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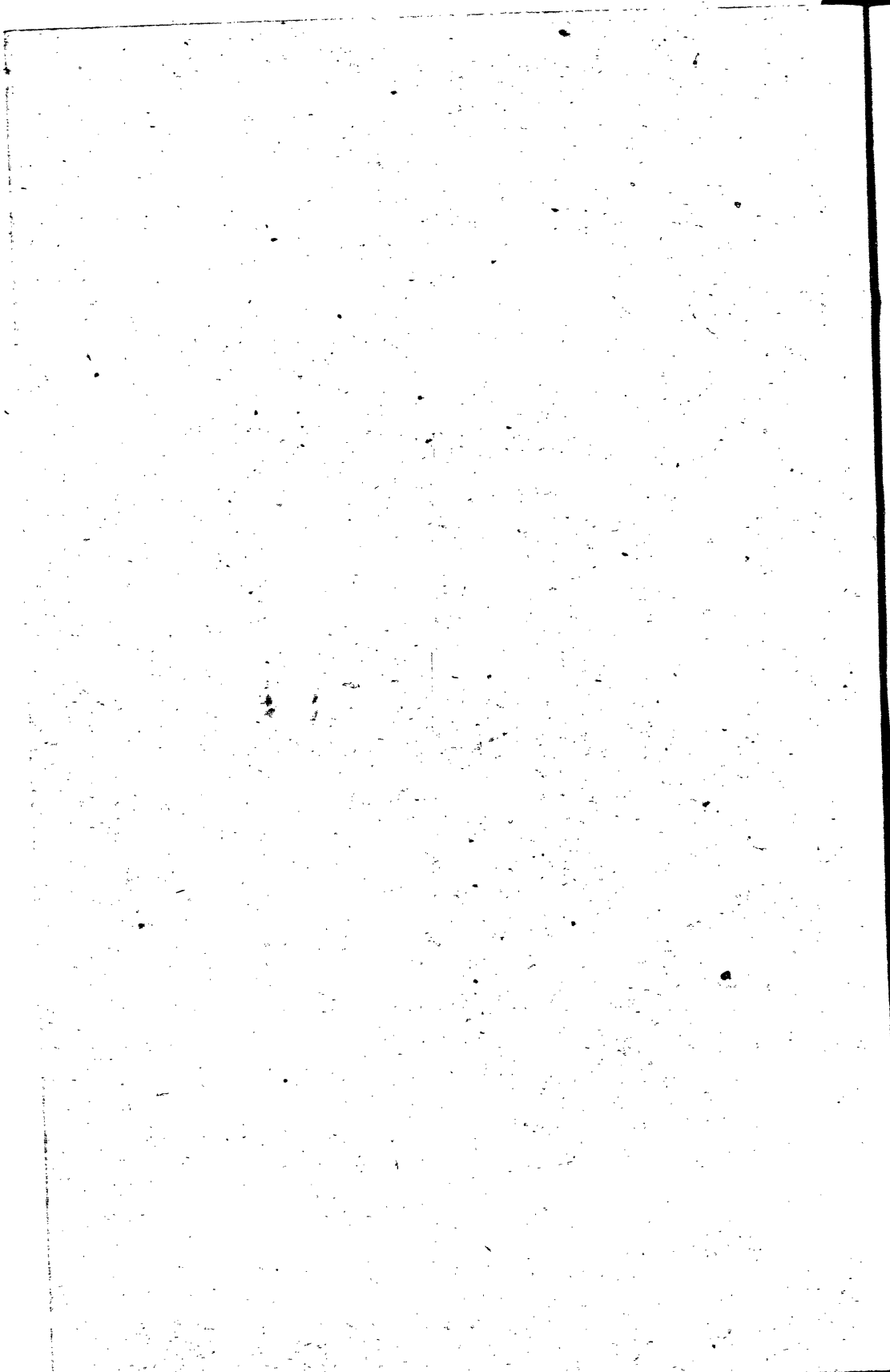
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JESUIT MISSIONS
AMONG
THE CAYUGAS,
FROM
1656 TO 1684.



JESUIT MISSIONS
AMONG
THE CAYUGAS.

FROM 1656 TO 1684.

BY REV. CHARLES HAWLEY, D. D.,
President of the Cayuga County Historical Society.



AUBURN, N. Y.:

1876.

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(THE following articles were written for the *Auburn Daily Advertiser*, in which paper they recently appeared.) In giving them this permanent form, it has been deemed best not to change their serial character, and they are reprinted as originally published. (Their value consists mainly in transcripts from the *Relations Des Jesuites* of the earliest written record of events within the present limits of Cayuga County,) and made by the first white men who trod its soil. The several translations have been carefully made for the purpose, and with the desire to place within reach of the general reader these treasures of our local history, until now, for the most part, locked up in the original French, and in volumes rarely to be found in private hands. In this part of the work the writer would acknowledge with pleasure the assistance of Mr. Theodore P. Case, on whose more intimate knowledge of the French language he has relied for accuracy in the rendering, while alone responsible for the English dress in which the translation appears. For that of Charlevoix's admirable and touching tribute to the character of Father de Carheil, he is indebted to Mr. John H. Osborne, who beside the works of the historian of New France, has enriched his collection with other valuable and rare volumes illustrative of the early history of the country, and which have been of service in the preparation of these papers.

AUBURN, July 27, 1876.

C. H.

Jesuit Missions Among the Cayugas.

NO. I.

It is now two hundred and twenty years ago, that the Jesuit Fathers made their first attempt to establish a mission among the Cayugas, one of the five nations then comprising the powerful Iroquois League. In November of the previous year (1655), they had founded a mission under favorable auspices at Onondaga, which became the centre of their labors, as it was also the recognized capital of the confederacy. A chapel was built, schools were opened, and preparations made for the establishment of a French colony, and the building of a fort in the vicinity of the mission, at the request of the Onondagas, for their protection against the Eries.

The following account of the beginnings of the Cayuga mission is taken from "*Relations Des Jesuites*," translated from the original French. It is Chapter XVI of the *Relations* for 1657, and will be followed by other documents from the same source, covering the entire history of the mission :

CONCERNING THE PUBLICATION OF THE FAITH AMONG THE CAYUGA IROQUOIS.

Having adopted, immediately on our arrival in this country, the Onondagas as brothers, and the Cayugas and Oneidas as children, it became necessary, for the preservation of this alliance, to visit them in order to make them presents, which we shall be obliged to do each year, to render our relationship with them serviceable and desirable. This was to us a very

agreeable necessity, as it opened the way for the proclamation of the Gospel in conferring our presents, after the manner in which we had happily commenced our labors.

It was with this design that Fathers Chaumonot and Menard left (Onondaga) at the end of the month of August in the year 1656 for Cayuga, where they arrived after a journey of two days; and that Father Chaumonot having made a brief sojourn there, proceeded to the country of the Senecas, leaving Father Menard to the labors of founding the church about to be formed. This is what he has sent to us :

The antipathy toward the faith and our persons, which the Hurons had created among the natives of the country, persuading them that we brought with us sickness and misfortune to the places we visited, caused us to be received quite coolly, and rendered our presents, made for the sake of the faith, worthless in their esteem. Nevertheless, the principal men, who out of regard for their temporal interests, would not break with us, and trusting that the attempt on behalf of the Faith would not endanger the lives of their slaves, set them at work, four days after our arrival, to build for us a chapel, on which they employed themselves so diligently, that in two days it was in a condition to receive the Christians. After it had been furnished and adorned with the most beautiful mats, I there exposed the Image of our Lord, and that of our Lady; this was a spectacle the novelty of which so greatly surprised our barbarians that they came in crowds to consider it, and gaze upon the countenance and movement of the two Images. I thus had abundant opportunity to explain our mysteries; and so inquisitive were they about the Images, that each day was but one asking and answering of questions from morning till night; the result of which was, that they were so subdued in spirit that in a few days, we had many converts, not only of Hurons and slaves, but also from the natives of the country.

Many brought their children to me for Baptism; and aided me in teaching them the prayers, by repeating them after me;

and in a short time grace wrought such marvelous changes, that the little children, who at first made me the constant object of their ridicule and sport, now rendered me the offices of good angels, conducting me into the cabins, attending me wherever I visited, and giving me the names of those I baptized, as well as those of their parents; that which these barbarians are accustomed carefully to conceal from us, believing that we record their names that we may send them to France, and there procure their death by magic.

