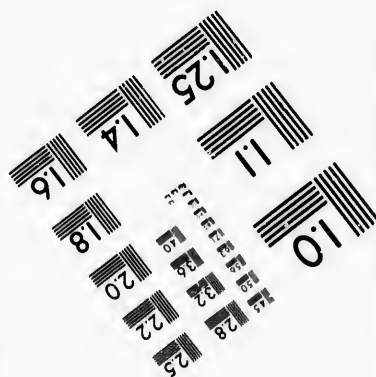
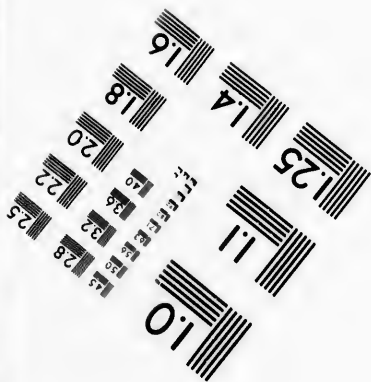
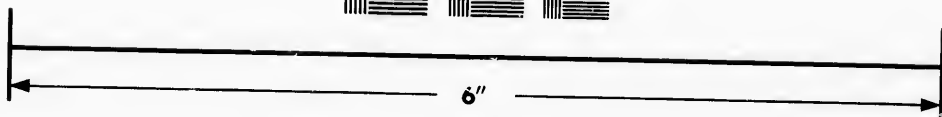
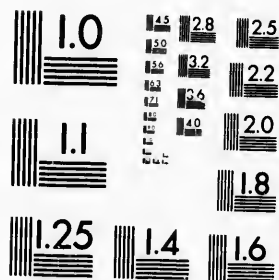


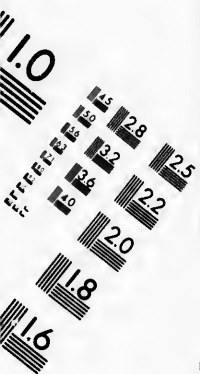
**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

Can



**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1983



Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages detached/
Pages détachées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Showthrough/
Transparence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents | <input type="checkbox"/> Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion
along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la
distortion le long de la marge intérieure | <input type="checkbox"/> Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blank leaves added during restoration may
appear within the text. Whenever possible, these
have been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,
mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont
pas été filmées. | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to
ensure the best possible image/
Les pages totalement ou partiellement
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à
obtenir la meilleure image possible. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Additional comments:/
Commentaires supplémentaires: | |

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
						✓					

The co
to the

The im
possib
of the
filming

Origina
beginn
the las
sion, o
other o
first pa
sion, a
or illus

The las
shall c
TINUED
whiche

Maps,
differen
entirely
beginn
right an
require
methoo

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

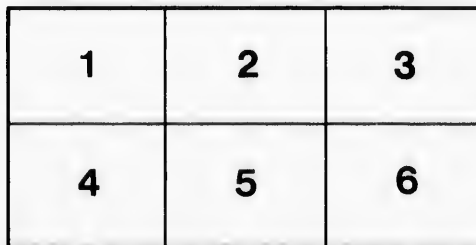
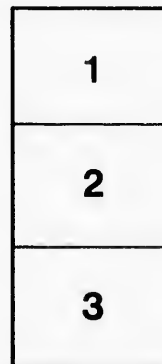
Saint John Regional Library

