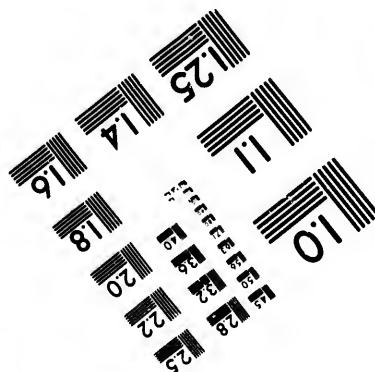
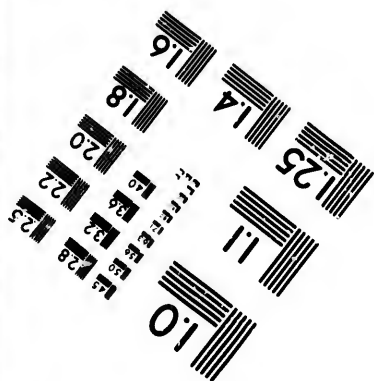
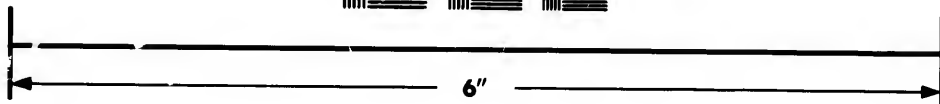
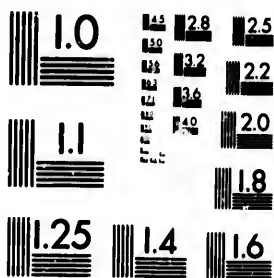


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

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

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1982

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.

- ☒ Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur
- ☐ Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée
- ☐ Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- ☐ Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque
- ☐ Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- ☐ Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- ☐ Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- ☐ Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents
- ☐ 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
- ☐ 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.
- ☐ Additional comments:
Commentaires supplémentaires:

- ☐ Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur
- ☐ Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées
- ☐ Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- ☒ Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- ☐ Pages detached/
Pages détachées
- ☒ Showthrough/
Transparence
- ☐ Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression
- ☐ Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- ☐ Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible
- ☐ 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.

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

10X	14X	18X	22X	26X	30X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12X	16X	20X	24X	28X	32X

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

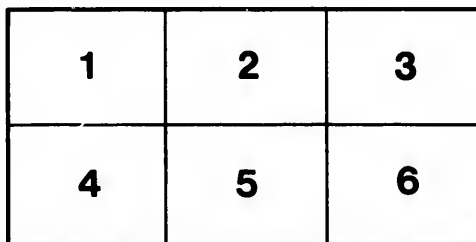
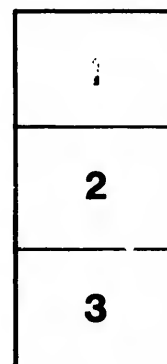
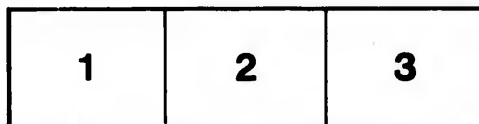
Morisset Library
University of Ottawa

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 \longrightarrow (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:

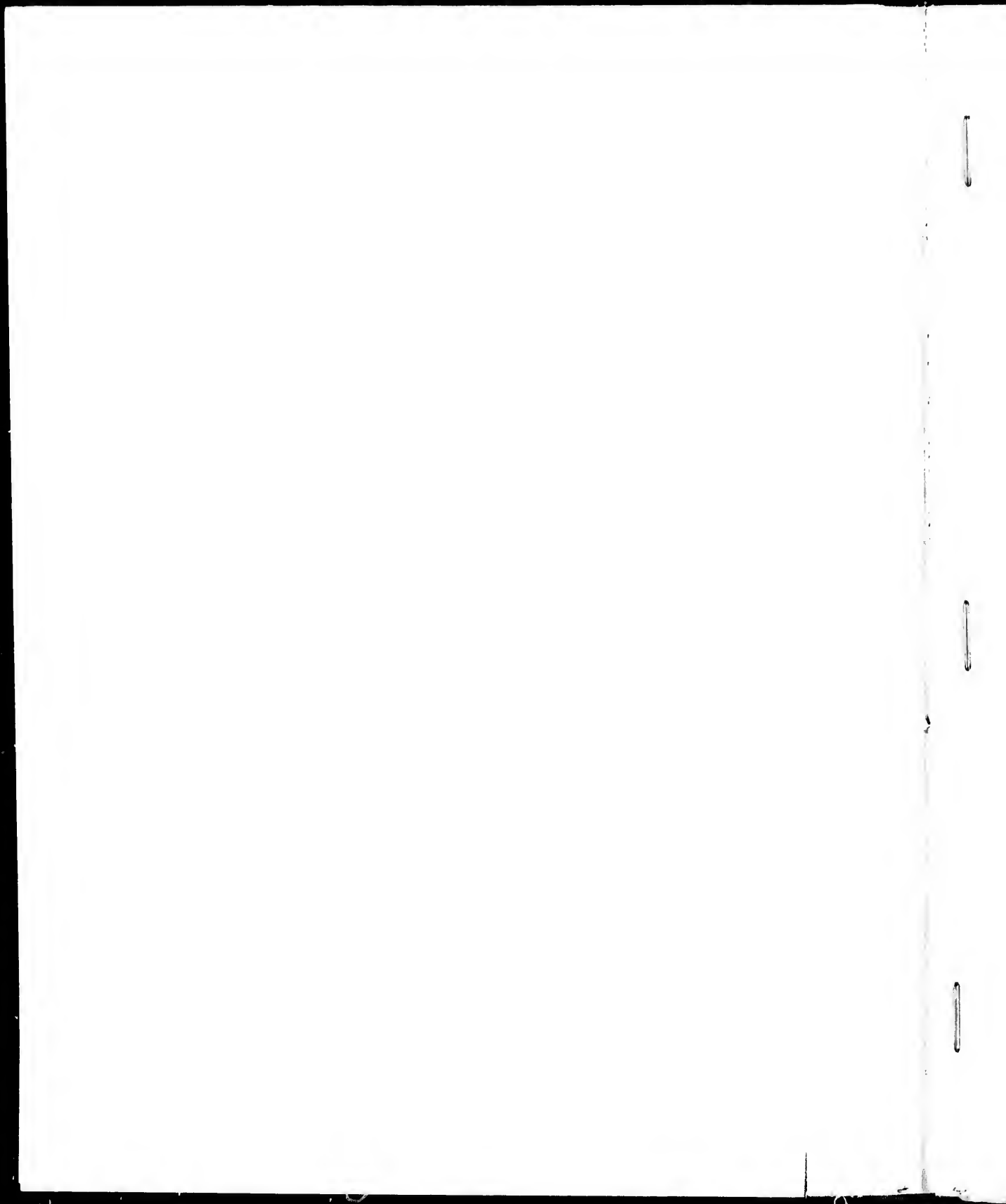
Bibliothèque Morisset
Université d'Ottawa

