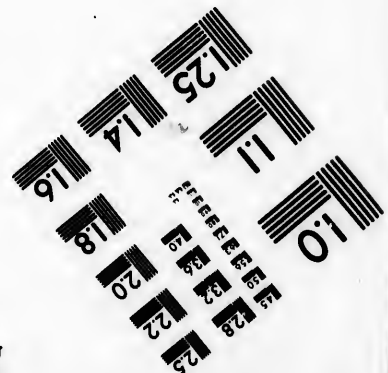
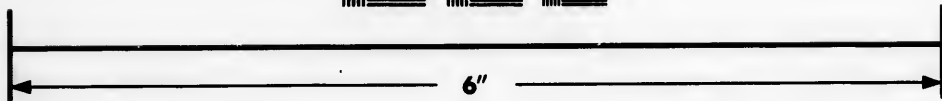
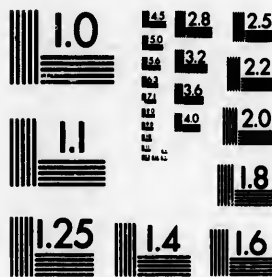


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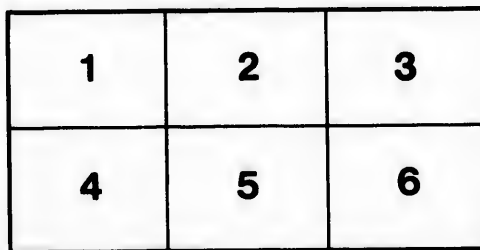
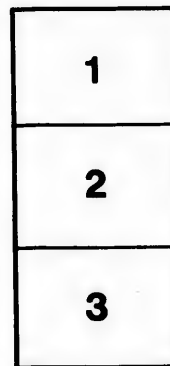
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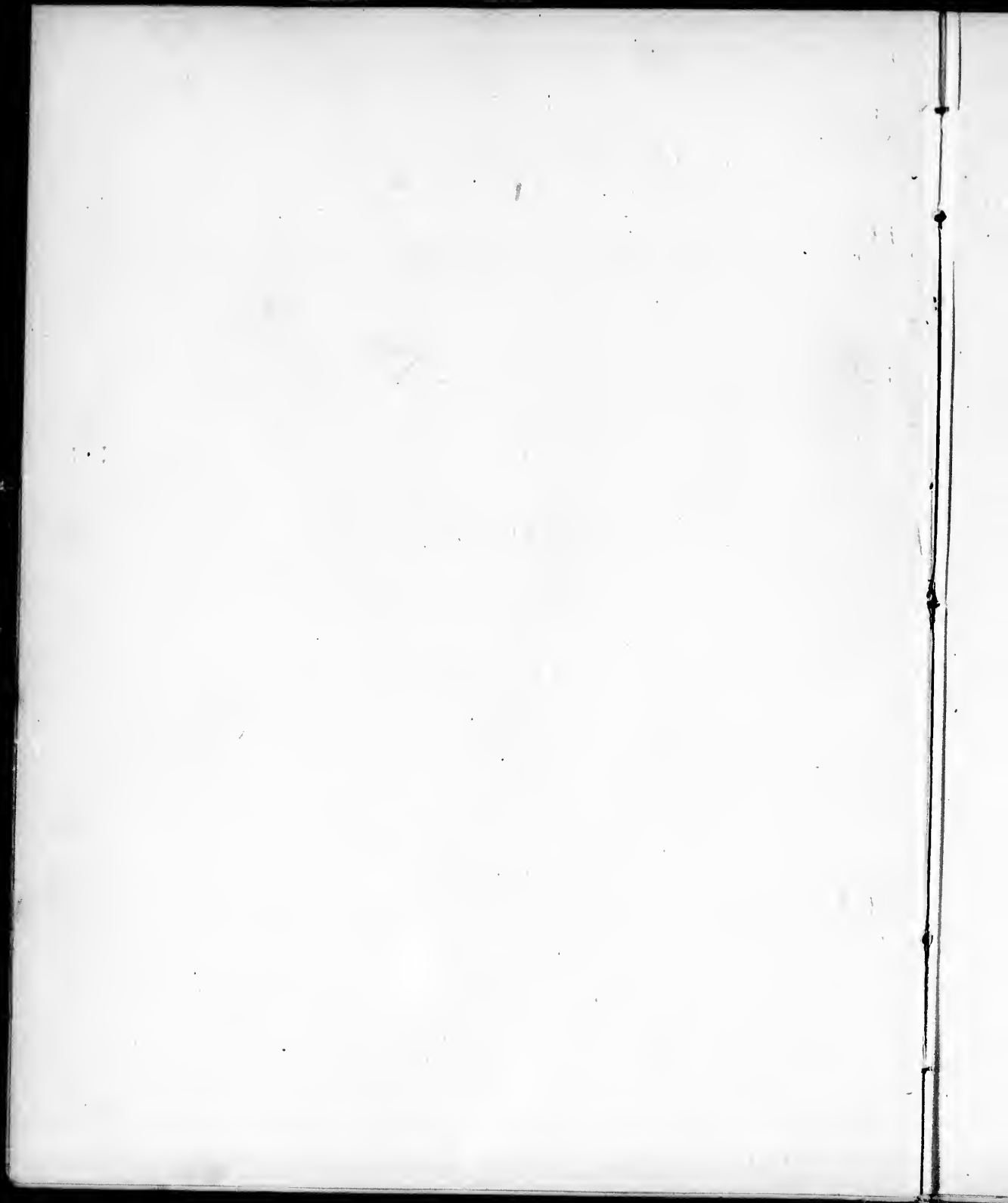
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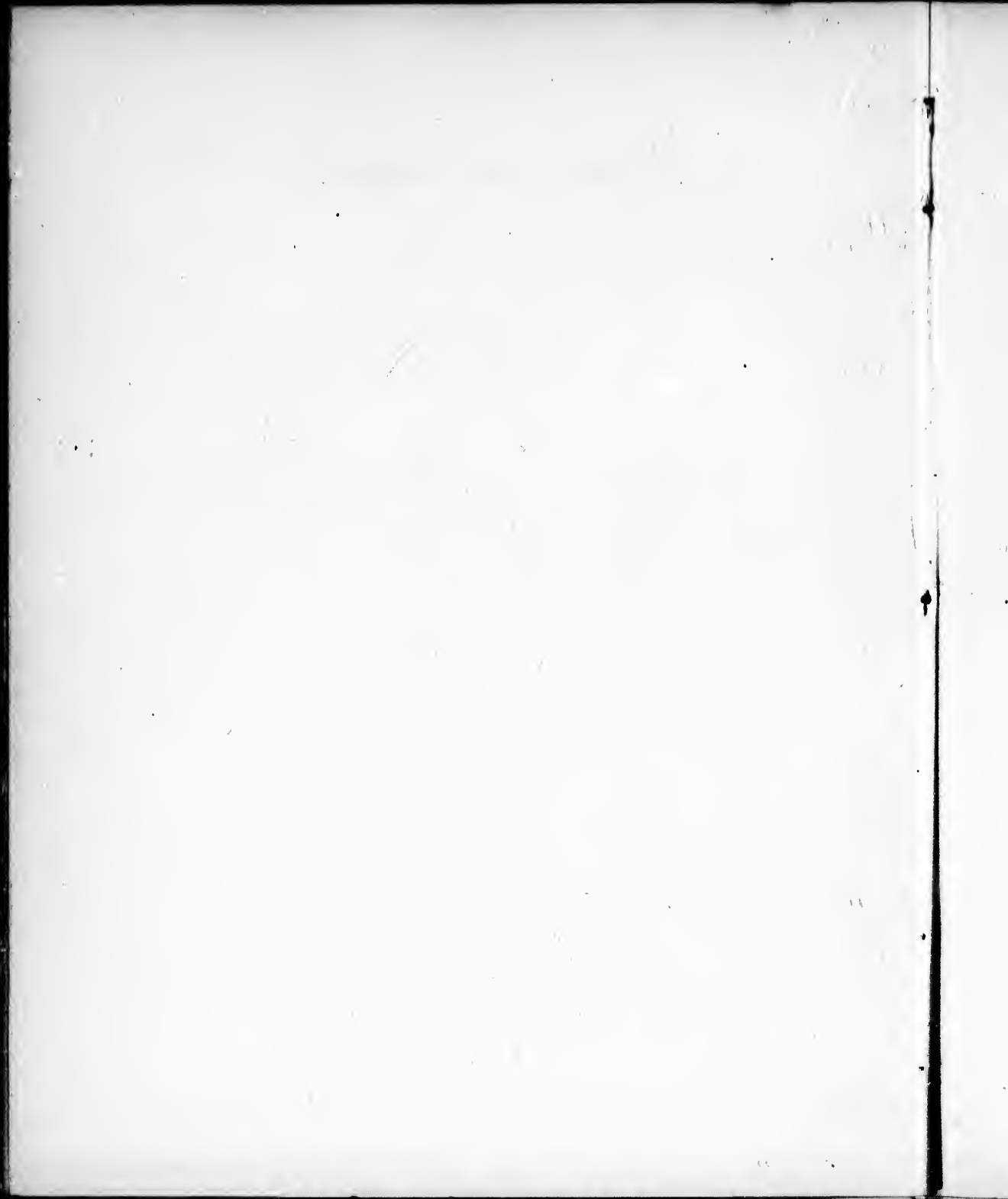
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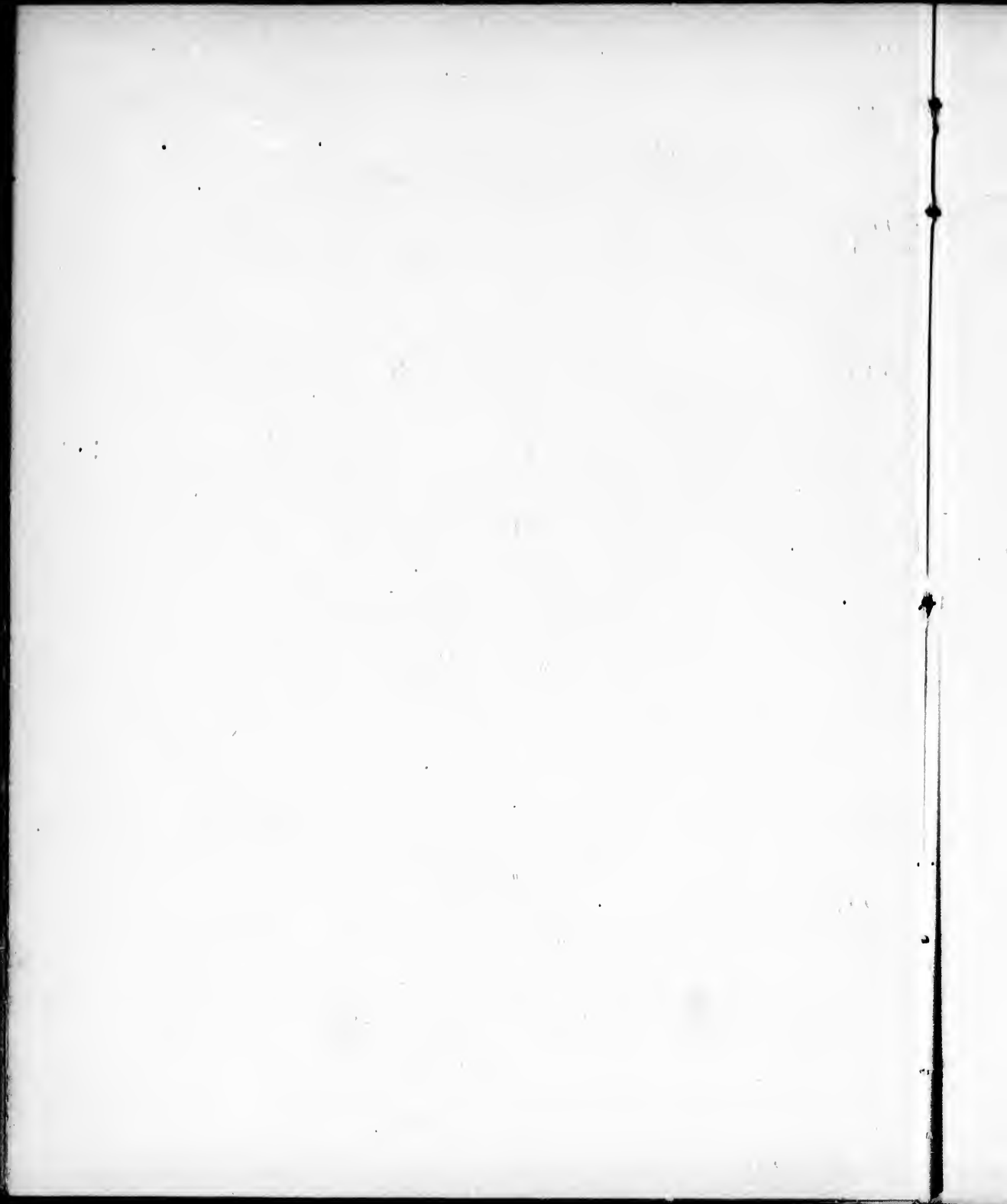
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P R E F A C E .

 *HE Narratives collected in this Volume form a Sequel to those Accounts already published of the Explorations under Marquette and La Salle, and refer chiefly to the Moment of the permanent French Occupation of the Lower Mississippi. They are derived from various Sources. The Journal of Mr. John Cavelier, La Salle's Brother, though spoken of by Joutel, remained unpublished till Mr. Francis Parkman allowed me to Print it from a Manuscript in his Possession. The Letters of Mr. de Montigni of the Seminary of Quebec and his Associates, I owe to*

the Kindness of the same Friend. Le Sueur's Voyage is taken from Bénard de la Harpe, already in Print. The Voyage of Gravier is from the limited Edition printed from the Manuscript in the Professed House in Paris. The Letter of Father Guignas, detailing as it does the Establishment of Fort Beauharnais at Lake Pepin, was furnished to me by the Kindness of J. Carson Brevoort, Esq.

While this Volume was printing, Col. Delafield sent me Tomassly's Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane, which I had been unable to procure here in Season, and from it I extracted the Letter of La Salle's given in the Appendix, and which refers directly to the first Article.

New York, 1861.



INTRODUCTION.



ANY a river lives embalmed in history and in historick verse. The Euphrates, the Nile, the Jordan, the Tiber and the Rhine typify the course of empires and dynasties. Countries have been described *per flumina*, but these streams possess renown rather from some city that frowned on their currents, or some battle fought and won on their banks. The great River of our West, from its immense length and the still increasing importance of its valley, possesses a history of its own. Its discovery by the Spanish adventurers, a Cabeza de Vaca, a de Soto, a Trifan, who reached, crossed, or followed it, is its period of early romance, brilliant, brief, and tragick. Its exploration by Marquette and La Salle follows, work of patient endurance and

investigation, still tinged with that light of heroism that hovers around all who struggle through difficulty and adversity to attain a great and useful end. Then come the early voyages depicting the successive stages of its banks from a wilderness to civilization.

The death of La Salle in Texas in his attempt to reach Illinois closes the chapter of exploration. Iberville opens a new period by his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, which crowning the previous efforts gave the valley of the great river to civilization, Christianity and progress. The river had become an object of rivalry. English, French and Spanish at the same moment fought to secure its mouth, but fortune favored the bold Canadian, and the white flag reared by La Salle was planted anew.

Here our narratives begin. Cavelier's is a page of the previous chapter; with strange details and doubtful authenticity, marked, like every other account of La Salle's career, with a note of suspicion, yet curious and strange. Did La Salle actually reach the Mississippi prior to his death, as here asserted? We may doubt it.

After Cavelier and Joutel reached Illinois to deceive Tonti by representing La Salle as alive, that

noble veteran descended the river to relieve his commander, but in vain.

Traders then doubtless drifted down to barter for furs, but we have no narrative till that of the missionary party led by M. de Montigny, who in 1698 set out to evangelize the tribes of the lower Mississippi. Impetuous, ardent, but easily discouraged, the leader soon lost heart, and involved in disputes which he did not foresee, sought a remote field in Asia for his zeal, to be plunged in troubles even more vexatious. But his companions remained to labor on the banks of the Mississippi, St. Cosme to die at last by the hand of the red man, Davion and de la Source to labour and to wait.

Iberville arrives. His narrative would here find a place, but it is a volume in itself. The news of his landing spread from tribe to tribe. The northern nations, led by the golden promises of La Salle, expected all blessings from this step. The Illinois prepared to move in a body to the lower Mississippi. Gravier checks their mad project and floats down in his canoe to see how matters are. His journal, like the letters of St. Cosme and his companions, describe the river and the tribes upon it, as he found them at this important moment in the history

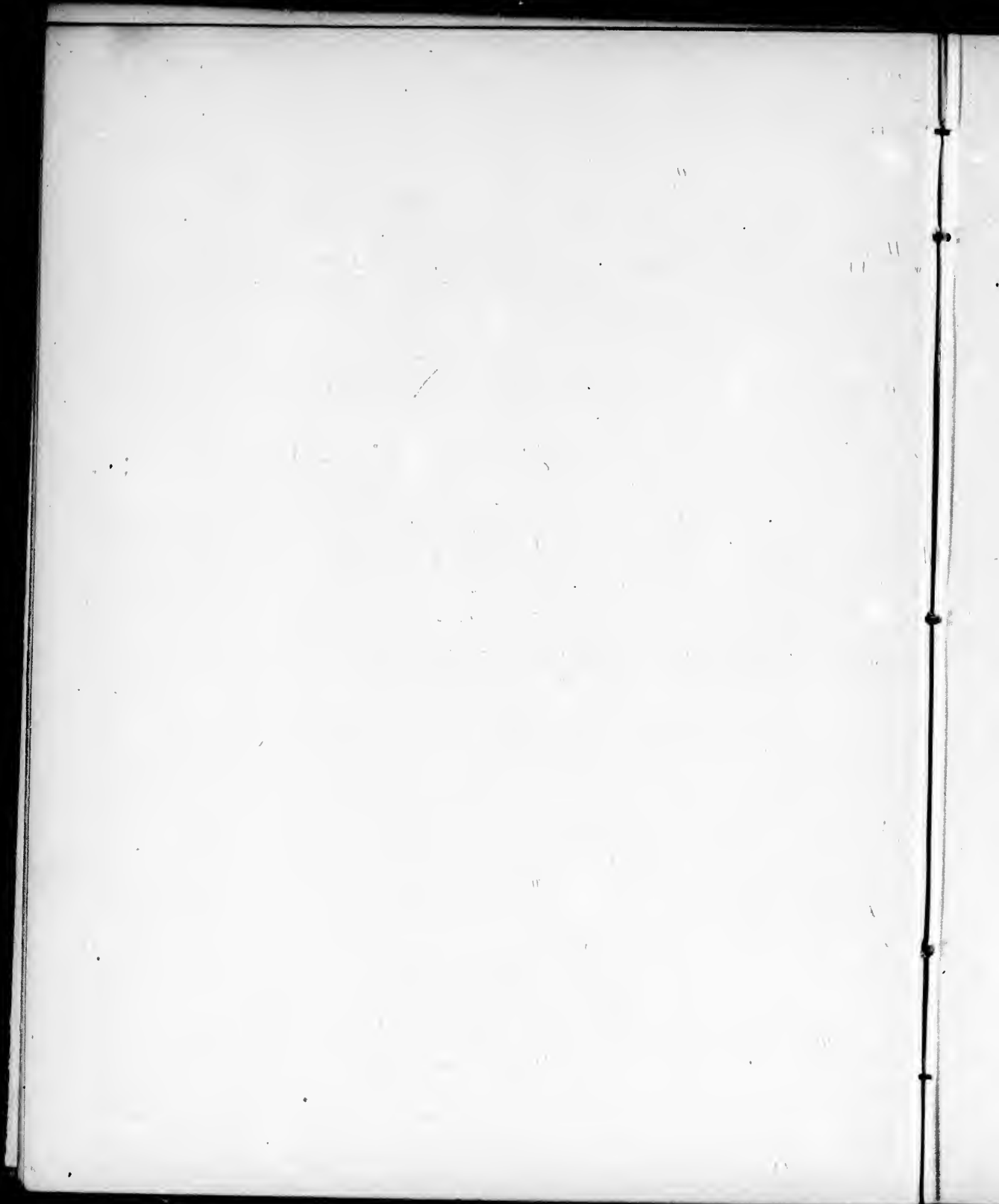
of the river. His next voyage down was to seek in the new colony surgical assistance for wounds which the medicine men had inflicted, and which baffling the skill of the physician proved fatal to the missionary.

Besides Iberville's own account and as a pendant to it, comes the voyage from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Blue Earth, effected in canoe by the intrepid Le Sueur. Fortunately Bénard de la Harpe has preserved this, and it blends with the others to give a complete picture of the river.

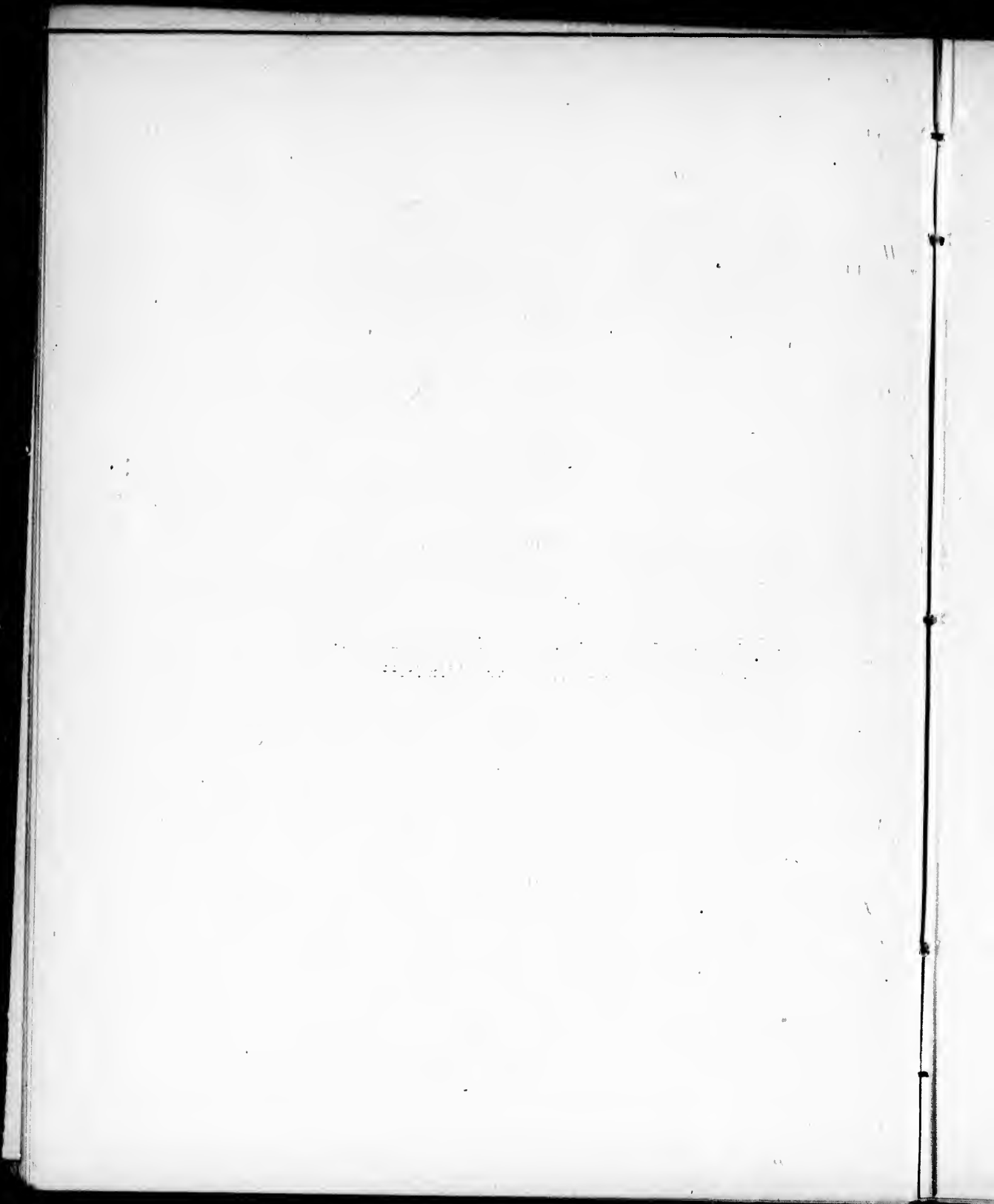
Then for some years itineraries of the Mississippi fail us, and we have accounts of portions only. The Ursulines describe briefly the voyage to New Orleans, others do the same; an officer in the Chickasaw war details day by day the march up the river to Fort Assumption. The letter of Guignas follows in part the track of Le Sueur, and records the planting of Fort Beauharnais.

At the moment when these narratives take us to the valley of the Mississippi that immense territory presented a strange contrast to its present condition. From its head waters amid the lakes of Minnesota to its mouth; from its western springs in the heart of the Rocky mountains to its eastern cradle in the

Alleghanies, all was yet in its primeval state. The Europeans had but one spot, Tonty's little fort; no white men roamed it but the trader or the missionary. With a sparse and scattered Indian population, the country, teeming with buffalo, deer and game, was a scene of plenty. The Indian has vanished from its banks with the game that he pursued. The valley numbers as many states now as it did white men then; a busy, enterprising, adventurous population, numbering its millions, has swept away the unprogressive and unassimilating red man. The languages of the Illinois, the Quapaw, the Tonica, the Natchez, the Ouma, are heard no more by the banks of the great water; no calumet now throws round the traveller its charmed power; the white banner of France floated long to the breeze, but with the flag of England and the standard of Spain all disappeared we may say within a century. For fifty years, one single flag met the eye, and appealed to the heart of the inhabitants of the shores of the Mississippi. Two now divide it: let us hope that the altered flag may soon resume its original form, and meet the heart's warm response at the mouth as at the source of the Mississippi.



I.
CAVELIER'S ACCOUNT
OF
LA SALLE'S VOYAGE
TO THE
MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI, HIS LANDING IN
TEXAS, AND MARCH TO THE MISSISSIPPI.





RELATION
OF
M. CAVELIER.¹



ONSEIGNEUR :

You have here the Relation ^{July,} _{1684.}
of the Voyage undertaken by my
brother² to discover in the Gulf
of Mexico the Mouth of the
Mississipy. An unexpected and
tragical death having prevented
his completing it, and reporting to your Lordship,
you will, I trust; approve of my taking his place.

¹ The Rev. John Cavalier, brother of La Salle, was born at Rouen. Of his early life and entrance into the community of St. Sulpice, I find no account. After the death of his brother, he with Joutel and Father Anastatius made his way to Canada, and thence to France, concealing the fate of La Salle, it is said, for upwards of two years. He applied to the Court to send out a new expedition, and fail-

ing in this he retired to Rouen, to the house of his sister, Mary Magdalen Cavalier, wife of the Sieur Fottin or Le Forestier, Secretary to the King, and died there after 1717.

² Robert Cavalier de la Salle, was born at Rouen in Normandy, of a rich and ancient family, and after receiving a good education entered the King's service. The statement made by the late edi-

*La Salle's Last Voyage.*July
1684.

In the month of July, 1684,³ we left la Rochelle in four vessels with very fine weather. The season seemed to promise us a continuance thereof, and should not in all probability lead us to fear either

tions of Hennepin, that he entered the Society of Jesus and thus lost his share in his father's estate, seems, like other statements of that work, unreliable. An examination of all the annual catalogues of all the French provinces of the epoch, shows no such name among the novices or scholastics. The preceding note and this narrative mention all his relatives of whom any account is given. He came to Canada about 1668, and an apparently apocryphal account makes him soon after discover and descend the Ohio (see Duffieux, *Le Canada sous le domination Française*). As a trader he voyaged extensively on the Lakes, and built a trading house at La Chine, which owes its name to him, an index of his desires. His first official employment was to visit the Senecas, and invite them to a general Congress of the tribes. He had gained the good will of Frontenac and proposed to him vast plans of discovery and trade, which received his sanction. The French Court in 1675, granted him Fort Frontenac and the seigneurie, on condition of keeping it in repair, maintaining a garrison and clearing the land. He obtained also a patent of noblesse. For a time he pushed forward trade and colonization at Fort Frontenac (now Kingston) and built the first vessel that ever ploughed the surface of Lake

Ontario. Obtaining new grants in 1678, he pushed on to Niagara, built a vessel there, and again the pioneer of western navigation, failed through Lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron to Mackinac. Sending back his vessel with a load of furs, he proceeded in canoes to the Illinois country, building a fort on the St. Joseph's river, and another on the Illinois, whose name, Crèvecoeur, records his despondency at receiving no tidings of his bark or supplies from Frontenac. Left unsupported, he returned by land to his fort on Lake Ontario; but while absent his party were driven from the Illinois by the Senecas, and La Salle on his arrival at Fort Crèvecoeur found it deserted. After some search he joined Tonty at Mackinaw. Here reorganizing his party he descended the Illinois to the Mississippi, and followed that river to its mouth, which he reached April 9, 1682. Returning to France, he sought to make the mouth of the river by sea. He failed to discover it, was abandoned in Texas, and in an attempt to reach Canada, was killed by his own men, March 19, 1687. See his Life by Sparks, vol. 1. N. S. American Biography, "The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," &c.

³ In another Memoir he gives the date as July 23 or 24.

a calm or great heats. Nevertheless the close of the month brought a storm, which dismasted the vessel⁴ my brother was in, and compelled us all to put back to the port from which we had started.⁵ We set sail again, and a few days after a second storm dispersed our little fleet; the St. François⁶ was taken by Spanish cruisers, and the other three got together only at Petit Goave in St. Domingo. I will not give your Lordship the detail of our course or manœuvres to that point, as that is not my profession.

July,
1684.

If these unfortunate accidents damped the ardor of our adventurers, the conduct of Mr. de Beaujeu, Captain of a ship of the line,⁷ who commanded one of the ships of the fleet, did so no less; and if your Lordship takes pains to examine, you will find that that officer, jealous of my brother's having the principal authority and the direction of the enterprise, so traversed it, that the failure may be attributed to him.⁸

⁴ This vessel was le Joli, commanded by Mr. de Beaujeu, the Commander of the fleet, whose perverseness caused the ruin of all concerned. Joutel, p. 15, and Cavelier, in another Memoir, hint that the breaking of the foremast was planned.

⁵ Joutel says they put in at Rochefort, p. 15. Father Le Clercq says at Chef-de-bois, which agrees with Cavelier; Chef-de-bois being the roadstead before la Rochelle.

⁶ This Ketch contained provisions and agricultural implements for the colony, and the loss was consequently a serious one.

⁷ Joutel and Cavelier, in another Memoir, dilate on the trouble with Beaujeu, and Cavelier there introduces a particular account of La Salle's dangerous illness at St. Domingo.

⁸ The French distinguish as different ranks Captain of a frigate and Captain of a man-of-war or ship of the line.

La Salle's Last Voyage.

