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WINTERING PLACE OF DOLLIER DE CASSON AND GALINÉE, NEAR PORT DOVER.

Showing outlines of the buildings still quite apparent.

From a photograph by Mr. Delbert J. McColl, of Simcoe, Ont.

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ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PAPERS AND RECORDS, VOL. IV.

Exploration of the Great Lakes

1669-1670

BY

DOLLIER DE CASSON

AND

DE BRÉHANT DE GALINÉE

GALINÉE'S NARRATIVE AND MAP

WITH AN ENGLISH VERSION, INCLUDING ALL THE MAP-LEGENDS

*Illustrated with Portraits, Maps, Views, a Bibliography,
Cartography, and Annotations.*

TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR

JAMES H. COYNE

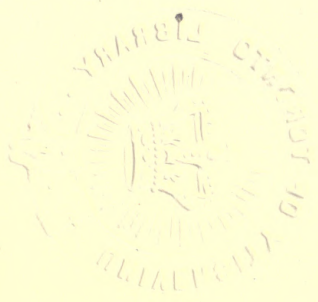
PART I.

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PREFACE.

GALINÉE'S NARRATIVE, as given in this volume, is from the text published by Pierre Margry in 1879, but in some places supplemented and corrected from the MS. original. Inasmuch, however, as Margry's edition had been preceded by that issued by the *Société Historique de Montréal* in 1875, under the editorship of the late Abbé H. Verreau, it has been thought expedient to show by foot-notes the numerous and often important differences between the Paris and Montreal texts.

The *procès-verbal* is also from the Margry text, variances being noted in the same way.

The map is a *fac-simile* of General John S. Clark's tracing of the Parkman copy, except as to the legend appearing on Lake Ontario, which is taken from the copy in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, there being none in Parkman's. Had the existence of the copy made by Margry for his own use been known to the Editor at an earlier period, its longer and more authoritative legend would have been adopted in preference to the one inserted.

The annotations to the map give the results of minute comparisons, not only with the Margry, Morin, and Parkman copies, all of which are tracings, presumably made directly from the lost original, but also with the Faillon, Parliamentary Library, and Gravier copies, which are manifestly of inferior interest and authority.

The narrative as a whole is now published for the first time in an English version. For convenience of comparison the French and English are given on opposite pages. While the translation, as a general rule, will be found to follow closely the original text, the liberty has sometimes been taken of breaking up long and involved sentences, and occasionally of dropping connective words, in conformity with the usage of to-day.

French names of Indian tribes are, as a rule, translated into their

English equivalents. Excellent reasons may be adduced for the contrary usage, but on the whole it was thought better to give the familiar English names in the English text.

Names of Frenchmen were sometimes variously spelled in the seventeenth century. The now-established mode has been followed in the case of such names as Dollier, Galinée, Frémin. The French spelling for the name of Jolliet has been preferred to the English. In the Province of Quebec it is never written otherwise.

This is also the first publication of the map with all its descriptive legends. In the copies heretofore printed by Faillon and Gravier the legends are greatly abbreviated, and many omitted altogether. In Vol. IV. of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," Winsor gives the Parkman map in outline, and on another page transcribes the legends; but this mode of reproducing a map is unsatisfactory at the best, and the editor had probably not seen the Morin and Margry copies, which supplement Parkman's in important particulars.

Among those who have in various ways aided the Editor in connection with his work should be mentioned the late Douglas Brymner, C.M.G., General John S. Clark, Benjamin Sulte, F.R.S.C., David Boyle, James Bain, D.C.L., Professor Adam Shortt, M.A., Rev. Dr. W. M. Beauchamp, A. C. Casselman, A. F. Hunter, M.A., Ernest Gagnon, Alfred Sandham, Miss Jean Barr, Judge J. H. Steere, the late B. E. Charlton, Rev. P. Rousseau, Rev. A. E. Jones, S.J., Charles D. Marshall, Peter A. Porter, R. W. McLachlin, Howard L. Osgood, C. C. James, M.A., Hon. James Young, H. B. Donly, and Mrs. J. H. Thompson.

The four first-named read the translation and offered valuable suggestions concerning it, which were of service to the Editor. Special acknowledgment will be made in Part II. for notes, to appear therein, contributed by several of those mentioned.

For facilities afforded in comparing the map with the original Margry, Morin and Parkman tracings, and with the Parliamentary Library copy, special thanks are due to Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago, the possessor of the Margry copy; William Coolidge Lane, A.B., Librarian of Harvard University, the custodian of Parkman's copy; Monsignor Thomas E. Hamel, Librarian of Laval University, in which the Morin

tracing is preserved, and Martin J. Griffin, Librarian of Parliament. Of the tracings the comparison was carefully made by Miss Clara A. Smith, Secretary of Mr. Ayer, David M. Matteson, A.M., and Abbé Amédée Gosselin, Archivist of Laval University, respectively.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, courtesies calling for grateful acknowledgment were rendered by M. Gabriel Marcel, Librarian, Section of Maps and Plans, and by M. Ch. de la Roncière, and in the Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Marine by M. Buteux, Archivist, who, in the absence of M. Bisset, was temporarily in charge of the Library. The Hon. Hector Fabre, Canadian Commissioner at Paris, also facilitated the Editor's researches by official courtesies, which were exceedingly helpful.

The publication has been delayed by various causes. It has been found necessary to postpone, for a brief period only, it is hoped, the issue of Part II., containing appendices and notes illustrative of the text. With it will appear an alphabetical index. In the meantime the comprehensive table of contents published herewith may compensate in some measure for the temporary lack of this indispensable accompaniment of an historical volume.

J. H. C.

ST. THOMAS, ONT., *December 15th, 1902.*

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INTRODUCTION.

HISTORICAL.

I.

IN 1497 John and Sebastian Cabot discovered the continent of America and made the first landfall on the eastern coast of what is now Canada.

On the 17th August, 1535, whilst off the Island of Anticosti, Cartier learned of the existence and immense extent of the River St. Lawrence.

On the 3rd October he climbed Mount Royal and saw the Ottawa. He was told that the navigation of the St. Lawrence required more than three months, and there were three rapids to pass. Stadacona natives afterward informed him, from hearsay, that beyond Hochelaga were two large lakes, "then is found a fresh-water sea, of which no one had seen the end."

In September, 1541, Cartier ascended to the second sault beyond Hochelaga. His map, showing "all the river of Canada," including the Great Lake, disappeared. Maps of the Upper St. Lawrence until 1612 are based upon his narrative, and possibly on his lost map.

In July, 1603, Champlain and Pontgravé vainly attempted to stem the Lachine Rapids. Their skiff could neither be rowed nor towed against the current, and Champlain decided to depend for further discoveries upon that wonderful Algonkin invention, the birch-bark canoe.

The Algonkins repeated to Champlain what Cartier had already recorded concerning the Great Lake. Their accounts were inconsistent and confusing. Was it the lake next beyond Ontario? Was its outlet through Niagara or through some immense stream discharging into the South Sea? Was there salt water near it? The complaisant savages answered to suit the eager explorer, placing the salt water now at the west end of Lake Ontario, now just above Lake Erie, and, again, in the Upper Great Lake. Map-makers half a century afterward puzzled later explorers by giving the name "Sea-Water-Lake" to St. Clair.

Champlain learned from the Algonkins of a river route from Lake Ontario to the northern Algonkins, and also of the nation of the Hurons, called by his informants "the good Iroquois," who came to barter with the Algonkins for French goods. These "good Iroquois" spoke of a copper mine in the north.

The Great Lake, the South Sea, and the copper mine were important factors in the further exploration of the St. Lawrence.

The "unparalleled" wonders of the "Mocosa Falls" are referred to in the verses prefixed to Champlain's Travels in 1603. Clearly Niagara is meant, but the poet was romancing when he said the explorer had gazed upon it.

II.

When and by whom was Ontario discovered? It was in June, 1610, that a young man, who had accompanied Champlain and Pontgravé to the Sault St. Louis, eagerly

craved permission to go among the Algonkins and learn their language. The leaders persuaded him to undertake the further task of visiting the Great Lake, and reporting generally upon the country, its rivers, mines and inhabitants. Somewhere up the Ottawa, on the southerly side, dwelt a tribe of Algonkins. Their chief, Yroquet, was with some difficulty induced to take the young adventurer with his party on their homeward voyage. The latter spent a year in their country. He adopted their dress and acquired a fair knowledge of their language. On the 13th June, 1611, escorted by two hundred Hurons with three chiefs, including Yroquet the Algonkin, he arrived at the foot of the Lachine Rapids, and gratified Champlain with a description of his travels. This was probably the first exploration of any part of what is now Ontario.

The discoverer was undoubtedly Etienne Brulé. At the age of about sixteen he had come to Quebec in 1608 with the original settlers. For nearly a quarter of a century he pursued his adventurous career as explorer, interpreter, fur trader and guide. At last a Huron club or tomahawk ended his career on the lonely shores of Matchedash Bay.

With Brulé and Yroquet were four Indians, who had beheld a sea far beyond their own land, but they reported to Champlain that the route was difficult and the neighboring tribes were hostile. They explained the topography by diagrams. On these native maps and oral reports was based no small portion of his celebrated maps of New France.

III.

Champlain's large map of 1612 was the first attempt to delineate the region now known as Ontario. To avoid committing himself, he shows only the eastern part of the "Great Lake." The legend represents it as 300 leagues in length, and Lake Ontario as covering fifteen days of canoe travel. The lakes are connected by a short river, with a "*sault d'eau*" at its outlet. The Ottawa and St. Lawrence are shown with a chain of islands between, forming an archipelago. There is a suggestion of lakes Temiscaming and Nipissing, the latter being connected by a river with the Great Lake; and of the Trent River system, commencing, however, in Lake Simcoe. Champlain probably to the end of his life regarded Lake Michigan as a river. It appears as such in all his maps. The "great water" described by the savages is a composite of the four upper lakes.

In his smaller map of 1613 are included the meridians and significant corrections. The Ottawa is now a separate stream, but joins the St. Lawrence at its upper extremity, near the Nipissings, as well as below. Another river intervenes, parallel to both, and the archipelago idea is continued by connecting streams. Lake Ontario receives a name, "*Lac St. Louis*." The Hurons are north of the lake, under the name of Hochataigains. Young Vignau, after spending a year, with Champlain's permission, at Allumette Island among the Algonkins, returned to Paris in 1612. Hudson's chart of the bay called by his name was published at Amsterdam the same year. Champlain's map did not ignore this recent information.

In 1613, with three other Frenchmen and an Indian guide, Champlain paddled and portaged up the Ottawa as far as Allumette. He discovered that part of Vignau's story was a mere fabrication. Although anxious to proceed to the Nipissings he was discouraged by the Algonkins, who exaggerated the difficulties of the journey. Reluctantly he abandoned his proposed exploration and returned to France.

IV.

In the year 1615, after a long struggle in France with the Fur Company, who did their best to thwart his schemes for the expansion of the colony and the civilization of the savages, Champlain returned to New France, accompanied by three priests and a lay brother of the Recollet Order. Father Joseph Le Caron set out with twelve Frenchmen for the country of the Hurons. On his arrival he appears to have found French fur traders there before him. The route was by the Ottawa (then called the River of the Algonkins) to Mattawa, then up the Mattawa to Lake Nipissing, down French River to Georgian Bay, and then southward, threading the almost countless islands, past Byng Inlet and Parry Sound, to Matchedash Bay, which they crossed to Penetanguishene or Thunder Bay. On the 1st August, Champlain arrived among the Hurons with Brulé and another Frenchman, and two Indians, in two canoes, after a journey of twenty-three days from the mouth of Rivière des Prairies below Montreal. On the 3rd he met Father Joseph, who had preceded him. During the month Champlain passed from village to village as far as the Narrows between lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, whilst the forces of the Hurons and Algonkins were assembling for the purpose of their war against the Iroquois. The Carantouans (probably the same as the Andastes or Susquehannas, at the head waters of the Susquehanna River) had promised to help with 500 men, and it was decided to send two canoes with twelve of the most stalwart Indians to notify them to join the expedition in the Iroquois country. Brulé's earnest request to be permitted to accompany this embassy was readily granted. The canoes set out on the 8th September, and that was the last that was heard of Brulé for nearly three years, when he again met Champlain at the Sault St. Louis, and gave a satisfactory explanation of his failure to join the invading forces.¹ Champlain with his Indian allies and a few Frenchmen proceeded by canoe and portage to Balsam Lake and thence down the Trent River and through the Bay of Quinte to Lake Ontario, which he crossed. After an unsuccessful attack on the Iroquois, in which Champlain was twice wounded, the ill-starred expedition returned to the east end of the lake. The Hurons were unwilling to carry out a previous understanding that they were to take the explorer down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, and the hunting season having now arrived, disbanded their forces to devote themselves to the chase. The story of Champlain's adventures in the woods back of Kingston is familiar through Parkman's interesting paraphrase of the explorer's narrative. As guest of his savage friend Darontal he spent the winter among the Hurons. In January, Champlain and Father Joseph visited seven or eight villages of the *Petuns* (Tobacco Indians) south of Nottawasaga Bay, and afterward the *Cheveux Relevés* (Ottawas) who were settled between the Petuns and Lake Huron, in and south of the Bruce Peninsula. Nearly a month was spent in this exploration. He greatly desired to visit the Neutrals, whose territory lay all along the north shore of Lake Erie and extended a short distance east of the Niagara River. He was, however, dissuaded by his allies, who feared for his safety on account of a Neutral having been killed in the Iroquois war of the previous year. On the 20th May, accompanied by Darontal, he returned to Quebec. As far as is known this was the extent of Champlain's personal acquaintance with our province. If the dotted line in his large map of 1632 is to be taken as indicating Brulé's route to the Andastes, the famous interpreter must have found his way to some point above Detroit, and

1. The romantic story of his adventures is recounted by Champlain in his "*Voyages et Découvertes*," published in 1619.

thence to the Ohio, which he would seem to have followed to a point near the Andastes, although the map contains no suggestion that the existence of the Ohio was even suspected.¹

V.

This last map of Champlain was the first attempt to outline any part of what is now Ontario from actual knowledge, and was the foundation of subsequent maps for at least eighteen years. It marks a considerable advance upon the maps of 1612 and 1613. The Great Lake is at last definitely located above Lake Huron. Brul  had doubtless reported its situation as well as that of the Falls of Ste. Marie, called by Champlain the Sault de Gaston. Lake Michigan is still a large river emptying into Lake Superior. Islands are shown at the north-west end of Lake Huron, but the North Channel and Georgian Bay are still one body, and Lake Huron proper is — practically non-existent. The channel discharging the waters of Georgian Bay into Lake Ontario has now two small expansions, with islands corresponding fairly well with Walpole and Pelee islands. The expansions are little broader than St. Mary's River. The great cataract extends for a considerable distance down the Niagara River. The explanatory note adds that it is at the extremity of Lake St. Louis, is very high, and several kinds of fish are stunned in descending it. Later travellers mention a custom of the Indians to wait at the foot of the rapids below the falls for the purpose of gathering these "stunned" fish. Near shore, just west of the centre of Lake Ontario, are two islands. The St. Lawrence is given conjecturally with two expansions and five rapids between Lake Ontario and the Ottawa. The Trent River system is shown, of course, and the Ottawa with its lakes, islands, rapids, and one or two tributaries. The Rideau River and Falls and the Chaudi re Falls are given. Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching are represented, but the latter expands directly into Georgian Bay. Lake Nipissing and French River appear, and indentations suggesting Shawanaga Bay and Parry Sound. The peninsula of Southern Ontario, owing to the approximation of the outlet of Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario, dwindles to a narrow strip. Lake Nepigon (?) appears north of Lake Superior, but its outlet is in the "*Mer Douce*" (North Channel or Georgian Bay). On an island in it is the much-talked-of copper mine. Altogether it may be said to be the map of Ontario in embryo. Much remains to be done in the way of development; but it is a creditable production, and of the first importance in the cartography of Ontario and the lakes.

VI.

Brul  had brought back from his wanderings extraordinary accounts of the Neutral Nation, among whom he had been. The curiosity of the Recollet Daillon, who had just arrived in the Huron country, was aroused, and he was glad to respond to Father Joseph Le Caron's request that he should continue his journey to the Neutrals. Leaving the Jesuits, Br beuf and De Nou , who had accompanied him from Quebec, and taking with him two Frenchmen, Grenolle and La Vall e, he passed through the territory of the Tobacco Nation (township of Nottawasaga) and on the sixth day arrived at the first village of the Neutrals. He visited five other villages, and in the last of these took up his abode. His visit, which extended from the 18th October, 1626, until after the 8th March, 1627, was perhaps limited to the

1. C. W. Butterfield, in his work on Brul , considers the dotted line to indicate a well-known trail to the Andastes, but is of opinion that Brul  went by Burlington Bay and the Niagara crossing.

district near Burlington Bay ; but he brought back information as to the extent and products of the country, the character, manners, and customs of the natives, and the advantages of a direct trade between them and the French.

VII.

Although New France was restored to the French Crown in 1632 by the treaty of St. Germain, it was not until 1634 that Champlain returned to New France. The work of exploration, interrupted in 1629 by the conquest, was resumed, and the Jesuits established themselves in the Huron mission. This same year, as Sulte has conclusively shown, Jean Nicolet visited the Sault Ste. Marie, discovered the Mackinac Islands and Green Bay, and paddled up the Fox River to the Mascouten villages.

In 1639-40 the famous Jean de Brébeuf and Joseph Marie Chaumonot made an extended exploration of the country of the Neutrals for the purpose of establishing the "Mission of the Angels." In the following winter they repeated their visit, but their reception was not encouraging and the mission was given up. The mission headquarters at Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye naturally and necessarily became a centre of geographical information. The natives drew for the priests rude sketches of the lakes and rivers of the St. Lawrence basin. Missionaries and traders were pressed into the service, and their reports were carefully studied. In this way there was gradually evolved a map of the whole lake region. In 1640 Garnier and Jogues established the "Mission of the Apostles" among the Tobacco Indians, and Father Ragueneau sent to the Father Superior of the order a Huron map showing the entire Huron-Iroquois country with numerous tribes inhabiting it. The following year Fathers Raymbault and Isaac Jogues opened their mission at the Sault Ste. Marie. This map is not known to be extant, but doubtless furnished material for Sanson's maps of 1650 and 1656.

VIII.

To establish the "Mission of the Angels," Brébeuf and Chaumonot passed through eighteen Neutral villages, to all of which they gave Christian names. In ten they sojourned for a time. Sanson, in 1656, names five, all west of the Grand River, as follows : S. François, north-east of Sarnia ; S. Michel, near Windsor ; S. Joseph, near Ridgetown ; Alexis, west of St. Thomas, and N. D. des Anges, near Brantford. His map claims to be constructed from the "Relations" of the French. Saint Michel is mentioned in Lalemant's Relation of 1641 as the only village among the eighteen that had given the Fathers the hearing that their embassy merited. If we assume the map of 1656 to be based on this Relation, it is evidence that the two Jesuits followed the winter forest-trail all the way from Brantford westward along the ridge between Lake Erie and the Thames River to a point on the Detroit River near Windsor. French fur-traders had, however, been familiar for years with the Neutral villages.

IX.

The Sanson map of 1650 is worthy of special attention. It was the first to show Lake Erie as one of the Great Lakes, or to indicate the comparative size of Lake St. Clair. The rivers flowing into lakes Erie and Ontario, both north and south, show an acquaintance with the regular canoe and portage routes. There is even a rudimentary knowledge of the Ohio, which is represented as rising in a small lake (Chautauqua?), and running south-westerly for some distance ; but no outlet is indi-

cated, a proof that its further course was unknown. None of these rivers is named. The map claims the whole watershed of the St. Lawrence, and also of the rudimentary Ohio, as French territory. Among the rivers apparently laid down are the Genesee, Cuyahoga and Miami on the south, and the Humber and Grand rivers, Kettle Creek and the River Maitland on the north. The St. Lawrence is called *R. de S. Laurent*, and the Ottawa *R. des Prairies*. Some Indian nations are named, such as the Neuter, the *Petun* (Tobacco Indians), Hurons, Nipissings, etc. The north-east end of Lake Michigan, called *Lac des Puans*, is shown for the first time, no doubt from Nicolet and Jogues' information. So also the names *Supérieur* and *Ontario* make their first appearance, the latter being also designated *Lac de St. Louis*, as in Champlain and Boisseau's maps. The other lakes are unnamed. Lake Ontario is represented as larger than Erie. A considerable advance is made in the configuration of the peninsula. Boisseau, in his map of 1643, had for the first time given the title *Lac Derie* to one of the two little lakes which Champlain had shown lying between Huron and Ontario. He had, however, erroneously assigned it to the upper one. Sanson omitted the designation. The map of 1650 presupposes an actual acquaintance, by French voyageurs or missionaries, with the outlines of lakes Erie and Ontario, as well as with the lower extremities of lakes Superior and Michigan. It is surprisingly accurate, more so in some particulars than subsequent maps for more than a century, and indeed until the conquest. The Jesuit Bressani was among the Hurons most of the time from 1644 until 1649, and returned to Europe in the year 1650. In his "Brief Relation," published in 1653, he described Lake Erie as having a circuit of six hundred miles.

X.

Sanson's map of 1656, whilst less accurate in the shape and relative size of Lake Erie, is fuller in details. The principal part is reproduced opposite page 67 of this volume. The name *L. Erie ou du Chat*, is for the first time given to a great lake. Lake Huron is designated *Karegnondi*, and Lake St. Clair appears as *Lac des Eaux de Mer* (Sea-water or Salt-water Lake), a reminder of the stories told Champlain. The Thames makes its first appearance on a map. Several additional streams are shown flowing into the lakes. No less than seven native villages are shown west of Lake Ontario, designated by saints' names, apparently those given by the Jesuits in 1640 and 1641. Lake Burwell is depicted at the mouth of the *Aux Sables*, and a village, *S. François*, eastward from it. For the first time the three divisions of Lake Huron are represented, known to us as North Channel, Georgian Bay and Lake Huron proper. The Ottawa no longer appears as *R. des Prairies*. Lake Medad is shown; Lake Simcoe, named *Ouentaron*, appears with its southern prolongation, and its outlet through Lake Couchiching. The Muskoka lakes must have been explored. Lake St. Francis is named *Naronia*. The island midway between Gananoque and Ogdensburg, afterwards so well known by the name of *Toniata*, is given the name of *Isle Capagirehissins*, and the tribe on the north bank opposite is called *Touthataronons*, which may easily be the compositor's reading of *Tonihataronons*. Other tribes along both shores of the St. Lawrence and the lakes are named. A village of *Ongiara*, mentioned in Lalemant's Relation, appears east of Niagara Falls. The Iroquois lakes are delineated, and the Genesee and Oswego rivers. The streams emptying into each of the Great Lakes from the south indicate actual knowledge. Of course, much of the detail is defective; but we have now a map which, with at least an approach to accuracy, represents what is now the Province of Ontario in considerable detail from

its eastern and southern limits north-westward as far as the eastern part of Lake Superior, and northward to James' Bay. The two Sanson maps mark a distinct and decided advance in the knowledge of the whole region north of the lakes, and rank among the important achievements of the European map-makers of the seventeenth century.

Du Creux's map of 1660 follows Sanson's maps, but varies them in some particulars, generally for the worse. He adds details in the outlines of the lakes, however, which seem to indicate a more minute, if on the whole less accurate, knowledge. He settles the Ohio question, which had been raised by Sanson, by summarily diverting the river into Lake Erie.

XI.

Lake Ontario was known at an early date through Champlain's unsuccessful attack upon the Iroquois in 1615. He explored from Lake Simcoe to the Bay of Quinte, and followed both shores of the lake at its eastern extremity. Probably Brul  in 1615, Daillon in 1626-7, and Br beuf and Chaumonot in 1639-40 and 1640-41, saw its western extremity. The Jesuit Poncet, descending the river from the Mohawk country in 1653, was probably the first white man to see the Thousand Islands, and Le Moyne, in 1654, attempting to establish the Iroquois missions, the first to ascend the St. Lawrence.

XII.

As to lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron, the maps of Sanson and Du Creux represented practically all that was known prior to 1669. The Georgian Bay was, of course, well known through the Relations of the Jesuits. Brul  may have been at the Sault Ste. Marie in 1624. He and Grenolle were familiar with the route to Lake Superior.

XIII.

Lake Michigan was visited by Nicolet in 1634. He reached Green Bay and the Fox River, and heard of the "Great Water" further to the west. As has already been stated, Jogues and Raymbault were at Sault Ste. Marie in 1641. In 1654 two French traders, doubtless Radisson and Groseilliers, penetrated westward of Lake Michigan. In 1656 they led a fleet of Ojibway canoes loaded with furs, by the Nipissing and Ottawa route, to the Lower St. Lawrence. In 1658-9 Groseilliers wintered on the shores of Lake Superior, and heard much from the Indians respecting the Great River. It is probable that about this time he and Radisson reached the Mississippi. In 1660 they conducted sixty canoes from Lake Superior to Three Rivers, and returning took with them Father Ren  M nard, whose tragic death, somewhere south of Lake Superior, speedily followed. He and his companions had perhaps seen the Mississippi. In 1663 the survivors returned to Three Rivers. The arrival of the annual fleet of canoes from Lake Superior was now a regular occurrence. Both from the Iroquois and the Ottawas vague stories of the Great River repeatedly reached the ears of the missionaries and traders. Its exploration awaited the hour and the man.

XIV.

The principal influences in stimulating exploration along the Great Lakes were four:

1. *The Fur Trade*.—During the early half of the century French traders went freely through the Neutral country, notwithstanding the jealousy of the Hurons,

whose monopoly as middlemen between the French and Neutrals was threatened.

> The expulsion of the inhabitants of south-western Ontario by the Iroquois, about the middle of the century, put a stop to further exploration of the Lower Lake region. *Coueurs de bois* penetrated far to the west, beyond lakes Michigan and Superior, and were the first white men after De Soto to gaze on the Mississippi. When, however, the regular trade route from Lake Superior to the lower St. Lawrence by way of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa had been established, the influence of the fur-trade was exerted in opposition to further exploration. The policy of the administration was to centralize traffic at the three trading posts, Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. The lawless *coueurs de bois* not only scattered it over the continent, but carried their peltries to Albany or Montreal with perfect indifference, as long as they sold to the best advantage. The most drastic legislation was powerless to control them. Regulations, with severe penalties, against ranging the woods, the carrying of brandy to the savages, and trading with the Dutch or English, were alike impartially ignored. But the *coueurs de bois* were not always desirous of communicating the knowledge they had acquired in their illegal explorations. Their interest lay in the opposite direction.

Systematic exploration was costly, and even when desirous of prosecuting it the authorities were reluctant to pay for it. On this account the duly authorized explorer was sometimes empowered by the governor to indemnify himself for the expenses incurred out of the profits of any furs which might fall in his way. This naturally aroused the antagonism of the established fur-traders, jealous of their monopoly, and contemptuously regardless of restrictions imposed upon the explorer, avowedly for their protection. Of what force were legal restrictions outside of the effective jurisdiction of the king, a thousand miles from the officers of justice? Other means of defence were found. He was harassed at every turn by unexpected attacks, cabals at the centre of government, intrigues with the native tribes, and vexatious legal proceedings. In La Salle's case, poison itself was attempted.

2. *The Desire to reach Cathay, or China, and thereby India.*—The Great Lake was supposed to give access to the Vermilion Sea, or Gulf of California. Hence all eyes were directed to the north-west in searching for the passage to India, the great question which Columbus and his successors had left unsettled.

3. *The Copper Mines of Lake Superior.*—The mines were known by report to Cartier and Champlain. At a late period they were investigated by the Jesuits and special government agents. The authorities regarded them as a possible offset to the possession by Spain of the mines of precious metal in Mexico and Peru. How the ore was to be got most expeditiously and cheaply to Montreal was a problem that Courcelles and Talon undertook to solve.

4. *Missionary Enterprise.*—The conversion of the savages was proclaimed as one of the chief objects of the government. Champlain at the outset entered into an alliance with the Hurons and Algonkins, who were in possession of the country between Georgian Bay and the Ottawa, against the Iroquois, who controlled that which lay south of Lake Ontario. The route by the Ottawa and Lake Nipissing being therefore reasonably safe for travel, the Recollets (1615-1629), and afterwards the Jesuits (1634-1650), naturally established their first missions among their friends and allies, the Hurons, a group of sedentary tribes settled south of the Georgian Bay. From St. Mary-on-the-Wye as a centre, other missions were dispatched to northern and north-western tribes. The attempts to establish one among the Neutrals to the south, as has already been stated, proved abortive.

XV.

Owing to all these causes, lakes Huron and Superior, and Green Bay in Lake Michigan, were known at an early period as compared with the Lower Lakes, where exploration was blocked by the prevailing fear of the Iroquois, who ruthlessly avenged the attacks made upon them by Champlain in 1609 and 1615.

XVI.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the expulsion of the Hurons, L Petuns and Neutrals from the peninsula by the Iroquois, left the latter sole masters of the Ontario peninsula. The whole territory became their hunting preserve. All over New France, the river routes and forest trails were infested by lurking bands from the Five Nations, and the French huddled together for mutual protection in the forts of the three settlements far down the St. Lawrence. Exploration was at a stand-still.

When, however, the war of extermination urged by the Iroquois against their neighbors, the Eries and Susquehannas, left the conquering race isolated from the fur-bearing portions of the continent, diplomacy was brought into play. They craved peace with the French, in order that they might be free to tap the north-western fur trade as middlemen between the natives and the English. The Lower Lakes now became comparatively safe for travel, but in the absence of population their shores possessed no value in the eyes of the French, who passed them without thinking of exploring the interior.

XVII.

Rumors of the Mississippi and Ohio had from time to time reached Quebec. These now began to assume more definite shape. The former might be reached from Green Bay, the latter from the Iroquois country and either end of Lake Erie, and both streams from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. Attention was thus directed to the Lower Lakes, but their importance was subordinate to the main interest, that of reaching the South Sea by the Great River. Even after the Mississippi was explored to its mouth and Louisiana was colonized, and forts were built on the Lower Lakes and on the Ohio and Illinois, to guard the chain of communication, to hold the English colonies in check, and to intercept the Indian trade, the Erie and Ontario shores had but little intrinsic value in the eyes of the French. Their importance was merely incidental to that of the great valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio.

In 1665 we first hear of the name of the "Father of Waters" in the form "Missipi" from Father Allouez. He accompanies the returning fleet of canoes up the Ottawa to Lake Superior, to which he gives the name of "Tracy." The mission of St. Esprit is established at La Pointe, near the western end of the lake, among the Ottawas and Hurons, who had fled thither from the conquering Iroquois.

In 1668 Marquette founded a mission at the Sault. He was shortly afterward joined by Dablon. In September, 1669, he was sent on to La Pointe, Allouez proceeding to Mackinac, where the disorderly conduct of the *coureurs de bois* called for some one to control and regulate them. Allouez now establishes the mission of St. François Xavier among the Pottawattamies. In the following year we find him on the Fox River, Lake Winnebago and the Wisconsin, which he reports as leading to the "Messissippi," only six days distant.

Trouble having broken out between the Hurons and Ottawas at La Pointe and their western neighbors, the Sioux, the former are driven eastward again to the Sault, in 1670, Marquette accompanying them. He has heard that the stream which he now calls definitively the "Mississippi" is more than a league wide, but is uncertain whether it flows into the Gulf of Florida or that of California. He has inquired of the Illinois and Shawnees whom he meets, and is anxious to navigate the Great River and solve the mystery.

XVIII.

Fur traders and *coureurs de bois* had followed the forest trails through distant regions, and paddled or sailed their canoes on many lakes and rivers, but they were interested in geography only in so far as it meant profits in the fur trade, and only occasionally and indirectly was their knowledge published to the world. The Jesuits included scholarly men, whose interest in exploration was partly national, but chiefly ecclesiastical. For them discovery meant, not settlement, but new missions, and so they questioned the traders and tribesmen who came to their bark residences, and noted down their replies or made maps from hearsay and personal observation, for the use of themselves and their brethren. But to the authorities little was officially known. That there was a Great River running south-westerly from somewhere near the Iroquois country, that there was a Great River running southerly or south-westerly not far west of Lake Michigan, these were matters of rumor and general belief. But whether by these was meant one and the same river, and whether the Great River or Rivers ran to the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California, was matter of conjecture. If to the latter, the long-sought way to China and India was open. If to the former, the rival claims of Great Britain and Spain were likely to interfere with projects of French aggrandizement. But the claim of Louis XIV. to sovereignty would be vastly strengthened if he could show that his subjects were the first to discover and explore the new territories, and if possession were formally taken of them by his authority and in his name.

Stimulated or retarded by causes such as have been indicated, the exploration of the Great Lakes was not a continuous process.

XIX.

When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis XIV. took the reins of government into his own hands. Colbert, who now took the place of his principal minister, revolutionized the administration by his energy and determination. The charter of the Hundred Associates having been surrendered to the crown in 1663, the latter assumed direct control in New France. The military and civil administration was apportioned between the governor, the intendant, the bishop and a few other persons, together constituting the Sovereign Council. The intendant was Jean Talon. He introduced order and system where chaos prevailed before. Government was paternal in the strictest sense of the term as then understood. Stringent regulations were enacted regarding the beaver and brandy trades, with two objects in view: that of repressing lawlessness and disorder and that of more effectually concentrating the trade of the colony at the three fortified posts on the lower St. Lawrence. The *coureurs de bois* were to be rigorously suppressed. The attempt to enforce the ordinances led to vigorous protests on the part of the settlers. New regulations were made from time to time, and old ones were allowed to fall into oblivion. The borders of the king's



dominions were to be extended in every direction, so that the English and Spaniards might be limited to a narrow strip of seaboard. New missions were to be established. The Jesuits, however, were no longer to have a monopoly. The Sulpitians and Recollets were to be encouraged to share with their rivals in missionary enterprise and popular influence. A continuous stream of settlers was to flow into New France under the king's auspices and at his expense. The king's troops were to garrison strategic points. Manufactories were to be built, mines opened, and trade under suitable restrictions encouraged in the long-neglected colony. The king, Colbert and Talon contemplated a vast French empire in the western world.

XX.

Peace having been made between the French and Iroquois in 1667, as the result of Courcelles' energetic attacks upon the Mohawks, the lakes were again open to travel. The peace lasted nearly twenty years. The Jesuits renewed their attempts to establish and extend their missions among the Iroquois south of Lake Ontario. The Sulpitians turned their eyes to the north shore, where some Cayugas, having fled from their original home through fear of their bitter and relentless foes, the Andastes, had settled at the entrance of what is now called Weller's Bay, in Prince Edward County. To the little Cayuga village of Kenté, in the year 1668, came Trouvé and Fénelon, members of the Sulpitian order, sent by the Seminary of Montreal to open a mission among the "Iroquois of the north." Talon arranged with the Sulpitians that they should inform him of their discoveries and explorations. The north shore of Lake Ontario was now to be added to the map of the Great Lakes.

XXI.

In 1669 much progress was made in exploration and discovery. The interests of Church and State were officially combined. The king's dominions and the mission field were to be expanded simultaneously and by united action. The copper mine was to be exploited, the Great River to be explored, the route to the South Sea to be discovered, the English and Spaniards to be confined to a narrow strip of the Atlantic coast, and the rest of North America to become a French preserve. At the same time the Gospel was to be preached by Jesuit and Sulpitian and Recollet to numberless tribes which had never been privileged to hear it, but which should now be enrolled under the banner of the Cross.

Courcelles and Talon took up the question of the copper mine. The Nipissing trade-route from Lake Superior was difficult, laborious and costly. Was there not a cheaper and more practicable way? Explorers were sent out to solve the problem. Péré followed the portage route from Gandatseteiagon (probably near Bowmanville) to Georgian Bay. Jolliet descended the chain of lakes to Lake Erie in a sailing canoe, and proved that there was uninterrupted water communication from Lake Superior to Montreal. There was the Niagara portage, to be sure, and hostile Andastes infested the eastern shores of Lake Erie, but a great commercial and geographical fact was established.

XXII.

All objects were combined in the undertaking which forms the subject of this volume, and all fell very far short of the results aimed at; but the actual achievement was sufficient to make the expedition of prime importance in the history of exploration in North America. We have now a map of the Great Lakes made by

the explorer himself with the aid of instruments for taking latitude, and officially communicated to the intendant for transmission to the king.

A narrative of the expedition was drawn up by one of the ecclesiastics who took part in it. It is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The two documents, together with the *procès-verbal*, asserting the king's title to the new discoveries, are reproduced in this volume.

In the inception of the great enterprise we are introduced to the foremost figures in Canadian society of the period—Courcelles, the governor; Talon, the great intendant; Laval, the first Canadian bishop; Queylus, first superior of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice at Montreal.

The expedition brings together not merely the two distinguished ecclesiastics who completed the first circumnavigation, as it might be called, of that part of Ontario south of the Nipissing portage route, and whose names are in the title of the narrative, but also two of the most celebrated of explorers, La Salle and Jolliet.

Francis Dollier de Casson, a native of Basse Bretagne, was then thirty-three years of age. Before entering the Church he had distinguished himself as a cavalry captain under the great Marshal Turenne, and his physical strength was such that it was said he could carry two men sitting on his hands. Of noble birth and courtly and engaging manners, he impressed those he met with a sense at the same time of his superiority and amiability. He came to the Sulpitians in Montreal in 1666. A few years later he was superior of the seminary, and afterwards vicar-general of the diocese and perpetual curé of the parish of Montreal.

René de Bréhant de Galinée was also of a noble and distinguished Breton family. He remained in Canada only from 1668 until 1671. He had received a mathematical training and knew something of map-making.

La Salle was not quite twenty-six, and Jolliet was just twenty-four years of age when they met at Tinawatawa; the former sprung from a family belonging to the gentry of Rouen, the latter the son of a waggon-maker at Quebec. Both, and especially La Salle, were well educated. La Salle had been connected with the Order of the Jesuits in France, but had abandoned it. Jolliet, educated by them, had entered the priesthood, but at twenty-one had renounced it to become a fur-trader.

La Salle had come to New France in 1667. He had obtained a grant of a seigniory from the Seminary of Montreal and begun the erection of a fortified village, when he was diverted from his purpose by the "calling of the West." The Mississippi and Ohio had begun to excite men's minds. La Salle desired to discover the Ohio and trace it to its supposed outlet in the Vermilion Sea or Gulf of California.

Dollier de Casson had heard of tribes in the distant south-west on the yet unknown Mississippi, among which he was eager to begin a mission. Courcelles, the Governor, persuaded the two men to unite in the expedition. Galinée was associated with it at the instance of De Queylus, the superior of the seminary, in order that there might be a map of the route followed. The government was to be at no expense. La Salle sold his seigniory to raise funds, and received permission to engage in the fur trade to reimburse himself. Merchandise was carried to be used for barter with the natives.

XXIII.

The adventurers, with the exception of La Salle, who followed some days afterward, left Montreal on the 6th July in seven birch-bark canoes with twenty-one

men, including a surgeon, a Dutch and Algonkin interpreters, besides two canoes of Senecas, who were to conduct the party. The Dutchman knew the Iroquois language, but had slight knowledge of French. The canoes were twenty feet in length and two or three in width. Each was capable of carrying four men and between eight and nine hundred pounds of baggage, whilst one man could easily carry it over a portage. A good birch canoe would last five or six years, whilst the Iroquois vessels, made of elm bark, were good only for a month or thereabouts.

They shot in descending, or dragged their canoes through in ascending, the less difficult rapids, and carried them around the others. They camped on the bare ground, and lived on Indian fare—corn-meal mush seasoned with catfish, varied as chance offered by a diet of venison or moose. The Indians were everywhere hospitable, except when crazed with drink. The brandy trade with the Albany Dutch is incidentally mentioned. Pow-wows were held in regular form, and the Iroquois hospitality, domestic economy and tribal ceremonies are described. The Frenchmen were unwilling witnesses to horrible tortures inflicted by savages upon their prisoners, tortures only equalled by those inflicted about the same time by civilized men in Europe, and in our own time by lawless mobs in the Southern States. They visit Jesuit missions among the Iroquois and at the Sault, and criticise freely, but in courteous and guarded language. Mysterious noises are heard in the forests. It is the tally-ho of *King Arthur's* huntsmen that they hear, and the mystery is solved.

