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HISTORY  
OF  
KING WILLIAM'S WAR,  
AND THE  
CONSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND INDIANS,  
IN  
AMERICA.

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CHAPTER I.

*An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the  
Vessels in the month of November, 1689 to the month of November, 1690.*

Madam

The letters of last year and the more minute information of those who had the honor to pay you their respects on their arrival in France from this country, have made you fully acquainted with the condition in which Count (de Frontenac) found it, the agreeable manner in which he was received, the acclamations of the masses and the universal joy every one evinced at his happy return. All these things are already known and I shall not describe them. I have matters to relate to you infinitely more to his glory, and the actions which have been performed this year justify the idea that that people were truly inspired of God when they called him their liberator. He found himself forced to wage war on his children against his inclination; he employed all sorts of means to induce them to resume the same disposition with which

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he had inspired them when he formerly governed them; they were totally changed by the evil counsels of the English, and these very English were the first punished for the troubles they had created in a country which the common Father had maintained in repose for the space of ten years.

You will see, Madam, in the progress of this Narrative, how those whom the Count employed had acquitted themselves of their duty. The same zeal excited the French, the Canadians and our Indians, and it seemed that, when fighting under such happy auspices, they could not but conquer.

We did not expect to receive any further news from our Upper Indian Allies. They had left here after the sacking of La Chine, their minds full of terror and distrust. They no longer recognized in us those same Frenchmen who were in former times their protectors and who, they thought, were able to defend them against the whole world. They saw nothing on our part but universal supineness; our houses burnt; our people carried off; the finest portion of our country utterly ruined, and all done without scarcely any one being moved, or at least if any attempts were made, the trifling effort recoiled to our shame, and resulted only in the destruction of those who voluntarily sacrificed themselves. They knew it would be very easy for us to oppose this irruption, had we not allowed ourselves to be lulled to sleep by a false hope of peace. They had told their mind, and were very glad that we had deceived ourselves, so as to have a more plausible pretext to execute the resolutions they had long before adopted—to arrange matters with our enemies without our participation, under the supposition that it was beyond our power to defend them.

These bad dispositions were known to Sieur de la Durantaye, commander of Missilimakinac, and to Fathers Nouvel and Carheil, missionaries to the Hurons and Outawas. The interest they feel in the preservation of the Colony obliged them to dispatch Sieur Zachary Jolliet, a trader in that country, to inform the Governor General who was to relieve the Marquis de Denonville, and whose name they did not know, of the state they were in, and of all the designs of the Indians.

He arrived at Quebec at the close of the month of December, and the Count was not less surprised at seeing a man undertake a voyage of this magnitude, which he was obliged to make with only one companion, partly in canoe, partly on the ice, than at the news he brought.

You have learned, Madam, from the Reverend Father Carheil's letter, copy whereof has been sent you by the vessel that sailed last spring, what resolutions the Outawas and Hurons entertained on their arrival. That letter laid bare all their sentiments and showed us that it is difficult to deceive them; the acuteness of their perceptions, and the just measures they adopt in the most difficult affairs, are very perfectly set forth therein. You will find in it a short epitome of their mode of speaking, and of holding their Councils. They are more eloquent than is supposed, and though their harangues are a little long and they often repeat the same thing, they always go to their object and seldom say any thing superfluous.

The Count determined, at the moment, to send this same Jolliet with five or six men back to Missilimakinak with his orders to Sieur de la Durantaye and his message to the Indians to dissuade them from their designs, and to give them notice of the different parties he was sending against the English for the purpose of renewing active hostilities, and making them repent of all the evil they had wrought on us and our allies; but the messenger, learning



that a number of Iroquois were hunting on the way, was prevented continuing his Journey which was not performed until the spring, after the Ice had broken up, when it was effected in the most successful manner possible, as you will learn by and by.

The orders the Count had received from France to commence hostilities against New England and New-York, which had declared for the Prince of Orange, afforded him considerable pleasure, and were very necessary for the country. No more time was allowed to elapse before executing them than was necessary to transmit despatches to France, and the Count resolved, shortly after, to send out three different expeditions so as to declare war against those rebels at all points at the same time, and to punish them at various places for the protection they had afforded to our enemies the Iroquois. The First party was to be organized at Montreal and to proceed towards Orange; the Second at Three Rivers and to strike a blow in New-York between Boston and Orange, and the third was to depart from Quebec and to reach the seaboard between Boston and Pentagouet, verging towards Acadia.

They all have succeeded perfectly well, and I shall communicate to you their details after I have spoken of an affair which happened at the same time we received the news of the first party from Montreal. The letters of the month of November of last year have advised you, Madam, that the Count, immediately after his arrival at Montreal, had determined to dispatch a convoy to Fort Frontenac in order to endeavor to revictual it and place it in security during the Winter; you have been informed how that post had been abandoned by order of M. de Denonville and that its garrison had arrived the day after the departure of the convoy, which was in consequence obliged to turn back.

That convoy was accompanied by four of the Indians whom the Count brought back from France with Orehaoué, one of the most considerable Chiefs of their nation. This man, whom you will often hear mentioned in the course of this letter, is one of the principal causes of the war. He was much esteemed among his people, and was induced to visit Fort Frontenac under pretence of peace and a feast of friendship, which is their manner of transacting business, and then taken prisoner with forty others of his tribe by order of M. de Denonville who sent them to France, as you are aware; and they had still been in the Galleys if the King did not think proper to send them back here with the Count, the treachery of which they were the victims being in no wise to his taste.

The disposition manifested by Orehaoué, on our arrival here,<sup>1</sup> was such as to encourage us to hope for peace with his nation, inasmuch as war was waged solely on his account; and the kind treatment he and his people experienced at the hands of the Count, since they were with him, ought to have effaced from their recollection all the pain of their slavery. That disposition appeared in the submission of a son to a father. He did nothing without consulting him, and it was of his own motion and with the Count's consent, that those four men, in company with another Indian who had come Ambassador, after the sacking of La Chine, and had offered some very insolent propositions to M. de Denonville, had set out for Onontaë, the principal town of the Iroquois, where all their business is transacted, for the purpose of conveying thither the news of Orehaoué and his people's return, and inviting all their tribe to come to welcome their Father whom they had so long missed, and to thank him for his goodness to them on his return, restoring to them a Chief whom they supposed to have been irrecoverably lost. This, Madam, was the message entrusted to these envoys.

<sup>1</sup> Count de Frontenac arrived at Quebec on the 12th October, 1689.

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They arrived at Montreal on the ninth of March of this year with Gagniogoton, the same ambassador that had gone with them. They remained silent for some days; finally, at the urgent solicitations of M. de Callières, governor of Montreal, who pressed them to speak, they presented him six belts of wampum. This is the guarantee of their words, and it seems, that they could not open their mouths, however eloquent they are, did this belt not make its appearance before they spoke, and did not each of those they offer suggest to them what to say on the different affairs they have to treat of.

The first belt explained the reason of their delay which was caused by the arrival of some Outawas at the Senecas. It said, that some Iroquois prisoners had been restored there in the \* of *Mislimakink*. name of the Nine different Tribes, the Hurons\* having no share in this negotiation. The Iroquois were invited to repair in the month of June, to the place indicated, for the purpose of completing the good work of peace, the message of which they had just brought, and of receiving twenty-six additional Iroquois prisoners whom they had to surrender to them. Gagniogoton added, that this was the way things ought to be done when there was a disposition to promote peace, and that people themselves ought to confer about business without referring it to others not of their nation.

The second Belt expressed the great joy felt by the Dutch and the Five Iroquois Nations learning the return of Orehaoué, whom they call the General in chief of the entire Iroquois nation.

The third Belt contained the words of Onnontaée in the name of the five Nations. He again demanded the prompt return of Orehaoué whom they still call the Chief of their country, and that he be accompanied by the messenger, by some Indians who had remained among us, and by all those who had returned from France; that they come on the ice in order to consult altogether respecting the measures they should adopt. It added, that all the French prisoners who were in various villages had been brought to Onnontaé, and that no disposition would be made of them until they should hear what Orehaoué would say on his return home.

The fourth Belt spoke thus and was addressed to the Count:— Onnontio, my father (it is thus they name the Governor general) you say you desire to again set up the tree of peace which you planted in your fort (that is, fort Frontenac). This is well. But it is the fifth Belt that is about to speak, and I report it word for word:—

Know you not that the Fire of Peace no longer burns in that Fort; that it is extinguished by the Blood which has been spilt there; the place where the Council was held is all red; it has been desecrated by the treachery perpetrated there; the soil of Ganneyouit—a village ten leagues above the Fort—has been polluted by the treacherous seizure of prisoners there; the Seneca country has been defiled by the ravages the French committed there. Repair all this, you will then be at liberty to build up the Fire of peace and friendship in some other place than that in which you have located it, for it has been cast out thence. Fix it, if you like, at Ousaguentera—a place beyond the Fort—or if that be too far, you can select La Gallette where Teganissorens—a great chief who was much attached to the Count before he left the country—will come to meet you. You will be at liberty to bring with you as many people as you please, and I likewise. In fine, Father Onontio, you have whipped your children most severely; your rods were too cutting and too long; after having used me thus, you can readily judge that I have some sense now; I again repeat to you that I, Onnontaé, am master

of all the French prisoners. Make smooth the paths from your abode to La Gallette, and towards Chambly.

The sixth Belt—that a party of twenty men has been out since October who are not to make an attack on us until the melting of the Snow. It promises that if they make any prisoners they will take care of them, and should we take any, on our side, requests us to do the like.

The following are literally the words they add by this Belt:—"I had eight prisoners as my share of the affair at La Chenaye. *I have eaten four of them*, and the other four are alive here: You have been more cruel than I in killing twelve Senecas by shooting them; you have eaten the three others who survived without sparing one; you might have spared one or two. It is in return therefor that I have eaten four of yours, and I have spared four others, in order to show you that you are more cruel than I. What disposition the Oneidas, who accompanied me on the war path, have made of the French prisoners who fell to their lot, I do not know.

At the conclusion of this harangue, M. de Callières inquired if Father Millet, the Jesuit, who was taken at Fort Frontenac, was still living? He answered that, when he left home, twenty-eight days ago, the Father was alive.

He was also asked how it happened that the Mohawks came to make war against us? He answered that ninety Mohegans (*Loups*) had formed a party in which they had engaged some Mohawks and four Oneidas; but that measures had been adopted to follow the Mohawks in order to tell them not to go to war.

This, Madam, is all that M. de Callières learned of the resolutions of the Iroquois on their return. He sent them, shortly after, to Quebec where they arrived without the Belts they had brought from their country, and which they had presented at Montreal. Various reasons prevented the Count listening to them, particularly because he saw that Gagnogoton was the bearer of the message; a man with whom no business could be safely transacted; who was entirely suspected by him, and who had left here to return home (*au pays*) against his will and only at the solicitation of Father Lamberville, the Jesuit.

This occurred at the same time, as I have already informed you, that news arrived at Quebec of the success of the first party that had gone out against the English, and which had been organized at Montreal. It might have consisted of two hundred and ten men; to wit, of 80 Indians of the Sault and the Mountain, sixteen Algonquins, and the remainder Frenchmen. It was commanded by Lieutenants Le Moyne de Sainte Hélène and Dailleboust de Mantet, both Canadians, under whom were Sieurs le Moyne d'Iberville and Repentigny de Montesson. The best qualified of the French were Sieurs de Bonrepos and de La Brosse, reduced lieutenants (*reformés*) Sieurs Le Moyne de Biainville, Le Bert du Chesne, and la Marque de Montigny, who all served as volunteers. They took their departure from Montreal in the fore part of February.

After a march of five or six days, they called a council to determine the course they should take, and the point they considered themselves in a condition to attack.

The Indians demanded of the French what was their intention. Messieurs de Sainte Hélène and Mantet replied that they started in the hope of attacking Orange, if possible, as it is the capital of New-York and a place of considerable importance, though they had no orders to that effect, but generally to act according as they should judge on the spot of their chances

of success, without running too much risk. This appeared to the Indians somewhat rash. They represented the difficulties, and the weakness of the party for so desperate an undertaking. Even one among them whose mind was filled with the recollections of the disasters which he had witnessed last year, inquired of our Frenchmen, "since when had they become so bold?" In reply to their raillery, 'twas answered that it was our intention, now, to regain the honor of which our misfortunes had deprived us, and that the sole means to accomplish that was to carry Orange, or to perish in so glorious an attempt.

As the Indians who had perfect knowledge of the localities, and more experience than the French, could not be brought to consent, it was determined to postpone coming to a conclusion until the party should arrive at the spot where the two paths separate—the one leading to Orange, and the other to Corlard.<sup>1</sup> In the course of this march, which occupied eight days, the Frenchmen judged proper to diverge towards Corlard, according to the advice of the Indians; and that road was taken without calling a new council. Nine days more elapsed before they arrived, having experienced inconceivable difficulties, and having been obliged to wade up to their knees in water, and to break the ice with their feet in order to find a solid footing.

They arrived within two leagues of Corlard about four o'clock in the evening, and were harangued by the Great Mohawk, the chief of the Iroquois of the Sault. He urged on all to perform their duty, and to forget their past fatigue, in the hope of taking ample revenge for the injuries they had received from the Iroquois at the solicitation of the English, and of washing them out in the blood of those traitors. This Indian was without contradiction the most considerable of his tribe, an honest man, as full of spirit, prudence and generosity as possible, and capable at the same time of the grandest undertakings. Four squaws were shortly after discovered in a wigwam who gave every information necessary for the attack on the town. The fire found in their hut served to warm those who were benumbed, and they continued their march, having previously detached Giguières, a Canadian, with nine Indians, on the scout. They discovered no one, and returned to join the main body within one league of Corlard.

At eleven of the clock at night, they came within sight of the town, resolved to defer the assault until two o'clock of the morning. But the excessive cold admitted of no further delay.

The town of Corlard forms a sort of oblong with only two gates—one opposite where our party had halted; the other opening towards Orange, which is only six leagues distant. Messieurs de Sainte Hélène and de Mantet were to enter at the first which the squaws pointed out, and which, in fact, was found wide open. Messieurs d'Iberville and de Montesson took the left with another detachment, in order to make themselves masters of that leading to Orange. But they could not discover it, and returned to join the remainder of the party. A profound silence was every where observed, until the two Commanders, who separated after having entered the town for the purpose of encircling it, met at the other extremity.

The signal of attack was given Indian fashion, and the entire force rushed on simultaneously.

M. de Mantet placed himself at the head of one detachment, and reached a small fort where the garrison was under arms. The gate was burst in after a good deal of difficulty, the whole set on fire, and all who defended the place slaughtered.

<sup>1</sup> Schenectady.

The sack of the town began a moment before the attack on the fort. Few houses made any resistance. M. de Montigny discovered several which he attempted to carry sword in hand, having tried the musket in vain. He received two thrusts of a halbert (*pertuisane*) one in the body and the other in the arm. But M. de Sainte-Hélène having come to his aid, effected an entrance, and put every one who defended the place to the sword. The Massacre lasted two hours. The remainder of the night was spent in placing sentinels, and in taking some rest.

The house belonging to the Minister<sup>1</sup> was ordered to be saved, so as to take him alive to obtain information from him; but as it was not known, it was not spared any more than the others. He was killed in it and his papers burnt before he could be recognized.

At day break some men were sent to the dwelling of Mr. Condre<sup>2</sup> who was Major of the place, and who lived at the other side of the river. He was not willing to surrender, and put himself on the defensive with his servants and some Indians; but as it was resolved not to do him any harm, in consequence of the good treatment that the French had formerly experienced at his hands, M. d'Iberville and the Great Mohawk proceeded thither alone, promised him quarter for himself, his people and his property, whereupon he laid down his arms on their assurance, entertained them in his fort, and returned with them to see the Commandants in the town.

In order to occupy the Indians, who would otherwise have taken to drink and thus rendered themselves unable for defence, the houses had already been set on fire. None were spared in the town but one belonging to Condre, and that of a widow who had six children, whither M. de Montigny had been carried when wounded. All the rest were burnt. The lives of between fifty and sixty persons, old men, women and children were spared, they having escaped the first fury of the attack; also some thirty Iroquois, in order to show them that it was the English and not they against whom the grudge was entertained. The loss on this occasion in houses, cattle and grain, amounts to more than four hundred thousand livres. There were upwards of eighty well built and well furnished houses in the town.

The return march commenced with thirty prisoners. The wounded, who were to be carried, and the plunder with which all the Indians and some Frenchmen were loaded, caused considerable inconvenience. Fifty good horses were brought away. Sixteen of them only reached Montreal. The remainder were killed on the road for food.

Sixty leagues from Corlard the Indians began to hunt, and the French not being able to wait for them, being short of provisions, continued their route, having detached Messrs. d'Iberville and Du Chesne with two Indians before them to Montreal. On the same day, some Frenchmen, who doubtless were very much fatigued, strayed away for fear that they would be obliged to keep up with the main body, believing themselves in safety having eighty Indians in their rear. They were missed at the camp, and waited for the next day until eleven o'clock, but in vain, and no account has since been received of them.

Two hours after, forty men left the main body without acquainting the Commander, continued their route by themselves, and arrived within two leagues of Montreal one day ahead, so that not more than fifty or sixty men remained together. The evening on which

<sup>1</sup> Rev. PETER TASSEMAKER was a native of Holland. He officiated in Kingston in 1676, and gained the esteem and respect of the people of that place to such a degree that they petitioned for his continuance there as their minister. In 1679 he was ordained by Dominie Newenhuyseu as minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at New Castle in Delaware. *New-York Documentary History* 8vo. III, 865., *New-York General Entries*, 61. He is said to have been the first Clergyman at Schenectady.

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Sanders Glen.

they should arrive at Montreal, being extremely fatigued from fasting and bad roads, the rear fell away from M. de Saint Hélène, who was in front with an Indian guide, and who could not find a place suitable for camping nearer than three or four leagues of the spot where he expected to halt. He was not rejoined by M. de Mantet and the others, until late in the night. Seven have not been found. Next day on parade, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a soldier arrived who announced that they had been attacked by fourteen or fifteen Savages, and that six had been killed. The party proceeded somewhat afflicted at this accident, and arrived at Montreal at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Such, Madam, is the account of what passed at the taking of Corlard. The French lost but twenty-one men, namely four Indians and seventeen Frenchmen. Only one Indian and one Frenchman were killed at the capture of the town. The others were lost on the road.

The return of the Three Rivers and Quebec parties were expected with impatience, but there was no news of them for a long while after.

As soon as the river was open the Count resolved to restore four of Orehaoué's Indians who had brought the belts that Gagnioton had presented at Montreal. They took their departure and were accompanied by Chevalier d'Eau, a half-pay Captain whom the Count had selected for that negotiation.

Orehaoué gave his people eight Belts, which I shall report to you, Madam, as he himself explained them.

The first Belt is to wipe away the tears of the five cabins—these are the five Iroquois Nations—and to cleanse their throats of whatever evil might have remained of the bad things that had occurred, and also to wash away the blood with which they are covered.

The second Belt is to be divided into two:—the first half is to testify Orehaoué's joy on learning that the Outawas had promised to restore the prisoners they had, to the Senecas. The other half, to say to them he was very glad they had notified him to tell Onnontio that they had recommended their people, who had gone out to fight in the fall, to spare the lives of the French whom they may take prisoners, and that Onnontio had promised, on his part, that, should the French take any of theirs, they would act towards them in the same manner, until they should have an answer from those he sends to the Five Nations.

The 3<sup>d</sup> Belt thanks the Five Nations for having requested Onnontio to send him with his Nephews back on the Ice, and begs them to put all the French prisoners in the hands of the Onondagas, who, if affairs be arranged, may be able to restore them.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Belt is to tell them that he sees plainly he is forgotten as well as his father Onontio; inasmuch as they have not sent any Chiefs in quest of him, and to speak to their father; and that they would have afforded him pleasure had they sent him even a solitary one.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Belt is to tell all the Nations that he is desirous of seeing some Chiefs at Montreal; that he is like a drunken man who has lost his senses, seeing they send nobody for him, and he wishes those who had been in the habit of transacting business with him to come, in order that they may be aware of the good disposition Onnontio entertains towards the whole Nation, and of the good treatment he and his Nephews have received since they have been placed under his care in France.

The 6<sup>th</sup> Belt is to tie the arms of the Five Nations in order to draw them to Montreal, after which they will take him back with them.

The 7<sup>th</sup> Belt is to say, that it is at his request Onnontio has sent one of his principal officers whom they also well know to accompany his people; that this Belt is likewise to exhort them

not to listen to the Dutch who have turned their heads, and not to meddle with the affairs of those men, nor to be uneasy because Onnontio has begun to chastise them as they are Rebels to their lawful King who is protected by the Great Onnontio (that is, the King). That this war does not concern them, which they may perfectly understand because the French, in sacking Corlard, did no harm to those of their Nation, all of whom they sent back without wishing even to bring any of them away prisoners.

The 8<sup>th</sup> and last Belt is to say, that the Orehaoué is brother of all the French, but particularly of Collin, who had great care of them during their voyage from France and since their return to this Country, and that they both form but one body; and that being unwilling though anxious to go and see them until they came in quest of him, he divides himself in two and sends one-half of himself, to invite them to come and get him in all safety, inasmuch as they will be as free as he; that he does not wish to quit his father to whom he desires to be always united. Let them take courage, then, and come to Montreal where they will find him with Onnontio, who always entertains for him and the entire Nation, the same friendship that he has given them so many proofs of, during ten years.

Gagniegoton was not among the number of those Indians who returned to their country. Chevalier d'Eau was accompanied by four Frenchmen and by Colin, of whom Orehaoué speaks in those Belts, who always acted as Interpreter to the Count in the voyage from France and since his arrival here. He was not entrusted with any message for the Iroquois. He was only to be present at the resolutions to be adopted on Orehaoué's message, to support the negotiation of those people, without being a party to it himself, and be a witness of all in order to make a faithful report of it.

No reliable news have been received from him since he left. We have only learned from the English who came this fall to attack Quebec, that the Iroquois, as a proof that they desired no arrangement with us, had conducted him to New-York, and that he was a prisoner there without any harm being done him.

M. de Louvigny, a half pay captain, whom the Count sent to Missilimakinak to relieve Sieur de la Durantaye, also a reduced captain who commanded there, left Montreal at this time with Sieur Nicolas Perrot who was entrusted with presents and messages which the Count sent to all the Upper Nations. He was to dissuade them from the alliance they were negotiating with the Iroquois and English and which was nigh concluded. I send you copy of these messages.

He was accompanied by one hundred and forty-three French Voyageurs and six Indians. The French were going in search of peltries belonging to them, and which they could not bring down here in former years in consequence of the war, Captain d'Hosta and Lieutenant de la Gameraye, both reduced officers, were likewise ordered to accompany them with thirty men, only as far as the Calumets, sixty leagues from Montreal, to bring back news of their passing that place, beyond which there was no longer any danger.

On the twenty-second of May, they left the head of the Island of Montreal; having halted on the second of June, three leagues above the place called Les Chats, under shelter of a point that shot out quite far into the River, they discovered two Iroquois canoes which appeared at the end of the Point.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Louvigny and d'Hosta resolved to send thither three canoes of ten men each, and sixty men by land to surround them on all sides. Sieurs d'Hosta and De la Gameraye

embarked on board the canoes and Sieur de Louvigny was to lead the land party. The three canoes soon reached the enemy, and received a heavy point blank fire, the enemy aiming at them from the shore where they lay in ambush. Four Frenchmen were killed by this first volley. Two only remained unhurt in the canoe of Sieur de la Gerneraye who wished to be the first to land. They were therefore obliged to return to the place where they had left the other canoes. They found Sieur de Louvigny there, whom Perrot would not permit to quit him, for fear of risking the King's presents too much, and of being no longer in a condition (in case they were defeated) of continuing their voyage, and terminating the negotiation they were engaged in with the upper Nations.

The urgent prayers of Sieur d'Hosta and the despair of Sieur de Louvigny at the loss of his men, prevailed over Perrot's objections. They put themselves at the head of fifty @ sixty men and ran over land to attack the ambuscade of the enemy. Their first shock was so overwhelming that they forced the Indians to embark precipitately. They killed in all more than thirty Iroquois and many were wounded in the four canoes that escaped of the thirteen which they numbered. Four prisoners were taken; two men and two women. One of the men has been carried to Missilimakinak and eaten by the Hurons and Outawas; the other who was brought to Quebec, has been presented by the Count to Orehaoué.

Sieur d'Hosta returned to Montreal after the fight, and Sieur de Louvigny continued his journey without any mishap. You will learn, by and by, the result of this negotiation.

News was shortly after received through some volunteers who returned and the prisoners they took, of the expedition from Three Rivers commanded by Sieur d'Hertel.

He was accompanied by three of his sons, twenty-four Frenchmen, twenty Soccoquis Indians and five Algonquins, making in all fifty two men. They left Three Rivers on the twenty-eighth of January. After a long and most fatiguing journey he arrived on the twenty-seventh March near an English Village called Salmon falls,<sup>1</sup> which he resolved to attack after reconnoitering the place. He separated his party into three divisions in order to assault the three principal points. The first, composed of eleven men, was to attack a small stockaded fort of four bastions; the second, of fifteen, to capture a large fortified house, and himself with the balance was to attack another Fort which was supplied with a cannon. These three posts were carried without any great resistance. Those who made any resistance were killed, and the others were taken prisoners to the number of fifty-four. One Frenchman had his thigh broken in this attack and died the day following. Twenty-seven houses were burnt, and two thousand head of cattle perished in the stables. After this blow, scarcely any thing remained on the premises which were only six leagues distant from Pescadouet,<sup>2</sup> an English town, from which a considerable force could march against him. And, in fact, two Indians reported to M. d'Hertel, in the course of the night, that a body of two hundred men was coming to attack him. He made a stand on the bank of a small river<sup>3</sup> which the enemy, in order to reach him, was obliged to cross on a very narrow bridge. He laid four of them on the ground and wounded ten others, and forced them to leave him master of the field of battle. The son of M. Crevier, Seigneur of Saint Francis, and a Soccoquis were killed there; the Commander's oldest son was wounded by a musket ball in the thigh, which has lamed him. M. d'Hertel continued his retreat as rapidly as possible and three days after, having sent out some men to see if he were not pursued, they met some English scouts and

<sup>1</sup> Now, Berwick, New Hampshire.

<sup>2</sup> Portsmouth, N. H.

<sup>3</sup> Wooster river. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I., 207.



killed three of them. He succeeded without any other adventure in retreating as far as the Village of the Indians where he left his son to have his wound attended to. He learned there that Sieur de Portneuf had not yet struck a blow, and had not been gone more than two days. This obliged him to send Sieur Gastineau his nephew, with some Frenchmen and prisoners to the Count here with the news of this expedition. Sieur Maugras went off likewise with five Algonquins and took the Saint Francis route. No intelligence has been received of him since. Sieur Hertel afterwards joined Sieur de Portneuf near Koskebé with thirty-six men, including French and Indians.

This officer had left Quebec on the 28<sup>th</sup> January with fifty Frenchmen and had as Lieutenant Sieur de Courtemanche, Repentigny his cousin. Sieur de Portneuf is the third son of Monsieur de Becancourt. He was to go and join Sieur de Menneval's Company of which he was lieutenant, and had served here in the same capacity. Sixty Abenaki Indians from the falls of the Chaudière accompanied him. They spent all the months of February, March, April and the half of May, in going with great difficulty, hunting on their way, to another Abenaki village, where they did not find any person. They pushed farther down the River Quinibequi and met, in another village, the Indians returning from the war against the English, six of whom had been killed. All our Indian allies in the neighborhood were called together and the party repaired on the 25<sup>th</sup> May to within four leagues of the place they were to attack. This post is called Koskebé, and is situate on the sea coast. It had a considerable fort<sup>1</sup> well supplied with ammunition and eight pieces of cannon, four other small forts stood adjacent to it but did not offer so good a resistance. Four Indians and two Frenchmen placed themselves immediately on the day following their arrival, in ambush near the fort; and a man having ventured out at day break and death cries being afterwards raised, the English became aware that some Indians were in their neighborhood. At noon, thirty men<sup>2</sup> issued from the principal fort, and came to the spot where our people lay who, after having discharged their guns at ten paces distance, rushed on them sword and hatchet in hand, and pursued them so hotly, that only four of them, all of whom were wounded, entered the fort again. As our men followed hot foot, they were exposed to the fire of one of the forts in the proximity of which they happened to find themselves. One Frenchman received a wound in the thigh, and an Indian was killed. At night the principal fort was summoned to surrender, but an answer was returned that they should defend themselves to the death.

The Count's order was, not to attack any fort, for fear of losing too many people; but to attend exclusively to laying waste the country. This order could not be executed, all the surrounding places having been abandoned in consequence of notice of the approach of this party having been given by a soldier who had been with M. Hertel and had been taken prisoner by the English. Under these circumstances it was unanimously resolved to attack the large fort in form, as it was impossible to capture it otherwise. The entire of the enemy had withdrawn into it and had abandoned the four smaller ones. Our people lay during the night of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, on the ocean within fifty paces of the fort under cover of a very bold bluff, whence they had no fear of the enemy's continual cannonadings and heavy fire of musketry. On the night of the twenty-eighth the trench (*traversée*) was opened. Our Canadians and Indians had not much experience in that mode of besieging places. They did not fail to work right vigorously, and by good fortune found in the forts that had been

<sup>1</sup> Fort Loyal. It stood at the foot of King street, in the present city of Portland, Maine. *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, I, 208, note.

<sup>2</sup> Under Lieutenant Thaddeus Clark. *Williamson*.

abandoned, some implements wherewith to remove the earth. This work advanced with such rapidity, that the enemy demanded a parley in the course of the night of the twenty-eighth. They were required to surrender their fort, stores and provisions, and quarter was promised their garrison. They asked, on their side, six days to consider these proposals. They were allowed only the night to make up their minds, and the work continued. Their fire redoubled on the next morning—they threw a quantity of grenades without much effect. On arriving by trenches at the pallisades, preparations were made to set these on fire by means of a barrel of tar that had also been discovered, and some combustibles. Seeing this machine approaching very near them, and not being able to prevent it, those who pushed it along being sheltered in the trench, they hoisted a white flag in order to capitulate. The commander surrendered himself shortly after to *Sieur de Portneuf*, and the entire garrison and those in the fort marched out to the number of seventy men, exclusive of women and children. They were all conducted to the camp. A moment afterwards four vessels, crowded with people, made their appearance but seeing no English flag flying they retired. The fort was fired, the guns spiked, the stores burnt and all the inmates made prisoners. The Indians retained the majority of them. Captain *Davys*, the Commander, and the two daughters of his lieutenant<sup>1</sup> who had been killed, were brought hither with some others. Our people decamped on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June after having set fire to all the houses they found within a circle of two leagues, all of which were unoccupied. They arrived here on the 23<sup>d</sup> of the same month—*Saint John's* eve. One Frenchman had his arm broken in the trench by a cannon ball, and an Indian received a wound in the thigh.

There was another expedition against the English, in canoes. *Sieur de Beauvais*, son of *Sieur de Tilly*, accompanied by *Sieur de la Brosse*, a reduced Captain, and four other Frenchmen, joined the Indians of the Sault, and of the Mountain who composed the party which was led by the Great Mohawk.

They marched from the eighteenth of May to the twenty-sixth of the same month, without meeting any one. Scouts whom they sent out in the morning informed them they had heard the report of a gun, and shortly after they attacked two wigwams in which they discovered fourteen persons whom they seized.

These prisoners told them that they would find the remainder of their party, amounting to thirty men with their women and children, on the path they were pursuing towards an English fort which they were desirous of attacking. They continued in that direction and were the first to fall into an ambush those people had prepared for them. They attacked it, sword in hand, and carried every thing before them, after having killed four men and two women. They made forty-two prisoners, among whom were eight English women (*Anglaises*).

They did not think it prudent to go any farther, having learned that there were seven hundred *Mohegans* (*Loups*) a day and a half's journey off who were in wait for them; and they retraced their steps towards *Montreal*.

Being arrived at noon of the fourth of June at *Salmon river* which falls into *Lake Champlain*, they constructed some canoes there for their return, and whilst engaged at evening prayer, were discovered by a party of *Algonquins* and *Abenakis* of *Three Rivers* who were on a war excursion in the same direction whence they were coming, and who attacked them the next morning at sunrise and killed two of their men and wounded ten; two Frenchmen, six Indians and two of the English prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Clark. *Supra*, p. 11.

This mistake was the more to be regretted as the Great Mohawk,<sup>1</sup> who has been mentioned in connection with the affair at Corlard, was killed there. This is an irreparable loss which has drawn tears from the eyes of the entire country. Misfortune, it seems, attached to this party. All those who were defeated and taken prisoners by our people, were our most faithful allies. They had just made a successful attack with Sieur Hertel on the English, as could be proved by their prisoners. But the Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain knew nothing of it. This accident might have caused trouble, but through the address which was used in allaying discontent, it passed over.

Advice was received at Quebec, at the same time, of the fight which took place at Point aux Trembles, on the Island of Montreal, with some Iroquois canoes, probably a portion of the hunters who had learned the defeat of their party by Sieurs de Louvigny and D'Hosta, and had come, with a view to be revenged, by the River des Prairies, a branch of the Grand river which runs North of the Island. They were discovered by a surgeon named Jallot, who gave notice of their approach to Sieur de Colombet, a reduced Captain, who put himself at the head of twenty-five settlers and lay in ambush for them. The enemy charged him manfully and were received as bravely, but as our people were much inferior in number to theirs, they were obliged to give way, after having lost twelve men among whom was Sieur Collombet. The enemy lost twenty-five men in this affair, and retreated also.

Some time previously a party had made its appearance at la Riviere Puante,<sup>2</sup> opposite Three Rivers, and carried off fifteen or sixteen persons, Women and Children. They were followed, and as the pursuit was rather hot, they killed their prisoners so as to be able to escape more rapidly.

The Count had detached two parties of Regulars for the protection of the settlements on the south side of the River which were the most exposed. The 1<sup>st</sup> was commanded by Chevalier de Clermont, a half-pay Captain, who was to keep up a constant scout between Montreal and Sorel, a distance of about eighteen leagues.

The other which was commanded by Chevalier de la Motte, also a reduced Captain, was to patrol from Three Rivers to Saint Francis on Lake Saint Peter and come down in the direction of Quebec.

Chevalier de Clermont, on arriving at Sorel, learned that five or six children who were herding cattle in the vicinity of the fort, had just been carried off by a party of the enemy. He followed in pursuit with the best of his men and some settlers who joined him, speedily overtook the enemy and killed one on the spot, recovered four of the children, and put the rest of the party to flight. Four other men belonging to the same party have since been found killed; among these was an Englishman whose commission as magistrate of Orange has been taken and sent to My Lord. They killed the fifth child who was the youngest, as it was unable to follow them.

By the return of M. de Portneuf, news was received that some vessels coming from Boston had appeared off the coast where he had been engaged with his expedition. They were steering towards Port Royal which is the principal French fort in Acadia. This news was confirmed in the course of July, when the particulars were received of the surrender of that place. M. de Menneval was the King's commander, and governor of that Country. He had a garrison of between sixty and eighty men; eighteen pieces of cannon not mounted (*point en batterie*), and the fortifications were so trifling that they in no wise protected the place.

<sup>1</sup> This Chief, who was known among the English by the name of Kryn, removed from Caughnawaga, on the Mohawk river to the Indian village of Laprairie, in Canada, about the year 1674. *See*.

<sup>2</sup> River Beaucourt.

Seven ships, which appeared pretty well armed, having a force on board exceeding 700 men summoned him to surrender. He accepted a tolerably advantageous capitulation, as he did not consider himself in a condition to resist. He was promised permission to march out with his garrison, arms and baggage, and to be conveyed to Quebec. He surrendered on the word of General Phips. But when the English became masters of the fort, they did not consider themselves any longer bound to observe any promises. The governor and all his garrison, along with the Reverend Mess<sup>rs</sup> Petit<sup>1</sup> and Trouvé, missionaries in that country, were made prisoners. The Governor's and the Priests' residences and the Company's store were plundered; the Church, according to their goodly custom, was desecrated by divers ribaldries and infamous actions, and everything it possessed in the shape of ornaments was carried off. They left a serjeant of the garrison to command, under them, the colonists who had signed the Convention, to whom they permitted the free enjoyment of their properties on submitting to King William. They hoisted the English flag, which, on the arrival of M. Perrot, has since been removed by the settlers; the houses of the latter have consequently been burnt, and some of themselves hanged by other English pirates who came to the same place.

Monsieur de Menneval, his garrison and the Priests have been conveyed to Boston, where they still for the most part remain.

M. Perrot was absent from Port Royal at the time of its capture. He arrived there almost at the same time as his ship which came from France with M. de Villebon, who was in command of a company at Acadia, and steered his vessel towards the River Saint John in order to be able to unload her without anxiety. But some English pirates having had notice of the circumstance attacked him and he was constrained to escape on shore with Sieur de Villebon. No one of consequence remained, with the exception of Sieur de Saccardie, an Engineer, who went to that country in order to fortify Port Royal and was taken with the ship. M. Perrot having concealed himself sometime in the woods, was discovered one day whilst taking some rest, and made prisoner. He was subjected to a thousand indignities; but was fortunate enough, as we are informed, to have been overtaken by a French privateer who recaptured his ship and also took the English pirates by whom he had been seized. Several other occurrences took place between the French of Acadia and our Indians, and the English who summoned the settlers of the River St. John to sign the Convention which those of Port Royal had accepted, but they were ill received, and retired with some loss. Our Cannibas<sup>2</sup> and Abenakis<sup>3</sup> Indians have not ceased making war on them since M. de Port-Neuf's

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Louis PERROT, of the Quebec Seminary, was born at Rouen in 1629, and admitted to Holy orders at Quebec on the 21st December, 1670. In 1672 he was appointed Chaplain of the Fort at Sorel, and returned to Quebec in 1673. He went back to Sorel the same year, and finally left it in 1676. He was sent to Acadia in 1677 and fixed his residence at Port Royal, where he was taken prisoner by Phips, on 25th May, 1690, and carried to Boston. He returned to Port Royal in the course of the same year, and retired from Acadia in July, 1700; remained at the Seminary of Quebec until 22d December, 1702, when he was appointed to the Parish of Ancient Lorette. He resigned that charge on account of his infirmities in 1705, and died in the Quebec Seminary on the 3d June, 1709, aged 80 years. *Rev. E. A. Taschereau's Memoir on the Missions at Acadia dependent on the Seminary of Quebec.*

<sup>2</sup> The Canibas were a tribe of Abenakis on the Kennebec river, and consisted of two or three villages. The territories they claimed extended from the sources of the Kennebec to Merry-meeting bay and the islands on the eastern side of the Sagadahock, probably to the sea. They are called by modern English writers, Norridgewocks, from their famous village. *Williamson's History of Maine*, I., 466, 467.

<sup>3</sup> The Abenakis formed one of the two great families into which the Aborigines of Maine were divided, and consisted of four tribes; the Sokokia, or Saco Indians; the Anasagunticooks, or those of the Androscoggin; the Canibas, or Kennebecks, and the Wawenocks, called Pemaquid and, sometimes Sheepscot, Indians. They originally inhabited the country between Mount Agamenticus (now York) and St. George's river, both inclusive; and eventually removed for the most part to Canada, where they are now known as the St. Francis Indians. *Williamson*, I., 463-469.

departure; they have been burning them out as far as the vicinity of Boston; accompanied by some French, they have defeated them in divers considerable rencounters, and however feeble they might be against very strong parties, have always remained masters of the field of battle. The son of *Sieur de Bellefonds*, a gentleman much attached to the Count, who had performed wonders with *Sieur de Portneuf's* detachment and remained with the Indians in order to go out again with a war party, has, after numerous brave actions, been unfortunately killed with six Indians in a fight in which 40 Abenakis contended against six hundred men; their small number did not prevent them routing their enemies, and killing a number of them.

As I am on the subject of the Abenakis, I shall submit to you, Madam, an extract of a letter they have addressed to the Count with a belt requesting him to cause the prisoners taken by the Indians of the Sault to be restored to them; namely, those of whom I spoke to you in *Sieur de Beauvais' expedition*. These are their words:—

“Father, suffer me to interrupt you for a moment with a recital of my troubles. To whom can a child disburden his heart if not to his father? You are aware what has happened to my brother, the Praying Iroquois (Thus they designate the Iroquois our allies, who have become baptized.) He mistook for enemies my relatives and some even of those who a short time before, had accompanied the French whom you sent against the English. He still retains them prisoners. This is what troubles me. I have just told him that, considering that accident as a pure mistake, I did not in truth feel unfriendly on account of it, but I did hope that on discovering, he would disavow, his error, and restore my relatives to me. Father, this Belt presented to you is to request you to confirm my word with your voice, or rather to draw from your heart, full of wisdom, words more effectual than mine to persuade them to restore us our relatives, who will come to dwell with us here if you think proper. If they refuse to restore them to us, I apprehend that my Brother at Acadia will take it ill and become disaffected in consequence, whereas I am sure he will listen to me, however bad the thoughts that might be engendered, if they be restored.”

Here is also the Belt they addressed to the Iroquois:—

“Brother Praying Iroquois—for such is the name we call you since Prayer and Obedience to Onnontio, our common Father, have happily reunited us. I am about to visit you by this Belt, in order to tell you that those whom you still retain prisoners are my relatives, and to request you to restore them to me. Do not suppose that I have become ill affected on account of what has happened them. People often kill one another without distinguishing one from the other. These are some of the misfortunes attendant on war, and which it is impossible to avoid. But you would have an ill disposed heart, if after having mistaken my relatives, your allies, for enemies, after having carried them prisoners to your village, you would persist in detaining them when you are aware of your error. I measure your heart by mine own; if what happened to you befell me, and I had taken your relatives prisoners, I had no sooner perceived my mistake, than I should liberate them and restore them to you. Brother. Do not imagine, that I deceive you when I tell you, they are my relatives. The French can testify to the fact, because some of those whom you killed or captured did, as well as we, accompany them against the English, and that but a few days before the occurrence of that accident. I say nothing of the loss suffered by you of one of your warriors, (The Great Mohawk) though I feel it most sensibly. I am busy bewailing him and two of my warriors whom I also have lost in this melancholy rencounter. Brother Praying Iroquois! Let us weep for the Brave who are Dead, without allowing their deaths to upset our minds and estrange our hearts which Prayer and Friendship so long unite.”

On receipt of this message the Iroquois of the Sault restored the principal Chiefs and some Squaws. They have promised to restore the others when they will see them all disposed to join their brethren who are settled here at the Falls of the Chaudière,<sup>1</sup> within two leagues of Quebec.

Dependent on Acadia was another fort called Chedabouctou<sup>2</sup> commanded by Sieur de Montorgueil with a dozen soldiers. The English proceeded to attack it after the capture of Port Royal; landed eighty men, and sent three times to demand its surrender. But their summons was not heeded. They afterwards assaulted it and were so well received that they found themselves under the necessity of retiring. Again they caused it to be summoned, but in vain. Finally, having discovered in an old store detached from the fort, some wet powder they made fuses of it, by means of which they set fire to one end of the building which was thatched. The flames soon communicated to the rest of the house, and Sieur de Montorgueil found himself, after two other summons, under the necessity of capitulating, but evincing, at the same time, so much bravery and such determination to bury himself in the ashes of his fort, if they refused him favorable terms, that he and his garrison and a Nazareth Friar<sup>3</sup> who served him as Missionary were allowed to depart with the honors of war—drums beating and match lighting—and to be conveyed to Placentia in the Island of Newfoundland. The fort was entirely burnt, but no harm was done to the settlers.

Isle Percée, consisting of a few houses situate at the entrance of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, has also been plundered this summer by some English pirates. That place is the rendezvous for a few vessels which come there to fish for Cod. It contained only seven or eight settlers with a Franciscan convent and a few friars; six vessels were at anchor there and fishing with their boats, which were all taken without any resistance. The Captains and the major part of the crews escaped into the woods along with the settlers, and finally got to Quebec in Biscayan long boats.<sup>4</sup> The houses have been burnt and the Recollect church desecrated. Some of those who escaped returned hence to see if the enemy had left any thing, but they have been attacked by the English army which was on its way to besiege us. They abandoned their vessel and escaped.

These are the most important occurrences in Canada that I have to entertain you with, Madam. I proceed now to detail to you what has happened in Canada since the beginning of summer.

The Count's departure for Montreal was delayed by the desire he felt to see completed the fortifications he was engaged in having constructed for the security of Quebec. He had the palisades necessary to inclose it, cut and brought in during the winter. After the snow had disappeared, he began a strong stone redoubt to serve as a bastion. They communicated one with the other by means of a stockaded curtain ten feet high, terraced with good sods on the inside, almost to a man's height. The exigency of the case and the want of money prevented the construction of more solid works. However, the English who threatened to swallow us up with their formidable armament, have never dared to approach these palisades, although they had artillery on shore. That work having been completed and the Burgesses' Companies arranged for the guard of their town, the Count with the Intendant and his lady

<sup>1</sup> The Chaudière river rises, under the name of the river Arnold, in the height of land dividing the N. W. corner of Maine from Canada, and after contributing to form Lake Megantic, flows northerly to within two leagues of Quebec, where it forms a considerable and picturesque fall, and afterwards discharges itself into the River St. Lawrence.

<sup>2</sup> Now Milford Haven, in the Southeast of Nova Scotia.

<sup>3</sup> *Religieux du Nazareth* are properly Penitents of the third Order of St. Francis of the strict observance, or Recollects, founded by the Rev. Vincent Mussart in 1594, and also known as Fathers of Pious; that and Nazareth were the names of two of their Convents in Paris. *Helyot. Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.*

<sup>4</sup> *Biscayenne*; a row boat with sharp bow and stern, of various sizes, the largest having two masts. *Dictionnaire National.*

took his departure on the 22<sup>d</sup> of July. He arrived at Montreal on the 31<sup>st</sup> of the same month. He was long and impatiently expected there. Nothing new occurred since the engagement in which M. de Collombet had been killed. Indians were out from time to time in the direction of the English, for the purpose of taking prisoners. One among the rest brought in a person he had captured at the gate of Orange. Scouts were kept constantly above the Island, on the avenues by which the enemy could come down.

Hostile parties, not exceeding two or three men, found means, however, to glide in and kill a soldier at la Chine. A farmer was also killed, or carried off, at River des Prairies.

We had only two alarms up to the eighteenth of August, on which day we experienced a very serious one. Captain de La Chassaigne, commanding at la Chine, sent a letter in great haste to the Count, from which it appeared that one hundred Indian canoes were coming down within two leagues of his fort. Orders had already been issued to fire alarm guns to notify every one to retire from the country; but this terror was soon turned into joy, when news was brought by *Sieur de L'Ille Tilly*, who had outstripped the others, that it was five hundred Indians of various tribes who were coming from Missilimakinak to Montreal to trade.

He was accompanied in his canoe by four of the principal Chiefs, Outawas and Hurons.

All the other canoes which had reached la Chine arrived the next day. They did not address the Count until 25<sup>d</sup> in solemn Council which was attended by every person of note, both among the French and the Indians.

So great a number had not come down since the Count had left this country, and their voyage was the result of the negotiation of *Sieurs de Louvigny* and *Perrot* from whom they received the presents the King had sent them; they were very glad to see again a Father whom they had formerly loved so much.

The speech of the Outawas was confined almost entirely to trade. They repeatedly demanded to be furnished at a low rate with the articles they were desirous of buying. A promise to that effect was given them.

They likewise demanded an explanation of the hatchet *Perrot* had hung up in their cabin. An answer to that was postponed to another time.

The Baron, Chief of the Hurons, spoke much more modestly. He said that he came down to see his father, to listen to his voice and do his will; that he needed powder and lead, but did not ask his father for any thing. He presented three Belts. By the first he exhorted the prosecution of the war against the Iroquois as well as against the English. He said that he feared his Father and he would die, if this war were not waged. But whatever would happen, they must die together and on the same spot.

The second thanked the Count for having formerly drawn them to Missilimakinak where they were in safety.

The third prayed him to take pity on their comrades, the Outawas, and to give them good bargains.

*Souabouchie*, chief of the Nipissiriniens, an Algonquin Tribe, said, that, agreeably to the orders he had received from his father, he had been at the attack on *Corlard*; (He gallantly performed his duty there as well as with *Sieur d'Hosta*); that they had on that occasion spared the Mohawks, who nevertheless came even to the gates of Montreal to kill them; that afterwards going up to Missilimakinak, he had also received orders not to attack any Iroquois should he meet them; that he was not the first who concluded from these things, that his Father was desirous to make peace with them, and that he inquired his pleasure.

The first meeting passed off in this way, and trade did not commence until the next day. As it was about to begin, La Plaque, an Iroquois of the Sault,<sup>1</sup> who was returning from a scouting party in the direction of the English, came within a quarter of a league of the camp of the Outawas, repeating Death cries after their manner. The Outawas quitted their peltries, and seized their arms in order to sally forth, believing the enemy were at hand. But they soon returned to continue their trade.

This Indian reported that on his way towards Orange he had discovered a large hostile army on the borders of Lake Saint Sacrament, constructing canoes; that he had followed them for some days endeavoring to secure a prisoner, but that it was impossible; finally that he had suspended three tomahawks within sight of their cabins, indicating to them that they were discovered, and that he defied them to come to Montreal. These tomahawks are a species of club on which they carve figures and in that way manifest their wishes.

Precautionary measures were adopted on receiving this notice, which afforded a pretext for inducing the Outawas to remain longer among us.

On the twenty-fifth, they were entertained at a Grand Feast consisting of two oxen, six large dogs, two barrels of wine, some prunes, and tobacco to smoke.

The Count told them he had no doubt of their obedience, and required not a new confirmation of it from them; that he would undisguisedly explain his sentiments to them when they were ready to return to their country; that he demanded from them the same frankness; as regards the war against the Iroquois which they appeared so anxious for, that he intended to prosecute it unremittingly until that Nation came, themselves, to sue humbly for peace; in which, when it was made, they should be included, being as much his children as the French; that the occasion presented itself to avenge themselves; they were aware of the tidings he received that a powerful army was coming to ravage his country; that all that was necessary to conclude was, as to the mode of proceeding; whether to go and meet this army, or to wait for it with a firm foot; that he put into their hands the hatchet which had been formerly given them, and had since been kept suspended for them, and he doubted not they would make good use of it. He began, the first, with his interpreter, to sing the War song, hatchet in hand; the Chiefs, the principal Indians and some Frenchmen chanted it likewise; the Iroquois of the Sault and of the Mountain, the Hurons, the Nipisseriens, and such of the Indians from below as were present, appeared the most disposed to execute what was demanded of them.

To the song succeeded the feast, but it was rather a pillage than a repast, and they afterwards retired.

Chevalier de Clermont had received orders from the Count when going up to Montreal, to deviate from his ordinary course, and to proceed on a scout along the river Chambly as far as Lake Champlain, which is the route the enemy proposed to pursue in coming to attack this country. About the same time that La Plaque returned to Montreal, he discovered a number of fires and heard the report of some shots, up the Lake. He went to the place, and during the night saw eight of the enemy's canoes passing, in each of which were from eighteen to twenty men, who repaired to an island below the place where he lay in ambush. They were, doubtless, followed by others, and as he was afraid of being surrounded, and as his party, which consisted only of thirty men, could not resist so large a force, he retired under cover of the darkness, and encamped a league below the enemy. He watched them for two days

<sup>1</sup> Nephew of the Great Mohawk. *Supra*, p. 13.



successively; finally, as he feared an attack, he sent two of his canoes down the Chambly rapid, and with the third remained behind to be certain of every thing. He kept in the centre of the river to attract the enemy, two of whose canoes pursued, but could not overtake him; he found his men at the foot of the rapid, and proceeded by land with them to fort Chambly, whence he dispatched an officer named Sieur de la Bruère, who arrived at Montreal on Tuesday the 29<sup>th</sup> of August, at eleven o'clock at night.

This intelligence caused the Count to order the four guns to be fired as a signal to the troops, who were dispersed throughout all the settlements for the purpose of assisting the farmers to save their harvest. The nearest companies arrived in the morning with the settlers who were to accompany them; the others came in, one after the other, in the course of the day, and some of them left the same day for La Prairie de la Madelaine, two leagues above Montreal on the opposite bank of the river, which was the direction it was supposed the enemy intended to take.

The Indians were invited to join us, and some refreshments were given them in order to encourage them. They promised to send thither all their warriors and young men, the greater portion of whom started the same time as the Count, on Thursday afternoon.

At night a scouting party was sent out, consisting of two Frenchmen and two Indians of each tribe, making ten men in all. Friday morning, the first of September, the review came off, and this little army was found to be twelve hundred strong.

In the afternoon, some Iroquois of the Sault invited the chiefs of the other Tribes to visit the Count, when something of importance would be communicated to them.

Louis Atériata was the Orator. He offered several Belts and exhorted every one to open his heart to the Count, as they had promised, and not to conceal from him any, even the most secret, transaction.

He told the Outawas that he was aware of all their negotiation with our enemies; that he was informed of it by themselves. If they were indeed brethren, let them explain, then, why they wished to treat with the Iroquois, independent of the French.

One of the Outawas, who had accompanied *La Petite Racine* the head of the embassy to the Senecas, answered—It was true they had restored some Iroquois prisoners, and promised to give up some more; that they had been forced to declare war; to cease and renew hostilities without having been advised of the reason; that such conduct was wholly unintelligible to them, but that fearing lest Ounontio (i. e. M. de Denonville) who was unable to defend himself, should allow them to be crushed without affording them any assistance, they had been constrained to look, themselves, to their own safety, and by an arrangement prevent their ruin.

That this negotiation had not been concluded; that *La Petite Racine* had died at the Senecas; that the other messengers were at Missilimakinak, and had laid aside all idea of bringing this affair to a close, when they received their father's orders by the mouth of Perrot; that they had come down with a view to learn his will, and would no sooner have returned home than they would put all his orders into execution.

The Baron, a Huron chief, said: His Tribe did not participate in that affair; that as soon as he knew his father wished to wage war against the Iroquois, he sent one portion of his young men against them and had come, with the other, to see him.

The Count was very glad that Louis Ateriata had furnished him with an opportunity to learn the true sentiments of all the Indians. He promised to lead them against the enemy as soon as his scouts had returned; or to send them home as they requested.

They, then, went to their camp where their young men commenced a War dance which continued until night.

On Saturday at nine o'clock in the morning, the scouts returned. They had been as far as Chambly only, although they had promised to go farther. Reliance was placed on their report and representation that they had not seen any trails, and as it was of the greatest importance to finish the harvest, every one was dismissed home on the very same day. The Count returned to Montreal in the evening.

This negligence on the part of the Indians, who were too anxious to return home, was the cause of a small, and the only check we received this year from the Iroquois.

On the Monday after we left La Prairie de la Madelaine, the enemy, who no doubt had seen us and watched our movements, made an attack, a quarter of a league from the village at a place called La Fourche, where all the farmers and the garrison of the fort were engaged cutting the grain. This was the former site of the Village, the fort and La Prairie having been founded only as a more convenient place for defence; all the reapers were at a considerable distance one from the other, contrary to the orders they had received from the Count, and had no arms wherewith to defend themselves. The Officer in command of the garrison, had neglected to station sentinels and a guard who could give an alarm in case of attack. The enemy therefore encountered less difficulty than they would otherwise have met, had things been in a proper condition. Eleven farmers, three women, one girl and ten soldiers were either killed or taken prisoners. Little resistance was offered; six Iroquois, however, were killed on the occasion. They had time to set fire to all the houses and to some stacks of hay, and to kill some horned cattle before any reinforcement arrived from Montreal; after which they regained the forest.<sup>1</sup>

On the same day, 4<sup>th</sup> September, a meeting was held with the Outawas who were expressing a strong desire to depart. The Count told them they ought to be satisfied with the cheap bargains they had had, and if notice of their intended arrival had been given, they would have had still cheaper; that the canoes and provisions which they were selling the French who were going to their country, were not any cheaper than the goods they received in return.<sup>2</sup>

That as regards the war, he endorsed all that Nicholas Perrot had stated to them; and he again presented them with hatchets, as well for themselves as for their allies; that he believed, by engaging them to make war, he was giving them life, thereby guaranteeing them against death at the hands of the Iroquois which they could not otherwise escape.

To what the Hurons had said, he answered—That he was very glad to see them so well disposed to listen to the voice of their Father who will never abandon them, and who assures them that he will never lay down the hatchet until he shall have humbled the Iroquois, and forced them to sue for peace, in which they shall all be included as well as the French; that he exhorts them to harrass the enemy on their side as he will do on his, until an opportunity be found to attack them in their villages; previous to which they will receive news from him; that they knew what he had done to the English, and that he proposed continuing his operations; that if the English had been attacked rather than the Iroquois, it was because he regarded them as the instigators of the Iroquois revolt, and wished to punish them accordingly; that the Mohawks had been spared in the affair at Corlard, because Orehaoué had advised them of his return, and it was expected that on hearing it, they would again become dutiful

<sup>1</sup> The English account of this fight will be found in *Documentary History of New-York*, 8vo. II., 287.

<sup>2</sup> Que les canots et les vivres qu'ils vendaient aux Français qui allaient chez eux n'étaient pas moins chers que les marchandises qu'ils en recevaient. *Text.*

and sue for peace; but as they had made no overture, orders had been issued to spare them no longer; that they saw clearly, he opened his heart to them; let them decide what they had to do on their part.

They were then dismissed, and presents were made to all the Chiefs and principal men. The Count entertained them frequently at his table pending their sojourn at Montreal.

Three Indians made their appearance a few days after at the Fort of Chateaugay which was commanded by *Sieur Desmarais*, a reduced Captain. He had stepped out before they were discovered and was walking with a soldier and his servant. As he was somewhat ahead of these, he could not regain the fort where they were crying *To arms!* He was overtaken by the Indians who knocked him on the head with their hatchets but had not time to cut it off; they took away only three of his fingers. Nothing of moment occurred at Montreal since that time. Some alarms were given but they turned out to be false. Some of our Indians have gone to attack the Iroquois and have not yet returned.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> September a servant of *Sieur Crevier*, *Seigneur* of *Saint Francis* on *Lake Saint Peter*, being in the woods, discovered some of the enemy, and came in haste to communicate the intelligence to the Fort. *M. De La Mothe*, a reduced Captain, who had his detachment in that vicinity, arrived there about two o'clock in the afternoon. He wished at first to attack the enemy, and did in fact leave shortly after, accompanied by *Sieur de Murat* lieutenant to *Sieur de Galiffet* who commanded the fort. They had thirty-four men with them and discovered the enemy in their huts, who were not expecting them and were put to rout by the first charge which was a vigorous one; but the fugitives formed a junction with those in two other cabins which had not been attacked, and returning in great numbers and together, found our people divided and easily made them retreat in their turn. No more than half of them escaped. *Sieur de la Motte* was killed on the occasion and nothing has been heard of *Sieur de Murat*. Such is the account, Madam, of the last brush we have had with the Iroquois.

The Count was preparing to return to Quebec; winter quarters had already been designated for each of the companies; he was waiting only for *Sieur de la Durantaye* and some other Frenchmen who were coming down from *Missilimakinac*. They arrived about the first of October to the number of fifty-five canoes loaded with beaver.

*Ouabouchie*, Chief of the Upper Algonquins, whom I have already mentioned, had left the *Outawas* and came down again with their party to act as their scout. For the purpose of escorting him beyond danger on his return, he was allowed a detachment of thirty men who were to convey him fifty leagues beyond Montreal. They returned without meeting anything.

*Sieurs de Mantet*, *de Perigny* his brother, *S<sup>t</sup> Pierre de Repentigny* and *de Montesson*, with the two sons of *M. de la Vallière*, Captain of the Count's guards, went, also accompanied by fifty men, in the direction of *Fort Frontenac*, to try to take some prisoners from whom they might receive some intelligence of *Chevalier d'Eau* and of the enemy's plans. They have been as far as the fort, without meeting any one; they found only six trifling breaches in it although it was supposed entirely ruined. There is little appearance of the Iroquois having been there since spring, as the grass is every where extremely high. They arrived here two days after the departure of the English.