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

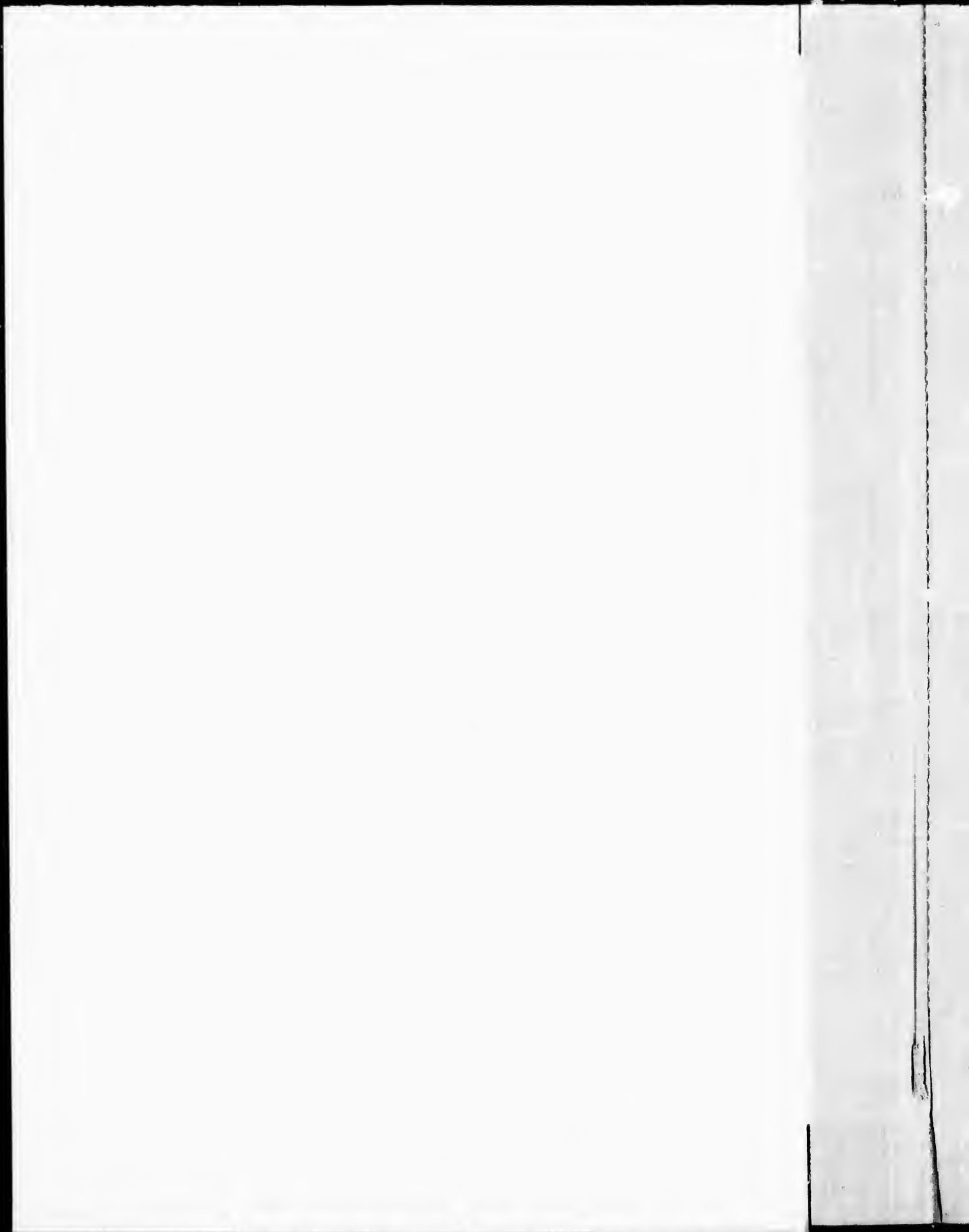
Saint John Regional Library

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE

ONONDAGOES

IN

1615.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY
SAINT JOHN. N. B.

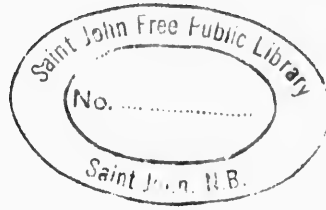
Reference Book

R.A.

971.03

Mar

Acc. no. 27465



EXPEDITION
OF THE
SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN
AGAINST THE
ONONDAGOS IN
1615,

COMPRISING AN INQUIRY INTO THE ROUTE OF THE EXPEDITION, AND THE
LOCATION OF THE IROQUOIS FORT WHICH IT BESIEGED.

COMMUNICATED TO THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER, 1875.

BY

ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL,
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

NEW YORK:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1876.

2115

CE

In the
Lake I
were ca
dots," a
their ba
date.

In the
French
rence i
the rive
Francis
only.

These
tive spl
the wes
mission

The
Ottawa
the con
suaded
were pr

The
town of
Matche

Cross
short p

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION

AGAINST THE ONONDAGOES.

In the year 1615, there dwelt on the south-eastern shore of Lake Huron, near the Georgian bay, a nation of Indians who were called in their own language, "Wendats" or "Wyandots," and by the French "Hurons." There is no record of their having been visited by the white man prior to the above date.

In the same year, the Sieur de Champlain, the Father of French Colonization in America, who had entered the St. Lawrence in 1603 and founded Quebec five years later, ascended the river Ottawa as far as the Huron country, Le Caron, the Franciscan missionary, having preceded him by a few days only.

These adventurous pioneers were seeking, in their respective spheres, and by concurrent enterprises, the one to explore the western portions of New France, and the other to establish missions among the North American Indians.

The Hurons, and their Algonkin allies who dwelt on the Ottawa, being at that time engaged in a sanguinary war with the confederated Iroquois tribes south of Lake Ontario, persuaded Champlain to join them in an expedition which they were projecting into the territories of their enemy.