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 \longrightarrow 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 OF 1615

REPLY TO DR. SHEA AND GENERAL CLARK

BY

O. H. MARSHALL

Reprinted from The Magazine of American History, August, 1898



FC
332
:M35
1878



CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615

REPLY TO DR. SHEA AND GENERAL CLARK

The first number of this magazine (Jan., 1877) contains an article on the Expedition of Champlain against the Onondagas, in 1615. It was founded on a communication read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, in which I had discussed the evidences which exist as to the route of the expedition, and the site of the Iroquois fort which it besieged. My position having been questioned by several eminent historians, who claimed a more western location for the fort, the main object of my last article was to fortify my former conclusions. In it I endeavored to trace Champlain's route across Lake Ontario to its south shore, and from thence to his objective point. While my location of the fort in the Onondaga, rather than the Seneca Country, has generally been approved, some difference of opinion is entertained as to its exact site, as well as to the precise route by which it was reached.

General James S. Clark, of Auburn, in a paper read before the Buffalo and New York Historical Societies, and Georges Geddes, Esq., of Camillus, in an article in the last September number of this magazine, vol. I., p. 521, while they agree that the site was in the Onondaga Country, dissent from my views in other particulars. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in a recent article in the Penn Historical Magazine, vol. II., p. 103, coincides in the main with General Clark. I am glad that a writer of Dr. Shea's ability has taken the field. I have read his paper attentively, and fail to see that it has disproved any of my main positions.

It may be proper to state that General Clark's address, thus reviewed and endorsed by Dr. Shea, has never been published. It was delivered before the above societies during my absence in Europe. Since my return, I have endeavored, without success, to obtain a copy. I can only judge of its contents from the references in Dr. Shea's review. That the General is accurately quoted therein, may be inferred from his having reproduced the article, with verbal corrections, in an Auburn journal.

In a published address, delivered last September before the Pioneers' Association at Syracuse, General Clark stated the conclusions to which his investigations had led him, but gave no facts or arguments to support them. In doing so, he used the following emphatic language:

"I claim especially to understand the record of Champlain by following his narrative *verbatim et literatim*, and accepting his estimates of distances, his map and illustrations. I stand on no uncertain ground. I understand this question thoroughly. I know that I am right. I desire no misunderstanding on this question. I take the affirmative and throw down the gauntlet to all comers; and if any choose to enter the list, I have the most unbounded confidence that it will not be me that will be borne from the field discomfited. I identify the site as certainly as any gentleman present can identify his wife at the breakfast table after ten years of married life," etc., etc.

It is to be regretted that General Clark has not accompanied his challenge, so forcibly stated, with the proofs and reasons on which he relies. The public could then judge whether such historians as O'Callaghan, Parkman, Broadhead, Laverdière and his neighbor Geddes are, as he asserts, mistaken in their conclusions. It is quite evident that General Clark is an enthusiast in his Study of Aboriginal History. A certain amount of zeal may be desirable in the investigation of such subjects, but conscientious convictions, however decidedly entertained, are not always in harmony with just conclusions. It is only by patient and candid investigation, by comparing, weighing and sifting the evidence, that historical truth can be elicited.

