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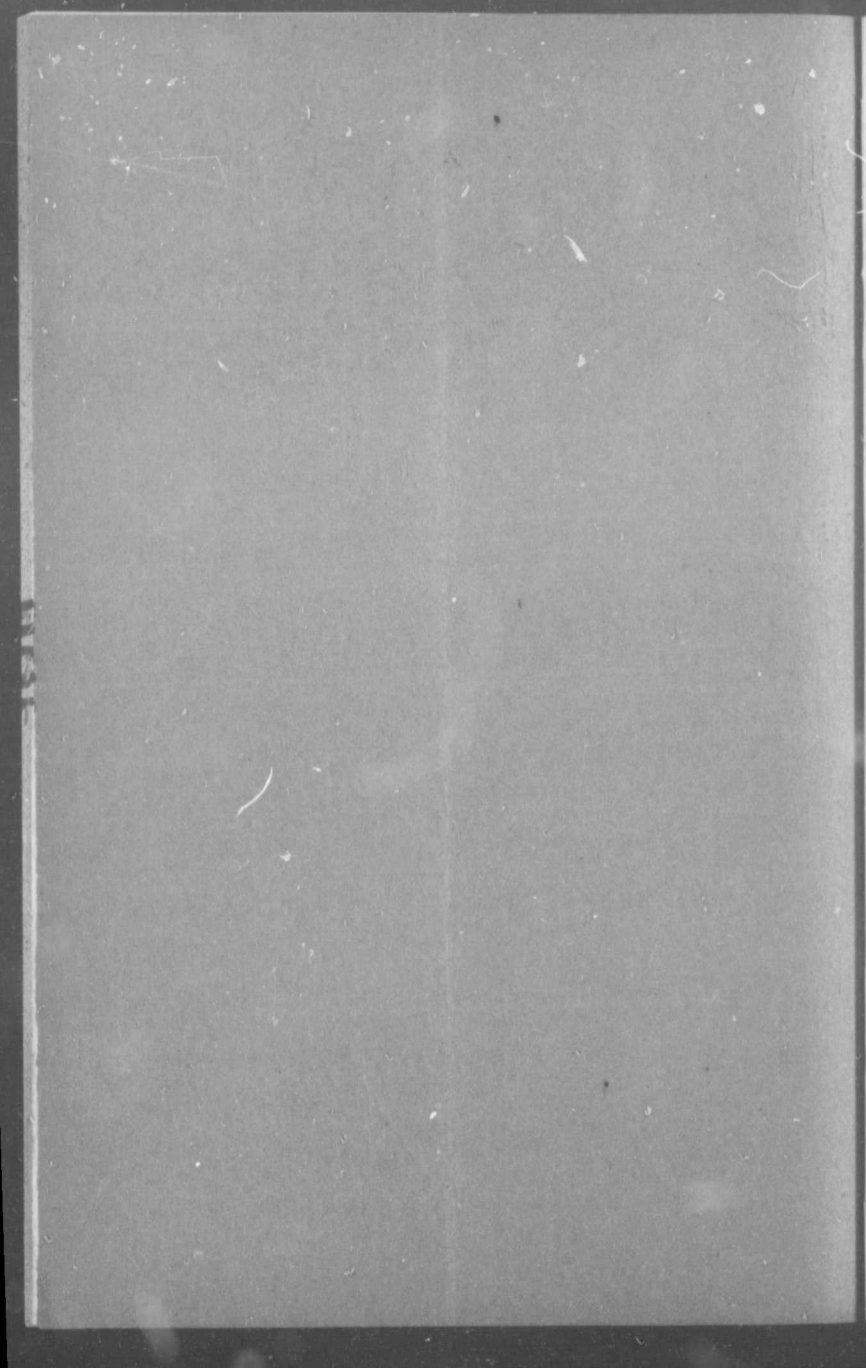
Radisson in the Northwest, 1661-63

By B. SULTE

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V.—*Radisson in the Northwest, 1661-63.*

By B. SULTE.

(Read June 24, 1904.)

Summary:—In 1661 Radisson ascends the Ottawa (not the St. Lawrence), proceeds to Sault Ste. Marie, thence to the bay of Chagouamigon. He spends the winter (1661-62) at Mille Lacs, amongst the Sioux Beef Nation. During the summer of 1662 he goes to James Bay, and, on his return, passes the winter of 1662-63 at Chagouamigon. In the spring of 1663 he makes known to the Assiniboines that he cannot visit their country, much though he regrets not to see the lake that they say is greater than Lake Superior. He declares to the people of Chagouamigon that he has told the Indians of James Bay of his intention to go to them again by the Atlantic Ocean, as they occupy the country of the beaver, *par excellence*. Radisson departs to descend to Quebec, through Sault Ste. Marie, Lake Nipissing and the River Ottawa.