July, 1684. We made some stay at Petit Goave to give our crew a little refreshment and to prepare to carry out the project conveniently. There Mr. de Beaujeu began to employ all means that he could invent to prevent my brother from going further; nevertheless we set sail towards the latter part of November, intending to reconnoitre the land ten or twenty leagues north of the mouth of the river, but head winds having forced us to put back several times; my brother at last determined to explore Florida, whatever point we made, but Mr. de Beaujeu did not follow him. He abandoned us, under pretext of having been surpris'd by a squall.

1685. On the sixth of January,⁹ we made the coast of Florida, and supposing ourselves north of the mouth of the river, we sailed southerly along the coast, crowding sail, for fear of being forced by the currents into Bahama channel. Some days after, on taking the altitude, we found ourselves fifty leagues south, which obliged us to turn back and retrace our steps. Still coasting along, we^a discovered Espiritu Santo Bay,¹⁰ where we found Mr. de Beaujeu; my brother had a long conference with him there, at the close of which the three vessels set sail to pursue the search.

^a Feb. 4.

The next morning Mr. de Beaujeu sent his long boat to my brother to tell him that he had sailed fifty leagues since he left Espiritu Santo Bay, and that discovering inland, a kind of gulf or river, it

⁹ Joutel, p. 34, makes them reach land in December.

¹⁰ Joutel says January 8.

might be the Mississipy, and that he had no orders ^{February, 1683.} to go any further; my brother allowed himself to be persuaded that this might be one of the arms of that river; and having sent out his boat to sound, he found three and a half fathoms of water in the shallowest part of the channel, and entered with his vessel. He ordered the pink to unload as much as possible, and to wait till he sent a pilot to bring her in, but this was so badly done that she struck on a sand bar and could not get off.¹¹

Meanwhile Mr. de Beaujeu, who had anchored off, wrote to my brother, and sent the letter by his lieutenant.¹² He told him, that having reached the mouth of the Mississipy he believed that he had sufficiently fulfilled his duty; that having seen the pink perish before his eyes, he did not think it proper to risk entering the river with his ship, for fear of a like mishap: that having no more provisions or refreshments, he was determined to return to France, and he begged him to send his letters for the Court, with his exoneration from all the accidents that had happened, or might thereafter happen. My brother most generously granted all.

Monsieur de Beaujeu having accordingly hoisted sail for France,¹³ my brother undertook to do three March 14.

¹¹ Joutel, p. 79, and Le Clercq incline to think the loss of the *Aimable* intentional on the part of the captain. Dainville and some others, and refused to give La Salle the cannon and cannon balls in his hold.

¹² The Chevalier d'Aire. Beaujeu took with him the captain and crew of the *Aimable*, Rev. Mr.

¹³ Le Clercq says the 12th; Joutel from recollection, the 14th.

La Salle's Last Voyage.

March, 1685. things at once: one was to make a storehouse on shore to lay up his ammunition and provisions, merchandize and other things; the other was to go himself with thirty or forty men to select a suitable place for a settlement at the end of the bay; and the other to bring his vessel as far as he could into the bay. All this was executed; for the vessel was brought up to the mouth of a river to which the name of *Vache*¹⁴ (Cow) was given, on account of the number of that animal found there, and here he built a little fort of fourteen guns, with small but pretty convenient houses, and storehouses sufficient to contain all that we had.¹⁵

Meanwhile my brother, originally under the idea that the river we were in was one of the arms of the Mississippi, on account of the quantity of reeds it bore down to the sea, at last saw his error and formed the design of discovering it by land; but unable to leave his fort without exposing it to the insults of the nearest Indians, who were waging a cruel war on us^{16a} (believing us Spaniards), he endeavored to gain their confidence and friendship.

^a They killed ten men with arrows.

¹⁴Afterwards called by the Spaniards La Vaca river, which name it still retains, the only name in Texas of La Salle's. The *Vache* here evidently means the Bison, though in Canada the *Vache Sauvage* was the Moose. Joutel (p. 113) calls it, *Rivière aux Bœufs*.

¹⁵Joutel (p. 126) and Father Anastasius (Discovery of the Mis-

issippi, p. 207) both describe this Fort as St. Louis. According to the former it was at 27° N., two leagues from the Bay, near the banks of La Vaca river, which lay north of it, a marsh and hill lying between them.

¹⁶Joutel mentions two by name, Messrs. Oris and Desloges.

Your Lordship knows that he has an admirable tact for that. He employed it so adroitly in this conjuncture, that before the close of July we mutually visited each other; we often went to their village,^{b 17} which was quite near our fort (which we will in future call Fort of St. Louis Bay),¹⁸ and one day they offered to guide my brother to a neighboring nation, their ally, only about fifteen leagues off, to show him, they said, curious things. My brother accepted their offer, thanked them for the friendship they testified, and made them some presents; after which setting out¹⁹ to the number of twenty-four, accompanied by a troop of Indians, we arrived at a large village, surrounded by a kind of wall made with potter's clay and sand, fortified with little towers at intervals, where we found fastened to a post the arms of Spain engraved on a copper plate, dated 1588.

March,
1685.

^bThese Indians
are called the
Bracamos.

The people welcomed us and showed us some hammers and an anvil, two small pieces of iron cannon, a small bronze culverine, spearheads, old sword blades and some volumes of Spanish comedies; and leading us thence to a little fishing hamlet about two leagues off, they showed us a second post

¹⁷ These Bracamos are not mentioned by name by Joutel. He elsewhere speaks of the Hebahamos; and Barcia (*Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 294) says that the fort was in the territory of the Quelanhubeches and Bahamos. Father Anastasius (*Discovery of the Mississippi*, p. 209)

mentions the Bahamas and Quinets as hostile nations.

¹⁸ St. Louis Bay was called by the Spaniards *Espirito Santo Bay*, but the part where the fort was, is the present Matagorda Bay.

¹⁹ In October, apparently.

La Salle's Last Voyage.

March, 1685, also bearing the arms of Spain and some old chimneys.²⁰ All this convinced us that the Spaniards had been there before. They also gave us to understand by signs that the Mississippi River was very difficult to find, because its mouth could not be perceived a league off. They then drew vessels with coal, and gave us to understand that many passed along their coast.

Having taken leave of these Indians, to whom we made some presents and courtesy for courtesy, we returned to our fort at St. Louis Bay, where we made some stay to cultivate more and more the confidence and friendship of our Bracamos (so is the Indian nation called that dwells near our fort), in order to leave protectors to the people whom we would have to leave in the fort while we went overland to seek the Mississippi.

We observed during our stay, that the east winds generally prevail by day, and west winds by night; that the least speck of cloud forebodes a violent gale, which will last an hour at most; that the north winds (which the Spaniards there dread immensely) are not so violent as the west winds which the fishing smacks stand in winter time on the Banks of Newfoundland; and lastly that the tide rises here but very slightly. We saw quantities of salt, formed naturally in various spots, which led us to infer that it would be easy to make successful salt works.

²⁰ Father Morfi in his very full manuscript History of Texas, is silent as to any Spanish occupation of so early a date.

Having then provided for the security of the fort by the friendship of the neighbouring Indians, by arms and ammunition, and for the subsistence of the people whom we left there by the provisions and goods which remained, and after my brother had recommended vigilance, patience, and devotion to the King's service, we set out on the first of November, accompanied by thirty men, carrying only our arms, ammunition for game, and some trifling articles for the Indians.

March,
1685.

Nov. 1.
Departure of
M. de La Salle
to discover the
mouth of the
river by land.

Ten or twelve days after, we found a very populous village, where the men and women wore large pearls hanging from the cartilage between the two nostrils. I bought a few in order to show your Lordship. I have already shown them to Catillon, lapidary at Paris, who assured me that they were of the finest water in the world, but imperfect in shape. We tried to learn from these Indians the place whence they drew this precious merchandise, but being able to understand us only by signs, we could only presume that they got them from the sea when they went to catch fish, for they showed us large pirogues and nets which apparently were solely for this use. We have since learned that many small rivers which pass through their country empty into St. Louis Bay.

Having left this nation, we ran for two months in search of our river with no hope of finding it, finding only Indians whose manners kept us in perpetual distrust; we did not dare to make any stay in any place for fear of some surprize. The

December and
January.

La Salle's Last Voyage.

February, 1688. continual marching, the rigour of the season, and the fears that we had conceived from the reserved and distrustful manners of the Indians, made us undergo hardships, that it would be difficult for me to express.

February, 1688. In the beginning of February we came to a pretty large river, which my brother thought might be the Missisipy, although its course was just the opposite; our sentiments were different, we followed its banks for two days, without meeting man or beast.

Some days after, having perceived a village, we deemed proper to fire a volley before entering, in order to alarm the Indians and put them to flight, so as to take from their cabins what Indian corn we needed; this having been executed, we left them the payment on the spot, after which we left to continue our search.

We had scarcely made a league when we perceived two Indians running after us. We first thought the villagers, charmed with the beauty of the knives, scissors and needles that we had left in payment, had deputed them to bring us back, but we were greatly surpris'd when we saw these Indians fall on my brother and almost stifle him by their embraces in the transport of pleasure which they experienced on seeing him again. They were two Shawnees, of three whom my brother lost when he descended to the mouth of the Missisipy by the Illinois river. They told us that their com-

rade was sick in the village, to which they begged us to return, assuring us of the humanity and good

It was in
1682.

Cavelier's Account.

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faith of the people. My brother was sincerely pleased to find them again, and in hopes of learning from them what he desired, he made no difficulty of resolving to follow them. They took us first to their cabin, where we found their comrade. They made us take up our quarters there, while a larger cabin was preparing for us near by.

February,
1688.

They told us, that having gone out to hunt while in my brother's service, they were surrounded and taken by thirty or forty warriors of the village where we were, who carried them there without binding them; that the whole nation, and even their allies, had greatly honoured them and held them for something more than men, on account of the power of their guns; that they wondered to see them kill a bison a hundred paces off, and several turkeys at a single shot, but that when their ammunition failed, these people pressed them to make more and ridiculed them because they had not the secret of making it. They also told us that they had married in this village, and that they had had no difficulty in learning the language. They then took us to a large cabin where we were conveniently lodged.

It was from these three Indians that we learned that we were only forty leagues from the sea; that the Indians among whom we were made war on others who had intercourse with the Spaniards, distant about 130 leagues from the sea; that there was a river — leagues from us, more beautiful than the Mississippi, and two others fifteen or twenty leagues,

30 L. They
meant the Rio
Bravo.

February,
1688.

in which gold was found in large grains and in dust ; that the Indians used it only to make collars and bracelets, but that they valued it less than certain red stones which they put to the same use.

It is the Shaw-
nees that speak.

They added : We have been to war against the nation that has intercourse with the Spaniards and took some prisoners who were neatly dressed in silk. They told us that the Spaniards furnished them their clothes and many other things in exchange for certain stones which they prized highly. They directed us to the spot whence they took these precious stones, and as we could pass by it, without deviating much from the route we had to take back to our village, we easily persuaded our troop, as curious as ourselves, to go there. The prisoners acting as guides, we reached a hill which may be two leagues long, where they showed us some holes made by the Indians, from which we took^c some specimens of stone which we have kept. This hill lies about forty leagues from our village, and is near a little river which empties in a larger one,^d which coming a great distance and passing between

^c Mr. Cavalier took some to Paris, where the body of goldsmiths assayed them by the King's order, and found that it was gold ore, which had only half waste.

^d Rio Bravo.

^e Apparently the road from Old to New Mexico.

two ranges of hills empties into the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards have several villages on the southern part of this river, and the Indians who make war on them, cross over and make captures along the road,^e which they frequent with little precaution.

They assured us that there was not a nation for a hundred leagues around but feared the inroads of the Spaniards ; that they dreaded them on account of the frightful stories told of their fire arms ; that

Cavelier's Account.

27.

this consideration alone had prevented their leagu-
ing together to undertake to carry a town, lacking
neither desire, courage nor means of uniting; that
for this purpose they could bring together one
hundred thousand warriors and ten thousand horses,
without going fifty leagues from their village; that
this army could subsist, even without supplies of
provisions, by the quantity of bison, small game and
fish found everywhere, by merely dividing into
troops of ten thousand men, and giving two leagues
of land to each troop, and always camping in beau-
tiful prairies with which the country abounds; that
even if we wished to lay up provisions of Indian
corn, peas or beans, it could easily be done, as the
earth produces plentifully without being sowed or
cultivated; and finally, that the country is full of
all sorts of excellent fruit, which would also be a
great help. They convinced us that they needed
only good leaders and some regular troops to in-
struct them, arms, saddles, bridles and ammunition.
On this my brother having asked them on which
side they would attack the Spaniards, they replied
that it was beyond that great river* of which they
had spoken to us, where there were several cities
and villages, some open and others fortified merely
by palisades, which it would be easy to force, the
more easily as the Indians had often got the upper
hand of them; that the year before they had killed
or taken over two thousand persons and forced
them to send religious to exhort them to peace.

February,
1688.

*Rio Bravo.

They told us moreover that the Spaniards had

February, 1688. more than 30 gold and silver mines in different parts of the country which they durst not work on account of the proximity of nations that they were at war with.

Rio Bravo. That the climate of the country northward and eastward of the great river was perfectly beautiful, and so healthy that men died there only of old age or small pox; the land so fertile, that unsown, untilled, it produced two crops of Indian corn and three of pease or beans a year; that they were told that the other side of the river was neither fertile nor healthy;

The Paris dyers were amazed to see the quality of this earth. That there was near by a nation that made cloth of nettles, wild flax and the bark of trees, and who manufactured cloth of buffalo wool; that they give the finest colours in the world to all their fabrics; in fact they gave us earth of all colours, which we took to France; that there were other nations to the northwest, who had kings and chiefs and observed some forms of government, honoring and respecting their kings as Europeans do theirs;

These were the Panisshans and the Ontotonta. Florida, apparently. That there were some on the East so fierce, that it had never had any communication with others, and so cruel that they devoured each other;

That about fifty leagues from the spot where we were, were two or three mountains on the banks of a river, from which were taken red stones, as clear as crystal. They gave us some of it and some gold ore which we took to France.

After they had related us all this, my brother wished to induce them to follow him, to return to

their own country; but they answered him, that they were not unnatural enough to abandon their wives and children; that moreover being in the most fertile, healthy and peaceful country in the world, they would be devoid of sense to leave it and expose themselves to be tomahawked by the Illinois or burnt by the Iroquois on their way to another, where the winter was insufferably cold, the summer without game, and ever in war; but that if the French built or established any colony in the Mississippi, that they would approach it and that they would have the pleasure of rendering them considerable services.

February,
1685.

Towards the close of January we parted from our honest Shawnees, who could not accompany us to the Mississippi for fear of being suspected of wishing to follow us, but they induced ten or twelve warriors to lead us. On the 10th of March we descried the river Mississippi, where we left some men in a little redoubt of pickets, which we made ourselves, and retracing our steps, we passed again through the village of our Shawnees, where we were regaled as well as these good people could regale us, and continuing our march, we reached St. Louis Bay, on the 30th of the month of March, 1685.²¹

Return of Mr.
de la Salle.

²¹ Joutel and Le Clercq are very brief as to this journey of La Salle, whose return the former puts in March, the latter May 31, 1686. Joutel denies the statement in the Pseudo Tonty, that in this expedi-

tion La Salle reached the Mississippi, and remarks: "We must however say in behalf of Mr. Tonty, that he states it only on the report of Rev. Mr. Cavelier, La Salle's brother; and the said Cavelier

February,
1688.

Our people received us with all possible joy, and we experienced much pleasure to find them all in good health; but our joy was soon marred by the most distressing accident in the world; for our frigate, eight or ten days after our arrival, struck and perished with all on board except eight men.²² The loss which we had sustained of ten men, the best sailors we had on board, who were killed with arrows by the Bracamos at the time they made war on us, supposing us to be Spaniards, was surely the cause of the loss of the vessel, which perhaps lacked experienced people; in fine, the chagrin that my brother experienced at the loss, joined to the hardships which we had undergone during our painful march, brought on a malady which nearly took him out of the world, and overwhelmed our little party with despair. In fact, my Lord, after the loss of the vessel, which deprived us of our only means of returning to France, we had no resource for our subsistence except my brother's good management and firmness, and each of us regarded his death as his own, for we beheld ourselves cast away in a savage country, without assistance and cut off by immense distances from every Christian nation.

"may have reasons for pretending
"that they discovered the Mississippi
"in the same view that obliged him
"to conceal his brother's death."
p. 5. Le Clercq in the *Etablissement de la Foi* (see Shea's *Disc. of the Mississippi*, p. 195) says: "At
"last, on the 13th of February,

"1686, he thought that he had found
"the river, he fortified a place,
"left a part of his men and with
"nine others continued to explore
"a most beautiful country."

²² For the loss of the Belle, see Joutel, 140.

My brother recovered .. last, and when his health was perfectly restored, he proposed to undertake to reach Canada by land, so as to come to France to report what he had done. The way is long, painful and dangerous beyond all that can be expressed to the contrary, so the least hardy durst not undertake it. These my brother left in charge of the fort, with necessary provisions, commending them to remain strongly attached to the king's service. He formed a party of those who were disposed to follow him. Father Athanasius, my nephew Moranget, my brother's godson, two Shawnee Indians, who had followed my brother to France, and I, were of the party.

February,
1688.

We started on the 13th of April, 1685,²³ and laid our route so as to pass by the Illinois, where we had resolved to rest. It seems to me unnecessary to speak here of the minutiae of our march, and I will merely say in general the most remarkable things that we saw and observed.

1685,
April 13.
1st Departure
of Mr. de la
Salle for Cana-
da, by the Illi-
nois.

We were very kindly and affectionately received by all the nations that we passed through. We had plenty every where; we received presents and were supplied with guides and horses. Among these nations, the Senis²⁴ seem to us the most nu-

Senis, a very
civilized nation
of Indians.

²³ Father Anaftasius (not Athanasius) in Le Clercq details this expedition. The real date is 1686.

²⁴ The Senis or Cœnis are called Affinai by the Spanish writers. According to Father Morfi, in his *Memorias para la Historia de la*

Provincia de Texas, they were one of the tribes comprised under the general name of Texas, which besides the Texas proper and the Affinai, included the Navedachos, the Nageodoches, the Nacogdoches, the Nadocogs, the Ahijitos, the Cadogdachos and Naffonis, all speaking

February,
1682.

merous and polished; it is governed by a King or Cacique, and the subordination that we remarked among them made us infer that they had officers; the houses are built with order and very prettily, and they have the art of making a cloth of feathers and the hair of animals. We found there silver lamps, old muskets and Spanish sword blades. Having asked them by signs where they got them, they took a coal and depicted a Spaniard, houses, steeples, and showed us the part of the heaven under which New Mexico would lie.

On leaving this village, my brother, our nephew and three soldiers were greatly troubled by certain strange fruits of which they had eaten too freely. They all took the fever, which did not leave them till two months afterward. My brother was so affected and weakened by it that we did not dare to proceed, but retracing our steps returned after forty days to the fort in St. Louis Bay,²⁵ where we

Mr. de la
Salle arrives at
the Fort of St.
Louis Bay.

the same language. Father Anastasius represents the town of the Senis as extending for some sixty miles in "hamlets of ten or twelve cabins, forming cantons each with a different name." He probably includes all the above tribes. "Their cabins," says he, "are fine, forty or fifty feet high, of the shape of bee hives. They plant trees in the ground and tie them together by the upper branches, and cover it with dry grass. The beds are ranged around the cabin, three or four feet from the ground, the fire

"is in the middle, and each cabin
"holds two families."

²⁵ (October, 1686). This exploration is here vaguely described. Father Anastasius details it however. Mr. Sparks says, "It may be assumed as certain, that he crossed the three large rivers, Colorado, Brazos and Trinity; the first not many miles above the present town of Montezuma; and the second as far above the town of Washington . . . The journey terminated beyond the Naffonis,

were received with all possible joy by our people and by the Bracamos, who came first to visit us and brought us a quantity of deer.

February,
1688.

The attempts which we had made to go to Canada not having succeeded, we turned our hopes to the aid that the King might send us from France, and we patiently awaited it till the close of the year 1686; but at last weary of being deprived of the society of our countrymen, and banished as it were to the uttermost parts of the earth, we regarded this agreeable country only as a tedious resting place and a perpetual prison, feeling satisfied that had not the King deemed us lost, he would have had the goodness to send some one to continue the exploration which we had undertaken, or to carry us back to France. We often made vague conjectures, which served only to afflict us, and at last when the beginning of 1686²⁶ came, my brother proposed to make a second attempt. As all minds were full of the desire of again beholding France, his eloquence was required only to persuade some of our people to remain in the fort. He portrayed to them the hardships and dangers to be encountered; the impossibility of subsisting if they all went together on so long a march, with no resource but hunting. He succeeded so well that a part determined to keep the fort, and my brother took only 28²⁷ of the most

"probably about midway between
"the Trinity and Red River, near
"the head waters of the Sabine,
"and fifty or sixty miles northwest
"of Nacogdoches." (*Life of La
Salle*, p. 152.)

²⁶ (1687).

²⁷ Anastasius says twenty: Joutel, seventeen.

February,
1688.

vigourous, among them Father Athanasius, our nephews Cavelier and Moranget, my brother's godson, the pilot of his vessel and myself.

Second at-
tempt to reach
Canada by land.

We started on the 6th of January²⁸ (after hearing Mals and performing our devotions, and exhorting the people who remained to watch the safe keeping of the fort, promising soon to return with help from France), and went to sleep at the village of the Bracamos.

The 7th we made 5 or 6 leagues progress through canes and reeds.

The 8th we made also 5 or 6 leagues in more clear and level country.

The 9th we arrived at the village of the Kouaras,²⁹ where we tarried two days. There we saw a party of 7 or 800 warriors, who were bringing in one hundred and fifty prisoners in triumph; we saved some who were going to be cast into the water bound hand and foot.

The 12th we crossed a river on a raft with much risk. The fear that we had experienced was not yet dissipated when all at once a band of Indians, rushing desperately on us, revived it in a still more intense degree; but these good people far from harming us, took us to their cabins where they gave us several kinds of meat to eat, and offered us pipes and tobacco; while we were engaged in

²⁸ Father Anastasius agrees with *the Mississippi*, p. 211), mentions this visit to the Quaras, who are perhaps the Xaranames of Father Morfi.

²⁹ Father Anastasius (*Disc. of*

smoking, they began to sing and dance in a very curious manner, and stopped only when we departed. We made six leagues that day.

February,
1688.

The 15th we resumed our march, although our good and honest hunters made every effort to keep us at least till next day. They gave us an escort of twelve men who accompanied us 4 leagues from the village, and confided us to other hunters who treated us in the same manner as the first during the two days that we were in company.

The 16th we marched 6 or 7 leagues in beautiful prairies, studded with little groves at intervals, and at evening we encamped on the banks of a little stream.

The 17th in the morning, when about to march, we perceived 150 Indians, all on horseback, armed with lances tipped with sharpened bone well tied and enchased, each of whom attacked a bull. No sooner had they perceived us when some of them left the party and came to welcome us after dismounting. They at first regarded us with astonishment and after having examined us, they uttered extraordinary exclamations. They then made us mount, the more conveniently to witness the close of the bull-fight, which seemed to us the most diverting thing imaginable, and I am convinced that there is no chase as curious in Europe. When the combat was ended by the death of several animals, the combatants came galloping to us and giving many tokens of surprise and joy at meeting us, they led us away

February,
1688.

to their village. Their frank and cordial manners made us follow them without repugnance. They often uttered the word *Kanoutinoa*, pointing to themselves; this made us suppose that it was the name of the nation.³⁰ They took us straight to the cabin of their great chief or cap^{tn}, where they first washed our heads, hands and feet with warm water; after which they presented us boiled and roast meat to eat, and an unknown fish, cooked whole, that was six feet long, laid in a dish of its length. It was of a wonderful taste and we preferred it to meat. They told us by signs that they were abundant and came from a distance ascending the river.

We bought at this place thirty horses, which mounted us all and carried our baggage. They cost us thirty knives, ten hatchets, and six dozen needles. On the 19th we crossed the river on their boats and our horses swam over. We made that day four or five leagues and encamped on a spot where there was grass to pasture our horses, which we tied to good stakes.

On the 20th, about two leagues from the spot where we had passed the night, we found quite a well beaten path; we followed it because it ran in the direction in which we had resolved to go. We saw there four old women and four young girls who passed by us weeping and tearing their hair,

³⁰ Father Anastasius mentions their visiting the Quanoatinno on the river which La Salle styled the Maligne (Colorado), but Joutel merely says that they heard of the Canohatinno.

without having curiosity enough to look at us. This seemed to us an ill omen, but we paid no great attention to it. The next moment we saw a crowd coming towards us; we first put ourselves in a state of defence, prepared for all hazards; but these people, instead of approaching us, fled, and we pursued our way, and in the evening reached a village the cabins of which were made of canes interlaced and whitened with very fine plaster. The Indians in alarm took flight, but seeing that we encamped near their village without doing them any harm, and that we made them signs to return, they gradually approached us, and finally ventured to enter our tents of grass and branches of trees. We made them some little presents. The next day they took us to their village. It seems to me that they said they were called Ticapanas.³¹ They brought us one of their number who spoke Spanish, and some boys whom we had in our party acting as interpreters, we learned many things from him which I will relate to your Lordship in the collection of memoirs of my brother.

Indians speaking Spanish.

On the 22d we continued our march, and after fording the river, led by five Indians, we entered a valley (five leagues from our starting point) which, though it was mid winter, was full of fruit trees, flowers and a prodigious quantity of birds of various kinds. We encamped there in a favourable position to pass the night, while our Indians came back

³¹ The Tyakappan of Father Anastasius.

January
1687.

from the hunt loaded with turkeys. They gave us a long account of this valley, but we could not understand a word of it.

On the 23d they took us to the great village of the Palomas,³² which is surrounded by palisades of cane. Our guides were there questioned about us. We inferred that they answered that we had not the air of being Spaniards; we do not know what they believed, for they lodged us in a great cabin outside the village, where they brought us more than thirty handsome maidens of their village. We pointed up to heaven, making signs that it was an execrable custom, but not understanding us, they thought that we were talking of the sun, for they instantly placed their hands on their foreheads and fell flat on the ground looking up to it, and the young men uttered fearful cries, seeing that we fled from the persecution of these wantons. This nation seemed to us more gross and ill made than the others.

On the 24th we left it and wished their canoes to cross a large river, that ran at the foot of their village, but they advised us to ascend the river, giving us to understand by signs that we would infallibly be killed on the other side if we crossed the river. We could not learn whether they were beasts or men that we had to fear. They gave us a periagua in which we put 20 men and the 8 others took the horses by land. After five days sailing and marching, we saw some Indians fishing, and although there were only seven or eight of them,

³² The Palomas of Father Anastasius.

instead of fleeing they ran up to receive us. We ^{January,} recognized them as a nation called *Alakea*, among _{1687.} whom we had passed the first time we were in the nation of the *Senis*. They took us to their village where we were received with all possible affection. They kept us among them 6 days, and then having aided us to cross the river in little boats of buffalo skins sewed together, they took us to the village of the *Akasquy*, who knowing us by reputation, were glad to have us pass by their village. At this place we saw about sixty hermaphrodites, for the most of them go entirely naked after sunset. We there also saw them make cloth with buffalo wool, and a stuff which seemed to us the richest in the world, so singular was it, for it is made of birds' feathers and the hair of animals of every colour.

On the 27th we started from the *Akasquy* to go to the *Penoy*, where we arrived on the 29th.

On the 30th we went to sleep at the village of *Saffory*,³³ where we were received with the same friendship as in the others. We remained there one day, and we had the pleasure of seeing an alligator, twelve feet long, captured. The Indians employed a hook made of a buffalo bone tied to the end of a cord, studded with small bones so that he cannot bite it through, and they use no bait but

³³ The Alakea are apparently the Palaqueffon of Anastasius and the Palaquechaune of Joutel. Neither Anastasius nor Joutel mentions the Penoy, Saffory, Tipoy and Anamis, and Morfi throws no light on any of these tribes, unless the Saf-

sory are the Affonis. At this point Cavalier's narrative becomes irreconcilable with Joutel and Father Anastasius. Joutel, p. 213, makes them reach the Cenis after La Salle's death.

January, 1687, a piece of meat on the hook. The Indians who wished to amuse themselves with it, put out its eyes and led it into a prairie, after tying its head to its tail, and tying it around the body with three different cords made of bark of trees and passed around in slip knots; and after tormenting it in various ways for full four hours, they turned it belly up and confined it from head to tail by eight stakes, planted so that the animal could not move in any direction. In this condition they flayed him, and then gave him liberty to run, to have the pleasure of tormenting him more. This sport lasted all day, and ended with the death of this frightful beast, which they killed and gave to their dogs. We saw many skins of this animal thrown about, which made us infer that there were many in that river. We crossed it however by the help of the Indians, who having led us to the river bank and yelled for half an hour to frighten and drive off these animals, swam over after putting us in a canoe; our horses accustomed to follow us everywhere like dogs also swam over.

Feb. 1. On the evening of the 1st of February we reached the village of the *Tipoy*, where the people, otherwise well made, have the top of the head quite flat, caused by the mothers putting on their children's heads flat pieces of wood lined with wool, which by a gentle pressure give them this shape.

On the 2d, Candlemas day, we left this village led by a *Tipoy* Indian, and on the 3d we reached the village of our good friends the *Anamis*, who had

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hospitably received us on our previous excursion. We had the chagrin to find their village half burnt down. They gave us to understand by signs that a hostile party which surprized them, had spread this desolation, and that they would have burnt it all, had they not alarmed them by firing on them with two guns and some ammunition that we had left them; that never having seen or heard of such arms, the fear they inspired put them to flight.

February,
1687.

On the 4th we set out, and on the 8th we arrived at the great village of the *Senis*. This is a nation that occupies a territory eighteen leagues long. We were received at the entrance of the village and conducted to a large and beautiful cabin, where we were at first entertained with a right curious symphony. The chiefs supped with us, and we reposed more tranquilly there than we had any where else.

On the 9th, after a crowd of young men had danced a dance of joy in our cabin, we were taken to that of the prince, for whom they have all possible veneration, submission and respect; for when he went abroad he was borne by eight men on a platform, all the tribe ranged in two lines, both hands on the forehead, uttering a cry of joy or humility; if he went on foot, very clean mats were spread wherever he was to pass.

We left this village for fear that our soldiers should tamper with the women, and went to encamp about two leagues off, intending to stay to rest and recruit. The people of the country made

*La Salle's Last Voyage.*February,
1687.

us sufficiently exact maps of the neighbouring rivers and nations. They told us that they knew the Spaniards, and depicted to us their clothing and showed us candlesticks, swords, bucklers, daggers and Spanish papers. We are convinced that they are not far off, the more so as the Senis have a number of fine horses.