The combined forces set out from Ca-i-ha-gué, the chief town of the Hurons, situated between the river Severn and Matchedash bay, on the first day of September, 1615.¹

Crossing Lake Simcoe in their bark canoes, they made a short portage to the head waters of the river Trent, and de-

¹ Champlain's Voyages. Edition of 1632, p. 251.

scended its zigzag channel into Lake Ontario. Passing from island to island in the group which lies in the eastern extremity of that lake, they safely reached its southern shore, and landed in the present State of New York. Concealing their canoes in the adjacent woods, they started overland for their Iroquois enemies.

In an account of this expedition, read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, and published in its Proceedings for that year,¹ I endeavored to establish the precise point where the invaders landed, the route which they pursued, and the position of the Iroquois fort which they besieged. The fact that Champlain had, at that early day, visited the central part of the State of New York, seemed to have been overlooked by all previous writers, and was deemed to be an interesting topic for historical inquiry.

Taking for my guide the edition of Champlain's works published in 1632, the only one then accessible,² I became satisfied, on a careful study of the text alone, the map being lost, that the expedition landed at or near Traverse, now called "Stony Point," in Jefferson county, and from thence proceeded in a southerly direction, and after crossing the Big and Little Sandy creeks and Salmon and Oneida rivers, reached the Iroquois fort on Onondaga Lake.

I fully stated these conclusions in the communication above referred to, and they were approved and adopted by several of our American historians.³

Other writers, however, of equal note and authority, deem the location of the fort to have been as far west as Canandaigua Lake.⁴

In view of these considerations, I have been led to recon-

¹ Proceedings of the New York Historical Society for 1849, p. 96.

² The first account of the expedition was published in 1619. It differs in no essential particular from that of 1632.

³ Brodhead's History of New York, Vol. I., p. 69; Clark's History of Onondaga, Vol. I., p. 253; Shen's edition of Charlevoix's New France, Vol. II., p. 28, note.

⁴ O'Callaghan's *Doe*, Hist. of New York, Vol. III., p. 10, note; Ferland's *Cours D'Histoire du Canada*, p. 175; Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*, p. 373; Laverdière's *Works of Champlain*, p. 528, note.

sider the subject, aided by additional sources of information, particularly by the Abbé Laverdière's recently published splendid edition of all of Champlain's works.

My present purpose is to state, briefly, the result of that re-examination, and the grounds upon which I adhere to my former conclusions.

I will first, for convenient reference, give a literal translation of that part of Champlain's narrative which relates to the question. It is taken from the edition of 1620, which differs in a few unimportant particulars only from the subsequent one of 1632.

After describing the voyage until their embarkation near the Eastern end of Lake Ontario, a synopsis of which has already been given, our historian says:—¹

“ We made about fourteen leagues in crossing to the other side
“ of the Lake, in a southerly direction, towards the territories
“ of the enemy. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the
“ woods near the shore. We made by land about four leagues,
“ over a sandy beach, where I noticed a very agreeable and
“ beautiful country, traversed by many small streams and two
“ small rivers which empty into the said Lake. Also many
“ ponds and meadows, abounding in an infinite variety of game,
“ numerous vines, and fine woods, a great number of chestnut
“ trees, the fruit of which was yet in its covering. Although
“ very small, it was of good flavor.”

“ All the canoes being thus concealed, we left the shore of the
“ Lake, which is about eighty leagues long and twenty-five wide,
“ the greater part of it being inhabited by Indians along its
“ banks, and continued our way by land about 25 or 30 leagues.”

“ During four days we crossed numerous streams and a river
“ issuing from a Lake which empties into that of the *Entouhou-*
“ *rons*. This Lake, which is about 25 or 30 leagues in circum-
“ ference, contains several beautiful islands, and is the place
“ where our Iroquois enemies catch their fish, which are there
“ in great abundance.”

“ On the 9th of October, our people being on a scout, en-
“ countered eleven Indians whom they took prisoners, namely,

¹ Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

“ four women, three boys, a girl and three men, who were
 “ going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemies’
 “ fort.”

* * * * *

“ Their village was enclosed with four strong rows of inter-
 “ laced palisades, composed of large pieces of wood, thirty feet
 “ high, not more than half a foot apart and near an unfailing
 “ body of water.”

* * * * *

“ We were encamped until the 16th of the month.”

* * * * *

“ As the 500 men did not arrive,¹ the Indians decided to
 “ leave by an immediate retreat, and began to make baskets in
 “ which to carry the wounded, who were placed in them doubled
 “ in a heap, and so bent and tied as to render it impossible for
 “ them to stir, any more than an infant in its swaddling clothes,
 “ and not without great suffering, as I can testify, having
 “ been carried several days on the back of one of our Indians,
 “ thus tied and imprisoned, which made me lose all patience.
 “ As soon as I had strength to sustain myself, I escaped from
 “ this prison, or to speak plainly, from this hell.”