This is the *Fourth Voyage* of Pierre-Esprit Radisson,* in which I find that the author and his brother-in-law Chouart reached Hudson Bay by land, starting from Lake Superior. Here is his own text:

"We stayed att home att rest that yeare (1660). . . . The spring following we weare in hopes to meet with some company, having ben so fortunate the yeare before. Now, during the winter, whether it was that my brother¹ revealed to his wife what we had seen in our voyage and what we further intended, or how it came to passe, it was known; so much that the ffather Jesuits weare desirous to find out a way how they might gett downe the castors from the bay of the north by the Saegnes, and so make themselves masters of that trade. They resolved to make a tryall as soone as the ice would permitt them. So to discover our intentions they weare very earnest with me to ingage myselfe in that voyage, to the end that my brother would give oyer his, which I uterly denied them, knowing that they could never bring it about, becaus I heard the wild men say that although the way be easy, the wildmen² that are feed att their doors would have hindred them, because they make a livelyhood of that trade. . . . Nevertheless the ffathers are gone³ with the Governor's son⁴ of the three rivers and 6 other ffrench and 12 wildmen.

"During that time we made our proposition to the governor of Quebec that we weare willing to venture our lives for the good of the

country, and goe to travell to the remotest countreys with 2 hurons that made their escape from the Iroquoits. . . . My brother and I weare of one minde. . . . The Governor gives him leave, conditionally that he must carry two of his servants⁵ along with him and give them the moitié of the profit. My brother was vexed att such an unreasonable demand. . . . The Governor was much displeas'd att this, and commanded us not to go without his leave. . . . The month of August that brings a company of the Sault, who weare come by the river⁶ of the three rivers with incredible paines, as they said. . . .

"The governor of the place (Three Rivers) defends us to goe. We tould him that the offense was pardonable because it was every one's interest The wild men tould us that they would stay for us two dayes in the Lake St. Peter. . . . we did not lett them stay so long for that very night, my brother having the keys of the Borough as being Captayne of the place, we embarqued ourselves . . . we went,⁷ 3 of us, about midnight. . . . Att 6 in the morning we are arrived to the appointed place, but found nobody. . . . We resolved to goe day and night to the river of the meddows⁸ to overtake them but 3 leagues beyond that of the fort of Richelieu (Sorel) we saw them coming to us. . . . Being come to the river of the medows, we did separat ourselves, 3 into 3 boats It is to be understood that this river is divided much into streams very swift and small before you goe to the river of Canada.⁹ We suffered much for 3 days and 3 nights without rest. . . . Three days after wee found the tracks of seaven boats¹⁰ We tooke no rest till we overtooke them. They cam from Mount royall and weare gone to the great river and gone by the great river,¹¹ so that we weare now 14 boats together, which weare to goe the same way to the height of the upper lake.¹² The day following we weare sett uppon by a company of Iroquoits that fortified themselves in the passage¹³ where they waited of Octauack,¹⁴ for they knewed of their going downe We resolved to give a combat No doubt the enemy was much surpris'd to see us so in number. . . . They saw themselves putt to it, and the evident danger that they weare in and resolved to speak of peace During the night the Iroquoits make their escape The following day we embarqued ourselves quietly in the afternoon we met the Iroquoits.¹⁵ They had a bundle of Castor that they left behind without much adoe. Our wild men did the same; they both runne away The Iroquoits threwed themselves into the river to gaine the other side We had killed and taken them all, if 2 boats of theirs had not come to their succour Three of their men neverthe-

lesse weare killed They killed one of our men They retired themselves into the fort, and brought the rest of their men in hopes to save it. In this they weare far mistaken, for we furiously gave an assault, not sparing time to make us bucklers, and made use of nothing else but of castors tied together but to overcome them the sooner, we filled a barill full of gun powder, and having stoped the whole of it well and tied it to the end of a long pole, being att the foot of the fort. Here we lost 3 of our men; our machine did play with an execution, I may well say that the ennemy never had seen the like Now there falls a showre of raine and a terrible storm, that to my thinking there was something extraordinary, that the Devill himselfe made that storm to give those men leave to escape. . . . We found 11 of our ennemy slained and 2 onely of ours, besides seaven weare wounded Many liked the occupation, for they filled their bellyes with the flesh of their enemies. We boiled some of it, and kettles full of the rest The greatest marke of our victory was that we had 10 heads and foure prisoners The next day we perceived seven boats of the Iroquoits they began in all haste to make a fort The night no sooner approached but we embarked ourselves without any noise, and went along.¹⁶ It's trange to me that the ennemy did not encounter us We rowed from friday to tuesday without intermission On the third day the paines and labour we tooke forced us to an intermission, ffor we weare quite spent. After this we went on without any encounter whatsoever, having escaped very narrowly. We passed a sault that falls from a vast height. Some of our wildmen went underneath¹⁷ it, which I have seen, and I myselfe had the curiosity, but that quiver makes a man the surer. The watter runs over the heads with such impetuosity and violence that it's incredible. We went under this torrent a quarter of a mile, that falls from the toppe above fourty foot downwards.