On the 16th we left this great village for a smaller one of the same nation, 20 l. off. Thirty well mounted young warriors took us by as well beaten a road as that from Paris to Orleans. At intervals we came to little forts in the most exposed positions, and every where a most level country extremely well adapted to pasturage.³⁴

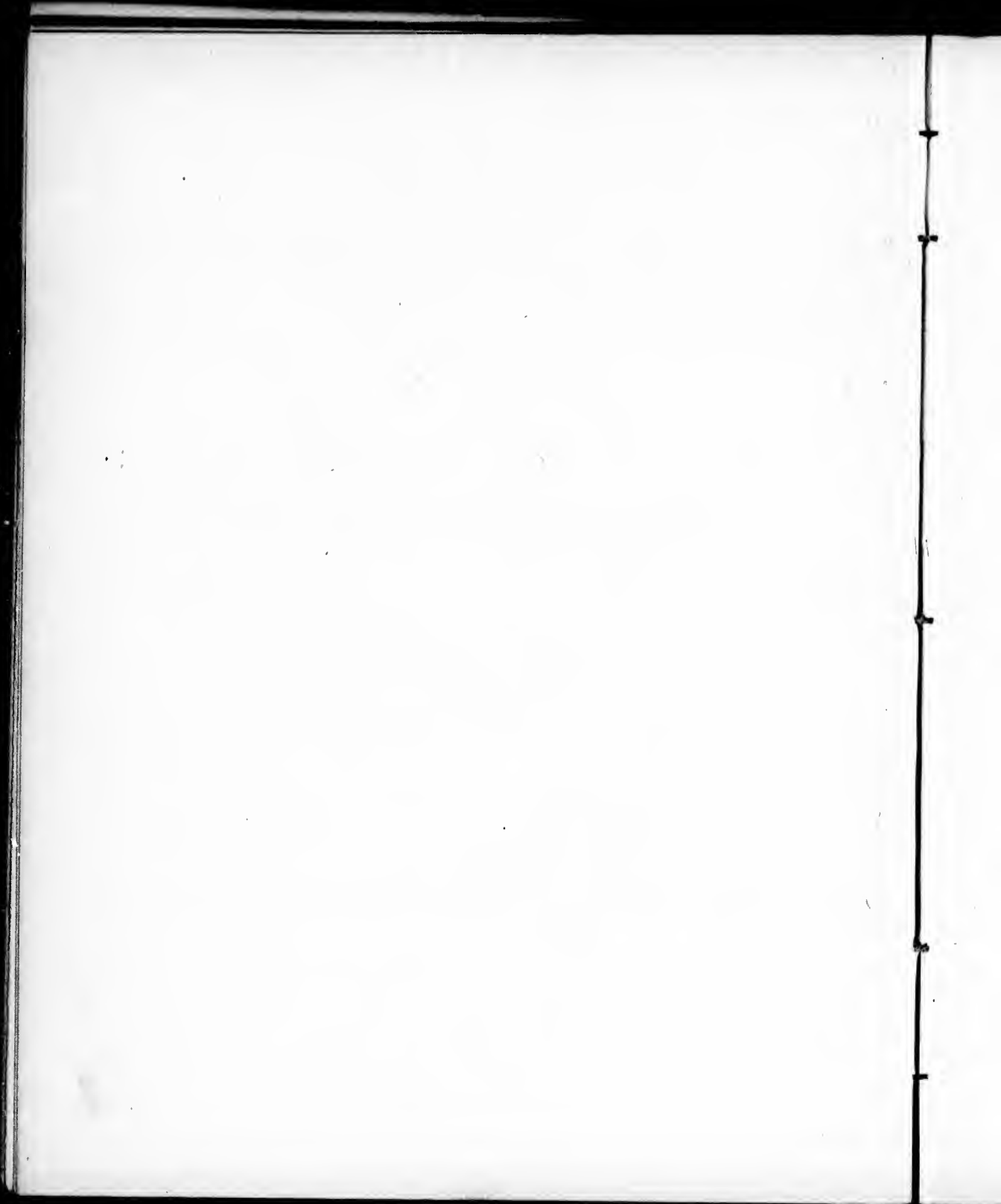
³⁴ Cavalier's narrative here ends abruptly. His brother's death occurred soon after, and we unfortunately have not his account of it. With Joutel and Father Anastasius he reached Canada and proceeded to France. Those left in Texas perished by the hands of the Caran-

cagues. The cannon of the fort long remained the only monument of La Salle in Texas. Used against Indian, Mexican, Spaniard and American, they were still at Goliad, in 1838.—*Youkum's Hist. of Texas*, i, 22.



II.
VOYAGE DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI
IN 1699.

BY THE REV. MESSRS.
MONTIGNY, ST. COSME, DAVION AND
THAUMUR DE LA SOURCE.





L E T T E R
OF
J. F. BUISSON ST. COSME,
MISSIONARY PRIEST,
TO THE BISHOP [OF QUEBEC].

Monseigneur :

THE last that I had the honour to write to you was from Michillimakinac, whence we set out on the 14th of September, and went by land to overtake our canoes, which had gone round Pointe aux Irroquois, and so on to the Outduaouis village to wait for us. This village is of about 300 men. Would to

¹ JOHN FRANCIS BUISSON DE ST. COSME. This clergyman, whose interesting letter follows, was a native of Quebec, and a zealous missionary, who never abandoned the labor on which he entered till he sank under the murderous blows of the savage. He was a son of Michael Buiffon or Byffon, a native of St.

Cosme le Vert in the diocese of Mans, and of Suzanne de Liceraffe, and was born at Pointe Levis, January 30, 1667. Devoting himself to the service of the altar, he was tonsured August 22, 1688, when a little over twenty-one, and ordained priest on Candlemas day, 1690. He was not the only priest in his

God that they responded to the care and labour which the Reverend Jesuit Fathers bestow on their instruction, but they seem less advanced in Christianity than the Illinois, who have only recently, they say, had missionaries.

We left this village, Sept. 15th, eight canoes, four for the River of the Miamis, with the Sieur de Vincennes,² and we three canoes, and Mr. Tonty,³ who as I have already told you in my last,

family, his brother Michael chose the same life, and after spending some time at Tamarois before his ordination, returned to Canada and died Curé of Sainte Foy, February 18th, 1712, in the 15th year of his priesthood, preceding by less than a month their cousin John Francis Buiffon (a son of Gervase, their father's brother), who died on the 15th March, 1712, in the 29th year of his priesthood, and being at his death one of the canons of the church of Quebec. The author of this narrative details the commencement of their labors on the Mississippi. He was stationed first at Tamarois, but removed very soon to the Natchez, among whom he labored earnestly till he was massacred by a party of Sitimaches while descending the Mississippi in 1707.

² This is the earliest notice of Mr. de Vincennes. This officer, whose death in the Chickafaw war has rendered his name famous, and whose memory is preserved by a western city, was apparently a nephew of Louis Jolliet, the explorer

of the Mississippi. His family name was Bissot, Vincennes being merely the name of a Seigneurie in Canada acquired by one of his ancestors. He was commander among the Miamis in 1698, as this journal shows, and though he was near losing his military rank and position in 1704, he was too useful to be removed. In 1730 he led the Miamis in D'Artaguettes expedition, and with du Tisné, Lalande and Father Senat fell into the hands of the Chickafaws and was put to death. Vincennes was not apparently founded by him, but may have been a post or residence of his, so that the town that arose took his name.

³ HENRI DE TONTY, son of the founder of Tontines, was a Neapolitan, who with his father having been concerned in a conspiracy against the Spanish power, retired to France. He lost an arm in the service, and was recommended to La Salle by the Prince de Condé. He is one of the noble figures in the history of the west. As Lieu-

had come to the resolution to accompany us as far as the Akanscas. I cannot, Monseigneur, express our obligations to him; he guided us as far as the Akanscas and gave us much pleasure on the way. He facilitated our course through several nations, winning us the friendship of some and intimidating those who from jealousy or a desire of plunder had wished to oppose our voyage; he has not only done the duty of a brave man, but also discharged the functions of a zealous missionary. He quieted the minds of our employees in the little vagaries that they might have; he supported us by his example in the exercises of devotion which the voyage permitted us to perform, very often approaching the sacraments.

It would be useless, Monseigneur, to give you a description of Lake Miesitgan,⁴ on which we embarked, leaving the fort of the Outouaouas,⁵ it is a course well enough known. We would have taken the south side, which is much the shortest and

tenant of La Salle he directed affairs in Illinois with consummate skill, and going to meet La Salle he made the second voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. He was one of the founders of Detroit, and his removal from the command of the post to give place to the inexperienced de Bourgmont plunged the post in a war. When Iberville reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and settlements were begun, Tonty went down, and rendered signal service till he sank a victim to a deadly

epidemical fever in August, 1704, at Mobile.

4 Michigan.

5 The Ottawas or Short Ears, still exist. They form a village on the west side of the lower peninsula of Michigan, where Catholic Missionaries still attend them. Their language is Algonquin, and their dialect approaches very nearly that of the Chippewas.

finer than the north, but as it is the path of the Irriquois, and as they not long since surprized some soldiers and Indians who were going to the Miamis, this obliged us to take the north side, which is not so agreeable nor abundant in game, but easier withal as I think, because you are there shielded from the north and east winds.

On the 18th of the month we arrived off the Bay of the Puants,⁶ forty leagues distant from Michilimakinac; we cabined in an isle of the detour, [so called] because there the Lake begins to turn southerly. We were detained on this island six days, during which our people employed their time in setting nets; they took a great quantity of white fish, which is a very fine fish, and a manna, which is scarcely ever wanting along this lake, where meat is almost always out of reach.

On the 20th we crossed the Bay of the Puants [which is] about ten leagues broad. You cross from isle to isle. The Bay of the Puants is about twenty or thirty leagues long. On the right, as you enter, you find another small bay called [the Bay] of the Noquets. The Bay of the Puants is inhabited by several Indian nations, the Noquets,⁷ Folles Avoines⁸ [Wild Rice], Foxes, and the Pout-

⁶ Green Bay. Les Puans were the Winnebagoes. The Jesuit Relations, where the name first appears, explain that the Algonquin word Ouenibegouc, translated Puans, meant really men from the salt water. They call themselves Otchagras.

⁷ These Indians left their name to some islands in Green Bay, but they figure very little in history.

⁸ The Folles Avoines were the Menomonees, whose language is the most corrupt of all the Algonquin dialects.

ouatami and the Sak.⁹ The Jesuit Fathers have a mission at the head of the bay. We much wished to pass by the head of this bay, and it would have been much our shortest [route]. You ascend a little river (where there are only three leagues of rapids) about sixty leagues long; you then make a portage which is not long,¹⁰ and fall into the river of Weskonsin, which is very fine, and which you are only two days in descending to reach the Mississippi. It is indeed 200 leagues from the point where this river empties into the Mississippi to that where the river of the Illinois¹¹ discharges into the same Mississippi, but the current is so strong that this distance is soon made; but the Foxes [who] are on this little river that you ascend on leaving the Bay to reach the Weskonsin will not suffer any person [to pass] for fear they will go to places at war with them, and hence they have already plundered several Frenchmen, who wished to go by that road. This obliged us to take the Chikagu road.

On the 29th of September, we arrived at the village of the Poux¹² about twenty leagues' distance from the Traverse of the Bay. There was formerly a very fine village there, but since the chief's death

⁹ The Pottowatomies, Sacs and Foxes, are still subsisting tribes of the same Algonquin family.

kias, Kaskaskias, Moingonas, and an adopted tribe, the Metchigameas, all of whom are frequently mentioned here.

¹⁰ See this portage more fully described in Guignas's letter, *post*.

¹² Poux is not the plural of the French word pou, as some suppose, but a contraction of Pouteouatami.

¹¹ The Illinois nation was made up of the Peorias, Tamarois, Caho-

a part of the Indians have gone and settled in the Bay, and the rest were ready to go there too when we passed. We remained in this village

The 30th we set out, and on the 4th of October we came to another small village of Poux on a little river where Rev. Father Marais¹³ had wintered with some Frenchmen and planted a cross. We spent the rest of the day there.

On the 5th we set out, and after being detained two days by high winds, we arrived on the 7th at Melwarik.¹⁴ This is a river where there is a village which has been considerable, and inhabited by the Motarctins¹⁵ and Foxes, and even some Poux. We remained there two days, partly on account of the wind and partly to refresh our people a little, as duck and teal shooting was very plenty on the river.

On the 10th of October, having left Meliwarik early in the morning, we arrived in good season at Kipikawi,¹⁶ which is about eight leagues from it. There we parted with Mr. de Vincennes's party, who continued their course towards the Miamis. Some Indians had led us to suppose that we might

¹³ Apparently the Rev. Joseph J. Mareft, of the Society of Jesus, long a missionary in the west, certainly from 1689 to 1711, though it may be his brother Gabriel, who was on the Illinois mission in 1700.

¹⁴ Milwaukee, written on some early maps Melloki and Melleoki. For Latinizing this last form has advantages.

¹⁵ If they were ever a distinct nation, these Mascoutens have now merged in the Sacs, Foxes and Kikapoos.

¹⁶ I do not find this name of Kipikawi or Kipikuski elsewhere. The river is evidently that emptying into the Lake at Racine, and this route was up the Root River and then by a portage across to the Fox, or Pish-

ascend by this river, and that after making a portage of about nine leagues, we could descend by another river called Pistrui,¹⁷ which empties into the River of the Illinois about twenty-five or thirty leagues from Chikagu.¹⁸ We avoided this river, which is about twenty leagues in length up to the portage. It passes through quite pleasant prairies, but as there was no water in it, we judged sagely too that there would not be in the Bestikwi,¹⁷ and that instead of shortening our way, we should have had to make nearly forty leagues of the way as a portage. This obliged us to take the route of Chicagu,

taka (Bestikwi) river, which they descended to the Illinois. The names in this memoir have suffered greatly in transcription, and the copyist seems to have been especially bothered by the s, which he replaces by vv or x, and sometimes by r and k. As a vowel it corresponds to the English oo (French ou) as a consonant to w.

¹⁷ Joutel on his map gives the name of Petescouy to this river, and Charlevoix (*Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, vol. iii, p. 380) mentions it as the Pisticou; it is now called the Fox or Pishtaka or Pittakee, and a lake on its course is also still called Pittakee.

¹⁸ The party made their way to Chicago, where they found a Jesuit Miami mission. The mission of St. Joseph's has been usually supposed to have been on the St. Joseph's river from the first. Chicago was

from a very early date a place of importance, as one of the routes to the Mississippi. Perrot is said to have visited it in 1671, but this is only an inference of Charlevoix, not borne out by the manuscript of Perrot, to which he refers. Marquette and Joliet passed by it on their return from their exploration of the Mississippi. Marquette passed a winter there subsequently. Allouez took the same route in 1677. La Salle on his second journey to the Illinois went by the way of Chicago. Joutel and Cavelier, the author of the preceding Journal, were at Chicago in 1687-8, and La Hontan the next year came back from the Mississippi by the same route. After the present author Charlevoix describes the line of travel by Chicago, and the portage is called Portage aux Chenes. On De l'Isle's map of Louisiana (circa 1717) the Desplains is called the Chicago.

which is about twenty-five leagues from it. We remained five days at Kipikuski.

We left it on the 17th, and after having been detained by wind the 18th and 19th, we cabined on the 20th five leagues from the Chicaqw. We should have reached it early on the 21st, but the wind, which suddenly sprung up from the lake, obliged us to land half a league from Apkaw.¹⁹ We had considerable difficulty in getting ashore and saving our canoes. We had to throw everything into the water. This is a thing which you must take good care of along the lakes, and especially on [Lake] Missigau, (the shores of which are very flat) to land soon when the water swells from the lake, for the breakers get so large in a short time that the canoes are in risk of going to pieces and losing all on board; several travellers have already been wrecked there. We went by land, Mr. de Montigny,²⁰ Davion and myself, to the house of

¹⁹This name is inexplicable. They certainly stopped at Chicago, and the name may have been a transcriber's blunder for *cette place, that place.*

²⁰Rev. FRANCIS JOLLIET DE MONTIGNY, the leader of the party whose journey is here described, was born at Paris, but ordained at Quebec, March 8, 1693. After being Curé of St. Ange Gardien and Director of the Ursulines, he set out to found a mission of the Seminary of Quebec on the Mississippi. He bore the appointment of Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec, and was attended, as we here see,

by Messrs Davion and St. Cosme. The outfit of this mission is said to have cost 10,800 livres. They founded a mission at Tamarois, of which the Jesuits complained, and after considerable altercation Mr. de Montigny in 1700 retired, and going to France refused to return to America. He was then sent to China where he labored with great zeal, and becoming Secretary to Cardinal de Tournon shared his exile and attended him on his death bed in prison at Macao. Mr. de Montigny then returned to Paris and there became Director of the Foreign Missions, and died in 1725 at the age of 64.

the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, our people staying with the baggage. We found there Rev. Father Pinet²¹ and Rev. Father Buinateau,²² who had recently come in from the Illinois and were slightly sick.

I cannot explain to you, Monseigneur, with what cordiality and marks of esteem these reverend Jesuit Fathers received and carested us during the time that we had the consolation of staying with them. Their house is built on the banks of the small lake, having the lake on one side and a fine large prairie on the other. The Indian village is of over 150 cabins, and one league on the river there is another village almost as large. They are both of the Miamis. Rev. Father Pinet makes it his ordinary residence except in winter, when the Indians all go hunting, and which he goes and spends at the Illinois. We saw no Indians there, they had already started for their hunt. If we may judge of the future by the little while that Father Pinet has been on this mission, we may say that God blesses the labors and zeal of this holy missionary. There will be a great number of good and fervent Christians there. It is true that little fruit is produced there in those who have grown up and hardened in debauchery, but the children are baptized and even the medicine men, most opposed to

²¹ Father FRANCIS PINET was the founder of the Tamarois mission and died there about 1704.

a missionary in Maine in 1693, and died of a fever brought on by his labors soon after this visit of St. Cosme, as Father Gravier in 1700 does not refer to him.

²² Father JULIAN BINNETEAU was

Christianity, allow their children to be baptized. They are even very glad to have them instructed. Many girls already grown up and many young boys are being instructed, so that it may be hoped that when the old stock dies off there will be a new Christian people.

On the 24th of October, the wind having fallen, we made our canoes come with all our baggage, and perceiving that the waters were extremely low we made a *cache* on the shore and took only what was absolutely necessary for our voyage, reserving till spring to send for the rest, and we left in charge of it Brother Alexander, who consented to remain there with Father Pinet's man, and we started from Chicaqw on the 29th and put up for the night about two leagues off, in the little river which is then lost in the prairies. The next day we began the portage, which is about three leagues long when the water is low, and only a quarter of a league in the spring, for you embark on a little lake that empties into a branch of the river of the Illinois,²³ and when the waters are low you have to make a portage to that branch. We made half our portage that day, and we should have made some progress further, when we perceived that a little boy whom we had received from Mr. de Muys,²⁴

²³ Mud Lake, which empties into the Desplaines, and called by the voyageurs Le petit Lac. See note, p. 51.

²⁴ M. DE MUYS. An officer of this name figures several times in the

French reports of the west (O'Callaghan's New York Col. Doc., ix), and is apparently the one appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1707; a Lieutenant of the same name was at Fort Le Bœuf in October, 1753.

having started on alone, although he had been told to wait, had got lost without any one paying attention to it, all hands being engaged. We were obliged to stop and look for him. All set out, we fired several guns, but could not find him. It was a very unfortunate mishap, we were pressed by the season and the waters being very low, we saw well that being obliged to carry our effects and our canoe it would take us a great while to reach the Illinois. This made us part company, Mr. de Montigny, de Tonty and Davion,²⁵ continued the portage next day, and I with four other men returned to look for this little boy, and on my way back I met Fathers Pinet and Buinateau who were going with two Frenchmen and one Indian to the Illinois. We looked for him again all that day without being able to find him. As next day was the feast of All Saints this obliged me to go and pass the night at Chikagou with our people, who having heard mass and performed their devotions early, we spent all that day too in looking for that little boy without being able to get the least trace. It was very difficult to find him in the tall grass, for the whole country is prairies; you meet only some clumps of woods. As the grass was high we durst

²⁵ Rev. ANTHONY DAVION began a mission among the Tonicas, but labored almost in vain. On the murder of Rev. Mr. Foucault he retired to Mobile, but returned to his post in 1704, and remained for over twelve years, till in fact the

incorrigible tribe drove him out. He retired to New Orleans about 1722, and died in France about 1727. He is said to have been a native of Normandy and to have arrived at Quebec in 1690.

not set fire to it for fear of burning him. Mr. de Montigny had told me not to stay over a day, because the cold was becoming severe; this obliged me to start after giving Brother Alexander directions to look for him and to take some of the French who were at Chicag⁸.

I set out the second of November in the afternoon, made the portage, and slept at the river of the Illinois:²⁶ we went down the river to an island. During the night we were surprized to see an inch of snow and the next day the river frozen in several places, yet we had to break the ice and drag the canoe, because there was no water; this forced us to leave our canoe and go in search of Mr. de Montigny, whom we overtook next day, the 5th of the month, at Stag Island (Isle aux Cerfs). They had already made two leagues portage, and there were still four to make to Monjolly, which we made in three days and arrived on the 8th of the month. From Isle a la Cache to Monjolly²⁷ is the

²⁶ This is probably a mistake of the copyist.

²⁷ This is the "well known mound at Joliet, now called Mount Joliet, once supposed to be a work of art, but now generally conceded to be a natural formation. The materials for paving used in Chicago are obtained from that source." *Letter of William Barry, Esq.* Mount Joliet may be a mistake for Monjolly, and Monjolly not a corruption. There is a Mont Joly in

France, which took its name from the following circumstance:

"Mademoiselle Joly, a French actress of the latter part of the eighteenth century, having passed some agreeable hours on a hill near Falaise, called La Roche-Saint-Quentin, left directions in her will that her remains should be carried to this solitary hill, which was so dear to her heart. Her wishes were obeyed, and the hill has ever since been called Mont-Joly."

An Indian legend as to this mound is given a few lines lower down.

space of seven leagues. You must always make a portage, there being no water in the river except in the spring. All along this river is very agreeable. It is prairies skirted by hills and very fine woods, where there are numbers of deer as well as on the river. There is abundance of game of all kinds, so that one of our men strolling around after making the portage, killed enough to give us a plentiful supper and breakfast next morning. Monjolly is a mound of earth in the prairie, on the right as you go down, slightly elevated, about thirty feet. The Indians say that at the time of a great deluge one of their ancestors escaped, and that this little mountain is his canoe which he turned over there. On leaving Monjolly we made about two leagues to another little portage of about a quarter of a league. As one of our men, named Charbonneau, had killed several turkeys and geese in the morning and a deer, we did well to give somewhat of a treat to our people and let them rest for a day.

On the 10th we made the little portage and found half a league of water, and then two men towed the canoe for a league; the rest marched on land, each with his pack, and we embarked for the space of a league and a half and stopped for the night at a little portage, five or six arpens²⁸ off.

On the 11th, after making the little portage, we came to the river Tealike,²⁹ which is the real river

²⁸ The arpent is about 200 feet. Canadians, as Charlevoix tells us

²⁹ The Kankakee, called by the Indians Theakiki, a name which the (vol. iii, p. 370), corrupted to Kikiki, whence Kankakee.

of the Illinois ; that which we had descended being only a branch. We put all our affairs in the canoe, which two men towed, while Mr. de Tonty and we with the rest of our men marched on land, always through beautiful prairies. We arrived at the village of the Peanzichias Miamis who formerly dwelt on the —— of the Mississippi and who some years since came and settled in this place. There was no one in the village, all having gone out hunting. We went that day to halt near Massacre, which is a little river that empties into the river of the Illinois.²⁹ It was from this day that we began to have buffalo, and the next day two of our men killed four, but as these animals are lean at this season, they contented themselves with taking the tongues. These cattle seem to me larger than ours ; they have a hump on the back, the legs are very short, the head very large and so covered with long hair, that it is said a ball cannot penetrate it. We afterwards saw them almost every day during our voyage to the Akanseas.

After having had to carry our baggage for three days, and put it all together in the canoe, the river being low and full of rocks, we arrived on the 15th of November at the place called the Old Fort. It is a rock which is on the bank of the river about a hundred feet high, where Mr. de la Salle built a

²⁹ The Iroquois River, Charlevoix tells us (*Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, vol. III, p. 380), was so called because an Iroquois war party was there surprised and cut to pieces by the Illinois, but the present Iroquois is a branch of the Kankakee above the Desplaines.

fort which he abandoned.³⁰ The Indians having gone to stay about twenty-five leagues lower down, we slept a league below, where we found two Indian cabins. We were consoled to see one perfectly good Christian woman.

From Chicagv to the Fort they reckon thirty leagues. Here navigation begins, which continues uninterrupted to the Fort of the Permavevvi,³¹ where the Indians are now. We arrived there on the 19th of November. We found R. Father Pinet there, who not being loaded when they started from Chicagou had arrived here six or seven days before us. We also saw there Rev. Father Marays, a Jesuit. All the reverend Fathers gave us all possible welcome. Their only regret was to see us start so soon, on account of the frosts, we there took a Frenchman who had spent three years at the Akanseas and who knows the language a little.

This Illinois mission seems to me the finest that Jesuit Fathers have up here, for without counting all the children who are baptized, there are many grown persons who have abandoned all their superstitions and live as perfectly good Christians, frequenting the sacraments, and are married in the church. We had not the consolation of seeing all these good Christians, for they were all dispersed going down the bank of the river to hunt. We saw there only some Indian women married to Frenchmen, who edified us by their modesty and

³⁰ Rockfort.

of the Illinois nation, who have left their name to a lake.

³¹ The Peorias, one of the branches

by their assiduity in going several times a day to the chapel to pray. We sang High Mass there with deacon and subdeacon, on the day of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, and after commending our voyage to her, and placing ourselves under her protection, we started from the Illinois.

On the 22d of November we had to break the ice for two or three arpens to get out of the lake of . . . We were four canoes, Mr. de Tonty's, our two, and another [of five?] young voyageurs who chose to accompany us, partly on account of Mr. de Tonty, who is generally loved by all the voyageurs, partly also to see the country. Rev. Fathers Buina-teau and Pinet also joined us for a part of the way, wishing to go and spend the whole winter with their Indians.

The first day after our departure we found the cabin of Rouensas,³² the most considerable of the Illinois chiefs. He is a very good Christian and received us politely, not like a barbarian, but like a well bred Frenchman; he took us to his cabin and forced us to spend the night there. He made us a present of three deer, one of which he gave to the Father, the other to Mr. de Tonty, and the third to us. We there learned that the Charanon, the Chekaihas, and Karkinonpols had surprized the

³² The name of this chief, Roinfac, was applied subsequently to the town of Kaskaskia.

³³ The copyist, as we remarked before, has r for the Greek 8 in

Chaſanon, or Shawnee; the Karkinonpols are uncertain; the Chekaihas are the Chickasaws; the Kavvkias are the Kaskias or Cahokias, an Illinois tribe.

Kawkias, an Illinois nation that is about five or six leagues below the mouth of the River of the Illinois along the Micissipi. They had killed ten men, taken nearly 100 slaves, as well women as children. As this Rouensas has much talent, we thought ourselves obliged to make him some present to induce him to favour our passage through the Illinois nations, not so much for this first voyage as for the others, when we might be in less force, for all these peoples up here are much inclined and easily conceive jealousy when one goes to other nations. We therefore gave him a belt to show him that we contracted an alliance with him, and with all his nation, and that he being a Christian should have no greater pleasure than to see other nations partake of the happiness that he enjoyed, and that to this end he was bound to facilitate as much as he could the design of the missionaries who were going to instruct them. We then made him a little present of powder.

On the 23d in the morning, after saying our masses, where Rouensas and his family received at Mr. de Montigny's mass, we set out and came to a little Indian village where we landed. The chief, by name the Bear, told us that it was not apropos for us to go to the Micissipi, but Mr. de Tonty gained or intimidated him by these words, telling him that we were envoys from the Master of Life, who is the king, and of the great master of the river, to instruct those Indians where we were

going, and that he was spared by the Governor to accompany us, so that to give us any trouble would be to attack the Governor in person. As he made no reply to these words we embarked, and on the 24th we went to pass the night at another village of several cabins, where we found the one called Tivet, once a famous chief in his nation, but of late abandoned by almost all his people. He made many complaints to Mr. de Tonty, who reproached him with the fact that it was his misconduct that drew on him the hatred of his people, and that he had long promised to give up his jugglery (for he is a famous medicine man), but that he had done nothing of the kind. He was afterwards there at prayers, and the Indian promised to be instructed.

The next day, March 25th, we parted with Rev. Father Pinet, who remains in this village to pass the winter, for there was a good number of Praying Indians, and on the 26 we found a village, the chief of which was hunting with all his young men. Some old men came to meet us, weeping for the death of their people defeated by the Chañanons. They told us that we did not do well to go through the Carrechias³⁴ with the Chauanons, to whom, they said, Mr. de Tonty had given arms and had attacked them. Mr. de Tonty replied that it was over three years since he left the Illinois, and that he could not have seen the Chauanons to give them arms; but as the Indians continued constantly say-

³⁴The copyist here evidently blundered at Caschias.

ing many unreasonable things, we saw well that they were not well disposed and that we should start as soon as possible, before the youth, who were to arrive next morning, came in. We accordingly left abruptly, Mr. de Tonty telling them that he did not fear men. They told us that they bewailed our youth, who would be killed. Mr. de Tonty replied that they had seen him meet the Iroquois, and that they knew that he could kill men. It must be avowed that the Indians have a very great esteem for him; it is enough for him to be in a party to prevent their offering any insult. We embarked at once and went to pass the night five or six leagues from this village. The next day we were detained a part of the day by reason of a great quantity of ice that was floating in the river.

On the 28th we landed at a village where there were about twenty cabins. We there saw the chief's wife. This woman is very influential in the nation on account of her talent and liberality, and because having many sons and sons-in-law, all hunters, she often gives banquets, which is a means of soon acquiring influence among these Indians, and all their nations. We said mass in the village in the cabin of a soldier named La Violette, married to a squaw, whose child Mr. de Montigny baptized. Mr. de Tonty related to this chieftainess what they had said to us in the last village. She disapproved it all and told him that all the nation felt great joy to see him and us too,

but what grieved her was not to be sure of seeing him again and possessing him longer.

We left this village and made about eight leagues. From the 29th of November to the 3d of December we were detained at the same place by the ice, by which the river was entirely blocked up. During all this time we had provisions in plenty, for one can not fast on this river, so abundant is it in game of all kinds, swans, geese, ducks. It is skirted by very fine woods, which are not very large, so that you sometimes meet fine prairies, where there are numbers of deer. Charbonneau killed several while we were detained. Others also killed some. The navigation of this river is not very good when the water is low. We were sometimes obliged to march with a part of our people while the others conducted the canoes, not without difficulty, being sometimes obliged to get into the water which was already very cold. During our delay, Rev. Father Buinetau, whom we had left at the village of the chief's wife, came to see us and after spending a day with us returned to the village for the Feast of St. Francis Xavier. On that day a high wind having broken a part of the ice we made about a league. The next day, having taken wooden canoes at five Indian cabins, we broke about three or four arpens of ice that blocked up the river, and was about four inches thick and bore men on it. Then we had navigation free to the Micissipi, where we arrived

on the 5th of December, after having made about eight leagues from the Fort of Peniteni.³⁵

Micissippi is a large and beautiful river, that comes from the north. It divides into several channels at the part where the river of the Illinois empties, which forms very beautiful islands. It makes several bends but seems to me to keep always the same direction to the south as far as the Akanseas. It is lined by very fine forests. The bank on both sides appears about thirty feet high, which does not prevent its inundating far into the woods in the spring when the waters are high, except some hills or very elevated spots occasionally met with. You find all along great quantities of buffalo, bear, deer. You also see a very great number of birds. We always had so great a quantity of meat along this river as far as the Acanseas, that we passed several herds of buffalo without caring to fire at them.