“ The enemy pursued us about half a league, in order to
 “ capture some of our rear guard, but their efforts were useless
 “ and they withdrew.”

* * * * *

“ The retreat was very tedious, being from 25 to 30 leagues,
 “ and greatly fatigued the wounded, and those who carried
 “ them, though they changed from time to time. On the 18th
 “ considerable snow fell which lasted but a short time. It
 “ was accompanied with a violent wind, which greatly incom-
 “ moded us. Nevertheless we made such progress, that we
 “ reached the banks of the Lake of the *Entouhourons*, at the
 “ place where we had concealed our canoes, and which were
 “ found all whole. We were apprehensive that the enemy had
 “ broken them up.”²

¹ A reinforcement they were expecting from the Carantouanais, who lived on the sources of the Susquehanna.

² Champlain's Voyages, Ed. 1632, Part I., pp. 254-263. Laverdier's Reprint of the Narrative of 1619, pp. 38-48.

I will now proceed to examine the reasons which have been assigned in favor of locating the Iroquois fort on or near Canandaigua Lake.

They are threefold, and founded on the following assumptions:

First. That the *Entouhorons*, whose territory was invaded, were the *Senecas*, who then resided on and west of that lake.

Second. That the route, as laid down on the map of Champlain, annexed to the edition of his works published in 1632, indicates that the fort was on a tributary of the Genesee river, and consequently in the *Seneca* country.

Third. That the distances traveled by the expedition, as stated by Champlain, prove that the extreme point reached must have been in the *Seneca* country.

I will notice these propositions in their order.

First. In regard to the identity of the *Entouhorons* with the *Senecas*. One of the arguments urged in favor of this identity, is based on the similarity of the names, the *Senecas* being called "*Sonantocrrhonons*" by the Hurons. But they call the Onondagas "*Onontocrrhonons*," a name which bears quite as strong a resemblance to *Entouhorons* as the one they applied to the *Senecas*.

It may be stated here that O'Callaghan, Parkman, Ferland, and Laverdière, each call the tribe in question "*Entouhoronons*," whereas Champlain, in all the editions of his works, refers to them invariably as "*Entouhorons*." He never calls them "*Entouhoronons*" in his *text*. On the *map* annexed to the edition of 1632, they are named "*Antouhoronons*," but in the *index* to the map, "*Antouhoronons*."¹ It must therefore have been from the map, and not from the text, that the word "*Antouhoronons*" was derived. The other name, as uniformly given by Champlain in his text, we must assume to be correct, in preference to the solitary entry on the map.

It is supposed by some that the edition of 1632, which contains the map, was not the work of Champlain, and never

¹ Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. II., p. 1392.

passed under his personal supervision. It is asserted that it was compiled by his publisher, Claude Collet,¹ to whose carelessness the error in the name, as contained on the map, may be attributed.

There was no map annexed to the edition of 1620, and the one in question was not constructed until the edition of 1632 was published, seventeen years after the date of the Expedition, as appears from a memorandum made on its face. It may not have been compiled from authentic data. One of the discrepancies between it and the text is its location of the "*Autourouois*," not at the Iroquois fort, but a long distance west of it, thus making a distinction between them, and the Iroquois who were living at the fort, that is wholly unwarranted by anything contained in the narrative of Champlain. It is also worthy of note, that the map is not once referred to by Champlain in his text. Not only was it constructed after all his narratives were written, but the index to it was evidently added by some other hand.

If it be assumed that the terminations "*ronois*" and "*norous*" are identical, and mere suffixes, signifying, in the Huron language, "people;" then if those terminations are dropped from each of the three words, they will respectively become "*sonontoe*," "*onontae*," and "*cutouho*," and represent the names of the *places* where those nations resided. Now it cannot be said that there is any stronger resemblance between *sonontoe* and *cutouho*, than between *onontae* and *cutouho*.

The identity of the *Eutohonorous* with the Senecas, rather than with the Onondagas, cannot therefore be established by any supposed similarity of name.

Another argument has been urged in favor of such identity, drawn from the existence of a nation, called by Champlain "*Chouintouarouïon*," which is undoubtedly a misprint for "*Chonontouarouïon*."² They are described as living between the

¹ HARRISSE. Bibliographie de la N. France, p. 66. See also Laverdière's Champlain, pp. 637-8.

² The letters "n" and "u" occur frequently in Indian names, and it is quite difficult to distinguish the one from the other in manuscript. Their being often mistaken for each other occasions numerous typographical errors.

