding that we eat no such Creatures ; they brought a Piece of Beef, and serv'd us as before.

As soon as we had done, we went to visit the Village, which consists of near three hundred Cabins, being attended by an Officer, to oblige the Savages to make room, and not crowd upon us. They presented us with Girdles and Garters, and some other Works made of the Hair of Bears and Bulls. We lay in the Cabin of the Captain, and the next Day took our Leave of him, promising to return in Four Moons.<sup>1</sup> They conducted us as far as our Canows, with near eight hundred Persons, who express'd an extraordinary Joy for our kind Visit, as they call'd it.

It will not be improper to relate here what I observ'd of the Custom and Manners of this People, which are very

---

<sup>1</sup> That is, four months ; for the Indians reckon time by the moon's revolutions.—ED.

different from what is practis'd among the other Nations of the *Northern-America*.

The Word *Illinois* in their Language signifies *Men*, as if they did look upon the other Savages as Beasts; and truly it must be confes'd that they are not altogether in the Wrong, for they have more Humanity than all the other Nations that I have seen in *America*. The short time I remain'd with them, did not permit me to inform my self, as much as I desir'd, of their Customs and Manners; but here is what I was able to observe; They are divided into several Villages, whereof some are very remote [209] from those that I have seen. They call them *Perouarca* [*sc.* Peouarea]; but as they live so far one from the other, their Language is also very different. However, it is a Dialect of the *Algonquin*, and therefore we were able to understand what they said, and to converse with them. They are good-natur'd Men, tractable and easy: They keep several Wives, and yet they are exceedingly jealous: They observe with great Care their Behaviour; and if they find them in any Fault as to their Chastity, they cut off their Noses and Ears; and I saw several who carry'd upon their Faces the Marks of their Infidelity. The *Illinois* are very well shap'd, and very dextrous: They are good Marksmen with their Arrows and small Guns, with which they are supply'd by the Savages that have Commerce with the *Europeans*. This makes them formidable to the other Nations inhabiting to the Westward, who have no Fire-Arms. The *Illinois* knowing how much they are frighted at the Noise of their Guns, make Excursions very far to the Westward,

and bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other Nations for the Commodities they want. Those Nations are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools; and their Knives, Axes, and other Instruments, are made of Flints, and other sharp Stones.

When the *Illinois* go upon any Expedition, the whole Village must have notice of it; and therefore they use to make an Out-cry at the Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and the Morning they are to set out. Their Captains are distinguish'd from the Soldiers by Red Scarfs, made with the Hair of Bears or Wild Bulls, that are curiously wrought. They have abundance of Game; and their Soil is so fertile, that their *Indian* Corn never fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine. They sow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and especially those whose Seed is Red. They [210] greatly esteem their Citruls, though they are none of the best. They dry them up, and keep them till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabins are very large; they are made, cover'd, and pav'd with Mats of Marish-Rushes. Their Dishes are of Wood; but their Spoons are made of the Bones of the Skull of Wild-Oxen, which they cut so as to make them very convenient to eat their *Sagamittee*. They have Physicians amongst them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are sick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportionable to the Presents they make unto those who have prescrib'd them. They have no other Clothes but Skins of Beasts, which serve to cover their

Women; for the Men go most of the Year stark-naked. I don't know by what Superstition some of the *Illinois* and *Nadoueffians* wear Womens Apparel. When they have taken the same, which they do in their Youth, they never leave it off; and certainly there must be some Mystery in this Matter, for they never Marry, and work in the Cabins with Women, which other Men think below them to do. They may go however to their Wars, but they must use only a Club, and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they say, for Men alone. They assist at all the Superstitions of their *Juglers*, and their solemn Dances in honour of the *Calumet*, in which they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are call'd to their Councils, and nothing is determin'd without their Advice; for, because of their extraordinary way of Living, they are look'd upon as *Manitous*, or at least for great and incomparable Genius's.<sup>1</sup>

I must speak here of the *Calumet*, the most mysterious thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not so much respected; for the Savages have such a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it, *The God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of [211] Life and Death*. One, with this *Calumet*, may venture amongst his Enemies, and in the hottest Engagement they lay down their Arms before this Sacred Pipe. The *Illinois* presented me with one of them, which was very useful to us in our Voyage. Their *Calumet of Peace* is different from the *Calumet of War*; They make use of the

---

<sup>1</sup> See p. 168, note 1, ante.—ED.

former to seal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with safety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War.

It is made of a Red Stone like our Marble<sup>1</sup>; the Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixt to a hollow Reed, to hold it for smoaking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of several Colours; and they call it, *The Calumet of the Sun*, to whom they present it, especially when they want fair Weather or Rain, thinking that that Planet can have no less respect for it than Men have, and therefore that they shall obtain their Desires. They dare not wash themselves in Rivers in the beginning of the Summer, or taste the new Fruit of Trees, before they have danc'd the *Calumet*, which they do in the following manner:

This Dance of the *Calumet* is a solemn Ceremony amongst the Savages, which they perform upon important Occasions, as to confirm an Alliance, or make Peace with their Neighbours. They use it also to entertain any Nation that comes to visit them; and in this Case we may consider it as their Balls. They perform it in Winter-time in their Cabins, and in the open Field in the Summer. They chuse for that purpose a set Place among Trees, to shelter themselves against the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the middle a large Matt, as a Carpet, to lay upon [it] the God of the Chief of the

---

<sup>1</sup> This red stone was that now known as "catlinite," thus named for George Catlin, the artist, who was the first to describe (1836) the place from which the Indians obtained it. This is the noted Pipestone Quarry, in Pipestone county, in the southwestern corner of Minnesota. See *Jes. Relations*, lix, p. 310.—ED.

Company, who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call *Manitoa* [*sc.* Manitou]. It is sometime a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or any thing else that they dream of in [212] their Sleep; for they think this *Manitoa* will supply their Wants, by Fishing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their *Manitoa* they place the *Calumet*, their Great Deity, making round about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms, *viz.* their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.

Things being thus dispos'd, and the Hour of Dancing coming on, those who are to sing, take the most Honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or the Green Arbours they make in case the Trees be not thick enough to shadow them. They chuse for this Service the best Wits amongst them, either Men or Women. Every Body sits down afterwards, round about, as they come, having first of all saluted the *Manitoa*, which they do in blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincense. Every Body, one after another, takes the *Calumet*, and holding it with his two Hands, dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs. This *Preludium* being over, he who is to begin the Dance, appears in the middle of the Assembly, and having taken the *Calumet*, presents it to the Sun, as if he wou'd invite him to smoke. Then he moves it into an infinite number of Postures, sometimes laying it near the Ground, then stretching its Wings, as if he wou'd make it fly, and then presents it to the Spectators, who smoke with

it one after another, dancing all the while. This is the first Scene of this famous Ball.

The Second is a Fight, with Vocal and Instrumental Musick; for they have a kind of Drum, which agrees pretty well with the Voices. The Person who dances with the *Calumet*, gives a Signal to one of their Warriours, who takes a Bow and Arrows, with an Ax, from the Trophy already [213] mention'd, and fights the other, who defends himself with the *Calumet* alone, both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being over, he who holds the *Calumet*, makes a Speech, wherein he gives an Account of the Battels he has fought, and the Prisoners he has taken, and then receives a Gown, or any other Present, from the Chief of the Ball. He gives then the *Calumet* to another, who having acted his Part, gives it to another, and so of all others, till the *Calumet* returns to the Captain, who presents it to the Nation invited unto that Feast, as a Mark of their Friendship, and a Confirmation of their Alliance. I can't pretend to be so much Master of their Language as to judge of their Songs, but methinks they are very witty.

We parted from the *Illinois* towards the middle of *June*, about Three a-clock, and fell down the River, looking for another call'd *Pekitanoui*,<sup>1</sup> which runs from the North-West into the *Mississippi*, of which I shall speak anon. As we follow'd the Banks, I observ'd on a Rock a Simple, which I take to be very extraordinary. Its Root is like small Turpins link'd together by some Fibres of the same Root, which

---

<sup>1</sup> One of the early names of the Missouri River.— Ed.



tastes like Carrots. From that Root springs a Leaf as large as one's Hand, and about an Inch thick, with some Spots in the middle; from whence spring also some other Leaves, each of them bearing five or six yellow Flowers, like little Bells.

We found abundance of Mulberries as good and as big as ours; and another Fruit which we took at first for Olives, but it tastes like Orange. We found another Fruit as big as an Egg, and having cut it into two Pieces, we found the inside was divided into sixteen, eighteen, and twenty small Cells or Holes, and in each of them a Fruit like our Almonds, which is very sweet, though the Tree stinks: Its Leaves are like our Walnut-Trees. We [214] saw also in the Meadows a Fruit like our Filbirds [Filberts]: The Tree which bears it has its Leaves much broader than ours; and at the End of the Branches there is a kind of a Purse like a *Turnbole*, in which the Filbirds are lock'd up.<sup>1</sup>

Along the Rocks I have mention'd, we found one very high and steep, and saw two Monsters painted upon it, which are so hideous, that we were frighted at the first Sight, and the boldest Savages dare not fix their Eyes upon them. They are drawn as big as a Calf, with two Horns like a Wild-Goat; Their Looks are terrible, though their Face has something of Human Figure in it: Their Eyes are Red, their Beard is like that of a Tyger, and their Body is cover'd with Scales. Their Tail is so long that it goes o'er their Heads, and then

<sup>1</sup> B. F. French (in Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 38), identifies these fruits as *Cactus opuntia*, *Diospyros virginiana* (persimmon), and *Castanea pumila* (chincapin).

"Turnbole" is a misprint for "turnsole" (*Fr. tournesol*), the sunflower.—ED.

turns between their Fore-Legs under the Belly, ending like a Fish-Tail. There are but three Colours, *viz.* Red, Green, and Black; but those Monsters are so well drawn, that I cannot believe that the Savages did it; and the Rock whereon they are painted is so steep, that it is a Wonder to me how it was possible to draw those Figures: But to know to what purpose they were made, is as great a Mystery. Whatever it be, our best Painters wou'd hardly do better.

As we fell down the River, following the gentle Stream of the Waters, and discoursing concerning those Monsters, we heard a great Noise of Waters, and saw several Pieces of Timber, and small floating Islands, which were huddled down the River *Pekitanoui*. The Waters of this River are so muddy, because of the violence of its Stream, that it is impossible to drink of it, and they spoil the Clearness of the *Mississipi*, and make its Navigation very dangerous in this Place. This River runs from the North-West; and I hope to discover, in following its Channel towards its Source, [215] some other River that discharges it self into the *Mar Marvejo* [*i. e.*, Bermejo, or Vermejo], or the *Caliphornian-Gulph*. The Savages told me, That about six Days Journey from its Mouth, there is a Meadow of thirty Leagues broad, at the end whereof, directly to the North-West, is a small River, which is almost navigable for Canows, and runs to the South-West into a Lake, from which springs a deep River, which runs directly Westward into the Sea, which certainly must be the *Mar Vermejo*; and I hope I shall have, one time or other, the opportunity to undertake that Discovery, to instruct those

poor Nations who have been so long ignorant of their Creator. But leaving this Digression, I return to the *Mississippi*.

About 20 Leagues lower than the *Pekitanoui*, we met another River call'd *Ouabouskigou*, which runs into the *Mississippi*, in the Latitude of 36 degrees; but before we arriv'd there, we pass'd through a most formidable Place to the Savages, who believe that a *Manitoa*, or Devil, resides in that Place, to destroy such who are so bold as to come near it. They told us dreadful Stories to deter us from our Undertaking; but this terrible *Manitoa* proves nothing but some Rocks in a turning of the River, about thirty foot high, against whom the Stream runs with a great violence; and being beaten back by the Rocks and Island near it, the Waters make a great noise, and flow with a great rapidity through a narrow Canal, which is certainly very dangerous to unskilful Canow-men. This River *Ouabouskigou* comes from the Eastward; the *Chuoanous*<sup>1</sup> inhabit its Banks, and are so numerous, that I have been inform'd there are thirty eight Villages of that Nation situated on this River. This People is much infested by the *Iroquese*, who make a cruel War upon them without any Provocation, but only because they are [216] a poor harmless Nation, unacquainted with any Arms. They take them without any resistance, and carry them into Slavery.

A little above the Mouth of the River, we saw some

---

<sup>1</sup> A misprint for Chouanons (Shawnees). The river here mentioned was the Ohio, often called by early French explorers Ouabache, which is apparently a corruption of the Indian name given in the text.—ED.

Downs, wherein our Men discover'd a good Iron-Mine: They saw several Veins of it, and a Lay of about a foot thick. There is also a great quantity of it adhering to the Flints, some of which they brought into our Canow. There is also a kind of fat Earth of three different Colours, *viz.* Purple, Violet, and Red, which turns the Water into a deep Blood-colour. We found also a red Sand very heavy: I put some upon my Oar, which immediately became red; and the Waters could not wash it away for a Fortnight together. We had seen no Reeds or Canes; but they begin to be so thick in this Place, that Wild Bulls can hardly go through them. They grow very high and big, and their Knots are crown'd with several Leaves long and sharp, the greenness whereof is incomparable.

We had not been troubled hitherto with Gnats, but they began to be very troublesome to us a little lower in the *Ouabouskigou*. The Savages who inhabit this Country are oblig'd to build their Huts in a different manner from the other, because of those troublesome Flies. They drive into the Ground big Poles, very near one another, which support a large Hurdle, which serves them instead of a Floor, under which they make their Fire; and the Smoak drives away those Creatures, who cannot abide it. They lay upon that Hurdle, the Roof whereof is cover'd with Skins against the Rain, and serves also to shelter them against the Heat of the Sun. The same Reason oblig'd us to make a Cabin over our Canow.

[217] As we were considering the Country, the Banks of

the River being very low, we discover'd several Savages arm'd with Fire-Arms, waiting for us upon the Shoar, where the Stream of the River carri'd us. Our Men prepar'd themselves to fight, and it was resolv'd to let them fire first of all; and as we came near, I spoke to them in the Language of the *Hurons*, and shew'd my *Calumet* of Peace; but they did not answer me, which we took for a Declaration of War. However, we resolv'd to venture to pass; but when they had seen us at a nearer distance, they desir'd us in a friendly manner to come to their Habitations, where they entertain'd us with Beef and Oil of Bears, together with white Plums, as good every whit as ours. These Savages have Guns, Knives, Axes, Shovels, Glafs-Beads, and Bottles wherein they put their Gunpowder. They wear their Hair long as the *Iroquese* do, and their Women are cover'd as they are amongst the *Hurons*. They told us, That they were only within Ten Days Journey of the Sea; that they bought those Commodities from *Europeans* who live to the Eastward; that these *Europeans* had Images and Beads; that they play upon Instruments; that some were cloath'd as I was, and that they were very kind to them. However, I could find nothing in them that could persuade me that they had receiv'd any Instructions about our Holy Religion. I endeavour'd to give them a general Idea of it, and presented them with some Medals to put them in mind of it.

The account given us by the Savages was a great Encouragement to us, in hopes to see the Sea in a few Days; and therefore we row'd with an extraordinary vigour. The Banks

of the River began to be cover'd with high Trees, [218] which hinder'd us from observing the Country, as we had done all along; but we judg'd from the bellowing of the Bulls, that the Meadows are very near. We saw some Quails on the Water-side, and shot a small Parrot, who had the half of his Head red, and the other part and the Neck yellow, and the rest of the Body green. We found our selves in this Place in the Latitude of 33 Degrees, steering directly Southerly; and a little while afterwards we discover'd a Village on the River-side call'd *Michigamea*. The Savages made a great noise, and appear'd in Arms, dividing themselves into three Parties, one of which stood on the Shoar, while the others went into their Wooden Canows, to intercept our Retreat, and prevent our escape. They were arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Clubs, Axes, and Bucklers. Notwithstanding these Preparations, we row'd directly to the Shoar, where their main Body stood; and as we came near, two of their young Warriors flung themselves into the Water to board my Canow, which he would have done, had not the rapidity of the Stream prevented his Design; so that they were forc'd to return a-shore, having thrown at us their Clubs, which by good fortune went over our Heads. I presented my *Calumet* of Peace, but they were so busy that they could not see: However, as they advanc'd in a body to shoot at us, the Old Men discover'd my *Calumet*; whereupon they made an Out-cry, commanding their Youth to stop, and two of them advanc'd to the Water-side, throwing their Arrows and Quivers into our Canow, as a sign of Peace, desiring us by signs to come

a-shoar, which we did, though with great apprehensions. I spoke to them in six different Languages, [219] of which they understood none; but they brought an Old Man who spoke *Illinois*, whom we told, That we design'd to go to the Sea, and made them some small Presents. They understood what I told them on this matter; but very little, as I fear, of what I added concerning the C R E A T O R of the World. They answer'd, That we should learn whatever we desir'd ten Leagues lower, at a great Village call'd *Akamssea*, and presented us with their *Sagometta*, and some Fish.

We lay there that Night in great Fears, and the next Morning embark'd again with our Interpreter and ten Savages in one of their Wooden Canows, and met within half a League from *Akamssea* two large Canows full of Savages. The Captain was standing in the first, holding his *Calumet*, of which he made several Motions, according to the Customs of his Country. I stood up likewise in my Canow with my *Calumet*, at which they were so pleas'd, that they met us with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, attended with Songs and Shouts. They presented us their *Calumet* to smoak, and some Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and then return'd home, bidding us to follow him, which we did at some distance. They had in the mean time prepar'd a kind of Scaffold to receive us, adorn'd with fine Mats; upon which we sat down, and the Old Men and Warriours near us, the rest of the People standing off. We found amongst them a young Man who spoke *Illinois* much better than the Interpreter we had brought with us from *Mitchigamea*; and we desir'd him to

acquaint his Nation with the Subject of our Voyage, as he had understood it from us. We made him some small Presents, which they receiv'd with great Civility, [220] and seem'd to admire what I told them concerning G O D, the Creation of the World, and the Providences; telling us by the Interpreter, That they should think themselves very happy, if we would remain with them to teach them.

They told us that we were within five Days Journey from the Sea; but that they were not acquainted with the Nation inhabiting the same; meaning doubtless the *Europeans*; for their Enemies hindred them from keeping any Correspondence with them. They added, That their Axes, Knives, and Glafs Beads, had been given them in exchange of other Commodities, by some Nations inhabiting to the Eastward, and by some *Illinois*, who had an Habitation to the Westward within four Days Journey of them: That the Savages whom we had met with Fire-Arms, were their Enemies, who hindred their Commerce with the *Europeans*; and that we should be expos'd to great Dangers, if we did venture to proceed farther, because those Savages were continually cruising on the River. In the mean time, they brought us some *Sagamettea*, with some roasted Corn, and a piece of a Dog.