A rock, rudely painted by the savages with human figures, is regarded by the ecclesiastics as a demon. It is ruthlessly broken up and sunk in the river, and God rewards the daring iconoclasts with an unexpected quarry, which enables them to break a long fast. Galinée shared the beliefs of his race and age; but he had an eye to the practical. A sulphur spring is visited. The productiveness of choice regions is described with enthusiasm. Hunting grounds, like the Burford Plains, the coast opposite Long Point and the Rondeau, are noted down. The writer was evidently a trained and shrewd observer and practised writer. Few journals of travel are more interesting or more instructive. The simplicity and quaintness of seventeenth century French add piquancy and attractiveness to an official report intrinsically valuable. Everything bears the stamp of the cultured Christian, the "gentleman" of the seminary.

XXIV.

If the expedition was an arduous one, it was certainly deliberate. Thirty-seven days after leaving Montreal they reached the Seneca village on Boughton Hill, in New York State. Detained there more than a month, they were ten days on the way from Irondequoit Bay to the Beverley Swamp. More than three weeks again elapsed before they arrived at Port Dover, where they built a winter cabin and spent more than five months. After leaving the mouth of Patterson's Creek in the spring, they were two months, all but a day, in reaching the Sault Ste. Marie. With the aid of experienced canoemen, they made the return journey to Montreal over the well-known Nipissing route in three weeks. Altogether, the journey lasted 347 days.

XXV.

Let us follow their exploration a little more minutely.

Making their way up the St. Lawrence, they coasted all along the south shore of Lake Ontario to Burlington Bay. They were the first Europeans on record to

enter the Niagara River from Lake Ontario. They heard the roar of the cataract, but it was more than nine years later before, according to any positive record, La Salle actually saw it.¹ They entered Burlington Bay and visited a little Indian village called Tinawatawa, or Tanawawa, in the great Beverley swamp, near the site of the present village of Westover. The Senecas had formed a small settlement here on account of the extraordinary abundance of game, especially the bear and deer. It was here that a remarkable meeting took place on the 24th September, 1669. Jolliet and Peré had left Montreal before the Sulpitians, under orders from the governor to discover the copper mine on Lake Superior, and to find out an easier route of transporting the ore to Montreal. Jolliet had not had time to visit the mine, but an Iroquois prisoner, whom he had saved from being burned by the Ottawas, had shown him a route to the Iroquois hitherto unknown to the French. It was down the chain of lakes, and Jolliet was the first European to descend them. But his guide became apprehensive, as he approached the Iroquois country, of prowling Andastes. This tribe lived on the upper waters of the Susquehanna, and carried on a constant warfare with the Iroquois, until the latter destroyed their villages. Yielding to the guide's urgency, Jolliet left his canoe, probably near Port Stanley, whence they followed the forest trail to the Grand River, and thence to Tinawatawa, where they met La Salle and the Sulpitians. Jolliet informed the priests that he had sent some of his people to look for a nation called the Pottawattamies, where no missionaries had as yet been. Galinée and Dollier at once became eager to go, by way of this new tribe, to the mission they proposed to establish far down the Ohio, and Jolliet courteously gave them a sketch of the route he had followed and explained where he had left the canoe, which was now at their disposal.

XXVI.

La Salle and the priests were evidently at cross purposes, and he took advantage of the opportunity to leave them. An attack of fever furnished him a reasonable pretext. So they parted company. Jolliet and La Salle went eastward. The latter was now free to prosecute the discovery of the Ohio without the impediments of a double leadership. The priests wrote Fénelon, a brother of the great Fénelon, then carrying on a mission at Kenté, on Weller's Bay in the north-west end of Prince Edward County, asking him to send "black robes" to Tinawatawa. In consequence, Trouvé, who was extending the chain of Sulpitian missions along the north shore of Lake Ontario, proceeded to the Beverley swamp in November following. Trouvé assured Galinée that he had heard the noise of Niagara from the neighborhood of Toronto. Both banks of Lake Ontario had now been explored by members of the Sulpitian order, to whom the credit is due of having produced the first authoritative map of this lake.

La Salle went east with four canoes; the two priests proceeded to the Grand River, with three. The canoes would only carry two men each besides the baggage, and there were twelve men in the party, the same number as La Salle's. It was important that Jolliet's canoe should be secured before it was discovered by Indians. Accordingly, the Dutchman, who had come with them as interpreter from Montreal, accompanied by two Shawnees, set out on foot, with provisions and ammunition, to follow the forest trails to the place of the canoe. There they were to await the

1. But see "The Documentary History of the State of New York," Vol. I., p. 243; also, "A Brief History of Old Fort Niagara," by Peter A. Porter, Niagara Falls, 1896, p. 13.

arrival of the rest of the party. The fate of the three men is unknown. They were never heard of afterward. Galinée describes the finding of the canoe by other messengers two or three weeks later, and again by the party during the following April. There is some ground for the surmise that the missing men deserted to La Salle.

The priests and the remaining seven men descended the Grand River, six in the canoes or dragging them through the shoal water, the others following the trail along the bank. Lake Erie seemed to them like a great sea. The wind was strong from the south. There was perhaps no lake in all the country whose billows rose so high as Lake Erie, because, as Galinée naïvely suggests, of its great depth and its great extent.

XXVII.

They wintered just above the forks where Black Creek joins the River Lynn, < otherwise known as Patterson's Creek, at Port Dover. The exact spot was identified in August, 1900, at a meeting of the Norfolk Historical Society, at which it was the Editor's fortune to be present. Slight elevations indicate the outlines of the building. Trenches for drainage are quite distinct. A slight depression in an embankment shows where the door stood, near the little rivulet where they got their water. The photograph (see frontispiece) shows the site clearly enough.

Iroquois hunters visited them during the winter and admired the structure, which was dwelling-house, chapel, granary and fortification all in one. They stored their granary with some fifty bushels of walnuts and chestnuts, besides apples, plums, grapes and hackberries. They made wine of the grapes. It was as good as *vin de Grave*, and was used for mass. The rivers were full of fish and of beaver. Deer roamed the meadows in herds of a hundred. Bears were abundant, fatter and of better flavor than the most savory pigs of France. No wonder that the worthy priests are enthusiastic over the country. There is assuredly, they say, no more beautiful country in all Canada. It is the Earthly Paradise of Canada.

Their dwelling-place was a beautiful spot on the bank of a rivulet, five-eighths of a mile inland, sheltered from the wind. They set up a pretty altar at one end of the cabin. There they heard mass three times a week without missing a single time. "You may imagine," says Galinée, "the consolation we experienced in seeing ourselves with our good God, in the depths of the woods, in a land where no European had ever been. Monsieur Dollier often said to us that that winter ought to be worth to us, for our eternal welfare, more than the best ten years of our life."

XXVIII.

On Passion Sunday, 23rd March, 1670, they all proceeded to the lake shore to make and plant a cross. At its foot were placed the arms of the King of France, with a formal inscription setting forth how the two Seminary missionaries and seven other Frenchmen had been the first of all Europeans to winter on the lake, and how they had taken possession of it in the name of King Louis XIV, as an unoccupied country, by attaching his arms to the foot of the cross.

Three days later they portaged their canoes and packs to the shore, Black Creek being still frozen over. Then they sailed across to Turkey Point. A strong head-wind prevented them from rounding it. While waiting for the wind to moderate, one of their canoes was caught by it, carried away and lost. Then, with all the

baggage in the two remaining canoes, only two men could be carried in each. Five, including the priests, must face the forest trail from Turkey Point. Coming to Big Creek, they walked up-stream along its bank until the Walsingham swamp checked their laborious journey and forced them to follow the stream again to its mouth. Crossing on a raft, in a snow-storm, they landed in mud and slush up to midleg, proceeded to the Long Point portage, and then to the mouth of a stream, probably Kettle Creek, where they found Jolliet's canoe. Then all were able to embark together, to sail to the Rondeau. They had been nearly starved since leaving Port Dover. Now they found a herd of more than two hundred does. They fired and missed. Another herd of twenty or thirty they surrounded and drove into the water. Killing ten of the best, they supplied their empty larder. Next day, having sailed nearly fifty miles, they camped on Point Pelee. A storm rose in the night from the north-east and carried off the packs of one of Dollier's canoes, including the altar service and part of their guns, ammunition and provisions.

XXIX.

This disaster put an end to the mission project. All they could do was to make the best of their way to Montreal. To turn back would perhaps be humiliating. Allured by the prospect of seeing unknown regions, they determined to go on to the Sault, and descend by the Nipissing route with some fleet of Ottawa canoes.

They ascended the Detroit River, destroying on the way a stone idol held in veneration by the Indians. They knew it had been the cause of all their troubles, and so they took a just revenge upon it. God rewarded them the same day with a deer and a bear.

They found no sign of salt in Sanson's "Lake of the Salt Waters," to which, ten years later, Hennepin and La Salle gave the name Lake Ste. Claire. They coasted along the east side of Lake Huron and the south side of Manitoulin Island, crossed over to the Mackinac Islands, and then sailed eastward along the north shore to the St. Mary's River. At the Sault they found Marquette and Dablon comfortably established in a fortified mission. Their welcome could not have been a very cordial one. After three days, they hired a guide to take them to Montreal, where they arrived on the 18th June, after an absence of nearly a year.

It is hardly to be wondered at if they were looked upon as dead men come to life again.

XXX.

Galinée made a map of the journey for Talon. He explains that he only put down what he actually saw. It was the first map of the Upper Lakes at first hand. Defective as it is, it marks a great advance in the cartography of North America.

He had delineated from actual observation the St. Lawrence from Montreal upwards, the south shore of Lake Ontario, the Grand River, and the north shore of Lake Erie from the mouth of the Grand westward to the Detroit River. He had traced the Detroit, Lake St. Clair and the St. Clair River into Lake Huron, and the east and north shores of Lake Huron to the Mackinac Islands, whence he had partly retraced his route to the St. Mary's River, whose banks and islands are outlined, as well as the well-known portage route from the Sault, by way of the French River, Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa, to Montreal. The map shows, but does not name, Patterson's Creek (above whose forks the party wintered), and two smaller streams

to the east of it ; Big Creek ; four streams entering into Lake Erie, west of Long Point, including Otter, Catfish and Kettle Creeks, and one other, Clear Creek in Houghton, or possibly Tyrconnel Creek ; Cedar Creek in Essex, the Rondeau, the Pelee Islands, and the principal streams flowing into the St. Clair and Lake Huron, including the Sydenham and Aux Sables, the Maitland and Saugeen. The map is in some parts quite out of proportion. This is the case with Long Point, which is called the "Lake Erie Peninsula." The Thames is not shown, because the explorers did not see it. Lake Huron is called Michigane, or "Fresh-Water Sea of the Hurons," while Georgian Bay is called "Lake of the Hurons." Long Point Bay is entitled "Little Lake of Erie."

XXXI.

The map is filled with interesting topographical details, showing careful observation. Among others, the length of nearly every portage along the Nipissing and Ottawa canoe route is noted. This information would be of service to Dollier, who had resolved to return next year to establish a mission among the Pottawattamies. The Sulpitians had, however, a chain of missions already established along the north shore of Lake Ontario. How could they reach Dollier's mission from the north shore villages ? Péré had solved the problem in 1669 by following the trail from Gandatseteiagon to Georgian Bay, and proceeding thence by canoe to the Sault Ste. Marie. Daillon, Brébeuf and Chaumonot had probably followed a more westerly trail or trails from Matchadash to Burlington Bay, or Lake Medad. It was desirable, in the interest of both church and state, to show the Iroquois villages, the north shore of Lake Ontario, and the portage route to Georgian Bay. There is no evidence that Galinée added these details to the map. On the contrary, it contains a statement that he had not seen the north shore, but would add it when seen. There is nothing to show that he ever saw it. Probably Fénelon, in whose hands the map was left for some time, and who had wintered at Gandatseteiagon, or Trouvé, who had visited all the villages, supplemented it by tracing the north shore in a general way, and marking the village and portage.

XXXII.

The voyage of the Sulpitians gave a great stimulus to exploration. The Jesuits made an excellent map of Lake Superior in 1671. Parties were sent out by Talon to the Hudson Bay, by way of the Saguenay. Jolliet and Marquette were despatched to the Mississippi, which they reached, by way of Green Bay, in 1673, returning by the Illinois River. La Salle had before then discovered the Ohio, or its western tributaries—1670-71 ; but that is a long story. In 1673, at least, the southern extremity of Lake Michigan was known to the world, and the map of the Great Lakes was completed. An exception must, however, be made. The south shore of Lake Erie was not traced. In 1758, Captain Pouchot, Commandant at Fort Niagara, reports that the detail of Lake Erie is entirely unknown. In a Bellin map of 1755 several streams on the north shore are called "unknown rivers," whilst the south shore is said to be "almost unknown." It is true, D'Anville's maps of 1746 and 1755 give details of both shores, but they were apparently not generally known. MS. maps made by engineers of the marine in 1725 and 1749, and filed away in the Paris archives, evidence some exploration along the north shore ; but the information was for military purposes especially, and remained buried in the archives.

Inland Ontario was practically an unknown territory at the conquest in 1759. The outlines of the peninsula were known, and but little besides. The discovery and exploration of the interior were reserved for the British.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

THE NARRATIVE.

The MS. original of the Galinée Narrative consists of twenty-four leaves of letter paper, clearly and neatly written on both sides, making forty-eight pages. It is one of many documents now bound up in Vol. XXX. of the *Fonds* or *Collection Renaudot*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where the present Editor examined it in September, 1901. When first examined by Margry, in 1847, it was in the same *Fonds*, carton XVI., *liasse* 42, but not yet bound.

The Author.—Galinée's name is given in the title as one of the leaders of the expedition. The map also mentions him in the same capacity. His signature is appended to the *procès-verbal* of the taking possession of Lake Erie, after that of Dollier de Casson. The narrative is in the first person, and mentions Dollier in the third.

In the "History of Montreal," Dollier expressly states that he has forwarded to Paris his own description of the journey, but that it was greatly inferior to Galinée's, which would be found more satisfactory.¹ That Galinée wrote the narrative now reprinted is a conclusion beyond reasonable doubt.

Place of Composition.—There is internal evidence that the original was written at Montreal. People "come" to Montreal and "go" to Quebec. Otondiatà (Grenadier Island) is about forty leagues (ninety-six miles) from "here." La Salle's men, parting company with the Sulpitians, regarded the latter as courting certain death, "as indeed they announced here, causing much anxiety to our friends." The whole narrative predicates Montreal as the author's domicile.

Time of Writing.—The narrative and a rough map were prepared for the same person.² The missionaries returned to Montreal on 18th June, 1670. Talon arrived in Quebec on 18th August.³ On the 29th August, Fénelon was about to sail from Quebec for France, taking a copy of the map with him.⁴ It is a fair presumption that the narrative was put in shape between the first and last of these dates. It was, of course, based upon a journal containing magnetic and astronomical observations, as well as notes of the itinerary followed and adventures by the way.

For Whom was it Written?—Various names suggest themselves: Talon, Fénelon, Trouvé, Tronson, Renaudot, etc. The question is considered hereafter in connection with the map.⁵

Preservation.—The *Infirmes* of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, had the original narrative, or a copy, in 1672, or possibly in 1670.⁶ The only original now known to be in existence is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, bound up in

1. "*Histoire du Montréal*," p. 199. Abbé Renaudot was a friend of Galinée, and the presence of the MS. in the Renaudot collection is therefore easily understood.

2. See p. 75 *post*.

3. Brymner's Report for 1885, p. xxxiv.

4. Margry, "*Découvertes et Etablissements*," Vol. I., p. 80.

5. See p. xxxi.

6. Dollier de Casson, "*Histoire du Montréal*," p. 199.

Vol. XXX. of the collection of Abbé Renaudot, the friend of Dollier and Galinée,¹ of La Salle, and of Abbés Arnauld and Bernou. How it got into that collection, beyond the fact of the friendship of the persons mentioned, we have no means of knowing. It was perhaps Renaudot to whom Galinée sent the narrative and rough map. But of course the narrative might have been obtained by the former from Fénelon or from the seminary at Paris. It seems to have been completely unknown to the world at large until 1866. Charlevoix apparently remained in ignorance of the expedition itself, to say nothing of the narrative. If he knew, he kept the information to himself.

Publication.—Margry copied it in 1847. He afterward made it known to Faillon and furnished copies to Parkman and Orsamus H. Marshall.² Faillon, with the aid of his copy, published in 1866 a full account of the expedition. It appears in his "*Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*," Tom. III., pp. 284 to 305.

Printed Copies.—I. In 1875 the *Société Historique de Montréal* published a copy under the title, "*Voyage de MM. Dollier et Galinée*." It is very defective, whole paragraphs and sometimes pages even being omitted, others abbreviated and summarized, archaisms modernized, and numerous other liberties taken with the text. The MS. used by the editor, the late Abbé Verreau, is now the property of the Seminary of Quebec. The archivist of Laval, Abbé Amédée Gosselin, has kindly furnished a statement regarding it,³ of which the following is a translation:

"The text of the narrative, published by Abbé Verreau, at Montreal, in 1875, is a MS. furnished to M. Jac. Viger by Abbé Faillon, as may be seen by the note inserted at the beginning of the document in M. Viger's handwriting: '*Présent from Abbé Et^{re} M^r. Faillon, priest of St. Sulpice, to Mr. J. Viger, 2 March, 1858. (Signed) (J. V.)*.' Below the title it reads: '*Saint Sulpice. French Supplement No. 2460. Imperial Library, Paris*.' Abbé Verreau followed this copy. A score of words originally left blank in the MS., were added afterwards by another hand and with blacker ink. These words are reproduced in the Verreau text. Aside from these slight modifications, and two or three places where the MS. contains 'suspension points,' which M. Verreau has not reproduced, the text seems to me to have been faithfully followed. The passages underlined in the Verreau text are also underlined in the MS. The MS. is probably a copy of that used by M. Faillon in his '*History of the French Colony*.' We also have recognized considerable omissions in the

1. Margry, "*Découvertes et Etablissements*," Vol. I., p. 345, "*Récit d'un ami de l'Abbe de Galinée*," Note 1.

2. Parkman, "Discovery of the Great West," 1869, Preface; Marshall, "Historical Writings," p. 189.

3. *Le texte du récit, publié par M. l'abbé Verreau à Montréal en 1875, est un manuscrit fourni à M. Jac. Viger par M. l'abbé Faillon, comme on peut le voir par la note insérée au commencement du cahier et écrite de la main de M. Viger: "Présent de M. l'abbé Et^{re} M^r. Faillon, ptre. de St. Sulpice à M. J. Viger, le 2 mars, 1858 (signé) (J. V.)."*

En dessous du titre on lit:

Saint Sulpice. Supplément français, No. 2460, Bibl. impériale, Paris.

M. l'abbé Verreau a suivi cette copie. Une vingtaine de mots laissés d'abord en blanc dans ce MS. ont été ajoutés ensuite par une autre main et avec une encre plus noire. Ces mots sont reproduits dans le texte Verreau. A part ces légères modifications et deux ou trois endroits où le MS. porte des points de suspension que M. Verreau n'a pas reproduits, le texte me semble avoir été suivi fidèlement.

Les passages soulignés dans le texte Verreau sont aussi soulignés dans le MS.

Il est probable que ce MS. est une copie de celui dont s'est servi M. Faillon dans son "Hist. de la Col. Fr."

Nous avons pu constater, nous aussi, des lacunes assez considérables dans le texte Verreau; mais le MS. ne donne aucun renseignement à ce sujet.

Le MS. n'a pas de titres à la marge, comme celui de M. Verreau.

Verreau text; but the MS. gives no information on this point. The MS. has no marginal notes such as M. Verreau's." The differences between the Verreau and Margry texts are indicated in the present edition.

II. Margry published the narrative in 1876 in "*Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines Françaises des pays d'outre-mer. Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*," and in 1879 in "*Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1698. Mémoires et Documents Inédits Recueillis et Publiés par Pierre Margry*." It occupies pp. 112 to 166 of Vol. I., and is entitled: "*Récit de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de MM. Dollier et Gallinée (1669-1670)*." The present Editor has noted (on p. 58 *post*) an important omission by Margry in the curious passage referring to the "*chasse artus*" or "hunting of Arthur," and has made other slight alterations in conformity with the original MS. On the whole, however, Margry's copy appears to have been carefully made.

SUMMARIES.—1. *In French*.—(a) As to Faillon's, see p. xxix *ante*.

(b) M. Gabriel Gravier, in his "*Carte des Grands Lacs de l'Amérique du Nord dressée en 1670 Par Bréhant de Gallinée*," published at Rouen in 1895, gives a brief summary.

2. *In English*.—The following may be noted:

(a) "The Discovery of the Great West," by Francis Parkman, Boston, 1869, has a few pages in Chapter II. devoted to the expedition.

(b) "The First Visit of De la Salle to the Senecas, made in 1669," a paper read by Orsamus H. Marshall before the Buffalo Historical Society in 1874, and published in the volume of his Historical Writings, comprises an English version of the part relating to the State of New York (corresponding to pp. 21 to 43 *post* inclusive, to end of first paragraph on the latter page), and a very brief *précis* of the remainder of the story. Mr. Marshall used the MS. copy furnished him by M. Margry.

III. In "The Southwold Earthwork and the Country of the Neutrals," a paper read before the Canadian Institute, Toronto, in 1892 (afterwards expanded somewhat in "The Country of the Neutrals (as far as comprised in the County of Elgin), from Champlain to Talbot" (St. Thomas, 1895), the present Editor summarized the portion relating to the Province of Ontario.

The first English version of the complete text is that which is now offered to the public.

THE PROCÈS-VERBAL.

The original is in the archives of the *Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies*, under the classification: "*Canada, Correspondance Générale, 1668-1672, Vol. 3. M. Talon, Intendant*."¹ It occupies half a page of folio 56, and has doubtless remained in the archives ever since 1670, when it accompanied the amended map, Talon having forwarded both to the king with his memoir of 10th November, as indicated by a memorandum on the map itself.² It was printed in French by Abbé Faillon in 1866³, by the *Société Historique de Montréal* in 1875⁴, and by Margry in 1876.⁵

An English version was published by the present Editor in 1893 and 1895.⁶

1. Brymner's Report for 1885, p. xxxiv.

2. See pp. 78, 79 *post*.

3. "*Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*," Vol. III., p. 301.

4. *Voyage de MM. Dollier et Gallinée*.

5. "*Découvertes et Etablissements*," Vol. I., p. 166.

6. "The Southwold Earthwork and the Country of the Neutrals," by James H. Coyne, in Boyle's *Archæological Report*, Toronto, 1893, p. 22; "The Country of the Neutrals," by James H. Coyne, St. Thomas, 1895.

THE MAP.

The Sulpitians returned to Montreal on the 18th June, 1670, baffled in their attempts to reach the Ohio and to establish their mission, but with an extraordinary and valuable fund of information. The expedition had its political as well as religious side, and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were alike interested in the map, which was to show an extensive addition to the king's dominions, as well as to point the way to new mission fields. Galinée was still suffering from tertian fever. When he had sufficiently recovered, no time was lost in preparing the map, which had constituted one of the reasons for his becoming a member of the expedition. For whom did he make it? The narrative does not say, and we are left largely to conjecture.

The names of De Queylus, Superior of the Seminary at Montreal; Tronson, Superior at Paris; Dollier, leader of the expedition on its missionary side; Talon, the Intendant, and the Abbés de Fénelon and Renaudot, present themselves in this connection. Galinée's skill in map-making had influenced the Superior in selecting him as a member of the party, and the map was looked for. But the mention of De Queylus in the third person (p. 75) does not favor the theory that he is also the person addressed as "you" on the same page.

Dollier now purposed reaching the Ohio and his proposed mission by way of the Ottawas,¹ and the map would be useful for his journey. "The History of Montreal"² attributed to and probably written by him, is in the form of letters purporting to be sent annually to France, and apparently edited in 1672 as a whole, and sent to the *Infirmes* of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. The writer of the letters appears to have sent them in 1670 his own description of the journey, disparaging it, however, as inferior to Galinée's, which "will give you more satisfaction."³ This would indicate that Galinée's narrative preceded or accompanied Dollier's to Paris. It may reasonably be inferred that Fénelon carried Dollier's letter and the two narratives to the Seminary, while acting as Talon's messenger, with the map referred to in the latter's letter to Colbert, dated 29th August, 1670.⁴

The "other" missionary was, of course, Galinée. Fénelon had spent the winter of 1669-70 at Gandatsetiagon, a Seneca village near the present town of Bowmanville, where he had opened a mission. Is it not likely that the map legends on the north

1. See p. 71. This purpose was not carried out. 2. Printed by the *Société Historique de Montréal*, 1868

3. "*Histoire du Montréal*," Montreal, 1868, pp. 5, 199.

4. Margry, "*Découvertes et Etablissements*," Vol. I., p. 80. "*Comme M. l'abbé de Fénelon, tiré du séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, a fait une mission chez les Iroquois avec les quels il a hiverné et qu'en tout ce qu'il à peu il a travaillé à me donner les connaissances que je ne pouvois avoir que par luy, pour les decouvertes que je desirois faire il mériteroit Monseigneur, que vous lui tesmoignassiez quelque satisfaction sur son Zèle au service. Un autre Missionnaire, tiré du mesme lieu, a percé plus avant que luy, pour me donner la connaissance d'une rivière que je cherchois, pour faire la communication du lac Ontario au lac des Hurons, où on dit qu'est la mine de cuivre. Ce missionnaire a fait une carte de son voyage dont la copie est entre les mains du dit sieur de Fénelon. Elle peut faire un assez juste sujet de votre curiosité.*" TRANSLATION.—"As the Abbé de Fénelon, of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, has established a mission among the Iroquois with whom he has wintered, and as he has labored in every possible way to give me the information, which I could not get otherwise than through him, for the discoveries I wished to make, he deserves, my Lord, that you should give him some recognition of your satisfaction with his zeal in the service. Another missionary from the same quarter has penetrated farther than he, to give me information of a river I was seeking, to form the communication between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron, where the copper mine is said to be. This missionary has made a map of his journey, the copy of which is in the said Sieur de Fénelon's hands. It may be of interest to you."

shore of Lake Ontario, together with the outline of the north shore itself, are the work of Fénelon, added by him while the copy was in his hands, and not that of Galinée, who carefully states that he has mapped the south shore with some degree of exactness, but reserved the accurate delineation of the north shore until he shall have seen it?²

From the facts above set forth it appears possible that the map was made for Fénelon, Galinée knowing that the latter was about to leave for France and to report to the seminary at Paris as well as to carry Talon's despatches to Colbert. Upon the whole, however, the preponderance of evidence would seem to favor Talon.

His plans for extending the king's dominions were carefully considered. Each new discovery was to be evidenced by a formal *procès-verbal*.³ The explorers were to keep regular journals, follow written instructions, set up the king's arms, and take formal possession.⁴ A map would be a matter of course. Galinée and Fénelon, as well as Jolliet and Peré, were acting under instructions from him.⁵

Galinée, in sending the narrative and map, was unable to make the latter as perfect as he desired. He was pressed for time.⁶ Now, Talon, eleven days after his arrival in Quebec, sent a despatch to Colbert by Fénelon announcing the respective discoveries of Fénelon and Galinée, and specially commending the map to Colbert. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the map was hurriedly prepared by Galinée after Talon's arrival and at his instance, in time to catch the vessel that carried Fénelon with Talon's despatches back to France?

The corrected map was soon afterward ready, and with it the *procès-verbal* of the taking possession of the Lake Erie region. Of so much importance were they deemed that Talon, on the 10th November, 1670, encloses both documents to the king,⁷ with a statement of the steps taken towards new discoveries by La Salle, Saint Lussou and Peré, as well as the Sulpitians. The inference is obvious that the narrative, map and *procès-verbal* constituted together the official report of Galinée to the intendant, the map that accompanied the narrative being a rough copy hastily prepared "to catch the boat," and the one sent to the king being the corrected one promised in the narrative. In this view of the question it is a fair presumption that Fénelon or Trouvé, or both together, co-operated with Galinée to make the map more complete and useful by adding the Iroquois villages on the north shore of Lake Ontario, and also the portage route to the Georgian Bay. The additions would aid in impressing upon the king the importance of Talon's grand scheme of fortified posts north and south of the lake to capture the trade, not only of the Iroquois on both shores, but also of the tribes of the North-West, and to divert it from Albany to Quebec.

The map and *procès-verbal* were deposited in the royal archives, and after various removals finally transferred to the *Grands Archives* of the *Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine et des Colonies*. The map was still there in 1856. In 1863-64 the departmental maps were transferred to the library of the *Dépôt*, but Harrisie thinks the Galinée map did not enter the library. In 1866 Faillon speaks of it as still preserved in the *Dépôt*, from which he says he procured his copy, of which a reduction is

1. Post p. 83, No. 23; p. 85, No. 36; also, Note 4, p. 88.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Colbert to Talon, 5th April, 1666, Margry, "*Découvertes et Etablissements*," Vol. I., p. 77.

4. Talon to the king, 10th October, 1670, *ibid.*, p. 82.

5. See Note 4, p. xxxi ante. See also Patoulet to Colbert, 11th November, 1669, Margry, "*Découvertes et Etablissements*," Vol. I., p. 81.

6. "Which I will correct when I have time," page 75 post.

7. See extract, Note 2, p. 78 post.

printed in his history.¹ Harrissee vainly looked for it during the siege of Paris in 1870.² At the instance of M. Gabriel Gravier, M. Armand Sanson made further unsuccessful searches in December, 1890, in the library, and in January, 1891, in the archives of the *Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Marine*.³ In September, 1901, with the courteous aid of M. Buteux, archivist of the Dépôt, who, in the temporary absence of the librarian, was then in charge of the library of the Dépôt, the Editor made a further search, but was also unable to find it.⁴ It is, of course, possible that the map has been merely mislaid, and may reappear unexpectedly at some future time, but the mysterious disappearance of several of the most valuable maps from the Dépôt is meanwhile a cause of regret to the historical student.

EARLY COPIES.

1. A copy dated 1671 (?) was deposited in the archives of the French Foreign Office. This is no longer to be found.⁵

2. On 13th May, 1687, the French Government sent copies of the map and *procès-verbal* to London in support of its claim to the Lower Lakes and surrounding regions.⁶ Nothing appears to be known to-day of this map.

RECENT TRACINGS.

Four tracings, all probably made between 1850 and 1870, may perhaps be termed original :

1. *Pierre Margry's*—This forms part of the collection formed by M. Margry, director of the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, to illustrate the six volumes of his "*Découvertes et Etablissements*." After M. Margry's death the collection was purchased by Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago. Referring to the legends on this copy, Mr. Ayer's secretary, Miss Clara A. Smith, says : "I had some little difficulty, and was occasionally in doubt as to a word, as the Margry map was first traced, and the inscriptions written, with lead-pencil, and afterwards retraced with pen and ink."⁷ Margry showed his copy to M. Gravier, but refused to permit him to copy the legends.⁸

2. *P. L. Morin's*.—Made in May, 1854, according to his attestation dated 1st June, 1880, this tracing is now in the library of Laval University. It is 4½ feet by 2½ feet. M. Morin was employed by the Government of Canada to make copies of maps in the Paris archives. This copy agrees almost exactly with Margry's.

3. *Francis Parkman's*.—This is now in the library of the Harvard University, having been handed over by Mr. Parkman with his large collection of MS. copies of maps which were made mainly about 1856 by P. L. Morin.⁹ According to General

1. Faillon, "*Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*," Tom. III.

2. "*Notes sur la Nouvelle France*," xxv., p. 193; also, Gravier, "*Carte des Grands Lacs*," p. 24.

3. Gravier, "*Carte des Grands Lacs*," p. 24.

4. M. Gabriel Mariel, librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale (section of maps and plans), informed the writer that he distinctly remembered seeing a copy in the album or portfolio of maps in the Dépôt. It was, however, a tracing, not the original, according to his recollection.

5. Marcel, "*Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*," p. 23; Gravier, "*Carte des Grands Lacs*," p. 24.

6. Faillon, *ibid.*, p. 307, referring to *Archives de la Marine*; *Mémoires Généraux sur le Canada*, 13 mai, 1687.

7. Letter to the Editor, April 23rd, 1902.

8. Gravier, *ibid.*, p. 27.

9. Winsor, "*Narrative and Critical History*," Vol. IV., p. 201.

John S. Clark, Parkman placed restrictions upon copying the map, whilst permitting its examination.¹

4. *Orsamus H. Marshall's*.—This was received from M. Margry by the late Mr. Marshall, of Buffalo.² It was for many years among the latter's papers, but is not now to be found.³

The evidence of the existing tracings would indicate that they are all "originals," that is, made directly from the map in the Paris archives, as, whilst agreeing in almost everything, each supplies legends omitted in the others.

DERIVATIVE COPIES OF THE MORIN TRACING.

1. *That of the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa*.—This is on stiff paper. A memorandum dated 1st June, 1880, signed by P. L. Morin, states that it was made in May, 1854. According to Harris, there was a copy, made in 1856, in this library. If so, it has disappeared.⁵

2. *Faillon's*.—A reduced copy is printed in the third volume of "*Abbé Faillon's Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada*," opposite p. 304. Speaking of the original in the *Dépôt des Colonies*, he writes (p. 306): "*C'est de la que nous l'avons tirée pour la placer dans cet ouvrage*." His reproduction is almost identical with the Parliamentary Library copy. The legends of the three tracings mentioned above are greatly abbreviated and many omitted altogether, whilst the map is reversed, the orientation being as in modern maps, and the legends are made to read accordingly. Apparently, Morin wished to "popularize" his copy for the library of Parliament by simplifying the legends and diminishing their number and length, and Faillon used the library copy for his work. Otherwise we must assume that there were two originals in the *Dépôt des Cartes* at Paris, and that the three tracings were made from the more complete map which was made with orientation reversed (according to modern ideas), whilst the Faillon and Parliamentary Library copies were made from the less complete map, which was oriented as in maps of the present day. The Faillon copy, still further reduced, was reproduced by Dean Harris in his "*History of the Early Missions in Western Canada*," Toronto, 1893, and by J. H. Coyne (from the plate used by Dean Harris) in his "*Country of the Neutrals*," St. Thomas, 1895.

3. *Gravier's*.—M. Benjamin Sulte sent a tracing of a Morin copy (apparently the Parliamentary Library one) to M. Gabriel Gravier, who reproduced it on a reduced scale in his "*Carte des Grands Lacs*," Rouen, 1895.

These three copies are substantially identical in outline and legends. The Faillon copy, however, is the only one that has the "rose" showing the points of the compass. This is perhaps confirmatory of the surmise that there may have been two originals in the archives, both now lost.

1. "A copy from the original was in the collection of the late Francis Parkman, and deposited by him in Harvard University Library, with the restriction that no copy should be made of this or any others of the collection. Mr. Parkman very kindly gave me permission to make a copy of the Galinée map or any other."
—*Letter, General John S. Clark to James H. Coyne, June 13th, 1898.*

2. "Historical Writings of Orsamus H. Marshall," Albany, 1877, p. 190.

3. His son, Mr. Charles D. Marshall, at the writer's solicitation, kindly searched for it in 1900, but was unable to find it.

4. "Notes," p. 193.

5. See Gravier, "*Carte des Grands Lacs*," Rouen, 1895, p. 25.

THE PARKMAN TRACING.

General John S. Clark made a tracing from the Parkman copy in 1882. It is reproduced herewith for the first time, on a scale of five-eighths. The printed copy has been compared by the writer, or at his instance, with the Parkman, Margry and Morin tracings, and with the Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies. With the consent of the librarian of Harvard University, Mr. David M. Matteson, M.A., collated it minutely with the Parkman tracing. He found them to agree in almost every detail, the omission from the General Clark copy of what is now known as Chantrey Island, on the east side of Lake Huron, being the most important discrepancy. Flaws in the plate erroneously show a gap in the eastern shore of Lake Erie. Others might be taken to indicate a few minute islands in Lake Huron, which do not appear in the Parkman copy. The legends are identical except in one or two words and in unimportant minutiae. He adds: "Attention is called to the small inlet on the south side of Lake Ontario. In the Parkman copy this is left open to indicate a river; in this copy it is closed. In the Parkman copy there is no legend on Lake Ontario. The east and west line on this copy, passing through "Presq'Isle du lac d'Erié," is not in the Parkman copy. In the Parkman copy lines radiate from each point of the star to the extremities of the map."

Miss Clara A. Smith, who compared the printed copy with Margry's tracing, reports as follows: "I found that the inscriptions varied very little from the Margry copy except in capitalization and sometimes in spelling. There were a few inscriptions that were not on the Parkman copy, and I also found that M. Margry had omitted some. . . . The outline I should judge is about the same. And the inscriptions all read from the bottom of the map instead of from the top."

Again referring to the Gravier copy, she writes: "I do not think that the Morin (*i.e.* Gravier) copy could have been made from the Margry; there is hardly a group of islands that is laid down exactly the same. But the Faillon copy agrees with the Margry perfectly, in outline, in the position and shape of the islands, in the shape of the compass, in everything but the omission of the legends. (This reminds me to say that there are no radiating lines from the compass in the Margry map.) I should think it very possible that the Faillon map was a copy from the Margry, or at least made by Margry, as you suggested. . . . There are no marks to indicate the four Neuter villages on the Grand River."

Abbé Amédée Gosselin, who made a very minute comparison of the printed copy with the Morin tracing in Laval University, supposes that the discrepancies between the Faillon and Morin copies can be explained by supposing that there were two originals at Paris. He adds: "*La carte que nous avons a 4½ pieds sur 2½. Septentrion en bas, midi en haut, etc. . . . Nous avons comparé soigneusement votre carte avec la copie de Morin. Il y a peu de différences essentielles entre la copie complétée en encre rouge¹ et celle de Morin. Presque toutes les additions faites d'après la carte de Margry par M^{lle} Clara A. Smith sont sur la copie de Morin. . . . La copie de Morin contient trois réseaux de lignes au lieu d'un comme dans votre copie. Les deux réseaux de chaque côté sur la même ligne horizontale que celui du centre, bien entendu, sont, l'un à 14 pouces du centre, l'autre, celui de droite, à 18 pouces. Toutes les lignes rayonnent jusqu'à l'extrémité de la carte et sont beaucoup plus nombreuses que celles de la copie Parkman où les lignes ne partent que des*

1. Miss Clara A. Smith had written in red ink the legends in the Margry copy omitted in the printed one.

pointes de l'étoile, tandis que dans la copie Morin, il y a, de plus, trois lignes entre chaque pointe. L'étoile est entourée d'un cercle. Sur les côtés, les lignes partent d'un point."¹

In the Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies the rose, or star, showing the orientation, is omitted altogether. The former has instead two crossed lines only; the latter has numerous lines ruled, as if to show latitude and longitude, as in a map of the present day. The former shows the four village sites west of the Grand River, as in the printed copy.

It will be seen from the above that there has been a curious fatality connected with the originals and copies. The two originals have disappeared. Of the copies, but three remain of those that appear to have been made directly from the original—Margry's, at Chicago; Morin's, at Laval University; and Parkman's, at Harvard. They are substantially identical. Where they differ in any important sense they supply each other's omissions.

Of the two copies heretofore printed, Faillon's is nearly correct in outline; the Gravier copy less so. But they are very defective in the legends, omitting most of the longer and some of the shorter ones, and abridging and otherwise mutilating some of the remainder.

The present print, as supplemented by the annotations, should be as nearly as possible complete in both outline and legends. The differences between it and the other copies, whether primary or secondary, except some differences in spelling, are indicated in foot-notes. Where legends in the printed copy are omitted from the Morin or Margry copy, and *vice versa*, it may be inferred that the original map contained all the omitted words.

1. Translated as follows: "The map we have is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ —north at the bottom, south at the top, etc. . . . We have carefully compared your map with Morin's copy. There are few essential differences between the copy *completed in red ink* and Morin's. Almost all the additions made by Miss Clara A. Smith from Margry's map are on Morin's copy. Morin's contains three networks of lines instead of one, as in your copy. The two networks on each side—on the same horizontal line as that of the centre, that is to say—are, the one 14 inches from the centre, the other, on the right hand, 18 inches. All the lines radiate to the extremity of the map, and are far more numerous than those of the Parkman copy, in which the lines run only from the points of the star, whilst in the Morin copy there are three additional lines between each point. The star is surrounded by a circle. At the sides, the lines run from one point."

EXPLANATIONS OF VARIATIONS IN THE TEXT.

IN general, the text is that of Margry,¹ and the readings in the foot-notes are those of the Verreau edition.²

In the few instances in which the text differs from Margry's it has been amended by the writer to conform to the MS. original.