Hurons of Canada, and the *Carantomanis* (or Andastes), on the Susquehanna.¹ Champlain says, that "in going from the one to the other, a grand detour is necessary, in order to avoid the *Chonontouaronon*, which is a very strong nation."² From the name and location, they can be no other than the Senecas.

The Abbé Laverdière assumes that the *Chonontouaronons* are identical with the *Autouhonorons*.³ This cannot be true, for Champlain mentions them both in almost the same sentence, and gives to each their respective names, without a hint of their identity.⁴ Indeed Laverdière, in support of his theory, is obliged to interpolate a word in the text of Champlain, which is entirely superfluous.⁵

Second. The next in order for consideration, is the route pursued by the expedition, and the locality of the Iroquois fort, as they are delineated on Champlain's map.

A slight examination of the annexed *fac-simile* of that portion of the original map, which relates to this expedition, will show such map to be wholly unreliable as a guide in any investigation of Champlain's route. It is incorrect in most of its details. Although it exhibits the general outlines of Lakes Ontario and Huron, Lake Erie is almost entirely ignored, an irregular strait, bearing little resemblance to it being substituted. Lake Ontario is represented as containing several islands scattered along its northern and southern shore, and the Niagara river as running due east into its westernmost extremity. The Great Falls are located at the very mouth of the river. Everything is distorted, and in some places scarcely recognizable.

The supposed route of Champlain is attempted to be indicated by a *dotted line*, which, crossing Lake Ontario along a chain of imaginary islands, nearly opposite the mouth of the Oswego river, strikes the southern shore at that point. All evidence that the expedition traversed the "sandy beach" west of Stony Point, as referred to in the text, and along which it

¹ Jesuit Relation for 1648. Quebec reprint. Pp. 46-48.

² Laverdière's Champlain, p. 522.

³ Laverdière's Champlain, p. 521, note 1.

⁴ Laverdière's Champlain, p. 909-910.

⁵ Laverdière's Champlain, p. 522, note 1.

undoubtedly passed, *is entirely omitted*. From the mouth of the Oswego the line pursues a southerly direction, crossing what appears to be the present Seneca river, and from thence continues southerly, across another stream, and between two lakes, directly to the Iroquois fort. This route, as thus shown by the *map*, is highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and cannot possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain.¹

If the expedition had gone as far west as Canandaigua lake, Champlain would have passed near to, and have become acquainted with, the existence of no less than eight of those remarkable inland sheets of water which form so conspicuous a feature in the scenery of central New York, not to mention three others a little further west. Only five lakes are indicated on the map, and none are mentioned in the narrative, except Oneida Lake and the one on which the fort was situated.

It is not surprising that the adventurous Frenchman was bewildered in the vast forests, among the numerous streams, extensive ponds and morasses, which he encountered on his way, and that he failed to give a more intelligible description of the hostile country into which he had penetrated.

If he had passed near the lakes above referred to, they would certainly have been as worthy of description as the "sandy beach," "the beautiful wooded country," "the numerous streams," the Oneida "Lake and river," "the Small lake," on the banks of which he found the Iroquois fort, and the other interesting objects which he met on his route, and noted in his narrative.

Third. It is urged, as an additional argument against the location of the Iroquois fort in the Onondaga country, that the distance of "25 or 30 leagues," stated by Champlain to have been traveled by the invaders after they had landed, as well in

¹ In the *fac-simile* of Champlain's map, published by Tross, in Paris, the dotted line, where it should cross Lake Ontario, as shown by the original map, is omitted. The same portion of the line is also wanting in the *fac-simile* published by Dr. O'Callaghan, in Vol. III. of the Documentary History of New York, and by Laverdière, in his recent edition of Champlain's works. The islands in the eastern end of Lake Ontario, as represented on the original map, are also entirely omitted on Dr. O'Callaghan's *fac-simile*.

going to as in returning from the fort, indicates that they must have gone as far west as Canandaigua Lake.

It has been said that in stating this distance Champlain intended to exclude the "four leagues" which he says they traveled over "a sandy beach," immediately after they had concealed their canoes, thus making from 29 to 34 leagues in all. But this cannot be a fair construction of his language. He says, "We made about fourteen leagues in crossing the lake in a southerly direction. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We traveled by land some four leagues over a sandy beach."¹

A little further on he says:

"All the canoes being concealed, we proceeded by land about 25 or 30 leagues during four days." He thus includes the "four leagues" in the "25 or 30 leagues" travel, all of which, he states, was accomplished in "four days," after they left their canoes.

The above construction is verified by the further statement, that the same distance of "25 or 30 leagues" was traveled by the expedition on its *return* from the fort to the canoes, referring to the *whole* distance.

"The retreat," he says, "was very tedious, being from 25 to 30 leagues, and greatly fatigued the wounded and those who bore them, although they changed from time to time."