These Savages are very courteous, and give freely what they have; but their Provisions are but indifferent, because they dare not leave their Habitation to go a Hunting for fear of their Enemies. They have *Indian* Corn in great plenty, and at all times, having three Crops every Year. They roast it, or else boil it in great Pots of Earth, which



are curiously made.<sup>1</sup> They go naked, and wear their Hair very short, boring their Ears, which they adorn with Rings of Glafs-Beads; but their Women are cover'd with Skins, having their Hair divided into two [221] Tresses, which they throw behind their Back, without any other Ornament. Their Feasts are without any Ceremony: They serve their Meats in great Dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases. Their Language is very difficult, and I could never pronounce any Word of it. Their Cabins are made with the Barks of Trees, and are generally very long; they lie at the two ends, their Beds being about two foot higher than the Floor. They keep their Corn in Paniers made of Rushes, or in great Gourds. They have no Beavers, and all their Commodities are the Skins of Wild Bulls. It never snows in their Country, and they have no other Winter than some violent Rains, which makes the only difference between Summer and Winter. They have no other Fruit but Water-Melons, though their Soil might produce any other, did they know how to cultivate it.

They held a Council, wherein some proposed to murder us, because of our Commodities; but their Chief oppos'd that base Design, and having sent for us, *danc'd the Calumet* in our Presence, which he presented me with, to seal our common Friendship. M. *Joliet* and I in the mean time call'd our Men together, to advise whether we shou'd proceed any

---

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the pottery manufactured by the tribes of this region, see Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1882-83, pp. 360-436; and *Reports of Peabody Museum* for 1875 and 1878.—ED.

further, or return home from thence; and having confider'd that the Gulph of *Mexico* lying in the Latitude of 31 Degrees and 40 Minutes, cou'd be but within three or four Days Journey from the *Akamsea*, and that therefore the *Missiffipi* discharg'd it self into it, and not to the Eastward of the Cape of *Florida*, or into the *Californian-Sea*, as it was expected, it was resolv'd to return home. We confider'd likewise that the Advantage of our great Voyage wou'd be altogether loft to our Nation, did we fall into the [222] hands of the *Spaniards*, from whom we cou'd expect no other Treatment but Death or Slavery; and therefore it was more prudent to content our selves with this Discovery, and make a Report thereof to those who had sent us. So that having rested another Day, we left the Village of the *Akamsea*, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *July*, having follow'd the *Missiffipi* from the Latitude of 42 to 34, and preach'd the Gospel to the utmost of my Power, to the Nations we visited. We went up the River with great difficulty, because of the Rapidity of the Stream, and left it in the Latitude of 38 Degrees, and went into a River, which conducted us into the Lake of the *Illinois*, which Way is much shorter than the other, by the River *Mesconfin*, through which we came.

I never saw a more pleasant Country than the Banks of that River. The Meadows are cover'd with Wild-Bulls, Stags, Wild-Goats; and the Rivers and Lakes with Bustards, Swans, Ducks, Beavers. We saw also abundance of Parrots. Several small Rivers fall into this, which is deep and broad, for 65 Leagues, and therefore navigable almost all the Year

long. There is but a *Portage* of half a League into the Lake of the *Illinois*.<sup>1</sup> We found on the Banks of the said River a Village of *Illinois* call'd *Kuilka* [*sc.* *Kaskasia*], consisting of 74 Cabins. They receiv'd us with all the Kindness imaginable, and oblig'd me to promise that I wou'd return to instruct them, and live in their Country. Their Captain, with most of their Youth, accompani'd us to the Lake of the *Illinois* [Lake Michigan], from whence we return'd to the Bay of *Puans*; where we arriv'd towards the latter end of *September*, having been about three Months in our Journey.

[223] Although my tedious Journey shou'd be attended with no other Advantage than the Salvation of one Soul, I shou'd think my Pains sufficiently rewarded, and I hope I may presume so much; for having preach'd the Gospel to the *Illinois* of *Perouacca* for three Days together, in our Return, my Words made such an Impression upon that poor People, that as we were embarking, they brought to me a Dying Child, to Christen him, which I did about half an Hour before he dy'd, by a special Providence of God, who was pleas'd to save that innocent Creature.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the Chicago-Des Plaines portage; see p. 626, *note 1, ante*.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> This is an inaccurate and often abridged translation of Marquette's report of his voyage with Joliet down the Mississippi River. For an accurate reproduction of this document (with translation), see *Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 189-163.—ED.

[224] *Frequent mention having been made in the preceding Journal, of M. du Salles; it may be expected some Account should be given of his latter Discoveries, the unfortunate Success thereof, and his own Tragical End; which so discourag'd the French, that they never made any further Attempt.*

**M**R. du Salles, with divers *French* who did accompany him, fell down to the Mouth of the Great River, where it disembogues it self into the Gulf of *Mexico*; but neither he nor any of his Company understanding Navigation, or wanting Instruments, fanci'd they were in the Latitude of 27 Degrees, whereas really it was 29; and not being able to inform themselves of its Longitude, or distance from the most Westerly End of the Gulf, they presum'd they were within a few Leagues of the River of *Magdalen*, which is 60 Leagues North of the River of *Palms*, and 120 from the River *Panuco*, as it is represented in *Hennepin's* Chart, and on the Great Globe of *Coronelli*<sup>1</sup>; which great Mistake was the cause of all his Misfortunes: For after his return up the River, and through the Great Lakes to *Canada*, he embrac'd the next Opportunity of returning by Shipping for *France*; where he

---

<sup>1</sup> Marco Vincenzo Coronelli, an Italian geographer, who lived from about 1650 to 1718.—ED.

to the King and his Ministers gave such a favourable Representation of the Country, and Commodities therein contain'd, the Populoufness [225] of the Country, Civility of the Inhabitants, far exceeding all the other Natives of *America* they had the Knowledge of; that the King thereupon order'd him a Fleet, and a very considerable Equipage, *viz.* a Man of War carrying 56 Guns, a great Fly-boat, a Patache,<sup>1</sup> and a Brigantine, with things convenient for establishing a Colony and Traffick with the Natives. This Fleet was Commanded by M. *Beaujeau*, an Experienc'd Sea-Captain, who was Victuall'd for a Year; and M. *du Salles* had under his Command 150 Land-men, who were to settle in the Country. The Fleet pass'd by *Martinico* and *Guardaloupe*, where they took in fresh Provision and Water, together with divers Voluntiers; and by M. *du Salle's* Direction, sail'd thence to the North-West end of the Gulf, in 27 Degrees. When they arriv'd there, they were in great Confusion, not being able to come near the Coast of *Florida*, by reason of a long Bank Reciff, or as the *French* call it, *Contre-coste*,<sup>2</sup> which they search'd for some hundred Miles. It was no-where above a Musket-shot over, and every twenty or thirty Miles there was a Breach, by which the Water issu'd out of a vast *Lagune*, whose breadth they could not learn. They went in their Ship-Boat above forty Miles, and could not gain sight of the main Land or

---

<sup>1</sup> Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 331) calls these two vessels "a store-ship and a ketch."  
—ED.

<sup>2</sup> This term is not to be found in standard French dictionaries, but it evidently refers to the reef-formations which front that and other parts of the Gulf coast, as well as the Atlantic Southern States.—ED.

Continent. This *Lagune* was shallow, in some Places six foot, in few above nine or ten; there are scatter'd up and down in it divers small Islands, upon one of them they found above four hundred *Indians*, who did not inhabit there, but came accidentally, being upon some Expedition. They were all Archers, very proper goodly Men; their Hutts were cover'd with Skins of the wild crook-back Kine, which the *French* call *Peskieus*,<sup>1</sup> the *Spaniards* *Corcobades*, or Crook-back. They convers'd and traffick'd very friendly with the *French* divers Weeks, until an unhappy Accident made a great Breach.

[226] M. *du Salles*, against the Opinion of the Pilots, would adventure the Fly-boat through one of the Breaches into the *Lagune*, apprehending he had found a Channel of sufficient depth, through which he might pass to the Continent: But whether the Channel was too shallow, or that they mistook it, the Fly-boat was lost, and the Frigate drawing little Water, escap'd. The *Indians* upon the Island sav'd some small matter of the Wreck, which the *French* would take by force from them: They offer'd in exchange Skins, and such other Commodities as they had. The *French* when they could get no more, took two of their *Piroques*, or large Canows; which being absolutely necessary for them, and without which they could not possibly return to the main Land from whence they came, occasion'd a Skirmish, in which the *French* lost fifteen Men, and the *Indians* many more. M. *du Salles* being almost distracted, not knowing how to

---

<sup>1</sup> The name *Pisikiou* is an Algonkin appellation of the wild bison; it was, naturally, adopted by the French.—ED.

find the Mouth of the River, took the Frigate, divers Boats and Pinnaces, together with a hundred and fifty Men, and Provisions for a Month, and cross'd the *Lagune*, with an intention to search the Coast till he found the Mouth of the Great River. M. *Beaujeau* waited ten Weeks, and heard no Tidings from him, it being in the Heat of Summer. They wanting Water and Provisions, besides abundance of his Men falling Sick of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, he departed for *France*, without any News of M. *du Salle*; who after he departed from the Ships, rambled some Days in the *Lagune*, and coasted the Main chiefly towards the West; which was directly contrary to the Course he should have taken, the great River being distant above one hundred Leagues to the East. But many believe M. *du Salle* was guilty of a wilful mistake; for he persuaded his Men, That since they could not find the River, and were come to the River of St. *Magdalen*, being the North-Westerly [227] end of the Gulf, which was not above two hundred Leagues from the rich Mines of *Endebe*, *Santa Barbara*, *la Parale*, and others in the Province of *Saceatecas* [Zacatecas], where the *Spaniards* are few, and not Warlike, they could not fail of rich and easy Booty. This Proposition occasion'd a great Division amongst his Men, and deadly Feuds: One part were ready to comply with his Project; others for returning to their Ships; a third Party for searching the Continent towards the East, till they found the Great River, and then return and Pilot the Ship thither, and pursue their Instructions of Planting and Trading. From Words they came to Blows; many were

kill'd in the Scuffle, and amongst others, *M. du Salle* very treacherously by one of his pretended Friends. Upon his Death they divided, and took several Courses. They that return'd to seek the Ship, found it departed, and were never heard of since; others scatter'd, some Easterly, some West-erly, and Northerly. When I receiv'd this Account, which was above three Years after this disastrous Expedition, not above Six were return'd to *Canada*, and amongst them *M. du Salle's* Brother.<sup>1</sup>

So that the Providence of Almighty GOD seems to have reserv'd this Country for the *English*, a Patent whereof was granted above Fifty Years ago to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who have made great Discoveries therein, seven hundred Miles West-erly from the Mountains, which separate between it *Carolina* and *Virginia*, and Six hundred Miles from North to South, from the Gulf of *Mexico* to the great Inland Lakes, which are situated behind the Mountains of *Carolina* and *Virginia*. Besides, they have an Account of all the Coast, from the Cape of *Florida* to the River *Panuco*, the Northerly Bounds of the *Spaniards* on the Gulf of *Mexico*, together with most of the chief Harbours, Rivers, [228] and Islands there-unto appertaining; and are about to establish a very considerable Colony on some part of the Great River, so soon as they have agreed upon the Boundaries, or Limits, which

<sup>1</sup>This entire paragraph is grossly inaccurate in its statements. For a correct account of La Salle's colony, and of its and his tragic end, see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 351-428, 442-446. Cf. Hennepin's own account as given in the present volume, pp. 388-441.—ED.



the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, who claim by a Patent procur'd long after that of *Carolana*.<sup>1</sup> But there being space enough for both, and the Proprietors generally inclin'd to an Amicable Conclusion, the Success of this Undertaking is impatiently expected: For considering the Benignity of the Climate, the Healthfulness of the Country, Fruitfulness of the Soil, Ingenuity and Tractableness of the Inhabitants, Variety of Productions, if prudently manag'd, it cannot, humanly speaking, fail of proving one of the most considerable Colonies on the North-Continent of *America*, profitable to the Publick and the Undertakers.

## P O S T S C R I P T.

I AM inform'd a large Map, or Draught, of this Country is preparing, together with a very particular Account of the Natives, their Customs, Religion, Commodities, and Materials for divers sorts of Manufactures, which are by the *English* procur'd at great Expense from other Countries.

## F I N I S.

---

<sup>1</sup>The earlier of these grants was made in 1627, to Sir Robert Heath: it covered the territory from 31 degrees to 36 degrees north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic coast to the Western Sea; and to this territory was given the name *Carolina*, in honor of Charles I. In 1663, the same region was granted by Charles II. to Edward, earl of Clarendon, and others of the King's adherents; and various settlements in what are now North and South Carolina were made under their auspices. Heath had sold his patent, and later it was formally set aside in favor of the Carolina proprietors; but about 1690 it was purchased by Daniel Coxe, who endeavored to obtain governmental recognition for his claim. He also had schemes for planting colonies in the region that he claimed. It is to this state of affairs that reference is made in our text.—ED.



# INDEX



# INDEX

## ABE

- ABENAKI Indians, characteristics, 515.  
Acadia. *See* Nova Scotia.  
Accau (Accault, Ako), Michel (Michel), leader of expedition, xxix, xxxi; opposes Hennepin, 182, 183, 187, 233, 253; fears Spaniards, 199; disappointed in trade, 200; impatient to return, 200; avoids Fort Crèvecoeur, 219; captured, 227-231; unable to swim, 248; adopted, 252; ill-disposed toward Hennepin, 253, 264, 272-275; remains with Issati, 276, 289; reproached for cowardice, 289; ransomed by Du Luth, xxxi; arrives at Fort Frontenac, 329; sketch, 180.  
Acolapissa Indians. *See* Quinipissa.  
Acorns, used for food, 596.  
Adders, in North America, 564.  
Agnier Indians. *See* Mohawks.  
"Aimable," of La Salle's fleet, sets sail, 389; driven ashore, 393, 394.  
Alabaster, in Canada, 556.  
Albany (N. Y.), visited by Hennepin, xvii, 42.  
Alders, in Illinois, 145.  
Alexander IV, pope, despatches Franciscans, 609.  
Alexander, Sir William, settles Nova Scotia, 590.  
Algonquin Indians, habitat, 559, 594; characteristics, 514, 515; divinities of, 451; mission to, 593, 594; method of fire-making, 246; language of, 651, 670; friendly to Hurons, 60; assist settlers, 597.

## APP

- Allart, Germain, Recollect superior, orders Hennepin to make discoveries, 67.  
Alligators. *See* Crocodiles.  
Allouez (d'Allouès), Jean Claude, Jesuit missionary, founds Illinois mission, 144, 631; among Miamis, 632, 633; opposes Hennepin, 632, 633; plots against Frontenac, 633; at Green Bay, 640, 641; sketch, 631.  
Alum, found among Iroquois, 152.  
Amantacha (Louis de Sainte-Foi), Huron chief, in England, 592; reputed Canadian prince, 592, 593; reverts to paganism, 593.  
America, described, 449, 450; natives of, 462; Indian creation myth, 452.  
American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, 406.  
Amikoué (Beaver) Indians. *See* Nez Percés.  
Aminoyo Indians, seen by La Salle, 629.  
Amonokoa Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.  
Anachorema Indians, visited by La Salle, 420.  
Analau Indians, location, 437.  
Anastasc, Father. *See* Douay.  
André, Louis, Jesuit missionary, 639.  
Andros, Sir Edmond, governor of New York and Virginia, 42.  
Aniés Indians. *See* Mohawks.  
Annapolis. *See* Port Royal.  
Antonetta, Indian child, baptized by Hennepin, 264.  
Apples, cultivated by Taensa Indians, 195; on the Mississippi, 622.

## AQU

- Aquipaguétin, Issati chief, head of family, 256; characteristics, 240-242; desires revenge, 235, 240, 242; makes feast, 239; adopts Hennepin, 239, 252, 304, 368, 373, 475; persecutes Hennepin, 241-245, 286; later relations with Hennepin, 258, 271, 285, 286; visits the Wisconsin, 285; wonders at compass, 258; desires European goods, 285; parts with Hennepin, 304.
- Archæological Institute of America, *Papers*, 447.
- Arekouanon (Peter Anthony), Indian convert, 595; educated in France, 595; acts as interpreter, 595; stratagem of, 596.
- Arkansas (Akansa) Indians, name given by Illinois, 177; habitat, 177, 443, 666; characteristics, 206, 665, 666; language, 206, 665; Jolliet and Marquette among, 663-666; visit La Salle, 177; Hennepin among, 192, 205-207.
- Ascole, Jerome d' (Pope Nicholas IV), Franciscan missionary, 609, 610.
- Aspens, food of beavers, 518, 519.
- Aspics, in North America, 564.
- Assiniboin (Assinipoualak) Indians, stock, 267; location, 267.
- Astrolabe, used by Hennepin, 199.
- Ataentsic, Huron divinity, 450.
- Atahauta, Indian divinity, 451, 453.
- Atetkouanon. *See* Arekouanon.
- Athlone, Godert de Ginkel, Earl of, patronizes Hennepin, 11.
- Attriouati Annotagé, Le Grande Gueule, Iroquois chief, 504, 505, 551.
- Auguel, Antoine du Gay (le Picard), birthplace and relatives, 264; accompanies Hennepin, xxix, 180; ill-treats Hennepin, 182, 183, 187, 204; fears

## BAY

- Auguel (*continued*).
- Spaniards, 199; disappointed in trade, 200; impatient to return, 200; avoids Fort Crêvecœur, 219; captured by Issati, 227-231; favorable to Hennepin, 233, 248, 252; unable to swim, 248; adopted, 252; abandons Hennepin, 272-275; leaves Issati, 276; dream of, 279, 295; supposes Hennepin dead, 282; kills various animals, 282, 283; badly-treated by Indians, 289; returns to Fort Frontenac, 329; conceals discoveries, 334.
- BAHAMOS Indians, in Texas, 419, 420.
- Bailli (Le Baillif), made prisoner by English, 600.
- Bancroft, George, exposes Hennepin, xxxvi.
- Bandelier, A. F. A., "Southwestern Historical Contributions," 447.
- Baptism of Indians, discussed, 458-461; Indian ideas of, 486, 537; value in missions, 578.
- Barbels (fish), on upper Mississippi, 287, 288; size, 288, 558.
- Bartlett, John Russell, notes on Hennepin, xlv, xlvii.
- Baude. *See* Frontenac.
- Bay of Chaleurs, location, 546.
- of Chequamegon, 631.
- of Quebec, 599.
- Georgian, Hurons near, 60, 112; Ottawas near, 115, 559.
- Green (Bay of Puans), origin of name, 62, 638; location, 61, 221, 621, 640; described, 638, 639; tides in, 638, 639; part of Lake Michigan, 307, 308; Winnebagoes near, 308; Potawatomis on, 309; Outagamis on, 130.