The providence of God gave me three excellent teachers for acquiring the language. They are brothers, natives of the country and of good natural dispositions. Their kindness in inviting me to their houses, and the patience and assiduity with which they have instructed me, very soon qualified me to instruct them, and by means of the Images, which greatly excited their curiosity, lead them to apprehend our mysteries.

The first adult person that I judged capable of baptism, was an old man eighty years of age, who, having been touched of God on hearing me instruct a Christian, desired me, two days after, to visit him, being to all appearance nigh unto death. I had no hesitation in according to him baptism, finding in him all the dispositions of a soul chosen for heaven, in the way to which he has had opportunity to prepare himself.

The second adult that I baptized, was a cripple, whose face was covered with a cancer, which rendered him horrible to the sight. This poor afflicted one received me with a joy, equalled only by the fervor of desire he had evinced that I should visit him; and applied himself so faithfully to retain the prayers and instructions, that I soon conferred upon him baptism in our chapel. Perhaps these graces, which God has wrought in him, are the fruits of the charity that he manifested for Fathers Brebeuf and Lalemant some time before. He told me that he was a witness of their death, and having by his valor acquitted himself with credit among his fellow warriors on that same day, in which he had slain with his own hand eight Hurons and taken

five others prisoners, he had pity on these two captive Fathers, and had bought them of the Mohawks for two beautiful wampum belts, with the design of returning them to us in safety; but that soon their captors gave back to him these pledges, reclaimed their prisoners, and burned them with all imaginable fury.*

This poor Lazarus, as I have named him in baptism, is much esteemed in the canton; and he is the first support that it pleased God to give to this little Church, which he augments continually, in attracting others to the faith, through the zeal of his discourse and his example.

The enemy of the Gospel, unable to endure its progress, has not wanted for calumnies with which to trouble the Christians. Our faith is accused of being the murderer of all who profess it; and the death of several Christians at Onondaga having given occasion for this delusion of the savages, the speech of a certain chief, an enemy of our religion, made at a council, served to excite still more their prejudices. So that not only many natives of the country, judging it was safer to believe what this man of authority among them said, than to put faith in the totally opposite experience of our ancient Hurons, have begged me to regard it well for them to omit attendance at prayers, until their fear of me should abate; but also they accuse the faith of the French of all the evils, both public and private with which they appear to be afflicted. This it is, that a certain apostate endeavored to make these barbarians believe, citing the Hollanders for proof of what he said, when he asserted that the children of the Iroquois died two years after their baptism; and that the Christians either broke a leg, or pierced their foot with a thorn, or became emaciated, or vomited up

*On the 16th of March, 1649, at daybreak, an army of a thousand Iroquois burst upon the Huron town of Taenhatentaron, the mission station of St. Ignatius, which after a resolute but ineffectual defence, was involved in a general massacre. These two Fathers, the veteran Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, who were in the village at the time, and while engaged in soothing the wounded and the dying, fell into the hands of the Iroquois, and after undergoing every species of torture known to savage cruelty, were tomahawked and their charred and mangled bodies left among the ashes of the town. See *Shea's History of Catholic Missions*: pp. 188—191.

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the soul with the blood, or were attacked with some other signal malady.

If our reputation is thus calumniated, our life is no longer safe. A warrior of my acquaintance, having come to lodge in our cabin, has given me no little anxiety. For having entered three nights in succession, with a species of possession which renders him furious, he has attempted to take my life, and would, without doubt, have succeeded in his purpose, if he had not been prevented by our host.

I was threatened with death, after a more haughty fashion, by a young man, who, after having heard me instruct a catechumen, very sick, whom I wished to prepare for death, said to me that I was a sorcerer of whom it was necessary to rid himself; that I caused to live or die such as I pleased; and that it was as easy for me to heal this man, as to lead him to heaven. Was not this an agreeable reproach?

Nevertheless, these difficulties, raised by the Evil One have not prevented the faith from gaining day by day upon the confidence of the people; nor that I should be heard everywhere; nor our chapel from being filled with catechumens; and finally that I should not baptize daily either children or adults.

This is what the Father has informed us during the two months he has had charge of the mission, having been obliged to leave there and return and join his labors with those of the two other Fathers at Onondaga, where they have established the foundation and the seminary of all the other missions among the Iroquois.

Since then, however, at that same place, the Father having returned there accompanied by five or six French and the more prominent of the village, who had come here to beg him to return, he has been received with all the eclat imaginable. Having found the chapel in the same condition in which he left it, he resumed prayers on the day of his arrival; and so great was the zeal manifested by the converts and the catechumens, that the Father writes that this church is not less promising than that of Onondaga.

The first mission among the Cayugas, an account of which was given in the previous article, was of brief duration. It was soon broken up together with that of Onondaga, on the discovery of a conspiracy which extended to the Mohawks and Oneidas, involving the destruction of the French colony at Onondaga, and the death of the missionaries. The plot was disclosed to the officer in command of the settlement, by a Christian Indian, and in February, 1658, they made their escape from the country by stratagem, and after a journey of hardship and peril, reached Montreal, with the loss of a single canoe, and three of their party drowned in the St. Lawrence.* A ferocious war broke out the same year between the French and the Iroquois, and raged all along the Canadian Frontier, putting both Montreal and Quebec in a state of siege. It lasted some two years.

In the meanwhile the missionaries had a steadfast friend in Garacontie, the chief sachem of the Onondagas, who sought to effect a peace for the sake of their return. Through his influence an embassy headed by the chief of the Cayugas, Saonchiowaga, was sent to Montreal to secure this object. Their arrival in July, 1660, was the first intimation the French received of the termination of hostilities. The speech of Saonchiowaga,

*The colony was under the command of Dupuys, who, relying implicitly upon the good faith of the Indians, had neglected to preserve his canoes. To construct new ones in view of the Indians, would advertise them of his intentions and bring their hatchets upon the settlement at once. He therefore had small bateaux made in the garret of the Jesuit's house and kept them concealed when finished. A young Frenchman had been adopted into the family of a chief and acquired great influence over the tribe. By their customs, an adopted son had all the privileges of a son by birth. When Dupuys had a sufficient number of bateaux finished, this young man went to his foster father and in a solemn manner related that he had dreamed the previous night that he was at a feast, where the guests ate and drank everything that was set before them. He then asked the old chief to permit him to make such a feast for the tribe. The request was granted and the feast was spread. Many Frenchmen were present, and with horns, drums and trumpets, they kept up a continual uproar. The French, in the meanwhile, were diligently embarking and loading their bateaux, unobserved by the feasting savages. At length the guests, who had been eating and drinking for hours, ceased gormandizing to take some repose. The young Frenchman commenced playing upon a guitar, and in a few minutes every red man was in a profound slumber. He then joined his companions and before morning the whole colony were far on their way toward Oswego. Late the next day, the Indians stood wondering at the silence that prevailed in the dwellings of the whites, and when at evening, having seen no signs of human life through the day they ventured to break open the fastened dwellings, they were greatly astonished at finding every Frenchman gone; and greater was their perplexity in divining the means by which they escaped, being entirely ignorant of their having any vessels.—*Lossing's Field Book of Revolution Vol. 1, pp. 229-230.* (For fuller account, see *Relation Des Jesuites, 1658-9.*)

on this occasion, is one of great adroitness and eloquence. In explaining the several presents he had brought as pledges of the desired peace, coming to the fifth, he said: "This is to draw the Frenchman to us that he may return to his mat, which we still preserve at Ganentâa, where the house is yet standing that he had when he dwelt among us. His fire has not been extinguished since his departure, and his fields which we have tilled, await but his hand to gather in the harvest; he will make peace flourish again in the midst of us by his stay, as he had banished all the evils of war." After further assurances of good will, he paused, and raising the last belt, exclaimed in a tone of stern resolve: "A Black-gown must come with me, otherwise no peace, and on his coming depend the lives of twenty Frenchmen."

After some hesitation the proposals were accepted by the authorities, and Father Le Moyne, who had first visited Onondaga in 1653, and by his repeated visits to the several cantons of the Iroquois was well known among them, was selected to accompany the party; and on the 12th of August, 1660, was received at the Mission house by the sachems of Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca, when the acts of the embassy were ratified. Father LeMoynes soon visited the scenes of his former labors among the Mohawks, and while there barely escaped a murderous attack upon his life. He also spent a month in company with a young surgeon, at Cayuga, then ravaged with an epidemic, ministering to the sick and doing other missionary work; and soon after returned to Montreal with eighteen Frenchmen, released from their captivity, in accordance with the pledges given by Saonchiowaga.