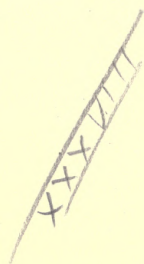
Exceptions to the above rules, other than mere differences in spelling, are specially mentioned in the foot-notes.

Words and passages in either version not found in the other are enclosed in square brackets thus : []. The reader will, of course, understand that these brackets do not belong to the text, and that they are not used in the case of substitution of one word for another, the latter being indicated in foot-notes. These brackets indicate an omission, abbreviation or gloss by the copyist of the Verreau text.

There are minor variations, to which it has not been deemed expedient in every case to call attention in the text. For example, the use of figures for words, *à* for *ou*, of the singular for the plural, or *vice versa* in each of these cases, or the adoption of a modernized spelling by the copyist. This applies also to proper names, in the spelling of which great liberty prevailed in the seventeenth century. The Editor of the present volume has, in general, adopted the now approved mode of spelling Dollier, Galinée and Frémin. It is a curious circumstance that whilst Margry usually has "Dolier" and "Gallinée," and Verreau usually "Dollier" and "Galinée," the MS. original gives the names in the title of the narrative as "Dolier et Galinée," whilst in the map they appear as "Dolier et Galiné." The spelling "Jolliet" has been adopted in preference to "Joliet." While his father called himself "Joliet," the explorer wrote "Jolliet," and surely he had a right to change the spelling if he thought fit.

1. "*Etablissements et Découvertes*," Paris, 1879, Vol. I., pp. 112 to 166.

2. "*Voyage de MM. Dollier et Galinée*," Montreal, 1875.



(1) LOUIS

(2) Courcelle

(3) Le cavalier

(4) Jacobus Fremin S. J.

(5) L. Jolliet

(6) Trouvé p

(7) F de Salagnac

(8) Claude Dablon

(1) Louis XIV.—(2) Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle, Governor of Canada—(3) Le Cavalier (De la Salle)—(4) Father Frémin—(5) L. Jolliet—(6) Abbé Trouvé—(7) F. de Salagnac (Abbé Fénélon)—(8) Father Claude Dablon.

I. GALINÉE'S NARRATIVE.

II. THE PROCÈS-VERBAL.

III. THE MAP LEGENDS.

I.

CE QUI S'EST PASSÉ¹ DE PLUS REMARQUABLE DANS LE VOYAGE DE MM. DOLLIER ET GALINÉE (1669-1670).

L'an 1669 M. Dollier alla passer une partie de l'hiver avec un capitaine Nipissirien, appelé Nitariky, pour apprendre dans les bois la langue Algonquine. Le capitaine avoit un esclave dont les Outaouacs luy avoient fait présent l'année précédente, qui estoit d'une nation fort esloignée du Sud-Ouest. Cet esclave fut envoyé par son maistre au Montréal pour y chercher quelque chose. Il y vint voir M. l'abbé de Queylus devant qui il fit une description si naïve du chemin de son pays, qu'il fit croire à tout le monde qu'il l'avoit fort présent, et qu'il y pourroit facilement conduire tous ceux qui y voudroient aller avec luy.

M. l'abbé de Queylus, qui a un zèle fort grand pour le salut des sauvages de ce pays, et qui vit que cet homme pourroit beaucoup servir pour la conversion des peuples de son pays, qu'il disoit estre en fort grand nombre, ne crut pouvoir mieux faire que d'escire à M. Dollier, par ce mesme esclave, que s'il se trouvoit tousjours dans la mesme disposition qu'il luy avoit tesmoignée depuis longtemps pour travailler au salut des sauvages, qu'il croyoit que Dieu luy en présentoit une belle occasion par le moyen de cet esclave qui le pourroit conduire parmi des nations inconnues jusqu'icy aux François, et qui auroient peut-estre plus de docilité que celles que nous avons connues jusques icy, auprès desquelles on n'a pu encore faire aucun fruit.

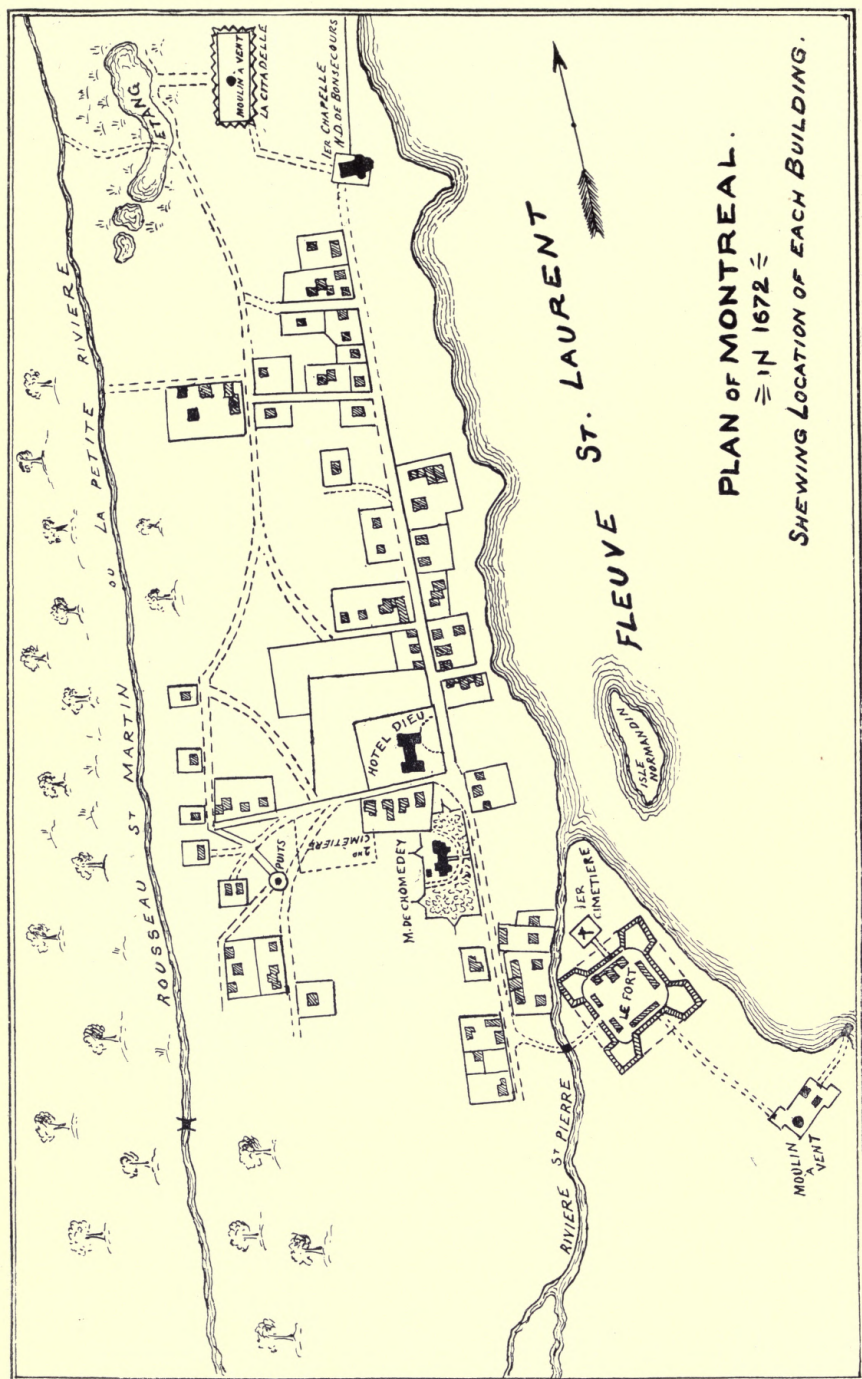
M. Dollier, qui estoit véritablement dans le dessein de se sacrifier dans quelques-unes² des missions de ce pays, prit cette occasion comme si elle luy eut esté envoyée de Dieu, et fit grande amitié à cet esclave, taschant de tirer de luy quelque connoissance de sa langue naturelle. Enfin, il fit si bien auprès de cet homme, qu'il tira promesse de luy qu'il le conduiroit dans son pays.

Ce fut dans ce dessein que M. Dollier revint du³ bois avant les sauvages avec qui il estoit, afin d'aller à Québec acheter les choses qui estoient nécessaires pour cette entreprise, après avoir receu de M. de Queylus les ordres nécessaires.

¹ Récit de ce qui s'est passé, etc. (Margry). The first and third lines of the title are omitted by Verreau. Unless otherwise stated, the foot-notes which follow give the readings in Verreau's text.

² quelqu'une.

³ des.



I.

THE MOST NOTEWORTHY INCIDENTS IN THE JOURNEY OF MESSIEURS DOLLIER AND GALINÉE (1669-1670).

In the year 1669 M. Dollier spent part of the winter with a Nipissing chief named Nitariyk in order to learn in the woods the Algonkin language. The chief had a slave the Ottawas had presented to him in the preceding year, from a very remote tribe in the south-west. This slave was sent by his master to Montreal on some errand. He came and saw here the Abbé de Queylus, in whose presence he gave so naïve a description of the route to his country that he made everybody believe he was thoroughly familiar with it, and could easily conduct any persons that should wish to go there with him.

The Abbé de Queylus, who is very zealous for the salvation of the Indians of this country, saw that the man might be of great service in the conversion of his countrymen, who, he said, were very numerous. So he thought he could not do better than write M. Dollier by this same slave, that if he was still of the same disposition that he had long since manifested to him, to labor for the salvation of the Indians, he believed God was presenting an excellent opportunity by means of this slave. The latter would be able to conduct him amongst tribes hitherto unknown to the French, and perhaps more tractable than those we have hitherto known, amongst whom, so far, it has been found impossible to produce any result.

M. Dollier, who was actually intending to sacrifice himself in some of the missions of this country, seized this opportunity as if it had been sent him from God, and made great friends with the slave, endeavouring to acquire from him some knowledge of his native tongue. In short, he managed so well with the man that he extracted a promise from him to conduct him to his own country.

With this purpose in view M. Dollier returned from the woods in advance of the Indians with whom he was sojourning, in order to go to Quebec to buy the necessary supplies for the undertaking, after receiving the necessary orders from M. de Queylus.

Ce fut en ce lieu que M. de Courcelles le pria de vouloir s'unir avec M. de la Salle, frère de M. Cavelier, pour faire ensemble le voyage que M. de la Salle avoit prémédité depuis longtemps vers une grande rivière qu'il avoit conceue (selon ce qu'il pensoit avoir appris des sauvages) avoir son cours vers l'Occident, au bout de laquelle, après sept ou huit mois de marche, les dits sauvages disoient que la terre estoit coupée, c'est-à-dire, selon leur manière de parler, que cette rivière tomboit dans la mer, et cette rivière s'appelle dans la langue des Iroquois Ohio. C'est sur cette rivière que sont placées quantité de nations dont on n'a vu encore personne icy, mais si nombreuses qu'au rapport des sauvages, telle¹ nation aura² 15 ou 20 villages. L'espérance du castor, mais surtout celle de trouver par icy passage dans la mer Vermeille, où M. de la Salle croyoit que la rivière d'Ohio tomboit, luy firent entreprendre ce voyage pour ne pas laisser à un autre l'honneur de trouver le chemin de la mer du Sud, et par elle celui de la Chine.

M. de Courcelles, gouverneur de ce pays, vouloit appuyer ce dessein où M. de la Salle lui faisoit voir quelque probabilité, par un³ grand nombre de [belles] paroles dont il ne manque pas, mais enfin ce voyage tendoit à une découverte qui ne pouvoit estre que glorieuse à celui sous le gouvernement duquel elle se faisoit et qui, de plus, ne lui coustoit rien.

Ce dessein autorisé de M. le Gouverneur, lettres patentes furent expédiées à M. de la Salle qui portoient permission de fureter [dans] tous les bois et toutes les rivières et lacs du Canada, pour voir s'il n'y auroit rien de bon, et prière aux gouverneurs des provinces où-elles il pourroit arriver, comme de la Virginie, Floride, etc., de luy permettre passage et donner secours comme ils voudroient que nous leur fissions en pareil cas. Ce fut encore pour appuyer ce dessein que M. Dollier fut prié par M. le Gouverneur de tourner son zèle vers les peuples habitans sur la rivière d'Ohio et de vouloir accompagner M. de la Salle. Il y eut de plus permission aux soldats qui vouloient entreprendre ce voyage de sortir des⁴ troupes, tant [il] y a que ce voyage fit grand bruit.

MM. Dollier et de la Salle⁵ remontèrent au Montréal après avoir fait leurs emplettes à Québec, et achetèrent⁶ le plus de canots qu'ils purent afin de pouvoir emmener avec eux le plus de monde que faire se pourroit. M. Barthélemy estoit destiné pour estre de la partie et avoit reçu mission de M. l'Évesque de⁷ Canada aussy bien que M. Dollier. Ainsi, sur la fin du mois de juin, 1669, tout le monde se préparoit tout de bon pour partir. M. de la Salle vouloit mener 5 canots et 14 hommes, et MM. Dollier et Barthélemy 3 canots et 7 hommes.

¹ cette.² aurait.³ parmi grand nombre.⁴ de troupe.⁵ M. Dollier et M. de la Salle.⁶ achetant.⁷ du.



de la Salle

It was at this place that M. de Courcelles requested him to unite with M. de la Salle, a brother of M. Cavelier, in order that they might together make the journey M. de la Salle had been long premeditating towards a great river, which he had understood (by what he thought he had learned from the Indians) had its course towards the west, and at the end of which, after seven or eight months' travelling, these Indians said the land was "cut," that is to say, according to their manner of speaking, the river fell into the sea. This river is called, in the language of the Iroquois, "Ohio." On it are settled a multitude of tribes, from which as yet no one has been seen here, but so numerous are they that, according to the Indians' report, a single nation will include 15 or 20 villages. The hope, of beaver, but especially of finding by this route the passage into the Vermilion Sea, into which M. de la Salle believed the river Ohio emptied, induced him to undertake this expedition, so as not to leave to another the honor of discovering the passage to the South Sea, and thereby the way to China.

M. de Courcelles, the Governor of this country, was willing to support this project, in which M. de la Salle showed him some probability by a great number of fine speeches, of which he has no lack. But in short, this expedition tended to a discovery, that could not be otherwise than glorious to the person under whose government it was made, and, moreover, it was costing him nothing.

The project having been authorized by the Governor, letters patent were despatched to M. de la Salle, granting permission to search in all the forests, and all the rivers and lakes of Canada, to see if there might not be something good in them, and requesting the governors of provinces in which he might arrive, such as Virginia, Florida, etc., to allow him passage, and render assistance as they would wish us to do for them in like case. It was to help on this project, moreover, that M. Dollier was requested by the Governor to turn his zeal toward the tribes dwelling on the river Ohio and to agree to accompany M. de la Salle. Permission, moreover, was given to soldiers who wished to undertake this expedition to leave the ranks. At all events, the expedition made a great noise.

Messieurs Dollier and de la Salle went up to Montreal again, after making their purchases at Quebec, and bought all the canoes they could, in order to be able to take as large a party as possible. M. Barthélemy was intended to be a member of the party, and had, as well as M. Dollier, received authority from the Bishop of Canada. Accordingly, towards the end of the month of June, 1669, everybody was preparing in good earnest to set out. M. de la Salle wished to take five canoes and fourteen men, and Messieurs Dollier and Barthélemy three canoes and seven men.

On parloit desjà de partir au plus tost et tout le monde avoit fait les paquets,¹ quand il vint en pensée à M. l'abbé de Queylus que M. de la Salle pourroit bien abandonner nos Messieurs, et que son humeur, qu'on connoissoit assez légère, le pourroit bien porter à les quitter à la première fantaisie, peut-estre lorsqu'il seroit le plus nécessaire d'avoir quelqu'un qui sceust un peu se reconnoistre pour le retour ou qui sceust la situation des pays connus, afin de ne les jeter pas avec imprudence dans de mauvais pas, et, de plus, on eust été bien aise d'avoir quelque carte assurée du chemin qu'on projetoit.

Ce fut par ces considérations que monsieur l'abbé de Queylus me permit² d'accompagner M. Dollier lorsque je luy en demanday la permission. J'avois desjà quelque teinture des³ mathématiques et assez pour bastir tellement que tellement une carte, mais tousjours suffisante pour me faire retrouver le chemin pour le retour, de quelque lieu où je fusse allé dans les bois et dans les rivières de ce pays, et d'ailleurs on fut bien aise de laisser icy quelque personne qui sceust l'Algonquin pour servir d'interprète aux Outaouacs lorsqu'ils viennent icy. Ainsi je fus accepté pour le voyage au lieu de M. Barthélemy qui, pour la connoissance entière⁵ [qu'il a] de la langue Algonquine, pouvoit estre en ce lieu plus utile que moy.

Je n'eus que trois jours à faire mon équipage. Je pris deux hommes et un canot avec quelques marchandises propres pour acheter des vivres dans les nations par lesquelles nous devons passer, et⁶ fus aussitost prest à m'embarquer comme les autres. La précipitation avec laquelle mon voyage fut résolu ne me permit pas d'escire à M. l'Évesque et à M. le Gouverneur.

Notre flotte étoit de sept canots montez chacun de trois hommes, qui partit de Montréal [le] 6 juillet 1669, sous la conduite de deux canots d'Iroquois Sonnantoueronons, qui estoient venus au Montréal dès l'automne de [l'an] 1668, pour faire leur chasse et leur traite. Ces gens icy avoient demeuré fort longtemps chez M. de la Salle, et lui avoient dit tant de merveilles de la rivière d'Ohio, qu'ils disoient connoistre parfaitement, qu'ils enflammèrent en luy plus que jamais le désir de l'aller voir. Ils luy disoient⁷ [que cette rivière prenoit son origine à trois journées de Sonnantouan, et qu'après un mois de marche, on y trouvoit les Honniasontkeronons et les Chiouanons, et qu'après avoir passé ceux-cy et un grand sault ou cheute d'eau qu'il y a dans cette rivière, on trouvoit les Outagame et le pays des Iskousogos, et

¹ These two words are supplied by Verreau.

suggests "permit.")

³ de.

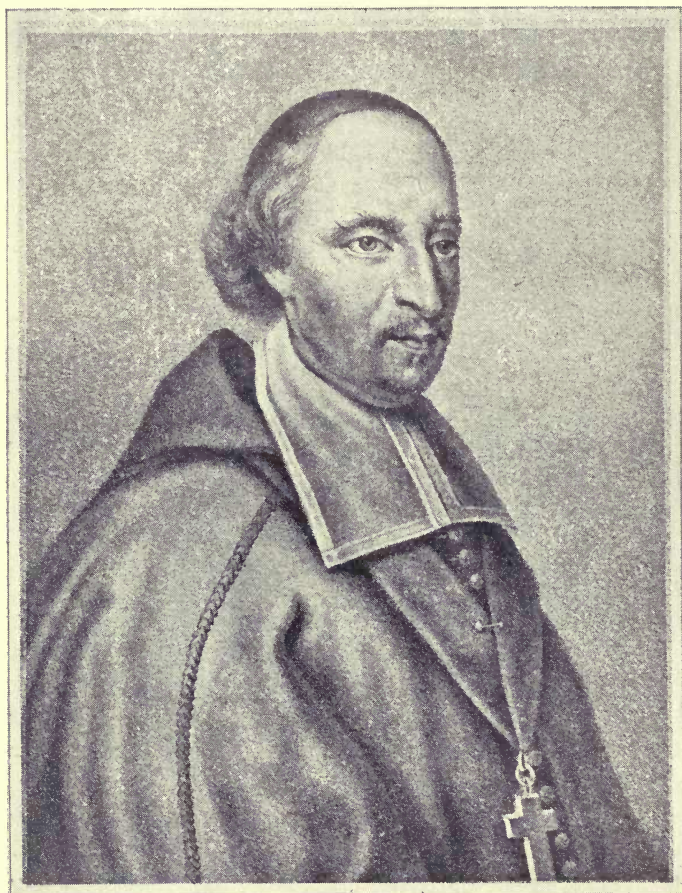
² promit (Verreau, who, however,

⁴ tellement quellement.

⁵ intime.

⁶ Verreau inserts "je."

⁷ disoient [qu'on y trouvoit] un pays si abondant, etc.



Fr. eueque De petrie



Premier Evêque du Canada.

The talk was already of starting as soon as possible, and every one had done his packing, when it occurred to the Abbé de Queylus that M. de la Salle might possibly abandon our Gentlemen, and that his temper, which was known to be rather volatile, might lead him to quit them at the first whim, perhaps when it was most necessary to have some one with a little skill in finding his bearings for the return journey, or acquainted with the situation of known countries, in order not to get them into difficulties through imprudence; and, besides, it was desirable to have some trustworthy map of the route that was contemplated.

It was from these considerations that the Abbé de Queylus permitted me to accompany M. Dollier when I asked his leave. I had already some smattering of mathematics, enough to construct a map in a sort of fashion, but still sufficiently accurate to enable me to find my way back again from any place I might go to in the woods and streams of this country. Besides, they were glad to leave some person here who knew Algonkin, to serve as an interpreter to the Ottawas, when they come here. Accordingly I was accepted for the expedition in the place of M. Barthélemy, who, from his perfect knowledge of the Algonkin language, could be more useful at this place than myself.

I had only three days to get my crew together. I took two men and a canoe, with some goods suitable to barter for provisions with the tribes through which we were to pass, and was ready to embark as soon as the rest. The precipitancy with which my journey was decided upon did not permit me to write the Bishop and the Governor.

Our fleet, consisting of seven canoes, each with three men, left Montreal on the 6th of July, 1669, under the guidance of two canoes of Seneca Iroquois, who had come to Montreal as early as the autumn of the year 1668 to do their hunting and trading. These people whilst here had stayed a long time at M. de la Salle's, and had told him so many marvels of the river Ohio, with which they said they were thoroughly acquainted, that they inflamed in him more than ever the desire to see it. They told him that [this river¹ took its rise three days' journey from Seneca, that after a month's travel one came upon the Honniasontkeronons and the Chiouanons, and that, after passing the latter, and a great cataract or waterfall that there is in this river, one found the Outagame and the country of the Iskousogos, and finally] a country so

¹ [one found there].

enfin] un pays si abondant en chevreuils¹ et boeufs sauvages, qu'ils y estoient aussy espais que le² bois, et une si grande quantité de peuples qu'il ne se pouvoit davantage.

M. de la Salle rapportoit toutes ces choses à M. Dollier, dont le zèle s'enflammoit toujours de plus en plus pour le salut de ces pauvres sauvages qui, peut estre, eussent fait bon usage de la parole de Dieu, si elle leur eust esté annoncée, et la grandeur de ce zèle empeschoit M. Dollier de remarquer que M. de la Salle, qui disoit entendre parfaitement les Iroquois et apprendre d'eux toutes ces choses par la connoissance parfaite qu'il avoit de leur langue, ne la sçavoit point du tout et s'engageoit à ce voyage presque à l'estourdie, sans savoir quasi où il alloit. On luy avoit fait espérer qu'en faisant quelque présent au village des Sonnontouans, il auroit avec facilité des esclaves des nations où il prétendoit aller, qui luy serviroient de guides.

Pour moy, je ne voulus point partir d'icy que je ne menasse un homme avec moy qui sceust l'Iroquois. Je me suis appliqué à l'Algonquin depuis que je suis icy ; mais j'eusse bien voulu pour lors sçavoir autant d'Iroquois comme je sçavois d'Algonquin. Je ne pus trouver qu'un Hollandois qui pust me servir pour ce dessein. Il sçait parfaitement l'Iroquois, mais il ne sçait que bien peu le François ; enfin, n'en pouvant trouver d'autre, je m'³embarquay. Nous avions dessein, M. Dollier et moy, de passer par Kenté pour prendre langue de nos Messieurs qui y sont en mission, mais nos guides estoient du grand village de Sonnontouan, que nous n'osâmes quitter, de peur de n'en pas⁴ retrouver d'autres.

En l'équipage que j'ay dit, nous partismes de Montréal le 6^e juillet 1669 et montâmes le mesme jour le sault Saint-Louis, qui n'en est qu'à une lieue et demye. La navigation au dessus de⁵ Montréal est toute différente de celle qui est au dessous, car celle-cy se fait en vaisseaux, barques, chaloupes, et bateaux, parce que le fleuve Saint-Laurent est fort profond jusques au Montréal, l'espace de deux cents lieues, mais immédiatement au dessus de⁵ Montréal, se rencontre un sault ou cheute⁶ d'eau parmi quantité de grosses roches qui ne permettent à aucun bateau de passer, de sorte qu'on ne peut se servir que de canots, qui sont de petits canots d'escorce de bouleau d'environ vingt pieds de long et deux pieds de large, renforcées dedans de varangues et lisses de cèdres fort minces, en sorte qu'un homme le porte aisément, quoyque ce bateau puisse porter quatre hommes et huit ou neuf cents livres pesant de bagage. Il s'en fait qui portent jusques à dix ou douze hommes avec leur équipage, mais il faut deux ou trois hommes pour les porter.

¹ chevreux.

² les.

³ l'.

⁴ de ne pouvoir en retrouver, etc.

⁵ du.

⁶ au sault une chute.

abundant in roebucks and wild cattle that they were as thick as the woods, and so great a number of tribes that there could not be more.

M. de la Salle reported all these things to M. Dollier, whose zeal became more and more ardent for the salvation of these poor Indians, who perhaps would have made good use of the word of God, if it had been proclaimed to them; and the greatness of this zeal prevented M. Dollier from remarking that M. de la Salle, who said that he understood the Iroquois perfectly, and had learned all these things from them through his perfect acquaintance with their language, did not know it at all, and was embarking upon this expedition almost blindly, scarcely knowing where he was going. He had been led to expect that by making some present to the village of the Senecas he could readily procure slaves of the tribes to which he intended to go, who might serve him as guides.

As for myself, I would not start from here unless I could take with me a man who knew Iroquois. I have applied myself to Algonkin since I have been here; but I would have been very glad at that time to know as much Iroquois as Algonkin. The only person I could find who could serve me for this purpose was a Dutchman. He knows Iroquois perfectly, but French very little. At length, unable to find any other, I embarked. M. Dollier and I intended to call at Kenté to obtain intelligence of our Gentlemen who are on mission there, but our guides were of the great village of Seneca, and we dared not leave them lest we should be unable to find any others.

With the outfit I have mentioned, we left Montreal on the 6th July, 1669, and the same day ascended the St. Louis Rapids, which are only a league and a half away. Navigation above Montreal is quite different from that below. The latter is made in ships, barks, launches and boats, because the river St. Lawrence is very deep, as far up as Montreal, a distance of 200 leagues; but immediately above Montreal one is confronted with a rapid or waterfall amidst numerous large rocks, that will not allow a boat to go through, so that canoes only can be used. These are little birch-bark canoes, about twenty feet long and two feet wide, strengthened inside with cedar floors and gunwales, very thin, so that one man carries it with ease, although the boat is capable of carrying four men and eight or nine hundred pounds' weight of baggage. There are some made that carry as many as ten or twelve men with their outfit, but it requires two or three men to carry them.

Cette façon de canots fait la navigation la plus commode et la plus commune de ce pays, quoyqu'il soit vray de dire que, quand on est dans [un de] ces bastiments, on est tousjours, non pas à un doigt de la mort, mais à l'espaisseur de cinq ou six feuilles de papier. Ces canots coustent aux François qui les achètent des sauvages neuf ou dix escus¹ de hardes, mais de François à François, ils sont bien plus chers. Le mien me couste² quatre-vingts livres. Et il n'y a que les peuples qui parlent Algonquin qui bastissent bien ces canots. Les Iroquois se servent pour leurs canots de toutes sortes d'escorces, hormis de celle du³ bouleau, et bastissent des canots mal faits et fort pesants, qui ne durent au plus qu'un mois, au lieu que ceux des Algonquins, estant conservez,⁴ durent cinq à six ans.

On ne nage pas dans ces canots comme dans un bateau, où l'aviron tient à une cheville sur le bord du bateau ; mais icy, on tient une main proche la pelle de l'aviron et l'autre main au bout du manche, et on s'en sert à pousser l'eau derrière soy sans que le dit aviron touche en quelque manière [que ce soit au canot]. De plus, il faut se tenir tout le temps qu'on est dans ces canots à genoux ou assis, prenant garde de bien garder l'équilibre, car ces bastiments sont si légers, qu'un⁵ poids de vingt livres sur un bord plus que sur l'autre est capable de les⁵ faire tourner, mais si prestement⁶ qu'à peine a-t-on le temps de s'en garantir. Leur fragilité est si grande, que de porter un peu sur une pierre ou d'y aborder un peu lourdement est capable de faire un trou, qu'on peut, à la vérité, accommoder⁷ avec du bray.

La commodité de ces canots est grande dans ces rivières qui sont toutes pleines de cataractes ou cheutes d'eau et de rapides par lesquels il est impossible de passer aucun bateau, [auxquels], quand on est arrivé, on charge canot et bagage sur les espauls, et on va par terre jusques à ce que la navigation soit belle ; et pour lors on remet son canot à l'eau et on se rembarque. Si Dieu me fait la grâce de retourner en France, je tascheray d'y faire porter un de ces canots pour le faire voir à ceux qui n'en auroient point veu ; et je ne voy aucun ouvrage des sauvages qui me paroisse mériter l'attention des Européens que leurs canots et leurs raquettes pour marcher sur les neiges. Il n'y a point de voiture ny meilleure ny plus prompte que celle du canot ; car quatre bons canoteurs⁸ ne craindront pas de faire pari de passer dans leur canot devant huit ou dix rameurs dans la chaloupe la mieux allante⁹ qu'on puisse voir.¹⁰

[J'ay fait une grande digression icy sur les canots parce que, comme

¹ dix ou douze écus. ² Le mien a coûté. ³ de. ⁴ renforcés. ⁵ le.
⁶ promptement. ⁷ raccomoder. ⁸ canotiers. ⁹ allerte. ¹⁰ faire.

This style of canoes affords the most convenient and the commonest mode of navigation in this country, although it is a true saying that when a person is in one of these vessels he is always, not a finger's breadth, but the thickness of five or six sheets of paper, from death. These canoes cost Frenchmen who buy them from Indians 9 or 10¹ crowns in clothes, but from Frenchmen to Frenchmen they are much dearer. Mine cost me 80 livres. It is only the Algonkin-speaking tribes that build these canoes well. The Iroquois use all kinds of bark except birch for their canoes. They build canoes that are badly made and very heavy, which last at most only a month, whilst those of the Algonkins, if taken care of, last five or six years.

“You do not row in these canoes as in a boat. In the latter the oar is attached to a rowlock on the boat's side; but here you hold one hand near the blade of the oar and the other at the end of the handle, and use it to push the water behind you, without the oar touching the canoe in any way. Moreover, it is necessary in these canoes to remain all the time on your knees or seated, taking care to preserve your balance well; for the vessels are so light that a weight of twenty pounds on one side more than the other is enough to overturn them, and so quickly that one scarcely has time to guard against it. They are so frail that to bear a little upon a stone or to touch it a little clumsily is sufficient to cause a hole, which can, however, be mended with resin.”

“The convenience of these canoes is great in these streams, full of cataracts or water-falls, and rapids through which it is impossible to take any boat. When you reach them you load canoe and baggage upon your shoulders and go overland until the navigation is good; and then you put your canoe back into the water, and embark again. If God grants me the grace of returning to France, I shall endeavor to take over one of these canoes, to show it to those who have not seen them. I see no handiwork of the Indians that appears to me to merit the attention of Europeans, except their canoes and their rackets for walking on snow. There is no conveyance either better or swifter than that of the canoe; for four good canoe-men will not be afraid to bet that they can pass in their canoe eight or ten rowers in the fastest launch that can be seen.

[I have made a long digression here upon canoes because, as

¹ 10 or 12.

j'ay desjà dit, je n'ay rien trouvé icy de plus beau ny de plus commode ; et sans cela, il seroit impossible de naviguer au dessus de Montréal ny dans aucune des rivières de ce pays, où il y en a un grand nombre dont je ne sache pas aucune où il n'y ayt quelque cheute d'eau ou sault dans lesquels on se perdroit infailliblement si on les vouloit passer.]

Les auberges ou retraites pour la nuit sont aussi extraordinaires que les voitures, car, après avoir nagé ou porté tout le long du jour, vous trouvez sur le soir la belle terre, toute preste à recevoir votre corps fatigué. Lorsqu'il fait beau, après avoir deschargé son canot, on fait du feu et on se couche sans se cabaner autrement ; mais quand il fait de l'eau, il faut aller peler des arbres, dont on arrange les escorces sur quatre petites fourches dont vous faites une cabane pour vous sauver de la pluie. [Les Algonquins portent avec eux des escorces de bouleaux, minces et cousues ensemble, en sorte qu'elles ont quatre brasses de long et trois pieds de largeur. Elles se roulent en fort petit volume, et sous trois de ces escorces suspendues sur des perches, on peut facilement mettre huit ou neuf hommes bien à couvert. On en fait mesme des cabanes pour l'hyver qui sont plus chaudes que nos maisons. On arrange vingt ou trente perches en long, en sorte qu'elles se touchent toutes par le haut, et on estend les escorces sur les perches avec un peu de feu au milieu. J'ay passé sous ces escorces des jours et des nuits où il faisoit grand froid, lorsqu'il y avoit trois pieds de neige sur la terre, sans en estre extraordinairement incommodé.]

Pour ce qui est de la nourriture, elle est capable de faire brusler tous les livres¹ que les cuisiniers ayent jamais fait et de les faire renoncer à leur science. Car on trouve moyen, dans le² bois de Canada, de faire bonne chère sans pain, sans vin, sans sel, sans poivre, ny aucune espicerie. Les vivres ordinaires sont du bled d'Inde, qu'on nomme en France bled de Turquie, qu'on pile entre deux pierres et qu'on fait bouillir dans de l'eau ; l'assaisonnement³ est avec de la viande ou du poisson lorsqu'on en a. Cette vie nous parut à tous si extraordinaire que nous nous en ressentismes⁴ ; car pas un ne fut exempté⁵ de quelque maladie avant que nous [ne] fussions à cent lieues de Montréal.

Nous prîmes le chemin du lac Ontario, où nos guides nous conduisirent le long du⁶ fleuve Saint-Laurent. Le chemin est extrêmement⁷ fascheux jusqu'à [Otondiata,] environ [à] 40 lieues d'icy, car il faut presque toujours estre à l'eau pour traisner les canots. [Il n'y a jusques là que 13 ou 14 lieues de belle navigation dans le lac Saint-François et le lac Saint-Louis. Les bordages de la rivière sont d'assez

¹ toutes les vivres.

⁶ exempt.

² les.

⁶ conduisaient le long du grand.

³ l'assaisonnant.

⁴ repentines.

⁷ entièrement.

I have already said, I have found nothing here more beautiful or more convenient. Without them it would be impossible to navigate above Montreal or in any of the numerous rivers of this country. I know none of these without some water-fall or rapid, in which one would inevitably get wrecked if he wished to run them.]

The inns or shelters for the night are as extraordinary as the vehicles, for after paddling or portaging the entire day you find towards evening the fair earth all ready to receive your tired body. When the weather is fine, after unloading your canoe, you make a fire and go to bed without otherwise housing yourself; but when it is wet, it is necessary to go and strip some trees, the bark of which you arrange upon four small forks, with which you make a cabin to save you from the rain. [The Algonkins carry with them pieces of birch-bark, split thin and sewed together so that they are four fathoms in length and three feet wide. These roll up into very small compass, and under three of these pieces of bark hung upon poles eight or nine men can be easily sheltered. Even winter cabins are made with them that are warmer than our houses. Twenty or thirty poles are arranged lengthwise so that they all touch each other at the top, and the bark is spread over the poles, with a little fire in the centre. Under these strips of bark I have passed days and nights where it was very cold, with three feet of snow upon the ground, without being extraordinarily inconvenienced.]

As to the matter of food, it is such as to cause all the books¹ to be burned that cooks have ever made, and themselves to be forced to renounce their art. For one manages in the woods of Canada to fare well without bread, wine, salt, pepper, or any condiments. The ordinary diet is Indian corn, called in France Turkey wheat, which is ground between two stones and boiled in water; the seasoning is with meat or fish, when you have any. This way of living seemed to us all so extraordinary that we felt the effects² of it. Not one of us was exempt from some illness before we were a hundred leagues from Montreal.

We took the Lake Ontario route, our guides conducting us along the river St. Lawrence. The route is very difficult as far as [Otondiata,] about forty leagues from here, for it is necessary to be almost always in the water dragging the canoes. [Up to that place there are only thirteen or fourteen leagues of good sailing, in Lake St. Francis and Lake St. Louis. The river banks are of fairly good land here

¹ dishes.

² repented.

belle terre par cy par là, mais communément ce sont de purs sables ou des roches. Il est vray que la pesche est assez bonne dans tous ces rapides, car nous n'avions qu'à mettre la ligne à l'eau pour pescher le plus souvent 40 ou 50 poissons qu'on appelle icy de la barbue. Il n'y en a point en France de pareil. Les voyageurs et les pauvres gens s'en nourrissent fort commodément, car il se peut manger et est fort bon cuit à l'eau sans aucune sauce. Il est aussy plein d'une fort bonne huile qui assaisonne admirablement la sagamité. C'est ainsy qu'on nomme le potage de bled d'Inde.]

Nous eusmes au lac Saint-François deux eslans qui furent le commencement¹ de notre chasse. Nous en fismes fort grande chère. Ces eslans sont des animaux grands comme des mulets et faits à peu près comme eux, sinon que l'eslan a² le pied fourchu et des bois fort grands à la teste qu'il quitte³ tous les hivers, et qui sont plats comme ceux des daims. La chair en est fort bonne, surtout quand il est gras, et la peau en est fort estimée. C'est ce qu'on appelle icy communément de l'original. La chaleur qu'il faisoit pour lors et le peu d'expérience que nous avions de la vie des bois, firent que nous laissâmes perdre une bonne partie de notre viande.

La manière de la conserver dans les bois où il n'y a point de sel est de la couper par plaques fort minces, et de l'estendre sur un gril qu'on élève à⁴ trois pieds de terre,⁵ et qui est couvert de petites gaules de bois sur lesquelles on estend sa viande, puis on fait du feu dessus⁶ le gril et on dessèche au feu et à la fumée cette viande jusques à ce qu'il n'y ayt plus aucune humeur⁷ dedans et qu'elle soit sèche comme un morceau de bois, et on la met par paquets de 30 ou 40 qu'on enveloppe dans des escorces, et estant ainsy emballée, elle se garderoit cinq ou six ans sans se gâster. Lorsqu'on la veut manger, on la réduit en poudre entre deux pierres et on la met bouillir un⁸ bouillon avec du bled d'Inde. La perte de notre viande fit que pendant presque un mois, nous ne mangeâmes que du bled d'Inde avec de l'eau, car le plus souvent nous n'estions pas en lieu de pesche et nous n'estions pas dans la saison des bonnes chasses.

Enfin avec toute notre misère, nous descouvrîmes le lac Ontario le 2^e jour d'aoust, qu'on aperçoit comme une grande mer sans voir d'autre terre que celle qu'on costoye. Ce qui paroist de terre sur le bord⁹ du lac ne sont que sables et roches.¹⁰ Il est vray que dans la profondeur des bois, on y remarque de fort belles terres, surtout le long de quelques

¹ commencé.² qu'ils ont.³ qu'ils quittent.⁴ de.⁵ Verreau inserts : sur la fourche.⁶ dessous.⁷ humidité.⁸ au.⁹ les bords.¹⁰ rochers.

and there, but commonly it is mere sand or rocks. It is true the fishing is pretty good in all these rapids, for most frequently we had only to throw the line into the water to catch forty or fifty fish of the kind called here "barbue" (catfish). There is none like it in France. Travellers and poor people live on it very comfortably, for it can be eaten, and is very good cooked in water without any sauce. It is also full of a very good oil, which forms admirable seasoning for sagamite, the name given to porridge made of Indian corn.

We took two moose in Lake St. Francis, which were the beginning of our hunting. We fared sumptuously on them. These moose are large animals, like mules and shaped nearly like them, except that the moose has a cloven hoof, and on his head very large antlers which he sheds every winter, and which are flat like those of the fallow deer. Their flesh is very good, especially when fat, and the hide is very valuable. It is what is commonly called here the "original." The hot weather and our scanty experience of living in the woods made us lose a good part of our meat.