## BAY

- Bay, Hudson, location, 560, 561; explored, 560; portage to, 591; distance from Quebec, 561; fogs within, 561; ice upon, 561; English forts on, 561; French attempt to capture, 561.
- Matagorda (Tex.), 446; described, 400, 418, 419; colonized by La Salle, 7, 392-401, 419; La Salle leaves, 419; distance from Mississippi, 442; mistaken for Mississippi, 445; fate of colony at, 446, 447.
- Mobile (Santo Spirito), named by Spaniards, 200; location, 200; La Salle at, 392.
- Moran (East and West), off Mackinac Strait, 114.
- Quinté (Kenté), Cayugas at, 32, 53; Sulpitians, 32, 47; Recollects, 47, 97; visited by La Salle, xxi.
- St. Lewis. *See* Matagorda.
- Santo Spirito. *See* Mobile.
- Saginaw (Sakinam), passed by "Griffon," 113.
- Bayagoula Indians. *See* Mugulashas.
- Beads. *See* Rassade, and Canons.
- Beans, in Louisiana, 213; in Illinois, 652.
- Bear, on Mississippi, 228, 239; in Ohio country, 630; near Lake Erie, 315; hunted, 516; as food, 315, 517; found by La Salle's party, 130, 138; despoils Indian grave, 225; value of skins, 558.
- Beauchamp, W. M., map of Iroquois village sites, 81; "Earthenware of the New York Aborigines," 526.
- Beaujeu, —, commands "Joly," 389, 669; sails for France, 394, 395, 671.
- Beaupré, early settlers of, 592.

## BRE

- Beavers, in Illinois country, 151, 666; on Mississippi, 211, 228, 276; on Fox River, 307; on Trinity River, 436; in Arkansas, 437, 438; dams described, 307, 517, 518; method of hunting, 516-519; used for food, 228; value of skins, 558.
- Beaver robes, as presents, 568, 570; as articles of trade, 622.
- Begon, —, intendant of French West Indies, 391.
- Belle Fontaine, —, commandant of Fort Crêvecœur, 444.
- Berthier, Alexandre, director of Company of Canada, 612.
- Biggar, H. P., *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 598.
- Biskatronge (Weeping) Indians, La Salle among, 406, 407.
- Black Hills, occupied by Tetons, 107.
- Blair, Emma Helen, assists on notes, xlii.
- Blathwait (Blaithwayt), William, English secretary of war, 560; patronizes Hennepin, xxxviii, 10, 11.
- Blueberry (Fr. bluet), Indian food, 252; Dutch name for, 252.
- Bonivet, —, judiciary of Three Rivers, 70.
- Boston, 597; fur-trade depot, 83, 559; subdued by Andros, 42. *See also* Fur-Trade.
- Boulé, Sieur de, commands relief ship, 597, 598; captured, 598.
- Bourgroyal, settlement on St. Lawrence, 34.
- Bout de l'Isle, Canada, 372.
- Brandy, in Indian traffic, 553.
- Breme (fish), 558; in upper Mississippi, 284.

## BRI

- Brinton, D. G., *Myths of New World*, 450.
- Brisay, Jacques René de. *See* Denonville.
- Brodhead, John Romeyn, *History of New York*, xvii.
- Brossard, Anthony, Recollect interpreter, 83.
- Bruyas, Jacques, Jesuit missionary, xvi; transcribes Iroquois dictionary, 42.
- Buffalo (Sp. Corcobades; Fr. Pisikiou, Pesikieus), characteristics, 150, 576, 624; described, 147-151, 563, 645, 646; food of, 150; paths of, 148; migration, 148, 563; hunted by Indians, 147-151, 280, 519, 622; take shelter in woods, 148; flesh used as food, 190, 282, 285, 290, 424; use of wool, 149, 563, 624; of skins, 149-151, 406, 665, 670; of hoofs, 150; great numbers of, 146, 149, 151; encircled, 146; on Mississippi, 185, 211, 224, 242, 282, 290, 300, 622, 644-646, 660, 662; on Illinois, 146, 219, 340, 623, 624, 627, 666; near Lake Michigan, 134; on Missouri, 189; in Wisconsin, 643; in Texas, 395, 398, 404, 424.
- Buffalo Historical Society, *Publications*, 53, 90.
- Buisset, Luke, with Hennepin among Iroquois, xvi, 38, 39, 45, 68; at Fort Frontenac, xx, xxiii, 47, 72, 98, 330, 542; greets Hennepin's return, xxxi, 330; returns to Quebec, xvii; death, 39.
- Bustards, in North America, 558, 559; in Illinois, 146, 151, 666; in Louisiana, 202; on Fox River, 639; on Mississippi, 644; tamed by Chickasaws, 192.
- CACHE, described, 193.
- Caddoan Indians, 412, 416; habitat, 434, 436, 442; receive Cavaliers, 434-436.

## CAN

- Caen, Emery de, commands relief-ship, 598; sketch, 598.
- Caen, Guillaume de, governor of Quebec, monopolizes fur-trade, 598.
- Cahinnio Indians, habitat, 442; guide Cavaliers, 436-440.
- Cahokia Indians, tribe of Illinois, 628.
- Cahokia (Ill.), location, 183.
- Calumets, 547; described, 125, 126, 654; material for, 213, 530; adornment, 196, 654; sacredness of, 205, 653; emblem of peace, 124, 192, 194, 205, 228, 303, 338, 339, 393, 406, 412, 434, 630, 647-649, 653, 661-663; emblem of war, 236, 565, 653; in religious ceremonies, 214; in embassies, 256; offering to dead, 225, 530; used in hunting, 520; sign of reprieve, 232, 246, 252; refused, 229, 230; article of trade, 217; dance of, 119, 408, 634, 654-656, 665; used by Illinois, 156; by Chickasaws, 190, 191; by Quinipissas, 202; by Issati, 229, 230, 232, 246, 252, 303.
- Canada, 560; extent, 368, 369; climate, 597; forests of, 155, 555, 556; mines, 556; fisheries, 555, 556; natives, 215, 216, 616; origin of name, 65; discovered by Spaniards, 65, 106; settled by French, 591, 596; conquered by English in 1629, xiii, 8, 584, 590-597; retroceded to France xiii, 546, 611; capital, xv; government, 65-67, 292; growth, 586, 589; population, 586; fur-trade, 557, 558; ship-building, 556; Iroquois war against, 552, 566-571, 582; missions to, xiii, 8, 70, 611-615. *See also* Champlain, Franciscans, Jesuits, Frontenac, and Iroquois.
- Company of, monopolize trade, 457, 612; hinder missions, 457, 460, 613;



## CAN

- Canada, Company of (*continued*).  
 favor Jesuits, 614; desire Franciscans, 613; sketch, 612.
- Canadians, 586, 589; characteristics, 308, 312, 327; in Iroquois war, 552, 566-571, 582; expedition against Hudson Bay, 561; in fur-trade, 308, 311-313.
- Cankia Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.
- Canoes, size, 35, 37, 122; manufacture, 36, 37, 272, 276, 336, 366; of buffalo skins, 422; usefulness in new country, 32-36; propelled, 37; rapidity, 366; insecurity, 273; superior to perogues, 184, 197, 205, 238; inadequacy, 242; shoot rapids, 71.
- Canons, form of Indian beads, 180.
- Canroi, —, procurator-general of Premonstrants, 264; abbot of Beaulieu, 264.
- Cape St. Anthony, named by Hennepin, 207, 443.
- St. Francis (Long Point), Lake Erie, named by La Salle, 108.
- St. Mary Magdalen, location, 546; mission at, 545.
- Tourmente, on St. Lawrence, 34; origin of name, 591; French commandant of, 591; captured by English, 592, 593.
- Capuchins, in Acadian missions, 546.
- Carcarilica Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.
- Carolina, 629; extent, 672; charter of, 672, 673.
- Caron, Joseph le, Franciscan missionary, 568; receives Iroquois hostages, 570; aids Champlain, 591, 594, 599; besought for missionaries, 593; treats for surrender of Quebec, 599-602; solicited to go with Indians, 601; complaint against, 602; sketch, 613.

## CAY

- Carp, in North America, 558; in Mississippi, 284.
- Carr, Lucien, naturalist, 406.
- Cartier, Jacques, winters at Charlesbourg-Royal, 34; names Assumption Island (Anticosti), 63.
- Carver, Jonathan, early traveller, describes St. Anthony's Falls, 294; *Travels*, 267, 294.
- Cascin Indians. *See* Cherokees.
- Castors. *See* Beavers.
- Catarakouy. *See* Fort Frontenac.
- Catlin, George, describes calumet stone, 654.
- Catlinite, used for calumets, 654.
- Caughnawaga, mission at, 546.
- Cavelier, Abbé Jean, Sulpitian priest, brother of La Salle, 386; characterized, 429; accompanies expedition, 395-400; sets out with La Salle, 403-417; starts for Illinois, 419-422; learns of La Salle's death, 429; escapes from murderers, 431-433; assumes charge of survivors, 434; journey to Illinois, 434-444; arrives at Fort Crêvecœur, 444; departs for Canada, 447, 672; sails for France, 447; conceals La Salle's death, 447.
- Jean, La Salle's nephew, accompanies La Salle, 388; on Texas expedition, 419-422; learns of La Salle's death, 429; escapes from murderers, 431-433; journey to Illinois, 434-444; travels by perogue, 441; returns to France, 447; *Relation*, 403.
- Cayuga (Goyogouin, Oiogouin) Indians, location, 40, 53, 97, 511; missionary among, 32; Hennepin among, 47, 524; remove, 100; address Frontenac, 550. *See also* Ganneousse, and Iroquois.

## CED

- Cedars, on lower Mississippi, 212; near Niagara Falls, 319; in Texas, 411; value for ship-building, 556.
- Cenis Indians, habitat, 412, 413, 442; trade with Spaniards, 413; map drawn by, 413; war of, 431; La Salle among, 411-416; La Salle's murderers among, 430, 431; guide Cavaliers, 434; Douay's mission to, 446.
- Champlain, Samuel de, founds Quebec, 591; governor of Canada, 591; Western exploration, 115; imports Franciscans, x, xiii, 8; founds Three Rivers, 592; besieged at Quebec, 592; aided by Caron, 591, 594, 597, 599; reconnoitres, 597; purchases corn, 598; capitulates Quebec, 599-603; treatment by English, 603; returns to France, 604, 605; sketch, 591; *Voyages*, 591.
- Channels, Bahama, 392; Chippewa on Lake Erie, 58; Tonawanda on Lake Erie, 59. *See also* Straits.
- Chaonauon Indians. *See* Shawnees.
- Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier de, Jesuit, denounces Hennepin, xxxvi; *Journal Historique*, 177.
- Charon, —, Canadian habitant, accompanies Hennepin, 96.
- Chaumin, Indian convert, 601.
- Chefdeville, —, Sulpitian priest, accompanies La Salle, 386, 401; at Matagorda Bay, 446.
- Cherokee (Cascin, Casquinambaux) Indians, location, 629; met by La Salle, 629.
- Cherries (wild), near Niagara, 106.
- Chessagouasse (Chassagouache), head chief of Illinois, 160; abandons Christianity, 169.

## CON

- Chestnuts, near Detroit, 109; on Mississippi, 213, 622.
- Chicago (Checagou), Indian name for Fort Crèvecœur, 170.
- , drainage canal, 626; *Dial*, article on Hennepin, xxxvi.
- Desplaines portage, 667.
- Chickasaw (Chicasas, Chikacha, Cikaga, Sikacha) Indians, location, 177, 442; described, 191, 192, 442; hunting, 207; hostile to French, 177; La Salle meets, 177, 629; Hennepin meets, 190-192; willing to remove to Illinois, 442.
- Chincapins, on Mississippi, 657.
- Chinko Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.
- Chippewa (Ojibway, Fr. Sauteur) Indians, at Sault Ste. Marie, 116, 117.
- Choctaw (Cha'hta) Indians, absorb Koroas, 195; band called Quinipissas, 198.
- Choponsca Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.
- Chouart. *See* Groseilliers.
- Chougasketon Indians, Siouan tribe, origin of name, 225; habitat, 225.
- Cibola, Spanish term for buffalo, 404.
- Citrouilles. *See* Squash.
- Clement X, forbids *Jesuit Relations*, 588.
- Coal, in Canada, 556; in Illinois, 152, 627; on Mississippi, 213, 623.
- Codfish in North America, 563, 590.
- Colbert. *See* Signelay.
- Columbus, Christopher, discovers America, 384; accompanied by Franciscans, 374.
- Comanche (Chouman) Indians, habitat, 413; trade with Cenis, 413; at war with Spaniards, 413; recognize Franciscans, 414, 415.
- Congregation of the Propaganda, gov-

## CON

- Congregation (*continued*).  
 erns missions, 387; forbids *Jesuit Relations*, 587, 588.
- Conti, Louis Armand de Bourbon, prince de, favors La Salle, 388.
- Convent of St. Mary (Recollect), Quebec, Hennepin enters, 68.
- Copper mines, on Mississippi, 213; in Illinois, 152, 647; near Hudson Bay, 562.
- Corcobades, Spanish term for buffalo, 670.
- Cornwall (Ont.), site of Long Sault, 324; canal around, 324.
- Coronelli, Marco Vincenzo, geographer, 668.
- Cottonwood trees, size, 212, 622; described, 564; used for perogues, 212, 622.
- Coueurs de bois, illicit fur-traders, 334; at Mackinac, 310-313; at Green Bay, 308; Du Luth a type of, 334.
- Couture, —, accompanies Tonty, 438; left at Arkansas River, 438, 440; in Canada, 439; in the Illinois, 439.
- Coxe, Daniel, purchases Carolina, 673.
- Cranes, in North America, 559.
- Creek, Cayuga, "Griffon" built on, 90.  
 — Chippewa, Hennepin camps on, 78.  
 — Irondequoit (Isonnontouan), location, 101; Hennepin at, xxiii; La Salle, xxiii.
- Crocodiles, on Mississippi, 160, 201, 210; fear fire, 202; Hennepin fears, 201; devour a man, 417, 421.
- DAILLON, Joseph de la Roche, Franciscan missionary, among Hurons, 595; sketch, 595.
- Deer, near Detroit, 109; on Illinois

## DOU

- Deer (*continued*).  
 plains, 148, 151, 219, 623, 666; on Mississippi, 211, 228, 276, 622; on Ohio, 630; value of skins, 558.
- Denonville, Jacques René de Brisay, marquis de, governor of Canada, 49, 614; favors Jesuits, 614; orders Fort Frontenac abandoned, 50.
- De Pere (Wis.), location, 307.
- Desdames, Thierry, naval captain, with Champlain, 598.
- De Soto, Hernando, discoverer of Mississippi, 384, 629.
- D'Estrées, César, French cardinal, favors Franciscans, 387.
- Detroit, country near, 109; settlement advised by Hennepin, 110, 111; post commanded by La Forest, 97. *See also* Straits of Detroit.
- De Valence, Martin, Franciscan missionary in America, 28, 29, 266.
- Dionne, N. E., bibliography of Hennepin, xlvi, xlviii.
- Dodinga Indians. *See* Tounging.
- Dogs, among Indians, 465, 517.
- Dorsey, J. O., in *American Naturalist*, 177; "Siouan Sociology," 225, 268.
- Dottrel in North America, 559.
- Douay, Anastase, Franciscan missionary, accompanies La Salle, 387, 419-426; in Texas, 403-426; confesses La Salle, 426; buries La Salle, 427; informs La Salle's brother, 429; exhorts La Salle's murderers, 430; escapes from La Salle's murderers, 431-433; buries Marne, 435, 436; returns to Illinois, 441-444; returns to Europe, 445; second voyage, 446; at Cambay, 445; conceals La Salle's fate, 447; description of expc-

## DOU

- Douay (*continued*).  
 dition, 403, 414, 415, 421, 422, 424, 438, 442, 446.  
 Doves. *See* Pigeons.  
 Dubos, —, letter concerning Hennepin, xli.  
 Duchesneau, Jacques, intendant of Canada, favors Jesuits, 52.  
 Ducks (wild), in North America, 559; on Mississippi, 205, 224; on Lake Ontario, 329; on Fox River, 639; in Illinois, 666.  
 Du Luth (Du Lhut), Daniel Greysolon, coureur de bois, 334; trades for Frontenac, xxxi, 334; takes possession of Sioux country, 293; meets Hennepin, xxx, 293; kindness to Hennepin, xxxi, 305; takes Hennepin with him, xxxi, 294; admires St. Anthony's Falls, 294; disputes with Hennepin, 299; fears treachery, 302; at Mackinac, xxxi, 310; remains among Ottawas, 334; sketch, 293.  
 Du Plessis, Pacificus, Franciscan, warned of attack on Quebec, 567.  
 Du Pratz, Le Page, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 194, 219.  
 Dutch, genius for colonization, 557; search for Northwest Passage, 337; in fur-trade, 553, 557; trade with Iroquois, 42, 44, 56, 82, 83, 86, 553; friendly with Iroquois, 399; furnish Indians firearms, 501; Hennepin among, xvi, xvii, 42, 504; language spoken by Hennepin, x, xvii, 42. *See also* Albany, and Fur-trade.

EAGLES, on coast of Lake Michigan, 129; on upper Mississippi, 284, 287; in Texas, 411, 426; drop fish, 284, 287, 288.