I will consider in their order: *First*. The authenticity and accuracy of the map. *Second*. The starting point of the Expedition on Lake Ontario. *Third*. The route across the Lake. *Fourth*. The landing on the south shore. *Fifth*. The march on the beach. *Sixth*. The inland route to the Fort. *Seventh*. The location of the Fort.

THE AUTHENTICITY AND ACCURACY OF THE MAP.—In order to account for the many manifest discrepancies between Champlain's text of 1619 and the map annexed to the edition of 1632, I suggested that the map and the latter edition were not the work of Champlain and never passed under his personal supervision. I gave my reasons for this opinion on pages 5 and 6, vol. I, of this magazine.

Dr. Shea replies to this, that "the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited." This, however, is assuming the authenticity of the map, the very point in issue, without noticing the objections I advanced. If the map were actually constructed by Champlain, it is of course competent evidence, without however being conclusive where it differs from the text. It is not possible, however, to reconcile the two. Where they disagree, one or the other must yield, and in accordance with well settled rules of evidence, the text must govern.

...d...s, 55



The most competent critics who have examined the edition of 1632, to which alone the map is annexed, including Laverdière, Margry and Harrisse, agree that it bears internal evidence of having been compiled, by a foreign hand, from the various editions previously published. No map accompanied the original narrative of the expedition, published in 1619.

I claim that by inspection and comparison with reliable topographical maps of the country traversed by Champlain, no ingenuity can torture the dotted line on the chart into an accurate representation of the route he pursued, as described in his text. The discrepancies will be indicated, as the various points on the route are passed in review.

I trust my readers will follow my argument with the Champlain *fac-simile*, which is annexed to my article in Vol. I of this magazine, and a reliable chart of the easterly end of Lake Ontario. All my measurements are taken from the Lake Survey Charts, recently published by the United States Government, and the most reliable maps attainable of Jefferson, Oswego, Onondaga and Madison counties.

THE STARTING POINT.—The narrative states that the expedition descended what is now known as Trent River, which empties into Lake Ontario, and after short days' journeys, reached the border of Lake Ontario. It then proceeds. I give the original French, as Champlain's works are quite rare, and copy from the edition of 1619, modernizing the old French orthography: "où etans, nous fimes la traverse en l'un des bouts, tirant à l'orient, qui est l'entrée de la grande rivière St. Laurens, par la hauteur de quarante-trois degrés de latitude, où il y a de belles îles fort grandes en ce passage."

Where then was the starting point of the expedition? Gen. Clark says "Kingston." Dr. Shea says, "from a peninsula beyond (east of?) Quinté Bay, on the north shore," agreeing with Gen. Clark that it must have been at Kingston. There is some confusion among geographers as to the extent of Quinté Bay. Some represent it as reaching to Kingston.

Quinté Bay proper, according to the best authorities, extends no farther eastward than the eastern extremity of Prince Edward Peninsula, called Point Pleasant. It is often called the River Trent, being as it were an extension of that stream.

Champlain evidently considered, and correctly so, that when he had passed Point Pleasant, he had arrived at the Lake. He says that the river he descended "forms the passage into the lake," and a little farther on, "we traveled by short days' journeys as far as the border of Lake Ontario, where having arrived, we crossed," &c.

Having fixed the starting point at Kingston, Gen. Clark claims that from thence he "ran east a distance not given, thence southerly to a point fourteen leagues (35 miles) from the commencement of the River St. Lawrence." Champlain says, the *crossing* embraced fourteen leagues. How the starting point at Kingston, much less the extension of the route eastward from Kingston, is "reconciled with the map," does not appear.

I claimed the starting point to have been opposite the eastern end of Point Pleasant, and in this I am sustained by both map and text.

According to the text, the crossing began as soon as they reached the lake, and that occurred when they passed out of the river (or bay) at Point Pleasant. Champlain does not say that they went an inch east of that Point. I quite agree with Dr. Shea's translation of the words "*tirant à l'orient*," and of the passage in which it occurs. Those words have no reference to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, but to the *end of the lake* which he crossed.

"Having arrived at the borders of the lake, we crossed," he says, "one of its extremities which, extending eastward, forms the entrance of the great River St. Lawrence, in 43 degrees of latitude, where there are very large beautiful islands on the passage." I suggested this interpretation some months ago to the Superintendent of the translation of Champlain's Voyages of 1603, 1613 and 1619, now being made for the Prince Society. I am inclined to believe that General Clark's extension of the route eastward to Kingston, originated in a mistranslation of those words. His construction of the route certainly requires "*tirant à l'orient*" to refer to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, which is in conflict with Dr. Shea's translation, while the route I propose is in entire harmony with it.

Dr. Shea further says, "That Champlain was actually at the head of the St. Lawrence, of which he gives the latitude, seems almost certain. For one who had founded a trading settlement on the lower river, the examination and exact locating of the head of the river, when he was so near it, seem imperatively demanded."