That of the Count for Quebec was fixed for Tuesday the tenth of October. As he was about to embark with the *Intendant* and *Lady*, a canoe, sent expressly by *M. Prevost*, Major of Quebec, arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon. It made extraordinary dispatch having left only on the seventh and brought two letters from him.

The first letter was dated the fifth, and he sent copy of the report brought by one of the principal Indians of Acadia of the Abenaki tribe, who was deputed expressly by his Chiefs.

"I come without loss of time to advise thee, that I have learned from an English woman of respectability whom we captured at the taking of Pescadouet,<sup>1</sup> that thirty ships, three of which are very large, are leaving in order to take Quebec; that these vessels are from Boston and four considerable towns; that the English boast they will reduce Quebec as easily as they have taken Port Royal. On learning this news the chiefs and principal men have deemed it necessary to send word to the Great Captain of Quebec. I have been twelve days coming; therefore it must be six weeks since this fleet sailed."

The second message was to request the Great Captain of Quebec that he cause the Praying Iroquois to restore their people whom they took on the supposition that they were attacking Indians entirely in the English interest.

The third, that they had sent this Sachem to tell the Great Captain of the French that their principal chiefs could not come this fall to speak with him as they had promised, because they are still actually at war; they will endeavor to send some one towards the end of next winter; that they will make a sudden irruption on the English after Christmas, when they expect them all to be returned home.

The other letter of the seventh stated that Sieur de Cananville had, on his way back from Tadoussac, and whilst stopping to ascertain if he did not perceive some French ships, had seen four, eight<sup>2</sup> of which had appeared to him very large.

M. Prevost, on this intelligence, dispatched his brother-in-law Sieur de Granville, a reduced lieutenant, with a well armed *biscouenne*<sup>3</sup> and canoe towards Tadoussac to obtain intelligence.

We started shortly after the receipt of this news, without, however, attaching much credit to it.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, whilst opposite S' Ours, fifteen leagues from Montreal, the Count received additional intelligence from M. Prevost confirming the first. He had learned from three men who had made their escape, that the vessel which the Misses La Lande and Jolliet were on board of, had been captured thirty leagues below Quebec, by an English fleet of thirty-three vessels; that the enemy might be about the Isle aux Coudres, twelve leagues off.

This last confirmation obliged the Count to dispatch Captain de Ramsay to inform M. de Callières thereof, and to order down the troops and a portion of the militia. He slept that night at Sorel.

Thursday. The wind being favorable, he arrived at noon at Three Rivers where he issued orders to send every body down. He was obliged to sleep in the sloop (*galliotte*) at Grondines, fifteen leagues below, as the night and bad weather prevented his going ashore.

On Friday, he could only reach Point aux Trembles, where he arrived at noon. The rain and storm detained him there the remainder of the day.

Saturday, 14<sup>th</sup>. He left in a canoe and arrived at noon at Quebec where, as you may well imagine, Madam, he was received with great joy. The citizens seemed to have no more fear, now that they possessed their governor; and although he brought along with him only two @ three hundred men, they openly declared that they waited unflinchingly for the English who could come whenever they pleased.

<sup>1</sup> Piscataqua, New Hampshire.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* The numbers, ought, doubtless, to be transposed.

<sup>3</sup> For an explanation of this term see note 4, *Supra*, p. 16.

On his arrival he inspected all the posts; found every thing in perfect good order, and was surprised at the diligence with which the Major had, within six days and with very little help, constructed retrenchments at unprotected points, and batteries which, one would have supposed, had been begun two months before.

Sieur Le Moyne de Longueuil had already gone with some Hurons and Abenakis to examine the enemy's movements; the settlements of Beaupré, Beauport, the Island of Orleans and Point Levy were perfectly well provided, and should the enemy approach them, the settlers had promised to make a good resistance, which they did effectually.

The other settlers around Quebec who were even protected by the town had flocked into it; streams of them were arriving every moment, and it appeared that every one would fain participate in an action which each hoped would terminate gloriously for Canada.

Sunday morning the 15<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>mo</sup>. M. de Vaudreuil, Colonel of the Regular Troops, left with a hundred men to meet and attack the enemy, should they land; he was, also, to keep them constantly in sight, and give notice of the moment of their arrival.

The Count dispatched at the same time two canoes which were to go along each side of the river, to meet our vessels and advise them of what was going on.

He caused the erection of a battery of eight guns to be begun the same morning on the height, to the right of the fort; it was completed next morning at day break.

Though I am no Engineer, I shall give you Madam, a brief description of Quebec, which will not be perhaps entirely technical, but you will excuse my imperfect ability in this regard.

You know that the River, at that point, forms a large basin; it flows down in a single stream and divides at the Island of Orleans, two leagues below, into two arms, one of which passes to the North between that Island and Côte de Beaupré, and the other to the South, between the same Island and Point Levy. Thus is formed that large basin, on the Beauport side of which the enemy's fleet came to an anchor. The falls of Montmorency, the most beautiful sheet of water in the world, separates Côte de Beaupré from Beauport which is only a league from Quebec. There is a Little river<sup>1</sup> between these two last mentioned places, fordable at low water.

Quebec is situate a little above Point Levy, on the opposite shore. It is divided into an Upper and a Lower Town. The only communication between these is by a very steep street.<sup>2</sup> The Churches and all the Convents are in the Upper Town. The fort is on the crest (*croupe*) of the Mountain (*Montagne*) and commands the Lower town, where the handsomest houses are located and all the Merchants reside.

The Palace in which the Intendant lives is almost wholly detached from the other parts of the town. It lies to the left, on the shore of the Little river, and at the base of the hill.

The fortifications the Count caused to be erected, began at that point, ascended towards the Upper town which they inclosed, and terminated on the fort side at the pitch of the Mountain, at the place called Cape Diamond.

A palisade was continued along the beach near the Palace, and ran under the Hospital as far as the fence of the Seminary where it was lost in inaccessible rocks. Above was another palisade that terminated at the same place, which is called Sault au Matelot, where a battery of three guns was erected.

<sup>1</sup> The River Saint Charles. It was called by Indians *Cabir-Coubat*, from its serpentine course, and received its present name in compliment to Mr. Charles des Boies, Vicar-General of the diocese of Pontoise, founder of the first mission of the Recolets of Canada, who built, hereabout, a handsome convent under the title of Notre Dame des Anges. *La Potherie. Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, I, 224.

<sup>2</sup> Mountain-street.

The other upper battery, already mentioned, stood to the right. There were two in the lower town of three eighteen pounders each, both of which were located in the interval between those above.

The entrances where there were no gates, were barricaded with heavy beams and hogsheads filled with earth, and mounted with pedereros.

The street leading from the Upper to the Lower Town was intersected by three distinct barricades (*retranchements*) formed of barrels and bags of earth. Another battery has been erected, since the attack, at the Sault au Matelot a little further to the right than the former one. Still another has been constructed at the gate leading to the Little river.<sup>1</sup>

Some small cannon were ranged around the Upper town, particularly on the Windmill hill<sup>2</sup> which served as a Cavalier.

Such, Madam, was the disposition of the town on the arrival of the English. But we placed more reliance on our good cause and the resolution each had seemingly formed to perform his duty well, than on such feeble fortifications.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, news arrived that the enemy's fleet had weighed anchor and passed the point at the lower end of the Island of Orleans. Another message stated that they had anchored three leagues from Quebec.

Monday 16<sup>th</sup> October. M. de Vaudreuil returned about three o'clock in the morning, and the ships' lights were perceptible shortly after. At day break, the entire fleet was discovered, numbering thirty-four sail, four only of which were first class ships; four others were smaller, and the remainder consisted of ketches, barks, brigantines or flyboats. The small craft ranged themselves along the Cote de Beauport, and the large ones kept farther out in the offing.

At ten o'clock a boat carrying a flag of truce at the bow, left the Admiral's ship and made toward the shore. Four canoes carrying a similar flag, went out to meet it; they met about midway. On board the boat was a trumpeter who accompanied the General's messenger. The latter was placed alone in a canoe; his eyes were bandaged and he was conducted to the Count's quarters. The following is a copy of the letter he presented:

Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over Their  
Majesties Forces of New England, by Sea and Land;

To Count Frontenac Lieutenant General and Governour for the French King at Canada;  
or in his absence, to his Deputy, or Him or Them, in Chief Command at Quebec.

The War between the two Crowns of England and France doth not only sufficiently warrant, but the Destruction made by the French and Indians under your command and encouragement, upon the Persons and Estates of their Majesties Subjects of New England, without any provocation on their part, hath put them under the necessity of this Expedition, for their own security and satisfaction.

And although the cruelties and barbarities used against them by the French and Indians might, upon the present opportunity, prompt unto a severe Revenge, yet being desirous to avoid all Inhumane and Unchristian like Actions, and to prevent shedding of Blood as much as may be;

<sup>1</sup> Now called Palace Gate.

<sup>2</sup> The "butte du Moulin" mentioned in the text was a hill or elevation, originally called Mount Carmel, situate behind Saint Louis-street. It was the site of a Windmill. *Letter of G. B. Faribault, Esq., Quebec.*

I the aforesaid Sir William Phips, Knight, do hereby in the Name, and on the Behalf of Their Most Excellent Majesties William and Mary, King and Queen of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by order of their Majesties Government of Massachuset Colony in New England, Demand a present Surrender of your Forts and Castles, undemolished, and the King's and other Stores, unembezzled, with a seasonable Delivery of all Captives; together with a Surrender of all your persons and Estates to my Dispose; Upon the doing whereof you may expect Mercy from me, as a Christian; according to what shall be found for their Majesties Service, and the Subjects' security. Which if you refuse forthwith to do, I am come provided, and am Resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by Force of Arms, to Revenge all wrongs and Injuries Offered, and bring you under Subjection to the Crown of England; and when too late, make you wish you had accepted of the Favour tendered.

Your answer positive in an Hour, returned by your own Trumpet, with the Return of mine, is Required, upon the Peril that will Ensue.

(Signed) WILLIAM PHIPS.

After this letter, which was in English, was interpreted, the Messenger pulled out of his fob a watch which he presented to the Count who took it and, pretending not to see distinctly what hour it was, the Messenger came forward to inform him that it was ten o'clock, and required him to send him back, with his answer, at eleven o'clock precisely. "I will not keep you waiting so long," replied the Count. "Tell your General I do not recognize King William, and that the Prince of Orange is an Usurper who has violated the most sacred ties of blood in wishing to dethrone his father in law; that I recognize no other Sovereign in England than King James; that your General ought not to be surprised at the hostilities he says are carried on by the French against the Massachusetts Colony, since he must expect that the King, my Master, having received the King of England under his protection, and being ready to replace him on his Throne by the force of his arms, as I am informed, would order me to wage war in this country, on a people who would rebel against their lawful Sovereign."—And pointing to a number of Officers with whom his room was filled, he said to him, smiling, "Does your General imagine, even if he offered me better conditions, and that I were of a temper to accept them, that so many gallant gentlemen would consent to it, and advise me to place any confidence in the word of a man who has violated the Capitulation he had made with the Governor of Port Royal; who has been wanting in loyalty to his lawful King, forgetful of all the benefits he has received from him, in order to adhere to the fortunes of a Prince who, whilst he endeavors to persuade the world that he would be the Liberator of England and Defender of the Faith, tramples on the laws and privileges of the Kingdom, and overturns the English Church. This is what Divine Justice, which your General invokes in his letter, will not fail some day to punish severely."

This speech having greatly astonished and alarmed the Messenger, he asked the Count if he would not give him an answer in writing? "No," replied he; "the only answer I can give your General will be from the mouth of my cannon and musketry, that he may learn it is not in such a style that a person of my rank is summoned. Let him do his best as I will do mine!"

On this reply being rendered, the messenger's eyes were again bandaged, and he was conducted back to his boat.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, some of the enemy's boats went in pursuit of Sieur de Longueil who was passing along the fleet on his return with his Indians, in company with

Sieur de Maricourt, his brother, who was coming from Hudson's bay in the ship commanded by Sieur de Bonnaventure, the latter having been fortunately advised sufficiently in season to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Longueil, however, gained the shore and received them with a sharp volley of musketry. The boats were forced to return to their ships, and on their way were saluted also by the people of Beauport, who were on the beach.

Tuesday, a bark crowded with men proceeded from the Point Levi side to between Beauport and the Little River: a pretty considerable skirmish occurred there after she grounded, and she would have been boarded were it not that the people would have to go up to their waists in the water to reach her.

Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup>. About two o'clock in the afternoon, almost all the boats were seen making towards the same point where this bark grounded the evening before. As it was uncertain where the enemy would land, there was but a small force at that place. The major portion of the Montreal and Three Rivers Militia, and those who were considered the most alert, were dispatched thither to skirmish. The enemy, to the number of two thousand men, had already landed and were drawn up in order of battle before the arrival of our people, who with some settlers from Beauport that united with them, amounted to at most three hundred men, all of whom were not engaged, as the ground was very uneven, full of brushwood and rocky, add to which, the tide was out and they were half up to the knee in mud. They were divided into several small parties, and attacked this large force which was very compact, without observing scarcely any order, and in Indian fashion. They caused a first battalion to give way and force it to retire to the rear. The firing continued over an hour; our men skipped incessantly around the enemy from tree to tree; consequently the furious fire to which they were exposed, did not greatly inconvenience them whilst they took sure aim on men who were in a solid mass. The Count detached a battalion of the troops to bring off our people. We lost on this occasion Chevalier de Clermont, a half pay captain who had volunteered with some other officers. He advanced rather too far, and was unable to retreat. The son of Sieur de la Touche, Seigneur of Champlain, was also killed on that occasion and Sieur Juchereau de S<sup>t</sup> Denis<sup>1</sup> aged over sixty years, who commanded the Beauport Militia, had his arm broken. We had, in all, ten or twelve wounded, one of whom is since dead; all the others are expected to recover.

The enemy lost in that affair one hundred and fifty men according to the report of a farmer who visited the field of battle during the night. They burnt some houses after the battle.

At night, their four largest ships anchored before Quebec. The Rear admiral who bore the blue flag, lay a little to the left, nearly opposite the Sault au Matelot; the Admiral was on his right; the Vice admiral a little above, both opposite the Lower town, and the fourth who bore the pennant of Commodore (*chef d'escadre*) lay somewhat further towards Cape Diamond. We fired at them the first, and they then began a pretty brisk cannonade. We answered them as vigorously. They fired almost entirely at the Upper town. That evening a citizen's son was

<sup>1</sup> NICHOLAS JUCHEREAU DE ST. DENIS, son of Jean Juchereau, Sieur de More, a native of Ferté Vidame, diocese of Chartres, came to Quebec with his father in 1640. In 1649 he married Marie daughter of Robert Giffart, Sieur de Beauport, first surgeon of the Province. He was appointed by M. de Tracy, captain in the militia; served in both campaigns against the Mohawks and continued to act in that capacity in the various subsequent campaigns and in 1690 was wounded as above. For his bravery he obtained letters of Noblesse in 1692 entitling him to the rank of Esquire. He died at Beauport in October of that year, and was buried on the 5th of the same month. His age according to the Parish Register was about 66. His son was the celebrated St. Denis who attempted in 1700 to found a settlement at the mouth of the Ohio, and subsequently took a prominent part in the colony of Louisiana.



killed and another wounded. Sieur de Vieuxpont had his gun carried away and his arm disabled by the same shot. About eight o'clock at night the firing ceased on both sides.

Thursday. At day break we again were the first to begin. The enemy had, seemingly, slackened their fire somewhat. The Rear admiral who kept up the most vigorous fire found himself greatly incommoded by the Sault au Matelot batteries, and that to the left, below. He also was obliged the first to haul off (*relâcher*). The Admiral followed him pretty closely, but very precipitately; he had received more than twenty shot in his hull many of which were below the water line. All his rigging was cut; his main mast was almost broken so that he was obliged to fish it; a number of men were wounded and several killed. For the most of these shots he was indebted to Sieur de S<sup>e</sup> Hélène, who, himself, aimed the guns. Fearing to receive any more which would finish him, he paid out the whole of his cable, cut it, and drifted away in disorder. The two others held on their fire a little longer, but ceased between noon and five o'clock in the evening. They went for shelter into *L'ance des mères*, beyond Cape Diamond, where they repaired as best they could. A detachment was sent to this cove to observe them; some of their men were killed on shore, and they were obliged to anchor beyond the range of musket shot.

Friday. Sieurs de Longueil, de S<sup>e</sup> Hélène with some Frenchmen began to skirmish, about two o'clock in the afternoon, with the van of the enemy's army which was marching in good order along the Little River, and drove in their flankers (*gens détachés*) who rejoined the main body. The engagement was a long while obstinate; our people fighting in the same manner as the day before. The Count had, meanwhile, caused three battalions of Regulars to be posted in order of battle on this side of the river, and was at their head to receive the enemy should he attempt crossing. Our men retreated regularly but unfortunately Sieur de Sainte-Hélène had his leg broken by a musket ball. His brother, Sieur de Longueil, who had an arm broken last year at the battle of La Chine, received, also, a contusion in the side, and had it not been for his powder horn which happened to be where the ball struck, he would have been killed. Two other men were wounded and a soldier and farmer killed. The enemy fired some volleys of cannon at our people, without effect. They sent some shots, also, where the Regulars were in line, from which we knew that they had loaded some guns. They were answered from the battery at the Little River gate. They afterwards set fire to some barns, which could not be prevented, and killed some cattle that were wandering about the country and sent them on board their ships. They did not lose less on this occasion than on the preceding.

Saturday 21<sup>st</sup>. Sieur de Villieu, a half pay Lieutenant, who had demanded a small detachment of Volunteer soldiers from the Count, proceeded also towards the enemy's camp.

Sieurs de Cabanac and Duclos de Beaumanoir<sup>1</sup> went out likewise with some other small detachments.

Sieur de Villieu began skirmishing about two o'clock in the afternoon. He drew the enemy into an ambuscade where he maintained his post a considerable time. With a view to surround him, they detached a party which was attacked by another ambuscade of militia belonging to Beauport, Beaupré and the Island of Orleans. Sieurs de Cabanac and de Beaumanoir made an attack also, on their side. Our men skirmished whilst constantly retiring until they reached a house when they came to a halt where there was a quantity of palisades on a hill, and from behind these renewed their fire. The fight continued until night, and the reinforcements the enemy were always sending thither served but to increase their loss. We had only a

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix makes three, of these two officers. *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, I, 86.

young student and one Indian wounded. The enemy must have suffered considerably. The night, which was very dark and wet, afforded them means to remove their dead and to conceal the extent of their disaster and prevent its being known; for their alarm was so great that under favor of the darkness they precipitately reëmbarked and abandoned their artillery. Sieur de Villieu and the militia were not aware of the circumstance, and did not perceive their success until daybreak the next morning Sunday the twenty-second. The Indians, who first made the discovery, found five cannon with their field furniture, a hundred pounds of powder, and forty @ fifty balls; those of Beauport and Beaupré took possession of them. Several boats attempted to land in order to retake them and were repulsed.

Captain de Moine went out on the evening before, with a hundred men. He made a very considerable circuit to reach Beauport and was not in the engagement. The Count stationed him at some distance from the Camp of the militia in order to support them in case of a fresh attack. They felt confident of keeping their ground with two pieces of cannon which were left them. The others three were brought hither the same day.

In the afternoon the two Vessels which were in *L'anse des Mères* set sail in order to rejoin the fleet; they were saluted with some shots in passing which they returned without doing us much harm.

Monday. Captains de Subercaze and D Orvilliers started at the head of one hundred men to throw themselves into the Island of Orleans. Sieur de Villieu also received orders to go down to Cape Torment, below Cote de Beaupré. It was correctly surmised that the enemy would soon quit us, and it was feared they would attack those places. They sailed during the night and drifted down with the tide; but some not being able to find good anchorage were obliged to put into port. Finally, they all disappeared on Tuesday at ten o'clock in the morning, and went to anchor at *L'Arbre Sec*.

Miss de La Lande, who was prisoner on board the Admiral's ship, seeing they were about to return home inquired of the General, through an interpreter, if he wanted to take her along and abandon a number of his countrymen who were prisoners at Quebec; if an exchange were proposed, she hoped such negotiation might succeed. She, herself, was sent on parole to make this proposal. The Count readily consented, being very glad to recover her and her maid, Sieur de Grandville, and Sieur Trouvé, a priest, who had been taken at Port Royal and had been brought hither with some others from Acadia, expecting they would be very useful after the capture of the Country.

In the evening she returned, greatly elated, on board the Admiral's ship. The English prisoners we wished to restore were mustered that very night; they consisted merely of women and children and none of any consideration except Captain Davys<sup>1</sup> who was commander of the Fort which Sieur de Portneuf took. There were, besides, his lieutenant's two daughters who appeared very well bred. The Count had ransomed them from the Indians, and put them to board. Another girl<sup>2</sup> of nine or ten years of age who was somewhat well looking, had

<sup>1</sup> SILVANUS DAVIS belonged to one of the oldest families in Maine. He had served already in the Indian war of 1676 when he was wounded and had a narrow escape from the enemy. He settled in Portland in 1680 as a merchant and built saw mills there. At the commencement of hostilities in 1689 he again entered the public service and was in command of Fort Loyal (Portland) when the French captured it. He remained at Quebec a prisoner four months. On the return of Governor Phips from England with the new Charter in 1692, Capt. Davis was appointed a Counsellor for Sagadahock. He died in Boston in 1703. *Collections of Historical Society of Maine*, I, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Sarah Gerrish, grand-daughter of Major Waldron, who was killed in the attack on Dover, New Hampshire in 1689. She had been taken by the Indians to Canada, ransomed by Mde de Champigny who treated her courteously, and sent her to school. She lived with her friends on her return till she was sixteen years old. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I, 203.

been ransomed by the Intendant's lady, who felt considerable pain at her surrender yet, nevertheless, submitted for the public good. They amounted to eighteen in all.

M. de la Vallière was entrusted to make this exchange. He proceeded by land on Wednesday morning to the place opposite where the English were moored. The negotiation continued throughout the day. A Chaplain had come ashore and means were found to detain him in consequence of the difficulties which were thrown in the way of the surrender of M. Trouvé. Finally, the exchange was completed in good faith, but we had greatly the advantage in it, since in return for children we received adult men, fit for service, and the number of French exceeded that of the English. They detained two of our French pilots whom they promised to put ashore after passing the dangers of the River. It is not known if they kept their word, as they boasted they would return next spring.

All our prisoners arrived that night, with the exception of *Sieur Trouvé* who did not return until Thursday morning with *Sieur de la Vallière*. Some *Abenakis* arrived from *Acadia* at the same time. They said they had been to a *Mohegan* village where they learned that the English had been defeated off the Coast of France.

That the Small pox had destroyed four hundred *Iroquois* and a hundred *Mohegans* (*Loups*) and that in the great *Mohegan* town where they had been, only sixteen men had been spared by the disease.

That one hundred *Iroquois* belonging to the party that accompanied the English, had died of it; that the *Iroquois* afflicted by this loss had returned home, so irritated against the English that they plundered them on the way of all they could.

That fifty Dutchmen were to go in seven days, with some of their Indian allies, to the *Outawas* to endeavor to impose on them.

That within two months, the *Canibas* had defeated one hundred and seventy Englishmen and thirty *Mohegans* (*Loups*.)

That on one occasion, when the English manifested a disposition to make peace with the *Abenakis*, the latter gave them for answer, that neither they, nor their children, nor their children's children should ever make peace with the English by whom they had been so often deceived. This is the latest intelligence we have had from *Acadia*, and the only news we have had of the *Iroquois*. That distemper might have been the reason that they had attempted so little during the whole of this year, and doubtless made them retire to their villages.

Friday, 27<sup>th</sup>. Three men arrived from the Bay *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* who report that they had been on board two French ships which were ready to pass the Narrows at *Isle aux Coudres*; that they had notified them that the English fleet was before *Quebec*; that they learned from them that they were to be followed by eight others in whose company they had left *Rochelle*. Some canoes kept expressly by the Count along the shore, confirmed soon after what those settlers had reported. A third ship called *le Glorieux* was also notified to the same effect, and news arrived that she was preparing to enter the river *Saguenay* in order to remain concealed there until the enemy's fleet had passed; no news of any the others had been received. Regarding the two first, it is not yet ascertained what decision they have come to, and at this date which is the ninth of November, no intelligence of them has as yet been received. Immediately upon receiving this information from those settlers, the Count dispatched a number of canoes filled with people to go on board those ships, but they could not find them. One of these canoes went down as far as *Saguenay*, and has not yet got back, which induces us to hope that it will have overtaken some of those vessels and returned in her when the wind comes around

favorable. An armed bark with thirty men on board, has also been dispatched to meet those vessels. We are thus prevented despairing, as yet, of their arrival, and we expect them from day to day with impatience in consequence of our want of all sorts of necessaries, every thing failing in this country, and the Count's family not being spared any more than the rest by this scarcity.

Several passengers left the ship and came here in a canoe. Sieur De la Forêt has delivered to the Count the King's packets and your letters. It has afforded us great joy to receive news so agreeable as those which have arrived from France. We hope the great victories his Majesty has gained over the enemy by sea and land, and the advantages France derives from them, may be reflected on us, and that He will not abandon this poor country, which despite of the wretchedness in which it has long been, essays to make the other extremity of the Earth acquainted with the Glory of its August Monarch, and has been fortunate enough to add some trifle to his triumphs.

Sunday last, rejoicings were made with great pomp. The Admiral's Flag and another taken by Sieur de Portneuf at Acadia, were borne to the Church amidst the rolling of drums. The *Te Deum* was sung by the Bishop, and there was afterwards a solemn procession in honor of the Virgin, the patroness of the Country, all the troops being under arms. A perpetual festival under the name of "Our Lady of Victories" was instituted, and the Church commenced in the Lower town was dedicated, in eternal commemoration of the protection we have received from Heaven on the occasion of this sudden attack; since, had the enemy used as much diligence as they might, and not been delayed by the winds, they would have arrived at Quebec unawares and had infallibly overpowered it, as it was unprovided with any force.

Bonfires (*feu de joie*) were lighted at nightfall in honor of the Count. Cannon, and musketry were repeatedly discharged, and we did not forget to fire off several times, the guns we captured from the enemy, and which will be of use hereafter, to us.

At last, on the 12<sup>th</sup> November we learned that the three French Ships which appeared off Isle aux Coudres, had entered the Saguenay, which after having seen the enemy's fleet sail by, they had left and were at hand. *Le Saint François de Xavier* came to anchor on the 15<sup>th</sup>; the frigate called *la Fleur de Mai* the 16<sup>th</sup> and *le Glorieux* the 17<sup>th</sup>. The two former prepared to return, although the season is far advanced and ice appears already in the river, all the small streams being frozen; we should have been glad had the eleven ships which, we understand, have left Rochelle for these parts, arrived here in safety. This year might be said to have been replete with every sort of good fortune.

You ordered me, Madam, to give you a detail of every thing that occurred. I know not if this Account will be acceptable to you. It is true. This is the sole good quality I dare ascribe to it. I shall be richly rewarded for my trouble if this little task be agreeable, and can add any thing to the protestations I have ever made to you, that I am with profound respect, Madam,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant

DE MONSEIGNAT.

## CHAPTER II.

*An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the sailing of the frigate LA FLEUR DE MAI, on the 27<sup>th</sup> November, 1690, to the close of Sixteen hundred and Ninety-one.*

Shortly after the English had left Quebec, the troops, which were all collected there, were sent away; and as the small stock of provisions received from France was hardly sufficient for a month's supply, Count de Frontenac, the governor general, and M<sup>r</sup> de Champigny, the Intendant, resolved to distribute them throughout all the Settlements, and to oblige the farmers to feed them for the same sum the King allows his soldiers a day. This was effected with some difficulty, the crops having that year fallen very short. The joy felt by every one for the success we had gained, and the hope that it would be followed by powerful reinforcements from France, moderated, however, in some degree, the sorrow that scarcity might create.

The death of Sieur Lemoyne de S<sup>te</sup> Hélène Lieutenant in the army, affected every one profoundly. That gentleman had, as already stated, been wounded in the late affair, whilst fighting courageously against the English. He was an officer of distinction who on divers occasions afforded proofs of his bravery against the Iroquois; at the North, against the English, from whom he had right boldly taken Corlard, the preceding winter.

Meanwhile, six months of winter which are to be certainly calculated on in this country, and the impossibility of receiving any supplies until Spring, rendered every thing excessively dear. Wheat was worth some twelve to fifteen livres<sup>1</sup> the *minot*; Wine one hundred écus the barrel; Brandy, six hundred livres, and all other articles in proportion.

Every description of food was acceptable, and the ground was no sooner bare of snow than herbs, roots, and the trifling quantity of fish that could be caught, constituted the sustenance of a large number of families.

This pitiable state to which the country was reduced, absolutely prevented the possibility of thinking of sending any expedition against the enemy. The entire Winter thus passed away without scarcely a single movement.

In the month of February, an Indian of the Iroquois<sup>2</sup> Nation, who had been taken by the enemy near Orange, came to Three Rivers where several of his relatives lived; he reported that he had been conveyed, after his capture, to the head (*au haut*) of Lake Champlain where the Iroquois Tribes and other Indian allies of the English were assembled; that he had been released by some of his relations who took him to their Wigwam; that the Iroquois numbered nine hundred; Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, and 470 Mohawks, Oneidas, *Loups* or *Mauraygans*,<sup>3</sup> that they worked for a month constructing Canoes, during which time the English supplied them with provisions and sent some cases containing, the Indians say, poisoned clothing which they were to abandon to be pillaged by the French Soldiers.

The canoes being completed, sixteen hundred English joined the Indians with the intention of coming to attack Montreal, whilst the Ships should attack Quebec. But they were always

<sup>1</sup> About \$2.70.

<sup>2</sup> Sokoquia. *La Potherie*, III, 126.

<sup>3</sup> Mohegans.

unwilling to go on board the elm canoes<sup>1</sup> which the Iroquois had made for them, for fear, as they said, of being drowned. This greatly incensed all the Indian Nations, who reproached them with having given a great deal of unnecessary trouble; that it was they who had prevented the Indians making peace with the French; that they were incapable of affording them any assistance and had not yet taken any of our Islands whilst they were killed by us every day; that so far from being of any advantage to the Indians, they had just caused the death of numbers of them by the poison they had designed for us; that three hundred Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, and ninety young Mohawks and Oneidas did, in fact, die within three days; and that he believed the English had lost five or six hundred men, whether this mortality proceeded from these pretended poisoned clothes or from some contagious disease.

The Indians withdrawing from them, destroyed all the grain around Orange, and killed most of their Cattle.

We have since received advices, that a large number of Indians had in reality died during that campaign, which was the cause of breaking up the expedition.

In the month of March, some Abenakis belonging to the Mission of Pentagouët arrived, and presented the Count with their Message in form of a petition wherein they requested him not to be surprised at their long silence, and to attribute it only to the attention they had given to the prosecution of the war which they had undertaken by his order, and to protecting themselves from the schemes of their enemies, against which he had put them on their guard: That they are poor, having neither necessaries for clothing nor for fighting; that their greatest sorrow proceeded from their inability to strike a blow during the winter — which is the best season; but that even though he should give them neither powder nor lead nor iron arrow-heads, (*fers de flèches*), they would make use of the bones of wild beasts and would not discontinue harrassing their enemies, to whom they had so declared last fall, and that, despite of menaces to destroy them which had been uttered in the confidence of superior numbers, they had answered—Though we be few, our destruction will cost you dear. Even should they have taken Quebec, as they gave out, they (the Abenakis) would never make peace until their Father, in Canada, had so ordered them.

Finally, they prayed him to cause their Brethren to be given up to them who are detained prisoners by the Iroquois, (meaning our Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain;) whom they beg to believe that, however that ill treatment may be considered a cause of complaint, they never thought ill of their brothers, the Iroquois; that they deposited all their resentment in their Father's hands, like a child who seeks for means to live in friendship with his brethren. This was what they had to say to him, at present.

The Count answered: that he thanked them for the good-will they manifested, and the fidelity they had invariably preserved towards the French; that he saw very well the English could not have gained much success against Quebec; on the contrary, they would have been well beaten there; that he did not believe they would hazard coming hither with so small a force, and that the French were expecting considerable reinforcements from France who would bring, at the same time, the necessary supplies both for the French and for the Indians their allies; that he had already sent powder and ball to their villages; that he (the Count) would give them still more, and as many iron arrow-heads as they could carry; that on the opening

<sup>1</sup> *Canots d'ormes*. The Nations of the Algonquin family used only canoes of Birch bark. The Iroquois make theirs only of Elm bark, or buy those of Birch from other Tribes. *Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages*, II, 216.

of the navigation he would dispatch a Biscayan long boat (*biscayenne*) by sea, and some canoes by the river S' John, which would carry them a further supply and the goods they said they stood in need of, which has been done; and that on the arrival of the fleet from France they would receive powerful assistance; that they should retain their good dispositions, and bear particularly in mind not to confide in the English, who would infallibly deceive them as they had heretofore done; that he would never abandon them, and that he hoped the result of this war would be in harmony with its commencement which had been sufficiently prosperous. He finally dismissed them after having treated them well, and given a present privately to each of the chiefs.

Some time after this, there was quite a serious alarm in the vicinity of Montreal. A party of Indians of the Sault and of the Mountain, whilst hunting in the immediate neighborhood of Chambly were set on by a large body of Mohawks and English, and ten of them taken prisoners.

Two days after, the same Mohawks sent back two of our prisoners by three of their men, who entered, unarmed, the fort of the Sault. This proceeding created various surmises as to their designs, particularly when they sent back the remainder of our people, whom they had taken, and when also some forty of them came unarmed to visit their relatives; some of them even remaining there, and saying that they were willing to risk themselves with our Indians, who gave them some presents as an acknowledgment of the good treatment they had received at their hands.

This gave rise to some sort of negotiation, and it appears from the letter which Father Bruyas, the Jesuit Missionary at the Sault, wrote to the Count on the subject, that the Mohawks were not very averse to a peace, to which they would endeavor to cause the other Iroquois nations to agree. They said, as the Father reports, that they were weary of killing and of being killed; and as a mark of their earnest desire to terminate the war, that they had hastened their arrival in our settlements in order to warn us that eight hundred Iroquois were ready to fall on us and to destroy every thing between Montreal and Three Rivers.

That as regards their Tribe, the Warriors principally were solicitous for peace and had already concluded it without the participation of the Chiefs who are not always sincere; that if the Dutch and the other Iroquois did not wish to enter into the projected arrangements, they would allow them to do the fighting and they would smoke in peace on their mats.

This Father added, that if he were permitted to speak his mind respecting what he had seen and heard, he believed they were sincere, and that things were in a fair train for a durable peace with that Tribe, and through them with all the others; that the high price of the clothing and provisions they got from the English, and the Pestilence which prevailed among them, might have disgusted them with a War in which they had lost a number of brave people; that, however, he would not guarantee their perseverance, yet neither could he share the opinion of those who doubted their good faith.

Father de Lamberville, also a Jesuit and Missionary at the Sault, seemed to be of this number; although he considered them sincere in certain things, he, nevertheless, could not believe them so in all.

They answered the questions M. de Callières put to them at Montreal, whether he had thought proper to have them conducted, on parole, for the purpose of interrogating them without meddling with the proposals for peace they had submitted to the Indians with whom he left that negotiation. They spoke somewhat diversely; greatly enhancing the advantages the English had gained on the Coast of Acadia and diminishing their loss before Quebec and the

number of people whom, we know, they had lost in the different engagements throughout the course of the past year. They confirmed the news we had received that Chevalier de D'eau was at Manatte, and that two of five Frenchmen who had accompanied him had been burnt at Onondaga and Seneca; that a third had died of sickness at Mohawk and that the remainder were alive.

The result showed us that this negotiation was but a scheme either to prevent us forming expeditions against the Mohawks, who are more within our reach, or to debauch the Indians of the Sault and to induce them to keep quiet.

However, it was not considered wise to repel them altogether, lest it might appear as if we declined all proposals of peace, and the warning they gave, served only to put us more on our guard.

The ice which had not yet moved in the beginning of April, retarded somewhat Sieur de Courtemanche whom Count de Frontenac was sending to Missilimakinac to convey to the Hurons, Onnontagues<sup>1</sup> and our other Indian allies in the Upper country, the news of what occurred at Quebec during the English siege. His voyage was most prosperous, having met none of the enemy though he passed places where they most generally hunted, and which were their rendezvous when lying in wait to attack us.

Having called together all the Indians in order to ascertain their sentiments respecting what the Count had said to them last year at Montreal, and whether they had commenced hostilities against the Iroquois, as he had exhorted them to do; the most of them answered, that their warriors had gone to execute his orders, and that those whom they had not yet dispatched, promised to follow immediately and to manifest to their father their entire obedience. He had also learned that the Miamis and the Illinois, who are much farther off, had likewise organized their war parties and were on the march, which news is found to be correct, the enemy having been harrassed from all sides in their villages and in their fishing and hunting grounds, and having lost considerable people; so that the Senecas have been obliged to abandon their towns, and to remove to the Cayugas who are not so open to invasion as they.

Sieur de Courtemanche set out from Missilimakinac on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, and arrived at Montreal on the 18<sup>th</sup> June, without any accident, though the enemy had overrun more than twenty leagues of territory on his route.

The information we had received from the Mohawks of the descent of that party of eight hundred men, put us quite on the alert. Meanwhile as it was the season of planting, there were always some laborers scattered throughout the rural districts, some of whom, consequently, fell into the hands of the Iroquois at the lower end (*au bout*) of the Island of Montreal, La Chine, River des Prairies and Point aux Trembles, where they burnt some houses. But their exploits were not of any moment, the most of the inhabitants being in the forts and the houses empty. The Indians never dared to attempt carrying any of the places where they expected resistance, keeping themselves beyond the range of musket shot, and making great uproar accompanied with an incessant fire.

After the first effort, they spread in small squads all over the Island and along the North shore, whence crossing occasionally to the South side, they endeavored wherever they happened to land, to make prisoners of those whom they surprised in field, and to kill the cattle; that is the only thing they effected.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic. Outaouacks. La Potherie, III, 132.*



It was vexatious enough to see the enemy rove, in this way, all around us, and make themselves masters of the rural districts. We did not lack the courage and desire to attack them. But we had such a small quantity of provisions, that it was impossible to keep parties out a long while and to supply them with necessaries.

Some battalions of Regulars were, however, always kept in the field to patrol the most exposed places.

The post on the Mountain, only half a league distant from Montreal, was not supposed to be subject to insult. The enemy, notwithstanding, attacked it when the major part of the Squaws were busy at their Indian corn; captured some of them and drove the rest into the fort. Assistance from Montreal having soon arrived, they were easily repulsed with the loss of some of their men. They killed and wounded also, two or three of our Indians. This greatly excited the latter and contributed to the formation of a party of two hundred men, French and Indians, under the command of *Sieur Lemoine de Bienville*.

Something good was anticipated from this, and they appeared to be resolved boldly to attack whatever they might encounter; but having met, near the Long Sault of the River *des Iroquois*,<sup>1</sup> some eighty or ninety Indians whom they recognized to be Oneidas or Mohawks, they deliberated a long time as to whether they should attack them or allow them to pass unharmed on account of the negotiations about peace, in favor of which the Mohawks appeared to be willing to act as Mediators. Finally, the Indians from the Sault, who formed the majority, prevailed on the Frenchmen, and it was resolved not to attack these pretended allies, who have since had no opportunity to inflict much harm on us.

Some of them accompanied our Indians to Montreal, and the remainder returned home.

Those who conversed with *Monsieur de Callières* appeared to be satisfied with the proposals which the Mohawks, who were here in March, had made to the Indians of the Sault, and approved of the proposals of peace and of neutrality submitted by *Onouragonas*, one of their Chiefs. Their real sentiments are still a matter of great doubt; but what we shall say, hereafter, of the same *Ouragonas*, will scarcely suspend the judgment to be passed on all those Indian propositions.

*Chevalier de Vaudreuil*, the commander of the troops, did not exhibit the same indulgence towards a party of 40 or 50 Oneidas; and as this battle was very hot, I shall detail it somewhat more at length than I proposed to do in this Relation.

*Captain de Mine* was with some soldiers at a place called *Repentigny* on the North shore<sup>2</sup> to examine the enemy's movements, and perceiving some persons quite at their ease in a house that had been abandoned, he retreated to the Islands in the middle of the River, so as not to excite any suspicion. Here he was joined by *Monsieur de Vaudreuil*, who had left Montreal shortly after him, with some Canadians, picked Soldiers and *Oreaouë*, the famous Indian whom the Count had brought from France, who began, on this occasion to give marks of his bravery, and of the fidelity he entertained towards the French.

The two parties having formed a junction, it was determined to land a little below the house occupied by the enemy, and to approach it with the greatest precaution possible. In fine, it was entirely surrounded so that no person could escape. Fifteen or twenty paces from the door some Iroquois were found asleep, who were easily killed; the remainder made a vigorous resistance in the house, firing continually through the windows and loop holes they had made. This cost the lives of four or five of our Frenchmen, whom the desire to be

<sup>1</sup> The Saint Lawrence.

<sup>2</sup> Of the river Saint Lawrence, in the present county of St. Sulpice, and a little below the Island of Montreal.

revenged for the affronts the enemy daily inflicted on us—ranging throughout all our settlements in the assurance they felt that they could not be followed in the woods—carried a little too far, some among them being so daring as to go up to the very house to drag out by the hair those who presented themselves at the windows and at the door. The house was all in flames and the Iroquois, being no longer able to resist, made a virtue of necessity, and rushed forth in small parties and endeavored to avenge their inevitable death, by killing some of our men. They perished for the most part in these sorties; some were burnt in the house; five were taken alive and a solitary one escaped through more than fifty discharges of musketry. Of those five, two were conveyed to Montreal one of whom has been given to the Sontaouans<sup>1</sup> who came down since, as will be related hereafter; the other a young lad, fourteen years of age, belonging to those who entertain Father Milet, and who have preserved his life, has been given to the family of a man named Paul, an Indian of the Sault, who has since been killed on another occasion.

The remaining three having fallen into the hands of farmers who lost their relatives, have been burnt at Point aux Trembles, Boucherville and Repentigny; But it will require a great deal before the animosity of the French, whatever cause of vengeance they may have, will equal the unheard of cruelties which the Iroquois inflict daily on the prisoners who fall into their hands.

This victory abated considerably the ardor of the enemy. Independent of the loss of three or four brave farmers and soldiers on this occasion, the death of *Sieur Lemoyne de Bianville*,<sup>2</sup> the brother of the late *Sieur de S<sup>te</sup> Hélène*, was exceedingly regretted. Captains de Mine and de Grisaffy highly distinguished themselves on this occasion; also *Sieurs Declarain* and *Calatogne*, Subalterns, and several Volunteers.

The conduct and bravery of *M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil* must not be forgotten, and it may be said that on this, and on all other occasions where he was present, he afforded proofs of an experienced commander and an intrepid soldier.

Before detailing what subsequently occurred, I think it will not be out of place to note the secret intrigues the enemy was endeavoring to set on foot with our Indians for the purpose of carrying them back, or of at least diverting their arms away from themselves.

They took advantage, then, of a belt they were sending to the family of *Sieur S<sup>te</sup> Hélène* for whom they expressed great consideration, and whose death they professed to condole. But at the same time they instructed two Squaws belonging to the Mountain, who were prisoners among them, and whom they were restoring, to give a Belt, secretly and under hand, to an Indian of the Sault named *Louis Atoriata*, (the King's godson, who carefully cherishes the Medal which his Majesty has presented to him,) exhorting him to retire, with his family, among them and to bring the greatest number possible of the people of the Sault along with him, that they may avoid inevitable destruction. By another Belt they invited *Tamouratoûa*, an Indian of the Mountain, to withdraw also with all his people, and to advise them of his instructions by a Seneca whom they demanded back. They threatened both of them, should they not return forthwith, to confound them with the French of Montreal whom they were about to attack. These two Indians communicated these messages to *Monsieur de Callières*, and, promising inviolable fidelity, delivered those two Belts into his hands.

The two Squaws reported that the Iroquois had gone to the Long Sault of the River *Sonnontouans*,<sup>3</sup> twenty leagues above Montreal, where they intended to lie in wait for whatever

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Outaouans.

<sup>2</sup> After his death, his name was given to one of his brothers, then a youth, who became subsequently Governor of Louisiana. *Charlevoix*.

<sup>3</sup> An error for "Outaouaia." *La Potherie*, III., 136; *Charlevoix*, II., 99.

might be coming down to us from Missilimakinak, and to harrass us until harvest. However, whether they were induced to retire in consequence of the news they received that two hundred canoes were being made, preparatory to an attack on either their posts or villages, or of intelligence from home, that our allies were making continual inroads into their country, and were killing a great many people, they decamped towards the end of June, since which time we have seen only small parties, that came either to break a few heads or capture some people by surprise. The situation of the country puts it out of our power to prevent these forays.

The desire to expel the enemy from the Long Sault induced M. de Vaudreuil to come down from Montreal. Independent of the serious loss of his equipage which he incurred, this voyage nearly cost him his life, one of the wildest storms ever experienced having upset in Lake St' Peter the vessel he was on board of. It was with difficulty he escaped in a small boat; some persons were drowned in the vessel which could never right itself.

The Count, on his report, detailed a detachment from the three companies employed on the fortifications that had been undertaken at Quebec, and having collected all the provisions and canoes possible, went up as far as Three Rivers where he could more conveniently ascertain what might be doing on one side or the other—either by the Iroquois above, or by the English whose attack by sea was always to be apprehended.

But the receipt of assurances that the fort at the Long Sault was abandoned, caused this expedition to abort, the want of provisions not allowing us to proceed farther.

Another motive obliged him to make this voyage. He was desirous to visit the fortifications which M. de Ramezay, the governor, had erected at Three Rivers, since winter. He had every reason to be pleased with them. Never was there such beautiful pallisading and the attention Lieutenant de Beaucourt had applied to this work which he conducted, has been crowned with perfect success.

That voyage occupied eight days, and the Count arrived at Quebec on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June.

The first of July may be noted as one of the most fortunate days for Canada, the frigate *le Soleil d'Afrique*, commanded by Sieur de Bonnaventure, having unexpectedly arrived between five and six o'clock in the evening of that day. The important news she brought from France, and to speak naturally, the succor by which she was followed, had a salutary effect on the hearts and spirits of every body.

Canada had been for a long time groaning under a cruel famine, and the advantages she had gained last year over her enemies, did not dispel the apprehension of another visit from them in her present unfortunate condition. But sure of the protection of her prince, this fear was easily dispelled, and the joy of having been able to please him by the efforts she had made, prompted her to desire more brilliant opportunities to manifest to him her fidelity and zeal.

This news soon spread throughout the country and inspired the most desponding with courage.

Monsieur Dutartre<sup>1</sup> followed by all his fleet, arrived twelve days after the *Soleil d'Afrique*.

Some Sonnantouans<sup>2</sup> canoes, numbering sixteen men arrived almost at the same time; not finding Count de Frontenac at Montreal, as they expected, they went down to Quebec to see him.

<sup>1</sup> Du Tast. *Charlevoix*, II, 100.

<sup>2</sup> An error for Outaouas. See *supra*, notes 1, 3, p. 36.

They dwelt considerably on the risk they had encountered in passing through the fire of the war to our settlements, and, in the usual style of that nation, demanded that they might have good bargains of what they would wish to purchase; the desire of seeing their father alone had brought them to Quebec, where their Ancients had formerly had a governor with whom they were highly pleased, having had every thing at a low price.

But if the high price of clothing did not allow us to content them in every respect, at least the good cheer, the presents they received and the exhibitions (*spectacles*) unknown in their country, afforded them ample satisfaction.

The fourteen beautiful ships in the harbor, the various evolutions of the sailors, the roar of the artillery and the structure of the vessels which was shown to them, were so many novelties that they admired without ceasing.

But nothing delighted them more, than what occurred at the public rejoicings on the twenty-second of July, by the King's order, for the capture of Mons.

After the *Te Deum*, the Count gave an entertainment at the Castle of Quebec, to the most respectable citizens of both sexes.

These Indians admired some thirty beautiful Ladies who, out of very becoming respect for their host, paid them every attention. They were unable to understand how we could have glasses of all sorts of colors; they were playfully made to believe that those Big Canoes they had seen in the river, had brought them to us, and that the French were not less curious in what contributed to pastimes and pleasure than in what might be of use in attacking their enemies, and defending themselves.

Conversation turned on the number of canoes, cannon, shells and balls that had been shown them, in order that they may, hence, expect to be powerfully aided in making war, and perfectly well regaled when they would come to see us.

After the bonfires lighted by the Count and Intendant, they were not less astonished by the illumination of the ships and all the houses, the discharge of the guns both of the town and vessels and the fireworks which were set off.

They were dismissed on the following day, when they carried away a great many presents.

Meanwhile preparations were making to dispatch Sieur de la Forêt, a reduced Captain and commander of Fort St' Louis of the Illinois, who was to convey the Royal presents to all our Indian allies in the Upper Country. He was to be accompanied in his voyage by several Frenchmen.

Intelligence was received at the same time from M. de Calliers, that an English prisoner, whom some Indians had taken at the gates of Orange, had assured him that two hundred of his countrymen and a great number of Mohegans (*Loups*) and Mohawks were about coming to make an attack in the direction of Montreal.

This obliged the Count to muster what remained of the troops at Quebec and the best of the settlers in that neighborhood, in order to take them with him to Three Rivers, and detach them thence wherever it may be proper.

He also detained the ships of Mess<sup>rs</sup> du Tartre and Bonneaventure so that they may act in case any thing come from the sea board.

A few days after his arrival, he learned that the enemy had on the eleventh of August, fallen on La Prairie de la Madelaine where our little army was encamped.

The announcement of the death of some officers of rank excited alarm at first, but the news received since the fourteenth, afforded so much cause to rejoice that those interested forgot the

loss of their relatives; and I cannot, I think, employ myself better than in describing the most obstinate battle that has ever been fought in Canada since the foundation of the Colony.

I shall, therefore, resume matters a little further back.

On receiving the various accounts of the march of the English, the Mohegans and the Mohawks, M. de Calliers mustered what he could of Regulars and garrisons and the greatest number possible of Militia, and encamped them at La Prairie de la Madelaine, on the ground occupied by the Count the preceding year. Scouting parties were continually sent out. One of Sieur Hertel's sons, accompanied by three Algonquins and an Indian from the Mountain, discovered in the river Richelieu above the Chambly rapid (*portage*), a canoe at which he fired. They were Mohawks who were, also, scouting. As it was supposed that the enemy would attack Chambly, or take the road leading thence to La Prairie de la Madelaine in order to fall on our settlements to the South, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Calliers thought it well to detach M<sup>r</sup> de Vallrenne, a veteran Captain, with Captains de Muyes and Dorvilliers, Sieur de LEpinay his Lieutenant and several Subalterns; he was followed by some picked men of his battalion, some Militia and Indians the greater portion of whom were Themiscamings or northern people belonging to the tribe of the Chief named Routine; Oreaué who had but just arrived, as we shall state presently, wished to march with him; he was accompanied by some Hurons of Loretto, near Quebec, brave and faithful Indians, who have performed prodigies throughout the whole of this campaign.

Some Iroquois of the Mountain and Sault, the most considerable of whom was Paul, of whom we have already spoken, also joined the expedition.

This force was to form a junction with Sieur Lebert Duchêne who was accompanied by some Militia and already posted near Chambly.

The order was to take possession of, and defend that fort should the enemy threaten it, or if they marched against La Prairie, to follow, and attack them in the rear whilst those remaining in the Camp would oppose them in front.

The whole army had been already three days bivouacking in the Camp, and awaiting the enemy with a firm foot; at length, the night of the tenth and eleventh being very rainy and dark, some of the Militia, weary from watching, retired into the fort where a severe attack of fever confined M. de Calliers to his bed since he had left Montreal.

In order to understand more clearly what I have to state, I think it proper to give a short sketch of the manner in which he was encamped.

This fort is some thirty paces from the river at low water; the ground on which it is situated is sloped as well as the two prairies which are alongside the place called *La Fourche*, and intersected by a small stream within range of half cannon shot of the fort, and, also, by a ravine a little nearer the fort. Between these two stands the Mill.

In that direction the Militia was encamped to the left of the fort. It was thought best to station them on the bank of the river which is, as already observed, within thirty paces of the Prairie. The Outawas were likewise with them. The troops were encamped on the right, and the officers' tents were immediately opposite them on a height (*en haut*.)

About an hour before day break the Sentinel at the Mill hearing a noise and perceiving somebody gliding along the side of the hill (*l'écorce*) discharged his piece and shouted "To Arms!" The enemy had crept along the river *La Fourche* and the Ravine<sup>1</sup> and gained the

<sup>1</sup> Racine. Text. — Ravine. Charlevoix.

water side. They pressed pretty hard the few Militia that remained, some of whom were killed, and, among the rest, six of our Outaouaus.

Meanwhile, the troops that had been under arms all night marched in good order; a part by the Prairie going around the fort; a part along the beach.

They were led by Sieur de S<sup>t</sup> Cirque, a Veteran Captain, who commanded in the absence of M. de Calliers. It could not be supposed that this large crowd in the camp of the Militia were enemies, no notice having been received that the Canadians had retired into the fort. They, therefore, were not attacked at first, and our troops were consequently exposed to a pretty sharp fire.

M. de S<sup>t</sup> Cirque received a ball in the thigh. Captain Desquérat was mortally wounded, and Sieur d'Hosta, a reduced Captain, was killed on the spot.

This did not prevent the enemy being vigorously pressed, and as there was too much haste in following them, some of the officers and many of the soldiers who were farthest in advance, fell into an ambush that had been prepared for them at the Ravine above mentioned, and where the enemy had made a stand.

This cost Lieutenant Domergue his life.

Sieur de S<sup>t</sup> Cirque died on entering the fort. The ball had cut the artery. It was impossible to prevail on him to retire until the enemy had retreated. He had served, all his life, in the best regiments of France and commanded a battalion in Sicily.

Sieur Desquérat, who died on the next day was not less regretted; also Sieur d'Hosta who, during the eight years he had been in this country, had given strong proofs of distinction.

The death of these gallant men was fully revenged two or three hours after.

The enemy retreated with more than thirty wounded; they left several dead on the field, and one a prisoner; he was caught in the act of throwing grenades into the fort, and stated that their design was to carry it by assault (*d'emblée*), not supposing that it was so strongly garrisoned. They had marched hardly two leagues when one of their scouts showed himself to M de Valrenne's troop who followed their trail at a rapid pace. That officer had scarcely time to put his handful of men into a position of defence; his entire force consisted only of one hundred and twenty men, so that the English were more than two to one.

Two large trees which had fallen down across the road served him for a retrenchment; behind this he posted his men three deep, and they were to fire by ranks, which they executed very well.

The enemy were marching precipitately and, imagining to frighten us by their cries, approached within pistol shot of the retrenchment and of the fire of the first rank. More than thirty of them dropped. They were not, however, deterred by this heavy fire, and the English and Mohawks returned as many as three times to the charge. The Mohegans (*Loups*) who did not expect such a vigorous resistance, gave way somewhat.

Routine and his party thinking to surround and put them all to flight, was, himself, repulsed by the enemy. Here a sort of *melée* occurred, each quitting his post to engage at close quarters, where, if fire-arms were used, it was so near that, it may be said, they burned rather than killed one another.

Some of our young Canadians who had never smelt powder before, gave way a little, but were easily rallied by Sieur Le Bert Duchêne, their Commander, and the shame of having flinched made them afterwards do wonders. Our soldiers also greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion, and the emulation between the French and Indians caused every one to

perform his duty perfectly. But nothing could equal the intrepidity displayed by Sieur de Valrenne. He was every where; his presence of mind, and the coolness with which he gave his orders, animated every body; he was efficiently seconded by Sieurs de Muyet, Dorvilliers, l'Epinay, Varlet, Perrès and Lebert Duchêne. The three last were dangerously wounded.

Sieurs de la Bruière, Denyt and de Poiras, subaltern officers, were killed, and Mess<sup>rs</sup> Varlet and Duchêne have since died; M<sup>r</sup> Pérès' fate is still uncertain.

The Indian Chiefs were not behind the French officers in signalizing themselves. Oreaouë surpassed himself, and Paul of the Sault fell encouraging all by word and example.

But the severe loss experienced by the enemy cooled their ardor by degrees. For one of ours that fell, we killed four or five of theirs, and after an hour and a half's fighting, they withdrew but in such disorder that they abandoned all their baggage and colors and, had not the strength to pursue them failed our Frenchmen and even the Indians, not a single man of them had escaped.

Three days' marching through the country, intersected by fallen trees, ravines and marshes, with scarcely any food and no drink but very muddy water, had so fatigued M. de Valrenne's party that it was not only impossible for them to pursue the enemy, but even to defend themselves any longer had the fight been prolonged. That officer, therefore, thought proper to recall those who were in pursuit of the retreating party, and to entrench himself on the field of battle behind a large abatis of trees which he had constructed. He sent those who were able to march, to the camp of La Prairie to demand some fresh men to remove the wounded, and to assist his troops to return thither.

The Indians of the Sault having received news of the great victory, started from their fort to the number of 6<sup>th</sup> men, and it seemed by their appearance that, being fresh and active, they ought to pursue the enemy, and that were they to attack, they could easily defeat the handful that remained, the most of whom were wounded and left marks of their weakness and disorder in the traces of blood to be seen every where they passed. Nevertheless, having arrived at the field of battle, they contented themselves with counting over and pillaging the dead, and then retired under pretence of the firing they said they heard at La Prairie, and which took place at the burial of the officers who had been killed.

If we are to believe the report of an Englishman, which Sieur de Valrennes had from another that was found in the fort they had constructed on the Richelieu river for the security of their canoes; of Indians who had counted the dead, and of prisoners whom Sieur de la Chapelle has since brought in, the loss of the English on this occasion, appears to be nearly two hundred men.

The Mohawks had thirty killed on the field, and out of more than a hundred who had left home only some twenty had returned to their village, fifteen days afterwards.

The loss of the Mohegans (*Loups*) is not so well ascertained, as they gave way the first.

But what is very certain is, that, considering the nature of the ground and the small number of our Frenchmen, no one could even have adopted more effectual measures than Sieur de Valrenne, or made so good a use of the advantage afforded by a trifling retrenchment.

He acted impartially towards the French militia, the Regulars and the Indians; he assigned to each the post for which he considered him best qualified; and charging only at the proper moment, intimidated the enemy so much by his calm behavior that, though he was considerably inferior to him in point of numbers, the experience obtained in the course of a long service, from his early youth, furnished him with means to drive them before him, and he would have

totally defeated them as we have represented, had the fatigue of his men allowed him to pursue them.

M. de Calliers sent him a battalion to convey the wounded, as he had required, and he arrived at La Prairie in the evening. In addition to the officers already mentioned, we have some eighteen or twenty men, Soldiers, Militia and Indians, killed in this engagement; the dead at La Prairie and on this occasion may amount to forty, and as many wounded. This seriously reduces our troops.

Sieur de Valrenne was dispatched in person to Three Rivers to furnish M. de Frontenac with the details of every thing that happened. Oreaouë and some Indians of Loretto accompanied him, and I think it my duty to state what that Indian had previously performed.

He had started with fifteen or sixteen as well Huron as other Indians of the Mountain to go, he said, to revenge himself on the people of his nation for the affronts he had received from them. He struck his blow between Cayuga and Onondaga, and brought a man and a woman away prisoners; another Indian of the Mountain brought away three scalps.

On his return, Oroaouë met in Lake Frontenac fifty Tionnontatez or Hurons of Missilimakinac, our allies, who also were on the war path. Under the impression that he was an Iroquois, they, at first, wounded one of his men, who has since died, but afterwards having mutually recognized each other, he informed them of the vigorous war we were prosecuting; of the advantage we had gained at Repentigny, and of the supplies we were daily expecting from France, which would place us in a condition to do better in future and to provide our allies with whatever munitions of war they may require.