## FAU

- Eels, in North America, 558; in the St. Lawrence, 596; taken by Indians, 524.  
 Elk, Canadian name of, 558; Indians hunt, 516; value of skins, 558; skins used as presents, 568, 570.  
 Endehe, Spanish mines of, 671.  
 English, genius for colonization, 557; seek Northwest Passage, 373; furnish Indians firearms, 501; in fur-trade, 553, 557, 629; conquest of Canada, xiii, 8, 584, 590-603; capture Boulé, 598; obtain Quebec, 599-603; treatment of Canadians, 592, 603; sequester Jesuit estates, 584; restore Canada to France, xiii, 611; build forts at Hudson Bay, 561; defend forts against French, 561; pension Groseilliers, 560; in Mississippi Valley, 629, 672, 673. *See also* Fur-trade, New York, Virginia, and Carolina.  
 Eskimos, characterized, 515; methods of fire-making, 246.  
 FALLS of Niagara, outlet for great lakes, 317, 318, 523; described, xxiii, 53-56, 78, 90, 317-323, 368; height, 278, 320, 322; roar, 318, 322, 324, 331; mist, 318, 323; island in, 318, 319; rapids below, 322, 323; lands about, 318, 319; portage at, xxi, 96, 101, 104, 324; map of, 560, 668; fishing, 523; Iroquois abandon, 324. *See also* Niagara, and River Niagara.  
 — of St. Anthony, location, 186, 224; named, 294; described, xxx, 223, 278, 294; object of worship, 277-279, 299, 463; admired, 294; Hennepin at, xxx, 247, 277; Issati near, 276-279.  
 Faucher, —, French commandant, 591.

## FAU

- Fauna, of North America, 558, 563. *See also* the various animals.
- Fénelon. *See* Salignac.
- Ferdinand, elector of Bavaria, patronizes Hennepin, xxxix, 7, 10, 357, 366; allied with England, 365; death, 6.
- Fillatre, Luke, Recollect missionary, chaplain to Frontenac, 332.
- Firs, near Niagara Falls, 319; useful for ship-building, 556, 562.
- Fish, of North America, 558, 559, 563; Illinois River, 623; Mississippi, 645. *See also* the several species.
- Fisherie, in North America, 555, 556, 563.
- Five nations. *See* Iroquois Indians.
- Fléché, Jessé, Acadian missionary, 461.
- Florida, reefs of, 669; Indians in, 670; discovered, 384; possessed by French, 629; La Salle reaches, 392, 669.
- Folles-Avoine Indians. *See* Menominees.
- Forests, in North America, 555; of Mississippi, 662.
- Foriere, Iroquois Indian, warns Canadians, 567; reconciles French and Iroquois, 567, 568.
- Foriman Indians. *See* Tourima.
- Fort Crêvecœur (Checagou), 371, 438, 627, 630; site, 165, 170, 171, 184, 628; built, xxvii, 170-172; Indian name for, 170; origin of name, xxvii, 171; Indians near, 442, 629; commandant, 444; visited by Western Indians, 627; plundered, 343; Cavaliers reach, 444.
- Frontenac (Catarakouy, Kingston), described, 45, 46, 72; climate of, 629; colony, 47, 49; Indian councils, 317; owned by La Salle, 95, 99, 383; commandant of, 330; visited by La Salle,

## FRA

- Fort Frontenac (*continued*),  
xxi, 91, 172, 383, 390; by Cavalier, 429; Hennepin at, xvi, xxii, xxxi, 39, 43, 72, 73, 81, 96-100, 329-331, 338, 390, 415, 428, 542; garden, 580; sketch, 50.
- Nelson, on Hudson Bay, 561.
- Neusavane, on Hudson Bay, 561.
- Niagara, location, xx, 56; built by La Salle, xx, xxi, 56, 78-80, 325; deserted, 326; later forts, 56. *See also* Falls of Niagara, Niagara, and River Niagara.
- Ste. Anne, on Lake Champlain, built by La Mothe, 335; Hennepin at, 335.
- St. Louis (Ill.), built by Tonty, 91; granted to Tonty and La Forest, 96.
- St. Louis (Tex.), built, 396, 397; described, 418, 419; La Salle returns to, 417; captured, 446.
- Fox (Outagami, Fr. Rénard) Indians, habitat, 130, 166, 307; customs, 167, 168; hostile to Issati, 278, 288, 292; La Salle among, 130-135; dissuade La Salle from visiting Illinois, 134.
- Wisconsin portage, 221; location, 306; described by Hennepin, 306; Jolliet at, 621, 643.
- Foxes, value of skins, 558.
- Franciscans (Recollects), founded, 374; rules, xxxvii, 375, 573; habit, x, xii, xix, 194; Indian name for, 317, 326, 582, 593; missionary zeal, 8, 28; precede Jesuits, 607, 609, 611; history of missions, 607-615; missions in Orient, 374, 375, 457, 462, 568, 571, 574, 607-611; in South America, 459; in Spanish America, 194, 199, 266, 415, 573; among English, 87, 333; Canadian missions in general, 350,

## FRA

Franciscans (*continued*).

369, 370, 459, 563, 611-615; first in Canada, x, xiii, 8, 28, 29, 106, 112, 573, 591, 593, 594, 596, 598, 604, 606, 607; invite Jesuit coöperation, 604, 611, 614; at siege of Quebec, 599-605; sent back to France, 605; return to New France, xiii, 574, 603; favored by Frontenac, 8, 152, 332, 574, 615; residence at Quebec, 68, 603; convent of Notre-Dame des Anges, 349, 574, 603, 605, 606; Canadian provincial, 105, 349, 370, 372, 589, 607; mission to Hurons, 595; at Fort Frontenac, xxiii, 38, 39, 47, 49, 98, 330, 582; expelled therefrom, 49; Fox Indians desire, 134; Illinois desire, 176; abandon Illinois, 341, 342; among Iroquois, xxiv, 572; at Three Rivers, 566; La Salle favors, 98, 99, 386; accompany La Salle, 386; in Europe, xxxvii, 10, 360, 364, 366, 387, 445; Hennepin joins, ix, 28; relations with Hennepin, xxxviii, xl, xli; sketch, 8, 374. *See also* Hennepin, and Missions.

French, B. F., identifies fruits, 657.

— settle Canada, 574, 591, 596; lose Canada in 1629, xiii, 8, 590-599; recover Canada, xiii, 546, 574, 611; attempts on Hudson Bay, 561; fear Iroquois, 551; subdue Iroquois, 649; in Florida, 629; Chickasaws hostile to, 177; fur-trade, 553, 557; poor miners, 562; language used by Hennepin, x. *See also* Canada, Canadians, and Fur-trade.

Frogs in North America, 564; eaten by Mohawks, 41.

Frontenac, Louis de Baude, Comte de,

## GAM

Frontenac (*continued*).

governor of New France, 51, 52, 119, 327, 539, 545; intrigued against, 633; opposed by Jesuits, 52; recalled, 52; returns, 52; expedition against Iroquois, 52; pacifies Iroquois, 502, 550, 551; sends out Jolliet, 209, 621; in fur-trade, xxxi, 324; builds Fort Frontenac, 39, 44; restores Fort Frontenac, 50; favors Recollects, xiv, xviii, 574, 615; approves Hennepin's mission, xviii, 69; welcomes Hennepin, xxxii, 332-336, 349, 607; receives tidings from Illinois, 337; sends home Salignac, 32; sketch, 52.

Fruit, on Mississippi, 195, 622, 657; in Texas, 405; in Wisconsin, 643.

Fur-trade, value of, 557-559; inexhaustible, 557; advantageous to Indians, 162; articles employed in, 71, 553; Dutch and French rivalry, xvii; English and French rivalry, 629; French monopolies, xx, xxiii, 334, 457, 598, 605, 612; illicit trade, 308, 313, 325, 334; Frontenac's relation to, xxxi, 52; with Iroquois, 571; with Western Indians, 118, 119, 177, 207, 311; Indians assemble for, 585; Du Luth in, xxxi, 293; route for, 222; Dutch with Iroquois, 42, 44, 56, 82, 83, 86; English with Iroquois, 42, 44, 56, 82, 83, 86; Iroquois damage, 502, 552. *See also* Canada, Boston, New York, Iroquois, and Company of Canada.

GABRIEL, Father. *See* Ribourde.

Gagnon, Philéas, *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*, xlvi.

Game, birds of America, 559; on Mississippi, 207, 210, 211, 622, 644; in

## GAM

- Game (*continued*).  
 Texas, 424; plentiful on Illinois, 623.  
 Gannaouens. *See* Kanawhas.  
 Ganneouse Kaera, Indian chief, 539.  
 Ganneousse, Cayuga village, location, 53, 97; Hennepin at, 47, 524; removal of inhabitants, 100.  
 Garakontié (Garagontie), Onondaga chief, 550.  
 Garangula (Grande Gueule). *See* Atriouati.  
 Garlic (rocambol), wild, near Niagara 106; in Illinois, 346.  
 Garnier, Julien, Jesuit missionary among Iroquois, 82, 85.  
 Gaspé (Acadia), location, 546, 555, 590, 597, 598; mission, 370.  
 Gaspesian Indians, assist settlers, 597.  
 Genins, —, French miners, 562.  
 Gilt-heads (fish), 558.  
 Gnats (mosquitoes), on Mississippi, 660.  
 Goats, wild among Iroquois, 78, 81, 93; near Detroit, 109; near Lake Michigan, 129; in Wisconsin, 643; in Illinois, 148, 151, 219, 623, 666; on Mississippi, 211, 276, 281, 622, 644; on Ohio, 630; in Texas, 407, 411; Potawatomis feast on, 127; value of skins, 558, 622.  
 Gold mines, near Hudson Bay, 562.  
 Gooseberries, on Mississippi, 276.  
 Gourds, wild, used as poison, 564; grown by Indians, 622.  
 Goyogouins. *See* Cayugas.  
 Græf (Graevius), Joannes G., professor at Utrecht, 373.  
 Grapes, wild. *See* Vineyards.  
 Grasshoppers, pest to harvest, 47.

## GUL

- Gravier, Jacques, *Découvertes de la Salle*, 45, 75.  
 Green Bay (Wis.), Indians near, 130, 308, 309; Jesuit mission at, xxxi; Jolliet, 621, 638, 667; Marquette, 636-639, 667; Allouez, 631, 640; Hennepin and Du Luth, 307; La Salle, xxiv, 119.  
 Green Lake county (Wis.), Indian village in, 640.  
 Grey-gowns. *See* Franciscans.  
 Gribanne, near Quebec, Jesuit estate, 606.  
 "Griffon," La Salle's ship, planned, 83; cost, 129; rigging lost, xxi, 89; ship yard for, xxi, 90, 91; launched, xxii, 91-93; Indians admire, xxii, 94, 102, 103; fitted, 102; sails Lake Erie, xxiv, 106-109; in storm on Lake Huron, xxiv, 114; at Mackinac, xxiv, 115, 116; Hurons jealous of, 116; sailed for Green Bay, xxiv, 119; sent back, xxv; lost, 120, 121; La Salle hears of loss, xxv, 139, 140.  
 Groseilliers, Médard Chouart, sieur de, discovers Hudson Bay, 560, 561; pensioned by England, 560; sketch, 560.  
 Guaras Indians, in Texas, 420.  
 Guimeni, Prince of, patron of Indian convert, 595.  
 Guinet Indians, in Texas, 419, 420.  
 Gulf of California (Vermilion Sea), 266, 623, 658, 666.  
 — of Mexico, 672; Mississippi flows into, 367, 385, 388, 404, 445; La Salle on, 387, 391, 392, 669; La Salle's colony on, 392-401; Douay on, 446.  
 — of St. Lawrence, fishing vessels captured in, 590; French relief ship, 598; mission on, 545.

## GUL

- Gulls, eggs of, used for food, 97.  
 Guoquis Indians, in Texas, 419.
- HAKE (*Merluccius vulgaris*). See Codfish.
- Hale, Horatio, *Iroquois Book of Rites*, 44.
- Hamel, Ensign de, on "Joly," 389.
- "Handsom," of La Salle's fleet, 388; captain sounds Matagorda Bay, 399; captain murdered, 400; wrecked, 401.
- Hans of Wirtemberg, companion of La Salle, 405, 430; avenges La Salle, 431; leads La Salle's men, 431; fights for Cenis, 431.
- Haquis Indians, in Texas, 434.
- Harisse, Henry, describes Hennepin editions, xlv, xlvi.
- Harveau, F. Cesaree, Franciscan provincial, 364.
- Hawthorn berries, La Salle's party eat, 129.
- Heath, Sir Robert, grant of Carolina, 673; sells patent, 673.
- Hebert, Louis, first settler of Canada, 596; advantaged by English occupation, 603.
- Hebert, Marie Rollet, aids Franciscan missionaries, 596.
- Hemlock spruce (epinetas), near Lake Ontario, 73.
- Hemp, in Illinois country, 151, 623, 627; on Mississippi, 212; in Texas, 420.
- Hennepin, Louis, birthplace, ix; native language, x; joins Franciscans, x, 11, 28, 179; novitiate at Bethune, x, 179, 343, 613; dissuaded from East Indian mission, x, xi; passion for travelling, ix, x, xii, xl, 25, 26, 28-30, 364; early journeys in Europe, ix, 29-31, 312; preaches at Halles, xi, 29; among

## HEN

- Hennepin (*continued*).  
 fishermen, xi, xii, 30; army chaplain in Holland, xii, xiii, 30, 31, 367; embarks for Canada, xiii, 31; adventures en route, xiv, 32; arrives at Quebec, xv, 32; preaches at Quebec, xv, 33, 561; itinerant missionary near Quebec, xv, 33, 34; missionary at Fort Frontenac, xvi, xvii, 38, 39, 43, 46-50, 68, 81, 383, 390, 415, 428, 429, 466, 523, 542, 582; visits Iroquois and New Orange, xvi, xvii, 38-43, 502-504, 523, 524, 582; returns to Quebec convent, xvii, 68; chosen to accompany La Salle, xviii; sent in advance, xviii, xix, 71, 72; embassy to Senecas, xx, 80-88, 632; disliked by Tonty, xxii, 94, 98; keeps a journal, xxii, 94; returns to Fort Frontenac, xxiii, 96-100; second voyage to Niagara, 101-104; disagreement with La Salle, 104, 105; on Lake Erie, xxiv, 106-109; advises settlement at Detroit, 110; on Lake Huron, xxiv, 113-115; at Mackinac, xxiv, 114-119; at Green Bay, xxiv, 119-121; canoe voyage up Lake Michigan, xxv, 122-124, 128-130, 135; at River St. Joseph, xxv, 135-140; from Fort Miami to the Illinois, xxvi, 141-145; among Illinois, xxvi, 155-182; missionary methods, 169, 486, 487; to explore Mississippi, xxviii, 172, 173; reluctant to go, xxviii, 178-182; embarks at Fort Crèvecoeur, xxx, 182; detained by ice, xxx, 185; describes voyage down Mississippi, 186-208, 219, 220; voyage up Mississippi, xxx, 221, 222; taken prisoner by Issati, xxx, 222-224, 227-231; decides on non-resistance, 231; adopted by chief, 239, 252, 373, 475; wept over, 244; at St. An-



## HEN

Hennepin (*continued*).  
 thony's Falls, xxx, 246; hardships of captivity, xxx, 248-250, 258, 262, 276; at Indian village, 251-270; cured of illness, 255-257; considered a spirit, 259, 532; learns Indian language, 259, 260, 294; ministers to captors, 260-265, 273, 274, 532; wanderings, 272, 273, 276-286, 288, 289, 293; encounters Du Luth, xxx, 293-295; ransomed by Du Luth, xxxi; leaves Issati, 299; meets new band of savages, 302-304; on Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, xxxi, 305-307; among Winnebagoes, 308-310; winters at Mackinac, xxxi, 310-314; returns to Niagara, xxxi, 314-317; at Seneca village, 326-328; welcomed at Fort Frontenac, xxxi, 329-331; received at Montreal, xxxii, 333-336, 603; exposes Du Luth, 334; returns to Quebec, xxxii, 334-336, 349-352; meets Jolliet, 209; Groseilliers, 560; relations with Indians, 85, 317, 634; describes Indian languages, 215; returns to Europe, xxxii, 3, 352; meets Seignelay, 388; expelled from France, xxxviii, 9, 371; relations with order, xxxviii, xli; patronized by William III, xxxviii-xl, 7, 10, 360, 365; later European travels, xxxvii-xxxix, xli, 11; a plagiarist, xxxiv-xxxix, 155, 169; relations with La Salle, xiv, xv, xxxv, 386, 388; reasons for concealing Mississippi voyage, 9, 186, 220, 334, 366-370, 388; last knowledge of, xli; characterized, xli, xlii; *Louisiane*, 3, 188, 294, 309; published, xxxii, 9, 363-367, 423; described, xxxii, xxxiii; cited by author, 151, 213, 563, 615, 616; bibliography, xlix-llii; *New Discovery*, published, xl, 11;

## HUD

Hennepin (*continued*).  
 described, xl, xli; bibliography, lix, lxiv; *Nouvelle Découverte*, published, xxxiii, xxxix, 357, 359, 363; described, xxxiii; cited, 268; bibliography, lii-lvi; *Nouveau Voyage*, published, xxxiv, xl; described, xxxix; bibliography, lvi-lviii.  
 Henry, bishop of Ceuta, in East Indies, 608.  
 Hens, among Chickasaws, 192.  
 Herbs, medicinal, of North America, 563; poisonous, 564.  
 Here, Chevalier de, lieutenant on "Joly," 389.  
 Herinx, William, bishop of Ypres, disciplines Hennepin, xi, 29.  
 Herons, in North America, 559.  
 Herrera, Alonso de, bibliography of, xlvi.  
 Hewitt, J. N. B., "Iroquois Gods," 450.  
 Hill, Abraham, English statesman, aids Hennepin, 11.  
*Historical Magazine*, on Hennepin, xlv.  
 Hoffman, W. J., describes Indian medicine cult, 641.  
 Holly trees, on Mississippi, 622.  
 Holmes, W. H., "Ancient Pottery of Mississippi Valley," 268, 526, 665; "Prehistoric Textile Art," 194, 522.  
 Honmontages. *See* Onondagas.  
 Honnehouts. *See* Oneidas.  
 Horses, described by Indians, 212; painted on rocks, 208; used in Texas, 404, 411-413, 419, 422; price of, 446; known by Iowas, 627.  
 Hough, Walter, "Fire-making apparatus," 246.  
 Huars. *See* Loons.  
 Hudson Bay country, mines of, 561, 562.