It must be remembered, however, that Champlain was on a war expedition, aided by only a few of his own countrymen, with several hundred Huron and Algonkin warriors, approaching a hostile country. Under such circumstances he would hardly have gone so far east, and so much out of his way, to make geographical or hydrographical observations, either during a cautious approach or a hurried retreat.

Although Champlain gives the latitude of the entrance of the river, instead of that furnishing an argument in favor of his having been there,

its effect is directly the reverse, for the latitude which he records at forty-three degrés is quite erroneous, and would place the entrance as far South as Syracuse. The true latitude is $44^{\circ} 6'$, a difference of over a degree. A gross error for a Captain in the French marine to make from actual observation.

THE ROUTE ACROSS THE LAKE.—If I am right in fixing the starting point opposite Point Pleasant, it would follow, both from the text and the map, that the route extended southerly, between that point and Amherst Island, to the False Ducks, and along the Main Duck, Gallo, and Stony Islands, which stretch across the lake in the direction of Stony Point. That this was the course pursued may be inferred from the following considerations:

First. On examining the Champlain map, the line indicating the route starts from the northern shore of the lake, and passes directly south between Point Pleasant and the first island easterly therefrom, which would correspond with Amherst Island. The next island on the map east of Amherst Island would correspond with Simcoe Island, and the next, lying in the entrance of the river, would correspond with Wolf or Long Island. These three islands constitute all that are represented on the map as lying in the east end of the lake, except those along which I claim that the expedition crossed.

Now if, as claimed by General Clark, the crossing was along Simcoe, Wolf and Grenadier Islands, which closely hug the eastern shore of the lake, then those islands would have been so represented on the map. The chain of islands along which they did pass, as shown by the dotted line, are laid down at some distance from the eastern shore. If it be claimed that the map refers to the inner ones lying close to the eastern shore, then the outer chain, equally conspicuous and in plain sight of the others, are not represented at all. To a party crossing the outer or western chain, the islands lying in-shore would scarcely be distinguishable from the adjacent land, while the outer chain, with nothing behind them but the open lake, could easily be seen from the inner islands. I am aware that the dotted line on the map exhibits a general southerly course, but the expedition, following the islands indicated by me, fulfills the conditions of the text, by crossing from the north to the south side of the lake, and for nearly a third of the way on a due south course. The map is on an exceedingly small scale, rudely drawn and nowhere preserves with any accuracy the points of compass in representing either the crossing of the lake, or the inland route as claimed by General Clark. Where the map and text are irreconcilable, the former must be rejected. It

could not be expected that a chart, 33 inches long by 20 inches wide, embracing a territory extending from Newfoundland to Lake Superior, and from the frozen ocean to the Carolinas, could exhibit a route like that traveled by Champlain, on a scale of sixty miles to the inch, without presenting numerous discrepancies. They are so gross, even in those places actually visited by Champlain, that it is difficult to see how he could possibly have been its author. It was not drawn in reference to this special expedition of 1615, but to illustrate all his voyages in America. *Second.* Champlain says, on arriving at the northern bank of the lake, "Nous fimes la traverse"—"we *crossed* it." He does not intimate that he *coasted* along its northern border for 22 miles, and then again around its eastern shore. Effect must be given to the expression, "We *crossed* it." *Third.* Champlain gives the distance he consumed in crossing as fourteen leagues, or thirty-five miles. "Nous fimes environ quatorze lieues pour passer jusques à l'autre coté du lac, tirant au sud, vers les terres des ennemis." The actual distance by the way of the Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands to Stony Point, where they would first reach land, is $38\frac{3}{4}$ miles. To Henderson Bay it is 44 miles; to Stony Creek Cove, 42 miles; to Little Sandy Lake, $53\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The actual distance from the same starting point, via Kingston and Simcoe, Wolf, Grenadier and Stony Islands, to Little Sandy Lake, is 70 miles, and from Kingston, $48\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

From this it appears that the actual distances on all the supposed routes exceed in each instance Champlain's estimate. It will be noticed, however, that the excess is the greatest on the route claimed by General Clark. The probabilities, therefore, so far as relates to the length of the crossing, as given by Champlain, are in favor of the route I have suggested. *Fourth.* The expedition, coming from the *west*, would naturally use the shortest route to reach its destination. That parties were accustomed to cross by the chain of Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands, is substantiated by the traditions of the Canada Indians. Hence, the point on the peninsula from which they embarked, was named by the French voyageurs, Point Traverse, and is so called to this day. The islands lying along the eastern shore of the lake were used by Indians and voyageurs ascending or descending the St. Lawrence.

THE LANDING.—I suggested in my article that the expedition probably landed in the secluded cove now known as Henderson Bay, sheltered by Stony Point. Not that the text or map of Champlain indicates that, or any other particular place with any certainty, but

First. Because it appeared a convenient and appropriate locality.