We have not yet heard the particulars of the success gained by these different parties of our Upper Indians who, it is calculated, must have been at least from seven to eight hundred strong. But the marked inactivity of the Iroquois Nations, with the exception of the Mohawks, and the abandonment of their Village by the Senecas, would lead us to infer that those have, for the most part, been successful.

Oreaouë on arriving at Three Rivers on the fourteenth experienced a very cordial reception from the Count. The latter never doubted his fidelity, notwithstanding the opinion of many persons who did not know him as well as he; but a hunt of four or five months in the winter within a few days' journey of his country and his return to Quebec, when he was least expected and when it was in his power easily to have escaped, if he pleased, effectually closed their mouths.

He presented his Onondaga prisoner to the Count who despite the repugnance he felt, considered it his duty to hand him over to the Algonquins to put him to death, as a small return for the cruelties they inflicted on us every day. He was not, however, tormented as much as he deserved and a blow from a hatchet which a Huron inflicted, pursuant to orders, delivered him from the torture of the fire he would have made him endure by those Algonquins, who are better judges of those sorts of things.

Two days after the execution, Oreaouë started anew with the same Hurons of Loretto and those of the Sault and the Mountain, who appeared to him the most faithful; and on arriving at Montreal, was fortunate enough to find an opportunity for signaling himself again.

Two Frenchmen and a woman had been taken at the River des Prairies by a party of the enemy; Oreaouë set off on their trail and overtook them at the place called the Rapide Plat of the River *des Iroquois*, whilst making their canoes, and killed two on the spot, took four prisoners, and set our three French people at liberty whom he brought in triumph back to Montreal.



Never was man so much caressed. Every Indian tribe demanded him as their Chief, and the deliverance of our prisoners made all bless the hour he had been brought from France by the Count, and the care the latter had taken of him.

After having visited Quebec, to receive the reward of so many heroic actions, he set out immediately to return again to the War. He observed with a modesty not very common to an Indian, that he had not yet done enough to repay the obligations he was under to his father Onnontio, and to mark his attachment to the French.

A few days before his return to Montreal from this expedition, *Sieur de Lachapelle*, a reduced lieutenant, arrived there. He had organized a party of seven or eight Indians to go towards Orange to carry off some English. Two leagues from the town they fell in with a Mohawk hut in which they found two men. The talk about peace prevented any attack on these; three others arrived there shortly after, and conversing peaceably together stated that several of their nation had joined the English, and had (as they reported) killed a great many people at *La Prairie de la Madelaine*.

This made our party resolve to kill them in the night, not being able to take them all prisoners; but an Indian traitor belonging to the Mountain notified them of this design, caused three of them to escape and went off, himself, with them. The other two have been brought to Montreal and interrogated more minutely. They report, that of all the English who had come against us, only ten had returned to Orange when they had left; that of their nation thirty had been killed on the field, both in the engagement at *La Prairie* and in that with *Sieur de Valrenne*.

That a large number of wounded had not yet come back; that *Onnonragouas*, that fine mediator of last winter, was one of the leaders of the party, and had been killed; that they did not know the loss of the *Mohegans (Loups)*. The lives of these two prisoners were spared.

*Lieutenant de la Brosse* returned also, a few days after, with some Indians he had conducted over a large extent of hunting ground that he had explored. He met scarcely any one, and contented himself with bringing in some scalps, not having been able to take any prisoners.

Twenty-fourth of August. The Count, on his return from *Three Rivers*, set about preparing for the dispatch of the ships of *Mess<sup>rs</sup> Dutartre<sup>1</sup>* and *de Bonaventure*. They sailed in the fore part of September, the former to cruise at the mouth of our river where, we were informed, some English pirates were prowling; the latter, to convey *Sieur de Villebon* and his men to *Acadia*.

The Count received letters, soon after, from *M. de St Castin* of that place, who sent a canoe with two others addressed to him by the Governor and Council of Boston and *M. de Nelson*. They were very civil, and designed to induce him [*M. de Frontenac*] to prevail on the *Abenakis* and other Indians, to surrender the prisoners in their possession; they reminded him of the obligations their Colony was under to him formerly; and requested him to continue the same friendly disposition notwithstanding the War the English and French were unavoidably engaged in. He answered them in nearly the same style, and that if they were desirous of having their people back it would first be necessary for them to restore *Chevalier d'Eau* who whilst acting as his envoy, had, contrary to the Law of Nations, been captured by the *Iroquois*; his companions burnt, and himself detained at *Manath*; that they had no more right to carry off, in violation of the articles of Capitulation which had been granted, *Sieur de Monneval* Governor of *Port Royal*, and his garrison some of whom were still prisoners; that when they

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, *supra*, p. 37.

would have repaired these contraventions of the laws of honorable warfare, it would be time to think of a general exchange of what prisoners may be in the hands of each Nation or of the Indian allies.

In the way of news, Sieur de S<sup>t</sup> Castin informed him, that New England was in an extremely low condition; that they had experienced a considerable loss at the Islands; that great divisions between the English and the Dutch existed at Manath since the death of their Governor,<sup>1</sup> and that a sort of civil war prevailed there; that all this talk about an exchange of prisoners was merely to bring our Indians to a peace, and that he would oppose it with all his might.

The harvest at Montreal, which was very fine and saved with all possible care, being completed, M. de la Forest, a reduced Captain, took his departure, at length from the head of the Island, on the eleventh of September, with a convoy of one hundred and ten men for the purpose of transporting to Missilimakinac the presents destined by the King for our Indian allies. He took back with him the Onnontagues<sup>2</sup> to whom two prisoners had been given with a view to diminish any sorrow they might feel for the loss of six of their people who had been killed at La Prairie.

Though this voyage was absolutely demanded by the public interests, and for the encouragement of our Indian allies in the vigorous prosecution of the war—these people being influenced only by presents—it was retarded by various secret intrigues such as are commonly resorted to here.

The Indians of the Sault, in consequence of some movement to which they were prompted, took it into their heads to wish to stop it, remonstrating by Belts that, independent of the risk of attack to be encountered on the way, the Colony would be stripped of the best of its young men. But these new Councillors of State were not listened to, and on express and reiterated orders from the Count, who perceived the spirit by which they were prompted, this Convoy started on the day I have stated.

We had the frigate, *le Petit Sage*, on the twelfth of September. She met three English ships; one in passing Cape Ray; the other near Bird Island, and the third at Anticosti. They did not attack her.

*L'Honoré*, which arrived eight days after, was attacked by this last. Her gallant bearing saved her, and after having exchanged some shots, the Englishman tacked about, and our ship continued her course. She informed Mess<sup>rs</sup> Dutartre and de Bonnaventure of the place this privateer was to be found.

*Le S<sup>t</sup>. Francois de Xavier* and *le S<sup>t</sup>. Jean* anchored here on the fifth of October without having fallen in with any thing.

One of the ships belonging to the Northern Company, named *la S<sup>te</sup> Anne*, commanded by Sieur Lemoine d'hiberville [arrived from] Hudson's bay on the nineteenth of October, freighted with beaver and peltries for said Company. On the sixth of November, Sieur de Neuville, brother of Sieur de Villebon the governor of Acadia, brought accounts from thence.

Sieur de Bonnaventure after leaving this harbor did not fall in with any vessel until he reached the coast of Acadia, where he captured a small craft of little consequence which he ordered to be burnt.

He went with Sieur de Villebon to Port Royal, and having landed, hoisted the French, in the place of the English, flag which he found there. The settlers appeared to him to be very well disposed, but it will be very difficult to keep them so, if they be not protected against the

<sup>1</sup>Slughter.

<sup>2</sup>*Sic. Outaouaks. La Potherie, III., 147.*

incursions of the English, who by the facility they possess of reaching that place, could give them reason to repent of any excessive attachment they might entertain towards us.

From Port Royal they proceeded towards the River St John and, learning that M. de Nelson was coming there with a vessel, concealed themselves behind a point. On hearing the report of two guns—which was the signal to give notice of his arrival—they gave him chase, and easily brought him to and made him prisoner. Another small Ketch escaped under favor of the twilight.

There might have been on board this prize, some twenty @ twenty-five men; among the rest Colonel Tync<sup>1</sup> who was returning from Port Royal, whither he had been sent in the capacity of Governor. He had not thought proper to remain there, not being able to engage the settlers to guarantee him against the insults the Indians might offer him. One Aldem and his son, Boston merchants, were, also, on board.

The father has been released with the crew, and has left his son as a hostage for the security of the ship. He has promised to bring back from Boston such of the soldiers as may be found there belonging to the Port Royal garrison who have been detained contrary to the promise given them when they capitulated.

Colonel Tync has also remained at the fort at the mouth (*à bas*) of the river St John, occupied by Sieur de Villebon, who has sent to Count de Frontenac M. de Nelson from whose capture this country will, possibly, derive great benefit. He is a gentleman of merit and intelligence; possessing influence in Boston, where his friends have always been opposed to those of Sir William Phips. He has ever distinguished himself by kind treatment of the French, as well in peace as during the War, and to him M. de Monneval, Governor of Port Royal, is indebted for his liberty. In like manner he may anticipate every civility that can be extended to a prisoner.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel EDWARD TYNC was the second son of Edward Tyng who emigrated to Massachusetts in 1636; he became a proprietor of land in 1663 in Portland, whither he removed in 1680, and was commandant of Fort Loyal in 1681. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thaddeus Clarke, *supra*, pp. 11, 12, and was appointed one of the Councillors of Maine in 1678, and so continued during the presidency of Mr. Danforth (1680-1686), and in 1686 was appointed by the King member of the Council under President Joseph Dudley, who married his sister, and held that office under Governor Andros, with whom he was a favorite; by whom he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the province of Sagadahock in 1688, 1689, and whose "arbitrary power ambition prompted him to support against the rights and interests of the people." He was commissioned Governor of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, and was taken prisoner, not on his passage thither, as is generally stated, but on his return from that place; he was carried to Quebec, whence he was removed, by order of Louis XIV., to France, where he died. He left four children, two sons and two daughters. One of the latter married a brother of Dr. Franklin. *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, 192, 214.

## CHAPTER III.

*An Account of the Military Operations in Canada from the month of November, 1691, to the month of October, 1692.*

In the beginning of December, a party of hostile Indians, 34 in number, having surprised 22 of our Savages, men, women and children, who were out hunting in the neighborhood of Chambly, took them prisoners and set off towards Orange. Intelligence of that event having been immediately conveyed to the village of the Saut S<sup>t</sup> Louis by a Squaw who had made her escape, 40 of our Indians belonging to that post started at the same time in pursuit of the enemy and, having overtaken them on Lake Champlain, attacked and forced their retrenchments. Of the 34 they numbered, 16 were killed; 14 taken prisoners, and the remaining 4 escaped. Those they had captured were recovered, and we lost on this occasion only 4 of our Indians. This action was so promptly executed, that we heard at Quebec of the capture of our Indians, and of the defeat of the enemy at the same time.

Having come down to Quebec after striking this blow, in order to inform Count de Frontenac thereof, our Indians requested permission, at the same time, that a party of Frenchmen and Indians be organized to go in quest of the enemy in their country. This having been granted, it set out in the month of February, to the number of 120 Frenchmen and 205 Indians under the command of Captain Dorvilliers. This officer, after being three days out, scalded his foot by the accidental upsetting of a kettle of boiling water, and was obliged to return; he resigned the command to Sieur de Brancour,<sup>1</sup> a reduced Captain in this country. They proceeded as far as [the Island of Tonihata<sup>2</sup>] above Montreal in the direction of Cataracouy where they discovered 50 of the enemy whom they attacked at noon in Camp, killing 24, and taking 16 of them prisoners; the other 10 escaped. Among the enemy were found three French prisoners who were liberated. We lost, on this occasion, 5 Indians, 1 Frenchman, and had 5 wounded. Sieur de Brancour conducted this expedition with a great deal of prudence. He was accompanied by Lieutenants de Sourdy, Dauberville, Labrosse and Forsan, and by Beaubassin, a reduced lieutenant, who acquitted themselves very well on the occasion. It is impossible to describe the fatigue attendant on these expeditions in which every person walking on snow shoes is obliged to carry his provisions on his back across the woods and over the snow. These officers ought to be distinguished by some special favor, as there are but few of them in this country capable of marching on such expeditions.

In the month of April a party of hostile Savages killed one of our Indians in the river S<sup>t</sup> Francis, above Three Rivers and made good his escape.

In the same month, divers small parties, composed of 3, 4, 8, 10 and 12 of our Indians, set out from Montreal to go to divers parts of the enemy's territory. One of these having laid in ambush within sight of Orange, surprised three Englishmen, 2 of whom they killed and brought in 1, who reported to us that no ship had reached them; that goods were scarce, and that a pound of powder sold for a pound of Beaver which they value at 10 @ 12 french livres.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Charlevoix prints it Beaucour, or rather Beaucourt.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix' *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, II, 112.

Two other of these parties having met without recognizing each other, fought like enemies; and three of them fell at the first shot; they afterwards discovered their mistake.

Several Indians belonging to these small parties deserted to the enemy; they had been previously prisoners, and at war with our Indians.

At the close of April, M. de Frontenac dispatched 43 Frenchmen from Montreal with his orders to Missilimakinac in the Outaouas country, and caused them to be escorted by 3 Frenchmen and 25 Indians under the command of Sieur De La Noue, a Canadian officer, beyond a certain point where it was reported the enemy were lying in ambush. After a march of several days without meeting any one, and under the impression that the enemy was not on that route, the escort returned to Montreal where the 43 Frenchmen arrived the following day, having discovered the enemy's fires two hours after separating.

On their arrival, M<sup>r</sup> de Frontenac dispatched the same 43 Frenchmen with a more numerous escort, but they, too, were constrained to come back, having discovered the main body of the enemy about the same place that they had originally seen them.<sup>1</sup>

These two retreats obliged M<sup>r</sup> de Frontenac to send two canoes of Frenchmen and Indians by two other routes to convey his orders to Missilimakinac, and to give notice to the Voyageurs that the enemy were waiting for them on the way.

At the end of May, 29 canoes of Indians called Algonquins à têtes de Boule<sup>2</sup> came down to Montreal to dispose of their peltries. M. de Frontenac gave them 36 Frenchmen to escort them beyond the dangerous points, which extend from within 12 leagues of Montreal to a place called the Long Sault,<sup>3</sup> the navigation of which is very difficult in consequence of strong currents and vast breakers (*bouillons*). One portion of our Indians and Frenchmen being on shore and the other in canoes, the enemy attacked those more in advance and charged them so violently that those who were in the water were obliged to paddle out among the breakers; some of those on land reëmbarked and did likewise, and the remainder fled into the woods; almost all the canoes upset, and all what know for certain of this affair is, that we lost on that occasion 21 Frenchmen and three Indians. Of this number fifteen are prisoners. What is also to be regretted is, that the enemy will have a quantity of ammunition and merchandise with which the canoes of our Indians were loaded; this will render them more insolent, and furnish them with means to carry on the war against us with greater vigor.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> June, the day succeeding the receipt of this intelligence, M. de Frontenac dispatched 130 men, including officers and soldiers, and 60 Indians under the command of Sieur de Vaudreuil, commander of the forces, to the place where the enemy struck the last blow, in order to observe their movements, whether they were preparing to make a descent on our settlements, and to collect our people who were dispersed in the woods by the late defeat.

This force repaired to the scene of the action but found no enemy, nor any of our people, A canoe belonging to this detachment on board of which were three soldiers, upset, and one of them was drowned.

In the beginning of July, our enemies took 2 farmers who were mowing near Fort Roland, four leagues above Montreal, and, some days after, captured nine at La Chenaie five leagues below. M. de Callières having been advised of this, sent a detachment of 80 men commanded

<sup>1</sup> At the River du Lièvre (*Charlevoix*) or Hare river, which flows from the North, and falls into the Ottawa river in the town of Buckingham, county of Ottawa, C. E., a little below, but on the opposite side to, Bytown.

<sup>2</sup> The Indians around Lake Abitibi, South east of Hudson's bay, were called by the French *Têtes de boule*, or Round Heads.

<sup>3</sup> Of the Ottawa river. *Charlevoix*.

by Captains Duplessis and Merville, but this did not prevent the enemy taking two settlers more on *L'île Jésus*, near La Chenaie, and burning a barn full of hay; Our detachment marched against them, and went as far as the woods which it was deemed imprudent to enter fearing to fall into some ambuscade. Meanwhile M. de Callières dispatched M. de Vaudreuil with 150 men, French and Indians, to join the detachment; but the enemy having discovered them, retreated forthwith. Sieur de Vildenay, an officer of the regular army, who had been three years a prisoner among the Iroquois, escaped, and informed M. de Vaudreuil that they numbered only 150; that it was the party which lay in wait for the Voyageurs from the Outaouacs, and that they had prepared two loads of beaver above the Long Sault.<sup>1</sup> On this report, M. de Vaudreuil and his party returned to Montreal where M. de Callières ordered 500 men, French and Indians, to go and await the enemy at the place where the beaver was concealed. This force, commanded by M. de Vaudreuil, hastened beyond the Long Sault, where having descried one of the enemy's canoes crossing the river, they thought themselves discovered. M. de Vaudreuil caused his party to land, left 100 men to guard the bateaux and canoes, and set out through the woods in search of the enemy's camp. Hearing at nightfall the noise of men chopping, he approached the spot and, being discovered by the wood cutters who raised a great cry, the enemy came out of their wigwams, and placed themselves on the defensive. Notwithstanding their fire, they were charged at once by the van of our party, but as soon as the enemy perceived the main body, they gave way and fled into the woods through a place which could not have, as yet, been guarded. The night favored their flight; they lost 20 men including killed and prisoners, and 9 women and five children, without counting the wounded. Their camp was plundered, and 12 of our French prisoners recovered. We lost, again, on this occasion three officers, the best qualified for war in this country; namely, Sieurs Labrosse, Montesson and Lapoterie; 3 soldiers, 4 farmers and 4 Indians, and had six wounded. On looking next day for the beaver none of it was found.

About the 25<sup>th</sup> of July, Sieur de Lusignan, a reduced Captain, two other officers and thirty men were attacked, on their way from Three Rivers to Montreal, by thirty-nine of the enemy, called Mohawks and Mohegans (*Loups*), neighbors of the English of Orange, who fired on them unexpectedly about nine o'clock in the morning, whilst passing along the shore of the Richelieu islands, above Lake St Peter; on this occasion Sieur de Lusignan and three soldiers were killed and two wounded.

After firing, the enemy withdrew and repaired to Saint Francis on the last mentioned Lake, where they carried off a little girl of 15 @ 16 years and broke her mother's arm, who would also have been captured had it not been for a soldier who wounded an Indian that was taking her away.

M. de Frontenac desiring to protect the farmers of the Upper country in their labors sent up, at the season of harvest, 200 Canadians from the environs of Quebec with 40 or 50 Indians, whom he accompanied to Montreal where the harvest was saved without any trouble.

On the way up, he met a canoe manned with 10 men who brought him intelligence of the arrival at Montreal of a party of 400 men, French and Indians, that had left Missilimakinac on the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> de St Pierre, who had been sent thither overland. This party had set out without any peltries, intending only to attack the enemy who were waiting on the Grand river<sup>2</sup> for their coming down. But they were no longer visible, for they composed the same party that had been beaten and routed by Sieur de Vaudreuil, so that those from Missilimakinac found only

<sup>1</sup> Of the Ottawa river.

<sup>2</sup> or Ottawa river.

their camp, and thus proceeded to Montreal without any interruption. M. de Frontenac, on arriving, had every reason to be pleased with the good dispositions in which he found these Indians. They consisted of Hurons, Outaouaes, Illinois, and other Upper Nations, allies of the French, and have, for a year past, afforded every manner of proof of their particular attachment for us, by the different parties they have sent out against the enemy, around whose villages some of them were continually prowling who have unceasingly arrested their progress, and always carried off some of their people. Sieur de Lovingny, commandant of Missilimakinac writes us, that as many as 800 of those Indians have been scattered, at one time, over all the adjacent country, and that they have defeated 42, including those taken prisoners and those killed whose scalps they have brought away.

Such are the fruits of the presents we have sent these Nations who permit themselves to be governed principally by such means, which possess the secret of putting them in motion and of endowing them with courage, and we may expect hereafter to witness similar, and even more progress, by continuing the presents the King has the goodness to bestow on them.

Whilst these tribes are thus performing their duty, the Canibas and Abenaquis of Acadia do not forget theirs; they make continual attacks on the English around Boston and Manate, where they ruin and devastate the country. The best proof that they have afforded thereof has been the great number of prisoners of all ages that they have brought in, and the scalps they have taken from those they killed. But such good fortune did not attend one of the parties in which the French accompanied them. Sieur Villebon, commanding in Acadia having sent his brother Portneuf, two other officers and divers Canadians with those Indians to capture a fort belonging to the English,<sup>1</sup> they were surprised, when on the point of carrying the place, by the appearance of two English sloops, which they resolved to attack, but not being sufficiently strong, were constrained to retire after having fought with great bravery. These Indians are very courageous and more reliance can be placed on them than on any other tribe. We lost, in this last affair, one officer,<sup>2</sup> one Frenchman and three Indians.

Sieurs d'Iberville and Bonaventure who command *le Poly* and *l'Ensayeur*, and sailed with the intention of making an attempt on New England, will report their proceedings, and the events in Acadia to the close of the Summer.

La Plaque, chief of our Indians at the Sault St Louis, had no sooner returned from France this year, than he raised a party of 160 Indians, which includes nearly their entire force, in order to signalize himself and give his Majesty proofs of his desire to render good service, in grateful return for the benefits he has received. If his plans be crowned with the success he anticipates, there is reason to believe that he will strike a severe blow on the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois, bordering on Orange, where he expects to sleep.

Quebec, 5<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup> 1692.

(Signed) CHAMPIGNY.

<sup>1</sup> Wells, York county, Maine. *Williamson*, I, 631, 632, gives a full account of this affair.

<sup>2</sup> M. de Labrocee. *Williamson*, I, 634.

## CHAPTER IV.

*An Account of what occurred in Canada from the month of September one thousand six hundred and ninety-two to the departure of the ships in 1693.*

It has been seen by the Narrative of last year that the want of troops necessitated the abandonment of the expedition against one of the Iroquois Villages, which had been agreed upon in the Council held at Montreal with the greater part of the Indian Nations, our allies, in the month of August.

That plan had been projected only in the expectation that the reinforcements which were coming from France could make good our losses. Assistance having failed, it was found necessary to confine operations to the sending out small detachments of Indians who would keep the enemy constantly in check. One, composed of Iroquois of the Sault and of the Mountain, was organized to proceed against the Mohawks.

At the same time, that is in the middle of September, two Soldiers who had escaped from New-York, deserted from Quebec with three Dutchmen, and some other Dutchmen deserted also from Montreal. The matter appeared of grave consequence. It was probable—as has since been found to be the case—that M<sup>r</sup> Nelson had a considerable hand in this evasion; and that, being perfectly acquainted, since he became a prisoner, with the state of Canada, with which the two Soldiers were equally conversant, and as the latter could also state that we had not received any reinforcements, it was thought advisable not to leave anything untried to arrest these deserters.

The Count dispatched a canoe with some Abenakis and Frenchmen in pursuit of them; sent orders to M<sup>r</sup> de Callière to intercept them on Lake Champlain; and offered a reward of thirty pistoles<sup>1</sup> to whomsoever should bring them back. But it was impossible to overtake them, and we learned in a few days after, that they met within three days' march of Orange, a large party of the enemy coming towards our settlements.

This news was first communicated to us by a Squaw belonging to the Mountain, who had been taken prisoner two years previously. She had made her escape from the principal village of the Mohawks, and reported that the Iroquois, numbering eight hundred, were divided into equal parties, one of which was coming by way of Lake Champlain and the other by Lake Saint Francis, or the river *des Iroquois*,<sup>2</sup> that their plan was, to come and encamp near the Sault, and to draw out the greatest number of the Indians possible under plea of a negotiation, and to bind them or knock them on the head.

This was confirmed by an Indian that left the enemy, who were coming by Lake Champlain, only five or six days' march from Montreal.

The smallness of the force in that government did not permit marching openly against the enemy, in the uncertainty which prevailed as to what quarter they would attack.

M<sup>r</sup> de Callière merely ordered every one to retire into the forts, and sent as large a reinforcement as he could to the Sault which was threatened the most. The Indians, on their

<sup>1</sup> A pistole is 10 francs—\$1.87½.

<sup>2</sup> St. Lawrence.



side, promised to meet the artifices of the enemy in their own style; to allow as many of them as pleased to enter their fort, and then to seize them, knock them on the head, or send them to M<sup>r</sup> de Callière. The Marquis de Crisafy commanded all the French who were at the Sault; a garrison was sent to the fort at Sorel which had been abandoned, and all the officers whom business had called to Quebec, on the arrival of the ships, returned to their posts.

Finally, the party coming by Lake Saint Francis appeared first in sight of the Sault at noon. On our appearing to be expecting them, the enemy contented themselves with firing several volleys which were answered by a like fire. There was no great loss on either side; the enemy withdrew in the evening and our scouts reported that they were turning towards Lake Saint Francis, doubtless with a design to hunt there, and to send out small parties. They surprised some farmers who after the main alarm had passed away were unable to abstain from visiting their farms. It was, however, not deemed expedient to pursue the enemy, the number of persons that could be mustered, after all the posts were garrisoned, not equalling half their force although the party from the Sault and Mountain, which had been recalled, had returned. Thus, the expense incurred to fit them out, and which always amounts to a considerable sum, was found to have been thrown away.

The wife of Chaudière Noire<sup>1</sup> one of the principal Iroquois chiefs, who had been taken some months ago on the defeat of the party commanded by her husband, and who was a prisoner at the Sault, had a desire, it was discovered, to run away. Tataconicere an Oneida Chief belonging to that Mission, on such suspicion, dragged her without the fort and knocked her on the skull. He then struck his hatchet into the gate as a sign that he would not grant pardon to any one, inviting his brethren to do likewise.

No news, however, were received of the Lake Champlain party, and when the time for their attack was supposed to be near, a young lad and two squaws deserted from them and reported that, after the escape of the Indian already mentioned, they had held a Council during two whole days; that a part, seeing their project was discovered, had advised a retreat, and that one hundred did, in fact, retire; that the remaining three hundred were intending to come when we should have withdrawn.

Our scouts now discovered them encamped on a desert island in lake Champlain, but as the season was pretty well advanced no great harm was anticipated from them.

M<sup>r</sup> de Callière, thereupon resolved to send, agreeably to the Count's orders, to revictual Chambly, and dispatched a canoe to examine the passes of the river Richelieu where it was feared loaded bateaux would, apparently, not find sufficient water. This canoe in returning learned that the enemy had killed some persons and taken others prisoner at Verchères, drove the cattle into the woods, and scalped a soldier at Saint Ours. This, it was supposed, was a small detachment from the main body.

The convoy for Chambly set off. It was composed of six Companies that were to winter in the government of Quebec, and some fifty Indian scouts. All the wood necessary for fuel for the garrison was cut and hauled.

Several Indians joined those at Chambly and went to the borders of Lake Champlain, to endeavor to surprise some of the enemy who were there. They succeeded in overtaking only one Seneca whose head they broke; two others, who were accompanying him, escaped, in whose wallets were found the scalps of two farmers of Sorel, a father and son, who had been killed whilst hunting in the islands of Lake Saint Peter.

<sup>1</sup> Black Kettle.

The ice beginning to form, every one retired to his post, and attention was directed to preparations for a winter expedition, whereof we shall presently speak, and which made a great sensation among the enemy.

Though the Mohawk be not the most numerous of those composing at present the Five Iroquois Nations, its humiliation has always appeared a matter of importance. The most of the Indians of the Sault belong to that tribe, many of whom are actually their brethren and relatives, whom they have endeavored by all acts of kindness to persuade to come and join them and to unite with them in prayer.

The Mohawks on their side omitted no effort to seduce the greatest number possible of our Indians; and frequent negotiations, secret communications, messages of which it was impossible for us to have any knowledge, and which were very much to our prejudice, engaged us to omit nothing to obtain by force what our Indians could not effect by their negotiations.

Moreover, this tribe being the nearest to the English is, also, that in which most of the parties are organized against us, and our Southern settlements have often unfortunately experienced the prowess of these Indians, who the first waged war with the French, and who would never have concluded a hearty peace had not M<sup>r</sup> de Tracy humbled them by three consecutive expeditions within the space of eighteen months.

These motives, and the concurrence in sentiment of the oldest and best heads of the Sault and of the Mountain, obliged the Count to direct his attention thereto.

The expedition was less difficult than that of Onontagué which had aborted the preceding fall, and the great desire our Indians felt to undertake it actuated as an inducement not to allow them to become cool. Accordingly, at their request Lieutenants de Manteth, Courtemanche and Lanoue were detached to command the French, who, they said, were necessary for that expedition.

The Count promised to join thereto, in addition to these three Commanders, a number of other officers, and the greatest possible number of Regulars and Militia.

From the first setting in of the winter, then, attention was turned to the preparation of whatever was necessary for this undertaking. The Intendant dispatched orders in season to Montreal, to put in readiness provisions, ammunition, snow shoes, trains and other articles sufficient for six hundred men.

The Hurons of Loretto, the Abenakis of the falls of the Chaudière were invited to attend, and furnished, each, thirty to forty men; some Algonquins and Soccoquis of Three Rivers joined them.

The smartest soldiers of each Company, (all not being adapted for these expeditions), and such of the Militia of each settlement as were considered qualified, were detailed for the occasion. The whole numbered more than six hundred men, both French and Indian, exclusive of the officers. Sieur de Manteth led the van and commanded those belonging to the government of Three Rivers.

Sieur de Courtemanche followed him with those of the government of Quebec, many of whom had come from almost opposite Tadoussac, a distance of more than thirty leagues from that city. To the credit of the Militia of Canada it can be said, that they went on this expedition with a right good will, such as is difficult to be met with among people who cannot abandon their property and settlements whatever the season may be, without doing themselves essential injury. It would, then, be the height of cruelty to oblige them to go on these expeditions at their own expense, inasmuch as, independent of the danger to life inseparable

from war, those who have been any length of time engaged in it are, by the fatigue attendant thereupon, rendered incapable of labor for a long while after their return. Moreover, the misery which has prevailed for several years in this country, exempts them sufficiently from the expenses they should incur. Therefore, the large sums such movements necessitate, must not excite surprise. Those acquainted with this country are absolutely ignorant on that head, and many others who are here do not comprehend one-half the expense. Those who enter into the details have, alone, a perfect knowledge of the subject.

January 20<sup>th</sup>. All the forces from the lower part of the Colony arrived at Montreal.

25<sup>th</sup> Started from La Prairie de la Madelaine, and went to encamp at Chambly, where they tarried on the twenty-sixth.

27<sup>th</sup> All the Frenchmen marched thence, and on the

30<sup>th</sup> The Indians who had been hunting joined them.

The number of officers amounted to some twenty-five or thirty, many of whom, finding themselves the Seniors or superiors of those in command, went as volunteers.

February 16<sup>th</sup> Arrived in the evening within sight of one of the little Mohawk forts. Formed two divisions, for the purpose of proceeding against another only a quarter of a league off. Sieurs de Manteth and Courtemanche marched against it.

Sieur de Lanoue remained to seize the first, in which he found only five men, several women and children whom he experienced no difficulty in overpowering. One man, however, escaped, notwithstanding his vigilance.

Sieur de Manteth found still fewer people in the second fort. They burnt that taken by Sieur de Lanoue, and repaired together to the other, where Sieur de Courtemanche remained with a detachment to guard the prisoners they had captured and some others whom they caught hunting in the woods.

Sieurs de Manteth and De Lanoue marched with all the rest, towards the principal fort where they arrived on the night of the Eighteenth.

They were surprised to hear great uproar and war songs, which made them apprehensive, at first, that they were discovered; but it turned out to be some forty warriors who were about to join a large party that was organizing at Oneida.

The noise having terminated, means were found to open the gates of the fort into which an entrance was easily effected, and it was captured without any loss but that of one Frenchman, and one Indian wounded, though several muskets were fired. Some twenty or thirty men, and several women were killed as well in the first assault, as in the subsequent intoxication of our Indians; and the cabins, the pallisades of the fort, the provisions, and whatever clothing could not be removed, were set on fire. Finally, on the Twentieth, the drunkenness of the Indians having passed off, a junction was formed with Sieur de Courtemanche at the little fort where he had been left.

The number of prisoners amounted to more than three hundred, one-third of whom were capable of bearing arms; the remainder were women, little children or old men; the plunder such as is to be found in Indian wigwams.

It is to be remarked that two young Dutchmen, a long time prisoners at the Sault, and whom our Indians were carrying along with them, escaped in the course of the night of the first attack, in addition to the Indian already mentioned and some others who might have had cognizance of this expedition. This proved, eventually, of dangerous consequence.

21<sup>st</sup> Passed in taking rest and in deliberating whether Orange should be attacked, or the march homeward commenced. The Indians represented that they were loaded with prisoners whom they could not in any way be persuaded to kill, though they had on setting out from Montreal, promised to do so, both to the Count when they demanded permission to organize this expedition, and to M<sup>r</sup> de Callière.

This was one of the points on which the latter had the most insisted, and it formed part of his instructions to the Commanders. The Count enjoined this on him, and he did all in his power to impress it on the minds of the principal Indian chiefs whom he had caused to be expressly assembled at his house.

But these sort of people do not act like others; they willingly promise what is asked of them, reserving to themselves to perform what they have promised, according as their interests, which they do not always clearly understand, or their caprice may suggest.

The French, therefore, found it impossible to make them listen to reason on this head; and this obstinacy, as well as that evinced by them on another occasion, (as will be seen by and by) was the cause that this expedition was not accompanied by all the success that was anticipated.

22<sup>nd</sup> The last of the enemy's forts, where the troops had 'camped, having been burnt, like the others, with all the provisions and clothing found in it, marched thence in very good order, the prisoners in the centre of the main body, and the most active of the French forming the rear guard. On halting at night, a Mohawk cried out, in front of the camp, that we should soon see the enemy, who were in pursuit of us.

23<sup>d</sup> Marched until noon in the same order as the day before, and on halting, the same Indian that had spoken the previous night, came to notify us that the enemy were pursuing us in great numbers, and would soon overtake us.

The French Commanders wished to push further on, but the Indians asked to construct a fort in order to be able to resist the enemy in it. It was vain to remonstrate with them how serious this delay would be; that during this time, uselessly wasted, the enemy would come up to us, and starve us out; that marching in good order, there could be no fear of being forced; and that there would always be means to construct retrenchments of fallen trees in the woods, in which our prisoners would be safely secured, and ourselves placed beyond insult.

They did not appreciate any of these reasons, and, however pernicious was their advice, a desire to manage them led to a compliance with it.

The fort was built in a short time after the Indian fashion, and was found to be in a tolerably good state of defence. Scouts were sent out on all sides, and as the enemy did not make their appearance next day, every effort was tried to induce the Indians to decamp. It was impossible to persuade them to comply, so that two days were spent there doing nothing.

26<sup>th</sup> At night our scouts reported that the enemy were bivouacking at our last camping ground, and that they must be in great force, as their fires were as numerous as ours.

27<sup>th</sup> A Frenchman and some Indians who had been on the scout, reported that the enemy were approaching in full line of battle, and that they were very near. Preparations were made by every one to give them a warm reception, not doubting but that they were coming to attack the fort; but they, too, halted to fortify themselves behind some fallen trees. A few Indians went out, at first, to prevent them; the greater portion of the French quickly followed and there remained in the fort only sufficient to guard it and the prisoners.

The attack on the enemy's retrenchments was very vigorous; they were driven from their first ambuscade as many as three times, and we were forced as often from it; we should,

apparently, have succeeded in driving them altogether from their position had not many of the French been occupied in removing the dead and the wounded, and had not several Indians remained in the fort, doing nothing. Some of them, however, were killed in these skirmishes, and including four soldiers and three settlers, we had about fifteen wounded; among these was *Sieur de Lanoue*.

Means were finally found to induce the Indians to understand the necessity of decamping, by representing to them that it was of the greatest importance to secure the passage across the Orange river which might be preoccupied; that the provisions were beginning to fail, and that we might be starved in our fort, a danger the enemy was not exposed to, having in their rear, and within a few days' journey, places from which they could draw a supply of men and all sorts of provisions, and that if we delayed longer, they would be able to force our position by their superior numbers, though they had not dared to attempt it being nearly eight hundred, two thirds of whom were English, or Dutch men. It was resolved, then, to break up the camp next morning, the 28<sup>th</sup>, and by day in preference to night, in order to avoid the disorder attendant on those kinds of retreats, which are often converted into a flight.

The march from the fort was commenced at ten o'clock in the morning, and continued in good order until evening. Next day,

1<sup>st</sup> March, crossed the Orange river at a place which was found still frozen, and in the evening learned that the enemy continued in pursuit of us. The greatest difficulty was experienced in conveying the wounded on litters, one man alone sometimes requiring as many as twenty persons.

The certainty that the enemy were in close pursuit, and the apprehension of being momentarily attacked, made the commanders particularly attentive in obliging every one to march in good order, the wounded and the prisoners in the centre. The Indians even gave some alarms, and the manner in which all our soldiers and militia made their preparations, shewed that it would be very difficult to surprise, and still more so to vanquish them. The scouts who had been sent out, and who for the most part caused these alarms, reported that the enemy were following slowly. Some Mohawks, who had come in, said we had fought seven hundred men; that many of them remained on the field, and that a great number had been wounded, all in the body.

2<sup>nd</sup> Came to sleep at Lake Saint Sacrament; several of our Indians left us to hunt, and as they alone were masters of the prisoners whom they did not guard very strictly, many of these escaped.

4<sup>th</sup> Arrived at the place where we had concealed a quantity of provisions which were found entirely spoiled. This eventually caused a universal, and most rigid fast.

11<sup>th</sup> Arrived, after inconceivable difficulties at the river Hazy;<sup>1</sup> two Frenchmen were detached to Montreal for provisions, and those who remained, considered themselves very fortunate when they would discover a few potatoes, or have a few pairs of moccasins to put in the pot.

Remained three days encamped on this river. A soldier died there of hunger and fatigue, and several others appeared ready to follow him. Finally,

15<sup>th</sup> The provisions sent by M<sup>r</sup> de Callière arrived when the most of those who could march had already begun pushing along towards our settlements; the wounded, whom it was impossible to carry any further, remaining under the guard of a few brave volunteers commanded

<sup>1</sup> *Chazy. La Potherie.*

by Sieurs de Courtemanche and de Villedonné, in a small redoubt that had been constructed.

16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Every one repaired to Montreal so wasted by the fatigue of the march and by hunger, that those alone who saw them could conceive their condition.

Of this expedition it may be said, that it was happy and glorious in its inception, and that the sequel would have been equally so, had not its complete success been marred by the false pity of the Indians for their prisoners, and by their obstinacy in building a fort and unwisely remaining in it.

This stroke did not fail, however, to cast a general consternation among the Iroquois Nations and the Dutch, each village now apprehending for itself the same disaster that befell the Mohawks.

A month before the return of this party, Sieur de Perigny, a reduced lieutenant, detached at the time to Acadia, brought back letters from Sieur de Villebon; from the Captains of the Men of war who had left our harbor last fall, and from several officers who had embarked with them.

We learned by him that the fleet commanded by Monsieur Dupalais, of whom we had received news in the beginning of the winter, had hauled off the Coast of Newfoundland, and that after he was joined by our two ships in Spaniards' bay<sup>1</sup> in the Island of Cape Breton, they had sailed to Pantagouët, as had been agreed upon.

All that occurred there is well known in France, and at Court; but the arrest of the two Soldiers who had deserted from Quebec in the month of September of last year, and of whom we spoke in the preceding Relation, was to us a source of grave reflection.

It appeared by their trial that M<sup>r</sup> de Nelson had furnished the enemy full information as to the condition of Quebec, and of the means to be employed to get possession of it. The preparations which, they assured us, all the New England Governors were making for an extensive armament; the advices received from our Indian allies on the sea board, left us no reason to doubt of our being threatened with a serious attack. Our city which, without difficulty, had sustained the attack of thirty miserable craft, was not in a condition to resist a more considerable force acquainted with our weakness, and ashamed, in consequence of the information they had received, of not having come directly up to our pallsades.

Defences of a more respectable character then became necessary, and this is what induced the Count and Intendant not to lose a moment in putting themselves in a good posture of defence.

They confided the superintendance of their fortifications to Chevalier Dubois-Bertelot de Beaujours, a reduced Captain of our troops, and *Enseigne de Vaisseau*.<sup>2</sup>

The selection of this Engineer is not to be regretted. With a profound knowledge of all that appertains to that science, he combines, in the facility with which he executes the works he undertakes, so much clearness of conception and so close an application to the smallest details, that it can be said, we should not have completed in six months without him, what we have effected in three.

Immediately on the close of the winter, he commenced drawing plans of his fortification; according as the ground became bare, he staked out its principal parts and on the first of April, we were in a condition to set the troops to work who had wintered in the government of Quebec.

<sup>1</sup> Now Sidney Harbor, N. S.

<sup>2</sup> The lowest Commissioned officer on board a French Man of War. — JAMES.

The Court will see by the plans transmitted, on which the old inclosure (*enceinte*) is laid down, what are the works we have constructed; and it is true that, including masonry, terraces and carpentry work, five hundred men have not been employed over fifty or sixty days; the whole at a very reasonable rate for Canada.

Though the defence of Quebec appeared the most urgent affair, and what had to be principally attended to, the necessities of other places were in no wise overlooked.

The return of that prodigious quantity of peltry which was known to be at Missilimakinac was of considerable importance; the fear of an irruption of the enemy above and below, excluded all idea of being able to send thither the number of Frenchmen considered sufficient to transport them.

It was necessary, however, to make every effort to obtain them; as the favor which the Court confers on the inhabitants of Canada, by annual licenses, was not productive of any benefit so long as such a vast number of Beavers remained at the place where the ordinary trade is carried on.

This motive, conjoined to that of recovering nearly two hundred Frenchmen who were dispersed among the Upper Tribes, and who could be usefully employed against the enemy that was threatening us, induced the Count to dispatch *Sieur D'argenteuil*, a reduced Lieutenant of troops, with eighteen Canadians to convey his orders to *Sieur de Louvigny*. It was impossible to engage them for this voyage except by the hope of a handsome reward, the danger being imminent for a party so small as theirs.

He was expressly commanded to send down the greatest number of Frenchmen possible, and to retain only as many as were necessary for the security of the posts he was occupying; to engage the Indians to assist them in bringing down their peltries, and especially to hasten their departure, in order to anticipate the designs of the Iroquois, who might, as in other years, render themselves masters of the passes.

*Sieur D'argenteuil* was escorted by several Indians of the Sault and Mountain, and by some twenty French Volunteers, who, as well as the Indians, had to be allowed a large daily pay during their voyage, the soldiers being busy elsewhere. The whole was commanded by *Sieur de la Valterie Junr.*, Ensign of the troops.

This escort was attacked on its return by a large body of Iroquois who threw themselves on both sides of a rapid at the head of the island of Montreal.

They fired so suddenly on our canoes that it was impossible to avoid them; that which *Sieur de la Valterie* was aboard of, was the most severely handled, and having been forced to run ashore in consequence of the multitude of balls it received, and through fear of foundering, the enemy, in whose vicinity *M. de la Valterie*, already severely wounded, disembarked, overtook him as he was retreating with another Frenchman, and slew them both.

We lost, on this occasion, two other Frenchmen, and the enemy, an Indian belonging to the Mountain who was taken prisoner, and who has since been recognized, as will be seen hereafter. At the same time that *Sieur D'argenteuil* started for the Outagacs, several parties were formed of Indians of the Sault and Mountain whom *M<sup>r</sup> de Callière* sent out expressly to obtain prisoners and learn some news.

Though the Indian disposition be naturally prone to war, and though an attempt was made to persuade them that they are carrying on hostilities as much for their own, as for our interest, yet they fail not to demand, every time they set out, a quantity of provisions and ammunition which costs a considerable sum, and to refuse, would be to utterly disgust, them.

Surprise, then, must not be felt at the vast expenditure in Canada, and the little utility we are reproached with deriving from it. It is true that out of twenty parties these Indians organize, one-third of them sometimes do not strike a blow; but it is, also, very certain that, so far from rejecting any who offer, they must be encouraged as much as possible to form them, whatever be the cost, owing to the necessity we are under of hearing news of the enemy, which we cannot obtain except from prisoners, and of harrassing and keeping them in a continual state of alarm. Small parties effect this object as well as large expeditions, and at a smaller expense.

It can be asserted with truth, that for four years, no part of the season of navigation has passed without somebody being always in the field; and if these minutæ have not been mentioned, it was considered sufficient to state them all at once (*en gros*) and that their details would be irksome.

The Indians, some settlers and active soldiers have formed small parties; and whatever troops we have been at liberty hitherto, pending our scarcity of provisions, to detach from our garrisons, have been employed under the command of the Captains in protecting our sowing and harvests, or in pursuing the enemy when he made his appearance. Therefore, with the extensive works we have constructed, it may be said that no person has been unoccupied.

It was not at Quebec alone that fortifications had to be thought of. The information received from the prisoners taken at the Mohawk, that the Iroquois and Dutch were making preparations to attack the neighborhood of Montreal, rendered it necessary to think of the preservation of the principal posts that cover that place. Those of Sorel and Chambly appeared the most important, and were not in a satisfactory condition.

Chevalier de Saint Jean commanded the former, and M<sup>r</sup> de Callière sent him a reinforcement of twenty men under the orders of Lieutenant de Beauvais, who, with his company, put that fort into thorough repair.

That of Chambly has been refitted by Sieur Desbergères who has been in command there for the last four years; and it is in the best state of defence that it is possible to put a stockaded fort in.

The exactitude with which this officer performs his duty; the thorough discipline he enforces in guarding that post which is, at present, on the frontier of the country, places us entirely under cover on that side. He has not contented himself with making use of everything there that could contribute to his safety; he also went at the commencement of the spring with twenty men of his garrison, two leagues from his fort, and rendered entirely impracticable the portages by which the enemy are obliged to pass, when coming down in considerable numbers; so that they cannot approach Montreal by water without being seen from Chambly nor without being exposed to his cannon, or running through the rapids in which it is impossible for canoes to save themselves.

After having attended to the frontier posts of his government, M<sup>r</sup> de Callière applied himself to the construction of works at Montreal whereby he could be placed in security. The entire town could not be inclosed anew in sufficient time, and it became necessary to secure in the first place, a hill (*côteau*) which commands it on all sides.

At this point he caused a small oblong fort to be built with four bastions; terraced, fraised and pallisaded and provided with a small ditch at its two narrowest sides; the other two being extremely steep.

This work may be considered impregnable to the forces the enemy can lead against it from above, it being impossible for them to bring cannon against it capable of destroying its defences.



It has at present eight guns on its bastions, in form of batteries, and though the enemy were to render themselves masters of the town, which there is no reason to apprehend, they could not hold all the streets, these being almost enfiladed, as well as the two sides of the town fronting the river and the mountain.

Of the parties which as we stated, the Indians had formed, that commanded by La Plaque which had gone towards Orange, was the first to meet with any success; the others were out some time without any great effect.

Some of them had gone towards Onondaga; others to the Mohawk country, and to several English towns, even as far as Boston.

That of Laplaque, which had directed its course towards Orange, surprised fourteen persons in the woods, two of whom he killed and took one prisoner; the latter turned out to be a Frenchman who had been captured four years ago by an English vessel at the island of Saint Peter.<sup>1</sup>

He was brought to Quebec and his report was found to agree tolerably with that of the two deserters taken last fall on the coast of Acadia.

He assured that the enemy were to be ready to embark on the twentieth of April at Boston, where the rendezvous for all the English Colonies was fixed; and that this arrangement had been entered into in the course of the winter by all the governors in command there; that each was to furnish a stated number of men and vessels which were preparing for a long time; that the expedition was to consist at least of ten thousand men, more than six thousand of whom would land.

He added, that the Commandant at Orange was to come by lake Champlain with six hundred Englishmen, without Iroquois, in order to create a diversion for the troops that were above, and to facilitate the attack on Quebec.

This information from a man who ought to have been instructed by a long sojourn among the enemy, confirmed us in the resolution of hastening as much as possible, the inclosure of the town. I shall not enter into the details of the fortifications that have been erected there.

The plans and reports thereof will be seen, and I shall content myself with stating that the greatest number of men, and the smallest amount of expenditure possible have been employed on the works. Fortunately these are found to consist of such as the Court had thought proper to direct; either of earth, of which we have constructed the walls, or of the advantageous post of Cape Diamond, which we have fortified by a strong redoubt and included within the ramparts, recovering, on that side, the ground we lost on the other, so as to try and render it as regular as it could be. All the farmers within twenty leagues of Quebec furnished their *corvées*<sup>2</sup> for their board merely, and when they had been sent for a second time were paid at a very moderate rate. In order to engage them more readily in this work and to adopt necessary measures to save the Country, especially the cattle, from pillage, the Count deemed it expedient to visit these places.

He, accordingly, made a short voyage to the Island of Orleans and to the Côte de Beaupré; had the people assembled, and arrangements made respecting the manner of proceeding in case of certain news of the approach of the enemy, and the places of retreat for the old

<sup>1</sup> Off the South Coast of Newfoundland.

<sup>2</sup> Personal obligations of the tenantry under the Feudal system, to furnish a certain amount of services and time without compensation. It amounted, by law, to twelve days' work a year, whilst in other instances it is said to have been unlimited. Gentlemen and Nobles were exempted from it. In Canada the Militia, it is alleged, were ruined by these *Corvées*. *Smith's History of Canada*, I, 110.

men, the women and children, where the cattle could be guarded by a small force. He had no difficulty in getting them to agree to his wishes the moment he made known to them what these were, although many persons had anticipated difficulty.

The earthen works, the pallisades, and fascines have been constructed by the job, (*à l'entreprise*); the soldiers were superintended by their officers according to their turn of duty, and the farmers were under the direction of the principal citizens.

The masonry was divided among the best builders; the excavation of the ditch was found to be the most difficult and tedious, owing to the hardness of the rock on which we are located.

It was cut only at places where it was absolutely necessary, and which were found incapable of deriving any protection from our flanks. This work is not yet completed, but we hope to have it in good condition next spring, expecting as we do, that the Court will approve the fortifications we have constructed this year, and furnish us with means to complete them; the rather, as the English continue to threaten us more than ever, and as it is probable, from what they have done in the Islands,<sup>1</sup> that Canada will have her turn.

Our Indians, who had been out, have again taken several prisoners, women and children, who all said that the English did not cease menacing us, and that their expedition was nearly ready.

There arrived at Quebec in the month of June, a man named Lafaurie, who had been taken a year ago at Acadia and conveyed to Boston where he has been exchanged for an Englishman. His confinement doubtless prevented him learning any news, and he did not tell us much.

The Abenakis presented the Count some English scalps, and a prisoner who although pretty young, assured us, that he had heard it said that those of his Nation were preparing to come hither. At the close of the same month of June, Tareha, an Oneida Chief, repaired to Montreal and was conducted to Quebec with Saint Amour, an inhabitant of Point aux Trembles, who had been taken prisoner in a fight which occurred at that place four years ago, and whom he was bringing back in good faith.

The pretext for this Indian's visit appeared, at first, to be nothing more than the wish to recover one of his nephews who was a prisoner at the Sault. But he presented to the Count some belts relating to affairs worthy of attention. He said that the most influential of the Oneida cabins were extremely desirous of peace, and that if they had not previously demanded it, they were prevented merely by the fear of appearing in the presence of a justly irritated father; that he alone was disposed to encounter the blow, and whatever treacheries the Iroquois might have committed against us, he hoped, that, coming as he did in good faith to give expression to his thoughts, he should experience no ill-treatment; he added, that the entire Village would willingly follow the example of the cabins, for which he spoke, and that he had caused notice to be given to all the Nations that he was coming to Canada, to see his father, and to endeavor to accommodate what their bad faith had spoiled.

He, likewise, brought letters from Father Millet, the Jesuit, who has been more than five years a prisoner among them, confirming all Tahera expressed by his belts, and certifying the favorable disposition of the Oneidas, without however presuming to answer for that of the other Nations.

The Count spoke to him by one Belt only, which speech we now report word for word:—

The Belt that Onontio gives Tareha is to say, that the just resentment he feels at the horrible perfidy the Onondagas perpetrated on the French, whom he permitted to accompany the

<sup>1</sup> A fleet had been sent under Sir Francis Wheeler against Martinico in 1693, but sickness had so weakened them that the design aborted. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, II, 71.

Iroquois he had brought from France and whom Oreaouë had sent back to them, combined with the unheard of cruelties they, as well as all the other Nations, have since committed on those of his Children who have fallen into their hands, would have obliged him to have recourse to reprisals against Tareha, and to reject the Belts he had presented him on behalf of the three principal families of Oneida, without listening to any of those things he had submitted to him, did not the yet remaining tenderness for Children whom he has always loved, and whom he never treated otherwise than well, induce him to endeavor once more to leave them some means to enable them, by recovering their senses and returning to their duty, to eject the poison they have swallowed, and to shake off the drunkenness in which they have been so long lying.

This is the sole motive which induces him to declare by this Belt, that if the Onondagas, Senecas and Cayugas wish to participate in the dispositions the Oneidas seem to entertain, they have to send him immediately two of the principal and most influential chiefs of each Nation—of whom he wishes Teganissorens to be one because he is his oldest acquaintance—to express the hearty sorrow and sincere regret they feel for all their past faults, and he will listen to what they will desire to say on the subject; giving them full assurance that they shall be at liberty to come and return in all safety, whatever may happen; they must entertain the less doubt on this subject inasmuch as they are aware that Onontio has never broken, and is incapable of violating, his word.

It is for them to consider the resolution they are to adopt, because if they refuse to enter promptly at the door the Oneidas have begun to open for them, Onontio is determined to close his ears, to listen no longer to any proposition of arrangement, and to pursue them until they be wholly exterminated.

Tahera was dismissed with this answer, and promised to return in September.

On the twenty-fifth of June sixty Amicouis Indians<sup>1</sup> arrived at Montreal from Fort Frontenac where they had been lying in ambush with a view to surprise some of the enemy. They reported that the Nipissiriniens, their allies, whom they had accompanied on the war path, had encountered three Iroquois Canoes, one of which they had utterly defeated; that they had taken one prisoner on that occasion who told them that they had killed two Frenchmen; probably Sieur de Lavalterie and the man named Lac, a farmer, who had been taken with him; that they had also recovered Orany, an influential Indian of the Mountain, who had been wounded and captured on the same occasion, and whom those Nepissiriniens ought since to have brought down to Montreal.

The Amicouis went back after stating that nothing had happened in the direction of the River *des Iroquois*.<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning of July letters were received from Father Binetaut, a Jesuit missionary at Acadia<sup>3</sup> who informed us that the Abenakis had taken, near fort Pemkuit, an English woman

<sup>1</sup> The Amicoués, or Beaver Indians occupied originally the Islands of that name in Lake Michigan; but Charlevoix states that they became afterwards considerably reduced in numbers, and removed to the Great Manitoulin island in Lake Huron. They are sometimes called *Nezperçés*.

<sup>2</sup> The St. Lawrence.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. JULIEN BINETAUT did not remain long in Maine; he was on the Saint Lawrence in 1694, and about 1695 was sent to labor among the Illinois. He followed these Indians during the most oppressive heats of July on their summer hunt, in order to administer to them in case of necessity. Sometimes he was in danger of being stifled in the midst of the tall grass, and then suffered cruelly from thirst, not finding a drop of water any where in the parched prairies. During the day he was drenched in perspiration, and at night obliged to take his rest on the bare earth, exposed to the dews, to the injurious effects of the atmosphere and to many other miseries. These fatigues brought on a deadly fever which soon put an end to his life. *Kip's Jesuit Missions*, 209.

prisoner who appeared to be respectable; she stated that the enemy's fleet had set sail for Quebec long since. This agreed with what we had been told by the Frenchman whom Laplaque captured in the direction of Orange.

The day succeeding the receipt of these letters, arrived here Sieur de Saint Michel who, as was stated last year, had been taken at the Long Sault of the river of the Outaouacs in an engagement in which Sieur de Laganerays commanded and who had been conveyed to Omatés<sup>1</sup> with Sieur de Lafresnière-Hertel, Ensign in the Regulars, whence he escaped. He got away in the most fortunate manner possible, which, at his advanced time of life, seems somewhat miraculous.

His adventures are most extraordinary, and would merit a particular detail. He made his escape on learning that the Iroquois had just decreed in council that it was necessary for the good of the Nation that he be burnt. He has been twenty-five days coming to Montreal, and may be relied on as to what he has reported to us respecting the condition of the enemy, of whom he has long had considerable knowledge, confirmed now by the sojourn of more than a year in their principal village.

He represents that the fort of Onontaë which has been built by the English, has eight bastions and three rows of stockades; and that in case we invade the enemy's territory, the Iroquois are resolved to muster there and maintain their ground.

That they had determined to come down, this summer, to the number of Eight hundred to impede our harvests, and his opinion, from the preparations he had witnessed, was that they would put that project into execution; that Tareha's representations on the part of the Oneidas might have been in good faith, but assuredly the other Nations would not listen to peace unless forced, which they must be, the very moment circumstances admit.

On the thirteenth of the same month a canoe arrived from Hudson's bay and reported that the scarcity of provisions had obliged them to leave at Fort Saint Anne only five men of the number of whom was a wretch who, without any provocation and in a paroxysm of despair bordering on lunacy, had killed the Surgeon of the Fort and afterwards Father Dalmas, the Jesuit missionary who had a knowledge of his first crime; that they had left him in irons, and had come to ascertain what should be done with him.

About six o'clock in the evening of the same day, the tide ebbing and the wind blowing strong from the North, a vessel hove in sight of Quebec. At first she was thought to be a ship and did eventually turn out to be one called *la Sainte Anne* of Bourdeaux, which the fog and bad weather had separated from the rest of the fleet. Two days afterwards she was followed by fly boat *le Saint Joseph* and *le Pontchartrain*.

Sieur d'Iberville, the Commander, arrived eight days afterwards, and all the other vessels about the end of the month.

The reinforcements sent by the Count were disembarked as soon as possible. Some of them were found to be sick, and many others became ill since they landed; about forty died on the passage. But we hope that, with time and the attentions already begun to be afforded them, they will be fitted for the mode of warfare peculiar to this country, as they are for the most part young men, who adapt themselves to it with the greatest facility.

The three ships *l'Impertinent*, *la Perle* and *la Fille bien-aimée* arrived in the end of July.

Sieur D'Iberville had captured on the way a small English vessel coming from Virginia with a cargo of Tobacco; and Sieur Robert took another craft of fifteen to eighteen tons going

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Onontaë — Onondaga.

from Boston to the island of Newfoundlad, the crew of which assured us that the English were again threatening Canada after their expedition against the West Indies.

On the twenty-first of the month of July we were informed by letters from Mr de Callière that our Indians had discovered a body of Seven @ Eight hundred of the enemy at the Cascades of the River *des Iroquois*, on their way down to Montreal.

Some soldiers belonging to Sieur de Lorrimer's Company, who had been sent expressly on the scout, thought they had seen their camp, within six leagues of Montreal, on the island itself, opposite that of La Presentation.

The apparent certainty of these news, obliged the Count to dispatch M. de Vaudreuil immediately with five Companies that were at work at Quebec, and one hundred and fifty of such newly arrived forces as were found to be in the best state of health.

This greatly interrupted our fortifications, which it was hoped might be completed during the remainder of the season, and did not result in any great things, no more than did the levy of eight hundred men raised by Mr de Callière in his government with very great diligence.

He marched with this force in the resolution to fight the enemy before they separated, which would have been of the greatest importance, as small parties are more to be feared during harvest than a large troop, which ordinarily retires on the slightest check.