On the 6th of December we embarked on the Micissippi. After making about six leagues we found the great river of the Missouris, which comes from the west, and which is so muddy that it spoils the waters of the Micissippi, which down to this river are very clear. It is said that there are up this mountain (river?) a great number of Indians. Three or four leagues [further] we found on the left a rock having some figures painted on it, for which, it is said, the Indians have some veneration.

³⁵ Pometeouy, or Peoria it would from the Mississippi in 1721. *Charles-*
seem, but that was seventy leagues *voix*, III, 391.

They are now almost effaced.³⁶ We went that day to Kavvechias,³⁷ who were still mourning over the blow inflicted on them by the Chikakas and Chouanons; they all began to weep on our arrival. They did not seem to us so hostile or ill disposed as some Illinois Indians had told us of these poor people, who excited more our compassion than our fear.

The next day about noon we reached the Tamarois.³⁸ The Indians had been early notified of our coming by another who had started from the Akanseas³⁹ to carry them the news. As they had given trouble to some of Mr. de Tonty's men a year before, they were afraid, and all the women and children fled from the village; but we did not go to it, as we wished to prepare for the feast of the Conception, we cabined on the other side of the river on the right. Mr. de Tonty went to the village and having reassured them a little, he brought us the chief who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so and next day, Feast of the Conception, after saying our Masses we went with Mr. de Tonty and seven of our men well armed. They came to receive us and took us to the chief's cabin. All the women and children were there, and we were no sooner there than the young folks and women broke in a part to be able to see us. They had never seen

³⁶ This is the Piesá, or painted rock, first mentioned by Marquette.

³⁷ Cahokias.

³⁸ The Tamarois, or Maroas, were an Illinois tribe.

³⁹ This name is evidently wrong.

any Black Gown except for a few days the Rev. Father Gravier,⁴⁰ who had paid them a visit. They gave us a meal, and we made them a little present as we had done to the Carrechias. We told them that it was to show them that we had a well made heart, and that we wished to contract an alliance with them, so that they should kindly receive our people who often passed there, and that they should give them food. They received it with many thanks and then we returned. The Tamarois were cabined on an island lower down than their village, perhaps to get wood more easily, from which their village, which is on the edge of a prairie, is somewhat distant; perhaps too for fear of their enemies. We could not well see whether they were very numerous. They seemed to us quite so, although the greater part of their people were hunting. There was wherewith to form a fine mission by bringing here the Kavvchias, who are quite near, and the Michiagamias, who are a little lower down on the Mississippi, and said to be quite numerous.⁴¹ We did not see them as they had gone inland to hunt. The three villages speak Illinois.

We left Tamarois on the 8th of December, in

⁴⁰ The author of a subsequent Journal in this volume.

⁴¹ The Metchigamias were lower down the Mississippi in Marquette's time, but joined the Illinois and became incorporated with them be-

fore 1721 (Charlevoix, vol. III, p. 398). Their language was however different, as we see by Father Marquette's Journal where he describes the critical moment when the tribe poured out to attack him.

the afternoon. On the 10th we saw a hill which is about three arpents distance from the Miciffipi, on the right hand going down. After being detained a part of the 11th by the rain, we arrived early on the 12th at Cape St. Antoine, where we remained that day and all the next to get pitch, which we needed. There are many pines from Cape St. Antoine to a river lower down, and it is the only spot where I saw any from Chigagou to the Acanfeas. Cape St. Antoine is a rock on the left as you go down. Some arpents below there is another rock on the right which advances into the river, and forms an island, or rather a rock about 200 feet high, which making the river turn back very abruptly and narrowing the channel forms a kind of whirlpool there, where it is said a canoe is engulfed at the high waters. Fourteen Miamis were once lost there, which has rendered the spot fearful among the Indians, so that they are accustomed to make some sacrifices to this rock when they pass. We saw no figure there as we had been told.⁴² You ascend this island and rock by a hill with considerable difficulty. On it we planted a beautiful cross, singing the *Vexilla Regis*, and our people fired three volleys of musketry. God grant that the Cross which has never been known in these regions, may triumph there and our Lord pour forth abundantly on them the merits of his holy passion, that all the Indians may know

⁴² See Marquette's account in his Journal, section 7.

and serve him. At Cape St. Antoine you begin to find canes. There is also a kind of large tree like the whitewood, which exudes a gum of very good odor; you find too all along the Micissipi a quantity of fruit trees unknown in Canada, the fruit of which is excellent. We found sometimes fruit still on the trees. I had forgotten to note here that [since] we were on the Micissipi we did not perceive that we were in winter, and the more we descended the greater heat we found, yet the nights are cool.

We left Cape St. Antoine on the 14th of December, and on the 15th we halted for the night one league below the Wabache,⁴³ a large and beautiful river which is on the left of the Micissipi and comes from towards the north, and is they say five hundred leagues long, and rises near the Sonontuans.⁴⁴ They go by this river to the Chauanons, who trade with the English.

On the 16th we started from Wabache, and nothing special befel us, nor did we find any thing remarkable till the Acanseas, except that we found a certain bird, as large as a swan, which has the bill about a foot long, and the throat of extraordinary size, so large in some, they say, that it would hold a bushel of wheat. The one that we took was a small one and would easily have held in his throat

⁴³ The Ohio, long called Wabash by the French from its mouth to the source of the present Wabash; the Ohio being the part from Pittsburgh to the Wabash (see

Gravier's Journal in this volume, and the note on the Arkansas, p. 75).

⁴⁴ Senecas.

half a bushel. They say that this bird gets in the current, and opening his large bill [takes the fish] that thrust themselves into his gullet. Our Frenchmen call this bird Chibek.⁴⁵ On the 22d we found a small river on the left going down, which is said to be the road to go to the Chicachas, who are a large nation, and it is supposed that it is not very far from this little river to their villages.

On the 24th we cabined early so that our people might prepare for the great feast of Christmas. We made a little chapel; we sang a high mass at midnight where our people and all the French attended their duties. Christmas day was spent in saying our masses, all which our people heard and in the afternoon we chanted Vespers. We were greatly astonished to see the earth tremble at one clock in the afternoon, and although this earthquake did not last long, it was violent enough for all to perceive it easily. We started next day a little late, because we had to wait for an Indian boy that Mr. de Tonty had, who went into the woods the day before to look for fruit and got lost. We thought that he might have been taken by some Chicacha warriors, which obliged us to keep watch and ward all night, but we were quite glad to see him come back next morning. We set out and went to cabin for the night near the spot where the Kappas,⁴⁶ a nation of the Akanseas were formerly.

⁴⁵ The Grandgozier or Pelican.

⁴⁶ This tribe, the Quapaws, is now the sole remnant of the once

powerful Arkansas nation. Some would identify them with the Pacahas of de Soto.

On St. John's day, after making about five leagues, we saw some wooden canoes and an Indian on the water's edge; as we were near and were afraid that he would take to flight on seeing us, one of our men took the calumet and sung. He was heard at the village which was quite near; a part ran away, the others brought the calumet and came to receive us at the water's edge. They rubbed us when we came up and then rubbed themselves, a mark of esteem among the Indians. They took us on their shoulders and carried us to a chief's cabin. There was a hill of potter's clay to get up and the one that carried sank under his burden. I was afraid that he would let me fall and so I got down in spite of him and went up the hill, but as soon as I got to the top I had absolutely to get on his back and be carried to the cabin. Some time after they came to chant the Calumet⁴⁷ for us, and the next afternoon they carried us to another cabin, where making Mr. de Tonty and us also sit down on bear skins, and four chiefs having each taken a calumet that they had placed before us, the others began to sing, striking on a kind of drum, made of earthen pots over which they place a skin: they hold in their hands a gourd with pebbles in it, which make a noise, and then chant according with the sound of these drums, and the sound of these gourds. This makes a music which is not the most agreeable, while an Indian who was behind rocked

⁴⁷ Marquette first described the some interesting details as to it. Calumet, and Father Gravier gives

us. We were soon disgusted with this ceremony, which they perform for all strangers, as they esteem it and you must suffer it or pass for being ill disposed and having bad designs. We put some of our people in our place after staying there a little while, and they had the pleasure of being rocked all night. The next day they made us a present of a little slave and of some skins, which we repaid by another present of knives and other things, that they esteem highly. We were much consoled to see ourselves in the [proposed] places of our missions, but we were sensibly afflicted to see this Acansea nation once so numerous entirely destroyed by war and sickness. It is not a month since they got over the small pox which carried off the greatest part of them. There was nothing to be seen in the village but graves. There were two [tribes] together there and we estimated that there were not a hundred men; all the children and a great part of the women were dead. These Indians seem of a very good disposition. We were every moment invited to feasts. They possess extraordinary fidelity. They transported all we had to a cabin, and it remained there for two days without anything being taken, and for ourselves there was nothing lost. One of our men having forgotten his knife in a cabin, an Indian at once came to restore it. Polygamy is not common among them. Yet we saw in the village of the Kappas one of those wretched men who from their youth dress as women, serving for the most shameful of vices, but this wretch was

not of their nation: he was an Illinois, among whom this is quite common. These Indians have in abundance, corn, beans, squashes. As for hunting, being crushed by sickness and in constant fear of their enemies, we saw no signs of any in their village. They cabin like the Hurons, using large earthen pots instead of kettles and well made pitchers. They are quite naked except that when they go out they throw a buffalo robe around them. The women and girls are like the Illinois half naked: they have a skin hanging down from the waist and reaching to the knees; some have a small deer skin like a scarf.

We remained in this village two days and a half, and after planting a cross that we told them was a sign of our union, we started on the 30th of November [? December] to go to their other village which is about nine leagues from this. It was a deep regret to part with Mr. de Tonty who could not go with us for several reasons. He would much have desired to bear us company to the other nations where we were going, but business called him back to the Illinois. He is the man that best knows the country. He has been twice to the sea; he has been twice far inland to the remotest nations; he is loved and feared every where. If they were exploring these parts, I do not think that they can confide it to a more experienced man than he is. Your grace, Monseigneur, will, I doubt not, take pleasure in acknowledging the obligations we owe him.

We slept at the mouth of the Acanseas river, which is about 250 leagues distant from that of the Illinois. We arrived early next morning at the village. The Indians came to meet us with the calumet; they led us to the village with the same ceremonies as the first. We spent two days there. This village seems to me a little more populous than the other, there were more children. We told them that we were going further down to their neighbours and friends; that they would see us often; that they would do well to assemble all together so as more easily to resist their enemies. They agreed to all and promised to try and make the Ozages join them, who had left the river of the Missouri and were on the upper waters of their river.

We started on the 2d of January and went to cabin at the mouth of the river, where the French, who were going back, would give us only one day to write. I expected to have more time to do it, hoping to go up from the Acanseas to the Illinois, but as we are going much further down I am afraid that the letters that we write hereafter may not reach you this year, the opportunity being past when we reached the Illinois. I therefore beg your grace to excuse me, if this is somewhat ill digested. Time presses so much on me, that I cannot write even to any of our gentlemen, whom I beg you to permit me to salute and commend myself to their holy sacrifices. I hope that your Grace will grant me the same favour.

From his good servant before our Lord. From
him who is with the most profound respect,
Monseigneur,
Your Grace's
Most humble and most, &c.

LETTER OF MR. DE MONTIGNY.

WE arrived safely among the nations that we sought after six months' navigation, which was not interrupted by winter. These nations have received us with a joy and a welcome that I cannot express, especially when they learned that we had come to stay among them. The first among whom we thought of establishing [a mission] are the Tonicas, who are sixty leagues lower down than the Akanseas.⁴⁸ Mr. Davion has stationed himself there. The spot where he is is quite fine.

⁴⁸ The Arkansas were evidently so called by the northern Algonquin nations, and especially by the Illinois. Marquette first gives the name Akansea, and the French who settled in Illinois seem to have confirmed it. The tribe called themselves Ouguapas or Quapaws, apparently the Ouyapes of Charlevoix. Their language is a Daheotah dialect. Gravier in his Journal states the important fact that the Illinois called the Ohio, the river

of the Arkansas, from its having been the residence of that people. La Metairie, the notary of La Salle's expedition, calls the Ohio, the Olighinipou, or Aleghin, evidently an Algonquin word, *spou* being the term *river*. Arkansas is written in some of the early Louisiana papers Alkanfas. This and Aleghin or Olighin, in the French pronunciation are not very dissimilar. When we consider that the Delawares and Illinois, are kindred nations of the

With some small villages of some other nation who are with them, they make about 2000 souls. About one day's journey lower down (that is to say 20 leagues), are the Taensas, who speak another language. They are only a short day's journey from the Natchez, who are of the same nation and speak the same language. For the present I reside among the Taensas,⁴⁹ but am to go shortly to the Natchez. This nation is very great and more numerous than the Tonicas. The Taensas are only about 700 souls. As for Mr. de St. Cosme he remains at the Tamarouois. The Akanseas would have greatly desired us to stay among them, but as they were not assembled in a single village [but scattered] which would have been too difficult to attend, we have advised them to assemble together so as to have a missionary. This they are going to do next spring, and they wish even to make us a house also

same name (Lenni, Illini) it may be that the Quappaws are the Alleghans or Allegewi, whom the Delawares say they and the Iroquois drove down the Mississippi. If the Quappaws are the Pacahas of De Soto, the retreat from the Ohio must date back to the fifteenth century at least. When first discovered by the French the Arkansas were divided into four tribes: 1, the Kappas; 2, the Toyengan or Tongenga, Doginga, Tongengas or Topingas; 3, the Toriman, Toreman or Tourimans; 4, the Atotchasi, Ofotonoy or Affoutoué, Ofittecoez, Otfotchové or Sau-

thous, as the names are differently given by different authors. A remnant of the tribe still exists, and are known as the Quapaws.

⁴⁹ The Taensas were first described by Father Membre (see his Journal in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 170-2, and also Thaurur and Gravier, *post*). Le Page da Pratz says they were a branch of the Natchez and spoke the same language (II, 219). They had entirely disappeared prior to 1712. (*Charlevoix Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, III, 438.)

to induce us to go and see them and to remain with them. These people are very mild, give a warm welcome and have a great esteem for the French; they are sedentary, cultivate the earth, living on nothing scarcely but Indian corn.

I often speak of the Tonicas and the Taensas and of those who are on the banks of the Micissippi going down to the sea, for far inland the Indians are in great numbers. They have rather fine temples, the walls of which are of mats. That of the Taensas has walls seven or eight feet thick on account of the great number of mats one on another. They regard the Serpent as one of their divinities so far as I could see. They would not dare to accept or appropriate anything of the slightest consequence without taking it to the temple. When they receive anything it is with a kind of veneration that they turn towards this temple. They do not seem to be debauched in their lives. On account of the great heat the men go naked, and the women and girls are not well covered, and the girls up to the age of twelve years go entirely naked. They are so mild and have so much deference for what we told them, that I persuade myself that it will not be very difficult when I know their language a little to reform this abuse, which among them makes no impression, they being accustomed to it from childhood. They have also another abuse. When their chiefs are dead, as he has been more esteemed, the more persons they kill who offer themselves to die with him, and last year, when

the chief of the Taensas died, there were twelve persons who offered to die, and whom they tomahawked. There is never any winter among them, they do not know snow and have never seen it. There is always grass there, and at the end of January, the peach and plum trees and violets were in blossom. I have seen about this time at the Taensas as great heats as in midsummer at Kebeq, and yet those who have spent the summer there affirm that it is not hotter than at Quebec. The soil is very good, the Indian corn grows sometimes twenty feet high, and a single grain will send out ten or twelve stalks almost as thick as your arm. There are a great many herbs and plants and others which are unknown to us. If you have any wish to see the dress of our Indians, we send one to Mr. Leuifsen, who will show it to you. As we do not know the language, we have not yet made any great conversions, nevertheless we have the consolation of having baptized several dying children and a very distinguished chief of the Tonicas, whom we instructed by interpreters. We were surprised to see such judgment in an Indian and dispositions as Christian as what he had. As he was *in extremis* we baptized him and gave him the name of Paul. He died the next day, after making acts of religion which greatly edified us.

I beg you kindly to continue your good prayers for our missions, for I am persuaded and justly, that they it is that have obtained us a prosperous voyage. I salute all the community. I should have liked to

write to several, but have not been able. I am more than I can tell, in our Lord——

DE MONTIGNY.

From the Akanseas, this 2d January, 1699.

LETTER OF MR. THAUMUR DE LA SOURCE.

THIS is to let you know that we have accomplished the Akanseas voyage, quite safely, thank God, and have descended within 200 leagues of the sea. I will not speak to you of our route from Michilimaquinac to the Akanseas in this that I have the honour of writing you, for fear of tiring you. Our gentlemen have drawn up a relation which they send to the Bishop. I suppose that you will see it. It will tell you all the adventures of the voyage. We [arrived] on the 17th of December at the Akanseas, where we were very well received. They did not know how to treat us best. This fine nation, which is spoken of —— is almost entirely destroyed by war and sickness. It is a great pity. They are the best made, frankest and best disposed men that we have seen. We planted a cross there and when they go to hunt they do the same thing. On our way back we found one that they had planted on the banks of the Micissipi. They await a missionary in great impatience. Mr. de Montigny seeing them irresolute about

going further down, we set out on the 4th of January, with little provisions, expecting to find game as usual, for from Chikagou to the Akanseas in the Micissipi, the bison and cows are so numerous that you cannot lack provisions if you have powder and ball. Bear and deer are very numerous; we killed several with swords. On starting from the Akanseas we had rain for the space of five days, during which we made no great progress. Our whole stock of provision consisted of dried squash, and even of that we did not make half a meal. On Twelfth day we did not eat a bit. On the 11th we arrived at the Tonicas,⁵⁰ about sixty leagues below the Akanseas. The first village is four leagues from the Micissipi inland on the bank of a quite pretty river; they are dispersed in little villages; they cover in all four leagues of country; they are about 260 cabins. Their houses are made of palisades and earth, and are very large; they make fire in them only twice a day, and do their cooking outside in earthen pots. The married women are covered from the waist to the knees, and the girls are naked up to the age of twelve years and sometimes until they are married, and

⁵⁰ Marquette, the first to give the name, writes it Tanikwa. The Tonicas were then opposite Red River; they were always firm friends of the French, but the missionary Davion had little success among them. They expelled him at one time for destroying their temple, though they had not sufficient reverence for it to build another.

They treacherously cut off the Houtmas soon after. In the Natchez war they stood by the French and were nearly destroyed by the Chickasaws. Their chief by his services won a French commission. *Charlevoix Hist. de la N. F.*, III, 433. In 1806 there was a remnant of them at Avoyelle, on the Red River. *Archæologia Americana*, II, 115.

they wear clothes which scarcely cover them, being made after the fashion of fringes, which they simply place in front. As for the men they are dressed in their skins and are very peaceable people, well disposed, much attached to the French, living entirely on Indian corn, they are employed solely on their fields; they do not hunt like the other Indians. The Indian corn of this country grows 15 to 20 feet high; they gather it only as they need it. The village of the great chief is in a beautiful prairie. Sickness was among them when we arrived there. One of their chiefs being about to die, M. de Montigny asked him through an interpreter whether he wished to be baptized, to which he replied that he desired to be. Having given also some tokens of his desire, he was baptized and died the next day. They were dying in great numbers. They inter their dead and the relations come to weep with those of the house, and in the evening they weep over the grave of the departed and make a fire there and pass their hands over it, crying out and weeping. Mr. Davion has established his mission in this place; they have a temple on a little hill; we went there to see it: there are earthen figures which are their manitous. We spent eight days in this village and set out to go to the Taensas, who are twenty leagues lower down. We went to pass the night below the river on the bank of the Micissipi, where we caught their sickness by the great abundance of rain which lasted a long time, and it rained so violently for two days that

we were obliged to make a bed for Mr. de Montigny on logs of wood. He was so sick that when he wished to get up he fainted every moment. We had nothing to eat but Indian corn boiled in water; a part of our people were hunting, weary and sick as they were. One of them got lost in the woods and slept out; [while] they were looking for him, I went hunting, and killed some little game, but Mr. de Montigny would not eat it. We started from this place and when evening came we were all sick. The next day we arrived at the portage of the Taensas, which is a league long, where we slept. I had the fever as well as the rest of them. On the 21st we arrived at the Taensas. It is a league by land and two by water. They are on the shore of a lake three leagues from the Micissipi. They are very humane and docile people. Their chief died not long before we arrived. It is their custom to put to death [many] on this account. They told us that they had put to death thirteen on the death of the one who died last. For this purpose they put a root in the fire to burn, and when it is consumed they kill him with tomahawks. The Natchez, who are twelve leagues lower down, put men to death on the death of their chief. It must be avowed that they are very foolish to allow themselves to be killed in this way; yet it is a thing they esteem as great honour and nobleheartedness. They have a pretty large temple, with three columns well made, serpents and other like superstitions. The temple is encircled by an enclo-

sure made like a wall, it is almost covered with skulls. They would not let us enter, saying, that those who entered died. We entered half by force, half by consent. The girls and women are dressed like those I have mentioned before, and even worse, for we saw some 25 and 30 years old quite naked.

We left there on the 27th to return to the Tonicas; Mr. de Montigny and Mr. de St. Cosme resolved to go up together to bring down the things left at Chicagou where Brother Alexander had remained to guard them, because there was no water in the river of the Illinois. We brought only a canoe load of absolute necessaries, which we had to carry for the distance of fifteen leagues. We had good cheer this fall returning up the Micissipi. One of our men was bitten by a rattle snake on our way back from the Taensas. It gave him no trouble, for Mr. de Montigny, who was at hand, gave him a remedy to counteract the effect of the poison. In the rivers of the Acanseas and Tonicas and in lake Taensas, the alligator is in so great numbers, that you will see thirty together; he is the most frightful master fish that can be seen. He is made like a toad. I saw one that was as large as a half hoghead. There are some, they say, as large a hoghead and twelve to fifteen feet long. I have no doubt they would swallow a man up if they caught him.

There were some Illinois villages that wished to oppose our voyage, but they gained nothing; we passed on in spite of them and their envy. Mr. de

Tonty kindly accompanied our gentlemen as far as the Acanseas. We were a strong party, and going up the Illinois river we came near being plundered by the Miamis. They boasted that they would rob us as we came up the Illinois river. We are not in the humour of letting ourselves be plundered. We are thirty men to descend the river of the Illinois. There are as many people at the Tamarois as at Kebeq. Mr. de St. Cosme is at the Tamarois, which is eight leagues from the Illinois. It is the largest village that we have seen. There are about 300 cabins there.

We arrived on Maundy Thursday at Chicagou after making thirty leagues by land. It rained during the last two days of our march. Mr. de Montigny was much fatigued and I was no less so. Much good can be done in the missions lower down, namely, at the Akanseas, Tonicas and Taensas, and several other nations that are in their vicinity. I believe so, and they say that we are spirits. Mr. de Montigny intended to see all the nations and to go to the sea. Having learnt that three Frenchmen had been lately killed and we all being sick, he probably did not deem it proper. He is going to reside at the Taensas, about one hundred leagues distant from the sea, and I even believe that he will go there. All his party are so pleased with him, that he finds more people than he needs, wherever he wishes to go. On starting from the Illinois in the month of April, four voyageurs came express to accompany him, and as he

was fatigued they wished to carry him, which he would not suffer, and went on afoot. I will tell you that Mr. de Montigny took a boy twelve or fifteen years old with him, who got lost while making the first portage in the prairies. Mr. de St. Cosme remained with five men and spent two days looking for him without being able to find him, and during this time I and two others with Mr. de Montigny made a portage of two leagues. This boy made his way to Chicagou, where Brother Alexander was, thirteen days after. He was utterly exhausted and was out of his head.

These people had their women and girls dressed like the Tonicas. Mr. de Montigny inclines to put me at the Tamarois with Mr. de St. Cosme. I should not be displeas'd. It was suppos'd at the Outraois that Mr. Diberville had come by sea to the mouth of the Micissippi, but we have heard no tidings of him, except what I have related above. The Miamis are trying to pick a quarrel with us, but we do not know what will come of it. We are to start from Chicagou on Easter Monday. The finest country that we have seen is all from Chicagou to the Tamarois. It is nothing but prairies and clumps of wood as far as you can see. I will mention also, that many Canadians marry among the Illinois.

I shall not come down within two years to know whether they will settle this country. It is perfectly charming. We did not perceive that it was

winter. The peach trees were in blossom at the Tonicas in the month of January. They are so plentiful in the village of the Taensas that they cut them down. There are also pearls which are very fine. I believe that they are precious, yet they pierce them to string them. I close, fearing to tire you, and subscribe myself,

Your very humble and very obdt servt,

LA SOURCE.⁵²

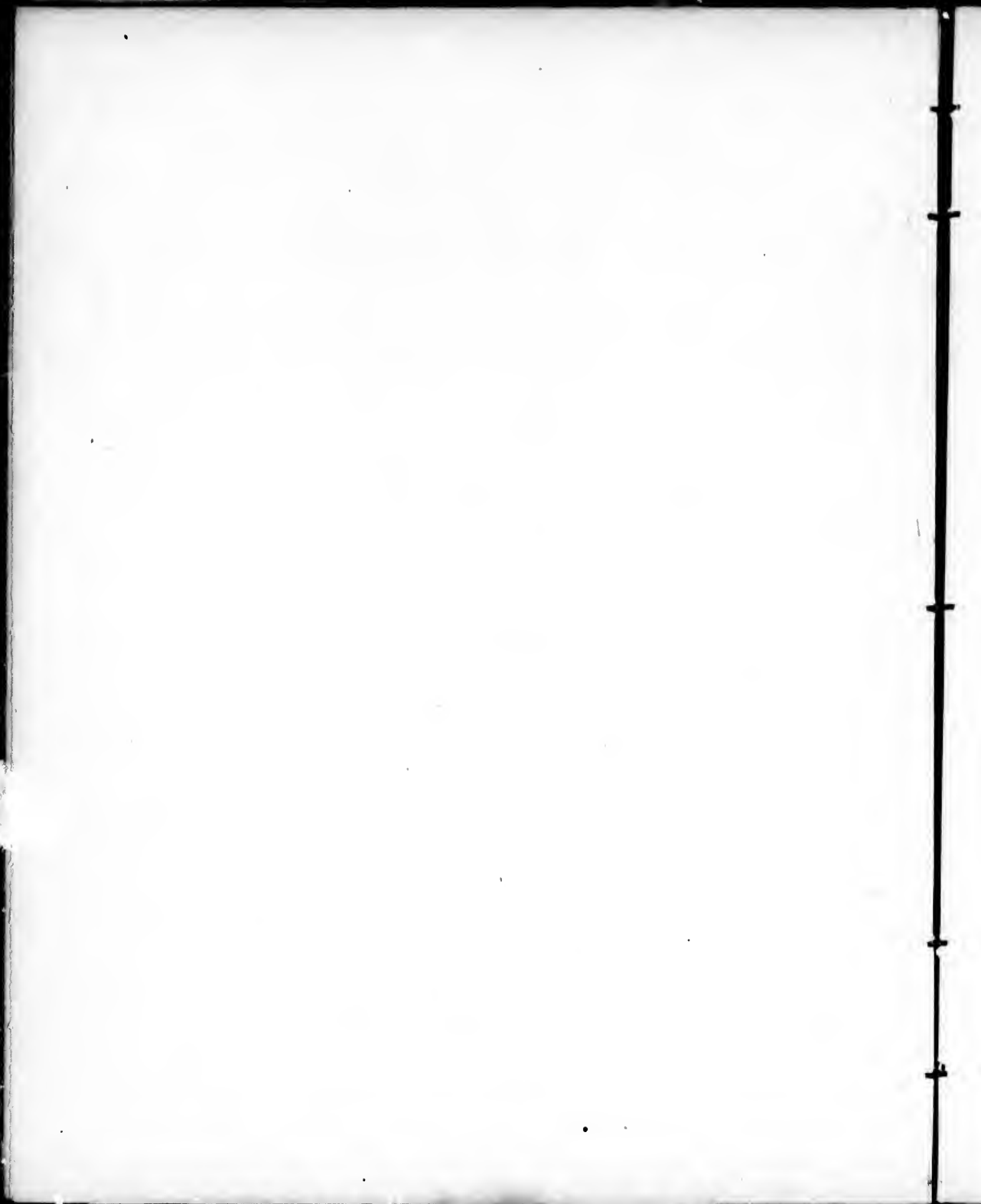
⁵²The Rev. Dominic Thaumur was ordained there. Charlevoix de la Source had been a pupil of Father Charlevoix at Quebec, and found him at Cahokia in 1721.



III.

LE SUEUR'S VOYAGE
UP THE MISSISSIPPI,

IN 1699-1700.





VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI

IN 1699-1700,

BY

MR. LE SUEUR,

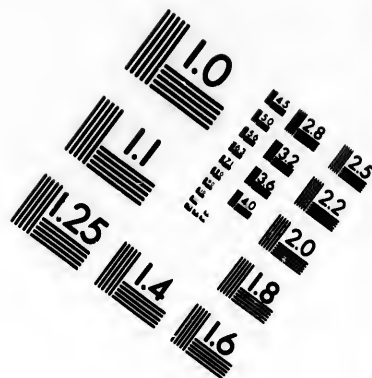
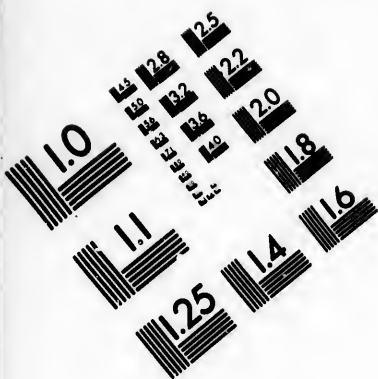
AS GIVEN BY BERNARD DE LA HARPE, FROM LE SUEUR'S JOURNAL.

MR. Le Sueur arrived with thirty workmen in the *Renommée* and *Gironde*, Dec^r 7, 1699. He had acquired renown by his voyages in Canada; he was sent on behalf of Mr. L'huillier, Farmer-general, to form an establishment at the source of the Mississippi. The object of this enterprize was to work a mine of

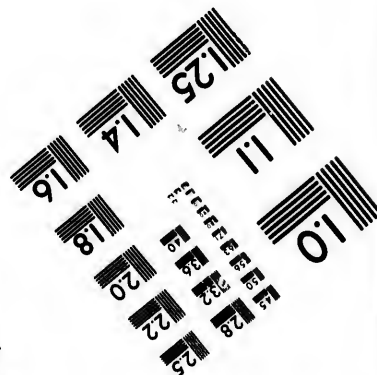
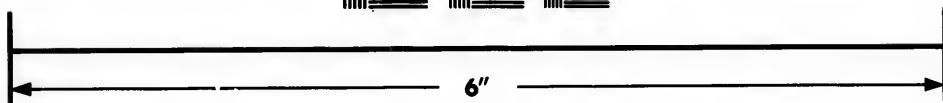
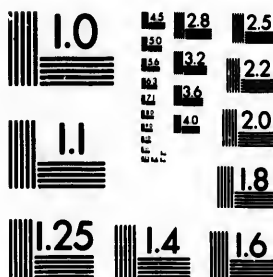
¹ Le Sueur was a Canadian (*Bi-baud*), and a kinsman of Iberville (*Charlevoix*, II, 413); not his father as Neill, of little French and less courtesy, ignorantly says (*Hist. of Minnesota*, 154, n). The first allusion that I find to him is in 1693, when he was a voyageur stationed at Chegoimegon, and from his knowledge of the Dakotah employed to maintain peace between the Chippeways and Dakotas (*N.*

Y. Col. Doc., IX, 570). His subsequent adventures are sketched in the text. He returned to France with Iberville in 1702, and died some years after while again on his way to Louisiana (*La Harpe*, 21). Neill, by a blunder though citing La Harpe, makes him die in Louisiana. The Le Sueur who figured in the Natchez war is therefore, in all probability, a different person.





