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**THE TRAILMAKERS OF
CANADA**



Samuel de Champlain

THE VOYAGES AND
EXPLORATIONS OF
SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN
(1604-1616)

NARRATED BY HIMSELF

TRANSLATED BY
ANNIE NETTLETON BOURNE

TOGETHER WITH
THE VOYAGE OF 1603
Reprinted from
PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE
Late Professor of History in Yale University

WITH SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY
W. L. GRANT, M.A.
*Professor of Colonial History, Queens University
Kingston, Ontario*

TWO VOLUMES

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CONTENTS

VOLUME II

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
Departure from France; what took place up to the time of our arrival at St. Louis Rapids	I

CHAPTER II

Continuation. Arrival at Tessoüat's, and the kind reception he gave me. Character of their cemeteries. The savages promise me four canoes to continue my way. Soon afterward they refuse me them. Speech of the savages to dissuade me from my undertaking, showing the difficulties. Response with regard to these difficulties. Tessoüat accuses my guide of lying, and of not having been where he said he had. The guide maintains that what he says is true. I urge them to give me some canoes. Several refusals. My guide convicted of lying, and his confession	19
---	----

CONTENTS

CHAPTER III

	PAGE
Our return to the Rapids. False alarm. Ceremony at the Chaudière Falls. Confession of our liar before each one. Our return to France	36

CHAPTER IV

The author goes to Sieur de Monts, who gives him the authorization to join the company. This he shows to the Count de Soissons. The commission that he gives him. The author addresses himself to the Prince, who takes him under his protection	43
--	----

CHAPTER V

Departure of the author for New France. New discoveries in the year 1615.....	58
---	----

CHAPTER VI

Our arrival at Cahigué. Description of the beauty of the country; character of the savages who inhabit it, and the inconveniences that we suffered.....	72
---	----

CHAPTER VII

How the savages traverse the ice. Concerning the Tobacco People. Their way of living. People called the Neutral Nation.	97
---	----

Title Page of the Voyage of 1603.....	149
---------------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS

THE VOYAGE OF 1603

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
Short account describing the voyage from Honfleur, in Normandy, to the Port of Tadoussac, in Canada.....	151

CHAPTER II

Kind reception of the French by the great Sagamo of the savages of Canada; their feasts and dances; the war they carry on with the Iroquois; how and of what their canoes and cabins are made; with a description of St. Matthew's Point.....	156
---	-----

CHAPTER III

The rejoicing which the savages make after they have been victorious over their enemies; their disposition, suffering from hunger, ill-will; their beliefs and false ideas; they speak to devils; their clothes, and how they walk on the snow; with their marriage customs and the burial of their dead	163
--	-----

CHAPTER IV

The River Saguenay and its source.....	174
--	-----

CHAPTER V

Departure from Tadoussac, to go to the Rapids; description of Hare Island, Isle du Coudre, Isle D'Orleans and many other islands, and of our arrival at Quebec....	177
--	-----

CONTENTS

CHAPTER VI

	PAGE
Point St. Croix, the River Batiscan; the rivers, rocks, islands, lands, trees, fruits, vines and the fine region beyond Quebec up to Three Rivers.....	181

CHAPTER VII

The length, breadth and depth of a lake, and of the rivers which flow into it; the islands in it; the soil one sees in the country; the river of the Iroquois, and the stronghold of the savages who wage war with them	187
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII

Arrival at the Rapids. Description of them and the remarkable sights there, with the account given by the savages of the upper end of the great river.....	192
--	-----

CHAPTER IX

Return from the Rapids to Tadoussac, with the comparison of the reports of several savages as to the length and source of the great River of Canada, the number of rapids and lakes that it traverses.....	203
--	-----

CHAPTER X

Voyage from Tadoussac to Isle Percée. Description of the Bay of Codfish; of Bona-	
---	--

CONTENTS

	PAGE
venture Island; of Chaleur Bay; of many rivers, lakes and regions where there are various kinds of mines.....	211

CHAPTER XI

Return from Isle Percée to Tadoussac, with the description of the coves, harbors, rivers, islands, rocks, points, bays, and shallows which are along the northern coast.	216
--	-----

CHAPTER XII

The ceremonies of the savages before going to war. The Almouchicoid savages and their monstrous shape. Narrative of the Sieur de Prevert, of St. Malo, on the discovery of the coast of Acadie.....	221
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII

A frightful monster, which the savages call Gougou. Our short and safe return to France	227
---	-----

The Voyages of Sieur de Champlain

VOLUME II—BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

Departure from France; what took place up to the time of our arrival at St. Louis Rapids.

I LEFT Rouen on the 5th of March,¹ to go to Honfleur, where I set sail; and on May 7 I reached Quebec, where I found those who had passed the winter there in good spirits and having had no illnesses. They told us that the winter had not been severe, and that the river had not frozen. The trees were beginning, too, to reclothe themselves with leaves, and the fields to be decked with flowers.

On the 13th I left Quebec, to go to the Sault St. Louis,² where I arrived on the 21st. Then, as we had only two canoes, I could take only four men with me. Among them was one named Nicolas de Vignau, the boldest liar that had been seen for a

¹March 5, 1613.

²The Lachine Rapids at Montreal.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

long time, as the course of this narrative will make plain. He had formerly passed the winter with the savages, and I had sent him to make discoveries in preceding years. He reported to me on his return to Paris, in the year 1612, that he had seen the Northern Sea;³ that the River of the Algonquins⁴ came from a lake that emptied into it, and that in seventeen days' journey one could go and come between the Rapids of St. Louis and the sea. Further, he had seen the wreckage of an English ship that had been lost on this coast, on which there had been eighty men who escaped to the land, whom the savages had killed, because these Englishmen wished to take their Indian corn and other provisions by force; and he had seen their heads,^{4*} which these savages had scalped (according to their custom), which they wished me to see, and also to give me a young English boy whom they had kept for me.⁵ This news delighted me very much, for I thought that I had almost

³La Mer du Nord here refers to Hudson Bay.

⁴The Ottawa.

^{4*}“Les testes qu'iceux sauvages avoient escorchées.” See note above, vol. I, 218.

⁵The suggestion for this yarn may have come from some Indian rumor in regard to Hudson's voyage in the years 1610-12. After spending the winter of 1610-11 in the Bay he and eight others

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

found what I had been seeking for so long a time. So I adjured him to tell me the truth, that I might notify the King of it; and warned him that if he was letting me believe some lie he was putting a rope around his neck; also that, if the story were true, he could rest assured of being well rewarded. He assured me again of it with stronger oaths than ever. And, in order to play his part better, he gave me a description of the country, which he said that he had made to the best of his ability. He seemed so confident and so full of sincerity that the narrative that he had gotten up—the story of the wreckage of the ship and the matters mentioned above—had a very plausible appearance, taken in connection with the voyage of the English toward Labrador in the year 1612, where they found a strait through which they sailed as far as the 63d degree of latitude and the 290th⁶ of longitude, and passed the winter

were set adrift in a small boat and never again heard of. Hudson's map of his discovery was brought to England by the mutineers of 1612, and Champlain saw a cut of it published that same year and incorporated it in a small map which may be found in *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 228. S.

⁶East of Ferro. The longitudes are so given on the small map just mentioned.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

at the 53d degree and lost some ships, as their report proves. These things making me believe what he said was true, I then made a report of it to the Chancellor; and showed it to Marshal de Brissac, President Jeannin and other Seigneurs of the Court, who told me that I must see it myself. That was why I asked Sieur Georges, a merchant of La Rochelle, to give him a passage in his ship, which he willingly did; and when he was there he questioned him as to why he was making the voyage. And, since it was of no advantage to him, he asked him if he expected some salary, to which he answered that he did not, and that he did not expect anything except from the King, and that he undertook the voyage only to show me the Northern Sea, which he had seen; and he made an affidavit of this at La Rochelle before two notaries.

Now, as I was taking leave, on Whitsunday,⁷ of all the principal men, to whose prayers I commended myself, and of all the rest, I said to him, in their presence, that if what he had told me before was not true, he must not give me the trouble of undertaking the journey, to make which one must run many risks. Once more he asserted

⁷May 26 in 1613. L.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

over again all that he had said, on peril of his life.

So, our canoes being loaded with some provisions, with our arms and merchandise, with which to make presents to the savages, I set out—Monday, May 27—from the Isle de Ste. Hélène with four Frenchmen and a savage, and an adieu was given me from our bark with a few shots from small pieces. This day we went no farther than the Sault St. Louis, which is only one league up the river, because of the bad weather, which did not permit us to go any farther.

On the 29th we passed the rapids, partly by land, partly by water. We had to carry our canoes, clothes, provisions and arms on our shoulders, which is no slight task for those who are not accustomed to it. After having gone two leagues beyond the rapids, we entered a lake,⁸ about twelve leagues in circumference, into which three rivers empty—one coming from the west, from the direction of the Ochateguins,⁹ who live 150 to 200 leagues from the great rapids; another from the south,¹⁰ the country of the Iroquois, the same distance off; and the

⁸Lake St. Louis.

⁹The Hurons. This was the St. Lawrence.

¹⁰The Chateauguay.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

third from the north,¹¹ coming from the country of the Algonquins and Nebicerini,¹² also about the same distance. This river from the north (according to the account of the savages) comes from farther off, and passes by tribes unknown to them, about 300 leagues from them.

This lake is filled with beautiful large islands consisting of meadows only, where it is pleasant to hunt, deer and game being abundant. There is also plenty of fish. The country surrounding it is full of big forests. We stopped for the night at the entrance of this lake, and set up barricades, on account of the Iroquois who prowl about these places to surprise their enemies; and I am sure that if they had got hold of us they would have given us the same treatment. Therefore we kept good watch all night. The next day I took the altitude of this place, which is in latitude $45^{\circ} 18'$. About three o'clock in the afternoon we entered the river that comes from the north,¹³ and passed a small rapid by land, in order to spare our canoes, and spent the rest of the night in a little island waiting for the day.

¹¹The Ottawa.

¹²The Nipissings.

¹³The Ottawa.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

On the last of May we passed by another lake,¹⁴ seven or eight leagues long and three wide, where there are some islands. The country about is very level, except in some places where there are some hills covered with pines. We passed a rapid¹⁵ which is called by the inhabitants, Quenechouan. It is full of stones and rocks, and the water flows through them with great swiftness. We had to get into the water and drag our canoes along the shore with a rope. Half a league from there we passed some small rapids by rowing, which cannot be done without sweating. It takes great skill to shoot these rapids and avoid the whirlpools and breakers which are in them, and the savages do this with a dexterity that cannot be surpassed, looking for side passages and the easiest places, which they recognize at a glance.

On Saturday, the first of June, we passed two other rapids—the first half a league long and the second a league—where we had a great deal of trouble; for the rapidity of the current is so great that it makes a

¹⁴The Lake of Two Mountains.

¹⁵The first of a series of rapids called the Long Sault, "now overcome by the Carillon and Grenville canals—twelve miles of very turbulent water." Dawson, *The St. Lawrence*, 266.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

terrible noise, and in pouring down from one layer of rock to another it makes so much white foam everywhere that the water cannot be seen at all. These rapids are strewn with rocks, and there are some islands here and there covered with pines and white cedars. It was there that we had difficulty from not being able to carry our canoes by land, because the woods were so thick, and we had to drag them in the water with ropes. As I was drawing mine I thought I was lost, because it swerved into one of the whirlpools, and if I had not, fortunately, fallen between two rocks, the canoe would have dragged me in, because I could not undo the rope that was wound around my hand, quickly enough, which hurt me very much and had like to have cut it off. In this danger I cried to God, and began to pull my canoe, which was returned to me by a back current, such as is found in these rapids. Having escaped, I praised God, begging Him to preserve us. Our savage came afterward to rescue me, but I was out of danger. It is not to be wondered at that I was interested in saving our canoe, for if it had been lost we should have had to stay there, or wait for some savages to pass by there, which is a slight hope for those who have nothing on which

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

to dine and who are not accustomed to such weariness. As for our Frenchmen, they did not have any better luck, and several times they expected to lose their lives, but the Divine Goodness kept us all safe. The rest of the day we spent in repose, for we had toiled enough.

The next day we met fifteen canoes of savages, called Quenongebin, in a river, after we had passed a little lake four leagues long and two wide. They had been warned of my coming by those who had passed the Rapids of St. Louis coming from the war with the Iroquois. I was very glad to meet them again, and they also to meet me. They were surprised to see me with so few men and with only one savage. After we had exchanged greetings in the fashion of the country, I begged them not to go any farther, in order that I might explain my wishes, and we encamped on an island.

The next day I informed them that I had come to their country to see them, and to fulfill the promise that I had made them before; and that if they were resolved to go to the war it would be very agreeable to me, inasmuch as I had brought some men with that intention. With this they were much pleased. And having told them that I wished to go farther, to inform some

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

other tribes, they wanted to divert me from it, saying that the way was bad, and that what we had seen was nothing to it. On that account I begged them to give me one of their men to steer our second canoe, and also to guide us, for our leaders did not know the way any farther. They did so willingly, and in exchange I made them a present and gave them one of our Frenchmen, the least necessary, whom I sent back to the rapids, with a leaf of my notebook, in which, for want of paper, I gave news of myself.

Thus we separated; and, continuing our course up this river, we found another one very beautiful and broad, which comes from a nation called Ouescharini, who live north of it four days' journey from its mouth. This river¹⁶ is very attractive, because of the beautiful islands in it and the lands decked with beautiful open woods which border it; and the land is good to till.

On the fourth day we passed near another river which comes from the north,¹⁷ where some tribes named Algonquins live. It empties into the great St. Lawrence River, three leagues below the Rapids of St. Louis, thus forming an island of nearly

¹⁶Rivière de Petite Nation, Little Nation River.

¹⁷The Gatineau.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

forty leagues.¹⁸ It is not wide, but filled with a vast number of rapids which are very difficult to pass. Sometimes these people go down this river to avoid meeting their enemies, knowing that they will not look for them in places so difficult of access.

At the mouth of this river there is another which comes from the south, at the entrance of which there is a fine waterfall; for it falls with such vehemence from a height of 20 or 25 fathoms that it makes an overhanging curtain¹⁹ nearly 400 paces wide. The savages pass under it for pleasure without getting wet, except with the spray that this water makes. There is an island in the middle of this river, which, like all the country around, is filled with pines and white cedars. When the savages

¹⁸This passage, as it reads, is very perplexing. Laverdière suggests that a clause has been left out, and proposes: "This river (i. e., the Gatineau) in the back country connects with another which empties 30 (instead of 3) leagues below the Sault St. Louis into the St. Lawrence." *Voyages, 1613, 299.*

¹⁹Rideau (Curtain) Falls, in the Rideau River. The height of the falls is greatly overstated. It is 30 feet. Possibly Champlain wrote *brasses* instead of *pieds* through a lapse of memory. Champlain was now at the site of the city of Ottawa, which lies in the angle made by the Ottawa and Rideau rivers to the west of the Rideau.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

want to enter the river, they climb the mountain, carrying their canoes, and go half a league by land. The region about is filled with all sorts of game, which often causes the savages to stop there. The Iroquois come there also sometimes to surprise them while they are making the passage.

We passed a fall a league from there, which is half a league wide²⁰ and descends from a height of six or seven fathoms. There are many little islands, which are nothing but cliffs, ragged and inaccessible, covered with poor brushwood. At one place the water falls with such violence upon a rock that, in the course of time, there has been hollowed out in it a wide and deep basin, so that the water flows round and round there and makes, in the middle, great whirlpools. Hence, the savages call it *As-ticou*, which means Kettle. This waterfall makes such a noise in this basin that it can be heard more than two leagues off. The savages who pass by it have a ceremony

²⁰The Chaudière (Kettle) Falls. The width given by Champlain includes the islands and minor channels. The main stream at the falls is now about 200 feet wide; the height is 50 feet. Baedeker's *Canada*, 154. Dawson gives the height as 40 feet. The Chaudière Falls supply the power today to run many sawmills and paper-mills in Ottawa and Hull, on the other side of the river.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

which we shall describe in its place. We had great difficulty here in going up against a strong current by paddling, in order to reach the foot of this fall, where the savages took their canoes, and our Frenchmen and I took our arms, provisions and other commodities, in order to pass over the rough rocks about a quarter of a league, the extent of the fall; and almost as soon as we had to embark we had to go ashore again and go about 300 paces through some copsewood; and then again, after entering the water, to get our canoes by some sharp rocks, with an amount of trouble that can be imagined. I took the altitude of the place and found that it was $45^{\circ} 38'$.

In the afternoon we entered a lake,²¹ five leagues long and two wide, where there are very beautiful islands filled with vines, walnuts²² and other fine trees; and 10 or 12 leagues from there, up the river, we passed several islands covered with pines. The soil is sandy, and a root is found there which makes a crimson dye, with which the savages paint their faces and then they put on little gew-gaws in their own way. There is also a range of mountains along this river, and the country around seems to be rather

²¹Lake des Chênes.

²²Butternuts.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

rough. We spent the rest of the day on a very pleasant island.

The next day we continued our course as far as some big rapids, about three leagues wide, where the water descends about 10 or 12 fathoms over a slope and makes a marvelous noise.²³ It is filled with countless islands covered with pines and cedars. In order to pass it we had to make up our minds to give up our maize or Indian corn and the few other provisions that we had, with the least necessary luggage; reserving only our arms and lines, to afford us something to live on, according as places and luck in hunting might allow. Thus lightened we passed, sometimes rowing, sometimes by land, carrying our canoes and arms by three rapids, which are a league and a half long, where our savages, who are untiring in this work and accustomed to endure such hardships, helped us very much.

Pursuing our course we passed two other rapids; one by land, the other by rowing, and with poles, standing up; then we entered a lake²⁴ six or seven leagues long, into which empties a river²⁵ coming from

²³The Des Chats Rapids.

²⁴Lac Des Chats.

²⁵The Madawaska.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

the south. On this river, at a distance of five days' journey from the other river, there are people living, called Matou-ouëscarini. The land about this lake is sandy and covered with pines, which have almost all been burned by the savages. There are some islands, in one of which we rested and saw beautiful red cedars, the first that I had seen in this country, from which I made a cross, which I set up at one end of the island on a high place, well in sight, with the arms of France, as I have done in other places where we have stopped. I named this island St. Croix.

On the 6th we left this island of St. Croix, where the river is a league and a half wide, and having gone eight or ten leagues we passed a little rapid by rowing, and a great many islands of different sizes. Here our savages left their sacks with their provisions and the least necessary things, in order to be less burdened in going by land to avoid several rapids that we had to pass. There was a great discussion among our savages and our impostor, who affirmed that there was no danger by the rapids, and that we ought to go that way. Our savages said to him: "You are tired of living"; and to me, that I ought not to believe him, and that he did not tell the truth.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

So, as I had several times noticed that he had no acquaintance with these places, I followed the advice of the savages, which was a lucky thing for me, for he was looking for difficulties, in order to ruin me, or to disgust me with the enterprise, as he confessed subsequently (which shall be mentioned later). So we crossed the river to the west, its course being from the north. I took the altitude of this place, which is in latitude $46\frac{2}{3}$ degrees.²⁶ We had a great deal of trouble in following this trail by land, though I, for my part, was loaded only with three arquebuses, as many oars, my cloak and some little things. I encouraged my men, who were a little more heavily loaded and found the mosquitoes a worse burden than their loads.

Thus, after having passed four little ponds and gone two leagues and a half, we were so tired that we could not go any farther, for the reason that it was nearly twenty-four hours since we had eaten anything except a little broiled fish without any seasoning; for we had left our provisions, as I have already said. We rested on the shore of a pond, which was rather pleasant, and made a fire to drive off the mosquitoes,

²⁶It should be $45\frac{2}{3}$ degrees.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

which tormented us greatly. Their persistency is so remarkable that it is impossible to give a description of it. We cast our lines to catch some fish.

The next day²⁷ we passed this pond, which is about a league long, and then we went by land three leagues, by a harder country than we had ever seen, in that the winds had beaten down the pines on top of one another, which is no slight obstacle, for it is necessary to pass sometimes over and sometimes under these trees. In this way we came to a lake,²⁸ six leagues long and two wide, very full of fish; and the people of the country about come there to fish. Near this lake there is a settlement of savages who till the soil and raise maize. The chief is named Nibachis. He came to see us, with his followers, and was surprised that we had been able to pass the rapids and bad roads that it was necessary to traverse to reach them. And, after having given us some tobacco, according to their fashion, he began to address his compan-

²⁷June 7.

²⁸Muskrat Lake. See Slafter's note in *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 64-66, for an account and a picture of the astrolabe found in this neighborhood in 1867, which is supposed to have been lost by Champlain.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

ions, saying to them that we must have fallen from the clouds, for he knew not how we could have got through the country; and that they who lived in the region had a great deal of trouble in going over these bad trails. He told them, in addition, that I was accomplishing all that I wished to; in short, that he believed of me what the other savages had told him about me. And, knowing that we were hungry, they gave us some fish, which we ate; and having dined, I made him understand, through Thomas, my interpreter, the pleasure that I felt in having met them; that I had come to this country to assist them in their wars, and that I wished to go farther, to see some other chiefs for the same purpose; at which they rejoiced and promised me help. They showed me their gardens and fields, where there was maize. Their soil is sandy, and for that reason they devote themselves more to the chase than to tilling the soil, in contrast to the Ochataiguins.²⁹ When they wish to prepare a piece of land for cultivation they cut and burn the trees, and they do this very easily, for there are only oaks and elms. When the wood is burned they stir up the ground a little and plant their maize, kernel by ker-

²⁹The Hurons.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

nel, as people do in Florida.³⁰ It was only four inches high when I was there.

CHAPTER II

Continuation. Arrival at Tessoüat's, and the kind reception he gave me. Character of their cemeteries. The savages promise me four canoes to continue my way. Soon afterward they refuse me them. Speech of the savages to dissuade me from my undertaking, showing the difficulties. Response with regard to these difficulties. Tessoüat accuses my guide of lying, and of not having been where he said he had. The guide maintains that what he says is true. I urge them to give me some canoes. Several refusals. My guide convicted of lying, and his confession.

NIBACHIS had two canoes equipped to take me to see another chief, named Tessoüat, who lived eight leagues from him on the shore of a great lake,¹ through which flows the river that we had left, which extends northward. So we crossed the lake² in a west northwesterly direction nearly seven leagues, where, having gone ashore, we went one league northeast in a rather

³⁰Used in the Spanish sense, which included what is now the Southern States of the Union.

¹Allumette Lake.

²Muskrat Lake.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

beautiful country, where there are well-trodden footpaths, by which one may go easily; and we reached the shore of the lake,³ where Tessouat's settlement was. He was there with another neighboring chief, and was thoroughly astonished to see me, and told us that he thought it was a dream and that he did not believe what he saw. From there we went to an island,⁴ where their cabins were pretty poorly covered with the bark of trees. The island is full of oaks, pines and elms, and is not flooded in high water, like the other islands in the lake.

This island is in a strong situation, for at its two ends and at the place where the river flows into the lake there are troublesome rapids, and their roughness makes the island a stronghold; and they have made their settlement there to avoid the pursuit of their enemies. It is in latitude 47° ⁵ as is the lake, which is ten leagues long and three or four wide. It is full of fish, but the hunting there is not very good.

When I visited the island I examined

³Allumette Lake is formed by an expansion of the Ottawa. The river is here divided by Allumette Island. On the shore of the lake opposite the island is the town of Pembroke.

⁴Allumette Island.

⁵Actually $45^{\circ} 47'$. S.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

their cemeteries, and there I was greatly astonished to see sepulchres shaped like a bier, made of pieces of wood crossed at the top and fixed in the ground three feet or so apart. On the interlaced tops they put a large piece of wood, and in front another piece upright, on which is rudely carved the face of the man or woman who is buried there. If it is a man, they put in a shield, a sword attached to a handle, according to their method; a club and bows and some arrows. If it is a chief, there will be a plume on the head and some other trinket or ornament. If a child, they give it a bow and an arrow. If a woman or a girl, a kettle, an earthen pot, a wooden spoon and a paddle. The whole tomb is six or seven feet long at most and four wide. Others are smaller. They are painted yellow and red, with much work as delicate as the tomb.⁶ The deceased is buried in his robe of beaver-fur, or other furs which he used in his life, and they put all his riches close by him, such as hatchets, knives, kettles and awls, in order that these things may serve him in the country whither he is going; for they believe in the immortality of the

⁶The word *tombeau* is repeated by inadvertence. The narrative of 1613 has *la sculpture*, "the carving," in this place. *Voyages, 1613*, 308.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

soul, as I have said elsewhere. These sepulchres of this kind are made only for warriors; for others they do not put in more than they do for women, as being useless people; and so, little is found in their graves.

After having observed the poorness of this soil, I asked them how they enjoyed cultivating so poor a country, in view of the fact that there was some much better that they left deserted and abandoned, like that at the Rapids of St. Louis. They answered me that they were obliged to do so to keep themselves secure, and that the roughness of the place served them as a bulwark against their enemies. But they said that if I would make a settlement of Frenchmen at the Rapids of St. Louis, as I had promised to do, they would leave their dwelling-place to come and settle near us, being assured that their enemies would not do them harm while we were with them. I told them that this year we should make preparations with wood and stones to make a fort next year and cultivate the land. When they heard this they gave a great shout, as a sign of applause. This conference finished, I asked all the chiefs and leaders among them to meet the next day on the mainland, in Tessoüat's cabin. He

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

wished to give me a *tabagie*.⁷ I said that I would tell them my plans there. This they promised to do; and then they sent to their neighbors and asked them to come there.

The next day all the guests came, each with his wooden bowl and his spoon, and they sat down, without order or ceremony, on the ground in Tessoüat's cabin. He distributed to them a kind of broth made of maize crushed between two stones, with meat and fish cut into small pieces, all cooked together without salt. They also had meat broiled over coals and fish boiled separately, which he also distributed. And as for me, inasmuch as I did not care for

⁷An Algonquin word for "feast." It was introduced into French by Champlain, Lescarbot and others. The French lexicographers all derive it from, or connect it with, "tobacco." There is no connection of etymology or meaning. "Tobacco" is a West Indian word, and originally meant a kind of pipe or cigar used in smoking the herb. See Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I, 332. The Algonquin word for tobacco is *petun*. Owing to this misconception of the lexicographers, *tabagie*, in French, came to mean "smoker," or smoking-room, tobacco pouch. In the first sense it is familiar to readers of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, where frequent reference is made to the *tabagie*, "tobacco parliament," of the King, Frederick's father. Cf. also p. 157, below.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

any of their broth, because they cook it in a very dirty way, I asked them for some meat and some fish, to prepare in my own way, and they gave it to me. To drink we had beautiful clear water. Tessoüat, who gave the tabagie, entertained us without eating, according to their custom.

When the tabagie was over, the young men, who are not present at the speeches and councils, and who, at the tabagies, remain at the door of the cabins, went out; and then each of those who remained began to fill his pipe, and one and another offered me one; and they spent a good half hour in this exercise, without saying a single word, as is their custom.