He went as far as the Cascades without meeting either the enemy or any sign of their having passed. Mr de Vaudreuil arrived at Montreal a few days after M. de Callière's return, and the troops were distributed throughout the settlements to gather the harvest which had been, this year, more abundant than heretofore.

The movement was productive, at least, of one good effect. A Mohawk Indian, a prisoner at the Sault, made his escape after Mr de Vaudreuil's arrival, and saw that the reinforcements so long expected had, in fact, arrived from France, and that, on the slightest alarm, we could put ourselves in a condition to return the enemy the blows they were coming to inflict on us. His report cannot but have a good effect, from the change that has taken place in the disposition of the Iroquois.

The Count, who was preparing to go up to Montreal, received, on the seventeenth of August, a piece of the most agreeable news he could expect. This was the arrival of more than two hundred canoes, both of Frenchmen and Outasacs, which had come from their country freighted with a prodigious quantity of peltries.

His orders had been most punctually executed in those parts, and whatever Indians were met unprovided with any means of transportation of their own, were accommodated by the French to enable them to get their effects down. It is impossible to conceive the joy of the public on beholding such a vast quantity of riches. For several years Canada had been impatiently waiting for this prodigious heap of Beaver, which was reported to be at Missilimakinac. The merchant, the farmer and other individuals who might have some peltries there, were dying of hunger with property which they did not enjoy. Credit was exhausted and the apprehension universal, that the enemy would become masters, on the way, of the last resource of the country. Therefore, terms sufficiently strong were not to be found to praise and bless him by whose care so much property had arrived. Father of the People, and Preserver of the Country—titles so much in vogue since four years—seemed not sufficiently expressive; and those who were at a loss for terms, contented themselves with demonstrating, by the joy depicted on their countenances and the gaiety of their hearts, the gratefulness of their feelings.

On this intelligence he set out, on the twentieth, from Quebec, and the principal Chiefs of each Nation came as far as Three Rivers to meet him. He arrived at Montreal on the twenty-eighth, and on the following day, the Indians of the various Tribes delivered their Speeches, the burthen of which was, for the most part, to inform him that they had come down in obedience to the order he had transmitted them by Sieur D'argenteuil, to hear his voice and to demand a favorable trade.

The Hurons dilated a little more, and enumerated pretty fully all the parties they had organized against the Iroquois, pursuant to Onontio's commands.

Trade was opened on Monday, and the answer to the one and the other was postponed until after its close. This interval was employed in reading Sieur de Louvigny's letters, and in hearing whatever matters of importance the most influential of those who came down, had to communicate; from whom an account was received of what had occurred in the Upper Country; of the good or evil dispositions of the Tribes, and of the merit of each particular Indian who possessed any degree of consideration. This was absolutely necessary to be ascertained, in order to treat each as he deserved.

The only disagreeable intelligence we got was, that the Miamis had received some presents from the English through the medium of the Mohegans (*Loups*). This afforded a just subject of apprehension lest that Nation had received them in order that they might trade in their country, and lest they would possess, by this means, free intercourse with all the others, which would bring about the entire ruin of Canada, both in regard to trade and war. The Count was, therefore, under the necessity of sending a much larger number of Frenchmen, Regulars and Militia, than he had at first proposed, to expel the enemy from that post, if they had seized it, or to prevent them entering it. This is to be done by Sieurs de Manteth and de Courtemanche whom also he dispatched at the head of all the Frenchmen, whose orders are, to think more of fighting than of trading.

The principal Indian Chiefs were, in turn, entertained at the Count's table. The general feast came off on Sunday the sixth of September, when each emulated the other in singing of war and recounting his exploits.

The King's presents to the Indians were distributed on Monday among each of the tribes; the Count selected this opportunity to address them, and praised or censured each according to his deserts. The following are the proper terms of his discourse.<sup>1</sup>

They retired all seemingly highly pleased, and set out three or four days afterwards, their Chiefs having received particular presents and having been greatly caressed.

They were followed by the French under the direction of Sieur de Tonty, commandant at the Illinois, under whom serve Sieurs de Manteth, Courtemanche and D'argenteuil; the last is to remain at Missilimakinac, and to act as Sieur de Louvigny's Lieutenant.

In addition to these officers who have each their stations fixed, the man named Perrot is to occupy one in the immediate neighborhood of the Miamis, in order to execute whatever will be ordered him. This place is called Malamet,<sup>2</sup> and the great concourse of Indians who repair thither, among whom this man possesses very considerable credit, induced the Count to select him to be stationed between the Miamis and the other Tribes who might receive proposals from the English; a barrier which destroys all their designs.

Lesueur, another voyageur, is to remain at Chagouamigon and to endeavor to maintain the peace lately concluded between the Sauteurs and the Cioux. This is of the greatest

<sup>1</sup> There is no speech in the French Text.

<sup>2</sup> Maramec, or the Kalamazoo in Michigan.

consequence, as it is now the sole pass by which access can be had to the latter Nation, whose trade is very profitable, the country to the South being occupied by the Foxes and the Masscoutins who have already, several times, plundered the French, under pretence that they were carrying ammunition to the Scioux, their ancient enemies. These frequent interruptions would have been punished ere this, had we not been occupied elsewhere. Lesueur, it is to be hoped, will facilitate the Northern route for us by means of the great influences he possesses among the Scioux.

There had been some trifling difficulties in regard to the conveyance of the remainder of the presents intended for the Tribes, and the manner the French should govern themselves during this voyage. The latter was arranged [at the moment of setting out from] Montreal, and the Count tranquilized the minds of every one by his orders and the correct interpretation of those of his Majesty. He was obliged to spend a whole night at la Chine, in order to have what remained of the presents distributed in his presence among the several French canoes. Each took a portion of them on board without difficulty so that nothing was left. One ~~Canoe~~, however, has since been obliged to return in consequence of the want of strength and skill of three soldiers who were in it.

After the departure of the French the Count thought only of returning to Quebec, and of quitting Montreal which he could leave in all safety in the hands of M<sup>r</sup> de Callière. Before he left, he received two different pieces of intelligence by some canoes which had been dispatched to him by Sieur Provost, the lieutenant-governor of Quebec.

The first was from Hudson's bay: M<sup>r</sup> Pachot, one of the directors of that Company wrote to him that three English ships, which had wintered in that Bay, had attacked Fort Saint Anne whose garrison consisted only of four men and one criminal in irons, as already stated. That the enemy had at first landed forty of their men against whom our Frenchmen held out during the first night; but on the second, seeing more than a hundred approaching, they had abandoned their fort and retired as quietly as possible.

The English found in this fort more than fifty thousand écus' worth of Peltries, exclusive of the munitions of war, and the Cannon which might be there. This is a very serious loss, and will deprive Canada of considerable beaver.

The second news the Count received came from Acadia. Sieur de Villebon, the commander in that quarter, wrote him that the Abenakis lacking goods, went in search of them to Pemkuit, an English fort, and had purchased some with their beaver; that, however, no apprehension need be entertained that these communications would result in a peace, being simply for trade, and that hatred was always existing between these nations. This has been confirmed to us by the Indians who came since to us, and by Father Binneteau, the Jesuit missionary to those Tribes. Too much reliance is, however, not to be placed on this, on account of the proximity of fort Pemkuit which, at present, is in a condition not to be attacked; though it could have been easily taken last year, had the orders that were issued been obeyed.

Sieur de Villebon sends, also, other intelligence which he had received from two Frenchmen recently from the Boston prison. They stated, among other things that Governor Philips<sup>1</sup> was ready to sail with eight hundred Englishmen and Indians, to endeavor to seize him in his fort on the river S<sup>t</sup> John; that he is waiting for them in good spirits, and that he does not apprehend this fleet can do him any injury.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Philips.

That the Governor has approved the conduct of those of Chignictou or Beaubassin, the territory belonging to Sieur de Lavallière, Captain of the Count's guards who, having been attacked by the English who landed during the night, repulsed them with loss; and that Sir Philips had severely censured the Commandant of that landing party for having so acted towards people who, up to the present time, had committed no act of hostility.

Those two prisoners reported further, that fifteen days before their departure from Boston, seventeen men of war of from twenty to sixty guns, had arrived in a very bad condition from Martinico;<sup>1</sup> that their army had been defeated there; that they had lost three thousand men and that two of their large ships had been sunk; that many of their people had come over to us; that the fever (*peste*) had broken out on board their ships and that the governor had put those that arrived in quarantine. It was also said that they were very sorry those ships were in such bad condition, for had it not been for that, there would be still time to take Quebec; but as soon as they would refit, they should send them to the mouth of our river in order to endeavor to capture our ships on their return.

Advices have been received from New-York, that the Iroquois were always very insolent, and had killed three or four settlers near Orange.

It was also reported, that considerable misunderstanding existed between the Governor of Boston and Sir Furfax, Captain of a large English ship, who had withdrawn on board his vessel, and that they were insulting each other daily; that the people of that town were heartily tired of the war, and of the interruption of their fishing and commerce, having lost more than fifty vessels within four years.

What has occurred in the Islands is better known in France than here. As regards the other news, so much credit will be given to it as can be reposed in prisoners who are not always well informed.

We, however, entertain no doubt but General Philips will, eventually, carry out his threats provided he have the means to do so, to which he is the more strongly committed as, apart from the vexation of having been once already repulsed, it is the sole means of staying the frequent incursions of the Abenakis, who so long lay waste the people of his government.

We have received advices that some of that Nation have, recently, had considerable negotiations with the English. Those of the river Kenebiky have concluded a peace which they pretend is only conditional, and merely to recover their prisoners. Those of Pamnasamske,<sup>2</sup> and of Amireaneau have not gone so far in the treaty, and wished merely to recover some of their Chiefs who are in the hands of the English.

Nevertheless, there is every reason to be apprehensive of all these negotiations, unless the Indians receive considerable presents from us, as the English supply them with goods at a low rate and the fort of Pemkuit has its foot on their necks. Considerable presents and an open trade to supply their wants, will alone prevent them seeking whatever they require from the English. Therefore, whatever friendship they may evince for us, it is essential not to neglect preventing them so far allying themselves commercially with the English as to destroy the confidence they repose in us.

They have assured us that they will, next Spring, renew the war most vigorously. Every means will be employed to engage them to do so; and we hope the aid they will receive from

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Wheeler's fleet.

<sup>2</sup> An Island about 50 or 60 miles up the Penobscot river, now called Indian Oldtown. It was a place of general resort; in the vicinity the Indians planted a great quantity of corn. *Williamson's History of Maine*, I, 68, 473, 645.



France will stimulate them thereto better than our messages, which the urgency of affairs elsewhere prevented us effectually following up.

The negotiation we had commenced with Tareha the Oneida, has been almost entirely broken off by his return in the beginning of October.

The Iroquois held a number of consultations respecting answers the Count gave him at his first trip. The English took a very active part therein, and all, together, caused a belt to be presented by this Tareha to Onontio, to tell him that the Chiefs of each Tribe were prevented visiting him here by the dread they entertain of the detachments we and our allies have continually in the field; that if he will send two Frenchmen, capable of regulating affairs, they will conduct them safely to Albany—that is to say, to Orange,—where they are to treat for the future, the Tree of Peace and War having been transported from Onnontagk to that place, and that terms can be concluded there by all the nations; that is to say, the Iroquois, the Dutch and us.

This Belt was at once rejected by the Count who contented himself with answering, that since the Iroquois were not willing to accept what had been generously proposed to them, he possessed assured means to constrain them to obey his will.

Tareha presented another Belt from the Oneida Cabins, in whose behalf he had spoken at first. They thanked Onontio for the kind reception he had extended to the said Tareha; and for having restored them the Indian, his nephew and their relative, and assured him that they should not meddle in the bad affairs into which the Iroquois might fall.

The Count promised Tareha, by a belt in reply to the last that he would not confound him or his in the expeditions he premeditated against the Iroquois Nations, the execution of which a prompt repentance alone could prevent. He was dismissed with pretty considerable presents both for himself and brother, and some were given to an old woman called Suzan, who it was known had taken great care of the French prisoners at Oneida, and who had come to see the Count with Tareha.

Since the departure of this Indian the greater part of the Companies who are to winter in this government have arrived here. We have learned at the same time, that a party of six Indians of the Sault, at the head of whom was Laplaque, had struck a blow within a short distance of Orange. They captured two of the soldiers belonging to the garrison of that town; they were obliged to break the head of one, who having untied himself in the course of the night after his capture, inflicted on three of our Indians, whilst sleeping, several blows of an axe, the marks only of which will remain; the other has been brought hither, and assures us that the English of Boston, New-York, and Virginia are preparing to come hither in the Spring by sea, and that another detachment is to be organized at Orange, with all their Indian allies, to make a descent near Montreal.

The ship *la S<sup>e</sup> Anne*, belonging to the Hudson's bay company, arrived here on the twenty-eighth of this month; found the English in peaceable possession of the fort we occupied in that Bay, and having been attacked by a vessel of thirty-six to forty guns, fortunately got away after an engagement of two hours, and brought back every thing the merchants destined for the winter's supply of their people, and the Indian trade.

Such are nearly all the most important occurrences in Canada since the sailing of the ships last year. Those who will understand the true state of the country, and the manner in which war can be waged there, with such indifferent forces as we have had up to the present time, must admit that the funds his Majesty has entrusted to us cannot be more usefully employed, nor the glory of his arms be more brilliantly sustained by a handful of men.

## CHAPTER V.

*An Account of the Negotiations which were carried on in Canada with the Iroquois during the year 1694. By M. DE LA MOTHE CADILLAC.*

In order to inform you of what has occurred this year, I shall first state to you that the proposals for peace, made in October 1693 by Atharea the Iroquois, were continued by two Indians who arrived at Montreal in the month of January, with the assurance that the Chiefs of the Five Nations were coming for the purpose of learning what M. de Frontenac's intention was in regard to the negotiation entered into by their Atharea; that they were coming to ascertain whether they would be well received, and if there would be safety for their Chiefs who were at a distance of five days' journey of Montreal awaiting their return, and the answer the Count should give them.

M. de Callières having advised the Count of this deputation, sent (so as to lose no time) these two Iroquois back to their Chiefs with assurances, in advance, that they could come in all safety and that no harm would occur to them; that they would be conveyed to Quebec with a good escort and without the smallest risk; that the Count would there listen to their words, and that they might in conjunction with him, devise some expedient for the conclusion of a peace.

These two Iroquois and their Chiefs were expected some days, but in vain; and their knavery was soon admitted. Nevertheless, when nothing more was thought of them, the Count again received advice that three other Iroquois, belonging to the Mohawk village were come and had Belts for our Indians of the Sault and the Mountain. M<sup>r</sup> de Callières having questioned them, made them go down to Quebec, where they remained two days by the Count's orders before speaking; after this they flung three belts, that is to say, three propositions, into the Council Chamber.

The two first assured our Christian Indians and others, that the road to the Five Nations was clear as well as that to Orange and Corlard; that they might go there and return without danger, and that their hatchet was tied up pending 45 days on condition that they, also, would tie up theirs for the same time. (To tie up the hatchet means a Truce.)

The third Belt was addressed to the French and embodied the same proposition.<sup>1</sup>

The Count kicked away these three propositions or Belts, and by this mark of contempt and haughtiness, indicated to the proudest nation throughout this New World his indifference for peace, and said to them:—

“I consider it a very bold and rash proceeding on your part to come here for the purpose of seducing and debauching my Children of the Sault and of the Mountain. There they are present in this Council. They will tell you their thoughts at home. Think you that you are able to corrupt or to shake them? You deceive yourselves. They are submissive and obedient to me, as true Children ought to be to their fathers.”

<sup>1</sup> For these propositions at length, see Colden's *History of the Five Nations*, 8vo., 163.

Our Indians hereupon uttered a cry expressive of their approbation of what he said. The Count continued in this wise:—

“Although I regard you here as spies and fellows bribed by the Great Arrow,<sup>1</sup> I cannot, however, forget that I am your Father, and that you are my Children, who have become rebels and disobedient to my orders. Wherefore and in order to afford you leisure to reënter into yourselves, I will indeed tie up my hatchet for two moons, on this condition that if Teganissorens be not here before the expiration of that time, and with two principal Chiefs of each nation, I will no longer listen to your voice, and should you return to submit to me any new proposition, I protest and declare to you, that I will commit to the kettle those who shall be so rash as to dare to undertake such an embassy. Once more I repeat to you that Teganissorens alone and those who will accompany him, will find their path open; that it is his voice I will hear, and that I will not close my ears to his word; that the road will be shut to all others but him, and that those who will be taken will not escape roasting.”

Language so haughty undeceived these three envoys who were surprized at it. They were sent back, two days afterwards to Montreal and thence to the fort of the Indians of the Mountain and Sault, to present them the two Belts the Count has rejected, to which their Chief replied in these terms:—

19th April, Onontio, that is to say our Father, has rejected your Belts; he was aware your hearts were bad; but no matter. He was wise to allow you to come here, in order that you may be no longer at a loss to know our intention respecting your negotiation, to which I answer by this Belt, that speaks for all my Nation, and is to assure you that our heart is good and pure; that we shall never follow any but Onontio's will. He is our Father who tenderly loves us, who does not abandon us, and we shall be always obedient unto him. We have nothing to do either with Corlard or Orange, and have still less thoughts of going into your villages to convey thither proposals of our movement. We have no other mind nor aim than that of our Father. If he hang up his hatchet, we shall hang ours up likewise, and if he sharpen it in order to strike the better, we will go whither he will turn it. However, as you have solicited Onontio to tie it up for two moons and he has consented, we shall tie up ours also, and during that interval Teganissorens and those who will accompany him, will be at liberty to come freely and without fear. No harm shall be done them, for our Father so ordains it.

The Indians of the Sault made the same answer by the second Belt, after which the three Deputies, took the road towards Onontae, where they were to report what they had seen and heard.

At the expiration of two moons, that is about Saint John's day, Teganissorens and two of the most influential Chiefs of each Iroquois Nation arrived at Montreal and then came down to Quebec, where M<sup>r</sup> de Callières happened to be. The Count received them quite courteously, and at a formal interview let them know, that he deplored their misfortune, and was touched with compassion for their errors. He then dismissed them, and they were conducted to the lodgings prepared for them. They were, according to their custom, two days without explaining themselves, and on the 3<sup>rd</sup> they delivered a public discourse in which they reported the propositions they had to submit on the part of their Tribes agreeably to the resolution of their Council; and with this view Teganissorens, in the name of the Five Nations, laid three Belts before the Count in presence of the principal Indian Chiefs and the most influential of the Clergy and Laity, in this country.

<sup>1</sup> Governor Fletcher of New-York.

*King William's*

23<sup>d</sup> May, 1694. The following is the Tenor of the

1<sup>st</sup> BELT.

Father Onontio! Atarhéa, whom we sent unto you last year in order to ascertain whether it were safe to come and see you, assured us, on his return, that if I came with two of the most considerable of each Nation, you would again condescend to listen to the proposals we should submit, and that even should affairs not be arranged, we could return in all security. On this message we set out and here we are on your mat, (that is, chair) to speak to you of peace in the names of the Five Iroquois Nations, and even of our Brethren, the Great Arrow and Peter Schuyler, mayor and commandant of Orange.

2<sup>nd</sup> BELT.

Father! Permit us to tell you that your predecessors were the occasion of the war. They chastised our children too severely which caused the latter to kick. They lost their senses in a manner, and struck blows which we are now sorry for. Therefore am I come to tell you that it is peace that brings me hither, and as a proof that I ask it sincerely, I have taken away the hatchet that I had given to all my allies; I pledge myself that they will not take it up any more because they obey me, and I doubt whether you will be obeyed in the same manner by your Children. In former times when I spoke to you at Montreal, we flung our war hatchet up to the sky. A leathern string was tied to it and it was pulled down again. We threw it into Famine river (a stream in their country) supposing that it could not be fished up, and it was again drawn out for the purpose of striking us. This is the reason why we have taken ours up again. We will now resume it and cast it into the very bowels of the earth, that it may not be recovered ever more, and that if possible we may never lay eyes on it again.

## THIRD BELT.

Onontio! father of the Iroquois. It is you we address. We present you this Belt to let you know that we have adopted Sieurs de Longueil and de Maricourt in the place of Monsieur Le Moyne, their father, as our children, and M. Lebert as our brother. We pray them to entertain the same sentiments towards us, as their father, and to incline Onnontio alway to peace. They will have nothing to fear whenever they visit us, and will be well received when sent by you.

## FOURTH BELT.

I address myself to the Indians of the Sault, whom I formerly called Iroquois. But now, that you are children of Onnontio and pray God, I exhort you, if he condescend to grant us peace, to adopt his thoughts and to communicate them to us, you who are acquainted with us and our mode of action; cultivate that peace on both sides, and put a stop to all subjects of contention. We have mutually butchered each other. Forget what is past as we wish to do also, because if you obey not Onnontio, He who is above, and who is the arbiter of life—meaning God in whom he does not believe—He, should you violate it, would punish you who are christians, more severely than us.

5<sup>th</sup> BELT.

This expresses the same thing to the Indians of the Mountain.

6<sup>th</sup> BELT.

Onnontio! I speak to you in the name of the Five Nations. You have devoured all our chief men and scarce any more are left. I ought to feel resentment on account of our dead. By this Belt I say to you that we forget them, and as a token that we do not wish to avenge them, we throw away and bury our hatchet under the ground, that it may never more be seen. To preserve the living we shall think no more of the dead, and as our Children of the Upper Country, the Hurons, Outawas, Illinois, Miamis, Sioux, *Loups*, Foxes, Sokokis &c., are not yet aware that we are come down to speak of peace, and as they will not fail, until notified, to kill my nephews, even though they should destroy a great number of them, that will not prevent us continuing to entertain the same thoughts of peace. Brethren of the Sault and of the Mountain! listen attentively to what I tell you, and we also submit our thoughts to you, Father Onnontio, without wishing to penetrate yours.

SEVENTH BELT.

Father! you have, no doubt, received many insults; your children have afforded you many causes for anger. This Belt is to restore your temper; 'tis a medicine to enable you to expel from your heart, and our children from theirs, whatever bad stuff it may contain. We wish it may have the proposed effect.

8<sup>th</sup> BELT.

The Earth, even unto fort Frontenac, and that place particularly, is red with blood. We shall take a hoe to break the ground up well, and efface all traces of the stains, and shall clean the mat of that fort in order that not one sign of blood may remain on it, and that we may negotiate peace there with our father, and meet there as we have heretofore done.

9<sup>th</sup> BELT.

There was no longer any path of peace; the woods and the rivers were polluted. Be the road to Onontaë now clear; I open it by this Belt so that our Father may, when so inclined, communicate his pleasure to us in all security, assuring him that those who will come there from him shall be well received, and that I prepare by this Belt the mat at Onnontagué, which is the place for the transaction of our important affairs.

10<sup>th</sup> BELT.

We were all in darkness; Light was no longer visible, so obscured were the Heavens by clouds and fogs. In order to dispel all the clouds, I again fasten the Sun above our heads so that we may once more behold it and hereafter enjoy the beautiful light of peace.

And throwing down some strings of wampum he proceeded:—

To prove to you, Father, that I am sincere in coming to solicit peace from you, I bring back to you two of your French nephews and a Squaw belonging to the Mountain. I do not ask you to send back those of our people whom you may have, but if there be any among them who may desire to return I pray you not to stay them, and to keep only those who will wish to remain; assuring you that we will on our side send back from our villages all the prisoners who will be willing to come back.

These are the words of Teganissorens which he enunciated with as perfect a grace as is vouchsafed to an unpolished and uncivilized people. He went through his speech with freedom

and collectedness, and concluded with a certain modesty and so great a show of respect and submission to the Count as to be remarked by the spectators; and as he represented that his Nation might become impatient, if he made a long sojourn here, the Count told him to come again on the morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon to the same place where he would return them an answer, after which it would be free to them to go back whenever they would think proper.

He answered them accordingly next day by Seven Belts which were laid down by the Count, who spoke to them in this wise by the

1<sup>st</sup> BELT.

Teganisorens, and you chiefs of the Five Iroquois Nations who accompany him. You were right in coming to speak to me on the assurance of perfect security that Atharea gave you in my name, provided you came submissive and repentant, as children ought to be, to their Father when they have committed against him a fault as heinous as those you have perpetrated. I am very glad to perceive because you have told me, that these were your sentiments, and that you desired a sincere peace, assuring me on the part of the Five Iroquois Nations, and of your allies the *Loups*, that in order to preserve the lives of those who are still living, you have abandoned all feelings of vengeance you may entertain for the killing of all your Nations by my Nephews and allies. On my part I promise you also to forget the past; and in order to enable you to judge better of my sentiments, I am perfectly willing to suspend my hatchet—which was well nigh falling—by arresting the parties who were about to go to war against you, and by postponing the execution of my more weighty designs.

2<sup>nd</sup> BELT.

As for this peace for which you express a desire and which, I pretend, ought to include both myself and the Upper Indian Tribes, my allies, I wish Father Millet, or some one else would accompany you, to bring me back, within eighty days from the date of your departure from Montreal, all the prisoners you may have in your villages, whether men, women or children, including the French, the Indians settled among us, and all others of the Upper Nations, our allies, without any exception, whose interests are as dear to me as my own; in order to prove to me that you indeed wish the Sun to be again fastened above our heads, to dispel all the clouds and obscurities that may prevent us enjoying this beautiful light of peace you are wishing for.

I pledge you my word that, should any of these Indians desire to return with you after they are all here, I will grant them entire liberty to do so, promising you also, to surrender to you all your prisoners, and to cause the doors to be opened to you of all the Cabins where any will be found, in order that they return with you, if they desire it.

THIRD BELT.

As evidence of the frankness which I wish to use towards you, I desire also, in advance, that Duplanty (a soldier who was taken at the time Chevalier d'O was sent to the Iroquois) whom you never ought to have regarded in the light of a prisoner, may return as you wish, and I restore you, at this very moment, the two Mohawk prisoners and the two women who have been brought to us within a few days by our last parties; but I demand that you, on your side, leave me two of your people in order to be able to persuade the Upper Nations of the

sincerity of the proposals you have just submitted to me, and make them, the more readily, suspend the hatchet, by inviting them to come themselves to be witnesses of what will be concluded on your return at the time I have fixed, and that they may not have cause to reproach me with having too easily attached credit to your words.

4<sup>th</sup> BELT.

Children! In answer to what you have slipped into your words respecting the Dutch and English, I say to you by this Belt that my war with them has nothing to do with my war against you. They are two things entirely different. If, however, they desire to make any proposals to me, you can assure them from me that they will enjoy the same security, in coming and returning, as I have extended to you, provided they be within the eighty days I have prescribed to you, and that those they will send be persons authorized by their principals. But if they would entrust any commission on their part to you, do not accept it, because my ears will be closed to all the proposals you would wish to make me on that subject.

FIFTH BELT.

I am very glad to perceive from your proposal that all your Nations and allies are disposed to remove the blood that has been spilt on both sides in Fort Frontenac and its neighborhood, and that you wish for the replanting of that beautiful tree under whose shade you formerly smoked in such peace and transacted such good business. To prove to you how agreeable that is to me, I assure you, by this belt, that I, on my part, will likewise set about it as soon as possible, and in a manner that the roots will be so deep and firm that nothing shall be able any more to shake it.

6<sup>th</sup> BELT.

I approve the words you address to the Indians of the Saut and the Mountain. They will answer you when you will pass through Montreal on your return. I am well pleased, likewise, that you let me know that you have continued to adopt Sieur Lebert and his Nephews Longueil and Maricourt in the place of M<sup>r</sup> Lemoyne their father. If I have, hereafter, any thing to communicate to you I shall willingly delegate one of the latter, since you assure me they will be well received; that confidence will be placed in them, and that your Cabins wish it.

7<sup>th</sup> BELT.

As you have presented me with a Belt to serve me as a Cordial, and to help me to reject whatever bad humor I may have in my heart, I, also, give you this last Belt to act in your system as a Counterpoison to whatever the English and Dutch would insinuate into your ears when trying to counteract the good dispositions you prove to me you feel, and thereby to oblige me to give up the sentiments of friendship and tenderness of which I afford you so many proofs.

Our Indians of the Saut and the Mountain also gave Belts to the Iroquois by which they said: That they were glad to see them desirous of peace, and themselves invited to unite with them in persuading the Count to condescend to hear them. They would do all in their power to induce him to grant them peace and to continue it to them if once agreed to; but would, at the same time warn them against flattering themselves that any consideration was ever capable of shaking their pledged fidelity and obedience; that they would have their eyes fixed solely

on him in order to suspend the hatchet when his would be stayed, and to let it fall when Onontio would be seen raising his, so as never to turn it except in the direction he should order.

This terminated, Teganissorens left as hostages two of the Indians who accompanied him, and promised to do his best to induce the Five nations to accept the answer, and comply with the demand of the Count, who gave them a magnificent entertainment, and made them considerable presents. They set out on their return about the beginning of June, escorted by *Sieur de Maricourt* who, whilst with them, met within seven leagues of Quebec, coming down with *Sieur de Mantet*, the Chiefs of the Hurons and Outawas to whom the Iroquois had likewise sent Deputies to inform them that they had come to Quebec to demand peace. This obliged *Sieur de Louvigny*, in this incertitude, to send the Chiefs of the Upper Nations to learn the truth of the representation. The Count always prudent and penetrating, recalled the Iroquois deputies, and would have our Upper Indians to be ocular witnesses of all that was done in order to deprive them of every shadow of suspicion, and to cure them of a distrust to which they are very prone. With this view the Count had Teganissorens and suite reassembled and caused to be repeated to them, in presence of our Huron, Outawas and other Indians, the proposals they had made and his answer, with which they were highly pleased. All this was designed only to let them know that they had not been forgotten; on the contrary, that it appeared evident that the Count had the same care of their interests as of his own; in like manner forgot they nothing to evince their gratitude. The Chief Huron spoke by a Belt in this wise;—

Onontio! We see clearly now that you are our Father, and that you have no intention of abandoning us. The Iroquois has come to beg peace of you; He has come also to our villages to propose the same to us, and that we hang up our hatchet which was sharpened in order to strike him. We have come here to learn the truth of this matter and to see what you intend, because we shall be always ready to execute your orders. Your province is to command; ours, to obey.

Teganissorens, it is you I am now about to address. Know, then, that the peace Onontio accords you for himself and for us, hath no connection with the English, and if our Father turn the hatchet in that direction, ours will turn thither also.

These words were supported by a shout of approbation from the other Nations, and they finally remained thoroughly persuaded of the good will entertained by the Count for them.

The Iroquois took their departure on the next day, and some days after, the Hurons and Outawas were ordered to return to Montreal within the eighty days to bury the hatchet and conclude a real peace there.

The Count, in this interval, went up to Mont Real with all the troops. The 1<sup>st</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup> witnessed the arrival, according to the prescribed order, of the Seven Upper Nations who thereby indicated a true submission to the will of our General. On the tenth of the same month Orehaouë (an Iroquois whom the Count had won over, and who achieved wonders for us in peace and war) arrived here with four or five other Seneca and Cayuga Sachems.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> the Count caused to be assembled all the people of distinction and all our Indian allies to hear the proposals of the Iroquois, who will speak by three Belts which were laid down by one of the Chiefs:—

Orehaouë began by three strings of Wampum, to denote that it was to wipe the Count's tears for the loss of his nephews and to assuage any grief he might feel for their death.



The second Belt signified that they had brought back thirteen prisoners, who were in their villages, on learning by Teganissorens that the Count had required them; that the other three Nations were at Orange to deliberate on the proposals of peace which were mutually submitted; that pending such time all the prisoners were mustered with the intention of restoring them, and thinking that the Count might become impatient at the delay of Teganissorens, they had come to notify him beforehand and to assure him that he would arrive shortly.

The third Belt warmly exhorted the Count to persist in the sentiments of peace, and not to form any plan of disunion; that as far as they were concerned, they had come with sincere intentions and to request him to be pleased to overturn that big Kettle which was suspended in the air, and which was kept so long boiling.

The Count received the two first Belts, and thanked them; he rejected the other, and told them to come back on the morrow to the same place where he would communicate his intentions to them.

But as the Count has just notified me that he has concluded to send me to command the Upper Nations at Fort Missilimakinak, permit me, if you please to think of packing up my baggage and setting off, being persuaded, moreover, that you will be kept thoroughly advised. You will remark the admirable conduct the Count has observed in the course of this negotiation. No man will ever understand better than he the temper of the Indians who fear and love him; his most secret, his most jealous, enemies cannot contradict this; and can the Count wish for, and ought it expect, any thing more than he does? Pending the war he obliges his enemy to come to demand peace of him with all the tokens of submission that can be expected of a Nation which, hitherto, has never been willing to take this step for any French Governor. His predecessors have always had *Carte blanche*. The Iroquois presented formerly but two Belts; one, of war; the other, of peace. Choose, they used to say; it is equal to us which. The language they hold at present to the Count is very different. They are only words of submission and respect. Onnontio, (say they,) Master of the Earth give us peace. It needs only to compare the terms they employ to-day with those of days gone by in order to see the great difference. This proud Nation would not do that, had it not experienced considerable loss and did it not see itself on the brink of total ruin. What more could Count de Frontenac do, in the midst of all these conjunctures? He is more distrustful during the truce. His forts and settlements are better guarded than usual. The designs of the enemy are either honest or dangerous. If honest, they will come to a termination; if sinister, we are protected against them by a conduct as happy as that observed by the Count. I cannot help pitying him on account of the disappointment he experiences, which must not be attributed to any thing else than his luck. The tears of joy the Colony in general shed last year, at the harvest of beaver, which had been four years exposed to the forays of the enemy, and which has relieved such a great number of families and traders from the slavery of their creditors, ought to redound, it would seem, to the credit of the Count. The good, notwithstanding, turns into evil with him; and feeling in a forced position, he is obliged to regard with inquietude or at least with indifference, the universal joy of his government.

## CHAPTER VI.

*An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the month of September 1694 to the departure of the Ships in 1695.*

You will have seen by the Relation of last year that Count de Frontenac sent back the Outaouacs about the end of September, along with the French who usually go trading. The Convoy was commanded by Sieur Delamotte-Cadillac, Captain of a detachment of Marines, a man of very distinguished merit, and who was on his way to replace Sieur de Louvigny.

But the bad weather at that advanced season of the year preventing the continuance of the voyage, the greater part of the French were obliged to give up at Montreal; and others, to the number of thirty, with Sieur de Coulange fancied that by remaining contented near *les Allumettes*,<sup>1</sup> between the river *Bonne Chère*<sup>2</sup> and the river *Creuse*,<sup>3</sup> they might pass the winter not only without any danger of the enemy, but also with all the pleasure to be derived, as well in provisions as in peltries, from the hunting of the Indians, because the Algonquins and Nepissiriniens believing themselves safe near the French, who would afford them shelter in a fort, were determined not to bury themselves in the depths of the forest. Meanwhile Sieur Delamotte, with a small party of the better disposed, resolved to push on. He put six strong relays (*allèges*) in each canoe, and as he considered only the service of the King and the Colony, to which he was willing to sacrifice his interest, his labors and even his life, he made such diligence that (after difficulties insurmountable perhaps to all others but him) he, finally, arrived, as we have learned since, very safely at Missilimakinac.

The severity of the winter was not an obstacle sufficient to prevent nine of those Frenchmen who had remained with Sieur de Coulange coming on snow shoes over the ice and snow in quest, as they said, of provisions. But as these deserters were returning to their fort, M<sup>r</sup> de Callière, a rigid observer of the Count's orders, judging correctly that provisions was not their sole object, dispatched after them Adjutant de Clerin, a sergeant and a few soldiers who took away from them some brandy, the conveyance and sale of which in the woods is contrary to the King's orders. The proceeds of the confiscation were employed in works of charity, and this "Water," which was inflicting death on the purse of those interested, has truly proved a Water of life (*eau-de-vie*) to many sickly people who have derived some strength from it, for it was, eventually, divided among the soldiers, the poor Recolets, and the Grey Nuns (*Religieuses Hospitalières*) of Montreal, whose residence, with that of the sick and the entire building, in general happened to be destroyed very recently by fire.

That misfortune occurred on 24<sup>th</sup> of February, the feast of S<sup>t</sup> Mathias; The fire broke out three hours before day, in the garret of the old Church, without any one knowing how it originated, making its appearance first in the steeple it lost no time in enveloping the dwellings of

<sup>1</sup> *Les Allumettes*, or the Matches, are Falls on the upper or Western part of the Ottawa river.

<sup>2</sup> This river rises in a series of Lakes and, flowing Eastward through the country of Renfrew, C. W., then turns to the north and falls in the township of Horton into that part of the Ottawa river called *Lake des Chats*.

<sup>3</sup> Is in the county of Pontiac on the North side of the Ottawa, into which river it discharges itself, West of *Les Allumettes*.

the poor and of the Nuns which in the space of two hours, without it being possible to prevent it, were wholly destroyed, with the exception of two bakeries, a barn and stable (*menagerie*), recently built, the saving of which cost all the trouble in the world. All that could be done was to endeavor to secure a part of the furniture of the lower apartments. But as these good Nuns have lost very considerably in furniture, clothing and grain, and particularly almost all their linen, including that of the Poor as well as that of the Nuns, and amongst the rest all that had been soiled during the winter, which lay in the garrets, and whatever was in the cellar of the Poor which was not vaulted and could not be saved, they are rendered thereby such worthy objects of compassion that the most obdurate heart must feel for them. It was very fortunate that, by a special providence of God, the North East wind fell all at once. Otherwise, the house occupied at the time by M<sup>r</sup> de Callière in the immediate vicinity, would with many others, have communicated the fire to the best part of the town which might have shared the same fate.

This spectacle having filled every one with terror and pity, M<sup>r</sup> de Callière in order to take advantage of it, and to strike the iron while it was hot, assembled all the citizens of Montreal and its Liberties (*banlieu*) on the following day, and made them a most moving address, to encourage them to contribute and relieve the sufferers; It had all the effect that could be expected from his eloquence and zeal; every one subscribed according to the impulses of his charity, so that this meeting produced a much more powerful relief than ought probably have been expected, for with the collection which M<sup>r</sup> Dolier, Superior of the Seminary, and Lieutenant General Juchereau took up in the settlements within the government of Montreal and among the officers and soldiers, it amounted to the sum of 8,000<sup>l</sup> including provisions, work and money. It may be truly said, that this contribution is considerable, taking into account the means left the Montrealists, after having so long experienced the burthens of the war.

M<sup>r</sup> de Callière, whilst waiting for the collection at Quebec and the rest of the country to add to the fund, set many persons to work to haul, during the short period the snow remained, the timber necessary for the buildings, and his attention and diligence made us soon perceive that industry surmounts every thing and that promptly, inasmuch as we expect in the course of this year to place the lodgings of the Nuns and the dormitory of the Sick in a condition to afford better accommodation for the winter than they have at the Convent of the Congregation, where they are greatly straitened.

M<sup>r</sup> de Coulange and his men whom the desire of gain had stopped in the neighborhood of *les Allumettes*, had more good fortune than good conduct; for, the hostile Iroquois having in some way blockaded his fort<sup>1</sup> during the whole of the winter and a part of the spring, never dared undertake anything against them, much less think of attacking them within their palisades. Our Frenchmen, notwithstanding, being desirous to repair the fault they had committed in tarrying in the jaws of the Wolf instead of returning like the others to winter in the settlements, caused their first imprudence to be so seasonably followed by their last and prudent proceeding, and that in consequence of the judicious orders that M<sup>r</sup> de Callière had given them, that they finally started and continued their route to the Outaouacs, with the exception of five who came down to Montreal, to bring the peltries they had traded. These were accompanied by some 80 canoes of our Népissiniens and other Indians who had been

<sup>1</sup> Fort Coulonge was at the mouth of the river of the same name on the north bank of the Ottawa, in the present County of Pontiac, a little west of Grand Calumette Island.

hunting in the neighborhood of their fort, and arrived at length at Montreal to the great gratification of every one. The divine protection manifested in the affairs of Canada cannot be sufficiently admired. At a time when they appear most desperate, they resume all at once new vigor, for it must be acknowledged that little was wanting to make us despair both of the goods and lives of these poor abandoned people, to whom it was difficult to extend relief, and which could not be afforded except at a vast expense.

Thioratarion, an Indian of the Sault, and Ononsista, an Indian of the Mountain whom the Count had permitted to go to Onontaghé with Tarhécá to hear what the Iroquois would say in their Councils, returned to Montreal on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March with a Mohawk who had joined them in order to come and see his sister at the Sault. They had been conducted by Tarhécá as far as a river<sup>1</sup> which falls (into the Saint Lawrence) at the foot of the Long Sault, three days' journey from Montreal, where they met Tatakiséré hunting, who had not been home as had been supposed. They sojourned one day at Montreal, before going to Quebec to give an account to M<sup>r</sup> de Frontenac of their negotiation. M<sup>r</sup> de Callière was, thus, afforded leisure to learn from Thiorhatharion what was passing among the English, and after several inquiries he answered as follows:—

1<sup>st</sup> That he had not heard that M<sup>r</sup> Dongan had arrived at Ménade, but he had heard that 400 English Soldiers had arrived in that city, and that goods were very high there.

2<sup>nd</sup> That Peter's brother, the only Dutchman at Onontaghé, had told him in confidence, that the Bostonians alone were urging those of New-York and the Iroquois to wage war; that on the contrary those of Orange were so strongly in favor of peace that three of them were to accompany the Iroquois, when the latter would come to this country, to confer on that subject.

3<sup>rd</sup> That the Onontaghés did not come within the 80 days specified by the Count, because of the obstacles interposed by the English, whom they had been invited to visit, where being arrived, they found a new commandant at Orange of whom they demanded what his pleasure was. The latter replied, he did not know what they themselves wanted, and that he was not aware that they had been told to come and see him.

4<sup>th</sup> That the reason the Onontaghés had not accompanied him to repair the fault they had committed of not coming to Count de Frontenac at the time indicated, supposing they desired peace, was no other than the apprehension they labored under that, after having surrendered all the French prisoners the Count, with the Onontakaës<sup>2</sup> was to attack them in their country, being advised by divers deserters that he had given a large Belt, underground, to the Upper Nations inviting them to come and join him, that they may go together to devour the Onontaghé and Oneida Villages; that therefore they would not come unless Sieur de Maricourt be sent to them with some prisoners of theirs, to reässure them.

It appeared to M<sup>r</sup> de Callière from the above speech and other remarks added by the Indian, that the Iroquois, instead of thinking of coming to see the Count, were requiring us to go to them and to disarm the Abenakis so that they may cease making war against the English; and he had just reason to believe that they were not acting with a sincere wish to obtain a peace, and had so much the less desire for it as they appeared attached more strongly than ever to our enemies; that the latter caused them to temporise by negotiations in order to prevent us going to attack the villages of those Barbarians, and to have all the time and leisure necessary to disclaim their conferences with our Upper Indians for the purpose of causing the latter to

<sup>1</sup> Grass river, St. Lawrence County, N. Y.

<sup>2</sup> Sic. Outaouaks. *La Potherie*, IV., 5.

conclude some particular peace, independent of us; or, finally, to make them expect some early expedition on their side, against Canada.

But what confirmed M<sup>r</sup> de Callière more strongly in the opinion that the Iroquois is wholly English, was the request Thioratarion made him to send after a party of Indians of the Sault who were going towards Orange and to prevail on them to come back. This party were, yet, only three days' journey from Montreal and were hunting until the breaking up of the ice and snow would afford them surer means of approaching the enemy. He then said, that striking the English and particularly those of Orange, was to strike the Iroquois and spoil affairs that were in a train of settlement. It was easy for M<sup>r</sup> de Callière to answer to this, that our differences with the one and the other had nothing in common, and that if the Iroquois were disposed in favor of Peace, they should remember that M<sup>r</sup> de Frontenac always told them, he will not cease to strike them all, until they come together and bring back all our prisoners and complete the negotiations commenced with Teganissorens.

After M<sup>r</sup> de Calliere obtained from Thioratarions and Ononsiaka all the information he could, he sent them with Sieur de Maricourt to Quebec, where, in presence of My lord the Governor, of the Intendant and of the King's Lieutenant, Thioratarion spoke in this wise:—

On arriving at Onontaghé with my brother, I spoke thus by a Belt to the Iroquois and the English:—

We are heré by permission of our Father, on the invitation Tarhéa submitted to him, for the purpose of saying to you that we are surprised to see you come one by one, to speak of peace, instead of coming all together to bring the prisoners belonging to our Father Onontio, according to his expressed wishes, for he is your Father as well as ours.

By a second Belt which those of the Sault and of the Mountain had given me, I told them—I had heard what you said to our Father Onontio, that you had leveled the roads from this place to Quebec; I also make them smooth so that you may come thither, but all together.

I left two Belts at Montreal (continued Thioratarion speaking to the Count) which the Iroquois gave me and which they address to the Indians of the Sault and Mountain expressive of the joy they felt at seeing me and my brother in their Country, where we went of our own motion and with Onontio's consent, and requesting them to join us in procuring a restoration of their people who are among those of the Sault, the Mountain, and Lorette.

I also left two Belts of thanks for the one we carried to Onontaghé, and the following is what I bring to our august father, Onontio.

FIRST BELT.

We request Sieur de Maricourt to unite with us, as his father formerly did, to obtain peace from the Governor; the mat is prepared for him at Onontaghé.

SECOND BELT.

We exhort Sieurs de Maricourt and Du Planté to bring us, at early spring, the prisoners who are with the French; these are the sentiments of the entire cabin.

THIRD BELT.

We request Onontio to stay the hatchet of his Nephews, the Lorette and Abenakis Indians.

## FOURTH BELT.

As Onontio is obeyed by his Children we request him to cause them to restore to us our brethren who are prisoners among the Upper Nations.

## FIFTH BELT.

The Outasais and Hurons came to Seneca where they made fast a Sun,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding which they failed not to come to strike us; but we are always looking that way.

## SIXTH BELT.

Peter, the Englishman,<sup>2</sup> told us that Onontio had sent him a message, with permission to come and speak to him; but that he could not accept it without the consent of the King of England.

As the Count did not permit his envoys to receive these Belts from the Iroquois, having allowed them to go to Onontaghé only to listen, and not to enter into any negotiation whatsoever, it is easy to conclude that he was not bound to answer them. Their demands were so insolent and so contrary to what he had said to Taganissorens and to the two last Sononkan Deputies that came to Montreal towards the end of the past summer, that he could not be other than highly dissatisfied with the Chiefs of the Sault and the Mountain at taking charge of those Belts, inasmuch as they ought to have declared distinctly to the Iroquois that Onontio would not accept them.

The Count contented himself with telling the messenger who had brought them, that had it been worth while, he would have given him a taste of the gridiron, in order to teach others not to come spying on pretence of such conferences; that if they should feel disposed hereafter, to continue doing so he would have all those whom he should catch, put into the kettle, looking on them only as veritable spies, and being unwilling to hear, in future, any proposal unless they brought him back not only all the French prisoners, but also all those belonging to our allies whom they have in their hands; that that alone would serve them as a passport whatever expedition he sent against them; and that, otherwise, he would not afford them any security.

Our two Indian chiefs were not altogether pleased with the Count's answer. He of the Sault would have wished to be permitted to return to Onontaghé, and allowed two months' time to see if he could not succeed better in a second negotiation than in the first. But he was not allowed this second voyage, the Count declaring to him that he had closed his ears and nothing could open them but the restoration of the prisoners; however, that he might explain his sentiments hereafter; that he might go home but without any Belt, or answer in return for those he had received.

The great desire Tiorhatarion evinced to return to Ononthaé, enabled the Count, whose penetrating mind fathomed the most secret intrigues, to perceive that there was duplicity in all the proceedings of these Indians. But he was fully enlightened six weeks after by what Mr de Callière wrote him.

The latter, having gone to the Saut to trace out for the Indians a new fort more commodious than the old one so that they may be more efficiently and more readily assisted in case of attack, learned from Tatakais-sereel [and seven<sup>3</sup>] of the most considerable chiefs of the tribe, that Tiorhiatarion had brought them two Belts from the Iroquois, which they were unwilling to retain in their villages.

<sup>1</sup> *Attacher un Soleil*, a figurative expression for making a peace. *La Potherie*. <sup>2</sup> Peter Schuyler. <sup>3</sup> *De la Potherie*, IV., 9.

That the first said, addressing Tiorhatarion; Are you of the same mind as Ononsiasta, and can we speak to you unreservedly? To which Tiorhatarion had answered, If you have any thing to say to me, speak to me in private about it.

The Iroquois continued, saying, It is then to you, and to Taksisseré whom we know to be our friends and the most influential at the Saut, that we speak, and tell you that we already spoke to you by a Belt through Teganissorens, but you have rejected our word. Here is another that we place between you and your friend Tatakisseré, to tell you to persuade, like good Christians, Onontio to peace.

By the 2<sup>d</sup> Belt the Iroquois spoke thus:—I put this Belt, between you two underground, where it must remain three years, in order to say to you that you must think much of the union that ought to exist between us, and not forget that here is your ancient country; that you ought to advise us of the designs of Onontio without letting him know it. Fear not visiting us; you will be always welcome.

M<sup>r</sup> de Callière learned further from them that Assinaré, an Oneida by birth but a long time settled among the Nepisseniniens, with whom he is incorporated, had told them, that being hunting all winter on the Grand River,<sup>1</sup> some Mohawks who were hunting there likewise, had come to see him frequently and told him that Tiorhatarion had been to Onontahé where he told the Iroquois that he had a fine blow for them to strike against some French Voyageurs who had remained during the fall on the Grand River, and against the Algonquins and Nepissings who were hunting there; whereupon the English at Onontahé strongly insisted on attacking them; but the Mohawks said that Onontio had conquered them without the English affording them any assistance, and let the latter go and do it themselves; expressing surprise that they should propose war again when they were inclined to peace.

The same Assinaré added that the Iroquois had resolved to come and speak to Onontio in the winter, but were prevented and dissuaded by Tiorhatarion who assured them he should return to report to them the state of affairs so that they may act accordingly. Tatakisseré and those seven Chiefs having informed M<sup>r</sup> de Callière of the above, and evincing considerable indignation at such conduct, the latter ordered Thioratarion to be observed and even arrested should he be preparing to go to the Iroquois without the permission of the Count, to whom he sent a canoe express with an account of the whole.

Although these two Chiefs accompanied Tarhéra to Onontaghé, the Count, who unremittingly watches over every thing, with wonderful application and foresight, was not thereby prevented from sending out during the winter, different parties, (which have not been, and will not be, discontinued,) with a view both to keep our people employed and to endeavor to make some prisoners, who furnish us intelligence of our enemies. This has succeeded quite well up to the present time.

The first of these parties that struck a blow consisted of fifteen Indians of the Saut, to whom were conjoined two officers, Lieutenant de Chaillons and Ensign de Boisbriant. Having marched in the direction of Orange, they separated, some of them changing their minds thought they would bring us some Mohawks more easily than Dutchmen. They were not mistaken for we saw them return, about the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, with three Indians belonging to that Tribe whom they had taken prisoners notwithstanding the pretended peace the latter attempted to insist on. Ten or twelve days afterwards, the two Frenchmen and the remainder of the party came back with a Dutchman, a prisoner who had been captured within a league of Orange.

<sup>1</sup> Ottawa.

neighborhood of Sakinan, been taken and retained by the Iroquois, and that the Baron, one of their influential men had received two Belts from our enemies, wished to know what they meant. For this purpose he thought proper to send a Frenchman, thoroughly conversant with their language to meet them (for they were not yet arrived at Michilimakinac) in order to learn adroitly what he was desirous of ascertaining. The Frenchman having met them quite near, performed his part very well, and gave Sieur de Lamotte all the information he could wish for. The latter being well advised, set about infusing jealousy into the minds of the other Nations, in order to render the Baron suspected; after which, having assembled them with the Hurons who just arrived, he addressed them in this wise:—

SPEECH OF SIEUR DELAMOTTE.

Children. I wish to tell you what I think of the recent conduct of the Iroquois. He has formed the design of devouring the Miami, and on his way 'tis said, tied five or six Hurons; and reflecting that such a trivial blow would not fail to alarm the Nations and make them fall on him and force him to abandon his project against the Miami, he has had recourse to a trick. He wishes to imitate a man who wants to surprise and kill his enemy without running any risk; He comes on his victim whilst lying asleep; finding his dog keeping watch, the Iroquois approaches and fondly throws the animal a bone; and whilst he is gnawing it, kills his master. What next? The dog, who believes he has got a prize, finds himself caught by the man who fondled him, and being thrown into the kettle with his master whom he has so carelessly watched, both become the prey of their common enemy, who makes a good meal of them. This is what the Iroquois does by this Belt. He wishes to eat the Miami, but fears the Huron who watches as his friend and ally. He, therefore, throws you this Belt, knowing well that whilst you will be occupied in admiring it, in contemplating it, in turning it on all sides on your mat; rolling council over council; in a word in gnawing that bone, he will have leisure to destroy the Miami, and to retire without danger, whilst waiting for the opportunity to boil you in turn in the Kettle which he is casting by the Belts he is sending you.

I am at last aware that many among you have experienced in your own persons the perfidy of the Iroquois, and that many Nations, whose names are no more, have known his treachery, and thou, who art but an insignificant remnant, thou oughtest to remember it better than any one. Courage, then! Be ye men from this moment, or take to flight and remove beyond Sun-down. Think you to live in safety near a neighbor who breathes nothing but bloody and whose heart is filled with venom against the rest of mankind? Can it be true that a mischievous Belt would bind your hands and gouge your eyes out? If it be possible that you cannot see a mite with them, open, at least, your ears to hear the word of a good Father; let it fall into your heart and cherish it well. Here it is: You must break the bonds with which the Iroquois fancied he has garroted you, supposing that you would not have the sense to find it out. You must no longer look on that Belt except with eyes of indignation, because on whatever side you turn it, treason is every where concealed under it, as fire under ashes. Reflect, now, on what you ought to do. This is an acceptable time. The Master of Life offers it to you. If you go and aid the Miami who is stretching out his hands to you, the Iroquois will without doubt find himself overwhelmed by the weight of my victorious arms. I have here some French Chiefs who know the Iroquois, and who have repeatedly devoured their villages; they are all ready to put themselves at your head with all the Frenchmen here. You will be witnesses of their bravery. Imitate them. Let us think once more not only of making war,



but of continuing it until the entire destruction of the common enemy; your villages have become larger, your cabins have become filled with children and beautiful young people since that war began. This is my word. 'Tis the mind of Onontio; 'tis his voice. Listen to it attentively. This is all I have to say to you.

Sieur Delamotte having concluded his speech, some thought proper to say that peace was concluded at Montreal, and that the Iroquois had carried back the Black gown,<sup>1</sup> all the French and other prisoners. To which he replied, that Onontio had declared in full Council, when speaking to the Iroquois in presence of all the nations, that he should never make peace, until all his children generally were included in it; that they ought to confide in his word rather than in a rumor that evil disposed persons had circulated. If, added he, it be true that peace is made, why, then, does the Iroquois strike the Miami? Can he carry his hatchet with impunity against the children of Onontio without the latter lifting up his arm to avenge them.

Having disposed the minds of all in this way, he adjourned his Council to the 16<sup>th</sup> of May, when the Baron explained the Belt with which he was entrusted on the part of the Iroquois, nearly in these words; abridging as much as possible the verbiage of the Indians, who are very elaborate (*policés*) and, consequently, very tiresome, speakers.

SPEECH OF THE BARON, the Huron Chief.

I speak to all the Nations. The Master of Life is witness that I will not add any thing to, nor aught detract from, the true account of what has passed.

Five of our people and two of our Iroquois prisoners had been overtaken and captured by the enemy who, having released three, took two of them along to be spectators of the blow they were about to strike on the Miami, and to be conveyed afterwards to Onontahé,<sup>2</sup> where all business must be transacted, in order that one of them should afterwards go to Michilimackinac and the other to Montreal to make their report. They released these three by a Belt and by them sent another Belt here, expressing their good fortune at not having been taken on other ground, and stating that they also were fortunate at having released two of their own Nation.

Brethren. Let us take good care then, not to mar the message, for they declare that the Governor has praised and employed Tiorhatarion to negotiate peace, and that the latter is actually at Onontahé. As for us, what have we been able to do, except to send word to the Miamis to provide themselves with a stout pallsading, and to fight like brave warriors.

It further says that the Iroquois nation being assembled at Onontahé in the winter, mutually recommended to each other to abstain from striking any of the Lake Tribes, and as our people did not think of waging war against them this winter, they were desirous of directing their hatchet solely against the Miamis.

This Belt says further, that the Outasais, named Oukantikan,<sup>3</sup> has to give an account of all the Belts the Iroquois entrusted to him, inasmuch as we Hurons, not being as yet informed thereof, are with some reason surprised thereat.

That Oukantikan has brought a very large Belt here this fall which he received at Montreal, and we ask what has become of five Belts that Amic also had brought. We do not wish to conceal any thing so that our Father may be informed of every transaction.

<sup>1</sup> Father Millet.

<sup>2</sup> Onondaga.

<sup>3</sup> The Outaouas, called Outontagans, formerly inhabited the Great Manitoulin Island, but were driven thence by the Iroquois, and retired to *L'isle du Detour* (now Drummond's Island). *La Hontan*, I., 164.

and Iroquois were collecting at Orange for the purpose of organizing some considerable expedition against the French settlements.

Count de Frontenac who was desirous of securing Canada by fortifying Quebec, had recommenced on the works there from the very opening of the Spring. He was induced to begin thus early and to push forward operations so diligently, because of the frequent threats of the English to come with such a force of ships and men as would not fail to repair their honor; they being extremely desirous to avenge themselves for the check they received and the disgrace that had overwhelmed them in 1690, which they could not wash away except in the blood of the French, nor erase from men's minds, except by the ruin of Quebec and the invasion of the entire Country.

It had been intended to inclose the whole of the Town by earthen ramparts; to construct a strong redoubt on the Cape and to erect batteries in the Lower town. To provide for these two wants required diligence and no less economy of the public funds. The inhabitants of the town were taxed to contribute either money or provisions, and those of the country<sup>1</sup> their labor and personal exertions.

Each applied himself with vigor, and the business advanced wonderfully under the direction of Sieur Levasseur, one of the Captains of the detachment of Marines who acts as Engineer for which he is perfectly qualified, when the Count committing to him the entire superintendence of the remainder, and of the completion of the works, set out towards the end of June, in a canoe for Montreal with the intention of putting into execution his plan of last year, to restore fort Frontenac. He was accompanied by a few of the inhabitants belonging to the government of Quebec and to that of Three Rivers; in passing the latter place he learned the blow the enemy had quite recently struck at the Lake of the Two Mountains, near the head of the Island of Montreal. The following is an account in two words, of the affair.

Sieur Charville having perceived from the fort a dense smoke had the curiosity with his natural bravery to go to the place to find out whether it was that of men (at work) or of the enemy. He embarked with seven Indians, and having discovered ahead of him a canoe of fifteen Iroquois, attacked it vigorously. The battle soon terminated, however, by the death of Charville who was shot with two balls and an arrow. Further resistance being unavailable our Indians, who had no more Frenchmen with them, retreated, and reported to us that they thought they had killed six of the enemy.

This attack obliged M<sup>r</sup> de Callière to dispatch forthwith forty Algonquins and several other Indians, including Népissingues and those belonging to the Saut [and] the Mountain, in search of the enemy. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Saint Pierre, de Repentigny, Lavallière Junior and other officers volunteered to accompany them. When they reached the head of the Island they set out in different directions in quest of the Iroquois, but in vain. Meanwhile, Sieur de Repentigny's young son, a brave soldier, and three other Frenchmen were killed at two different places, on the River *des Prairies*, a few hours before our young warriors had arrived at the place where the shots had been fired.

On receipt of this intelligence M<sup>r</sup> de Callière sent a detachment of about one hundred and twenty men, including French and Indians, in small light bateaux, under the command of Sieur de St. Oours, first Captain, who was joined by several officers as volunteers with the most generous ardor and zeal.