## HUD

- Hudson's Bay Company, formed, 560; forts of, 561.
- Huett, Paul, Hennepin's early master, 613.
- Hulst, Felix van, biographer of Hennepin, ix.
- Hurier, —, officer of La Salle, 395.
- Huron Indians, origin of name, 60, 560; language, 661; method of fire-making, 246; creation myth of, 450; cannibalism, 510; compared with Southern Indians, 195; name Lake Erie, 106; missions among, 106, 310, 544-546, 595; war with Iroquois, 60, 112, 501, 560; incorporated among Iroquois, 560; visited by La Salle, 116; at Mackinac, 115-117, 311; aid Canadians, 598.
- IBERVILLE, Pierre Le Moyne, sieur de, Tonty with, 91; visits Taensa Indians, 194.
- Illinois country, described, 151, 152, 623, 627, 630, 666; climate, 168, 170, 171, 629; minerals in, 152; fertility of, 151, 167, 623, 624; fur-bearing animals, 340; Franciscans in, 386; La Salle's colony, 385; La Salle searches for, 403, 404, 419; Cavaliers reach, 444.
- Indians, significance of name, 62, 153, 506, 651; habitat, xxvi, 75, 146, 153, 184, 343; number, 156, 628; tribes of, 183, 628, 651; language, 217, 651, 663; customs, 167-169, 631, 651-656; slavery among, 631, 652; characteristics of, 157, 168, 169, 195, 505, 651; dress, 168; villages and cabins, 153, 167, 650, 667; hunting, 219, 627; agriculture, 153, 154, 652; feasts, 650; relations with Western Indians, 628,

## IND

- Illinois Indians (*continued*).
- 651; with Southern Indians, 175; with Iroquois, 164, 505, 628, 634; Iroquois war, 134, 177, 308, 309, 337-342; relations with Miami, 159, 177, 337, 632, 633; Ottawas, 628; Shawnees, 337; Sioux, 228, 288, 305; trade, 629, 631, 664; missions to, 146, 178, 371; difficult to christianize, 168, 169, 178; Marquette and Jolliet among, 647-650; La Salle, xxvi, 155-163; Hennepin's relations to, 146, 173, 182, 632, 633; describe Mississippi, 175, 176; describe painted monsters, 207, 208; troubled with snakes, 168.
- Indians:
- Physical Characteristics* — well formed, 477, 651; robust, 488, 489; keen senses, 480; tall, 576; swift, 489; unbearded, 539; uncleanly, 548, 549.
- Mental Characteristics* — in general, 167, 168, 191, 195, 216, 227, 298, 455, 460, 469, 582, 622; quickness, 298; generosity, 549; courtesy, xxvi, 81, 82, 86, 127, 204, 206, 230, 412, 541, 549, 664; perseverance, 462; patience, 504; endurance, 509; worldly wisdom, 462; arrogance, 506, 544, 547; brutality, 548; cowardice, 167; cruelty, 507-509, 511, 544, 566, 571; curiosity, 467; duplicity, 14, 86, 87, 161, 227, 503, 515, 553; drunkenness, 513, 514, 553; disrespect for age, 547-549; gluttony, 469, 488, 544; inconstancy, 478, 480-483, 553, 554; indifference, 552-554, 577; incivility, 547; jealousy, 167, 481, 651; lasciviousness, 167, 455, 469, 473; revengefulness, 240, 469, 501; stupidity, 466; shamelessness, 547, 549; self-interest, 581; imitation of Europeans,

## IND

Indians (*continued*).

550, 551; belief in dreams, 463, 464, 469, 538, 539, 655; freedom of opinion, 468, 469.

*Philology* — in general, 215, 467, 468; no common language, 215, 543; sign language, 246, 249, 404, 407, 408, 414, 435, 662; difficult to learn, 543; Algonquian stock, 651.

*Mythology, Folk Lore, and Religion* — in general, materialistic, 455, 537, 538, 576; superstitions, 168, 259, 294, 295, 456, 461, 465, 467, 484, 535, 542, 577; lack religious sentiments, 213, 455-463, 466, 468, 541; ceremonies, 240, 463; divinities, 208, 460, 461, 463, 466, 537, 538, 577; sacrifices to natural objects, 277-279, 299, 463, 464, 655; fetichism, 538, 655; sun-worship, 214, 240, 435, 463, 654; fear of evil spirits, 208, 233, 250, 295; spirits propitiated by presents, 208, 214, 435, 463; myths of creation, 450-453; of deluge, 577; of origin of thunder, 452; belief in life after death, 453, 454, 531, 537, 538, 577; idea of heaven, 577; transmigration, 296; souls of animals, 453, 465, 466, 537, 539; medicine men (jugglers), 169, 259, 464, 465, 485-487, 540, 542, 577, 578, 652, 653; medicine societies, 641; prophecy, 539, 540; learn prayers by rote, 467; revert to paganism, 467, 469, 586; significance of cross, 641.

*Occupations* — hunting, 48, 49, 147, 153, 154, 182, 219, 242, 261, 272, 280, 290, 489, 490, 516-521, 627, 646; fishing, 522-525; agriculture, 42, 153, 154, 167, 258, 481, 490, 527, 622, 652, 664; plant orchards, 192, 195; domestic animals, 150, 192; dress and

## IND

Indians (*continued*).

dye skins, 622; fire-making, 245, 246, 526, 527.

*Food* — in general, 41, 74, 191, 548, 579; corn, 116, 153, 307, 664; sagamite, 116, 312, 406, 473, 488, 579, 650, 663, 664; wild rice, 224, 252, 256, 296, 298; fish, 116, 256, 258, 262, 650, 663; dogs, 650, 666; bears, 176, 239, 579, 661; beavers, 230; buffaloes, 148, 149, 225, 280, 296, 521, 622, 646, 661; no salt, 149, 290; method of preserving meat, 248, 290, 300, 521; fruit, 252, 661.

*Feasts* — in general, 435, 437, 469, 650, 655; customs at, 326, 471, 550; songs at, 437, 473, 479; varieties of, 471-475; in honor of dead, 295, 296, 454, 474, 530; for the sick, 474, 485; for war, 471-473; for marriage, 473, 479; for adoption, 475; "feast of fools" or dreams, 514; time reckoned by, 296; sign of peace, 304.

*Villages and Cabins* — villages described, 153, 167, 412; cemeteries in, 530; construction of cabins, 167, 194, 413, 665; built of reeds, 194, 203, 641, 652; skins, 670.

*Furniture and Utensils* — primitive, 526; made of stone, 216, 521, 527, 652; of wood, 527, 652; of bark, 230, 256, 272, 497, 548; of bone, 665; of beavers' teeth, 427; pottery, 268, 526, 665; baskets, 665; gourds, 527, 528; bags, 149, 527, 528; mats, 528; beds, 665; obtained from Europeans, 527, 529; kettles, 473, 527; knives, 474, 521, 526, 527; hatchets, 527; gridirons, 521; for agriculture, 527; for fire-making, 524, 526, 527; for fishing, 522, 525. See also Canoe, Perogue, and Calumet.

## IND

Indians (*continued*).

*Dress* — in general, 492-495, 547, 661; unclothed, 168, 228, 483, 492, 494, 653, 665; difference in summer and winter, 168; of skins, 150, 165, 256, 278, 412, 492, 494, 622, 646, 653; of tree-bark, 194; moccasins, 81, 168, 406; snow-shoes, 40; no hats, 576; European goods used, 492; for mourning, 455; of women, 493, 653, 665; children, 488, 493, 494; babes, 528; Southern Indians, 483, 547, 665; hair dressing, 291, 661, 665.

*Ornaments* — in general, 239, 493, 650; of beads, 180, 406, 531, 665; porcupine quills, 241, 278, 296, 531; feathers, 412, 493; sea-shells, 494; painting bodies, 435, 492, 493, 530; embroidering skins, 149, 168, 296, 646; dyeing, 530.

*Warfare and Weapons* — weapons in general, 127, 167, 477; bows and arrows, 234, 505, 520, 526, 662; clubs, 662; bucklers, 662; fear firearms, 396; wonder at, 202, 205, 216, 437, 520; desire firearms, 235; obtain from Europeans, 167, 501, 503, 622, 651; arms buried with warriors, 531, 533; wars, occasions for, 471, 472, 501, 565, 566; equipment, 503; proclamation, 565; methods, 238, 239, 502-504; marches, 247, 248; ambuscades, 239, 489, 503; attacking forts, 396, 503; scalping, 507; hostages, 570; spoils, 222; prisoners, treatment of, 87, 88, 222, 229, 244, 251, 278, 341, 431, 507-509, 659; cannibalism, 509, 510; making peace, 568-570.

*Government*, 216, 456, 513, 514.

*Councils* — held at night, 158; de-

## IND

Indians (*continued*).

scribed, 439, 565-570, 665; authority of elders, 550; methods of procedure, 326, 327, 476, 565; smoking at, 570.

*Courtship and Marriage* — courtship, 478, 479; marriage customs, 478-483; polygamy, 167, 253, 256, 468, 480, 482, 532, 631, 651; punishment for inconstancy, 483, 651.

*Women and Children* — characteristics of, 147, 259, 489, 490, 535; occupations, 149, 194, 202, 203, 224, 258, 276, 291, 481, 490, 622; child-bearing, 490; care of children, 528, 548; children undisciplined, 548.

*Sickness and Remedies* — medicines, 484, 485; herbs, 563; poisons, 564; for snake-bites, 168, 485, 564, 640; for arrow-wounds, 235; bleeding, 484; sweating, 256, 257, 484.

*Mortuary Customs* — in general, 225, 454, 530-534; respect for dead, 255, 296, 474, 530, 531; bewail dead, 235, 237, 239-241, 407, 455, 531, 634; presents for dead, 530, 531, 533; coffins, 530; burial places, 530; dead slain in battle, covering, 241, 296, 474; burial of warrior, 531, 533; of children, 531.

*Gift Giving* — use of, 83, 127, 157, 176, 193, 437, 549, 568, 642; value, 193; in councils, 649; to medicine men, 652; by missionaries, 476; as propitiatory offering, 230, 245, 487, 568, 569; in peace negotiations, 568, 569; for dead, 241, 296, 474, 530, 531, 533; tobacco used for, 205, 229, 241, 304, 533; wampum, 569, 570.

*Miscellaneous Customs* — games, 216, 497-500; gambling, 168, 497; dancing, 195, 239, 240, 256; salutations, 194, 202,

## IND

Indians (*continued*).

203, 255, 548, 550, 648; hospitality, 434, 435; oratory, 472, 550, 569, 656; story telling, 500; music, 195, 233, 437, 473, 479, 499; slavery, 507-509, 631, 652, 659; calendar, 516, 650; "berdashashes," 168, 653; adoption, 475-477; symbol for admiration, 176, 191; symbol of protection, 245; use of tobacco, 249, 533 — *see also* Calumets; guard fires at night, 189; desire European education, 551.

*Trade* — intertribal, 413, 652, 664; with Europeans, 235, 241, 492, 528, 622, 661; with Spaniards, 404, 413, 622; wampum used in, 83, 569, 570; traders, 542, 543. *See also* English, French, and Fur-trade.

*See also* the several tribes.

Indian Corn, rapidity of growth, 203; fertility, 213, 622; food, 116, 153, 307, 665; La Salle sows, 396, 398; in Wisconsin, 642.

Innocent XI, aids Canadian Missions, 387.

Iouskeka, Huron divinity, 450.

Iowa (Aioua, Ainove) Indians, Siouan tribe, 166; habitat, 166, 627; visit La Salle, 627; know Spaniards, 627.

Iron mines, near Lake Ontario, 73; in Illinois country, 152; on Mississippi, 213, 623, 660; in Hudson Bay country, 561, 562; in Wisconsin, 643, 644.

Iroquois country, climate, 629; salt in, 638; alum, 152.

— Indians, habitat, 39, 53, 71, 324, 325, 341, 511, 559; characteristics, 44, 45, 195, 396, 501-503, 505, 506, 511-515, 551, 552, 571; language, 42, 48, 228, 449; customs, 48, 49, 74, 81, 82, 86-88, 519-524; myths, 208, 451; war customs,

## ISL

Iroquois Indians (*continued*).

88, 507-510; persuaded to agriculture, xvi, 38, 524; provided with firearms, 337, 501, 505; feared, 164, 165, 177, 551; wars on Hurons, 60, 112, 501, 546, 560; incorporate Hurons, 560; Southern raids of, 87, 88, 92, 102, 439, 505; hostile to Tetons, 107; to Ottawas, 316, 326, 327; relations with Miamis, 337-341, 632, 633; war on Illinois, 134, 308, 309, 337-343, 628, 632, 633; enslave Issati, 292; oppress Shawnees, 659; favor English and Dutch, 86, 107, 399; fur-trade of, 56, 571; dangerous to Canada, 399, 501, 502, 552, 571, 582; wars with French, 50, 52, 396, 566-570, 582, 634, 649; overawed by French forts, 46, 335; friendly to French, 327, 550, 551; hard to destroy, 553; missions among, xvi, 42, 74, 99, 100, 544, 582; Tonty's relations with, 339, 444; Hennepin among, xvi, 38, 43, 317, 326-329; embassy from La Salle, 79-88; oppose building "Griffon," xxii, 92, 93, 107. *See also* Senecas, Cayugas, Frontenacs, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Oneidas.

Island Anticosti (Assumption), off St. Lawrence, 63, 387.

— Cape Breton, fisheries of, 555; mission in, 545; sighted by Hennepin, 32.

— Cuba, La Salle's fleet at, 391.

— Grand, in Lake Erie, 58.

— Guadaloupe, La Salle's fleet passes, 669.

— Gull (Goilans), on Lake Ontario, 97.

— Manitoulin, in Georgian Bay, 112; Ottawas on, 115.

— Martinique, La Salle's fleet passes, 669.

## ISL

- Island, Miscou, location, 546; mission at, 545; French commandant, 598.
- Newfoundland, fisheries of, 555; seen by Hennepin, 32.
- Orleans, near Montreal, 34, 49, 71; attacked by Iroquois, 396.
- Peace, La Salle's fleet at, 391.
- Red, near Saguenay River, 596.
- St. Domingo, La Salle's destination, 389; inhabitants deceitful, 391; domestic animals from, 398.
- St. Lawrence. *See* Orleans.
- Washington (Isle des Pouteouatamis), location, xxiv, 119; visited by La Salle, 119, 122.
- Isle of Orleans, in Quebec Bay, 599.
- Percée, origin of name, 590; location, 597; fisheries of, 555, 563; Recollect mission at, 563.
- Issati (Santee) Indians, habitat, 188, 225, 249; characteristics, 233, 236, 247-249, 259, 510; language, 217, 259, 260, 294; food, 252, 256, 258; hunting, 242, 271, 276-292; fire-making, 245, 248; customs on march, 236, 237; war customs, 237, 238, 251; feast for dead, 295, 296; dances, 239; superstitions, 233, 259, 260, 278; ignorance of iron, 271; weep over captives, 222, 229, 244, 255, 259, 262; war with Southern Indians, 305; embassy from Western Indians, 266-268, 373; enslaved by Iroquois, 292; capture Foxes, 278; desire alliance with Lake Superior Indians, 293; capture Hennepin and companions, xxx, 61, 222, 227-231, 510; weep over, 222, 229, 244; carry away, 232-249; at villages, 249, 251; dispute over Hennepin's belongings, 249, 250; instructed by Hennepin, 261; permit Hennepin's depart-

## JEU

- Issati Indians (*continued*).  
 ure, 277; at St. Anthony's Falls, 276-278; attack each other, 280; wanderings, 289-298; part from Hennepin, 297-305.
- JACINTH (Hyacinth), medicinal virtue of, 128.
- Japan, 372-374; passage thither sought, 385, 449, 564; Franciscans in, 374, 375, 609; Jesuits in, 609.
- Jenks, A. E., "Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," 224.
- Jesuits, order founded, 608; Eastern missions of, 415, 607-611; come to Canada, xiii, 604, 611; during English siege, 599, 600, 604; sent back to France, 8, 604, 605; re-enter Canada, 606, 611; work alone in Canada, xiii; relations to Franciscans, xiii, 8, 42, 49, 574, 597, 604, 606, 611, 613; relations with officials, xiii, 51, 52, 613, 614; Canadian missions, 546, 584; Huron mission, 112; Iroquois mission, xvi, 20, 82, 85, 341, 583; Northwestern missions, xxiv, xxxi, 310, 583, 631; Illinois mission, 146, 631; Indian name for, 317, 341, 633; La Salle trained by, 98, 99; as annalists, xviii; intrigues, 632, 633; Hennepin attacks, 584-587; estates in Canada, 584, 597. *Jesuit Relations*, described, 587; European vogue, 586; ceased, 587, 588; edited, xlii; cited, 41, 45, 60, 65, 81, 83, 87, 99, 126, 127, 168, 169, 177, 194, 208, 219, 246, 439, 450, 451, 454, 461, 498, 509, 514, 537, 584, 588, 595, 600, 621, 639, 640, 654, 667.
- Jeune, Paul le, Jesuit missionary, permitted to use Franciscan property, 606; sketch, 606.

## JEU

- Jeunet, Father Hilarion, Franciscan missionary, 350.
- John, Father. *See* Jeune.
- Joliet, Ill., on drainage canal, 626.
- Joliet, Louis, despatched by Frontenac, 209, 621, 642; accompanied by Marquette, xiv, xviii, 209, 636; explores Mississippi, xiv, xxiv, 209, 621-623; at Green Bay, 636-639; on Fox River, 639-643; Wisconsin River, 643, 644; reaches Mississippi, 644; among Illinois, 647-650; reaches the Missouri, 658; reaches the Ohio, 659; among Michigamia, 662, 663; among Arkansas, 663-666; alarmed by monsters, 209, 628; reasons for return, 209, 623, 666; return journey, 666, 667; account of discoveries, 621-624; Hennepin meets, 209.
- "Joly," La Salle's vessel, misprinted in original as "Toby," q. v.
- Joutel, Henri à Ploto, accompanies La Salle, 419; as mediator, 431; escapes from Cenis, 431-433; on the Arkansas, 438; *Narrative* of La Salle's voyage, 403.
- KAKALIN (Kekaling), Grand and Little, rapids of Fox River, Hennepin at, 307.
- Kalm, Peter, Swedish traveller, denounces Hennepin, xxxvi.
- Kamouraska county (Que.), missions in, 546.
- Kanawha (Gannaouen, Ganniessing, Piscatoway) Indians, raided by Iroquois, 87.
- Kanoatinno Indians, habitat, 421; war with Cenis, 431.
- Kansas Indians, migrations and habitat, 177.