It was not until eight years after this, owing to the recurrence of wars both with the French and neighboring tribes, that Garacontie succeeded in his desire for the re-establishment of the missions. At length peace reigned, and confidence being restored, missionary labors were resumed in the several cantons. Garacontie went in person to Quebec, to solicit missionaries for On-

ondaga and Cayuga, and returned with Fathers Milet and de Carheil, in October, 1668.

The following is the account of the labors of Father de Carheil in re-establishing the mission at Cayuga, translated from Chapter IV, "*Relations Des Jesuites*," 1668-69:

MISSION OF ST. JOSEPH IN CAYUGA.

This people, making a fourth Iroquois nation, are located about one hundred and sixty-five leagues from Quebec and twenty from Onondaga, going always between west and south. Father Stephen de Carheil arrived at Cayuga on the 6th of November, 1668, and there presented to Heaven, as the first fruits of his labors, a female slave of the Andastes. They had come in company from Onondaga, and this journey which they made together was the means of enabling her to proceed on her way joyfully towards paradise; for having been instructed and baptized during their journey of two days, as soon as she had arrived at Cayuga, she was roasted and eaten by these barbarians on the 6th of November.

Father Garnier, who accompanied Father de Carheil, on arriving at the village, made the customary presents to secure the building of a chapel and prepare the way for the reception of the Christian faith. These were responded to by similar presents on their part, in which they promised to embrace the faith and erect a chapel. The chapel was completed on the 9th of November, two days after his arrival, and dedicated to St. Joseph by Father de Carheil.

He writes that on St. Catherine's day, he had the proof that this eminent saint was actively engaged in Heaven on behalf of himself and these poor savages; that on this day there came quite a number desiring prayers and instruction, so that he thinks he may call this the day of the birth of this mission and church. "This is also the day," he adds, "that I implored this saint to whom I had before been consecrated, that she would teach me to speak in the way she had formerly spoken to con-

vince the idolatrous philosophers. Since this time, the chapel has been enlarged and has never lacked for worshipers."

It so happened, at first, that but few of their warriors were able to come for instruction, as the greater part were engaged in hunting or fishing. But the rumor of a war party of the Andastes in the vicinity, soon gathered them together and gave the Father an opportunity to preach the Gospel to a large number.

This wide-spread report that the enemy, to the number of three hundred, were on their way to attack Cayuga, proved false; but it served as an occasion for the Father to show to the Iroquois that he loved them, and to raise him in their esteem by his contempt for death, in remaining night after night with those who acted as sentinels. Thus were they disabused of the idea, that in the general panic, he would manifest the same alarm which had seized others; and the warriors themselves, the chiefs with the old men, gave him a testimonial of the honor in which they held him, in a public feast.

The Father knew how to make the most of the opportunity, as he passed from cabin to cabin, saying to them; "Know, my brothers, that men like us fear not death. Why should they be afraid to die? They believe in God; they honor Him; they love Him; they obey Him, and are certain after death of eternal happiness in heaven. It is you, my brothers, who ought to fear death; for till now, you have neither known nor loved God. You have never obeyed Him. He will punish you eternally if you should die without believing in Him, without loving Him, without keeping His commandments and without being baptized." Then, having been invited by a child into a lodge where there were about twenty warriors, he harangued them after this manner: "I am delighted, my brothers, to find myself in like danger with you. Be assured that I do not fear death; that I would rather lose my life than to see you die without receiving baptism." And he added as the moral of this apprehended combat, that they would behold him fearlessly going

among the wounded, to baptize such as were rightly disposed by a firm belief in our mysteries and a true sorrow for sin.

These warriors listened with marked pleasure to this discourse, and although it grew out of a false alarm, common among the savages, yet it exerted an influence as favorable for the faith, as if the enemy had really been at the gates. Thus a wise missionary neglects no opportunity, and intelligently improves the time to gain, for eternity, precious souls which cost the blood of the Son of God.

This church begins already to grow. Its numbers among its converts not only women and children, but also warriors, two of whom are among the more noted—one because he bears the name of the *bourg* of Cayuga, which he maintains with honor, and the other in consequence of his riches and valor. Prayer is not despised at Cayuga as in other places. If some are opposed to it, they are the very few; nevertheless, we are not in haste to give baptism to this people. We wish rather to prove their constancy, for fear of making apostates instead of Christians.

The Father employed in the beginning of his teachings exclusively the Huron language, readily understood by the Iroquois when it is well spoken. He has since prepared a formula of baptism in the Cayuga dialect, and in composing it has used only the simple roots of the language; and is assured from his familiarity with the Iroquois tongue, acquired in his travels, and from his past experience, that if in the use of the roots and of various discourses, he can gather a sufficient number of words to express different actions, he will have mastered the language.

Besides the town of Cayuga which is the seat of the mission, there are two others under his charge—one four leagues from there and the other nearly six leagues. The last two are situated upon a river, which coming from the region of the Andastogue, descends, at four leagues distant from Onondaga, on its way to empty into Lake Ontario. The great quantity of rushes

on the borders of this river (Seneca) has given the name of Thiohero to the village nearest to Cayuga. The people who compose the body of these three large villages are partly Cayugas, and partly Hurons and Andastes—the two latter being captives of war. It is there that the Father exercises his zeal and asks companions in his apostolic labors.

The remainder of this Relation is occupied with some of the difficulties with which the Missionary Father had to contend, and with his methods of overcoming the superstitions of the people. It will be included in the next number of this series.

NO. III.

Our last article broke off in the midst of the *Relation* containing a minute account of the establishment of the Mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga by Father de Carheil, in November, 1668, eight years after the first attempt by Menard at the same place, as narrated in a previous number. Its two dependent stations, it will be remembered, were at the villages of Thiohero and Onnantare, the one four leagues and the other six from the capital of the canton, and both on the Seneca River, the water route between Cayuga and Onondaga the centre of the several missions among the Iroquois. The Cayugas had villages south of their capital, but as they were not within the missionary field of the Jesuit Fathers, no mention is made of them in the *Relations*. The reader is referred to the elaborate and exceedingly valuable historical paper by Gen. John S. Clark, in the *Auburn Daily Advertiser* of the 23d inst., for the location of the Cayuga Castle on which so much of doubt has rested, and now for the first time determined by careful investigation from reliable sources. The proofs there submitted amount to a demonstration that the site of the capital of the Cayugas, at least two hundred and twenty years ago, when first visited by the Jesuit missionaries, was on the east bank of the lake, a mile and a half north of the present village of Union Springs, and remain-

ed such as long as the nation retained a foothold in its ancient domain.

The translation of Chapter IV "*Relations Des Jesuites*" 1668-9. on the mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga, a portion of which was given in the last article of this series, is here resumed and concluded. Still referring to the labors of Father de Carheil during the first year of the mission, it proceeds as follows :

While he takes occasion to praise the docility of the Cayugas, he is nevertheless not without his trials. His host, (Saonchiowaga) who is the chief of the nation and who had taken him under his protection, has for some time past ill-treated him ; for, desiring as the missionary of his people a certain other Father, whom he had brought with him to his home and whom it was his indisputable right to retain, he had allowed Father de Carheil, against his own wishes, to be given to Cayuga by Garaontie the famous chief. He says in a haughty way that he does not belong to them, but to Onondaga, or perhaps to Oneida, where he insists he ought to go. On the other hand Garaontie would have preferred Father de Carheil, as having been placed in his hands at Quebec, for Onondaga where he is chief. But the necessity of affairs at present has compelled the arrangement as it is. This conflict of rights, however, and this emulation as to who will have these missionaries is sufficient ground for great hopes, and is proof that to establish the faith, all that is required is the necessary number of evangelical laborers.

The famous Garaontie, the most renowned of all the Iroquois chiefs, and the most friendly of all to the French, earnestly desires baptism. He no longer accepts a dream as a guide to human conduct ; and promises that hereafter he will no more grant the things that are dreamed, without the explicit understanding that it is not because it is a dream that he accedes to the request. Furthermore he has given his word that he will no longer have more than one wife. But inasmuch as it is necessary in a chief of his reputation, that all these mat-

ters should undergo a strict examination, we still defer baptism.

He has made the host of Father de Carheil a present of a wampum belt, to affirm peace and to establish our Father firmly in that country. Moreover everybody among the Iroquois continues to appreciate the blessings of peace, after seeing the victories of the French arms among their neighbors. Nevertheless nothing is so assured among these barbarians, that it is not necessary always to be on one's guard.