"Having come to the lake of the Castors¹⁸ some went a hunting, some a fishing. This done, we went downe the river of the sorcerers,¹⁹ which brought us to the first great lake. What joy had we to see ourselves out of that river so dangerous, after we wrought two and twenty dayes²⁰ and as many nights, having not slept one hour on land all the while Our equipage and we weare ready to wander upon that sweet sea; but most of that coast²¹ is void of wild beasts, so there was great famine amongst us for want Afterwards we entered into a straight²² which had 10 leagues in length, full of islands, where we wanted not fish. We came after to a rapid that makes the separation of the lake of the hurrons, that we calle

Superior, or upper, for that the wildmen hold it to be longer and broader, besides a great many islands, which make appear in a bigger extent. This rapid was formerly the dwelling²³ of those with whom we were, and consequently we must not ask them if they knew where they have layed. We made cottages at our advantages, and found the truth of what those men had often said, that if once we could come to that place, we should make good cheare of a fish that they call Assickmack, which signifieth a white fish. The beare, the castors and the oriniack shewed themselves often, but to their cost; indeed it was to us like a terrestriall paradise But the season was far spent, and we used diligence and leave that place so wished, while we shall bewaile, to the coursed Iroquoits.²⁴ What hath that poore nation done to thee, and being so far from thy country? Yett if they had the same liberty that in former dayes they have had, we poore french should not goe further with our heads except we had a strong army. Those great lakes had not so soone come to our knowledge if it had not been for those brutish people; two men²⁵ had not found out the truth of these seas so cheape; the interest and the glorie could not doe what terror doth at the end The weather was agreable when we began to navigat upon that great extent of watter, finding it so calme and the aire so cleare. We thwarted in a pretty place, came to an isle most delightfull for the diversity of its fruits. We called it the isle of the foure beggars We went from thence to gaine the firme lande, which was 6 leagues from us There we found a small river. It was so curious that I inquired my dearest friends the name of this stream. They named me it *panabickkomesibs*, which signifieth a small river of copper. I asked him the reason. He told me, "Come, and I shall shew thee the reason why." I was in a place which was not 200 paces in the wood, where many pieces of copper wears uncovered. Further he told me that the mountains I saw was of nothing else. Seeing it so faire and pure, I had a mind to take a piece of it, but they hindered me, telling my brother there was more where we were to goe. In this great Lake of myne owne eyes have scene which are admirable, and can maintaine of a hundred pounds teem will not be decayed.

"From this place we went along the coasts, which are most delightfull and wonderous, for its nature that made it so pleasant to the eye, the spirit and the belly. As we went along we saw bankes of sand so high that one of our wildmen went up for curiositie, being there, did shew no more than a crow There comes many sorte of birds that makes their nest here, the goilants, which is a white sea-bird of the bignesse of pigeon, which makes me

believe what the wildmen told me concerning the sea to be neare directly to the point We came to a remarquable place. . . . It's like a great Portall,²⁶ by reason of the beating of the waves. The lower part of that opening is as big as a tower, and grows bigger in the going up. There is, I believe, 6 acres of land. Above it a shipp of 500 tuns could passe by, soe bigg is the arch. I gave it the name of the portall of St. Peter, because my name is so called, and that I was the first²⁷ Christian that ever saw it. There is in that place caves very deepe, caused by the same violence some dayes afterwards we arrived to a very beautifull point of sand where there are 3 beautifull islands²⁸ that we called of the Trinity, there be 3 in triangle. From this place we discovered a bay²⁹ very deepe, where a river empties itself with a noise for the quantitie and dept of the watter. We must stay there 3 dayes to waite for faire weather to make the Trainage,³⁰ which was about 6 leagues wide. Soe done, we came to the mouth of a small river, where we killed some Oriniacks Commers and goers by making that passage shortens their passage by 8 dayes by touring about that point that goes very farr in that great lake In the end of that point, that goeth very farre, there is an isle, as I was told, all of copper.³¹ This I have not seen. They say that from the isle of copper, which is a league in the lake when they are minded to thwart it in a faire and calme weather, beginning from sun rising to sun sett, they come to a great island,³² from whence they come the next morning to firme lande att the other side,³³ so by reason of 20 leagues a day that lake should be broad of 6 scores and 10 leagues. The wildmen doe not much lesse when the weather is faire. Five dayes after we came to a place where there was a company of Christinos that weare in their cottages We went on and came to a hollow river which was a quarter of a mile in bredth.³⁴ Many of our wildmen went to win the shortest way to their nation seaven boats stayed of the nation of the Sault. We went on half a day before we could come to the landing place, and weare forced to make another carriage a point³⁵ of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad. As we came to the other sid we weare in a bay³⁶ of 10 leagues about, if we had gone in. By goeing about that same point we passed a straight, for that point was very high the other side, which is a cape very much elevated like pyramides. That point should be very fitt to build and advantageous for the building of a fort, as we did³⁷ the spring following The wildmen gave thanks to that which they worship, we to God of Gods, to see ourselves in a place where we must leave our navigation The men told us that wee had 5 great