20 inches wide,
 o Lake Superior,
 ibit a route like
 o the inch, with-
 ss, even in those
 t to see how he
 reference to this
 ges in America.
 ank of the lake,
 es not intimate
 , and then again
 the expression,
 he consumed in
 is fines environ
 e, tirant au sud,
 the way of the
 int, where they
 ay it is 44 miles;
 53½ miles. The
 ton and Simcoe,
 lake, is 70 miles,

all the supposed
 t will be noticed,
 claimed by Gen-
 es to the length
 the route I have
 west, would nat-

That parties
 alloo, Calf and
 Canada Indians.
 embarked, was
 so called to this
 lake were used
 St. Lawrence.

pedition proba-
 erson Bay, shel-
 of Champlain
 rtainty, but
 appropriate locality.

It did not seem probable that Champlain, accompanied by so large an army, would boldly land on an enemy's shore, exposed to observation for twenty miles in two directions, with scarcely a hope of successfully concealing the canoes which were so essential for his return voyage. *Second.* Because Henderson Bay, long previous to the settlement of the country, had been a favorite landing place for the Indians passing to and from Canada, as is well attested by tradition. The name of "Indian Wharf" still bears witness to the fact. A portage road led from the landing to Stony Creek, called by the French the "*rivière à Monsieur le Comte.*" That the expedition landed there, was a mere suggestion derived from the probabilities of the case. I do not insist upon it. In good weather an equally favorable landing could have been made in the small cove at the mouth of Stony Creek, though not so secluded from observation. It is not possible, from the meagre details of the narrative, to state with any certainty, much less to prove the exact point of landing. That it took place at Little Sandy Lake, selected by General Clark, is not probable, and for the following reasons:

Assuming for the present what I expect to prove in the sequel—that the expedition followed the sandy beach of the lake no farther south than Salmon River, where it left for the interior—we must look, according to the text of Champlain, for the following conditions between the places where he landed and where he left for the interior.

THE MARCH ON THE BEACH.—Champlain says: "*Les sauvages cachèrent tous leurs canaux dans les bois, proche du rivage. Nous fîmes par terre quelques quatre lieues sur une plage de sable, ou je remarquai un pays fort agreable et beau, traversé de plusieurs petits ruisseaux, et deux petites rivières, qui se dechargent au susdit lac, et force etangs et prairies.*" "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We proceeded by land about four leagues over a sandy beach, where I observed a very agreeable and beautiful country, intersected by many small brooks and two small rivers which empty into the said lake, and many lakelets and meadows."

On referring to the map, we find it furnishes nothing in addition to the above, except it represents three small bodies of water as lying along the route parallel with the shore, which are undoubtedly those referred to by Champlain under the name of "*Etangs.*" There are still existing three such collections of water between Stony Point and Salmon River, two of which are known by the name of North and South ponds, and the largest by the name of Little Sandy Lake. The latter is about 3,000 acres in extent. Dr. Shea says: "General Clark identifies the

three small lakes noted on the map, as North and South Ponds, in Jefferson County, and Little Sandy Lake." But if Champlain landed at Little Sandy Lake as claimed by General Clark, he would not have passed by North and South Ponds, as they lie north of that landing. The probabilities exist, therefore, that the landing took place farther north, and either in Henderson Bay, or at the mouth of Stony Creek, as before stated.

Dr. Shea says: "Mr. Marshall holds that the expedition passed Salmon River. The next stream is Salmon Creek, which Mr. Marshall holds is the Oswego." Dr. Shea has entirely misunderstood me in this particular. I claimed that the expedition left the lake at Salmon *River*. I did not even name Salmon *Creek*, nor did I state that the expedition ascended or even saw the Oswego River. I said that it crossed from the mouth of Salmon River to the outlet of Oneida Lake, and from thence passed to the fort, distant four leagues from the fishery.

One reason I gave for discrediting the map was that the dotted line seemed to enter the "Oswego River," that being the only stream having numerous lakes at its sources; but I distinctly averred that such a route was "highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and could not possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain." Vol. I, p. 6 of this magazine.

THE INLAND ROUTE.—My reasons in favor of the mouth of the Salmon River as the point of departure for the interior are as follows:

First. It is the southernmost and last point on the lake in the direct line of travel between Stony Point and the foot of Oneida Lake. The mouth of Salmon *Creek* lies west of that line, requiring a detour that would increase the travel without affording any corresponding advantage. *Second.* The mouth of Salmon River—the *Otihatangué* of the early French maps—has always been a noted place in Indian history. It is mentioned on the oldest Ms. maps of the Jesuit missionaries found in the French Archives at Paris. A trail is laid down on several of said maps, running direct from that point to the great fishery, called "Techiroguen." Franquelin, the celebrated geographer to Louis XIV., in his "*Carte du pays des Iroquois*" of 1679, calls the trail "*Chemin de Techiroguen à la Famine*." La Famine was a name applied by the Jesuits to the mouth of the Salmon River, in allusion to the sufferings experienced there by Monsieur Du Puy and his companions, in July, 1656, from want of provisions. It has generally been called by later writers, "*Cahihonoiaghé*," which may be a dialectical variation from *Otihatangué*. A Ms. map of 1679, says: "it is the place where the most of the Iroquois and Loups

outh Ponds, in Jef-
 amplain landed at
 e would not have
 n of that landing.
 ook place farther
 of Stony Creek, as