Father de Carheil, perceiving that it had a good effect, by way of ridicule, with those savages who choose something created and vile as the master of their lives, to frame a prayer in accordance with their notions, has, in certain instances, resorted to this method :

"We must pray," said he "to the master of our life ; and since this beaver is the master of thy life, let us offer him a prayer : *Thou O Beaver, who canst not speak, thou art the master of the life of me, who can speak ! Thou who hast no soul, thou art the master of my life who have a soul !*" One such prayer brought them to serious reflection, and revealed to them, that until then, they had not had the wit to see, that in reality they did not recognize these creatures as the masters of their lives. Thus he introduces, little by little, the knowledge of the true God, and teaches them his commandments, which they find to be most reasonable.

But alas ! these fair beginnings are unhappily reversed. All the powers of hell are arrayed in opposition. Superstition has taken a new lease of life ; and the Father has discovered that in a heathen and barbarous country a missionary is compelled to carry his life in his hand. The Father had gone to Thiohero, and there been invited to a feast, at which everything was to be eaten, for the healing of a sick person, whom he went to visit with the design of baptizing her, after imparting the necessary instruction. Observing that he did not eat all this they had prepared for him, they insisted that it was essential that he should eat it all in order to heal the sick one. "I do not see

my brothers," he replied, "that I can heal her in making myself sick by over eating, and by a remedy which the Master of our lives forbids; since it would make two persons sick instead of one—the first one remaining sick and he who over eats becoming so." All were taken by surprise with this reply. The sick person, above all, approved of what had been said, declaring that since this was not the proper course, she was resolved to have nothing more to do with superstitious remedies of this sort, nor with their dances as well, which only served to split a sick person's head.* Since the Father believed that the disease had left her, and after her baptism, she was taken from Thiohero to Cayuga where she made confession of sins committed since she had received the grace of baptism. At length she died, filled with the consolation of knowing that after death she would be eternally happy. Her death, however, joined with the wide spread impression that baptism caused the death of individuals, confirmed the delusion with which the Evil One has blinded these people to prevent their salvation.

Since this occurrence, the Father writes us, that he has often been repulsed and even driven from the cabins whither he has gone to visit the sick. But to understand fully the situation in which he soon found himself, and the danger of losing one's life, to which the missionary in this heathen country is continually exposed, it is necessary to give, in his own words, the evil treatment he has received, more particularly on one or two occasions.

"I had entered a cabin," he says, "to instruct and baptize a young woman, the daughter of a Huron captive; and though the time for baptism was pressing she would not listen to me any more readily than at the commencement of her sickness, when her

*Charlevoix gives an extended account of the superstitious customs here alluded to. The instance as told him by a missionary Father who witnessed the scene, was that of a Huron woman afflicted with a rheumatic distemper, who took it into her head that she should be cured by means of a feast, the ceremonies of which were under her own direction. The various performances lasted four days, attended with cries or rather howlings, and all sorts of extravagant actions. His informant stated that she was not cured, but claimed to be better than before; nevertheless, he added, a strong and healthy person would have been killed by the ceremony.—See *Journey in North America*, Vol. II. pp. 202—206.

father answered saying, "Thou speakest as formerly spoke Father Brebeuf in our country. Thou teachest that which he taught; and as he caused men to die by pouring water on their heads, you will cause us to die in the same manner." I well knew from that moment that there was nothing to hope for. Immediately after this, I observed one to enter who is a medicine man of our cabin; besides he is much attached to me, and is in the habit of praying to God and even knows the prayers by heart. He remained for some time without disclosing his purpose, but seeing that I did not retire, he commenced, in my presence, first to apply some remedies in which I saw no harm; and then refusing my aid in the application he was about to make of certain other remedies, he insisted that I should leave the cabin. It caused me great sorrow to make up my mind to leave, and I could not do it, as I looked upon this poor creature dying, without weeping, with all the compassion of which my eyes were capable. As I saw the people that filled the cabin astonished at my tears, and also met the look of the sick person who at the first had turned her eyes from me, I spoke to them after this manner: "Why do you wonder, my brothers, to see me weep thus? I love the salvation of this soul, and I see her about to fall into eternal fire, because she is not willing to hear my words. I bewail her danger which you cannot know as I do." After this I left and sought a neighboring field to pour out my complaint to God, still beseeching the salvation of this person. But there was no more time; for a few moments after they had driven me out and in my person the mercy of God, this unhappy soul was taken from the body by divine justice and banished eternally from heaven.

I felt, through the evening, my heart filled with the bitterness of grief, which took away all disposition to sleep, ever keeping before my eyes the loss of this soul that I loved and desired to save, but which now was lost. I then had a much clearer conception than ever before of the singular anguish of the heart of Jesus, who loved all men and desired to save them all, but who

nevertheless knew the prodigious multitude of men that would damn themselves in the course of the ages. His sorrow was in proportion to the greatness of his love. That, which at the loss of this one soul, so beat down my heart, was out of love: which did not approach the love of Jesus—only a feeble spark of it. O God, what was the condition of the Saviour's heart, conscious of this universal sorrow over the fate of all the damned! O how small is the grief which men feel for temporal losses in comparison with that which one feels for the loss of souls, when he realizes their infinite worth! Then the words of St. Paul, which describe the sufferings he recounts from his experience, came into my mind; and it seemed to me that those which expressed his deepest anguish were, *Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum*, the care of the churches.

Whilst engaged in these thoughts I was astonished at the appearance of my host, who approached me with a frightened countenance and whispered in my ear, that I must not go abroad on the morrow, nor even for three days, from the side of the town in which is the cabin of the woman who had just died. My first thought was that they had formed the design to break my head. Then all the bitterness of my heart was dissipated and changed into extreme joy, at seeing myself in danger of death for the salvation of souls. I urged him to give me the reason why I should not go from that place; and though he did not seem willing that I should think they intended to kill me, he nevertheless said enough to make me believe it. I did what prudence demanded, and replied that I would restrain myself from going, during these three days, in my work of instruction to the other side of the town.

In the meanwhile the old men were almost continually in council to restrain, by presents, these furious persons who had resolved my death, the report of which reaching Onondaga created much excitement among all our Fathers and in the neighboring cantons, even causing them to send by express to know the truth of the matter. The affair has had no further result.

All is now appeased, and Father de Carheil continues, without fear, his ordinary labors.

This first affront that he received was only a trial of his courage to prepare him for a similar one given by a young warrior, who chased him from his cabin because the Father would not allow him to say, that in roasting an ear of Indian corn in the ashes he was roasting the master of his life. These are the only instances of ill treatment that he has received in the town of Cayuga, composed of more than two thousand souls, and in which they count more than three hundred warriors.

They do not associate death with prayer, as with baptism. Many warriors and numbers of women come to pray to God. The children even know the prayers by heart. The knowledge of God's commandments has become common in their families; and so eager are they for instruction, that they ask to pray to God in the open streets.

Drunkenness, which has penetrated even to the Cayugas, has made havoc among them, and hindered greatly the progress of the gospel. The Father writes us from there, that it is very common for them to drink for the mere sake of intoxication. They avow this loudly beforehand; and one and another is heard to say, "*I am going to lose my head; I am going to drink the water which takes away my wits.*"

The number of persons that have been baptized is twenty-eight, of whom one-half have already died, with such preparation as leads us to believe that they have gone to heaven.

NO. IV.

In the present number the history of the Mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga, as given in Chapter VIII of the *Relations* for 1669-70, is resumed. As this was the scene of the labors of Father de Carheil for a period of sixteen years (1668-84), a brief sketch of this accomplished and intrepid missionary will be of interest in this connection.

He came from France to Quebec in 1656, and was immediately sent on a mission to the Hurons, who gave him the name of Aondechete. In 1667 he accompanied Garacontie, chief of Onondaga, from Quebec, and the following year was sent to Cayuga. He stood in the very front rank of the Jesuit Fathers of his time, and was distinguished alike for his intellectual attainments and saintly devotion. As a philologist he was remarkable. He became master of the Huron and Iroquois languages and composed valuable works in and concerning both, some of which are still extant. He died at Quebec in 1726, at an advanced age.