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green earth² that Mr. Le Sueur had discovered. What gave rise to this enterprize as far back as the year 1695, was this. Mr. Le Sueur by order of the Count de Frontenac, Governor General of Canada, built a fort on an island in the Mississipi, more than 200 leagues above the Illinois, in order to effect a peace between the Sauteurs³ nations who dwell on the shores of a lake of five hundred leagues circumference,⁴ one hundred leagues east of the river and the Scioux, posted on the Upper Mississipi. The same year, according to his orders, he went down to Montreal in Canada with a Sauteur chief named Chingouabé and a Sciou named Cioscate, who was the first of his nation who had seen Canada; and as they hoped to derive from his country many articles of value in commerce, the Count de Frontenac, the Chevalier de la Callière and M. de Champigny, received him quite well. Two days after their arrival they presented to the Count de Frontenac in a public assembly as many arrows as there were Scioux villages, and they told him that all these villages begged him to receive them among his children, as he had done the other nations whom they named in succession, which was granted.

² A mine of green earth seems a queer and not over-valuable discovery, but these colored marls, blue, green and yellow, owing their color to silicate of iron, were, when free from sand, highly esteemed and used as paint by the Indians, and were consequently a good article of trade.

³ Ojibwas or Chippewas. The French called them Sauteurs, and later Sauteurs, not meaning Leapers, as some have said who prefer guessing to research, but from their residence at Saut Ste Marie.

⁴ Lake Superior.

M. Le Sueur was to go up to the Mississippi in 1696, with this Sciou chief, who had come down solely on a promise that he should be taken home again, but he fell sick during the winter and died at Montreal after thirty-three days' suffering. As Mr. Le Sueur was dispensed by this man's death from returning to that country, where he had discovered mines of lead, copper, blue and green earth, he resolved to go to France, and to solicit at court permission to work them. This he obtained in 1697. He embarked at Rochelle in the latter part of June in that year to go to Canada. Off the banks of Newfoundland he was taken by an English fleet of sixteen vessels and carried prisoner to Portsmouth; but peace being declared, he returned to Paris to get a new commission, for he had thrown his old one overboard, for fear of giving the English any information as to his plan. The Court ordered a new commission to issue in 1698. He then went to Canada, where he met obstacles which compelled him to return to France.⁵ During all these contradictions a part of the people whom he had left in charge of the fort which he had built in 1695, hearing nothing of him, descended to Montreal.

We have seen above that he arrived in the colony [of Louisiana] in the month of December, 1699, with a party of thirty miners. On the 10th of February, 1702, he arrived [? at Fort Biloxi⁶] with

⁵ Frontenac prevented his going west and the Court approved the Governor's action in the matter.

⁶ Orders came on the 18th December, 1701, to evacuate Biloxi and settle on the Mobile, and Bien-

two thousand quintals of blue and green earth, having come from the Scioux. The following is an extract from the relation of his voyage :

He could not reach the Tamarois till the month of June 1700, having made a considerable distance from the mouth of the river to that point. He left there July 12th, 1700, with a felucca and two canoes manned by nineteen persons.

On the 13th, having advanced six leagues and a quarter, he halted at the mouth of the Missouri river, and six leagues above he left on the east of the river the river of the Illinois; he there met three Canadian voyageurs who were coming to join his party: he received by them a letter from the Jesuit Father Marett, dated July 10, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin at the Illinois, to this effect.

“I have the honour to write you to inform you that the Sangiestas⁷ have been defeated by the Scioux and Ayavois.⁸ These people have combined with the Quincapoux, and a part of the Mécontins,⁹ Foxes and Météfigamias,¹⁰ and are going to avenge themselves, not on the Scioux, of whom they are too much afraid, but on the Ayavois, or

ville set out with the garrison on the 6th January, 1702, leaving only twenty soldiers under de Bois Brillant at Biloxi. It is probable however that La Harpe means the Lesueur arrived at Biloxi.

⁸ Written in some other early accounts Ainoves; they are the Iowas, who have had the good fortune to give their name to a State.

⁹ Kickapoos and Mascoutins.

⁷ Probable error for Sauteux.

¹⁰ Metchigameas.

“else on the Paoutées,¹¹ or rather on the Osages, “for these last suspect nothing and the others are on “their guard; as you may meet the allied nations, “you must guard against their enterprises, and “prevent their getting in your boats, being traitors, “and unfaithful to their word; I beg God to attend “you in all your designs.”

Twenty-two leagues above the river of the Illinois he passed a small river which he named Riviere aux Boeufs.¹² Nine leagues further he passed on the left a small river and met four Canadians going down the Mississippi to reach the Illinois.

On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the last river, he met seventeen Scioux in seven canoes, who were going to avenge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burnt and the others killed at the Tamarois, a short time before his arrival at that village; as he had promised the chief of the Illinois to appease the Scioux, who might be coming in war against his nation, he made the chief of this party a present of some goods to induce him to return. He told him that the King of France did not wish this river to be any more sullied with blood, and that he had sent him to tell them that if they obeyed his word, whatever was necessary to them should hereafter be given to them. The chief replied that he accepted the present, that is to say, that he would do what they told him.

¹¹ First mentioned by Marquette as the Pahoutet. They were probably the Padoucas or Comanches.

¹² ? Salt River.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of August, Mr Le Sueur made 52½ leagues to a little river which he called Riviere a la Mine;¹³ it comes from the north to its mouth and turns from it to the N. E. Seven leagues on, to the right, there is a lead mine in a prairie, a league and a half inland; this river, except the first three leagues, is navigable only when the water is high, that is to say, from early spring to the month of June.

From the 25th to the 27th he made ten leagues, passed two small rivers, and made examination of a lead mine, of which he took a supply.

From the 27th to the 30th he made eleven leagues and a half and met five Canadians, one of whom was dangerously wounded in the head; they were naked and had no arms except a wretched gun, with five or six charges of powder and ball. They said that they were descending from the Scioux to go to the Tamarois, and that forty leagues above they had perceived on the Mississippi nine canoes, carrying ninety Indians, who had plundered and cruelly beaten them; this party were going to war against the Scioux. It was made up of four different nations, Outagamis, Saquis, Poutatamis and Puans,¹⁴ who inhabit a country eighty leagues east of the river and of the point where Mr. Le Sueur then was. These Canadians resolved to follow the detachment, which was thus com-

¹³ ? Fever River.

¹⁴ Foxes, Sacs, Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes.

posed of 28 men. That day he made four leagues and a half.

On the 1st of September he passed the River of the Ouesconfins;¹⁵ it comes from the N. E. to its mouth and turns to the East. It is almost everywhere a league and a half wide. About forty-five leagues up this river on the right is a portage of more than a league in length. The half of this portage is a bog; at the end of this portage there is a little river that falls into a bay called the Bay of the Puans,¹⁶ inhabited by a great number of nations that carry their furs to Canada. It was by the river of the Ouesconfins that Mr. Le Sueur came into the Mississippi for the first time in 1683, to go to the country of the Scioux, where he has at various times spent seven years. The [Mississippi] river opposite the mouth of this river is only about an eighth of a league wide.

From the 1st to the 5th of September our traveller advanced fourteen leagues: he passed the Riviere aux Canots,¹⁷ which comes from the north east, then that of the Quincapous,¹⁸ so called from the name of a nation, which formerly dwelt on its bank.

From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten leagues and a half and passed the Riviere Cachée¹⁹ and that

¹⁵ Wisconfin.

¹⁷ ? The Bad Axe.

¹⁶ That is Bay of the Winnebagoes or Green Bay.

¹⁸ ? The Raccoon.

¹⁹ ? The La Crosse.

aux Ailes :²⁰ the same day he perceived canoes full of Indians descending the river. The five Canadians recognized those who had plundered them; sentinels were placed in the woods, for fear of a surprise from the land, and when they were within hailing distance, the party called out to them, that if they came any nearer they would fire on them. They ranged themselves along the island, within half gunshot. Soon after four of the most distinguished in the band advanced in a canoe and asked whether we had forgotten that they were our brethren, and why we had taken up arms when we perceived them. Mr. Le Sueur told them in reply that after what they had done to the five Frenchmen, who were present, he had reason to distrust them. Yet for the security of his trade, being under the absolute necessity of being in peace with all the nations, he would not make reprisals for the robbery which they had committed; he only added that the King their master and his, wished all his subjects to travel on that river without receiving any insult; that therefore they should take care of what they were doing. The Indian who had been spokesman seemed confounded and made no reply; another merely said that they had been attacked by the Scioux, who had forced them to abandon all their baggage, and that if he did not take pity on them by giving them a little powder, they could not reach their village. Consideration for [the

²⁰ Perhaps River aux Ailx, as a cape of that name is mentioned, *so* called from the wild onions growing there.

safety of] a missionary who was to go up to the Scioux, and whom these Indians might meet, made him give them two pounds of powder. Mr. Le Sueur made the same day three leagues, passed a little river west of the great river, then a large one on the east of the Mississippi, which is navigable at all times. The Indian nations that know it called it Red River.²¹

On the 10th at day break they heard a stag whistle on the other side of the river; a Canadian crossed in a little Sciou canoe that he had found; he soon after returned with the body of the animal, which it is easy to kill in the rutting season, that is from the beginning of September to the end of August. During that time the hunters make a little whistle of the first bit of wood or cane, and when they hear a stag whistle, they answer; the animal supposing it to be another stag that whistles, comes to them and they kill it without any difficulty.

From the 10th to the 14th Mr. Le Sueur made seventeen leagues and a half, passed Riviere des Raifins²² and that of the Paquilenettes:²³ the same day he left on the east of the river, a large and beautiful river, which comes a great distance from the north, and called Bon Secours,²⁴ from the great

²¹ Black River.

²² Neill thinks this the *Wawi Ozu*.

²³ The Buffalo River, according to Neill.

²⁴ Neill supposes this to be the Chippeway, but Shumard thinks the Chippeway river to be the next one mentioned.

numbers of Buffalo, stags, bears and deer found there; three leagues up this river there is a lead mine, and seven leagues higher on the same side, you meet another river of great length, in the neighbourhood of which there is a copper mine from which he took a mass of sixty pounds in his previous voyages. To render it profitable a peace would have to be made between the Scioux and the Oucagamis, because the latter, who live on the lands east of the Mississippi, pass by this road constantly when going out to war against the Scioux. In these quarters, a league and a half from the northwest side, begins a lake six leagues long, and more than one broad. It is called Lake Pepin. It is skirted on the west by a chain of mountains; on the other side on the east you see a prairie, and on the northwest of the lake a second prairie two leagues long and wide; near it is a chain of mountains, which is at least two hundred feet high, and is more than half a league long. Here are found many caverns²⁵ to which the bears retreat in winter: most of these caves are over forty feet deep, and about three or four feet high. Some have a very narrow entrance, and all contain saltpetre. It would be dangerous to enter them in summer, because they are full of rattlesnakes, the bite of which is very dangerous. Le Sueur saw some of these snakes which were six feet long; but they do not generally exceed four: they have teeth

²⁵ Nicolet has described these caves, which Carver also mentioned.

like those of a pike, and the gums full of little bladders which contain their venom. The Scioux say that they take it every morning and reject it at night; they have on the tail a kind of scale which makes a noise; this is what is called their rattle. Le Sueur made that day seven leagues and a half, and passed another river named Hiambouxeaté—Onataba, which means River of the flat rocks.²⁶

On the 15th he crossed a small river and perceived in the neighborhood several canoes full of Indians coming down the river. He at first took them for Scioux, because he could not distinguish whether the canoes were large or small. He made his men get their arms ready; he soon after heard the Indians giving the yells they usually give when they rush on their enemies. He replied in the same manner; and after posting all his men behind trees, he forbid them to fire till he gave the word. He remained on the water's edge to see what step they would take, and perceiving that they put two men ashore to observe from an eminence on the other side of the river the number of his people and his forces, he made his party march in and out of the wood continually, so that they should take them to be more numerous. This succeeded, for as soon as the two Indians came down the hill, the chiefs of the party came forward bearing the calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians. They said that having never seen the French sailing on

²⁶ The Inyan bosndata or Cannon river, in the judgment of Mr. Neill.

the Mississippi in boats like a felucca, they had mistaken them for English and had accordingly given the war cry and ranged themselves on the other side of the river; but seeing their mistake by our flag, they had come without fear to inform them that one of their people who was crazy had accidentally killed a Frenchman with a ball from a gun; that they were going to bring his comrade, who would tell in what way the accident happened. They made this Frenchman, who was a Canadian named Denis, come: he stated that his comrade had been accidentally killed; his name was Laplace; he was a soldier who deserted from Canada and had fled to this country. Mr. Le Sueur replied to these Indians, that Onontio (a name they give to all the governors of Canada) being their father and his, they should not seek their justification anywhere but before him; that he advised them to go and see him as soon as possible to beg him to wash the blood of that Frenchman from their face. This party was composed of 47 men of different nations, who live far to the east of the Mississippi, about the 44th degree of latitude. Mr. Le Sueur knew the chiefs particularly; he told them that the king of whom they had so often heard in Canada, had sent to settle the mouth of the river, and that he wished the nations dwelling on it, as well as those which are under his protection, to live generally in peace. He made that day three leagues and three quarters.

On the 16th he left on the east of the Mississippi a great river called St. Croix, because a Frenchman

of that name was wrecked at its mouth. It comes from the N. N. W.; four leagues higher up, ascending, you come to a small lake, at the entrance of which there is a very large mass of copper; it is on the water's edge, in a little bluff of sandy earth, west of this lake.

From the 16th to the 19th he advanced thirteen leagues and three quarters. After having made from the Tamarois two hundred and seven leagues and a half, he left the navigation of the Mississippi at this point to enter St. Peter's River,²⁷ on the west of the Mississippi, on which he made till the 1st of October forty four leagues and a quarter. After which he entered Blue River,²⁸ so called by reason of the mines of blue earth found at its mouth. He made his settlement at 44 deg. 13 m. N.

At this spot he met nine Scioux, who told him that this river was the country of the Scioux of the West, of the Ayavois and the Otoctatas²⁹ a little further; that it was not their custom to hunt on the grounds of others without being invited by those to whom they belonged; that when they should wish to come to the fort to get supplies, they would be

²⁷ Many writers have of late attempted to make out that this river was called after Le Gardeur de Repentigny, who bore the name of Mr. de St. Pierre. Were it so it would be strange that Lefueur does not mention the fact, as the family was an important one in Canada.

²⁸ Now called Mankato or Blue

Earth River. See an account of this earth in Owen's Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, p. 486.

²⁹ Iowas and Ottoes probably. The Oiontatas are on Marquette's map, and are evidently the Anthoutantas (rectius forsan Authontantas) of Membré.

exposed to be cut off by their enemies coming up or going these rivers, which are narrow; and that if he wished to take pity on them, he must settle on the Mississippi in the neighborhood of the mouth of St. Peter's river, where the Ayavois, the Otcotatas, and the Scioux could come as well as they. Having made their speech, they began, according to their custom, to weep over Mr. Le Sueur's head, saying, *Oueachiffou ouaepanimanabo*; which means, *Take pity on us.*

Mr. Le Sueur had foreseen that his establishment on the Blue river would not be relished by the Scioux of the East, who are, so to speak, the masters of the other Scioux and of the nations just named, because they are first with whom we traded, which has given them a good supply of guns. As he had not undertaken the enterprise in the sole view of the beaver trade, but to learn thoroughly the quality of the different mines which he had formerly discovered, he told them that he was sorry he had not known their ideas sooner; that it was clearly just, as he had come expressly for them, for him to settle on their land; but the season was too far spent to retrace his steps. He then made them a present of powder, balls, knives, and a fathom of tobacco, to invite to come as soon as possible to the fort that he was going to erect; that there, when they were all assembled, he would tell them the intentions of the king, their master and his.

The Scioux of the West have, according to the reports of those of the East, more than a thousand

cabins. They do not use canoes, cultivate the earth, or gather wild oats; they generally keep to the prairies between the Upper Mississippi and the River of the Missouri, and live solely by hunting.

All the Scioux in general say that they have three souls, and that after death, that which has done good goes to the warm countries, that which has done evil to the cold countries, and the other keeps the body. Polygamy is in use among them; they are very jealous, and sometimes fight duels for their women. They handle the bow very expertly, and were several times seen to shoot ducks on the wing. They make their cabins of several buffalo skins, laced and sewed together; they carry them every where with them: in each cabin there are ordinarily two or three men with their families. They are all great smokers, but their mode of smoking differs from that of the other Indians; there are some Scioux who swallow all the tobacco smoke, and others who after having swallowed and kept it some time in the stomach, eject it through the nose.

On the 3d of the same month he received at the fort several Scioux, among whom was Ouacantapai,³⁰ chief of the village. Soon after two Canadians who had gone hunting arrived; they had been robbed by the Scioux of the East, who had taken away their guns in revenge for Mr. Le Sueur's settling on Blue river. On the 14th the fort was

³⁰ The root is here evidently sacred.
Wakonda, God, spirit, mysterious,

finished; the name of Fort L'huiller was conferred upon it.

On the 22d two Canadians were sent out to invite the Ayavois and the Otoctatas to come and make a village near the fort, because these Indians are laborious and accustomed to cultivate the ground, and he hoped to obtain provisions from them and make them work the mines.

On the 24th arrived six Oujalespoutous Scioux; they wished to enter the fort, but they were prevented and told that men who had killed Frenchmen could not be received; this is the term employed when they have offered any insult. The next day they came to Mr. Le Sueur's cabin to beg him to take pity on them. They wished according to their custom to weep over his head and make him a present of some packages of beaver, which he refused; he said that he was astonished that men who had robbed him should have the temerity to come to him; to which they replied that they had indeed heard that the French had been plundered, but that none from their village had been present at this wicked act. Mr. Le Sueur told them that he knew that it was the Mendeouacantous who had killed him and not the Oüjalespoutous; "but you are Scioux" he continued, "they were Scioux who robbed me, and if I followed your manner of acting I would tomahawk you; for is it not true that when any strangers (so they call the Indians who are not Scioux) have done any wrong to a Mendeouacantou, Oüjalespoutou or other Sciou, all the villages

"avengè it on the first they meet." As there was nothing to be said in reply to what he told them, they had recourse to tears and repeated according to custom, *Ouaechiffou ouaepanimanabo!* Mr. Le Sueur told them to stop their crying; he added that the French were good-hearted, and that he had come into the country only to take pity on them; at the same time he made them a present, telling them: "Carry back your beaver, and tell all the "Scioux' that they shall have no more powder or "ball from me, and that they shall no more smoke "my calumet (that is to say, we shall be good "friends no longer) till they make reparation for "the plunder of the French."

The same day the two Canadians who had been sent out the 22d arrived without having succeeded in finding the road leading to the Ayavois and Otoctata. On the 26th Mr. Le Sueur proceeded to the mine, with three canoes which he loaded with blue and green earth. It is drawn from mountains near which are the very abundant copper mines, of which Mr. L'Huillier, one of the king's farmers general, made an assay at Paris, in 1696. Stones also are found there which it would be curious to see employed.

On the 9th of November eight Mantantous Scioux presented themselves at the fort, having been sent by the chiefs of their villages to say that the Mendeouacantous were still at their lake on the lands east of the Mississippi, and that they could not come for a long time; that all the rest ought not to bear the

penalty of one single village that had not had sense; that if he would tell them in what way he wished to have satisfaction, they would come and make it. Mr. Le Sueur told them that he was glad that they had sense, and that it was for them to see what they should do.

On the 15th they saw two Mantantous Scioux arrive; these Indians had been sent express to announce that all the Scioux of the East and a part of those of the West had joined together to come to the French, because they had learned that the Christinaux and the Assinipoils were making war on them. These two nations live above the fort on the east, more than eighty leagues up the Mississipi.

The Assinipoils speak Scioux, and are really of that nation; and it is only within a few years that they have been at enmity with that people. The origin of that war was this. The Christinaux having obtained the use of firearms before the Scioux by means of the English of Hudson's bay, came constantly in war against the Assinipoils, who were their nearest neighbors; the latter finding themselves weak asked peace, and to render it more firm, allied themselves to the Christinaux, taking their women to wife. The other Scioux, who had not entered this alliance, and who of all time had been at war with them, continued it, so that one day, finding some Christinaux among the Assinipoils, they tomahawked them. It was the Christinaux who supplied the Assinipoils with arms and goods.

On the 16th the two Scioux returned to their

village, and it was ascertained that the Ayavois and the Otoctatas had gone to station themselves on the side of the river of Missouri, in the neighborhood of the Maha, a nation dwelling in those quarters.

On the 26th the Mantantous and Oujalespoitous arrived at the fort. After pitching their cabin in the wood, Ouacantapai came to beg Mr. Le Sueur to come to him. He there found sixteen men with several women and children, who had their faces daubed with black. In the middle of this cabin were several buffalo skins that served as a carpet. They made signs to him to sit down, and at the same time all these persons began to weep for half a quarter of an hour; then the chief offered him wild rice to eat, and according to their custom put the first three spoonfuls in his mouth, after which he told him that all those whom he saw present were like himself the relatives of Tioscate (this was the name of the Sciou whom Mr. Le Sueur took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696). At this name of Tioscate they began to weep again, and to wipe their tears on Mr. Le Sueur's head and shoulders; after which Ouacantapai, resuming his discourse, told him that Tioscate begged him to forget the insult offered to the French by the Mendeouacantous, and to have pity on his brethren, by giving them powder and ball to defend themselves against their enemies and to give life to his wives and children who were wasting with hunger in the midst of a country full of all kinds of beasts, having nothing to kill them with. "Behold!" added this

chief, pointing to the dead chief's wives and children, "Behold thy children, thy brethren, thy sisters; "it is for thee to see whether thou wishest them "to live or die; they will live if thou givest them "powder and ball, on the contrary they will die if "thou refuse it." All these reasons were not needed to induce Mr. Le Sueur to yield to their request; but as the Scioux never answer on the spot, especially in important matters, and as he had to speak to them about his establishment, he left the cabin without saying anything, the chief and all those who were within followed him to the gate of the fort, and after he went in they made the circuit of the fort three times, weeping and crying at the top of their voices, *Athé-ouanan*, which means, My father, take pity on us.

The next day he assembled in the fort the most eminent of both villages, and as it is impossible to reduce the Scioux to prevent their going to war, except by inducing them to cultivate the ground, he told them that if they wished to render themselves worthy of the king's protection, they must abandon their errant life and come and form a village around his settlement, where they would be sheltered from the attacks of their enemies; that to facilitate the means of leading a happy life there, and save them from the pangs of hunger, he would give them all the corn necessary to plant a good deal of ground; that the king, their chief and his, when sending him had forbidden him to trade in beaver skins, knowing that this hunt obliged them

to scatter, and exposed them to be killed by their enemies; that in consequence he had come to settle on Blue river, the neighborhood of which as they had several times assured him was full of all kinds of beasts, for the skins of which they would supply all their wants; that they should reflect that they could not do without the goods of the French, and that the only means not to be deprived of them was not to make war on nations allied to us; and as it is the Indian custom to accompany their words with a present proportioned to the affair treated of, he gave them fifty pounds of powder, and as many of balls, six guns, ten hatchets, twelve fathoms of tobacco, and a steel calumet.

On the 1st of December the Mantantons invited Mr. Le Sueur to a great banquet; four of their cabins had been thrown into one, in which there were a hundred men seated around, each with his platter before him. After the repast Oucantapai their chief made them all smoke successively the steel calumet which had been presented to them; then he made a present to Mr. Le Sueur of a slave and a sack of wild rice, and pointing to his people said: "Behold the remnants of that great village
"which thou didst formerly behold so numerous;
"all the others have been slain in war, and the few
"men that thou seest in this cabin accept the present that thou makest them, and are resolved to
"obey that great chief of all the nations of whom
"thou hast spoken to us; thou must therefore no
"longer regard us as Scioux, but as Frenchmen,

“and instead of saying that the Scioux are wretches
“who have no sense, and fit only to plunder and
“rob the French, thou wilt say: My brothers are
“unhappy men who have no sense; we must try
“and get them some; they rob us, but to prevent
“them I will take care that they do not lack iron,
“that is to say all kinds of goods. If thou dost this
“I assure thee that in a short time the Mantantons
“will become French, and will no longer have the
“vices with which thou reproachest them.” Having
finished this harangue he covered his head with
his robe, the others imitated him; they wept for
their comrades slain in war, and chanted a farewell
to their country in so mournfull a tone that one
could scarcely help sharing their grief. Then Oua-
cantapai made them smoke again, and distributed
among them the presents that had been given to
them, and said that he was going to the Mende-
ouacantons to inform them of the resolution and to
invite them to do the same.

On the 12th three Mendeouacanton chiefs and a
number of Indians of the same village arrived at the
fort, and the next day made a kind of satisfaction
for the plunder they had committed on the French.
They brought 400 pounds of beaver skins, and pro-
mised that next summer, after building canoes, and
gathering in their harvest of wild rice, they would
come to settle near the French. The same day
they returned to their village east of the Mississipi.

Up the Mississippi.

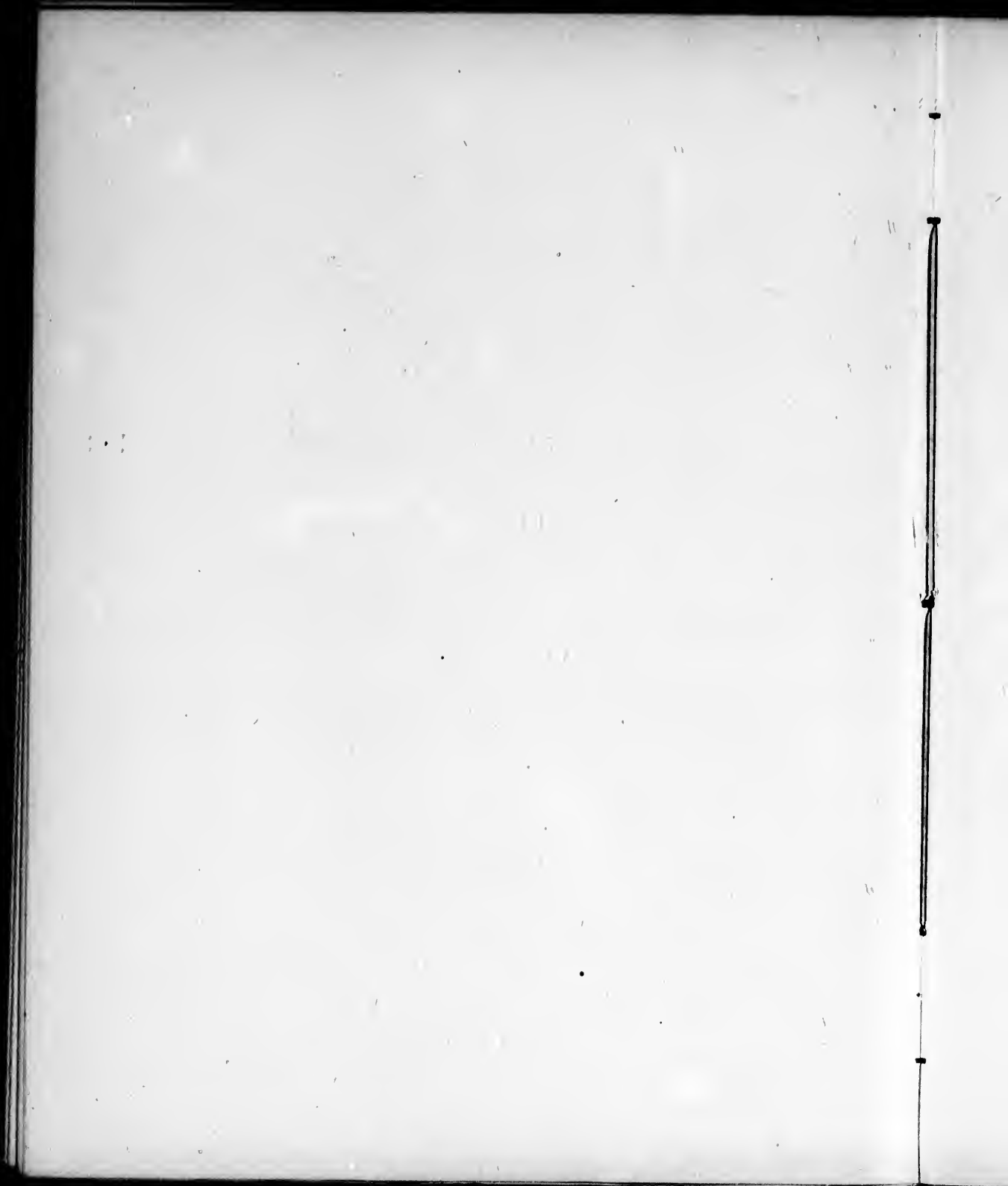
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Names of the Scioux Nations of the Eastern Part, and their Signification.

- The *Mantantons*, which means village of the great lake which empties into a little one.
- The *Mendeouacantons*, village of the spirit lake.
- The *Quiopetons*, village of a lake in the river.
- The *Pfoumanitons*, village of the seekers of wild rice.
- The *Ouadebatons*, village of the river.
- The *Ouaetemantons*, village of the people who are on the point of a lake.
- The *Songasquitons*, (Sissetoans) village of the fort.