<sup>1</sup> *Compagnie* in the text. Qu<sup>o</sup> Campagne.

As bad luck is usually followed by some good fortune, and as the latter often drags still worse after it, 'tis not surprising if things experience the same alternation in this country as elsewhere. The Count having heard, in the meanwhile, when passing Repentigny, of the two blows above mentioned, one of which had been struck within sight of the fort and the other a league higher up, arrived at length with the Intendant at Montreal on the 8th of July, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of every one.

Notwithstanding some sorrow remained in the hearts of the citizens on account of the recent expeditions to *Bout de l'isle* and the *River des Prairies*, the arrival of ten or twelve canoes on the 15th of July, administered consolation to the most afflicted. The dead were abandoned in order to think only of rejoicing with the living on account of the good news Sieur Lesueur gave us of the favorable state of affairs in the Upper Country; that all our allies, with the exception of the Hurons, were constantly occupied in harrassing the Iroquois, and that they had actually over nine hundred men in the field. These good tidings, I say, reassured the most timid and disheartened.

These canoes were manned by Indians who were accompanied by only five Frenchmen, and were attacked on their way down by some Iroquois, who lay in ambush on shore, and killed one Indian, and wounded two others, and a Frenchman. It is to be remarked that among this party were a Sioux Indian and squaw, the first that ever visited the French settlements.

Count de Frontenac received some letters from Officers at the Upper posts, by which he learns what follows:—

The Iroquois having carried off three women and three or four children belonging to the Miamis with their Chief's youngest son, and struck this blow whilst these were working in the fields—called *Prairie* here—advanced undiscovered, towards the French Fort commanded by Sieur Courthemanche.<sup>1</sup> They had already stuck their guns through the pallisades when they were repulsed so vigorously and fired on so briskly that they retreated to their camp in disorder, leaving some of their men dead at the foot of the stockades, and crying out repeatedly that, as peace had been concluded between themselves and Onontio, they had no design against the French, but against the Miamis. They invited Sieur Courtemanche afterwards to visit their camp, where they would surrender to him the prisoners they had taken. To this he answered by inviting them on his side to come into his fort, where they should not experience any harm, and that an exchange of prisoners could be made there on both sides. But these conferences, carried on with high words and swaggering airs, were productive only of insults and the enemy withdrew. Meanwhile Sieur de Courtemanche, being desirous of ascertaining what route they had taken in their retreat, sent some scouts out, who discovered at the lower end of the river fifteen litters, from which he inferred the wounded might amount to thirty; in addition to this, seven or eight bloody places were observed among the brushwood, which led to the impression that the bodies had been removed, after the custom of the Indians, in order that the truth should not be known. Sieur Courtemanche, certainly, acted on this occasion with all the prudence, activity and valor that could be expected from a brave and courageous man, whilst the Iroquois, to the number of three or four hundred, were exerting themselves to carry off the Miamis.

Sieur Delamotte who holds the chief command of the French in the *Stasacs* Country, as I believe I have already stated, and whose residence is at *Michilimakinac*, the rendezvous of the majority of the Upper Tribes, being informed that two Hurons had, whilst hunting in the

<sup>1</sup> At the River Saint Joseph. *Charlevoix*, II., 146.

All the parties had not a like success in making prisoners which was, however, what we had most at heart. Some scalps were brought in, but they told no news. One, however, of which I am about to speak, that was taken at the pallisades of Orange is well worth mentioning. Two Indians belonging to the Mountain having separated from Totatiron, their Chief, by his advice, in order more easily to make several prizes, attacked five Dutchmen so close to Orange that the voices of those within the town were distinctly heard. Four having been put to flight or out of the way, they took one prisoner, but he obstinately refusing to march and they having no time to lose exposed as they were to bringing all Orange out on them, killed him, and having precipitately scalped him, took to their heels and brought the scalp to Montreal. This blow will not fail by its boldness to put the gentlemen of Orange into a terrible fright.

Towards the end of May another party of Frenchmen and Indians brought us in a Dutch prisoner, a dismounted horseman whose horse they had killed under him within two days' journey of Orange. Here is what we learned from these prisoners, both Dutchmen and Mohawks, on their arrival, separately and at various times.

1<sup>st</sup>

The Mohawks reported that the English had expressed a great wish that Tiorhatarion and Ononsista, when at Onontaghé, had been brought to them; but the Oneidas would not suffer it.

2<sup>nd</sup>

That the English had assured the Iroquois that M<sup>r</sup> de Frontenac had no other design than to deceive and that, had he intended to make peace, he would according to the European fashion, have employed them for the purpose; that they (the English) had the advantage of us, and finally, that all their preparations were made to come to Quebec towards the 15<sup>th</sup>, or the end, of June with the reinforcement expected from old England, which would not sail during this year.

3<sup>rd</sup>

That the Iroquois were gone out with the intention of watching on the Grand River<sup>1</sup> in order to defeat the Indians and Frenchmen who will pass up and down; that if they should meet any Indians or Frenchmen stronger than themselves, they will say, peace is concluded; if not stronger, they will fall on them.

Notwithstanding these reports, Tioratarion always affirmed that the Iroquois entertained a perfectly good and sincere disposition to make peace. Under these conflicting circumstances what could we think but that time alone would unfold the truth?

The first Dutchman brought in prisoner says, First, that a vessel had lately arrived at Menade with Soldiers from Old England that two others were daily expected with troops. 2<sup>o</sup> That 500 men<sup>2</sup> were being raised in the Country to oppose the reëstablishment of Fort Frontenac, the abandonment of which had, until then, improved their affairs and those of the Iroquois. 3<sup>o</sup> That he had in fact learned that the latter wished to make peace, but on condition that the English of Orange be included in it. 4<sup>o</sup> That the Iroquois had promised the English that, if the French should recommence hostilities, they would cause Eight hundred men to fall on them.

<sup>1</sup> Ottawa.<sup>2</sup> Fifteen hundred. *De la Potherie*, IV., 12.

And in regard to the second Dutch prisoner, who turned out to be the brother of this first, he being but a young lad of fifteen or sixteen years of age, and the place of his residence not having much communication with Orange, he gives us no information, neither about the arrival of ships at Manaffe<sup>1</sup> nor of the designs of the English, and the Iroquois. [Oreouahé, who had been sent to France<sup>2</sup>] in the Marquis de Denonville's time, and who, since his return to Canada, appeared always much attached to our interests, arrived on the 20<sup>th</sup> May, in Montreal, on his return from hunting, with three Mohawks, who came to join us and establish themselves at the Saut of the Mountain, having, as they said, no nearer relatives than those residing there. As they had been a long time absent from their Country, were young and inexperienced, much light could not be derived from the interview with them, nor even any information that we could desire. They said only, that a party of two hundred Senecas and Cayugas had set out in the beginning of Winter on a war expedition against our allies, the Miamis; and another, of one hundred against the Andastes,<sup>3</sup> a nation with whom we have no alliance; and in palpable contradiction they added, that the Iroquois were disposed to make peace with us. Was not waging war against our confederates a fine proof of it? They likewise gave us some intelligence regarding those who had been hunting around Sieur Coullonge's fort which was the only news we learned.

On being morally certain that the enemy were wholly retired from the Grand River, M<sup>r</sup> de Callière, on the 15<sup>th</sup> June, dispatched under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de Laforest, a reduced Captain, the convoy destined for the Stasais country. It consisted, for the greater part, of those who had remained behind last Autumn. Whatever profession the Iroquois may make of being desirous for peace, it is beyond a doubt that they will always show themselves avowed enemies when they will be the stronger in point of numbers. Their attack on three Frenchmen in which, however, the latter had the advantage, is a proof of what I advance and a very evident token of their duplicity.

Our men had fallen in, at the other side of fort Lamotte,<sup>4</sup> with two Indians who were on the point of embarking, and inquired of them who they were? Mohawks, answered they; to which our folks having replied, We are Frenchmen. Well, retorted the Mohawks presenting their pieces, we are looking for such as you; whereupon they fired and wounded the M<sup>r</sup> Montour in the abdomen. This, however, did not prevent him having his revenge for, firing, he brought down one of them. The other two Frenchmen fired also, and brought down the other, and were under the impression, therefore, that they had killed both of them but were at once convinced of the contrary on hearing them crying out in the direction of the woods whence, they seemed to expect help. This led our people, after having dispatched them, to retreat with as much rapidity as was prudent, without desiring to amuse themselves with scalping, being apprehensive that they were in considerable numbers. This happened on the 13<sup>th</sup> June, and as soon as M<sup>r</sup> de Callière received intelligence thereof, he lost not an instant in sending out scouts in anticipation of the enemy's possible movements.

Some other Indians arrived, a few days after, from the neighborhood of Lake Champlain and brought in a wounded prisoner, who was one of those that had fired on Montour and his Companions, whereof I have just made mention. He reports that a great number of Dutch

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Manatte.

<sup>2</sup> The words within brackets are added to supply an omission in the French text.

<sup>3</sup> Indians on the Susquehannah river.

<sup>4</sup> On Lake Champlain; Capt. La Motte of the Regiment of Carignan Salières, was Commandant at Montreal in 1666.

In fine, the Iroquois said by this belt, that he was going to devour the Miami in order to unite the whole earth; inviting all the Lake Tribes to repair with the French to the neighborhood of Detroit when the leaves are red; that is to say, in the Fall.

All the Nations, except the Mohawk,<sup>1</sup> invite you to that rendezvous. This, which is the plain truth, is all I have to say.

BIG HEAD, the most influential of the Outasais *du Sable*, spoke thus:—

Brother Huron. You cast a reproach on me when you make Oukantikan speak; he did not bring this belt. You say you conceal nothing; you are guilty of evasions, however, and though I hear all you say, I understand not all of it. Yet I am somewhat rejoiced that our people at Detroit are living. I felt some apprehension for them; for on the arrival of Mr Delamotte this autumn he did not speak in that tone, having, on the contrary always told me to be on my guard, and there is Manthet, a Frenchman of respectability and worthy of credit, who assures me they are under arms at the South, and that even our people have struck a blow this winter.

CHANGOUESSI, an Outasais-Cinago said:

Go, scratch yourselves there, you base minded fellows; Detroit is a fine rendezvous.

OUISKONS, an Outasais-Cinago, added:

Far be from us this belt. Two of our Chiefs, after having received sacks full of them from the Iroquois, have been killed the same year.

The BARON evading, as it were, the question, continued:—

Thus, Brothers, are we pained by what is happening at present to our brother the Miami, and for our people of the Detroit, who do not arrive.

The RAT, a Huron of sense took up the word and said:

We have but one cabin and one fire, and we ought to have but one mind. Let us unite. The opportunity is favorable. There is corn in the village to feed the women and children; we have brave warriors. What hinders us to die like men defending our lives? Shall we remain passive whilst our brethren are being carried off? I have confidence in the word of *Quarante Sous*, our ally, who, though a prisoner, exhorts us not to trust the word of the Iroquois. We ought to have no will but that of our father, and we cannot make peace without him. Let us adopt sure ground for our resolution.

BIG HEAD, an Outasais *du Sable*, continued, saying:—

My opinion is formed. I have no other will but that of our father. However, it is well to assemble.

Sieur Delamotte had reason to expect good from all these speeches. But the Indian, not exhibiting any great desire to go to the assistance of the Miami, all the private councils they held among themselves had no other result, at the time, than to inclose their village with good pallisades, in order that, having placed the women, old men, and children in safety, they might go on the war path. In their frequent songs at their feasts, they were always saying that they

<sup>1</sup> *Année*. La Potherie, IV., 22, prints the word *Amik*, i. e., the Amicoué or Beaver Indians. See note 1, *supra*, p. 61.

were going to start, and yet they did not stir. This obliged *Sieur Delamotte* to send out a small party of sixteen men, who soon attracted one of sixty; so true is it that emulation infuses life into the laziest.

If we attach belief to certain revelations and visions it is because they are authorized; but it is impossible to feel any thing but contempt for what gave rise to a grand and numerous Council the Indians of *Michilimakina* convoked for the purpose of considering some dreams, and drawing important conclusions from them. That Council was opened on the first of June by the Baron, in presence of *Sieurs Delamotte*, the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and the most respectable Frenchmen.

THE BARON began and said:—

An old man and his wife, each about one hundred years old, were discovered this winter in the *Sakinan* country. They resided there, since the ancient expulsion of the *Hurons*, in a prairie or field which they found already cleared. He has related all that has passed since many years, being conversant with all the battles that have been fought and all the embassies that have passed on the one side and on the other, but particularly with that of the *Iroquois* to *Onontio*. The intercourse and communication he has with the Master of Life, who frequently speaks to him, prevents him being ignorant of any thing whatsoever, or in want of whatever he requires, for He sends him animals, and makes his field abound with corn and pumpkins.

This venerable old man has exhorted us to be attentive to the Black gowns, and to apply ourselves to Prayer, assuring us that the Master of Life, who is One in Three Persons who form but one Spirit and one Will, would be obeyed; otherwise he would destroy the disobedient, by depriving them of their grain. He told us he was aware all our corn had been blasted last year because we had not been assiduous in prayer. Finally, after having recommended us to observe the eighth day, by abstaining from all work and sanctifying it by prayer, he concluded his discourse with a prohibition to put the Dead under the ground because that is opening them the road to Hell; but rather to elevate them in the air, so that they may the more easily take the road to Heaven; and with very pressing exhortation to hearken to the voice of *Onontio*, and to follow his will.

Such, added the Baron, are the words of this illustrious veteran, who presents this bundle of Beaver to the Commandant and this other one to the Black Gowns.

Of all the Baron's story the only part that was not imaginary was the present of Beaver, which seemed real. It was, however rejected by *Sieur Delamotte*, who, having inquired whether it was the Old man's word or theirs, was answered; it was the Old man's. He added, this voice being unknown to him, he did not hear it, nor receive the present; that the best proof of their good disposition both for prayer and the obedience they owe *Onontio*, consisted less in the Beaver that was offered, than in prompt movement and vigorous action against the enemy; that finally they had made a bad calculation in regard to the celebration of festivals, having mistaken the eighth, for the seventh day; besides that, we celebrated others, about which the Black gowns had sufficiently instructed them if they were desirous of hearing them. In a word, he was not so simple as to be imposed on by such a ridiculous tale. After which he withdrew.

L.

The Indians were somewhat troubled because the French were unwilling to listen to the voice of their pretended man of God, alleging that the Black gowns were very desirous of being heard when they recounted stories about Paul, and the anchorites of olden times; wherefore then, they asked, shall not our Old man possess the same light?

This tale, which was spread among all the Indians, was invented and manufactured by the Baron who did not fail to insinuate to them that the Old man forbid them to be the first to strike the Iroquois, as he who should begin would be infallibly destroyed, and the Iroquois himself would be annihilated were he so bold as to be beforehand with them with his hatchet.

And as Sieur Delamotte had a reasonable suspicion that the Baron had concluded peace as early as last year and had ratified it in the winter, he acted very wisely in not receiving the message of the mock hermit; it would have been acknowledging him as true, and allowing the Baron to make the Old man talk on every occasion that he would judge favorable for his pernicious designs.

I should despair closing my Narrative were I to attempt to relate exactly and circumstantially the intrigues, cabals and councils of the Indians, and the pains, fatigues and schemes that Sieur Delamotte opposed to them, making use of every means (*le vert et le sec*) for the success of his plan to induce all the Barbarians to go forth to war. The style at the Council is besides, almost always uniform, full of hyperboles, similes and other figurative expressions, some specimens of which I have already given. It is doubtless eminently useless to hear a speech which could only weary the reader. I shall state, then, that the coldest becoming at length warm, all the Nations, with the exception of the Huron have sent out separate war-parties; Sieur Delamotte not being able to persuade them to organize a general expedition, he accomplished a great deal in putting a stop to the negotiations with the enemy, the object of which was the introduction of the English in order to obtain goods at a cheaper rate than they got them from the French, not reflecting that in the lapse of time, the first who will monopolize their trade by selling them at a low price will raise the rate beyond that of the French.

It was on the knowledge we possess of their design that Sieur Delamotte in speaking to Big Head invented a Parable which did not please him as much as it does me on account of its applicability.

Hast ever seen, he asked, the Moon in thy Lake when the evening is clear and the weather calm? It appears in the water, and yet nothing is truer than that it is in the sky. Thou art very old, but know that wert thou to return to thy early youth, and to take it into thy head to fish up the moon in thy lake only once a year, you would more readily succeed in scooping that Planet up in thy net, than in effecting what thou art ruminating on. In vain dost thou fatigue thy brain. Be assured that the English and the French cannot be in the same place without killing each other. Those are arrangements made beyond the Great Lake.

Big Head appeared to approve in two words the aptitude of this parable, by merely exclaiming—How strange!

Although the Indians had no desire to make a general movement against the enemy, they did not fail to manifest a different disposition by means of a Council holden on this subject, merely to sound Sieur Delamotte and to discover whether the ardor he evinced to go in a body against the Iroquois, was not a feigned and simulated zeal and quite remote from his thoughts. But the latter having exhibited a most extraordinary joy on beholding them in these good sentiments, and feigning to attach credit to their words, promised them, on the spot, to make



all the French within call accompany them, so that they may all go together to devour the enemy. They were taken, then, at the word, but their courage failed them (*ils saignèrent du nez.*)

We have dwelt long enough on the occurrences in the Outagais country to render it necessary to return to Montreal where the Indians, conducted by Lesueur, saw that every thing had a marvellous aspect for the war which had been so loudly preached in their Villages. The movements that were making, and had been made throughout the entire winter and spring, were, doubtless, of a nature to dispel the strongest suspicions they might have entertained of our intention; but when they saw every thing ready for the voyage to Fort Frontenac, M<sup>r</sup> de Callière having made every preparation previous to the Count's arrival, they were forced to abandon all doubts. These began to be dispelled by the general movement at Montreal, and the ardor manifested by all to proceed with the restoration of their ancient asylum and of a retreat common to them and to us; from these things, I say, they correctly and with full certitude concluded, that we were not disposed to make peace so readily with the Iroquois.

But what applause did they not bestow on Count de Frontenac when, three days afterwards, they there saw the detachment provided with ammunition, provisions and necessary implements. It consisted of seven hundred men, including Regulars, Militia and Indians. Chevalier de Cresafi who is not less commendable by his bravery and prudent conduct than illustrious by his birth, commanded in chief, and, under him,

The Marquis de la Groye	}	All Captains;
Sieur de Noyan		
Sieur de Lavallière		
Sieur de Maricour		
Sieur de Linvillier		

and thirty others, including reduced Captains, reduced Lieutenants and Ensigns, all picked men, who went with their little army to sleep at La Chine, whither the Count repaired on the following day, to give them the last orders and to see them depart; they set off with wonderful celerity.

Let us leave them to continue their voyage and let us attend to the Outagais Indians to whom the Count granted an audience on the eighteenth July, on his return from Lachine, in presence of the Intendant, M<sup>r</sup> de Callière and other persons of quality.

CHINGOUABÉ, Chief of the Sauteurs,<sup>1</sup> said:

By a first bundle of Beaver, That he was come to pay his respects to Onontio, in the name of the young warriors of Point Chagamigon,<sup>2</sup> and to thank him for having given them some Frenchmen to dwell with them.

By a second Bundle, To testify their sorrow for one Jobin, a Frenchman, who was killed at a feast. It occurred accidentally, not maliciously.

By the third Bundle: We come to ask a favor of you; which is, to let us act. We are allies of the Sciou. Some Outagamis or Mascoutins have been killed. The Sciou came to mourn with us. Let us act, Father; let us act and take revenge. Le Sueur alone, who is acquainted with the language of the one and the other, can serve us. We ask that he return with us.

<sup>1</sup> Indians of the Falls of St. Mary. *De la Potherie*, IV., 30.

<sup>2</sup> On Lake Superior, in the NW. part of Wisconsin.

LE BROCHET<sup>1</sup> speaking for his, and the other Tribes, said:—

We come on behalf of the Chiefs who gave us some robes to purchase powder; all our young men are gone on the war path, and they will be very glad to find on their return wherewithal to continue.

The Chief of the Scioux, before speaking, spread out a beaver robe, and laying another with a tobacco pouch and an otter skin over that, commenced weeping very bitterly, saying, Have pity on me! After consoling him somewhat, he dried his tears and said—All the Nations had a Father who afforded them protection, all of them have Iron; that is every necessary. But he was a bastard in quest of a Father; he is come to see him and begs that he will take pity on him.

Upon the beaver robe he next laid twenty-two arrows, and at each arrow he named a Village of his Tribe that demanded Onontio's protection, and that he would be pleased to regard them as his children, begging that a path be opened to them by which they may come here like the rest; that he had as yet done nothing to render him worthy of protection, but if the Sun could enlighten him on the path from his country to this place, 'twould eventually be seen that the Scioux are men, and that all the Nations in whose presence he speaks, know it.

It is not, he continued, on account of what I bring that I hope he who rules this earth will have pity on me. I learned from the Sauteurs that he wanted for nothing; that he was the Master of the Iron; that he had a big heart into which he could receive all the nations. This has induced me to abandon my people to come to seek his protection and to beseech him to receive me among the number of his children. Take courage, Great Captain, and reject me not; despise me not, though I appear poor in your eyes. All the Nations here present know that I am rich and that the little they offer there is taken on my lands.

The Count, after having spoken to the other Tribes and recommended them to live in peace with the Sciou, in order not to think of any thing but to turn their hatchet against the Iroquois, had the Scioux informed that he received them among the number of his Children on condition that they would hear only their father's voice and be obedient to him; that he would hereafter send back Lesueur to them, who alone is acquainted with their language, and who would carry necessaries to them.

They then approached Onontio, according to their usual custom in affairs of importance, and taking hold of his knees, recommenced weeping and crying, Take pity on us; we are well aware that we are incapable of speaking to you, being, as yet, only Children; but Lesueur who understands our language and has seen all our Villages, will next year inform you what will have been achieved by the Sioux Nations whom you see here before you represented by these arrows, who will be protected by so good a father that will send them Frenchmen to supply them with Iron of which they only begin to have a knowledge.

Having ceased weeping, a Squaw belonging to a very considerable Chief of the same nation who had been redeemed by Lesueur at Michilimakina, approached the Count, the Intendant and M<sup>r</sup> de Callière with downcast eyes and embracing their knees wept bitterly and said: I thank thee, Father; it is by thy means I have been liberated and am no longer captive. She frequently repeated these words, continuing to shed floods of tears after their fashion.

The Ciou resumed his speech and said:—I speak like a man penetrated with joy. The Great Captain, he who is master of the Iron, assures me of his protection and I—I promise him

<sup>1</sup> The Pika.

that if he condescend to restore me my children who are prisoners among the Foxes, Outasais and Hurons, I will return hither and bring with me the twenty-two villages whom he has just restored to life by promising to send them Iron.

After Count de Frontenac had given audience to the Tribes, every one was dismissed to attend to his private affairs until the 29<sup>th</sup> July, when they were called together anew, in order that the Count speak to them in this wise,

TO CHINGSABÉ.

Chi[n]gsabé, my son. I am very glad to have learned by the thanks you present me for having given you some Frenchmen to reside with your nation, that you are sensible of the advantages you derive from the articles they convey you; and to behold your family now clothed like my other children, instead of wearing bearskins as you formerly were in the habit of doing. If you wish me to continue sending you the same aid, and to increase it still more hereafter, you must also resolve to listen attentively to my voice; to obey the orders that will be given you in my name by Le Sueur, whom I again send to command at Chagouamigon, and to think only of making war on the Iroquois, who is your mortal enemy as well as the deadly foe of all the Upper Nations, and who has become mine, because I have taken your part and prevented him oppressing you.

Embarrass not yourself, then, with new quarrels, nor meddle with those the Sioux have with the Foxes, Maskoutens and others except for the purpose of allaying their resentments, whilst I find means to induce the latter to surrender the prisoners they have taken from the Sioux this winter and to afford them satisfaction for what other causes of complaint they may have.

I reply not to the regret you have expressed to me for the misfortune that overtook the Frenchman named Jobin, because I am informed it was an accident, and that you are not to blame therefor.

TO THE PIKE<sup>1</sup> and the other Outasais Nations:—

Though you have been witnesses of what I told the Iroquois in your presence last year, and of the declaration I made them that I should never conclude a peace with them which did not include you and all the other nations, my allies, and until they restored me all your prisoners with those of the French, I clearly perceive that they have made use of their usual artifices to excite fresh suspicions in your mind, and to induce you to think that I entered with them into secret negotiations of which you had not had any knowledge.

What Sieur Delamotte told you from me on that subject, when explaining what had been done, ought to have removed that suspicion from your minds. But open wide your ears; hear once from my mouth how the thing occurred and you will thereby understand the artifice and malice of the Iroquois who are seeking only means to induce you to take umbrage against a Father who never deceived you, in order to prevent you hearkening to his voice, and to turn you aside from the war<sup>2</sup> which they know he has ordered you to continue.

I am going to tell you, then, once again how the thing occurred. Whereupon the Count recapitulated every thing; related the arrival of Tareha with Father Milet and how he had refused his Belts; the departure of Tiorhatarion and Ononsista to the Ononthagues without being charged with any message, but merely to hear what they should say in their Councils;

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> "et de te donner la guerre," are the words in the Text. De la Potherie, has it — "et te détourner de la guerre," which is adopted.

the Belts they had presented on their return and his refusal of them, not forgetting the declaration to the Mohawk who had come down with them; he spoke of the different parties continually sent out whilst Tiorhatarion was among the Iroquois, the attack which the enemy made on the fort of the Miámis and recently on us at the Lake of the Two Mountains near the head of the Island, and on five of our People who were killed at the River *des Prairies*. Care was taken not to omit the attack the enemy had made on themselves when coming down from their Country, notwithstanding they spoke and the Iroquois knew them very well; they were made to appreciate the degradation by Onontio in their presence of Tiorhatarion the Chief of the Indians at the Saut, for having surpassed the orders the Count had given him when he consented to his going to the Village of the Onontas, and the election of another in his place. Finally, the Count reminded them of the large force he had just dispatched to reestablish Fort Frontenac, and to carry on such operations as circumstances will permit.

After that, added the Count, I do not believe that you require further proofs to convince you, that I am resolved to wage war against the Iroquois more vigorously than ever, and that you, on your part, cannot avoid waging it against them also, if you desire that I should consider you obedient children, and attached to your own interests as well as to that of your Father, since the question is the destruction of a common enemy.

The Count having caused the presents to be distributed,

CHINGSABÉ said:—

Father: It is not the same with us as with you. When you command all the French obey you and go to war. But I shall not be heeded and obeyed by my nation in like manner. Therefore I cannot answer except for myself and those immediately allied or related to me. Nevertheless I shall communicate your pleasure to all the Sauteurs, and in order that you may be satisfied of what I say, I will invite the French who are in my Village to be witnesses of what I shall tell my people on your behalf.

Then the Governor addressing the Hurons and Stasais said:—Children, I thank you for the welcome you extended to Tioskaté, chief of the Sioux. I have been informed of it by Sieur Delamotte. I exhort you then to continue hereafter to receive them kindly at home when they will visit you; to forget the dead you may have lost on both sides in the war you had formerly waged against each other, and to regard them, at present, as your brothers and my Children, leaving the path open to them to come to see me here and to look for what they will stand in need of.

The Council broke up and the Indians left Montreal, two days after, to return to their Country with the Count's orders.

In the interval between the first audience granted to the Stasas, (who arrived at Montreal on the 21st of July,) and the last Council when they were dismissed, [there arrived] a Canoe which had been dispatched express to the Count with some letters from France, which had been committed to the care of Sieur de Bonnaventure who was lying at anchor at Pentaguet.

Let us lay aside for a moment the affairs of Canada, to relate what occurred in Acadia.

Two frigates which had arrived at Boston last year, designed from that time to come and cruise at the mouth of our river. Some prisoners had assured us that three others and some middle sized vessels, were preparing for the same purpose. But whilst waiting until they make

themselves heard, let us say a word about the gallant exploit of a Barkalonga,<sup>1</sup> called by the English a Galley, mounting 8 guns, 6 swivels and having a crew of 70 men.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, Robienne the privateer of Nantes was attacked by this Barkalonga, and as his force was inferior, he took advantage of the flow of the tide to hug the shore, ordering a portion of his men to land with a view to use their muskets where she should anchor, having nothing to apprehend except being boarded, which he did not think the English would attempt, because they would be stranded as well as he. As misfortune would have it, the whole of his crew, except three, misunderstanding the word of command, went ashore, and the English perceiving this manœuvre, approached, at the same time, in order to board Sieur Robienne. What is he to do in this dilemma? He forthwith takes a barrel of gunpowder and strews it along the deck, and stations himself near his flag, match in hand. The Englishman, who was within pistol shot, summons him to surrender and to strike his flag. He is told that he has nothing to do but approach if he wishes to be blown up with him. A cannon shot was discharged at Robienne, accompanied by a volley of musketry, and possibly preparations were making to continue, when his men who were on shore, opened so great a fire on the Englishman that they forced him to weigh anchor and take a wider berth, under favor of the ebb of the tide. Sieur Robienne having caused a good deal of water to be thrown on the powder on his deck, began to cannonade the English, but on the fourth shot the stern of his ship caught fire in a most unaccountable manner. Brandy, tar and the powder being stored in that quarter, the flames and smoke increased in an instant with such violence, that he was obliged to abandon his vessel which blew up in a quarter of an hour after.

The same privateer having captured an armed Ketch and its crew bound for the Islands, took on its way four or five prizes and pillaged a small Island thirty leagues beyond Boston in the direction of New-York.

Divers letters from Acadia have informed us that seven of our Abenakis Indians having indiscreetly gone about the end of the Autumn,<sup>2</sup> to the fort of Pemkuit, three of them had been arrested there by the English, and the other four pitilessly killed at fort Sako. This treacherous proceeding did not turn our Indians aside from their object; nor discourage them. And as they are passionately desirous of first recovering their relatives who are prisoners, in order to be able, afterwards to look for revenge and to recommence hostilities more vigorously than ever, they tried to obtain an interview, and having received from the Lieutenant Governor of Boston a letter, of which the following is a copy, they sent an answer to it which is annexed:—

By the Honorable WILLIAM STOUGHTON Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor and  
Commander-in-Chief.

Having received certain information that the Indians of Amarascoggin together with others of the eastern part of this Province have, contrary to their submission and declaration of Fidelity to the Crown of England, since perfidiously adhered to and joined with His Majesty's enemies in the late tragical outrages and barbarous murders committed at the settlement of his Majesty's

<sup>1</sup> A small vessel used in war, without a deck, lower than the ordinary barges with a peak head and carrying sails and oars. — JAMES.

<sup>2</sup> 19th of November, 1694. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, II, 81; *Williamson's Maine*, I, 640.

good subjects at Oyster river<sup>1</sup> and Groton,<sup>2</sup> and carried off with them several prisoners who are now detained by the said Indians at Amarasoggin and other adjoining places, whereby they have appeared in open Rebellion and therein forfeited their lives as well as those of the hostages for their fidelity; who according to the custom of Nations and the law of Arms might be justly put to death; but having learned that divers of their Captains and principal men did not participate in these late treasons and barbarities, I, therefore, in order that they may establish their innocence and fidelity, do send these presents by the hands of Sheepscot and<sup>3</sup> John Albagata-Waroongan one of their hostages, in order that they may see that he is, notwithstanding the cowardice and baseness of the Indians, still living, and be informed by him of the good treatment he and his comrades have received, and that his Majesty's Governor in this Country has not violated any of his promises made to them when he received the submission of the Indians. Wherefore by order of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, I strictly command and invite all the above named Captains and other Indians who will desire to furnish proof of their innocence and fidelity, and who have a regard for their lives, to send back all the English prisoners in their hands; also to seize, bring in, and surrender to Justice the Chiefs and savages who have combined, assisted and acted in this last bloody tragedy. Wherein they shall not fail on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost rigor of the Law, as false traitors and rebels.

Given under Our hand and seal at Arms at Boston the twenty-first day of January, one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, in the Sixth year of their Majesties Reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Answer of the Abenaki Indians to the Letter of the Lieutenant Governor of Boston.

Lord who writest to me, listen and understand what I am about to say, and write, to you. Thou wilt easily recognize my words, and why wilt thou not recognize them. It is thou (so to express myself) that furnishest them to me. Writing with too much haughtiness, thou obligest me to reply to thee in the same style. Now, then, listen to the truths I am about to tell thee of thyself; of thee, who dost not speak the truth when thou sayest that I kill thee cruelly. I never exercise any cruelty in killing thee, [as I kill thee<sup>4</sup>] only with hatchet blows and musket shots. Thy heart must have been ever addicted to wickedness and deceit. No other proof is necessary than the acts last autumn at Saco and Pemkuit, taking and detaining those who were going to obtain news from thee. Never in the universal world has it been seen, never has it been related of a man being taken prisoner who bears a flag and goes to parley on public business. This, however, is what thou hast done; in truth, thou hast spoiled the subject of discussion. Thou hast covered it with blood; as for me, I could

<sup>1</sup> On the 28th of July 1694, the Indians fell with fury upon a village at Oyster River, in New Hampshire, killed and carried away ninety-four, some accounts say about one hundred men, women and children. *Hutchinson's History of Mass.*, II., 79. Of the twelve garrisoned houses five were destroyed, viz. Adam's, Drew's, Edgerly's, Medar's and Beard's. The house of John Russ, the minister, was destroyed with a valuable library. The other seven garrisons, viz. Burnham's, Bickford's, Smith's, Bunker's, Davis's, Jones' and Woodman's were resolutely and successfully defended. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, I., 216.

<sup>2</sup> On the 27th of July 1694, having crossed the Merrimack they fell upon Groton, (in Middlesex County) about forty miles from Boston. They were repulsed at Larkin's garrisonhouse, but fell upon other houses where the people were off their guard, and carried away from the vicinity about forty persons. *Hutchinson*, II., 80.

<sup>3</sup> This conjunction seems to be superfluous, as the English writers call him Sheepscot John; the other appears to be his Indian name.

<sup>4</sup> *De la Potherie*, IV., 42.

never resolve to act in that manner, for therein I have even an extreme horror of thy unparalleled treachery. How then dost thou now expect that we would talk. Last autumn we carried to Saco and Pemkuit our flag which was common to thee and to me; we had only one. On being carried to Pemkuit thou dost seize it. When carried to Saco thou coverest it with blood. If now thou thinkest of me, I must know somewhat his thought is with whom I am to talk. Restore to me our common flag which is the only medium by which we can talk together. What thou sayest I retort on thyself. There, repent and repair the grave fault thou hast committed; seize those who killed me at Saco, and made me prisoner at Pemkuit. I will do the like by thee. I will bring thee those who killed thee when I shall be able to find them. Fail not to do what I require of thee; of thee, I say, who killest me without cause; who takest me prisoner when I am off my guard. Here, again, is what I say to thee. Bring, or send me back my relatives whom thou detainest without cause. Thus only, if thou doest it, can I have a good opinion of thee. Take special care not to fail in what I tell thee. If thou dost not obey exactly, thou wilt draw down calamities on thyself, thy cattle, thy provisions and all thy substance. As for me, thou canst not inflict much injury on me except by your treachery. My houses, my stores, my property are in inaccessible countries. If thou wilt confiscate them, they will cost thee a great deal of labor and fatigue. Let Pagadocsagan return within fifteen days; let him not fail to come back, and, within thirty days at the utmost, let our people be brought back. Pemkuit, which thou hast defiled, is now no longer pleasant to me. I desire another place for our negotiation; namely, Meremitin. There will our common flag be always hoisted, when thou wilt have restored it to me.

Signed SSANMIRSES EKESAMBAMET

all who are here. Our Chiefs are not here now. This is what we tell thee.

Meremitin,<sup>1</sup> was the place selected for the talk which was to take place towards the end of May, on exchanging the English prisoners for those belonging to our Indians.

It was the Abenakis of Father Bigot's mission, that had received the Lieutenant Governor's letter which was brought them by one of their people whom the English held as a hostage; and as the major part of the Indians who composed that Mission were at a distance those who happened to be there on the reception of this letter, answered it.

Would it not be supposed that every thing would fail rather than this exchange? Yet, on our Indians repairing to the place appointed, the English, so far from bringing our prisoners there, did not even come there themselves, though they had promised to bring the prisoners thither.

Our Indians impatient at this treatment, proceed, notwithstanding the resolutions of their Councils, to Pemkuit in order to obtain news of their message, so strong are the ties of blood and nature. But the sole reason given them by the Commandant and Minister was the obstacle created by the wind which had been unfavorable to the arrival of the prisoners from Boston. Each vented against the other whatever reproaches were on his mind, after which the English becoming mollified and getting to talk about the pretended union between them, took a stone which they gave as an emblem of the durability this peace ought to have; and the Indians conforming to their mode of expression, placed another Stone beside that of the English, with this difference—the Stone of the first was bedecked only with idle words whilst that of our Indians was accompanied by eight prisoners which they surrendered in reality, though

<sup>1</sup> The lower part of the Androscoggin, before it unites with the Kenebec river, is called Merrymeeting bay.

determined not to give up one except as theirs would be placed in their hands. The English, finally, promised to bring in within thirty days all the prisoners captured during several years, the greater portion of whom had been seized treacherously—that is to say, they promised to bring back those who were near, and within two years those at a distance.

The Abenakis, in return, promised the restitution of those in their power; and this was the result of the interview.

Since then we have learned by an Englishman taken near Boston by a party of Abenakis from Three Rivers, that his countrymen had come to the place of rendezvous but did not bring the prisoners there, which obliged our Indians to resume hostilities wherein there is no doubt they are actually engaged, having been exasperated by the continual treachery of our common enemy whom they wished to manage only for a season in order to withdraw their people out of his hands.

In some cases misfortune is beneficial. Our Abenakis having become, at last, aware that the chains and hardships of the poor prisoners, their relatives, had been doubled by the English in violation of their promise, after having gratuitously received the eight prisoners who had been surrendered to them in advance, took the bit so determinedly between their teeth, that it is not considered necessary to put fire beneath their bellies in order to induce them to visit the enemy with the bloody effects of a just fury: It is supposed also with some degree of reason, if any reliance can, indeed, be placed on Indians, that the latter would have continued the war neither more nor less, even had the English kept their words with them and restored their prisoners; By not restoring them, that became evident; had they been given up it was confidently expected that, released from their fetters, and unable to consent to ever pardoning the English, these men would drag all the young men along to assist them in revenging their wrongs, despite of every thing to the contrary which might be alleged by the lovers of peace who desire to draw breath after so many years of fatigue.

As I propose to avoid prolixity, I pass a great many things in silence, such as the Abenakis sending to the Count some English scalps, and some prisoners taken whom they captured at different intervals.

But I must not omit mentioning the naval movements the English are making with the design of doing us all possible injury. They use, sometimes, however, pretexts somewhat specious, as was the case with a ship and ketch that entered under full sail and anchored in the harbor of Menagouet.<sup>1</sup> They stated that they were come to redeem some English prisoners, and in fact eleven were given up to them. Their real design, however, was to see if some ship had not arrived from France so as to be able, with the assistance of another vessel that lay in the offing, to capture it if it should not have come in.

We have been perfectly aware that a ship of fifty guns and one hundred and fifty men had arrived from Old England, and that a small Boston craft manned by thirty men was cruising from one place to another for the purpose of carrying off Indians. But the English prisoner, brought in some time after by the Abenakis of Three Rivers, removed all our apprehensions regarding this larger ship of one hundred and fifty men, by informing us that she had returned to Boston a complete wreck with ten killed and sixty wounded, having been frequently boarded.

The death of the Princess of Orange<sup>2</sup> and that of William Philippe<sup>3</sup> are not sufficiently regretted in this country that I should interrupt my narrative by Funeral Sermons. On the

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Qu! Pentagouet.

<sup>2</sup> 28th December 1694.

<sup>3</sup> Sic. Phips. He died 18th February 1695.



contrary I feel a pleasing inclination to continue it in consequence of the joy afforded me by the following news:—

Our Abenaki Indians had been warned by a Frenchman belonging to the garrison of Pemkuit to be on their guard, and that two hundred Englishmen concealed in the Islands off the coast were with others, meditating an attack on them whilst engaged in negotiations. This intelligence had the best effect possible, confirming as it did the faithlessness of that nation which we had already so often impressed on them. They vowed eternal war and immediately set off to those Islands in quest of the enemy, with quite a different intention than that of holding a conference with them.

The second news we received and which afforded us joy, was the havoc committed by a ship of fifty guns on the English to whom she gave no quarter. They were, doubtless, some of our friends and possibly the same that had so effectually disposed of the vessel which, as I just stated, had returned to Boston in so pitiable a plight.

But the most sensible pleasure we experienced arose from the happy tidings of the arrival at Pentagouet of the ship *l'Envieux* commanded by *Sieur de Bonnaventure*, who, in distributing the presents from the King, made the Indians perceive that they ought not to be tempted to make peace by an unjustifiable despair of receiving assistance, this year, from France. What a strange thing is prejudice! These poor creatures had taken it so doggedly into their heads that the English were masters of the sea and that no French vessel dare make its appearance along the entire coast, that, had it not been for the arrival of this ship, I know not what result would have been expected from such excessive terror which overpowered in their minds all the good disposition they seemingly entertained, to be revenged on their enemies: Meanwhile they soon passed from profound despondency to energy thoroughly martial. We shall see, hereafter, what will have been its success.

Captain Baptist had taken a prize off Cape Mallebarre, which he left under the command of *Guion*, a Canadian. The latter and the filibusters abandoned it after having more than half pillaged it. It was a craft of more than sixty tons, with a cargo of sugar, molasses and other goods. Baptist started off again on a new cruise when he had the good fortune to take a prize of twenty-five tons, which supplied generally all he required to fit him out for the entire summer. He set out anew with orders to proceed to Spaniard's bay,<sup>1</sup> in the supposition that he might fall in there with *Sieur de Bonnaventure*. But as the fortune of war is uncertain, and as occasional ill luck cannot be avoided, he had the mischance of losing his vessel; after having bravely defended himself an entire day against a frigate, he found himself so riddled that he finally foundered with eight Englishmen within sight of the frigate which could not render them any assistance. One consolation afforded by this loss was that the English derived no advantage from it.

This *Guion* whom I have just mentioned, after having made seven prizes, fell in with the same frigate that had defeated Captain Baptist. But running aground with all his prizes on the little Seal Rock, he forced the English to grant him terms. They gave him one vessel with all its cargo.

I see nothing else worth mentioning respecting the affairs of Acadia except the news furnished us by *Sieur de Saint Castin*, that a frigate of forty guns, and one of twenty-two were ready to sail from Boston; that a third of twelve guns had already left that port and had even arrived at *Piscaduoët*;<sup>2</sup> that their plan, no doubt, was to do some mischief in the Quebec

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, *supra*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

river, and that the ship which is to bring out William Phillipe's,<sup>1</sup> successor in the government of New England, was daily expected at Boston from Old England.

Guion's brother having come of his own accord as far as Montreal, where he arrived about the fifteenth of July, the Count gave him twenty men in order to encourage him to continue his cruises, which can be productive only of a very good effect.

But now that we have come back, let us see what is doing in the neighborhood where our enemies are wide awake.

In the afternoon of the second of August two Mohawks, who had been three or four months prisoners at the Sault, left the latter place on their return home. Passing La Prairie de la Madeleine, they attempted to seize, quite close to the stockades of the fort, a young French child in order to carry it away with them to their Village. But some of our Indians happening fortunately to be within call, made them drop their booty by firing at them.

Some of our Indian partisans who were in the direction of Orange, had captured some prisoners but were obliged to let them go on being discovered by a party of thirty men, who were much stronger than they. On their return, they reported that it was, according to all appearances, greatly to be feared that the enemy would fall on the southern district. They did in fact appear at Tremblay, within two leagues of Montreal on the 12<sup>th</sup> August, where they killed an old woman and a man; after which they carried off two other women, one man and four young children.

This loss considerably damped the joy we experienced on the same day by the return of 8 or 10 of our Indians who brought in two Englishmen and two Squaws, and the Scalps of two Mohegans (*Loups*) who were killed near Orange where the blow was struck. Our sorrow disappeared, however, two days after, on the return of the Convoy from Fort Frontenac. The reappearance of the Sun dispersing the clouds does not afford greater joy to Nature than did that of Chevalier de Crisafy to the Montrealists. Every one hastened to the water side to see him when he was landing, and by their cheers gave expression to their feelings towards so worthy a Captain who brought back his troops safe and sound, without leaving a single man behind except the forty-eight to garrison the fort. As this expedition used extraordinary celerity, I shall not undertake to give a long description of it, but merely observe that it occupied from the time it started to its return twenty-six days, eight of which were employed in repairing five extensive breaches made in the walls by the mine; that some old mortar, after having been broken and mixed with rich clay, was made use of for the purpose of rapidly running up the masonry which will be as solid with the cement, as with mortar from new lime the preparation whereof time did not admit; that all the timber for the construction of the houses and for fire-wood was cut and hauled with extraordinary diligence; that throughout the whole of the labor and fatigue of going and coming in the rapids and dangerous passes, so special and so general a good fortune attended all, that not one was wounded. What I remark most fortunate in this good luck is, not to have been discovered by the enemy, a circumstance to be attributed to the great secrecy the Count observed up to the moment of departure; being well aware that his plan was not one of those to be bruted about; and to the prudent conduct of Chevalier de Crisafy, whose guarded movement deprived the enemy of all knowledge of it. But reflecting on such an excess of good fortune, I must not, in enumerating those secondary causes, forget the principal, but attribute such great success to the good genius, the guardian angel of New France, to whom God has committed the protection of the Country.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Phipe.

This fortunate return of the convoy from Fort Frontenac was not the sole pleasure of so fine a day. It had been preceded, some hours, by the arrival of *Sieur Nicolas Perrot* from the *Stasais* and *Farthest Nations* with ten or twelve Canoes of *Poutesatamis*, *Sacs*, *Folles Avoines*, *Outagamis* and *Miamis* of *Maramek*.<sup>1</sup> This was on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, and the following is the substance of the news the Count received by them in a letter from *Sieur Delamotte* and from the reports of *Perrot* and the Frenchmen who came down with him.

## NEWS FROM THE STASAIS.

The *Outagamis* have spared the lives of the *Iroquois* prisoners that had been presented by the *Sasaiation*<sup>2</sup> of *Chégagou* in the Spring, with the intention of employing them in return, in negotiating with the enemy. The apprehension that the *Cioux*, who have mustered some two or three thousand warriors for the purpose, would come in large numbers to seize their Village, has caused the *Outagamis* to quit their country and to disperse themselves for a season, and afterwards to return to save their harvest. They are, then, to retire towards the river *Sabache* to form a settlement there, so much the more permanent as they will be removed from the incursions of the *Ciou* and in a position to effect a junction easily with the *Iroquois* and the *English*, without the *French* being able to prevent it. Should this project be realized, it is very apparent that the *Mascoutin* and the *Kekapou* would be of the party, and that the three Tribes forming a new village of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, would experience no difficulty in considerably increasing it, by attracting other nations thither, which would be of most pernicious consequence. But we have every reason to hope that the efficient orders issued by the Count, and the care *Sieur Delamotte* will take to execute them, will dispel all these fogs. He will not possibly effect this object with as much facility as he broke up a party of *Hurons* who were on the point of embarking on a war expedition against the *Cioux*; for with a Belt and a few words, full indeed of energy, he had the good fortune to dispel this storm at the first conference.

All *Sieur DelaMotte's* penetration, however, did not prevent some *Hurons*, among whom was the *Baron's* son, proceeding, unknown to him, with the consent of all the Nations, both of *Michilimakina* and its vicinity to the Village of the *Senecas*, to make their peace, independent of *Onontio*. They carried, for this purpose, fourteen Belts, of which some of the better disposed *Hurons* secretly and mysteriously furnished him, eight days after their departure, with the explanation, the substance whereof is briefly as follows:—

Our Father has vexed us; he has long since deceived us. We now cast away his voice; we will not hear it any more. We come without his participation to make peace with you and to join our arms. The Chief at *Michilimakina* has told us lies; he has made us kill one another; Our Father has betrayed us. We listen to him no more.

These deputies have carried back to the *Senecas* three of their men in order to give them up. Two of these are to remain at the village, and the other is to return with some influential *Iroquois* for the purpose of having an interview in the latter part of August with all the *Lake Tribes*, and causing the existing war to be succeeded by a durable peace and close alliance.

It is a misfortune that it was impossible to anticipate the Embassy of those Indians, as this blow could have been certainly averted. But it must be understood that when they are determined to keep a secret, the policy of the most expert *Machiavelian* would fail against their

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, *supra*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> A Miami tribe called *Ouistanons* by the French, and *Weas* by the English.

finesse and deception, daubed over with the whitewash of sincerity and the fairest appearances in the world.

Whilst the Baron was at Montreal, as I have already stated, acting the part of the couchant dog and listening with apparent submission to Onontio's voice, all this fine scheme was concocting in the Upper Country, and what was wonderful is, that the resolution of the Council was taken and concluded before he started to come down, although the Traitor gave no other excuse for his voyage than an ardent desire which consumed him to come and hear his Father's will in order blindly to obey it.

But this is pretty tedious. Learn what is passing among the Outasais to be persuaded how much they would be disposed to make their peace with the Iroquois, independent of the Count, were they not vigorously opposed. Let us enter now into the Council with those recently arrived Nations and witness the audience Onontio is giving them.

Being assembled on the sixteenth of August in the presence of the Governor, Intendant, and several officers, Ononguissé, Chief of the Poutouatamis, opened the meeting with the following speech:—

Father. I come here, seeing all my Nation deranged, in order that you may restore them to their senses. This it is what brings me hither without a present and makes me look upon you with my eyes.

I wish the Cioux, the Sacs, the Miamis and the Outagamis may listen to your voice. As for me, half your heart is in mine, and I have no will but yours.

I have been surprised that the Kikakons, the Outasais *du Sable*, Hurons and others of Michilimakina whom you call your children, are not hearkening to your voice to-day, and that on the contrary they seem to wish to upset the earth and deceive you; whilst I, who have not seen you for a long time, am always inclined to obey your wishes as I have done since my infancy. Up there at Michilimakina I have respected your word; I have adhered to it, and not being able to resist all those other nations, have adopted the resolution to come down to acquaint you, that you may apply the remedies you will consider necessary. When the Indians I have named to you come here to see you and call you Father, I feel sorry that, immediately after they are out of your presence, they alter their language, and act contrary to what they promised, whilst I, no matter what injury the other nations may inflict on me, do exactly what you desire me. I have even been killed by the Ciou; you forbid me to avenge myself and I have obeyed your word.

The memory I have cherished of your former words alone hath kept my feet within the paths of duty, for we have not had any one, for a long time, with us to communicate your wishes to us, and have almost been—I, Poutouatami, and the Sacs and the Puans and the Folles Avoines—as if we had no Father, being at a distance the one from the other.

Those of Michilimakina are incessantly telling you that it is they alone who wage war against the Iroquois, though we wage it more than they; and they tell you these sort of stories only in order to stand better with you. I would wish that the Cioux, the Miamis and the Outagamis wage war no more against each other.

Colubi, Chief of the Sacs, took up the word and said:—The French exhorted him to come here, and he accordingly came down in his present poor condition. He retained in his recollection since last year, the Word of his Father who commanded him to keep his tomahawk always in his hand, and to turn it only against the Iroquois; and this is what he has done.

Although he formerly made war against the Cioux, he had resisted the entreaties of the Outagamis and Maskoutins to attack them, regarding them now as brothers.

Father, he added, I come to tell you, that although the Outagami, or the Fox, is my relative, yet I could not dissuade nor prevent him last winter going to war against the Cioux.

Kioulous-Koio, Chief of the Folles Avoines said—He had nothing to add to the speech of Onanguissé; like him, he observed his Father's word.

Onanguissé resumed, and spoke for Makatemangas, an Outagami or Fox, saying in his behalf what follows:—

Father. Though killed by the Ciou neither I, nor any of my family have desired to make war on him as half my Tribe hath done, recollecting that Onontio my father hath forbid me so to do. I do not approve of my Nation wishing to make an alliance and peace with the Iroquois, and I come to advise you of it and to tell you that I have not changed my mind, and am always obedient to you.

Messitonga, or *Le Barbu*, a Miami of Maramek<sup>1</sup> said:—Though at a great distance, I heard my Father's voice, and have no other opinion but that of Onanguissé and of the others who come to speak, and no other thought than to make war against the Iroquois. When the Ciou kills me I bow my head and recollect my Father has forbid me to turn my tomahawk against him.

I have not yet heard you. I complain that the Miamis of the river Saint Joseph rescue by force from us, and spare the lives of, the Iroquois, prisoners we are bringing home.

I am come here to ascertain whether it be by your order these sorts of violences are committed, as I have not heretofore understood your thoughts except by Perrot in whom we hesitate to place confidence, the French and the Indians saying that he is but a pitiful fellow. I come here to hearken to you, and to offer you, as I did last year, my body, covering up your dead who were killed by the Iroquois, and to tell you that you are Master of my Tribe, which is that of the Crane.

He then presented a Beaver robe, and added:—

I have not yet been able to learn your thought from your own lips, and have heard your word only as Perrot repeated it to me from you. This has brought me down here.

Onanguisse demanded if it were true that Onontio had permitted Nassasakset, as he had told him, and Sieur de Tonty, to go to war against the Kansas and other Mississippi tribes.

Sieur Perrot presented a robe on the part of the Pepicoquis who, also, are Miamis of Maramek, whereby they said they covered the French dead, and the Miamis slain in the Iroquois country. This robe was stained red to show that they remembered the French who died for them and whom they were desirous of revenging.

Onanguissé told Onontio individually and in private, that it was not he but Perrot that had brought the Outagami or the Fox; whose heart he believed was false; who despised not only the French, but all the other Nations also; the Outagami however, was not the only one that had conceived bad thoughts, inasmuch as the Mascoutins had a still worse heart than he.

Whilst fort Frontenac was repairing, several of our Indians embraced the opportunity to organize different parties to endeavor to strike a blow against the Iroquois. Some of them having seen thirty canoes which they judged to contain three or four hundred men, notice of the fact was given to M<sup>r</sup> de Lavalrière who commands in that fort, and word was afterwards sent to Montreal. This news was brought on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August to the Count who received

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, *supra*, p. 64.

confirmation of it from others that arrived on the same day, and added that one of our most respectable Indians named Stagakon had been undoubtedly captured. But as it is very usual for the Indians to retail such rumors, in order to mark our countenance, the Count, without evincing any feeling, deferred sending out scouts until the twenty-fourth. Meanwhile other Indians, reporting that they had seen in Lake Saint Francis a hostile canoe which certainly was not far off, the Count hesitated no longer; he dispatched under the command of Sieur Dumui 7 @ eight hundred men to Isle Perrot, a convenient and very advantageous post, and issued orders that the remainder of the troops should be ready at the firing of the first gun to go and meet the enemy if they ventured down the river, at the same time that the corps which had set out and was instructed to let them pass, would attack them in the rear. Whilst Sieur Dumui is making every effort to discover the enemy, and is sending out French and Indian scouts in succession, and four times one after the other, so as to escape surprisal and to insure the success of his own plan for discovering the enemy, a canoe arrived here from Quebec, on the twenty-seventh which, far from giving us news of the French fleet, informs us that some Canadians who had arrived from Anticostie had seen two frigates of twenty-two and twenty-four guns, about Mingan, in the latter end of July, and a large English ship, a month before, in the same place.

It is almost impossible to avoid some hostile incursion during the harvest. On the twenty-ninth two Frenchmen were killed at La Prairie de la Madelaine and four carried off alive; and whilst this aggression was being committed, another party killed a man at Boucherville, and wounded two, carrying none off; finally, two days afterwards, which was the thirty-first, the Iroquois took off three of the bravest settlers from Cape Saint Michel.<sup>1</sup> These last mentioned blows were struck by some Mohawks and Oneidas, as we discovered by their tomahawks, which they left sticking in the ground, according to their custom.

Onanguissé the Poutesatami of whom we have spoken, had gone, with all the Indians belonging to the Bay *des puans*<sup>2</sup> to seek to signalize themselves in the party commanded by Mr Demuy; But seven or eight days had scarcely elapsed when becoming impatient because the enemy did not make his appearance, they were seen returning to Montreal, where the Count gave them their farewell audience and having by considerable presents replied to what they had said to him on their arrival, he dismissed them after having slightly reproved them for quitting the army without his orders. They left the Council extremely firm, and evinced a very strong determination to remain forever inviolably attached to Onontio's interests. But it will not be out of place to insert here the speeches at this Council which was attended by the Governor, Intendant M. de Callière and a few officers; the major part being at the time engaged looking up the enemy. On the third of September, then, Onontio spoke thus:

Onanguissé listen attentively to me.<sup>3</sup> [I am very glad to see you. I was under the impression that the Son whom I loved had fled from my presence for ever, and that far from following, he wished to oppose, his Father's will. This is what has been reported to me of you, and that you were doing all you could to prevent the accomplishment of my wishes. You could not help acknowledging it to me, but I will forget it, as you seem to me now to be better disposed and to have recollected that I had adopted you as my Son from your earliest

<sup>1</sup> A seigniory in the county of Verchères, on the South side of the St. Lawrence, about fifteen miles below Montreal.

<sup>2</sup> Green Bay, Wisconsin.

<sup>3</sup> These speeches, which are omitted in the Paris Manuscripts, are supplied from La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, IV., 58-68, and included within brackets.

infancy. This obliges you, despite all the trouble you say you experience, to come and notify me that you see many of my Children rebelling against me and disobedient to my voice, but as for you, you offer yourself entirely to execute my will.

You are right in believing that one-half of my heart is yours, and this it is which gave me pain when I was told that Onanguissé was opposed to those who were carrying my message. It annoyed me very much, but I have not forgotten, on that account, that he was a Son whom I had adopted, and who would return perhaps to better sentiments when remembering that I had always been a good father to him.

You would have reason to be surprised if those of the *Sable*, the Kiskakons, Hurons and others of Michilimakina were unwilling to hear my voice any more; and could with justice say to them, that I have ever been their father; that I have made every effort at the cost of the blood of Frenchmen, to sustain them, and that if I have waged, and desire still to continue the war, rejecting all proposals of peace which the Enemy is thinking of so often making me, it is only out of consideration for them and their allies, whom the Iroquois would not include in the Peace they propose to me.

I now speak to you, and like a true Father express to you the sentiments I have always entertained, and wish to feel towards you, if you endeavor to deserve them. I have adopted you as my Son; I love you; I cannot have two hearts; when I have once given my friendship I cannot take it back from him to whom I have given it, unless forced thereunto. I forgive all that you have done, if you will do well henceforward, and when you will come next year to inform me that you have succeeded, you will be content with the reception I shall give you. The officer in command at Michilimakina and Perrot will tell me whether you will have deceived me; and in return for whatever favorable reports of your conduct they will render me, you may expect every thing from me.

Nancouakouet has deceived me when he turned my arm on one side; I had told him in terms sufficiently plain, that my Tomahawk was to fall only on the Iroquois and his allies, and not on the Akanças and others. It will not be difficult to persuade those of Michilimakina that I do not desire peace, since you have seen within a few days that the Iroquois has come to fight and has killed even some of my young men by surprise, under the conviction that I was unwilling any longer to listen to him or to receive him as my child, after having rejected all his proposals because he would not sincerely include you in them. You must all believe that despair makes him act so, seeing he has been unable to surprise me, and that I saw beforehand that the bait he was throwing to my Children, at which some of them did not fail to bite, was merely with a view to deceive them and to put them in the kettle.

Be of good heart: you have just committed another fault in so soon abandoning, without my orders, the French camp whither you yourselves offered to proceed; in going there you greatly pleased me, and your return has caused me great astonishment.

Communicate my intentions to the Sacs, the Outagamis and the other Nations of The Bay, in order that for the future they may more readily listen to what messages I shall send them. I would desire that your nation and all theirs which are at present dispersed in divers villages so distant the one from the other, may reassemble all in the same place, where they could form different villages if they please. This union would enable them better to resist their enemies, and put them in a position to execute with more facility and readiness the orders I should send them. And with this view it is that, after having made you personally this present, I make you this one also, to invite you and all your nation, to do as I now suggest.