## LAK

- Kaoukia, Illinois tribe, absorbed by Tamaroas, 183.
- Kappa Indians. *See* Kwapa.
- Kaskaskia (Cascaschua) Indians, Illinois tribe, habitat, 166, 667; slavery among, 631; absorb Michigamias, 208; Jesuits among, 146; Joliet and Marquette, 667.
- Kickapoo (Kikapou) Indians, habitat, 166, 307, 346, 640; characteristics, 641; absorbed by Mascoutins, 166; massacre Father Ribourde, 343-346; war on Iroquois, 346; Marquette among, 638-643.
- Kingston. *See* Fort Frontenac.
- Kirk, David, captor of Quebec, 590; first attempt, 592; second expedition, 594-603; deceived by Indian, 596; reassures missionaries, 600, 601; Champlain capitulates to, 599-603.
- Kirk, Thomas, English vice-admiral, 604.
- Kironona Indians, La Salle among, 408, 409; at war with Spaniards, 408.
- Koracocnitonon Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.
- Koroa Indians, habitat, 195; cultivate corn, 196; allies of Taensas, 195; merged with Chocktaws, 195; Hennepin among, 196, 203, 204.
- Kaukauna (Wis.), rapids at, 307.
- Kwapa (Kappa) Indians, migrations and habitat, 177; tribes, 438, 439.
- LA CHINE, origin of name, 372; settled by La Salle, 372.
- La Fleur, —, sergeant, commands Fort Frontenac, 330.
- La Forest (Delaforêt), Guillaume de, La Salle's lieutenant, 96; traffic with Indians, 97; sketch, 96.
- Lake Assiniboine. *See* Lake Winnipeg.
- Champlain, French fort on, 335.

## LAK

- Lake Erie, origin of name, 58, 106; described, 58, 59, 625, 629; affluents of, 629; fishing in, 314; "Griffon" built on, xxi; navigates, xxiv, 106-111; Hennepin returns through, 314-317.
- Frontenac. *See* Lake Ontario.
- Huron, origin of name, 60; location, 55, 625, 626; description, 60, 61, 626, 629; fishing in, 311, 312; navigated by "Griffon," xxiv, 111-114; navigated on ice, 314.
- Issati (Mille Lacs), location, 223; outlet, 224; region described, 224; distance from Lake Superior, 224; Hennepin near, xxx.
- Michigan (Illinois), origin of name, 62; location, 55, 60, 61, 623; described, 62, 626; islands of, 626; affluents of, 629; explored, 560; portage from, 630, 667; navigated by "Griffon," xxiv, 119; "Griffon" founders in, 120, 121; La Salle's party on, xxv, 123-135.
- Ontario (Frontenac), 38, 58; origin of name, 44, 51, 52, 53, 559; described, 52, 53, 559; tides in, 72; outlet, 331; navigation improved, 626; distance from Quebec, xvi; Indians on, 511; fur-trade, xxiii; Fort Frontenac, 45; Franciscan mission, 582; Hennepin, xxiii, 38, 96, 97, 101, 102, 326, 329-331.
- Peoria (Ill.), location, xxvi, 155; Indian name, 155; La Salle on, xxvi, 154, 155.
- Pepin (Wis.), location, xxx; Hennepin captured near, xxx, xxxiv; his name for, 222.
- St. Clair, named by Hennepin, 59, 108; Indian name for, 59; navigated

## LAS

- Lake (*continued*).
- by the "Griffon," xxiv, 111; Hennepin returns through, 314.
- Lake St. John, source of Saguenay River, 591.
- St. Joseph, in Louisiana, 194.
- Simcoe, Hurons near, 60.
- Superior, described, 63, 64; outlet, 61; explored, 560; as a route to Mississippi, 222, 225; Issati near, 224, 292.
- Winnebago, in Fox River, 639, 640.
- Winnipeg (Assiniboin), location, 267.
- Lalemant, Charles, Jesuit missionary, 606, 613.
- Lalemant, Jérôme, Jesuit in France, 606.
- La Meterie, —, Canadian notary, 99.
- La Motte-Lussière, Pierre de St. Paul, lieutenant of La Salle, xx, 335; commands La Salle's vessels, xx, xxiii, 76; builds Fort Niagara, xx; returns to Canada, xxi, xxii, 78; embassy to Senecas, 80-88; dislikes missionaries, 85; builds Fort Ste. Anne, 335.
- La Parale, Spanish mines at, 671.
- La Potherie, Bacqueville de, *Amerique Septentrionale*, 135, 522.
- La prairie, location, 546; mission of, 546.
- La Rochelle, port of departure for Canada, xiii, 254, 388, 389.
- Larousse, Pierre A., *Dictionnaire*, 254, 385.
- La Salle, René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de, birth, 45; educated by Jesuits, xviii, 98, 99, 415, 428; first visit to Canada, 99; settles La Chine, 372; proprietor of Fort Frontenac, xiv, 25, 99, 429; on ship with Hennepin, xiv; seeks French support for projects, xvii; returns to Quebec, xvii, xviii; favors Recollects,



## LAS

La Salle (*continued*).

xviii, 98, 99; at Fort Frontenac with Hennepin, 45, 47, 383, 390, 415, 428, 505, 524; Hennepin to accompany, xviii, 7; starts from Fort Frontenac, xxi, 74; builds "Griffon," xxi, 89-95; returns to Fort Frontenac, xxi, 91; hated by fur-traders, xiv; property seized by creditors, xxv, 95, 332; builds fort at Niagara, xxi, 56, 325; returns to "Griffon," xxii, xxiv, 101; appeases Senecas, xxi, 101; upbraids Hennepin, 104, 105; embarks on Lake Erie, xxiv, 106-109; on Lakes Erie and Huron, xxiv, 106-114; fears shipwreck, 114; at Mackinac, 115; party scatter for trading, 118; at Green Bay, xxiv, 119-121; loses "Griffon," xxv, 120, 121; canoe voyage up Lake Michigan, xxv, 122-135; at River St. Josephs, xxv, 135-139; learns loss of "Griffon," xxvi, 139, 140, 172; embarks for Illinois, xxv, 141; desertions from party, xxviii, 146, 163-165; reaches the Illinois, xxvi, 154; parleys with Indians, xxvii, 155-159, 161-163, 177, 337; selects site for fort, 165, 170; sends Hennepin to explore Mississippi, xxviii, 171-173, 179, 180; returns to Fort Frontenac, xxvii, 172, 173, 178, 179, 181, 277, 333; fails to re-enforce Hennepin, 271, 276, 277, 285; enemies in Canada, 344; favored by French court, 325, 333; voyage of Mississippi discovery, xxxiv, 352, 367-371, 668; desires Illinois colony, 385; designs on New Mexican mines, 7, 357, 390, 413, 427, 505, 671; secures royal indorsement, 385, 668, 669; chooses missionaries, 386-388; character of colonists, 388, 389; voyage to America,

## LEF

La Salle (*continued*).

389-392, 669-671; seeks mouth of Mississippi, 7, 385, 445; loses ship, 393, 670; builds fort on Matagorda Bay, 392-401; hostility of Indians, 394-397, 419, 670, 671; visited by Western Indians, 627; relations with Indians, 399, 629; founds colony, 395-401, 419, 672; expedition in Texas, 402-417; among Ceniz, 411-416; leaves for Illinois, 419-423, 671; party divides, 672; assassinated, xv, xxxv, xxxviii, 7, 10, 357, 384, 424-427, 672; hostility to Hennepin, xiv, xxxv, 9, 10, 186, 333, 352, 371; discredits Hennepin's writings, xxxiii, xlii; characterized, 98, 99, 384, 418, 427; *Memoir*, xxxv, xxxvi, 668-673.

Laurel, in Louisiana, 195.

Lauzon, Jean de, governor of Canada, 614.

Laval. *See* Montmorency.

Lead mines, on Mississippi, 213; in Hudson Bay country, 562.

Le Baillif. *See* Bailli.

Le Clerc, Maxime, Franciscan, accompanies La Salle, 387, 395; in Canada, 387; at Matagorda Bay, 446.

Le Clercq, Christian, Franciscan missionary, 370; relation to Membre, 371; identified with Le Roux, 589, 607; sketch, 370; *Relation de la Gaspésie*, 370; *Etablissement de la Foy*, published, xxxiv; suppressed, xxxiv; plagiarized by Hennepin, xxxiv, xxxix, 188, 191, 570, 589; Shea's translation, 188, 198, 309, 342, 371, 570, 606; cited, 155, 169, 309, 370, 371, 403, 570, 595.

Le Fevre, Hyacinth, Recollect commissary, xxvii, 372, 386; friendly to La

## LEF

- Le Fevre (*continued*).  
 Salle, xxxvii; persecutes Hennepin, xxxvii, xxxviii.  
 Lenox, James, notes on Hennepin, xlv.  
 Leon, Alonzo de, Spanish officer, ransoms colonists at Fort St. Louis (Tex.), 446, 447.  
 Le Roux, Valentin, Franciscan commissary, 105, 349, 350, 372, 589, 599; advises Hennepin, 351-353; quoted by Hennepin, 589-606; writes under name of Le Clercq, 607.  
 Lindens, bark of, used by Indians, 527.  
 Lime tree, bark of, used by Indians, 528.  
 Livre, value of, 84.  
 London, Franciscans at, 605; Company of, to exploit Canada, 590.  
 Long Sault of the St. Lawrence, described, 324, 331, 332; Hennepin shoots, 332.  
 Loons (huars), in North America, 559; feathers used for calumet, 125.  
 Louis XIV, indorses La Salle, 385, 386; relations to Hennepin, xxxviii, xli, 9, 10; described to Indians, 414.  
 Louis de Sainte-Foi. *See* Amantacha.  
 Louisiana, climate of, 576; forests, 555; Indians, 494, 510; discovered, 386; described, 369, 370; slavery in, 631; polygamy in, 482. *See also* La Salle, and Mississippi River.  
 Lynx, value of skins, 558.  
 MCGEE, W. J., "Siouan Indians," 107, 225.  
 Mackinac (Michilimakinak), mission at, xxxi, 310; Marquette and Jolliet, xxiv, 209; La Salle's advance party, 75; La Salle, 114-119, 139; Hennepin, xxxi, 114-119, 310-313, 634; winter sports,

## MAR

- Mackinac (*continued*).  
 xxxi, 312. *See also* Jesuits, Straits of Mackinac, and St. Ignace.  
 Majulle, —, Sulpitian priest, accompanies La Salle, 386.  
 Mallery, Garrick, "Sign Language among North American Indians," 246.  
 Mambré. *See* Membre.  
 Mamenisi, Issati Indian, his child baptized, 263-265, 289; meets Hennepin, 289.  
 Manitou, Indian divinity, 208, 453, 641, 653, 659.  
 Mansopolea Indians, location, 443.  
 Map, Indian, of Texas, 413; Hennepin's, 560, 668; Jolliet's, 621, 626, 628, 636.  
 Maples, for ship-building, 556; for sugar making, 580.  
 Marble, in Canada, 556; on Mississippi, 623.  
 Margonne, —, director of Company of Canada, 612.  
 Margry, Pierre, documents on Hennepin, ix, x, xxiii; *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, xxxv, 621, 668-673.  
 Marmots, in Canada, 516.  
 Marne, —, companion of La Salle, drowned, 435, 436.  
 Marquette, Jacques, accompanies Jolliet, xiv, xxiii, xxiv, xl, 209, 621-667; among Menominees, 636-639; on Fox River, 639-643; addresses Miamis, 642; at Fox-Wisconsin portage, 643; on Wisconsin River, 643, 644; visits Illinois, 647-650; reaches the Missouri, 658; describes the Ohio, 659; among Mitchigamias, 208, 662, 663; among Arkansas, 663-666; return voyage, 666, 667; at Mackinac, xxiv, 209; founds Illinois mission, 146, 631, 667; knowledge of In-

## MAR

- Marquette (*continued*).  
 dian languages, 663; describes painted monsters, 208, 657, 658; calumet-dance, 654-656; sturgeon, 219.
- Marshall, O. H., "Building and Voyage of the Griffon," 53, 80.
- Martens, on Mississippi, 211; method of catching, 519; value of skins, 558.
- Martin, Horace F., *Castorologia*, 307.
- Mascoutin Indians, habitat, 143, 166, 307, 640; customs, 167, 168, 641; absorb Kickapoos, 166; allied with Miamis, 632, 640; embassy to Illinois, xxvii, 158, 632, 633; influenced by La Salle, xxvii, 159; Marquette among, 639-643.
- Maxime, Father. *See* Le Clerc.
- Meadows, in Texas, 418, 420; of Illinois, 623; of Wisconsin, 642, 643.
- Melons, grown by Indians, 622, 652, 665.
- Membré, Zenobie, Franciscan missionary, at Fort Frontenac, xxiii, 98; joins La Salle, xxiii, xxiv; on Illinois River, xxvi, 154; mission to Illinois Indians, xxviii, 169, 170, 178, 370; refuses to replace Hennepin, xxviii, 178; later adventures among the Illinois, 309, 337-345; searches for Ribourde, 344, 345, 348; relation to Tonty, 309, 348; accompanies La Salle's second expedition, xxxiv; account of Mississippi voyage, xxxiv, 188, 191, 342, 345, 370; accompanies La Salle's last expedition, 386, 387, 395; returns to Europe, 371; mission to Matagorda Bay, 446; relationship to Le Clercq, 371; *Relation* published by Le Clercq, xxxiv, 309, 370.
- Menominee (Folles Avoine) Indians, habitat, 636; medicine society of, 641; Marquette among, 636-639.

## MIS

- Mentou Indians, in Texas, 436, 442.
- Merchant Adventurers to Canada, 590.
- Mercure François*, cited by Hennepin, 606.
- Mertin, —, accompanies La Salle, 388.
- Messou (Manabozhu, Michabou), Indian divinity, 451, 577.
- Metotantes Indians, tribe of Pawnees, 443.
- Mexico. *See* New Mexico.
- Miami Indians, habitat, 135, 143, 166, 307, 640; tradition concerning, 208; characteristics, 640, 641; customs, 166-168, 640, 641; hunting customs, 145-147; allied with Mascoutins, 632, 640; embassy to Illinois, xxvii, 158, 177; make peace with Illinois, 159, 177, 337, 663; war with Iroquois, 633, 634; allied with Iroquois, 337-341, 632; war with Sioux, 228, 229, 235, 475; fur-trade of, 629; mission to, 631, 632; Jolliet and Marquette among, 639-643; furnish guides, 642, 643; desire instruction, 641.
- Michault, Father Innocent, indorses Hennepin, 364.
- Michel, Jacques, French Huguenot in English service, 595.
- Michigan, watershed of, 629, 630.
- Mille Lacs. *See* Lake Issati.
- Mines of Canada, 556; of Hudson Bay country, 561.
- Minneapolis (Minn.), at Falls of St. Anthony, xxx, 186.
- Minnesota Historical Society, Neill's address on Hennepin, xxxii, xlvii.
- Missions, characterized, 543, 578, 579, 581-587; directed by Congregation, 387; character of missionaries, 584, 616-619; incidents of work, 545, 580; trials of, 457, 458, 541-545, 553, 579, 581; ob-

## MIS

- Missions (*continued*).  
 stacles thereto, 467-470, 482, 541-546, 553, 554; at Indian councils, 476; mission villages, 546, 585; affected by colonies, 458; Indian baptisms, 458-461, 578; English and French rivalry, 634; among Southern Indians, 470; Western Indians, xxiv, xxxi, 310, 583, 631; Illinois, 146, 631; Menominees, 636; in Canada, 545. *See also* Capuchins, Franciscans, Jesuits, and Sulpitians.
- Missouri Indians, encountered by Hennepin, 207; enemies of Issati, 305.
- Mitchigamia (Matsigamea) Indians, habitat, 208, 662; migration, 208; absorbed by Kaskaskias, 208; war with Miamis, 208; Jolliet and Marquette among, 662, 663.
- Mobier, Gervase, Franciscan lay brother, 594.
- Mohawk (Agnier or Anié) Indians, habitat, 40, 53, 511; customs, 524; embassy to Canada, 634; Hennepin among, 41-43. *See also* Iroquois.
- Mohican (Wolf, Fr. Loup) Indians, habitat, 559; Hennepin meets, 634, 635; aid La Salle, 91.
- Moll, Herman, early cartographer, 267.
- Montagnais Indians, village at Three Rivers, 594; captured by English, 593; assist settlers, 597.
- Montmorency, François Xavier de Laval de, bishop of Quebec, embarks for Canada, 3, 31; reaches Quebec, xiv, 33; blesses Hennepin, xviii; meets Hennepin on his return, 334-336; dines with Frontenac, 335; opposes Franciscan mission, 387.
- Montreal, mission villages near, 546, 585; island of, 386; Sulpitians at, 386; Le

## NAS

- Montreal (*continued*).  
 Clercq, 370; La Salle, 372; Jolliet, 621; Hennepin, xix, xxii, 332, 603.
- Moore, George H., assists in Hennepin bibliography, xlvi.
- Moose (Original), in Canada, 558.
- Moranger (Moranget? *Parkman*), nephew of La Salle, accompanies him, 388, 419; wounded, 394; commands fort, 395; on Texas expedition, 403, 416; assassinated, 424, 425, 431.
- Moreau, Zachary, European Franciscan, 613.
- Morquet, Denys, Franciscan, to accompany La Salle, 387; falls ill, 387.
- Mosopoela Indians, destroyed, 628.
- Mosquitoes. *See* Gnats.
- Mouso (Monso), Mascoutin chief, among Illinois, 158, 159, 632; intrigues denounced, 162, 163, 632; refuted, 174; in danger, 633.
- Movisa Indians, habitat, 445.
- Mugulasha and Bayagoula Indians, habitat, 198.
- Mulberry trees, on Mississippi, 213, 622, 657; in Texas, 405, 418; in Louisiana, 195; bark used for cloth, 194.
- Musk-rat, killed by La Salle, 211.
- NABIRI (Naansi) Indians, in Texas, 434.
- Nadessioux Indians. *See* Siouan Indians.
- Napaga Biscou, Indian convert, 593; grieves for missionary, 595.
- Narrehetoba, Issati chief, reprieves Hennepin, 232; protects Hennepin, 234, 235, 244, 245; adopts prisoner, 252.
- Narvaez, Pamphilio de, Spanish discoverer, 384.
- Nassoni (Assoni) Indians, habitat, 442;