After having smoked sufficiently during this long silence I told them, through my interpreter, that the reason of my voyage was only to assure them of my affection and of my desire to aid them in their wars, as I had done before; that what had prevented me from coming the year preceding, as I had promised them to do, was that the King had occupied me in other wars; but that now he had commanded me to visit them and to assure them of these things, and that, with this object, I had a number of men at the Rapids of St. Louis; that I had come to go through their country to

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

examine the fertility of the soil, the lakes, the rivers and the sea, that they had told me were in their country; and that I wished to see a tribe six days' journey from them—named Nebicerini⁸—to invite them also to the war. For this purpose I asked them to give me four canoes with eight savages to guide me to that country. And, inasmuch as the Algonquins are not great friends of the Nebicerini, they appeared to listen to me with greater attention.

My discourse over, they began again to smoke and to confer together in a very low voice with regard to my propositions. Then Tessoüat spoke for all and said that they had always thought me more attached to them than any Frenchman that they had seen; that the proofs that they had had of it in the past made their belief of it in the future easy. Moreover, I had thoroughly shown myself their friend, in that I had gone through so much danger in order to come to see them and to invite them to the war; and that all these things obliged them to feel as kindly toward me as toward their own children. But still, he went on, I had broken my promise the preceding year and two hundred savages had come to

⁸The Nipissings, on Lake Nipissing.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

the Rapids, expecting to find me and to go to the war, and to make me presents; and, not having found me, they were very much saddened, thinking that I was dead, as some people had told them; and, further, that the Frenchmen who were at the Rapids would not aid them in their wars, and they had resolved among themselves not to go to the Rapids any more. This, he said, had been the reason for their going to war alone (not expecting to see me any more); and, in fact, two hundred⁹ of them had gone. And, inasmuch as most of their warriors were away, they asked me to postpone the expedition to the following year, saying that they would tell the decision to everybody in the country. As for the four canoes for which I asked, they gave them to me, but with great reluctance, saying that they were greatly displeased with such an undertaking, because of the hardships that I should endure in it; that these people were sorcerers, and that they had killed a great many of their people by charms and poisoning, and that, on that account, they were not friends. Moreover, with regard to war, I had no business

⁹The figure in the 1613 narrative is 1200, and in the case of the 200, just above, 2000. *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 73.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

with them, inasmuch as they were a people of small spirit; and they wished to deter me from my purpose with several other considerations.

I, on the other hand, who had no other wish but to see these people and establish a friendship with them, in order to see the Northern Sea, took their difficulties lightly, saying to them that it was not far to that country; that, as for the bad trails, they could not be worse than those that I had already passed over, and that, as for their sorceries, they would have no power to harm me, and that my God would preserve me from them. I added that I was acquainted with their herbs and would, therefore, be careful about eating them; that I desired to make them all friends together, and that I was making them presents with that object, feeling sure that they would do something for me. In response to these reasons they granted me, as I have said, four canoes, at which I was very glad, forgetting all past hardships in the hope of seeing that sea so much longed for.

To pass the rest of the day, I walked in the gardens, which were filled with nothing but squashes, beans and our peas, which they were beginning to cultivate. There Thomas, my interpreter, who understood

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

the language very well, came to find me, to warn me that the savages, after I had left them, had got the idea that if I should undertake this voyage I should die and they also; and that they could not give me those promised canoes, since there was no one among them who would guide me, but that they wished me to postpone the voyage to the next year, when they would take me there with a good equipment, in order to defend themselves against those people, in case they wished to do them harm, since they are bad.

The news made me feel very bad, and I went to them at once and said to them that, until that day, I had regarded them as men and trustworthy, and that now they showed themselves children and liars; and that if they would not carry out their promise they would not show their friendship to me. If, however, they felt it an inconvenience to give me four canoes, they might give me only two, and four savages.

They described to me again the difficulty of the roads, the number of rapids, the wickedness of those tribes, and that it was for fear of losing me that they gave me this refusal. I answered them that I was sorry that they showed themselves so little my friends, and that I would never have

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

thought it; that I had a young fellow with me (showing them my impostor) who had been in their country, and had not observed all the difficulties that they described, or found these people so bad as they said. Then they began to look at him, and especially Tessoüat, the old chief, with whom he had spent the winter; and, calling him by name, he said to him, in his language: "Nicolas, is it true that you said that you had been among the Nebicerini?" It was a long time before he spoke; then he said to them, in their language, which he spoke a little: "Yes; I have been there." They at once looked askance at him, and threw themselves on him, with loud cries, as if they would eat him or tear him to pieces; and Tessoüat said to him: "You are a bold liar; you know well that every night you slept at my side with my children, and every morning you got up there. If you have been among these people, it was while you were asleep. How have you been so barefaced as to tell your chief such lies, and so wicked as to be willing to risk his life among such dangers? You are a scoundrel, and he ought to put you to death more cruelly than we do our enemies. I am not surprised that he should be so insistent, on the assurance of your words."

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

I at once told him that he must reply, and that if he had been to that country he must give me some descriptions, to make me believe it, and to relieve me from the anxiety in which he had involved me; but he remained silent and altogether distracted. Then I drew him apart from the savages and exhorted him to tell me if he had seen this sea, and if he had not seen it to tell me that. Again, with oaths, he affirmed all that he had already said, and that he would show it to me, if these savages would give some canoes.

After this conversation Thomas came to warn me that the savages of the island had sent a canoe secretly to the Nebicerini, to inform them of my arrival. And, in order to profit by the opportunity, I went to these savages to tell them that I had dreamed that night that they were going to send a canoe to the Nebicerini without telling me of it; at which I was warned [surprised],¹⁰ in view of the fact that they knew that I wished to go there. To this they answered me, saying that I did them a great

¹⁰The reading is "estonné" in the narrative of 1613 and "adverty" in the narrative of 1832. The latter is apparently a printer's or copyist's error, repeating the form from the immediately preceding phrase, "sans m'en advertir."

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

wrong in trusting more to a liar, who wished me to lose my life, than to so many brave chiefs who were my friends and who cherished my life. I replied to them that my man (speaking of our impostor) had been in the country with one of Tessoüat's relatives, and had seen the sea and the wreckage of an English ship, together with eighty heads¹¹ that the savages had, and a young English boy whom they kept prisoner and whom they wished to present to me.

When they heard of the sea, the ships, the scalps of the Englishmen and the prisoner, they shouted more than before that he was a liar; and so they afterward called him, as if it were the greatest insult that they could have offered him, all saying together that he ought to be put to death, or that he should tell with whom he had been there, and that he should mention the lakes, rivers and roads by which he had gone. To this he answered that he had forgotten the name of the savage, in spite of the fact that he had named him to me more than twenty times, and even the day before. As to the characteristics of the country, he had described them in a paper that he had given to me. Then I presented the map, and had

¹¹Here, obviously, scalps; see note, vol. I, 217.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

it interpreted to the savages, who questioned him upon it. To this he made no reply, and so, by his sullen silence, revealed his villainy.

As my mind was wavering in uncertainty, I went off by myself and called to mind the details of the voyage of the English that has already been mentioned, and the accounts of our liar were sufficiently in conformity to it; also that there was little probability that this fellow had invented all that, and that he would not have wished to undertake the journey; but that it was more credible that he had seen these things and that his ignorance did not permit him to reply to the questions of the savages. Besides, if the account of the English were true, the Northern Sea could not be more than 100 leagues in latitude from this country, for I was in latitude 47° and in longitude 296° . But it was possible that the difficulty of passing the rapids, and the roughness of the mountains covered with snow, was the reason why these people had no knowledge of this sea. To be sure, they had told me that from the country of the Ochateguins it was only thirty-five or forty days' journey to the sea, which they see in three places. Of this they again that year assured me. But no one had spoken to me

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

of this Northern Sea, except this liar, who had greatly delighted me by reason of the shortness of the way.

Now, when this canoe was getting ready, I had him summoned before his companions and, explaining to him all that had taken place, I told him that he must not deceive me any more, and that he must say if he had seen the things spoken of, or not; that I wished to improve the opportunity that presented itself; that I had forgotten all that had taken place, but that if I went farther I would have him hanged and strangled.

After some reflection he fell on his knees and asked my pardon, saying that all that he had said, both in France and in this country, about this sea was false; that he never had seen it, and that he had not been farther than Tessoüat's village, and had said these things in order to get back to Canada. Beside myself with anger, I had him taken away, being unable to have him any longer before my eyes.¹² I also charged

¹²Dr. Dawson remarks that this "is the only instance in Champlain's record when his even temper was ruffled." *The St. Lawrence*, 269. It will be recalled that this exploration to Hudson Bay was the principal object of the year's work when Champlain left France. See above, pp. 1-4.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

Thomas to inquire into everything in detail. He finally told him that he had not believed that I would take the journey, on account of the dangers, believing that some difficulty would present itself which would prevent me from going, such as the unwillingness of the savages to give me canoes; that, in this way, the journey would be postponed until another year, and that when he returned to France he would be rewarded for his discovery; and if I would leave him in this country he would go until he found it, even if he should die. These were his words, which were reported to me by Thomas; but they did not please me very much, astonished as I was at the barefacedness and wickedness of this liar. Nor was I able to imagine how he had fabricated this deception, unless he had heard a report of the voyage of these English mentioned before and, in hopes of having some reward, as he said, had had the rashness to risk it.

Soon afterward I went to inform the savages, to my great regret, of the malice of this liar, and to tell them that he had confessed the truth to me, at which they were delighted, reproaching me for the lack of confidence that I had felt in them, who were chiefs and my friends, and who always

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

spoke the truth; and they said that this liar must be put to death, for he was extremely malicious, saying to me: "Do you not see that he wished to cause your death? Give him to us, and we promise you that he will never lie again." When I saw that they and their children were shouting after him, I forbade them to do him any harm, and told them to prevent their children from doing so, for I wished to take him back to the Rapids, in order to make him give his report; and that when I got there I would consider what I should do with him.

As my journey was ended in this way, and without any hope of seeing the sea in that quarter, except in my mind's eye, I regretted not having employed the time better, and also the trouble and labor that I had had to endure patiently. If I had gone in another direction, following the description of the savages, I should have outlined an undertaking which now had to be postponed until another time.

Having no other desire, for the moment, than to return, I asked the savages to come to the Sault St. Louis, where they should receive good treatment; which they announced to all their neighbors.

Before starting, I made a cross of white cedar, which I set up on the shore of the

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

lake in a conspicuous place, with the arms of France; and I begged the savages kindly to preserve it, as also those that they would find along the roads where we had passed. They promised me to do so, and that I should find them when I should return to them.

CHAPTER III

Our return to the Rapids. False alarm. Ceremony at the Chaudière Falls. Confession of our liar before each one. Our return to France.

ON June 10¹ I took leave of Tessoüat, to whom I made several presents, and I promised him that, if God kept me in health, I would come the next year with an equipment to go to war; and he promised me to assemble a great number of people for that time, saying that I should see nothing but savages and arms, which would please me; and he gave me his son to keep me company. So we set out with four² [40] canoes, and went down the river that

¹June 10, 1613.

²The narrative of 1613 says 40, *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 81, and the sum total a few lines below indicates the same.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

we had left, which turns to the north, at the place where we went ashore to take our way through the lakes. On our way we met nine large canoes of the Ouescharini with forty strong, powerful men, who came at the news that they had heard; and we met others also, making, together, sixty canoes, and twenty others who had set out before us, each one with a good quantity of merchandise.

We ran six or seven rapids between the island of the Algonquins³ and the little rapids, a very disagreeable country. I saw very well that if we had come that way we should have had a great deal more trouble and could hardly have got along; and that it was not unreasonable for the savages to withstand our liar, whose only object was to make me lose my life.

Continuing our course ten or twelve leagues below the island of the Algonquins, we rested on a very pleasant island covered with vines and walnuts, where we caught some beautiful fish. About midnight two canoes came up from fishing farther off, which reported having seen four canoes of their enemies. At once three canoes were despatched to reconnoitre, but they returned without having seen any-

*Allumette Island.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

thing. Relying upon this, each one took his repose, except the women, who decided to pass the night in their canoes, not feeling safe on land. An hour before dawn a savage, having dreamed that the enemy were upon him, jumped up with a start and began running to the river to escape, crying: "They are killing me!" Those of his band awoke, not knowing what was the matter; and, thinking that they were pursued by their enemies, they threw themselves into the water; as did also one of our Frenchmen, who thought that he was being knocked in the head. At this noise, the rest of us, who were at a distance, were also soon awakened, and, without asking anything more, ran toward them. But, seeing them wandering here and there in the water, we were very much astonished, for we did not see them pursued by their enemies, or in a condition to defend themselves. After I had inquired of our Frenchman the cause of this excitement, and he had told me how it had happened, it all passed off in laughing and ridicule.

Continuing our course, we arrived at the Chaudière Falls, where the savages had the accustomed ceremony, which is as follows: after having carried their canoes below the falls, they get together in one place, where



Indian Costumes

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

one of them, with a wooden plate, takes up a collection, and each one of them puts into this plate a piece of tobacco. The collection made, the plate is put into the middle of the band, and all dance around it, singing in their fashion; then one of the chiefs makes a speech, showing that for a long time they have been accustomed to make this offering, and that by this means they are guaranteed against their enemies; that otherwise misfortune would befall them, as the devil has persuaded them; and they live in this superstition, as in several others, as we have said elsewhere. That done, the speaker takes the plate and goes and throws the tobacco into the middle of the caldron, and they raise a great cry all together. These poor people are so superstitious that they do not expect to have a good journey if they have not had this ceremony in this place, for their enemies await them in this passage, not daring to advance farther because of the bad trails; and sometimes they surprise them there.

The next day we arrived at an island at the entrance to the lake, seven or eight leagues from the great Rapids of St. Louis, where, resting at night, we had another alarm, the savages having thought that they saw some canoes of their enemies. This

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

made them make several big fires, which I had them put out, explaining the trouble that could come of them, namely, that instead of hiding themselves they would show where they were.

On June 17 we reached the Rapids of St. Louis, where I gave them to understand that I did not wish them to trade any merchandise without my permission; and that, as for provisions, I would have some given to them as soon as we should arrive; which they promised me, saying that they were my friends. So, continuing our course, we reached the barks, and were saluted by some discharges of cannon, at which some of the savages were delighted, and others very much astonished, never having heard such music. Having landed, Maison-neuve⁴ came to me with the passport from Monseigneur the Prince. As soon as I had seen it, I let him and his men enjoy the benefit of it, like ourselves, and had the savages told that they might trade the next day.

⁴Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, founded Montreal on this spot in 1642, acting for "La Compagnie de Montréal." The original name was Ville-Marie de Montréal. Between 1611 and 1642 it was only a summer trading-station. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence*, 270.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

When I had told all those on the bark about the details of my journey, and the malice of our liar, they were very much astonished; and I begged them to assemble, so that in their presence, and that of the savages and his companions, he might acknowledge his villainy; which they willingly did. So being assembled, they had him come, and asked him why he had not shown me the Northern Sea, as he had promised me. He answered them that he had promised something impossible, for he never had seen this sea; but that the desire to make the voyage had made him say that; also that he did not believe that I would undertake it. Wherefore he begged them to please pardon him, as he had begged me; confessing that he had done very wrong, but that if I would please leave him in the country long enough to repair the fault, he would see this sea, and report positive information in regard to it the next year. For certain reasons I pardoned him, on this condition.⁵

After the savages had traded their merchandise, and had resolved to go back, I begged them to take with them two young men, to take care of them in a friendly

⁵At this point in the narrative of 1613 are a few descriptive details of hunting, etc., while at the trading-station. *Voyages of Champlain*, III. 85-86.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

way, show them the country, and pledge themselves to bring them back; to which they made great objections, pointing out to me the trouble that our liar had given me, and expressing the fear that they would make false reports to me, as he had done. I replied that if they would not take them, they were not my friends, and on that account they resolved to do so. As for our liar, none of the savages would have him, no matter how much I begged them, and we left him to the protection of God.

Seeing that we had no more to do in this country, I decided to return to France, and we arrived at Tadoussac on July 6.

On August⁶ 8 the weather was suitable for sailing, and on the 26th of the same month⁷ we arrived at St. Malo.

⁶Laverdière proposed to substitute July 8, on the ground that there was nothing to keep Champlain a month in Tadoussac, and that Maison-neuve's vessel, on which he sailed, was all ready. Cf. *Voyages, 1613*, p. 325; text and Laverdière's note.

⁷August 26, 1613.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

CHAPTER IV

The author goes to *Sieur de Monts*, who gives him the authorization to join the company. This he shows to the *Count de Soissons*. The commission that he gives him. The author addresses himself to the *Prince*, who takes him under his protection.

AFTER my return to France¹ I went to *Sieur de Monts*, at *Pons* in *Saintonge*, where he was *Governor*, and I told him of the success of the whole affair and the remedy that it was necessary to apply. He approved of all that I said about it, and, as his affairs would not permit him to come to court, he committed to me the execution of the matter and left me in full charge, with power of attorney to join the company, with such a sum as I should think suitable for him. When I arrived at court I made out some statements, which I gave to the late *President Jeannin*, who thoroughly approved of them and encouraged me to carry out the project, and even wish-

¹That is, in 1611. The first ten pages of this chapter, according to the chronological order, should precede chapter I of this volume, and follow p. 254 of vol. I.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

ed to do me the favor of taking these statements and showing them to the Council. But, clearly perceiving that those who love to fish in troubled waters² would find these regulations annoying, and would make an effort to hinder their being carried out, as they had done in the past, it seemed best to put myself in the hands of some great man whose authority could repel envy.

Since I had known the late Count de Soissons³ (a Prince who was pious and kind in all virtuous and holy undertakings) through the help of some friends of mine who were of his Council, I explained to him the importance of the affair; the way to regulate it; the evil that disorder had caused in the past; and that it would bring on a complete ruin, to the great dishonor of the name of France, if God did not raise up some one who would restore it.

When he was informed of the whole affair, he looked at the map of the country and promised me, subject to the good pleasure of the King, to give the matter his pro-

²An idiom, meaning to take advantage of a confused state of affairs.

³Charles de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, was the youngest son of Louis de Bourbon, first Prince of Condé.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

tection. Meanwhile, Sieur the President Jeannin showed the articles to the gentlemen of the Council, through whom we asked His Majesty kindly to give us the Count as a patron. This was granted by the gentlemen of his Council. In addition, they sent the articles to the late Duke d'Anville, Peer and Admiral of France, who highly approved of this project, promising to do all that lay in his power to favor this enterprise. When I was on the point of having the letters patent of his commission published in all the ports and harbors of the kingdom, and was honored with an appointment as his lieutenant, in order to form such a company as seemed to me good, as is shown by the commission already mentioned and inserted here, a serious illness overtook the Count at Blandy, of which he died. This postponed this undertaking; a result which those who envied us did not dare attempt until after his death, when they thought that the whole matter had fallen through.

“Charles de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, Peer and Grand Master of France, Governor for the King in the provinces of Normandy and Dauphiné, and his Lieutenant-General in the country of New France. To

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

all those who shall see these present letters, Greeting: Be it known, to all to whom it may concern, that on account of the good and entire confidence that we have in the person of Sieur Samuel de Champlain, captain-in-ordinary for the King, in the navy, and because of his good sense, competence, practical knowledge and experience in seamanship, and great diligence and knowledge that he has of this country, on account of the various negotiations, voyages and visits that he has made there, and in other places adjacent: this Sieur de Champlain, on these accounts, and in virtue of the power given us by His Majesty, we have commissioned, ordered and deputed, and we do commission, order and depute, by these presents, to represent our person in this country of New France; and to this end we have commanded him to go and settle with all his people, in the place called Quebec, on the Saint Lawrence River, otherwise called the Great River of Canada, in this country of New France; and both in this place, and in other places that the Sieur de Champlain shall deem good, there to have constructed and built such other forts and fortresses as shall be necessary and needful to him for his preservation and that of his men; which fort, or forts, we shall keep in

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

his control in this place of Quebec and other places to the extent of our power; and as much and as far as possible to establish, extend and make known the name, power and authority of His Majesty, and make all the peoples of this land, and those adjacent to it, subject themselves to it, submit to it and obey it; and that by means of this, and of all other lawful ways, he shall call, instruct, provoke and move them to the knowledge and service of God, and to the light of the faith and the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion; establish it there, and, in the exercise and profession of it, maintain, preserve and keep these places in obedience to His Majesty, and under his authority. And that he may have there more consideration, and act with more assurance, we have, in virtue of our power, permitted this Sieur de Champlain to commission, establish and appoint such captains and lieutenants as shall be necessary. And, likewise, to commission officers for the dispensation of justice, and for the maintenance of civil order, regulations and ordinances, and to carry on trade and to make contracts for that purpose, and for peace, alliance and confederation, good friendship, correspondence and intercourse with these peoples, and their princes, or

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

others having power and rule over them; to maintain, keep and carefully preserve the treaties and alliances which he shall make with them, provided that they give satisfaction on their part. And, in default of this, to make open war with them, to restrain them and bring them to reason, as far as he shall judge necessary, for the honor, obedience and service of God, and the establishment, maintenance and preservation of the authority of His Majesty among them; at the least to live, dwell, resort and go in and out among them in all confidence, liberty, intercourse and communication; to negotiate and trade there in a friendly and peaceful way; to carry on, to this end, the discovery and exploration of these lands, and especially from this place called Quebec, to as far as they can reach above it of the regions and rivers that are tributary to this St. Lawrence River; to try to find a route easy to traverse through this country to the countries of China and the East Indies, or elsewhere, as far as possible, along the coasts and on the mainland; to have all the mines of gold, silver or copper, or other metals and minerals, carefully sought out and explored; to have the metals mined, extracted, purified and refined, to be converted and disposed

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

of as is prescribed by the edicts and regulations of His Majesty, and as shall be commanded by us. And where this Sieur de Champlain finds Frenchmen, and others, trading, negotiating and communicating with the savages and people between this place Quebec and places beyond it, as was said above, for whom no reservation has been made by His Majesty, we have authorized him, and do authorize him, to seize and apprehend such persons, together with their ships, merchandise and all that is found belonging to them, and to have them brought and sent to France, to the harbors of our Government of Normandy, to the hands of justice, to be prosecuted according to the severity of the Royal ordinances, and what has been accorded us by His Majesty. And, this done, this Sieur de Champlain shall manage, carry on business and bear himself in the performance of his duties as our lieutenant, in the manner that he thinks will advance this conquest and settlement; the whole for the good, service and authority of His Majesty, with the same power, sway and authority that we should have if we were there in person, and as if the whole matter were expressly specified and declared in greater detail. And, in addition to all this already stated,

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

we have given this Sieur de Champlain permission, and we now give him permission, to associate and take with him such persons, and to make use of such sums of money, as he thinks best for the carrying out of our undertaking. For its management, even for the embarkation and other things necessary to this object that he will do in the cities and harbors of Normandy and other places, where you will judge it appropriate, we have, moreover, given, and we now do give, you, by these presents, all the responsibility, power, commission and special command; and for this we have substituted and delegated you in our place and office with the duty of observing, and causing to be observed by those under your charge and rule, all that has been stated; and of making for us a good and faithful report, on all occasions, of all that shall have been done and accomplished, that we may give a prompt explanation to His Majesty. So we pray and request all Princes, Potentates and foreign Lords, their lieutenant-generals, admirals, governors of their provinces, chiefs and leaders of their soldiers, whether by sea or by land, captains of their cities and coast forts, harbors, shores, havens and straits, to give to this Sieur de Champlain,

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

for the whole carrying out and execution of these presents, all support, succor, assistance, shelter, help, favor and aid, if there be need of it, and in whatever may be required by him.

“In witness whereof, we have these presents signed with our own hand, and countersigned by one of our secretaries-in-ordinary; and upon these we have had the seal of our arms set and attached.

“Paris, the fifteenth day of October, one thousand six hundred and twelve.

“Signed CHARLES DE BOURBON.

“And on the other side, by Monseigneur the Count, BRESSON.”

But this condition of things did not last any longer than was necessary, for I resolved to address myself to the Prince, who, when I had explained the importance and merit of the affair to him, which the Count had taken up as protector, was very willing to continue it on his authority, which caused me to have his commissions drawn up, His Majesty having given his protection. When the commissions were sealed, the Prince continued to honor me with the lieutenancy of the late Count, with the administration of it, in order to take into partnership such persons as I thought

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

good, and capable of aiding in the carrying out of the enterprise.

As I was preparing to publish in all the ports and harbors of the realm the commissions of the Prince, some busybodies, who had no interest in the matter, asked him to annul it, on the pretence that such a step would be for the interest of all the merchants in France, who had no reason to complain, since each one of them was received into the association and, therefore, could not justly take offence; for this reason, when their malice was recognized, they were rejected, receiving permission only to become members of the company.

During these altercations I could not do anything for the settlement in Quebec, and I had to be satisfied, for this year, to go there without forming any organization and only with the passports of the Prince, which were made out for five ships, namely: three from Normandy, one from La Rochelle and another from St. Malo; on condition that each should furnish me six⁴ men, together with what was necessary to aid me in the discoveries which I hoped to make beyond the great Rapids, and the twentieth of what they should be able to make from furs, to be employed in repairs of the settlement,

⁴Four in narrative of 1613.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

which was going to destruction. That is all that can be done this year, until the company shall be formed.

All these ships were getting ready, each in its port and harbor, and I went to set sail at Honfleur⁵ with Sieur du Pont Gravé, who was acting for the associates who had not disbanded. Once on board, we went directly to Tadoussac,⁶ and from there to Quebec, where we arrived in good health.⁷ This was in the year 1613.

Continuing our course from there to the great Rapids of St. Louis, where each one traded in skins, I looked for the ship that was first ready, to return in it.⁸ It was that of St. Malo, in which I embarked; and, weighing anchor and spreading sails, we had such favorable winds that in a few days we arrived in France. When we were there I explained to several merchants how profitable and useful a well-organized company would be, if conducted under the authority of a great prince, who

⁵April 6, 1613.

⁶Champlain arrived at Tadoussac April 29.

⁷May 7.

⁸The narrative now passes over the exploration of the Ottawa, given above in chs. I-III, pp. 1-42, and takes up the events of 1613 where they were dropped at the close of ch. III.

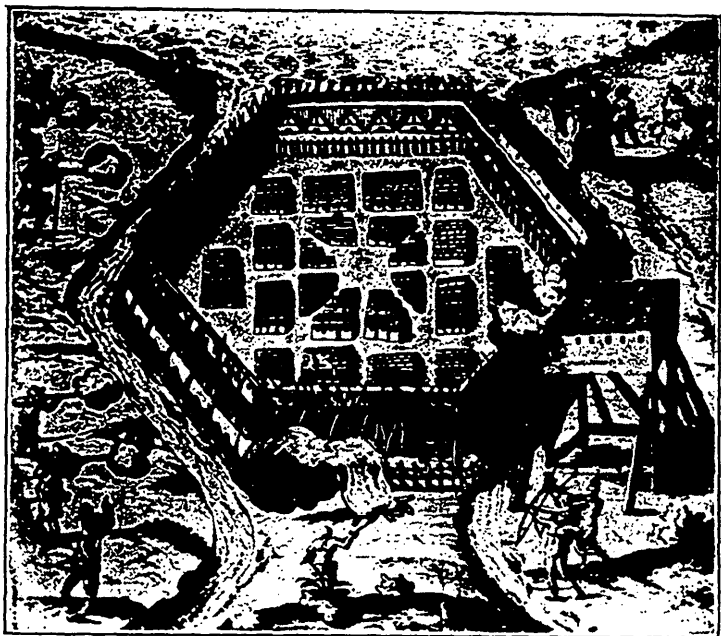
VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

could support it, in spite of any amount of envy; and that they should consider what they had lost by the lack of regulations in the past, and even in the present year, from mutual envy. And, realizing all these faults, they promised me to come to court to form a company, under certain conditions. When this was agreed I went to Fontainebleau, where the King was, and also the Prince, to whom I gave a faithful report of my voyage.