dayes, journeys before we should arrive where their wives weare . . .
 My brother and I we consulted what was best to doe, and declared our
 will to them, which was thus: 'Brethren, we resolve to stay here,
 being not accustomed to make any carriage on our backs as yee are
 wont. Goe yee and look for your wives. We will build us a fort here.
 And seeing that you are not able to carry all your merchandizes att
 once, we will keepe them for you, and will stay for you 14 dayes . . .'
 The next day they went their way . . . We went about to make
 a fort of stakes.³⁸ We made an ende of that fort in 2 dayes' time . . .
 The 12th day we perceived afarr off some 50 yong men coming towards
 us, with some of our former compaigns . . . They offered to
 carry our baggage, being come a purpose; but we had not so much
 marchandizes as when they went from us, because we hid some of
 them, that they might not have suspicion of us. We told them that
 for feare of the dayly multitude of people that came to see us, for to
 have our goods would kill us . . . There came above foure hundred
 persons to see us goe away from that place . . . We marched
 foure dayes³⁹ through the woods . . . Att last we came within
 a league of the Cabbans . . . neare a little lake some 8 leagues
 in circuit . . . We came to a cottage of an ancient witty man
 . . . of a nation called Malhonmines, that is, the nation of Oats,
 graine that is much in that countrey . . . The winter comes
 on . . . we must retire from the place to seeke our living in
 the woods . . . We appointed a rendez-vous after two months and
 a half . . . We killed several beasts as Oriniacks, staggs, etc.,
 in a word we lead a good life . . . We are come to the small
 lake, the place of rendez-vous . . . We stayed 14 dayes in this
 place most miserable . . . To augmente our misery, we received
 news of the Octauacks who weare about a hundred and fifty, with their
 families. They had a quarell with the hurrons in the Isle where we
 had come from some years ago before in the lake of the stairing hairs,
 and came purposely to make warres against them the next summer
 . . . Having no huntsmen, they are reduced to famine . . .
 They are the coursedest unblest, the unfamous and cowardiest people
 that I have seene amongst fower score nations that I have frequented
 . . . The 2 first weeke we did eate our doggs . . . The
 wood was our food the rest of the sorrowfull time. Finally we became
 the very image of death . . . Here are above 500 dead, men,
 women and children . . . There came 2 men from a strange
 countrey . . . Those men weare Nadouceronons. They weare
 much respected that nobody durst not offend them, being that we weare
 upon their land⁴⁰ with their leave . . . some 2 moons after

there came 8 ambassadors from the nation of Nadouceronnons, that we will call now the Nation of the beefe They weeped upon our heads untill we weare wetted by their tears We understood not a word of their language, being quite contrary to those that we weare with There was nothing but feasting for 8 dayes In 3 dayes' time there arrived eighteen severall nations As we became to the number of 500, we held a councill They made a large fort Soone 30 yong men of the nation of the beefe arrived, having nothing but bows and arrows, with very short garments, to be the nimble in chasing the stagges The Elders of their village weare to come the morrow to renew the friendship and to make it with the ffrrench The day following they arrived with an incredible pomp. This made me thinke of the Intrace that the Polanders did in Paris, saving that they had not so many Jewells, but instead of them, they had so many feathers We are called to the councill Our Interpreter tell them that the Christinos weare our brethren . . . that if they would continue the warres (against the Christinos) that was not the meanes to see us againe in their Country A company of about 50 weare dispatched to warne the Christinos of what we had done. I went myselfe, where⁴² we arrived the 3rd day. I was received with great demonstration of ffrriendshippe. All that day we feasted, danced and sing There weare about 600 men The snow blinded me The meane while that we are there, arrived above a thousand that had not ben there but for those two redoubted nations that weare to see them doe what they never before had, a difference which was executed with a great deale of mirth There weare playes, mirths, and bataills for sport each plaid his part. In the publick place the women danced with melody This feast ended, every one retourns to his countrey well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of the beefe, which was seaven small Journeys⁴² from that place. We promised in like maner to the Christinos the next spring we should come to their side of the upper lake⁴³ and there they should meete us, to come into their countrey. We being arrived amongst that nation of the beefe, we wondred to finde ourselves in a towne⁴⁴ where weare great cabbans mostly covered with skins and other close matts. They tould us they weare 7,000 men.⁴⁵ This we believed. Those have as many wives as they can keepe. If any one did trespass upon the other, his nose was cutt off, and other the crowne of his head. The maidens have all maner of freedom, but are forced to mary when they come to the age. The more they beare children the more they are

respected. I have seen a man having 14 wives. There they have no wood, and make provision of mosse for their firing. This their place is environed with pearches which are a good distance one from another, that they gett in the valleys where the Buffe used to reparaire, upon which they do live. They sow corne, but their harvest is small. The soyle is good, but the cold hinders it, and the graine very small. In their countrey are mines of copper, of pewter and of ledd.⁴⁶ There are mountains covered with a kind of Stone that is transparent and tender, and like that of Venice. The people stay not there all the yeare; they retire in winter towards the woods of the north, where they kill a quantity of Castors, and I say that there are not so good in the whole world, but not in such a store as the Christinos, but far better.