The mode of curing it in the woods, where there is no salt, is to cut it in very thin slices and spread it on a gridiron raised three feet from the ground,¹ covered with small wooden switches on which you spread your meat. Then a fire is made underneath the gridiron, and the meat is dried in the fire and smoke until there is no longer any moisture in it and it is as dry as a piece of wood. It is put up in packages of 30 or 40, rolled up in pieces of bark, and thus wrapped up it will keep five or six years without spoiling. When you wish to eat it you reduce it to powder between two stones and make a broth by boiling with Indian corn. The loss of our meat resulted in our having nothing to eat but Indian corn with water for nearly a month, for generally we were not in fishing spots, and we were not in the season of good hunting.

At last, with all our misery, we discovered Lake Ontario on the second day of August, which comes in sight like a great sea, with no land visible but what you coast along. What seems land on the lake-shore is merely sand and rocks. It is true that in the depth of the woods fine land is remarked, especially along some streams that

¹ Verreau inserts: on the fork.

rivières qui se deschargent dans le lac, [et] c'est par ce chemin que les R. P.¹ Jésuistes vont à leurs missions des Iroquois, et c'est dans la rivière d'Onnontagué² qu'ils prétendent faire leur principal établissement. Ils y ont à présent 8 ou 10 hommes pour y bastir une maison et y faire des déserts pour semer des grains. Avant cette année, il n'y avoit qu'un Père et un homme pour chaque nation; mais ils ont fait cette année un embarquement considérable d'hommes et de marchands³ pour commencer un établissement qui soit durable, où les missionnaires se puissent retirer de temps en temps pour renouveler leurs forces spirituelles et corporelles, car à vray dire, la vie de missionnaires dans ce pays icy⁴ est la vie la plus dissipante qui⁵ se puisse imaginer. On n'y pense presque qu'aux nécessitez corporelles, et l'exemple continuel qu'on a des sauvages qui ne pensent qu'à satisfaire leur chair porte l'esprit dans un relasche presque inévitable, si on n'y prend garde.

Il tombe dans le lac Ontario des rivières qui conduisent dans les bois des⁶ cinq nations Iroquoises, comme vous les⁷ verrez [marquées] dans la carte. Le 8 aoust, nous arrivâmes dans une isle où un sauvage Sonnontouan a fait une espèce de maison de campagne, où il se retire l'esté pour manger avec sa famille un peu de bled d'Inde et de citrouille qu'il y fait⁸ tous les ans. Il s'est si bien caché qu'à moins de sçavoir l'endroit, on auroit bien de la peine à le trouver, et il faut qu'ils se cachent ainsi lorsqu'ils sortent de leurs villages, de peur que leurs ennemis, qui sont tousjours autour d'eux pour les surprendre et les assommer, ne les descouvrent.

Ce bon homme nous receut fort bien et nous fit grande chère de citrouilles bouillies à l'eau. Notre guide voulut demeurer deux jours avec luy, après quoy nous ayant quittez pour aller avertir au village de notre arrivée, nous n'estions pas dans une assurance entière de nostre vie auprès de cette nation, et quantité de raisons nous donnoient⁹ lieu d'appréhender quelque chose de fâcheux.

Premièrement, la paix estoit faite depuis très-peu de temps, et il estoit souvent arrivé à ces barbares de la rompre avec nous lorsqu'elle paroissoit encore mieux affermie que celle-cy, et d'autant plus¹⁰ qu'il n'y a point de maistres parmi eux, chacun estant parfaitement libre de ses actions, de sorte qu'il ne faut qu'un jeune brutal à qui la paix ne plaira pas, ou qui se souviendra qu'un de ses parents a esté tué dans les guerres précédentes, pour venir faire quelque acte d'hostilité et rompre ainsi le traité qui auroit¹¹ esté fait par les vieillards.

¹ R. R. P. P. ² d'Onnontallé (Verreau suggests "Onontagué"). ³ marchandises. ⁴ -ci.

⁵ qu'il (Verreau italicizes this paragraph from the words "*Car à vray dire*" to the end).

⁶ de. ⁷ le. ⁸ citrouilles qu'il y a. ⁹ donnèrent. ¹⁰ plutôt. ¹¹ avait.

empty into the Lake. It is by this route that the reverend Jesuit Fathers go to their Iroquois missions, and on the river of Onondaga that they intend to make their principal establishment. They have eight or ten men there now for the purpose of building a house and making clearings to sow grain. Before this year there were only one Father and one man for each nation, but this year they have sent a considerable shipment of men and merchants¹ to begin a permanent establishment, to which the missionaries may retire from time to time to renew their spiritual and bodily strength, for, to tell the truth, the life of missionaries in this country is the most dissipating life that can be imagined. Scarcely anything is thought of but bodily necessities, and the constant example of the savages, who think only of satisfying their flesh, brings the mind into an almost inevitable enervation, unless one guards against it.

There are rivers flowing into Lake Ontario that lead into the forests of the Five Iroquois Nations, as you will see them marked on the map. On the 8th of August we arrived at an island where a Seneca Indian has made a sort of country house, to which he retires in summer to eat with his family a little Indian corn and squash that he grows there every year. He has concealed himself so well, that unless one knew the spot one would have a great deal of difficulty in finding it. They are obliged to conceal themselves in this way when they leave their villages, lest their enemies, who are always around for the purpose of surprising and killing them, should discover them.

The good man received us well and entertained us hospitably with squashes boiled in water. Our guide would stay two days with him, after which, leaving us to go to notify the village of our arrival, we were not in entire security for our lives in the vicinity of this tribe, and many reasons gave us ground for apprehending something disagreeable.

In the first place, the peace had been made very shortly before, and these barbarians had often broken it with us when it seemed still more assured than this one, and all the more easily, as there are no authorities amongst them, everyone being perfectly free in his actions, so that all that is necessary is for a young ruffian, to whom the peace is not acceptable, or who remembers that one of his relations was killed in the preceding wars, to come and commit some act of hostility, and so break the treaty that has been made by the old men.

¹ goods.

En second lieu, les Antastogué¹ ou Antastouais, qui sont les Sauvages de la Nouvelle-Suède, qui ont guerre contre les Sonnontouans, font continuellement des courses autour de leur pays, et depuis peu avoient tué dix hommes dans le lieu mesme où nous avions² esté obligez de séjourner un mois entier.

En troisieme lieu, huit ou quinze jours avant notre départ de Montréal, 3 soldats de ceux qui y sont en garnison, estant allez en traite, trouvèrent un sauvage de Sonnontouan qui avoit quantité de pelletteries pour lesquelles avoir ils résolurent d'assassiner ce sauvage, et le firent en effet. Par bonheur pour nous, la chose fut decouverte cinq à³ six jours avant notre départ, et les criminels convaincus furent passez par les armes, en présence⁴ de plusieurs sauvages de Sonnontouan qui estoient pour lors icy, qui s'apaisèrent à la vue de cette justice; car ils avoient résolu de tuer pour la vengeance du mort, qui estoit considérable,⁵ tout autant de François qu'ils en pourroient attraper à l'escart. Jugez s'il auroit fait bon pour nous⁶ dans ce pays, si nous fussions partis de Montréal avant qu'on⁷ eust exécuté ces criminels; mais tousjours, quoyque le gros de la nation fut apaisé par cette exécution, les parents du mort ne se tenoient pas satisfaits et vouloient à toute force sacrifier à leur vengeance quelques François et s'en vantoient hautement. C'est ce qui estoit cause que nous faisions sentinelle toutes les nuits,⁸ et que nous tenions [tousjours] toutes nos armes en bon estat.

Cependant, je vous puis assurer que pour⁹ une personne qui se voit au milieu de toutes ces craintes, et qui doit¹⁰ encore adjouster la crainte continuelle de mourir de faim ou de maladie au milieu d'un bois, sans assistance, au milieu, dis-je, de toutes [ces] craintes, quand on croit y estre par la volonté de Dieu et dans la pensée que ce que l'on souffre luy est agréable et pourra servir au salut de quelqu'un de ces pauvres sauvages, non seulement on est sans tristesse, mais encore on goute une joye [très-] sensible au milieu de toutes ces peines.

C'est ce que nous avons plusieurs fois expérimenté, mais principalement M. Dollier, qui fut malade, auprès de Sonnontouan, d'une fièvre continue qui faillit [à] l'emporter en peu de temps. Il me disoit pour lors: Je suis très-content et j'ay mesme de la joye de me voir dans l'abandon où je suis de tout secours spirituel et corporel. Ouy, disoit-il; j'aimerois mieux mourir au milieu de ce¹¹ bois dans l'ordre de la volonté de Dieu, comme je crois y estre, qu'au milieu de tous mes frères dans le séminaire de Saint-Sulpice.

¹ Antastogué.² avons.³ ou.⁴ à la vue.⁵ Verreau inserts here, "dans leur nation."⁶ vivre.⁷ que l'on.⁸ toute la nuit.⁹ qu'une.¹⁰ il faut.¹¹ ces.

Secondly, the Antastogué or Antastouais, who are the Indians of New Sweden, that are at war with the Senecas, are continually roving about in the outskirts of their country, and had shortly before killed ten men in the very spot where we were obliged to sojourn an entire month.

Thirdly, a week or a fortnight before our departure from Montreal, three of the soldiers in garrison there, having gone to trade, found a Seneca Indian who had a quantity of furs, to get which they made up their minds to murder the Indian, and in fact did so. Happily for us the matter was discovered five or six days before our departure, and the criminals, being convicted, were put to death in presence of several Seneca Indians that were here at the time, and who were appeased at the sight of this justice; for they had resolved, in order to avenge the deceased, who was a man of importance,¹ to kill just as many Frenchmen as they could catch away from the settlements. Judge for yourselves whether it would have had a good result for us in this country if we had left Montreal before those criminals had been executed. But nevertheless, although the bulk of the nation was appeased by this execution, the relatives of the deceased did not consider themselves satisfied, and wished at all hazards to sacrifice some Frenchmen to their vengeance, and loudly boasted of it. On this account we performed sentry duty every² night, and constantly kept all our weapons in good condition.

However, I can assure you, that for a person who sees himself in the midst of all these alarms and who must, moreover, add the constant fear of dying of hunger or disease in the midst of a forest, without any help—in the midst, I say, of all these alarms, when one believes he is here by the will of God, and in the thought that what one suffers is agreeable to Him and will be able to serve for the salvation of some one of these poor Indians, not only is one free from sadness, but, on the contrary, one tastes a very appreciable joy in the midst of all these hardships.

This is what we experienced many times, but especially M. Dollier, who was sick near Seneca with a continued fever, that almost carried him off in a short time. He said to me at the time: "I am well pleased, and even rejoice, to see myself destitute as I am of all spiritual and corporal aid." Yes," said he, "I would rather die in the midst of this forest in the order of the will of God, as I believe I am, than amongst all my brethren in the Seminary of Saint Sulpice."

¹ Verreau adds: in their nation.

² all.

Enfin, après trente-cinq jours de navigation fort difficile, nous arrivâmes à une petite rivière appelée des Sauvages Karontagouat, qui est à l'endroit du lac le plus proche de Sonnontouan, environ [à] 100 lieues vers le sud-ouest de Montréal. Je pris hauteur en ce lieu avec le baston de Jacob que j'avois porté, le 26 aoust 1669, et comme j'avois un fort bel horizon du costé du nord, car on¹ n'y voit non plus de terre qu'en pleine mer, je pris hauteur par derrière qui est la plus assurée. Je trouvay donc le soleil distant du zénith de 33 degrés auxquels j'adjoustay 10 degrés 12 minutes de déclinaison nord que le soleil avoit ce jour-là. L'équinoctial se trouva esloigné du zénith et, par conséquent, le pôle arctique élevé sur l'horizon en ce lieu de 43 degrés 12 minutes, qui est la véritable latitude de ce lieu là, ce qui s'accordoit assez bien avec ce que je trouvois avoir acquis de latitude selon les rums de vent que nous avions couru, suivant l'usage des matelots qui ne laissent pas d'avoir² la latitude par laquelle ils sont, quoyqu'ils n'ayent aucun instrument pour prendre hauteur.

Nous ne fusmes pas plustost arrivez en ce lieu que nous fusmes visitez de quantité de sauvages qui nous vinrent faire de petits présents de bled d'Inde, de citrouilles, de meures de haye³ et de bluets, qui sont des fruits dont ils ont en abondance. Nous leur rendions⁴ la pareille en leur faisant aussi présent de couteaux, d'aleines, d'aiguilles, de rassade et autres choses qu'ils estiment et dont nous estions bien munis.

Nos guides nous prièrent d'attendre en ce lieu jusques au lendemain, et que les considérables ne manqueroient pas de venir le soir avec des vivres pour nous conduire au village; et en effet, le soir ne fut pas plustost venu, que nous vismes arriver une grosse troupe de sauvages avec quantité de femmes chargées de vivres, qui se vinrent cabaner auprès de nous et nous faire du pain de bled d'Inde et de fruits. Ils ne voulurent point parler là en forme de conseil, mais nous dirent qu'on nous attendoit au village, et qu'on⁵ avoit envoyé par toutes les cabanes pour assembler [tous] les vieillards au conseil qu'on devoit tenir pour apprendre le sujet de notre arrivée.

Nous nous assemblâmes pour lors, M. Dollier, M. de la Salle et moy, pour sçavoir de quelle manière nous agirions et ce qu'on offriroit pour les présens, et combien on en feroit, et on résolut que j'irois au village avec M. de la Salle pour tascher d'avoir un esclave des nations où nous voulions aller pour nous y conduire, et que nous menerions avec nous huit de nos François. Le reste demeureroit avec M. Dollier à la garde des canots. La chose fut exécutée de cette sorte, et le jour ne parut pas plus tôt le lendemain 12 d'aoust, que nous fusmes advertis

¹ encore qu'on. ² de savoir. ³ haies. ⁴ rendimes. ⁵ Verreau inserts "en."

At length, after thirty-five days of very difficult navigation, we arrived at a small stream, called by the Indians Karontagouat, which is at the part of the lake nearest to Seneca, about one hundred leagues south-westward from Montreal. I took the altitude at this place with the Jacob's-staff that I had brought, on the 26th August, 1669, and as I had a very fine horizon to the north, for no more land is seen there than in the open sea, I took the altitude from behind, which is the most accurate. I found the sun then distant from the zenith 33 degrees, to which I added 10 degrees 12 minutes, being the sun's north declination for that day. The equinoctial was distant from the zenith, and consequently the north pole elevated above the horizon at this place 43 degrees 12 minutes, which is its actual latitude, and agreed pretty well with the latitude I found I had obtained by dead reckoning, following the practice of sailors, who do not fail to get¹ the latitude they are in although they have no instrument for taking altitude.

No sooner had we arrived at this place than we were visited by a number of Indians who came to make us small presents of Indian corn, squashes, blackberries, and blueberries, fruits that they have in abundance. We returned the compliment by making them also a present of knives, awls, needles, glass beads, and other things which they esteemed and with which we were well provided.

Our guides requested us to wait at this place until the next day, and informed us that the principal persons would not fail to come in the evening with provisions to escort us to the village. And, in fact, the evening was no sooner come than we saw a large band of Indians arriving with a number of women loaded with provisions, who came and camped near us and made bread for us of Indian corn and fruits. They would not speak there in form of council, but told us we were expected at the village, and that word had been sent through all the cabins to assemble all the old men for the council, which was to be held to learn the reason of our coming.

Thereupon M. Dollier, M. de la Salle and I consulted together to know in what manner we should act, what should be offered as presents, and how many should be made. It was resolved that I should go to the village with M. de la Salle to try to get a slave of the tribes to which we wished to go for the purpose of conducting us thither, and that we should take eight of our Frenchmen with us. The rest were to remain with M. Dollier in charge of the canoes. The business was carried out in this way, and no sooner had daylight appeared, on the next day, the 12th August, than we were notified by the Indians

¹ know.

par les sauvages qu'il estoit temps de partir. Nous nous mîmes donc en chemin, 10 François avec 40 ou 50 sauvages qui nous obligeoient de lieue en lieue¹ de nous reposer, de peur de nous fatiguer trop, et environ à moitié chemin nous trouvâmes une autre troupe de sauvages qui venoient au devant de nous et nous firent présent de vivres, et se joignirent à nous pour retourner au village; quand nous [en] fusmes environ à une lieue, les haltes furent plus fréquentes et le peuple grossissoit de plus en plus notre troupe, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin nous nous vîmes à la vue du grand village qui est au milieu d'un grand désert d'environ 2 lieues de tour.

Pour y arriver, il faut remonter² un petit costeau sur le bord duquel le village est situé. D'abord que nous eûmes monté ce costeau, nous aperçûmes une grosse troupe de vieillards assis sur l'herbe qui nous attendoient, et qui nous avoient aussi laissé une belle place vis-à-vis d'eux, où ils nous convièrent de nous asseoir, ce que nous fîmes. Au même temps, un vieillard qui ne voyoit presque plus et qui³ à peine se pouvoit soutenir, tant il estoit vieux, se leva et nous fit d'un ton [fort] animé une harangue par laquelle il nous tesmoignoît sa⁴ joye de notre arrivée, que nous pouvions⁵ regarder les Sonnontouans comme nos frères et qu'ils nous regardoient comme les leurs, et qu'en cette vue ils nous prioient d'entrer dans leur village où ils nous avoient préparé une cabane en attendant que nous ouvrissions notre pensée. Nous les remerciâmes de leurs civilités, et leur fîmes dire par notre interprète que le lendemain nous leur dirions le sujet de notre voyage.

Cela fait, un sauvage qui faisoit la charge d'introducteur des ambassadeurs se présenta pour nous conduire à notre logis; nous le suivîmes, et il nous mena dans la plus grande cabane du village, où l'on nous avoit préparé notre demeure, avec ordre aux femmes de cette cabane de ne nous laisser manquer de rien. Et en effet, elles furent toujours fort fidèles, pendant que nous fusmes là, à nous faire chaudière et nous apporter le bois nécessaire pour éclairer la nuit.

Ce village, comme tous ceux des sauvages, n'est autre chose qu'un amas de cabanes entourées de palissades⁶ de perches de 12 ou 13 pieds de haut, liées ensemble par le haut et plantées en terre avec de grands tas de bois à hauteur d'homme, par derrière ces palissades, sans que les courtines⁷ soient autrement flanquées, mais seulement un simple enclos tout carré, de sorte que ces forts ne sont d'aucune défense, outre qu'ils n'ont presque jamais le⁸ soin de se placer sur le bord de quelque ruisseau ou fontaine, mais [sur] quelque costeau, où ils sont pour l'ordinaire

¹ de lieues en lieues.² monter.³ qu'.⁴ la.⁵ pourrions.⁶ d'une palissade.⁷ cabanes.⁸ de.

that it was time to start. We set out accordingly, ten Frenchmen with 40 or 50 Indians, who obliged us every league to take a rest for fear of tiring us too much. About half way, we found another band of Indians coming to meet us who made us a present of provisions and joined us in order to return to the village. When we were about a league away the halts were more frequent and the crowd kept adding to our escort more and more until at last we saw ourselves in sight of the great village, which is in the midst of a large clearing about two leagues in circumference.

In order to reach it, it is necessary to ascend a small hill, on the brow of which the village is situated. As soon as we had climbed this hill, we perceived a large number of old men seated on the grass waiting for us, who had left a good place for us opposite them, where they invited us to sit down, which we did. At the same time an old man, who could scarcely see and hardly hold himself up, so old was he, rose and in a very animated tone made us an oration, in which he assured us of his joy at our arrival, that we might regard the Senecas as our brothers and they regarded us as theirs, and that, feeling thus, they requested us to enter their village, where they had prepared a cabin for us whilst waiting until we should broach our purpose. We thanked them for their civilities and informed them through our interpreter that on the following day we should tell them the object of our journey.

Thereupon an Indian, who had the office of introducer of ambassadors, presented himself to conduct us to our lodging. We followed him, and he took us to the largest cabin of the village, where they had prepared our abode, with orders to the women of the cabin to let us lack for nothing. And in truth they were always very faithful whilst we were there to attend to our kettles, and bring us the necessary wood to light up during the night.

This village, like all those of the Indians, is nothing but a lot of cabins, surrounded with palisades¹ of poles 12' or 13 feet high, fastened together at the top and planted in the ground, with great piles of wood the height of a man behind these palisades, the curtains² being not otherwise flanked, merely a simple enclosure, perfectly square, so that these forts are not defensible. Besides, they scarcely ever take care to settle on the bank of a stream or spring, but on some hill, where, as a general rule, they are some distance from water. By the

¹ a palisade.

² cabins.

assez esloignez de l'eau. Dès le soir du 12, nous vismes arriver tous les considérables des autres villages pour se trouver au conseil qui se devoit tenir le lendemain.

La nation des Sonnantouans est la plus nombreuse de tous les Iroquois : elle est composée de quatre villages, dont deux renferment chacun cent [cinquante] cabanes, et les deux autres environ trente cabanes, et en tout, peut-estre, mille ou douze cents hommes capables de porter les armes. Les¹ deux grands villages sont environ à six ou sept lieues l'un de l'autre, et tous deux à six ou sept lieues du bord du lac ; [les terres entre le lac et le grand village le plus à l'orient, où j'allois, sont la plus grande part de belles grandes prairies où l'herbe est aussi haute que moy ; et dans les lieux où il y a des bois, ce sont des chesnes si clairs qu'on y pourroit facilement courir à cheval, et ce pays clair dure, à ce qu'on nous dit, vers l'est, plus de cent lieues. Pour ce qui est vers l'ouest et le sud, il dure si longtemps qu'on n'en sçait pas le bout, principalement vers le sud, où l'on rencontre des prairies sans aucun arbre de plus de cent lieues de long, où les sauvages qui y ont été disent qu'il y vient de fort bons fruits et des bleds d'Inde extrêmement beaux.]

Enfin, le 13 août estant arrivé, les sauvages s'assemblèrent dans nostre cabane au nombre de cinquante ou soixante considérables de la nation. Leur coustume est, en entrant, de se mettre dans la place la plus commode de celles qu'ils trouvent vides, sans considération d'aucun rang, et de prendre d'abord du feu pour allumer leurs pipes, qui ne leur sortent point de la bouche pendant tout le temps du conseil, et disent que les bonnes pensées viennent en fumant.

Quand nous vismes l'assemblée assez nombreuse, nous commençâmes à parler d'affaires, et ce fut pour lors que M. de la Salle avoua qu'il n'estoit point capable de se faire entendre ; d'autre part, mon interprète dit qu'il ne sçavoit pas assez de François pour se faire tout-à-fait bien entendre à nous. Ainsi nous jugeâmes plus à propos de nous servir de l'homme du père Frémin² pour faire notre harangue, et nous rapporter ce que les sauvages diroient ; et en effet la chose se passa ainsi. Il est à remarquer que le père Frémin² n'estoit pas alors au lieu de sa mission, mais il estoit allé depuis peu de jours à Onontagué³ pour une assemblée qui s'y devoit faire⁴ de tous les Jésuites respandus dans les cinq nations Iroquoises. Il n'y avoit pour lors que l'homme du père Frémin² qui nous servoit⁵ d'interprète.

Notre premier présent fut d'un pistolet à deux coups qui valoit soixante livres, et la parole que nous joignîmes au présent fut que nous

¹ ces. ² Margry writes "Firmin," and Verreau "Fremin." The spelling "Frémin" is preferred. ³ Onontané. ⁴ tenir. ⁵ servit.

evening of the 12th, we saw all the principal persons of the other villages arriving to attend the Council, which was to be held next day.

The Seneca nation is the most numerous of all the Iroquois. It is composed of four villages, two of which contain one hundred [and fifty] cabins each, and the other two about thirty cabins, in all, perhaps, a thousand or twelve hundred men capable of bearing arms. The two large villages are about six or seven leagues apart, and both are six or seven leagues from the lake shore.

The country between the lake and the large village, farthest to the east, to which I was going, is for the most part beautiful, broad meadows, on which the grass is as tall as myself. In the spots where there are woods, these are oak plains, so open that one could easily run through them on horseback. This open country, we were told, continues eastward more than a hundred leagues. Westward and southward it extends so far that its limit is unknown, especially towards the south, where treeless meadows are found more than one hundred leagues in length, and where the Indians who have been there say very good fruits and extremely fine Indian corn are grown.

At last, the 13th of August having arrived, the Indians assembled in our cabin to the number of fifty or sixty of the principal persons of the nation. Their custom is, when they come in, to sit down in the most convenient place they find vacant, regardless of rank, and at once get some fire to light their pipes, which do not leave their mouths during the whole time of the council. They say good thoughts come whilst smoking.

When we saw the assembly was numerous enough, we began to talk business, and it was then M. de la Salle admitted he was unable to make himself understood. On the other hand, my interpreter said he did not know enough French to make himself thoroughly understood by us. So we deemed it more convenient to make use of Father Frémin's man to deliver our address and interpret to us what the Indians should say; and it was actually done in this way. It is to be remarked that Father Frémin was not then at the place of his Mission, but had gone a few days before to Onondaga for a meeting that was to be held there of all the Jesuits scattered among the five Iroquois nations. At that time there was no one but Father Frémin's man, who served as our interpreter.

Our first present was a double-barrelled pistol worth sixty livres, and the word we joined to the present was that we regarded them as

¹ 100 (Verreau and Margry).

les regardions comme nos frères, et qu'en cette qualité nous étions si fort dans leurs intérêts que nous leur faisons présent de ce pistolet à deux coups, afin que d'un coup ils puissent tuer les Loups, et de l'autre les Andostoues,² qui sont deux peuples contre lesquels ils ont une guerre cruelle.

Le second³ présent fut de six chaudières, six haches, quatre douzaines de couteaux et cinq ou six livres de grosse rassade,⁴ et la parole fut que nous venions de la part de l'Onontio (c'est ainsi qu'ils appellent M. le Gouverneur) pour affermir la paix.

Enfin, le troisieme présent fut de deux capots, quatre chaudières, six haches et quelque rassade⁵; et la parole fut que nous venions de la part d'Onontio, pour voir les peuples nommez par eux les Touguenha, situez sur la rivière d'Ohio, et que nous leur demandions un esclave de ce pays-là pour nous y conduire. Ils jugèrent qu'il falloit penser à notre⁶ proposition. Ainsi ils attendirent au⁷ lendemain à nous répondre. Ces peuples ont cette manière d'agir, qu'ils ne parlent d'aucune affaire qu'ils ne fassent quelque présent, comme pour servir de mémorial à⁸ la parole qu'ils donnent.

Le lendemain venu, ils se rendirent tous de bon matin chez nous, et le plus considérable d'entre eux fit [un] présent d'un collier de porcelaine pour nous dire que nous estions les bienvenus chez nos frères. Le second présent fut un second collier de pourcelaine, pour nous dire qu'ils estoient bien résolus d'entretenir la paix avec les François, et que ceux de leur nation n'avoient jamais fait la guerre aux François; qu'ils ne vouloient pas commencer dans un temps de paix. Pour⁹ le troisieme présent, ils [nous] dirent qu'ils nous donneroient un esclave, comme nous le demandions, mais qu'ils nous prioient d'attendre que leurs gens fussent venus¹⁰ de la traite des Hollandois, où ils avoient mené tous leurs esclaves, et que, pour lors, ils ne manqueroient pas de nous en donner un. Nous leur dismes de ne pas nous faire attendre plus de huit jours, parce que la saison pressoit, et ils nous le promirent. Cela fait, chacun s'en alla chez soy.

Cependant on nous traitoit le mieux qu'on pouvoit, et chacun à l'envie nous faisoit festin à la mode du pays. Il faut que je vous avoue que plusieurs fois, j'ay eu plus d'envie de rendre ce que j'avois dans l'estomac que d'y mettre quelque chose de nouveau. Le grand mets, dans ce village où ils ont rarement de la viande fraische, est d'un chien dont ils grillent le poil sur des charbons après l'avoir bien raclé. Ils le coupent par morceaux et le mettent à la chaudière, puis quand il est

¹ pussent.² Andostoués.³ 2^{me}.⁴ grosses rassades.⁵ quelques rassades.⁶ la.⁷ le.⁸ de.⁹ Par.¹⁰ revenus.¹¹ Verreau begins a new sentence with "Après l'avoir," etc.

our brothers, and in this character were so strong in their interest that we made them a present of this double-barrelled pistol, so that with one shot they could kill the Loups, and with the other the Andoustoues, two tribes against whom they wage a cruel war.

The second present consisted of six kettles, six hatchets, four dozen knives, and five or six pounds of large glass beads, and the word was that we came on the part of Onontio (so they call the Governor) to confirm the peace.

Lastly, the third present was two capotes, four kettles, six hatchets, and some glass beads; and the word was that we came on the part of Onontio to see the tribes called by them the Touguenha, living on the river Ohio, and we asked of them a slave from that country to conduct us thither. They decided that our proposition should be considered. So they waited until next day before answering us. These tribes have this custom, that they do not speak of any business without making some present, as if to serve as a reminder of the speech they deliver.

Early next morning they all proceeded to our cabin, and the head chief amongst them presented a wampum belt, to assure us we were welcome amongst our brothers. The second present was a second wampum belt, to tell us they were firmly resolved to keep the peace with the French and their nation had never made war on the French; they would not begin it in a time of peace. For the third present they told us they would give us a slave, as we asked for one, but begged us to wait until their people came back from the trade with the Dutch, to which they had taken all their slaves, and then they would give us one without fail. We asked them not to keep us waiting more than a week, because the season was getting late, and they promised us. Thereupon everybody went off home.

Meanwhile they treated us in the best way they could, and everyone vied with his neighbor in feasting us after the fashion of the country. I must confess that several times I had more desire to give back what I had in my stomach than to put anything new into it. The great dish in this village, where they seldom have fresh meat, is a dog, the hair of which they singe over coals. After scraping it well, they cut it in pieces and put it into the kettle. When it is

cuit, ils vous en servent un morceau de trois ou quatre livres dans un plat de bois qui n'a jamais été frotté d'autre¹ torchon que des doigts de la maistresse du logis, qui paroissent tous escrits² par la graisse qui est toujours dans leur plat de l'épaisseur³ d'un écu blanc. Un autre de leurs plus grands ragousts est de la farine de bled d'Inde cuite à l'eau et puis servie dans un plat de bois avec deux doigts d'huile d'ours, de tournesol ou de noix par dessus. Il n'y avoit pas un enfant dans le village qui ne s'empressast à nous apporter tantost des cannes de bled d'Inde, tantost des citrouilles, tantost d'autres petits fruits qu'ils vont cueillir dans les bois.

Nous passâmes ainsi le temps pendant sept ou huit jours, attendant toujours qu'il revinst de traite quelque esclave pour nous donner, et ce fut pendant ce temps là que, pour me désennuyer, j'allay avec M. de la Salle, sous la conduite de deux Sauvages, voir, environ à quatre lieues vers le midi du village où nous estions, une fontaine⁴ extraordinaire. Elle forme un petit ruisseau en sortant⁵ d'un rocher assez haut. L'eau [en] est fort claire, mais elle a une mauvaise odeur, semblable à celle des boues de Paris lorsqu'on remue avec le pied la boue qui est au fond de l'eau. Il mit⁶ le flambeau dedans, et incontinent cette eau conceut le feu comme pour voir faire de l'eau-de-vie,⁷ et elle ne s'esteint point qu'il ne vienne de la pluie. Cette flamme est parmi les Sauvages une marque d'abondance, ou de stérilité lorsqu'elle a les qualitez contraires. Il n'y a aucune apparence de soufre⁸ ni de salpêtre, ni d'aucune autre matière combustible. L'eau n'a mesme aucun goust; et je ne puis dire ni penser autre chose de meilleur, sinon que cette eau passe par quelques terres alumineuses d'où⁹ elle tire cette qualité combustible.

Ce fut aussi pendant ce temps là qu'on apporta de l'eau-de-vie des Hollandois au village, dont plusieurs Sauvages s'enyvrèrent. Il y eut¹⁰ mesme plusieurs fois des parents de celui qui avoit été tué au Montréal, peu de jours avant que nous en¹¹ partissions, qui nous menacèrent dans leur ivrognerie de nous vouloir casser la teste; et c'est une coustume assez commune parmi eux, lorsqu'ils ont quelques ennemis,¹² de s'enyvrer et d'aller ensuite leur casser la teste ou les tuer à coups de couteau, afin de pouvoir dire ensuite qu'ils ont fait ce meschant coup dans un temps où ils n'avoient point d'esprit. Ils ont mesme¹³ coustume de ne point pleurer ceux qui sont morts de cette manière, de peur de faire de la peine à celui qui est vivant en le faisant souvenir de son forfait. Cependant nous nous sommes toujours si bien tenus sur nos gardes, qu'il ne nous est arrivé aucun accident.

¹ d'aucun.² cuits.³ Verreau ends the sentence with "d'un . . . (?)."⁴ Verreau inserts "assez."⁵ sautant.⁶ Je mis.⁷ pourroit faire l'eau-de-vie.⁸ souffre.⁹ quelque terre alumineuse dont.¹⁰ Il vint.¹¹ ne.¹² quelque ennemi.¹³ Verreau inserts "cette."

cooked, they serve you a piece of three or four pounds' weight in a wooden platter that has never been rubbed with any other dishcloth than the fingers of the lady of the house, which appear all smeared with the grease that is always in their platter to the thickness of a silver crown. Another of their greatest dishes is Indian meal cooked in water and then served in a wooden bowl with two fingers of bear's grease or oil of sun-flowers or of butternuts upon it. There was not a child in the village but was eager to bring us now stalks of Indian corn, at another time squashes, or it might be other small fruits that they go and gather in the woods.

We passed the time in this way for seven or eight¹ days, waiting until some slave should return from the trading to be given to us. During the interval, to while away the time, I went with M. de la Salle under the guidance of two Indians, about four leagues south of the village we were in, to see an extraordinary spring. It forms a small brook as it issues from a rather high rock. The water is very clear, but has a bad odor, like that of Paris mud, when the mud at the bottom of the water is stirred with the foot. He² put a torch in it, and immediately the water took fire as brandy does, and it does not go out until rain comes. This flame is, amongst the Indians, a sign of abundance, or of scarcity when it has the opposite qualities. There is no appearance of sulphur or saltpetre, or any other combustible matter. The water has no taste even; and I cannot say or think anything better than that this water passes through some aluminous earth, from which it derives this combustible quality.

During that time, also, brandy was brought to the village from the Dutch, on which several Indians got drunk. Several times relations of the man who had been killed at Montreal a few days before we left, threatened us in their drunkenness that they would break our heads. It is a somewhat common custom amongst them when they have enemies, to get drunk and afterwards go and break their heads or stab them to death, so as to be able to say afterward that they committed the wicked act when they were not in their senses. It is actually their custom not to mourn for those who have died in this manner, for fear of causing pain to the living by reminding him of his crime. However, we always kept so well on our guard that no accident happened to us.

¹ eight or ten days (O. H. Marshall).

² I.

Enfin ce fut pendant ce temps là que je vis le plus triste spectacle que j'aye [jamais] veu de ma vie.¹ [On me dit un soir qu'il estoit arrivé des guerriers, qu'ils avoient amené un prisonnier et qu'on l'avoit mis dans une cabane peu esloignée de la nostre. Je m'y en allay pour le voir, et je l'ay trouvé assis au milieu de trois femmes qui pleuroient, à qui mieux mieux, la mort de leur parent qui avoit esté tué dans l'occasion où celui-cy avoit esté fait prisonnier.

C'estoit un jeune garçon de 18 à 20 ans, fort bien fait, qu'ils avoient habillé de pied en cap depuis son arrivée et ne luy avoient fait aucun mal depuis sa prise. Ils ne luy avoient mesme pas donné la saluade de coups de baston qu'ils ont coutume de donner à leurs prisonniers, à l'entrée du village, de sorte que je creus que j'aurois le temps de le demander pour estre notre conducteur; car on disoit qu'il estoit des Touguenhas. J'allay donc trouver M. de la Salle pour cela, qui me dit que les Sonnantouans estoient gens de parole et que, puisqu'ils nous avoient promis un esclave, qu'ils nous en donneroient un, et qu'il nous importoit peu que ce fust celui-là ou un autre, et qu'il ne falloit point les presser. Je ne me mis donc pas davantage en peine. La nuit vint et nous nous couchasmes. La lumière du lendemain ne parut pas plus tost, qu'une grosse troupe de gens entrèrent dans nostre cabane pour nous dire que ce prisonnier alloit estre bruslé, et qu'il avoit demandé à voir des Mistigouch.² Je courus à la place publique pour le voir, et je le trouvay desjà sur l'eschafaud où on l'attachoit pieds et mains à un poteau. Je fus estonné d'entendre de luy quelques mots Algonquins que je reconnus, quoyque de la manière qu'il les prononçoit, ils parussent assez difficiles à reconnoistre. Enfin il me fit concevoir qu'il auroit bien voulu que son supplice fust³ différé jusqu'au lendemain. S'il eust⁴ parlé bon Algonquin, je l'eusse entendu, mais sa langue différoit encore plus de l'Algonquin que celle des Outaouacs. Ainsi je ne l'entendois que bien peu.

Je fis parler au Iroquois par notre interprète Hollandois, mais il me dit qu'il avoit esté donné à une vieille à la place de son fils qui avoit esté tué, et qu'elle ne le pouvoit voir vivre, et que toute sa⁵ parenté s'intéressoit [si] fort en sa douleur qu'ils ne pouvoient retarder son supplice. Les fers estoient au feu pour tourmenter ce pauvre misérable. Pour moy, je dis à mon⁶ interprète de le demander pour l'esclave qu'on⁷ avoit promis, et que je ferois [un] présent à la vieille à qui il estoit; mais nostre interprète ne voulut jamais faire cette proposition

¹ Verreau inserts here: "le supplice d'un prisonnier de 18 à 20 ans que les guerriers amenèrent au village sur le soir. Le lendemain de grand matin."

² Mistigouches.

³ eut été.

⁴ avait.

⁵ la.

⁶ notre.

⁷ Verreau inserts "nous."

Lastly, it was during that time that I saw the saddest spectacle I ever saw in my life. ¹[I was told one evening that some warriors had arrived, that they had brought in a prisoner, and he had been put in a cabin not far from our own. I went to see him, and found him seated with three women, who were striving to outdo each other in bewailing the death of their kinsman, who had been killed on the occasion on which this man had been made prisoner.

He was a young fellow of eighteen or twenty years, very well formed. They had dressed him from head to foot since his arrival, and had done him no harm since his capture. They had not even given him the salutation of blows with sticks, which it is their custom to give their prisoners on entering the village. So I thought I should have time to ask for him in order that he might be our guide; for it was said he was one of the Touguenhas. I went accordingly to M. de la Salle for that purpose, who told me the Senecas were men of their word; as they had promised us a slave they would give us one, and it mattered little to us whether it was this man or another, and it was best not to press them. I gave myself no further trouble accordingly. Night came on and we went to bed. The light of next day had no sooner appeared than] a large company entered our cabin, to tell us the prisoner was to be burned, and had asked to see some of the Mistigouch. I ran to the public square to see him, and found him already on the scaffold, where they were fastening him, hand and foot, to a stake. I was astonished to hear from him some Algonkin words, which I recognized, although from his manner of pronouncing them they seemed somewhat hard to make out. At last he made me understand that he would be glad if his execution were put off till the next day. If he had spoken good Algonkin I should have understood him; but his language differed from Algonkin even more than that of the Ottawas. So I understood him but very little.

I sent word to the Iroquois by our Dutch interpreter, but he told me the prisoner had been given to an old woman in place of her son, who had been killed; that she could not bear to see him live, and all her relations were so much concerned in her grief that they could not delay his execution. The irons were in the fire to torture the poor wretch. As for myself, I told my² interpreter to ask for him as the slave that had been promised, and I would make a present to the old woman to whom he belonged; but our interpreter never would make

¹ [the execution of a prisoner of 18 to 20 years of age, whom the warriors brought to the village towards evening, early next morning.]

² our.

disant que ce n'estoit point la coustume parmi eux et que cela estoit trop important. Je le menaçay mesme pour luy faire dire ce que je désirois, mais je n'en pus venir à bout, parce qu'il estoit testu comme un Hollandois, et il s'enfuit de moy.