Some days afterward the ships of St. Malo and of Normandy were ready, but those of La Rochelle were not. Meanwhile I did not relax my efforts to organize the company at Paris, reserving one-third of the shares for those of La Rochelle, with the understanding that, in case they did not wish to join it within a certain time, they would not thereafter be received. They were so dilatory in this affair that they did not come in time and were, consequently, excluded; and those of Rouen and St. Malo took up the whole, sharing equally.

At that time one had to make arrows of all kinds of wood,⁹ for the incessant appeals to the Prince forced me to do a great many things at his command. Finally, the company was formed and the agreements

⁹I. e., resort to every kind of expedient.



The Attack on the Iroquois Fort

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

made, and I had them ratified by the Prince and His Majesty for eleven years. When this company had existed some time in peace there arose some dissension between them and those of La Rochelle, who were angry at having been excluded for not having presented themselves at the time set. This resulted in a great lawsuit, which was hung up until they obtained from the Prince a passport by a trick for a ship which, by the will of God, was lost fifteen leagues below Tadoussac, on the north shore. For without this stroke of fortune there is no doubt at all that, as it was well armed, it would have fought, wishing to enjoy the passport unjustly acquired, contrary to ours, in which the Prince pledged himself not to give any passports except to those of our company, and that if any others should be found, in whatever manner or way they were obtained, he declared them null and void henceforward, as well as from the date of issue. For this reason it would have been right to seize those of La Rochelle, which could not have been done except with the loss of a number of men. A part of the merchandise of this ship was saved and taken by our men, who got good profit from it with the savages, which caused them a very good year. On their

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

return they had a great lawsuit against La Rochelle, which was at last settled in favor of this organization.

Continuing this enterprise under the authority of the Prince, and seeing that we had no clergy, we got some through the intervention of Sieur Hoüel,¹⁰ who had a particular affection for this holy plan, and told me that the Recollect fathers would be the right ones there, both for residence at our settlement and for the conversion of the infidels. I agreed with this opinion, as they are without ambition and live altogether in conformity to the rule of St. Francis. I spoke of them to the Prince, who heartily approved, and the company offered voluntarily to support them until they could have a seminary, which they hoped to get through the charitable alms that would be given them, to take charge of and instruct the young.¹¹

Certain individuals of St. Malo, urged by others as envious as themselves at not

¹⁰Louis Hoüel, secretary of the King and comptroller-general of the salt works at Brouage. *Voyage, 1619, 3.*

¹¹This was the beginning of Catholic missions in Canada. Among the merchants trading in Canada the Huguenots were prominent, but the Huguenot influence lost ground from now on. Cf. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence, 271.*

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

being members of the company (although there were some of their fellow-citizens in it), wished to attempt something; but, not daring to go to the Prince, or to find councillors of State who would be willing to undertake their petition against his authority, continued to have it inserted in the *cahier général*¹² of the Estates that it be permitted to have the trade in furs free throughout the province, as a very important thing. It was a very serious article, and those who worded it should be pardoned, for they did not understand the matter, which was explained to them contrary to the truth.

This shows how the most famous assemblies make mistakes when they act without investigation. These envious persons thought that they had made a great stroke, and that in this assembly of the Estates held in Paris, miracles would be accomplished in regard to this matter, as if they had no other threads to wind. Having got wind of this, I spoke of it to the Prince and showed him the interest that he had in

¹²A memorial containing a list of grievances, or proposed changes, submitted to the Estates General. This meeting of the Estates General, in 1614, was the last ever held until that in 1789, at the opening of the French Revolution.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

this prohibition, which was so just, contained in this article, and that if he would please do me the honor of securing me a hearing, I would make it clear that Brittany had no interest in the matter, except the people of St. Malo, the most important of whom had been admitted into that company, and that others had refused to enter, and, in their ill-will, had had this article inserted in the *cahier* of the province. He told me that he would have me speak to these gentlemen; which was done, and I then made clear the truth of the matter. By this means the article came to be fully understood and was not annulled.

CHAPTER V

Departure of the author for New France. New discoveries in the year 1615.

WE left Honfleur on August [April¹] 24, 1615, with four fathers and set sail with a very favorable wind and went on our way without meeting ice or any other dangers, and in a short time arrived at Tadoussac, the 25th of May, where we ren-

¹The context five lines below and elsewhere shows that April is the correct reading.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

dered thanks to God for having brought us so seasonably to the harbor of safety.²

We began to set men to work to fit up our barks, in order to go to Quebec, the place of our settlement, and to the great Rapids of St. Louis, the gathering-place of the savages who come there to trade. Immediately upon my arrival at the Rapids, I visited these people, who were very anxious to see us and delighted at our return, from their hopes that we would give them some of our number to help them in their wars against their enemies. They explained that it would be hard for them to come to us, if we did not assist them, because the Iroquois, their old enemies, were always along the trail and kept the passage closed to them. Besides, I had always promised them to aid them in their wars, as they gave us to understand through their interpreter. Whereupon I perceived that it was very necessary to assist them, not only to make them love us more, but also to pave the way for my undertakings and discoveries, which, to all appearances, could not be accomplished except by their help; and also because this would be to them a sort of

²The narrative of 1619 contains additional details at this point. *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 106-109.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

first step and preparation to coming into Christianity; and to secure this I decided to go thither and explore their country and aid them in their wars, in order to oblige them to show me what they had so many times promised to.

I had them all gather to tell them my intention, upon hearing which they promised to furnish us 2500 men of war, who would do wonders, while I, on my part, was to bring, for the same purpose, as many men as I could; which I promised them, being very glad to see them come to so wise a decision. Then I began to explain to them the methods to follow in fighting, in which they took a singular pleasure; and they showed a good hope of victory. When all the matters were decided upon, we separated, with the intention of returning to carry out our undertaking. But before making the journey, which could not occupy less than three or four months, it was fitting for me to make a trip to our settlement to make such regulations for matters there as would be necessary during my absence. And the next day³ I left there to return to the Rivière des Prairies with two canoes of savages.

³Apparently June 23. Cf. Laverdière, *Voyages*, 1619, 243.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

On the ninth of this month⁴ I embarked with two others, namely, one of our interpreters and my man, with ten savages, in the two canoes, which was all they could carry, since they were heavily loaded and weighed down with clothes, which prevented me from taking more men.

We continued our journey up the St. Lawrence River about ten leagues and went by the Rivière des Prairies,⁵ which empties into this river. We left the St. Louis Rapids, five or six leagues higher up on the left, where we passed several little rapids in this river, and then entered a lake,⁶ beyond which we entered the river,⁷ where I had been formerly, which leads to the Algonquins, eight to nine⁸ leagues from the St. Louis Rapids, of which river I have given a full description already.⁹ Continuing my journey as far as the lake

⁴July 9, 1615.

⁵The Rivière des Prairies, or Black River, is the branch of the Ottawa that goes east of the Island of Montreal.

⁶The Lake of Two Mountains.

⁷The Ottawa.

⁸Accepting Laverdière's emendation, reading "8 à 9" for "89," which takes the distance to be that from the rapids to where the des Prairies River branches off from the Ottawa.

⁹See above, pp. 6-14.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

of the Algonquins¹⁰ we entered a river¹¹ which flows into this lake and went up it about thirty-five leagues and passed a great number of rapids, either by land or by water, through an unattractive country full of firs, birches and some oaks, a great many rocks and, in many places, somewhat mountainous. It was, moreover, a very barren waste and hardly inhabited, except by some Algonquin savages—called Otaguottouemin—who live in the country and support themselves by their hunting and by the fishing which they carry on in the rivers, ponds and lakes with which the country is pretty well provided. It is true that God seems to have wanted to give to these frightful desert regions something in its season to serve for the refreshment of man and for the inhabitants of these places, for I assure you that there are along the rivers a great quantity of blueberries, a small fruit very good to eat, and a great many raspberries and other small fruits, and in such quantities that it is wonderful. These fruits the inhabitants dry for their winter, as we do prunes in France for Lent. We left this river, which comes from the

¹⁰Allumette Lake.

¹¹This section of the Ottawa is called La Rivière Creuse, or Deep River.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

north¹² and is that by which the savages go to the Saguenay to exchange their furs for tobacco. This place is in latitude 46° ; it is rather pretty to look at, but otherwise of little importance.

Pursuing our route by land, leaving the river of the Algonquins,¹³ we passed several lakes, where the savages carry their canoes, until we entered the lake of the Nipissings, in latitude $46\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$. This was on the twenty-sixth day of the month,¹⁴ after having gone not only by land, but by the lakes, twenty-five leagues or thereabouts. Then we arrived at the cabins of the savages,¹⁵ where we tarried two days with them. They gave us a kind welcome, and there was a considerable number of them. They are people who do not cultivate the soil much. *A* shows the dress of these people going to war; *B*, that of the women, which differs in no particular from that of the Montagnais and Algonquins, great peoples, who extend far into the interior. While I was with them the chief of these

¹²The junction of the Ottawa from the north and the Mattawa from the northwest, which Champlain followed some distance.

¹³The Mattawa.

¹⁴July 26, 1615.

¹⁵The Nipissings. The actual distance is about 32 miles. S.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

people, and others of their oldest men, entertained us with several feasts, according to their custom; and took the pains to go fishing and hunting, in order to treat us in the most polite way possible. There were fully 700 or 800 of them who live ordinarily on the lake, where there are a great number of very pleasant islands; and, among others, one which is more than six leagues long, where there are three or four pretty ponds and a number of fine meadows with very beautiful woods surrounding them. There is a great abundance of game which frequent these little ponds, where the savages fish. The northern side of this lake is very pleasant. There are fine meadows for pasturing cattle and several little rivers which flow into them.

At that time they were fishing in a lake very full of various sorts of fish; among others one very good, which is a foot long, and also other kinds, which the savages take to dry for provisions. This lake, in its extent, is about eight leagues wide and twenty-five long.¹⁶ Into it flows a river

¹⁶Lake Nipissing is 55 miles long and 10-20 wide. North Bay, near where Champlain was, is now a junction point between the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific railroads.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

which comes from the northwest,¹⁷ by which they go to barter the merchandise that we give them in exchange for their furs, with those who live in that region, who live by hunting and by fishing, because the country is very full of animals, birds and fish.

When we had rested two days with the chief of these Nipissings, we embarked in our canoes and entered a river¹⁸ into which this lake empties, and went by it about thirty-five leagues, and went down by several little rapids, partly by land and partly by water, as far as Lake Attigouantan.¹⁹ All this country is still more unpleasing than that before it, for I did not see, along this river, ten acres of tillable land, but

¹⁷Sturgeon River.

¹⁸French River.

¹⁹Georgian Bay, Lake Huron. The route Champlain had just pursued "continued to be the fur traders' high road to the west until the days of steamboat navigation. In the early days of the Colony it was beyond the usual reach of Iroquois war parties, and it is, in fact, the shortest and most direct route to Lake Superior, for from the Strait of Machilimackinac to the head of tide-water, at Lake St. Peter, below Montreal, is an absolutely due east line—the parallel of 46° N." Dawson, *The St. Lawrence*, 273. The name is uniformly Attigouantan in the 1632 narrative, but Attigouautan in that of 1619.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

rather rocks and mountains. To be sure, near Lake Attigouantan, we found some Indian corn, but in small quantity; and there our savages gathered some squashes, which seemed good to us, for our provisions had begun to fail through the bad management of the savages, who ate so much at first that at the last very little was left, although we had only one meal a day. The blueberries and raspberries helped us a great deal (as I have already said); otherwise we should have been in danger of want.

We met 300 men of a tribe that we named Cheveux Reléves,²⁰ because they wear their hair dressed very high and better combed than our courtiers, beyond comparison, however many irons and forms they may use. This seems to give them a fine appearance. *A* and *C* show how they are armed when they go to war. They have nothing for arms but the bow and arrow, made in the way that you see depicted, which they ordinarily carry, and a round shield of dressed leather from an animal like the buffalo.²¹ When they go out from their homes they carry the club. They wear no breeches and they have their bodies

²⁰The "High Hair."

²¹The bison.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

pinked in many patterns, and they paint their faces with various colors. Their nostrils are pierced and their ears adorned with beads. When we had visited them and formed a friendship with them I gave a hatchet to their chief, who was as much pleased and delighted with it as if I had given him some rich gift. When I asked him what was his country, he indicated it to me with a piece of charcoal on the bark of a tree, and informed me that they came to this place to dry some of the fruit called blueberries, to serve them for manna in winter, when they cannot find anything else.

The next day we separated, and continued our way along the shore of the lake of the Attigouantan, which contains a great number of islands, and went about forty-five leagues, keeping, all the time, along this lake. It is very large and is nearly 300 leagues long from east to west and 50 wide;²² and, because of its great extent, I named it The Fresh Sea.²³ It abounds in

²²It is not unlikely that Champlain gives, as the length of Lake Huron, what the Indians gave as the combined length of Superior and Huron, omitting or not making clear the existence of the St. Mary's River. Lake Huron is about 250 miles long and from 50 to 200 wide.

²³La Mer Douce.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

several kinds of very good fish, not only those that we have, but also some that we do not have, and chiefly in trout, which are monstrously large. I saw some that were as much as four and a half feet long, and the smallest that were seen were two and a half feet. Pike of similar size also are plentiful, and a certain kind of sturgeon, a very large fish and extraordinarily good. The country bordering this lake is partly rough, on the north side, and partly flat and inhabited by savages, and somewhat covered with woods and oaks. Afterward we crossed a bay,²⁴ which forms one end of the lake, and went about seven leagues, until we arrived at the country of the Attigouantan,²⁵ at a village called Otoüacha, on the first day of August, where we found a great change in the country, this being very beautiful and, for the most part, cleared, and with many hills and several rivers, which make this region pleasant. I went to examine their Indian corn, which was then far advanced for the season.

These places seemed very pleasant to me, in comparison with a country so poor as

²⁴Matchedash Bay.

²⁵The region between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

that from which we had just come. The next day I went to another village called Carmaron, one league from this one, where they received us very kindly, giving us a feast of their bread, squashes and fish. As for meat, it is very scarce there. The chief of the village strongly urged me to stay there, which I could not grant him, and so I returned to our village.

The next day I went away from this village to another called Touaguainchain, and to another called Tequenonquiaye, in which we were received in a very friendly way by the inhabitants of these places who made good cheer for us as well as they could with their Indian corn in different ways. The country is beautiful and fertile, and traveling through it is fine.

From there I had myself guided to Carhagouha, which was enclosed by a triple palisade of wood, thirty-five feet high, for their defence and preservation. When I was here—August 12—I found there thirteen or fourteen Frenchmen who set out before me from the Rivière des Prairies.²⁶ When I saw how slow the savages were in assembling their army, and that I had time to visit their country, I decided

²⁶These Frenchmen were accompanied by Father Joseph Le Caron.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

to go by short days' journeys from village to village to Cahiagué, where the whole army was to have its rendezvous, about fourteen leagues distant from Carantouan.²⁷ I left this village the 14th of August with ten of my companions. I visited five of the principal villages, fortified by palisades of wood, and reached Cahiagué, the principal village of the country, where there are 200 pretty large cabins, where all the men of war were to gather. In all these villages they received us very courteously and kindly. This country is very beautiful. It is in latitude $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and there are very many clearings where they plant a great quantity of Indian corn, which grows there finely; as is also the case with squashes and sunflowers, from the seed of which they make oil, with which they rub their heads. It is much intersected by brooks, which flow into the lake; and there are a great many vines and plums, which are very good; raspberries, strawberries, little wild apples,²⁸ nuts and a kind of fruit which has the form and color of small lemons, about the size of an egg. The plant that bears it is two and a half feet tall and has three or four leaves, at the most, of the form of the fig-leaf, and

²⁷Read Carhagouha. L.

²⁸Probably the American crab-apple. S.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

each plant bears only two apples.²⁹ Oaks, elms and beeches are found in abundance, likewise many forests of firs, which are the common resort of partridges and rabbits. There are also a quantity of small cherries and wild cherries, and the same kinds of wood that we have in our forests in France are to be found in this country. To tell the truth, the soil seemed to me a little sandy, but it is, notwithstanding, good for their kind of wheat. In this little stretch of country I discovered that the population consisted of an infinite number of souls, to say nothing of the other regions where I did not go, which are (by common report) as much or more populous than these; and it came over me that it was a great pity that so many creatures live and die without the knowledge of God, and even without any religion, or law, either divine, political, or civil, established among them. For they do not worship or pray in any way, as far as I could observe from their conversation. They have, indeed, a certain kind of ceremony among them, which I will describe in its place, for any one who is sick, or to find out what is going to happen to them, even in regard to the dead; but these ceremonies are performed by cer-

²⁹Probably the May-apple. S.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

tain persons who want to impose on people, just as they did, or as it was done, in the time of the ancient pagans who allowed themselves to be carried away by the persuasions of enchanters and diviners; nevertheless, the most of the people do not believe in anything that they do and say. They are kind enough to one another, as far as food is concerned, but in other respects very avaricious, and do not give anything for nothing. They wear deer- and beaver-skins, which they get from the Algonquins and Nipissings in exchange for Indian corn and Indian meal.

CHAPTER VI

Our arrival at Cahiagué. Description of the beauty of the country: character of the savages who inhabit it, and the inconveniences that we suffered.

ON the 17th day of August I arrived at Cahiagué,¹ where I was received with great delight and thankfulness by all the savages of the country. They heard that a certain nation of their allies, who lived three good

¹Near the town of Orillia, near the lower end of Lake Simcoe. Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 399.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

days' journey beyond the Entouhonorons,² with whom the Iroquois are also at war, wished to assist them in this expedition with 500 good men, and make an alliance, and swear friendship toward us. They had a great desire to see us, and for us all to fight together; and showed that they were glad of our acquaintance, and I was equally glad to have found this opportunity, because of the desire that I had to get some news of this country.³ This nation is very warlike, according to the belief of the nation of the Attigouantans. There are only three villages,⁴ which are in the middle of more than twenty others, with which they are at war; without the assistance of their friends, for they are obliged to pass through the country of the Chouontouaroüons, which is thickly settled, or else make a very long circuit.

When I had arrived at this village it was best for me to stay there until the men of war should come from the neighboring villages, so that we might go on as soon as possible; during which time they kept hav-

²The western portion of the Five Nations in Champlain's usage. See *Voyages of Champlain*.

³I. e., the present State of New York.

⁴I. e., of this tribe of allies of the Attigouantans.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

ing feasts and dances, because of the joy that they felt to see us so determined to aid them in their war, just as if they were already confident of the victory.

When most of our men had assembled, we left the village, on the first day of September, and passed along the shore of a little lake⁶ three leagues from the village, where they catch a great deal of fish, which they cure for the winter. There is another lake very near, twenty-six leagues in circumference,⁷ flowing into the small one at a place where the great catch of this fish is made by means of a great many stakes, which almost close the strait, leaving only some little openings where they set their nets in which the fish are caught. These two lakes empty into the Fresh Sea.⁸ We stayed in this place a little while, to wait for the other savages. When they had all come with their arms, meal and necessary things, we decided to choose some of the most resolute men in the band to go to give notice of our starting to those who were to help us with 500 men, so that they might join us and we might arrive at the same time before the stronghold of the enemy.

⁶Lake Couchiching.

⁷Lake Simcoe.

⁸Lake Huron.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

When we had made this decision they sent two canoes with twelve of the strongest savages and one of our interpreters,⁹ who begged me to let him make the journey; which I granted readily, since he wished it, and, in this way, would see the country, and would find out about the people who inhabit it. The danger was not slight, since it was necessary to pass through the midst of the enemy. We continued our way toward the enemy, and went about five or six leagues through these lakes, and then the savages carried their canoes about ten leagues by land, and we came upon another lake extending about six or seven leagues in length¹⁰ and three in width. From it flows a river which empties into the great lake of the Entouhonorons.¹¹ When we had crossed this lake we passed a rapid, and, continuing our course, still going down this river, about sixty-four leagues—that is, to the entrance of this lake of the Entouhonorons—we passed five rapids by land, some of them four or five leagues long, where there are several lakes of rather large size. These lakes, as well as the river which flows from one to the other, abound

⁹Étienne Brulé. L.

¹⁰Sturgeon Lake.

¹¹Lake Ontario.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

in fish, and the whole country is very beautiful and attractive. Along the river bank it seemed as if the trees had been planted there in most places for pleasure, and also as if all these regions had once been inhabited by savages who since had been obliged to abandon them, for fear of their enemies. The vines and walnuts are very plentiful, and grapes ripen there, but they always leave a sharp, acid taste, which comes from not being cultivated; for the clearings in these places are rather attractive.^{11*}

Hunting for stags and bears is very common here. We hunted there and took a goodly number of them as we journeyed down. To do this they station 400 or 500 savages in line in the woods, with the line touching certain points that project into the river, and then marching in order, with the bow and arrow in the hand, shouting and raising a great noise to surprise the animals, they keep going until they reach the end of the point on the river. Then all the animals that are between the point and the hunters are driven to throw themselves into the water, unless they try to run the gauntlet of the arrows which are shot at them by the hunters. Meanwhile, the savages who

^{11*}I. e., from the standpoint of a settler, implying a fertile soil and a sunny exposure.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

are in the canoes, posted and arranged on purpose along the shore of the river, approach the stags and other animals hunted and worried and greatly frightened. Then the hunters kill them easily with spear-heads attached to the end of a stick, like a half-pike. This is how they hunt, and they follow the same method in the islands, where there is a great deal of game. I took special pleasure in watching them hunt in this way, observing their skill. Many animals were killed by shots of the arquebus, at which they were greatly amazed. But it unfortunately happened that, as some one was shooting at a stag, a savage who chanced to come in range was wounded by a shot of an arquebus, without any one intending it, as may be assumed. Thereupon, there arose a great commotion among them, which was, however, quieted by giving some presents to the wounded man, which is the usual way of pacifying and settling quarrels. And, if the wounded man dies, the presents and gifts are given to the relatives of him who was killed. As for game, there is a great deal of it in the season. There are also many cranes, as white as swans, and several other kinds of birds such as those in France.

We went, by short days' journeys, as far

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

as the shore of the lake of the Entouhonorons, hunting all along, as I have said. When we arrived there we went across at the eastern end, which is the entrance to the great River St. Lawrence, at latitude 43° , where there are some beautiful and very large islands in this passage. We went about fourteen leagues to get to the other side of the lake, in a southerly direction, toward the territory of the enemy. The savages hid all their canoes in the woods near the shore.¹² We went about four leagues by land, along a sandy beach, where I observed a very agreeable and beautiful country crossed by several little brooks and two small rivers which empty into this lake; and a great many ponds and meadows, where there were an unlimited amount of game, many vines and beautiful woods, and a great number of chestnut trees, of which the fruit was still in the burr. The nuts are very small, but taste good. All the canoes being thus concealed, we left the shore of the lake, which is eighty leagues long

¹²“On or near the point of land west of Hungry Bay.” Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, 401. Mr. O. H. Marshall thought the most probable location of the landing place to be in Henderson Bay, under the shelter of Stony Point. *Historical Writings of the late Orsamus H. Marshall*, 53.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

and twenty-five wide.¹³ The most of this region is inhabited by savages living on its shores. We continued our way by land twenty-five or thirty leagues. For four days' journey we crossed a great many brooks and a river coming from a lake which empties into that of the Entouhonorons.¹⁴ This lake is 25 or 30 leagues in circumference. There are some pretty islands in it, and it is the place where the Iroquois' enemy catch fish, which are abundant there.

The 9th of the month of October our savages, as they were exploring, met, four leagues from the enemy's stronghold, eleven savages whom they took prisoners, namely: four women, three boys, one girl and three men, who were going fishing. Now it must be noted that one of the chiefs, upon seeing these prisoners, cut off the finger of one of these poor women as a beginning of their usual punishment. Whereupon I interfered, and blamed the chief—Iroquet—showing him that it was not the act of a warrior, as he represented himself to be, to be cruel to the women, who have no defence but their tears, and who, on account of their helplessness and weakness, should be treat-

¹³Lake Ontario is 197 miles long and 30 to 60 miles wide.

¹⁴Oneida River and Oneida Lake.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

ed kindly. I told him that, on the contrary, this act would be thought to come from a low and brutal courage, and that if he did any more of these cruel things he would not give me any courage to assist them, or to favor them in their war. To which his only answer was, that their enemies treated them in the same way; but that since this sort of thing was displeasing to me, he would do nothing more to the women, but he certainly would to the men.

The next day at three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived in front of the stronghold of their enemies,¹⁵ where the savages got into some skirmishes with one another, although our plan was not to reveal ourselves until the next day; but the impatience of the savages would not allow it, both on account of their desire to see their

¹⁵The site of this fort has been placed in the town of Fenner, on Nichols Pond, Madison County, N. Y., a little south of Oneida Lake, by Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 403; Dawson, *The St. Lawrence*, 279; and Mr. Slafter's note in his *Voyages of Champlain*, I, 130. Mr. O. H. Marshall, on the other hand, made out a strong case for locating it "on or near Onondaga Lake, four leagues or ten miles from the great Iroquois fishery at the foot of Oneida Lake." *The Historical Writings of the late Orsamus H. Marshall*, 19-66. The sentence quoted is on p. 59.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

enemies shot, and also that they might rescue some of their men who had got in too close. At that moment I drew near and was on the spot, but with very few men; nevertheless, we showed them what they had never seen or heard. For, as soon as they saw us, and heard the arquebus shots, and the balls whistling by their ears, they withdrew promptly to their forts, carrying their dead and wounded; and we also, in a like manner, retreated to our main body with five or six of our men wounded, one of whom died there.