"We stayed there 6 weeks, and came back with a company of people of the nation of the Sault, that came along with us loaden with booty. We weare 12 dayes before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The spring approaches, which is the fittest time to kill the Oriniack. A wildman and I with my brother killed that time above 600, besides other wild beasts. We came to the lake side with much paines, ffor we sent our wildmen before, and we two weare forced to make cariages 5 dayes through the woods. After we mett with a company that did us a great deale of service, ffor they carryed what we had, and arrived att the appointed place⁴⁷ before 3 dayes ended. Here we made a fort.⁴⁸ Att our arrivall we found att least 20 cottages full.

"One very faire evening we went to finde what we hide before, which we finde in a good condition. We went about to execute our resolution, fforseeing that we must staye that yeare⁴⁹ there, ffor which we weare not very sorry, being resolved to know what we heard before. We waited untill the Ice should vanish, but received news that the Octaouacks built a fort on the point that formes that Bay, which resembles a small lake We resolved to cover our bussinesse better, and close our designe as if we weare going a hunting We thwarted a place of 15 leagues. We arrived on the other side⁵⁰ att night We are received with much Joy by those poore Christinos We went away with all haste possible to arrive the sooner att the great river.⁵¹ We came to the seaside⁵² where we finde and old howse all demolished and battered with bouullets They tell us particularities of the Europeans We went from Isle to Isle all that summer We weare well beloved, and weare overjoyed that we promised them to come⁵³ with such shippes as we invented. This place hath a great store of cows. The wildmen kill them not except for necessary use. We went further in the bay

to see the place that they weare to passe that summer. The river comes⁵⁴ from the lake and empties itselfe in the river of Sagnes, called Tadoussack, which is a hundred leagues in the grand rive of Canada, as where we weare in the Bay of the north.⁵⁵ We left in this place our marks and rendez-vous They made us a mapp of what we could not see We passed that summer quietly, coasting the seaside, and as the cold began, we prevented the Ice This is a wandring nation,⁵⁶ and containeth a vaste countrey. In winter they live in the land for the hunting sake and in summer by the watter for fishing.⁵⁷ They never are many together, ffor feare of wronging one another. They are of a good nature There is a nation called among themselves neuter. They speake the beefe and Christinos speech, being friends to both We went up on another river⁵⁸ to the upper lake. The nation of the beefe sent us giufts, and we to them by ambassadors.⁵⁹ In the middle of winter⁶⁰ we joyned with a Company of the fort,⁶¹ who gladly received us. They weare resolved to goe to the ffrench the next spring, because they weare quite out of stocke They blamed us, saying we should not trust any that we did not know.⁶² They upon this asked if we are where the trumpets are blowne. We said yea, and tould that they weare a nation not to be trusted, and if we came to that sea we should warre against them, because they weare bad nation, and did their indeavour to tak us to make us their slaves.

"In the beginning of the Spring, there came a company of men that came to see us from the elders⁶³ and brought us furs to intice us to see them again By our ambassadors I cam to know an other lake⁶⁴ which is northerly of their countrey. They say that it's bigger than all the rest. The upper end is always frozen

"All the circumjacent neighbours do incourage us, saying that they would venture their lives with us, for which we weare much overjoyed to see them so freely disposed to goe along with us The boats ready, we embarque ourselves. We weare 700. There was not scene such a company to goe downe to the ffrench. There weare above 400 Christinos boats that brought us their castors, in hope that the people should give some marchandises for them The company that we had filled about 360 boats. There weare boats that caryed seven men, and the least two In two days we arrived att the River of the sturgeon There we weare to make our provisions to passe the lake some 14 days We goe from thence, but before we come to the Longpoint wherof we spoake before, the wildmen called it *okinotoname*, we perceiue smoake. We goe to

discover what it was, and by ill looke we found it was a Iroquoits boat of seaven men, who doubtlesse stayed that winter in the lake of the hurrans, and came there to discover somewhat. I cannot say that they weare the first that came there.⁶⁵ God graunt that they may be the last. As they saw us, away they, as swift as their heels could drive. They left their boat and all The councell was called, where it was decreed to go backe and shooke off to goe downe to the ffrench till the next year. This vexed us sore to see such a flecte and such an opportunity come to nothing, foreseeing that such an other may be not in tenne years We went back to the river of the sturgeons We dayly heare some newe reporte. All Avery where enemy by fancy Twelve dayes are passed, in which time we gained some hopes of faire words. We called a counce:l The next day we embarqued, saving the Christinos, that weare afraid of a fight Being come nigh the Sault, we found a place where 2 of these men sweated We now are comed to the cariages and swift streames to gett the lake of the Castors We goe downe all the great river without any encounter, till we came to the long Sault, where my brother some years before made a shipwracke. Being in that place we had worke enough. The first thing wee saw was severall boats that the Ennemy had left att the riverside. This putt great feare in the hearts of our people. Nor they nor we could tell what to doe, and seeing no body appeared we sent to discover what they weare. The discovers calls us, and bids us come, that those who weare there could doe us no harme. You must know that 17 ffrench made a plott⁶⁶ Tis was a terrible spectacle to us, for wee came there 8 dayes after that defeat, which saved us without a doubt We went downe the river We stayed 3 dayes att mont-Royall, and then we went downe to the three Rivers. The wildmen did aske our advice whether it was best for them to goe down further. We told them no, because of the dangers that they may meet with at their return, for the Iroquoits could have notice of their coming down, and so come and lay in ambush for them, and it was in the latter season, being about the end of August. Well, as soon as their bussinesse was done, they went back again very well satisfied. . . . The Governor⁶⁷ seeing us come back with a considerable summe for our owne particular, and seeing that his time was expired, and that he was to goe away, made use of that excuse to doe us wrong and to enrich himselfe with the goods that wee had so dearily bought and by our meanes wee made the countrey to subsist He made also my brother prisoner for not having observed his orders, and to be gone without his leave He finds foure thousand