Kolouibi, I address you: I cannot doubt that you, Kolouibi, are my friend: You told me so last year, when you, in spite of the Saulteurs and Outaouaks, were desirous to march against the enemy; you informed me of it, having accompanied M<sup>r</sup> de Mantet here; continue to do what I ask you, and rely on my support.

Perrot also told me all you have done up yonder to encourage the Fox; I am very thankful to you for it, but I see he is out of his head; he is your Relative; assure him that I have never abandoned him; my heart is strong, and I feel when an attempt is made to detach any of my Children from me.

Nancauakouet: You have done a noble deed; be always as courageous as you have been, and never strike a blow except when and where I shall tell you. Know, that the Siou having come to demand my protection, I have granted it to him, and that he is my Son. Who are those that would oppose my will? Your Nation hath many prisoners; be assured that having adopted them as my Children they are your brethren. Will you suffer your Brother to be a Slave among you? Clean your mat so that I may sit down on it in peace.

Kioulouskau: Perrot has informed me that your Nation was doing its duty. La Motte has sent me word from Michilimakinak, that your young men were on the war path, and I know that they were recalled thence last year. Entertain always the same thought, obey my will, and you will find a Father who loves his children when they deserve it.

Makkathemangoua, the Fox: I see that you are a young man: your Nation has quite turned away from my wishes; it has pillaged some of my young men whom it has treated as slaves. I know that your father Onkimaouassan, who loved the French, had no hand in the indignity to which they were subjected. You only imitate the example of your father who had sense, when you do not coöperate with those of your tribe who are wishing to go over to my enemies after they grossly insulted me, and defeated the Sioux whom I now consider my Son.

Tell your nation from me, that though it does not deserve it, I wish still to take it under my protection, in the hope that it will not cause me any further discontent, and that you will endeavor to restore it to its senses. I pity the Siou; I pity his dead whose loss I deplore. Perrot goes up there, he will speak to your Nation from me for the release of their prisoners. Let them attend to him.

I should have wished to see the Porc-Epi Capeoma and other Chiefs to whom I would have restored their senses which they lost when they thought of going over to the Iroquois, who seeks only to deceive and whom I cannot trust; I who have more sense than they, and whom they fear.

Eh! what? Will Egomineré and all the rest, who seem disposed to go over to the enemy, behold with indifference the Miami devoured by the Iroquois! When he will have no more meat do you imagine that he will not eat you. He wishes to exist alone.

As for you Nanangoussista and Macitonga, Miamis of Maramek, you are the Chiefs of that great village, and I believe that you have visited me only with the consent of all the other Chiefs there. I will believe, as you say, that you have no other will than mine. Perrot told you that you must remove your fire from Maramek, and unite with the rest of the Miamis in a place where you could oppose the enemy and make war on him; I can think only of the repose of my Children; I can effect that only by the destruction of the Iroquois, and to accomplish



that, my Children must live together so as to be able to execute with greater facility, the commands I shall transmit to them. You told Perrot, a year ago, that you would come down to hear me. You sent me such a message by your belt and by your coat that Perimond brought me. I sent you an answer by him, but he did not deliver it. You tell me now, by that which you present me, that you have no other mind or heart than mine. I am going to explain my will to you. Obey it.

Children. I declare to you that I will not believe that the Miamis wish to obey me until they make, altogether, one and the same fire, either at the river Saint Joseph, or some other place adjoining it. I have got nigh the Iroquois and have soldiers at Katarakoui, in the fort that had been abandoned. You, too, must get nigh the enemy in order to imitate me and to be able to strike him the more readily.

All my children tell me that the Miamis are numerous, and able of themselves to destroy the Iroquois. Like them all are afraid. What! do you wish to abandon your country to your enemy? Will he not find you out, in what corner soever you may hide yourselves? Should you not contest the entrance with him? Do you doubt my support since the commencement of the war? He made his appearance only once at Chichikatia, and that was at a time when they were pretending to be negotiating a Peace with me; but now when all my arms are turned against him, can you doubt of my depriving him of the means of insulting you, and of my facilitating your designs against him. Have you forgotten that I wage war against him principally on your account alone? Your dead are no longer visible in his country; their bodies are covered by those of the French who have perished to avenge them. I furnish you the means to avenge them likewise; I assist you as far as is in my power; it depends only on me to receive him as a friend, I will not do it on account of you who would be destroyed were I to make peace with him without including you therein.

Perrot is going up with you to conduct you to the place where I desire you to follow him. Do as he desires you, and in obeying me you will find a father who will, if necessary, sacrifice all his young men to secure your repose.

Regard not what Chichikatia might have told you of Perrot: He is not a Slave, he it is whom I have sent with my message to you; I respect you too highly to place you under the superintendence of a slave; It is I who wage war and not he.

When you killed the *Loup* and the English you obeyed me, and if Chichikatia released them when made prisoners by you, he disobeyed me. I shall believe what you tell me if you remove your fire in order to replace that which Chichikatia has abandoned. I send Perrot to explain my intentions to all your old men, and if you do not believe what he will tell you, he has my commands to leave you, and I will abandon you myself without thinking any more of protecting you and without wishing to meddle with your affairs and your land. I want my Children to respond to the protection I give them; they see my young men dying daily, without any reproach on my part that they die for them.

As for the rest, I am well pleased, Onanguicé and your other Chiefs, to give you notice in the first instance, before you leave me, that the Commandant of Michilimakinak is my sole representative throughout all your country, and that he will explain my thoughts and intentions to you; the other French officers among you, such as Courtemanche, Mantet, d'Argenteuil, dell'Isle, Vincennes, La Découverte, and Perrot, are entirely subject to him.

Listen then to his voice only, as he alone can truly explain my words to you, and you cannot fail to follow it without at the same time disobeying me. But as he cannot be every

where, he is obliged of necessity to employ the officers whom I have just named to be his Messengers, and to acquaint you with his intentions which can be no other than mine, and which none of these officers nor any other of the Frenchmen among you, can either add to, or take from, without failing in their duty. Should any of them tell you any thing that may cause you pain, or of which you might entertain some doubt, seek for explanations respecting it only from him, and do not heed any thing others may say to you, for he is the only person, as I have already informed you, that can remove all your suspicions and doubts, in whom you must place the same reliance as if your Father, himself, was addressing you.]

Onanguicé and you, other Chiefs, remember well this my last advice, and follow it exactly, if you wish that your Father regard and treat you as obedient children.

The departure of these Indians was delayed for some days after their dismissal, in order to communicate to them their share of some good news we received. Two scalps were brought in, Samboura who had taken them, gave assurances that those who were expected to arrive in a few days, would bring four more; For in the attack they had conjointly made, six had been taken which they divided, and then separated in order to retreat with greater security. On the seventh of September, one of our Indians, named Kinrache, brought in two scalps of *Loups* and three Squaws and three children belonging to the same tribe, and in the evening of the same day, when Onanguissé and the Indians of the Bay were beginning to file off in order to await *Sieur Nicolas Perrot*<sup>1</sup> within three leagues of Montreal, where he proposed joining them on the next day with ten or twelve Frenchmen for the purpose of accompanying them as far as their Country, the arrival of ninety French and Indian Canoes from the *Stasais*, under the command of *Sieur Demanthe*, agreeably surprised us, for we did not expect them at soonest until eight or ten days later.

The Bay tribes had no sooner retired from the Council chamber than here were more Indians to take their place. The Count received their compliments on the tenth of September to which he returned an answer four days afterwards, in the presence of the Intendant and of *Mr de Callière*, in the following words:—

Otontagon. Thy father [has been always faithful to my voice, and up to the time of his death had kept his young men in the obedience they owed Onontio their father. It is for you who now occupy his place, to imitate him, and you could not do it better than to prosecute

<sup>1</sup> *NICOLAS PERROT* was, says *Charlevoix*, a man of talent, of some education, and belonged to a respectable family. Necessity compelled him at an early period, to repair to the Indian country where he soon became familiar with the Algonquin languages. On returning to Quebec in 1665, with a party of Ottawas, he was selected by *M. Talon* to accompany *Sieur de St. Lussan* to the falls of *St. Mary* as Interpreter, and to collect the tribes dwelling around the Upper Lakes so that they may submit to the French crown. In 1684, he was employed by *M. de la Barre* in bringing the Western tribes to his assistance against the Iroquois, and in 1687, did the like service for *M. de Denonville*. He was sent by *M. de Frontenac* to *Michilimakinac* in 1690, and induced several hundred of the Indians thereabout to come down and trade. He continued employed for successive years as Indian agent and, in 1697, was on the point of being burnt by the *Miamis*, and saved only by the *Outagamis*, by whom he was much beloved. At the peace of 1701, he acted as Interpreter to the Western tribes with whom he afterwards returned to Lake Superior, and was subsequently employed during the administration of the *Marquis de Vaudreuil*, to whom he addressed a Memoir respecting French interests in the Western country. He complained, however, that his recommendations were traversed by interested parties. To this enterprising Trader who had a fort on Lake Pepin, is the world indebted for the discovery of the celebrated Lead Mines, on the river *Des Moines* in Iowa, which at one time bore his name. He had traveled over the most of New France, and was intimately conversant with the character of the Indians concerning whom he has left a very interesting Manuscript entitled *Mœurs, Coutumes et Religion des Sauvages, dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, from which *M. de la Potherie* borrowed largely to fill up the 1st and 2d Volumes of his *Histoire de l'Amerique*. *Charlevoix* from whose History many of the above particulars are copied, acknowledges his indebtedness also, to *M. Perrot's* Memoirs.

the war vigorously against the Iroquois, and to live in great distrust of the Huron who wishes to drag you down in his ruin along with him. I take it kindly of you that you came down expressly (as you assure me) for the purpose of informing me of the peace the Huron is wishing to make with the Iroquois, and of the Belts he is sending him, in which it is reported you have had a share. But 'tis right that you know that this news doth in no manner surprise me, as I am assured that the Huron would have carried his carcass long ago over to the Iroquois, had he not been afraid of the Kiskakons, the Outaouak Cinago, the Nancokoueten, and of you, Outaouak of the *Sable*.

Otontagan My Son. Perhaps you have been led away by surprise into this bad road, because you are yet young. But Okantican and Ouemakacoyeg through whose mouth you speak are thoroughly informed of it. I wish however, to forget it in the hope that you will listen more attentively in future to your father's voice.

Okantican. I regret the death of your brother-in-law Nancouakouet. He strayed somewhat from his duty in directing his Tomahawk towards the Akanças, but he has never had an English or an Iroquois heart like the Huron. It appears by the young prisoner he sent me, and whom I shall keep as a remembrance of him, that in dying he regretted having disobeyed me. You will announce to all the Upper Nations that I will avenge his death when we shall reduce the Iroquois. Operations against the Akanças must be suspended and your young men sent into the field immediately, and before Spring. They will find a retreat at Fort Frontenac, which I have had repaired expressly to receive them on their way to and from Onnontagué.

Here is a blanket and gun to wrap up the bones of my Son Nancouakouet which it will be necessary to allow a short time to rest in peace, and think, meanwhile to wash away his blood in that of the Iroquois. This is what I exhort you to do by this Belt. And I give you this other one to place it on the bow of your canoe to close the road, and prevent you going to revenge La Fourche on the Akanças. Direct your vengeance solely against the Iroquois, as I have already said, and when you will be at Michilimakinak fail not, Okantikou, to request the Commander to assemble all the Nations, and to present them in full Council with these Belts which I commit to your care, and to publicly deliver the Message I intrust to you, and of which I send him a copy in order that no person be ignorant of my intentions. Here is a jacket I give you Otonthagagan and Okantican, in order that you second my message, and I add this powder and these balls for you and your people.

Miamis. For you Chichikatia, I told you already what I have said to the Chiefs of Maramek who accompanied Perrot, in order to induce them to quit their Villages to settle near yours. They have promised me to remove their entire tribe there, and I have given them presents inviting them to do so, after I had enjoined Perrot not to omit any thing to effect that object. I hope they will keep their word with me, and that we shall see the effect of it before the end of Winter. And if I learn from yourselves or from any other source, that Perrot has not used his utmost efforts to compass this union, be assured I shall punish him severely for it.

You have always been so well intentioned towards the French, and so obedient to your Father's voice, that I doubt not but you will contribute on your part to facilitate the execution of this affair, by leveling all the difficulties that may be encountered, and breaking all the clumps of earth that may render the road rugged.

For the purpose of inviting you still to persevere in the friendly sentiments you entertain towards your father and his Nephews, I give you and your brother chief of Chicagou these two jackets, these two carbines, this powder and this lead.

Assure all the Upper Nations that I am about to continue unceasingly the war against the Iroquois and by imitating also my example yourself, induce them likewise to follow it.<sup>1</sup>]

They left on the next day, the sixteenth, and must assuredly have had their minds filled with the idea of our movements and continual action against the Iroquois, and reciprocally of that of the latter against us, so that they cannot entertain the slightest supposition that we dream of making peace.

They witnessed the return of our party which brought in on the eleventh, a little *Loup* girl about nine or ten years of age, that had been captured within, at most, half a league of Orange; they heard this same party assert that it had seen fifty Iroquois on Lake Champlain, coming to attack us or our Indians, for the Count had dispatched *Sieur de Ladurantaye* with two hundred men to intercept them.

They also witnessed the return of a party of our people of the Sault which had been so unfortunate as not only to do nothing, but to have lost two of its men who had been taken by the treachery of a false brother.

Finally, on the eve of their departure they saw the return of a Sault Indian who having gone [with seven others<sup>2</sup>] to Onontaghé and captured two men and a woman. They were so hotly pursued by the enemy that to get rid of them they were obliged to crack the skulls of their prisoners so as to save themselves as speedily as possible. This solitary Indian only reached the French settlements, after great difficulty, without knowing whether his comrades had been taken or killed, or whether they could have the good fortune to extricate themselves as well as he.

These *Stasais* ought to be convinced of our earnestness in carrying on hostilities, and that there had never been the slightest appearance of a cessation of hostilities except among themselves since the war commenced. On leaving Montreal on his return, the Count dispatched a Frenchman with them, to carry his orders to *Sieur Delamotte*.

Whilst they are on the way, the wind aft, and the North-easter several hours in their favor, news arrived that *Sieur de Ladurantaye* had attacked the enemy. Let us inquire the particulars:

On receiving certain intelligence that the enemy had made his appearance on Lake Champlain in such numbers as to show that he intended to strike a blow in *Boucherville*, and adjacent places, the Count, who is fully aware of the importance of not losing a single moment in such a crisis, commanded *Sieur de Ladurantaye* to proceed with some Canadian *Voyageurs*, picked Soldiers and ten or twelve Indians to intercept the Barbarians. This officer having embarked with his party, resolved on going down the *Main river*,<sup>3</sup> as far as *Sorel*, and then to ascend that of *Chambly* fifteen leagues, to within sight of the fort, with all the precaution that can be made use of by an extremely prudent captain who endeavors to surprise without being surprised. He was aware, by the quite recent trail of the Iroquois which his scouts had discovered and he had been to examine, that the enemy was not far off, and remarking that the eyes of his people glistened with a fire that promised victory, he knew how to take such advantage of it, that, despite the impassable roads of the horrid country that ever was seen, and despite the rain and bad weather, he overtook the Iroquois on the next day, the sixteenth, as they lay in ambush on the edge of the wood, at the end of

<sup>1</sup> The part included within brackets not being in the French Text, is supplied from *De la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amerique*, IV., 69-72.

<sup>2</sup> *De la Potherie*, IV., 73.

<sup>3</sup> The Saint Lawrence.

the fields of the Boucherville prairie (*désert.*) The enemy, according to what we have since learned, was in considerable force. Our Frenchmen, whose natural impetuosity does not permit them to wait long when fighting is in question, hardly discovered the Savages when they charged them so impetuously and so promptly that to attack and put them to flight was one and the same thing. Many of the Iroquois remained on the field; several were wounded and our Indians not affording themselves time to remove the scalps, contented themselves with taking merely the heads of five, and carrying them during the thickest of the fight; whilst many who were wounded fled, and all those who were not wounded had all the benefit of their light heels, having thrown aside both arms and clothes so as to be able to run the swifter. One of their scouts, who had crawled on his belly pretty close to the pallsades of the village, expected to find an asylum among the French, meditating doubtless a return to his country on the first favorable opportunity. But the result will show that he did not adopt prudent measures. The fight being over and two-thirds of the enemy either killed or wounded, Sieur de Ladurantaye returned the same day to Montreal, with all his people safe and sound except two Frenchmen who were killed in the field. He caused their bodies to be brought back in order that such brave warriors should not be deprived of an honorable burial which they had purchased with their blood and their lives. It was just to confide to their shade the spy who surrendered himself as our prisoner in the sole thought of betraying us. But as too much carefulness sometimes prevents the effect proposed, the precaution the soldiers took to cut his hamstrings, so as to prevent his escape, deprived our Stasais of the diversion they anticipated. The latter who had started, as I said, on their return home, having halted at la Chine, were invited by an express from the Count to come and roast an Iroquois and drink his broth. The most inveterate sycophant never repaired with greater zest to a delicious repast than did these Anthropophagi, our allies, to the Governor's first invitation. The darkness of the night was no impediment to them; they set out; arrive; make the prisoner sing according to their custom until day-break, and anticipate vast diversion at his expense, when burning him at a slow fire. But the latter who was losing all his blood by the wound of his severed hamstrings, lay on the bed of death at the moment the sun was about to rise to commence a day which was, seemingly to him, to be the most sorrowful of his whole life. It was a signal piece of good fortune for him to die so seasonably and to avoid the torments infuriated Savages would have obliged him to endure. The Stasais dragged the dead body without the pallsades (*a la voirie*) and having cut off the head for a feast, resumed the road to la Chine for the purpose of returning home to announce to all our allies that we are not so inactive as they had imagined.

It is to be observed that the Count had dispatched some of the Sault Indians in pursuit of those who had fled homewards, in order to attack them at a moment when their rout and fright would probably render their destruction assured. This design was partially successful; our allies were seen returning on the twenty-fourth, with two Iroquois scalps and two prisoners, one of whom was severely wounded. It is true that they presented them to those of their own Tribe and of the Mountain, to replace their dead, and that they paid their respects to the Count only with the scalps, without the prisoners, not anticipating the censure he was reserving for them; but they were made sensible of their fault, and the Count, in an eloquent discourse mingled with mildness and hauteur, persuaded them so conclusively that they swore by every thing the most sacred, that they would bring all the prisoners in future to submit them to his disposition. The two prisoners were brought and offered to the Governor who,

pretending to be inflexible, postponed until the next day, the determination with his Council of the matter; and the officers attending in great numbers, the result was that the Count, by a very gracious kindness, in which policy and prudence largely participated, granted the prisoners their lives, and gained as much love by his clemency, as he acquired authority by his menaces.

We received no intelligence of the vessels from France, and our uneasiness appeared to be increased by the report brought by Captain de Vilieu and Lieutenant Montigny recently arrived from Acadia, that the English had captured a Bark and a boat belonging to Sieur Riverin, on the way from Mount Louis to Quebec. Three young men, one of whom was his brother, had made their escape in a bateau and reached an island; but the enemy having pursued them and seized their craft, placed them under the painful necessity of constructing a raft to reach the main land. They were shipwrecked. Young Riverin and a lad of sixteen years old lost their lives, and the third, having fortunately escaped, brought the news of the disaster.

The frigate and brigantine which were cruising at the mouth of the river, led us, with sufficient reason, to apprehend that some stray and solitary vessel belonging to our fleet would unfortunately fall into the hands of these pirates, and the intelligence we received that an English brigantine had come to make an exchange of prisoners, in no wise encouraged us. It was very true that M<sup>r</sup> Cary, the gentleman sent by the Lieutenant Governor of Boston to conclude this exchange, having left his ship at Tadoussac, was then at Quebec waiting for the Count who was unwilling that he should go up as far as Montreal. But this Englishman was neither security nor bail for our vessels from France.

Meanwhile, as the season was advancing, the Count after having given the Governor at Montreal all the necessary orders, came down to Quebec, with the Intendant, anticipating his departure some days through a presentiment that on approaching that town, the ships would approach it also. But his just impatience soon ceased, for scarcely had they got down thirty leagues when a canoe sent from Quebec by the King's lieutenant having fallen in with them at Three Rivers, communicated to him the joyful news of the arrival of the fleet, composed of eight ships under the command of Chevalier Des Ursins. It was on the last of September and the following day that our port received with inexpressible joy succor so considerable and so long expected. What pleasure, what joy, what consolation for people in want of every thing! The latest advices from the river S<sup>t</sup> John informed us that Sieur Bonnaventure had encountered at the mouth of that river, subsequent to his departure from Pintagset, an English frigate which was disposed to contest the passage, and with which he fought a considerable time with tolerable success. His advantage, however, had been greater, had not the whole of his rigging (*manœuvres*) been carried away in the encounter and his two larger masts injured by cannon shot; this, however, did not prevent him getting off and reaching the lower part of the river to take on board the provisions destined for fort Natchouat.<sup>1</sup> He afterwards set out to execute the other orders he had received from the Court.

We have very recent intelligence from Acadia assuring us that the Indians belonging to the Missions of Father Bigot and M. de Tury<sup>2</sup> have attacked some English settlements

<sup>1</sup> Opposite Frederickton, N. B.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. LOUIS PIERRE TURRY was born at Bayeux in France, and admitted to Holy orders on 21st December 1677, at Quebec, in the Seminary of which city he remained until 1682 when he was appointed to the parish of Charlesbourg, in that vicinity, where he remained until July 1683. The Gentlemen of the Seminary having been long desirous to establish some Missions

killing fourteen or fifteen men, and that they since struck a second blow in no wise inferior to the first; for being in ambush on an island, they surprised an enemy's vessel in which they killed or wounded twenty-five Englishmen. Mr Cary, having spent nearly a month at Quebec, departed, finally, on the 15th of October to go on board his brigantine, which he had left at Tadoussac. He carried away with him a larger number of prisoners than he had surrendered to us, and the Governor wished to act thus in order that things should be conducted in future with that mildness and humanity that should always distinguish civilized, from barbarous, nations. This gentleman, who had come on the Count's passport for the purpose of concluding this exchange, proposed a fixed one for the future; but as he derived his commission only from the Lieutenant Governor of Boston, and as he had none from the Governors of Menade and Orange, the matter was postponed until the next year, when, possibly, he will be provided with fuller powers.

The apprehension already entertained that the Hurons of Michilimackina had some bad intentions, notwithstanding all their demonstrations here to the contrary, was not without foundation, for Sieur De la Mothe, the commandant of that post, sent in all haste to advise the Count that they had transmitted several belts, by some of their people, to sue for peace, and that three Iroquois delegates had come to Michilimackinac with a like number of belts, in answer thereunto, inviting them to conclude peace and to engage Onontio to be a party to it; that he had done all in his power to prevent the acceptance of those Belts, but that his efforts had been useless, and that notwithstanding all the remonstrances he could adduce, he was unable to make any impression either on their minds or on the other Tribes who, though they do not appear so disposed to peace as the Hurons, do not fail to have some leaning for it, in the hope of English trade, and of obtaining goods at a cheaper rate; and finally, that all he was able to effect was, to induce them to postpone the last resolution, and to send some delegates with a belt to Onontio to learn his pleasure, and whether he was inclined for war or peace. As it would not be honorable in Onontio to listen to proposals of peace coming in that manner, he rejected their belt, and gave them, for answer, that his ears were stopped on that subject, and that he should not cease hostilities against the Iroquois until he had utterly reduced them, or until they should come to him, as they had already done, to sue for terms, and submit to the conditions he had imposed on them; and after having reproached these deputies as their conduct deserved, mingling his censures, however, with expressions of compassion which he felt at seeing Children whom he always loved and who understood their interests so well, so seriously blinded, he declared to them, that he was resolutely bent on war, and felt himself strong enough to carry it on without them; that he should, nevertheless, have been well pleased to have them united with him in order to avenge so large a number of their Nephews who had been massacred and burnt by the Iroquois, and that all proceeded [from the desire of the Iroquois to surprise and betray them at the earliest opportunity; that the example of the

among the Indians, Bishop de Laval sent Mr. Thury to Acadia in 1684 for that purpose. He visited Port Royal and on his return the following year, it was concluded to send him back immediately and vest in him the superintendence of the design with the title of Vicar General. He proceeded accordingly and established a mission at the River *de la Croix*, now the Miramichi, in New Brunswick. *St. Valiers. Etat present* 80, 46, 85, 86, 103, 108. Being at Port Royal in 1690 when it was invested by the English, he fortunately made his escape and proceeded to Panawamské or Indian Old Town, on the Penobscot river, where he continued to labor during the remainder of his life and where he died on the 3d of June 1699. *Taschereau. MS.* Williamson's *History of Maine*, I, 473, gives some interesting particulars respecting this ancient Mission; but the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, I, 330, are incorrect in stating that Mr. Thury was a Jesuit. He was a Secular priest and belonged to the Seminary of Quebec.

death] of Kouskouche and his comrades at the time of the embassy, and within sight of the deputies they had sent to sue for this peace [ought to cure them of their blindness;<sup>1</sup>] but that if they were insensible to that affront and that new treachery, he should leave them at liberty to do what they pleased; that he asked nothing else of them than to remember the warning he was giving them, that all the overtures of the Iroquois were intended only that they may the better surprise them, and commit, as usual, a greater treachery on them.

This firmness astounded the Huron without forcing him, however, to break silence, or furnish more full explanations than he had done, restricting himself always to saying that he was not empowered to do any thing except to hear Onontio's word and to report it to his Nation in order that they may deliberate on it.

Not so with the Kiskakons; for they declared they had no part in what the Huron was doing; that they said so to the Huron's face and avowed that their Tribe would always follow Onontio's voice whether he wished for peace or war.

The Outasais Sinago said as much, and the Nepissirien added that as far as he was concerned, he was not desirous to return home, but to remain near Onontio in order to participate in the expeditions he was about to undertake. This disconcerted somewhat the Huron emissary, who though very artful and false, could not but be surprised at perceiving that others were not of his mind, so that it may yet be expected that, on their return home, things will change and not go on so badly as was at first apprehended. The good treatment which the Count directed should be extended to them during their sojourn here, and the few presents made them, will, possibly, contribute greatly to this. The result must be awaited patiently and we must be persuaded that M<sup>r</sup> de La Mothe will act with address so as to arrange all his matters, for no one's conduct can be more just, nor more prudent. However, not only the letters but the reports of every one that returns from that quarter, conclusively establish this fact, that the two principal causes of the estrangement of those tribes from us proceed, first, from the difficulty the French oppose to taking their large beaver at its weight; the refusal to receive it at the King's stores and all the other chicaneries daily added thereunto; secondly, from the tintamara the Missionaries are continually making against the trade in Ardent Spirits although Sieur De la Mothe introduces all imaginable order so as to prevent, in conformity with the Count's express commands, all irregularities and scandals.

They could say with truth that the English will gladly receive their large beaver and furnish them goods at a lower rate than the French, who are obliged on that account to increase the price thereof; and they claim that, not being Slaves, they are at liberty to drink whenever they please, and that the English will not refuse them liquor.

This first article, if not remedied, is capable of ruining the entire trade. The importance of the second has so long since been explained, that it is unnecessary to detail the reasons in favor of it in this place.

<sup>1</sup> The text is obscure owing to the omission of some words. The passages within brackets are added after a comparison with La Potherie, IV., 80, who relates the transaction also.



## CHAPTER VII.

*An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in 1695, to the beginning of 9<sup>th</sup> 1696.*

It will not be difficult to fill this Relation with facts of importance. The occurrences of this year in Canada furnish ample material so as to exclude every thing that is not essential; and though the intention is to be very succinct, it will perhaps be difficult to adhere to such a rule, for never has a year, since M. de Frontenac's return to this country, been so fully occupied, nor the war waged with greater vigor.

The Court is already advised by the despatches transmitted on the departure of last year's fleet, of the plans concluded for a considerable expedition against the Iroquois, and principally against the Onontaes,<sup>1</sup> which is the principal Nation, where the councils of the other five are held; the most devoted to the English, and the most strenuous opponent of the negotiations for peace in preceding years. It became of importance to crush them, and the winter appeared to many persons the best adapted for operations than any other season, because we are certain, said they, of finding at least in the village all the women and children whose destruction or capture would have drawn ruin on the warriors, or obliged them to come and submit to us.

The necessary preparations for the expedition were begun at the commencement of last Autumn, but the vast quantity of snow produced a change of plan, the rather as it was impossible to transport the Militia of the south shore and Island of Orleans in the government of Quebec, the river having been absolutely impassable from the sailing of the fleet to the beginning of this year.

This caused the adoption of the resolution to proceed against the Mohawks with whatever troops could be collected capable of traveling on the snow, with the militia of Three Rivers and Montreal and the Indians. This had always been the plan of Count de Frontenac who foresaw the difficulty of executing the other project in winter. But this design also aborted, because news was received that a Mohawk prisoner who had escaped from us, had communicated our intention, and that his Nation, united with the English of Orange, was waiting for us with a firm foot. This consideration, however, would not have prevented us going in quest of them had the continuance of the season permitted a large body of men to make so long a march and to carry munitions and provisions necessary for subsisting there. This large force dwindled down then, to 300 picked Frenchmen and Indians who marched to that triangular tract of country between the river of the Ououtaouas and that of the Iroquois, the usual hunting ground of the latter.

This party was commanded by Sieur de Louvigny, Captain of Marines, accompanied by Lieutenants de Manteth, d'Auberville, de Sabrevois and several other officers. They were storm-stayed within three days' march of Montreal by a fall of snow which continued 13 days

<sup>1</sup> Onondagee.

during which time they were obliged to lie by. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Callière being informed thereof, sent them fresh supplies to replace those that had already been uselessly consumed.

They continued their route as far as Gannanokouy, six leagues from Fort Frontenac, where they fell in with a trail that was, however, very old. Sieur de Louvigny thought fit to detach some Indians only in pursuit, and to wait with the Frenchmen the return of those whom he had sent to the Fort to learn news of that place. Every thing there was in good order; a single soldier was sick there, and is since dead.

Sieur de Louvigny arrived at Montreal on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March after having set out very late in consequence of the want of provisions as well as of the badness of the roads; he found throughout the entire of the forest as much as seven feet of snow, a circumstance never before witnessed in this country.

The Indian detachment fell in, after a march of seven days, with a cabin in which they found three men asleep whom they made prisoners; at noon, next day, they took two more, and in the evening found a cabin in which were only a man, a woman and a young lad whom they mastered after some resistance. Three of the same hunting party remained; they were killed defending themselves like brave men.

The four Onontaes who were found among these prisoners were burnt at Montreal on their arrival. Two Senecas had their lives spared in return for the kind treatment that nation manifested of late years to our prisoners, and were presented to Totatiron, chief of the mission at the Mountain who happened to be the uncle of one of them. The young lad was given to the Indians of the Saut. He is grandson of the famous Garagontier, formerly chief of the Onontaes and who, during his life, had been very much attached to the French. The Indians of Loretto, near Quebec, who had been also of this party, got the woman as their share.

Chevalier de Grisalfy, captain of a troop died at Montreal about this time. His illustrious birth was not the only quality that caused him to be regretted. He possessed every personal merit that could be desired in an officer, united with great courage and consummate prudence.<sup>1</sup>

A party of Indians belonging to the Saut brought to Montreal in the beginning of May two scalps; one of a Mohawk, the other of an Englishman taken near Orange. We were informed by this same party that the Mohawks had retired into their fort, under the apprehension of our visiting them.

Two prisoners belonging to the same nation were brought in by our Indians a few days after; they said the Onondagas, Cayugas and Oneidas were coming with a considerable force to attack us during seed time. They doubtless, did not consider it expedient to execute this project, and planting was effected very quietly.

Totatiron, whom we have already mentioned, brought in, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, an English prisoner taken at the gates of Corlard after having killed three others. His first intention was

<sup>1</sup> Chevalier DE CRISAFY, *supra*, p. 277, Lord of Messina, was cousin german of the Prince of Monaco and thus allied to one of the most illustrious houses in Italy; he was also Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and had made his "Caravans" with all possible distinction. In the revolt in Sicily the design of which was to deprive the King of Spain of that country, the family of Chev. de C. was the first to declare for the French. The project having failed, he was obliged to expatriate himself, and with his brother, repaired to Versailles, in the expectation of some recompense for his attachment to that Court. But he was doomed to disappointment, and at length, after much solicitation, found himself reduced to the alternative of accepting a company in Canada. He possessed all the qualities that could elevate a military man to the highest rank, but after many gallant actions, after having displayed talent of the first order both in Council and in War, and though recommended by the Governor and the Intendant, his merits were utterly neglected, and he at length died of grief and a broken heart in March 1696. His death called forth universal regret, that merit such as his should have been doomed to obscurity. *Charlevoix.*

to go to the Mohawk country but he was prevented doing so by the desertion of one of his party. This prisoner reported that the English and the Iroquois were on their guard fearing that we should go and attack them; that the first had refused the others the assistance they required, under pretext that they had to defend themselves; that, besides, no preparations were perceptible on their part, for an attack on our settlements.

Two other Mohawk prisoners were taken near the village of the Saut; some hostile Iroquois appeared at La Chenaie where they carried off two men; and some others wounded one also at Longueil, on the south shore.

The Count received letters at Quebec from M<sup>r</sup> de Thiery,<sup>1</sup> Missionary of Acadia dated 21<sup>st</sup> of May, in which he gave an account of what passed at Fort Pemkuit between the Abenakis and the English. It was proposed to make an exchange of prisoners; Sieur de Saint Castin took charge of the business alone in the name of Count de Frontenac. A more attached or intelligent agent could not be selected.

Some Frenchmen had undertaken to deliver to the Boston government the letters which were to bring about this negotiation; but as they could not execute the trust, it became necessary to employ Indians, who delivered the letter the English prisoners wrote to the officer in command of fort Pemkuit. That officer knew so well how to turn the heads of the Indians that he persuaded them to come to his fort for whatever they required, promising that the trade would be carried on there in good faith.

Tayoux,<sup>2</sup> an influential chief of the Abenakis Nation was the first to fall into this snare. He was followed by a number of others who altogether repaired to the English fort, despite the remonstrances of M. de Thiery<sup>1</sup> who represented to them the dangers into which their credulity was leading them, and who even separated from them and withdrew into the woods with the greatest number he could persuade to accompany him.

They traded there undisturbed for some days, but, finally, their Missionary's prognostications were verified. The English perceiving the principal chiefs grouped under the guns of their fort, began by killing Edzorunce<sup>3</sup> a famous chief and his son by pistol shots. Taxoux was seized by three soldiers, and some others were laid hold of in like manner, one of whom was carried alive into the fort. Two more armed with knives liberated themselves from three of the enemy who had each a hold of them, and four Englishmen lost their lives. One of our Indians was killed by the shots which were fired from the fort; another saved Taxoux after having killed two more of the enemy with his knife. Thus, we lost four, and the enemy six, men by this treachery. It is to be hoped that the Abenakis will not place any confidence hereafter in English promises.

Some Micmacs and other Indians from Kinibe[c] surprised a detachment belonging to the garrison of Pemkuit in some islands opposite the fort, and killed twenty-three of them.

The same letter stated that about the end of April last, Guyon, a Canadian privateer, had, after capturing an English prize, been himself taken by the frigate with which Sieur de Bonnaventure had fought last year. The forces were not equal, and he contended longer than was to be expected from the inferiority of his vessel and the small number of his men.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of June, the Royal frigate *la Bouffonne* weighed anchor before Quebec for a cruise at the entrance of the gulf. Her repairs were begun in the fore part of April; they could not be effected without expense, this ship being in very bad condition, and requiring considerable caulking. Some sailors that had returned last year from the wreck of *les Deux*

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Thury.

<sup>2</sup> Taxoux. Charlevoix.

<sup>3</sup> Edzermet. *De la Potherie*, III, 258. Compare *Williamson*, I, 642.

*Frères* were added to the crew she brought from France. She was commanded by Sieur de La Vallière, captain of the detachment of Marines and of Count de Frontenac's guards, who is thoroughly acquainted with this river and with all the harbors dependent on this government. He had as Lieutenant Sieur de Beaubassin, his son, and for Ensign Sieur de la Potterie his other son, and was accompanied by Sieurs de Fouville, de La Durantaye, Beaumont, de Saint Lambert, Ensigns of the Troops all of whom aspire to the Marine service. Two soldiers per Company were shipped on board of this frigate and of a brigantine commanded by Sieur Outlai, an Englishman resident a long time among us, under whom Sieur de la Perade, a reduced lieutenant, acted as Lieutenant.

Shortly after the departure of this vessel, Count de Frontenac started for Montreal. At length arrived the time for that Great Kettle (to make use of the mode of expression common among Indians) so repeatedly demanded by them. The Negotiations for peace, hitherto fruitless, showed conclusively that the Iroquois would never be reduced to terms except by force of arms. We have already stated that the Onnontagué Nation was the most mutinous and that which ought to be first reduced. The Count had entirely divested himself of those humane sentiments which still remain in the heart of a good father notwithstanding his children's repeated faults. Severe chastisement became now necessary, mildness having been hitherto useless; but this great remedy should not be applied except efficaciously. The occasion was favorable, and the indispensable entrepôt of fort Frontenac invited us not to defer operations any longer. It appeared almost impossible to accomplish a voyage so difficult and so long as that from our settlements to the Iroquois country, without having a safe place to deposit the sick, and to store provisions and munitions of war. The experience acquired in this campaign must prevail over the speculations of certain individuals little instructed as to the situation of the country, and I believe there are scarcely any in Canada endowed with the least degree of sense, who do not admit that it is impossible to dispense with this fort in time of war; no person questions its utility in time of peace. The Intendant had caused the necessary preparations to be commenced as early as the beginning of Winter; nothing could be added to the care he applied to that work. M. de Callière, as usual, kept every thing in readiness at Montreal, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> June the Count set out from Quebec preceded, some days, by the Militia of that government; by the Abenakis and by the Hurons of Loretto.

From Three Rivers to Montreal the army proceeded in a body (*en corps*), and the Count and Intendant reached the latter place on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June.

A canoe arrived three days afterwards, from Missilimakinac, bringing letters from Sieur de La Motte the commandant, which contained various news, good and bad. It is necessary to dwell somewhat on the affairs of that country. Those who will give themselves the trouble to read this Narrative, will draw such information from it as they will think proper, and see if, in the present conjuncture, Nations, so difficult of government, can be left to their own discretion, without endangering the total loss of all Canada, since all the skill of those on the spot can, with great difficulty only, divert them from their evil designs.

It was remarked, at the close of last year's Relation, that the Deputies from the Iroquois had been received, through means of the Hurons, by the five Nations of Missilimakinac and their allies; their belts accepted and peace almost concluded between them.

Those Deputies set out on their return, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, after a number of Councils and other private conferences to which Sieur de La Motte was not invited. He, however,

found means to learn all that transpired from Onaské, Chief of the Kiskakons — [that various business presents and Belts had passed] besides several merely of thanks. The principal present was a Calumet of red stone, of extraordinary beauty and size, by which all the Lake tribes, namely, the Outaouas and others, invite the Five Iroquois Nations to smoke the same Calumet and, whilst smoking, to recover their senses, and to assure themselves that Missilimakinak and their allies will remember Anick's belt; let them not on their side forget, that this present is not made them in vain.

Anick's belt was explained by Onaské. It comes, he says, from the English through the Iroquois and invites us to eat White meat,<sup>1</sup> and I see that, when these Deputies had left, all the Nations had agreed to it. However, you can rely on their eating me, also.

The Indians who had been down to Montreal arrived a few days after at Missilimakinac, and gave out that all the French were dead; that the Quebec river was stopped up and that we dare not make our appearance on the Great Lake, i. e. the Sea; that we had neither Wine, nor Brandy nor any merchandise; that they were returning with their old shirts and — what grieved them more — without having had a drink.

Sieur de La Motte's embarrassment, on receipt of this intelligence, was by no means small, but he was reassured by the arrival of a solitary Frenchman who had embarked in the Indians' canoes, and who was entrusted with letters from the Count.

He made the most, to the Indians, of the blow which Sieur de la Durantaye had inflicted on the Iroquois, and promised them that the scarcity of goods, which arose merely from the delay of the ships by the winds, would not prevent the distribution among them of what remained in the stores at Missilimakinac at the usual prices, even on credit, in order to assist them in their winter encampments.

Had it not been for this foresight he never would have succeeded in appeasing the Indians whom interest alone governs, and whom neither difficulty nor fatigue will ever prevent going in quest of a cheap bargain, wherever they will imagine it is to be found.

After having thus soothed them, he called them together on the 24<sup>th</sup> of 8<sup>ber</sup> in a general Council and thus addressed them: —

Brothers. From all time have rebellious children existed, and in all time have some been seen to hear with joy the voice of their Father. Suspicion has spoiled the hearts of some among you, but many have remained firm and have not wavered. I see your thought; your endeavor to conceal it from me is vain. I speak, then, to those whose hearts waver, and who suspected that the Governor wished to conclude peace for himself alone, without including generally all his children in it. Let them reflect on all that has been done, and reject the evil designs malignant spirits have induced them to adopt. See with what fury he is striking and fighting at present; he has cast away his body — an Indian expression — and will no longer listen to the Iroquois for whose utter destruction measures have been taken.

Behold with joy Catarokouy, i. e. Fort Frontenac; That is the Great Kettle from which the whole world will take what it wants to keep alive the war unto the end. Be not impatient; that Kettle has not yet boiled; it will boil soon. Then will Onontio invite all his children to the feast and they will find wherewithal to fill them. The tears and the submissions of the Iroquois will be no longer received as in times past. They have overflowed the measure; the patience of the common father is exhausted; their destruction is inevitable.

<sup>1</sup> i. e., The French. *De La Potherie*, III, 261.

The proud<sup>1</sup> Onnaské answered in these terms:— Brothers: I hear the words of my father; he is fighting, he does not let the Iroquois go. I wish to imitate him; those who are unwilling to follow me have only to remain quiet and on their mats. It is vain for you to attempt to divert me from my purpose; I will execute it at the peril of my life; I have some young warriors who will not abandon me; I urge no one to follow me; let every one act as he will think fit, and let me do as I like.

Big Head, the most influential of all the nations, spoke thus: Father, I perceive for a long time that you are grieving at our misconduct. I have suffered from it as well as you, without saying a word. But 'tis time to relieve you. I tell you publicly and no longer conceal my thoughts, that if I have been, in any manner, concerned in the peace proposed to us, whilst the Iroquois were here, it was unintentionally. You could have seen that my son Mikinac was mourning for it; he has not washed his face, neither has he combed his hair. You will see his face painted and his hair dressed; his heart feels glad; he is determined on war according to your wishes; 'Tis my thought; 'tis his. Who is there on this earth that will look me in the eyes, and find fault with what I shall do?

As these two chiefs are the most considerable among the Nations, none other presumed to contradict them, and all sung the same song.

Two days after, they demanded some Frenchmen to accompany them on the war-path whom Sieur de La Motte furnished; but it was impossible to get them to start without giving them a little Brandy to sing the War song: They even broke into some French cabins where they thought to find a supply.

This could not be prevented, and a Commandant who is at all times greatly embarrassed to get them to act, could never absolutely effect his purpose had he persisted in refusing them what they so passionately love. Are they not, in like manner, but too much disposed to go in search of some to the enemy, if they should not procure it from us?

Onnaské, despite the belts presented to him by people belonging to his own Nation, and the considerable presents they offered him and he obstinately refused, organized a party whereof means were found to debauch a great number, and faction ran so high that his canoes were cut in the night. Notwithstanding all that, he departed and at Detroit joined Mikinac, Big Head's son, of whom we have already spoken.

The Iroquois had been hunting the whole of the winter, living on very good terms with the Hurons.

The Outaouacs, who were there, having disposed of a quantity of goods the English had intrusted to them, one of them had been arrested, but even he was set at liberty. The arrival of Onnaské changed the face of affairs. Wilameck, chief of the Poutouatamis, who left his country expressly on a war excursion, joined him with 30 of his Tribe. The Hurons gave intelligence to the Iroquois that Onnaské, Mikinac and Wilamak were preparing to go and attack them. On receipt of this news, they bundled up their packs and our people did not pursue them until some days afterwards, but they made such speed, marching day and night, that they overtook them at last. The attack was vigorous and well sustained, but most of the Iroquois, after a rough fight, were obliged to throw themselves into the water. According to the report of those who have been taken, over 40 warriors were drowned on this occasion. They have brought back to Missilimakinac thirty scalps and thirty-two prisoners, men, women and children. The plunder amounts to between 4 @ 500 beavers,<sup>2</sup> exclusive of several goods,

<sup>1</sup>Faithful. *De la Potherie*, III., 264.

<sup>2</sup> which may be valued at fifteen thousand francs. *La Potherie*, III., 266.

the remainder of what the English had given them. Some Hurons who were following the Iroquois, were taken at the same time, and have been since given up to their own tribe.

This blow was of so much the more importance that it entirely broke up the inceptions of peace between the Iroquois and Upper allied Nations. We are under every obligation to the address of *Sieur de La Mothe* who knew how to find means to move *Onaské*, *Big Head* and *Mikinac* his son. It is not probable that the English will confide their goods to the Iroquois and employ them as their Agents, as long as they will be apprehensive that we might get our Indians to strike similar blows, and all are of a very fickle disposition; allow themselves to be carried away by the first gust of wind, and pass easily from one extremity to the other. The returns they will make them for this venture will be too poor. But may we not fear, on our side, when no one will be at *Missilimakinac* to take advantage of these circumstances; to encourage good, and divert bad intentions; to make use in fit season of firmness or presents; that this trade so successfully interrupted in its inception will not be entirely reestablished to the loss of Canada? That of the Beaver, though constituting the sole support of the Colony, would not be the most serious. It is to be apprehended that the English and the Nations who would abandon us, forming a common interest, may turn their arms against us; or at least, that we should be entirely deprived of their aid against the Iroquois, the moment we should cease to hold communication with them. What chiefs could we gain over? What intrigues discover? And how, at three hundred leagues' distance, divert the execution of their evil designs, when those who are present, notwithstanding all their care and application, experience a great deal of difficulty ere they succeed?

To believe, however, and to assure the Court, as has been done, that they come every year in quest of our goods to *Montreal*, is an indication either of malice, or consummate ignorance in regard to the Savages. Interest alone governs them; their sole desire is to live comfortably and to be clothed. Every thing turns on these two points, and is it to be presumed that they will undertake a voyage to *Montreal* of more than 500 leagues in search of their necessaries, at a time when they will be supplied at a lower rate at home by the English or the Iroquois? They used to come there formerly, 'tis true; but the road on the English side was neither opened nor known to them, and our retreat from *Missilimakinac* would render it absolutely free.

That, should they continue to wage war against the Iroquois — a thing not to be expected — they would dare totally to abandon their villages, as they used to do in the time of the ancient fairs, and leave their wives and children at the mercy of their enemies? They would then find themselves under an absolute necessity to make peace, and that peace would be our ruin.

It is also alleged that the French traders cause considerable injury to the people of *Missilimakinac* who alone were in the habit formerly of carrying on the trade, and distributing among the most distant Nations what they used to draw from us. That is true; but did they furnish any to the Nations with whom they were at variance? Were we acquainted, in those times, with that multitude of Allies who are more attached to us than even the *Outaouaes*, and all of whom regard the King and his representatives as their Father? *Missilimakinac* will still carry on the trade, but the Beaver will go to *Orange*. The Nations will assemble there, but they will lose all recollection of *Onontio*, and in future regard only the English who will clothe them and make them drink Brandy at discretion.

Will Missionaries be in security in their new Churches; and, how fervent soever be the zeal with which they are animated, will they dare preach the Catholic religion in sight of Protestants? Even though they would, will the latter permit them?

Public interests have required this digression which is long, 'tis true, but too short for the importance of the subject. Those who read this Narrative are at liberty to make such reflections on it as they will think fit.

Onnaské, on his return, presented the scalps and a little prisoner he had brought along, to Sieur de La Mothe; adding, thereunto, these words:—

Father. I shall not tell you what I have done. The French, who have wintered at the Saguinan, have doubtless informed you of it. I believe that you are aware that my arms, my legs and my waist have been tied; that guns and kettles had been suspended to stop me; I passed over them all. I listened to you Father; I have performed thy will; I have fulfilled thy word. Retain, I request you, what you have given me. Let the warriors have some Brandy to drink; I pledged myself that they should have some; I will not taste any of it; I promised it to them. They did as you desired; they told you no lies; they have killed the Warriors and made no prisoners. Do not lie to them. Give them to drink. This was the song of all the rest.

Sieur de La Mothe was under the necessity, then, of ordering ten pots of brandy to be distributed among those who had returned from that expedition. It was but little among two hundred men who were very dry, and unused to drink. They found means to get some [more] from the French [so as to continue] singing through the night, but there was no disorder. The Missionaries, however, found fault, and complained of it to Sieur de La Mothe who answered, That the action the Indians had achieved ought to serve as their excuse; if a little hilarity grieve you so much, how will you be able to endure the daily exposure of these Neophytes, for whom you feel so much affection, to the excessive use of English Rum and to the imbibing of Heresy?

Sieur d'Argenteuil, lieutenant of the troops, who had arrived last year with the Hurons and Outaouaes when the vessels sailed, and could not return, repaired, in the month of June, to Missilimakinac with 17 Frenchmen and the remainder of the Indians.

Sieur De La Mothe caused all the Nations to meet in Council, and declared to them that Count de Frontenac was preparing to march with a numerous army against the Onnontagués; that the heavy snow had prevented him doing so in the Winter; but that the time had come for that great Kettle which they had so often solicited; he invited them by Belts to join it, although Count de Frontenac did not manifest great anxiety to have them. Onnaské answered first: He willingly accepted the broth his Father wished him to drink, but he could not go to see him at Fort Frontenac because he was under the necessity of repairing his fort in order to place his women and children under cover. The other Chiefs answered in like manner.

A few days after this Council, it became necessary to hold several others on a most important affair. A chief of the Outaouaes *du Sable* named Kitchinabé organized a party of twenty men to go against the Iroquois, and was joined by a young Huron, a son of the Rat, the famous chief of that Nation. After several days' march, the Outaouaes met a Huron canoe with a man, two young lads and seven women or children in it. They massacred them remorselessly and the Rat's son shared the same fate. He [Kitchinabé] returned to Missilimakinac bearing as a trophy the scalps he brought back, as if they had belonged to the enemy. The Hurons entertained some suspicion of this blow, and dispatched two canoes to collect the facts concerning it. On their return, whilst the council was sitting, six other canoes of the same nation set out, and proclaimed that they were going in quest of the enemy



who, they said, were near. *Sieur de la Mothe* adjoined to them 90 *Outaouaes* and 20 Frenchmen, suspecting that it was quite another thing than the *Iroquois* that caused the *Hurons* to depart. The spot was discovered where the dead, cut into pieces, had been interred, but through the influence of the French, every thing passed off quietly.

*Sieur de la Mothe* made the requisite speeches and presents to soften a blow of such dangerous consequences. The *Outaouaes* did the same on their side, and the *Hurons* referred themselves as regarded the whole affair, to the decision of *Count de Fontenac*, promising to forget that act, and not to revenge it.

The answer *Oonaské* and the other Chiefs gave *Sieur de la Mothe* that they would not be able to join the army that was going to *Onnontagué*, did not prevent him intriguing, and he expected that 400 Indians at least would proceed to *Fort Frontenac*. But the effect of their design was prevented by this occurrence combined with visions of some among them who announced in their villages that the bad weather which prevailed was evidence that *Jesus* disapproved of their going to war. It appeared very extraordinary that these Indians, who invoke this sacred name so seldom and hold it only capriciously in veneration, should make use of it merely to justify their disloyalty.

Such trifles are capable, sometimes, of causing the miscarriage of good designs. It is not known by what instigation a girl of the *Island of Orleans*, pretty well metamorphosed into a boy, came to present herself to *Count de Frontenac* two days before his departure from *Quebec*, saying she had highly important news to tell him of the English of *Boston* whence she had come. She was interrogated in presence of the *Intendant*, and said that she had witnessed the arrival at *Boston* of eight men of war, four of whom had, without anchoring, proceeded to the lower part of our river to await the English fleet which was to be composed of forty @ fifty ships that were to arrive immediately here; that *Sieur d'Hiberville* had been taken prisoner at *Hudson's bay*, and that she assisted in burning him at *Boston*. She related a hundred other extravagancies with an assurance capable of imposing, but their lack of probability caused her to be examined more closely. Her sex was discovered, and three days afterwards she was whipped through the town.

Her brother and sweetheart were commanded to march; that perhaps, was the sole motive of her action, and she said she had no other. However, it is not at all likely that a girl would have adopted so bold a trick of her own mere motion.

The news which we stated, *Count de Frontenac* had received from the *Outaouas* obliged us to interrupt the account we had commenced of the preparations for the *Onnontagué* voyage. Every thing was put in readiness during his short stay in *Montreal*, and he set out for *la Chine*, where the main army had arrived, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July. Ten *Outaouas* had arrived there on the same day from the neighborhood of *Onnontagué*; they had ranged around the village a long while without having been able to make any prisoners, and perceiving that they were pursued by a considerable party, took refuge in *Fort Frontenac*. They thanked the *Count* for not having deceived them, and for having saved their lives by furnishing them at that fort wherewithal to eat and especially to smoke.

On being informed by *Sieur Dejordis*, a reduced Captain who was in command of that fort, of the *Count's* march, they said they were going to meet him, and intended to accompany him.

6<sup>th</sup> Provisions having been delivered to the Indians, the entire army proceeded to encamp at *Isle Perrot*, and was arranged, next day, in the order of battle intended to be observed throughout the expedition.

The Indians, to the number of 500 were so divided that the majority of them were always with the van-guard which was composed of two battalions of Regulars consisting, each, of two hundred men. They were followed by several detached bateaux of settlers which were conveying the provisions and the baggage belonging to the Count, and to Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Callières, de Vaudreuil and de Ramezay.

M. de Callières commanded the van-guard having two larger bateaux on board which were two brass pieces; they carried also the Commissary of artillery, and the mortars to throw grenades, the fire-works, and other necessary munitions of war.

Next to the van-guard marched the Count surrounded by the canoes of his Staff, of Sieur Levasseur, Engineer, and of several volunteers. The four battalions of Militia, which were stronger than those of the regular troops, composed the centre. M. de Ramezay, governor of Three Rivers, commanded the whole of the Militia. The rear-guard, under the command of M. de Vaudreuil, consisted only of two battalions of Regulars and the remainder of the Indians who brought up the rear.

Sieurs de La Durantaye, de Muy, de Grays and Dumesnil, veteran Captains were in command of the four battalions of Regulars. Sieur de Subercaze acted as Major General, and there was an adjutant to each battalion of regulars and militia. Sieur de Saint Martin a reduced Captain, commanded the Quebec battalion; Lieutenant de Grandville that of Beaupré; Sieur de Grandpré, Major of Three Rivers, was at the head of the Militia of that district, and Sieur Deschambaux, Attorney-general of Montreal, commanded the battalion belonging to that place. The only officers that remained behind were those whose infirmities prevented them undertaking such a voyage,—and it was difficult to find any to garrison the principal posts, where such were required.

Captain de Maricourt was at the head of the Indians of the Saut and of the Abenakis who formed one corps.<sup>1</sup>

Lieutenant Gardeur de Beauvaire,<sup>1</sup> those of the Mountain and the Hurons of Loretto; and Lieutenant de Beaucourt,<sup>2</sup> commanded the Algonquins, Socoquois, Nipissirins and the few Outaouaes present. These formed another corps.

The order of battle was not broken during the expedition, and the forces that formed the van one day, retired on the morrow to the rear. As nearly thirty leagues of rapids were to be surmounted, progress was very slow, and it is inconceivable how many difficulties were encountered in making the portages, as the men were frequently obliged to unload the bateaux several times a day of the greater portion of their freight.

Those unacquainted with the country cannot understand what we call *Cascades* and *Saults*. Falls are often met seven @ eight feet high, over which fifty men have plenty to do to drag a bateau; and in the least difficult places, it is necessary to go into the water up to, and sometimes beyond, the waist, it being impossible to stem the current even with the lightest canoes by the aid of poles and paddles.

On the day of the departure, a portion of the army encamped above the rapid called Le Buisson; the remainder filed along the day following, and the rain obliged them to halt there. 9<sup>th</sup> July. Passed the Cedars rapid.

10<sup>th</sup> The army separated into two divisions to ascend that of Coteau du Lac; a part went along the North, and another portion along the South shore. The same course was pursued

<sup>1</sup> De la Potherie, III., 272, and Charlevoix, II., 168, make of this Officer two persons whom they designate as "Le Gardeur and de Beauvais, brothers."

<sup>2</sup> Berancour, *De la Potherie*; Bekancourt, *Charlevoix*.

next day and a junction was re-formed at the mouth of Lake St Francis which sheet of water is over seven leagues in length. It was crossed under sail and in the order of battle.

In the evening our Indian scouts reported that they had discovered some ascending and descending trails. A detachment was formed of Indians and some Frenchmen to go a few leagues ahead of the main body, and to look out for ambuscades.

12<sup>th</sup> Before decamping, nine Abenakis joined Count de Frontenac. The Intendant and the King's lieutenant at Quebec observed in their letters that these Indians had stated that they learned the English were to come to Quebec. These false rumors which are but too prevalent in these parts, did not interrupt the voyage, and the army encamped at the foot of the Long Saut.

13<sup>th</sup> However long and difficult, it was all passed to-day.

14<sup>th</sup> July. Arrived at the foot of the Rapide Plat. Lieutenant de Manteth was detached with fifty Frenchmen and Indians to make the necessary discoveries.

15<sup>th</sup> Came to the Rapid des Galets.

16<sup>th</sup> After repairing several bateaux it was impossible to advance more than three leagues above the place called La Galette,<sup>1</sup> where the difficult navigation terminates.

At those places where portages had to be made, several detachments used to march by land to protect those who were hauling.

17<sup>th</sup> The rain prevented much progress.

18<sup>th</sup> Proceeded to within 4 leagues of the Fort. Over twelve leagues were made to-day, and arrived at Fort Frontenac at noon on the day following; so that of 70 leagues, the distance from Montreal to that fort, the passage of the smooth water including the crossing of lake St Francis occupied only four days, and the Rapids thirty, though the latter do not constitute one-half the navigation.

The provisions for the garrison were first landed and the interval until the 26<sup>th</sup>, when the Outaouaes were expected to arrive, could not, it was considered, be more profitably employed than in cutting and hauling the fire-wood necessary for the winter; the other materials for the proposed carpentry and masonry and three barks which had been scuttled when the place was abandoned and were drawn two feet out of water, and in raising the best of the three. But perceiving that the Indians were not coming, and that the troops after having taken some rest, were the best disposed in the world to go to the enemy,

26<sup>th</sup> Started and encamped on Deer Island, (*Ile aux chevreuils*<sup>2</sup>) the Scouts keeping always ahead of the army. Captain Du Luth was left in command of the fort, with a garrison of 40 men and the masons and carpenters necessary for the buildings which he was recommended to urge forward. Only 26 sick were left in the fort, the most part of whom were wounded in the legs ascending the rapids.

27<sup>th</sup> Came within three leagues of Famine river, and on the

28<sup>th</sup> Reached the mouth of that of the Onnontagués. Our scouts informed us they had seen the trails of nine men.

29<sup>th</sup> As this stream is extremely narrow, 50 scouts were detached along each bank, and the army advanced only according to their reports. Some had discovered the trail of thirty to forty men; others, a canoe just abandoned. Only two leagues could be made this day, and

<sup>1</sup> Prescott, C. W.