When this was done we retreated about a cannon shot out of sight of the enemy, but against my advice and what they had promised me. This moved me to speak to them rather roughly and angrily, in order to stir them up to do their duty, for I foresaw that if everything went according to their notions, and following the guidance of their advice, nothing could result but harm leading to their undoing and ruin. Nevertheless, I did not give up sending to them and proposing means that should be used to overcome their enemies. This was to make a wooden platform with walls,¹⁶ which should overlook their palisades. Upon this should be stationed four or five

¹⁶Called a "cavalier" in the French.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

of our arquebusiers, to fire over their palisades and galleries, which were well supplied with stones; and in this way the enemy, who might harass us from their galleries above, might be dislodged. Meantime, we would give orders to provide some boards to make a kind of mantelet, to cover and protect our men from arrows and from stones. These things, namely: this cavalier and the mantelets, could be carried along by a large number of men. One was made in such a way as to prevent water from being used to put out any fire which might be set to the fort; and those who were on the cavalier would be doing their duty, with some arquebusiers to be stationed there. By this means we should defend ourselves in such a way that they could not draw near to put out the fire that we should apply to their ramparts. Approving this suggestion, the next day they set about building and equipping these cavaliers and mantelets; and they worked with such diligence that they were done in less than four hours. They hoped that that day the promised 500 men would come, but there was some doubt about them, because they had not appeared at the rendezvous, as they had been bidden to do and had promised. This troubled our savages very

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

much. But, perceiving that there were enough of them to take the fort and, as I thought, for my part, that delay in all affairs is always detrimental, at least in many respects, I urged them to attack this fort, explaining to them that the enemy, having found out about their forces and the effect of our arms, which pierced what was proof against arrows, would barricade themselves and be covered; a safeguard they were already resorting to, for their village was enclosed within four good palisades of logs of wood interlaced, so that there was not more than half a foot of opening between any two. These palisades were thirty feet high, and had galleries after the fashion of a parapet, which were furnished with [a front wall of] pieces of wood set double-proof against our arquebus shots. They were near a pond, where the water never failed. There were a good many gutters, one placed between each pair of loopholes, by which water was poured outside, and they had water inside, under cover, to extinguish fire. This is their method of fortification and of defence, and they are stronger than the villages of the Attigouantans.

Now, we approached to attack this village, having our cavalier carried by 200 of

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

the strongest men, who set it down before the palisades at the distance of a pike's length. I had four arquebusiers mount upon it. They were well protected from the arrows and stones which could be shot and thrown at them. Meanwhile, the enemy did not cease, on that account, to shoot and throw a great number of arrows and stones from over their palisades. But the many arquebus shots fired upon them forced them to move and to abandon their galleries. Now, when the cavalier was brought up, instead of bringing up the mantelets, according to orders, and, in particular, the one under which we were to set the fire, they left them and began to yell at their enemies while they shot arrows into the fort, which (in my opinion) did not do much execution. They must be excused, for they are not soldiers and, besides, they do not want any discipline or correction, and only do what seems good to them. This is why one of them thoughtlessly set fire to the fort quite in the wrong way and against the wind, so that it had no effect. When the fire was out, most of the savages began to carry wood to the palisades, but in so small a quantity that the fire did not have much effect. The disorder, too, which arose among these people was so great that

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

we could not hear one another. I shouted after them in vain, and remonstrated with them, as well as I could, as to the danger to which they exposed themselves by their lack of intelligence, but they heard nothing, on account of the great noise that they were making. Seeing that I was like to burst my head with shouting, and that my protests were vain, and that there was no way to remedy the disorder, I decided to do what I could with my men, and to shoot at those whom we could discover and get sight of. Meanwhile, the enemy took advantage of our disorder; they went to the water and threw it on in such abundance that one would have said that it was brooks which flowed through their spouts; so much that in less than no time the fire was all out; and they kept up shooting arrows, which fell upon us like hail. Those who were on the cavalier killed and maimed many of them. We were about three hours in this fight. Two of our chiefs and leaders were wounded, namely, one named Ochateguain, the other Orani, and about fifteen other warriors. The others on our side, seeing their men wounded and some of their chiefs, began to talk of retreat, without further fighting, to wait for the 500 men, who could hardly delay coming

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

any longer; and so they withdrew, for no reason save this freak of disorder. But then, the chiefs have no absolute control at all over their companions, who follow their own inclination and do as they please, which is the cause of their disorder, and which ruins all their affairs. For, having determined upon something among themselves, it only needs a rascal to destroy their resolution and make a new plan. So they accomplish nothing for one another, as may be seen from this expedition.

As I was wounded by two arrow shots—one in the leg and the other in the knee—which discommoded me a great deal, we withdrew to our fort. Now, when all were assembled, I remonstrated with them several times with regard to the disorder that had taken place, but all my talk was to no purpose and did not move them at all, for they replied that a great many of their men had been wounded, as well as myself, and that it would cause a great deal of fatigue and annoyance to those who were retreating to carry them; that there was no way of returning against their enemies, as I proposed to them; but that they would be glad to wait four days longer for the 500 men who were to come, and when they came they would make a second attempt

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

against their enemies, and would carry out what I told them better than they had done in the past. That was as far as I could get, to my great regret. The foregoing shows how they fortify their towns, and by this picture one may understand and see that those of their friends and enemies are similarly fortified.

The next day there was a very violent wind which lasted two days, very favorable for setting fire again to the enemy's fort; which I urged them strongly to do; but, afraid of getting the worst of it and, besides, pleading their wounds, they found excuse for not wishing to do anything.

We were in camp until the 16th of this month,¹⁷ and during this time there were some skirmishes between the enemy and our men, who very often got caught by the enemy, rather through their rashness than lack of courage; and I can assure you that it was necessary, every time they went to the charge, to go and get them out of the throng, since they could get back only under cover of our arquebus shots, which the enemy greatly feared and dreaded. For, as soon as they caught sight of one of the harquebusiers, they withdrew at once, saying to us, in a persuasive manner, that we

¹⁷October 16, 1615.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

should not interfere in their fights, and that their enemies had very little courage to require us to assist them, with a great deal more talk of that kind.

Seeing that the 500 men did not come, they planned to set out and to make their retreat as soon as possible; and they began to make a sort of baskets to carry the wounded, who are put into them, huddled up in a bunch, bent over and bound in such a way that it is impossible for them to stir any more than a baby in its swaddling clothes; and it cannot help making them feel great pain. I can certify to this, having been carried some days, on the back of one of our savages, thus tied and bound, which wore out my patience. As soon as I had the strength to stand up, I got out of this prison, or, to express it better, off the rack.

The enemy pursued us about half a league, to try to catch some of those who formed the rear-guard; but their efforts were useless, and they fell back.

The only good feature that I noticed about their warfare is that they make a retreat with great security, putting all the wounded and the aged in the centre, with well-armed men in front, on the wings and at the rear, and they keep up this arrange-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

ment until they are in a safe place, without breaking their ranks. Their retreat was very long, say 25 or 30 leagues, which was a source of great weariness to the wounded and to those who carried them, although the latter changed from time to time.

On the 18th of the month a great deal of snow fell, which lasted a very short time, with a high wind that inconvenienced us very much; nevertheless, we did so well that we arrived at the shore of the lake of the Entouhonorons, and the place where our canoes were hidden, which we found all whole. We had been afraid that the enemy might have broken them up. When they were all together and ready to go back to their village, I begged them to send me back to our settlement; which they did not wish to grant me at the beginning, but at last they resolved to do so, and looked for four men to guide me. These volunteered. For (as I have already said) the chiefs have no control over their companions, which is the reason why they often fail to do what they would like to have them. When the four men were ready, there was no canoe, each one needing his own. This did not afford me pleasure; on the contrary, it distressed me very much, for they had promised to take me back and

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

guide me, after their war, to our settlement. Besides, I was very poorly prepared to spend the winter with them; except for that, I should not have been concerned about it. Some days afterward I perceived that their plan was to keep me, and my companions also, not only for their own security, for they feared their enemies, but also for us to hear what passed in their councils and assemblies, and to help determine what to do in the future.

The next day, the 28th of this month, each one began to make preparations—some to hunt deer; others bear and beaver; others to go fishing; others to go back to their villages. And to provide me with a retreat and lodging, one of the principal chiefs, called Darontal, offered me his cabin, provisions and accommodations. He himself went off deer-hunting, which is regarded by them as the most noble form of the chase. After having crossed the end of the lake, from the island before mentioned, we went up a river¹⁸ about twelve leagues; then they carried their canoes by land half a league, at the end of which we entered a lake,¹⁹ some ten or twelve leagues

¹⁸The Cataragui. Dawson, *The St. Lawrence*, 281.

¹⁹Loughborough Lake, or some neighboring one of the group.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

in circumference, where there was a great quantity of game, such as swans, white cranes, bustards,²⁰ wild geese, ducks, teal, thrushes, larks, snipe, geese and several other kinds of birds too numerous to mention, of which I killed a great number, which stood us in good stead while we waited for some deer to be caught. From there we went to a certain place ten leagues off, where our savages thought there were a great many of them. Twenty-five savages got together and set about building two or three cabins of logs of wood, laid one upon another, and they stopped up the chinks with moss, to prevent the air from coming in, covering them with the bark of trees. When this was done, they went into the woods near a grove of firs, where they made an enclosure in the form of a triangle, closed on two sides and open on one. This enclosure was made by a stockade eight or nine feet high and about 1500 paces long on each side; at the apex of this triangle there was a little yard, which

²⁰Outardes, bustards. The early French travelers called the brant goose a bustard. See *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 48, and Baxter, *Jacques Cartier*, 158, n. Newton's *Dictionary of Birds*, on the other hand, gives the ordinary wild goose, *Bernicla canadensis*, as the outarde of the early explorers.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

grew narrower and narrower, covered in part by branches, leaving an opening of only five feet, about the width of an ordinary door, by which the deer were to enter [this yard]. They did so well that in less than ten days they had their enclosure ready. Meanwhile, some other savages had gone fishing for such fish as trout and pike of immense size, which were all that we needed. When everything was ready, they started half an hour before daylight to go into the woods about half a league from their enclosure, separated from one another eighty paces, each having two sticks, which they beat together, marching slowly in this order until they came to their enclosure. When the deer hear this noise, they flee before them until they reach the enclosure, into which the savages drive them, and gradually they come together at the opening of their triangle, where the deer run along the sides of the stockade until they reach the end, toward which the savages pursue them sharply, with bow and arrow in hand, ready to shoot. And when they reach the end of their triangle, they begin to shout and to imitate wolves, which are plentiful and which devour the deer. The deer, hearing this frightful noise, are obliged to enter the small yard by the nar-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

row opening, whither they are pursued in a very lively fashion by arrow shots, and there they are easily caught; for this yard is so well enclosed and so confined that they cannot get out of it. There is great sport in such hunting, which they continued every two days so successfully that in thirty-eight days they captured 120 deer, from which they feasted well; reserving the fat for the winter, which they use as we do butter, and a little of the flesh, which they carry off to their houses to have for feasts with one another; and from the skins they made themselves clothes.

There are other devices for catching deer, such as the snare, with which they take the lives of many. Thus you see depicted opposite a representation of their hunt, enclosure and snares. This is how we passed the time while waiting for it to freeze, so that we might go back more easily, since the country is very marshy.

In the beginning, when we set out for the hunt, I went off too far into the woods in pursuing a certain bird, which seemed strange to me. It had a beak like that of a parrot, and was as big as a hen and yellow all over, except for its head, which was red, and its wings, which were blue. It

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

made short flights, like a partridge. My desire to kill it led me to follow it from tree to tree a very long time, until it flew away. Then, losing all hope, I wished to return upon my steps, where I found none of our hunters, who had been constantly gaining upon me until they had reached their enclosure. In trying to catch up with them, going, as it seemed to me, straight to where the enclosure was, I lost my way in the forest—going now one way, now another—without being able to see where I was. As night was coming on, I passed it at the foot of a large tree. The next day I set out and walked until three o'clock in the afternoon, when I found a little stagnant pond, and seeing some game there, I killed three or four birds. Tired and worn out, I prepared to rest and to cook these birds, from which I made a good meal. My repast over, I thought to myself what I ought to do, praying God to aid me in my misfortune in this wilderness; for, during three days, there was nothing but rain mingled with snow.

Committing all to His mercy, I took courage more than before, going hither and thither all day without catching a glimpse of any footprint or trail, except those of wild beasts, of which I generally saw a

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

good number; and so I passed the night without any consolation. At dawn of the next day, after having a scant meal, I resolved to find some brook and follow it, judging that it must needs empty into the river on whose banks our hunters were. This resolution once made, I put it through with such success that at noon I found myself on the shore of a small lake about a league and a half long, where I killed some game, which helped me very much; and I still had eight or ten charges of powder. Walking along the bank of this lake to see where it discharged, I found a rather large brook, which I followed until five o'clock in the afternoon, when I heard a great noise. Listening, I could not discern what it was until I heard the noise more distinctly, and then I concluded that it was a waterfall in the river that I was looking for. Going nearer I saw an opening,²¹ and when I had reached it, I found myself in a very large, spacious meadow, where there were a great many wild animals. And, looking on my right, I saw the river, wide and

²¹The word in the text is *écluse*, which makes no sense. In the 1619 narrative it is *éclasié*, which is not given in the dictionaries consulted. In both cases the reading should be *éclaircie*, a glade, or opening in a wood.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

big. Wishing to examine this place, and walking in the meadow, I found myself in a little path where the savages carry their canoes. When I had examined this place well, I recognized that it was the same river, and that I had been that way. Well pleased at this, I supped on the little that I had and lay down for the night. When morning came, and I had studied the place where I was, I inferred, from certain mountains that are on the border of that river that I was not mistaken and that our hunters must be higher up²² than I by four or five good leagues, which I covered at my leisure, going along the bank of this river, until I caught sight of the smoke of our hunters. I reached their place, greatly to their happiness as well as to my own. They were looking for me, and had lost hope of seeing me again; and they begged me not to separate from them any more, and to take my compass with me, which I had forgotten, which could have put me back on my way. They said to me: "If you had not come, and we could not have found you, we should not have gone to the French any more, for fear of their accusing us of having taken your life." Af-

²²In the 1619 narrative the reading is "lower down" · *dessous*, instead of *dessus*.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

ter this, Darontal was very careful of me when I went hunting, always giving me a savage to accompany me.

To return to my subject, they have a certain superstition about hunting, namely, that if they should have some of the meat taken in this way roasted, or if any of the fat should fall into the fire, or if any of the bones should be thrown into it, they would not be able to catch any more deer; and, for this reason, they begged me not to have any of it roasted. In order not to shock them, I refrained from it while I was with them. Afterward, when I told them that I had had some roasted, they would not believe it, saying that, if that were true, they would not have caught any deer if such a thing had been done.

CHAPTER VII

How the savages traverse the ice. Concerning the Tobacco People. Their way of living. People called the Neutral Nation.

ON the fourth day of December we set out from this place, walking on the river, which was frozen, and on the frozen lakes.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

and ponds, and through the woods, nineteen days, which was not without much trouble and labor, both for the savages, who were each loaded with 100 pounds weight, and for myself, who carried a load of 20 pounds. It is very true that I was sometimes relieved by our savages; but, nevertheless, I did not avoid a great deal of discomfort. As for them, in order to traverse the ice more easily, they are accustomed to make a sort of wooden sled¹ on which they put their loads. Then they draw them behind them, going very quickly. Some days afterward there came a great thaw, which distressed us very much; for we had to go through fir forests full of brooks, ponds, marshes and swamps. Here were a great many trees overthrown upon one another, which made us no end of trouble, and other difficulties, causing us great discomfort, for we were all the time wet up above our knees. We traveled four days in this condition, because in most places the ice did not bear us. We traveled so well that we arrived at our village² on the twenty-third day of this month. There Captain Iroquet came to winter with his companions, who are Algonquins, and

¹The familiar toboggan.

²Cahiagué.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

his son, whom he brought to have treated and his wound dressed, because, while he was hunting, he had been very seriously hurt by a bear that he was trying to kill. After resting some days, I decided to go to see the peoples, in winter, whom the summer and the war had not allowed me to visit. I left this village on the fourteenth of the following January,³ after having thanked my host for the kind entertainment that he had given me. Taking some Frenchmen with me, I traveled to the Tobacco Nation,⁴ where I arrived on the seventeenth of this month of January. These people plant maize, called Turkish corn in France, and have a fixed dwelling-place, like the others. We went to seven other villages of their neighbors and allies, with whom we made a pledge of friendship; and they promised us to come in large numbers to our settlement. They made us very good cheer and gave us a present of flesh and fish to make a feast, as is their custom. All the people ran in from every direction

³Jan. 14, 1616.

⁴La Nation de Petum (read Petun); otherwise, the Petuneux. *Petun* was the Algonquin word for tobacco. They lived southwest of the Hurons, with whom Champlain had been staying, a region corresponding to the present counties of Dufferin and Grey. Dawson.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

to see us, making us a thousand demonstrations of friendship, and they accompanied us most of the way. The country is full of hills and little fields, which make the landscape pleasant. They were beginning to build two villages, through which we passed, in the midst of the woods, because they find such a place convenient for building and fortifying them. These people live like the Attigouantans and have the same customs, and are near the Neutral Nation,⁵ which is powerful and occupies a large extent of country three days' journey from them.

After visiting these people, we left that place and went to a nation of savages which we named the Cheveux Reléves,⁶ who were very much delighted to see us again. We established a friendship, and they, in turn, promised to come to see us at our settlement. In this place it has seemed to me suitable to describe them and give an account of their country, customs and manners. In the first place, they are at war with another tribe of savages called Asis-

⁵The Nation Neutre lived in that part of Ontario north of Lake Erie. They received their name from their attempt to be neutral in the wars between the Hurons and the Iroquois.

⁶The Ottawas.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

tagueroïon, which means Fire People,⁷ who live ten days' journey from them. I informed myself very much in detail about their country⁸ and the tribes that inhabit it, what they are like and how many of them there are. This tribe is very large and most of its members are great warriors, hunters and fishers. They have several chiefs, each of whom commands in his own region. Most of them plant Indian corn and other grains. There are hunters who go in troops to various regions and countries, where they trade with other tribes more than 400 or 500 leagues distant. They are the cleanest savages in their households that I have seen, and they work the most industriously at various patterns of mats, which are their Turkish rugs. The women keep the body covered; the men uncovered, without anything except a fur robe which they put on their bodies. It is a kind of cloak, which they leave off ordinarily, especially in summer. The women and the girls are no more moved at seeing them in this way than if they saw nothing out of the ordinary. The women live very happily with their husbands. They have the fol-

⁷The Algonquin name for the Gens de Feu was Mascoutins. S.

⁸I, e., the country of the Cheveux Reléves.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

lowing custom when they have their menses: they withdraw from their husbands, or the daughters from their fathers and mothers and other relatives, and go into little houses, where they stay in retirement while the illness lasts, without having any association with men, who have provisions and articles carried to them until their return. Thus, it is known who is in that condition, and who is not. These people have great feasts—even more than other tribes. They made us good cheer and received us very kindly, and asked me earnestly to aid them against their enemies, who are on the border of the Fresh Sea, 200 leagues off. To this I answered that I would do so at another time, for I did not have what was necessary then. There is also, in a southerly direction, at two or three days' journey from these, another tribe of savages who make a great deal of tobacco. They are called the Neutral Nation, and a great many of them are warriors. They live to the south of the Fresh Sea and assist the Cheveux Relèves against the Fire People. But with the Iroquois and our men they are at peace, and maintain neutrality. I had a great desire to see this nation, but they dissuaded me from doing so, saying that the preceding year one of our men had killed one of them

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

when we were at war with the Entouhonorons,⁹ and that they were offended by it. And we were told that they are much given to revenge, not considering at all who made the attack, but inflicting the penalty upon the first man of the tribe that they catch, or even on one of their friends, when they can catch one of them, unless beforehand some agreement has been made with them, and gifts and presents have been given to the relatives of the deceased. This prevented me from going at this time, although some of this tribe assured us that they would not do us any harm on this account. This gave us the reason for returning by the same way by which we had come.

Continuing my journey, I went to find the nation of the Pisierinii,¹⁰ who had promised to conduct me further in the continuation of my plans and explorations. I was, however, diverted from this by the news that came from our great village and from the Algonquins, where Captain Iroquet was, to the effect that the nation of the Attigouantans had placed in their hands a prisoner of a hostile nation, with the hope

⁹The expedition of 1615 against the Iroquois. Entouhonorons was the Huron name of the Iroquois.

¹⁰Nipissings.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

that Captain Iroquet would inflict on this prisoner the revenge common among them. But, instead of this, he had not only set him at liberty, but, having found him skillful and an excellent hunter, had treated him like a son, at which the Attigouantans had become jealous, and resolved to take the vengeance themselves; and, in fact, had appointed a man to undertake to go and kill this prisoner, although he was allied to them. As he was executed in the presence of the principal men of the Algonquin nation, they, indignant at such an act and moved by anger, immediately killed this rash man who had undertaken murder. The Attigouantans, in turn, being offended by this murder and insulted by this act, when they saw one of their companions dead, seized their arms and betook themselves to the tents of the Algonquins (who winter near their village). They attacked this Captain Iroquet severely, and he was wounded by two arrow shots. At another time they plundered some of the cabins of the Algonquins before they could get ready to defend themselves, so that the two sides did not have an equal chance. In spite of this, these Algonquins had not settled the score, for they were obliged to come to terms and were compelled, in order to have

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

peace, to give the Attigouantans some^{10*} necklaces of wampum,^{10†} with 100 fathoms of it,¹¹ which is regarded of great value

^{10*} The number 50 is mentioned in the narrative of 1619. *Voyages of Champlain*, III, 149.

^{10†} Pourceline. This is translated wampum, as this Indian name has been adopted in English usage. In French the primary use of "porcelaine" is as the name of the Porcelain or Venus shell: *Cypræa Porcellana*. In English, the secondary meaning only, *i. e.*, as the name of chinaware, is familiar. Hence it is misleading to translate Champlain's "pourcelaine" by "porcelain" as Mr. Otis does in the *Voyages of Champlain*.

¹¹ *Brasses*, which is used in a somewhat special sense in the description of wampum. In the later writers *branches* is commonly used. Charlevoix gives the following description of this wampum, or shell-work: "There are two sorts of these shells, or, to speak more properly, two colours—one white and the other violet. The first is most common, and perhaps on that account less esteemed. The second seems to have a finer grain when it is wrought; the deeper the colour is, the more it is valued. Small cylindrical beads are made of both, which are bored through and strung upon a thread, and of these the *branches* and collars of shell, or wampum, are made. The branches are no more than four or five threads, or small straps of leather about a foot in length, on which the beads of wampum are strung. The collars are in the manner of fillets or diadems formed of these branches, sewed together with thread, making a tissue of four, five, six or seven rows of beads, and of proportion-

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

among them; and, besides, a number of kettles and axes, with two women prisoners in place of the dead man. In brief, they were in a great quarrel. These Algonquins had to suffer this great rage patiently, and expected that all would be killed, for they would not be very secure, notwithstanding their gifts, until they should find themselves in another situation. This news troubled me very much, for I imagined the difficulties that could arise from it, not only for them, but for us who were in their country.

I soon met two or three savages of our village, who urged me to go there to get them to come to terms, telling me that if I did not go there none of them would return any more to the French, for they were at war with these Algonquins, and looked upon us as their friends. Seeing this, I set out as soon as possible, and in passing I visited the Nipissings to find out when they would be ready for the journey to the north, which I found they had given up, on

able length; all which depends on the importance of the affair in agitation, and dignity of the person to whom the collar is presented." Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, etc., London, 1761, I, 319. One or two verbal changes have been made in the translation.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

account of these quarrels and fights, as our interpreter explained to me. He told me, also, that Captain Iroquet had come to all these tribes to find me, and to wait for me. He begged them to be at the camp of the French at the same time that he was, to see what agreement could be made between them and the Attigouantans, and to postpone the journey to the north until another time. For this purpose this Iroquet had given some wampum to break off the journey, and they promised us to come to our camp at the same time with us. If ever any one was in distress it was I, who had been waiting patiently to see, this year, that for which during several years preceding I had searched with a great deal of care and labor.

These people go to traffic with others who live in those northern regions, a great part of them being in a district where the hunting is very good and where there are a great many large animals, of which I have seen several skins. When I formed an idea of their shape, I judged that they were buffaloes.¹² The fishing too is very abundant there. It takes forty days to make this journey, either going or returning.

I started out for our village, mentioned

¹²The American bison.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

above, on the fifteenth day of February, taking with me six of our men. When we got there the inhabitants were very much pleased, as were also the Algonquins, whom I sent our interpreter to visit, in order to find out how everything had happened, not only on one side, but on the other. I did not wish to go, in order not to give either side any suspicion. Two days were spent in finding out from both sides how it all took place. This done, the principal men and elders of the place came away with us and we all went together to the Algonquins; and, in one of their cabins, after some speeches, they agreed to accept and abide by all that I should say, as umpire in the matter, and said that they would put into execution whatever I should propose. Collecting and seeking out the wishes and inclinations of both parties, and judging that all that they wanted was peace, I explained to them that the best course was to be at peace, and to remain friends, so as to resist their enemies more easily; and when I went away I begged them not to call upon me at all to do this for them, if they did not intend to follow, point for point, the advice that I should give them with regard to this dispute, since they had asked me to give my opinion. Whereupon they

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

told me at once that they had not desired my return for any other purpose. I, for my part, felt sure that if I did not reconcile and pacify them they would part ill-disposed toward one another, each one thinking that he had the right of it; also that they would not have gone to their cabins if I had not been with them, or even to the French, if I had not embarked in the matter and taken, as it were, charge and conduct of their affairs. Thereupon I said to them that, for my part, I had no other intention than to go with my host, who had always treated me well, and that I should with difficulty find one so good, for he was the one whom the Algonquins blamed, saying that he was the only captain who had had arms taken up. Much talking was done on both sides, and the conclusion was that I should give them my advice and tell them what seemed best to me.

Seeing that they referred the whole matter to my will, as if I were their father, and promised that in the future I might do with them as seemed good to me, I answered them that I was very glad to see them so inclined to follow my counsel, and I assured them that it should be only for the good and advantage of the tribes. On

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

the other hand, I was very much troubled to hear other sad news, namely, the death of one of their relatives and friends, whom we regarded as one of our own, and that this death had been able to cause such great distress, from which nothing but perpetual wars with each other would have resulted, with many great disasters and a change in their friendship; that, in consequence, the French would have been deprived of seeing them and visiting them, and would have been obliged to go in search of other nations; and this, too, when we were loving one another like brothers, leaving to our God the punishment of those who should merit it.

I explained to them that such actions between two nations, friends and brothers as they called themselves, was unworthy of reasonable men, but rather like brute beasts; moreover, that they had difficulty enough to repel their enemies who pursued them, generally routing them to their villages and taking them prisoners; that these enemies, seeing such a division and civil wars among them, would rejoice and derive profit from it; and that they would be impelled and encouraged to make and carry out new plans, in the hope that they would soon see their ruin, or at least their enfeeble-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

ment, through themselves, which would be the true and easy way for them to conquer them and triumph over them, and make themselves masters of their country, since they no longer helped one another; that they did not appreciate the evil that could come to them in this way, or that for the death of one man they put 10,000 men in danger of dying, and the others of being in perpetual slavery; that, in truth, one man was of great consequence, but that it must be considered how he had been killed, and that it was not with deliberate purpose, or to begin a civil war among them, it being only too obvious that the dead man had committed the first offence in that he had pounced upon and killed the prisoner in their cabin, having undertaken a thing that was too audacious, even if the latter were an enemy.