Charlevoix, the eminent historian of New France, pays this touching tribute to his character:

"I left this missionary at Quebec in 1721, in the prime of his vigor and apostolic zeal; yet how clearly had his life illustrated the truth, that men the most holy and most estimable for their personal qualities are but instruments in the hands of God, with whom He can as easily dispense as with His most unprofitable servants. He had sacrificed noble talents through which he might have attained high honors in his profession, and looking forward only to the martyr fate of many of his brethren, who had bedewed Canada with their blood, he had, against the wishes and larger designs of his Superiors, obtained this mission, whose obscurity thus placed him far without the circle of ambitious strife, and could present to him naught but the hardships of the Cross. Here he had labored persistently for more than sixty years, and could speak the language of the Hurons and the Iroquois with as much facility and elegance as his native tongue. The French and the Indians alike regarded him as a saint and a genius of the highest order. Yet with all these accomplishments, his conversions were very few. He humiliated himself before God, and this mortification of pride served more and more to sanctify his life. He often declared to me, that he adored these manifest designs of Providence toward him, persuaded as he was, that the honors and success, he might have

attained upon a more brilliant arena, would have resulted in the loss of his soul; and that this thought was his unfailing consolation amid the sterile results of his long and toilsome apostolate.

"I have deemed it my duty to record this bright example, that those now entering upon the calling of an evangelist may understand that no years and no toils can be lost, if through them all they attain saintliness of character; that the conversion of souls is alone the work of grace; that no natural talent, nor even the sublimest virtues, can have any power to melt hard hearts, except as God himself may give them efficiency; and that amid all their fruitless toils, they should ever remember, that those ministering angels who draw from the very bosom of Divinity the heavenly fire, a single spark of which would suffice to draw the whole world to the embrace of the Divine Love, and to whom the guardianship of nations, as of individuals, is committed—even those holy angels often are left to mourn over the blindness of unbelievers and the obduracy of their sinful hearts."*

The following is a translation from a letter of Father de Carheil, written from Cayuga, under date of June, 1670, prefaced with the statement that the canton has three principal *bourgs*, Cayuga, which bears the name of St. Joseph, Thiohero, also called St. Stephen, and Onontare or St. Rene.

"I have baptized, since last autumn, twenty-five children and twelve adults, a good portion of whom Heaven has claimed, and among them nine children, whose salvation is thus secured. The loving providence of God has appeared to me so manifest in reference to some for whom I had almost no hope, that I have been taught by experience, a missionary ought never to despair of the conversion of any soul, whatever resistance it may offer to divine grace.

I had, as it appeared to me, thrown away my time and labor in endeavoring to gain to God a man and woman already very

* *Histoire De La Nouvelle France, Paris, 1744, Tome Premier pp. 403-404.*

old, and who at best could not live long. The things of heaven made no impression upon their hardened hearts. They regarded faith and baptism with horror, as serving only to hasten their death. For it is the received opinion of the larger part of this people, founded as they say on their own observation, that for the thirty years and more, in which our fathers have labored for the conversion of the Indians of Canada, not only the families, but likewise whole nations, which have embraced the faith have become desolated or extinct, almost as soon as they have become Christians, and that the greater part of those on whom is conferred holy baptism die soon after receiving it. These wretched people seem to be so possessed, on this subject, with the artifices of the Evil One that they do not consider that, for the most part, the persons we baptize are already in the extremity of their disease and nigh to death, and thus that, baptism cannot be the cause of their death any more than of their sickness. This popular error had so alarmed these two poor savages that they would not listen to the idea of being baptized, nor permit me even to visit their friends when sick. Nevertheless, having seen each other stricken down with a mortal malady, they sought our instructions and demanded baptism with such ardor of desire that it was not possible to refuse them. Thus God knows well how to interpose in favor of His elect and the most suitable time for the infallible operation of His grace.

The person of all this neighborhood, who had given me most solicitude with respect to her baptism, and finally the most consolation, is a woman of the Senecas, who had been sick for nine or ten months. The extraordinary number of persons she had seen die after the arrival of Father Fremin in her canton, men, women and children; and the noise made everywhere about him as the sole author of this general desolation, and by his sorceries and magic and poisons causing death wherever he went, had given this woman such a horror of our person and remedies, our instructions and of baptism, that I could not gain access to her, nor obtain an opportunity to speak to her of her

salvation. She had even communicated this aversion to all in the same cabin, saying that they were dead if they permitted me to come near them. She had alarmed them to such a degree, that as soon as I entered the cabin they all remained in profound silence, regarding me with a frightened look, and in their unwillingness to hear me, making no response, except that I should leave forthwith. In exchanging her residence subsequently, she fortunately went to live with persons who were friendly to me; still she preserved in her heart the old aversion toward me as one who carried about with him a deadly poison, with the power to communicate it by word or look. But the more this poor woman held me in repugnance, the more our Lord enabled me to exercise charity toward her, and to hope for her salvation, even against hope; and though I saw no way in which this could be brought about, night and day I thought of her, commending her to God, and her guardian angel, and to the one who has care of me, and to those who watch for the salvation of the people near to her. The night of her death I felt strangely impressed to offer mass solely for her; and in this I solemnly vowed to our Lord that there was nothing in this world that I was not willing to sacrifice to Him, provided he would accord to me this soul for whose salvation He had given a thousand fold more than I could offer Him, since He had bought it with His own blood, and by His life. After mass I went to visit her five or six times; but the Evil One still retained his hold upon her blinded mind. She would only regard me with a fierce and angry look and drive me from her presence. One time her resentment rose to such a pitch, that weak as she was, she took one of her shoes and hurled it at me, and I left the cabin. But God, who would save this soul, pressed me to re-enter immediately; and prompted me to adopt this method of gaining her attention. I addressed the people about her, saying to them the things which I would teach the sick person herself, as if intended for them. In this way she was led to apprehend very clearly the danger of eternal misery,

which hung over her, and was touched with the thought of infinite happiness in paradise, now brought so near for her acceptance. In availing myself of this mode of address, I spoke before her to those persons of all these things, to which I added some considerations on the mercy of Jesus Christ, who became man for our salvation, giving her to understand that He would bestow upon her His everlasting love, if she would only have recourse to Him in simple trust. I passed the day without any satisfactory result. Finally I returned that evening as for the last time. It proved however the first in which I gained her confidence. This time I only spake to her with my eyes, regarding her with a gentle kindness, and a sympathy sensibly touched by her affliction, and endeavoring to render some little attentions to alleviate her condition. I perceived that she began to relent and show a disposition to tolerate me. But God served himself of a brave woman, who was instrumental in finally gaining this soul to Him. "It is time," she said "that thou hearest this which the Father would teach, to the end that thou mayest be happy through all eternity." "I am content," replied the sick person, "that he should instruct me. I will hear him gladly." She now listened with remarkable attention and docility. She received with faith all my instructions, and at my request that she would repeat after me the prayers, said: "Thou seest well, my brother that I can scarcely speak. My disease is heavy upon my chest and suffocates my voice, but I pray you believe that my heart says all that thou sayest, and that my tongue cannot say. Now baptize me without delay; I wish to die a Christian, that Jesus may have pity on me." I baptized her on the moment, and the same night God called her to heaven. Oh! how well we are rewarded for all our anxieties, painful as they may be, by one such marvelous conversion; and how happy is a missionary in awaiting from God that which to his feebleness appears impossible. He realizes the truth of the words of the evangelist; that *God can cause to be born of these very stones children unto Abraham*—that is to say, choose his elect from these

hearts which to us appear so hard and impenetrable to His grace.

I declare in all sincerity that it is to me a great consolation to see myself surrounded by so many sepulchres of saints in a place, where, on my arrival, my eyes rested only on the graves of the heathen; and as it was this spectacle of the dead which struck me so painfully on my first coming here, so it is now, the thought that gives me the greatest joy.

The first winter after I came to this village, God favored me with the privilege of giving baptism to two good women, one of whom had called me expressly to baptize her, on the Day of Purification. They both survived their baptism an entire year, and as they had been faithful to their promises, and frequented the prayers and sacraments with devotion, I doubt not they have increased the number of the elect in Heaven.

A Christian man and Christian woman of our ancient church of the Hurons have also given me the greatest consolation, as the witness of the purity of their faith, and of their lives, until death, for which they had attained a saintly preparation in the use of the sacraments of the church.

—The remainder of this letter of Father de Carheil, which will be given in our next article, is more particularly occupied with his methods of instruction, evincing tact and ingenuity not only, but a sincerity and devotion which no one can fail to respect and admire.

NO. V.

The remainder of the letter of Father de Carheil, the translation of which was commenced in the last number, is here given. As it is chiefly occupied with the methods by which the missionary sought to combat the superstitions of the people in the matter of dreams, it will serve to illustrate the whole subject by introducing here an extract from chapter IX of the *Relations* for 1656, which among other curious details of the customs and life of these people, contains the following instances, showing

the estimate in which dreams were held as authoritative revelations of the divine will. They are narrated by Father Joseph Chaumonot who, it will be remembered, accompanied Menard to Cayuga at the first establishment of the mission at that place in 1656.