<sup>2</sup> Which the English have named Carleton, after Lord Dorchester. *Rochefoucault-Liancourt's Travels through the United States, &c.*, 4to., I, 280.

three, the next. The Count and M. de Vaudreuil with the troops and a battalion of Militia, occupied the Northern, and Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Callières and de Ramezay, with the remainder, passed along the South bank.<sup>1</sup> It would be idle to describe the rapids of this river. An idea may be formed how difficult they are, for after marching from dawn 'till dark only five leagues can be made in two days.

30<sup>th</sup> Began making the portage of all the bateaux, canoes and baggage, it being impossible to pass the falls in any other way. Count de Frontenac who was expecting to pass on foot like the rest, was borne in his canoe by some fifty Indians singing and uttering yells of joy.

The battalions that could not accomplish the portage passed it the next day. Made four leagues, the way being less difficult.

1<sup>st</sup> of August. Detached one-half the army beyond the Oneida river; they marched over five leagues, more than knee deep in mud. Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil and the most part of the officers were at their head. This precaution was the more necessary as at a place called *Le Rigols*<sup>2</sup> the stream is no more than half a pistol shot in width as far as the mouth of lake Ganenta.<sup>3</sup> Nothing was met this day except the descriptive drawing of our army on bark, after the manner of the Indians, and two bundles of cut rushes, indicating that 1434 warriors were waiting for us. We passed the Lake in the order of battle. M<sup>r</sup> de Callières, who on that day commanded the left, because it was exposed to the enemy, made a considerable circuit, under pretence of landing on that side, whilst Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil with the right hugged the shore to clear away whatever of the enemy he might fall in with. The vigorous manner this landing was effected, sword in hand, showed that had the enemy been met there, he could not have long maintained his ground. M. de Vaudreuil's detachment made a circuit of half a league, and landed at the place M. de Callière was waiting for him. The entire army landed.

2<sup>nd</sup>. Sieur Levasseur, the Engineer, traced out a fort which was nearly completed the same day notwithstanding the timber had to be drawn nearly half a league.

The Scouts continued actively engaged. They reported to us that they had discovered trails, proceeding from the Village of the Onnontagués to Cayuga and Oneida, which circumstance induced them to believe that the Women and Children had repaired thither, and that the warriors of these two Villages had come to the assistance of their brothers.

On the same night a bright light was perceived in the direction of the Village; it was hence concluded that they burned it; some pretended even that they fired cannon.

3<sup>d</sup>. The fort was completed this morning. An Outaouaes Indian named the Cat, returned from a scout. He had some days previously accompanied a Seneca who had been taken prisoner last winter and whose life had been spared. They at first discovered two women whom they neglected to capture, and subsequently seized a man who was bathing with his wife. The Outaouac wished to bind him but the Seneca opposed it, and released him on pretence that he would bring in others. This began to make the Outaouac suspicious, but he had still more reason to be so when the Seneca left, saying he wished to eat some new corn, and having wandered aside for that purpose, he uttered the ordinary warning cry to detach some young Onnontagues who would have intercepted the Outaouac, the swiftness of whose legs saved him. Half a league was made that day.

<sup>1</sup> As the Oswego river flows in a northerly, or rather a northwesterly direction, it can naturally, have only an Eastern and Western bank. Charlevoix says Count de Frontenac took the left, which would, as the Expedition traveled, be the Eastern, side of the river.

<sup>2</sup> Outlet of Onondaga Lake. *Clarke's Onondaga*, I, 323.

<sup>3</sup> Onondaga.

Captain the Marquis de Crissaffy was left in the fort with Captain Desbergères and some other officers and 140 Militia and Regulars, to guard the bateaux, canoes, provisions and other heavy material that could not be transported. Their loss would have absolutely caused that of the entire army; and although every one wished to share the glory the Count was expected to reap, the latter was of opinion that he could not leave too good officers at that post. The other Seneca, the comrade of him just alluded to, deserted the night of the same day in order to advise his nation of the danger which menaced the Iroquois. Inconceivable difficulty was experienced in transporting over the swamps and two considerable streams which had to be crossed, the cannon and the remainder of the artillery stores, having been obliged to carry them on their carriages and parapets (*épaules*) which occupied a very great number of the Militia.

We encamped at a place called the Salt Springs, which in truth they are. They produce enough of Salt to make us wish they were near Quebec. The Cod fishery would then be very easy in Canada.

4<sup>th</sup> August. The order of battle was formed at sunrise, the army being in two divisions. The first was commanded by M. de Callières who kept on the enemy's left. The centre consisted of two battalions of Militia and the two battalions of Regulars composed the wings; the artillery being in the middle preceded by the two centre battalions. The major part of the Indians of the first division had been thrown on the right wing as they desired. From time to time forlorn hopes of the most active Indians and Frenchmen were detailed for the purpose of scouting and to receive the first fire.

The second division was commanded by M. de Vaudreuil who placed himself on the right wing; it was composed of an equal number of battalions of Militia and Regulars.

The Count, preceded by the cannon, was borne in a chair between the two divisions, and in a position to place himself, whenever he thought proper, at the head, through the interval of the two battalions of Militia of the first division.

Each battalion was only two deep and showed a very great front. Near the Count's person were his guard, his staff, his canoe and bateau-men.

In some places, during the march, defiles and pretty large streams were met where it was very difficult to transport the cannon, or where the order of battle was interrupted, so that we were from sunrise 'till sunset in getting to the site of the Village, after an infinite number of quarter wheelings and other evolutions sufficiently difficult of execution in woods.

But Major Subercaze's activity supplied every requisite; ten others could not have effected what he performed alone, and though he was assisted by excellent adjutants he yet considered it his duty to be every where. This campaign furnished him an opportunity to signalize his activity and zeal on several occasions, but as this is the principal, mention of it cannot be avoided. No man ever executed with more promptitude than he the prudent orders issued by the general.

Were we not apprehensive of being considered rather a panegyrist than a historian, we would speak in suitable terms of the conduct of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Callières, de Vaudreuil, Ramezay and other principal officers, but the confidence the King reposes in them is a sufficient proof that he deems them worthy of the posts they occupy in this country, and it is unnecessary to enlarge in their praise to demonstrate that they are truly so. His choice alone justifies it.

The wigwams of the Indians and the triple pallisade around their fort was found entirely burnt. It has since been ascertained that it was in a tolerably strong state of defence. It was

an oblong, flanked by four regular bastions. The two rows of stockades that touched each other were of the thickness of an ordinary mast, and outside, at a distance of six feet, stood another row of much smaller dimensions, but between 40 and 50 feet in height.

If the flight of the Indians saved the army the trouble of forcing them in their fortifications by trenches, as had been determined, having all the necessary tools, it robbed it also of the glory of entirely destroying them. But it must not be expected that Indians will ever stand against a considerable opposing force. The expense attendant on this expedition must not, however, be regretted.

Some alarms occurred on the night after arriving, and a soldier on duty at an outpost was wounded by our people.

5<sup>th</sup>. Early in the morning arrived two Squaws and a child belonging to the Mountain near Montreal, who had been a long time prisoners. They told us that they had fled five days ago, with the other women and children, who were withdrawn on the report of our approach. Another aged woman was captured in the woods; she was unable to follow, and our soldiers broke her skull. In the afternoon a Frenchman, a prisoner among the Oneidas arrived with an Indian. They brought from that nation a Belt whereby they solicited peace from Count de Frontenac. He sent them back immediately, and promised them peace on condition that they would come and settle with their families among us, assuring them that they should receive lands and sufficient seed. He added, if their wives and children were not ready, that they should bring five of the most influential of their chiefs as hostages; that the army would follow without delay, in order to oblige them by force to submit to the conditions imposed on them.

7<sup>th</sup> August. On the next morning a young Frenchman who had been seven years a prisoner among the Onnontagués arrived in the camp. He had escaped from those who were out, the night preceding, on the scout, and reported that the enemy had retired with their families twenty leagues from their fort, having scouts continually around in order to fly further off, if pursued. He added, that a great number would, probably, perish, having fled in such haste that they took with them scarcely any corn, some caches of which they hurriedly made, and that they already began to want.

Almost all these caches were discovered; the grain and the rest of the plunder, consisting of kettles, guns, hatchets, stuffs, belts and some peltries, were pillaged by our Frenchmen and Indians.

The destruction of the Indian corn was commenced the same day, and continued on the two following. The grain was so mature that the stalks could be cut without difficulty by blows of the sabre and sword, without the least fear that any could sprout again. Not a single head remained standing.

The fields extended from a league and a half to two leagues from the fort. The destruction was complete. A lame girl was found concealed under a tree, and her life was spared.

An old man, also taken prisoner, did not experience the same fate. The Count's intention, after having interrogated him, was to grant him his life on account of his great age; but the Indians who had taken him and to whom he was given up, were so excited that it was not deemed prudent to dissuade them from the desire they felt to burn him. He had, no doubt, prepared himself during his long life to die with firmness, however cruel the tortures he should have to endure. Not the slightest murmur escaped his lips; on the contrary, he exhorted those who tormented him to remember his death, in order that they may display similar courage

when those of his nation should revenge his murder on them. And when a Savage, weary of his harangues, gave him some cuts of a knife; "I thank thee," he said, "but thou oughtest rather complete my death by fire. Learn French dogs! [how to suffer,'] and ye Savages, their allies, who are dogs of dogs, remember what you have to do when you will occupy a position similar to mine."

Such sentiments as these will possibly be considered as ebullitions of ferocity rather than of true valor; but there are heroes among barbarians as well as among the most polished nations, and what would be brutality among us, may pass for virtue in an Iroquois.

9<sup>th</sup> M. de Vaudreuil returned from Oneida at 8 o'clock in the morning. He had departed on the morning of the 6<sup>th</sup> with a detachment of six to seven hundred of the most active of the whole army, Regulars, Militia and Indians. Under him were Captains de Louvigny and de Linvilliers; Mess<sup>rs</sup> Desjordis and Dauberville, reduced Captains; Soulange and de Sabrevois lieutenants of infantry and several other subaltern officers. Lieutenant de Villedenay acted as his aid-de-camp.

As very great diligence was required, they did not march in as exact order as the army, M. de Vaudreuil contented himself with causing some scouts to march about a quarter of a league in advance, and he placed on the wings, between the scouts and the main body, a detachment of 50 as a forlorn hope, commanded in turn by a lieutenant. They arrived before sundown, on the same day, within a league of the Village, and would have pushed even further if the convenience of camping on the bank of a beautiful river had not invited them to halt.

They were at early dawn within sight of the Village, and as they were about to enter the fields of Indian corn, they met Deputies from the entire Tribe.

Who requested M. de Vaudreuil to halt, fearing that our Indians would spoil their crops, assuring him they would execute in good faith the orders the Count had given their first delegate.

Determined on his side to obey punctually the commands he had received, M. de Vaudreuil told them it was useless to think of preserving their grain, as according to the promise of [Onontio] their father, they should not want for any thing when settled among us; that, therefore, he should cut it all down; that their fort and wigwams would not be spared, either, as some were quite ready for their reception.

He found in this Village only 25 @ 40 persons, almost all having fled at the sight of this detachment; the most influential chiefs, however, had remained. M. de Vaudreuil permitted two or three men to go after these fugitives to endeavor to bring them back.

On entering the Village, a young French woman was discovered who had just arrived from the Mohawk; she reported that that nation and the English to the number of 300, were preparing to come and attack us. A Mohawk who had deserted from the Saut last winter—the same who had given intelligence of the proposed attack against his Tribe—was taken whilst roving around the village. He said, he had come there intending to surrender himself to us, which it was pretended to believe. An eye was kept on him, notwithstanding. He confirmed the report of the young French woman.

Another Indian, also of the same Tribe, but who had been captured with a party of our people belonging to the Saut where he resided, assured M. de Vaudreuil that the English and the Mohawks had, in fact, set about coming; that several of the former had moved out of

<sup>1</sup> *De la Potherie*, III., 279.

Orange, but that they had contented themselves with remaining some hours outside on parade and had returned; that general consternation prevailed among the one and the other.

This last news caused M. de Vaudreuil's detachment as much regret as the first had afforded joy. It was received with a thousand yells of satisfaction, particularly by the Abenakis who said that they required only knives and hatchets to destroy the English; it was useless to burn powder on such a set.

M. de Vaudreuil had resolved to await them in the woods without shutting himself up in the fort, which he left on the eighth, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, after seeing it burnt and the corn entirely cut.

He came the same night and encamped within two leagues of Onnontagué. The celerity of his movements cannot be too highly praised, since he occupied only three days in going, returning and executing what he had to do, although from one Village to the other was fourteen good leagues through the woods, with continual mountains and a number of rivers or large streams to be crossed. He was, therefore, not expected so soon, and the Count was agreeably surprised to see him return in so short a time with 35 Oneidas, among whom were, as we have stated, the principal chiefs of the Tribe, and four of our French prisoners.

But we are accustomed in Canada to see him perform so many gallant acts, and he has the King's service so much at heart, that those acquainted with him will not be surprised at this, however extraordinary it be.

The Mohawk deserter was burnt before the departure of the army, which encamped, on the same day, midway to the Fort where the bateaux had been left. Some Indians having remained behind in the hope of finding more plunder, received the fire of a small party; three of them were killed without the enemy daring to advance near enough to scalp them.

10<sup>th</sup> August. Reached, and destroyed this fort.

11<sup>th</sup> The army encamped below the Portage; and on the

12<sup>th</sup>, at ten o'clock in the morning, on Lake Frontenac at the mouth of the river.

It was time to quit that river, and if the waters had been as low as they are, usually, in the month of August, a portion of the bateaux would have to be, of necessity, abandoned. A very violent gale from the West detained the army until the

14<sup>th</sup> Though not altogether calm, ten leagues were made to-day under sail notwithstanding we did not leave until noon.

The navigation is pretty dangerous for canoes and bateaux; the waves extraordinarily high, and the landing very difficult, there being numerous shoals in some places, and in others head lands against which the billows dash to a stupendous height. We camped in a river where the wind was less violent, and next day

15<sup>th</sup> Arrived at Fort Frontenac.

16<sup>th</sup> The Militia and Regulars were engaged hauling fire-wood into the fort, and in cutting and transporting what was needed for the planks and boards that were required.

The masons who were left there had erected, during the Count's absence, a building of 120 feet along one of the curtains, not so high, on that side, as the parapet. The carpentry work is put up, and along the garret is a range of loop holes as in the remainder of the fort. This long building contains a chapel, the officers' quarters, a bakery, and some stores at present filled with provisions for the subsistence of the garrison for more than eighteen months, exclusive of refreshments and necessaries for Indian parties which will happen to pass there.

The two pieces of artillery employed in the campaign and a quantity of grenades were left there.



17<sup>th</sup> The army rested.

18<sup>th</sup> Came to camp at La Galette; and on the

19<sup>th</sup> In Lake Saint Francis. On the same day, the enemy attacked some canoes of our people who found means to precede us. One of ours was drowned; one wounded: the enemy lost three men, and could not be captured by a detachment sent in pursuit of them.

20<sup>th</sup> Arrived at Montreal. Some bateaux upset in descending the Rapids, and three of the Militia were drowned. We were obliged to make good to the others, whatever arms and baggage they had lost by upsetting.

The Narrative of this campaign might be extended to greater length, but as we should be obliged to make use of terms unknown to those unacquainted with Canada, this slight sketch was considered sufficient.

It would have been more advantageous to the King's arms, and more glorious to Count de Frontenac, had the Onnontagués adhered to their original design; it would have, no doubt, cost the lives of some brave fellows, as the Iroquois do not fight with impunity. There might have been between six @ seven hundred men in their fort, including those who had come to reinforce them, scarcely any of whom would have escaped; but their loss did not fail to be considerable. After M. de Denonville's campaign in the Seneca country, we know the difficulty to subsist that Nation experienced for several years. The Iroquois were powerful and are since diminished. Assistance from the English, particularly in provisions comes forward less abundantly. Wheat is worth as much as twenty-five francs the *minot*<sup>1</sup> at Orange; the pound of powder a pistole. Lead and other articles are, indeed, cheaper than with us.

The Mohawks have very little Indian corn; the Oneidas are ruined, and it is impossible to say whether the Seneca will not recollect the high price the Onnontagués placed on provisions at the time of his discomfiture, inasmuch as he was obliged to give most valuable belts for supplies.

The Cayugas, only, remain capable of succoring their neighbors; and it is not known whether they alone will suffice for that purpose.

Their hunting and fishing will doubtless, be interrupted by different small parties now in the field. In fine, it is certain that by continuing the war as it has been begun, and as Count de Frontenac determined, the Iroquois will be reduced to the necessity of perishing of hunger, or of accepting peace on such conditions as we shall conclude to impose; and should they continue, as they appear, almost invincibly obstinate in their hostility towards us, we should not despair of reducing them if this blow, struck without the participation of our Upper Allies, and which they thought could not be done without them, could put courage into the latter and engage them to make as great efforts on their part, as we have on ours. It will be easy to urge them to it as long as the French remain at Michilimakinac and other posts, but when the fatal moment for the return of our people shall have arrived, and the Indians see themselves abandoned, the little good-will they might have entertained towards us will be at once terminated.

Perhaps they will be considerably cooled down even this fall, seeing neither powder, nor ball, nor goods arriving in their country. How are they to be persuaded to wage war, if not furnished with the means? How complete the destruction of the Iroquois without their aid, should they withdraw to a distance from us, and retire into the woods?

Count de Frontenac learnt, on his arrival, that an Onnontagué who had been taken at the fort at the upper end of the Island of Montreal had committed suicide in prison.

<sup>1</sup> A measure equal to three Bushels.

22<sup>nd</sup> August. Thirteen Algonquins brought in two Mohawk scalps, and one woman and two girls prisoners.

Seven Indians belonging to the Saut and the Mountain, who had separated from M. de Vaudreuil at Oneida, brought in one of that Nation a prisoner who was burnt at Montreal.

Some small parties of the enemy appeared along the south shore, but did not make any attack, and the harvest was saved very quietly.

25<sup>th</sup> The Count on returning to Montreal, also received news from France, which came both by way of Acadia and by the ship *le Vesper*.

The King's orders were to the effect that Sieur d'Iberville should be furnished with 80 Canadians and some officers, so as to proceed to Placentia, which was done; and if *le Vesper* did not leave as soon as she ought, the blame must be attached to those whom Sieur d'Iberville employed to dispatch her; as the detachment put on board her, was fifteen days waiting at Quebec until private business had been arranged.

Sieur d'Iberville would have wished to have only Canadians, but it would have taken much more time to muster them; and the two soldiers per company that have been furnished him, are capable of any undertaking with the officers that have been placed at their head.

Private letters received by the Count from Sieur de Villebon, commander at Acadia, and from Sieurs d'Iberville and de Bonaventure, state that the two last had captured, at the mouth of the river Saint John, an English frigate carrying twenty-four guns and eighty men, after a fight of two hours, without the loss of a man on our side.

She was accompanied by another of thirty-six guns, the same with which Sieur de la Bonaventure had fought the preceding year, and which would have certainly been captured had the fog not separated our vessels, as she did not dare to stand more than two volleys from our guns.

The provisions for the fort on the river S<sup>t</sup> John were landed, and orders issued to the Indians to repair to fort Pemkuit.

The two men of war *l'Envieux* and *la Profonde* with [the prize<sup>1</sup>] Newport proceeded to Pentagouet where [repairs] having been completed and the King's presents distributed among the Indians, they embarked to the number of two hundred and forty under the command of Sieur de Saint Castin, along with twenty-five Regulars detached from Sieur de Villieu's company, with their Captain and Sieur de Montigny, his lieutenant. They anchored on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August before Pemkuit. Sieur d'Iberville summoned the fort at once to surrender; the commander refused to do so. Two field pieces and two mortars were landed; the batteries completed in a short time, and the assailants contented themselves with throwing four shells, which were fired even over the fort.

They were next summoned and told peremptorily that they should receive no quarter if they persisted in depending on circumstances. They accepted M. d'Iberville's offers to go out with their clothing only on condition of being sent back to Boston and exchanged for French Indians and Abenakis who might happen to be prisoners there.

Sieur de Villieu took possession of the fort. An Abenaki, taken at the same time as Edzerimet, was killed, as we have already informed you. The garrison consisted of ninety-two men, exclusive of some women and children. There were in this fort fifteen pieces of artillery. The muskets and other munitions of war were abandoned to the Indians as an indemnity for the losses this fort had caused them.

<sup>1</sup> *Hutchinson, II, 92; Charlevoix.*

Its capture afforded them great joy, and it were desirable if, as certain people pretend, it could protect the French fishermen on the coast of Acadia and the river of Canada, and prevent the parties who may make inroads on our south shore, whether Englishmen, *Loups* or Iroquois. This would be somewhat like the observation, that his Majesty's conquests in Piedmont secure those of Catalonia. The result of the exchange of prisoners is waited for.

8<sup>th</sup> September. The Count prepared to leave Montreal and on the

12<sup>th</sup> Arrived at Quebec.

13<sup>th</sup> The Canada fleet commanded by M. Des Ursins, anchored at that place. He fell in with Sieur de la Vallière in the frigate *la Bouffonne* and with the Brigantine at the islands of Kaouy<sup>1</sup> on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August after having cruised in the gulf and throughout the river,

[Since his] departure he met only one of the enemy's ships between the Islands of Percée and Bonaventure. She first appeared inclined to approach him, but he gave her chase for several hours without being able to overtake her, his ship making no headway. He reached Quebec with the remainder of his fleet on the same day.

<sup>1</sup> Canary!

## CHAPTER VIII.

*An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, from the departure of the Vessels in 1696, to the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, 1697.*

The first news received immediately after the sailing of the ships last year came from Sieur de Villebon, commandant of Acadia, who sent an account of what took place at fort Nachouat<sup>1</sup> on the river Saint John, and how six or seven hundred Englishmen from Boston, or Indians their allies, had made a fruitless attack on that fort. We shall not dwell further on this action, Sieur de Villebon having taken care to inform the Count of the particulars thereof.

He learned, a few days after the departure of the enemy from his fort, that they had been at Chigniton, or Beaubassin, and had carried off and pillaged, all the movables belonging to several settlers who confided in their promise, burning the houses of those that had fled into the woods, and killing all their cattle that they could catch, although a treaty of Neutrality had been signed between the poor people and the Governors of Boston.

It was nearly in [the same] good faith that the commander of the frigate, which came last year to Pentagouët to affect an exchange of the prisoners taken at Pemaquid by Sieur d'Iberville, made himself master of Sieur de Villieu who had been left there to execute that exchange, and of twenty-two soldiers and other Frenchmen who accompanied him.<sup>2</sup>

Sieur de Villieu is not to be accused of having allowed himself to be taken by his own fault; for though he should have accepted the English Commandant's offer of a passport for eight days, he would have required many more to go, coastwise, from his place of departure to the river Saint John, in a boat full of people and which dared not go far from the shore; besides, his passport would be useless to him after the expiration of the term, and would not have obliged the English any longer to respect the Law of Nations which they have absolutely violated in his regard; they have detained him in a very confined prison, and allowed him no communication with any person whomsoever, unless what Sieur de Villebon might have written them, and the reprisals with which they were threatened had caused them to relax somewhat before this. Whether the communication Count de Frontenac has since sent them by some Englishmen who were taken at sea, and forwarded to New-York, will be productive of any better effect, remains to be seen.

It became necessary, immediately after the departure of the fleet, in consequence of the excessive price the farmers put on the wheat, to fix the rate of it at 4<sup>li</sup> 10 sous country currency per *minot*. It was, nevertheless, impossible for M<sup>r</sup> de Calières to find means to subsist all the companies that were to winter in his government, and he caused the less efficient in each of them to be detached to Quebec and Three Rivers.

<sup>1</sup> Fort Naxouat (note 1, *supra*, p. 112) was besieged by Colonel Hawthorne with a force from Massachusetts on the 18th October, 1696, who, two days after, found himself obliged to raise the siege. *Hutchinson*, II, 94, 95; *Charlevoix*, II, 182-185.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix *Histoire de la Nouv. France*, II, 181, 182, mistakes Villebon for Villieu, and finding the former soon after at the river St. John defending his fort, takes it for granted that he must have been released by the English, whose prisoner he had not been. *Hutchinson*, II, 91.

Meanwhile so great a scarcity of grain prevailed throughout the whole of Canada, that it would have been almost impossible to send out any considerable party on the ice, as had been proposed. The project was entirely abandoned on the arrival of thirty or forty Oneidas who were preceded some days by Tatahisséré of their Nation who has been for a long time at the Sault. They arrived on the fifth of February<sup>1</sup> at Montreal and were very kindly received.

They presented several Belts which did not say much; merely that they have performed the promise they gave their father Onontio to come and settle on his lands; that if the whole nation has not come, 'twas because they were prevented by the Onnontagués and Mohawks who retained them right and left; but on the first message from Onnontio, they will not fail coming to Montreal.

They demand by another Belt to be furnished with land and help to cut down the timber in one particular spot where they can form a village, so that the name of Oneida may be preserved, and that they have the same Missionary; that is, Father Millet,<sup>2</sup> a Jesuit, who is actually with them.

They represent, in private conversation, that the Onontagués were hunting on the river of the Andastes<sup>3</sup> within three or four leagues of their ancient village; that the English had made them some presents, to console them for their losses, and that they were saying they intended to return for the purpose of planting their fields which we had laid waste last year.

The Chief of the Oneidas requested to return to the rest of his Tribe for the purpose of informing them of the cordial reception he had experienced, and of bringing them down with him.

Two Mohawks arrived at Montreal in the middle of February, with M<sup>me</sup> Salvaye and her daughter, who had been taken in the course of the preceding summer at Sorel, and to whom the governor of Manatte had given a passport and these two Indians as guides. They presented two Belts to M. de Frontenac at Quebec.

By the first they asked what was Onnontio thinking of, and whether the road which formerly led from the Mohawk to him was entirely closed. This Belt was presented in the name of the entire Mohawk Nation.

The second Belt was only from the Speaker who said that he came in quest of his son who had been taken by the Indians of the Sault some time ago, and whom he demanded back by this Belt.

The Count answered, that he was astonished that they should dare come to him with sentiments expressive of so little submission as those which they appeared to entertain; that they ought to be aware that he had threatened to put into the kettle such Belt-bearers,

<sup>1</sup> 1697.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. PIERRE MILLET arrived in Canada in 1667, and was sent the following year to Onondaga where he received the Indian name of Teharonhiaganna, or The looker up to Heaven. He was removed to Oneida in 1671 and labored there until 12 July 1684, when he left and joined De la Barre on Lake St. Francis on 1st of August. At the request of the Marquis de Denonville, he was appointed Chaplain to Fort Frontenac in 1685, where he acted as interpreter in 1687; and in 1688 succeeded de Lamberville as Chaplain of the fort at Niagara. He returned to Fort Frontenac in 1689, and being lured outside the palisades to attend a dying Indian, was taken prisoner by the Oneidas, and his life saved only by having been adopted by one of the Squaws. During his captivity, the English made many efforts, though in vain, to get him in their power, for which purpose Governor Fletcher sent Dirk Wessels to Oneida; Father Millet continued in captivity until the fall of 1694, when he returned to Quebec. He asked again to return as Missionary to those Indians but the aspect of the times did not admit it. Charlevoix who was in Canada from 1705 to 1722 "lived several years with" Millet and speaks of him in terms of high esteem.

<sup>3</sup> The Susquehanna.

whom he pardoned only because they had brought M<sup>me</sup> Salvaye and her daughter, whom he was very glad to see again; that in future none of the Iroquois must presume to appear in his presence except perfectly resigned to his will and accompanied by all the Frenchmen they had in their country.

These two Mohawks were detained a considerable time at Quebec, and were not allowed to leave until the opening of the navigation, lest they might inform the enemy of the place where our Indians of the Sault and Mountain were hunting.

A party of twenty-one Frenchmen, Militia and Regulars, with one Indian of the Sault had proceeded as early as the month of October towards Orange, and had separated on being discovered; but not meeting at the rendezvous they had appointed, eight or nine set out on their return to Montreal and were attacked by another party of our Indians of the Mountain who were on their way to strike a blow on the English, and who supposed them to be enemies. Two of our soldiers were wounded and are cured, but as they made a brave defence they were so unfortunate as to kill Tatatiron,<sup>1</sup> principal war Chief of the Mountain, who is a very serious loss, on account of his bravery and the affection he bore our service.

The other portion of the French party was still more unfortunate: After having been victorious in a battle against several Indians of Hudson river (*Loups*) and Mohawks, who were in pursuit of them, the man named Dubeau, who was, as it were, in command of the party, finding himself wounded and unable to follow his companions, surrendered himself with two others, at Orange,<sup>2</sup> and on their report, some Englishmen and Indians set out in pursuit of the rest, who were so enfeebled by hunger and fatigue, that all were killed or captured with the exception of two or three who probably perished in the woods, and of whom no account has been received.

As it was absolutely necessary to obtain intelligence from fort Frontenac from which no news had been received since the fall, M<sup>r</sup> de Callière sent thither Ensign de la Chavignerie with two Frenchmen on the ice. Every body there was in good health except Captain Dulhut, the Commander, who was unwell of the gout. No Iroquois had appeared there since those who captured a soldier in September, and who, though in considerable numbers, were so cowardly as not to dare pursue two or three who retired into the Fort.

Some Regulars and Indians captured at the gate of Schenectady a very influential Onnondaga Chief. They were not able to make any prisoners, as recommended, having been pursued immediately after striking the blow, by a number of the enemy half again as strong as they.

Some Outaouacs and Hurons feeling a desire to set out from Missillimakinac on a visit to Montreal, M<sup>r</sup> de Lamotte Cadillac, commanding at that post adjoined to their party the Frenchman named Mahous to carry his despatches to Count de Frontenac, to whom he gave an account of every occurrence in the Upper Country, since the receipt of the last intelligence.

Affairs were in great confusion on account of the war that the most of our Indians were waging the one against the other, and which could not be prevented in consequence of the want of people and presents.

These things will be detailed more at length when treating of what transpired in the Council holden at Quebec by Count de Frontenac with those Tribes.

The Hurons presented three Belts the object of which was to confirm Onnontio in the goodwill he always entertained towards them, and to assure him of the fidelity of Sataressy (that

<sup>1</sup> Tiorhathatiron. *De la Potherie*, III, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Dubeau subsequently died of his wounds.

is, the name of the whole Nation in general) despite the secret intrigues of the Baron, one of their chiefs, and of his family.

Count de Frontenac answered, That his heart was always the same towards them, and that he should never break the bond that united them; that he would repair the injury some others of his Children might have done them; that he exhorted them not only to remain at Missilimakinac, but even to take up lands nearer him, at such place as they would prefer, where he could more readily defend them, and furnish them whatever they required.

About the end of May, Sieur de Vincelot, a Canadian, who had embarked at Rochelle on board the frigate commanded by Sieur de Gabaret, arrived here; he had been put ashore at Mount Desert in Acadia, and had traveled with extreme diligence.

He brought us orders from the Court which excited new thoughts, and changed all the plans that might have been projected against the Iroquois, for the purpose of thinking only of receiving the English, should they dare to come here, or of attacking them in their country according to the orders which may be received from his Majesty as he has given to understand.

As the principal operations, whether for defence or attack, were to be at Quebec, Count de Frontenac had the Staff officers of the place, and the captains of the garrison assembled, and communicated to them what might be understood of his Majesty's orders at the present conjuncture; to wit, the menaces of a great expedition against Canada, or should that not be successful, some enterprise on our part according to his Majesty's pleasure. It was resolved, in this council to order down to Quebec a portion of the companies that had wintered in the government at Montreal, and Count de Frontenac dispatched one of his Secretaries to M<sup>r</sup> de Callières to give him communication of the news received from France, and to adopt in conjunction with him some efficient measures both for defending the country and attacking the enemy.

The man named Prémont, an inhabitant of the island of Orleans, arrived in the interval of M<sup>r</sup> de Callières' answer; he had been dispatched by M<sup>r</sup> de Villebon and was bearer of duplicates of the orders from Court, the original whereof had been brought by Sieur de Vincelot.

This Prémont had been taken prisoner with Guion, the Canadian privateer, and he assured us that there was no appearance of the Bostonians being in a condition to undertake any thing against Canada this year; that in addition to the prevailing scarcity of provisions and munitions of war, there seemed to exist a very bad understanding among themselves; that they were fortifying themselves, and never omitted any occasion to menace us.

That Sieur de Villieu's prison was narrower and ruder than could be imagined; he did, in fact, bring from that gentleman a sort of letter of credit written on a wretched scrap of paper with blood for want of ink and other necessaries.

This was about the same time that we received intelligence of the recapture of fort Nelson last fall by five English ships, in spite of Sieur de Sérigny who was unable to render the garrison any assistance with his two vessels.

Captain Lamotte who was in command of one of them, whilst sailing through the Straits of Belleisle, between Anticosti and the main land of La Brador, on his way to unload at Quebec, struck, in coming out of the Strait, on a shoal of rock four leagues from land which had not been previously known. The ship and half the crew were lost. Lamotte and some

twenty men reached Mingant, the establishment of Sieur Jolliet,<sup>1</sup> and arrived here after a partial fast.

Nine companies belonging to the government of Montreal arrived in the beginning of June, and the Intendant found means to subsist them during the remainder of the campaign. Six that wintered near Quebec, were subsisted for a month or two on the wheat furnished by the citizens of that town in commutation of the *Corvées* for the fortifications to which one per family was subject. The settlers of the Côte de Beaupré, the Island of Orleans, the South shore and others, also, in the neighborhood of Quebec furnished each one man per house during fifteen days, and the work was energetically pushed forward.

Nothing contributed so much to its perfection as the care of Captain Levasseur, the Engineer. It was impossible to effect more in less time and at so little expense.

He will himself give an account of the former state of the town, but in its actual condition the Governor dare assert that it is entirely beyond insult, if attacked only by expeditions that can naturally come here either from Old, or New England, provided he can muster the forces that can be thrown, within eight days, into Quebec.

The fortification occupied the troops during the remainder of the summer; the artillery was rendered effective, and by means of well arranged orders, provision was made to protect the settlers of the lower end of the river against surprisal, and to remove the cattle from the islands into the interior of the forest.

Count de Frontenac ordered several of the Colonists on the seaboard, dispersed beyond the settlements, to be on their guard, and to give instant notice of any thing they may discover.

He dispatched eight Abenakis on a scout towards Boston, who promised to bring back a prisoner of distinction, but they could keep only half their word, and the Englishman they brought hither was found to be unfortunately so stupid, that no information could be extracted from him.

M<sup>r</sup> de Callières had done the same thing. More than fifty Indians of the Sault and Mountain with some Nepisseriniens started from Montreal to go to the Mohawks near Orange, Corlard and Esopus, to try to make some prisoners there. Sieur de Batilly, Ensign of foot, who

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS JOLLIET, whose name is now imperishably connected with the discovery of the Mississippi river, was the son of Jean Jolliet, wheelwright, and Mary d'Abancour; he was born at Quebec in the year 1645, (a) and lost his father when he was only five years of age. After completing his studies at the Jesuit College of that city, he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, received Minor orders on the 10th of August, 1662, and finished his Philosophy in 1666; but he turned his attention, a few years afterwards, to other pursuits and repaired to the Indian country. In 1673 he was selected by Count de Frontenac to proceed in search of the Great River which, 'twas said, flowed into the Gulf of California. Father Marquette, who was invited to accompany him, says that Jolliet was eminently qualified for such an important undertaking. He possessed good conduct, wisdom, courage, experience and a knowledge of the Algonquin languages. The success of this expedition is matter of history. On the 7th of October 1675, Mr. Jolliet married Clara Frances Bissot, also a native of Quebec. In 1680 he was appointed hydrographer to the King, and "as a reward for having discovered the Country of the Illinois, whereof he has transmitted a Map to my Lord Colbert and for a voyage he made to Hudsons bay in the public interest," he obtained a grant of the Island of Anticosti in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which on account of the fisheries and the Indian trade was, at the time, one of the most profitable Seigniories in Canada; in connection with it he had an establishment also at Mingan, on the Main land or opposite shore. He built a trading post and visited the Island every year, and it was on the way back to Quebec in 1690, from this establishment that his wife, his mother-in-law, and some sailors in his employ, were taken prisoners on the river St. Lawrence by Sir Wm. Phips. On 30th April 1697, he obtained a grant of the Seigniorie of Jolliet, on the river Etchemins, south of Quebec, which is still in the possession of some of his descendants. Mr. Jolliet died between the year 1700 and the year 1702, leaving a widow and four children. *La Hontan*, 1728, I., 336; *Notes sur les Registres de Notre Dame de Québec par le Rev. M. Ferland*, 36-41.

(a) This is the date of the Record of Baptism (*Ferland*, 36) who states however that in the census of 1651, Mr. Jolliet is entered as being 42 years old, which would fix the date of his birth at 1609. The record of baptism is no doubt the most reliable.



scarcely misses any of these sorts of detachments, and is well adapted thereto, and *Sieur de Belestre*, a reduced Ensign, joined them.

*M<sup>r</sup> de Callières'* reasons for not having sent the number of companies, required by *Count de Frontenac*, was quite valid. Irrespective of the necessity which may exist for troops in the government of *Montreal*, for the pursuit of small parties that ordinarily make their appearance in the settlements, certain movements among the *Coureurs de bois* rendered it necessary that we should be in a condition to resist their mutinies. However secret they endeavored to keep their practices, these could not escape his penetration; and though it may be expected from his ability that he would easily destroy these little cabals, it was at the same time necessary that he should appear to have the power at hand to offer them open opposition in case of need.

The parties which we mentioned above, arrived at *Montreal* on the twenty-fourth. They brought some scalps of settlers belonging to *Orange* and *Corlard*, and two prisoners who were so beaten by the Indians of the *Sault*, in revenge for the sufferings experienced in *London* as they were told, by their comrades, who had been carried off from *Hudson's bay*, that the elder of the two was unable to reach *Montreal*. The younger reports that news had been received of negotiations of peace in *Europe*; that they were expecting an attack from us at *Orange* at the same time that a French fleet would appear before *Manatte*. *M<sup>r</sup> de Callières* had a minute search made for all the bark canoes to be found in his government, and the *Intendant* thought proper to have them paid for.

*M<sup>r</sup> de Ramesay* did the same thing at *Three Rivers*, and the Frenchmen of that town constructed several for which they, also, were paid. Those within the government of *Quebec* were merely impressed, and agreeably to orders from *Court*, every preparation was made for any expedition it should please to direct.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of *July*, a party of six *Iroquois* made their appearance, about seven o'clock in the evening, at the prairie of *Saint Lambert*,<sup>1</sup> and killed one man and his daughter, and mortally wounded a young lad.

*Joseph*, Chief of the *Soquokis* residing among us, having gone to make some prisoners in the direction of the *English*, caught one of them whom he was obliged to knock on the head, having refused to march, and alarming the entire neighborhood by his cries.

He met on the way a party of [*Hudson river*] Indians (*Loups*) and having talked with them for the space of two days, they authorized him to inform *Count de Frontenac* that they would return to settle among us, as in former times, were they not apprehensive of his displeasure and merited chastisement for the blow they struck on us at *S<sup>t</sup> Francis*.

*Joseph* was permitted to tell them, that they would be willingly received, on condition that they should behave themselves and bring in their wives and children.

An *Iroquois Squaw* taken near *Corlard* was brought to *Montreal* at the end of *June*, when a young warrior of the *Sault* returned, who, not having struck a blow with any of our parties, had separated and went to the *Mohawk* village for the purpose of learning some news. The *English* did all in their power to oblige him to go to *Orange*, which he positively refused to do. He said that *Teganissorens*, an *Onondaga* Chief, had assured him that the *Iroquois* were thinking of forming a general deputation from the *Five Nations* to conclude peace with us; that, in reply to an *English* Minister who was at the *Mohawk* and had approached them that they were negotiating without the participation of the *Governor of Orange*, these *Indians* answered that they were imitating the *English* who were doing the same thing; and, in fact

<sup>1</sup> Immediately opposite *Montreal*.

the Mohawk Chiefs intrusted a Belt to this Indian, to tell their Brothers of the Sault, that they were weary of fighting and had resolved to come and reside with them; let them manage, then, to obtain the Governor's consent thereto, but secretly, lest their coming be prevented by the English.

The Squaw prisoner assured that thirty Hurons of Missillimakinac had been at Orange, and that the Governor had given them lands to form a village apart. This turned out partially true.

We forgot to state that *Sieur Aubert*, of *Mille Vaches*,<sup>1</sup> on his return from Bayonne to this country had captured about the latitude of the Azores a small English vessel, which was sold for nearly 80,000<sup>l</sup> this currency.

*Captain de Muy*<sup>2</sup> of the Regulars, arrived in the end of July in a ship taken from the English, and purchased for the King, at Placentia. He brought back a part of the detachment of Militia and Regulars who had been sent thither last year from this place, and had been in the expedition against Saint John and other English posts on the island of Newfoundland. No mention of it is made here, the news thereof being known in France earlier than in Canada.

Eight days after, a small bark, also from Placentia arrived here. The one and the other of these vessels brought additional copies of the orders received by *Sieur de Vincelot*.

Nearly about mid August, *Count de Frontenac* took a hurried trip to Three Rivers, and received on his way thither some letters from *M<sup>r</sup> de Callières*, informing him of the return of *Otatcheté*, an Oneida Chief, from his Nation; he gave assurance that they were all seriously preparing to come and live with us, and as a mark that they would keep their word, they sent back in advance a young Frenchman, who was a prisoner among them.

On the news of this *Otatcheté's* return home, the Onondagas had sent a man express to learn from him how he had been received. He himself gave an account of it, and they resolved to depute two Indian chiefs with Belts in their name.

This embassy was turned aside by the broils of some young men who were desirous to avenge the death of a Chief of their Nation that had been killed by one of our parties, of which we have already spoken, and of six others whom some Algonquins had treated in like manner. The Chiefs thought proper to give *Otatcheté* three Belts.

The first explains the cause of the delay of the projected embassy. By the second, they say, that they are groaning since those two blows inflicted on them, but that, notwithstanding, they do not lose courage, and that the sack of Belts and provisions of their people was still on their mat, ready to come.

By a third, they inquire whether they will be well received, and request an answer by three Oneidas who have accompanied *Otatcheté*; that they have postponed the departure of the others until they learn *Onnontio's* will, so that the deputies of the four other Nations may go down with them.

They address a fourth Belt to the Jesuit Fathers who have formerly been with them, and who have baptized so many, requesting them to intercede in their behalf with their Father *Onnontio*, and to pray to God for the preservation of peace.

Possibly all those Belts were only to amuse, and postpone the departure of, the Oneidas who appeared sincerely desirous to come and settle among us.

<sup>1</sup> Thirty leagues below the Saguenay, on the N. side of the St. Lawrence.

<sup>2</sup> This officer who had already served with some distinction in the present war, was ordered to proceed to Newfoundland in 1696, to cooperate with *Iberville* against the English settlements in that quarter. He was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1707, but died on his way to assume that government.

Three of them were sent back, as the Iroquois demanded, to say to them by a single Belt, that they could come provided it were by the end of September at latest, and by previously performing what their Father had ordered them to do; then they would treat of peace in earnest.

Otatcheté said, that the English had sent a large Belt to the Iroquois to assure them that they were preparing seriously to make war on us.

An Indian who had accompanied him, gave still further and most positive assurance on this head; but he did not believe that many of the Iroquois would heed that Belt, all of them being truly disposed to come to an accommodation with us.

A small party of Iroquois struck a blow at La Prairie de la Magdelaine, killed one man, and scalped two others, one of whom has survived. He revenged himself honorably of his wounds having killed two Iroquois who had in like manner lost their scalps.

A Mohawk named Couchecoucheotacha, settled at the Sault, was deputed by those of his village, with the permission of the governor, to carry to the Mohawks the answer to the underground belt, which we have already mentioned; and to assure them that they would be welcome should they settle among us; but it must be soon.

M<sup>r</sup> de Lamotte-Cadillac<sup>1</sup> arrived at Montreal on the twenty-ninth of August, with a number of Indians belonging to the Upper Nations and several canoes of Frenchmen; he repaired to Quebec four or five days after, with the principal Chiefs.

Affairs were in great confusion throughout all those countries, and the different Nations allied to us seemed disposed to wage war among themselves.

The Scioux had made two attacks on the Miamis; these same Miamis had been attacked by the Sauteurs, and it appeared that the four Outaouais Nations wished to take the part of these latter.

The Baron, a Huron of Missilimakinac, but who is not, however, of the family of Sataretsy, which gives the name to the Nation, had gone with three or four families to settle among the

<sup>1</sup> ANTOINE DE LA MOTHE CADILLAC, Lord of Bouguat and Mount desert, in Maine, was a native of Gascony. He held a commission of Captain of Marines and had served in France before coming to Canada. Having resided some time in Acadia, he returned to France in 1689, and obtained in 1691, from Louis XIV., a grant of territory from which he subsequently took his titles. On coming to Canada a second time he succeeded M. de Louvigny in 1694 as Commandant of Michilimakinac, which post he filled until 1697. In 1701 he was sent to lay the foundation of Fort Ponchartrain, in the present city of Detroit, where he remained, with his lady, until 1706 when he left for Quebec. He returned to Detroit in the fall of the same year, and in 1707, marched against the Miamis and reduced them to terms. In 1712, he was appointed Governor of Louisiana, and arrived there in the month of June of the following year. Being a partner with Mr. de Crozat, who had obtained a grant of the exclusive trade of that vast country, M. de la Mothe endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to open a commerce with Mexico. He subsequently visited the Illinois country, where he reported having discovered a silver mine, afterwards called the La Mothe mine. He next established a post among the Indians of Alabama. The Natchez evincing hostility to the French, M. de la Mothe dispatched a military force against them, when the guilty were punished and peace was concluded. A fort was thereupon erected in that country, anno 1714, which was called Fort Rosalie, in compliment to M<sup>de</sup>. de Pontchartrain; another fort was built at Natchitoches to prevent the Spaniards approaching the French colony. M. de la Mothe administered the government of Louisiana until the 9th March 1717, when, according to Charlevoix, he returned to France. M. du Pratz in his *Histoire de la Louisiane*, I, 23, says that he died previous to 1719. In 1691, as already stated, M. de la Mothe had obtained a grant from Louis XIV. of Mount desert Island and of a large tract of land on Frenchman's bay, in the present State of Maine, whence he subsequently took his titles. In 1785, nearly a century afterwards, Madame Grégoire, his granddaughter, set up a claim to the whole of that island, and having proved her descent, the government "to cultivate mutual confidence and union between the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty and the citizens of this State," naturalized this lady, and her husband Barthelemy de Grégoire, and quit-claimed to them in 1787, all the interest the Commonwealth had to the Island, reserving only lots of 100 acres to actual settlers. *Williamson's Maine*, I, 79; II, 515. Thus M. de la Mothe Cadillac became identified with the early history of Maine, Michigan, Illinois, Louisiana and the Southwestern States of the American Republic.

Miamis, and continued his negotiations with the Iroquois for the introduction of the English into those countries; and those Hurons who, we said, had made application to form a village near Orange, were of his family.

Nicolas Perrot, a French voyageur, well known to all those nations, had been plundered by the Miamis, who would have burnt him had not the Outagamis and the Foxes opposed such a proceeding.

The four Outaouais Nations, the Poutouatamis, the Sacs and the Hurons had, at the request of M<sup>r</sup> de Lamotte, organized different parties against the Iroquois, and more than one hundred Seneca Warriors were computed to have been killed or captured in the course of the Spring.

M<sup>r</sup> de Lamotte had received intelligence of the last blow struck on Lake Erie, where fifty-five Iroquois were killed after a fight on the water of more than two hours' duration. Our allies lost four men on that occasion.

This defeat is the more important as it broke up the measures the Baron had adopted with these same Iroquois for the utter destruction of the Miamis under cover of negotiating peace with them. After the engagement, the Huron Chief, the Rat, who commanded on the occasion, notified the Miamis to be on their guard, and not to trust the Baron.

The following are the speeches of the Outaouacs and other Indians whom we have named. Longuant,<sup>1</sup> Chief of the Kiskakons, the first Tribe, spoke for all.

Father! We are come to pay you a visit. We are rejoiced to see you in good health at your time of life. What did the inland Nations (*gens des terres*) pretend to do when they killed us? They were mistaken in attacking us. I am selected by our four Tribes to represent the matter to you.

Father! I pass over this affair in silence in order to tell you, that the Miami hath robbed Perrot; and hath despised you. I participate in the resentment you may feel on this subject, and, as the Miami behaves insolently, our Village will possibly embroil the earth. As for the Fox he acted well towards him (*il en a bien usé*).

Children present themselves before their father, to learn his will. We are, to-day, apprehensive that the Miamis, who boast that they know how to manufacture powder and arms, will come to throw down our cabins by introducing the English into their country, as some had already attempted to do had we not spoiled their game by the blow your children have just inflicted at Lake Erie on the Iroquois. It is for you to deliberate, and to communicate your thought to us on what I now submit to you.

Father! Formerly you furnished us powder and iron to conquer our enemies, but now we are in want of every thing, and have been constrained to sacrifice ourselves<sup>2</sup> (meaning to fight with sticks) in order to fight those whom we have just destroyed. They have powder and iron. How can we sustain [ourselves]? Have compassion then on us, and consider that it is no easy matter to kill men with clubs (meaning, Tomahawks.)

Father! You have rebellious children; there's the Sauteur who has raised his tomahawk against the Miami, and is going to kill him. If he be revenging himself, can we avoid taking a part in his vengeance? Tell us what we ought to do.

We are not come here to trade, but to hear your word. We have no beaver; you see us entirely naked; have compassion on us; it is late; the season is advanced; our wives and little

<sup>1</sup> Longecamp. *De la Potherie*, III, 299.

<sup>2</sup> "Abandonner nos corps," *Text*; Abandonner nos corps, *De la Potherie*, III, 300—To throw away our bodies. It is an Indian form of expression.

ones may be in trouble if we delay longer; therefore, tell us your mind in order that we may take our departure to-morrow.

Onanguisset, Chief of the Potouatamis, observing that Longuant had not thoroughly explained what they had agreed upon among themselves, took up the Word and said:—

Father! Since we want powder, iron, and every other necessary which you were formerly in the habit of sending us, what do you expect us to do? Are the majority of our women who have but one or two beavers to send to Montreal to procure their little supplies, are they to intrust them to drunken fellows who will drink them, and bring nothing back? Thus, having in our country none of the articles we require and which you, last year, promised we should be furnished with, and not want; and perceiving only this—that nothing whatsoever is yet brought to us, and that the French come to visit us no more—you shall never see us again, I promise you, if the French quit us; this, Father, is the last time we shall come to talk with you.

Father! We forgot to ask you what you wish us to do in regard to the death of Lafourche—meaning, a Chief killed by the Canceas, a very distant Nation. We shall not adopt any resolution without knowing your will.

The speech of this Indian, and the boldness with which he spoke, closed every one's lips, and the strongest opponents of the Beaver, the sole staple of this country, were unable to conceal their astonishment, notwithstanding the dissimulation so natural to them. The country ought to pray that the threat of this Indian may not be soon fulfilled. But it will be absolutely impossible to prevent it, if the King himself, in that extreme benevolence which he feels for all his subjects, apply not a prompt and effectual remedy in the premises.

The entire loss of the trade is not the sole evil we have to apprehend. The garrisons which might be stationed in the respective posts in the Upper Country, will run daily risk of being slaughtered by those brutal Tribes, who are so difficult of management; it will be impossible for them to live there; the Commandants will be without authority, having no means to enforce it as formerly by the occasional muster of the Voyageurs who, conjoined with the Regular troops, would impress the Indians with fear and respect; the enemy will take advantage of the coolness of our allies who, in consequence of this abandonment, will lose all the confidence they once reposed in us; the latter will not fail [to go over to] the English; they will soon become friends, and those same Indians, who were the main stay of Canada, will be seen coming hither to procure scalps and to compass its destruction.

Will it be possible to prevent the disbanding of our Coureurs de bois, who, being themselves deprived of a trade to which they have been accustomed from their infancy, will, most assuredly, leave without permission, despite the orders of King and Governor? If any escape, notwithstanding all the care taken to prevent them, who will be able to arrest them in the woods when they will be determined to defend themselves [and] to carry their peltries to the English?

The Chief of the Foxes had only one word: What shall I say to my father? I have come all naked to see him; I can give him no assistance; the Sciou ties my arms; I killed him because he began; Father, be not angry with me for so doing. I am come here only to hear you and execute your will.

Count de Frontenac had them all assembled again on the tenth of September and spoke to them in this wise:—

A Father loveth his children, and is very glad to see them. You afford me pleasure in being rejoiced at my health in my time of life. You see I love war; the campaign I made last year against the Iroquois is a proof of it; I am glad to repeat to you that I love my children, and that I am pleased to see them again to-day.

The tribes of the interior (*gens de terre*) had no sense in killing those of your Village; but you do not tell me precisely what nation it was that struck that wicked blow. Whilst waiting for that information, do not spoil the road between Missilimakinac and Montreal; the river is beautiful; leave it in that condition and do not turn it black.<sup>1</sup>

I am aware that the Miami has been killed by the Sioux, and that the former afterwards lost his wits; he has not hearkened to the advice of Mr de Lamotte; he would have done well had he listened to it; he would not have been killed as he has been; he has robbed Perrot, 'tis true; I shall obtain satisfaction for that; but you of Missilimakinac, who have but one and the same fire, do not think of creating confusion in the country; turn your Tomahawk only toward the land of the Iroquois. You perceive that there are French chiefs and warriors among the Miamis; it may have evil consequences. You live in peace in your wigwams; your wives and children ramble fearlessly and without danger through your prairies (*déserts*); If you redden the earth of the Miami, you will run the risk of frequently seeing your wives and little ones scalped. Pay attention, then, to my word. The Miamis are, also, my children. I order the Resident Chief among them to get the principal men of the Miamis to come and see me next year; do not block up the road on them when coming to visit me, and if they have done you any injury, I shall see that satisfaction be made you. Communicate my words to the Sauteurs, and as they and you form but one fire, prevent their making disturbances in that direction.

You four Outaouais Nations, and you, too, Poutouatamis and Hurons—I am pleased with the blow you have inflicted on the Iroquois; to strike the Iroquois in that way is what is good; that's the direction in which all the Tribes should throw their forces. I will effectively prevent the English supplying the Miami with aid, even were the latter disposed to invite them thither. But I know the Miami was not informed of it. It was the Baron, and *Quarante sols*<sup>2</sup> who invited the Iroquois to go and devour the Miami, and then to promenade in your prairies (*déserts*). I shall be soon informed of this affair. I always had you supplied with powder and iron. I continue still disposed to supply you; but imperative reasons prevent me sending this year my young men to your Country in such large numbers as I would do were it not for the vast designs I have formed against my enemies and yours. I cannot now open my mind to you respecting the operations I have concluded. When the leaves are red you will probably learn what my plans are. I am always laboring to annihilate the Iroquois and am meditating his destruction, and you shall soon see the earth united in that direction.

In regard to the articles you require for yourselves, your wives and your little ones, I shall have them soon conveyed to you; but as I am resolved to think only of war with the Iroquois, I retain my young men because I want them. When they will have returned, they will visit your Village, and I shall send thither whatever you will require.

La fourche must still be left undisturbed. I have already told you that it was I who should avenge him. I close the road on you, because it is I and my young men who will visit his bones. Revenge his death, meanwhile on the Iroquois.

<sup>1</sup> Ne la noircissez point, *Text*; Ne la rougissez point—Do not turn it red, *De la Potherie*, III., 364.

<sup>2</sup> Forty Cents.

## To the FOXES.

Fox! I now speak to you; your young men have no sense; you have a bad heart, but mine was beginning to be worse disposed than yours, had you not come to hear my word and do my will. I was resolved to send M<sup>r</sup> de Lamotte with a party of my young men on a visit to your village; that would have been unfortunate, for, no doubt, your women and children would have been frightened by them. I hope you have sense now, and that you will smoke in peace out of the same Calumet as the French who are about to go and see you.

I am pleased with you of Missilimakinac; M<sup>r</sup> de Lamotte is well disposed towards you; I am very glad of it; act fairly towards him who is about to fill his place; he it is who will communicate my thoughts to you; he knows them; do as he will desire you.

I am not willing that you should all return home naked, as you would have, probably, done, had you not come to see me. I shall be in Montreal next year when you will come down, and you will not be at the trouble of traveling so far. Here are some guns, some powder and ball that I give you. Make good use of them; not in killing your allies; not in killing buffalo or deer, but in killing the Iroquois who is in much greater want of powder and iron than you. Remember that it is war alone that makes true men to be distinguished, and it is owing to the war that I, this day, know you by your name. Nothing affords me greater joy than to behold the face of a warrior. Here's what I give you. You can depart when you please.

After the distribution of these presents among them, he added: No more powder and iron will be conveyed to the Scioux, and if my young men carry any thither, I will chastise them severely. He then caused to be brought two blankets, two belts, and some other presents for the relatives of the two Chiefs who were killed by the Iroquois, and said—

Coutakilmy, I collect thy bones in this blanket in order that they keep warm until thy Nation hath avenged thee.

Pemas. I mourn thy death; here's what I give to dry the tears of thy relatives, so that they may be careful to avenge thee.

The two Belts are to hang in the Cabin of the Dead and to remain there until this vengeance be consummated.

It will be seen, by these answers, that the Governor was desirous of gaining time, in order to withdraw the Voyageurs and garrisons next year, without allowing the Indians to discover the King's intention not to send any more Frenchmen or goods to their country.

M<sup>r</sup> Desursins anchored in this harbor on the morning of the 5<sup>th</sup> of September with the King's frigate *l'Amphitrite*, the flyboat *la Gironde* and two merchantmen, after a voyage of four months. Our joy would have been complete had he been accompanied by two other Merchantmen, one of which was of four hundred tons burthen.

It is very probable that they have been captured by the enemy, according to the report of the crew of a small English vessel, taken near St John, Newfoundland, by Chevalier Roussy, whom the Marquis de Némont caused to be minutely examined.

Count de Frontenac after having taken the advice of the principal officers of this Country, ordered Lieutenant D'argenteuil to place himself at the head of the Soldiers about to proceed to Missilimakinac and the Miamis. Sieur de Vincennes was to command at the latter post. These officers and soldiers have precisely only what is necessary for their subsistence, and are very expressly forbidden to trade in Beaver.

The Voyageurs who came down last year without peltries to assist in the Onondaga expedition have been sent back for their effects; they carry goods to the amount only of 250<sup>li</sup> this currency, which is merely sufficient for their support during the winter.

Sieur de Tonty the younger,<sup>1</sup> a reduced Captain who, pursuant to Count de Frontenac's orders, was keeping himself in readiness at Montreal to leave immediately on the arrival of Sieur de Lamotte, and to go and command at Missilimakinac, had preceded his convoy some days.

Our Indians of Acadia are constantly making some attacks on the English. M. Deschambault,<sup>2</sup> the missionary at Panasamské<sup>3</sup> has sent two or three of several scalps that have been taken; and those of Father Bigot's Mission have quite recently killed a man of consequence with a young lady and several gentlemen who accompanied her.<sup>4</sup> One of their Chiefs having been killed, they burnt an Englishman, a practice which had not previously obtained among them, so that now they are more exasperated than ever, the one against the other.

The Indian of the Sault, named Couchecouche-Otacha whom we stated had been to the Mohawks intrusted with a Belt in answer to that they had secretly sent to the chiefs of his Village, returned on the third of October and reported that a Chief had at first denied that they had stated by that Belt their willingness to come and settle among us; that they had merely asked to treat of peace and when that would be concluded, they would see what they should do; this Chief, or Sachem added that he himself would come to converse on the subject of an arrangement.

The same Couchecouche Otacha says, that during his sojourn among the Mohawks, some Oneidas had come to say that Otachecté had returned, and that they were invited to attend the Council about to be held.

Count de Frontenac learnt all these particulars by Chevalier de Callières who repaired to Quebec on the ninth, where his arrival was ardently desired.