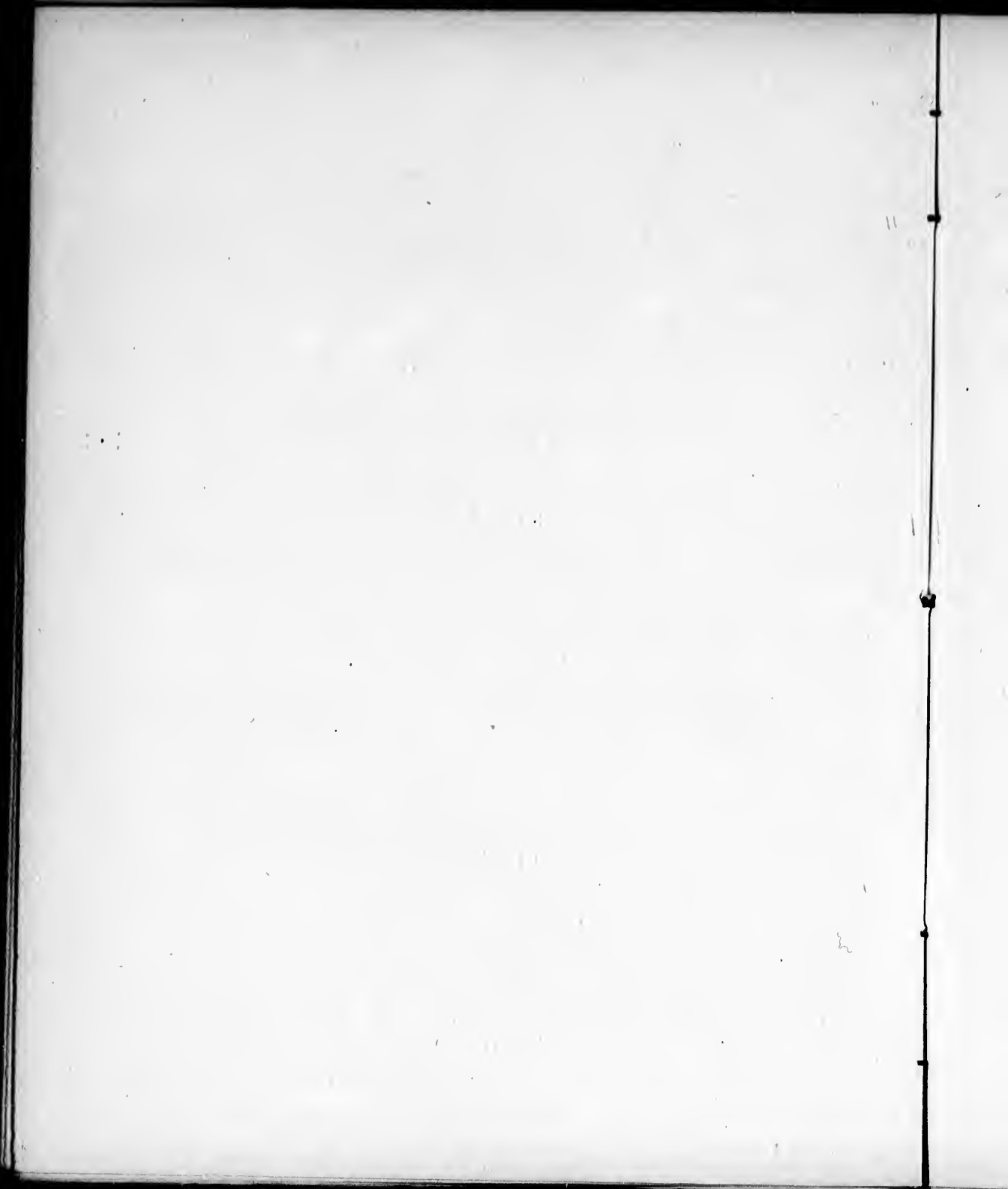
Scioux of the Western Part, of whom we have any Knowledge.

- The *Touchouaefintons*, which means village of the perch.
- The *Pfincbatons*, village of the red wild rice.
- The *Oujatespouetons*, village dispersed in several little bands
- The *Pfinontanhinhintons*, village of the great wild rice.
- The *Tintangaonghiatons*, (Titonwans) village of the great cabin.
- The *Ouaepetons*, (Warpetwans) village of the leaf.
- The *Oughetgéodatons*, village of the dung.
- The *Ouapeontetons*, village of those who shoot in a great pine.
- The *Hinhanetons*, (Ihanktonwan) village of the red stone quarry.



GRAVIER'S VOYAGE
DOWN AND UP THE MISSISSIPPI,

1700.





JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE
OF
FATHER GRAVIER

Of the Society of Jesus, in 1700, from the
Country of the Illinois to the Mouth of the
Mississippi, addressed to Father de Lamber-
ville, and sent from the Fort of the Mis-
sissippi, 17 leagues from its Mouth in the
Gulf or Sea of Mexico, Feb. 16, 1701.

REVEREND FATHER:

Pax Christi.

ON my return from Michili-
mackinac I received your letter which you did
me the honor to write by the Mississippi, addressed
to Father Aveneau, who sent it to me at Chika-

¹ Father James Gravier of the Society of Jesus, the writer of this narrative, was one of the earliest Illinois missionaries, and the first who sufficiently mastered the language to compile a grammar. His philological labors were highly esteemed, but have apparently per-

goüa,² whence I set out on the 8th of September, 1700, to come here. I arrived too late at the Illinois du Detroit,³ of whom Father Marest has charge, to prevent the transmigration of the village of the Kaskaskias, which was too precipitately made on vague news of the establishment on the Mississippi. I do not believe that the Kaskaskias would thus have separated from the Peouäroüa and other Illinois du Detroit, had I arrived sooner. At all events I came soon enough to unite minds a little, and to prevent the insult which the Peouäroüa and the Mouin-göüena were bent on offering to the Kaskaskias and French as they embarked. I spoke to all the chiefs in full council, and as they continue to preserve some respect and good will for me, we separated

ished. He is stated to have been a native of Languedoc, but the work that asserts it is of too little credit to make it certain. He arrived in Canada apparently after 1679, was at Sillery in 1684, but appears in the Illinois mission from 1687 to 1706. A Relation of his mission of the Immaculate Conception in 1693 was published at New York in 1857, and Dillon, author of the History of Indiana, had his Register from 1695 to 1699. He descended the Mississippi in 1700, but returned to his mission, and some years after was wounded in the body and in the arm by some of the Peorias, at the instigation of the medicine men. He descended to Mobile to get his wounds treated, and Bénard de la Harpe notes his arrival there Janu-

ary 16, 1706, adding that he was not yet out of danger. Marest says that he died soon after.

² He evidently starts from the Miami mission, mentioned in St. Cosme's journal. Claude Aveneau was at Detroit in 1687, and by his gentleness and patience acquired a great influence over the Miamis, who were ever at peace with the French till the meddling La Motte Cadillac forced him to leave the mission. His return in 1707 was the signal of peace.

³ This designation does not appear elsewhere, and I cannot discover what *strait* is referred to. It evidently includes the Peorias.

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very peaceably. But I augur no good from this separation, which I have always hindered, seeing but too clearly the evil results. God grant that the road from Chikagoüa to the Strait (au Detroit) be not closed, and the whole Illinois mission suffer greatly. I avow to you, Rev. Father, that it rends my heart to see my old flock thus divided and dispersed, and I shall never see it, after leaving it, without having some new cause of affliction. The Peouärouä, whom I left without a missionary (since Father Marest has followed the Kaskaskias) have promised me that they would preserve the Church, and that they would await my return from the Mississippi, where I told them that I went only to assure myself of the truth of all that was said about it. This gave them great pleasure: they promised me that they would leave their village only when I should direct them, or the great chief down the river wished them to transport it. I much doubt whether they will keep their word.

After having marched four days with the Kaskaskias,⁴ I went ahead with Father Marest, whom I left sick at the Tamarouha, where Father Pinet discharges peaceably all the functions of missionary, and Mr. Bergier,⁵ who gets along very well with

⁴ Father Marquette and Allouez found the Kaskaskias on the upper waters of the Illinois. This journal shows when and why they removed to the present Kaskaskia. It was in the view of joining the French in Louisiana, that they set out, but

Gravier's influence induced a halt, which proved a lasting one.

⁵ Rev. John Bergier, a priest of the Seminary of Quebec, arrived in Canada, it is said, in 1683. He was not of Mr. Montigny's party,

us, has care only of the French, and this is a good relief for Father Pinet.

I started from the Tamarouha the 9th October, to come here at the lower part of the Mississippi, to assist Father du Ru.⁶ I was accompanied by five canoes of Frenchmen. For my part I had in my canoe only Brother Guibert and a Frenchman sick with the tertian fever. At two leagues from the village I found the Tamarouha, who have taken up their winter quarters in a beautiful bay, where they await the Metchigamia, who are to come over sixty leagues to winter, and form only one village with them. One of our missionaries is to visit them every second day all the winter long, and do as much for the Kaoükia, who have taken their winter quarters four leagues above the village.

We made only four leagues the first day, in consequence of one of our canoes being opened by a snag [*chicot*] hidden in the water, which stopped us to repair it.

but soon followed, as we here find him at Cahokia (Tamarois) in September, 1700. He probably succeeded St. Cosme at the Tamarois. On Pinet's death, he became Indian missionary also, and struggled manfully with the medicine men, but his health failed, and after being visited in his sickness by Father Mareft, died, it is said, in 1710. On a visit to Mobile in 1707 he first announced the assassination of his predecessor, the Rev. Mr. St. Cosme.

⁶ Father du Ru came out as chaplain to Iberville, and planted a cross at the mouth of the Mississippi, the inscription on which is given at the end of this journal. He founded the Oumas mission, erecting a chapel opposite the temple. He was soon succeeded by Father de Lymoges, and remained in the settlement, but became involved in disputes with Mr. Sauvolle, the commander. His companion, Father Dongé, fell a victim to the climate, and he returned to Europe.

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On the 10th day, after a league's progress, we discovered the river Miaramigoua,⁷ where the very rich lead mine is, twelve or thirteen leagues from its mouth. This mine yields three-fourths.

On the 11th we killed a buffalo or wild-ox, which cost us ten or twelve gun-shots, so well did he defend his life. The fever which seized my pilot obliged us to land at one in the afternoon, and in five days, although the current was strong, we made only thirty-five leagues, because the sick obliged us to land early, and because much time is lost firing on the buffaloes that line the river, and who are almost always left to be devoured by the wolves.

On the 14th we doubled Cape St. Croix. It is a small rock which makes a little island on the north of the Mississippi, on which Mr. de Montigny planted a cross.⁸ We took two bears there.

On the 15th, continuation of fair weather. We saw that day over fifty bears, and of all that we killed, we took only four to have the oil. Those that came down along the Mississippi were lean, and those that came from the direction of the river Ouabachci were fat. They were constantly going from south to north. It must be better for them there.

You meet a number of islands and shoals in the course of the Mississippi river, from the Tamarouha

⁷ Marameg. Charlevoix, in his *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, vol. III, p. 438, gives an amusing account of the early mining attempts made here.

⁸ See p. 68.

to the river Oüabachi; this river keeps quite closely its direction of north to south; but three or four leagues from Oüabachi it begins to turn to the N. N. W., and does nothing but wind. We could not judge by the distance we made on the 15th what direction it takes. Father Marquette (who first discovered it nearly thirty years ago) puts it in his journal three leagues from Ouabachi, 36 deg. 47 min. We cabined in sight of this river, which comes from the south and empties into the Mississippi. At its mouth it makes a great basin two arpents from its discharge. It is called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis the river of the Akansea, because the Akansea formerly dwelt on it.⁹ Three branches are assigned to it, one that comes from the northwest, passing behind the country of the Oumiamis, called the River St. Joseph, which the Indians call properly Ouabachci.¹⁰ The second comes from the Iroquois, and it is that called by them Ohio; and the third from the S. S. W., on which are the Chaoüanoüa,¹¹ and all three uniting to empty into the Mississippi, it is commonly called

⁹ This is an important fact not elsewhere alluded to, showing that this branch of the Dakoias must have penetrated the most early of any, before they were driven southerly and west of the Mississippi. This fact will probably base new theories as to the Ohio mound builders, possibly the people who were attacked by, but repulsed the Arkansas, unless it is more pleasing

to make them the mound builders who fled down the Mississippi, like the fabulous Alligewi of the school books of other days.

¹⁰ Here Gravier distinctly states the Wabash to be the Indian name of the river that now bears the name.

¹¹ The Shawnees. This branch is the Tennessee.

Ouabachi; but the Illinois and the other Indians call it the River of the Akansea. Its water is clear, and it does not seem very rapid. It falls gently into the Mississippi, which loses a little of the muddy color given it by the River of the Missouri.

I found an excellent remedy to cure our French of their fevers. I promised God jointly with Peter de Bonne, who had a violent tertian fever for a considerable time, to recite for nine days some prayers in honor of Father Francis Regis,¹² whose relics I have, which I applied to him in the height of his fever, when it ceased suddenly, and he had no more of it after that time. After my novena I resumed my reliquary, which I hung around the neck of Louis de Hemme of Rivière du Loup, with whom I began a second novena, and from the first day the fever left him; and having taken off my reliquary the fourth or fifth day of the novena to hang it on the neck of one by name Augustine La Pointe of Cote St. Michel in Canada, who had already had two or three attacks of fever, it took du Hemme again, who seeing himself cured, had said that I was not afraid of being sick with that reliquary always hung around his neck, and as soon as I took

¹² St. John Francis Regis was a Jesuit missionary in France, who, failing to obtain permission to devote himself to the Indians in America, spent his life in giving religious instruction to the poor country people, who were much neglected in some parts of France. He died at Puy in the Velay, in 1640, in the midst of his labors. His virtues and favors led to his canonization in 1737. The Indian town of St. Regis, in northern New York, commemorates the services of this devoted evangelist of the poor.

it off, the fever came back and did not leave him till after the novena, and La Pointe was cured perfectly from the first day that I hung my reliquary around his neck, which I did not remove till the novena was completed. And at this moment Pierre Chabot of Isle Orleans, who had the fever for more than six months, having hung it on his neck, the third day of the novena that stubborn fever diminished and he was entirely rid of it at the end of the novena. A small piece of Father Regis's hat, which one of our domestics gave me is the most infallible remedy that I can have to cure all kinds of fevers.

Now to resume my route. We started on the 16th of October from the mouth of the Oüabachi, with very favorable weather, and we found the Mississipi less rapid than above the Oüabachi. As we had a great quantity of meat, we dried in haste a part of the best, and the great heat obliged us to throw away the rest. We saw so great a quantity of wild pigeons, that the air was darkened and quite covered by them. We ran all day S. S. W., and five leagues below Ouabachi, on the south side, we found great bluffs of sand, where there is said to be an iron mine. The pretended plates of iron attached to pebbles, are anything but what was supposed and what I was told. They are merely veins of hard and almost petrified earth, which have indeed the color of iron, but which are not heavy, and break easily. I took a piece to show that if there is an iron mine, it must not be judged by that earth.

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A little lower down, we began to discover canes on the hillocks. They are covered with evergreen leaves from the bottom to the point, which terminates in a little tuft of leaves. They are not over seven or eight feet high on the sides of the hills, but are twenty, thirty, and forty feet high in the woods, especially from the Akansea.

On the 18th, in three hours time, we boxed the compass, and after running a little while E. S. E., we went half round it again in a bay of more than two leagues, which can be cut across at high water.

On the 19th we overtook the two canoes that had left us, and about two o'clock in the afternoon we found on the north side, three or four leagues further down, beyond a little prairie, an echo which repeats five words distinctly, and begins to repeat what you say only when you finish pronouncing the last word.

On the 20th great heat; we slept in sight of great bluffs of stone, called Fort Prud'homme, because Mr. de la Salle, going on his discovery, entrenched himself here with his party, fearing that Prud'homme, who had got lost in the woods, had been killed by the Indians, and that he himself would be attacked. Last year a quantity of bears were killed at this place. The rain detained us the 22d and 23d on a great sand bank, whence we gained an island where there was petrified wood. I do not know whether it is a spring or a stream of water that has this power, as there is in Auvergne, on the confines of Bourbonnois, a mineral fountain

that petrifies the leaves of the trees that fall in ; or whether it is the sun which blackens and hardens small bits of rotten wood left on the sand after the high waters. Be that as it may, I saw large and small ; it cannot be doubted, for there are some that are not yet petrified, and which are part wood and part black stone which breaks easily. A blacksmith who was in the party took the petrified wood for coal, but besides its not being so heavy, he was convinced of the contrary by throwing it into the fire.

On the 24th we found a quantity of grapes, but they are nothing to what had been represented to me, and neither as good nor as large as those found on the River of the Illinois, and especially on the River of the Miamis and in greater quantity.

On the 25th there fell so heavy a rain that we had to get up on a hill more than thirty feet high and transport our cabin there.

On the 26th we passed the Rivière a Mayot¹³ on the south, from the name of an Indian of the Mohegan nation who was of Mr. de la Salle's party. This river does not seem to be very large, but is said to be a good hunting ground, and that the Chickacha come to its mouth, from which they are only three day's journey, cutting south inland.

A league or two lower down we found a periagua of Taogria.¹⁴ They are people of the Mohegan

¹³ Riviere á Margot.

the river of Casquinambo (Tennessee), a branch of the Ohio, and ascribes the butchery of some Frenchmen to the English settled among

¹⁴ Benard de la Harpe mentions the Taogarios as a nation settled on

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nation, who trade much with the English. There were only six men, a woman, and child; they were coming from the Akansea. The one who seemed to me the most considerable said some Illinois words, and spoke Chaoüanoüa. He made me sit down on a bear skin spread before his field cabin, and presented me sagamity to eat; he then told me as news that Father de Limoges,¹⁵ (whom he called Captain Pauiongha) had captized in his canoe and lost every thing; and that the Kappa Akansea had given him provisions, and a canoe to continue his journey. I gave him a knife and half a box of vermilion. He made me a present of a large piece of meat of his chase. A league after parting with him we killed four does. We did not expect such a piece of good luck; and we neither killed nor saw another beast from Rivière à Mayot to the sea.

On the 27th we passed St. Francis river at the point of a turn to the north, eighteen leagues from the Akansea.

On the 29th leaving our cabinage we ran west and then kept southwest. About noon we discovered four periaguas of Akanseas; when my canoe got near land, an old man came into the water and carried me ashore on his shoulders. The chief made me sit down on a great bearskin, and the French on osier branches, which he made his young

them. It is therefore worth while to investigate who were these Algonquin Indians on the Tennessee known to the English in 1700.

¹⁵ Father Joseph de Lymoges must have been on the Illinois mission, and on his way down at this time. After his Oumas mission all trace of him disappears.

men cut. He presented me two piakimina cakes, which I distributed among the French; and afflicted as I was that they did not understand me, wishing to speak to them of God, I retired to pray for them, while the kettles were boiling. They served me a plate of sagamity of small Indian corn, and another of small corn whole, seasoned with excellent squash. I made a little present to the chief of the band, and on the 30th we went and cabined a league lower down, half a league from the old village of the Akansea, where they formerly received the late Father Marquette, and which is discernible now only by the old outworks (*dehors*), there being no cabins left.

On the 31st, about 9 A. M., we arrived at the village of the Kappa Akansea, who are at 24 deg., according to Father Marquette's estimate. The village is half a league from the water's edge. Mr. de Montigny planted a cross on the hill, which is very steep, and forty feet high. After saluting the cross and chanting the *Vexilla Regis* with the French we notified the Akansea by three guns, and in less than half a quarter of an hour at most, two young men appeared sword in hand, followed close by the chief of the Kappas and the chief of the Tourima, and twenty or thirty well made young men with their bows and arrows. Some had swords, and two or three English guns, given to them last year by the man who brought them a lot of merchandise to alienate them from the French, and especially from the missionaries, whom he had an aversion

against, boasting that he would put the first he met in irons and put them to death. The French who took him found wherewith to make him a pair of handcuffs with irons, and prevented his doing all the harm he proposed to do.¹⁶ He had already two concubines at the Kappas.

To resume; the chiefs invited me to go to their village, which consists of forty cabins. A part of the French accompanied me there, while the others guarded the canoes at anchor. They took me to the cabin of the chief, who made me sit down on a mat of dressed canes, and at the same time put on the fire a kettle of small Indian corn, seasoned plentifully with dried peaches. They brought me from another cabin a large platter of ripe fruit of piakimina. It is pretty much like the French medlar. The platter was presented to the chief to hand to me. As it is the most excellent fruit the Indians have from the Illinois to the sea, the chief did not fail to begin his feast with it. After tasting a little I passed the dish to Brother Guibert and the French who sat opposite me. I did the same with the sagamity. I remarked that all who entered the cabin stood at the door, and advanced only when the chief told them to do so and sit down. There was a Metchigamikoüé woman there, who acted as my interpreter, and confirmed the story of

¹⁶ It is probably impossible, at this day, to discover who were these adventurous Englishmen who were so early on the Mississippi, leading Chickasaws to attack the Colapissas, settling among the Arkansas, trading on the Tennessee.

Father de Limoges' capsizing and loss of all he had. She gave him her provision of Indian corn and squashes to carry him as far as the Natchez, and the chief gave him an earthen pot, after regaling him as well as he could. I asked him whether he recollected to have formerly seen a Frenchman dressed in black, attired like me, in their village. He replied that he recollected it well, but that it was so long ago that he could not count the years. I told him that it was more than twenty-seven years. He added that they danced the Captain's calumet to him, which I did not at once understand, supposing that he spoke of the calumet of the Illinois, which the Kaskaskias had given Father Marquette to carry with him on the Mississippi as a safeguard; but I found in the Father's journal that they did in fact dance the calumet to him. He then had me asked in how many days I would start, and having told him that I had come ashore merely to salute him in his cabin, and that I was going to embark, he begged me to remain at least one day, to have provisions prepared, and that all the young men of his village were very glad to see me. I replied to his compliment and stated that I was in haste to get to my journey's end. I had previously inquired whether there were any sick; my interpreter informed me that there were none. At last, after a good deal of going and coming, and many consultations with his people, the chief of the village asked me to stay till next day, because he wished to dance the chief's calumet with his young men to me. As this is a special

honor which is done but rarely, and only to persons of distinction, I thanked him for his good will, saying that I did not esteem myself a captain, and that I was starting immediately. My answer pleased the French, but it was scarcely agreeable to all the others, who by doing me this honor hoped to draw presents from me. The chief conducted me to the water's edge, followed by all his people, and they brought me a quantity of dried peaches, piachimina, and squashes. I made a present to the chief of a little lead and powder, and a box of vermillion to daub his youth, and some other trifle which he was much pleased with, telling him that I thanked him for the service he had rendered Father Limoges. After I embarked they fired four guns, to which the people with me responded. Two leagues from the village there is a little river, on which they go in canoes in the spring, behind the hills, to their cabin doors.

As I have here mentioned the calumet, you will be pleased to have me tell you something of it here. There is nothing among these Indians more mysterious or commendable. No such honor is paid to the crowns and sceptres of kings as they pay to it. It seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. To carry and show it enables you to march with assurance amid enemies who in the heat of the combat lay down their arms when it is shown. It was on this account that the Illinois gave one to the late Father Marquette as a safeguard among the nations of the Mississippi,

through whom he was to pass on his voyage going to the discovery of this river and the nations dwelling on it.

There is a calumet for peace and one for war, which are distinguished simply by the colour of the feathers with which they are trimmed. The red is a mark of war; they use it also to settle their disputes, to confirm alliances and to speak to strangers. It is a kind of pipe to smoke tobacco, made of a red stone polished like marble and pierced so that one end serves to receive the tobacco and the other fits on the handle. This is a hollow piece of wood, two feet long, and as thick as an ordinary cane. It is by reason of this that the French have styled it Calumet, corrupting the word *Calumeau*, because it resembles a pipe, or rather a long flute. It is embellished with the head or neck of various birds, whose plumage is very beautiful. They add also large red or green or other coloured feathers, with which it is all trimmed. They esteem it especially because they regard it as the calumet or pipe of the sun, and in fact they proffer it to him to smoke when they wish to obtain calm, rain or fair weather. They would scruple to bathe in the beginning of hot weather, or to eat new fruits till after they had danced the calumet, that is to say, the chief holds it in his hands singing airs, to which the others respond, dancing and making gestures in time with the sound of certain instruments of the fashion of small drums.

On the 1st of November most of the French

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approached the sacraments, and after celebrating the feast¹⁷ in the best way we could, we continued our voyage and discovered the river of the Akanfea eight leagues from the village of the Kappa.

The Sittöüi Akanfea are five leagues above its mouth and are much more numerous than the Kappa and Tourima; these are the three villages of the Akanfea.¹⁸ This river, which is on the north of the Mississipi, is very beautiful; it divides into three branches a league from the village of the Ousitteöüi, it runs N. W. and by ascending it they go to reach the river of the Missouris by making a portage. They reckon 60 leagues from the Kappa to the river of the Toumika, and on the third day we passed Pointe Coupée, which is half way. We were then at anchor for six days of rain, and did not make much progress.

On the 7th a furious fog arose and the rain obliged us to cabin on a hill more than 40 or 50 feet high, and at 7 P. M. we were surprised by a furious gale. It lasted over an hour and gave all hands plenty of exercise to save the canoes and baggage, and threatened to crush us every moment under the trees that were falling around us. When the wind fell the rain was so violent for two days that I never saw the like.

Our people killed a crocodile three fathoms long. It is an animal of the colour of a toad, shaped like a lizard. It is often found on land and

¹⁷ Feast of All Saints.

¹⁸ See page 75 n.

although it walks very slowly, men seldom approach it unless well armed. The scales with which it is covered are proof against small shot, and require a ball to pierce them; I do not know how the Indians do, who have only arrows, unless they slide under the scales behind. Its mouth is very large and armed with two rows of teeth longer than a bear's. It makes you shudder to see it and hear it grit its teeth. They say that the tongue is good eating, but I have not yet had the curiosity to taste it or the rest of the body, which most of the Indians esteem a great dainty. From time to time it costs the life of some of those who venture to plunge in to take them after they are wounded. Many are to be seen larger than this one.

On the 13th, after the mass of the Blessed Stanislaus,¹⁹ we set out and the next day reached the river of the Tounika. I left the five canoes of French at the mouth; it is on the south of the Mississippi. I embarked in my canoe to go and visit Mr. Davion, missionary priest, who was sick; I left my canoe four leagues from the river at the foot of a hill, where there are five or six cabins. The road, which is two leagues by land, is quite pretty. I found piakimina trees loaded with fruit and many copal trees exuding gum. We passed in the roads canes forty feet high and thick as your arm. The stalk of the corn, which we call Indian corn, is over fifteen to twenty feet high, and so are the fun

¹⁹ St. Stanislaus Kostka of the Society of Jesus; he was at this time beatified, and was canonized in the year 1727.

flowers and thick in proportion. We saw five or six hamlets of a few cabins, and I was surprized that the Indians, who so rarely see Frenchmen, showed so little curiosity. There was none except at Mr. Davion's village, where all the people escorted me to the house of that fervent missionary, whom I found in bed with the fever. He arose next day to receive at my mass,²⁰ and went out for the first time with me to visit some cabins. He conversed with me with great frankness on the mission which he is beginning to establish, and God blesses his zeal and the study which he makes of the language, which he begins to speak better than could be naturally expected from a person of his age. There are three different languages in his mission, the Jakou²⁰ of 30 cabins, the Ounspik of 10 or 12 cabins, and the Toumika who are in seven hamlets, and who comprise in all 50 or 60 small cabins. He devotes himself only to this last language, and the Tounika being the most numerous give name to the mission. They are very docile; polygamy is rare among them, but their caprice and the custom of the country authorizes repudiation for next to nothing, for which reason the village is scarcely peopled, and I saw hardly any children. The girls are not so loose or bold as they are among the Natchez and Taensa. They acknowledge nine gods, the sun, thunder, fire, the god of the east, south, north and west, of heaven and of earth. In each cabin there is a great post that supports it, at

²⁰ Apparently the Yazoos.

the foot of which there are two or three little earthen pots near the fire, out of which they take a little ashes to put in these pots, from I know not what superstition. This is the post of the spirit or genius. They are so close-mouthed as to all the mysteries of their religion that the missionary could not discover anything about it. The women have a dress of mulberry cloth which they spin like hemp and flax; it is a strong, thick cloth. Their petticoat is very decent, from the waist to below the knees; there is a fringe very well worked as well as their mantle, either all uniform or worked in lozenges or in squares or in ermine, which they wear usually as a sash, and rarely on the two shoulders. Neither men nor women grease or oil their hair like all our Canadian Indians, but this is perhaps from lack of both (grease and oil), bear's meat and deer being very rare in their village as well as all other beasts. The women have a great tress of hair on the back which hangs down below the waist; they also make a crown of it around the head. Their head like the men's is flat. Mothers carefully put their children's heads in press from birth to render them flat. Most of the men have long hair, and no dress but a wretched deer skin. Sometimes they too, as well as the women, have mantles of turkey feathers or of muskrats skins well woven and worked. The men do here what peasants do in France; they cultivate and dig the earth, plant and harvest the crops, cut the wood and bring it to the cabin, dress the deer

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and buffalo skins when they have any. They dress them the best of all Indians that I have seen. The women do only indoor work, make the earthen pots and their clothes. Their cabins are round and vaulted. They are lathed with canes and plastered with mud from bottom to top, within and without with a good covering of straw. There is no light except by the door, and no matter how little fire there is (the smoke of which has no escape but the door) it is as hot as a vapour bath. At night a lighted torch of dried canes serves as a candle and keeps all the cabin warm. Their bed is of round canes, raised on four posts, three feet high, and a cane mat serves as a mattress. Nothing is neater than their cabins. You see there neither clothes, nor sacks, nor kettles, nor hatchets, nor guns; they carry all with them and have no riches but earthenpots quite well made; especially little glazed pitchers, as neat as you would see in France; their granaries are near their cabins, made like dove-cotes, built on four large posts 15 or 16 feet high, well put together and well polished, so that the mice cannot climb up, and in this way they protect their corn and squashes, which are still better than those of the Illinois. There are no peaches in this village as there at the Akansea; but such an abundance of piakimina, that they go in the woods with their families to harvest them, as the Illinois go with their families to hunt the buffalo, which is very rare in this country, where they live on this fruit in the woods for a month, besides which they

pound and dry great quantities which they preserve for a long time. They have only one small temple raised on a mound of earth. They never enter it, Mr. Davion told me, except when going to or returning from war, and do not make all the howlings of the Taenfa and Natches when they pass in front of their temples, where there is always an old man who maintains the fire.

Mr. St. Cosme having learned that Mr. Davion was *in extremis*, arrived from the mission of the Natchés. Before my departure they both confirmed Father de Limoge's accident, and his saving only his chalice and crucifix of all that he had with him. They gave him all that he needed to go to the Fort of the Mississipi, greatly edified at the joy and firmness which he displayed in the very considerable loss he sustained of all the mission furniture, blessing God, they told me, for thus weaning him from all he had. The Natchés, Mr. de St. Cosme assured me, are far from being as docile as the Tounika. They practice polygamy, steal and are very vicious, the girls and women more than the men and boys, among whom there is much to reform before anything can be expected of them. The Taenfas, who speak the same language, have the same habits also; their village is twenty leagues from the river of the Tounika. It is four leagues inland. After one league's march, you come to a lake where there are always a number of alligators. It must be crossed in a canoe to reach the village, which is more close set than that of the Tounika.

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The temple having been reduced to ashes last year by lightning, which fell on a matter as combustible as the canes with which it is thatched, the old man who is its guardian, said that the spirit was incensed because no one was put to death on the decease of the last chief, and that it was necessary to appease him. Five women had the cruelty to cast their children into the fire, in sight of the French who recounted it to me, or rather gave them to the old man who cast them into the fire while making his invocations and chanting with these women during the cruel ceremony, and but for the French there would have been a great many more children burnt. The chief's cabin having been converted into a temple the five unnatural mothers were borne to it in triumph as five heroines.