This stirred up the Algonquins, and, seeing that a man had been bold enough to kill another in their cabin, when they had given him his liberty and had treated him like one of themselves, they were beside themselves at once; and some, whose blood was up more than others, could not control themselves, nor restrain their anger, and had killed the man in question; but, notwithstanding this, they had no ill-feeling

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

toward the nation as a whole, and had no further purpose than the dealing with this rash man. They thought that he fully merited what he had got, since he had himself sought it.

And, besides, it was noted, that the Entouhonoron, feeling himself wounded by two blows in the stomach, wrenched from his wound the knife which his enemy had left there and gave him two stabs with it, as I had been told positively; so that one could not know for certain if it were the Algonquins who had committed the murder. And to prove to the Attigouantans that the Algonquins did not love the prisoner, and that Iroquet did not bear so much affection for him as they had supposed [I said that], they had eaten him,¹³ all the more since he had inflicted stabs of the knife upon his enemy; a thing, however, unworthy of man, but rather of brute beasts. Moreover, the Algonquins were very sorry for all that had taken place, and that if they had thought that such a thing would occur they would have given this Iroquois as a sacrifice. As for the other side, now that recompense had been made for this death and offence (if it should be called

¹³Cf. Parkman, *Pioneers of New France*, 359; also vol. I, p. 226.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

so) with fine presents and two prisoners, they had no reason, at present, to complain, and ought to conduct themselves more mildly toward the Algonquins, who are their friends; and that, since they had promised me to arbitrate with regard to everything, I begged them both to forget all that had occurred between them, and never to think of it again, nor bear any hatred or ill-will. If they did this we should be under obligations to love and aid them, as I had done in the past. And if they were not pleased with my advice I begged as many of them as could to come to our settlement, where, before all the captains of vessels, our friendship might be confirmed anew and counsel might be taken to arrange to secure them from their enemies—a thing to be thought of.

Then they said that they would adhere to all that I had said to them, and they returned to their cabins, to all appearances very happy, except the Algonquins, who broke up to retreat to their village; but, according to my opinion, they did not seem to be entirely happy, inasmuch as they said to one another that they should not come any more to pass the winter in these places. The death of these two men had cost them too much. I returned to my host, whom I

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

encouraged as much as I could, in order to persuade him to come to our settlement, and to bring there all the inhabitants of his country.

During the four months of winter I had enough leisure to observe their country, manners, customs, way of living, and the form of their assemblies, and other things, which I shall describe presently. But, first, it is necessary to speak of the situation of the country,¹⁴ and its divisions, not only with regard to the tribes, but also the distances between them. As to its extent, from east to west it is nearly 450 leagues long, and, in places, 200 leagues wide from north to south, from latitude 41° to 48° or 49° . This land is a sort of island, surrounded by the great River St. Lawrence, which passes through several lakes of great extent,¹⁵ on the shores of which live various tribes who speak different languages and have fixed abodes; some are fond of tilling the soil, and others do not love it. They, nevertheless, have different ways of living and different customs, some better than others. On the north shore of this great river, ex-

¹⁴I. e., of all Eastern Canada.

¹⁵Champlain had seen Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, and from this passage it would seem that he had been told of Lake Erie.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

tending in a southwesterly direction about 100 leagues toward the Attigouantans, the country is partly mountainous, and the air there is rather temperate, more so than in any other place in these regions, in latitude 41°. All these parts of the country are abundant in game, such as stags, caribous, elks,¹⁶ does, buffaloes,¹⁷ bears, wolves, beavers, foxes, minks, martens and several other kinds of animals which we do not have on this side of the water. Fish of various sorts and kinds are caught there in great abundance, not only the kinds that we have, but others that we do not have on the coasts of France. As for hunting for birds, there is plenty of that, for they come there in their time and season. The country is traversed by plenty of rivers, brooks and ponds connecting with one another and, at last, emptying into the River St. Lawrence and into the lakes through which it passes. The country is very pleasant, being covered with large and high forests, full of trees similar to the species that we have in France, although it is true that, in several places, there is a great deal of cleared land,

¹⁶I. e., moose.

¹⁷Champlain, misled by seeing buffalo robes secured by trade, has perhaps placed the range of the buffalo at this time too far east.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

where they plant their Indian corn. The country also abounds in meadows, marshes and swamps, which supply food for the animals just mentioned. The country north of this great river is not so pleasant as that to the south. Between latitude 47° and 49° it is full of big rocks in some places, as far as I could make out, which are inhabited by savages who live a wandering life about the country, not tilling the soil nor cultivating anything—at least, practically nothing. They are nomads—now in one place and now in another. The country there is cold and disagreeable enough. The extent of this northern region along latitude 49° is 600 leagues in width, and it includes the places of which we have ample knowledge. There are also many fine, large rivers which come from this quarter and empty into this river, and others which (in my opinion) empty into the sea, going through the regions to the north, between latitude 50° and 51° , according to the report and account that have been given me by those who go to traffic and trade with the people who live there.

With regard to the regions farther west, we cannot really know their extent, inasmuch as the peoples have no knowledge of it beyond 200 or 300 leagues or more to-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

ward the west, whence comes this great river; which goes, among other places, through a lake extending nearly thirty days' journey by canoe, to wit, the one that we named the Fresh Sea¹⁸ on account of its great extent, which is forty days' journey in the canoes of the savages to whom we have access. They are at war with other nations westward of this great lake, which is why we cannot have fuller knowledge of them, except that we have been told various and sundry times that certain prisoners from these places had reported that there were some people there like ourselves in being white, and that they had seen their hair, which is very blond.¹⁹ I hardly know

¹⁸Lake Huron, including also Lake Superior, or Lake Michigan; for, as remarked above (p. 67), the distances given imply it. The Indians, in mentioning the extent they could go to the west on the Fresh Sea, might not emphasize, or even mention, the St. Mary's River, or the Strait of Mackinac.

¹⁹This Indian rumor refers, no doubt, to the Spaniards of New Mexico; perhaps to the expedition of Oñate 200 or 300 leagues to the east or northeast of Sante Fé in 1601, or possibly to Indian traditions of the De Soto or Coronado expeditions. Scalps taken at that time might have been preserved. On the expedition of Oñate, see H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 149-150.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

what to think about this, except that they were people more civilized than they. Really, to know the truth of the matter, it would be necessary to see them, but it requires assistance, such as is afforded only by the time and courage of men of means who could or would undertake this enterprise.

As for the country south of this great river, it is very thickly peopled, much more so than on the north side, with various tribes who are at war with one another. The country there is very delightful, much more so than that on the north side, and the air is more mild. There are many kinds of trees and fruits there that are not found north of this river, but, on the other hand, there is not so much profit and gain in the south from the trade in furs. As for the character of the regions on the east, they are well enough known, for the great ocean sea borders these places, namely, the coasts of Labrador, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, La Cadie,^{19*} and the Almouchiquois.^{20*} And the people who inhabit them are also well known, for I have given ample description of them heretofore.

The country of the nation of the Attigou-

^{19*}I. e., Acadie.

^{20*}New England.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

antans is in latitude $44^{\circ} 30'$ and 230 leagues long toward the west.²¹ It contains eighteen villages, of which eight are enclosed and walled with palisades of wood in triple rows, interlaced with one another, with galleries on top provided with stones and water for throwing and for putting out any fire that their enemies might set against them. This country is beautiful and charming, and most of it is cleared. It has the same shape and situation as Brittany,²² being almost surrounded and enclosed by the Fresh Sea. These eighteen villages, according to their account, are peopled by 2000 warriors, not including the ordinary people, who might number 20,000 souls. Their cabins are in the form of tunnels, or arbors, covered with the bark of trees; from 25 to 30 fathoms, more or less, long and 6 wide. They have a passageway through the middle from 10 to 12 feet wide, extending from one end to the other. On the two sides there is a kind of bench, 4 feet high, where they sleep in

²¹The text is evidently corrupt here. Probably 230 stands for 20 à 30, which would not be far out of the way, although still too high for the land between Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron. For a discussion of the reading, see Laverdière, *Voyages de Champlain, 1619*, p. 73, and 1632, I, 288.

²²I. e., it is a peninsula.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

summer, to avoid being pestered by fleas, which are very common; and in winter they sleep on the ground on mats, near the fire, so as to be warmer. They store up dry wood and fill their cabins with it, to keep themselves warm in winter. At the end of these cabins there is a space in the middle of their dwelling, where they preserve their Indian corn, which they put into large barrels made of the bark of trees. There are pieces of wood suspended, on which they put their clothes, provisions and other things, for fear of the mice, which abound. In such a cabin there will be twelve fires, which means twenty-four households. The fire smokes in good earnest in winter, so that many are attacked with serious ailments of the eyes from it, to which they are liable even to the extent of losing their sight toward the close of life. There is no window or opening, except the one that is on top of their cabins, by which the smoke goes out. They sometimes move their village at intervals of 10, 20 or 30 years, and transport it 1, 2 or 3 leagues, for their soil becomes worn out in producing corn without being fertilized; and so they go to clear another place, and also to have wood more accessible, if they are not obliged, by their enemies, to pull up

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

and go away farther, as did the Entouhon-
orons, who went some 40 to 50 leagues.
This is the form of their dwellings, which
are separated from one another, say 3 or
4 paces, for fear of fire, which they dread
very much.

Their life is wretched in comparison
with ours, but a happy one for them, who
have not tasted better and believe that
there is none more excellent. Their prin-
cipal food and ordinary provision is Indian
corn and Brazilian beans,²³ which they pre-
pare in various ways. They pound it in
wooden mortars and reduce it to meal,
from which they extract the meal dust by
means of certain winnowing fans made
from the bark of trees; and then from this
meal they make bread, with beans. These
beans they have first boiled into soup, like
the Indian corn, so as to be easier to beat,
and they put the whole together. Some-
times they add blueberries, or dried rasp-
berries, sometimes pieces of deer's fat.
Then, having steeped the whole in luke-
warm water, they make bread in the form
of cakes, which they bake under the ashes.
And when they are baked, they wash them,
and wrap them in leaves of Indian corn,
which they fasten to them, and put them

²³The kidney bean. See above, vol. I, p. 101.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

into boiling water. But this latter is not the ordinary kind. They make also another kind, which they call *migan*, as follows: they take the pounded Indian corn, without winnowing out the dust, and put two or three handfuls of it in an earthen pot full of water, set it boiling, stirring it from time to time, for fear it should burn or stick to the pot; then they put into this pot a little fish, fresh or dry, according to the season, to give flavor to this *migan*, which is the name that they give it. And they make this very often, although it is a bad-smelling thing, principally in winter, either because they do not know how to prepare it, or because they do not wish to take the trouble to do so. They make two kinds of it, and prepare it well enough when they wish to; and when there is fish in it, this *migan* does not smell bad, but only when venison is used. When the whole thing is cooked, they take out the fish and pound it very fine, not going into such detail as to remove the bones, scales or entrails, as we do; and put the whole into a pot, which often causes a bad taste. Then, when it is made in this way, they give to each one his portion. This *migan* is very thin, and has not much substance, as one can easily judge. As for drink,

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

there is no need of it, for this *migan* is thin enough itself. They have another kind of *migan*, namely: they parch new corn before it is ripe, which they preserve, and they cook it whole with fish, or flesh, when they have it. Another way: they take very dry Indian corn, parch it in the ashes, then pound it and reduce it to meal, like the other kind already mentioned, and preserve it for their journeys here and there. The *migan* made in this way is the best, according to my taste. To make it, they have a great deal of meat and fish cooked, which they cut up into pieces, then put it into great kettles, which they fill with water, making it boil very hard. This done, they take off from the surface, with a spoon, the fat that comes from the meat and the fish; then they put in this meal made from the roasted corn, stirring it all the time, until the *migan* is cooked and thickened like soup. They give and distribute to each one a plateful, with a spoonful of the fat. They are accustomed to make this dish at banquets. Now, this corn, freshly roasted, is greatly esteemed among them. They also eat beans, which they have boiled with a large proportion of roasted meal, mixing in a little fat and fish. Dogs are in request at their feasts, which they often make to-

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

gether, especially during the winter, when they are at leisure. In case they go hunting for deer, or fishing, they reserve what they get for these feasts, nothing remaining in their cabins except the thin *migan*. as a rule. It resembles hog-wash, which is given to hogs to eat. They have another way of eating the Indian corn. To prepare it they take ears of it and put them in water, under the mud, leaving them two or three months in this state, until they think it is decayed. Then they take it out and boil it with meat or fish; then eat it. They also roast it, and it is better so than boiled. There is nothing that smells so bad as this corn when it comes out of the water all muddy, yet, nevertheless, the women and children suck it, as one does sugar-cane,²⁴ and have nothing that seems to them to taste better, as they show. Ordinarily, they have only two meals a day.

They also fatten bears, which they keep two or three years to feast on. I saw that if they had domestic animals they would be careful with them, and would keep them very well, if I should show them how to feed them. That would be an easy thing for them, since they have good pasturage

²⁴A reminiscence of Champlain's early voyage to the West Indies.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

and a great deal of it, whether for horses, oxen, cows, sheep, swine or any other kinds. For lack of these, one considers them poor, as they seem to be. Nevertheless, with all their poverty in various respects, I regard them as happy among themselves, for they have no other ambition than to live and to take care of themselves; and they are more certain of that than those who wander about the forests like brute beasts. They also eat many summer squashes, which they boil and roast under the ashes.

As to their clothes, they are made in various ways and styles, of different skins of wild animals; not only those that they catch, but those that they get in exchange for their Indian corn, meal, wampum and fishing-nets from the Algonquins, Nipissings and other tribes, who are hunters and have no fixed abodes. They dress and fit the skins tolerably well, making their breeches of a rather large deer-skin and their leggings of another piece. They go clear up to the belt and are in many folds. Their shoes are of deer-, bear- and beaver-skins, of which they use a good number. Besides, they have a robe of the same fur in the form of a cloak, which they wear in the Irish, or gipsy, style; and they have sleeves which are attached with a string in the

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

back. That is how they are dressed in winter, as is seen in Figure *D*. When they go abroad they gird their robe about the body; but in the village they leave off their sleeves and do not gird themselves at all. Instead of lace from Milan for the adornment of their garments, they use the odds and ends of these skins,²⁵ of which they make bands in various styles, according to taste. In some places they put stripes of reddish brown paint among the bands of fur trimming, which always look whitish, not losing their shape, no matter how dirty they may be. There are some among these tribes

²⁵The French reads: "Les passements de Milan pour enrichir leurs habits sont de colle, et de la raclure des dites peaux." Otis has "are made of glue and the scrapings of the before-mentioned skins"; and, just below, "bands of red and brown color amid those of glue." Cotgrave's Dictionary, which was prepared by a contemporary of Champlain, gives as the meaning of *colle*: 1st, glue; 2d, solder; 3d, "also the unprofitable corners of hides and skins cut off in the dressing"; and for *raclure*, besides "scrapings," "remnants." The two words, *colle* and *raclure*, are covered by the phrase, "odds and ends." The editor is not sure that the version in the text is correct. It is, however, offered with this explanation, for it seems more in accord with other descriptions of Indian garments. If it is accepted, it would follow that the text should read "de la colle."

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

who are much more skillful than others in dressing the skins and more ingenious in inventing designs to put on their clothes. Above all others, our Montagnais and Algonquins take the most pains about it. They put on their robes bands of porcupine quills, which they dye a very beautiful scarlet color. They think a great deal of these bands among themselves and detach them to make them serve for other robes when they wish to change. Besides, they use them to adorn their faces and to appear more comely. When they wish to appear in fine array they paint their faces black and red, which colors have been mixed with oil made from the seed of the sunflower, or with grease of the bear or other animals. They also dye their hair, which some wear long, others short, and still others on one side only. As for the women and girls, they always wear it in the same way. They are dressed like the men, except that their robes always are girt around them. They come down to the knee. They are not at all ashamed to expose the body; that is, from the waist up and from the middle of the thigh down. The rest is always covered. They wear a great deal of wampum, both as necklaces and chains, which they put on the front of their robes, or hanging from their belts, or

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

as bracelets, or as pendants from the ears. They have their hair well combed, colored, and greased. Thus arrayed, they go to dances with their hair in a bunch behind bound with eel-skins, which they prepare and use as a cord. Sometimes they attach to this plates a foot square covered with wampum, which hangs down behind, and, so, decked in this way and sprucely dressed, they show themselves gladly at dances, whither their fathers and mothers take them, sparing nothing to beautify and adorn them. I can assure you that I have seen at dances many a girl who had more than twelve pounds of wampum on her, not to mention the other trinkets with which they are loaded and attired. The illustration, *F*, shows how the women are dressed; *G*, the girls going to the dance. There is also an illustration of how the women pound their Indian corn (letter *H*).

These people are of a rather merry disposition, although there are many of them who have a gloomy and saturnine expression. They are well-formed and proportioned in body, some of the men being very strong and robust. And there are also women and girls who are very beautiful and attractive in figure, coloring (although it is olive) and in features, all in propor-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

tion; and their breasts hang down hardly at all, unless they are old. Some of them are very powerful and of extraordinary height. They have almost all the care of the house and the work; for they till the ground, plant the Indian corn, lay up wood for the winter, beat the hemp and spin it, make fishing-nets from the thread, catch fish, and do other necessary things. They also harvest their corn, store it, prepare it to eat, and attend to their household affairs. Moreover, they follow their husbands from place to place in the fields, where they serve as mules for carrying the baggage.

As to the men, they do nothing but hunt for deer and other animals, catch fish, make cabins and go to war. When they have done these things they go to other tribes, to whom they have access, and whom they know, to trade and exchange what they have for what they have not. When they come back they do not stir from the feasts and dances which they make for one another, and when these are over they go to sleep, which is the best employment of all.

They have a sort of marriage among them, which is like this: when a girl is 11, 12, 13, 14 or 15 years old, she will have several suitors, according to her good

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

graces, who will woo her and ask the consent of her father and her mother, although often the girls do not accept their consent. Those who are the best and most discreet submit to their wishes. This lover, or suitor, gives the girl some necklaces, chains and bracelets of wampum. If the girl finds the suitor agreeable, she accepts this present. This done, he comes to sleep with her three or four nights without saying a word, when they gather the fruit of their affections. And it often happens that after having spent a week or a fortnight together, if they cannot agree, she will quit her suitor, who forfeits his necklaces and other gifts made by him. Frustrated in his hope, he will seek another woman, and she another suitor; and thus they continue until a satisfactory union is made. There are many girls who pass their entire youth thus with several husbands, who are not alone in the enjoyment of the creature, married though they are; for, when night comes, the young women run from one cabin to another, as do the young men, on their part, visiting any girls they please. They do so without violence, however, referring the whole matter to the wish of the woman. The husband will do the same thing to a woman neighbor, without there being any jealousy

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

among them on that account, or, in any case, very little; and they incur no ill-repute or insult for it, for it is the custom of the country.

When the women have children, the preceding husbands return to them, to show them the friendship and affection that they had borne them in the past, saying that it is more than that of any other man, and that the child who is to be born is his and of his begetting. Another will tell her the same thing; and so it is at the choice and option of the woman to take and accept him who pleases her most. Having gained by her loves a great deal of wampum, she remains with him without leaving him any more; or, if she leaves him, it must be for some important reason, other than impotence, for he is on trial. Nevertheless, while she is with this husband she does not cease to indulge herself freely; yet she keeps herself at home and busy always with the household, making a good appearance. The result is that children that they have together cannot be sure of being legitimate. They have a custom, however, which provides against this risk that they may never succeed to their property, by constituting the children of their sisters, whom they know to have been born of them, their heirs and

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

successors.^{25*} Coming now to the feeding and bringing-up of their children: they put them, during the daytime, on a little wooden board, and dress and wrap them up in furs, or skins, and bind them on this little board. Then they set it up on end, leaving a little opening through which the baby may do its little duties. If it is a girl they put a leaf of Indian corn between the thighs, which presses against her person, and they have the end of this leaf come outside and turn down, and in this way the child's water runs off on this leaf, without her being irritated by the water. They also put under the babies, down made from certain reeds that we call hare's-foot, on which they rest very softly. They also clean them with the same down. To adorn them, they trim the board with beads, and put some on the baby's neck, no matter how little it is. At night they put it to bed entirely naked, between the father and mother, where it must be considered providential that it is preserved from being suffocated, except very rarely. These children are extremely spoiled, as a result of not being punished, and are of so perverse a nature

^{25*}A feature of the custom of reckoning descent through the female line which was widely prevalent among the North American Indians.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

that they strike their fathers and mothers, which is a sort of curse that God sends them.

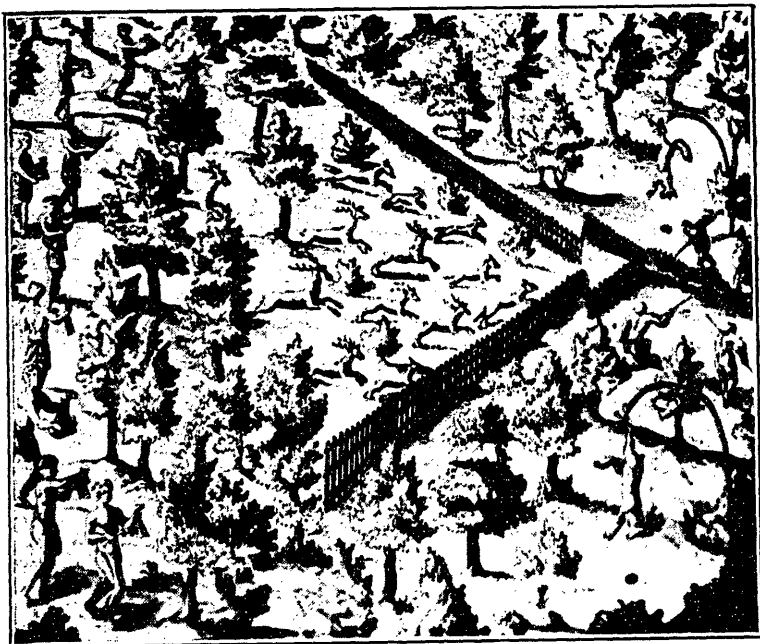
They have no laws among themselves, nor anything like them, there being neither any correction nor censure of evil-doers, but merely the rendering evil for evil, which is the reason why they are so often involved in quarrels and wars on account of their differences.

Similarly, they do not recognize any divinity, and do not believe in any god, or anything whatever, but live like brute beasts. They have some respect for the devil, or something like it, for to the word that they use various significations are attached, and it embraces in itself several things; so that it is hard to know and discern whether they mean the devil, or something else. But what makes one think it is the devil is that, when they see a man do something extraordinary, or prove more skillful than the common run, a valiant warrior, or one who is in a rage and beside himself, they call him *Oqui*; as we should say, a great spirit, or a great devil. There are certain persons among them who are the *Oqui*, or *Manitous*, so called by the Algonquins and Montagnais, who have the care of healing the sick, binding up the

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

wounded, and predicting future things. They persuade the sick to make feasts, or have them made, with the intention of taking part in them, and they make them go through various other ceremonies, in the hope of a prompt recovery. The sick believe and hold true all that these *Oqui* tell them.

These people have not the malicious spirit of other savages more remote than they, which makes one think that they would be converted to the knowledge of God if their country were inhabited by persons who took pains and care to teach them, by good examples and right living. For, to-day, they have the desire to improve themselves; to-morrow, when it will be thought best to suppress their foul customs, their dissolute ways and their uncivilized habits, this wish will change. Now, when I talked to them about our belief, laws and customs, they listened to me with great attention in their councils; then they said to me: "You say things that are above our minds and our reason, and that we cannot understand in words. But if you wish us to understand them, it is necessary to bring to this country women and children, in order that we may learn your ways of living, how you worship God, how you obey the laws of



Deer Hunting

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

your King, how you cultivate and plant the ground and feed animals. For, if we see these things, we shall learn more in one year than in twenty of talk, for we shall find our life wretched in comparison with yours." Their discourse seemed to me good common-sense, and to show the desire that they have to know God.

When they are ill they send for the *Oqui*, and he, after having asked about the malady, sends for a great number of men, women and girls, with three or four old women, just as may be commanded by this *Oqui*. They go into their cabins and dance, each one having a bear-skin, or the skin of some animal, on the head. The bear-skin is most often used, for it is the most frightful. There are two or three other old women about the patient, or sick person, who often is sick only in imagination. But they are soon cured of this sickness, and they make feasts at the expense of their relatives or friends, who give them something to put into their kettle, besides the gifts and presents that they receive from the dancing-men and women, such as wampum and other trinkets. This is what cures them quickly. For when they see that they have nothing more to hope for, they get up, with what they have been able to amass. But

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

those who are very ill are not easily cured by such play, dances and doings. The old women who are about the sick person receive the presents, each one singing in turn. Then they stop singing. And when all the presents are given they begin to lift their voices with one accord, singing all together and beating time with sticks on pieces of dried bark of trees. Then all the women and girls place themselves at the end of the cabin, as if they wanted to perform the opening scene of a ballet, with the old women walking first, their bear-skins on their heads. They have only two styles of dance that have any harmony—one of four steps, and the other of twelve, as in the *trioly* of Brittany. They are rather graceful. Young men often take part with them. After dancing an hour or so, the old women take hold of the sick person, who pretends to get up sadly, then goes to dancing. Once having begun to dance, he continues and enjoys himself like the others.

Sometimes the medicine-man^{25†} gets a reputation from this, when his patient is seen to be cured and about so soon; but those who are very ill and failing die oftener than they get cured. For they make such

^{25†}Le medicin, the physician.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

a noise and din from morning until two o'clock at night that it is impossible for the patient to endure it without a great deal of pain. If the patient takes a notion to have the women and girls dance together it must be by order of the *Oqui*. For he and the *Manitou*, accompanied by some others, go through monkey tricks and incantations, and writhing, in such a way that often they are beside themselves, as if they were mad and out of their senses. They throw the fire from one side of the cabin to the other, now eating burning coals—having held them some time in their hands, then throwing red-hot ashes into the eyes of the spectators. One would say, to see them acting in this way, that the devil—*Oqui* or *Manitou*, if one must call him that—possessed them and made them writhe in that fashion. When the noise and din are over, each one goes away to his cabin. But the wives of those who are possessed, and the inmates of their cabin, are in great fear lest they burn all that is in it, so they take out everything that is there. For when they come in they are perfectly wild, their eyes flashing and terrible. Sometimes they stand and sometimes they sit, just as the impulse moves them. They grab everything that they find, or run up against and

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

fling these things about from one side of the cabin to the other. Then they lie down and sleep for a while; then, waking up with a start, they grab some fire and stones, which they hurl about on all sides without any regard. This fury passes off in the sleep that comes upon them. Then they take a sweat and call their friends to take one, too; for they think it the true cure by which to recover health. They cover themselves with their robes and some big pieces of bark of trees, and have in their midst a good many stones which have been heated red-hot in the fire. While they are in the sweat, they sing all the time. And since they get very thirsty, they drink a great quantity of water, and gradually change from madmen to sober ones. It happens, rather from chance than from science, that three or four of these sick people get well, which confirms them in their false belief that they are healed by means of these ceremonies; not noting that, for so many cured, ten others die.