Je demeuray donc seul auprès du pauvre patient qui voyoit devant luy les instruments de son supplice. Je taschai de luy faire comprendre qu'il ne devoit¹ plus avoir recours qu'à Dieu, et qu'il luy fist cette prière : "Toy qui as tout fait, aye pitié de moy, je suis fâché de ne t'avoir pas obéy, mais si je vivois, je t'obéirois entièrement." Il m'entendoit mieux que je ne l'entendois, par ce que tous les peuples voisins des Outaouacs entendent l'Algonquin. Je ne creus pas le pouvoir baptiser tant parce que je ne l'entendois pas assez pour connoistre les dispositions où il estoit que parce que les Iroquois me pressoient² de le quitter pour commencer leur tragédie, et d'ailleurs, je creus que l'acte de contrition que je luy faisais faire le pouvoit sauver. Si j'avois préveu cet accident, dès le soir précédent, je l'aurois assurément baptisé, parce que j'aurois eu pendant la nuit le temps de l'instruire ; mais je ne pus faire autre chose pour lors que de l'encourager à souffrir patiemment et d'offrir à Dieu ses tourmens en lui disant souvent : "Toy qui as tout fait, aye pitié de moy !" — ce qu'il répétoit les yeux levés au ciel.³

En mesme temps je vis approcher le principal des parents du mort avec un canon de fusil rougy jusqu'au milieu, ce qui m'obligea à me retirer. Les autres commencèrent à trouver mauvais que je l'encourageasse, d'autant [plus] que c'est parmi eux mauvais augure qu'un prisonnier souffre⁴ patiemment le supplice. Je me retiray⁵ donc avec douleur, et à peine avois-je tourné la tête que ce barbare d'Iroquois luy appliqua son canon [rouge sur le] dessus des pieds,⁶ ce qui fit faire un haut cri à ce pauvre misérable et me fit tourner vers luy. [Je vis cet Iroquois qui, d'une main grave et posée, luy appliquoit doucement ce fer le long des pieds et des jambes, et d'autres vieillards qui fumoient autour de l'échafaud avec toute la jeunesse qui tressailloit de joye de voir les contorsions que la violence de feu faisoit faire à ce pauvre patient.

Sur ces entrefaites,] je me retiray à la cabane où nous logions tout plein de douleur de n'avoir pu sauver ce pauvre esclave, et ce fut pour lors que je connus plus que jamais de quelle importance il estoit de ne se point engager, parmi les nations de ces pays icy, qu'on ne sceust leur langue ou qu'on ne fust assuré de son interprète, et je puis dire que le défaut d'un interprète qui fust en nostre main empescha l'entière réussite de nostre voyage.

J'estois en nostre cabane à prier Dieu fort triste. M. de la Salle

¹ pouvoit.

² pressèrent.

³ élevés vers le ciel.

⁴ que les prisonniers souffrent.

⁵ Je m'arrêtai.

⁶ le pied.

this proposition, saying it was not the custom amongst them, and the matter was too important. I went as far as to threaten him in order to make him say what I wished, but could effect nothing, because he was obstinate like a Dutchman, and ran away from me.

I remained alone accordingly near the poor sufferer, who saw before him the instruments of his execution. I endeavored to make him understand that he must¹ no longer have recourse to any one but God, and should offer Him this prayer: "Thou who madest all, have pity on me; I am sorry I have not obeyed thee; but if I live I will obey thee entirely." He understood me better than I understood him, because all the tribes bordering on the Ottawas understand Algonkin. I did not think I could baptise him, not only because I did not understand him sufficiently to know his frame of mind, but also because the Iroquois were urging me to leave him, in order to begin their tragedy; and, moreover, I believed that the act of contrition which I was persuading him to make might save him. Certainly, if I had foreseen this accident the evening before, I would have baptized him, because I should have had time to instruct him during the night; but I could do nothing at the time but encourage him to suffer patiently, and to offer to God his torments, saying often to him: "Thou who madest all, have pity on me," which he repeated, with his eyes raised to heaven.

At the same time I saw the principal relative of the deceased approach with a gun-barrel red-hot up to the middle. This obliged me to withdraw. The others began to find fault with me for encouraging him, the more so because amongst them it is a bad omen for a prisoner to endure torture patiently. I retired² therefore with grief, and scarcely had I turned my head when this barbarian of an Iroquois applied his [red-hot] gun-barrel to the top of his feet, which made the poor wretch utter a loud cry, and forced me to turn towards him. [I saw that Iroquois with a grave and steady hand applying the iron slowly along his feet and legs, and other old men smoking round the scaffold, with all the young people leaping for joy to see the contortions that the violence of the fire compelled the poor sufferer to make.

Meanwhile] I retired to the cabin in which we lodged, filled with grief at not being able to save this poor slave, and it was then I recognized more than ever how important it was not to engage one's self amongst the tribes of these countries without knowing their language or being sure of one's interpreter; and I may say that the lack of an interpreter under our own control prevented the entire success of our expedition.

I was in our cabin praying to God and very sorrowful. M. de la

¹ could.

² stopped.

vint qui me dit qu'il appréhendoit que dans le tumulte où il voyoit tout le village, il y avoit lieu d'appréhender qu'on ne nous fist quelque insulte, qu'il y avoit plusieurs personnes qui s'enyvroient ce jour-là, et qu'enfin il estoit résolu de s'en aller au lieu où estoient les canots et le reste de nostre monde. Je luy dis que j'estois prest de le suivre et que demeurant avec luy, j'avois peine à me tirer de l'esprit ce pitoyable spectacle. Nous dismes à 7 ou 8 de nos gens, qui estoient pour lors avec nous, de se retirer pour ce jour-là dans un petit village qui estoit à demi-lieue du grand où nous estions, de peur de quelque insulte, et nous nous en vînmes,¹ M. de la Salle et moy, trouver M. Dollier à 6 bonnes lieues du village.

[Il y eut de nos gens assez barbares pour vouloir regarder de bout à autre le supplice du pauvre Toaguenha, qui nous rapportèrent le lendemain qu'on l'avoit bruslé par tout le corps, avec des fers chauds l'espace de six heures, jusqu'à ce qu'il n'y eust pas en luy une seule petite place qui ne fust grillée; qu'après cela ils luy avoient donné six bordées de courir par la place où les Iroquois l'attendoient armés de gros bastons enflammez dont ils le stimuloient et l'abattoient à terre, lorsqu'il les vouloit joindre; que plusieurs prenoient des chaudières pleines de charbons et de cendres chaudes dont ils le convoient aussitôt qu'à cause de sa lassitude et de sa foiblesse, il vouloit tant soit peu se reposer; enfin, après deux heures de ce divertissement barbare, ils l'assommèrent à coups de pierre, et ensuite, chacun se jetant sur luy, on le mit en pièces; l'un emporta sa teste, l'autre un bras, l'autre un autre membre, et chacun s'en alla le mettre au pot pour en faire festin. Plusieurs en présentèrent aux François, leur disant qu'il n'y avoit point au monde de meilleur manger; mais personne n'en voulut faire l'expérience. Sur le soir, tout le monde s'assembla dans la place, avec chacun une baguette à la main dont ils se mirent à battre sur les cabanes de tous costez avec un fort grand tintamarre, pour chasser, disoient-ils, l'âme du mort qui pourroit s'estre cachée dans quelque coin pour leur faire de la peine.]

Nous retournâmes quelque temps après au village pour faire par les cabanes la cueillette de bled d'Inde, dont nous avions besoin pour nostre voyage, que les femmes du village nous apportoint, chacune selon son moyen, et [il] nous fallut la porter sur le col six grandes lieues de chemin qu'il y avoit depuis le village jusques au lieu où nous estions cabanés.

Pendant nostre séjour au village, nous nous estions enquis avec exactitude du chemin qu'il falloit tenir pour arriver à la rivière d'Ohio;

¹ allâmes.

Salle came to tell me he feared, in the tumult he saw the whole village was in, there was reason to apprehend some insult might be offered to us; there were many persons getting drunk that day, and finally he was resolved to get away to the place where the canoes and the rest of our people were. I told him I was ready to follow him, and that remaining with him I had difficulty in getting that pitiful spectacle out of my mind. We told seven or eight of our men who were with us at the time to withdraw for that day to a little village half a league from the large one in which we were, for fear of some insult, and M. de la Salle and I came away and found M. Dollier six good leagues from the village.

[There were some of our men barbarous enough to wish to see the torture of the poor Toaguenha from beginning to end. They reported next day that he had been burned with hot irons over his whole body for the space of six hours, until there was not a single spot on him that was not roasted. After that they had required him to run six courses through the square where the Iroquois awaited him armed with large flaming brands, with which they kept urging him on and knocking him down when he would come near them. Many took kettles full of coals and hot cinders, with which they covered him the instant that, by reason of his exhaustion and weakness, he wished to rest for a single moment. At last, after two hours of this barbarous amusement, they killed him with a stone, and afterwards, everyone throwing himself upon him, tore him to pieces. One carried off his head, another an arm, a third some other limb, and everyone hurried away to put it in the kettle to feast on it. Several presented portions of his flesh to the French, telling them there was no better eating in the world; but no one would try the experiment. Towards evening everybody assembled in the square, each with a small stick in his hand, with which they began to beat the cabins on all sides with a very great clatter, to drive away, as they said, the dead man's soul, which might have hidden itself in some corner to do them harm.]

We returned to the village some time afterward to collect amongst the cabins the supply of Indian corn that we needed for our expedition, which the women of the village brought to us, each according to her means. We had to carry it on our necks six good leagues, the distance from the village to the place where we were encamped.

During our sojourn at the village we had made careful enquiry as to the road we must take to reach the River Ohio, and everybody

et tout le monde nous [avoit] dit que pour l'aller trouver de Sonnon-touan, il y avoit six journées par terre d'environ douze lieues chacune, ce qui nous fit croire qu'il n'estoit pas possible que nous l'allassions trouver par là, ne pouvant qu'à peine porter pour un si long chemin que ce qui nous estoit nécessaire pour vivre, bien loin de pouvoir porter nostre bagage; mais à mesme temps on nous dit qu'en allant trouver le lac Erié¹ en canot, nous n'aurions que trois jours de portage pour aller trouver cette rivière, beaucoup plus près des peuples que nous cherchions, que nous la trouverions allant par Sonnontouan.

Mais ce qui nous empescha plus que tout, fut que les Sauvages dirent à notre interprète Hollandois qu'il n'avoit point d'esprit de vouloir aller aux Toaguenha, qui estoient des peuples extrêmement² meschans, qui tascheroient de descouvrir le soir nostre feu et viendroient ensuite la nuit nous tuer à coups de flesches, dont ils nous auroient plus tost couvert que nous ne nous en serions³ aperceus, et [que] de plus 'nous courrions grand risque, le long de la rivière d'Ohio, de rencontrer les Antastoez⁵ qui nous casseroient infailliblement la teste, et que, pour cette raison, les Sonnontouans ne vouloient pas venir avec nous, de peur qu'on ne creust qu'ils estoient cause de la mort des François, et qu'ils avoient bien de la peine à se résoudre à donner un guide, de peur qu'Onnontio ne leur imputast nostre mort et ne vinst ensuite leur faire la guerre pour la venger.

Ces discours se tenoient sans que nous en sceussions aucune chose, mais j'estois tout estonné de voir se ralentir l'ardeur de mon Hollandois, qui ne me chantoit autre chose, sinon que les Sauvages où nous voulions aller ne valaient rien et qu'ils nous tueroient infailliblement; et lorsque je luy disois qu'il n'y avoit rien à craindre en faisant bonne sentinelle, il me respondit que la sentinelle,⁶ estant auprès du feu, ne pourroit⁷ apercevoir ceux qui viendroient la nuit à l'abry des arbres et des broussailles. Enfin, par tous ses discours, il me faisoit voir qu'il estoit espou-vanté; et, en effet, il ne poursuivit plus l'affaire du⁸ guide avec autant d'ardeur qu'auparavant, et d'ailleurs les Sauvages furent embouchez (*sic*). Ainsi, ils nous mirent⁹ tousjours de jour à autre, disant que leurs gens tardoient de revenir de traite¹⁰ plus qu'ils n'avoient pensé. Nous souffrimes¹¹ beaucoup de ce retardement, parce que nous perdions le temps qui estoit fort beau pour la navigation, et que nous ne pouvions¹² espérer d'hiverner dans aucune nation si nous tardions plus longtemps, ce que M. de la Salle regardoit comme une mort assurée à cause que nous

¹ Erié.² entièrement.³ nous nous en fussions.⁴ Verreau inserts "que."⁷ pouvaient.⁵ Anastois (Verreau suggests "Andastois").⁸ de.⁹ tenaient.¹⁰ traiter.¹¹ souffrions.¹² pourrions.

[had] told us that in order to get to it from Seneca, it was six days' journey by land of about twelve leagues each. This made us think it was not possible for us to get to it that way, as we could hardly carry anything for so long a journey but the mere necessities of life—carrying our baggage being out of the question. But at the same time we were told that in going to Lake Erie by canoe we should have only three days' portage to get to that river, much nearer the tribes we were seeking than we should find it going by Seneca.

But what prevented us more than all was that the Indians told our Dutch interpreter he had no sense to wish to go to the Toaguenha, who were an extremely wicked people, that would endeavor to discover our fire in the evening, and afterwards come in the night and kill us with their arrows, with which they would have us covered before we could perceive them; that furthermore, we ran a great risk along the Ohio River of encountering the Antastoez, who would unquestionably break our heads; that for this reason the Senecas were unwilling to come with us, for fear people might think they were the cause of the Frenchmen's death, and they had much difficulty in making up their minds to give us a guide, for fear Onontio should impute our death to them and afterward come to make war upon them in order to avenge it.

This kind of talk was going on without our knowing anything about it, but I was quite astonished to see the ardor of my Dutchman abating, who kept dinning into my ears that the Indians, where we wished to go, were no good and would kill us without fail. When I told him there was nothing to fear as long as we kept proper sentry, he answered me that the sentry, being near the fire, would not be able to perceive those coming in the night under cover of the trees and underbrush. In short, by all his talk, he showed me he was frightened. In fact, he no longer prosecuted the business of the guide with as much ardor as before, and, moreover, the Indians were given the cue (*sic*). So they kept putting us off from day to day, saying that their people were slower in returning from trade than they expected. We suffered a great deal from this delay, because we were losing the favorable season for navigation, and could not hope to winter with any tribe if we delayed longer, a contingency that M. de la Salle regarded as certain death, because we

n'estions ¹point assurés de vivre dans les bois; cependant nous avons, grâce à Dieu, expérimenté le contraire.

Nous fûmes retirés de toutes ces peines par l'arrivée d'un Sauvage qui venoit des Hollandois et cabana au lieu où nous estions. Il estoit d'un village d'Iroquois des Cinq Nations ramassées au bout du lac Ontario, pour la commodité de la chasse du chevreuil et de l'ours qui est abondante en ce lieu là. Ce sauvage nous assura que nous n'aurions aucune peine à trouver un conducteur, et qu'il y avoit quantité d'esclaves des nations où nous désirions aller,² et que très-volontiers il nous y conduiroit. Nous crûmes qu'il estoit bon de prendre ce party, tant parce que nous faisons toujours notre route et nous approchions du lieu où nous voulions aller, que parce que, le³ village n'estant que de 18 ou 20 cabanes, nous nous persuadâmes que nous en serions [plus] facilement les maîtres, et que nous leur ferions faire par crainte une partie de ce qu'ils ne voudroient pas faire par amitié.

Sur cette espérance [là,] nous quittâmes les Sonnontouans. Nous trouvâmes une rivière large d'un demi-quart de lieue et extrêmement⁴ rapide, qui est la descharge ou communication du lac Érié⁵ avec le lac Ontario. La profondeur de ce fleuve (car c'est proprement celui de Saint-Laurent) est prodigieuse en cet endroit; car, dès l'abord, il y a 15 ou 16 brasses d'eau, ce que nous expérimentâmes en tendant notre ligne. Cette descharge [peut avoir 40 lieues de chemin et] contient, à 10 ou 12 lieues de son embouchure dans le lac Ontario, une des plus belles cataractes ou cheutes d'eau qui soient au monde; car tous les Sauvages à qui j'en ay parlé disoient⁶ que le fleuve tomboit en cet endroit d'un rocher plus haut que ne⁷ sont les plus hauts pins, c'est-à-dire d'environ 200 pieds. Aussi l'entendîmes-nous du lieu où nous estions, mais cette cheute donne une telle impulsion⁸ à l'eau que, quoy que nous en fussions à 10 ou 12 lieues, l'eau est si rapide qu'à grand'peine la peut-on remonter à l'aviron; [et à un quart de lieue de l'embouchure où nous estions, elle commence à estre retirée et à continuer son lit entre deux rochers escarpez extrêmement hauts, ce qui me fait croire qu'elle seroit difficilement navigable jusques auprès du saut. Pour ce qui est au-dessus du saut, l'eau tire de fort loin dans ce précipice, et très-souvent, des cerfs et des biches, des eslans et des chevreuils, se laissent attirer à un tel point en traversant cette rivière, qu'ils se trouvent obligés à faire le saut et à se voir envelopper dans cet horrible gouffre.]

L'envie que nous avons de nous rendre à notre petit village appelé

¹ pas. (Instead of the following word Verreau suggests "habitués.")

² souhaitions d'aller.

³ ce.

⁴ entièrement.

⁵ Erie.

⁶ m'ont dit.

⁷ Verreau inserts "le."

⁸ impression.

38^a



NIAGARA FALLS, AS FIRST SEEN BY EUROPEANS, 1679-1680.

From the picture in Hennepin.

were not certain of being able to subsist in the woods. However, thank God, we experienced the contrary.

We were extricated from all these difficulties by the arrival of an Indian who came from the Dutch and camped at the place where we were. He was from a village of Iroquois of the Five Nations, collected at the end of Lake Ontario for the convenience of hunting roebuck and bear, which are plentiful at that place. This Indian assured us we should have no difficulty in finding a guide; there were a number of slaves there from the nations to which we desired to go, and he would willingly take us there. We thought it well to adopt this course, both because we were always making headway and nearing the place we wished to go to, and because, the village consisting of only eighteen or twenty cabins, we persuaded ourselves we should [all the more] easily become its masters and make them do through fear a part of what they would not be willing to do for friendship.

In that hope, we quitted the Senecas. We discovered a river one-eighth of a league wide and extremely rapid, which is the outlet or communication from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. The depth of this stream (for it is properly the River St. Lawrence) is prodigious at this spot; for at the very shore there are 15 or 16 fathoms of water, which fact we proved by dropping our line. This outlet [may be 40 leagues in length, and] contains, at a distance of 10 or 12 leagues from its mouth in Lake Ontario, one of the finest cataracts or water-falls in the world; for all the Indians to whom I have spoken about it said the river fell in that place from a rock higher than the tallest pine trees; that is, about two hundred feet. In fact, we heard it from where we were. But this fall gives such an impulse to the water that, although we were 10 or 12 leagues away, the water is so rapid that one can with great difficulty row up against it. [At a quarter of a league from the mouth, where we were, it begins to contract and to continue its channel between two steep and very high rocks, which makes me think it would be navigable with difficulty as far as the neighborhood of the falls. As to the part above the falls, the water draws from a considerable distance into that precipice, and very often stags and hinds, elks and roebucks, suffer themselves to be drawn along so far in crossing this river that they find themselves compelled to take the leap¹ and to see themselves swallowed up in that horrible gulf.]

Our desire to go on to our little village called Ganastogué

¹ or : to shoot the cataract

Ganastogué Sonontoua Outinaouatoua nous empescha d'aller voir cette merveille, [que je tiens d'autant plus grande que le fleuve de Saint-Laurent est un des plus grands du monde]. Je vous laisse à penser si ce n'est pas une belle cascade de voir toute l'eau¹ de ce grand fleuve, qui à son embouchure a trois lieues de large, se précipiter de deux cents pieds de haut avec un bruit qu'on entend non seulement du lieu où nous estions, qui en est à dix ou douze lieues ; mais encore de l'autre costé du lac Ontario, vis-à-vis de cette embouchure, dont² M. Trouvé m'a dit l'avoir entendu. Nous passâmes dans³ cette rivière, et enfin, au bout de cinq jours de marche, nous arrivâmes au bout du lac Ontario, où est une belle grande anse de sable, au fond de laquelle est l'embouchure d'un autre petit lac qui se⁴ discharge, dans lequel nos guides nous firent entrer environ demi-lieue, et puis descharger nos canots dans l'endroit le plus proche du village, qui en est pourtant à cinq ou six bonnes lieues.

Ce fut en ce lieu-là qu'en attendant que les considérables du village vinssent⁵ nous trouver avec du monde pour emporter nostre bagage, M. de la Salle, allant à la chasse, en rapporta une grosse fièvre qui le mit en peu de jours fort bas. Quelques-uns disent que ce fut à la vue de trois gros serpents à sonnette qu'il trouva dans son chemin montant à un rocher que la fièvre le prit. Enfin, il est certain que c'est une⁶ fort laide vision ; car ces animaux ne sont pas craintifs comme les autres serpents, mais attendent une homme⁷ se mettant d'abord en défense et se pliant la moitié du corps, depuis la queue jusques au milieu, comme si c'estoit un câble, et tenant le reste du corps tout droit, et s'eslançant quelquefois jusqu'à trois ou quatre⁸ pas, faisant toujours grand bruit de la sonnette qu'ils portent au bout de leur⁹ queue. Il y en a¹⁰ quantité en ce lieu là, gros comme le bras, de six ou¹¹ sept pieds de long, tout noirs ; la sonnette qu'ils portent¹² au bout de la queue, et qu'ils agitent¹³ fort viste, rend un son pareil à celui que feroient plusieurs graines de melon ou de citrouille renfermées dans une boiste.

Enfin, après trois jours d'attente, les considérables et presque tout le monde du village vinrent nous trouver. Nous tinsmes le conseil dans nostre cabane, où mon Hollandois réussit mieux que nous n'avions fait au grand village. Nous fismes deux présents pour avoir deux esclaves et un troisieme pour faire porter nos hardes au village. Les Sauvages nous firent deux présents : le premier de quatorze ou quinze peaux de chevreuil passées, pour nous dire qu'ils nous alloient mener à leur village, mais qu'ils n'y estoient¹⁴ qu'une poignée de monde incapable de nous

¹ l'étendue² où.³ donc.⁴ s'y.⁵ vinrent.⁶ très.⁷ Verreau inserts

"de pied ferme."

⁸ fois.⁹ la.¹⁰ Verreau inserts "en."¹¹ à.¹² il porte.¹³ il agite.¹⁴ n'étaient.

Sonontoua Outinaouatoua prevented our going to see that wonder, [which I regarded as so much the greater, as the River St. Lawrence is one of the largest in the world.] I leave you to imagine if it is not a beautiful cascade, to see all the water¹ of this great river, which at its mouth is three leagues in width, precipitate itself from a height of two hundred feet with a roar that is heard not only from the place where we were, ten or twelve leagues distant, but actually from the other side of Lake Ontario, opposite this mouth, from which M. Trouvé told me he had heard it. We passed this river, accordingly, and at last, after five days' voyage, arrived at the end of Lake Ontario, where there is a fine large sandy bay, at the bottom of which is the outlet of another little lake discharging itself. This our guides made us enter about half a league, and then unload our canoes at the place nearest the village, which is, however, five or six good leagues away.

It was at that place, whilst waiting for the principal persons of the village to come to us with some men to carry our baggage, that M. de la Salle, having gone hunting, brought back a high fever which pulled him down a great deal in a few days. Some say it was at the sight of three large rattlesnakes he found in his path whilst climbing a rock that the fever seized him. It is certainly, after all, a very ugly sight; for these animals are not timid like other serpents, but wait for a man, putting themselves at once in a posture of defence, coiling half the body from the tail to the middle as if it were a cable, holding the rest of the body quite erect, and darting sometimes as much as three or four paces,² all the time making a great noise with the rattle that they carry at the end of their tails. There are a great many of them at this place, as thick as one's arm, six or seven feet long, entirely black. The rattle that they carry at the end of the tail, and shake very rapidly, makes a noise like that which a number of melon or squash seeds would make, if shut up in a box.

At last, after three days' waiting, the principal persons and almost every one in the village came to find us. We held council in our camp, where my Dutchman succeeded better than we had done at the large village. We made two presents in order to obtain two slaves, and a third to get our packs carried to the village. The Indians made us two presents; the first of fourteen or fifteen dressed deer skins, to tell us they were going to take us to their village, but were only a handful of people, incapable of resisting us, and begged us to do them

¹ extent.

² times.

résister, et qu'ils nous prioient de ne leur point faire de mal et de ne les pas brusler comme les François avoient bruslé [les] Agnieronons. Nous les asseurames de nostre bonne volonté. Ils nous firent encore présent d'environ cinq mille grains¹ de porcelaine, et enfin de deux esclaves pour nous conduire. L'un estoit de la nation des Chaouanons et l'autre estoit de celle des Nez-Perçés. [J'ay creu depuis qu'il estoit d'une nation proche des Poutouatamittes ; au reste], tous deux bons chasseurs, et qui tesmoignoient estre de bonne volonté. Le Chaouanon escheut à M. de la Salle, et l'autre à nous.² Ils nous dirent encore que le lendemain ils nous aideroient à porter nos hardes à leur village, afin d'aller de là nous rendre sur le bord d'une rivière où nous pourrions nous embarquer pour entrer dans le lac Érié.³

Nous fusmes les plus contents du monde des habitans de ce petit village, qui nous régalerent de leur mieux, et M. Dollier ne pouvoit contenir la joye qu'il avoit de se voir en si beau chemin d'arriver bientost parmi les peuples auxquels il vouloit consacrer le reste de ses jours, car il avoit résolu de ne jamais revenir, s'il pouvoit trouver quelque nation qui l'eust voulu recevoir. Nous entretinsmes nostre guide, qui nous assura que, dans un mois et demi de bonne marche, nous pourrions arriver aux premières nations qui sont sur la rivière d'Ohio, dans le⁴ bois, parce qu'il n'y avoit pas moyen d'atteindre aucune nation devant les neiges. Nous dévorions en esprit toutes ces difficultez, et ne faisons estat de rien pourveu que nous pussions aller où nous pensions estre appelez de Dieu.

Nous partismes de ce lieu, avec plus de cinquante sauvages ou sauvagesses, environ le 22 septembre, et nos sauvages, nous mesnageant, nous firent employer deux journées⁵ à faire notre portage jusques au village, qui n'estoit pourtant qu'à environ cinq lieues. Nous cabanâmes donc aux environs du village, ⁶[où nos Sauvages allèrent à la chasse et tuèrent un chevreuil ; et ce fut en ce lieu là que nous apprîmes qu'il y estoit arrivé deux François, au village où nous allions], qui venoient des Outaouais [et en ramenoient un prisonnier Iroquois].

Ces nouvelles nous surprirent parce que nous ne pensions pas qu'il y eust aucun François en campagne de ce costé-là. Cependant deux des plus considérables nous quittèrent pour aller recevoir ces nouveaux hostes, et nous poursuivîmes le lendemain notre chemin avec la fatigue que vous pouvez penser, quelquefois dans l'eau à mi-jambe, outre l'incommodité des fardeaux, que les branches des arbres vous⁷ accrochent et vous⁷ font reculer trois ou quatre pas ; mais enfin on ne sent guères

¹ 500 grains.

² l'autre nous échut.

³ Erie.

⁴ les.

⁵ demi journée.

⁶ [et nous apprîmes là qu'il étoit arrivé au village où nous allions deux Français.]

⁷ nous.

no harm and not to burn them as the French had burnt the Mohawks. We assured them of our good-will. They made us another present of about five thousand¹ wampum beads, and, lastly, of two slaves for guides. One was from the nation of the Shawanons and the other from the Nez-Percés. [I have thought since that he was from a nation near the Pottawattamies; however], both were good hunters and showed that they were well disposed. The Shawanon fell to M. de la Salle and the other to us. They told us, besides, that on the following day they would help us to carry our baggage to their village, in order to go on from there to take us to the bank of a river, where we could embark for the purpose of entering Lake Erie.

We were very much pleased with the inhabitants of this little village, who entertained us to the best of their ability. M. Dollier could not contain the joy that he had in seeing himself with so favorable a prospect of arriving soon amongst the tribes to whom he wished to consecrate the rest of his days, for he had resolved never to return if he could find any nation willing to receive him. We conversed with our guide, who assured us that in a month and a half of good travelling we should be able to reach the first nations on the River Ohio . . . in the woods, because there was no means of reaching any nation before the snows. We devoured, in spirit, all these difficulties, and made no account of anything, provided we could go where we thought we were called of God.

We set out from this place with more than fifty Indians, male or female, about the 22nd of September, and our Indians, sparing us, obliged us to take two days in making our portage as far as the village, which was only, however, about five leagues away. We camped, accordingly, in the vicinity of the village, [where our Indians went hunting and killed a roebuck, and it was in that place that] we learned there had arrived two Frenchmen at the village we were going to, who were on their way from the Ottawas [and were taking back an Iroquois prisoner belonging to the latter].

This news surprised us, because we did not think there was any Frenchman out on service in that direction. However, two of the most influential persons left us to go to receive these new guests, and we pursued our journey next day with the fatigue you may imagine; sometimes in the water up to mid-leg, besides the inconvenience of the packs, which get caught in the branches of trees and make you² recoil three or four paces. But, after all, one is hardly sensible of

¹ 500.² us.

ces fatigues là quand on croit par elles plaire à Dieu et pouvoir luy rendre service.

Enfin, nous arrivâmes à Tinaôûtôûa le 24 septembre, et trouvâmes que le François qui estoit arrivé le jour précédent estoit un nommé Jolliet, qui estoit parti avant nous de Montréal avec une flotte de quatre canots chargez de marchandises pour les Outaouacs, ¹qui avait eu ordre de M. le Gouverneur de monter jusques dans le lac Supérieur pour descouvrir où estoit une mine de cuivre dont on voit icy des² morceaux qui n'ont presque pas besoin d'estre raffinez, tant le cuivre est bon et pur; [après avoir trouvé cette mine, de chercher un chemin plus facile qu'à l'ordinaire pour le pouvoir apporter au Montréal. M. Jolliet]³ n'avoit pu voir cette mine à cause que le temps le pressoit pour son retour, [mais ayant trouvé aux Outaouacs des prisonniers que ces peuples avoient fait sur les Iroquois, il leur dit que l'intention d'Onontio estoit qu'ils vécussent en paix avec les Iroquois, et leur persuada d'envoyer aux Iroquois un de leurs prisonniers, en tesmoignage de la paix qu'ils vouloient avoir avec eux.

Ce fut cet Iroquois qui montra à M. Jolliet un nouveau chemin que les François n'avoient point sceu jusques alors pour revenir des Outaouacs dans le pays des Iroquois. Cependant la crainte que ce sauvage eut de retomber entre les mains des Antastoes luy fit dire à M. Jolliet qu'il falloit qu'il quittast son canot et marchast par terre plustost qu'il n'eust fallu, et mesme sans cette terreur du sauvage, M. Jolliet eust pu venir par eau jusques dans le lac Ontario, en faisant un portage de demi-lieue pour éviter le grand saut dont j'ay déjà parlé, mais enfin il fut obligé par son guide de faire cinquante lieues par terre, et abandonner son canot sur le bord du lac Érié.]

Cependant la maladie de M. de la Salle commençoit à luy oster l'envie de pousser⁴ plus loin, et le désir de voir ⁵Montréal commençoit à le presser. Il ne nous en avoit point parlé; mais nous nous en estions bien aperceus, et d'ailleurs le chemin que M. Jolliet avoit fait avec la nouvelle qu'il nous apprit qu'il avoit envoyé de son monde chercher une nation d'Outaouacs fort nombreuse nommée les Pouteouetamites,⁶ où il n'y avoit jamais eu de missionnaires, et que ce peuple⁷ estoit voisin des Iskoutegas, et la grande rivière qui menoit aux Chaouanons nous fit envie, à M. Dolliet et à moy, d'aller chercher la rivière où nous voulions entrer par le côté des Outaouacs plustost que par celui des Iroquois, parceque le chemin nous en sembla beaucoup plus facile et que nous sçavions tous deux la langue Outaouaise.

¹ Verreau inserts "et."

⁶ Verreau inserts "le."

² les.

⁶ Pouteouatamis.

³ [mais il.]

⁴ passer.

⁷ quelque peuple.

those fatigues when he thinks that by them he is pleasing God and able to render Him service.

At last we arrived at Tinawatawa on the 24th of September, and found that the Frenchman who had arrived the day before was a man named Jolliet, who had left Montreal before us with a fleet of four canoes loaded with goods for the Ottawas, and had orders from the Governor to go up as far as Lake Superior to discover the situation of a copper mine, specimens from which are seen here that scarcely need refining, so good and pure is the copper. [After¹ finding this mine he was to find out an easier route than the ordinary one to transport it to Montreal. M. Jolliet] had not been able to see this mine, because time pressed him for his return; [but having discovered amongst the Ottawas some Iroquois prisoners that these tribes had taken, he told them that Onontio's intention was that they should live at peace with the Iroquois, and persuaded them to send one of their prisoners to the Iroquois as a token of the peace they wished to have with them.

It was this Iroquois who showed M. Jolliet a new route, heretofore unknown to the French, for returning from the Ottawas to the country of the Iroquois. However, the fear this Indian had of falling again into the hands of the Antastoes led him to tell M. Jolliet he must leave his canoe and walk overland sooner than would have been necessary. Indeed, but for this terror on the part of the Indian, M. Jolliet could have come by water as far as Lake Ontario, by making a portage of half a league to avoid the great falls of which I have already spoken. In the end he was obliged by his guide to make fifty leagues by land and to abandon his canoe on the shore of Lake Erie.]

Meanwhile M. de la Salle's illness was beginning to take away from him the inclination to push further on, and the desire to see Montreal was beginning to press him. He had not spoken of it to us, but we had clearly perceived it. Moreover, the route M. Jolliet had taken, with the news he brought us—that he had sent some of his party in search of a very numerous nation of Ottawas called the Pottawattamies, amongst whom there never had been any missionaries, and that this tribe bordered on the Iskoutegas—and the great river that led to the Shawanons, induced M. Dollier and me to wish to go and search for the river into which we wished to enter by way of the Ottawas rather than by that of the Iroquois, because the route seemed to us much easier and we both knew the Ottawa language.

¹ [But he].

Un autre accident nous confirma dans cette pensée,¹ [qui fut qu'après avoir équipé ce Sauvage qui nous devoit servir de guide d'un capot, d'une couverture, de chaudière et de couteau, il arriva un Sauvage de chez les Hollandois qui apporta de l'eau-de-vie, dont ces gens là sont fort friands, et prit envie à notre conducteur d'en boire, lequel n'ayant point de quoy en traiter, il porta son capot pour en avoir dix bouchées d'un baril avec un chalumeau, puis la rendit dans un plat de bois.

Je fus averty de cette affaire qui ne me plut point, parce que notre conducteur ayant traité son capot nous en auroit infailliblement demandé un autre pour passer l'hiver, et nous n'en avions plus de reste; et ainsi je crus que pour nous asseurer de nostre guide, il falloit empêcher cette affaire. Je m'en allay à la cabane où l'on tenoit le cabaret, et y trouvay effectivement notre traiteur à qui je retiray le capot des mains qu'il avoit desjà bien engagé, luy faisant dire que je luy rendrois, lorsqu'il ne seroit plus ivre. Cet homme se fascha si fort de cette affaire qu'il alla quérir tout ce que nous lui avions donné et nous le rendit; mais il ne nous eut pas plus tost quittés² qu'il se présenta un Chaouanon pour nous conduire, que nous prîmes au mot. [Cependant comme cette action avoit fait du bruit, les considérables s'assemblèrent et vinrent nous faire présent de deux milliers de porcelaine pour ne nous point souvenir de ce qui s'estoit passé. Nous le promîmes, et ils nous firent grand festin.]

Si la mission de M. Dollier n'avoit point esté pour les Outaouacs à l'exclusion des Iroquois, il se fust arrêté dans ce village où on l'en pressa tout-à-fait, avec toutes les protestations imaginables, de s'appliquer à la prière tout de bon; mais il fallut passer sans leur pouvoir faire autre bien que de les confirmer dans les bons desseins qu'ils avoient, et leur promîmes que les Robes noires de Kenté les viendroient voir l'hiver prochain; et en effet, nous en écrivîmes à M. de Fénelon qui faisoient³ la mission avec fruit à Kenté, et M. Trouvé nous fit la grâce d'accomplir la parole que nous leur avions donnée, et d'y venir annoncer la parole de Dieu dès le mois de novembre suivant. M. Jolliet nous fit offre d'une description qu'il avoit [faite] de sa route depuis les Outaouacs que j'acceptay, et la réduisis dès lors en carte marine, qui nous a beaucoup ⁴apris pour nous conduire, Dieu nous ayant osté⁵ notre second guide de la manière que je diray après.

Enfin M. de la Salle, nous voyant⁶ dans le dessein de partir dans deux ou trois jours pour nous rendre sur le bord de la rivière qui nous

¹ Verreau has instead of the omitted words, "(c'est que le sauvage qui devoit nous servir de guide s'étant enivré et s'étant fort fasché de ce que je voulus l'empêcher de donner pour cette eau-de-vie le capot, que nous lui avions donné,)"

² n'eut pas plutôt quitté.

³ Fenelon qui faisoit.

⁴ servi.

⁵ été.

⁶ croyant.

Another accident confirmed us in this thought, ¹[which was, that after we had equipped the Indian, who was to serve as our guide, with a capote, a blanket, kettle and knife, there arrived an Indian from the Dutch, who brought brandy, of which these people are very fond, and our guide took a strong desire to drink of it. Not having the wherewithal to trade, he gave his capote in order to obtain six mouthfuls of it from a keg with a reed, and then threw it up into a wooden platter.

I was informed of this affair, which did not please me, because our guide, having traded his capote, would certainly ask us for another to get through the winter, and we had no more left. So I thought, that in order to make sure of our guide, it was necessary to put a stop to this business. I went to the cabin where the bar was kept, and there actually found our trader, from whose hands I took away the capote which he had already virtually pledged, causing him to be informed that I would return it to him when he was no longer drunk. The man was so angry at this affair that] he went and hunted up all we had given him and handed it back to us; but he had no sooner left us than a Shawanon presented himself to conduct us, whom we took at the word. [However, as this act had been noised about, the principal persons assembled, and came to make us a present of two thousand wampum beads so that we might not remember what had passed. We promised, and they feasted us handsomely.]

If M. Dollier's mission had not been for the Ottawas, to the exclusion of the Iroquois, he would have stopped in this village, where he was indeed urged with all imaginable protestations to apply himself to prayers in good earnest. But we had to pass on, without being able to do them any good further than to confirm them in the good intentions they had, and we promised them that the black robes of Kenté should come to see them next winter; and in fact we wrote about it to M. de Fénelon, who was carrying on a successful mission at Kenté, and M. Trouvé did us the favor to fulfil the promise we had given them and to come there to announce the Word of God as early as the month of November following. M. Jolliet offered us a description he had [made] of his route from the Ottawas, which I accepted, and I reduced it at the time to a marine chart, which gave us a good deal of information as to our way, God having deprived us of our second guide in the manner I shall mention hereafter.

At last M. de la Salle, seeing² us determined to depart in two or three days, in order to proceed to the bank of the river that was

¹ [The Indian who was to serve us as guide, having got drunk, and become enraged because I wanted to prevent him from bartering for this brandy the capote we had given him.].

² believing.

devoit conduire au lac Érié,¹ s'ouvrit à nous et nous dit que l'estat de sa santé ne luy permettoit plus de penser au voyage qu'il avoit entrepris avec nous. Il nous prioit de l'excuser, s'il nous abandonnoit, pour retourner au Montréal, et qu'il ne pouvoit² se résoudre à hyverner avec ses gens au milieu d'un bois où le peu d'adresse et d'habitude qu'ils avoient les pourroit³ faire mourir de faim.

Le dernier jour de septembre, M. Dollier dit la Sainte-messe pour la seconde fois dans ce village où nous communiasmes pour la pluspart, tant du costé de M. de la Salle que du nostre, pour nous unir dans notre⁴ Seigneur dans un temps où nous nous voyions tout près⁵ de nous séparer. Jusques icy nous n'avions jamais manqué d'entendre la Sainte-messe trois fois la semaine, que M. Dollier nous disoit sur un petit autel préparé avec des avirons sur des fourches, et entouré de⁶ voiles de nos canots, et nous prenions⁷ le plus que nous pouvions garde de n'estre point veus des sauvages qui eussent pu se railler de notre sainte cérémonie, de sorte que nous avons eu le bien⁸ et l'honneur d'offrir le saint sacrifice de la messe en plus de deux cents endroits où il n'avoit jamais esté offert.