At the point of the turn where the village is, the river is not over an arpent and a half wide, and forms a strait, where it is very difficult to stem the current, and it is here that Mr. de la Salle says there is a whirlpool where trees plunge in root up and come out only half a league lower down. I did not perceive this, perhaps it occurred only when he passed or is seen only from time to time. After meeting with heavy rains which would have inundated all our baggage by night, had I slept as soundly as our canoe men, we had pretty fair weather to reach the Natches, south of the Taensas, from whom they are only twenty leagues distant. After mounting a little bluff you

find a great beaten road leading to a rather steep hill, more than half which is covered in the high waters. On top of this hill you discern a noble prairie. The most beaten road leads to the village where the temple is; the others running off right and left, lead to different hamlets. There are only four cabins in that in which the temple is. It is very spacious and covered with cane mats, which they renew every year with great ceremonies, which it would be prolix to insert here. They begin by a four days' fast with emetics, till blood comes. There is no window, no chimney in this temple, and it is only by the light of the fire that you can see a little, and then the door which is very low and narrow must be open. I imagine that the obscurity of the place inspires them with respect. The old man who is the keeper, keeps the fire up and takes great care not to let it go out. It is in the centre of the temple in front of a sort of mausoleum after the Indian fashion. There are three, about eight or nine feet long, six feet broad and nine or ten feet high. They are supported by four large posts covered with mats of canes in quite neat columns and surmounted by a platform of plaited canes. This would be rather graceful were it not all blackened with smoke and covered with foot. There is a large mat which serves as a curtain to cover a large table, covered with five or six cane mats on which stands a large basket that it is unlawful to open, as the spirit of each nation of those quarters reposes there, they say, with that of the

Natches. I am provoked at myself for not opening the basket, although I would have offended the old man to have opened the curtain and touched this basket. There are others in the other two mausoleums, where the bones of their chiefs are, they say, which they revere as divinities. All that I saw somewhat rare was a piece of rock crystal, which I found in a little basket. I saw a number of little earthen pots, platters, and cups, and little cane baskets, all well made. This is to serve up food to the spirits of the deceased chiefs, and the temple keeper finds his profit in it.

After examining all that there is in this temple, I saw neither there nor elsewhere, the gold, silver, or precious stones, or riches, or nine fathoms of fine pearls mentioned by the author of a relation printed in the name of Mr. de Tonty, and which he has disavowed to one who reproached him with all the falsehoods with which it is stuffed.²¹ It is also a fable, what that writer ventures to mention as having been seen by Mr. Tonty in a little closet set in the mud covered wall, where I neither saw nor tasted the exquisite liquors of which he speaks. These things are all invented by the same writer to set off his account. It is a fact that the chief's wife has some small pearls, which are neither round nor well pierced, but about seven or eight which are as

²¹ The real narrative of the Sieur de Tonty exists, but only an imperfect English translation has appeared. The fictitious character of the one issued in his name was at once exposed and it was always disavowed by him.

large as small peas, which were bought for more than their value after a good deal of seeking. There are none of the riches or rareties which they pretended were to be found in the temple and village. The Frenchman whom M. d'Iberville²² left there to learn the language, told me that on the death of the last chief, they put to death two women, three men and three children; they strangled them with a bowstring, and this cruel ceremony was performed with great pomp, these wretched victims deeming themselves greatly honored to accompany their chief by a violent death. There were only seven for the great chief who died one month before. His wife, better advised than the others, did not wish to follow him, and began to weep when they wished to oblige her to accompany her husband. Mr. de Montigni, who has left this country to go to Siam, being informed of what they were accustomed to do, made them promise not to put any one to death. As a pledge of their word they gave him a little

²² Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, son of Charles Le Moyne, was born at Montreal, July 20, 1661, and like all his brothers entered the service of the King. He served first in the Indian wars, was then sent by Denonville, in 1686, to Hudson's bay, of which he was appointed governor. He gained several victories here, and subsequently took Fort Pemaquid, and recovered Newfoundland. In 1698, he sailed from Rochelle, and discovering the mouth of the Mississippi, which La Salle had

missed, established a colony, which he left under the command of his brothers, de Sauvolle and de Bienville. He was the father of Louisiana, and made several voyages to it bearing colonists, supplies and arms. In 1706 he sailed from France with a large fleet, intended to attack Charleston, but stopping at St. Domingo died there of the yellow fever July 9, 1706. It is a reproach that no detailed memoir has been written of Iberville and his brother Bienville.

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female slave whom they had resolved to put to death but for his prohibition: but to keep their cursed custom without its being perceived, the chief's wife, whom they call Ouachil Tamail, sun-woman (who is always the sister and not the wife of the great chief), persuaded him to retire to a distant village so as not to have his head split with the noise they would make in a ceremony where all were to take part. Mr. de Montigni not suspecting anything believed her and withdrew, but in his absence they put to death those whom they believed to be necessary to go to cook and wait on the chief in the other world. Only the old men enter the temple to make their howlings, such as I saw them do, after kindling the fire.

All the men who pass before the temple lay down what they carry, and extend their arms towards the temple with loud howlings, and if they have small children they take them in their arms and turning towards the temple, they make them touch the ground three times with the forehead. They make these same howls when they pass before the chief or the woman chief, or speak to them, or give them food or drink or [a pipe] to smoke. The woman chief has much ability and more credit than one would think; her brother is no great genius. He has remarried nine times without any woman being able to stay with him; they have all left him and at present he lives alone by himself.

The women are clothed quite properly and well covered with a mantle that comes down below the

knee. Most of them have black teeth, it is a beauty among them. They blacken them by chewing the coal of tobacco, with the ashes of which they rub the teeth every morning.

The corn was not yet gathered in. The first harvest is made in these parts in the month of June; and the second, which is the most abundant, is not made till the end of November. Besides offering their first fruits in the temple in this village, the woman chief made the harvest of corn for the temple, and no one durst refuse what her emissaries chose to take. This harvest is made for the chief and the woman chief, and to furnish food to the spirits of the deceased chiefs; but all take part in the feast made to them for six days with the ordinary howls, cries and ceremonies, which they do not wish to explain to the missionaries, to whom for all answer they say: *Nou-kou*, that is to say, *I do not know why it is done*. All depends on the commission of the chiefs who have too great an interest in passing for spirits among their people to embrace Christian humility so soon.²³

²³ The Natchez are the tribe of the Lower Mississippi, best known to all readers from the massacre which they committed on the French and the exterminating war consequently waged against them. Known perhaps to the Spaniards as early as 1560, when Tristan de Luna marched against them. They are next mentioned by the chroniclers of La Salle's expedition, and

as we have seen were visited by the missionary St. Côme, who gained their affection, but did not succeed in converting many. After his death no missionary resided there to check the injustice of the whites; war ensued in 1716-23, but though peace was made, resentment remained, and in 1729 they rose against the French, in consequence of the tyranny of a French commandant.

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We left this village of the Natchez on the 24th and 25th of November. We discovered the hills of the Houmas²⁴ on the south of the Mississippi, which forms a bay, that you enter, leaving the main channel on the right. It is a good league and a half from the landing to the village of the Houmas by a bad enough road, all ups and downs and bending half double in the canes. The village is situated on the crest of a mountain rugged and precipitous on all sides. There are eighty cabins, and in the middle of the village a fine level square, where from morning to night there are young men who exercise themselves in running after a flat stone which they throw in the air from one end of the square to

The French, aided by the Choctaws, then attacked them, and destroyed their national existence. Many perished, many were taken and sold as slaves in the West Indies, the rest fled to the Chickasaws, and as this involved them in war, retired finally to the Creeks, where a remnant still remains. Their language was peculiar to themselves, and the Taensas. (*Du Pratz, Montigni, arte p. 76.*)

²⁴ The Houmas or Oumas, the tribe here described, and one of the first whom any attempt was made to convert, gave shelter in 1706 to the Tonicas, who had been driven from their village by the Chickasaws and Alabamas, at the instigation of the English; but the Tonicas

played the same treachery towards them that the Taensas did to the Baiougoelas, surprising them, and killing more than half the nation. The survivors fled to the Bayou St. Jean, which flows into Lake Ponchartrain near the site of New Orleans. (*La Harpe, Journal Historique, 100.*) Charlevoix, in 1721, found them a little higher up (vol. III, p. 436). A few huts of this nation still exist on the Red river, according to some accounts, and below Manchac and in the vicinity of the Attakapas, according to others. The name is Choctaw, and means red men, from humma, red (*Archæol. Americana, II, 115-17*); but no vocabulary of the language enables us to decide to what division they belonged.

the other, and which they try to have fall on two cylinders that they roll where they think that the stone will fall. The temple has nothing handsome but the vestibule which is adorned with the most agreeable grotesques and the best made almost that one could see. They are four satyrs, two of whom are *en bosse*, all four standing out from the wall, having around the head, hands and feet in bands, bracelets, garters, baldrics and belts, snakes, mice and dogs. The colors are black, white, red and yellow, and so well applied and without confusion, that it is a spectacle that surprises agreeably. The old man who keeps up the fire which he called to us *loüak* or *loughé* (sacred fire), showed us the bones of the woman chief who died last year. This woman had rendered herself so important by the blows she had struck against the enemy, having led several war parties in person, that she was regarded as an amazon and as the mistress of the whole village, and more honor was paid to her than to the great chief. She had the first place in all councils, and when she walked she was always preceded by four young men who sang and danced the calumet to her. She was dressed as an Amazon, painted her face and had her hair dressed like the men. They do not make in this village any of all the howlings usual among the Natchez when they pass before the temple, opposite which there is a chapel fifty feet long which Father du Rut built last spring, with a large cross 35 or 40 feet high, that he planted in the village square.

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Father de Limoges had arrived there two or three days before to reside there and labor in converting the Houmas, who seem to me very docile. The great chief is very reasonable and said that he acknowledged only one Great Spirit who had made all things. I counted seventy cabins in the village which I visited with Father de Limoges, who kindly gave me the first fruits of his mission in the baptism of a child three days old which I performed, giving it the name of St. Francis Xavier, patron of the mission, to whom God opened Paradise a few days after, that he might there labor to convert his parents and countrymen.

On the 3d of December we celebrated the feast of that great saint as solemnly as we could, and I sang the first high mass ever heard in the village. I was surprised at their little curiosity. If the Mississippi is settled and this mission is not taken from us, there is reason to hope, from the docility of these poor people, that good will be done there. The women and girls there have more modesty than among the neighboring nations. God deign to convert them and render the road to their village impassable to certain French libertines. All that they do to their sick is to suck them: till blood comes. I saw one in the hands of the old medicine men (jongleurs) one of whom whistled and played on a gourd, another sucked, and another sang the song of the alligator, the skin of which served him as a drum.

As they rest satisfied with their squashes and corn,

of which they have plenty, they are indolent and seldom go hunting. They have withal the reputation of being warriors and being feared by neighboring nations. They are not cruel and very far from putting to death any of the slaves they make; as soon as they enter the village the women weep over them, compassionating their being taken, and then treat them better than their children. When any of their people go hunting, the women begin to cry as if they were going to lose them, and when they return from the hunt weep with joy to see them again.

There are few villages in France where there are more cocks and hens than in that of the Houmas,²⁵ for they never kill them, and will not even eat those killed frequently by the dogs. When you wish to get chickens from them, you must not say that you wish to kill or eat them, as they would be reluctant to give them, but they will sell them readily when they are not killed in their presence, or when people tell them they carry them away to bring them up as they do. The hens have chickens at all times, and they were running around in all the cabins in the month of December. They keep warm in these cabins, which they take care to keep clean and sweep two or three times a day.

The children, men and youth are dressed like the Tounikas. The women wear a fringed robe, which

²⁵ These were got originally from a vessel wrecked at the mouth of the Mississippi, and had, as we see by this, been kept as curiosities, or perhaps objects of superstition, and not as articles of food.

covers them from the waist to below the knee. When they leave their cabins they put on a robe of muskrat skins or turkey feathers. They have the face tattooed (*piqué et figuré*) and the hair plaited like the Tounika and Natchés, and blacken the teeth like them. Although all Indians are extremely afraid of cold, at the least frost (for there is no winter) they go bathing, big and little, and come out of the water perishing with cold. An old man gives the cry at day break when it freezes. These kinds of baths sometimes cause the bloody flux, which carries off many. Father de Limoges begins to make himself understood and will do good in that mission. He recounted his wreck to me, in which he lost everything, and the loss is more serious than you would think. More than one mission will feel it; it was by letting themselves drift off in the current by night, that their canoe struck against a tree which had stopped in the middle of the current and sent it wheeling round and turning on the side full of water, and if he had not quickly caught hold of the tree, he would have drowned half asleep. He lost all but his chalice, which he got out of the box, I know not how. This is all that he could save, and it is a kind of miracle that he saved his own life, after struggling for it almost three hours, by means of a bough of a tree borne down by the current, to which he and his two sailors clung. He let the current carry him down, and it at last drove him ashore, where being without fire they dried their clothes in the wind

and sun as best they could, and made a raft of three or four pieces of floating wood which they tied together with ivy, and sailed for three days on this new canoe, always between two waters, with nothing to eat all the time but a little wild purslain raw. This beloved missionary told me that he with fruit thought of St. Francis Xavier disputing his life as many days with the waters on a bit of plank. On the fourth day he discovered the fire of some Akansea who were hunting. They received him and his companions very kindly, gave them food and took them to their village, where the Father found his canoe, which had caught in some drift wood. He has since been equipped with all that is necessary for his Houma mission, from which I set out December 4th, and after three leagues sail we found on the north side of the Mississippi the Red river of which they speak so much. If the third attempt which the French have made there in the last seven or eight months succeeds, the missionaries will have a passage to go there and visit various nations that line this river which runs southeast; they are almost all only little hamlets like the Natchés, which makes those who wish to give great ideas of all these nations say that there are villages without end and three, four, five and six leagues in extent, wishing to pass off hamlets of three or four cabins, separated from each other for the convenience of the ground, for so many villages of the same nation. Mr. de Bienville²⁶ who has penetrated the furthest

²⁶ Le Moyne de Bienville was a governor of Louisiana on the death of his brother, Iberville, and became of his brother, Le Moyne de Sau-

told me that it was all overflowed in the months of March and April, that there were small heights among the Natchitoch quite thickly peopled, where the corn came up to his shoulder.

At the end of March Mr. de St. Denis²⁷ is to go to the Kadodakio,²⁸ and instead of going by the way of the Senis, where the murderers of Mr. de la Salle had retired, he is to take the left and push on to the Kiouahaa,²⁹ the most remote known, where they hope to find mines. He is to be back here at the close of this month, and if he does not find silver mines they have nothing less than what they

volle, Aug. 22, 1700. He remained in office till 1712, M. du Muys, named to succeed him in 1707, having died on the way. From 1712 he was Lieutenant Governor under La Mothe Cadillac, and next Governor under Crozat and the Mississippi Company in 1726, when he was succeeded by M. Perier, but was reappointed in 1734, and continued in office till after his futile Chickasaw campaign in 1739. He then returned to France and lived to see his native Canada pass into the hands of England, and Louisiana, founded and built up by himself and his brothers, pass into the hands of the Spaniards. He died at Paris, March 7, 1767.

²⁷ Juchereau de St. Denis was one of the first to join the colony of Louisiana. In 1714 he explored the Red River fully, and the next year made his way to the Spanish posts to negotiate a commercial treaty. His career was full of ro-

mance, and after marrying a Spanish lady and being sent in chains to Mexico, he at last returned to Mobile.

²⁸ The Cadodakios or Caddoes a division of the Texas or Senis, are first mentioned (ante 31 n.), by Joutel, who, p. 278, makes them allies of the Affony, Natsohos and Nachitos. Father Anastasius also describes them (*Le Clercq Etab. de la Foi*). They were then on Red River, where a few of the Caddoes and Natchitoches still remain. Later writers show their languages to be different (*Archæol. Americana*, II, 46). Some have endeavored to identify them with the Nissohone and Naquizcoza and Nazacahoz, mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas as on the Daycao river, p. 110-2 (ed. 1844).

²⁹ Kiouahaa, compare Cavalier's account (ante p. 74) where the Kouaras are mentioned,

seek in the settlement of the Mississippi, which overflows all the land for eighty leagues and more from its mouth, except some little cantons.

On the 10th we said the mass of St. Francis Xavier to begin the devotion of the Ten Fridays. The next day we reached the cross which marks the village of the Baiougoula,³⁰ on the north of the Mississippi and 40 leagues from the Houmas. As the waters have been extremely high this year they have undermined the cliff more than ten feet along, so that the cross has fallen with the earth that slid down. I did not go up to the village and it was only on my return from Bilocchi that I visited the Baiougoula, who massacred the chief of the Mongoulacha with more than two hundred men of that nation, which was very friendly to the French and which formed a village with the Baiougoula as the Piouärouä do with the Kaskaskia. The blood of so many innocent persons cries vengeance and God begins to punish them by famine and sickness and they must be in fear lest the Houmas and Kolapiffas avenge the murder of all their allies. I never saw anything so beggarly. I know some words of their language; but as more than two thirds were absent

³⁰ The Baiougoulas and Mongoulachas were allies, but a dispute arising the chief of the former planned a massacre of the Mongoulachas and almost exterminated them, but the Baiougoulas soon fell a victim to a similar act of treachery in 1706, for having received the Tonicas into their village, they were surprised

and almost all massacred by their perfidious guests. *La Harpe*, 98. Small pox swept off many of the warriors, and in 1721 not a family of them was known to exist. *Charlevoix*, III, 436. The name is Choc-taw, and may be White oak people, from *baie*, white oak, *ogula* or *oklo*, nation.

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from their village, whence they had been driven by hunger, I remained only four days. They promised to rebuild the chapel and do all that I asked, but unless the chief is very far from there, there is not much for a missionary to do. I planted a large cross on the bank instead of that carried away by the waters. They rose twenty feet high.

Five leagues below the village you find on the north side a little arm of the Mississippi of which Mr. de la Salle speaks, which he says has over thirty fathoms water and is very convenient for large vessels; but M. de Iberville, who explored and sounded it, did not find water enough for a boat. The more we approach the lower end of the Mississippi, the more we go east and east southeast. We found also stronger currents and wretched cabinage, and in the tide waters potter's clay constantly; or else you must strike far into the woods, which it is difficult to penetrate and not meet cane thickets out of which it is hard to get.

From the Natches we lived entirely on Indian corn and a few squashes, since for some time back we met in these parts neither buffalo, deer nor bear; and if we found any bustards or wild geese, they were so lean that they were as tasteless as wood, which makes all our canoe men sigh often for the river of the Illinois and the beauty of the country and landings and its plenty of buffalo and deer and all sorts of fat and excellent game. It is a long voyage this down the Mississippi, very tedious and very dif-

ficult, especially coming back, and very inconvenient on account of the gnats and other flies, called maringouins, brulots and moustiques, the great rains, the excessive heats, the wretched landings, in mud and potter's clay, often knee deep, and for the scanty fare. Unless you start with a canoe half loaded with provisions, you must expect to fast well, and I could hardly believe that our Indians from above and from the Illinois country will come here to get goods such a distance with so much toil and risk. The periagua of the Baioügoulas which we met did not make over three or four leagues a day. They were badly clothed for the season, for they had only half a deer skin to protect themselves from the cold, and there was one old woman so wretched that she had only a little moss to cover herself. Many old people among all these Indians have no other clothing.

At last, on the 17th of December, I reached the Fort of the Mississipi,³¹ after 68 days sail down. This first establishment is on the south side of the river, eighteen leagues from its mouth. There is no fort nor bastion, entrenchment or redoubt; all consists of a battery of six guns, six and eight pounders, planted on the brow of the bluff, and of five or six cabins separate from each other and covered with palm leaves. The commandant Mr. de Bienville has quite a nice little house there. I per-

³¹ Fort of the Mississipi was, it is said, on Poverty Point, about thirty-eight miles below the city of New Orleans.

ceived on arriving that they began to cry *Famine*, and that the bread stuffs began to run out, which obliged me to take to Indian food so as to be a burthen to none, and put up with Indian corn without meat or fish till the vessels come which are hardly expected before the end of March. If the Mississippi is settled they will transfer the fort, or rather they will build it at the Baiagoulas, forty leagues further up, for the high waters overflow so furiously here that they have been four months in the water often knee deep outside of their cabins, although the Indians had assured them that this place was never inundated. The wheat which had been planted here was already quite high when the inundations caused by a furious swell of the sea in the month of August swept it away. The garden was hardly more successful, besides there being a great quantity of black snakes that eat the lettuces and other vegetables off to the root. As for fort Bilocchi, thirty leagues from here, besides the air being better there, the country more open, all kinds of garden vegetables can be raised. The deer are near and the hunting very good; and to temper the heat, which would be excessive, every day an hour or two before noon there comes a breeze from the sea which they call the breeze that cools the air. There is only the water that is not very good. It is a little spring that supplies them; for that of the bay is more than brackish and is not drinkable. This bay, which gives name to the fort, takes its own from the Bilocchi Indians, who are nearest to

it, and is called Bilocchi bay.³² There are more than 120 men in this fort, which is very regular, with 12 pieces of cannon and as many pedereros planted on the bastions. Only boats and the ferry boat which carries only a hundred tons can enter this bay; ships cannot come within five leagues of it and remain at anchor before an island where there is good anchorage and which is called Ship island. There is no port in all this country except Pensacola, of which the Spaniards have taken possession, and where they had settled only three weeks before Mr. d' Iberville reached the coast. Fort Bilocchi is only thirty leagues from the Spanish fort. The governor's enterprize succeeded badly last year. Having advanced with two ships he was surprised to find four large vessels at the anchorage and a strong garrison in the fort. He said, out of politeness to the officers, that he was visiting the coast to drive off the English. Mr. d' Iberville, who visited the Mississippi, had cautioned them to act prudently with the Spaniards and to receive the governor well if he came on board, according to the orders which he himself had received from the court. He was regaled magnificently, *Vive le Roy de France, Vive le Roy d'Espagne, Vive Mr. d' Iberville*, with many a salute of the cannon, and on departing he left a

³² Bilocchi or Biloxi, so named from a tribe so called, never rose to any importance. The position was ill chosen; the ground barren and ships could not reach it. It was finally abandoned for a new Biloxi,

almost as unsuccessfull. The Biloxi Indians retired to Pearl river. *Charlevoix*, II, 449. A remnant is said to exist near Natchitoches. *Archæologia Americana*, II, 115.

letter for Mr. d' Iberville. It was his propositions which he very well knew would be laughed at. He had hardly left our ships when he was struck in the open sea by a squall, which made his ship open and go down. He escaped in a boat with a few of his people and returned to our ships. Our officers displaying more regret than they felt, received him perfectly well, generously supplied him with everything and sent him back in a double sloop (*chaloûpe double*) with all the oars and hats off to his fort at Pensacola. At his departure he was again saluted by a discharge of all our artillery.³³ He has been made grand master of all the artillery of Spain, and his major, who has been made governor, sent a boat to Fort Bilocchi to M. de Sauvol to reclaim ten men by the new major, pretending that they had deserted, but at bottom it was only to examine the fort, which does not fear them, and to come and get linen and goods, for they lack everything. They bought all they found and said that they would return as soon as they knew our vessels were in. Although we were short of provisions, at least French flour (for pork, peas and beans are not scarce yet), the governor had the Indian corn hid away, and made French bread appear throughout the fort; he regaled the major perfectly with poultry, sucking pig and venison, madeira wine. The crew was regaled in proportion, and when the major was going they gave him all kinds of refreshments for

³³ Don Andrés de Arriola, called *Ensayo Cronologico*, 316, 1. in the French accounts *de la Riôle*.

his return, and a costly gun as a present to the new governor.

To go from here to Fort Bilocchi, you must on starting make a portage of a good eighth of a league knee deep in mud and water, and take in a supply of water as much as you need to go to Bilocchi, for the little river you meet a quarter of a league from here is brackish, that is to say it is mingled with salt water. It empties into a lake two leagues across and after running five or six leagues southeast on the sea along the isles, you cut northwest off the isles till seven leagues from the fort, when you make the main land which you follow to the entrance of Bilocchi bay, in sight of the fort where you must cross.

I arrived there on the 1st day of the year 1700, and was well received by the governor. I found Father du Ru there. Besides the functions of missionary he discharges also those of chaplain in a very edifying manner. I spent only a week with him, and was eleven days in getting here through the fault of our guide who lost his way, and made us lose a favorable wind which would have brought us to the fort on the third day, but after using up our half barrel of water we filled it with brackish water, which troubled my canoe men much more than me, who accustom myself to drink hardly any when traveling. We all had poor fare, for we were reduced for four days to Indian corn alone, and it was as hard too after boiling all night in this salt water as when it was put into the kettle. We

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went on the sea or gulf of Mexico, from island to island, and the further we sailed the more we got astray. In this extremity with our water almost out we commended ourselves to God. I promised to make a novena in honor of St. Francis Xavier and to say mass in thanksgiving as soon as I reached the fort. The next day we reëmbarked in our canoe, and at one o'clock in the afternoon we found ourselves at Point Aleri which we had doubled four days before, whence we had cut to the islands off shore. We had made two long crossings of five leagues to the S. S. E. and in sight of the woods of the Mississippi. We at last, thank God, entered a river where we quenched our thirst and which led us to an eighth of a league from the Mississippi, where we arrived safely and after an eighth of a league portage we found ourselves eight leagues from the fort, where we arrived on the eleventh day after our departure from Bilocchi. But for the protection of St. Francis Xavier, we should, I believe, have still longer cruised around without water. I set out the next day for the Baiougoulas, who are forty leagues higher up; I did there only a part of what I had hoped, having found few people. God did me the grace to [allow me to] baptize a little dying child two years old, to which I opened heaven.

I have been back at this fort for four days. The arrival of the vessels expected from day to day will decide me as to what I shall do, whether I shall await the arrival of Mr. d' Iberville or go up again

to the Illinois by the first canoes. No ship can enter the Mississippi if it draws over nine or ten feet water, for there are only eleven at the mouth. The entrance once passed, there is no ship but can sail far up the river. There are 15 or 16 fathoms here, most of the ketches which draw only nine could go far up, for the English vessel which Mr. d' Iberville found last year eight leagues from here drew still less. The captain had as his guide the Relation of Mr. de la Salle³⁴ and some other very bad memoirs which mention the mouth of this river. This Englishman who spoke of it to Mr. de Bienville congratulated himself on having been able to find the entrance of the Mississippi, about which one of those that wrote is an apostate,³⁵ who presented to King William the Relation of the Mississippi where he never was, and after a thousand falsehoods and ridiculous boasts, pretends to show the just claims and incontestable rights which King William has over the Mississippi, &c. He makes Mr. de la Salle appear in his Relation wounded with two balls in the head, turn towards the Recollect Father Anastase, to ask him for absolution (which he surely had not time to do) having been killed stark dead without uttering a word, and other like false stories.

³⁴ The Relation here referred to is not very evident. La Salle published no account personally, and Hennepin, Tonti and Le Clerq, were the only published accounts at this date.

³⁵ The work here alluded to is the *Nouvelle Découverte* of Hennepin, the fictitious character of much of which has been shown. There is nothing in his work to show however that he left either the Franciscan order or the Catholic church.

I do not know what the court will decide about the Mississippi, if no silver mines are found, for it does not seek lands to cultivate. There are few spots for more than eighty leagues hence which are not inundated at the great overflow of the Mississippi. They have not yet found the mines they sought; they care little for those of lead, which are very abundant near the Illinois and higher up in the Mississippi on the Scioux side. There are indeed many souls to gain to Christ, along the Mississippi, and still more inland and on Red river, but there are more people in the single mission of the Illinois than I have seen among the Tounika, Baiougoula and Houmas, and than there is among the Bilochis, among the Colapissas,³⁶ and among all the Indians of Mobile river who are between Fort Bilocchi and that of the Spaniards, and of the Panfocolas. This will not prevent the missionaries from finding employment in every village, the Indians of which seem to me very docile. May it please the Lord to send them men whose zeal will open heaven to them and teach them the way. It is said that ascending the River of the Mobilians, numerous nations are found, but I have not been there.

When Mr. de la Salle came by sea to seek the mouth of the Mississippi he went beyond it without perceiving it, till he was fifteen leagues beyond, and not wishing to appear to have mistaken, he

³⁶ The Colapissas have entirely disappeared. This name is Choctaw and is said to mean, "Those who hear and see," from *boklo*, to hear, and *pissa*, to see.

pushed further on to eighty leagues hence, where he built a fort, and in the design of returning in triumph to the Illinois, he went from his fort to the Senis, inland Indians, and it was from their village that Mr. Cavalier, the priest, set out after his brother's tragic death to return overland to the Akansea and thence in periaugue to the Illinois and at last to Kebec whence he embarked to return to France with four others.

The Spaniards soon after made themselves masters of Mr. de la Salle's fort, in which more than 150 persons perished of famine and sickness. The Spaniards took off the rest of the French whom they found there and then came to the Senis, where they left twenty men with three Franciscans, and whence they took two Frenchmen whom they found and who are at present at Fort Bilocchi.³⁷ It is from these two Frenchmen that we have learned what became of the sad remnants of Mr. de la Salle's great equipment, for he had 400 men when he left St. Domingo to seek the mouth of the Mississippi. It was among the Senis that the murderers of Mr. de la Salle made themselves Indians like them after some of them had killed each other.

Here is exactly, Reverend Father, the details of

³⁷ These were apparently Peter and John Talon, who reached France from Vera Cruz, Sept. 14, 1698, and whose examination is still preserved. Iberville took them out with him and they were for two years in Louisiana in the King's

service. They then returned to France and were in 1704, as Iberville states, "dans la prison de Portugal," whether that means a Portuguese prison or some prison at Paris bearing that name.

my voyage and all that I could learn on my route, and of all that I have seen and remarked, and of all that I have learned here from Mr. de Bienville, Mr. d' Iberville's brother, who has most explored the country. I add that it is to the willows and not to the mulberries that the silkworms attach themselves and make their cocoons in this country. They could not make the first settlement in a spot where there are more musquitoes than here. They are here almost the whole year. In sooth they have given us little truce for seven or eight days, but at this moment they sting me in close ranks, and in the month of December, when you ought not to be troubled by them, there was such a furious quantity that I could not write a word without having my hands and face covered, and it was impossible for me to sleep the whole night. They stung me so in one eye that I thought I would lose it. The French of this fort told me that from the month of March there is such a prodigious quantity that the air was darkened with them and that they could not distinguish each other ten paces apart.

I remain here till the arrival of Mr. d' Iberville, as I am in some sort obliged to serve as chaplain to the French who are in this fort and of whom several are Canadians. I have much to suffer from these importunate insects till the month of May, and still more remounting the river, since I shall not be able to do so till the number is so great that you cannot rest by night nor land by day to cook your Indian corn without being devoured by them.

Blessed be God for all. I should be content with all, cost what it will, provided this voyage of over a thousand leagues which I undertook for the good of our upper missions be of some use to them, as well as my delay which has been only the better to assure me of the truth.

Pray God for us, Reverend Father, and believe me with much respect in the love of our Lord,

Reverend Father,

Your very humble and

obedient servant,

JAMES GRAVIER.

Since this letter written a year ago last February (of this present year, 1702), the French abandoned the two posts herein mentioned, on the Mississippi and on Bilocchi bay to settle at the river called Mobile from the name of the Indians who have their village called Mobilians. This river enters the sea fifteen leagues this side of Bilocchi. There are two islands a short distance from its mouth which form a port for ships, and ascending in boats for fourteen leagues on the Mobile you find now a regular fort constructed by Mr. d' Iberville and houses for the soldiers and for some French from Canada. The soil is very good. The plan of a city has been traced, which will be formed of French colonies to be sent there if the court thinks fit. There are several villages of Indians, one, two and three days' journey from Fort Mobile, whom

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the new missionaries will be able to instruct in our holy religion.