There are also women who go into these rages, and walk on their hands and feet like animals, but they do not do so much harm. When the *Oqui* sees one, he begins to sing; then, with some grimaces, he blows upon her, ordering her to drink of certain

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

waters, and to make a feast, either of flesh or of fish, which must be found. When the yelling is over, and the banquet finished, each one returns to her own cabin. She stays there until the next time that he comes to visit her, blowing on her, and singing, with several others who have been called for this purpose. They hold in the hand a dry tortoise-shell filled with little pebbles, which they rattle in the ears of the sick person, directing her at once to have three or four feasts, with singing and dancing, when all the girls come adorned and painted, with masquerades, and people in disguise. Assembled thus, they go and sing near the bed of the sick person, then walk through the village while the feast is being prepared.

With regard to their housekeeping and living, each one lives on what he can get from fishing and from the harvest in as much land as is needed. They clear it with great difficulty, as they have no proper tools for the purpose. They strip the trees of all their branches, which they burn at their base, in order to kill them. They clean up the ground between the trees, then plant their corn at distances of a pace, putting about ten grains in each place; and so they

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

continue until they have enough for three or four years' provision, for fear lest some bad year, barren and unfruitful, should come upon them.

If any girl marries in winter, each woman and girl is expected to carry to the bride a load of wood for her provision; for each household is furnished with what is necessary, inasmuch as she could not do it alone, and also that she may have time enough to attend to other things which are in time and season.

Their government is as follows: the elders and principal men assemble in council, where they decide and propose all that is necessary for the affairs of the village. This is done by vote of the majority, or by the advice of certain ones among them who are esteemed to be of excellent judgment. Such advice so given is scrupulously followed. They have no particular chiefs who command with absolute authority, but they show respect to the oldest and bravest, who are called captains. As for penalties, they do not resort to them, but everything is done through the entreaties of the old men and by dint of speeches and remonstrances. They have a general conference, and if some one in the assembly offers to do something for the good of the village, or to go

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

somewhere for the common service, and he is thought capable of doing what he promises, he is encouraged and persuaded by inspiring words that he is a daring fellow just fitted for such undertakings, and that he will gain a great reputation. If he wishes to accept, or refuse, this duty, he is allowed to do so, but there are few who refuse it.

When they wish to undertake wars, or go into the enemy's country, two or three of the older or valiant captains undertake the leadership for that time, and go to the neighboring villages to make their intention known; making presents to them, to put them under obligations to accompany them. Then they decide upon the place where they wish to go, the disposition of the prisoners who may be captured, and other things of importance. If they do well they receive praise for it; if they do badly they are blamed. They have a general meeting each year in some village that they name, whither an ambassador comes from each province. There they have great feasts and dances for a month or five weeks, according as they decide together; make a new compact of friendship; decide what must be done for the preservation of their country, and give presents to one another.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

This done, each one goes back to his own section.

When any one dies, they wrap the body in furs and cover it very neatly with the bark of trees; then they place it high up on four posts in a little cabin, which is covered with bark and is just the length of the body. These bodies are buried in these places only a certain length of time, say eight or ten years, when those of the village recommend the place where their ceremonies should be held, or rather a general council, which all the people of the country attend. This done, each one returns to his own village, and then takes all the bones of the dead, which they clean and make very smooth, and guard carefully. Then all the relatives and friends take them, with their necklaces, furs, axes, kettles and other things of value, with a great many provisions which they bring to the prescribed place. When all are gathered there, they put the provisions where the people of that village direct; and then have feasts and dances without interruption for ten days—the length of time that the festival lasts—during which other tribes gather there from all parts to see the ceremonies which are taking place. By means of these ceremonies they form new ties of

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

friendship, saying that the bones of their relatives and friends are to be all put together, as a symbol that, as they are all together in one place, so ought they, too, to be united in friendship and harmony, like relatives and friends, without being able to part from one another. These bones being thus mingled, they make many speeches on the subject; then, after some grimaces or acting, they dig a big grave, into which they throw the bones, with the necklaces, belts of wampum, axes, kettles, sword-blades, knives and other trifles, which they prize highly. Then they cover the whole with earth and with many logs of wood. Then they enclose it with stakes, on which they place a covering. Some of them believe in the immortality of the soul, saying that after their death they go to a place where they sing like crows.

It remains to describe the way in which they fish. They make several round holes in the ice, and the one through which they are to draw the seine is about five feet long and three wide. Then they begin at this opening to place the net, which is attached to a wooden rod six or seven feet long. They put the rod under the ice and push it from hole to hole, at each of which one or two men put their hands into the

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

holes, catching hold of the rod, to which is attached an end of the net, until they come to meet each other at the opening of five or six feet. This done, they let the net drop to the bottom of the water. It sinks by means of certain little stones which are fastened to the end of it. When it is at the bottom they draw it up again with their arms by its two ends, and so they take the fish that are caught in it.

After having fully discussed the habits, customs, government and manner of life of our savages,²⁶ we will take up our narrative. When they had assembled to come with us, and take us back to our settlement, we set out from their country on May 20,²⁷ and we were forty days on the way. We caught a great quantity of fish of various kinds, and we also captured several varieties of animals and game, which gave us special pleasure besides the sustenance that we derived from them. We reached our Frenchmen at the end of the month of June. I found there Sieur du Pont, who

²⁶For other contemporary accounts of the Hurons see Thwaites's edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, index. Parkman, on the basis of this material, has given a detailed description of Huron manners in his *Jesuits in North America*, XXIV-XLII.

²⁷May 20, 1616.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

had come with two vessels from France. He had almost despaired of seeing me again, on account of the bad news that he had heard from the savages, that I was dead.

We also saw all the holy fathers, who had remained at our settlement, and they were very glad to see us, and we to see them. Then I prepared to set out from the St. Louis Rapids, to go to our settlement, taking with me my host, Darontal. Taking leave, on this account, of all the savages, and assuring them of my affection, I told them that I should see them again some day to assist them, as I had done in the past, and that I would bring them presents, to keep up their friendship with one another. I begged them to forget the quarrels that they had had together, when I set them in harmony; which they promised to do. We left on the 8th of July, and reached our settlement on the 11th of the same month. There I found every one in good condition, and we all, with our holy fathers, returned thanks to God for His care in preserving and keeping us from the many perils and dangers to which we had been exposed.

During this time I made the best cheer I could for my host, Darontal. He ad-

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

mired our buildings, conduct and way of living, and said to me in private that he never should die content until he had seen all his friends, or at least a good number of them, come to make their abode with us, in order to learn to serve God, and to understand our way of living, which he deemed infinitely happy, in comparison with theirs. He said that what he could not understand of it by what we said, he could much better and more easily get hold of by associating with us. He suggested that, for the advancement of this work, we should make another settlement at the St. Louis Rapids, so as to give them a safe passage of the river, for fear of their enemies; and said that at once they would come in great numbers to us, to live there like brothers. I promised him to do this as soon as I could. So, after we had remained four or five days together, and I had given him some valuable presents, with which he was much pleased, he returned to the St. Louis Rapids, where his companions awaited him.

During my sojourn at the settlement I had some of the common corn cut—that is, the French corn that had been planted there—which was very beautiful, in order to carry some to France, to show that this

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

soil is very good and fertile. There was also some very fine Indian corn and some grafts and trees that we had brought thither.

We set sail in our barks on the 20th day of July, and arrived at Tadoussac on the 23d of the same month. There Sieur du Pont was waiting for us with his ship ready and equipped. We embarked in it and left on the third day of the month of August, and had so favorable a wind that we arrived at Honfleur the 10th day of September, 1616. There we returned praise and thanksgiving to God for preserving us from all the perils and dangers to which we had been exposed, and for having brought us back in safety to our country. To Him, then, glory and honor forevermore. Amen.²⁸

²⁸This narrative ends on page 309 of Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, vol. V.

THE END

THE VOYAGE OF
SAMUEL CHAMPLAINE
of Brouage,
made vnto Canada in the yeere 1603, dedi-
cated to CHARLES DE MONTMORENCIE,
&c., High Admirall of France.

*The Translation published in Hakluytus
Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrims.*

LONDON : 1625.

Edited by
EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.



Indian Costumes

CHAPTER I

Short account describing the voyage from Honfleur, in Normandy, to the Port of Tadoussac, in Canada.¹

WE departed from Honfleur, the fifteenth day of March 1603. This day we put into the Roade of New Haven,^{1*} because the winde was contrary. The Sunday following being the sixteenth of the said moneth, we set saile to proceed on our Voyage. The seventeenth day following, we had sight of Jersey² and Garnsey,³ which are Iles betweene the Coast of Normandie and England. The eighteenth of the said moneth, wee discryed the Coast of Britaine.⁴ The nineteenth, at seuen of the clocke at night, we made account that we were thwart of Ushent.⁵ The one and twentieth, at seuen of clocke in the morning, we met with

¹The chapter headings in this narrative have been translated and inserted by the editor from Laverdière's text.

^{1*}Havre.

²D'Orgny, i. e., Aurigny; in English, Alderney.

³Guernsey.

⁴Brittany.

⁵Ouessant. An island off Cape Finisterre, the westernmost point of Brittany.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

seven ships of Hollanders, which to our judgement came from the Indies. On Easter day, the thirtieth of the said moneth, wee were encountered with a great storme, which seemed rather to be thunder then winde, which lasted the space of seenteene dayes, but not so great as it was the two first dayes; and during the said time we rather lost way then gained.

The sixteenth day of April the storme began to cease, and the Sea became more calme then before, to the contentment of all the Company; in such sort as continuing our said course untill the eighteenth of the said moneth, we met with a very high Mountaine of Ice. The morrow after we discried a banke of Ice, which continued about eight leagues in length, with an infinite number of other smaller peeces of Ice, which hindred our passage. And by the judgement of our Pilot, the said flakes of Ice were one hundred, or one hundred & twenty leagues from the Country of Canada, and we were in 45. degrees and two third parts; & we found passage in 44. deg. The second of May, at eleuen of clocke of the day, we came vpon The Banke in 44. degrees one⁶ third part. The sixt of the said moneth, we came so neere the land

⁶It should be two-thirds.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

that we heard the Sea beate against the shore, but we could not descrie the same through the thiccknesse of the fogge, whereunto these coasts are subiect; which was the cause that we put farther certain leagues into the Sea, untill the next day in the morning, when we descried land, the weather being very cleere, which was the Cape of Saint Marie.⁷ The twelfth day following we were ouertaken with a great flaw of winde, which lasted two dayes. The fifteenth of the said moneth, wee descried the Isles of Saint Peter. The seuinteenth following we met with a banke of Ice neere Cape de Raie,⁸ sixe leagues in length, which caused us to strike saile all the night, to auoide the danger we might incurre. The next day we set saile, and descried Cape de Raie, and the Isles of Saint Paul, and Cape de Saint Laurence,⁹ which is on the South side. And from the said Cape of Saint Laurence unto Cape de Raie, is eighteene leagues, which is the breadth of the entrance of the great Gulfe of Canada.¹⁰

⁷Cape St. Mary, on the southern coast of Newfoundland on the eastern side of Placentia Bay.

⁸Cape Ray.

⁹Cape North, Cape Breton Island.

¹⁰The Gulf of St. Lawrence.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

The same day, about ten of the clocke in the morning, we met with another Iland of Ice, which was aboue eight leagues long. The twentieth of the said moneth, we descried an Isle, which containeth some five and twenty or thirty leagues in length, which is called the Isle of Assumption,¹¹ which is the entrance of the Riuier of Canada. The next day we descried Gachepe,¹² which is a very high land, and began to enter into the said Riuier of Canada, ranging the South coast unto the Riuier of Mantanne,¹³ which is from the said Gachepe sixtie five leagues; from the said Riuier of Mantanne we sailed as far as the Pike,¹⁴ which is twenty leagues, which is on the South side also: from the said Pike we sailed ouer the Riuier unto the port of Tadousac, which is fifteene leagues. All these Countries are very high, and barren, yeelding no commoditie. The foure and twentieth of the said moneth¹⁵ we cast anker

¹¹Champlain wrote Anticosty. Cartier named Anticosti, *Isle de Assomption*, and apparently that was the name familiar in England in Purchas's time.

¹²Gaspé.

¹³Matane.

¹⁴Du Pic. Corrected by Laverdière to du Bic. Bic is 170 miles east of Quebec.

¹⁵May 24, 1603.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

before Tadousac, and the six and twentieth we entred into the said Port, which is made like to a creeke in the entrance of the Riuer of Saguenay, where there is a very strange current and tide, for the swiftnesse and depth thereof where sometimes strong windes do blow because of the cold which they bring with them; it is thought that the said Riuer is fife and forty leagues vnto the first fall, and it commeth from the North North-west. The said Port of Tadousac is little, wherein there cannot ride aboue ten or twelue Ships: but there is water enough toward the East, toward the opening of the said Riuer of Saguenay along by a little hill, which is almost cut off from the maine by the Sea: The rest of the Countrie are very high Mountaines, whereon there is little mould, but rockes and sands full of woods of Pines, Cypresses,¹⁶ Fir-trees,¹⁷ Burch, and some other sorts of trees of small price. There is a little Poole neere vnto the said Port, enclosed with Mountaines couered with woods. At the entrance of the said Port there are two points, the one on the West side running a league into the Sea, which is called Saint Matthewes point; and the

¹⁶Cedars.

¹⁷Sapins. Here, a variety of spruces. S.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

other on the South-east side containing a quarter of a league, which is called the point of all the Diuels. The South and South South-east, and South South-west windes doe strike into the said hauen. But from Saint Matthewes Point, to the said Point of all the Diuels, is very neere a league: Both these Points are dry at a low water.

CHAPTER II

Kind reception of the French by the great Sagamo of the savages of Canada; their feasts and dances; the war they carry on with the Iroquois; how and of what their canoes and cabins are made; with a description of St. Matthew's Point.

THE seuen and twentieth day we sought the Sauages at the Point of Saint Matthew, which is a league from Tadousac, with the two Sauages whom Monsieur du Pont¹ brought with him, to make report of that which they had seene in France, and of the good entertainment which the King had giuen them. As soone as we were landed we went to the Caban of their great Sa-

¹Du Pont Gravé.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

gamo,² which is called Anadabijou, where we found him with some eightie or a hundred of his companions, which were making Tabagie,³ that is to say, a Feast. Hee receiued vs very well, according to the custome of the Countrey, and made vs sit downe by him, and all the Sauages sat along one by another on both sides of the said Cabine. One of the Sauages which we had brought with vs began to make his Oration, of the good entertainement which the King had giuen them, and of the good vsage that they had receiued in France, and that they might assure themselves that his said Maiestie wished them well, and desired to people their Countrey, and to make peace with their enemies (which are the Irocois) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He also reckoned vp the faire Castels, Palaces, Houses, and people which they had seene, and our manner of liuing. He was heard with so great silence, as more cannot be vttered. Now when he had ended his Oration, the said grand Sagamo Anadabijou, hauing heard him attentiuely began to take Tobacco, and gaue to the said Monsieur du

²A Montagnais word, meaning Great Chief, L. The form Sagamore is usual in English writers.

³See note, p. 23, above.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

Pont Graue of Saint Malo, and to mee, and to certaine other Sagamos which were by him: after he had taken store of Tobacco, he began to make his Oration to all, speaking distinctly, resting sometimes a little, and then speaking againe, saying, that doubtlesse they ought to be very glad to haue his Maiestie for their great friend: they answered all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho, which is to say, yea, yea, yea. He proceeding forward in his speech, said That he was very well content that his said Maiestie should people their Countrey, and make warre against their enemies, and that there was no Nation in the world to which they wished more good, then to the French. In fine, hee gaue them all to vnderstand what good and profit they might receiue of his said Maiestie. When he had ended his speech, we went out of his Cabine, and they began to make their Tabagie or Feast, which they make with the flesh of Orignac,⁴ which is like an Oxe, of Beares, of Seales, and Beuers, which are the most ordinary victuals which they haue, & with great store of wilde Fowle. They had eight or ten Kettels full of meate in the midst of the said Cabine, and they were set one

⁴Orignac, more commonly, orignal; the Algonquin name for the moose.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

from another some six paces, and each one vpon a seuerall fire. The men sat on both sides the house (as I said before) with his dish made of the barke of a tree; and when the meat is sodden, there is one which devideth to euery man his part in the same dishes, wherein they feede very filthily, for when their hands be fattie, they rub them on their haire, or else on the haire of their dogs, whereof they haue store to hunt with. Before their meate was sodden, one of them rose vp, and took a dog, & danced about the said Kettels from the one end of the Cabin to the other: when he came before the great Sagamo, he cast his dog perforce vpon the ground, and then all of them with one voice, cried, ho, ho, ho, which being done, he went and sat him downe in his place, then immediately another rose vp and did the like, and so they continued untill the meate was sodden. When they had ended their Feast, they began to dance, taking the heads⁵ of their enemies in their hands, which hanged vpon the wall behinde them; and in signe of joy there is one or two which sing, moderating their voice by the measure of their hands, which they beate vpon their knees, then they rest sometimes, and cry, ho, ho, ho; and begin againe

⁵Here, apparently, in the sense of scalps.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

to dance, & blow like a man that is out of breath. They made this triumph for a victory which they had gotten of the Irocois, of whom they had slaine some hundred, whose heads they cut off,^{5*} which they had with them for the ceremony. They were three Nations when they went to war; the Estechemins, Algonmequins,⁶ and Mountainers,⁷ to the number of a thousand, when they went to war against the Irocois, whom they encountred at the mouth of the Riuier of the said Irocois⁸ and slew an hundred of them. The war which they make is altogether by surprises, for otherwise they would be out of hart; & they feere the said Irocois very much, which are in greater number than the said Mountainers, Estechemins and Algonmequins. The twenty eight day of the said moneth, they encamped themselues in the foresaid hauen of Tadousac, where our Ship was; at the break of day their said great Sagamo came out of his Cabine, going round about all the other Cabins, and cried with a loud

^{5*}“Aux quels ils couperent les testes qu'ils avaient avec eux,” etc. On the probable meaning of “testes” in this and other passages descriptive of the Canadian Indians see above, vol. I, p. 217.

⁶Algonquins.

⁷The Montagnais.

⁸The Richelieu, or Sorel River.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

voice that they should dislodge to goe to Tadousac, where their good friends were. Immediately euery man in a trice tooke down his cabin, and the said grand Captain, first began to take his canoe, & carried it to the Sea, where he embarked his wife and children, & store of furs; and in like manner did well neere two hundred canowes, which goe strangely; for though our Shallop was well manned, yet they went more swift than we. There are but two that row, the man and the wife. Their Canowes are some eight or nine pases long, and a pase, or a pase & a halfe broad in the midst, and grow sharper & sharper toward both the ends. They are very subject to ouerturning, if one know not how to guide them; for they are made of the barke of a Birch tree, strengthened within with little circles of wood well & handsomely framed and are so light, that one man will carry one of them easily; and euery Canowe is able to carry the weight of a Pipe: when they would passe ouer any land to goe to some Riuer where they haue busines, they carry them with them.⁹ Their Cabins are low, made like Tents, couered with the said barke of a tree, and they leaue in the roofe about a foot space vn-

⁹Cf. above, p. 167.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

couered, wherby the light commeth in; and they make many fires right in the midst of their Cabin, where they are sometimes ten houtholds together. They lie vpon skins one by another, and their dogs with them. They were about a thousand persons, men, women and children. The place of the point of S. Matthew, where they were first lodged, is very pleasant; they were at the bottome of a little hill, which was ful of Fir & Cy- presse trees: vpon this point there is a little leuel plot, which discovereth far off, & vpon the top of the said hill, there is a Plain, a league long, and halfe a league broad, couered with trees; the soile is very sandy, and is a good pasture; all the rest is nothing but Mountains of very bad rocks: the Sea beateth round about the said hil, which is dry for a large halfe league at a low water.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

CHAPTER III

The rejoicing which the savages make after they have been victorious over their enemies; their disposition, suffering from hunger, ill-will; their beliefs and false ideas; they speak to devils; their clothes, and how they walk on the snow; with their marriage customs and the burial of their dead.

THE ninth day of Iune the Sauages began to make merrie together, and to make their feast, as I haue said before, and to dance for the aforesaid victory which they had obtained against their enemies. After they had made good cheere, the Algoumequins, one of the three Nations, went out of their Cabins, and retired themselves apart into a publike place, and caused all their women and girles to sit downe in rankes one by the other, and stood themselves behinde, then singing all in one time, as I haue said before. And suddenly all the women and maidens began to cast off their Mantles of skins, and stripped themselues starke naked, shewing their priuities, neuerlesse adorned with Matachias, which are paternosters¹ and chaines

¹Strings of beads.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

enterlaced made of the haire of the Porkepicke,² which they dye of diuers colours. After they had made an end of their songs, they crie all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho; at the same instant all the women and maidens couered themselues with their Mantels, for they lye at their feete, and rest a short while; and then eftsoones beginning againe to sing, they let fall their Mantels as they did before. They goe not out of one place when they dance, and make certaine gestures and motions of the body, first lifting vp one foote and then another, stamping vpon the ground. While they were dancing of this dance, the Sagamo of the Algoumequins, whose name was Besouat,³ sat before the said women and virgins, betweene two staues, whereon the heads of their enemies did hang. Sometimes he rose and made a speech, and said to the Mountainers and Estechemains; ye see how we reioyce for the victory which we haue obtained of our enemies, ye must doe the like, that we may be contented; then they all together cried, ho, ho, ho. As soone as hee was returned to his place, the

²Porcupine.

³Laverdière thinks this Besouat the same as the Tessoüat Champlain met in his exploration of the Ottawa in 1613.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

great Sagamo, and all his companions cast off their Mantels, being starke naked saue their priuities, which were couered with a little skin, and tooke each of them what they thought good, as Matachias, Hatchets, Swords, Kettels, Fat, Flesh of the Orignac, Seales, in briefe, euery one had a present, which they gaue the Algoumequins. After all these ceremonies the dance ceased, and the said Algoumequins both men and women carried away their presents to their lodgings. They chose out also two men of each Nation of the best disposition, which they caused to run, and he which was the swiftest in running had a present.

All these people are of a very cheerefull complexion, they laugh for the most part, neuertheless they are somewhat melancholly. They speake very distinctly, as though they would make themselues well vnderstood, and they stay quickly bethinking themselues a great while, and then they begin their speech againe: they often vse this fashion in the midst of their Orations in counsaile, where there are none but the principals, which are the ancients: the women and children are not present. All these people sometimes endure so great extremity, that they are almost constrained to

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

eat one another, through the great colds and snowes; for the Beasts and Fowles whereof they liue, retire themselues into more hot climates. I thinke if any would teach them how to liue, and to learne to till the ground, and other things, they would learne very well; for I assure you that many of them are of good judgement, and answere very well to the purpose to any thing that a man shall demand of them. They haue one naughty qualitie in them, which is, that they are giuen to reuenge, and great lyars, a people to whom you must not giue too much credit, but with reason, and standing on your owne guard. They promise much and performe little. They are for the most part a people that haue no Law, as farre as I could see and enforce my selfe of the said great Sagamo, who told me, that they constantly beleeeue, that there is one God, which hath made all things: And then I said vnto him, since they beleeeue in one God onely, How is it that he sent them into this world, and from whence came they. He answered me, that after God had made all things, he tooke a number of Arrowes, and stucke them in the ground, from whence men and women grew, which haue multiplied in the world vntill this present, and had their originall

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

on this fashion. I replied vnto him, that this which hee said was false; but that indeede there was one God onely, which had created all things in the earth, and in the heauens: seeing all these things so perfect, without anybody to gouerne this world beneath, he tooke of the slime of the earth, & thereof made Adam, our first Father: as Adam slept, God tooke a rib of the side of Adam, and thereof made Eue, whom he gaue him fir his companion; and that this was the truth that they and we had our originall after this manner, and not of Arrowes as they beleued. He said nothing vnto me, save, that he beleued rather that which I said, then that which he told me. I asked him also, whether he beleued not there was any other but one God onely. He told me, that their beliefe was, That there was one God, one Sonne, one Mother, and the Sunne, which were foure; yet that God was aboue them all; but that the Son was good, and the Sunne in the firmament, because of the good that they receiued of them; but that the Mother was naught, and did eate them, and that the Father was not very good. I shewed him his errour according to our faith, wherein he gaue mee some small credit. I demanded of him, whether they had not seene, nor heard say

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

of their ancestors, that God came into the world. He told me, that he had neuer seene him; but that in old time there were fve men which went toward the Sunne setting, which met with God, who asked them, Whither goe ye? They said, we goe to seek our liuing: God answered them, you shall finde it here. They went farther, without regarding what God had said vnto them: which tooke a stone, and touched two of them with it, which were turned into a stone: And hee said againe vnto the other three, Whither goe yee? and they answered as at the first: and God said to them againe, Goe no further, you shall finde it here. And seeing that nothing came vnto them, they went farther: and God tooke two stauces, and touched the two first therewith, which were turned into stauces; and the fift staid and would goe no further: And God asked him againe, whither goest thou? I goe to seek my liuing; stay and thou shalt finde it. He stayed without going any further, and God gaue him meate, and he did eate thereof; after he had well fed, hee returned with other Sauages, and told them all the former storie. He told them also, That another time there was a man which had store of Tobacco (which is a kinde of hearbe, whereof they take the

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

smoake).⁴ And that God came to this man, and asked him where his Tobacco pipe was. The man tooke his Tobacco pipe and gaue it to God, which tooke Tobacco a great while: after hee had taken store of Tobacco, God broke the said pipe into many peeces: and the man asked him, why hast thou broken my pipe, and seest that I haue no more? And God tooke one which hee had, and gaue it to him, and said vnto him; loe here I giue thee one, carry it to thy great Sagamo, and charge him to keepe it, and if he keepe it well he shall neuer want any thing, nor none of his companions. The said man tooke the Tobacco pipe, and gaue it to his great Sagamo, which as long as he kept, the Sauages wanted nothing in the world. But after that the said Sagamo lost this Tobacco pipe, which was the occasion of great famine, which sometimes they haue among them. I asked him whither he beleued all this? he said yea, and that it was true. This I beleue is the cause wherefore they say that God is not very good. But I replied and told him, that God was wholly good; and that without doubt this was the Diuell that appeared to these men, and that if they would beleue in God as we doe, they

⁴This explanation shows that smoking tobacco was not yet familiar in France in 1603.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

should not want any thing needfull. That the Sunne which they beheld, the Moone and the Starres were created by this great God, which hath made heauen and earth, and they haue no power but that which God hath giuen them. That we beleue in this great God, who by his goodnesse hath sent vs his deare Sonne, which being conceiued by the holy Ghost, tooke humaine flesh in the Virginall wombe of the Virgin Marie, hauing been thirty three yeares on the earth, working infinite miracles, raising vp the dead, healing the sicke, casting out Diuels, giuing sight to the blinde, teaching men the will of God his Father, to serue, honour, and worship him, did shed his bloud, and suffred death and passion for vs, and for our sinnes, and redeemed mankinde, and being buried, he rose againe, he descended into hell and ascended into heauen, where he sitteth at the right hand of God his Father. That this was the beleefe of all the Christians, which beleue in the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, which neuerthelesse are not three Gods, but one onely, and one onely God, and one Trinitie, in the which none is before or after the other, none greater or lesse then another. That the Virgin Mary the Mother of the Sonne of God, and all men and wom-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

en which haue liued in this world, doing the commandements of God, and suffering martyrdom for his name sake, and by the permission of God haue wrought miracles, and are Saints in heuen in his Paradise, doe all pray this great diuine Maiestie for vs, to pardon vs our faults and our sinnes which we doe against his Law and his Commandements: and so by the prayers of the Saints in heuen, and by our prayers which we make to his diuine Maiestie, he giueth that which we haue neede of, and the Diuell hath no power ouer vs, and can doe vs no harme: That if they had this beliefe, they should be as we are, and that the Diuell should be able to doe them no hurt, and should neuer want anything necessary. That the said Sagamo told me, that he approued that which I said. I asked him what ceremony they vsed in praying to their God. He told me, that they vsed none other ceremonies, but that euery one praied in his heart as he thought good: This is the cause why I beleue they haue no law among them, neither doe they know how to worship or pray to God, and liue for the most part like brute beasts, and I thinke in short space they would be brought to be good Christians, if their Countrie were planted, which they desire for the most part.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

They haue among them certain Sauages which they call Pilatoua,⁵ which speak visibly with the Diuell, which telleth them what they must doe, as well for the warre as for other things; and if he should command them to put any enterprise in execution, either to kill a French man, or any other of their Nation, they would immediately obey his commandement. Also they beleeeue that all the dreames which they dreame are true: and indeede there are many of them, which say that they haue seen and dreamed things which doe happen or shall happen. But to speake truely of these things, they are visions of the Diuell, which doth deceiue and seduce them. Loe this is all their beliefe that I could learne of them, which is brutish and bestiall. All these people are well proportioned of their bodies, without any deformitie, they are well set, and the women are well shapen, fat and full, of a tawnie colour by abundance of a certaine painting wherewith they rubbe themselues, which maketh them to be of an Oliue colour. They are apparelled with skins, one part of their bodies is couered, and the other part vncovered; but in the winter they couer all, for they are clad with good Furres, namely with the skins of Orignac,

⁵Pilotois, in Champlain's later narratives.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

Otters, Beuers, Sea-Beaes,⁶ Stagges, and Deere, whereof they haue store. In the winter when the Snowes are great they make a kinde of racket which is twice or thrice as bigge as one of ours in France, which they fasten to their feete, and so goe on the Snow without sinking; for otherwise they could not hunt nor trauaile in many places. They haue also a kind of Marriage, which is, that when a Maide is foureteene or fifteene yeares old, shee shall haue many seruants and friends, and she may haue carnall company with all those which she liketh, then after fise or six yeares, she may take which of them she will for her husband, and so they shall liue together all their life time, except that after they haue liued a certaine time together and haue no children, the man may forsake her and take another wife, saying that his old wife is nothing worth, so that the Maides are more free than the married Women. After they be married they be chaste, and their husbands for the most part are ieaalous, which giue presents to the Father or Parents of the Maide, which they haue married: loe this is the ceremonie and fashion which they vse in their marriages.⁷

⁶Ours-marins, the same as louns-marins, seals.