It is not long since that a man of the *bourg* of Cayuga dreamed one night that he saw ten men plunge into a frozen river, through a hole in the ice, and all come out at a similar opening, a little way beyond. The first thing he did, on awakening from his sleep, was to make a great feast, to which he invited ten of his friends. They all came. It was a joyous occasion. They sang; they danced, and went through all the ceremonies of a regular banquet. 'This is all well enough,' at length said the host; 'you give me great pleasure, my brothers, that you enjoy my feast. But this is not all. You must prove to me that you love me.' Thereupon he recounted his dream, which did not appear to surprise them; for immediately the whole ten offered themselves for its prompt execution. One goes to the river and cuts in the ice two holes, fifteen paces from each other; and the divers strip themselves. The first leads the way, and plunging into one of the holes, he fortunately comes out at the other. The second does the same; and so all of them until the tenth, who pays his life for the others, as he misses the way out and miserably perishes under the ice.

In the same *bourg* of Cayuga there happened an occurrence which produced a great excitement throughout the canton. A man dreaming that he had made a cannibal feast, invites all the chiefs of the nation to assemble in council, as he has something of great importance to communicate. Being assembled, he tells them that it has fallen to him to have a dream, which if he did not execute would cost the ruin of the nation, and with its overthrow a general destruction over the whole earth. He goes on at some length with the matter; and then gives an opportunity for any one to interpret his dream. No person ventures to divine its meaning; until finally, one hardly believing that it

can be so, says: "*Thou desirest to make a feast of a man. Take my brother. Behold I place him between thy hands! Cut him in pieces! Put him into the kettle!*" Terror seized all present, except the dreamer himself, who replied that his dream demanded a woman! Whereupon, such was their superstition, they took a young maiden and adorned her person with all the riches of the country, with bracelets, and collars and coronets; indeed with every variety of ornament in use among women, even as they are wont to decorate their sacrificial victims; and thus this poor innocent, in ignorance of the meaning of this profuse adornment, was led to the place designated for the sacrifice. All the people came together to witness the strange spectacle, and the guests took their places. The victim was brought into the centre of the circle and placed between the hands of the sacrificer, the one on whose account this offering was to be made. He receives her, and regarding intently the innocent one, has compassion upon her; and as all are looking for him to deal the death stroke, he cries out: "*I am content; my dream is satisfied.*" Is it not, adds the missionary Father, a great charity to open the eyes of a people imposed upon by such absurd errors?

In resuming the translation of Father de Carheil's letter, it is only necessary to remind the reader that it was written from Cayuga under date of June, 1670.

In arranging for my first catechetical exercise, and apprehensive that none would, of their own accord, respond in public, I drilled before hand some of the children more particularly, as an example to the others of the manner I would have them answer the questions. But I was taken by surprise when I saw three or four women, among the more aged, rise on their feet to anticipate the children in their responses. After the first day we counted eighty-eight persons present, besides a number who listened at the door. One day, after explaining the creation of the world and the number of years we count since the beginning to our time, and in order that they might the more

readily comprehend the matter, I had marked some small stones, to prevent confusion and aid them to repeat the computation, when a warrior rose all at once in his place and faithfully rehearsed all that I had said; but he did not fail to demand, by way of reward, the same prize that I gave to the children.

I have earnestly combatted their superstitions, particularly the divine authority they attribute to dreams, which may be said to be the foundation of all their errors, as it is the soul of their religion. I have nevertheless recognized two things in my efforts to combat it. First, that it is not properly the dream that they worship as the master of their life, but a certain one of the genii, they call Agatkonchona, who, they believe, speak to them in sleep and command them to obey implicitly their dreams. The principal one of these spirits is Taronhiaonagon, whom they recognize as a divinity and obey as the supreme master of their life; and when they speak of a dream as divine they only mean that it is by means of it they know the will of God, and what is necessary for the preservation of their life; and furthermore that the actual doing of the things they had seen in a dream, contributes to promote their health and happiness. They also sometimes give the name of the master of their life to the object of their dream, as for example to the skin of a bear, or to similar things which they have seen in their sleep; and because they regard them as charms to which God has attached the good fortune of a long life. Thus they take special care to preserve them with this view, and when they are sick cover themselves with them; or place them near their persons as a defence against the attacks of disease.

The second thing I have recognized in combatting the obedience they render to their dreams, is that they are not able to understand how the soul acts during sleep in thus representing to them objects distant, and absent, as if near and present. They persuade themselves that the soul quits the body during sleep, and that it goes of itself, in search of the things dreamed, and to the places where they see them, and it returns into the

body toward the end of night, when all dreams are dissipated. To refute errors so gross, I proposed to them three questions.

First: I demanded of them, whether the body of the person while in the act of dreaming was dead or alive? It is alive, they said. It is the soul then I replied that makes one live, and if it were absent from the body, the body would be dead, and so it cannot be true that the soul leaves the body during sleep.

Second: Tell me, I said, is it with the eyes that we see the things which appear to us in our dreams; as for example an enemy who comes to attack me; a friend whom I meet on the path; a deer which I am pursuing in the chase? It cannot be, with the eyes, they replied, that we see them, for during sleep our eyes are closed and covered with darkness, they see nothing. It is our soul then, I said, that causes us to see at the time, what we see in our dreams, and consequently it is as necessary that it should be present with us, and in our body while we sleep, as for our eyes to be in our head, in their ordinary place, when by means of them we see the objects which present themselves during the day.

My third question was this: If the soul leaves the body during sleep, where does it go? Does it go unto the enemy's country? Does it go on the chase in the forest? What is it doing while absent? Have you ever found, on waking, the scalp the soul put into your hands, bringing it to you from the war? Or the bear upon your mat, that the soul has killed for you while you were asleep? Often at the same moment I see myself in France, on the other side of the great water, and here among you. Is my soul at the same time here and in France? They had no reply to these questions and stood convicted of their errors.

It is not so easy, however, to make them understand the philosophy of dreams, in which things that impress themselves upon the imagination are present to the mind in sleep, in the same manner in which the images of the objects we see represent

themselves to the senses. I have always endeavored to explain in as clear a manner as possible these things, by comparing the mind with itself, when it simply recalls by an act of memory distant scenes, and when in a dream it only imagines what appears to be present. You know well I said, that during the day our soul remembers what occurred some time ago, and in places very far off. Is it not true that even now it presents the country of the Andestogues, Outaouaks, Quebec and Montreal, to those of you who have been there, as if you were there now? Your soul has not left your body to go to any of these places, for you are still alive; it has not passed the great river, nor made any journey. The same thing occurs in dreams during the night. But again I said to them why should the mere representations of objects which are in the mind while we are asleep, be the masters of our lives rather than the images of the same objects which are depicted in the same mind while awake? For this, which is called a memory during the day, is called a dream, if it occur in the night.

I then asked them if children not yet born had not some one who was master of their life? They said yes. Now it is not possible, I replied, that this should be a dream, for as yet it is not possible for them to have a dream. In fact of what could they dream? Of knives, hatchets, swords, or the like things? They have never seen any. It cannot be a dream that is the master of their life before birth, nor even a long time after they come into the world, since it is some years before they have dreams. It is necessary then that they should have some other master of their life, and another god than the dream, for all this while. But when they begin to dream, it cannot be that the one who was formerly the master of their life should cease to be such. None would know how to displace him, nor rob of this quality and this power that he exercised over this infant before he began to dream. He continues then to be the same as before, and thus he is their master before their birth, and when as yet they have had no dreams. He is their master after their birth

and when they begin to dream. He is equally such in the time of their youth, and of their old age : in fact to their death, and even after their death. And know that this Master whose power is immutable and eternal is the God whom we adore and who will recompense all of us according to our deeds. It is not the dream, which, as your own experience has often told you, only imposes upon you impious and unreasonable demands, and which has deceived you a hundred times in the course of your lives.

These barbarians show that they are capable of listening to reason and of perceiving its light in all its purity; for some of them, now that they are enlightened, declare that they were convinced of the truth of what I had said to them and have since renounced these vain superstitions.

The inclinations of these people only prompt them to engage in the chase or in war. They form into parties of twenty, thirty, fifty, a hundred, sometimes two hundred,—rarely do they amount to a thousand in a single troop; and these bands divide in pursuit the one of men, and the other of beasts. They make war more as robbers than as soldiers, and their expeditions are rather surprises than regular battles. Their chief glory is in returning accompanied by captives of men, women and children, or laden with the scalps of those whom they have slain in the fight.