Nous n'eusmes point de peine à persuader à nos gens⁹ de nous suivre. Il n'y en eut pas un qui eust pour lors envie de nous quitter, et on peut dire avec vérité qu'on remarquoit plus de joye dans ceux qui alloient s'exposer à mille périls que dans ceux qui retournoient dans un lieu d'assurance, quoyque ceux-cy nous regardoient comme des gens qui alloient s'exposer à la mort, comme¹⁰ ils le publièrent dès qu'ils furent arrivez icy, et firent beaucoup de peine à¹¹ ceux qui prenoient quelque intérêt à nos personnes. [M. Jolliet me fit bien le plaisir de m'enseigner pareillement le lieu où estoit son canot, parce que le mien ne valoit presque plus rien, ce qui me faisoit résoudre à tascher de l'avoir le plus tost possible que je pourrois, de peur que quelques sauvages nous l'enlevast.]

Nous partismes donc de Tinaouataoua, le 1^{er} octobre 1669, accompagnés de bon nombre de Sauvages qui nous aidoient à porter nos canots et nos hardes, et après avoir fait environ 9 ou 10 lieues en trois jours, nous arrivâmes sur le bord de la rivière que je nomme Rapide, à cause de la violence avec laquelle elle marche, quoyqu'elle n'eust¹² pas beaucoup d'eau, car en beaucoup d'endroits, nous ne trouvions pas de quoy faire passer nos canots qui ne tiroient pas un pied d'eau.¹³

On dit la Sainte-messe le quatriesme, jour de saint François, [et ce mesme jour je demanday à tous nos gens lesquels voudroient aller par

¹ Erie.² pourrait.³ pouvait.⁴ N. S.⁵ prêts.⁶ des.⁷ Verreau inserts "là."⁸ lieu.⁹ hommes.¹⁰ Verreau inserts "en effet."¹¹ Verreau inserts "tous."¹² n'ait.¹³ Verreau inserts "Nous étions 12 personnes et avions trois canots."

to take us to Lake Erie, explained himself to us, and told us that the state of his health no longer permitted him to think of the journey he had undertaken along with us. He begged us to excuse him if he abandoned us to return to Montreal, and added that he could not make up his mind to winter in the woods with his men, where their lack of skill and experience might make them die of starvation.

The last day of September, M. Dollier said Holy Mass for the second time in this village, where most of us, as well on M. de la Salle's side as on ours, received the Sacrament in order to unite in our Lord at a time when we saw ourselves on the point of separating. Hitherto we had never failed to hear Holy Mass three times a week, which M. Dollier said for us on a little altar prepared with paddles on forked sticks and surrounded with sails from our canoes. We took the greatest possible care not to be seen by the Indians, who would perhaps have made a mockery of our holy ceremony. So we have had the happiness and the honor of offering the holy sacrifice of the mass in more than two hundred places where it never had been offered.

We had no trouble in persuading our men to follow us. There was not one at that time who desired to leave us; and it may be said with truth that more joy was remarked in those who were going to expose themselves to a thousand perils than in those who were turning back to a place of safety, although the latter regarded us as people who were going to expose themselves to death; as indeed they announced as soon as they arrived here, and caused a great deal of pain to those² who took some interest in our welfare. [M. Jolliet was kind enough to inform me likewise of the place where his canoe was, because mine was now almost worthless, which made me resolve to endeavor to get it at the earliest possible moment, for fear Indians should carry it off from us.]

We set out then from Tinaouataoua on the 1st of October, 1669, accompanied by a good number of Indians, who helped us to carry our canoes and baggage, and after making about 9 or 10 leagues in three days we arrived at the bank of the river which I call the Rapid, because of the violence of its current, although it had not much water, for in many places we did not find enough to float our canoes, which did not draw a foot of water.³

Holy Mass was said on the fourth, St. Francis' day, [and⁴ that same day I asked all our men which of them would go by land as

¹ with the sails.

² to all those.

³ Verreau adds: We were 12 persons and had three canoes.

⁴ at last, after 8 days' travelling, during which we had to be constantly in the water drawing the canoes, etc.

terre jusques au lieu où se trouvoit le canot qu'on m'avoit donné, parce qu'aussi bien nous ne pouvions pas nous embarquer, douze que nous estions, en trois canots, sur une rivière où il y a si peu d'eau qu'en celle-cy. Mon Hollandois se présenta et me dit qu'il avoit bien compris le chemin pour y aller et qu'il le trouveroit infailliblement. Comme je n'en connoissois point dans notre troupe de plus intelligent que luy, je trouvay bon qu'il m'eust proposé la chose. Je luy dis de prendre notre sauvage Chaouanon et celui que nous avons du Montréal, avec des vivres et des munitions, et de nous aller attendre au lieu où estoit le canot, et que nous le joindrions bientôt.

Ils nous quittèrent ce mesme jour 3 octobre, et nous autres nous partismes le 4 du mesme mois, deux en chaque canot et le reste par terre. C'est chose estonnante combien nous eusmes de peine à descendre cette rivière, car il falloit presque tousjours estre à l'eau pour traîner le canot qui ne pouvoit passer faute d'eau, en sorte que quoyque cette rivière n'ayt pas plus de 40 lieues de cours, nous employasmes huit jours entiers à la descendre. Nous y fismes fort bonne chasse.

Enfin¹ nous arrivâmes, le 13 ou le 14, au bord du lac Érié, qui nous parut d'abord² comme une grande mer, parce que souffloit³ pour lors un grand vent du Sud et qu'il n'y a peut-estre point de lac dans tout le pays où les vagues s'élèvent si hautes⁴ [que de celui-cy, ce qui arrive] à cause de sa grande profondeur et de sa grande estendue. [Sa longueur va de l'Est à l'Ouest, et sa coste du costé du Nord est environ par les 42 degrés de latitude. Nous marchâmes trois journées le long de ce lac, voyant toujours terre de l'autre bord, environ à 4 ou 5 lieues, ce qui nous faisoit croire que ce lac n'avoit que cela de largeur ; mais nous avons esté détrompez lorsque nous avons veu que cette terre, que nous voyions de l'autre bord, estoit une presqu'isle qui séparoit le petit sein dans lequel nous estions, du grand lac dont on ne voit point les bornes, lorsqu'on est dans la presqu'isle. J'ay marqué la chose dans la carte que je vous envoie à peu près comme je l'ay veue.]

Au bout de trois jours, pendant lesquels nous ne fismes que 21 ou 22 lieues, nous trouvâmes un endroit qui nous parut [si⁵ beau, avec une chasse si abondante, que nous creumes ne pouvoir trouver mieux où passer notre hiver. Dès en y arrivant, nous y tuâmes un cerf et une

¹ [Enfin après 8 jours de marche pendant lesquels il nous fallait toujours être à l'eau, puis traîner les canots] nous arrivâmes, etc.

² Érié, qui nous parut du bord.

³ à cause qu'il souffloit.

⁴ haut.

⁵ [propre à y passer l'hiver et nous nous y cabanâmes à l'embouchure d'une jolie rivière. La chasse y fut abondante : nous y tuâmes quantité de cerfs, de biches et de chevreuils, de sorte que nous commençâmes à ne plus craindre de pâtir pendant l'hiver. Nous boucanâmes la viande de 9 grandes bêtes qui eut pu se conserver deux ou trois ans. Nous fîmes] bonne provision de noix, etc.

far as the place where the canoe was that had been given me, as it was impossible for twelve of us to embark in three canoes on a river where there is so little water as in this. My Dutchman offered himself, and said to me that he had thoroughly understood the route to go there and would find it without fail. As I knew none in our party more intelligent than he, I was glad he had proposed the thing to me. I told him to take our Shawanon Indian and the one we had from Montreal, with provisions and ammunition, and go on and wait for us at the place where the canoe was, and we should soon join him.

They left us that same day, the 3rd of October, and the rest of us set out on the 4th of the same month, two in each canoe, and the rest by land. It is marvellous how much difficulty we had in descending this river, for we had to be in the water almost all the time dragging the canoe, which was unable to pass through for lack of water, so that although this river is not more than forty leagues in length, we took eight whole days to descend it. We had very good hunting there.

At last] we arrived, on the 13th or 14th, at the shore of lake Erie, which appeared to us at first¹ like a great sea, because there was a great south wind blowing at the time. There is perhaps no lake in the whole country in which the waves rise so high, [which happens] because of its great depth and its great extent. [Its length lies from east to west, and its north shore is in about 42 degrees of latitude. We proceeded three days along this lake, seeing land continually on the other side about 4 or five leagues away, which made us think that the lake was only of that width; but we were undeceived when we saw that this land, that we saw on the other side, was a peninsula separating the little bay in which we were from the great lake, whose limits cannot be seen when one is in the peninsula. I have shown it on the map I send you pretty nearly as I saw it.]

At the end of three days, during which we made only 21 or 22 leagues, we found a spot which appeared to us² [so beautiful, with such an abundance of game, that we thought we could not find a better in which to pass our winter. The moment we arrived we killed a stag

¹ appeared to us from the shore like, etc.

² "[suitable for wintering in, and we camped there at the mouth of a pretty river. Game was abundant; we killed a considerable number of stags, hinds and roebucks, so that we began to have no longer any fear of suffering during the winter. We smoked the meat of 9 large animals, which could have kept for two or three years. We made]" good provision of walnuts, etc.

biche, et le jour suivant encore deux jeunes cerfs. Cette grande chasse nous déterminâ tout-à-fait de demeurer en ce lieu. Nous y cherchasmes quelque bel endroit pour faire une cabane d'hiver, et nous trouvâmes une fort jolie rivière sur l'emboucheure de laquelle nous nous cabâmes, en attendant que nous eussions fait avertir nostre Hollandois du lieu que nous avions choisy. Nous y envoyâmes donc deux de nos gens au lieu du canot qui revinrent au bout de huit jours, et nous dirent qu'ils avoient trouvé le canot, mais qu'ils n'avoient veu ni le Hollandois ni les Sauvages. Cette nouvelle nous mit extrêmement en peine, ne sachant à quoy nous résoudre. Nous creumes ne pouvoir mieux faire que d'attendre en ce lieu qui estoit fort apparent, et par lequel il falloit par nécessité qu'ils passassent pour aller trouver le canot.

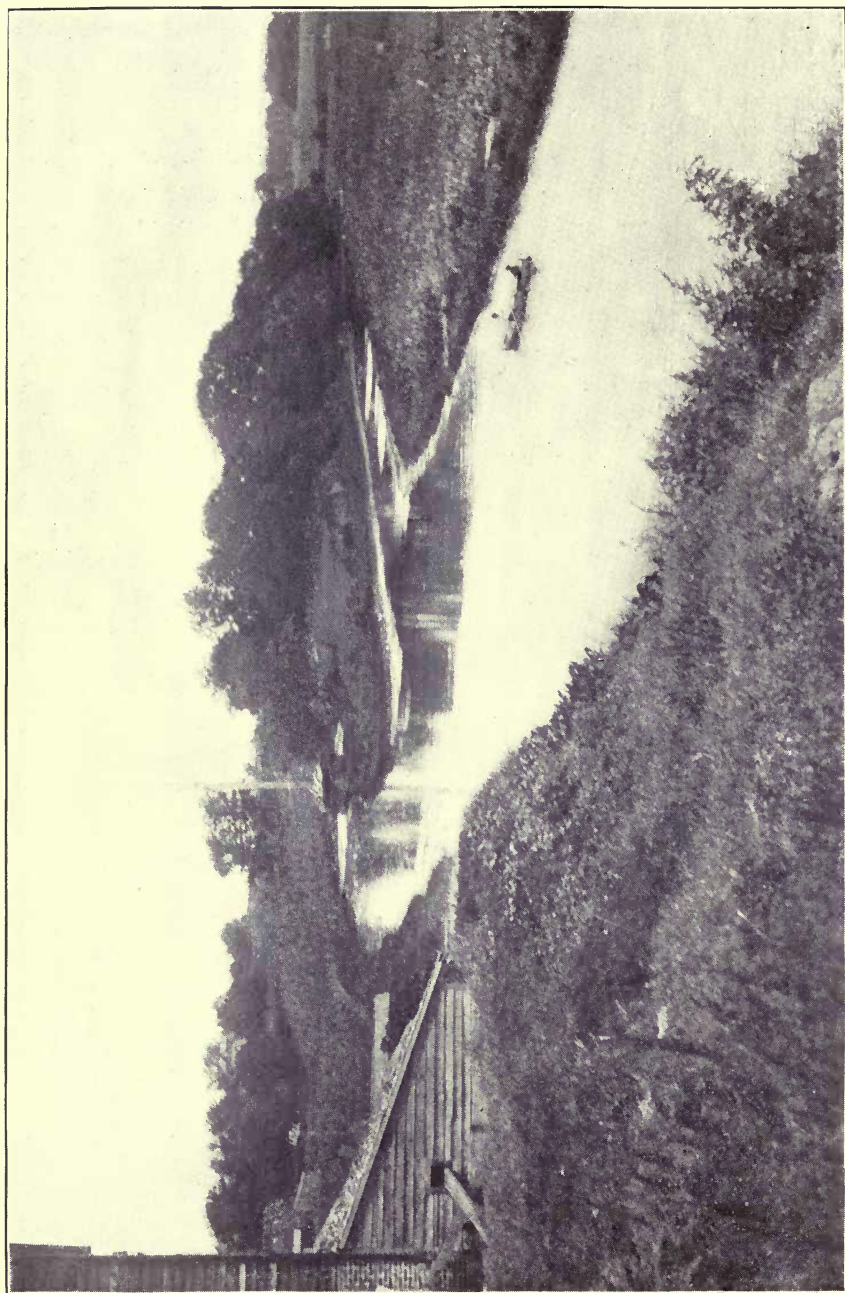
Nous chassâmes cependant et tuâmes quantité de cerfs, biches et chevreuils, de sorte que nous commençâmes à ne plus craindre de partir pendant l'hiver. Nous boucânâmes la viande de 9 grandes bestes, en sorte qu'elle eust pu se conserver pendant deux ou trois ans, et avec cette provision nous attendions avec tranquillité l'hiver en chassant et en faisant] bonne provision de noix et [de] chataignes qui estoient là en grande quantité. Nous avoîs bien dans notre magasin 23 ou 24 minots de ces fruits, outre les pommes, les prunes et les raisins, et les alizes¹ dont nous eûmes abondance pendant l'automne.

Je vous diray en passant que la vigne ne vient ici que dans des sables,² sur le bord des lacs et des rivières, mais quoyqu'elle n'ayt aucune culture, elle ne laisse pas de produire des raisins en grande quantité aussi gros et aussi doux que les plus beaux de France; nous en fîmes mesme du vin, dont M. Dollier dit la Sainte-messe tout l'hiver, et il estoit³ aussi bon que le vin de Grave; c'est un gros vin noir comme celuy-là. On ne voit icy que des raisins rouges,⁴ mais en si grande quantité, que nous avons trouvé des endroits où on auroit fait facilement 25 ou 30 bariques de vin.

[Je vous laisse à penser si nous souffrîmes au milieu de cette abondance dans le Paradis terrestre du Canada; je l'appelle ainsi parce qu'il n'y a point assurément de plus beau pays dans tout le Canada. Les bois y sont clairs, entremeslés de fort belles prairies arrousées de rivières et de ruisseaux remplis de poissons et de castors, quantité de fruits, et ce qui est plus considérable,]⁵ si plein de bestes que nous y avons veu une fois plus de 100 chevreuils en une seule bande, des troupes de 50 ou 60 biches et des ours plus gras et de meilleur goust que les plus savoureux cochons de France. [Enfin, nous pouvons dire que nous

¹ aticas.² du sable.³ qui était.⁴ du raisin rouge.⁵ [Ce pays, que j'appelle le paradis terrestre du Canada, est] si plein de bêtes, etc.

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FORKS OF RIVER LYNN AND BLACK CREEK, PORT DOVER.

The wintering place was a few hundred yards up Black Creek to the right, and about one hundred yards therefrom. (See frontispiece.)

and a hind, and again on the following day two young stags. The good hunting quite determined us to remain in this place. We looked for some favorable spot to make a winter camp, and discovered a very pretty river, at the mouth of which we camped, until we should send word to our Dutchman of the place we had chosen. We sent accordingly two of our men to the place of the canoe, who returned at the end of a week, and told us they had found the canoe but seen neither the Dutchman nor the Indians. This news troubled us very much, not knowing what to decide. We thought we could not do better than wait in this place, which was very conspicuous, and which they must necessarily pass to go to find the canoe.

We hunted meanwhile and killed a considerable number of stags, hinds and roebucks, so that we began to have no longer any fear of leaving¹ during the winter. We smoked the meat of 9 large animals in such a manner, that it could have kept for two or three years, and with this provision we awaited the winter with tranquility whilst hunting and making good provision of walnuts and chesnuts, which were there in great quantities. We had indeed in our granary 23 or 24 minots of these fruits, besides apples, plums and grapes, and alizes² of which we had an abundance during the autumn.

I will tell you, by the way, that the vine grows here only in sand, on the banks of lakes and rivers, but although it has no cultivation it does not fail to produce grapes in great quantities as large and as sweet as the finest of France. We even made wine of them, with which M. Dollier said Holy Mass all winter, and it was as good as vin de Grave. It is a heavy, dark wine like the latter. Only red grapes are seen here, but in so great quantities, that we found places where one could easily have made 25 or 30 hogsheads of wine.

[I leave you to imagine whether we suffered in the midst of this abundance *in the earthly Paradise of Canada*;³ I call it so, because there is assuredly no more beautiful region in all Canada. The woods are open, interspersed with beautiful meadows, watered by rivers and rivulets filled with fish and beaver, an abundance of fruits, and what is more important] so full of game that we saw there at one time more than a hundred roebucks in a single band, herds of fifty or sixty hinds, and bears fatter and of better flavor than the most savory pigs of

¹ suffering.

² cranberries.

³ [This country, which I call the *earthly Paradise of Canada* is] so full of game, etc.

avons passé l'hiver plus commodément que nous n'eussions fait au Montréal.

Nous demeurâmes quinze jours sur le bord du lac à attendre nos gens; mais nous voyant au commencement de novembre, nous creûmes qu'assurément ils avoient manqué le chemin, et ainsi nous ne pusmes faire autre chose que de prier Dieu pour eux.] Nous ne pouvions pas passer l'hiver sur le bord du lac, à cause des grands vents dont nous eussions esté battus. C'est pourquoy nous choisîmes un fort bel endroit sur le bord d'un ruisseau, environ un quart de lieue dans le¹ bois, où nous nous cabanâmes. Nous dressâmes un joli autel au bout de notre cabane, où nous avons eu le bien² d'entendre, sans manquer, la Sainte-messe trois fois la semaine, avec la consolation que vous pouvez penser de nous voir avec notre bon Dieu, au milieu des bois, dans une terre où jamais aucun Européen n'avoit esté. Monsieur Dollier nous disoit souvent que cet hyver nous devoit valoir pour notre éternité plus que les dix meilleures années de nostre vie; on s'y confessoit souvent; on y communioit de mesme. Enfin, nous y avions notre messe paroissiale les festes et dimanches avec les instructions nécessaires; la prière soir et matin et tous les autres exercices du chrestien. L'oraison se faisoit avec tranquillité au milieu de cette solitude où nous ne vîmes aucun étranger pendant trois mois, au bout desquels nos gens trouvèrent en chassant quelques Iroquois qui venoient en ce lieu pour y faire la chasse du castor; ils nous visitoient et nous trouvoient dans une fort bonne cabane dont ils admiroient la structure,³ et ensuite amenoient tous les sauvages qui passaient par là pour la voir. Aussi l'avions-nous bastie de sorte que nous eussions pu nous y défendre longtems contre ces⁴ barbares, s'il leur eust pris envie de nous venir faire insulte.

⁵[L'hyver fut fort rude par tout le Canada l'an 1669, surtout en février 1670. Cependant, les plus grandes neiges ne furent pas de plus d'un pied, qui commencèrent à couvrir la terre dans le mois de janvier, au lieu qu'à Montréal on en aperçoit pour l'ordinaire trois pieds et demi qui couvrent la terre pendant quatre mois de l'année. Je crois que nous fussions morts de froid, si nous eussions esté dans un lieu où il eust fait aussy rude qu'au Montréal, car il se trouva que toutes les haches] ne valoient rien et nous les cassâmes presque toutes, en sorte que si le bois que nous coupions eust esté gelé aussi dur qu'il l'est au Montréal, nous n'eussions pas⁶ eu de haches dès le mois de janvier, [car l'hyver se passa avec toute la douceur possible.

¹ les.

² lieu.

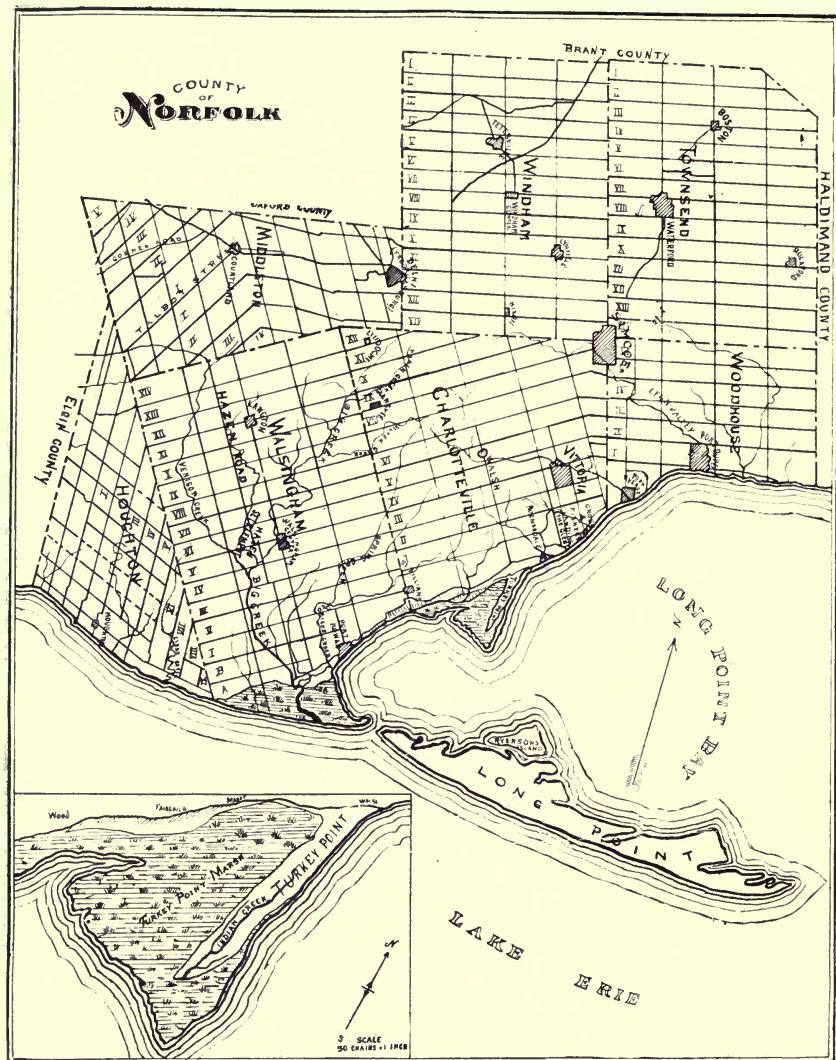
³ situation.

⁴ les.

⁵ [Heureusement l'hiver se passa en ce lieu avec toute la douceur possible. S'il eût été aussi rigoureux qu'au Montréal (en 1669 et surtout en février 1670 qui fut extrême au Montréal), nous fussions morts de froid, car toutes les haches que nous avions] ne valoient rien, etc..

⁶ plus.

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France. [In short, we may say that we passed the winter more comfortably than we should have done in Montreal.

We stayed a fortnight on the lake shore waiting for our men ; but seeing that we were at the beginning of November, we thought they had certainly missed the way, and so we could do nothing else than pray to God for them.] We could not pass the winter on the lake shore because of the high winds by which we should have been buffeted. For this reason we chose a beautiful spot on the bank of a rivulet, about a quarter of a league in the woods, where we encamped. We erected a pretty altar at the end of our cabin, where we had the happiness¹ to hear Holy Mass three times a week without missing, with the consolation you may imagine of finding ourselves with our good God, in the midst of the woods, in a land where no European had ever been. Monsieur Dollier often told us that that winter ought to be worth to us, as regards our eternal welfare, more than the best ten years of our life. We confessed often, received communion as well. In short, we had our parochial mass, holidays and Sundays, with the necessary instructions ; prayer evening and morning, and every other Christian exercise. Orison was offered with tranquillity in the midst of this solitude, where we saw no stranger for three months, at the end of which our men while hunting discovered a number of Iroquois coming to this place to hunt beaver. They used to visit us and found us in a very good cabin whose construction² they admired, and afterward they brought every Indian who passed that way to see it. For that reason, we had built it in such a fashion that we could have defended ourselves for a long time against these barbarians, if the desire had entered their minds to come to insult us.

[The winter was very severe all over Canada in the year 1669, especially, in February, 1670. However, the deepest snow was not more than a foot, which began to cover the ground in the month of January, whilst at Montreal there is usually seen three feet and a half of it, which covers the ground during four months of the year. I believe we should have died of cold, if we had been in a place where the weather was as severe as in Montreal. For it turned out that all the axes]³ were worthless, and we broke almost all of them ; so that, if the wood we were cutting had been frozen as hard as it is in Montreal, we should have had no axes from the month of January ; for the winter passed off with all possible mildness.

¹ opportunity.

² situation.

³ [Happily the winter passed off in this place with all possible mildness. If it had been as severe as at Montreal (in 1669 and especially in February, 1670, which was extreme at Montreal), we should have died of cold, for all the axes we had] were worthless, etc.

Cependant, nous ne laissons pas de souhaiter le temps de la navigation afin de pouvoir nous rendre aux Pouteouetamites de bonne heure, et que je pusse retourner cette année au Montréal, pour renvoyer à M. Dollier les choses dont il auroit besoin dans sa mission.]

Le 23 mars, jour du dimanche de la Passion, nous allâmes tous au bord du lac pour faire et planter une croix en mémoire d'une si longue demeure des François, comme avoit esté la nostre. Nous y fîmes nos prières,¹ et [voyant que là où nous estions estoit presque net de glaces,] nous résolûmes de partir le 26 mars,² le lendemain [de l'Annonciation³].

Mais comme la rivière par où nous avions esté⁴ au lieu de notre hyvernement [n'estoit pas si exposée, ny aux vens, ny au soleil comme le lac, elle] estoit encore toutes gelée, [de sorte qu'il fallut⁵ faire portage de toutes nos hardes et de nos canots jusques au lac où nous nous embarquâmes, après avoir demeuré en ce lieu 5 mois et 11⁶ jours.

Nous fîmes ce jour-là 6 ou⁷ 7 lieues et fusmes accueillis d'un si gros vent, qu'il fallut s'arrêter et demeurer deux jours pendant lesquels le vent continua si fort, que trouvant mon canot que mes⁸ gens n'avoient pas eu soin de bien affermir,⁹ il l'emporta au large si [loing¹⁰ qu'avant que nous nous en fussions aperçus, il estoit à plus d'un grand quart de lieue loin du bord. Deux hommes se mirent dans un autre canot pour l'aller sauver et l'atteignirent en effet; mais la violence du vent faillit à les submerger, joint qu'ils ne pouvoient gouverner leur canot, à cause du mien qui jouoit au gré du vent et qu'ils ne pouvoient tenir, en sorte qu'ils furent contraints de couper la corde avec quoy ils l'avoient attaché au leur pour se sauver. Le vent estoit de terre; ainsy il ne me paroisoit pas bien fort, de manière que je creus qu'ils laissent aller le canot parce qu'ils n'estoient pas assez forts pour l'amener. Je m'embarquay donc avec deux hommes dans le canot qui nous restoit. Nous ne fusmes pas plustost assez au large pour estre à la prise du vent que nous connus bien qu'il n'y avoit pas moyen de sauver mon canot. Ainsy je fus contraint de le laisser aller où le vent l'emportoit et de m'en retourner à terre.

Cet accident] nous mit extrêmement en peine, car j'avois beaucoup de bagage. M^r Dollier, qui alloit pour s'établir, avoit ses deux canots extrêmement chargez. Nous voilà donc à consulter ce que nous

¹ une prière. ² le lendemain, 26 de mars.

his MS. copy, but erased.

⁶ onze (Verreau); dix-sept (Margry).

³ Verreau notes that these words are in his MS. copy, but erased.

⁴ etions allés.

⁷ à.

⁸ nos.

⁹ bien soin d'affermir.

¹⁰ [bien que le vent continuant toujours nous fîmes contraints de l'abandonner quelque effort que nous pussions faire pour le ravoir. (M. Jolliet avoit laissé un canot et me l'avoit donné en m'indiquant le lieu où nous le trouverions, et nous avions envoyé 3 hommes pour nous l'amener.) La perte de mon canot] nous mit extrêmement, etc.



INDIAN CREEK, TURKEY POINT.
On each side is the marsh of tall reeds and quill grass.



WOLFE'S COVE, NEAR TURKEY POINT.
Bank about 150 feet high. Turkey Point seen faintly in the distance.

However, we could not help longing for the season of navigation, so as to get to the Pottawattamies at an early date, and that I might be able to return this year to Montreal, in order to send back to M. Dollier the things he would require in his mission.]

On the 23rd of March, Passion Sunday, we all went to the lake shore to make and plant a cross in memory of so long a sojourn of Frenchmen as ours had been. We offered our prayers¹ there, and [seeing that where we were was almost clear of ice] we resolved to set out on the 26th March, the day after [Annunciation].

But as the river by which we had gone to the place of our wintering [was not so exposed either to the wind or sun as the lake, it] was still entirely frozen, [so that] it was necessary to portage all our baggage and our canoes as far as the lake, where we embarked after living in that place 5 months and 11² days.

We made six or seven leagues that day, and were met by so heavy a wind that we had to stop and wait two days, during which the wind continued so strong that, catching my canoe which my³ men had not taken care to fasten securely, it carried it out so [far⁴ before we perceived it, that it was more than a good quarter of a league distant from the shore. Two men got into another canoe to go and rescue it, and actually reached it; but the violence of the wind came very near drowning them. Unable to manage their own canoe because of mine, which was playing at the sport of the wind and which they were unable to hold, they were obliged to cut the line with which they had attached it to their own, in order to save themselves. The wind was off land, therefore it did not appear to me very strong, so I thought they were letting the canoe go because they were not strong enough to bring it. I embarked accordingly with two men in the canoe that remained to us. We were no sooner far enough out to be caught by the wind than we knew well there was no means of saving my canoe. So I was constrained to let it go where the wind was carrying it and to get myself back to shore.

This accident] caused us a great deal of trouble, for I had a large quantity of baggage. M. Dollier, who was going for the purpose of establishing himself, had his two canoes very heavily loaded. So there we were, consulting what we should do. At length

¹ a prayer.

² eleven (Verreau); seventeen (Margry).

³ our.

⁴ [that the wind still continuing, we were constrained to abandon it, in spite of any efforts we could make to get it again. (M. Jolliet had left a canoe and had given it to me, indicating the spot where we should discover it, and we had sent 3 men to bring it to us.) The loss of our canoe] caused us a great deal, etc.

ferions ; enfin, nous prîmes résolution de tirer un homme de chacun des canots qui restoient, et de mettre mon bagage à leur place. Ainsi, de neuf hommes qui restoient, nous allâmes cinq par terre et deux en chaque canot jusques à ce que nous eussions atteint celui qu'on m'avoit donné.

Nous ne comptions que deux jours de marche pour y arriver ; [ainsi¹ nous résolûmes à en patir un, car le chemin par terre estoit fort vilain à cause de quatre rivières qu'il falloit passer et de quantité de gros fossez que les eaux des neiges et des pluyes avoient creusé en beaucoup d'endroits pour se venir jeter dans le lac, outre la difficulté qu'il y a à toujours marcher dans ces bois, à cause des embarras que causent les arbres qui tombent de temps en temps, soit de vieillesse, soit qu'ils soient déracinez par l'impétuosité des vents ; nous nous mîmes donc en chemin et jugeâmes qu'il falloit aller couper les rivières que nous avions à passer bien avant dans les bois, parce que plus elles s'enfoncent dans les bois et plus elles sont estroites, et mesme l'on trouve pour l'ordinaire des arbres qui, estant tombez de costé et d'autre, forment des ponts sur lesquels on passe.]

Nous nous enfonçâmes [donc² environ quatre lieues dans les bois, chargez de vivres, de munitions et de nos couvertures. Nous passâmes par ce moyen aisément la première rivière ; mais quand ce fut à la seconde, bien loin de s'arrêter dans le bois, elle s'eslargissoit en forme de marais et marchoit dans une grande rapidité. Il n'y a pas de seureté à passer les rivières de ce pays cy à gué, si on ne les connoist bien, parce qu'il y a quantité de terres tremblantes dans lesquelles on enfonce si avant qu'on ne peut pas s'en tirer. Celle-cy paroist fort profonde, aussy elle l'est en vérité. Quand nous fusmes arrivez sur son rivage, nous tîmes conseil de ce que nous ferions, et premièrement nous résolûmes de monter encore quelque temps vers son emboucheure pour la passer en cayeu.

Nous couchâmes cette nuit sur le bord de cette rivière, environ à deux lieues de son embouchure, et ce fut en ce lieu que (nous entendîmes vers le levant des voix qui nous parurent d'hommes, qui s'entr'appellèrent. Nous courûmes au bord de la rivière pour voir si ce n'estoit point nos gens, qui nous cherchaient, et en mesme temps)³ nous enten-

¹ [mais comme il y avait quatre rivières à passer en allant par terre ce chemin fut pour nous très-difficile.]

² [4 lieues dans les bois pour passer la première rivière dans un endroit où elle fût praticable. Nous ne pûmes passer la seconde qu'en (radeau ?) ou nous nous mîmes tous cinq, quoique cette voiture soit fort périlleuse. Il nous fallut un jour pour préparer notre méchant bateau. C'est le jour où nous avons le plus souffert pendant tout notre voyage. Car il neigea épouvantablement pendant 14 ou 15 heures de temps avec un nord extrêmement froid ; dès que la neige eût cessé] nous nous embarquâmes sur notre machine, etc.

³ The words in parentheses are omitted by both Margry and Verrean. They are now supplied from the original MS., except "rivière," which is inserted by the present editor, having evidently been omitted by mistake. The parentheses are, of course, no part of the original.

we decided to withdraw one man from each of the remaining canoes and to put my baggage in their places. Thus, of nine men remaining, we went five by land and two in each canoe until we should reach the one that had been given me.

We reckoned on only two days' walking to reach it, [¹so we made up our minds to suffer hardship for one of them, for the land route was very bad, because of four rivers that had to be crossed and a number of great gulches that the water from the snows and rains had scooped out in many places on its way to the lake—to say nothing of the difficulty there always is in walking in these woods, because of the obstructions caused by the trees that fall from time to time, either from age or being uprooted by the impetuosity of the winds. We set out accordingly, and decided it was necessary, in order to cross the rivers that we had to pass, to go a good distance into the woods, because the farther the rivers run into the woods the narrower they are, and, indeed, one usually finds trees, which, having fallen in every direction, form bridges over which one passes].

We plunged [²then about four leagues into the woods, loaded with provisions, ammunition and our blankets. We passed the first river easily by this method, but when we came to the second, far from stopping in the woods, it widened in the form of a marsh and flowed with great rapidity. There is no safety in crossing the rivers of this country by fording unless one knows them well, because there are a great many quicksands, in which one sinks so far that it is impossible to get out. This river seems very deep, as in reality it is. When we reached its bank we held a council as to what we should do, and in the first place resolved to go on for some time longer towards its mouth, in order to cross it on a raft.

We slept that night on the bank of this river, about two leagues from its mouth, and it was at this place that (we heard towards the east voices that seemed to us to be of men calling to each other. We ran to the river bank to see if it was not our men looking for us, and at the same time) we heard the same voices on the

¹ [But as there were four rivers to pass in going by land, this road was very difficult for us.].

² [Four leagues into the woods to cross the first river in a place where it was practicable. We were unable to cross the second except in . . . (a raft?) on which all five of us put ourselves, although this vehicle is very dangerous. It took us a day to prepare our wretched boat. That was the day that we suffered most during our entire journey. For it snowed frightfully for 14 or 15 hours with a very cold north wind. The moment the snow ceased] we embarked on our machine, etc.

dimes les mesmes voix du côté du Sud. Nous tournons la teste de ce costé là, mais enfin nous fumés désabusés, les entendant en mesme temps vers le couchant, ce qui nous fit connoistre que c'estoit ce phénomène qu'on appelle communément la chasse artus. Je ne l'ay jamais entendu, ny aucun de ceux qui estoient de nostre compagnie, ce qui fut cause que nous y fusmes trompez.

Le lendemain nous arrivâmes à l'emboucheure de la rivière qui estoit fort profonde et rapide et bordée des deux costez de grandes prairies noyées; nonobstant la difficulté du passage, nous nous résolûmes à faire un cayeu pour nous passer tous cinq. Cette voiture est fort périlleuse, car ce ne sont que des pièces de bois liées ensemble avec des harts. Nous fusmes un jour entier à préparer nostre meschant bateau et à le mettre à l'eau; mais c'est le jour où nous avons le plus souffert pendant tout notre voyage; car il neigea espouvantablement avec un Nord-Est extrêmement froid, en sorte qu'il tomba en 14 ou 15 heures de temps un grand pied de neige, et ce nonobstant dès que la neige eust cessé,] nous nous embarquâmes sur nostre machine, l'eau jusques à mi-jambes, et allâmes aborder à une prairie de plus de 200 pas de large qu'il nous fallut passer, chargez comme nous estions, dans la boue, dans l'eau et dans la neige jusques à la ceinture.

Nous poursuivîmes ensuite nostre route jusques au bord du grand lac dont j'ay parlé cy-devant; et contre toute nostre attente nous le trouvâmes encore tout chargé de glaçons, ce qui nous fit croire que nos gens n'avoient pu se mettre dessus. Nous estions pour lors dans la Semaine Sainte et fusmes bien aises de souffrir quelque chose en ce temps pour nous conformer à nostre Seigneur;¹ mais nous avions peur de ne pas² nous réunir à nostre monde avant les festes de Pasques qui s'approchoient.

Cependant nous allâmes les attendre³ sur un sillon de sable qui joint la presqu'isle du lac Érié⁴ à la terre ferme, et qui sépare le grand lac Érié⁴ du petit; comme il falloît qu'ils fissent un portage par dessus ce sillon, nous jugeâmes que nous ne les pourrions manquer. Nous n'avions plus de vivres et nous nous estions retranchés, M. Dollier et moy, d'une partie de nostre portion pour donner à nos gens[afin qu'ils eussent] plus de force pour aller à la chasse, et Dieu voulut qu'ils tuassent un cerf qui nous fit bien de l'honneur, quoiqu'il⁵ fust extrêmement maigre.

Nous allâmes nous cabaner proche de la beste,⁶ et le lendemain nos gens nous trouvèrent en ce lieu où nous revîmes⁷ avec bien de la joye,

¹ N. S.

² pouvoir.

³ les allâmes attendre.

⁴ Erié.

⁵ puisqu'il (Verreau in a foot-note suggests "quoiqu'il.")

⁶ (presqu'isle.)

⁷ nous nous réunîmes.

south side. We turned our heads in that direction, but at last were undeceived, hearing them at the same time towards the west, which gave us to understand that it was the phenomenon commonly called the *hunting of Arthur*. I have never heard it, nor have any of those who were of our company, which was the reason we were deceived by it.

Next day we arrived at the mouth of the river, which was very deep and rapid, and bordered on both sides by large submerged meadows. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the crossing, we resolved to make a raft to take all five of us over. This conveyance is very dangerous, for it is nothing but pieces of wood fastened together with ropes. We were an entire day preparing our wretched boat and putting it into the water, but that is the day we suffered most during our whole journey, for it snowed frightfully, with an extremely cold north-easter, so that there fell in 14 or 15 hours' time a good foot of snow. Notwithstanding this, as soon as the snow had ceased, we embarked on our machine with the water up to mid-leg, and landed in a meadow more than 200 paces wide, which we had to cross, loaded as we were, in mud, water and snow up to the middle.

We pursued our way afterward as far as the shore of the great lake of which I spoke before, and, contrary to all expectation, found it still quite filled with floating ice, which made us think our people had not been able to set out upon it. We were by this time in Holy Week, and very glad to suffer something at that season in order to conform ourselves to our Lord; but we were afraid we should not succeed in rejoining our party before the approaching festival of Easter.