Yet this retreat must have been accomplished in *two days*, half the time it took to reach the fort from the landing, for he states they were encamped before the fort until the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th. Charlevoix says they did not stop on their retreat²—a physical impossibility, certainly—if they started from as far west as Canandaigua Lake. This assertion of Charlevoix is not warranted, however, by the narrative of Champlain.

In considering the question of *distance*, it must be borne in mind, that the attacking party was on foot, advancing cautiously towards a formidable enemy, in a hostile and unexplored

¹ Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

² Charlevoix' N. France, Vol. I., p. 241. Edition of 1744.

country, destitute of roads and abounding in dense forests, numerous rivers and miry swamps.

Under such circumstances, incumbered as they were with their implements of war and other effects, their progress must have been slow. The distances which are given by Champlain, being measured only by time, are consequently over-estimated. On their retreat, they had become more familiar with the country, and under the stimulus of an enemy in the rear, accomplished their return with much greater rapidity.

From Stony Point where they landed, to Onondaga Lake, following the beach of Lake Ontario, is fifty-three miles, by the *shortest possible line*, as measured on a reliable map. But it would have been impossible for such an expedition to pursue so direct a course, owing to the necessity of moving circumspectly, and of seeking the most convenient and practicable route through an unknown wilderness.

It would not be unreasonable to deduct at least one-third, from the number of leagues stated by Champlain, in order to arrive at the actual air line distance between the place where he landed and the Iroquois fort.¹

As an example of the over-estimates by Champlain himself,

¹ Champlain's distances are stated in "leagues." Several, differing in length, were used by the French, under that name.

Among them were the "lieue de poste" of $2\frac{1}{10}$ English miles--the "lieue moyenne" of $2\frac{7}{10}$ English miles, and the "lieue géographique" of $3\frac{3}{10}$ English miles.

It is important, in discussing this question, to determine the length of the one used by Champlain. Neither his narrative, nor his map of 1632, affords any light on the subject.

There is inscribed on a map dated in 1664, entitled,

"Le Canada fait par le Sr. de Champlain * * suivant les Mémoires de P. du Val," a scale of "*Lièues Françaises chacune de 2,500 pas géométriques.*" This was published 32 years after the 1632 edition of Champlain's voyages, and it is fair to presume that the length of the league, as given on the map, is identical with the one used by Champlain. As a geometrical pace is $1\frac{9}{10}$ French metres, or $3\frac{8}{10}$ English feet, it follows that Champlain's league must be $2\frac{5}{10}$ English miles, differing slightly from the length of the *lieue de poste* as above stated.

This conclusion would account for the discrepancy which has arisen from calling the old French league equivalent to three English miles.

reference may be had to the width of Lake Ontario, which he says is "twenty-five leagues," an excess of twenty miles.¹

He states the circumference of Oneida Lake at "twenty-five or thirty leagues," an excess of one-third. Numerous other over-estimates on his part might be cited.

It may be interesting, in this connection, to compare the distances over this same route, and between the same points, as furnished by two independent witnesses, the Jesuit Fathers, *Chammonot* and *Dablon*, who respectively traveled it in 1655 and 1656, and with every facility for ascertaining the truth.

The Jesuit narrative informs us that Father *Chammonot* left Montreal on the 7th day of October, 1655, for the Onondaga Country, and reached "*Ottawatungé*" (the mouth of Salmon river) by canoe on the 29th of the same month.² That he disembarked the next day and prepared to go by land to *Onondaga*. That he left on the first day of November, and after going "*five good leagues*," encamped for the night on the banks of a small stream.

Early on the morning of the second he continued his journey for "*six or seven leagues*," and encamped for the night in the open air. On the third, before sunrise, he resumed his way, and reached "*Tethiroguen*, a river which issues from Lake *Goicaho*," (the outlet of Oneida Lake) and which he says "is remarkable as a rendezvous for a great number of fishermen."

Here he passed the night in an Indian cabin. The distance traveled this day is not stated, but we may assume it to have been five leagues, which is about the average of the other days.

On the fourth, he went "about six leagues," and passed the night in an "open country," "four leagues" from Onondaga. On the following day, the fifth of November, he reached the latter place, having spent five days in traveling from the mouth of Salmon river, a distance, according to the narrative, of twenty-six leagues.

Inasmuch, however, as the Iroquois fort is claimed to have

¹ Laverdière's Champlain, p. 527.

² Relation of 1656, p. 7. Quebec Edition.

been on Onondaga lake, which lies four leagues north of the ancient village of Onondaga,¹ which Chammonot reached on the fifth of November, the said four leagues should, for the purpose of comparison with Champlain, be deducted from the twenty-five leagues. To the resulting difference should be added, for the same reason, six and a half leagues, being the distance from Stony Point to the mouth of the Salmon river, thus making, from the said Point to the fort, according to the Jesuit narrative, twenty-eight and a half leagues, which sufficiently corresponds with the distance of "25 or 30 leagues," as stated by Champlain.