As for the rest, one can only say that there are no greater obstacles to the success of our missions than the victories they obtain over their enemies, which only renders them insolent; and that there is nothing more desirable for the advancement of Christianity in this country than the humiliation of their spirits, which breathe only blood and carnage; which glory in killing and burning their fellowmen and whose brutal disposition is so directly opposed to the pure and gentle heart of Jesus Christ.

We have passed the last winter quite peaceably, and without the alarm into which, ordinarily, the incursions of the Andas-

togues who have been long enemies of this nation have occasioned us. But last Autumn they sent a messenger with three wampum belts to treat for peace. He had been until the month of March awaiting a reply in order to return home. But the Onondagas having made war with the Andastogues this last winter, and having taken from them eight or nine prisoners, presented two of them to the inhabitants of Cayuga with forty belts of wampum to induce them to continue the war against the common enemy. Immediately after this, they broke the head of the unfortunate messenger whom they had detained for five or six months, and who believed himself to be on the eve of his departure. His body was buried after his death, and a nephew of his, who had accompanied him shared the same fate at the hands of these savages, who care but little for the rights of their fellow men, and who keep faith no further than it serves their own interests. We can truly say that we are among them as perpetual victims, since there is no day in which we are not in danger of being massacred. But this also is our greatest joy, and the spring of our purest consolation.

NO. VI.

In the *Relations* for 1670-1, we find an interesting account of the conversion and baptism of Saonchiogwan, the chief of the Cayugas, who stood next to Garacontie, of the Onondagas, in esteem and influence among the Iroquois. The event took place in Quebec and was attended with marked solemnities. In the spring of 1671, a Seneca embassy was sent to Quebec, headed by Saonchiogwan, to restore some Pottawatamies, whom the braves of that canton had surprised in violation of peace. The *Relations* proceed to say that as soon as Saonchiogwan arrived at Quebec, he labored incessantly to acquit himself of the commission with which he was charged by the Senecas. He held a council with the Governor, and placed in his hands the eight captives, with earnest protestations on the part of the

Senecas of submission and obedience to all his orders. The Governor entertained him and his suite, and all things being concluded with testimonials of satisfaction on both sides, the Chief concentrated all his energies upon the important matter of his salvation, to the exclusion of every other subject. He had an earnest conference with Father Chaumonot then in charge of the Huron Mission. It was not necessary to devote much time for his instruction and enlightenment in the knowledge of our holy mysteries. He had been well informed concerning them for more than fifteen years, even from our first arrival in their country, when it was his good fortune to be present in the distinguished council of the Five Nations at Onondaga, which Father Chaumonot addressed, for two entire hours, in explanation of the principal articles of our faith. This Father was listened to with a silent and wrapt attention, that was very noticeable, particularly in the countenance and eyes of our Catechumen. The Chiefs of these nations, each in his turn, repeated, according to their custom, the discourse of the Father, but he did this more eloquently than all the others. Beside he has had the advantage of having been the host of Fathers Rene Menard and Stephen de Carheil, who formed and nurtured in his nation the church of St. Joseph. He had the good fortune to share in all the instructions, general and personal, of these Apostolic men. He had conversed familiarly with them, and been a witness, day and night, of their labors, cares and indefatigable zeal. He had seen the marvelous conversions among his compatriots and of those in his own neighborhood, who had embraced the faith and made a public profession of the same. But all these favors of heaven only served at the time to convince him of the vanity of their superstitious customs, and of the superiority of our holy religion, without making any efficacious impression on his heart, or inducing him to abandon the vices common to savage life. Besides, the spirit he manifested, which appeared to us crafty, politic, adroit and complaisant, compelled us to wait upon divine mer-

cy, for a more favorable moment to open to him the door of salvation in holy baptism.

In fine, this moment, so much desired, seemed to have come with this occasion. He opened his heart to Father Chaumont, declaring in such satisfactory terms his resolution to be a Christian, and to renounce forever all the customs of his country not in conformity with the holy precepts of the Gospel, that the Father was fully persuaded that he spoke from his heart. Likewise our Lord Bishop, thoroughly informed of the whole case, deemed it unnecessary to withhold any longer the grace of baptism. He was pleased, therefore, to confer with his own hand this sacrament; and M. Talon, the Intendant, gave him the name of Louis. The ceremony was attended with all possible solemnity, and concluded with a magnificent feast which the Intendant caused to be prepared in behalf of the new convert, allowing him the liberty to invite all whom he desired. The Iroquois, Algonquins and Hurons, were present in large numbers; and yet so bountiful was the provision, that after having partaken abundantly, they carried away enough to feast those who remained to guard the cabins.

The following letter from Father de Carheil is the last from him given in the *Relations*. He was obliged to relinquish his labors with this mission for a year, for the recovery of his health, during which time his place was supplied by Father Raffeix of the Seneca Mission. He returned however, at the end of the year 1672, and continued with the mission until 1684, but as the *Relations* close with the former date, we shall be unable, after the present letter, to follow him, as for several previous years, in the detail of his work. He writes of the condition of the Mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga for 1671, as follows:

The recent progress of christianity, in the advancement of the faith and the salvation of souls, being all the consolation your Reverence expects each year from our missions, I know not how to give you greater joy than to inform you of the growth of this church, in the number of souls regenerated in

in the waters of baptism or rendered eternally happy by a saintly death. If the salvation of a single soul is a source of greater consolation than all the most illustrious achievements of earth, I trust that sixty-two to whom I have given the life of grace, and thirty-two who have gone to live in glory, will give this abundant joy. The greater part of those who died after baptism were children, whose age allows of no doubt concerning their happiness. The others were adults, whose disposition leads me to believe that they obtained by their voluntary submission to grace, that which these little innocents received as the sole effect of the sacrament.

Without stopping to treat of each particular case, the one that has appeared to me the clearest, is that of a young woman of about twenty-five years of age. She was of an admirable temper, and of such sweetness of disposition, so entirely devoid of the savage, that she appeared more like one nurtured in France than in a country of barbarians. Before her baptism, she was frequent at prayers, and often leading at her side her little daughter four or five years of age. This, doubtless, had its influence in disposing her the more readily to receive the grace of baptism. While still under the impression of Christian truth, which little by little, found its way into her mind, she fell sick, and in this state I found her on my round of visits through the *bourg*. She begged me to have pity on her, and give her some medicine that would cure her. I gave her the medicine, and improved the opportunity to instruct her in all our mysteries, and more especially of the necessity of baptism. She appeared to listen with pleasure to what I said of the nature and value of the sacrament. She would readily have allowed me to put a little water on her head, if by that means she might be eternally happy; and had I demanded nothing besides, would have been quite disposed to receive baptism. But, when I added that the simple application of water was not sufficient to obtain for us eternal happiness or to exempt us from endless pains; that it was necessary, besides, to know the sins one had com-

mitted; to have a true sense of sorrow on account of them, and firmly resolve never to repeat them—it was then that her heart, which before had hope, felt opposition and resistance. She drew a deep sigh, cast a glance of her eye toward me, turned away and hid her face, thus compelling me to say no more than she was willing to hear. At this moment, a woman of her cabin having entered to oppose my farther instructions, I was constrained to retire.

Three days passed away before she would allow me to visit her for this purpose. In the meanwhile her malady increased, and excited in me the earnestness necessary to her salvation, which at length had its effect. As all these repulses came from the opposition of her will to an enlightened conscience, the frequent visits I made her, and the desire I manifested for her eternal welfare, together with the near approach of death softened her heart and changed its opposition into love.

One morning as I was visiting her for the purpose of giving some further remedies, with the ordinary signs of compassion for her, which could avail but little, as her end was near, she begged me to give her all the comfort within my power. This confidence on her part gave me the opportunity to speak to her again of baptism. I found that all her opposition had vanished; and whatever difficulty she had experienced in cherishing sorrow for sin, and a hatred for the things to which she was attached by inclination and habit, God had permitted it, only to dispose her to exercise her repentance with the greater efficacy and sincerity, and assurance of her salvation. Indeed, when I came to speak to her the second time of the necessity that she should abhor her sins which I indicated, and asked her if she did not detest them, as God would have her, to the end that they might be washed away in baptism, I saw that her whole demeanor was changed, and the pain I felt on her first refusal to repent was recompensed by the greater joy. She joined her heart and tongue to this word of penitence; she pronounced it; she repeated it to herself many times with an inexpressi-

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ble tenderness which penetrated the depths of my soul, and all that I can say is, that one must have heard it to understand it. After this I no longer doubted that she was of the number of the elect.