Meanwhile we went and awaited them on a ridge of sand, which joins the peninsula of lake Erie to the mainland, and separates the great from the little lake Erie. As they must necessarily make a portage over this ridge, we decided we could not miss them. We had no provisions left, and M. Dollier and myself had deprived ourselves of part of our share to give to our men, [so that they might have] more strength to go hunting, and God willed that they should kill a stag, which did us much honor, although¹ it was very lean.

We went and camped near the animal,² and next day our men found us at this place, where we met again with much joy, and

¹ since.

² peninsula.

et nous résolûmes de ne point partir de ce lieu que nous n'eussions fait nos Pasques ensemble, ce que nous fîmes avec bien de la consolation.

Le mardi après Pasques nous partîmes après avoir entendu la Sainte-messe, et nonobstant les glaces qui bordoient encore tout ce lac, nous mîmes nos canots à l'eau et marchâmes toujours cinq par terre pendant deux jours jusques au lieu du canot. Comme le froid¹ estoit encore fort rude, les bestes estoient encore dans la profondeur des bois et ne venoient point vers le bord du grand lac. Ainsi² nous manquions de viande et nous fumes cinq ou³ six jours à ne manger qu'un peu de bled d'Inde cuit à l'eau.

Nous arrivâmes enfin au lieu où nos gens avoient mis le canot dont estoit question et ne l'y trouvâmes plus, parceque les Iroquois l'ayant rencontré l'hyver en chassant l'avoient enlevé. Je vous laisse à penser si nous fusmes embarrassés. Nous estions sans vivres, dans un temps fort rude, en un lieu où il n'y avoit pas moyen d'en recouvrer pour lors et sans en pouvoir sortir, faute de canots. Nous ne pusmes faire autre chose que de recommander l'affaire à Dieu, et nous préparer à une grande misère et à une grande souffrance. Nous envoyâmes nostre monde à la chasse pendant un jour, qui ne virent pas seulement une beste. Nous ne pouvions encore lever des escorces pour faire un canot, parceque le bois n'estoit pas en sève et n'y devoit pas entrer⁴ d'un mois et demy, et nous ne pouvions attendre ce temps là, faute de vivres.

Enfin nous estions dans cette perplexité, quand un de nos gens qui alloit chercher du bois sec pour mettre au feu rencontra le canot dont nous avions besoin, caché entre deux gros arbres. Les Sauvages l'avoient placé de l'autre costé d'une rivière et l'avoient si bien caché, qu'il estoit impossible de le trouver à moins d'une grâce de Dieu toute particulière. Tout le monde fut en joye pour cette découverte, et quoyque nous fussions sans vivres, nous creumes d'estre en état d'atteindre bientost quelque bon lieu de chasse, et en effet, [au bout] d'un jour de marche, nous nous trouvâmes en un endroit qui paroissoit fort propre à mettre des bestes⁵ et où il y avoit force gibier, [et] nous⁶ nous y arrestâmes dans la pensée que nous n'y mourrions pas de faim, estant toujours un coup seurs de tuer du gibier assez pour vivoter pendant que les autres iroient chercher quelque beste.

Nos gens allèrent donc à la chasse, et après avoir manqué leur coup sur une troupe de plus de 200 biches qu'ils rencontrèrent, deschargèrent leur colère sur un pauvre loup qu'ils escorchèrent et apportèrent à la cabane et qu'on estoit près de mettre à la chaudière, quand un de

¹ [la saison].

² aussi.

³ à (Margry); ou (Verreau).

⁴ [être].

⁵ Verreau inserts (?).

⁶ Nous.

resolved not to leave the place until we should receive the Easter sacrament together, which we did with much consolation.

On Tuesday after Easter, we set out after hearing Holy Mass, and notwithstanding the ice which still lined the entire lake, we launched our canoes and proceeded, still five by land, for two days, to the place of the canoe. As the cold¹ was still very severe, the game was still in the depth of the woods and did not come towards the shore of the great lake. Thus we were short of meat, and were five or six days eating nothing but a little Indian corn cooked in water.

We arrived at last at the place where our people had placed the canoe in question and we found it no longer there, because the Iroquois having come upon it during the winter, while hunting, had carried it off. I leave you to imagine whether we were embarrassed. We were without provisions, in a very severe season, at a place where there was no means of obtaining any at the time, and without being able to get away for lack of canoes. We could do nothing else than recommend the matter to God and prepare for great misery and suffering. We sent our people hunting for a day, and they did not see so much as one animal. We could not as yet strip bark to make a canoe, because the wood was not in sap, and would not become so for a month and a half, and we were unable to wait that time for want of provisions.

In short, we were in this perplexity when one of our men, going in search of dry wood to put on the fire, came upon the canoe that we wanted hidden between two large trees. The Indians had placed it on the other side of a river and hidden it so well that it was impossible to find it without a special providence of God. Everybody was delighted over this discovery; and although we were without provisions, we thought we were in a condition to reach some good hunting spot soon. And in fact at the end of one day's travel we found ourselves in a place that appeared very suitable to put animals in² and where there was plenty of game. We stopped there in the thought that we should not die of hunger, there being always a certainty of killing game enough to keep body and soul together, whilst the others were off looking for some animal.

Our men went hunting accordingly, and after missing their aim at a herd of more than two hundred does that they came upon, vented their wrath on a poor wolf, which they skinned and brought to camp, and which was just about to be put in the kettle, when one of our

¹ season.

² Verreau inserts in brackets a note of interrogation (?).

nos gens qui estoient au guet nous dit qu'il apercevoit, de l'autre bord d'un petit lac sur le bord duquel nous estions [cabanez], une troupe de 20 à¹ 30 biches. Nous nous resjouismes à cette nouvelle, et après avoir concerté² comme on les pourroit avoir, on les entoura par derrière avec tant de succez qu'on les obligea de se jeter à l'eau. On les atteignit incontinent avec les canots, en sorte qu'il ne s'en fust pas échappé une seule si nous eussions voulu; mais nous choisismes celles qui nous parurent les meilleures et en tuasmes dix, laissant aller le reste.

Nous nous chargeasmes en ce lieu de viande fraische et boucanée, et marchasmes jusques à une longue pointe que vous trouverez marquée dans la carte du lac Érié.³ Nous y arrivasmes sur un beau sable du costé du levant de cette pointe; nous avions fait ce jour là près de vingt lieues. Ainsi nous estions tous fort fatiguez, ce qui fut cause que nous n'apportasmes point toutes nos hardes⁴ jusques sur la terre, mais les laissasmes sur le sable et portasmes nos canots jusques sur la terre.

La nuit vint et on s'endormit si profondément qu'un grand vent Nord-Est s'estant élevé eut le temps d'agiter le lac avec tant de force que l'eau monta de six pieds où nous estions, et emporta les hardes du canot de M. Dollier qui estoient les plus proches de l'eau et auroit emporté toutes les autres,⁵ si un de nous ne se fust éveillé qui, estant estonné d'entendre le lac qui mugissoit si furieusement, alla voir sur le bord si les bagages estoient en seureté, et voyant que l'eau venoit déjà jusques aux hardes qui estoient placées le plus haut, s'escria que tout estoit perdu. A ce cri, on se leva et on sauva le bagage de mon canot et d'un de ceux de M. Dollier. On alluma des escorces pour chercher le long du fleuve;⁶ mais on ne put sauver⁷ qu'un baril de poudre qui flottoit, le reste fut emporté; le plomb mesme fut emporté ou enfoncé si avant dans le sable qu'on ne put jamais le trouver; mais le plus fascheux fut que la chapelle entière fut perdue; nous attendismes que le vent fust calmé⁸ et les eaux retirées pour aller chercher, le long de l'eau, si on ne trouveroit point quelque débris du naufrage, mais on ne trouva qu'un mousqueton et un petit sac de hardes à un de nos hommes; le reste fut perdu sans ressources. Nos vivres mesmes furent tous perdus, hormis ce qu'il y avoit dans mon canot.

Cet accident nous mit hors d'estat d'estre assistez du secours des sacrements et d'en pouvoir assister les autres. Ainsi nous⁹ mismes en délibération savoir si nous devions nous arrester à quelque nation pour y faire nostre mission ou si nous retournerions au Montréal chercher une autre chapelle et d'autres marchandises nécessaires pour avoir des

¹ ou.² consulté.³ Erie.⁴ hardes (Verreau); herbes (Margry).⁵ nôtres.⁶ de l'eau.⁷ put rien sauver.⁸ calme.⁹ nous nous.

men on the look-out told us that he perceived on the other side of a little lake, on the shore of which we were [encamped], a herd of twenty or thirty does. We rejoiced at this news, and after we had arranged a plan for securing them, they were surrounded from behind so successfully that they were obliged to take to the water. They were immediately overtaken with the canoes, so that not a single one should have escaped if we had desired; but we selected those that appeared to us the best, and killed ten, letting the rest go.

We loaded ourselves in this place with fresh and smoked meat, and proceeded as far as a long point, which you will find marked on the map of lake Erie. We landed there on a beautiful sand beach on the east side of the point. We had made that day nearly twenty leagues, so we were all very much tired. That was the reason why we did not carry all our packs up on the high ground, but left them on the sand and carried our canoes up on the high ground.

Night came on, and we slept so soundly that a great north-east wind rising had time to agitate the lake with so much violence that the water rose six feet where we were, and carried away the packs of M. Dollier's canoe that were nearest the water, and would have carried away all the rest if one of us had not awoken. Astonished to hear the lake roaring so furiously, he went to the beach to see if the baggage was safe, and seeing that the water already came as far as the packs that were placed the highest, cried out that all was lost. At this cry we rose and rescued the baggage of my canoe and of one of M. Dollier's. Pieces of bark were lighted to search along the river,¹ but all that could be saved was a keg of powder that floated; the rest was carried away. Even the lead was carried away, or buried so deep in the sand that it could never be found. But the worst of all was that the entire altar service was lost. We waited for the wind to go down and the waters to retire, in order to go and search along the water, whether some *débris* of the wreck could not be found. But all that was found was a musketoon and a small bag of clothes belonging to one of our men; the rest was lost beyond recall. Even our provisions were all lost except what was in my canoe.

This accident put it out of our power to have the aid of the sacraments or to administer them to the rest. So we took counsel together to know whether we ought to stop with some tribe to carry on our mission there, or should return to Montreal for another altar service, and other goods necessary to obtain provisions, with

¹ water.

vivres pour retourner ensuite nous établir en quelque endroit; et cet avis nous sembla le meilleur; et comme le chemin des Outaouacs nous sembla presque aussi court du lieu où nous estions comme par où nous estions venus, et que nous prétendions arriver à Sainte-Marie du Sault où les Outaouacs s'assemblent¹ pour descendre de compagnie, avant qu'ils fussent partis, nous creumes que nous descendrions avec eux plus facilement. Ajoutez encore à cela que nous estions [plus] aises de voir un nouveau pays que de retourner sur nos pas.

Nous poursuivîmes donc notre route vers le Couchant, et après avoir fait environ 100 lieues sur le lac Érié,² nous arrivâmes au lieu par où le lac des Hurons,⁴ autrement dit la *Mer douce* des Hurons ou le Michigane, se descharge dans ce lac. Cette descharge a bien une demi-lieue de largeur et tourne tout court au Nord-Est, de sorte que nous retournions presque sur nos pas. Au bout de six lieues nous trouvâmes un endroit fort remarquable et fort en vénération à tous les Sauvages de ces contrées à cause d'une idole de pierre que la nature y a formée, à qui ils disent devoir le bonheur de leur navigation sur le lac d'Érié⁵ lorsqu'ils l'ont passé sans accident, et qu'ils apaisent par des sacrifices, des présens de peaux, de vivres, etc., lorsqu'ils veulent s'y embarquer. Ce lieu estoit plein de cabanages de ceux qui estoient venus rendre leur hommage à cette pierre⁶ qui n'avoit autre rapport avec la figure d'un homme que celui que l'imagination luy vouloit bien donner. Cependant elle estoit toute peinte, et on luy avoit formé une espèce de visage avec du vermillon. Je vous laisse à penser si nous vengeâmes sur cette idole, que les Iroquois nous avoient fort recommandé d'honorer, la perte de notre chapelle. Nous luy attribuâmes mesme la disette ou nous avions esté de vivres jusques icy. Enfin il n'y avoit personne dont elle⁷ n'eust attiré la haine. Je consacray une de mes haches pour casser ce dieu de pierre, et puis ayant accosté nos canots ensemble, nous portâmes les plus gros morceaux⁸ au milieu de la rivière et jetâmes aussi tout⁹ le reste à l'eau, afin qu'on n'en entendist jamais parler. Dieu nous récompensa aussi tost de cette bonne action; car nous tuâmes dans cette mesme journée un chevreuil et¹⁰ [un ours].

Au bout de quatre lieues, nous entrâmes dans un petit lac qui a environ dix lieues de long et presque autant de large, appelé par M^r Samson le Lac des Eaux salées. Mais nous n'y avons vu aucune marque de sel ¹¹de ce lac; nous entrâmes dans la descharge du lac

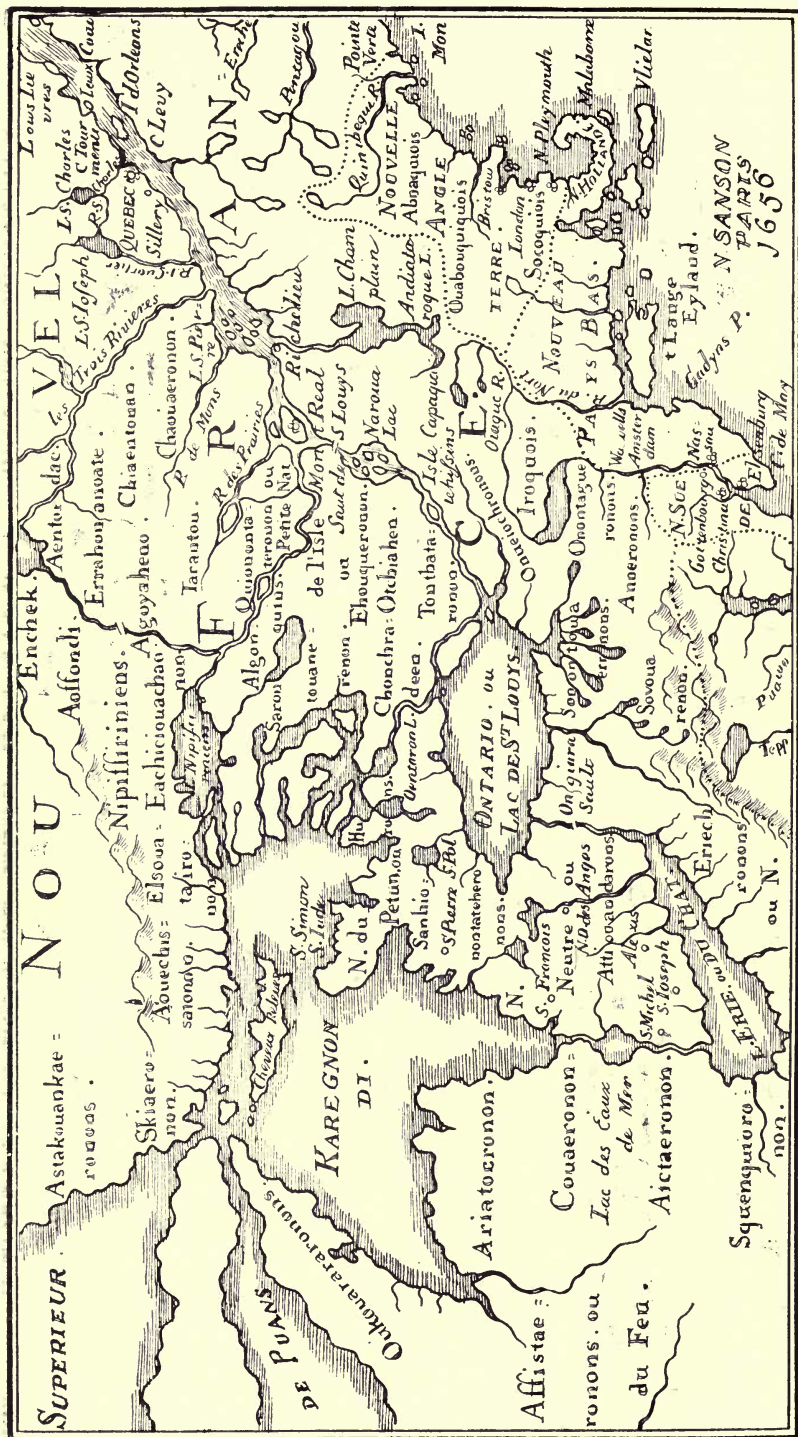
¹ s'assembloient (Verreau, who italicizes "*Marie du Sault*.") ² [plutôt] que de. ³ Erie.

⁴ Verreau italicizes "*lac des Hurons*," as well as "*mer douce des Hurons*," and also "*lac des eaux salées*," and "*Michigane*," below. ⁵ lac Erie. ⁶ leurs hommages à cette idole.

⁷ il. ⁸ le plus gros morceau. ⁹ aussitôt. ¹⁰ [ce jour] au bout, etc.

¹¹ Verreau begins the next paragraph "De ce lac nous entrâmes."

66²



a view to returning afterwards and establishing ourselves in some spot, and this suggestion seemed to us the best. As the route to the Ottawas seemed to us almost as short from the place where we were as the way we had come, and as we purposed to reach Sainte-Marie of the Sault, where the Ottawas assemble in order to descend in company, before they should leave, we thought we should descend with them more easily. Add to this, moreover, that we were [better] pleased to see a new country¹ than to turn back.

We pursued our journey accordingly toward the west, and after making about 100 leagues on Lake Erie arrived at the place where the Lake of the Hurons, otherwise called the *Fresh Water Sea* of the Hurons, or Michigan, discharges into this Lake. This outlet is perhaps half a league in width and turns sharp to the north-east, so that we were almost retracing our path. At the end of six leagues we discovered a place that is very remarkable, and held in great veneration by all the Indians of these countries, because of a stone idol that nature has formed there. To it they say they owe their good luck in sailing on lake Erie, when they cross it without accident, and they propitiate it by sacrifices, presents of skins, provisions, etc., when they wish to embark on it. The place was full of camps of those who had come to pay their homage to this stone,² which had no other resemblance to the figure of a man than what the imagination was pleased to give it. However, it was all painted, and a sort of face had been formed for it with vermilion. I leave you to imagine whether we avenged upon this idol, which the Iroquois had strongly recommended us to honor, the loss of our chapel. We attributed to it even the dearth of provisions from which we had hitherto suffered. In short, there was nobody whose hatred it had not incurred. I consecrated one of my axes to break this god of stone, and then having yoked our canoes together we carried the largest pieces³ to the middle of the river, and threw all⁴ the rest also into the water, in order that it might never be heard of again. God rewarded us immediately for this good action, for we killed a roe-buck [and a bear] that very day.

⁵At the end of four leagues [we entered a small lake, about ten leagues in length and almost as many in width], called by M. Sanson The Salt Water Lake, but we saw no sign of salt [in this lake].

¹country rather than.

⁴threw the rest at once into.

²idol.

³piece.

⁵[That day] at the end, etc.

Michigane qui n'a pas un quart de lieue de largeur; enfin au bout de 10 ou 12 lieues, nous entrâmes dans le plus grand lac de toute l'Amérique qu'on appelle¹ la Mer douce des Hurons ou, en Algonquin, Michigane. Il a 660 ou² 700 lieues de tour; nous fîmes dessus ce lac environ 200 lieues, et eûmes bien peur d'y manquer de vivres à cause que les bestes³ de ce lac paroissent fort stériles. Cependant Dieu ne voulut pas que nous⁴ manquassions à son service; car nous n'avons jamais esté plus d'un jour sans vivres. Il est vray qu'il nous est arrivé plusieurs fois de n'avoir plus rien et de passer un soir et un matin sans avoir du tout de quoy mettre à la chaudière; mais je n'ay point veu qu'aucun se soit descouragé ou mis en peine⁵ pour cela; car nous avons⁶ tellement accoustumé de voir que Dieu nous secouroit puissamment dans ces⁷ occasions, que nous attendions avec tranquillité les effets de sa bonté, dans la pensée que celui qui nourrissoit tant de barbares dans ces bois n'[y] abandonneroit pas ses serviteurs.

[Quoyque ce lac soit aussi grand que la mer Caspie et beaucoup plus grand que le lac Érié, les tempestes ne s'y élèvent pas ny si fortes ny si longues, parcequ'il n'est pas extrêmement profond. Ainsi en plusieurs endroits, après que le vent a cessé, il ne faut pas plus de cinq ou six heures, au lieu qu'il faudra quelquefois un ou deux jours pour attendre que le lac Érié soit calmé.]

Nous passâmes ce lac sans aucun péril et entrâmes dans le lac des Hurons qui a communication avec celui-cy par quatre bouches qui ont chacune près de deux lieues d'embouchure. Enfin, nous arrivâmes le 25 may, jour de la Pentecoste, à Sainte-Marie du Sault qui est le lieu où les R.P.⁸ Jésuites ont fait leur principal établissement pour les missions des Outaouacs et des peuples voisins. Ils ont eu depuis l'an passé deux hommes à leur service, qui leur ont basti un fort joly fort, c'est-à-dire un quarré de pieux de cèdres de 12 pieds de haut avec une chapelle et une maison au dedans de ce fort, en sorte qu'ils se voient à présent en estat de ne dépendre des Sauvages en aucune manière. Ils ont un fort grand désert bien semé ou ils doivent recueillir une bonne partie de leur nourriture; ils espèrent même y manger du pain⁹ avant qu'il soit deux ans d'icy. Avant d'y arriver, nous fîmes rencontre de trois canots de Sauvages avec qui nous arrivâmes au fort des Pères. Ces gens nous avertirent de la coustume qu'ils avoient de saluer ce fort, en y arrivant, de plusieurs coups de fusil, ce que nous fîmes aussi fort volontiers.

Nous fûmes receus en ce lieu avec toute la charité possible; nous y

¹ Verreau inserts "ici."

² 600 à.

³ côtes (?).

⁴ Verreau inserts "en."

⁵ prières (Verreau, who gives "en peine" in the margin).

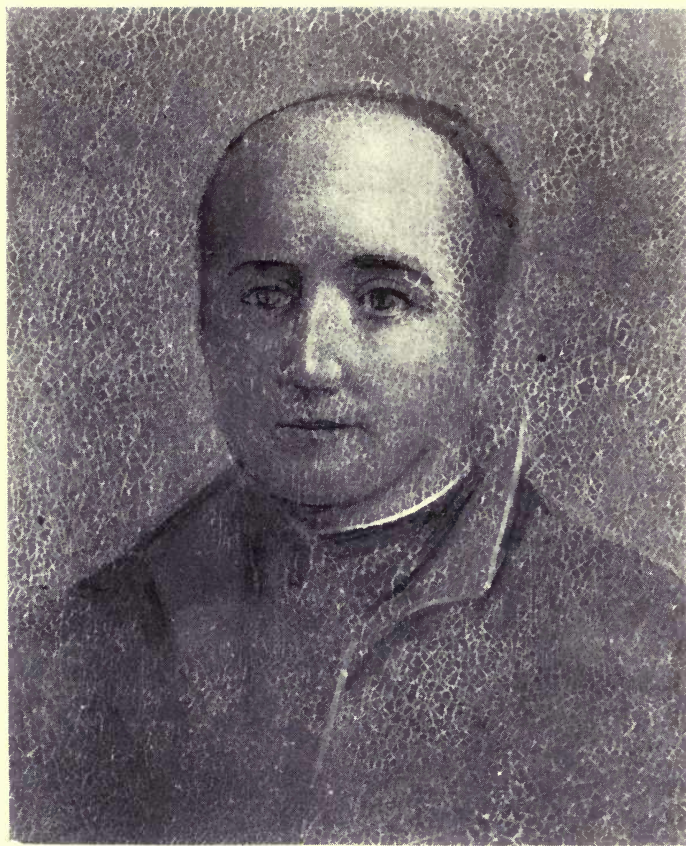
⁶ étions.

⁷ les.

⁸ R.R.P.P.

⁹ des pois (Verreau, who gives "du pain" in a foot-note).

68^{cm}



Jacques marquette

¹We entered the outlet of Lake Michigan, which is not a quarter of a league in width. At length, after ten or twelve leagues, we entered the largest lake in all America called² the fresh water Sea of the Hurons, or in Algonkin, "Michigan." It is 660³ or 700 leagues in circumference. We travelled about 200 leagues on this lake, and were really afraid of being in want of provisions because⁴ the animals of this lake appear very unprolific. However, God did not will that we should lack in His service; for we were never more than a day without food. It is true that we happened several times to have nothing left, and to pass an evening and a morning without having anything whatever to put in the kettle; but I did not see that anyone became discouraged or troubled⁵ on that account. For we were so accustomed to see God aiding us mightily on these occasions, that we awaited with tranquillity the effects of His bounty, in the thought that He who nourished so many barbarians in these woods would not abandon His servants.

[Although this lake is as large as the Caspian sea, and much larger than Lake Erie, storms do not arise in it either so violent or so long, because it is not very deep. Thus in many places, after the wind has gone down, it does not require more than five or six hours, whilst it will be necessary sometimes to wait one or two days until Lake Erie is calmed down.]

We crossed this lake without any danger and entered the Lake of the Hurons, which communicates with it by four mouths, each of them nearly two leagues in width. At last we arrived on the 25th May, the Day of Pentecost, at Sainte-Marie of the Sault, the place where the Reverend Jesuit Fathers have made their principal establishment for the Missions of the Ottawas and neighboring tribes. They have had two men in their service since last year, who have built them a pretty fort, that is to say, a square of cedar posts twelve feet high, with a chapel and house inside the fort so that now they see themselves in the condition of not being dependent in any way on the Indians. They have a large clearing well planted, from which they ought to gather a good part of their sustenance; they are even hoping to eat bread⁶ there within two years from now. Before arriving here, we fell in with three canoes of Indians, with whom we arrived at the fort of the Fathers. These men informed us of the custom they had when they reached the fort, of saluting it with several gunshots, which we also did very gladly.

We were received at this place with all possible charity. We

¹ From this lake we entered, etc.

² called here.

³ 600.

⁴ because the coasts (?) of this lake appear very barren.

⁵ or put to prayers on that account.

⁶ to eat peas.

assistasmes à une partie des vespres le jour de la Pentecoste, et les deux jours suivans, nous fismes nos dévotions avec d'autant plus de joye qu'il y avoit près d'un mois et demi que nous n'avions pu avoir ce bien.

Le fruit que font icy ces¹ Pères est plus pour les François, qui y sont souvent au nombre de 20 ou 25, que pour les Sauvages; car quoy-qu'il y [en] ait quelques-uns de baptisez, il n'y en a pourtant pas d'assez bon² Catholique pour pouvoir assister à l'office divin qui s'y fait pour les François qui chantent la grande messe et vespres, les festes et dimanches. Les Pères ont sur ce sujet une pratique qui me semble assez extraordinaire, qui est qu'ils baptisent les adultes hors du péril de mort, lorsqu'ils ont tesmoigné quelque bonne volonté pour le Christianisme avant qu'ils soient capables ny de se confesser, ny d'assister à la Sainte-Messe ou [d']accomplir les autres commandemens de l'Église, en sorte qu'à la Pointe du Saint-Esprit, qui est un lieu au fond du lac Supérieur où les restes des Hurons se sont retirez après l'incendie de leurs villages, le Père qui passa l'hiver avec eux m'a dit que, quoy qu'il y en eust une grande partie qui avoient esté baptisez lorsque les Pères avoient esté aux Hurons, il n'avoit pourtant jamais osé dire la messe devant eux, parceque ces gens regardent cette action comme une jonglerie ou sorcellerie.

Je ne vis point de marque particulière du Christianisme parmi ces³ Sauvages de ce lieu ny dans aucun autre pays des Outaouacs, qu'une femme de la nation des Amikoues qui avoit esté instruite autrefois dans les habitations Françaises, qui estant, à ce qu'elle pensoit,⁴ en danger de mort, pria M. Dollier d'avoir pitié d'elle. Il la⁵ fit ressouvenir de ses anciennes instructions et de l'obligation où elle estoit de se confesser, si elle avoit offensé Dieu depuis sa dernière confession, dont il y avoit fort longtemps, et la confessa avec de grands tesmoignages de joye de part et d'autre.

Quand nous fusmes chez les Pères, nous estions encore à plus de 300 lieues de⁶ Montréal où nous voulions pourtant nous rendre bientost, afin de pouvoir retourner de bonne heure dans quelques-unes⁷ des nations des Outaouacs et y hiverner, et le printemps ensuivant⁸ aller chercher la rivière d'Ohio et les peuples qui y sont establis pour y porter l'Évangile.

Nous apprismes qu'il estoit party depuis deux jours une troupe de 30 canots Outaouacs pour le Montréal, et qu'il y en avoit encore une autre de Kilistinons⁹ qui devoit bientost s'y en aller. Comme nous n'estions point certains en quel temps ces derniers devoient venir et que

¹ les (Verreau has these two lines, from "*fruit*" to "*Sauvages*," in italics, as well as the words "*y ait*." ² un qui soit assez bon, etc. (Verreau also italicizes the words

"*bon*" to "*divin*."

³ les.

⁴ paraissoit.

⁵ elle, et la.

⁶ du.

⁷ quelqu'une.

⁸ suivant.

⁹ un autre de Kilistinous.

were present at a portion of vespers on the day of Pentecost, and the two following days. We received the communion with so much the more joy, inasmuch as for nearly a month and a half we had not been able to enjoy this blessing.

The fruit these Fathers are producing here is more for the French, who are here often to the number of 20 or 25, than for the Indians; for although there are some who have been baptized, there are none yet that are good enough Catholics to be able to attend divine service, which is held for the French, who sing high mass and vespers on saints' days and Sundays. The Fathers have, in this connection, a practice which seems to me rather extraordinary, which is, that they baptize adults not in danger of death, when they have manifested any good-will toward Christianity, before they are capable either of confessing or of attending Holy Mass, or keeping the other commandments of the Church; so that at Pointe du Saint-Esprit, a place at the head of Lake Superior, where the remnant of the Hurons retired after the burning of their villages, the Father who passed the winter with them told me that although there was a large portion of them who had been baptized when the Fathers had been amongst the Hurons; he had never yet ventured to say Mass before them, because these people regard this service as jugglery or witchcraft.

I saw no particular sign of Christianity amongst the Indians of this place, nor in any other country of the Ottawas, except one woman of the nation of the Amikoues, who had been instructed formerly at the French settlements, and who, being as she thought¹ in danger of death, begged M. Dollier to have pity on her. He reminded her of her old instructions and the obligation she was under of confessing herself, if she had offended God since her last confession, a very long time before, and he confessed her with great testimonies of joy on both sides.

When we were with the Fathers we were still more than 300 leagues from Montreal, to which, however, we wished to proceed at once, in order to be able to return at an early day to some of the Ottawa tribes and winter there, and in the following spring to go in search of the river Ohio and the races settled there, in order to carry the Gospel to them.

We learned that two days previously a fleet of 30 Ottawa canoes had set out for Montreal, and that there was still another of Kilistinons which was to leave shortly. As we were not certain at what time the latter were to come, and knew, besides, the trouble there is in being

¹ appeared.

d'ailleurs nous scävions la peine qu'il y a d'estre obligez de suivre des Sauvages, nous jugeasmes plus à propos de chercher un guide pour nous conduire jusques au Montréal, parceque les chemins y sont plus difficiles et plus fascheux qu'on ne peut se l'imaginer; nous fismes si bien que nous en trouvâmes un moyennant 25 ou 30 escus de hardes qu'il fallut bien¹ promettre, de sorte que nous prîmes congé des Pères d'Abon et Marquette qui estoient pour lors en ce lieu, et ce le 28 may.²

Jusques icy les Outaouacs avoient passé dans mon esprit et dans tous ceux du Canada pour un lieu où il y avoit extrêmement³ à souffrir pour les vivres, mais je suis si bien persuadé du contraire, que je ne sçache point d'endroit dans tout le Canada où on en puisse moins manquer. La nation des Saulteux, ou en Algonquin Ouaoüitiköungka Entaöuakk ou des Outchipoués,⁴ où les Pères sont establis, demeure depuis la fonte des neiges⁵ jusques au commencement de l'hyver sur le bord d'une rivière de près d'une demi-lieu de largeur et trois lieues de longueur par où le lac Supérieur tombe dans le lac des Hurons. Cette rivière forme dans ce lieu un sault si fertile en poisson qu'on appelle blanc, ou en Algonquin Attikamegue, que les Sauvages y en prendroient facilement de quoy nourrir 10,000 hommes. Il est vray que cette pesche est si difficile qu'il n'y a que les Sauvages qui la puissent faire. Aucun François n'en a pu jusques icy venir à bout, ny aucun autre Sauvage que ceux de cette nation, qui sont accoustumez à cette pesche dès leur bas âge; mais enfin ce poisson est à si bon marché qu'ils en donnent dix ou douze pour quatre doigts de tabac; chacun pèse six ou sept livres, mais il est [si] gros⁶ et si délicat que je ne sçache point de poisson qui en approche. L'esturgeon se prend dans cette [petite] rivière, tout proche, à confusion. La viande y est à si bon marché que, pour une livre de rassade, j'y eus quatre minots de boyaux gras d'eslan, qui est le meilleur morceau de la beste, ce qui marque combien ces gens en tuent. C'est en ces lieux qu'on a une robe de castor pour une brasse de tabac, tantost pour un quarteron de poudre, tantost pour six couteaux, tantost pour une brasse de petite rassade bleue, etc. C'est pour cela que les François y vont, nonobstant des difficultez, espouvantables qui s'y rencontrent.

Il faut monter, en y allant du Montréal, une rivière où il faut faire trente portages pour éviter autant de cheutes ou de rapides, dans lesquels on se mettroit au hazard de perdre mille vies si on y vouloit passer. De cette rivière, qui est aussi grande que le fleuve de Saint-Laurent, on passe, moitié par terre, moitié par eau, l'espace de vingt-cinq ou trente lieues pour aller trouver le lac des Nepissiriniens,⁷ d'où

¹ lui.² celà le 28 may.³ certainement.⁴ Paoniti-Koung Kaentaouak ou

des Outchipoué. (The spelling in the text is that of the MS., differing slightly from Margry's.)

⁵ glaces.⁶ gras.⁷ Missionnaires.

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obliged to follow Indians, we judged it more convenient to look out for a guide to conduct us to Montreal, because the routes are more difficult and toilsome than can be imagined. We succeeded in finding one at an expense of 25 or 30 crowns' worth of goods, which we simply had to promise, so we took leave of Fathers d'Ablon and Marquette, who were then at this place, it being the 28th of May.

Hitherto the country of the Ottawas had passed in my mind, and in the minds of all those in Canada, as a place where there was a great deal of suffering for want of food. But I am so well persuaded of the contrary that I know of no region in all Canada where they are less in want of it. The nation of the Saulteaux, or in Algonkin *Wauitiköungka Entaöuakk* or Ojibways, amongst whom the Fathers are established, live from the melting of the snows until the beginning of winter on the bank of a river nearly half a league wide and three leagues long, by which lake Superior falls into the lake of the Hurons. This river forms at this place a rapid so teeming with fish, called white fish, or in Algonkin *Attikamegue*, that the Indians could easily catch enough to feed 10,000 men. It is true the fishing is so difficult that only Indians can carry it on. No Frenchman has hitherto been able to succeed in it, nor any other Indian than those of this tribe, who are used to this kind of fishing from an early age. But, in short, this fish is so cheap that they give ten or twelve of them for four fingers of tobacco. Each weighs six or seven pounds, but it is so big¹ and so delicate that I know of no fish that approaches it. Sturgeon is caught in this [small] river, close by, in abundance. Meat is so cheap here that for a pound of glass beads I had four minots of fat entrails of moose, which is the best morsel of the animal. This shows how many these people kill. It is at these places that one gets a beaver robe for a fathom of tobacco, sometimes for a quarter of a pound of powder, sometimes for six knives, sometimes for a fathom of small blue beads, etc. This is the reason why the French go there, notwithstanding the frightful difficulties that are encountered.

In going there from Montreal it is necessary to ascend a river in which thirty portages must be made in order to avoid a like number of falls or rapids, in which, if one ran them, he would incur the danger of losing a thousand lives. From this river, which is as large as the river St. Lawrence, one passes, half by land and half by water, the space of twenty-five or thirty leagues, to get to the lake of the Nipissings,² from

¹ fat.

² missionaries.

on descend par la rivière des François, où il y a encore quatre ou cinq cheutes d'eau, dans le lac des Hurons.

La plus grande difficulté est à descendre; car qui ne sçauroit pas précisément où sont les débarquemens pour faire les portages courroit risque de s'enfourner dans ce sault¹ et d'y périr, outre² la difficulté des portages, qui sont le plus souvent parmi des pierres et des sabliers.³ On risque souvent [dans] les passages les moins difficiles, dans lesquels, si celui qui gouverne le canot ou celui du devant manquoit quelquefois de l'épaisseur d'un escu blanc à faire passer entre des roches⁴ et des bouillons qui se trouvent dans ces passages, on s'y briserait [ou] on se rempliroit d'eau, et on se verroit abysmer dans des lieux qui paroissent effroyables. Ceci n'est que trop commun, et un frère Jésuite, qui descendit après nous, brisa son canot dans un de ces passages; et on voit peu de canots de Sauvages qui aient fait le voyage de⁵ Montréal qui n'aient de belles pièces. Dieu nous a si spécialement protégés qu'il ne nous est arrivé aucun mal, quoique de quarante-cinq ou cinquante portages⁶ qu'on fait en montant, nous en ayons espargné dix-sept ou dix-huit en descendant. Aussi avons-nous un fort bon guide et des gens qui n'étoient pas novices dans ces passages.

Nous arrivâmes enfin au Montréal le 18 juin, après vingt-deux jours d'une marche la plus fatigante que j'aye [jamais] faite de ma vie; aussi je fus assailli, sur la fin du⁷ voyage, d'une fièvre tierce qui modéra un peu la joye que j'aurois eue, en arrivant au Montréal, de me voir enfin revenu au milieu de nos chers frères, si j'eusse esté en pleine santé. Nous fûmes reçus de tout le monde, et particulièrement de M. l'abbé de Queylus, avec des démonstrations d'une bonté particulière; et on nous regarda plus tost comme des personnes ressuscitées que comme des hommes communs.

Tout le monde a souhaité que je fisse la carte de nostre voyage, ce que j'ay fait avec assez d'exactitude; cependant j'y reconnus⁸ encore d'assez grandes fautes, que je corrigeray lorsque j'en auray le loisir; je vous l'envoie telle qu'elle est et vous prie d'avoir la bonté de l'agréer, parce que je l'ay faite présentement⁹ pour vous. Je n'y ay marqué que ce que j'ay vu. Ainsi, vous ne trouverez qu'un costé de chaque lac, puisque¹⁰ leur largeur est si grande qu'on ne peut voir l'autre. Je l'ay faite¹¹ en carte marine, c'est-à-dire que les méridiens¹² ne s'y rétrécissent¹³ point auprès des pôles, parce que j'ay plus d'usage de ces cartes que des géographiques, et, au reste, celles-là sont communément plus exactes que les autres.

¹ s'enfoncer dans le sault.

² Verreau inserts "que pour."

³ du sable.

⁴ d'un doigt (?) à faire passer entre des rochers, etc.

⁵ du.

⁶ de quarante à quarante-cinq portages.

⁷ de notre.

⁸ reconnais.

⁹ fait précisément.