## NAS

- Nassoni (*continued*).  
 receive deserters, 416; La Salle's murderers among, 430; Cavaliers, 432.
- Natchez (Miss.), habitat of Koroa Indians, 195.  
 — (Natchetes) Indians, in Texas, 436.
- Natchoos Indians, in Texas, 436.
- Naval stores, in Canada, 212, 556, 562.
- Navigation, to be encouraged, 557; of Great Lakes, 64; by sailing vessels, 76-79, 96, 97; of Hudson Bay, 561; Lake Erie, xxiv, 58, 95, 106-109, 315-317, 625; Lake Huron, xxiv, 113, 114, 314, 626; Lake Michigan, xxv, 119-123, 128, 626; Lake Ontario, 53, 72, 76, 77, 626; Lake St. Clair, xxiv, 110; Lake Superior, 63; Mackinac Straits, 626; River Chicago, 626, 627; River Detroit, xxiv, 111, 626; River Fox, 639; River Illinois, 145, 183, 627; River Mississippi, 174-176, 185, 186, 224, 227, 445, 622, 627, 666; River Niagara, 55, 56, 95, 317-323, 625; River St. Lawrence, 83, 324, 331, 332; River Wisconsin, 305, 643, 644; Sault Ste. Marie, 61.
- Neill, Edward D., criticises Hennepin, xlvii; "Writings of Louis Hennepin," xxxii; *Dakotah Land*, 225; *History of Minnesota*, 225.
- Nettles, fibres used for cords, 522, 528.
- New France. *See* Canada.  
 — Holland. *See* New York.  
 — Orange. *See* Albany.  
 — Mexico, location, 627; boundary, 449, 564, 672; mines of, 7, 200, 357, 372, 390, 413, 505, 671; Spaniards, 383, 398, 408, 413, 421, 433; invaded by Iroquois, 505; Franciscans in, 266, 415.  
 — Sweden, colony of, mentioned by Hen-

## NUT

- New Sweden (*continued*).  
 nepin, 106, 560; furnishes firearms to Indians, 501.  
 — York, Indians of, 41, 511, 559; inhabitants, 399; fur-trade of, 44, 56, 83; subdued by Andros, 42; Hennepin in, xvii, 42, 504; State Museum *Bulletins*, 526. *See also* Dutch, and Fur-Trade.
- Nez Percés (Amikoués) Indians, habitat, 559.
- Niagara, Seneca village at, xxii, 80, 325; La Salle builds fort, xx, xxi, 77-80; Hennepin arrives at, xx, xxiii, 90; Hennepin returns to, xxxi, 314-317; State Reservation Commissioners *Report*, xlviii. *See also* Falls of Niagara, and River Niagara.
- Nicholas IV. *See* Ascole.
- Nigamon, Iroquois hostage, 570.
- Nikana, Shawnee Indian, guides La Salle, 403-424; shoots goats, 407, 411; bitten by rattlesnake, 409; lost in woods, 410, 411; among Cenis, 412; in France, 403; assassinated, 424, 425.
- Nikanape, Illinois chief, feasts La Salle, 160-163; tries to detain La Salle, 160, 161; silenced, 162; refuted, 174; describes perils on Mississippi, 160, 161, 164.
- North America, 552, 555; climate of, 576; forests, 555, 564; herbs, 563, 564; reptiles, 564; fowl, 559; animals, 558; fisheries, 558, 559, 563, 564; first settled because of fisheries, 556.
- Notre-Dame des Anges, Franciscan convent, 574, 603, 605, 606.
- Nova Scotia (Acadia), fisheries of, 555; missions, 461, 546; French governor, 598; settled by English, 590.
- Nuts, on the Mississippi, 622.

## OAK

- OAKS, in Canada, 562; on Mississippi, 212; in Texas, 418; in Wisconsin, 643.
- O'Callaghan, E. B., notes on Hennepin, xlv.
- Oil, article of trade, 556, 563.
- Ojogouins. *See* Cayugas.
- Ojibway Indians. *See* Chippewas.
- Okansa Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.
- Olier, Jean Jacques, founder of Sulpitian order, 386.
- Omaha Indians, migrations, 177.
- Omahouha (Wolf), Illinois chief, patronizes Membré, 178.
- Oneida (Onneiout, Honnehiout) Indians, habitat, 40, 53, 511; Hennepin among, 40, 41.
- Onnontio, Indian title for governor of Canada, 120, 326, 338, 341, 539; origin of name, 550; favors Franciscans, 134.
- Onondaga (Onnontaté, Honnontages) Indians, Iroquois tribe, habitat, 40, 53, 511; characteristics, 511, 514, 551; slain by Miamis, 634; Hennepin among, 40, 41; address Frontenac, 550; attack Tonty, 339.
- Ontonaganna Indians. *See* Shawnese.
- Opossum, killed by La Salle, 142.
- Original. *See* Moose.
- Ormond, Duke of, patronizes Hennepin, 11.
- Osage Indians, habitat, 443; migrations, 177; visit La Salle, 177; Hennepin among, 188, 189.
- Ossoteoez Indians. *See* Uzutuihi.
- Otchimbi, Issati Indian, Hennepin with, 291.
- Otkon, Iroquois divinity, 451, 453, 538, 539. *See also* Manitou.
- Otoe (Autboutanta) Indians, habitat, 166.

## PAN

- Otrewa'ti (Grande Gueule), Onondaga chief, 551. *See also* Attriouati.
- Ottanika Indians, on Mississippi, 445.
- Ottawa (Outtaouatz) Indians, habitat, 115-177, 311, 559; war with Iroquois, 316, 326, 327; hostile to Illinois, 628; French allies, 326; warn Jolliet, 209; Du Luth among, 334.
- Otters, in Illinois country, 151; on Mississippi, 211, 284; on Trinity River, 436; in Arkansas, 437, 438; catch fish, 284; method of trapping, 517; value of skins, 558.
- Ouadebache Indians, located by Hennepin, 190.
- Ouadebathon Indians, tribe of Sioux, habitat, 225.
- Ouasicoude (Pierced Pine), Issati chief, protects Europeans, 300; befriends Hennepin, 263, 271, 274, 275, 298, 303, 304, 477; at feast, 295, 296; makes chart, 299, 306; goes hunting, 272.
- Ouidiche Indians, furs among, 437; Cave-liers, 436, 437.
- Quitatanon Indians. *See* Weas.
- Ozanbogus Indians, on the Mississippi, 445.
- PACIFICUS, Friar. *See* Du Plessis.
- Palaquesson Indians, allied with Spaniards, 422.
- Palms, in Louisiana, 195.
- Palonna, Indian village, La Salle visits, 422.
- Paltsits, Victor Hugo, Bibliographical Data, xlv-lxiii; conclusions concerning Hennepin's plagiarism, xxxvi.
- Pana Indians, Pawnee tribe, 443.
- Panaloga Indians, Pawnee tribe, 443.
- Paneassa Indians, Pawnee tribe, 443.

## PAN

- Panimaha Indians, Pawnee tribe, 443.  
 Panther (catamount), Indian name for, 211; described, 211, 212, 645.  
 Parkman, Francis, denounces Hennepin, xxxvi; *La Salle*, 45, 75, 90, 146, 158, 180, 188, 208, 214, 395, 403, 447, 669, 672.  
 Parrots, in Illinois, 151, 635, 666; on Mississippi, 211, 622, 662.  
 Parsons, Samuel H., notes on Hennepin, xlv.  
 Partridges, in North America, 559; in Illinois country, 151; on Mississippi, 211.  
 Pastedechouan. *See* Arekouanon.  
 Pawnee Indians, 412, 443; tribes of, 443.  
 Payez, —, Franciscan commissary, 10.  
 Peabody Museum *Reports*, 665.  
 Peaches, cultivated by Chickasaws, 192; by Taensas, 195; fruitful, 213.  
 Pears, near Detroit, 109.  
 Peas, in Canada, 596.  
 Pelicans, in Illinois, 151; as food, 190.  
 Peoria (Ill.), near Fort Crèvecoeur, 171.  
 Peoria (Perouaea) Indians, Illinois tribe, 651; Marquette preaches to, 667.  
 Perogue (pyroogue), described, 175, 191, 622; made of cotton trees, 212, 622; inferior to canoes, 184, 191, 197, 205, 238; used by Southern Indians, 239, 394, 397, 409, 439, 662; by Jean Cavalier, 441.  
 Perrot, Nicolas, *Memoire*, 126, 510.  
 Persimmons, on Mississippi, 657.  
 Petit-Guaves, La Salle's fleet reaches, 390; soldiers ill at, 391.  
 Picard du Gay. *See* Auguel.  
 Picheno Indians, on Mississippi, 445.  
 Pierson, Philippe, Jesuit missionary at Mackinac, xxxi, 310; sketch, 310.

## POR

- Pigeons, in North America, 559; as carriers, 590; on Mississippi, 211; on Lake Ontario, 329.  
 Pigmies, dwell in West, 267.  
 Pike, in North America, 558.  
 Pines, near Lake Ontario, 73; near Niagara, 323; for ship-building, 556.  
 Pipestone (Minn.), site of quarry, 654.  
 Piscatoways. *See* Kanawhas.  
 Pisikiou. *See* Buffalo.  
 Pitch. *See* Naval stores.  
 Pivert, Nicolas, captured by English, 592.  
 Plums, near Detroit, 109; on Mississippi, 213, 622, 661; in Wisconsin, 642.  
 Point aux lievres (Point of Hares), location, 597.  
 — aux Pins, Lake Erie, passed by "Griffon," 108.  
 — de Levi, on River St. Lawrence, 34.  
 — Pelée, Lake Erie, passed by "Griffon," 108.  
 — St. Ignace (Mackinac), "Griffon" at, xxiv.  
 Pointe la Barbe, on Mackinac Strait, 114.  
 Poisson, Paul de, Jesuit missionary, 439.  
 Pomegranates, on Mississippi, 213, 622.  
 Ponca Indians, migration, 177.  
 Ponce de Leon, Juan, discovers Florida, 384.  
 Pont (Pontgravé), François du, in fur-trade, 605.  
 Poole, William F., assents to Shea's defence of Hennepin, xxxvi; translates *Louisiane*, xxxvi.  
 Poor-Jack. *See* Codfish.  
 Porcupine, near Lake Michigan, 123; hunted, 516, 517, 558.  
 Porpoises on the St. Lawrence, 524; fisheries, 556.

## POR

- Portage (Wis.), on Fox-Wisconsin portage, 306.  
 Port de Paix, "St. Francis" at, 390.  
 — Royal (Annapolis), mission at, 545, 546.  
 Potash. *See* Naval stores.  
 Potatoes, in Illinois country, 346.  
 Potawatomi (Poutouatami) Indians, habitat, 119, 123, 309; attack Iroquois, 634; chief admires Frontenac, 119; La Salle's party near, 127; receive Tonty, 309.  
 Powell, John Wesley, "Indian Linguistic Families," 225.  
 Premonstrants, monastic order, 264.  
 Prester John (Ung Khan), Franciscan embassy to, 610, 611.  
 Pronevoa Indians, Illinois tribe, 628.  
 Puants. *See* Winnebagoes.  
 Pulse, planted by Hennepin, 258; by La Salle, 396, 398.  
 Purslain, ground covered with, 148.

QUAIL, on Mississippi, 211, 622, 662.

Quarries, on Mississippi, 213.

Quebec, capital of Canada, xv, 559; founded by Champlain, 591; Franciscans at, x, xiii, 591-599; captured by English, 590-603; terms of capitulation, 603; fort of, 574, 599; hospital of, xv, 33; cathedral of, 603; attacked by Iroquois, 396, 566, 567; Le Clercq at, 370; Hennepin at, xiii, xxxii, 32, 335, 336. *See also* Bishop Montmorency.

— province, boundary, 561; fisheries, 555; mission villages, 546, 585; Jesuit estates in, 584.

Quinipissa (Acolapissa) Indians, habitat, 198; encountered by Hennepin, 198, 202, 203.

## RIC

RACQUETS. *See* Snow-shoes.

Radisson, Pierre Esprit, associated with Groseilliers, 560.

Raffeix, Pierre, Jesuit missionary among Iroquois, 82.

Rale, Sebastien, Jesuit missionary, describes war-club, 127.

Rassade, described, 180; Indians value, 406.

Rattlesnakes, described, 564; in Sioux country, 274, 532; on Mississippi, 283; in Texas, 409; on Niagara River, 324; Indian killed by, 222, 233.

Ravens, on Lake Michigan, 129.

Razilly, Isaac de, governor of Acadia, 598.

Recollects. *See* Franciscans.

Reeds, used for cabins, 194; in Texas, 408; on Mississippi, 210, 660.

Remington, Cyrus Kingsbury, bibliography of Hennepin, xlvi-xlviii; criticised, xlvii; *Shipyards of the Griffon*, xlvii, 90.

Repentigny, Pierre le Gardeur, sieur de, early Canadian colonist, 60.

Ribourde, Gabriel de la, Franciscan missionary, early life, 179, 343; arrives in Canada, 347; among the Iroquois, 347; at Fort Frontenac, xxiii, 72, 98; accompanies La Salle, xx, xxiii, 101, 103-105, 386; at Niagara, xxiv, 103, 105; Hennepin carries, 123; overcome by hardships, 128; at Fort Miami, 139; on the Illinois, xxvi, 154, 495; ministers to La Salle's party, 170, 178; encourages Hennepin, xxviii, 179, 180; starts for Canada, 341, 344; lost, 344; searched for, 344, 345; massacred, 309, 343, 386; characterized, 344, 346-348.

Richelieu, Cardinal, forms Company of Canada, 612.



## RIG

- Riggs, Stephen R., "Dakota Grammar," 225.
- Rio Bravo. *See* Grande.
- Escondido (Hidden River), on early maps, 199.
- Grande (Bravo), location, 199, 200; habitat of Comanche Indians, 413. *See also* River Magdalen.
- Palmas (de San Fernando), distance from Mississippi, 200.
- Panuco, distance from Mississippi, 200.
- River Arkansas, location, 442, 443; habitat of Comanche Indians, 413; habitat of Kwapa Indians, 438; La Salle at, 438; Couture upon, 438, 440, 441.
- Amazon, on Hennepin's map, 369.
- Black (Chebadeba), Hennepin passes, 221.
- Bois-Brulé (Nissipikouet), portage of, 222.
- Brazos (Wicked; in Texas), origin of name, 421; described, 405; crocodile in, 417, 421.
- Buffalo (Wis.), named by Hennepin, 222; revisited by Hennepin, 288.
- of Canes, La Salle crosses, 420.
- Cap Rouge, Cartier on, 34.
- Cherokee. *See* Tennessee.
- Chicago (Checagoumenans), described, 626; Kaskaskias near source, 166.
- Colorado of Texas, La Salle on, 420.
- Des Moines (Otontenta), Indians on, 166, 627; falls into Mississippi, 186, 221.
- Des Plaines (Divine), described, 626, 630.
- Fox, Indians on, 307, 640; described, 306, 307, 639, 642, 643; Hennepin on, xxxi; Marquette and Jolliet, 639-643.

## RIV

- River Genesee (N. Y.), La Salle at, xxi.
- Grave, or Mausolæum. *See* St. Croix.
- Hiens (Hans; in Texas), origin of name, 405, 420.
- Humber, Hennepin anchors in, 77.
- Illinois (Seignelay), described, 183, 623, 627; breadth, 153; marshes and plains of, 145, 623; navigation, 145, 146, 154; source, 143, 144; affluents, xxvi, 666; mouth, 155, 184, 185, 367, 388, 404, 443, 623; Hennepin on, xxviii, xxx, 145, 146, 153; Jolliet and Marquette on, 666; on Hennepin's map, 439.
- Iowa, seat of Iowa Indians, 166.
- Kankakee, branch of Illinois, xxvi; La Salle on, xxvi.
- Lavaca (River of Cows), 395.
- Magdalen (Rio Grande, Sabine, San Antonio), location, 199, 200, 668, 671; La Salle at, 671.
- Mal Baie (St. Francis), French vessel seized at, 590.
- Maumee, portage of, 630.
- Menominee, location, 636.
- Milwaukee (Mellioki), Mascoutins and Foxes on, 166.
- Minnesota, falls into Mississippi, 186.
- Mississippi, origin of name, 141; length, 184, 200, 443; breadth, 186, 621, 644; described, 3, 4, 185, 186, 190, 196, 199, 200, 210-213, 224, 366-369, 371, 622, 623, 644; affluents, 186, 188, 189, 628; navigation of, 174-176, 666; divides into three channels, 198; climate of, 665; fish in, 210, 525, 645; forests on, 555, 622, 628, 662; game near, 207, 210, 211, 622, 644; imaginary perils of, 160, 161, 174, 637, 659; Indian map of,

## RIV

- River Mississippi (*continued*).  
 175; ice in, xxx, 185; sea monsters said to be in, 150, 628, 637, 638, 645; painted monsters on, 208, 657, 658; tribes native on, 175, 494, 510, 622; discovered by De Soto, 384; Jolliet and Marquette, xiv, xxiv, 209, 621-667; La Salle on, xxxiv, 7, 75, 384, 668; discovery of, claimed by Hennepin, 388, 403, 444, 445, 589; location of mouth, 119, 200, 445, 666, 668; La Salle seeks mouth, 392, 400, 444; Caveliers on, 441-444; water of, salt, 198; not frequented by Spaniards, 209, 628; should be garrisoned, 575.
- Missouri (Pekitanoui, Osage), location, 443, 656; characteristics, 188, 658; source, 188, 189, 658; Jolliet and Marquette near, 222, 621, 658; Hennepin at, 188.
  - Neches (Tex.), La Salle near, 416.
  - Nepisiguit, mission at, 545, 546.
  - Niagara, described, 53-56, 317-323, 625; outlet of lakes, 58; empties into Lake Ontario, 323; navigation of, 55, 56, 95, 317-323, 625; fish, 523. *See also* Falls of Niagara, and Niagara.
  - Ohio (Ouabouskigou), described, 442, 443, 659; affluents, 629; waterway between lakes and Mississippi, 39, 62, 630; Shawnees dwell on, 659; Jolliet and Marquette reach, 659; Hennepin, 190; Caveliers, 443.
  - Osage, discharges into the Missouri, 443. *See also* Missouri.
  - Oswego (Aoueguen, Chouaguen), La Forest trades at, 97.
  - Otontenta. *See* River Des Moines.
  - Ottawa, branch of River St. Lawrence, 71, 559; described, 559; Indians on, 559.