expedition passed
 creek, which Mr.
 ly misunderstood
 n left the lake at
 did I state that
 er. I said that it
 of Oneida Lake,
 s from the fishery.
 t the dotted line
 ly stream having
 that such a route
 could not pos-
 sible. I, p. 6 of this

e mouth of the
 are as follows:
 in the direct line
 ke. The mouth
 r that would in-
 vantage. *Second.*
 ly French maps
 s mentioned on
 in the French
 el maps, running
 "Tchiroguen."
 n his "*Carte du*
Tchiroguen à la
 s to the mouth
 nced there by
 , from want of
Calihonoiaghé,"
 A Ms. map of
 ois and Loups

land to go on the Beaver trade at New York." It is evidently an Onondaga word, and is given by Morgan as "*Gā-hen-wā'-ga*." It bears a strong resemblance to the name applied to the place by Pouchot and other writers. There is, therefore, little doubt but what the expedition left the lake for the interior from this well known point of debarkation.

Third. Champlain says: "Tous les canaux etans ainsi cachez, nous laissames le rivage du lac," etc. "All the canoes being thus concealed we left the border of the lake," etc. Dr. Shea thinks that the text implies that the canoes were twice concealed. I do not so understand it. If all were concealed on landing, there would be none left to conceal at the end of the march on the beach. The second statement, "All our canoes being thus concealed," is, therefore, but a repetition of the first expression, "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore." *Fourth.* Champlain's description of his route after leaving the lake, is quite brief and unsatisfactory. "Nous continuames notre chemin par terre, environ 25 ou 30 lieuës: Durant quatre journées nous traversames quantité de ruisseaux, et une rivière, procedante d'un lac qui se decharge dans celui des Entouhononons. Ce lac est de l'estendue de 25 ou 30 lieuës de circuit, où il y a de belles îles, et est le lieu où les Iroquois ennemis lont leur peche de poisson, qui est en abondance."

"We continued our way by land about 25 or 30 leagues. During four days we crossed numerous brooks and a river flowing from a lake which empties into Lake Ontario. This lake is 25 or 30 leagues in circumference, contains beautiful islands, and is the place where the hostile Iroquois catch their fish, which are in abundance." It will be noticed that no mention is made of any of the lakes which are so conspicuously laid down on the map, contiguous to the dotted line, except Oneida Lake. On the 9th of October, the Indians met and captured eleven of the enemy, who were going to the fishery, distant 4 leagues from the enemy's fort.

The expedition reached the fort at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th. There is nothing in the *text* of Champlain to indicate the site of the fort, except its situation near an unfailing body of water, which Champlain calls "*un etang*." Dr. Shea translates it "pond," that being its primitive signification. But as used by Champlain and other French writers of the 17th century, it has a more enlarged signification, having reference, in numerous instances, to a small lake. Those which are laid down on the Champlain map opposite the route along the sandy beach above referred to, are called "*etangs*" by Champlain. One of them is admitted by General Clark to be "Little Sandy Lake." Bouil-

let says in his *Dictionnaire des Sciences, etc.*, "*Etangs naturels*" are small lakes of fresh water, produced by rains or springs." Lake Pontchartrain, near New Orleans, 40 miles long by 24 broad, is called "*un etang*" by La Salle in 1685.

There is therefore no such limitation to the meaning of the word *etang*, as to render it inapplicable to a lake as large as Onondaga. Champlain, having recently passed through Lakes Huron and Ontario, would very naturally apply a diminutive term to so small a body of water.

THE LOCATION OF THE FORT.—It is utterly impossible, from the Champlain text and map, aided by the best modern charts, and an accurate knowledge of the country, to establish, with any certainty, the exact position of the Iroquois fort. The location which I suggested was on or near Onondaga Lake, 4 leagues or 10 miles from the great Iroquois fishery at the foot of Oneida Lake. The limits of this article forbid my presenting at this time my reasons for this conclusion; I will therefore confine myself to an examination of General Clark's position. He locates the fort on Nichols Pond, in the north-east corner of the town of Fenner, in Madison County, 3 miles east of the village of Perryville, and 10 miles by an air line, south of the east end of Oneida Lake. The following are some of the reasons suggested by Champlain's text and engraved view, against this proposed location.

First. Nichols Pond is over 24 miles, measured on a direct line, from the outlet of Oneida Lake, where the expedition crossed that stream. By any route practicable in 1615, it could not have been reached by less than 30 miles travel, owing to the intervening impassable swamps. Champlain states that the fort was 4 leagues (10 miles) from the "fishery," a distance more likely to be exaggerated than understated. *Second.* The expedition reached the fort at 3 P. M. on the 10th of October, the day after they had met and captured a party of Iroquois, who were on their way to the fishery. Now if the fishery referred to was on Oneida Lake, and within 10 miles of Nichols Pond, it must have been directly north of the latter. How then could Champlain have met a party going north from the fort to the lake, when his course, if bound for Nichols Pond, was on a line from the west end of that lake in a direction south of east? The lines of travel of the two parties could not have intersected. *Third.* Nichols Pond does not correspond in important particulars, with Champlain's engraved view of the site of the fort. I do not attach much importance to that birds-eye sketch, evidently fanciful in most respects, but as General Clark and Dr. Shea rely on its correctness, it is