⁷Cf. above, p. 130.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

Touching their burials, when a man or woman dieth, they make a pit, wherein they put all the goods which they haue, as Ket-tels, Furrer, Hatchets, Bowes and Arrowes, Apparell, and other goods, and then they put the corps into the graue, and couer it with earth, and set store of great peeces of wood ouer it, and one stake they set vpon end, which they paint with red on the top. They beleue the immortality of the Soule, and say that when they be dead they goe into other Countries to rejoyce with their parents and friends.

CHAPTER IV

The River Saguenay and its source.

THE eleuenth day of Iune, I went some twelue or fiteene leagues vp Saguenay, which is a fair Riuer, and of incredible depth; for I beleue, as farre as I could learne by conference whence it should come, that it is from a very high place from whence there descendeth a fall of water with great impetuositie: but the water that proceedeth thereof is not able to make such a Riuer as this; which neuer-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

thelesse holdeth not but¹ from the said course of water (where the first fall is) vnto the Port of Tadousac, which is the mouth of the said Riuer of Saguenay, in which space are fortie or fiftie leagues, and it is a good league and a halfe broad at the most, and a quarter of a league where it is narrowest, which causeth a great currant of water. All the Countrie which I saw, was nothing but Mountaines, the most part of rockes couered with woods of Fir-trees, Cypresses, and Birch-trees, the soyle very vnpleasant, where I found not a league of plaine Countrey, neither on the one side nor on the other. There are certaine hils of Sand and Isles in the said Riuer, which are very high above the water. In fine, they are very Desarts voide of Beasts and Birds; for I assure you, as I went on hunting through places which seemed most pleasant vnto mee, I found nothing at all, but small Birds which are like Nightingales, and Swallowes, which come thither in the Summer; for at other times I thinke there are none, because of the excessive cold which is there; this Riuer commeth from the North-west. They reported vnto me, that hauing passed the first fall, from whence the currant of wa-

¹I. e., extends only, etc.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

ter commeth, they passe eight other sauts or fals, and then they trauaile one dayes iourney without finding any, then they passe ten other sauts, and come into a Lake,² which they passe in two dayes (euery day they trauaile at their ease, some twelue or fifteene leagues:) at the end of the Lake there are people lodged: then they enter into three other Riuers, three or foure dayes in each of them; at the end of which Riuers there are two or three kinde of Lakes, where the head of Saguenay beginneth: from the which head or spring, vnto the said Port of Tadousac, is ten dayes iournee with their Canowes. On the side of the said Riuers are many lodgings, whither other Nacions come from the North, to trucke with the said Mountainers for skins of Beuers and Martens for other Merchandises, which the French Ships bring to the said Mountainers. The said Sauages of the North say, that they see a Sea,³ which is salt. I hold, if this be so, that it is some gulfe of this our Sea, which disgorgeth it selfe by the North part between the lands; and in very deede it

²Lake St. John. Champlain used this material in his later narratives. Cf. vol. I, p. 169, above; and other notes.

³Hudson Bay.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

can be nothing else. This is that which I haue learned of the Riuer of Saguenay.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Tadoussac, to go to the Rapids; description of Hare Island, Isle du Coudre, Isle D'Orleans and many other islands, and of our arrival at Quebec.

ON Wednesday the eighteenth day of Iune, we departed from Tadousac, to go to the Sault:¹ we passed by an Ile, which is called the Ile du lieure, or the Ile of the Hare, which may be some two leagues from the Land on the North side, and some seuen leagues from the said Tadousac, and fiue leagues from the South Coast. From the Ile of the Hare we ranged the North Coast about halfe a league, vnto a point that runneth into the Sea, where a man must keepe farther off.

The said point is within a league of the Ile, which is called the Ile du Coudre, or the Ile of Filberds, which may be some two leagues in length: And from the said Ile to the Land on the North side is a league. The said Ile is somewhat euen, and grow-

¹The Sault St. Louis, the St. Louis or Lachine Rapids, just above Montreal.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

eth sharpe toward both the ends; on the West end there are Medowes and Points of Rockes which stretch somewhat into the Riuer. The said Ile is somewhat pleasant, by reason of the Woods which environ the same. There is store of Slate, and the soyle is somewhat grauelly: at the end whereof there is a Rocke which stretcheth into the Sea about halfe a league. We passed to the North of the said Ile, which is distant from the Ile of the Hare twelue leagues.

The Thursday following we departed from thence, and anchored at a dangerous nooke on the Northside, where there be certaine Medowes, and a little Riuer,² where the Sauages lodge sometimes. The said day we still ranged the Coast on the North, vnto a place where wee put backe by reason of the winds which were contrary vnto vs, where there were many Rockes and places very dangerous: here we stayed three dayes wayting for faire weather. All this Coast is nothing but Mountaynes as well on the South side as on the North, the most part like the Coast of the Riuer of Saguenay. On Sunday the two and twentieth of the said moneth³ wee departed to goe to the Ile of Orleans, in

²Still called La Petite Rivière.

³July 22.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

the way there are many Iles on the South shoare, which are low and couered with trees, shewing to be very pleasant, con-tayning (as I was able to judge) some two leagues, and one league, and another halfe a league. About these Iles are noth-ing but Rockes and Flats, very dangerous to passe, and they are distant some two leagues from the mayne Land on the South.

And from thence wee ranged the Ile of Orleans on the Southside: It is a league from the North shoare, very pleasant and leuell, contayning eight leagues in length. The Coast on the South shoare is low land, some two leagues into the Countrey: the said lands begin to be low ouer against the said Ile, which beginnein two leagues from the South Coast: to passe by the North side is very dangerous for the bankes of Sand and Rockes, which are betweene the said Ile and the mayne Land, which is almost all dry at a low water. At the end of the said Ile I saw a fall of water, which fell from a great Mountaine, of the said Riuer of Canada,⁴ and on the top of the

⁴I. e., from the heights overlooking the St. Lawrence. The Falls of Montmorency, so named by Champlain in honor of the Admiral of France, to whom this narrative was dedicated.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

said Mountaine the ground is leuell and pleasant to behold, although within the said Countries a man may see high mountaynes which may be some twenty, or fiew and twenty leagues within the Lands, which are near the first Sault of Saguenay. We anchored at Quebec, which is a Strait of the said Riuer of Canada,⁵ which is some three hundred pases broad: there is at this Strait on the North side a very high Mountayne, which falleth downe on both sides: all the rest is a leuell and goodly COUNTRY, where there are good grounds full of Trees, as Okes, Cypresses, Birches, Firre-trees and Aspes, and other Trees bearing fruit, and wild Vines: So that in mine opinion, if they were dressed, they would be as good as ours. There are along the Coast of the said Quebec Diamants in the Rockes of Slate which are better than those of Alonson.⁶ From the said Quebec to the Ile of Coudre, or Filberds, are nine and twenty leagues.

⁵Quebec is an Indian word, meaning narrows.

⁶Alençon.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

CHAPTER VI

Point St. Croix, the River Batiscan; the rivers, rocks, islands, lands, trees, fruits, vines and the fine region beyond Quebec up to Three Rivers.

ON Monday the three and twentieth of the said moneth, we departed from Quebec, where the Riuer beginneth to grow broad sometimes one league, then a league and an halfe or two leagues at most. The Countrey groweth still fairer and fairer, and are all low grounds, without Rockes, or very few. The North Coast is full of Rockes and bankes of Sand: you must take the South side, about some halfe league from the shore. There are certaine small Riuers which are not nauigable, but only for the Canowes of the Sauages, wherein there be many fals. Wee anchored as high as Saint Croix, which is distant from Quebec fifteene leagues. This is a low point, which riseth vp on both sides.¹ The Countrey is fair and leuell, and the soyles better then in any place that I haue seene, with plenty of wood, but very few Firre-trees and Cypresses. There are in these parts great store of Vines, Peares, small Nuts, Cherries,

¹Point Platon. L.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

Goose-beries, red and greene, and certaine small Roots of the bignesse of a little Nut, resembling Musheroms in taste, which are very good roasted and sod. All this soyle is blacke, without any Roukes, saue that there is great store of Slate: The soyle is very soft, and if it were well manured it would yeeld great increase. On the North-side there is a Riuier which is called Batis-can, which goeth farre into the Countrey, whereby sometimes the Algoumequins come downe: and another² on the same side three leagues from the said Saint Croix, in the way from Quebec, which is, that where Iasques Quartier was in the beginning of the Discouery which he made hereof, and hee passed no farther.³ The said Riuier is pleasant, and goeth farre vp into the Countries. All this North Coast is very leuell and delectable.

On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of the said moneth, wee departed from the said Saint Croix, where we stayed a tyde and an halfe, that we might passe the next day.

²River Jacques Cartier.

³This is an error accounted for by Laverdiere on the ground that Champlain at this time (1603) had not read Cartier's narratives of his voyages. Cartier went up the St. Lawrence as far as Hoche-laga, or Montreal.



A Medicine Dance

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN,

following by day light, because of the great number of Rockes which are thwart the Riuer (a strange thing to behold) which is in a manner dry at low water: But at halfe flood, a man may begin to passe safely; yet you must take good heed, with the Lead alwayes in hand. The tyde floweth heere almost three fathomes and an halfe: the farther we went, the fairer was the Countrey. We went some fiue leagues and an halfe, and anchored on the North side. The Wednesday following wee departed from the said place, which is a flatter Countrey then that which we passed before, full of great store of Trees as that of Saint Croix. We passed hard by a little Ile, which was full of Vines, and came to an Anchor on the South side neere a little Hill: but beeing on the top thereof all is euen ground.

There is another little Ile three leagues from Saint Croix, ioyning neere the South shore. Wee departed from the said Hill the Thursday following, and passed by a little Ile, which is neere the North shoare, where I saw sixe small Riuers, whereof two are able to beare Boats farre vp, and another⁴ is three hundred pases broad; there are certaine Ilands in the mouth of it; it goeth

⁴The Ste. Anne.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

farre vp into the Countrey; it is the deepest of all the rest which are very pleasant to behold, the soyle being full of Trees which are like to Walnut-trees, and haue the same smell: but I saw no Fruit, which maketh me doubt: the Sauages told me that they beare Fruit like ours.

In passing further we met an Ile, which is called Saint Eloy, and another little Ile, which is hard by the North shoare: we passed between the said Ile and the North shoare, where betweene the one and the other are some hundred and fiftie paces. From the said Ile we passed a league and an halfe, on the South side neere vnto a Riuer, whereon Canowes might goe. All this Coast on the North side is very good, one may passe freely there, yet with the Lead in the hand, to auoid certaine points. All this Coast which we ranged is mouing Sand, but after you be entred a little into the Woods, the soile is good. The Friday following we departed from this Ile, coasting still the North side hard by the shoare, which is low and full of good Trees, and in great number as farre as the three Riuer^s,⁵ where it beginneth to haue another

⁵Three Rivers. The name came from the division of the St. Maurice by two islands into three streams.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

temperature of the season, somewhat differing from that of Saint Croix: because the Trees are there more forward then in any place that hitherto I had seene. From the three Riuers to Saint Croix are fifteene leagues. In this Riuer are six Ilands, three of which are very small, and the others some five or six hundred paces long, very pleasant and fertile, for the little quantitie of ground that they containe. There is one Iland in the midst of the said Riuer, which looketh directly vpon the passage of the Riuer of Canada, and commandeth the other Ilands which lye further from the shoare, as well on the one side as on the other, of foure or five hundred paces; it riseth on the South side, and falleth somewhat on the North side. This in my judgement would be a very fit place to inhabit; and it might bee quickly fortified; for the situation is strong of it selfe, and neere vnto a great Lake,⁶ which is aboue foure leagues distant, which⁷ is almost ioyned to the Riuer of Saguenay, by the report of the

⁶Lake St. Peter, an expansion of the St. Lawrence.

⁷Champlain misunderstood his Indian informants here, or else did not express himself clearly. What the Indians meant was that by the St. Maurice they could go up almost to Lake St. John and the upper waters of the Saguenay.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

Sauages, which trauell almost an hundred leagues Northward, and passe many Saults, and then goe by Land some fiue or sixe leagues, and enter into a Lake,⁸ whence the said Riuer of Saguenay receiueth the best part of his Spring, and the said Sauages come from the said Lake to Tadousac.

Moreouer, the planting of The three Riuers would be a benefit for the liberty of certaine Nations, which dare not come that way for feare of the said Irocois their enemies, which border vpon all the said Riuer of Canada. But this place being inhabited, we might make the Irocois and the other Sauages friends, or at least-wise vnder the fauour of the said Plantation, the said Sauages might passe freely without feare or danger: because the said place of The three Riuers is a passage. All the soyle which I saw on the North shoare is sandy. Wee went vp aboue a league into the said Riuer, and could passe no further, by reason of the great current of water. We took a Boate to search vp further, but we went not past a league, but we met a very Strait fall of water, of some twelue paces, which caused vs that we could not passe no further. All the ground which I saw on the bankes of the said Riuer riseth more and

⁸Lake St. John.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

more, and is full of Firre-trees and Cypresse Trees, and hath very few other Trees.

CHAPTER VII

The length, breadth and depth of a lake, and of the rivers which flow into it; the islands in it; the soil one sees in the country; the river of the Iroquois, and the stronghold of the savages who wage war with them.

ON the Saturday following, we departed from The three Riuers, and anchored at a Lake,¹ which is foure leagues distant. All this Countrey from The three Riuers to the entrance of the said Lake is low ground, euen with the water on the North side; and on the South side it is somewhat higher. The said Countrey is exceeding good, and the most pleasant that hitherto we had seene: the Woods are very thinne, so that a man may trauell easily through them. The next day being the nine and twentieth of Iune, we entred into the Lake, which is some fifteene leagues in length, and some seuen or eight leagues broad: At the en-

¹Lake St. Peter. Apparently named by Champlain on this voyage, as he entered it June 29—St. Peter's Day. Its earlier name was Angoulême. L.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

trance thereof on the Southside within a league there is a Riuer which is very great,² and entreth into the Countrey some sixtie or eightie leagues, and continuing along the same Coast, there is another little Riuer,³ which pierceth about two leagues into the Land, and commeth out of another small Lake, which may containe some three or foure leagues. On the North side where the Land sheweth very high, a man may see some twentie leagues off; but by little and little the Mountaynes beginne to fall toward the West, as it were into a flat Countrey.

The Sauages say, that the greatest part of these Mountaynes are bad soyle. The said Lake hath some three fathoms water whereas we passed, which was almost in the midst: the length lieth East and West, and the breadth from North to the South. I thinke it hath good fish in it, of such kinds as we haue in our owne Countrey. Wee passed it the very same day, and anchored about two leagues within the great Riuer which goeth vp to the Sault: In the mouth whereof are thirtie small Ilands, as farre as I could discerne; some of them are of two

²The River Nicolet.

³Not clearly to be identified from this description.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

leagues, others a league and an halfe, & some lesse, which are full of Walnut-trees, which are not much different from ours; and I thinke their Walnuts are good when they bee ripe: I saw many of them vnder the Trees, which were of two sorts, the one small, and the others as long as a mans Thumbe,⁴ but they were rotten. There are also store of Vines vpon the bankes of the said Ilands. But when the waters be great, the most part of them is couered with water. And this Countrey is yet better than any other which I had seene before.

The last day of Iune wee departed from thence, and passed by the mouth of the Riuer of the Irocois;⁵ where the Sauages which came to make warre against them, were lodged and fortified. Their Fortresse was made with a number of posts set very close one to another, which ioyned on the one side on the banke of the great Riuer of Canada, and the other on the banke of the Riuer of the Irocois: and their Boates were ranged the one by the other neere the shoare, that they might flie away with speed, if by chance they should bee surprised by the Irocois. For their Fort is Couered with the barke of Okes, and seru-

⁴Probably butternuts.

⁵The Richelieu.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

eth them for nothing else, but to haue time to embarke themselues. We went vp the Riuer of the Irocois some fiue or sixe leagues, and could passe no farther with our Pinnasse, by reason of the great course of water which descendeth, and also because we cannot goe on Land, and draw the Pinnasse for the multitude of Trees which are vpon the bankes.

Seeing we could not passe any further, we tooke our Skiffe, to see whether the current were more gentle, but going vp some two leagues, it was yet stronger, and wee could goe no higher. Being able to doe no more we returned to our Pinnasse. All this Riuer is some three hundred or foure hundred paces broad, and very wholesome.⁶ Wee saw fiue Ilands in it, distant one from the other a quarter or halfe a league, or a league at the most: one of which is a league long, which is the neerest to the mouth, and the others are very small. All these Countries are couered with Trees and low Lands, like those which I had seene before; but here are more Firres and Cypresses then in other places. Neuerthelesse, the soile is good, although it bee somewhat sandy. This Riuer runneth in a manner South-

⁶Sain. Used of the sea or a river, sain means free from bars or shoals.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

west.⁷ The Sauages say, that some fifteene leagues from the place where we were vp the Riuer, there is a Sault which falleth downe from a very steepe place, where they carry their Canowes to passe the same some quarter of a league, and come into a Lake;⁸ at the mouth whereof, are three Ilands, and being within the same they meete with more Iles: This Lake may containe some fortie or fiftie leagues in length, and some fiue and twentie leagues in breadth, into which many Riuers fall, to the number of ten, which carrie Canowes very far vp. When they are come to the end of this Lake, there is another fall, and they enter againe into another Lake,⁹ which is as great as the former, at the head whereof the Irocois are lodged. They say moreouer, that there is a Riuer, which runneth vnto the Coast of Florida,¹⁰ whether it is from the said last Lake some hundred, or an hundred and fortie leagues. All the Countrey of the Irocois is somewhat Mountaynous,

⁷We should say, comes from the southwest.

⁸Lake Champlain. Visited and named by Champlain in 1609. See above, vol. I, p. 213.

⁹Lake George.

¹⁰The Hudson. Champlain uses Florida as the Spaniards used it, to describe the region now comprising the eastern and southeastern parts of the United States.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

yet notwithstanding exceeding good, temperate, without much Winter, which is very short there.

CHAPTER VIII

Arrival at the Rapids. Description of them and the remarkable sights there, with the account given by the savages of the upper end of the great river.

AFTER our departure from the Riuer of the Irocois, wee anchored three leagues beyond the same, on the North side. All this Countrie is a lowe Land, replenished with all sorts of trees, which I haue spoken of before. The first day of Iuly we coasted the North side, where the wood is very thinne, and more thinne than wee had seene in any place before, and all good land for tillage. I went in a Canoe to the South shoare, where I saw a number of Iles, which haue many fruitfull trees, as Vines, Walnuts, Hasel-nuts, and a kinde of fruit like Chest-nuts, Cherries, Oakes, Aspe, Hoppes, Ashe, Beech, Cypresses, very few Pines and Firre-trees.¹ There are also other

¹The translator omitted the puzzling word *pible*, which, Laverdière conjectured, may stand for *piboule*, a kind of poplar, and *érable*, maple.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

trees which I knew not, which are very pleasant. Wee found there store of Strawberries, Rasp-berries, Goos-berries red, greene, and blue, with many small fruits, which growe there among great abundance of grasse. There are also many wilde beasts, as Orignas,² Stagges, Does, Buckes, Beares, Porkepicks,³ Conies,⁴ Foxes, Beauers, Otters, Muske-rats, and certaine other kindes of beasts which I doe not knowe, which are good to eate, and whereof the Sauages liue. Wee passed by an Ile, which is very pleasant, and containeth some foure leagues in length, and halfe a league in breadth.⁵ I saw toward the South two high Mountaines, which shewed some twentie leagues within the Land. The Sauages told mee, that here beganne the first fall of the foresaid Riuier of the Irocois. The Wednesday following wee departed from this place, and sayled some fife or sixe leagues. We saw many Ilands: the Land is there very lowe, and these Iles are couered with trees, as those of the Riuier of the Irocois were.

²Moose.

³Porcupines.

⁴Hares.

⁵The Verchères.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

The day following, being the third of Iuly, we ranne certaine leagues, and passed likewise by many other Ilands, which are excellent good and pleasant, through the great store of Medowes which are thereabout, as well on the shoare of the maine Land, as of the other Ilands: and all the Woods are of very small growth, in comparison of those which wee had passed. At length we came this very day to the entrance of the Sault or Fall of the great Riuier of Canada,⁶ with fauourable wind; and wee met with an Ile,⁷ which is almost in the midst of the said entrance, which is a quarter of a league long, and passed on the South side of the said Ile, where there was not past three, foure or fие foot water, and sometimes a fathome or two, and straight on the sudden wee found againe not past three or foure foot. There are many Rockes, and small Ilands, whereon there is no wood, and they are euen with the water. From the beginning of the foresaid Ile, which is in the midst of the said entrance the water beginneth to runne with a great force. Although we had

⁶The Sault St. Louis, or Lachine Rapids, just above Montreal.

⁷Later named, by Champlain, St. Helen's Island. See above, vol. I, p. 237.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

the wind very good, yet wee could not with all our might make any great way: neuerthelesse wee passed the said Ile which is at the entrance of the Sault or Fall. When wee perceiued that wee could goe no further, wee came to an anchor on the North shoare ouer against a small Iland,⁸ which aboundeth for the most part with those kinde of fruits which I haue spoken of before. Without all delay wee made ready our skiffe, which wee had made of purpose to passe the said Sault: whereinto the said Monsieur du Pont and my selfe entred, with certaine Sauages, which we had brought with vs to show vs the way. Departing from our Pinnace, we were scarce gone three hundred paces, but we were forced to come out, and cause certain Mariners to goe into the water to free our Skiffe. The Canoa of the Sauages passed easily. Wee met with an infinite number of small Rockes, which were euen with the water, on which we touched oftentimes.

There be two great Ilands, one on the North side which containeth some fifteene leagues in length, and almost as much in breadth, beginning some twelue leagues vp

⁸Now joined to the mainland at Montreal by the piers. L.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

within the Riuer of Canada, going toward the Riuer of the Irocois,⁹ and endeth beyond the Sault. The Iland which is on the South side is some foure leagues long, and some halfe league broad.¹⁰ There is also another Iland, which is neere to that on the North side, which may bee some halfe league long, and some quarter broad: and another small Iland which is betweene that on the Northside, and another neerer to the South shoare, whereby we passed the entrance of the Sault. This entrance being passed, there is a kinde of Lake, wherein all these Ilands are, some fiae leagues long and almost as broad, wherein are many small Ilands which are Rockes. There is a Mountaine¹¹ neere the said Sault which discouereth farre into the Countrie, and a little Riuer which falleth from the said Mountaine into the Lake. On the South side are some three or foure Mountaines, which seeme to be about fifteene or sixteene leagues within the Land. There are

⁹This clause should read: "beginning at a distance of some twelve leagues in the River of Canada in the direction of the River of the Iroquois." The reference is to the Island of Montreal.

¹⁰Isle Perrot.

¹¹Mount Royal. Now one of the most picturesque public parks in America. Cartier named the mountain Mont Royal in 1535.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

also two Riuers; one, which goeth to the first Lake¹² of the Riuer of the Irocois, by which sometimes the Algoméquins^{12*} inuade them: and another which is neere vnto the Sault, which runneth not farre into the Countrey.