pounds⁶⁸ to make a Fort at the three Rivers . . . and moreover 6,000 pounds for the country . . . and more, made us pay a custome which was the 4th part, which came to 14,000 pounds, so that wee had left but 46,000 pounds, and took away £24,000⁶⁹ . . . We had brought by that voyage, as the Factors of the said country said, between 40 and 50,000 pistolls⁷⁰ . . . Seeing ourselves so wronged, my brother did resolve to goe and demand Justice in France. It had been better for him to have been contented with his losses without going and spend the rest in halfe a year's time in France, having £10,000 that he left with his wife, that was as good a Housewife as he. There he is in France; he is paid with fair words and with promise to make him goe back from whence he came; but he seeing no assurance of it, did engage himselfe with a merchant of Rochell."

Whatever may be said of the whereabouts of Chouart and Radisson during the summer of 1662, whether they went to James Bay or to Lake Winnipeg, is open to discussion, although I believe they visited James Bay.

We have also to grapple with the puzzle contained in the few lines by Father Jérôme Lalemant of the 3rd May, 1662 (note 51), showing what looks like a positive *alibi*. This will have to be explained, like so many other historical contradictions caused by interpolation or accidental misplacement of an entry in a journal similar to that of the Jesuit Fathers. We must leave it for the present to the consideration of students of the history of Canada.

FOOT-NOTES

* Madelaine Hainault, married: first, Sébastien Hayet, of St. Malo; their daughter, Marguerite, married Chouart; second, Pierre-Esprit Radisson, of Paris, by whom she had: Pierre-Esprit, Françoise, married to Volant, and Elizabeth, married to Jutras.

¹ On the 7th June, 1661, at Three Rivers, Father Claude Jean Allouez, christened Antoinette, daughter of "Medard Chouart and Marguerite Ayet." It may be noted here that Marguerite is always designated under the name of Ayet or Hayet in the records of the time, whilst Françoise and Elizabeth are constantly called Radisson. Their mother had married twice. Marguerite was the elder of the two other sisters and also of Pierre-Esprit Radisson.

² The Outaouas, for five or six years were in the habit of buying the furs from the Christians at Lake Superior and selling them afterwards to the French of Three Rivers and Quebec.

³ An expedition composed of Fathers Dablon and Dreullette, with eighty Indian canoes left Tadoussac on the 1st and 2nd of June, 1661 "for the Kiristinos," says the *Journal des Jésuites*. They were accompanied by Michel Le Neuf de la Vallière, Denis Guyon, Guillaume Couture, François Pelletier, Couillard Després, with instructions from d'Argenson "to reach the North Sea." A few days later the Iroquois killed several persons at Tadoussac, and one of their bands roving through the St. Maurice and the Upper Saguenay, struck a camp of Attikamegues and Frenchmen at Lake Necouba destroying them to the last man. The Dablon party was then near Lake Necouba, but they dared not push further, and returned to Tadoussac.

⁴ Jacques le Neuf de la Poterie was Governor of Three Rivers. His son, Michel, born at that place, October 31st, 1640, had just come back from France and he already bore the surname of la Vallière, by which historians know him as Captain of Frontenac's guard and Governor of Acadia.

⁵ The law was that twenty-five percent of the furs brought to the market belonged to the administration of the colony. Besides this duty, the Governor wanted to take half of the profits of the trip for the two men appointed by him. This exaction did not meet with the approval of Chouart and Radisson.

⁶ Now River St. Maurice, a name adopted sometime about the year 1720.

⁷ François Larivière was the third one. He lost himself in the woods at Lake Two Mountains and was found starving by some Frenchmen hunting in the neighborhood. The Governor of Three Rivers imprisoned him for desertion, but the people of the place managed to obtain his discharge.

⁸ Rivière des Prairies. It is the arm of the Ottawa which passes between Montreal and Jesus Island. In those days the whole of the River Ottawa was called des Prairies.