"*naturels*" are small
s." Lake Pontchi-
is called "*un etang*"

aning of the word
arge as Onondaga.
uron and Ontario,
so small a body of

possible, from the
rn charts, and an
any certainty, the
which I suggested
iles from the great
mits of this article
conclusion; I will
al Clark's position.
north-east corner
east of the village
of the east end of
ons suggested by
posed location.

a direct line, from
essed that stream.
en reached by less
passable swamps.
rom the "fishery,"
ted. *Second.* The
October, the day
who were on their
on Oneida Lake,
en directly north
party going north
or Nichols Pond,
irection south of
have intersected.

stant particulars,
I do not attach
fanciful in most
correctness, it is

fair to use it in testing the soundness of their positions. The original is a well-executed copper plate line engraving, inserted in the editions of 1619 and 1632. The copies reproduced by Lavèrdiere, and in this Magazine (vol. i., p. 561) are wood cuts, and do not, of course, do justice to the original. The latter represents the fortified village as bounded on two sides by two streams, emptying *into* the lake from elevated ground in the rear; whereas the inlets into Nichols Pond are on opposite sides, not contiguous to each other. The pond is quite insignificant, scarcely an acre in extent, nearly surrounded by a marsh of perhaps four acres more, which may, in wet seasons, have formerly been overflowed. *Fourth.* The view represents the lake as much broader than the palisaded water front of the fort, and the fortified village as quite extensive, much larger than Nichols Pond could ever have been. The latter therefore fails to answer the conditions required by the engraving. *Fifth.* General Clark says, that "the fortified village on Nichols Pond was occupied from about 1600 to 1630." The mean between the two happens to be the exact year of Champlain's invasion. How has General Clark ascertained those dates? How does he know that the village had not ceased to exist long anterior to Champlain's invasion? In fixing limits to the periods of aboriginal occupancy, it would be more satisfactory to have the evidence cited. In regard to this village, if one of any considerable extent existed on Nichols Pond, all we can certainly know is, that it belonged to the Stone Age. Who can tell when its fires were first kindled,—when, or how they were finally extinguished? History, and even tradition are silent. *Sixth.* General Clark concedes that the expedition was directed against, and besieged a fort of the Onondagas. Why then does he seek to locate it on a pond in the ancient territory of the Oneidas? *Seventh.* The site of the fort, as claimed by General Clark, is on the watershed between the sources of the Susquehanna and the tributaries of Oneida Lake, an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet above the latter. To reach it would have involved an ascent so difficult and toilsome for an army like Champlain's, that he would hardly have failed to notice the embarrassments in his narrative. *Eighth.* The siege lasted six days. If the fort had been on the heights of Fenner, a beacon light in its neighborhood could have flashed a summons to the confederate tribes, and brought such prompt assistance that the besiegers would speedily have been attacked and overwhelmed. Champlain would hardly have trusted himself so long in a hostile country, and so far from his landing. *Ninth.* Champlain mentions the islands in Oneida Lake. General Clark assumes the knowledge of their

existence could only have been derived from their having been seen by Champlain from the hills near Nichols Pond, forgetting they are only four miles distant, and in plain sight, of the place where he crossed the Oneida outlet. *Tenth.* Champlain says they raised the siege of the fort, and began their retreat on the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th, a march quite incredible, if from so distant a point as Nichols Pond, encumbered as they were with their wounded, and impeded by a driving snow storm on the last day.

Having discussed the location of the fort, aided by the text and engraved view of Champlain, let us now see what assistance can be derived from the map, claimed by General Clark and Dr. Shea to be so accurate and authentic. Whenever the text and map agree, they must be accepted as conclusive. Where they do not, and particularly in those instances where the map differs from well authenticated modern surveys, I prefer to reject it, whether it was made by Champlain or not.

That it does not agree in important particulars, either with the text or with the actual topography of the country, is clearly evident, as I have already shown and will now endeavor to point out more in detail. The map differs from the text, *First.* In landing the expedition directly at the point on the south shore of Lake Ontario, where it passed into the interior, instead of first carrying it for at least "four leagues along the sandy beach of the lake," as clearly represented by the text. *Second.* In representing Champlain to have landed at a stream—claimed by General Clark to be Little Salmon Creek—and to have passed directly inland from the mouth of that stream, and to have crossed it twice before reaching the fort. *Third.* In representing, at the sources of that creek thus crossed, three large and two small lakes, near the largest two of which the expedition passed. If, as General Clark holds, neither of those lakes is Oneida Lake, then the five lakes thus delineated on the map are not noticed in the text at all. Champlain is utterly silent in regard to them, and rightfully so, for in point of fact *there are no such lakes in existence.* They will be sought for in vain on any reliable map of the country. *Fourth.* The map differs from the text in another important particular, that is, if the theory advanced by General Clark and Dr. Shea is correct. The route, as indicated on the map, after winding among those mythical lakes, and leaving the sources of the Little Salmon, passes directly by a southwesterly course to the Iroquois fort. This fort is located, *by the map*, on the easterly end of a lake, assumed by both General Clark and Dr. Shea to be Oneida Lake, the outlet of which flows into Lake Ontario. If it is not Oneida Lake, then that lake is not represented on