The other Jesuit Father, *Dablon*, was a companion to *Chammonot* on his outward voyage to Onondaga, and the author of the narratives of both journeys as given in the Jesuit Relation.

Leaving *Chammonot* at Onondaga, *Dablon* set out on his return to Quebec on the second day of March, 1656,² and traveled that day five leagues. On the third he rested on account of the rain. On the fourth he traveled six leagues to Oneida Lake. Not being able to cross on account of the weakness of the ice, he spent the next day on its banks.

On the sixth, it was sufficiently frozen to enable him to pass over at a point where the lake was a league and a half broad. He reached the mouth of Salmon river on the eighth, a little before noon, consuming in travel, exclusive of detentions, four and a half days. The daily progress, after crossing Oneida Lake, is not given, but allowing five leagues for an average day's travel, it would make 23 and a half leagues from the Onondaga village to the mouth of Salmon river. After allowing the same deductions and additions as in the case of Father *Chammonot's* trip, it would leave 26 leagues, which is about an average of the distances stated by Champlain. By thus comparing Champlain's estimates with those of the Jesuit, it will be readily seen, that the expedition of the former could not have extended west of Onondaga Lake.

Having thus examined the reasons which have been urged in favor of locating the fort in question on Seneca territory,

¹ Jesuit Relation for 1656, p. 14. Quebec Edition.

² Jesuit Relation for 1656, p. 35. Quebec Edition.

founded on the similarity between the names which the Hurons bestowed on the Iroquois and upon the *Eatonhonorons*, and also those based on the course of the "dotted line" laid down on Champlain's map, between the point where he landed and the said fort, and on the distances which Champlain states were traveled by him, between the same points, it now remains to state and consider the objections which exist against the location of the fort as far west as the Seneca Country.

First. The actual distance between the place of landing and the foot of Canandaigua Lake, measured on an air line, is thirty-two leagues. It would be absurd, however, to suppose that the expedition would have followed such a line. On the contrary, in accomplishing the distance to the fort, it must have passed over, as stated on a previous page, at least one-third more than a straight line between the said points. This fact, without allowing anything for Champlain's over-estimate, would, in case the objective point were Canandaigua Lake, make the distance actually traveled, at least forty leagues!

If, as is claimed by some, the fort was still further west, on a tributary of the Genesee,¹ it would add several leagues more to this difficulty.

Second. The design of the expedition was to attack an Iroquois tribe living south of Lake Ontario. The assailants were the Hurons, living on the eastern shore of the lake which bears their name. They started from their principal village, situated west of Lake Simcoe, on the borders of the Huron Country nearest to the Iroquois.²

Now, if it were their object to attack the Senecas, the shortest and most feasible route to reach them, would have been by proceeding either in a southerly direction around the western extremity of Lake Ontario, through the territory of the friendly Nenter nation, who then lived on both sides of the Niagara, or directly across the lake, landing on its southern shore at or near the mouth of the Genesee river. The fact that the expedition traveled eastward for the entire length of that lake, and

¹ Laverdière's Champlain, p. 528, note 1.

² Jesuit Relation, 1640, p. 90. Quebec Edition; Laverdière's Champlain, p. 518, n. 1.

on its northern border, crossing its eastern extremity in search of an enemy on its south side, affords a strong presumption that the enemy thus sought was located near that eastern extremity.

Third. The Hurons and their allies would hardly have risked themselves so far from their canoes as to choose so circuitous a route to reach the *Senecas*. The danger of being out-flanked by the watchful Iroquois tribes, who were kindred to the *Senecas*, and whom they would be obliged to pass on the way, would have forbidden so rash and hazardous an under-taking.

It may be mentioned in this connection, that the Hurons were intensely hostile to the Onondagas, for the latter, more than either of the other Iroquois tribes, had vexed and harassed the former.¹ The Hurons would hardly have passed by and left so implacable an enemy in their rear, to attack a less obnoxious member of that warlike confederacy.

Having examined the arguments which have been urged in favor of the location of the Iroquois fort in the Country of the *Senecas*, and considered a few of the principal objections against it, I will now mention some of the affirmative proofs establishing its site on or near Onondaga Lake.