⁹ The two branches of the Ottawa encircling the Island of Jesus afford two entrances into the Ottawa which was then considered as the continuation of the St. Lawrence or River of Canada.

¹⁰ Probably in Lake Two Mountains.

¹¹ Another name of the Ottawa.

¹² Lake Superior.

¹³ Foot of Long Sault where Dollard and his companions had perished the year before.

¹⁴ The seven boats just mentioned.

¹⁵ In one of the various portages of Long Sault, possibly at Chute à Blondeau.

¹⁶ Near Grenville it seems.

¹⁷ Rideau Falls, within the limits of the City of Ottawa. Champlain (1613) speaks of these "curtains" pretty much in the same terms as Radisson.

¹⁸ Nipissing.

¹⁹ French River.

²⁰ This was about September 1st.

²¹ North coast of Georgian Bay.

²² Sault Ste. Marie River.

²³ After their dispersion from Manitoulin Island in 1650, a large band of Outaouas had resided at Klonconan, south of Lake Superior.

²⁴ In 1662 the Iroquois appeared in arms both at Green Bay and Sault Ste. Marie.

²⁵ Can this be an allusion to the two men sent towards Green Bay by Governor de Lauzon in 1654?

²⁶ The Portal crumbled down five or six years ago.

²⁷ We must take note that in the autumn of 1659 Radisson and Chouart had passed by the same place, without mentioning the Great Portal, but they may have known of its existence. Other *coureurs de bois*, such as Trotter and his men, were there also in 1660. Nicolas Perrot keeps silent about this, and, indeed, never takes any interest in the natural beauties of the country he travels through. We must not forget to point out that Perrot, Radisson, LaSalle, Hennepin and Duluth ignore systematically the names and the doings of each other and also leave in the dark the bushrangers who preceded them in the West.

²⁸ Called Huron Island, at the entrance of Keweena Bay.

²⁹ East side of the Grand Point of Keweena. This point projects towards the north to a full third of the breadth of Lake Superior.

³⁰ Portage across Keweena Point. The island opposite is called Portage Island.

³¹ Pierre Boucher, writing from Three Rivers, in the autumn of 1663, after the return of Radisson, says:—

"In Lake Superior there is a large island of about fifty leagues in circumference, on which there is a very rich bed of copper ore. Large lumps of pure copper are to be found there in several places. There are other places in that neighbourhood where there are similar beds, as I have learned from four or five Frenchmen, lately returned from there, who had gone thither in company with a Jesuit Father (René Menard left Three Rivers in August, 1660), sent there on a mission, who has since died. (South of Lake Superior, August, 1661). They passed three years there before they could find an opportunity to get away; they told me that they had seen a nugget of pure copper, on the side of the hill, that would weigh more than eight hundred pounds, according to their estimate. They say that the Indians when they pass that way make fires on the top of it and then hew pieces out of it with their axes, and that one of themselves broke his axe in the act of trying to do the same. It would not be difficult to get

there if we were masters of the Iroquois and could go through their great lake."

³¹ Called by the French Ile Royale.

³² Pigeon Bay on the northwest coast of Lake Superior.

³³ Montreal River now. It is only thirty miles long. From there a trail leads to the sources of the Chippewa. Montreal River springs at eight hundred feet above Lake Superior and forms the limit between the States of Wisconsin and Michigan, then falls into Chegowanegan Bay, 112 miles from Fond-du-Lac.

³⁴ Oak Point in the County of Ashland.

³⁵ Chagouamigon Bay.

³⁶ So they did, as we shall see afterwards. It was on Oak Point, looking on Chagouamigon Bay.

³⁷ Near the towns of Ashland and Washburn, in the State of Wisconsin.

³⁸ To Namakagon Lake. Somewhere in the vicinity of Lake Courte Oreille.

³⁹ From the time of the arrival of the French and until 1700, if not later, the territory which the Sioux considered as their own property embraced not only the sources of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, but all the Wisconsin to Escanaba on the east, and Madison on the south.

⁴⁰ Chouart and Radisson spent the winter of 1661-2 in the neighbourhood of the Chippewa River and Lake Courte Oreille. In the early spring they went to meet the Christinos, probably near the City of Duluth or some other spot at Fond-du-Lac.

⁴¹ From the present City of Duluth to Lake Mille Lacs.

⁴² The whole country north of Lake Superior was the home of the Christinos.

⁴³ Kathio, southwest of Lake Mille Lacs. Duluth, who saw the people of this place in 1679, calls them Isanti, which means those who first obtained iron implements or tools from the French. Hennepin was a prisoner there in 1680.

⁴⁴ This was at the end of the winter. During the summer the town became nearly empty because the hunters went to the south.

⁴⁵ Pierre Boucher adds in the report above quoted:—

"They informed me also that beautiful blue stones, believed to be turquoises, are also to be found there. Green stones like emeralds are found there also. There are diamonds there also, but I do not know if they are pure ones or not. They were not able to go to the place where these stones are because the Indians were not willing to guide them to it without being paid for doing so, seeing that it was pretty far off, and they being poor, did not dare to risk the expense, not being sufficiently well informed on the subject to be able to judge whether the stones were valuable or not. Red stones of two shades of colour are found there also, some being scarlet and others of the colour of the blood of an ox; the Indians make calumets or pipes of them, for smoking tobacco, which they think a great deal of."