He had left the necessary orders at Montreal for the revictualing of Fort Frontenac. Captain de Longueuil was to conduct thither a hundred and fifty men who acted as an escort to the garrison and the convoy of provisions for the entire next year. Lieutenant de Lagemerais will act as Commandant there, and news of their departure had been received.

It is not yet known whether the ships, that are to convey the necessary supplies to Sieur de Villebon, have arrived at the river Saint John. Some Indians from Acadia have assured us that they had not. These Indians continue their incursions on the English and carry off some people every day.

This year has passed rather in projects than in acts. The King's orders would have been punctually obeyed had time permitted; but it must be observed, that an expedition against Manatte is much more useful to Canada and more feasible, than that against Boston, which could hardly sustain itself, if we were masters of the first mentioned city.

The recommendations of persons on the spot ought to be followed instead of those furnished by certain interested persons, who have in view only their private advantage and not that of a Colony already established; who speak but very loosely, not being thoroughly conversant with the subject nor with the condition of the places which are to be passed, nor with various other circumstances the least of which may mar a design, and cause the loss of all the money expended on it.

Quebec, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1697.

<sup>1</sup> Younger brother of Tonty, the companion of La Salle. *La Potherie*, III, 309.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. LOUIS HONORÉ FLEURY DESCHAMBAULT belonged to the Seminary of Quebec. He was only four years in Orders when he died on the 29th August, 1698. *Recu. Mr. Taschereau. MS.*

<sup>3</sup> See note 2, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Supposed to refer to the murder of Major Frost, his wife and party, 4th July 1697. *Hutchinson*, II, 95; *Williamson*, I, 647.



## CHAPTER IX.

*An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada from the departure of the Vessels in 1697 to the 20<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>br</sup> 1698.*

When the fleet sailed in October 1697, we began to despair of the return of Otacheté, an Oneida Chief, of whom frequent mention has been made in the preceding Relation. He was commissioned, as may be seen, to engage the hostile Iroquois to agree with the opinions entertained by himself and apparently by a portion of his Tribe, and to inspire them with the sentiments of submission they ought to feel for their father Onontio.

At length, after a long delay, he arrived at Montreal in the beginning of November, accompanied by two other Oneidas, by Arratio, an Onondaga Sachem, and by a young War Chief of the same nation whose family possessés some influence among his Tribe. They repaired within a few days to Quebec, and Arratio speaking for the four Upper Iroquois Nations—namely, the Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas—after apologizing for having been so long in executing what Ottacheté had recommended in order to reëstablish themselves in their father Onontio's favor, which delay arose from the Senecas being engaged in bewailing the death of their Chief whom the Outaouas had killed, presented five Belts by which he said:—

## FIRST BELT.

Father! your children, the Iroquois, principally the Onondagas, in the desire they feel for peace have just opened the road with the Oneidas who have already begun [to break it], in order to permit people to go and come freely both by water and by land for the purpose of concluding negotiations.

## SECOND BELT.

Father Onontio. By one-half of this Belt I administer to you a cordial, to expel from your heart all the sorrow we may have heretofore caused you.

By the other half, I assure you that I have arrested all the hatchets of my young men, so that I have not allowed any party to go out since the campaign to Onnontagué.

## THIRD BELT.

The four Upper Nations acknowledge their fault; the chastisement they received in last year's campaign has restored them to their senses; they promise in future to be wise, and not to give any more cause for a similar punishment.

## FOURTH BELT.

Following the example of my Ancestors who always maintained peace with Onontio, I entertain no longer any thoughts but those of peace, and with this view I with this Belt nail fast the Sun in order to dispel the fogs of past misunderstandings.

## FIFTH BELT.

I have resolved on peace; though many of my chief men have been killed, that does not deprive me of my senses, and by this Belt I dig a trench to inter these Dead without wishing to avenge them.

The Onontagués and Oneidas promise to make all the Iroquois Nations accept what they advance by these Belts.

Addressing the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who were present, they added: We also adopt the resolution to embrace the Faith according to the instructions we have received from you, whilst residing in our Villages.

Were Count de Frontenac not as much accustomed as he is to the fair promises of the Iroquois, the performance of which is so rare, he might have believed that they were, indeed, disposed to conclude a solid peace, and were speaking in good faith. But his expectations not being realized, and no French prisoner appearing with these envoys, he told them, after having administered some sharp reproofs, and threatening to detain them all and to treat them as spies rather than as Negotiators, That out of respect for his son Ottacheté, who served them as a safeguard, he would suspend for some time yet, his just resentment; that they should determine among themselves what guarantee they would give him for the Word they brought him; that he would hear them on the morrow; Let them endeavor to adopt a wise resolution during the night which he would allow them for deliberation.

On the next day, Ottacheté spoke for all the four Nations. He enlarged more fully than Arratio on their grief for the loss of so many Chiefs and Warriors that the French, or their allies, had killed since some time. Perceiving that he was favorably listened to, he attempted to establish the sincerity of the Iroquois, and offered to remain with Onontio as a hostage for their honesty.

Count de Frontenac rejected this proposition, and told him, in answer, that, as regarded him personally he doubted not his fidelity and that of some other Oneida cabins, but he entertained quite different sentiments of the rest of the Iroquois. His friendship for his countrymen and the desire he felt to bring things about were blinding him, inasmuch as it was not a hostage such as he that was required; that his cabin was at the Saut and that he had become a real Child of the French; that when Onontio demanded a guarantee for the Word of the Iroquois, he meant that it should be one in whose breast he could suppose still remained some bad impressions, and not a Child like him Otacheté that was obedient to his father.

Let them be careful then to give an answer to the proposition he had submitted on the preceding evening. If they had nothing else to say, the road was open to them to return; he should see what further he had to do.

The coldness of this answer obliged them at last to come to the point required of them, and Ottacheté said that Arratio, the most considerable of the Onondaga Ambassadors, would remain as a hostage on the part of the four Nations; that he and the others would forthwith return to the Village, to make known there, Onontio's will, and that they expected to come back shortly after the breaking up of the ice.

Some presents were made them on pretence of protecting them from the cold during their journey, and they set out on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November on their return to Montreal.

As Arratio and Ottacheté had declared when presenting the five Belts, that they spoke not for the Mohawks, and that these had no share in them, Count de Frontenac resolved to send

four @ five hundred men thither on a visit under the command of Captain de Louvigny. The Officers who were to accompany him were named and the detachments of Militia and Regulars already made, but the heavy fall of snow, and the impossibility of getting the people over in season from the islands and the south shore, caused this expedition to abort, and it was postponed to the fore part of the navigation.

The arrival from Orange of M<sup>r</sup> Abraham,<sup>1</sup> an officer of militia appeared to justify the breaking up of this party. He arrived at Montreal towards the close of the month of January in company with a Frenchman who was twenty-six years a resident with the Dutch; another Dutchman of Corlard, a Mohegan (*Loup*) and a Mohawk. He brought a letter addressed by Colonel Peter Schuyler, commandant of Orange, and M<sup>r</sup> Dellius, the minister at that place, to M<sup>r</sup> de Callières, governor of Montreal, notifying him of the peace between France and England, the articles of which he sent in English.

On Count de Frontenac receiving the news at Quebec by express from M. de Callières, he judged it advisable that the latter should state in reply to those who had written to him, that he was very glad to learn the news of the peace between the King of England and the King his master, the confirmation whereof on the part of France he was impatiently expecting; that the same reasons that prevented them sending us back the French prisoners they might have on their hands, namely the difficulty of the roads and the great quantity of snow, obliged us to postpone sending them theirs, until the opening of the navigation; that meanwhile our Indians would go out hunting whilst waiting for the confirmation of the news they had brought.

These messengers stated, that a new Governor-General called the Earl of Bellemont, was coming to them from Europe, whose arrival was daily expected at New-York; they added that they had arrested the hatchet of their Indians, to which it was not deemed proper to make any answer, and the preparations for a canoe party were continued, according to the steps the Iroquois would be seen to adopt and the other news that might be received from the English.

The former had called at fort Frontenac to the number of thirty or forty on their way to hunt, under the command of the famous *Chaudière noire* an Onondaga Chief. All his company belonged to the same Nation. Sieur de La Gemberay, Ensign of the Marine and Lieutenant of Troops who was in command of that post, dispatched a canoe to advise Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Frontenac and de Callières of what the Iroquois had told him.

They gave assurances that the Chiefs were to leave immediately for the purpose of concluding peace with Onontio; meanwhile, their young men were to go to fight the Outaouaes in order to avenge the death of more than a hundred of their people who had been killed during the year.

The contradiction of peace with us, and war with our allies, obliged Count de Frontenac, who could with justice doubt the sincerity of the Iroquois, to order Sieur de La Gemberay to keep on his guard, and to adopt measures to secure, quietly, some of the head men who may trust themselves in the fort, and who might serve as hostages for the rest. Neither *La Chaudière noire* nor any of his band could do it; they were hunting behind fort Frontenac towards Quinté. Thirty-four Algonquins encountered them and were attacked after they had captured a Squaw at some distance from the place where they were encamped. The Iroquois were equal in number, and after a pretty obstinate fight, twenty men remained on the field, and six men and two women were taken prisoners. The Algonquins lost, on this occasion, six of their bravest men, and had four wounded. *La Chaudière noire* four other chiefs and his Wife

<sup>1</sup> Schuyler.

were among the dead. Their scalps and the prisoners have been given up to M<sup>r</sup> de Callières, and are still actually in the Montreal prisons.

This blow, which is of more importance by reason of the quality, rather than the quantity, of the dead, spread consternation throughout the whole of the Iroquois Cantons and served as a pretext for deferring the promise they had given to come in the spring to conclude what Arratio and Ottacheté had proposed in the fall. Whether true or false, it is always certain that the death of one of their great chiefs disconcerts all their projects; that they require time to recover from it, and that they appear, in their sorrow, to forget what they have previously proposed.

Shortly after the receipt of this news at Quebec, the faithful Oronoué came hither. He had not seen his father Onontio for more than a year; all that time he had spent at fort Frontenac or its environs, and had hunted with the Cayugas, his nation, who, he assured, were really disposed to peace. He did not long enjoy the caresses of his father. Three or four days after his arrival at Quebec, he was seized by a severe pleurisy, and died in a very short time, a worthy Frenchman and a good Christian.

The Count was of opinion that his fidelity deserved some mark of distinction, and he was interred with the ecclesiastical and military honors ordinarily bestowed on officers. This Indian is a loss, as he has been much attached to us since his return from France.

The English of Boston sent back to Port Royal at the end of April, the French prisoners that remained in their custody, and left with Sieur de Castin a copy of the treaty of peace similar to that brought from Orange by M<sup>r</sup> Abraham. Our Abenakis felt great surprise that on occasion of a general peace, their people were not restored, and they would have continued their usual forays from that time, had it not been for the orders they received from Count de Frontenac to hang up for a while their hatchets. Since the beginning of the fall, they have struck some considerable blows, took a number of scalps and even a great many prisoners.

We have received some from Orange by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler and Delliuse, who had signed the letter brought by M<sup>r</sup> Abraham in the winter to M. de Callières. They were accompanied by some twenty French of all ages and sexes. Besides Latin and English copies of the Treaty of Peace, they brought a letter from the Earl of Bellemont, governor-general of New England and New-York, addressed to the Count de Frontenac, which they delivered to him in the beginning of June at Quebec.

They remained there only five or six days, and had no cause to complain of the treatment they received as well in this city as in Montreal. The English and Dutch that could be mustered during their brief sojourn in Canada, and who were disposed to return to their country were placed in their hands. They would have carried back very few, had regard been paid to the tears of a number of children who were not considered of an age to qualify them for choosing their place of residence.

As the Earl of Bellemont wished to insinuate in his letter that he would take possession of the French prisoners who may happen to be found among the Iroquois, Count de Frontenac, agreeably to the intention of the Court, answered him that accommodation between those Indians and us being commenced as early as last autumn, irrespective of the peace of Europe, the conclusion whereof was not yet known, it was unnecessary for him to give himself the trouble of inducing the Iroquois to surrender our people to him in order to send them to us, as it was from themselves that we should wish to receive them; that the pretended domination of the English over these Indians and other tribes was a chimera which fell to the

ground of itself by the length of time that elapsed since the French had taken possession of those lands, both by missions and garrisons, and that those Indians had recognized the King as their protector; that, nevertheless these difficulties, which were capable of adjustment only by the Kings, our masters, and the commissioners deputed expressly on their behalf, should not affect in any way the good intelligence which ought to exist between the two nations; that he requested him, moreover, to cause justice to be done to the Abenakis for several of their people detained at Boston; that he was prevented thereby obliging them to surrender several Englishmen they had; that he would do all in his power to stop them, but he knew they were so irritated that he could not absolutely promise himself to prevent those of Acadia continuing their hostilities.

He wrote to the same effect to Mr Stoughton<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-governor of Boston.

Three or four days before the arrival of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler and Dellijs, news arrived from Michelmakinak. Sieur de Tonty, a reduced Captain, who commands that post, advised Count de Frontenac of the designs which two of the Outaouais tribes entertained to leave that place; the Sinagos alone being willing to remain there. This would be of dangerous consequence hereafter, these Indians being more easily overcome by the Iroquois, or seduced by the English when they will be separated.

Changouosy, Chief of the Sinagos, repaired to Quebec on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July with some Deputies from the two other Tribes, the Kiskakons, and those of the *Sable*. He presented a private Belt to Count de Frontenac without the participation of his companions, and said:—

Father! I have come here to hear and obey you, and hope that those who have accompanied me—the *Culs-coupés*<sup>2</sup> and *Sables*—will not, after hearing your word, persist in their resolution of quitting their fire at Missilmakinak to go and build it elsewhere. I, as well as all my Tribe, are resolved to continue to build our fires near that of the French, and to die with them, and as I am opposed to those who wish to carry their fire elsewhere, I fear that there are some evil-minded persons who wish to poison me; wherefore I present you this Belt to request you to give me an antidote against the medicine they may give me.

Count de Frontenac assembled them all, two days after, and thus addressed them:

Children. I am very much pleased that you are come to see me and hear my word. I have heard a rumor that there are evil-disposed persons who are doing all in their power to have the fire removed from Missilimakinac, and to separate you, one from the other.

I do not believe that loyal men entertain this bad thought. Mine is always that you should remain where you are at present, until affairs be arranged and you be beyond danger; then I shall look out with you and select a piece of land where you will find conveniences for living and trading and where your children may live in peace.

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM STOUGHTON was the second son of Colonel Israel Stoughton who commanded the Massachusetts troops in the Pequot war. He was born in Dorchester, in 1632, and graduated at Harvard in 1650. His father being a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Parliament's Army. Mr. S. spent some years in England. After the restoration in 1660, he was ejected from a fellowship in Oxford and returned to New England in 1662, where he was some years a preacher. He was chosen magistrate in 1671, and in 1677 went to England as the agent of the province; was afterwards Chief Justice, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts in 1692; and acted as Commander-in-Chief from 1694 to 1699. Mr. Stoughton was a generous benefactor of Harvard College; erected Stoughton Hall at his own expense in 1698, and left a tract of land the annual rent of which is applied towards the support at that College of a scholar from Dorchester; also another tract for the support of Schools. He died 7th July 1701 and was never married. The inscription on his monument is printed in *New England Genealogical Register*, IV., 275.

<sup>2</sup> Queues coupées. *Relation*, 1668. The Kiskakons were so called.

You perceive that since your fire has been lighted at Missilimakinac, you have always had the advantage over your enemies; your youth have increased there, and if you separate one from the other, you will find yourselves weaker; your enemies will devour you without any difficulty, and will go in pursuit of you whithersoever you fly. It is not distance that deters them; it is the number collected together that prevents the enemy approaching your villages.

You, Kiskakons; you Nation of the *Sable*; and you Sinagos who are come here on behalf of your Village, to listen to my voice; here is a Belt I present to each of you. I bind you all three together; these three Belts tell you to abandon the idea of removing the fire from Missilimakinac, and not to separate nor disunite yourselves, the one from the other, until affairs be better.

Bestowing Presents on them :

Here is what I give you in return for your coming in search of my word. When I shall be at Montreal, I will invite you to the Council, and speak to you and the others that are there. I set out to-morrow; I shall be very glad if my children accompany me so far.

I do not lay aside the Tomahawk against the Iroquois. On the contrary, I am determined to strike them harder than ever, if they do not soon perform what they have promised me, that is, to bring me back all my prisoners and yours, and you may be assured that I shall never conclude Peace with them unless all my children in general be included therein. Always distrust the Iroquois; he will deceive you if he can; keep a good look out on your route; look well before and behind you.

The Count on his arrival at Montreal, where he landed on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, repeated the same thing to Longekan Chief of the Kiskakons and the other Chiefs who had not accompanied Changouosy to Quebec. He took the said Longekan aside, and this Indian appeared to have entirely forgotten the design of abandoning Missilimakinac.

The Senecas and some Huron deserters had struck a blow at that place last fall, and killed two farmers and a child in the prairie. The faithful Hurons felt piqued at this boldness, and used such expedition under St Souaune, one of their war chiefs, that they overtook their enemies in the Michigan river and killed or captured all, except four who escaped in a canoe. One of the prisoners was given to Sieur de Tonty who had him burnt; the lives of the others were spared by the Tribes to which they were presented.

The Outaouaes, Hurons, and others of the Upper Indian allies, have since sent out several parties against the Iroquois which we shall not particularly specify. The admission of the latter which will be stated by and by, will show the number they have lost in 6 or eight months.

Count de Frontenac thought proper to notify the Outaouaes beforehand of the recall of the French generally, as well Officers and soldiers as Voyageurs, whom he again ordered to repair to Montreal by the end of October at farthest; and told them that they must not be astonished at this withdrawal, as he made them return only to oblige them to pay what they owed the merchants a long time, the latter having complained to him of the loss of their property by the protracted stay of the Voyageurs in the Upper Country.

M. de Montigni,<sup>1</sup> vicar-general to the Bishop of Quebec, accompanied by two other ecclesiastics and some hired men, took advantage of the escort of those Indians to go up to

<sup>1</sup> Rev. FRANÇOIS JOLLIET DE MONTIGNY was a native of Paris, but ordained at Quebec on 8th of March 1693. After having been in charge of the parish of L'Ange Gardien, and served as Chaplain to the Ursuline Convent of Quebec, he proceeded to the Mississippi, where he established a mission among the Akanzas. In July of the following year he visited Mobile. The period of his stay in that country is not known. He is said to have been Superior of the Seminary of Quebec from 1716 to 1719, and to have died in Paris in 1725, at the age of 64. *Sheu.*

Missilimakinac, whence he proposed to descend the river Mississippi, to announce the Gospel to some Nations who had not yet seen any Missionaries. This undertaking is highly worthy of this young Clergyman, who is so much the more to be admired as, in addition to the fatigue he will undergo, the risk of life he will run, in a thousand divers ways, he sacrifices to it an income exceeding two thousand écus. Messieurs De Laval and de Saint Vallier, Bishops, and the Society of Foreign Missions contribute also on their part to the design, in the sole view of the Propagation of the Gospel, since they absolutely renounce whatever trade in Beaver &c. they might carry on with the Nations to whom they are about to introduce the faith.

Changouossy and Longekan, previous to their departure, had cause to be acquainted with the intentions of the Iroquois, and the correctness of their father Onontio.

A young Indian of the Onondaga nation, named Tegayesté a resident for some years at the Saut, who had accompanied Ottacheté and the others on their return last fall to the Iroquois for the purpose of conveying to them the ultimatum of their Father Onontio, arrived at Montreal with a Belt from the Council of the Onontagués, whereby that Nation said that it was occupied only in bewailing the death of *La Chaudière noire*, and their people who had been killed or captured by a party of Algonquins; that it has not strength to travel; that it requests Onontio not to lose patience, for all their chiefs and wise men are dead and they have no one who is capable of giving them sense. They entreat him to send back to them Arratio their hostage and the prisoners taken in this last affair, as well as to dispatch *Sieur de Maricour* to their Village to bring back the French who are prisoners there. This young Indian added, that the Iroquois had appeared to him resolved to make peace with us, but that he did not consider them disposed to conclude it with our allies.

Count de Frontenac, in presence of the Outaouais Chiefs, flung this proposal and Belt in the face of him who had brought it, and told him, since the Iroquois were weeping over so trifling a blow, he would soon give them another sort of reason for crying, and would again make them feel the weight of his Tomahawk. Then addressing the Outaouais—You can perceive by this Belt, my Children, that it merely depends on me to conclude peace for myself alone; if I continue the war, it is only on your account I do it; I do not act [secretly]; and will never conclude any good business without including you in it, and recovering your prisoners as well as my own. Keep the Tomahawk, then, always, in your hands; there's powder and ball that I give you to fight on the way, and to go to the Iroquois.

In this manner were this young Indian and the Outaouaes dismissed.

But another Onontagué named Blassia,<sup>1</sup> a resident at the Mountain, who married a Frenchman's widow, requested Count de Frontenac to send the same Tegayesté back again to his nation, on his (Blassia's) account merely, without it appearing that he came from Onontio. He addresses them by three strings of Wampum.

The first is to wipe the eyes of the Onontagués, and to request them to cease weeping.

The second is, to cleanse their throats.

The third, to wipe up the blood which is spilled on their mats; and having joined a Belt to these three strings of Wampum, he instructs Tegayesté to say to the Onontagués, by the first half of this Belt:—I order you, as soon as the bearer will present this Belt, to send word to the several Iroquois nations to bring in all the French and Indian prisoners in those parts, and that those who will not listen to this message are dead.

<sup>1</sup> Egredere. *De la Potherie*, IV., 100.

By the other half:—I advise you, Onontagués, though the other nations should not be willing to come, to descend immediately to Montreal and to bring all the prisoners; be not afraid; no harm will be done you, and hearken not to the English who advise you only to your ruin. If you hear not my word, I will be the first to wage war against you.

Towards the end of July, Count de Frontenac received advices at Montreal, by a canoe dispatched to him by M. Prevost, deputy-governor<sup>1</sup> of Quebec, of the conclusion of a general Peace in Europe, the Treaties of which My lord de Pontchartrain sent, with sealed orders<sup>2</sup> addressed to him, to the Bishop of Quebec and the Sovereign Council, to return thanks to God by a solemn *Te Deum*. These despatches had been sent from Acadia by Sieur de Bonnaventure, captain of a frigate who arrived at Pentagouest with the ship *l'Envieux*.

Several Indians belonging to the Saut, whom curiosity, or a desire to see their relatives at Mohawk had led to Orange, arrived from that place on the 21<sup>st</sup> August, and related as news, that the Earl of Bellemont had held a council there, which was attended by all the Chiefs of the Five Iroquois Nations of whom he inquired what pleasure he could confer on them, and what troubles they had, so that he might gratify them, and apply proper remedies thereto. The Iroquois asked him to entreat Onontio to suffer their relatives at the Saut and Mountain to come and visit them in order that they may see them and renew former friendship; that they must mutually forget all the unkindnesses they had done each other, and they presented him, with this word, three Belts tied together.

That they had sent back several prisoners to Onontio on several occasions, without his having restored any of their people.

That Onontio had killed 90 of their people since the winter, when word had been sent them that peace had been concluded.

The Mohawk, speaking with the other nations, told the Governor that he claimed to be master of his land, that he was born on that soil before the English, and he insists, were only one Mohawk remaining, to be master of the places they occupy; and to show that these were their property, they threw all the papers in the fire, in order that it may not be said, that they had pledged or alienated their lands.<sup>3</sup>

The Mohawk having concluded, the Onontagés spoke and requested the governor, as he had heard those, to listen to them also. We it is, said they, who tied and fastened the English ship to a tree on the Hill of Onondaga in order that it may be seen afar off, because it was badly moored to the Lake shore. In that ship we all assembled; there was no fire on board; we had only leaves to cover us; there it was that we made a league, and acknowledged ourselves Brothers, uniting ourselves together with iron bands so that we may not be separated.

All the Five Nations resumed, and told the Governor to retain the Iroquois belonging to the Saut, until they returned from Montreal after seeing how their prisoners fared, and until Onontio should restore the latter to them.

M<sup>r</sup> de Bellemont rejected their word, and told them he would not listen to them on that point. That they must not be surprised if their affairs prospered so badly; that they were talking of peace, and were visiting Onontio one after the other without concluding any thing, but that if they would succeed in this matter, they must bring him all the prisoners, whether French or Indian allies of Onontio; let them be placed in his hands to be conveyed all together back to Onontio. That the Governor told them he was aware they had constantly waged war against Onontio's Upper Indian allies; that he left them masters to continue it or to make

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant du Roi.

<sup>2</sup> Lettres de cachet.

<sup>3</sup> Referring, probably, to the Extravagant grant to Dalling, &c.



peace, but that he forbade them waging war on Onontio's Children and on the Indians settled in his neighborhood.

Then addressing those of the Saut, the Governor said—He was very glad to see them in his country; they would be always welcome there; that the past must be forgotten; that he kindled a fire in order to cast into it all unfortunate affairs; when they would return home, let them also kindle one to throw into it, as he did, all bad transactions. I make you a present of three red jackets and one package of strung Wampum to engage you to do this. After which the Saut Indians thanked him for his present, and told him they had no answer to give, as they had not come to Orange to palaver.

The Indian who brought the news added, that the River Indians (*Loups*) said to them after the adjournment of this Council, in case war should happen to be renewed between Onontio and the English, do not meddle with it as that is our intention also; let the hatchet pass over head.

Count de Frontenac having inquired what reply the Iroquois had made to M<sup>r</sup> de Bellemont's request, to bring him in all the French and other prisoners, they said that 'twas granted, but that no time had been specified for their being brought to him.

A few days after, four Frenchmen taken many years ago by the Mohawks, returned to Montreal with a pass from the Earl of Bellemont. There still remain in that village 7 @ 8 more, who, have completely forgotten both their country and language and whose return home may be despaired of.

Some Mohawk families came on a visit to their relatives at the Saut, and possibly some will settle there. They are left at perfect liberty, and walk daily in the streets of Montreal with as much confidence as if Peace were perfectly ratified. We do not wish to alarm them, and possibly their example will serve to bring the others to their duty.

The news Count de Frontenac received at Montreal in the latter part of August of the arrival at Quebec of the Men of War *le Poli* and *la Gironde* with some merchantmen that accompanied them, obliged him to wind up all his business at the former place, which he left on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September. He arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup> of the same month at Quebec where he received his Majesty's despatches which were handed to him by the Marquis de Contré,<sup>1</sup> Captain of the ship.

A few days after, the brother of M<sup>r</sup> Peter Schuyler commandant of Orange, arrived in company with five other Dutch, or English, men sent to Count de Frontenac by the Earl of Bellemont to communicate by his letters of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of August that he had had a conference with the Five Iroquois Nations who requested to continue under the King of England's protection, and that they complained that ninety-four of their people had been killed or carried away since the publication, and in contravention, of the Treaty of Peace, in which they believed themselves included, considering themselves the King's subjects. This Governor adds that he was informed that Count de Frontenac had sent two Renegade Indians of the Onondaga Nation to tell the latter that if they failed to come within forty-five days to demand Peace of him, he would march against them at the head of an army to constrain them thereunto by force; which obliges him to declare to Count de Frontenac that he has the interest of his King too much at heart to suffer the Iroquois to be treated as enemies; that he orders them to be on their guard and in case of attack to kill the French and the Indians who should accompany them; and that to afford them the means of defence, he had furnished them with a quantity of arms and munitions of war, and had sent his lieutenant-governor,

<sup>1</sup> Contré Blenc. *De la Potherie*, IV., 106.

with the regular troops of the King of England to join them, and to oppose any act of hostility that may be attempted against them, and in case of need, that he would arm every man in the provinces under his government for the purpose of repelling all attacks and making reprisals for the injury that may be inflicted on his Iroquois.

Count de Frontenac let him know by his answer of the 21<sup>st</sup> September, that the Kings of France and England had resolved each, on his side, to nominate Commissioners for the settlement of the boundaries of the countries over which they were to extend their dominion; that, therefore, he ought to await their decision, and not think of presuming to obstruct an affair already commenced, and which may be regarded as domestic, inasmuch as it was between a father and his children whom he (the Count) was endeavoring by every means to bring back to their duty, being resolved to make use of the greatest severity, should those of mildness not avail.

Adding, that pretexts are apparently sought for by the Earl to contravene the treaties of peace concluded between the two Crowns, and that 'tis doubtful if his Britannic Majesty authorized his intended projects, inasmuch as, he asked nothing of the Iroquois so far as concerned himself, but that they should perform the promise they gave him to restore generally all the prisoners in their possession, whether French or Indian allies—for the performance of which they had left hostages with him before it was known that peace had been concluded in Europe.

Besides, the pretension the Earl had set up of dominion over the Iroquois, appeared novel and unfounded, being sufficiently well informed of their sentiments to know that not one of the Five Nations pretended or desired to be under England; that there was no proof to convict them of it, whilst those we shall place in the hands of the Commissioners who will investigate this question, will be so clear, so old and so incontestable, that there is reason to doubt whether it will be possible to reply to them; that, therefore, he (the Count) was resolved always to pursue his course, notwithstanding all the protection and succor the Earl may promise them, and that, so far from being intimidated thereby and producing any change in those designs, it would induce him to press them forward the more.

These Ambassadors from the Earl of Bellemont left Quebec on the next day, and were not half way to Montreal when Count de Frontenac learned that the brother of Tegayesté, who had left Montreal in the latter part of July to visit the Onontagués, as already related, had returned with a young man of that Nation, who brought back two French women and a child who had been ten years in captivity among them.

They stated that they were sent by the Onontagués to tell their Father Onontio that the Chiefs of the Four Nations were to follow them in ten days with the French prisoners, except the little children who are become almost Iroquois since their captivity.

These Indians report that they (the Chiefs) had kept Tegayesté to come down with them, and when they will have come to Garonkoui or the Long Saut, they will dispatch him in advance to give notice of their march, notwithstanding the Earl of Bellemont had announced in his letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, that the Iroquois had desired to put in his hands all the prisoners whom they took from us during the War, on condition that Monsieur de Frontenac would assure him of the release of their people whom we have prisoners. These two Indians inform us that the Iroquois have come to the conclusion to solicit peace of us, unknown to the English, to whom they refused the French Captives in their possession, and when M<sup>r</sup> de Bellemont so required them, they haughtily made answer, We are their Masters, and will conduct them back ourselves when it pleaseth us.

This answer shows that those Indians are not very submissive subjects. Teganissorens, an influential Onondaga Chief, is one of those who are to come down with our prisoners. They are expected immediately, and if they arrive before the departure of the last ships, the Court will be informed of the resolution that will be adopted by Count de Frontenac and those Chiefs of the Iroquois Nations.

The *Te deum*, in thanksgiving for the General Peace, was not sung in the Cathedral at Quebec until the 21<sup>st</sup> of September. The Governor-general, the Intendant and the Officers of the Sovereign Council and of the Provost's court (*Prevôté*) attended on the occasion. In the evening a salute was fired from the town and ships after a bonfire had been lighted in the Grand Square, and all the citizens illuminated their Windows agreeably to the order to that effect which Count de Frontenac had caused to be issued.

## CHAPTER X.

*Conference between Chevalier de Callières and the Iroquois at Montreal, 18th July, 1700.*

Two Onondagas named Haratsions Shensisan with four Seneca chiefs, Tonarengæenion, Tonatakst, arrived at Montreal on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July, and spoke to Chevalier de Callières, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Canada, as follows:—

## BY A FIRST BELT.

Father Onontio. The Onondaga, my oldest brother, who has more sense than I, hath repaired hither to speak to you in our name, and as he informed us that you were desirous of seeing your son, the Seneca, we have come to tell you that Corlard (their name for the Governor of New England) has told us that the two great Onontios of France and England have concluded a peace in Europe, and that they wish it to be so in this country; that they had ordered the Indians, who have been up to the present time at war, to cease hostilities, and with this view Corlard hath forbidden us to strike either the French or the Indians their allies, and told us that the two governors of Canada and New England had orders to unite in chastising those who will not obey. In that assurance we went to hunt, and whilst so occupied 55 of our people have been killed as well by the Outtases towards Detroit, the Illinois [on the river Oyoque, the Miamis<sup>1</sup>] in the river Choueguen. The hatchet is still hanging over our heads; we come to learn from our Father whether he will withdraw it or have it taken away from his allies.

Answer of Chevalier de Callières to the Six Deputies who spoke to him at Montreal on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July.

## BY A FIRST BELT.

M<sup>r</sup> de Bellomont has told you nothing respecting what took place between the Great Onontio and him of England, but what you ought to have already learned from Shensisan and the others whom you sent to me last fall, and to whom I stated the same things you mention to me, and that the two Kings have agreed that you, as well as all the other Indians with whom you have been at war, should participate in the Peace they have concluded. This is the reason I told the Onondagas, who came to see me, that it was necessary that some Deputies from each of your Nations should come here that I may learn their sentiments and adopt measures to bring about a settlement between you and all the Nations. Nevertheless, I do not see any Oneidas or Cayugas, and you tell me, after your Belts, that they were prevented accompanying you by the English who visited Onondaga; and add, that whilst you were coming down here on behalf of your Villages, you have sent them to M. de Bellomont to ascertain his reasons for so long opposing your coming all together to confer with me.

<sup>1</sup> *De La Potherie*, IV., 138.

2<sup>nd</sup> BELT.

I speak in the name of the 4 Iroquois Nations, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas and Oneidas, the late Count de Frontenac having stated that we could transact business independent of the Mohawks. Since that time I obeyed your order not to go to war. But the Outrages, Miamis, Illinois and others, your allies of the Upper Country, have not acted in the same manner. Therefore, I request you, Father, to take the hatchet out of their hands so that they may strike no more; if I do not defend myself, it is not for want of courage, but because I wish to obey you.

2<sup>nd</sup> BELT.

Although my request has not been complied with in this instance, I will believe, seeing you are all Onondaga and Seneca chiefs, that you address me in the name of the two other Iroquois Nations. Whilst awaiting your arrival, according to your oft repeated promises I have already adopted measures for taking the hatchet out of the hands of all the Indians, agreeably to the order of the Great Onnontio; but your long delay, joined to the blow you struck against the Miamis a year ago, when you wounded one of their Indians and killed a Frenchman, has been, no doubt, the cause of those blows which you inform me have been struck against you by the Upper Nations, and which I regret. As some Deputies from those Nations must come here that I may speak to them, it will be necessary for some Chiefs from your Villages also to attend in 30 days, which is the time I ordered them, by a Canoe that left for Michlimakinak in the Spring, to come down here to terminate finally all business in my presence.

3<sup>rd</sup> BELT.

As we understand that you have a War Kettle constantly suspended, we present you this Belt on the part of the 4 Nations to upset it.

3<sup>rd</sup> BELT.

When we shall fasten all together the great Tree of Peace the planting of which you will witness, and when all the rivers shall be cleared so that you may come and go in safety, then shall all the War Kettles be overturned.

4<sup>th</sup> BELT.

The sun is witness of my words, and that I desire Peace of which and of War he is the Master. He will punish those who will violate the Peace. I ask of Onontio to let the Black Gown (that is, the Rev. Father Bruyas,) Sieur de Maricourt my son and Joncaire come along. On seeing them, the Iroquois will have no doubt of a sincere peace; they will bring back all the prisoners both French and Indian allies who remain among us, without leaving one behind.

4<sup>th</sup> BELT.

For the promotion of a matter of that moment, I shall with pleasure permit the Rev. Father Bruyas, Sieur de Maricourt and Joncaire to accompany you in order to look up our prisoners, both French and allied Indians, and to bring them back with the Deputies of the Four Nations that I demand of you, on condition that some among you will remain here until they return; the good treatment they shall receive from me will not allow them to be lonesome.

5<sup>th</sup> BELT.

We have been given to understand that one of our people is a prisoner among the Algonquins; we request our Father Onontio to open his prison. This affair presses, because they are going to a distance from this place, and we would not obtain him for a long time.

5<sup>th</sup> BELT.

When you return I shall cause to be released all the prisoners, in our, and our Indians' hands, whose names you will furnish me. However, I begin by restoring to you the man who is among the Algonquins in order to give you an instance of the sincerity with which I deal with you as well as with them. But do not fail to send me back their two little girls whom I have already demanded, and a Mohegan (*Loup*) who, I am informed, is at the village of the Cayugas.

6<sup>th</sup> BELT.

I ratify by this Belt all that I said in the name of the 4 Nations. I plant the Tree of Peace in order that all the world, on seeing it, may know that I come to demand peace of my Father, who, I hope, will grant it to me.

7<sup>th</sup> BELT.

I have planted the Tree of Peace, and by this Belt demand that all the rivers in which there are a great many stones, may be cleared in order that the way be free to come and to go.

8<sup>th</sup> BELT.

When we sent back our son Joncaire, we wished that he should come and go in order to communicate Onontio's opinions to us, and convey ours to him; and we appoint him Plenipotentiary of the affairs of our Seneca village, as M. de Maricourt is of that belonging to the Onondagas.

## BY THREE STRINGS OF WAMPUM.

In consequence of the death of Joncaire's father, who managed affairs well, and was in favor of peace, We inform Onontio, by these strings of Wampum, that we have selected Tonatakout, the nearest blood relation, to act as his father instead, as he resembles [him] in his disposition of a kind parent.

6<sup>th</sup> BELT.

I am sorry for the death of Joncaire's father, knowing that he had an upright heart, and I am glad you have appointed Tonatakout to act in his stead since you inform me he resembles him in his good intentions. Here is a Belt that I present to you in token of my sharing your sentiments; and I consent that Sieur Joncaire act as envoy to convey my word to you and to bring me back yours.

Be not surprised, Father Onontio, if only two villages of us have come. Peter Schuyler, M. de Bellomont's messenger, having learned that we were about to start on our visit to you pursuant to the promise we gave you, came to our place to prevent us coming down; but we did not fail to set out notwithstanding, in order to solicit peace from you in the name of the 4 Upper Nations whilst we sent our children the Cayugas and the Oneidas to ascertain why he so long opposed our coming to our father Onontio to conclude business completely.

We are so pleased at Onontio having granted us all we ask of him—permission for Father Bruyas, and Sieurs de Maricourt and Joncaire to come to our country for the prisoners—that we willingly consent that four of our people remain at Montreal until we return.

After the Iroquois had heard these Answers of Chevalier de Callières, they replied what follows on the other side.

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## CHAPTER XI.

*Speeches of the Iroquois who came from their country to Montreal with the Reverend Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire, and brought some Deputies of their Nations, to the number of nineteen, for the purpose of concluding Peace; with Governor de Callières' Answer thereunto. 3d September, 1700.*

They spoke to Chev<sup>r</sup> de Callières Governor, &c. as follows:—

## BY A STRING OF WAMPUM.

Father Onontio. You see before you, on this occasion all these Iroquois Nations; 'tis true you do not see the face of the Oneida here, because he who was a delegate has fallen sick; we are not masters of sickness or death; but he has assisted at all the councils which have been held, and we express his word as if he were here.

1<sup>st</sup> BELT.

We already stated, when last here, that the Far Nations had struck us; that we did not wish to defend ourselves, because you and the English Governor had told us that it was a General Peace. If we did not defend ourselves it was not because we were afraid; on our return to our villages, there were two hundred men ready to set out to avenge us, but when they saw the Rev. Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire they stopped. We now tell you that there is not any one on the war path, nor desirous to go on it, and we have laid all the hatchets aside.

2<sup>nd</sup> BELT.

When we came here last, we planted the tree of Peace; now we give it roots to reach the Far Nations, in order that it may be strengthened; we add leaves also to it, so that good business may be transacted under its shade. Possibly the Far Nations will be able to cut some roots from this Great Tree, but we will not be responsible for that nor its consequences.

3<sup>rd</sup> BELT.

The best proof of Peace is the surrender of Prisoners; we afford such proof to you in bringing you back thirteen whom we present you, though we have experienced considerable pain in witnessing their separation from us, having long since adopted them as our nephews. We also ask you to restore to us, as you promised, all the prisoners that are among the Far Nations and neighboring tribes here. It will afford great joy to all our Villages.

## BY A STRING OF WAMPUM.

You and the Onontio of Orange<sup>1</sup> have made Peace; you have told us that we should all oppose him who would violate it. Corlard, notwithstanding, seems desirous of creating disturbance.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Qu! You Onontio and Corlard have made peace &c.



Come, then, to some arrangement, both of you, and let me know what conclusion you will have agreed to, because when the Rev. Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire were at Onnontaé, a Dutchman came to tell us, by a string of Wampum, that Corlard forbad us listening to the Word of Onontio, and in case he spoke, not to mind him but to depart immediately to repair to Albany within ten or twelve days. We were so indignant at this, that Téganisoirens told him, he was astonished that Corlard would treat us as Slaves; who were his Brothers, not his Vassals, and after having told us that the Peace was general, that he seemed desirous to induce us to fight against our father, which we were unwilling to do; that, as for the rest, we should despite his prohibition, not fail to go down to Montreal where our Father Onontio had lighted the fire of Peace, and in order that he may not plead ignorance thereof, we showed him these belts we were bringing. All the Nations that were assembled approved what Téganisoirens said.

BY A STRING OF WAMPUM.

When Joncaire was in our country, the father of this youth whom we restore, was his master; but now it is Joncaire who is master of this young man. We give him in order that if Joncaire should happen to die, he may be regarded as his nephew and may take his place. Therefore it is that we give him up to Onontio, whom we beg, with the Intendant, to take care of him, and to confine him should he become wild.

4<sup>th</sup> BELT.

We should like to take a smith back with us to Fort Frontenac, and that you would also send some goods thither, so that those of our people who do not come down here by the river may, by placing things as they were before the war, find what they want there; and let them be furnished us at a cheap rate and at Montreal prices; Corlard is becoming ill humored; he may indeed, create disturbance; we would, therefore, wish to have recourse to that fort.

5<sup>th</sup> BELT.

You appointed a Commandant to Fort Frontenac whom also we called Onontio; I perceive, notwithstanding, that you have made him come back and have confined him in a house. This causes us pain. He supplied our wants; 'tis true he supplied them at a somewhat high rate, but he afforded us pleasure for we were all naked, and were at liberty to take the goods or leave them; It would gratify us much to see him at liberty before going away.

6<sup>th</sup> BELT.

The last time we spoke here we gave some presents to the Algonquin because he made us some during winter, when hunting; he spoke to us again afterwards, and told us that since Onontio united us by the peace, we would eat together when we should meet. He said he would be here on our return, but as this is not the case, I lay this belt on the ground to thank him and to tell him that we ask nothing better than to make one joint kettle when we shall meet. We have not been able to bring back his two little girls whom you demanded and who were prisoners in our parts, because one of them is dead, and the other was at the hunting grounds when we left our villages; but we promise you to bring her back next summer.

*Answer of the Chevalier de Callières, Knight of the Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-general for the King throughout all Northern France, to the Message the Iroquois Deputies brought him.*

BY A STRING OF WAMPUM.

I am very glad, my Iroquois children, to see you returned with the Rev: Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire, and that you have kept the promise you gave me long ago, by bringing me some Deputies from your villages. As your good treatment of the Rev. Father and of Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire affords me evidence of the sincerity with which you acted, I am happy to open my arms to you in order to receive you as a good father, who is always disposed to forget the past in regard to his Children, and to employ himself in making a general peace between all my allies and you.

1<sup>st</sup> BELT.

'Tis true, you told me of the blows which the Nations inflicted on you since the Great Onontios of France and of England made peace, which they wished you to enjoy as well as the other Nations, my allies, with whom you were at war; whereunto I answered you as I again do, that your long delay in coming to see me with Deputies from each Village, in conjunction with the blow you struck on the Miamis a year ago, has been the cause of what you experienced, which I regret, as I would rather have wished entirely to terminate the war which must not be thought of any more, forgetting on both sides what has occurred whilst it continued. You have done well in stopping all the parties who were prepared to march, and in having laid the hatchets aside.

2<sup>nd</sup> BELT.

I bewail the Dead whom you have lost in these last rencontres, whilst we were engaged in negotiations of peace, and clean the ground that has been reddened by blood.

3<sup>rd</sup> BELT.

I seize your hatchets and those of my allies to place them with my own and all other weapons of war, in a trench that I dig deep, whereupon I lay a large rock and turn a river over that, in order that people may not find those arms again to use them against each other.

4<sup>th</sup> BELT.

I make firm, like you, the Great Tree of Peace, which you have planted, with all its leaves, and you need not entertain any apprehension that any of the roots will be cut off by the Far Nations, my allies. Here are some of their Chiefs: The Rat, Kinonché, Stasliboy, Kelesiskingie and others whom I invited early in the Spring; they assure me that the Peace I now conclude with you for all my allies, shall be punctually respected by them, which I shall cause all my Frenchmen, and Indian allies, domiciled among us also to do; some of their Chiefs are here from the Sault and the Mountain, and my Kercadout, Onnagszny, Nétaminet and other of the principal Abenakis of Acadia, who have come expressly to execute my word.

5<sup>th</sup> BELT.

You afforded me pleasure in bringing back the thirteen French prisoners whom I see here; but I again ask you to bring me back the remainder and, generally, all those of my allies

whom you have in your country, by the beginning of next August which is the time I fix for all the nations to bring back also to you all your people whom they retain, so that a mutual exchange may take place in my presence, and in order that every thing be replaced in the same condition it was in before the War; and in regard to your prisoners among the Indians domiciled in this neighborhood, you can speak to them and open the door to them by the Peace I conclude, to return home if they think proper.

6<sup>th</sup> BELT.

In order that this Peace which I grant you in the King's name, may be stable, should any difference occur, or any blow be struck on one side or the other, he who may feel aggrieved shall not seek vengeance either by himself or his nation; but he shall come to me that I may have satisfaction done him; and in case the aggressor refuse to give the satisfaction I may have decreed, I shall oblige him to it by uniting myself to those who will have been insulted, and I shall ask the Governor of the English to join me in like manner to chastise the rebels, pursuant to the order we have—he and I—from our two Great Onontios of France and England, and there remains no other agreement to be made between me and Corlard on that point than to execute the orders of the Kings, our masters, for the maintenance of the peace.

BY A STRING OF WAMPUM.

I willingly accept the recommendation you give the Intendant and me to take care of the young man whom you have given Sieur Joncaire, and we will furnish him every thing he shall require to qualify him for filling some day said Sieur Joncaire's place.

7<sup>th</sup> BELT.

For the purpose of encouraging Peace, I shall ask his Majesty's permission to grant your request as regards Fort Frontenac, and whilst awaiting his orders will immediately have a Smith sent up thither, together with some goods for your most urgent necessities, which will be furnished you at the lowest rates possible, but I recommend you to prevent your young men touching either the Cattle or any other things belonging to the Fort.

8<sup>th</sup> BELT.

If I have recalled the Commandant who was at Fort Frontenac, and had him shut up in a house, it was because he disobeyed me, and this should not render you uneasy, as I will send another whom I shall recommend to afford you satisfaction.

BY A STRING OF WAMPUM.

I shall give the Algonkins the Belt you have left with me for them, and explain to them its contents; but I again recommend you not to omit bringing me their little girl that is still alive in your Country, at the time I indicated for your bringing me the other prisoners.

After the Iroquois had heard these answers, they spoke as follows:—

We thank you, Onontio, for the treatment we have received from you. You must have examined all the old affairs to speak as you have done. Such is the way to act when there is a sincere desire to bring matters to a happy termination. For ourselves, we promise to obey your voice, and so much the worse for those who will not do likewise.

The Rat, the Chief of the Hurons, spoke by a Belt, which he addressed to Chevalier de Callières:

I have always obeyed Onontio; he takes the hatchets out of the hands of all the nations: for me I cast mine at his feet. Who will be so bold as to oppose his Will, who is here our Father; I have no doubt but the Upper Nations will abide his pleasure. It is for you, Iroquois Nations to do the same.

Stagtiboy, chief of the Stagaës also spoke by a Belt which he presented to M<sup>r</sup> de Callières:

I speak in the name of the Four Stagais Nations to wit: the Stagaës of the *Sable*, the Stagaës Sinago, the Kiskakons and the people of The Fork<sup>1</sup> who have sent me expressly here, to listen to the voice of our Father Onnontio. He takes the hatchets to throw them to the end of the earth; I place mine at his feet, never to take it up again except when it shall be his pleasure. I exhort you also, you Iroquois Nations, to form but one body with us; I shall carry Onnontio's word up yonder.

The Abenakis also spoke in like manner by a Belt addressed to M<sup>r</sup> de Callières.

I have nothing else to say than to add that I have no other hatchet than Onnontio's, and as he has thrown his to the end of the earth, Mine has followed it, and as I have no other will than his, I shall exactly execute all he will require.

The Chief of the Mountain spoke by a Belt addressed, like all the others, to Chevalier de Callières:—

I of the Mountain am the last to speak, being the smallest nation. I also lay my axe at the feet of Onnontio.

Chevalier de Callières addressed the Iroquois in these terms:—

I place in your hands the Belts of the Hurons, the Stagaës, Abenakis, and of the Chief of the Mountain, in order that you recall to mind their contents.

Stonnot, Chief of the Sault, said to the Iroquois by a Belt:—

We of the Sault have just heard our Father, who told you that whosoever in future would attack any other Nations should be chastised, and that he will even unite with the Governor of the English for that purpose. I give you this Belt to confirm his words.

The Iroquois spoke by two Belts which they addressed to M<sup>r</sup> de Callières:

I thank the Huron and Outagaës who stated that it was Onnontio who had given them the hatchet and that they laid it down again at his feet. We hope they will never take it again from the place where it has just been laid.

Chevalier de Callières spoke to the Hurons and Stagaës

As I have given the Iroquois the Belts you gave me, I also hand you those whereby they answer me, in order that you may remember what they have said to me.

All the preceding Articles having been accepted by the Iroquois Deputies and by those of the Nations who had come down by order of Chevalier de Callières, he caused them to sign the same with him and the Intendant, each making the mark of his Nation, in presence of the entire assembly, at Montreal the 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1700.

Thus signed in the Original:—

Le Chev<sup>r</sup> de Callières, Hortrait-Champigny, Vaudreuil, de Ramezay, Fran: Dollier P: C: Lacolombière, F. Guillaume Warden of the Recolets, Pierre Lesholenec, Superior of the house belonging to the Society of Jesus at Montreal.

<sup>1</sup> The junction of the Kinkakee and Illinois rivers is called the Fork. *Charlevoix*, III, 371, 380.

The nations made each their ordinary mark. After which signed, Sieurs Francois Debelmont<sup>1</sup> Priest, Missionary of the Mountain, Jacques Bruyas,<sup>2</sup> Missionary of the Sault St Louis, Antoine Gaulin, Missionary of the Abenakis of Acadia, Jean Enjalran, missionary of the Stagaës Nations, Maricour, de Joncaire.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. FRANÇOIS VACHON DE BELMONT belonged to a distinguished house in Burgundy and was connected with his native country by offices of high respectability. Acquainted with the circle of the Sciences and conversant with most of the languages of Europe he abandoned all his prospects to become a Missionary in Canada. In 1680, whilst yet in minor orders, he was put in charge of the Indian School attached to the Iroquois Mission at the Mountain of Montreal. *St. Vallier: Etat present*, 89; *La Potherie*, I., 343. Here he had a Church constructed at his private expense, of which he became the pastor in 1681. He succeeded M. Dollier, as Superior of the Seminary of Montreal, and filled that office until his death, which occurred in 1732. *Faillon*. He left behind him among other writings, a *Histoire du Canada*, which is printed in the *Collections of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society for 1840*.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. JACQUES BRUYAS, of Lyons, arrived at Quebec 3d August 1666, and set out on the 14th July of the following year for the Mohawk country and thence in September for Oneida. Having been appointed Chief of the Iroquois Missions in 1671, he returned to the Mohawk, was among the Senecas in 1673, again among the Mohawks, where he continued until 1679 when he was recalled. He was in charge of the Mission at the Sault St. Louis in 1684, accompanied Denonville against the Senecas in 1687; was at the Sault again in 1691, and in 1693 became Superior of his Order in Canada and held that office until 1700. In 1699, the Onondagas being desirous to conclude a peace, visited Montreal and invited Father Bruyas to return as Ambassador with them but their request was refused until they would conclude a treaty at Montreal, and in the fall of that year he was sent with Major La Vallière with the King's Letter announcing the termination of hostilities between England and France. *La Potherie*, IV., 131. In the Summer of 1700, the Iroquois renewed their request, and Father Bruyas proceeded to Onondaga, *Ibid*, 148, where he arrived in August and returned the month following with a delegation that concluded a final peace between the Five Nations and the French which lasted for more than 50 years. *Ib.*, 174. He visited Onondaga again in July 1701 on public affairs, and acted as Interpreter to the Iroquois at the grand ratification of the peace, in August following, by all the Indians. *Ib.*, 241. The time of his decease is not precisely known. It occurred four months before Lafitan entered on the Mission of Sault St. Louis. *Mœurs Sauvages*, II., 434. He was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works in that tongue and on its construction. Hennepin journeyed from Fort Frontenac to the Mohawk valley to examine his Dictionary, and Cotton Mather had a copy of his Mohawk Catechism. His *Racines Agnières* — Dictionary and Catechism are still extant. *Shea*.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Ratification of the Peace concluded in the month of September last between the Colony of Canada, its Indian allies and the Iroquois, in a General Meeting of the Chiefs of each of these Nations convoked by Chevalier de Callières Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in New France. At Montreal the fourth of August One thousand seven hundred and One.*

As there were only some Huron and Outawas Deputies here last year when I concluded peace with the Iroquois for myself and all my allies, I deemed it necessary to send Sieur de Courtemanche and the Reverend Father Anjaran to all the other nations, my allies, then absent, to inform them of what occurred, and to invite them to send down some Chiefs from each, with the Iroquois prisoners they held, in order that they may hear my word altogether.

I am exceedingly rejoiced to see all my Children assembled here at present; You, Hurons, Outawas, of the *Sable*, Kiskakons, Outawas Sinago, the Nation of the Fork, Sauteurs, Poutouatamis, Sacs, Puants, Wild Rice, Foxes, Maskoutens, Miamis, Illinois, Amikois, Nepissings, Algonkins, Temiscamings, Cristinaux, Inland Nations (*Gens des Terres*), Kikapous, People of the Sault and of the Mountain, Abenakis, and you Iroquois Nations; and as you have, both the one and the other, deposited your interests in my hands, that I can cause you all to live in quietness. I this day, then, ratify the Peace we concluded in the month of August last, wishing that no further mention be made of the several blows struck during the War, and I lay hold anew of all your hatchets and other warlike weapons and put them, together with my own, in so deep a trench that no one can take them up again to disturb the peace I reestablish among my children and you; recommending you, whenever you meet each other, to act as brothers and to agree together as regards hunting, so that no disturbance may occur, and this peace may not be troubled:

I repeat what I already stated in the Treaty we have concluded; should it happen that some of my Children strike another of them, he who will have been struck shall not take vengeance either by himself or by others in his behalf, but shall come and see me in order that I may have justice done him, declaring to you that if the offender refuse to give reasonable satisfaction, I, with my other allies, shall unite with the injured person to constrain him so to do. I do not expect such an occurrence, owing to the obedience due to me from my Children who will remember what we now conclude together; and in order that they may not forget it, I attach my words to the Belts that I am about to give to each of your Nations, so that the Chiefs may cause their young men to respect them.

I invite you all to smoke the Calumet of Peace, which I begin first to do, and to eat some meat and drink some broth that I cause to be prepared for you, so that I, like a good Father, may have the satisfaction to see all my Children united together.

I shall preserve this Calumet which has been presented me by the Miamis, so that I may have it in my power to make you smoke whenever you will come to see me.

All the above mentioned Nations having heard what Chevalier de Callières said to them, answered as follows:—

The Chief of the KISKAKONS.

Father, having learned that you demanded the Iroquois prisoners, I would not fail to bring them to you; Here are four whom I present to you, to do by them as you please. With this Wampum I released them and here is a Calumet that I give the Iroquois to smoke together when we shall meet. I rejoice that you have united the earth that was upset, and willingly subscribe to every thing you have done.

The IROQUOIS.

Father. Here we are assembled agreeably to your wishes; you planted, last year, a Tree of peace, and added to it roots and leaves to shelter us. We now hope that all hear your word; that no one will touch that tree. For ourselves, we assure you by these 4 Belts, that we will attend to all you say. We present you some prisoners here present, and shall surrender the others in our hands. We also hope, now the doors are open for peace, that the remainder of our people will be restored.

The HURONS.

Here we are as you requested; we present you twelve prisoners, five of whom desire to return with us. You will do as you please with the other seven. We thank you for the peace you have procured for us, and joyfully ratify it.

JOHN LE BLANC, an Outawas of the *Sable*.

Father, I've obeyed you as soon as you asked me, by bringing to you two prisoners of whom you are master; when you commanded me to go to war I did so, and now that you forbid me, I obey. I ask of you, Father, by this Belt that the Iroquois untie and restore to me my body which is in their country; that is to say—the people of his Nation.

JANGOUESSY, an Outawas Sinago.

I did not wish to disregard your orders, Father, though I had no prisoners. Nevertheless, here is a woman I redeemed; do with her as you like; and here is a Calumet that I present to the Iroquois to smoke like brothers when we shall meet.

CHICHICATATO, Chief of the Miamis.

Father, I have obeyed you by bringing you back eight Iroquois prisoners to do with them as you please; had I some canoes, I would have brought you more; although I do not see here any of mine that are in the hands of the Iroquois, I will bring you those that remain if you wish it, or I shall open the door to them that they may return.

ONANGUISSET, for the Sacs.

Father. I form but one body with you. Here's an Iroquois prisoner whom I took in war; in presenting him to you, permit me to give him a Calumet to carry to the Iroquois and to smoke whenever we meet. I thank you for giving light to the Sun which has been obscured since the War.

## ONANGUISSET Chief of the Poutouatamis.

Father. I shall not make you a long speech. I have only two prisoners whom I place beside you to do with them as you think proper. Here's a Calumet which I present you either to retain or give it to these two prisoners in order that they smoke out of it in their country. I am always ready to obey you even unto the death.

## MISKOUESA, Chief of the Outagamis.

I have no prisoners to surrender to you, Father, but I thank you for the clear sky you give the whole world by the Peace. For myself I will never lose this light.

## The MASKOUTINS.

I do not bring you any Iroquois prisoners because I have not been out against them for some time, having amused myself in making war on other nations; but I am come in obedience to your call, and thank you for the Peace you have procured us.

## The WILD RICE.

Father, I come merely out of obedience to you, and to take advantage of the Peace you have concluded between the Iroquois and us.

## The SAUTEURS and PUANTS.

Father. I would have brought you some Iroquois prisoners had I had any, as I am desirous to obey you in whatever you order. I thank you for the light you have given us, and I wish that it may be lasting.

## The NEPISSINGS.

I would not fail in coming here like the others, to listen to your voice. I had an Iroquois prisoner last year whom I surrendered to you; here's a Calumet which I present to you for the Iroquois if you please, in order that we may smoke together whenever we meet.

## The ALGONQUINS.

Father. I have no prisoners to surrender to you. The Algonkin is one of your Children, who has always been yours and will so continue as long as he shall live. I pray the Master of Life that your acts to-day may long endure.

## The AMIKOIS.

Having no will but yours, I agree to what you have just done.

## The ABENAKIS.

Father. Although I am the last to speak, I am not the less yours; You know I have been always attached to you I have no longer a hatchet; You buried it in a trench last year, and I will not resume it until you order me.

## Those of the SAULT.

You, Iroquois, are not ignorant that we are attached to our Father; we who dwell with him and live in his bosom. You sent us a Belt three years ago inviting us to procure peace for you; we sent you another in return; we again give you this one to let you know that we



have labored for that object. We ask nothing more than that it should be lasting. Do, also, on your part, what is necessary thereunto.

**Those of the MOUNTAIN.**

Father. You have caused all the Nations to be assembled here, to make a pile of hatchets and to bury them with your own in the ground. I rejoice at what you have done this day, and I invite the Iroquois to regard us as their brothers.

Lower down. Thirty-eight Chiefs of the different Nations have signed as usual with figures of Animals.

**FINIS.**