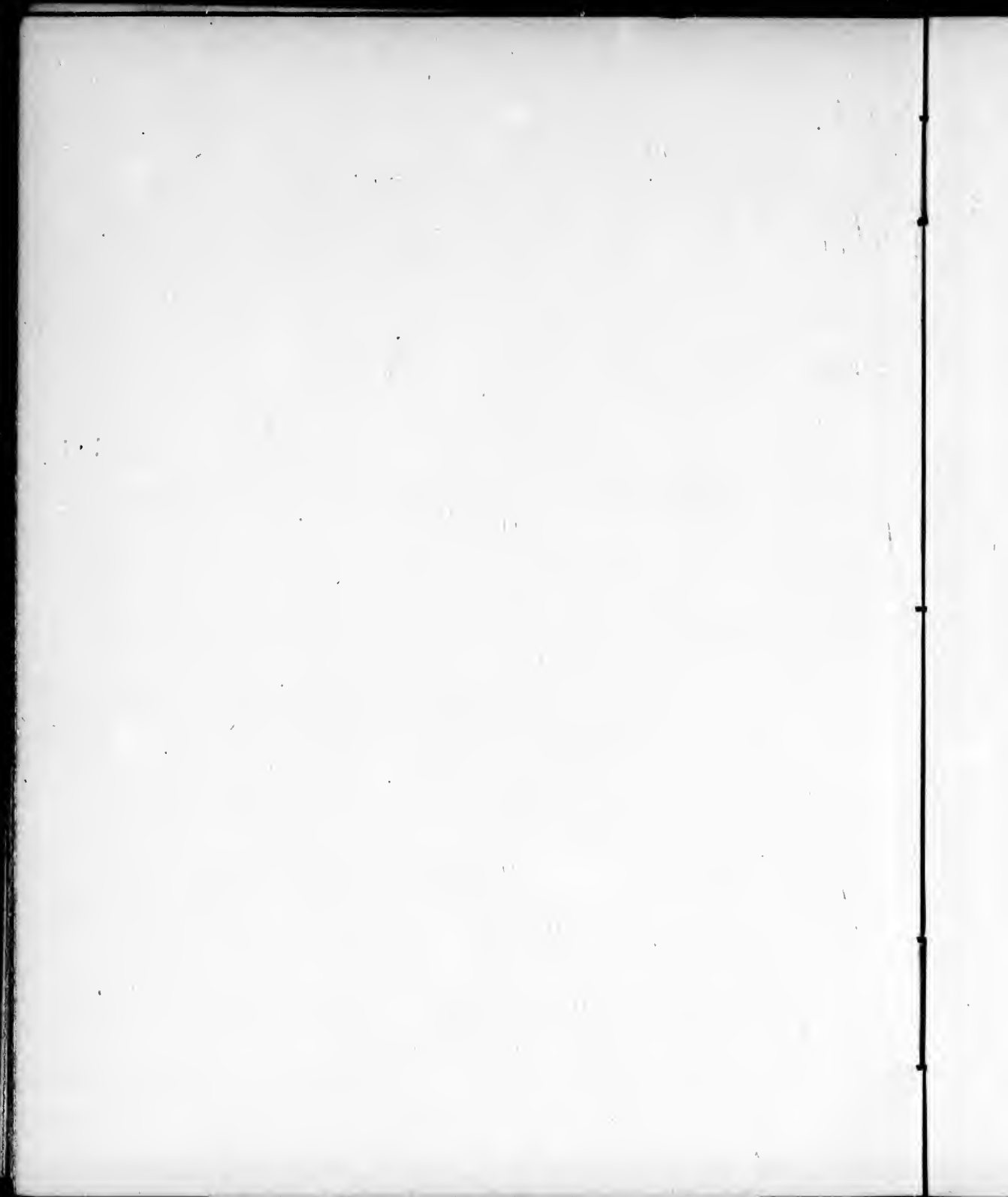
NOTE.

The inscription which F. du Ru put at the foot of the cross which he erected with Mr. d'Iberville on the banks of the Mississippi river, near the French fort.

D. O. M.

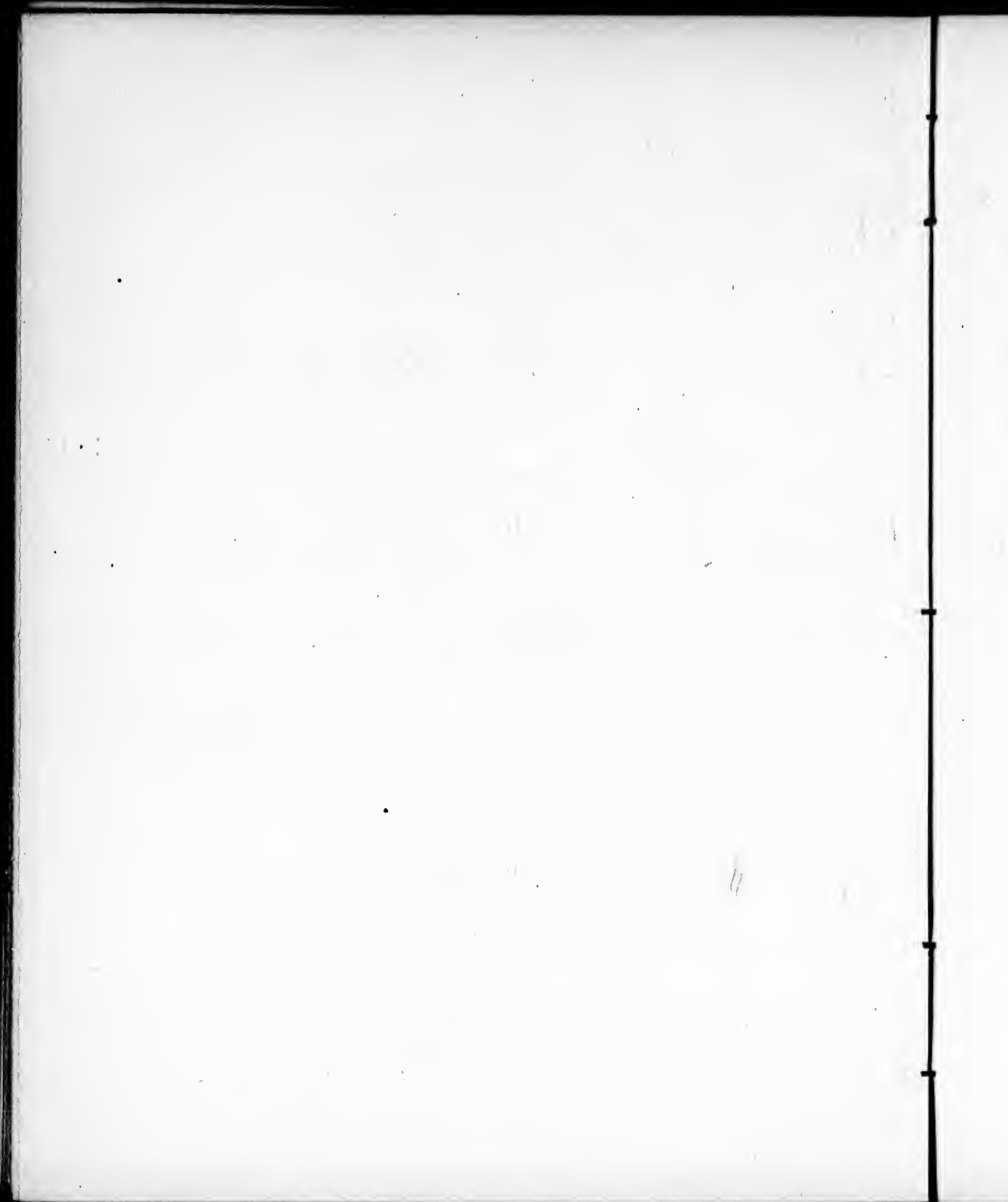
The French, as they had first come here, first from Canada under De la Salle in the year 1682: secondly from the same place under de Tonty in the year 1685; thirdly from the seacoast under d'Iberville, 1699; fourthly from the same place under the same leader in the year 1700, planted this cross February 14 in the same year 1700. At the foot whereof an altar being erected a priest of the society of Jesus on the same day and year said mass and duly consecrated this enclosure for the burial of the dead.





v.

**GUIGNAS'S VOYAGE
UP THE MISSISSIPPI,
1728**





GUIGNAS'S VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI,

Extract from a Letter to the Marquis de Beauharnais¹ by the Reverend Father Guignas, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, dated from the Mission of St. Michael the Archangel, at Fort Beauharnais, among the Sioux, May 29, 1728.

THE Sioux convoy² left the end of Montreal Island on the 16th of the month of June, last year, at 11 A. M. and reached Michilimackinac the 22d of the month of July. This post is 251 leagues from Montreal, almost due west, at 45° 46m. N. latitude.

¹ The statement found in many works, that the Marquis de Beauharnais was an illegitimate son of Louis XIV, is unfounded. The husband of Josephine was not de-

scended from the Governor of Canada.

² Under the command of the Sieur de Laperrière. (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix, 1016.)

We spent the rest of the month at this post in the hopes of receiving from day to day some news from Montreal, and in the design of strengthening ourselves against the alleged extreme difficulties of getting a free passage through the Foxes. At last, seeing nothing, we set out on our march the 1st of the month of August and after 73 leagues quite pleasant sail along the northerly side of Lake Michigan, running to the S. E., we reached the Bay³ on the 8th of the same month at 5½ P. M. This post is at 44° 43m. north latitude. We stopped there two days, and on the 11th in the morning we embarked in a very great impatience to reach the Foxes.

On the third day after our departure from the Bay, quite late in the afternoon, in fact somewhat in the night, the chiefs of the Puans⁴ came out three leagues from their village to meet the French with their peace calumets, and some bear meat as a refreshment, and the next day we were received by that small nation (*tres peu nombreux*) amid several discharges of a few guns and amid great demonstrations of joy.

They asked us with so good a grace to do them the honor to stay some time with them, that we granted them the rest of the day from noon and the following day.

There may be in all in this village sixty to eighty men; but all men and women of very tall stature and well made. They are on the bank of a

3 Green Bay.

4 Winnebagoes.

very pretty little lake, in a most agreeable spot for its situation and the goodness of the soil, nineteen leagues from the Bay and eight leagues from the Foxes.

Early the next morning, the 15th of the month of August, the convoy prepared to continue its route with quite pleasant weather; but a storm coming on in the afternoon, we arrived quite wet, still in the rain, at the cabins of the Foxes, a nation so much dreaded and really so little to be dreaded. From all that we could see, it is composed of 200 men at most, but there is a perfect hive of children, especially boys from ten to fourteen years old, well made and formed. They are cabined on a little eminence on the bank of a small river, that bears their name, extremely tortuous or winding, so that you are constantly boxing the compass. Yet it is apparently quite wide, with a chain of hills on both sides, but there is only one miserable little channel amid this extent of apparent bed, which is a kind of marsh full of rushes and wild rice of almost impenetrable thickness. They have nothing but mere bark cabins without any kind of palisade or other fortification. As soon as the French canoes touched their shore, they ran down with their peace calumets lighted in spite of the rain, and all smoked.

We staid among them the rest of this day and all the next, to know what were their designs and ideas as to the French post among the Sioux. The Sieur Reaume, interpreter of Indian languages at the Bay, acted efficiently there and with devo

tion to the king's service. Even if my testimony, Sir, should be deemed not impartial, I must have the honor to tell you that Rev. Father Chardon,⁵ an old missionary, was of very great assistance there, and the presence of three missionaries who were there, reassured these cut throats and assassins of the French more than all the speeches of the best orators could have done. A general council was convened in one of the cabins, they were addressed in decent and friendly terms, and they replied in the same way. A small present was made to them. In their side they gave some quite handsome dishes lined with dry meat.

On the following Sunday, 17th of the month of August, very early in the morning, Father Chardon set out with Sieur Reaume to return to the Bay, and the Sioux company greatly rejoiced to have so easily got over this difficulty, which had every where been represented as so insurmountable, got under way to endeavor to reach its journey's end.

Never was navigation more tedious than what we subsequently made from uncertainty as to our course. No one knew it, and we got astray every moment on water and on land for want of a guide, and pilots. We kept on, as it were, feeling our way for eight days, for it was only on the 9th, about 3 o'clock P. M. that we arrived by accident,

⁵ Rev. John B. Chardon, of the Society of Jesus, was on the Ottawa mission in 1703, and at the Miami mission of St. Joseph's in 1711. Father Marett speaks of him in high terms, and Charlevoix, who found him at Green Bay in 1721, does the same. At the time of this narrative he must have been nearly thirty years on the Western missions.

believing ourselves still far off, at the Portage of the Ouiscousin, which is 45 leagues from the Foxes, counting all the twists and turns of this abominable river. This portage is half a league in length, and half of that is a kind of marsh full of mud.

The Ouiscousin is quite a handsome river, but far below what we had been told, apparently as those who gave the description of it in Canada saw it only in the high waters of spring. It is a shallow river on a bed of quicksand which forms bars almost everywhere, and these often change place. Its shores are either steep, bare mountains, or low points with sandy base. Its course is from N. E. to S. W. From the portage to its mouth in the Mississippi, I estimated 38 leagues. The portage is at $43^{\circ} 24m.$ north latitude.

The Mississippi from the mouth of the Ouiscousin ascending goes northwest. This beautiful river extends between two chains of high, bare and very sterile mountains, constantly a league, three quarters of a league, or where it is narrowest half a league apart. Its centre is occupied by a chain of well wooded islands, so that regarding from the heights above, you would think you saw an endless valley watered on the right and left by two large rivers; sometimes, too, you could discern no river. These islands are overflowed every year and would be adapted to raising rice. Fifty-eight leagues from the mouth of the Ouiscousin, according to my calculation, ascending the Mississippi is Lake Pepin, which is nothing else but the river itself,

destitute of islands at that point, where it may be half a league wide. This river in what I traversed of it is shallow and has shoals in several places, because its bed is a moving sand, like that of the Ouiscoufin.

On the 17th of September, 1727, at noon, we reached this lake, which had been chosen as the bourne of our voyage. We planted ourselves on the shore about the middle of the north side on a low point where the soil is excellent. The wood is very dense there, but it is already thinned in consequence of the rigor and length of the winter, which has been severe for the climate, for we are here on the parallel of $43^{\circ} 41'$. It is true that the difference of the winter is great compared to that at Quebec and Montreal; for all that some poor judges say.

From the day after our landing we put our axes to the wood; on the fourth day following the fort was entirely finished.⁶ It is a square plat of 100 feet, surrounded by pickets twelve feet long with two good bastions. For so small a space there are large buildings, quite distinct and not huddled together, each 30, 38 and 25 feet long by 16 feet wide. All would go well there if the spot were not inundated; but this year on the 15th of the month of April, we were obliged to camp out, and the water ascended

⁶ Perrot took possession of Lake Pepin, May 8, 1689 (see Act in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix, 418), Le Sueur and the Rev. J. J. Marett being present, and some suppose the

existence of a Fort Perrot at this time, but his trading post was established at a later date in all probability.

to the height of two feet eight inches, in the houses, and it is idle to say that it was the quantity of snow that fell this year. The snow in the vicinity had melted long before, and there was absolutely only a foot and a half from the 8th of February to the 15th of March, all the rest of the winter you could not use snow shoes.

I have great reason to think that this spot is inundated more or less every year; I have always thought so; but they were not obliged to believe me, as old people who said they had lived fifteen or twenty years, declared that it was never overflowed. We could not enter our much devastated houses till the 30th of the same month of April and the disorder is scarcely repaired even now.⁶

Before the end of October all the houses were finished and furnished, and each one found himself tranquilly lodged at home. They then thought only of going out to explore the neighboring hills and rivers, to see those herds of all kinds of deer, of which they tell such stories in Canada. They must have retired or diminished greatly since the time that the old *voyageurs* left the country; they are no longer in such great numbers, and are killed with difficulty.

After beating the field for some time all reassembled at the fort, and thought only of enjoying a little the fruit of their labors.

On the 4th of the month of November we did

⁶ The waters did not however reach the Fort in 1728. (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix, 10, 16).

not forget that it was the General birthday.⁷ Mass was said for him in the morning, and they were well disposed to celebrate the day in the evening, but the tardiness of the pyrotechnists and the inconstancy of the weather caused them to postpone the celebration to the 14th of the same month, when they set off some very fine rockets, and made the air ring with a hundred shouts of *Vive le Roy* and *Vive Charles de Beauharnois*. It was on this occasion that the wine of the Sioux was broached; it was *par excellence*, although there are no vines here finer than in Canada. What contributed much to the amusement was the terror of some cabins of Indians, who were at the time around the fort. When these poor people saw the fireworks in the air, and the stars fall from heaven, the women and children began to take flight, and the most courageous of the men to cry mercy and implore us very earnestly to stop the surprising play of that wonderful medicine.

As soon as we arrived among them, they assembled in a few days around the French fort to the number of 95 cabins which might make in all 150 men; for they are at most two men in their portable cabins of dressed skins, and in many there is only one. This is all that we have seen except a band of about 60 men, who came on the 26th of the month of February, who were of those nations called Sioux of the Prairies.

At the end of November the Indians set out for their winter quarters; they do not indeed go far, and

⁷ Or rather Saints' Day, being the feast of St. Charles Borromeo.

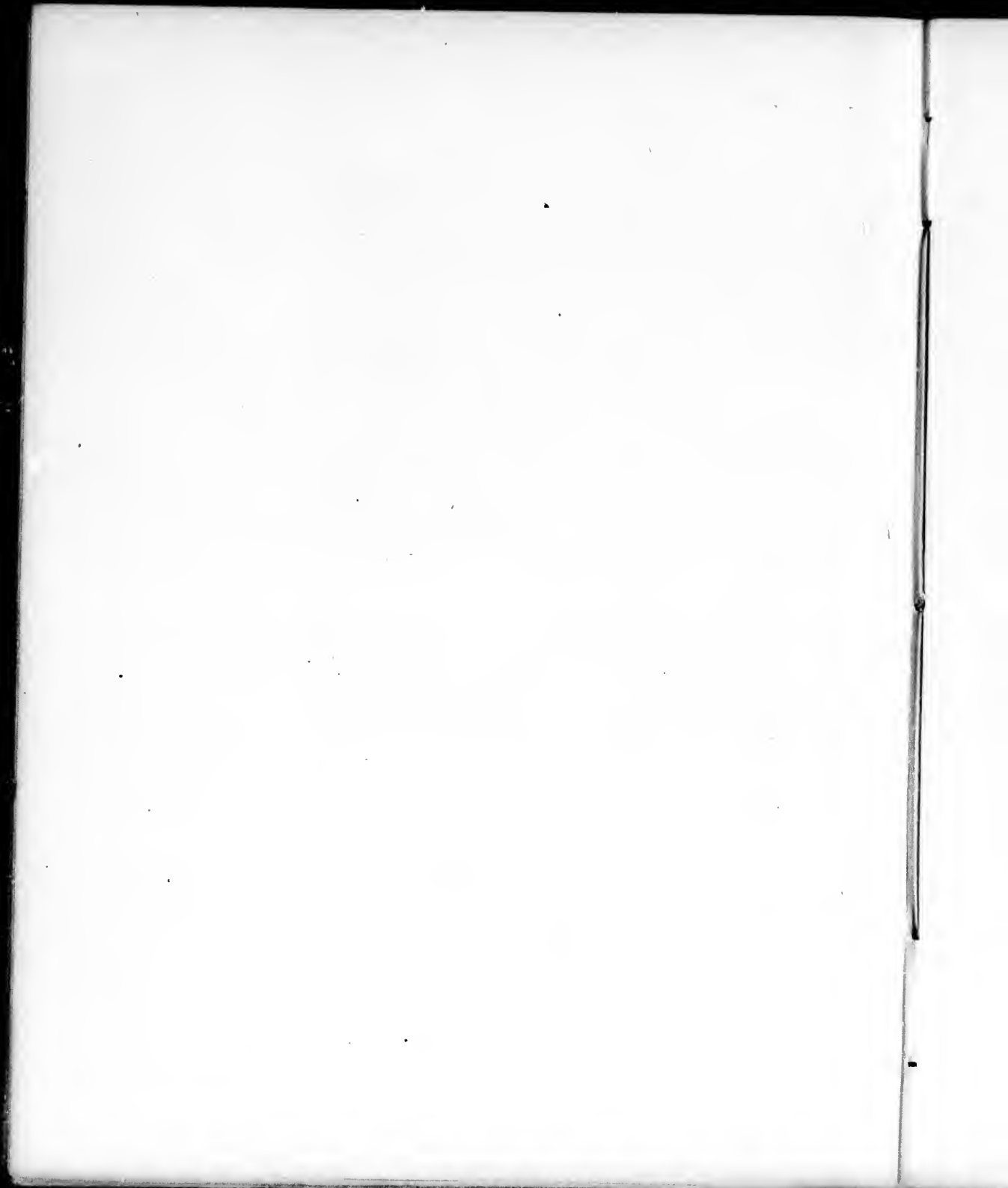
we saw some of them all through the winter, but from the second of the month of April last, when some cabins repassed here to go in search of them, [he] sought them in vain during a week for more than sixty leagues up the Mississippi. He arrived yesterday without any tidings of them.

Although I said above that the Sioux were alarmed at the rockets, which they took for new phenomena, it must not be supposed from that they are less intelligent than other Indians we know.

They seem to me more so, at least they are much gayer and open apparently and far more dexterous thieves, great dancers and great medicine men. The men are almost all large and well made; but the women are very ugly and disgusting, which does not however check debauchery among them, and is perhaps an effect of it.⁸

⁸ Here, most unfortunately, ends the extract from the letter of Father Guignas as preserved among the papers of the Geographer Buache, and now in the possession of Mr. Brevoort. The subsequent events in that region are of great interest, and we are especially in the dark as to the movements of the party at Fort Beauharnois. In spite of Guignas' opinion of the Foxes, they continued hostilities, and in 1728, the year of this letter, de Ligneris marched against them. The traders had previously withdrawn to a great extent from Fort Beauharnois, and Father Guignas in attempting to reach the Illinois country fell into the hands of the Mascoutens and Kickapoos, who sided with the

Foxes, and remained a prisoner for five months, narrowly escaping a death by torture at the stake. His captors then took him to the Illinois country and left him there on parole till November, 1729, when they led him back to their town. Nothing has yet appeared to show whether he then returned to the Fort or whether he made his way to some other French post. In 1736 he again appears on Lake Pepin with M. de St. Pierre, perhaps the same to whom Washington at a later date presented Dinwiddie's letter. Father Guignas signed his name, Louis Ignatius Guignas, but I have found nothing of his earlier or later history.





A P P E N D I X .

AFTER the first sheets of this volume were printed, I received Thomassy's *Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane*, which contains the original of the following extract from a

Letter of Mr. de la Salle to the Marquis de Seignelay.

WESTERN MOUTH OF THE RIVER COLBERT, }
March 4, 1685. }

My Lord:

. . . . The season being far advanced and seeing that very little time was left me to accomplish the enterprize I had undertaken, I resolved to ascend this channel of the river Colbert, rather than return to the more considerable one, distant twenty-five or thirty leagues from here northwesterly, which we had remarked on the 6th of January, but had been unable to recognize, believing from the statement of the pilots of his majesty's vessel and ours, that we had not yet passed Espiritu Santo Bay (that of Mobile); but at last, after constantly coasting along very near land and in good weather, the latitude made us perceive that they were mistaken, and that what we had seen on the sixth of January was in fact the main entrance of the river that we were seeking. If spring had not been so near, I would have gone back. Fear of spending the

rest of the winter in running eastward, from which direction the winds blow almost constantly, and drive the current westward, made me resolve to ascend the river here, and to ask Mr. de Beaulieu¹ to go and reconnoitre that other mouth to give an account of it to your Lordship. This one is situated at 28° 18' or 20' N. latitude: the channel is wide and deep within the bar, there being almost everywhere five or six fathoms of water. It is true that there are only two fathoms on the highest bank, at least at this season, when the river being frozen in all its branches has too little force to clear the channel and drive back the sand which the sea continually throws in. It is also to be remarked that when the wind has been long blowing off shore, the water diminishes so that sometimes there remain only ten feet on the bar, as we remarked the day our four pilots sounded there, of which they drew up a statement. But when the water is driven back by winds from the gulf, there is as much as thirteen feet of water, especially at the new moons, when the tides are greatest at least in winter. These two channels issue from a very long and very wide bay into which the river Colbert empties. The water is as salt as that of the sea. There is a tide there, and as you cannot see across, it was easy for me to be deceived on landing and to take for sea this expanse of salt water, of which we could not see the end and which I could not cross having only bark canoes. This kind of sandy island which lies between the sea and this salt lake, stopping

¹ The Count de Beaujeu, who bears much of the blame of La Salle's disaster (ante p. 17, 19), was a naval officer of distinction. At the battle of La Hogue, he commanded

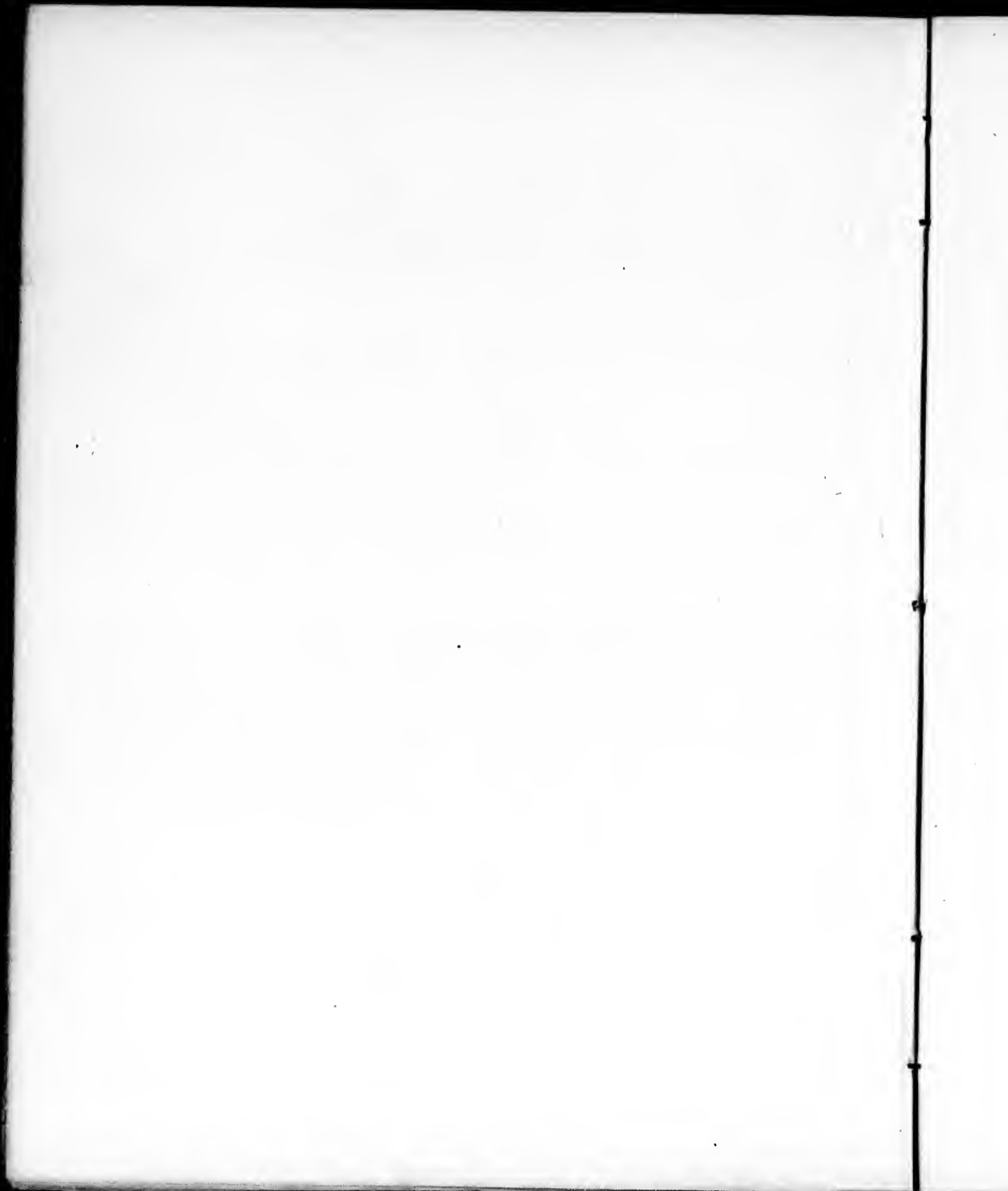
the St. Louis, bearing the Marshal Count de Tourville. His nephew, Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, commanded the French force which defeated Braddock.

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the force of the waves, the river has nothing to check its course, when it empties into it, and seems to form a very good port. But the channels by which it reaches the sea are not so healthy on account of the sand that the wind drives in.







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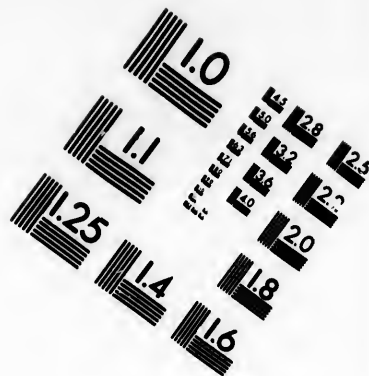
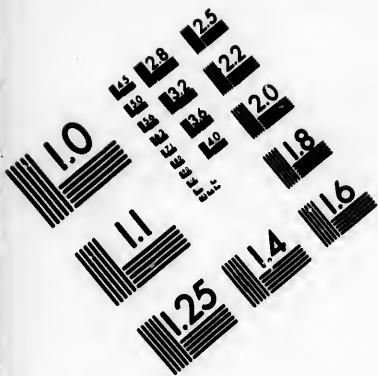
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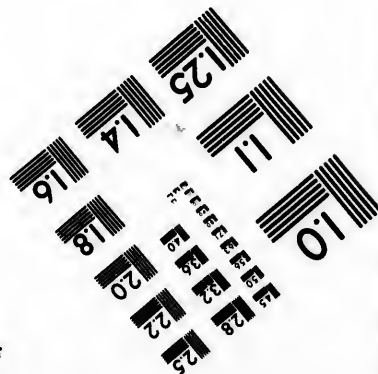
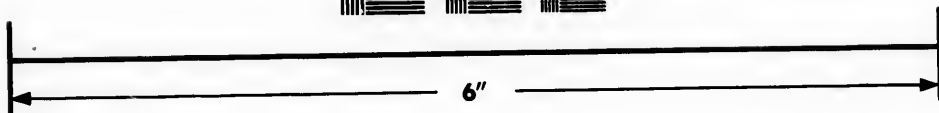
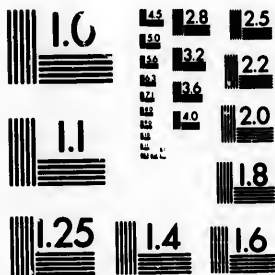
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