I baptized her after a suitable prayer, in which she followed me, including all the acts appropriate to prepare her for death. When she saw that I drew near to baptize her, she presented her head to receive the water with such a subdued expression of countenance, that the work of grace was visibly manifest. I remained after baptism no longer than was needful to give her the assurance of eternal felicity, and have her repeat the prayers; and shortly after I had retired, she rendered her soul to Him who had sanctified it.

—The next number will contain the narrative of Father Raffeix, who occupied the mission at Cayuga for a year during the absence of Father de Carheil, and, with some additional items in its history will close this series of articles.

NO. VII.

The present number, which concludes this series, contains the letter of Father Peter Raffeix, in whose charge the Mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga was placed, during the absence of Father de Carheil, for a year, on account of his health. Raffeix was chaplain of the French Expedition against the Mohawks in 1665, and, at the time of his taking the Cayuga Mission, was laboring among the Senecas, with whom he resumed his work, on the return of de Carheil, and continued among them until 1680. His familiarity with the several cantons of the Iroquois, gives interest to the comparison he here makes between the Cayugas, and the other four nations of the confederacy.

The letter bears date June 24th, 1672, and is translated from Chapter VI, Part I, of the *Relations*, 1671-2:

Cayuga is the most beautiful country I have seen in America. It is situated in latitude $42\frac{1}{2}$, and the needle dips scarcely more

than ten degrees. It lies between two lakes, and is no more than four leagues wide, with almost continuous plains, bordered by fine forests.

Agnie (Mohawk) is a valley very contracted; for the most part stony, and always covered with fogs; the hills that enclose it appear to me very bad land.

Oneida and Onondaga appear too rough and little adapted to the chase, as well as Seneca. More than a thousand deer are killed every year in the neighborhood of Cayuga.

Fishing for both the salmon and the eel, and for other sorts of fish, is as abundant as at Onondaga. Four leagues distant from here, on the brink of the river (Seneca), I have seen, within a small space, eight or ten fine salt fountains. It is there that numbers of nets are spread for pigeons, and from seven to eight hundred are often caught at a single stroke of the net. Lake Tiohero, adjacent to the village, is fourteen leagues long by one or two wide. It abounds with swan and geese through the winter; and in the spring, nothing is seen but continual clouds of all sorts of game. The river Ochouegen (Oswego) which rises in this lake soon branches into several channels, surrounding prairies, with here and there fine and attractive bays of sufficient extent for the preservation of hunting.

I find the people of Cayuga more tractable and less fierce than the Onondagas or Oneidas; and had God humiliated them, as have been the Mohawks, I think that the Faith would have been more readily established among them than with any other of the nations of the Iroquois. They count more than three hundred warriors and a prodigious swarm of little children.

As to the spiritual, and that which appertains to the Mission, I hardly know what to say. God having withdrawn from it, first Father Menard at the commencement of his successful labors, and since then, for nearly a year, Father de Carheil, after he had mastered the the language, and favorably disposed the hearts of these barbarians toward their salvation, I cannot think that the hour of their conversion has yet arrived. In order to

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remove a prejudice to Christianity, created among our catechumens and neophytes, by some slaves, captives from the Neuter Nation, and some renegade Hurons, I have introduced the chant of the Church with an arrangement of the several prayers and hymns, in their language, pertaining to the mysteries of our faith. It was on the first day of the year that we presented for a New Year's offering to our Lord, songs of praise, which we have since continued with profit, and much to the satisfaction of our savages.

I am occupied the most of each day in visiting the sick, to give them the proper instruction, in order that they may not die without receiving baptism. God did not permit me to succeed with the first one whom I visited on my arrival here, and who died soon after. I went to see him many times and commenced with the necessary course of instruction. But his mother would not permit it. One day, as I remained with the sick person a longer time than suited her mind, she seized a stick to drive me out, and her daughter, at the same time, threw a large stone, which, however, failed to hit me. I seized every opportunity to make an impression. I spoke in different interviews to this wretched mother, beseeching her to have pity on her son. But she remained inflexible to the last. Thus this poor young man died without baptism, at least the actual administration. It seems as if the curse of God rested upon this cabin—the same in which Father de Carheil had been treated with still greater indignity than myself, and for a like reason.*

Some time after this affliction, which greatly grieved me, it pleased God to console me by the conversion of a prisoner of war, a young man from twenty to twenty-two years of age. I have never found a savage more docile. They chopped off the half of one hand, and tore out his finger nails, while a crowd of people surrounded him on all sides, and demanded that he should sing to them. In the intervals in which they allowed him to take breath, I seized the occasion to instruct him. It

*Letter of de Carheil in No. III of this series.

appeared in the midst of all this torture, that he retained the presence of mind to appreciate the Christian truth that I taught him. At last, I was so well satisfied that I baptized him. This gave him such joy that he publicly thanked me, even singing of the love I had shown him.

I count thirty, both children and adults, to whom God has given the same grace, since the departure of Father de Carheil. I trust that this troop of little innocents will move God at last, by the prayers they make to him, to hasten the time for the conversion of these barbarians, which as yet does not seem to be near. To believe that an entire nation is to be converted at once, and to expect to make Christians by the hundreds and thousands in this country, is to deceive one's self. Canada is not a land of flowers; to find one, you must walk far among brambles and thorns. Persons of exalted virtue find here enough to call out their zeal. The less enthusiastic, like myself, are happy in finding themselves compelled to suffer much, to be without consolation save in God alone, and to labor incessantly for personal sanctification. I sincerely beg your Reverence, to retain me in this blessed service all my life, and to be assured that this is the greatest favor that can be conferred upon me. I will add a word (says the Father) to give you some account of our petty wars.

The day of Ascension, twenty Senecas and forty of our young braves, went from this *bourg* to make an attack upon the Andastes, whose country is four day's journey from here. The Senecas, who formed a band by themselves, the others having previously gone by water, were attacked by a party of sixty young Andastes, from fifteen to sixteen years of age, and put to flight with a loss of two of their men—one killed on the spot and the other carried away prisoner. The youthful victors, learning that the band of the Cayugas had gone by water, immediately took to their canoes in hot pursuit, and overtaking them beat them in the fight. Eight of the Cayugas were slain in their canoes, and fifteen or sixteen wounded by arrows and knives,

or half killed by strokes of the hatchet. The field of battle was left with the Andastes, with a loss, it is said, of fifteen or sixteen of their number. May God preserve the Andastes who have barely three hundred men of war! May He favor their arms to humble the Iroquois, and preserve to us the peace of our missions!

After this letter was written, Father de Carheil returned with restored health to the mission. The record is that "finding human skill unavailing, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Anne, and obtained deliverance from the nervous disorder which afflicted him." With the year of his return to Cayuga, 1672, the *Relations* covering a period of nearly forty consecutive years, are concluded; and whatever has been gleaned of the subsequent history of this and the other Jesuit missions among the Iroquois, is mainly from the manuscript relations at Quebec or at Rome. We learn from Shea, the historian of American Catholic Missions, who has carefully studied this unpublished collection, that on his return to Cayuga, de Carheil found prejudice still deeply rooted in the popular mind, and calumnies of every kind wide spread against the faith. Some consoling conversions however, occurred; and among others that of a young chief gladdened his heart. His only stay was the Chieftan Saonchiogwan who seconded all his efforts.

The mission continued in this way for several years, unmarked by any striking event, the obstinate and haughty spirit of the people remaining the same as ever, till about 1684, when the faithful missionary was plundered of everything by a chief named Horchouasse, and driven from the country by Oreouate and Sarennoa, the two head chief, at the time, of the canton. This was due in good part to English intrigue.

In 1683, Col. Thomas Dongan, governor of New York, had so far succeeded in destroying the influence of the French with the Iroquois, that, though himself a Catholic, he directed all his effort to expel the Canadian missionaries; and to inspire the Indians with greater confidence. he promised to send them

English Jesuits and build them churches in their cantons; and as the result the Oneida and Seneca missions were abandoned a year before the expulsion of de Carheil from Cayuga.

In 1701, when a separate peace was concluded between the Five Nations and Canada, several of the old Iroquois missionaries started from Quebec to raise their fallen altars on the former ground of their labors and sacrifices. But in the continued struggle of the English with the French for the dominant influence, little was accomplished, when by the treaty of Utrecht, Louis XIV acknowledged the right of England to the whole territory occupied by the Five Nations, and thus completely closed the cantons against the missionaries of France.