A careful examination of Champlain's narrative will show that, as before stated, he must have landed on what has been designated as "Traverse" or "Stony Point," in Jefferson County. It is the nearest and most feasible landing from the islands which are grouped in the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, and along which the expedition undoubtedly passed before reaching its southern shore.² It is well known that, from the earliest times, the Indians and voyageurs availed themselves of the protection of those islands, as they crossed, in rough weather, from one side of the lake to the other. The expedition could not easily have landed directly upon the point in question, as it presents a perpendicular rocky bluff, washed at its base by the lake, and forms a bold and insurmountable barrier for some distance in either direction. By passing around the north-eastern extremity of the point, a safe and sheltered

¹ Jesuit Relation, 1648, p. 47. Quebec Edition.

² Champlain says, "There were large, fine islands on the passage."—*Lacér-dière's Champlain*, p. 526.

bay is accessible, at the bottom of which is the present harbor of Henderson. This was long used as a landing place in the early history of the country, and its convenient and secluded position was undoubtedly chosen by Champlain and his companions as a favorable point for leaving and concealing their canoes.

Having accomplished their debarkation, the invaders followed, for four leagues in a southerly direction, the sandy beach which still borders the lake as far south as Salmon river.

It is about six and a half leagues from Stony Point to that river. The many small streams and ponds mentioned by Champlain can easily be identified by the aid of a correct map, and also the "two small rivers," which are undoubtedly those now known as the Big Sandy creek and Salmon river.

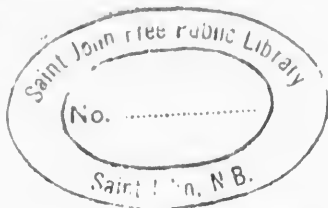
The invaders were four days from the time of their landing in reaching the Iroquois fort. The narrative states that after passing the streams above mentioned, "they crossed a river issuing "from a lake, which empties into that of the *Entonhorons*,"¹ This undoubtedly refers to Oneida river and Lake. "This Lake," says the narrative, "is about 25 or 30 leagues in circumference," contains beautiful islands, and is the place where "the Iroquois catch their fish, which are there in abundance."

After crossing Oneida river, the scouts encountered and captured a party of Iroquois, "going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemy's fort." This locates the fort four leagues south of the foot of Oneida lake. The latter point was always a noted place for Salmon fishery in the early history of the country. It is so referred to in *Dablon's Journal* above quoted and in many other early narratives.

It is impossible, from the meager details given by Champlain, to ascertain the precise locality of the Iroquois fort. He places it near a small Lake, and we know of no more likely position, nor one which corresponds in more particulars to Champlain's description, than the banks of Onondaga Lake. The late Joshua V. H. Clark, author of the "History of Onondaga," states that traces of an ancient Indian fortification

¹ Lake Ontario.

² These dimensions are, as usual, overstated.



were discovered by the first settlers near the present village of Liverpool, a short distance northeast of Syracuse. These may have been the remains of the fort in question. There is reason to believe that Monsieur Dupuis, and his companions, including several Jesuit missionaries, occupied the same locality in 1656. It is described by the latter as a beautiful, convenient and advantageous eminence, distant five leagues from the village of the Onondagas, overlooking Lake Gaunentaa (Onondaga Lake) and all the neighboring country, and abounding in numerous fresh-water springs.¹

The distance above stated, corresponds with that between Liverpool and Onondaga Hollow, the latter being the site of the ancient Council fire of the Iroquois Confederacy, and the then chief village of the Onondagas. It is also supposed that the *Comte de Frontenac* encamped in the same place, when he invaded the Onondaga Country in 1696, and that Col. Van Schaick occupied the identical ground while on his expedition against the Onondagas in 1779.² It was a position which undoubtedly commended itself to the sagacious Iroquois, as eminently suitable for a defensive structure, and was thus early used for that purpose.

In the discussion of this question, I have endeavored fully and fairly to present the points, and to give due force to the arguments, which have been urged in favor of the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the *Senecas*, and of the location of the Iroquois fort in the territory of the latter.

It is submitted that the weight of testimony is decidedly, if not conclusively against those propositions, and that we must look on the banks of the Onondaga Lake, in the heart of the central Canton of the great Iroquois Confederacy, for the site of that rude fortification, which more than two centuries and a half ago, so bravely and successfully resisted the assaults of the allied Hurons and Algonkins of the northwest, aided by Champlain and his firearms, and which, after repeated assaults and a siege of several days, compelled the assailants to abandon their enterprise and retreat, ignominiously, from the Iroquois Country.

¹ Relation, 1657, p. 14. Quebec Edition.

² Clark's Onondaga, Vol. I., p. 256.

of
may
son
nd-
in
ent
vil-
non-
ling

reen
e of
t the
t the
e in-
aick
st the
com-
le for
pose.
fully
o the
ity of
of the

lly, if
must
e cen-
site of
a half
allied
nplain
a siege
enter-
try.