having been seen by
saying they are only
here he crossed the
the siege of the fort,
reached their canoes
at a point as Nichols
and impeded by a

by the text and
assistance can be
and Dr. Shea to be
map agree, they
and particularly
authenticated modern
Champlain or not,
her with the text
early evident, as I
at more in detail.
expedition directly
it passed into the
lagues along the
the text. *Second*,
claimed by Gene-
d directly inland
ice before reach-
f that creek thus
st two of which
er of those lakes
he map are not
regard to them,
lakes in existence,
of the country.
stant particular,
Shea is correct.
those mythical
s directly by a
located, *by the*
eral Clark and
ows into Lake
represented on

the map at all, unless it is one of the five imaginary lakes on the sources of the Little Salmon, which is disclaimed by General Clark. But the route of the expedition, as shown by the map, instead of crossing the outlet of what he claims to be Oneida Lake, as distinctly asserted by the text, does not go near it. Dr. Shea says, General Clark and Mr. Marshall agree that Champlain crossed that outlet. I certainly do, because the text asserts it. But the map contradicts it. It is for General Clark to reconcile the two. Both General Clark and Dr. Shea repudiate the map when they say, "the dotted line of the march on the map, to coincide with Champlain's text, should have continued across Oneida outlet, which it already approaches on the map." They are in error in saying that it approaches the outlet. The whole length of the lake lies between them. If the dotted line had crossed the outlet, where, on the hypothesis of General Clark, would it then have gone? *Fifth*. If the map locates the fort at the east end of Oneida Lake, as it certainly does on the theory of General Clark, what then becomes of his location on Nichols Pond, at least 10 miles in a direct line south of that lake? *Sixth*. The map places the fort on a small lake, the outlet of which empties into Lake Ontario. But the waters of Nichols Pond flow into Oneida Lake, first passing through Cowasselon, Canaserago and Chittenango Creeks. How is this discrepancy reconciled?

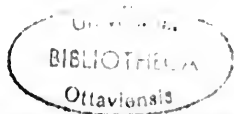
Dr. Shea impugns the correctness of the *fac-simile* map in one particular. He says: "In the reproduction in the magazine the dotted line goes to the town; in the original, however, it stops before reaching the lake near which the town is placed." I do not understand the force of this criticism. Both the original and *fac-simile* place the town on the lake. The dotted line of the *fac-simile* quite reaches the town, while that of the original falls two or three dots short of it. The line of the original is evidently intended to exhibit the route as extending to the town whether carried quite to it or not. Does Dr. Shea mean to be understood that the expedition did not reach the town by the line indicated?

The considerations which I have presented conclusively show that the map and the text are irreconcilable, and that one or the other must, in some of the particulars, be rejected. I prefer, for the reasons already stated, to be governed by the text. Yet Dr. Shea says that "General Clark seeks a theory which will reconcile the text and the map." Whether he has found it the reader can now decide. The effort to harmonize what cannot be reconciled has led to much of the obscurity and confusion which have involved this subject. The route of the expedition, as claimed in my two articles, is certainly the most natural, the most feasible, and the

most in harmony with the narrative of Champlain. No other across the lake, and inland to the fort, presents so few objections, and no other which has yet been suggested can stand the test of critical examination. As to the location of the fort, I reached the conclusion, after a careful consideration of all the data that could be obtained—a comparison of the map and text of Champlain, a study of the topography of the country, aided by the best maps attainable, and by correspondence with persons familiar with the various localities—that the objective point of the expedition, the fortified village of the Onondagas, was on the lake which bears their name.

I have seen nothing in the publications of General Clark, or in the learned article of Dr. Shea, to disturb my first impressions. Certainly no other place so free from objection has been pointed out. The strong language used by General Clark in support of his views, while it is in keeping with his enthusiastic convictions, is not justified by his facts or reasons. His conclusions are valuable, to the extent only in which they are sustained by reliable data. I understand that he has ready for the press, a work on the "Homes and Migrations of the Iroquois." Possibly it will contain his views more at large on the questions here discussed. Whenever any additional facts and arguments to disprove my positions are presented, I will give them a candid and careful examination. I am constrained to believe, however, that we cannot hope for any new data, but must be content to rest the case on the scanty records of Champlain, the testimony of the early travelers, and the few relics, which time has spared, of the era in which the Iroquois met and successfully resisted the firearms of the white man, in the heart of Central New York.

O. H. MARSHALL



to other across the
ons, and no other
tical examination.
n, after a careful
comparison of the
of the country,
nce with persons
point of the expe-
the lake which

Clark, or in the
ns. Certainly no

The strong lan-
le it is in keeping
facts or reasons.
ney are sustained
e press, a work
ibly it will con-
here discussed.

disprove my
areful examina-
not hope for any
anty records of
ew relics, which
nd successfully
of Central New

MARSHALL