⁴⁶ Ashland.

⁴⁷ On Oak Point. Their fort was on that site, as already stated. The *courcours de bois* adopted the rather pompous expression of "fort" when

referring to any of their temporary camps or places of rest. There was nothing military in it.

⁴⁹ Here they found themselves at the beginning of May, 1662, in the Bay of Chagouamigon, quite prepared to explore Hudson Bay or James Bay and to return to Canada the next year, which plan they carried out exactly.

⁵⁰ Pigeon River, also called Grand Portage and Rivière des Grosseillers. It is the limit between Canada and the United States.

⁵¹ Moose River? It was in the early part of June, 1662. Here the reader will meet with an unexpected document which must not be omitted by any means. Father Jérôme Lalement writes the following entry in the *Journal des Jésuites*:

"I left Quebec on May 3rd, 1662, for Three Rivers. I came across des Grosseillers, who was going to the North Sea. He passed during the night before, Quebec, with ten men, and, having arrived at Cap Tourmente, he wrote to the Governor."

If the date of this note is correct, the voyage of Radisson may be open to doubt.

⁵² Father Louis Hennepin, in his edition of 1698, page 290, states that:—

"The Great Bay of the North was discovered by Mr. Desgroselliers Rochechouart (sic) with whom I often travelled in canoe when I was in Canada."

⁵³ During his exploration of Lake Pepin and Upper Mississippi, part of the summer of 1659, also during his residence amongst the Sioux, in the winter of 1659-60, Radisson was looking solely for the grounds where the best beaver skins could be obtained. (Royal Society, 1903, Section I, pp. 32, 35, 37, 41). This time the two men had found what they wanted, and soon decided to abandon the route of Lake Superior and go to James Bay in the future, either by ascending the Saguenay or sailing to Hudson Bay from the Atlantic Ocean. This is what they told the Indians of James Bay and Chagouamigon in plain terms.

⁵⁴ River Assuapmouchan? This remark is from Dr. N. E. Dionne (Royal Society, 1893, Section I, p. 132). Radisson was not far from the source of that river, which is a prolongation of the Saguenay.

⁵⁵ Radisson and Chouart already knew that the Indians who used to visit annually the north shore of Lake Superior, visited just as frequently the Great Bay of the North. Noël Jérémie, alias Lamontagne, says positively, that Chouart "being in the country of the Outaouas (Lake Superior) advanced so far from there that he acquired a knowledge of Hudson Bay," which we may take also for James Bay.

⁵⁶ They were called Gens des Terres (Island people) and Christinos or Cristinos and Killistinons.

"On the 5th of July, 1664," says the *Journal des Jésuites*, "we got news that 220 Sauvages des terres had arrived at Montreal with plenty of rich skins; amongst them were eighty Kristinons. They asked for a missionary."

⁵⁷ At Moose Factory the temperature is such that celery, carrots, pumpkins, peas, cauliflowers, lettuce, etc., are growing easily and well.

⁵⁸ I assume that they had left Lake Superior at Michipicoten (the Big Mushroom) to follow Moose River, which allowed them to reach James Bay. Coming back they ascended Albany River, passed to the Kenogami, Lake Long, Black River, then to Lake Superior or Upper Lake.

²⁸ It is evident that they did not pay a second visit to the Beef Sioux in their country. Radisson mentions the Assiniboines, but does not pretend to have seen them; consequently they did not go up Pigeon River nor the Kaministiquia (Rivière Errante).

²⁹ Winter of 1662-3, after returning from James Bay.

³⁰ Ashland, Oak Point.

³¹ As usual the Indians of Chagouamigon wished to keep the trade themselves. They were afraid that the Christinos would become direct customers of the French. It is to be observed that Chouart and Radisson were sharp and positive in their answers to them, and this is because they knew that these people were apt to become insolent if treated mildly. Such was also the doctrine of Nicholas Perrot.

³² The Elders of the Beef Sioux.

³³ Winnipeg?

³⁴ The year before some 100 Iroquois had been destroyed by the Sauteurs on Lake Superior, the southeast shore.

³⁵ This passage is not in the proper place. (See Royal Society, 1903, Section 1, p. 39-40).

³⁶ Avaugour, who had succeeded Argenson, was replaced by Méay, 15th September, 1663. Pierre Boucher was Governor of Three Rivers.

³⁷ Most likely "quatre mille livres," four thousand francs, equivalent to £160.

³⁸ Therefore the furs of our own two men amounted to 70,000 francs, on which sum 24,000 francs went to the administration of the colony, according to law. Money in those days represented five times more value than at present. Convert the franc of twenty sous each into one dollar to have a fair calculation.

³⁹ One pistol was worth ten francs then.