## RIV

- River of Palms, location, 668.
- Panuco, location, 668; Spanish boundary, 672.
  - Pekitanoui. *See* Missouri.
  - Red, habitat of Comanches, 413; habitat of Caddoes, 434.
  - Restigouche, mission at, 545, 546.
  - Robeck (Tex.), 404, 405; origin of name, 421.
  - Rum (St. Francis), location, 276; habitat of Sioux, 223, 224; Hennepin on, 272.
  - Sabine (Tex.), La Salle on, 416. *See also* Magdalen.
  - Sablonniere (Tex.), La Salle on, 421.
  - Saguenay (Tadoussac), described, 591; island in mouth, 596.
  - St. Bernard (Tex.), La Salle crosses, 421.
  - St. Charles, near Quebec, 574.
  - St. Clair, named, 58, 59; tortuous passage, 111.
  - St. Croix (Nova Scotia), 590.
  - St. Croix (Wis.), called "River of Grave," 222, 223; portage to Lake Superior, 225; Hennepin on, 225.
  - St. Francis (Ark.), habitat of Mitchigamias, 208.
  - St. Francis (Que.). *See* Mal Baie.
  - St. Josephs, empties into Lake Michigan, 62, 135; marshes of, 142; Miamis on, 631; portage from, xxvi, 143, 144; rendezvous for La Salle, xxv, 135-140; La Salle's fort on, xxvi, 136-139; La Salle embarks, xxvi, 141.
  - St. Lawrence, source, 53, 59, 63, 369, 523, 559; length, 369; tide, 594; rapids, 71, 83, 324, 331, 332; islands, 331, 596; flora, 562; fishing, 524; as boundary, 590; Indians on, 451, 559, 560,

## RIV

- River St. Lawrence (*continued*).  
 616; missions, 585; Hennepin, 38, 86,  
 70, 369; garrison needed at mouth, 575.  
 — St. Louis. *See* Illinois.  
 — St. Mary's, rapids described, 61, 115;  
 commerce on, 117.  
 — St. Maurice, Three Rivers on, 546,  
 594.  
 — St. Peter (Que.), 372.  
 — Saline, described, 443.  
 — San Antonio. *See* Magdalen.  
 — Seignelay. *See* Illinois.  
 — of Tears, habitat of Biskatronge, 407.  
 — Tennessee (Casquinambaux, Chero-  
 kee), described, 629.  
 — Trinity (Tex.), habitat of Cenis, 412,  
 436; La Salle assassinated on, 426.  
 — Wabash (Ouabache, Ouadebache).  
*See* River Ohio.  
 — Wisconsin (Misconsin, Ouisconsin),  
 described, 221, 223, 305, 642-644; Jol-  
 liet and Marquette on, 621, 643, 644,  
 666; Hennepin to meet La Salle on,  
 271, 277, 285; Hennepin on, xxxi, 305.  
*See also* Fox-Wisconsin portage.  
 — Wolf (du Loup), location, 596; mis-  
 sion on, 545, 546.  
 — Yazoo, visited by Koroa Indians, 195;  
 Chickasaws on, 442.  
 Rivière du Loup. *See* Wolf.  
 Rivière Maligne (Wicked). *See* Brazos.  
 Roy, Peter le, French prisoner, 600.  
 Rozée (Rose), Jean, director of Company  
 of Canada, 612.  
 Rushes, in Illinois marshes, 145; used  
 for weaving, 527.
- SABIN, Joseph, *Dictionary*, xlvi; bibliog-  
 raphy of Hennepin, xlvii; bibliography  
 of Herrera, xlvi.

## SAL

- Sacatecas. *See* Zacatecas.  
 Sagamite, Indian food, described, 116,  
 312, 406, 473, 478, 488, 524, 579, 650,  
 663, 664; offered to dead, 531; used  
 by missionaries, 579.  
 Sagard, Gabriel, *Canada*, 590.  
 Saget, —, La Salle's servant, killed, 424.  
 St. Anne, village on St. Lawrence, 34.  
 St. Anthony (Cuba), La Salle's fleet at,  
 391.  
 St. Augustin cloister (Que.), Hennepin  
 preaches at, xv.  
 St. Barbe (N. Mex.), mines of, location,  
 7; desired by La Salle, 200, 357, 372,  
 390, 413, 505, 671.  
 St. Denis (France), Franciscans at, 386,  
 602.  
 "St. Francis," of La Salle's fleet, 389;  
 captured, 390.  
 St. Francis d'Assisi, founds order, 374,  
 607.  
 St. Genevieve (Mo.), location, 443.  
 St. Ignace mission (Mackinac), xxxi; lo-  
 cation, 114; Tonty at, xxv.  
 St. Ignatius, founds Jesuit order, 607, 608.  
 St. Lawrence, —, Governor of French  
 West Indies, 391.  
 St. Mary's, Recollect convent at Quebec,  
 xvii.  
 St. Norbert, founder of Premonstrant  
 order, 264.  
 St. Ours (Que.), Hennepin at, 70.  
 Salignac, François de, Abbé de Fénelon,  
 missionary to Cayugas, 31, 32; returns  
 to France, 32.  
 Salmon, in North America, 558, 563;  
 taken by Indians, 524.  
 Salt, in Iroquois country, 638; lacking in  
 West, 625, 638.  
 Saltpetre, on the Mississippi, 623.

## SAN

- Santee Indians. *See* Issati.  
 Sault St. Louis, Jolliet wrecked at, 621.  
 — Ste. Marie (Mich.), 61.  
 Sauteur Indians. *See* Chippewas.  
 Sauthois Indians. *See* Uzutiuhi.  
 Seal, value of fisheries, 556.  
 Sea-larks, in North America, 559.  
 Sea-wolf. *See* Seal.  
 Seignelay, Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de, befriends La Salle, 385, 388, 439; river named for, 439.  
 Seneca (Tsonnontouan) Indians, habitat, 40, 53, 77, 78, 81, 101, 326, 511; customs, 46, 82; fur-trade, 56, 82; importance, 511; mission for, xxiv; embassy to, 80-88, 632; desire a smith, 84, 91, 110; oppose fort, xx; oppose building "Griffon," xxii, 92, 93; La Salle among, xxi, 90, 101; welcome Hennepin's return, 326-328; tale concerning, 537.  
 Seneffe, Hennepin participates in battle at, xiii, 31, 367.  
 Seven Islands (Que.), mission at, 387.  
 Shawnee (Chaouanon, Houtonagaha, Ontouagannha) Indians, origin of name, 87; habitat, 87, 659; allied with Illinois, 337, 338; oppressed by Iroquois, 659; thought to have killed Hennepin, 350; visit Illinois, 444; guide La Salle, 403-417.  
 Shea, John Gilmory, bibliography of Hennepin, xlvi, liii; evidence of Hennepin's plagiarism, 169, 188, 190, 191, 352; interpolation theory, xxxvi, 352; *Discovery of Mississippi*, 75, 657; translates and edits Hennepin's *Louisiane*, ix, xl, xlvi, lii, 97, 125, 155, 169, 171, 190, 352; Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foy*, 188, 198, 309, 342, 371, 403.

## SPA

- Ship-building, in Canada, 556, 562, 628; on Mississippi, 213.  
 Shoshonean Indians, tribes of, 413.  
 Sicacha, Chickasaw village, 442. *See also* Chickasaws.  
 Silver, in Hudson Bay country, 562.  
 Siouan (Nadessioux) Indians, habitat, 225; numbers, 226; migrations, 177; language, 217; tribes of, 225; Jesuit missions among, 310; fur-trade, 629. *See also* Issati.  
 Sioux country, taken possession of by Du Luth, 293.  
 Sitteou Indians. *See* Uzutiuhi.  
 Slate mines, in Illinois country, 152.  
 Smithsonian Institution *Report*, 646.  
 Snakes, among the Illinois, 168; on upper Mississippi, 279, 294; in North America, 564; described by Hennepin, 279. *See also* Rattlesnakes.  
 Snow-shoes (racquets), described, 527; used by Hennepin, 40; Indian superstition concerning, 454.  
 Sorbonne, discusses Indian baptisms, 461.  
 Sotello, —, Franciscan missionary, 374.  
 South Bend (Ind.), at Kankakee portage, xxvi.  
 Spada, Cardinal, protector of Hennepin, xli.  
 Spade-fish, seen by Marquette, 645.  
 Spaniards, as colonists, 414, 415; conquests in America, 374; Indian wars of, 413, 421, 627; Indian policy, 571; cruelty, 398, 399, 408, 415, 421, 422, 432, 627; Indian trade, 404, 413, 622; feared by French, 199, 207, 623, 666; in Texas, 200; not on Mississippi, 209; learn La Salle's plan, 390, 391; rescue La Salle's colony, 446. *See also* Franciscans, St. Barbe, and Zacatecas.

## SQU

- Squash (Fr. *citrouille*), raised by Indians, 537, 622, 652.
- Squirrels, hunted by Iroquois, 81.
- Strait of Anian (Agnian), origin of name, 267; imaginary, 266-268; on ancient maps, 267, 373.
- Detroit, described, 58, 108, 109, 111, 314, 625, 626; "Griffon" passes, xxiv.
- Mackinac, connect lakes, 60-62, 626; described, 114, 115, 626; commerce of, 117; "Griffon" passes, xxiv; distance from Canada, 310. *See also* Mackinac, and St. Ignace.
- Sturgeon, in North America, 558; in Niagara River, 57, 325; in Mississippi, 219, 284, 525, 645; in Lake Erie, 314; in Illinois River, 623; described, 219, 284; caught by otter, 284; caught in nets, 522.
- Sugar cane, on Mississippi, 576.
- Sulpitians, missions of, 32, 47, 386; sketch, 386.
- Sulte, Benjamin, *Canadiens Français*, 586.
- Swallows, on Mississippi, 279.
- Swans, wild, in North America, 559; near Detroit, 109; in Illinois, 147, 151, 666; on Mississippi, 224, 644.
- Swedes, in North America. *See* New Sweden.
- Sweet-gum tree, on Mississippi, 212.
- Sword-fish, in North America, 558.
- Sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*). *See* Cottonwood trees.
- TAC, Sixte le, Franciscan missionary, 70.
- Tadoussac, English at, 591, 599; prisoners taken, 595; Champlain sails for, 604, 605. *See also* River Saguenay.
- Taensa Indians, habitat, 194; characteristics, 204; customs, 194-196; Henne-

## TEX

- Taensa Indians (*continued*).  
pin among, 194-196, 204, 205; Iberville, 194.
- Tagarondies (Gandagaro), chief village of Senecas, 81.
- Talon, Jean Baptiste, intendant of New France, restores Franciscans, xiii, 8; dislikes Jesuits, xiii; names Ottawa Indian, 316.
- Talon, Ottawa chief, met by Hennepin, 316, 317; family captured by Iroquois, 316, 326.
- Tamaroa (Maroa), Illinois tribe, 628; habitat, 183, 184, 189, 210; number, 183; enemies of Sioux, 228, 305; destroyed by Iroquois, 308, 309; Hennepin among, 183, 184.
- Tampico (Mex.), Spanish settlement, 200.
- Tangibao Indians, habitat, 445; murdered by enemies, 198, 201; Hennepin among, 198, 201.
- Tanico Indians, habitat, 437.
- Taraha, Indian village, La Salle at, 422.
- Tebachi, Iroquois hostage, 570.
- Teganeot, Seneca chief, gift to Hennepin, 327.
- Tejajagon, Cayuga village, near Fort Frontenac, 53, 77.
- Temiscouata county (Que.), missions in, 546.
- Tensas county (La.), habitat of Taensa Indians, 194.
- Teton (Tintonha) Indians, Siouan tribe, origin of name, 207, 223, 225; habitat, 166, 223-225; feared, 207; raided by Iroquois, 107.
- Texas, described, 422, 434; La Salle lands in, 392; colony in, 395-401, 419, 446; explored, 402-417, 420-424. *See also* Fort St. Louis, and Matagorda Bay.

## THO

- Thorn trees, in Wisconsin, 643.
- Three Rivers (Trois Rivières), origin of name, 594; location, 34, 70, 546; settled by Champlain, 594; removal of inhabitants, 49; Iroquois council at, 566, 569; mission, 540; Le Caron, 594; Sixte le Tac, 70.
- Thwaites, R. G., *Father Marquette*, 61; edits *Jesuit Relations*, xliii.
- Timber, in Illinois country, 151.
- Tobacco, Indian, qualities, 304; planted by Hennepin, 258.
- "Toby" (misprinted in original for "Joly"), vessel of La Salle's fleet, 388; arrives at Petit-Guaves, 390; off Florida, 392.
- Toise (French measure), 45.
- Tonty, Henri de, companion of La Salle, xx; early life, 91, 96; aids in building "Griffon," xxii; commands La Salle's advance, 117; wrecked on Lake Michigan, 140; at Fort Miami, xxv, 139; on River Illinois, 155; at Fort Crève-cœur, 171; left in command, xxviii, 178, 338, 444; mediates between hostile Indians, 338, 339; attacked by Iroquois, 339; allows missionaries to leave, 342-344; abandons fort, 343; fears Iroquois treachery, 344, 345; leaves Father Ribourde, 309, 344, 345, 347; retreats to Wisconsin, 309; searches for La Salle, 435-438; leaves rear-guard, 438, 439; seeks Iroquois alliance, 444; hostile to Spaniards, xvii, 96; enmity for Hennepin, xxii, 94, 98; sketch, 91.
- Torsellini, Orazio (Torcellin, Horace), *Life of Xavier*, 608, 609.
- Tortoises, in Illinois country, 151; on Wisconsin, 222; on Mississippi, 281,

## UTI

- Tortoises (*continued*).  
287; difficult to catch, 281; used for food, 281, 287; considered as divinity by Indians, 451, 452.
- Tounging (Dodinga) Indians, Cavaliers visit, 439.
- Tourima (Foriman) Indians, Cavaliers visit, 439.
- Trigoanna Indians, war expedition against, 420.
- Tritons, painted on rocks of Mississippi, 208.
- Trois Rivières. *See* Three Rivers.
- Tronson, —, superior of Sulpitians, 386.
- Trout, in Lake Huron, 311; Lake Ontario, 524; of river, 525; of lake, 116; salmon, 72.
- Tsonnonitouans. *See* Senecas.
- Tuckahoe (koonti), root, Indian food, 406.
- Turpin, Shawnee Indian, messenger to Illinois, 444.
- Turkeys (wild), abundant, 227; size, 558; on Chippewa Creek, 78; Lake Ontario, 329; near Detroit, 109; Lake Michigan, 129; in Illinois, 146, 151, 623; Ohio country, 630; on Mississippi, 210, 227, 235, 622, 645; in Texas, 398; tamed by Chickasaws, 192.
- Turtles, on Lake Ontario, 329.
- Tyakappan, Indian village, visited by La Salle, 422.
- UNITED STATES, Bureau of Ethnology *Reports*, 107, 177, 194, 224, 225, 246, 268, 438, 522, 526, 641, 665; Geographical and Geological Survey *Reports*, 225, 646; National Museum *Reports*, 246.
- Urban V, re-enforces Franciscans, 610.
- Utica (Ill.), site of Illinois village, xxvi,

## UTI

- Utica (*continued*).  
 146, 166; destroyed by Iroquois, 343;  
 abandoned, xxvi.
- Uzutiuhi (Ossotteeoz, Sauthcis, Sitteou)  
 4 Indians, passed by Cavaliers, 438.
- VAUGONDY, Robert de, early cartog-  
 rapher, 267.
- Vermilion Sea. *See* Gulf of California.
- Vineyards, wild, near Detroit, 109; near  
 Lake Michigan, 129, 130, 138; in Illi-  
 nois country, 151; on Mississippi, 213,  
 224, 622, 663; in Texas, 405; Wiscon-  
 sin, 642, 643.
- Virginia, extent of, 672; part of New  
 Sweden, 560; Franciscans in, 333;  
 raided by Iroquois, 87.
- WALNUTS, near Detroit, 109, in Louisi-  
 ana, 195; in Wisconsin, 643.
- Wampum, described, 83, 569, 570. *See*  
*also* Fur-trade.
- War-club (Fr. casse-tête), described, 127;  
 Father Ribourde killed by, 346.
- Watteau, Melithon, Recollect missionary,  
 at Fort Frontenac, xxiii, 98; left at  
 Niagara, xxiv, 106.
- Wea (Fr. Ouiatanon) Indians, habitat, 143.
- West Indies, Spanish possessions in, 414;  
 La Salle at, 389-392.
- Whale, fisheries for, 556, 563.
- Whitefish, in Great Lakes, 57, 63, 78, 89,  
 116, 524; in Mississippi, 288.
- Wildcats on Mississippi, 211; method of  
 hunting, 517; grease from, 255; value  
 of skins, 558.
- Wild rice (oats), described, 636, 637; in

## ZAC

- Wild rice (*continued*).  
 Minnesota lake region, 224; in Wis-  
 consin, 639, 643; used as food, 252, 258,  
 285, 296, 298, 636, 637; better than  
 European rice, 298.
- Wild-rice Indians. *See* Menominees.
- William III (Great Britain), befriends  
 Hennepin, xxxviii-xl, 7, 10, 365;  
 books dedicated to, lx, 3-11, 357-361.
- Wilmington (Del.), site of Swedish  
 colony, 560.
- Wine, from wild grapes, 129, 151, 309,  
 580, 623.
- Winnebago (Puant) Indians, origin of  
 name, 308; habitat, 308.
- Winsor, Justin, bibliography of Henne-  
 pin, xlvi, xlvii.
- Wisconsin, fertility of, 305, 306; Mar-  
 quette and Jolliet in, 636-644; Henne-  
 pin in, xxxi, 305-307; *Historical Collec-  
 tions*, 130, 640. *See also* Green Bay,  
 Fox-Wisconsin portage, Fox River,  
 St. Croix River, Wisconsin River, and  
 Lake Michigan.
- Wolf Indians. *See* Mohicans.
- Wolves, in Ohio country, 630; strangle  
 wild-goat, 129; accompany buffaloes,  
 148; value of skins, 558.
- Woodchucks, in Canada, 516.
- Woodcocks, on Mississippi, 211.
- YANKTON Indians, Siouan tribe, sun-  
 worshippers, 214.
- ZACATECAS, Mexican province, Spaniards  
 in, 671.







UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES  
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY  
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

OCT 26 1949

NOV 30 1949

AUG 7 1953

MAR 18 1960

NOV 12 1967

FEB 25 1966

RECEIVED  
LD-URL

MAR 21 1960  
AM 7-4 4-9 9-10 PM

RETD BOOK BOX  
LD-URL MAY 16 1966

MAY 16 1966  
REC'D URL-LD

MAR 16 1967

20m-12, '39 (33-56)

MAR 13 1967

REC'D LD-URL

LD-URL SEP 18 1968

SEP 20 1968

MAY 22 1976  
REC'D LD-URL

MAY 7 1976

REC'D LD-URL

LD-URL JUL 28 1988  
JUL 25 1988

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
AT  
LOS ANGELES  
LIBRARY



3 1158 01280 5650

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
THIS BOOK CARD



University Research Library

SERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



001 178 502 9

CALL NUMBER			
352	139 1903		
SER	VOL	PT	COP
AUTHOR			



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 5

DM L50202