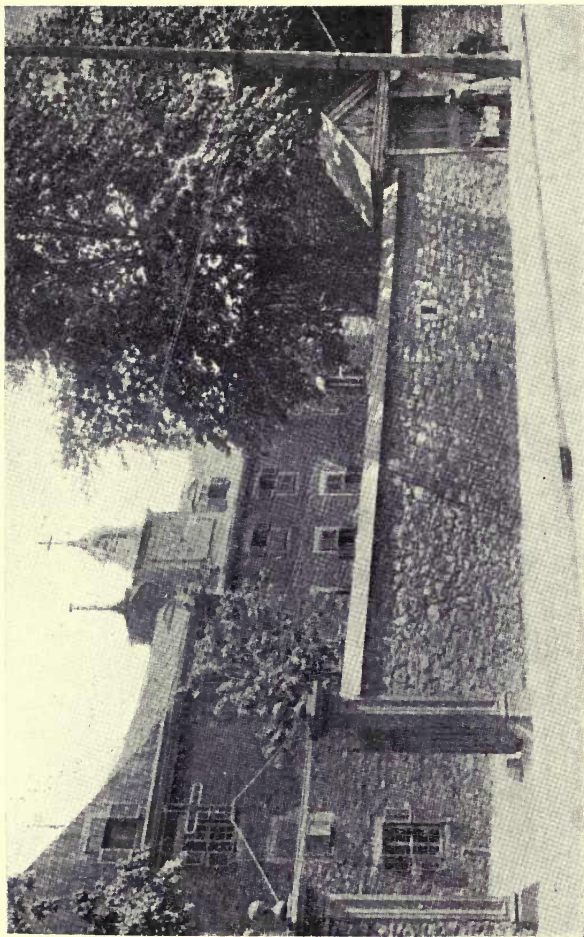
¹⁰ parceque.

¹¹ fait.

¹² méridiennes.

¹³ retrouvent.

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NEW SEMINARY OF ST. SULPICE, MONTREAL (1681).

The old Seminary House and Grounds are shown below the name M. de Chomedey, commonly known as de Maisonneuve, in plan of Montreal, opposite page 3.

which one descends by French river, where there are four or five more waterfalls, to the lake of the Hurons.

The greatest difficulty is in descending; for if one does not know exactly where the landings are, to make the portages, he runs the risk of being swallowed up in the falls and perishing, to say nothing of the difficulty of the portages, which are generally amongst stones and gravel. One often ventures into the less difficult channels, in which if the man who steers the canoe or the man in front were to fail sometimes by the thickness of a silver crown¹ to pass between rocks and whirlpools that are found in these channels, the canoe would get wrecked or fill with water, and one would see himself swallowed up in places that look horrible. This is only too common, and a Jesuit brother who descended after us, wrecked his canoe in one of these channels; and few canoes are seen belonging to Indians who have made the Montreal trip which are not well patched. God protected us so especially that no harm happened to us, although of forty-five or fifty portages that are made going up, we saved seventeen or eighteen coming down. However, we had a very good guide and men who were not novices in these channels.

We arrived at last at Montreal on the 18th of June, after twenty-two days of the most fatiguing travelling that I have [ever] done in my life. Moreover, I was attacked towards the end of the³ journey with a tertian fever, which somewhat moderated the joy I should have had in arriving at Montreal, on seeing myself at last back in the midst of our dear brethren, if I had been in full health. We were received by everybody, and especially by the Abbé de Queylus, with demonstrations of particular kindness. We were looked upon rather as persons risen from the dead than as common men.

Everybody desired me to make the map of our journey, which I have done accurately enough; however, I recognize rather serious faults in it still, which I will correct when I have time. I send it to you such as it is, and beg you to have the goodness to accept it, because I have made it just now for you.⁴ I have marked in it nothing but what I saw. Thus you will find only one side of each lake, since their width is so great that one cannot see the other. I have made it as a marine chart, that is to say, the meridians do not converge near the poles, because I am more familiar with these maps than with the geographical ones, and, moreover, the former are commonly more exact than the others.

¹ of a finger.

² forty to forty-five.

³ our.

⁴ just for you.

II.

(PROCÈS-VERBAL.)

ACTE DE PRISE DE POSSESSION DES TERRES DU
LAC ÉRIÉ (OCTOBRE 1669).

Nous [icy] soubsignez, certifions avoir veu afficher sur les terres du lac nommé [d']Érié les armes du Roy de France [au pied d'une croix,] avec cette inscription: "L'an de salut 1669, Clément IX. estant assis dans¹ la chaire de saint Pierre, Louis XIV. régnant en France, Monsieur de Courcelles estant gouverneur de la Nouvelle France et Monsieur Talon y estant intendant pour le Roy, sont arrivez en ce lieu deux missionnaires [du Séminaire] de Montréal, accompagnez de sept autres François, qui les premiers de tous les peuples Européans ont hyverné en ce lac, dont ils ont pris possession au nom de leur Roy, comme d'une terre non occupée, par apposition² de ses armes, qu'ils [y] ont attachées au pied de cette croix." En foy de quoy nous avons signé le présent certificat.

Signé: FRANÇOIS DOLLIER, prestre du diocèse de Nantes,
en Bretagne;

DE GALINÉE, diacre du diocèse de Rennes, en
Bretagne.

¹ sur.

² dont, comme d'une terre non occupée ils ont pris possession au nom de leur Roy, par l'apposition, etc.



Labruy

II.

ACT OF TAKING POSSESSION OF THE LANDS OF LAKE ERIE (OCTOBER, 1669).

We, the undersigned, certify that we have seen, on the lands of the lake named Erie, the arms of the King of France attached [to the foot of a cross,] with this inscription: "The year of salvation 1669, Clement IX. being seated in the chair of St. Peter, Louis XIV. reigning in France, Monsieur de Courcelles being Governor of New France, and Monsieur Talon being intendant therein for the King, there arrived in this place two missionaries, [of the Seminary] of Montreal, accompanied by seven other Frenchmen, who the first of all European people have wintered on this lake, of which they have taken possession in the name of their King, as of an unoccupied territory, by affixing his arms which they have attached here to the foot of this cross." In testimony whereof we have signed the present certificate.

(Signed) FRANÇOIS DOLLIER, Priest of the Diocese of Nantes,
in Brittany.

DE GALINÉE, Deacon of the Diocese of Rennes, in
Brittany.

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III.

LA CARTE.¹

TITRES :

Carte du Canada et des terres découvertes vers le lac d'érié.

Voir la lettre de M. Talon du 10 9^{bre} 1670.²

Carte du Lac Ontario et des habitations qui l'Environne Ensemble le pays que Mess^{rs} Dollier et Galinée, missionnaires du Seminaire de St. Sulpice, ont parcouru.³

POINTES DU COMPAS :

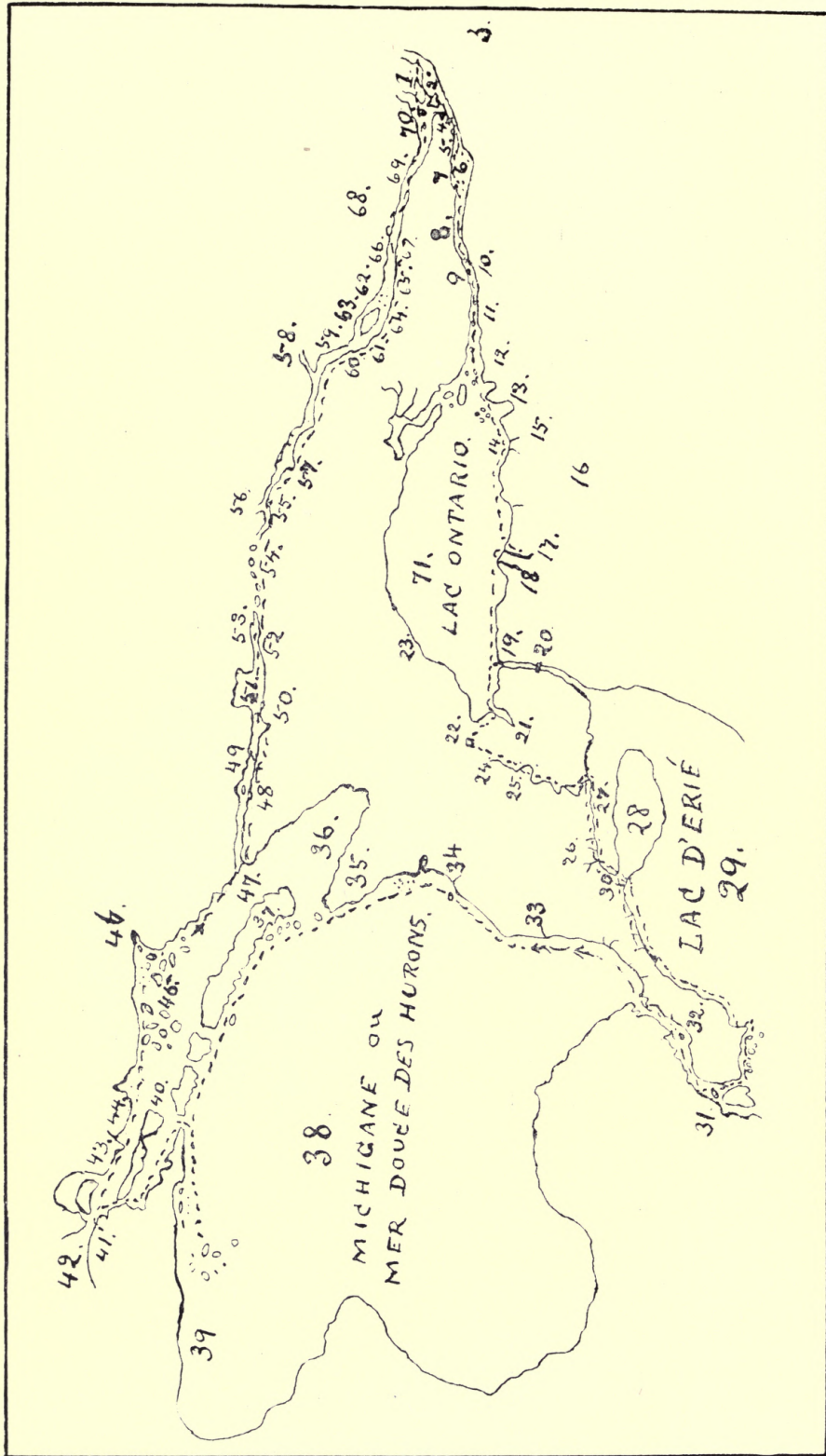
	Midi.	
Orient.	Septentrion.	Occident.

LÉGENDES DE LA CARTE :⁴

1. Habitation de Montreal.⁵
2. Lac St. Louis.
3. La Madelaine. Habitation des R. R. P. P. Jésuites.
4. Portage.⁵
5. PPPPP.⁶ Il faut faire 5 portages du costé du Nord pour monter au lac St. François, mais du costé du Sud on n'en fait qu'un.⁵
6. Lac St. François.⁷
7. bonnes terres.

¹ LA CARTE.—Only one title is given by Faillon and Gravier—apparently a combination of those in the Margry, Morin and Parkman texts. Faillon's is: CARTE | DU PAYS QUE MM. DOLLIER DE CASSON ET DE GALINÉE, MISSIONNAIRES DE ST. SULPICE | ONT PARCOURU | *Dressée par le même Mr. de Galinée* | (Voir la lettre de Mr. Talon du 10 Novembre 1670.) "Map of the country Messrs. Dollier de Casson and de Galinée, missionaries of St. Sulpice, have explored. Prepared by the same Mr. de Galinée. (See Mr. Talon's letter of the 10th November, 1670)." Gravier's is: CARTE DU LAC ONTARIO | et des habitations qui l'environnent | Ensemble le pays que MM. Dollier et Galinée, missionnaires du | Séminaire St. Sulpice ont parcouru | 1670 | Voir la lettre de M. Talon du 10 Novembre 1670. The Parliamentary Library copy gives the title as in Gravier, but has *Dolier* instead of *Dollier*: Morin certified the Parliamentary Library copy thus: "Vraie Copie (Fac-similé) de l'original déposé aux Archives des Cartes et Plans de la Marine Impériale. Faite à Paris en May 1854. Signé P. L. Morin, Québec, 1^{er} Juin, 1880." (See also Gravier. Carte des Grands Lacs, Rouen 1895.) The Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies are clearly not *fac-similes* of the original, but apparently replicas of a copy by some draughtsman who exercised his judgment as to what might be explained, omitted, combined, abbreviated, modernized or otherwise altered in the legends. The differences between the Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies are evidently the result of carelessness in copying the one from the other, or both from a prior copy.

² This is apparently the original title. The omission of the ecclesiastics' names would be in accordance with the rule of the Sulpitians to keep themselves as far from publicity as possible. The letter is given in Margry's "Découvertes et Établissements," Vol. I.



INDEX TO LEGENDS ON THE MAP.

See pages 78 *et seq.* The dotted line shows in a general way the route of the explorers.

III.

THE MAP.

THE TITLES :

Map of Canada and the lands discovered towards lake Erie.
See M. Talon's letter of 10th November, 1670.

Map of Lake Ontario and the habitations around it, together with the country Messrs. Dollier and Galinée, missionaries of St. Sulpice, have explored.

ORIENTATION :

	South.	
East.		West.
	North.	

LEGENDS OF THE MAP :

1. Habitation of Montreal.
2. Lake St. Louis.
3. La Madelaine. Habitation of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers. (*La Prairie.*)
4. Portage.
5. (Each P stands for a portage.) 5 portages must be made on the North side to go up to lake St. Francis, but on the South side only one.
6. Lake St. Francis.
7. good lands.

Talon says, on page 88: "I return to the new discoveries, and say that already Messrs. Dollier and Galinée, priests of St. Sulpice, missionaries at Montreal, have passed through Lake Ontario and visited unknown tribes. The map, which I have attached hereto, marked C, will explain their route and how far they have penetrated." See also Broadhead, "Documents, etc.," Vol. IX., page 66.

³ In both the narrative and the map Galinée is careful to state that he marked only what he had seen. The information as to the north shore of Lake Ontario, which was not seen by him, was no doubt derived from Fénelon, who spent the winter of 1669-70 at Ganatsekiagouns, or from Trouvé, who followed the north shore in November, 1669, to Tinawatawa or Tanawawa. This title may have been added after receipt of this information and the consequent supplementing of the map. Talon writes Colbert, 29th August, 1670, that the map was then in Fénelon's hands. See No. 23, Map-legend, page 83, also page 75; Margry, "Découvertes et Établissements," Vol. I., page 80; Dollier de Casson, "Histoire du Montreal," page 215; Verrean, "Les deux Abbés de Fénelon," Lévis, 1898, pages 25, 26.

⁴ The legends are, unless otherwise stated, those of General Clark's tracing of the Parkman map. Differences between it and the Parkman, Margry, Morin, Parliamentary Library, Gravier and Faillon copies are indicated. In the English text a few identifications of places are given in brackets. The explanatory notes will appear in part 2 of this book.

⁵ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

⁶ Morin leaves out one "P." Parliamentary Library and Faillon copies omit altogether.

⁷ Omitted in Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies.

8. terres noyées.¹ belle terre.² Depuis icy jusques à Otondiata il y a de fortes rapides à toutes les pointes, et des remouils dans toutes les ances.³
9. Otondiata.⁴ 10. Islets de roches.⁵
11. pesche d'anguille tout au travers de la rivière.³
12. Kaweniunioun.⁶ 13. Kahengwetta.⁷
14. abondance de gibier dans cette rivière.³
15. quoyqu'il ne paroisse icy que des sables sur le bord du lac, ces terres ne laissent pas d'être bonnes dans la profondeur.⁸ R. d'Onontæhé. R. des Flamandes et d'Oneiout.¹⁰ R. des Oiougouins.¹¹
16. Il y a de l'alum au pied de cette montagne. fontaine de bitume. Excellente terre.¹³
17. 4 villages des Sonountouans—les des grands sont chacun de 100 cabannes et les autres d'environ 20 à 25, sans aucune fortification, non pas mesme naturelle—il faut mesme qu'ils aillent chercher l'eau fort loing.¹⁴
18. Excellente terre.¹ Village du R. P. fremin.¹⁵ Gaskouchiagons.³ Sault où il y a grande pesche de barbues.¹⁶
19. Il y a le long de ces ances quantité de petits lacs séparés seulement du grand par grandes chaussées de sable. C'est dans ces lacs que les Sonountouans prennent quantité de poisson.³
20. Sault qui tombe au rapport des Sauvages de plus de 200 pieds de haut.¹⁷
21. Bonne terre. 22. Village de tanawawa.¹

¹ Omitted in Margry, Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies. Morin has *excellentes terres* (No. 18).

² *Belles terres* in Faillon and Gravier copies.

³ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

⁴ Omitted in Gravier copy.

⁵ *Ilots de roche* in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

⁶ *Kawemounioun* in Parkman copy. *Kawemounioun* in Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies; in capitals in the first. But there is no *m* in Iroquois. Hence the reading *ni* has been preferred.

⁷ *KOHENGUETTA* in Gravier copy. *Kohenguetta* in Parliamentary Library copy.

⁸ The Margry copy omits *icy*. The Faillon copy has simply: *Sables sur le bord du Lac, bonnes terres dans la profondeur*. The Gravier and Parliamentary copies omit this legend.

⁹ *Riv. D'Honnontane* in Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies; in capitals in the first.

¹⁰ Margry copy has *R. d'onneiout ou des Flamands*, River of Oneida or the Flemings. Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies have *Riv. d'Onneiout ou des Flamands*. The Parkman and Morin copies read: *R. des Amandes et d'Oneiout*.

¹¹ Margry has *R. Voiguen*, but he may have meant d'oioguen. Gravier and Parliamentary Library copies have *Riv. d'Oiogoune*; Faillon, *Riv. d'Oiogoun*; Morin, *R. des oiougouins*.

¹² Morin, Parkman, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies have *alum*, and Gravier *ces montagnes*.

¹³ In Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies: *Excellentes terres*.

8. drowned lands (*i.e.*, marshes). Fine land. From here to Otondiata there are strong rapids at every point (of land), and eddies in every bay.
9. Otondiata. (*Grenadier Island.*)
10. Islets of rocks.
11. eel-fishing all across the river.
12. Kaweniounioun.
13. Kahengwetta.
14. abundance of game in this river.
15. although there is apparently nothing but sand on the lake shore, these lands are invariably good in the interior (literally, in the depth, that is, *back from the shore*). The Faillon map has simply, Sand on the lake shore; good land inland. River Ontontahé (*Oswego*). River of the Flemings (or, *of the Flemish women*) and of Oneida. River of the Cayugas.
16. There is alum at the foot of this hill. Bitumen spring. (*Bristol Centre.*) Excellent land.
17. 4 villages of the Senecas—the two large ones are of 100 cabins each, and the others of about 20 to 25, without any fortification, not even a natural one—they are obliged even to go a long distance for water.
18. Excellent land. Village of Rev. Father Fremin. Gaskouchiakons. (*Genesee Falls.*) Falls where there are a great many catfish.
19. There are along these bays numerous small lakes separated from the large one only by great dykes of sand. In these lakes the Senecas catch a great deal of fish.
20. Sault (*cataract*) which falls, according to the report of the Indians, from a height of more than 200 feet. (*Niagara Falls.*)
21. Good land.
22. Village of Tanawawa. (*Near Westover, Ont.*)

¹⁴ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies. Margry has: 4 villages des Sonnotouans les 2 grands chacun de cent cabannes les deux autres d'environ 20 à 25 cabannes sans fortification, etc. Morin has: 4 villages de Sonnotouans les deux grands sont chacun de 100 cabanes et les autres d'environ 20 ou 25 sans fortification, etc.

¹⁵ Firmin in Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies.

¹⁶ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies. In Margry copy: *Sault où il y a quantité de barbes.* The inlet just preceding the word Sault should have been left open to indicate a river. By a mistake in printing it appears closed.

¹⁷ The Gravier and Faillon copies have (*Niagara*) before these words, and omit the last two words. They have also a legend running along the east side of the river as follows: *Ce courant est si fort qu'à peine on peut le monter (in Faillon, le remonter), "This current is so strong that one can hardly ascend it."* The Margry copy gives the legend as in the text, omits the Faillon and Gravier legend, and contains another, above No. 20, written across the part between the Niagara and Lake Erie: *C'est ici la décharge du lac Érié dans le lac Ontario qui peut avoir 13 ou 14 arpents de largeur, et une prodigieuse profondeur. Le courant est si grand, qu'à peine on peut le refouler les cotes ne sont que grands rochers,* "This is the outlet of lake Erie into Lake Ontario, which may be 13 or 14 arpents in width and of enormous depth. The current is so great that one can hardly stem it; the banks are nothing but great rocks." The Morin copy agrees with Margry's. The Parliamentary Library copy agrees with the text, except in order of words, reading thus: *Sault qui, au rapport des Sauvages, tombe,* etc.

23. Ganatsekiagouns.¹ C'est d'icy que Mr. Perray et sa compagnie ont campé pour entrer dans le lac des Hurons—quand j'auray vu le passage, je le donneray, mais toujours dit-on que le chemin est fort beau, et c'est icy que s'établiront les missionnaires de St. Sulpice.
24. grande partie sesche par tout icy et tout le long de la R. rapide.³ C'est à ce village qu'estoit autrefois Neutre.⁴
25. grande Chasse.⁵ prairies seches.⁶ Excellente terre.⁷ R. Rapide ou de Tinaatoua.⁸
26. C'est icy que nous avons hyverné en le plus beau lieu que j'aye vu en Canada, pour l'abondance des arbres fruittiers, a ces raisins qui sy grande qu'on en pourroit vivre en faisant provision—grande chasse de serfs, Bisches, Ours, Schenontons, Chats. Sauvages, et Castors.⁹
27. Petit lac d'érié.¹⁰ 28. Presqu'Isle du Lac D'Erié.¹¹
29. Lac D'érié—je ne'en marque que ce que j'en ay vu en attendant que je voye le reste.¹²
30. terres excellentes.¹³ prairies.¹³
31. C'est icy qu'estoit une pierre qu'avoit très peu de figures d'hommes que les Iroquois tenoient pour un grand Cap^{ne}, et a qui ils faisoient des sacrifices lorsqu'ils passaient par icy pour aller en guerre. Nous l'avons mis en pièces et jetté à l'eau.¹⁴
32. Grandes prairies.¹⁵ 33. grande chasse à ce petit ruisseau.¹⁹

¹ Omitted by Gravier. Faillon has *é* instead of *i*. The Parliamentary Library copy reads *Ganatsékéagoune*. In some later maps spelled *Gandatseteagoun*.

² The correct reading would probably be: *C'est icy . . . campé*, or *C'est d'icy . . . décampé*. Faillon's version is: *Campement de Mr. Perrot. Ici s'établiront les Missionnaires de St. Sulpice*. Gravier's is the same with these variations: *Mr. Perot, s'établiront, and missionnaires*. The last reading would change the meaning to *established themselves*. The Parliamentary Library copy has *s'établiront*, but otherwise agrees with Gravier's.

³ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies. The Margry copy has *Rivière* for *R*. Morin has *seiche*.

⁴ The Margry copy reads: *C'est ici qu'estoit autrefois la nation neutre*; the Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Morin copies: *Ici était autrefois la nation neutre*. (Here was formerly the neuter nation.) The 4 villages indicated in the printed map are shown in the Parliamentary Library and Gravier, but not in the Margry, Parkman and Faillon copies. Morin has a mark (two teepees) opposite the legend in the text.

⁵ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Margry copies.

⁶ Omitted in Margry, Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

⁷ Plural in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

⁸ The Margry copy has *R. RAPIDE OU DE TINATOUA*; the Faillon and Parliamentary Library copies, *Rivière rapide* ou de *Tina Toua*. Omitted in Gravier copy.

⁹ *a ces* is probably *alices*. (See line 21, page 52.) Morin has *a et raisins qui est si grande*, etc. The Margry copy omits the last two words, *et Castors*. The legend in the Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies is simply: *C'est ici que nous avons hiverné*. Gravier and Parliamentary Library copies have, in addition, a tepee or wigwam, with flag on west side of westward bend of Grand River, near its mouth.

¹⁰ Gravier has a capital E in *Erié*; Faillon and Parliamentary Library have capital letters throughout.

¹¹ Gravier and Faillon have *d'Erié*, the former *Ile*, and the latter *île*. The east and

23. Ganatsekiagouns. (*Probably near Bowmanville.*) It was here that Mr. Perray and his party camped (or it was *from here* that they *broke camp*) to enter lake Huron—when I have seen the passage, I shall give it; however, it is said the road is very fine, and it is here the missionaries of St. Sulpice will establish themselves.¹⁶
24. Great part dry everywhere here and all along the Rapid River. It is at this village that was formerly Neutral (*sic*).
25. Great hunting ground (*Burford Plains*). Dry meadows. Excellent land. Rapid or Tinaatoua River (*Grand River*).¹⁷
26. Here we wintered in the most beautiful place I have seen in Canada, for the abundance of fruit trees, hackberries, grapes, which is so great that one could live on them by making a store of them—great hunting ground for stags, does, bears, red deer (*schenontons*), racoons and beavers. (*Near Port Dover*).¹⁸
27. Little lake Erie. (*Long Point Bay*.)
28. Peninsula of Lake Erie. (*Long Point*.)
29. Lake erie—I only mark what I have seen of it, whilst waiting to see the rest.
30. Excellent lands. meadows. (*The ridge at Long Point*.)
31. Here was a stone with very few figures of men, which the Iroquois looked upon as a great chief, and to which they offered sacrifices when passing this way to go to war. We broke it up and threw it into the water. (*Below Detroit*.)
32. Great meadows (or prairies). (*St. Clair Flats*.)
33. Great hunting at this little stream. (*River Ashfield*.)

west line passing through lake Erie and the peninsula is a mistake in printing. It does not appear in the Parkman or other copies.

¹² The Margry copy has: "*Lac D'Erié je ne marque que ce que j'en ay veu en attendant que je voie le reste.*" Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Morin copies have simply: *Lac ERIÉ. Je ne marque que ce que j'ai vu.* The legend in the Parkman copy seems to begin: *Lac Derié*, etc.

¹³ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

¹⁴ The Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Morin copies read simply: *Ici était une pierre Idole des Iroquois que nous avons mise en pièces et jetée à l'eau.* (Here was a stone, an Idol of the Iroquois, which we broke up, and threw into the water.) The Parliamentary Library copy, however, has *jetée*.

¹⁵ The Margry, Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies have also, on the west side of the St. Clair River, lower part, the words: *grande chasse*. Morin has: *grandes chasses*, and (under *grandes prairies*) *pescheries*. The Parliamentary Library copy reads: *Grande Prairies*.

¹⁶ The Faillon and Morin copies have: "Mr. Perot's camp. Here the Missionaries of St. Sulpice established themselves." Fénelon was at this village in 1669 and spent the winter there. It was perhaps near the town of Bowmanville. If Perray is the same person as Péré, this would indicate that the latter went to the Sault in 1669 by the Lake Simcoe portage route—the first European recorded to have done so. The Gravier copy has a representation of a tepee or wigwam, with flag, on the lake Ontario shore, opposite the legend.

¹⁷ In Margry, the second name is given as *Tinatoue*, and in Faillon as *Tina Toua*.

¹⁸ The Faillon and Gravier maps read simply: *Here we wintered*.

¹⁹ Omitted in Margry, Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

34. toutes ces costes sont extrem^t pierreuses et ne laissent pas d'y avoir des bestes.^{1, 2}
35. C'est dans cette Baye que estoit autrefois le pays de Hurons, lorsqu'ils furent défaits par les Iroquois, et où les R. R. P. P. Jésuites estoient fort bien établis.
36. Je n'ay point vu cette ance où estoit autrefois le pays des hurons, mais je vois qu'elle est encore plus profonde que je ne la desseins, et c'est icy apparamment qu'aboutit le chemin par où Mr. Perray a passé.³
37. Kaitoutoun. grande chasse d'orignaux dans ces Isles.⁵
38. Michigane ou Mer Douce des Hurons. Ce lac est le plus grand de tous ceux du pays.⁶
39. Baye des Puteotamites.⁷ Il y a dix journées de chemin du Sault où sont les R. R. S. P. P. I. I. aux puteotamites. C'est à dire environ 150 lieues. Je n'ay entré dans cette Baye que jusques à ces Iles que j'ay marquées.⁸
40. Anipich.⁹
41. Fort des S. R. R.^{DS} P. P. Jésuites.¹⁰ C'est ici qu'ils ont un fort Bel Establisement, une belle maison, et de grands déserts semés de bled françois et de bled d'inde, pois et autres graines.¹¹ Sauteurs.
42. lac supérieur.¹² 43. R. de Tessalon.¹²
44. Mississagué.¹²
45. Chasse d'orignaux dans ces Isles.¹³ 46. Amikoue.¹⁴
47. l'embouchure de cette rivière fort difficile à trouver, ce néanmoins la petite isle qui la précède est fort remarquable par la grande quantité de ces isles de roche dont elle est composée, qui débouttent fort loin au large.¹⁵

¹ Omitted in Margry, Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies. Morin has *extrêmement*.

² In the Parkman, Parliamentary Library, Gravier and Morin copies a small island (now *Chantry Island*), cruciform in shape, appears near the shore opposite the north end of this legend.

³ The Margry copy has *Hurons*. Margry and Morin have instead of *desseins*, *depeins*, and *crois* for *vois*. Morin has *Perraye*. The Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies have simply: *Anse profonde où était l'ancien pays des Hurons* (Deep bay, where the former country of the Hurons used to be).

⁴ Omitted in Faillon copy.

⁵ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

⁶ The Margry copy has both these legends in capitals. The Parkman and Gravier copies have an acute accent over the final *e* of Michigane. The Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies omit the second, and have the first in capitals.

⁷ The Margry copy has: *Baie des Pouteotamites* and *150 lieues*; also, below, *R. R. P. P. Jesuites, baie and îles*.

⁸ The Gravier copy has simply: *Baie des Pouteotamiques*; and opposite the islands: *Je ne suis entré dans cette baie que jusqu'à ces îles*. The Faillon and Parliamentary Library copies are the same with *ne, que* omitted. Morin has *R. R. S. J. J.*

⁹ Omitted in Gravier and Parliamentary Library copies. Margry has ANIPICH I. So also Morin.

34. all these coasts are extremely stony and do not allow of game.
35. In this bay was formerly the country of the Hurons, when they were defeated by the Iroquois, and where the Rev. Jesuit Fathers were very well established. (*Matchedash Bay*.)
36. I did not see this bay, where was formerly the country of the Hurons, but I see that it is even deeper than I sketch it, and here apparently the road over which Mr. Perray travelled terminated.
37. Kaitoutoun. (*Manitoulin Island*.) great hunting ground for moose in these Islands.
38. Michigan, or Freshwater Sea of the Hurons. This lake is the largest of all those of the country. (*Lake Huron*.)
39. Bay of the Pottawattamies. It is ten days' journey from the Sault, where the Rev. Jesuit Fathers are, to the Pottawattamies—that is, about 150 leagues. I entered this Bay only as far as these Islands, which I have marked (*Mackinac Islands*).¹⁰
40. Anipich. (*Neebish*.)
41. Fort of the Holy Rev. Jesuit Fathers. Here they have a very Fine Establishment, a fine house, and large clearings sown with wheat and Indian corn, pease, and other grains. (*Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.*) Sauteurs. (*Ojibways*.)
42. lake superior.
43. Thessalon River.
44. Mississaga.
45. Moose hunting ground in these islands.
46. Amikoue. (*Spanish River*.)
47. the mouth of this river very hard to find, and yet the little island in front is very noticeable for the large number of those islands of rock of which it is composed, which terminate a long way out.

¹⁰ The other copies all omit the DS. The Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies also omit the S. In the Margry copy the legend is in capitals.

¹¹ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

¹² Nos. 42, 43 and 44 are in capitals in the Margry copy; also 42 in Parliamentary Library copy, which has in 43 *Riv^{re} de Tessalon*.

¹³ The Gravier and Parliamentary Library copies have *ilots*.

¹⁴ In the Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies: *Amikoué*.

¹⁵ The Margry copy reads: *l'embouchure de cette Rivière est fort difficile à trouver ce néantmoins la pointe qui la précède est fort remarquable par la grande quantité d'îlets de roche dont elle est composée qui déboutent fort loin au large* (The mouth of this River is very hard to find; notwithstanding this, the point in front is very noticeable from the great number of rocky islets it is composed of, which end a long distance out). Morin has *cette R. and la petite qui*, etc. The Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies have simply: *L'embouchure de cette rivière est fort obstruée par des îlots* (in Gravier *les îlots*) (The mouth of this river is very much obstructed by islets). The Margry copy has also the words *tramage portage* in three additional places on the south bank of French River, i.e., at the point, just below No. 50 and midway between 48 and 50.

¹⁶ The Faillon and Gravier copies have simply: *Bay of the Potawatomes*, and opposite the islands: *I entered this bay as far as these islands*.

48. trainage.¹ portage.² 49. Rivière des François.³ Sault.⁴
 50. portage 600 pas.⁵ C'est dans cette Ance que les Nipissiriniens
 placent pour l'ordinaire leur village.¹
 51. Lac des Nipissiriniens ou des sorciers.⁶
 52. portage de 1400 pas.⁷
 53. Rivière des Vases.⁸ portage de 20 pas.⁹ portage 1000 pas. portage
 de 1900 pas.¹⁰ portage 500 pas. portage 600 pas. portage de
 700 pas.
 54. portage de 200 pas. portage de 300 pas. portage de 100 pas.
 (3 in succession.)
 55. on entre icy dans la Grande Rivière.¹ 56. Mataouan.¹¹
 57. portage 700 pas.¹² portage 1400 pas.¹³ Rapides de plus de 2 lieues
 de long nommés les galops.¹⁴ portage 200 pas.¹⁵ grandes rapides.¹⁶
 58. on dit que cette branche de la grande Rivière va aux trois
 Rivières.¹⁷
 59. Rivière Creuse.¹⁸
 60. très-grande chasse d'originaux autour de ce petit lac.¹
 61. portage apellé des alumettes 200 pas.¹⁹
 62. C'estoit icy ou estoit le fameux Borgne de l'isle dans les Relations
 des R. R. P. P. Jesuites.²⁰
 63. Le grand portage du Sault des Calumets est de ce costé—pour
 l'éviter nous prisms de l'autre costé.²¹
 64. Il faut faire 5 portages de ce costé icy d'environ 100 pas chacun.¹⁹
 65. portage 50 pas.¹⁹
 66. portage du Sault de la chaudière 300 pas.²²
 67. Ces 2 Rivières en tombant dans la grande font 2 belles nappes.^{1, 23}

¹ Omitted in Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies.

² Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Morin copies show five portages between Lake Nipissing and the mouth of French River.

³ In capitals in Margry copy. The Parliamentary Library copy has *François*.

⁴ In Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies *Saut*.

⁵ In Margry copy: *Portage de 603*; Faillon, *P. 600 pas*; Morin, *Portage de 600 pas*; Gravier and Parliamentary Library copies, *Portage de 600 pas*.

⁶ The first three words are in capitals in the Margry copy. The Parliamentary Library copy has *Sorciers*.

⁷ In Gravier and Parliamentary Library copies, simply: *Portage*; in Faillon copy, *P. 1400 pas*. The Gravier copy shows 10 instead of 12 portages to the Ottawa River, and no measurements. So the Parliamentary Library copy. The Faillon copy abbreviates in 53 and 54 thus: *P. 1000 p.*

⁸ In Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Morin copies, *Riv. des Vases*.

⁹ All other copies except Morin's have only the first word.

¹⁰ This would appear to be an error in copying for 1500, which appears to be the Parkman and Morin as well as the Parliamentary Library and Faillon reading.

¹¹ In capitals in Faillon copy. The legend is inverted in the Morin copy.

¹² In Faillon and Gravier copies, *P. 700 p.* In Parliamentary Library copy, *P. 700 pas*. Between 55 and 57 Morin shows four small islands in a line, and on the north bank a continuous elevation.

¹³ In Gravier copy, *Portage de 400 pas*. In Parliamentary Library copy, *Portage de 1400 pas*.

48. trailing (*i.e.* towing the canoes). portage.
49. French River. Falls (or Rapids).
50. Portage 600 paces. In this Bay the Nipissings usually place their village.
51. Lake of the Nipissings, or sorcerers. 52. portage of 1400 paces.
53. River des Vases (*Bog River*). portage of 20 paces. portage of 1000 paces. portage of 1900 paces. portage of 500 paces. portage of 600 paces. portage of 700 paces.
54. portage of 200 paces. portage of 300 paces. portage of 100 paces (3 in succession.)
55. Here you enter the Grand River (or Great River, *the Ottawa*).
56. Matawa.
57. portage 700 paces. portage 1400 paces. Rapids more than 2 leagues in length called the galops. portage 200 paces. great rapids.
58. This branch of the grand River is said to go to three Rivers.
59. Rivière Creuse. (*Deep River*.)
60. plenty of moose-hunting round this little lake.
61. portage called des alumettes 200 paces.
62. Here used to be the famous Borgne de l'isle (*the One-eyed man of the island*) in the Relations of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers. (*Allumette Island*.)
63. The grand portage of the Calumet Rapids is on this side—to avoid it we took that of the other side.
64. 5 portages must be made on this side, each of about 100 paces.
65. portage 50 paces.
66. portage of the Chaudière Falls, 300 paces.
67. These 2 Rivers falling into the grand make 2 fine sheets (*Rideau Falls*).

¹⁴ The Faillon and Gravier copies read: *Rapides de 2 lieues dits les Galops* (2 leagues of Rapids called the Galops); the Parliamentary Library copy: *Rapides de plus de 2 lieues dits les Galops*.

¹⁵ In Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies, *P. 200 p.*

¹⁶ In Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies, *Grands rapides*.

¹⁷ In Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Margry copies, *On dit que cette branche va aux trois rivières*, except that the Parliamentary Library copy reads *Trois*.

¹⁸ Omitted in Gravier copy. In Faillon copy, *Riv. creuse*. In Parliamentary Library copy, *Riv^{re} Creuse*.

¹⁹ Nos. 61, 64 and 65 are omitted in Margry, Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies. In 61 Morin has *appelé* and *alumates*, in 64 *chaqu'un*, and in 65 *passage 50 pas*.

²⁰ Last word omitted in Margry. The Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies read simply: *Ici était le fameux Borgne de l'île* (Here was the famous Borgne de l'Isle). Morin has *R. R. S. S. J.*

²¹ In Faillon copy, *le grand Portage Saut des Calumets*; in Morin and Parliamentary Library copies, *Le Grand Portage Saut du Calumet*, simply.

²² Margry copy has *Chaudière*; Faillon copy has *P. du Saut*, etc.; and Parliamentary Library and Morin copies, *Portage du Saut*, etc.

²³ Margry copy has, instead of 2, *deux fort*. Morin has *Les 2 R.*, etc.

68. C'estoit icy qu'estoit autrefois la petite nation Algonquine.¹
 69. Long Sault.² sault en nappe.
 70. lac des 2 montagnes.³
 71. Lac Ontario—j'ai passé du coté du sud que je donne assez exactement.⁴

¹ The Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies read simply: *Ici étaient les Algonquins* (Here were the Algonkins).

² Faillon, Parliamentary Library and Gravier copies have *Saut* instead of *Sault* in each instance.

³ In Faillon and Parliamentary Library copies, *Lac des 2 Montagnes*.

⁴ This legend appears on the Parliamentary Library, Faillon and Gravier copies, but not on the Parkman. The Margry reading is as follows: *Lac Ontario—j'ai passé du côté du sud que je donne ici assez exactement: pour la côté du nord, je le dessineray avec exactitude quand je l'auray vu, je lui donne la largeur qu'on dit qu'il a qui est de trente lieues au plus large* ("Lake Ontario—I passed on the south side, which I give here pretty accurately; as to the north side, I will map it accurately when I have seen it. I give it the width it is said to have, which is thirty leagues at the widest"). Morin agrees with

68. Here formerly was the little Algonquin tribe (or the Algonkin *petite nation*).
69. Long Sault. waterfall.
70. lake of the 2 mountains.
71. Lake Ontario—I passed on the south side, which I give pretty accurately.

Margry's reading except that he has: *icy, le costé du nort, designeray avec exactitudes, quand je Lauray veu. Je luy, 30 lieues*, etc.

On the west side of the mouths of rivers on the north shore the other copies contain the following additional legends: Moira River, all copies but two: *R. du Barbu* (Catfish River); Parliamentary Library and Gravier, *Rivière Barbu*; River Trent (west side): Margry and Morin, *tenarati*; Parliamentary Library and Faillon, *Tanarati*; next river to the west: Faillon and Margry, *Ganeraske*; Parliamentary Library, *Ganésaské*. In Margry the last-mentioned is reversed, *i.e.*, written with map facing the north, and with three tepees or wigwams between it and the shore. Faillon has all the letters of these three legends in capitals. In Morin, just south of the little lake indicated by the dotted circle (now Weller's Bay), is the name *Kenté*, with *grande pesche* to the west and a representation of two tepees on the opposite side of the little lake. The Parliamentary Library copy shows the little lake, but the outline is continuous, not dotted. The names Moira and Trent are, of course, not found on the maps, but are modern equivalents.



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