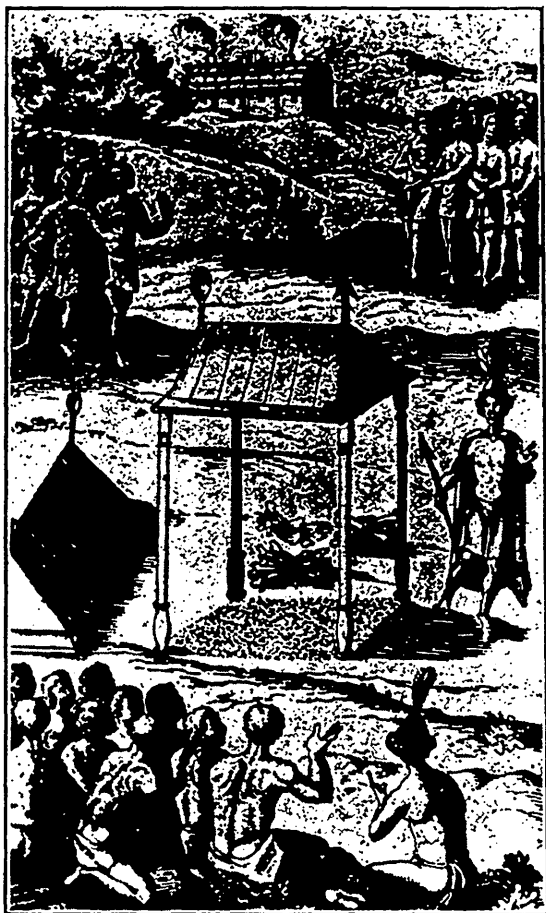
At our comming neere to the said Sault with our Skiffe and Canoa, I assure you, I neuer saw any streame of water to fall downe with such force as this doth; although it bee not very high, being not in some places past one or two fathoms, and at the most three. It falleth as it were steppe by steppe: and in euery place where it hath some small heighth, it maketh a strong boiling with the force and strength of the running of the water. In the breadth of the said Sault, which may containe some league, there are many broad Rockes, and almost in the midst, there are very narrow and long Ilands, where there is a Fall as well on the side of the said Iles which are toward the South, as on the North side: where it is so dangerous, that it is not possible for any man to passe with any Boat, how small soeuer it be. We went on land through the Woods, to see the end of this Sault: where,

¹²Chambly Basin. Reached by the St. Lambert and, after a portage, by Little River.

^{12*}I. e., the Algonquins.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

after wee had trauelled a league, wee saw no more Rockes nor Falls: but the water runneth there so swiftly as it is possible: and this current lasteth for three or foure leagues: so that it is in vaine to imagine that a man is able to passe the said Saults with any Boats. But he that would passe them, must fit himself with the Canoas of the Sauages, which one may easily carrie. For to carrie Boats is a thing which cannot be done in so short time as it should bee to be able to returne into France, vnlesse a man would winter there. And beside this first Sault, there are ten Saults more, the most part hard to passe. So that it would be a matter of great paines and trauell to bee able to see and doe that by Boat which a man might promise himselfe, without great cost and charge, and also to bee in danger to trauell in vaine. But with the Canoas of the Sauages a man may trauell freely and readily into all Countries, as well in the small as in the great Riuers: So that directing himselfe by the meanes of the said Sauages and their Canoas, a man may see all that is to be seene, good and bad, within the space of a yeere or two. That little way which wee trauelled by Land on the side of the said Sault, is a very thinne Wood, through which men with



Burial Place

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

their Armes may march easily, without any trouble; the air is there more gentle and temperate, and the soyle better then in any place that I had seene, where is store of such wood and fruits, as are in all other places before mentioned: and it is in the latitude of 45. degrees and certaine minutes.

When we saw that we could doe no more, we returned to our Pinnace; where we examined the Sauages which we had with vs, of the end of the Riuer, which I caused them to draw with their hand, and from what part the Head thereof came. They told vs, that beyond the first Sault that we had seene, they trauelled some ten or fifteene leagues with their Canoas in the Riuer where there is a riuier¹³ which runneth to the dwelling of the Algoumequins, which are some sixty leagues distant from the great Riuer; and then they passed five Saults,¹⁴ which may containe from the first to the last eight leagues, whereof there are two where they carrie their Canoas to passe them: euery Sault may containe halfe a quarter or a quarter of a league at the most.

¹³The Ottawa.

¹⁴The Cascades, Split Rock Rapid, Cedar Rapid and Coteau Rapid. The last is subdivided into two or three.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

And then they come into a Lake, which may be fifteene or sixteene leagues long.¹⁵ From thence they enter againe into a Riuier which may be a league broad, and trauell some two leagues in the same; and then they enter into another Lake some foure or fve leagues long: comming to the end thereof, they passe fve other Saults,¹⁶ distant from the first to the last some fve and twenty or thirty leagues; whereof there are three where they carrie their Canoas to passe them, and thorow the other two they doe but draw them in the water, because the current is not there so strong, nor so bad, as in the others. None of all these Saults is so hard to passe, as that which we saw. Then they come into a Lake,¹⁷ which may containe some eighty leagues in length,¹⁸ in which are many Ilands, and at the end of the same the water is brackish¹⁹

¹⁵Lake St. Francis.

¹⁶The Long Sault Rapids.

¹⁷Lake Ontario.

¹⁸Lake Ontario, 197 miles long.

¹⁹Laverdière's text has *salubre*, wholesome, which would naturally be understood to be equivalent to "fresh." It is so translated by Otis. On the other hand, Champlain's use of the word seems to imply that he associated it with "sel," salt, and "salé, salty, and that Purchas correctly interpreted his meaning. Cf. in particular Cham-

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

and the Winter gentle. At the end of the said Lake they passe a Sault which is somewhat high, where little water descendeth:²⁰ there they carry their Canoas by land about a quarter of a league to passe this Sault. From thence they enter into another Lake, which may be some sixty leagues long, and that the water thereof is very brackish:²¹ at the end thereof they come vnto a Strait which is two leagues broad,²² and it goeth farre into the Countrie. They told vs that they themselues had passed no farther; and that they had not seene the end of a Lake,²³ which is within fifteene or sixteene leagues of the farthest place where themselues had beene, nor that they which told them of it, had knowne any man that had seene the end thereof, because it is so great that they would not hazard themselues to sayle farre into the same, for fear lest some storme or gust of winde should surprise them. They say that in the Summer the Sunne doth set to the North of the said Lake, and in the plain's distinct gradation on pp. 207-8, below, of "Salubre," "Encore plus mauvaise" and "du tout salée," applied to a connected system of lakes.

²⁰Niagara Falls and Rapids. Champlain misunderstood his informants.

²¹Salubre. Lake Erie is 250 miles long.

²²Detroit River.

²³Huron.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

Winter it setteth as it were in the midst thereof: That the water is there excessalt, to wit, as salt as the Sea water.²⁴ I asked them whether from the last Lake which they had seene, the water descended alwaies downe the Riuer comming to Gaschepay? They told me, no: but said, that from the third Lake onely it descended to Gaschepay: but that from the last Sault, which is somewhat high, as I haue said, the water was almost still, and that the said Lake might take his course by other Riuers, which passe within the Lands, either to the South, or to the North, whereof there are many that runne there, the end whereof they see not. Now, in my judgement, if so many Riuers fall into this Lake, hauing so small a course at the said Sault, it must needs of necessitie fall out, that it must haue his issue forth by some exceeding great Riuer. But that which maketh me beleeeue that there is no Riuer by which this Lake doth issue forth (considering the number of so many Riuers as fall into it) is this, that the Sauages haue not seene any Riuer, that runneth through the Countries,

²⁴Trés mauvaise, comme celle de ceste mer. The Indians seem to have transferred to the upper lakes information derived from others which originally referred to Hudson Bay.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

saue in the place where they were. Which maketh me beleue that this is the South Sea,²⁵ being salt as they say: Neverthelesse we may not giue so much credit thereunto, but that it must bee done with apparent reasons, although there be some small shew thereof. And this assuredly is all that hitherto I have seene and heard of the Sauages, touching that which we demanded of them.

CHAPTER IX

Return from the Rapids to Tadoussac, with the comparison of the reports of several savages as to the length and source of the great River of Canada, the number of rapids and lakes that it traverses.

WE departed from the said Sault¹ on Friday the fourth day of Iuly, and returned the same day to the Riuer of the Irocois. On Sunday the sixth of Iuly wee departed from thence, and anchored in the Lake. The Monday following wee anchored at the three Riuers. This day wee sayled some foure leagues beyond the said three Riuers. The Tuesday following wee came to Que-

²⁵The Pacific Ocean.

¹I. e., the Sault St. Louis, or Lachine Rapids.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

bec; and the next day wee were at the end of this Ile of Orleans, where the Sauages came to vs, which were lodged in the maine Land on the North side. We examined two or three Algomuquins to see whether they would agree with those that wee had examined touching the end and the beginning of the said Riuer of Canada. They said, as they had drawne out the shape thereof, that hauing passed the Sault, which wee had seene, some two or three leagues, there goeth a Riuer into their dwelling, which is on the North side. So going on forward in the said great Riuer, they passe a Sault, where they carrie their Canoas, and they come to passe fiae other Saults, which may containe from the first to the last some nine or ten leagues, and that the said Saults are not hard to passe, and they doe but draw their Canoas in the most part of the said Saults or Falls, sauing at two, where they carrie them: from thence they enter into a Riuer, which is as it were a kinde of Lake, which may containe some sixe or seuen leagues: and then they passe fiae other Falls, where they draw their Canoas as in the first mentioned, sauing in two, where they carrie them as in the former: and that from the first to the last there are some twenty or fiae and twenty

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

leagues. Then they come into a Lake containing some hundred and fifty leagues in length: and foure or five leagues within the entrance of that Lake there is a Riuier which goeth to the Algomuquins toward the North;² and another Riuier which goeth to the Irocois,³ whereby the said Algomuquins and Irocois make warre the one against the other. [And a little higher up on the South side of the said Lake there is another Riuier which goeth to the Irocois.⁴] Then comming to the end of the said Lake, they meete with another Fall, where they carrie their Canoas. From thence they enter into another exceeding great Lake,⁵ which may containe as much as the former: They haue been but a very little way in this last Lake, and haue heard say, that at the end of the said Lake there is a Sea, the end whereof they haue not seene, neither haue heard that any haue seene it. But that where they haue beene, the water is not salt, because they haue not entered farre into it; and that the course of the water commeth from the Sun-setting to-

²The Bay of Quinté and River Trent.

³The Oswego River. S.

⁴The Genesee River. This sentence was omitted by Purchas.

⁵Lake Erie.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

ward the East; and they knowe not, whether beyond the Lake that they haue seene, there be any other course of water that goeth Westward. That the Sunne setteth on the right hand of this Lake: which is, according to my judgement, at the North-west, little more or less; and that in the first great Lake the water freezeth not (which maketh mee iudge that the climate is there temperate) and that all the Territories of the Alcoumequins are lowe grounds, furnished with small store of wood: And that the coast of the Irocois is Mountainous; neuerthelesse they are excellent good and fertile soyles, and better then they haue seene anywhere else: That the said Irocois reside some fifty or sixty leagues from the said great Lake. And this assuredly is all which they haue told mee that they haue seene: which differeth very little from the report of the first Sauages. This day wee came within some three leagues of the Ile of Coudres or Filberds.

On Thursday the tenth of the said moneth, wee came within a league and an halfe of the Ile du Lieure, or Of the Hare, on the North side, where other Sauages came into our Pinnace, among whom there was a young man, an Alcoumequin, which

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

had trauelled much in the said great Lake. Wee examined him very particularly, as wee had done the other Sauages. Hee told vs, that hauing passed the said Fall which wee had seen, within two or three leagues there is a Riuer, which goeth to the said Algoméquins, where they be lodged, and that passing vp the great Riuer of Canada, there are five Falls, which may containe from the first to the last some eight or nine leagues, whereof there bee three where they carrie their Canoas, and two others wherein they draw them: that each of the said Falls may be a quarter of a league long: then they come into a Lake, which may containe some fiftene leagues. Then they passe five other Falls, which may containe from the first to the last some twenty or five and twenty leagues; where there are not past two of the said Falls which they passe with their Canoas, in the other three they doe but draw them. From thence they enter into an exceeding great Lake, which may containe some three hundred leagues in length: when they are passed some hundred leagues into the said Lake, they meet with an Iland, which is very great; and beyond the said Iland the water is brackish:^{5*} But when they haue passed some hundred

^{5*}Salubre.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

leagues farther, the water is yet salter:^{5†} and coming to the end of the said Lake, the water is wholly salt.^{5‡} Farther he said, that there is a Fall that is a league broad, from whence an exceeding current of water descendeth into the said Lake.⁶ That after a man is passed this Fall, no more land can be seene neither on the one side nor on the other, but so great a Sea,⁷ that they neuer haue seene the end thereof, nor haue heard tell, that any other haue seene the same. That the Sonne setteth on the right hand of the said Lake:⁸ and that at the entrance thereof there is a Riuer which goeth to the Algonmequins,⁹ and another Riuer to the Irocois,¹⁰ whereby they warre the one

^{5†}Encore plus mauvaise.

^{5‡}Du tout Salée. As noted above, this passage seems to show that Champlain attached quite the wrong meaning to the word "Salubre." Mr. Otis, taking "Salubre" as used in its proper meaning, met the difficulty by translating "encore plus mauvaise," "somewhat bad," a procedure which did more violence to Champlain's language than the supposition that he attached a wrong meaning to "Salubre."

⁶A more adequate description of Niagara than the one first obtained.

⁷Lake Erie.

⁸Lake Erie lies almost northeast and southwest.

⁹Probably Grand River.

¹⁰Probably Cattaraugus Creek.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

against the other. That the Countrie of the Irocois is somewhat mountainous, yet very fertile, where there is store of Indian Wheat, and other fruits, which they haue not in their Countrie: That the Countrie of the Algomuquins is lowe and fruitfull. I enquired of them, whether they had any knowledge of any Mines? They told vs, that there is a Nation which are called, the good Irocois,¹¹ which come to exchange for merchandises, which the French ships doe giue to the Algomuquins, which say, that there is toward the North a Mine of fine Copper, whereof they shewed vs certaine Bracelets, which they had receiued of the said Good Irocois: and that if any of vs would goe thither, they would bring them to the place, which should bee appointed for that businesse. And this is all which I could learne of the one and the other, differing but very little; saue that the second which were examined, said, that they had not tasted of the salt water: for they had not beene so farre within the said Lake, as the others: and they differ some small deale in the length of the way, the one sort making it more short, and the other more long. So that, according to their report, from the Sault or Fall where wee were, is

¹¹No doubt the Hurons. L.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

the space of some foure hundred leagues vnto the Salt Sea, which may be the South Sea, the Sunne setting where they say it doth.¹² On Friday the tenth of the said moneth¹³ we returned to Tadousac, where our ship lay.

¹²Champlain had probably had no opportunity to read the narratives of the explorations of De Soto and Coronado, which might have made him less ready to entertain the idea that the Pacific was within 400 leagues of the Atlantic. On the other hand, he may very likely have seen, or heard, of either the Verrazzano or Maiollo map, which divided the Western Hemisphere into three masses, introducing a great gulf from the Pacific side extending even further east than Lake Erie. See Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 219. Cf. Lok's map of 1582, Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, I, 60-61. If Champlain had seen any map of this type, the story of the Indians would seem to confirm the representation of the map. On the other hand, that so careful a man as Champlain received this impression from the Indians may explain how the men with Verrazzano received a similar impression.

¹³Friday was the 11th of July, 1603. L.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

CHAPTER X

Voyage from Tadoussac to Isle Percée. Description of the Bay of Codfish; of Bonaventure Island; of Chaleur Bay; of many rivers, lakes and regions where there are various kinds of mines.

AS SOONE as wee were come to Tadousac, wee embarqued our selues againe to goe to Gachepay, which is distant from the said Tadousac about some hundred leagues. The thirteenth day of the said moneth we met with a companie of Sauages, which were lodged on the South side, almost in the mid-way between Tadousac and Gachepay. Their Sagamo or Captaine which led them is called Armouchides, which is held to be one of the wisest and most hardy among all the Sauages: Hee was going to Tadousac to exchange Arrowes, and the flesh of Orignars, which they haue for Beauers and Martens of the other Sauages, the Mountainers, Estechemains, and Algoumequins.

The fifteenth day of the said moneth we came to Gachepay, which is in a Bay, about a league and a halfe on the North side. The said Bay containeth some seuen or eight

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

leagues in length, and at the mouth thereof foure leagues in breadth. There is a Riuer which runneth some thirty leagues vp into the Countrie: Then we saw another Bay, which is called the Bay des Mollues, or the Bay of Cods,¹ which may be some three leagues long, and as much in bredth at the mouth. From thence we come to the Ile Percee,² which is like a Rocke, very steepe, rising on both sides, wherein there is a hole, through which Shallops and Boats may pass at an high water: and at a lowe water one may goe from the maine Land to the said Ile, which is not past foure or fve hundred paces off. Moreouer, there is another Iland in a manner South-east from the Ile Percee about a league, which is called the Ile de Bonne-adventure,³ and it may bee some halfe a league long. All these places of Gachepay, the Bay of Cods, the Ile Percee, are places where they make dry and greene Fish.⁴ When you are passed the

¹Baye des Molues. Called by the English Molue Bay, which was corrupted into Mal-Bay.

²Percée Rock. A huge mass of red sandstone 290 feet high and 1500 feet long. The arch, or tunnel, is about 50 feet high. Baedeker, *Canada*, 71.

³Bonaventure Island.

⁴Rather, where the fisheries are carried on for dry and green fish. Green fish is fish salted, but not dried.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

Ile Percee, there is a Bay which is called the Bay of Heate,⁵ which runneth as it were West South-west, some foure and twenty leagues into the land, containing some fifteene leagues in breadth at the mouth thereof. The Sauages of Canada say, that vp the great Riuer of Canada, about some sixtie leagues, ranging the South coast, there is a small Riuer called Mantanne,⁶ which runneth some eighteene leagues vp into the Countreys and being at the head thereof, they carrie their Canowes about a league by land, and they come into the said Bay of Heate, by which they goe sometimes to the Isle Percee. Also they goe from the said Bay to Tregate⁷ and Misamichy.⁸ Running along the said coast we passe by many Riuers, and come to a place where there is a Riuer which is called Souricoua,⁹ where Monsieur Preuert was to discouer a Mine of Copper. They goe with their Canowes vp this Riuer three or foure dayes, then they passe three or foure

⁵Baye de Chaleurs. So named by Cartier in 1534 on account of the heat, L. Chaleur Bay is the modern name in English.

⁶The Matane River. There is a short portage to the upper Matapedia. S.

⁷Tracadie.

⁸Now Miramichy.

⁹Probably the Shediac. L.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

leagues by land, to the said Mine, which is hard vpon the Sea shoare on the South side.¹⁰ At the mouth of the said Riuer, there is an Iland lying a league into the Sea; from the said Island vnto the Isle Percee, is some sixtie or seventie leagues. Still following the said coast, which trendeth toward the East, you meet with a Strait, which is two leagues broad, and fiue and twenty leagues long. On the East side is an Isle, which is called the Isle of Saint Laurence,¹¹ where Cape Breton is; and in this place a Nation of Sauages, called the Souricois, doe winter.

Passing the Strait¹² of the Iles of Saint Laurence, and ranging the South-west Coast,¹³ you come to a Bay which joyneth hard vpon the Myne of Copper.¹⁴ Passing farther there is a Riuer,¹⁵ which runneth

¹⁰The Bay of Fundy.

¹¹Cape Breton Island.

¹²The Strait of Canso.

¹³"La coste d'Arcadie" is the reading of the text. Arcadie is either an error of the original compositor, or perhaps a misunderstanding of the name, influenced by the recollection of the Greek Arcadia, a sort of misapprehension very common to people to-day who hear or see the name Acadia for the first time.

¹⁴The Bay of Fundy.

¹⁵The River St. John.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

threescore or fourescore leagues into the Countrey, which reacheth neere to the Lake of the Irocois, whereby the said Sauages of the South-west Coast¹⁶ make warre vpon them. It would be an exceeding great benefit, if there might be found a passage on the Coast of Florida¹⁷ neere to the said great Lake, where the water is salt; as well for the Nauigation of ships, which should not bee subiect to so many perils as they are in Canada, as for the shortning of the way aboue three hundred leagues.¹⁸ And it is most certaine, that there are Riuers on the Coast of Florida, which are not yet discovered, which pierce vp into the Countries, where the soil is exceeding good and fertile, and very good Hauens. The Countrey and Coast of Florida may haue another temperature of the season,¹⁹ and may bee more fertile in abundance of fruites and other things, then that which I haue seene. But it cannot haue more

¹⁶"La coste d'Arcadie." The route would be up the St. John, down the Rivière du Loup, or the Chaudière, up the St. Lawrence, and then up the Richelieu to Lake Champlain.

¹⁷The eastern United States.

¹⁸A suggestion realized in a measure by the construction of the Erie Canal.

¹⁹"Une autre temperature de temps"; i. e., a more moderate climate.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

euē nor better soyles,²⁰ than those which we haue seene.

The Sauages say, that in the foresaid great Bay of Hete there is a Riuer, which runneth vp some twentie leagues into the Countrey, at the head whereof there is a Lake,²¹ which may be about twentie leagues in compasse, wherein is little store of water, and the Summer it is dried vp, wherein they find, about a foot or a foot and an halfe vnder the ground a kind of Metall like to siluer, which I shewed them; and that in another place neere the said Lake there is a Myne of Copper. And this is that which I learned of the foresaid Sauages.

CHAPTER XI

Return from Isle Percée to Tadoussac, with the description of the coves, harbors, rivers, islands, rocks, points,¹ bays, and shallows which are along the northern coast.

WE departed from the Ile Percee the nineteenth day of the said moneth to re-

²⁰“Terres plus unies ny meilleures.” “Unies” is “smooth” or “level.”

²¹Lake Matapedia.

¹Ponts, apparently for pointes. Mr. Otis has “falls” here, evidently taking points to be a mistake for saults.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

turne to Tadousac. When we were within three leagues of Cape le Vesque, or the Bishops Cape,² we were encountred with a storme which lasted two dayes, which forced vs to put roomer with a great creeke, and to stay for faire weather. The day following we departed, and were encountred with another storme: Being loth to put roome,³ and thinking to gaine way wee touched on the North shore the eight and twentieth day of Iuly in a creeke^{3*} which is very bad, because of the edges of Rockes which lie there. The creeke is in 51. degrees and certaine minutes.⁴ The next day we anchored neere a Riuer, which is called Saint Margarites Riuer,⁵ where at a full Sea is some three fathomes water, and a fathome and an halfe at a low water: this Riuer goeth farre vp into the Land. As farre as I could see within the Land on the East shoare, there is a fall of water which entreth into the said Riuer, and falleth some fiftie or sixtie fathomes downe, from

²This cape cannot be identified. S.

³"Put roomer" and "put room" render the French word *relâcher*, to change the course and seek refuge.

^{3*}Anse, a cove.

⁴This latitude is too high. S.

⁵The Ste. Marguerite River, emptying into the Gulf of St. Lawrence from the north.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

whence commeth the greatest part of the water which descendeth downe. At the mouth thereof there is a banke of Sand, whereon at the ebbe is but halfe a fathome water. All the Coast toward the East is mouing Sand: there is a point some halfe league⁶ from the said Riuer, which stretcheth halfe a league into the Sea: and toward the West there is a small Iland: this place is in fiftie degrees. All these Countries are exceeding bad, full of Firre-trees. The Land here is somewhat high, but not so high as that on the Southside. Some three leagues beyond we passed neere vnto another Riuer, which seemed to be very great, yet barred for the most part with Rockes:⁷ some eight leagues farther there is a Point which runneth a league and an halfe into the Sea, where there is not past a fathome and an halfe of water. When you are passed this Point, there is another about foure leagues off, where is water enough. All this Coast is low and sandie. Foure leagues beyond this there is a creeke where a Riuer entreth: many ships may passe heere on the West side: this is a low point, which runneth about a

⁶Laverdière would read: deux lieuës instead of demy lieuë.

⁷Rock River.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

league into the Sea; you must runne along the Easterne shoare some three hundred paces to enter into the same. This is the best Hauen which is all along the North shoare; but it is very dangerous in going thither, because of the flats and sholds of sand, which lye for the most part all along the shoare, almost two leagues into the Sea. About six leagues from thence, there is a Bay⁸ where there is an Isle of sand; all this Bay is very shallow, except on the East side, where it hath about foure fathoms water: within the channell which entreth into the said Bay, some foure leagues vp, there is a faire creeke⁹ where a Riuer entreth. All this coast is low and sandie, there descendeth [there] a fall of water which is great. About fiue leagues farther is a Point¹⁰ which stretcheth about halfe a league into the Sea, where there is a creeke, and from the one point to the other¹¹ are three leagues, but all are shoals, where is little water. About two leagues off, there is a strand where there is a good hauen, and a small Riuer, wherein are three Islands, and where Ships may harbour

⁸Outard Bay.

⁹Anse, a cove.

¹⁰Bersimis Point.

¹¹I. e., from Outard Point to Bersimis Point.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

themselves from the weather. Three leagues beyond this, is a sandie point which runneth out about a league, at the end whereof there is a small Islet. Going forward to Lesquemin, you meete with two little low Islands, and a little rocke neere the shoare: these said Ilands are about halfe a league from Lesquemin,¹² which is a very bad Port, compassed with rockes, and dry at a low water, and you must fetch about a little point of a rocke to enter in, where one ship onely can passe at a time. A little higher there is a Riuer, which runneth a little way into the land. This is the place where the Basks kill the Whales;¹³ to say the truth, the hauen is starke naught. Wee came from thence to the foresaid hauen of Tadousac, the third day of August. All these Countries before mentioned are low toward the shoare, and within the land very high. They are neither so pleasant nor fruitfull as those on the South, although they be lower. And this for a certaintie is all which I haue seene of this Northerne coast.

¹²Les Escoumains, or Escoumins.

¹³More literally, "where the Basques carry on the whale fishery."

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

CHAPTER XII

The ceremonies of the savages before going to war. The Almouchicois savages and their monstrous shape. Narrative of the Sieur de Prevert, of St. Malo, on the discovery of the coast of Acadie.¹ What mines there are there; the goodness and fertility of the country.

At our comming to Tadousac, we found the Sauages which wee met in the Riuer of the Irocois, who met with three Canowes of the Irocois in the first Lake, which fought against tenne others of the Mountayners; and they brought the heads¹ of the Irocois to Tadousac, and there was but one Mountayner wounded in the arme with the shot of an Arrow, who dreaming of something, all the other tenne must seeke to content him, thinking also that his wound thereby would mend.² If this Sauage die, his Parents will reuenge his death, either vpon their Nation or vpon others, or at least wise the Captaines must giue Presents to

¹See above, p. 214, note.

²The punctuation has been changed here by inserting a period.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

the Parents of the dead, to content them; otherwise as I haue said, they would be reuenged: which is a great fault among them. Before the said Mountayners set forth to the Warre, they assembled all, with their richest apparell of Furses, Beauers, and other Skinnes adorned with Pater-nosters³ and Chaines of diuers colors, and assembled in a great publike place, where there was before them a Sagamo whose name was Begourat, which led them to the Warre, and they marched one behind another, with their Bowes and Arrowes, Mases and Targets, wherewith they furnish themselues to fight: and they went leaping one after another, in making many gestures of their bodies, they made many turnings like a Snaile: afterward they began to dance after their accustomed manner, as I haue said before: then they made their Feast,⁴ and after they had ended it, the women stripped themselves starke naked, being decked with their fairest Cordons,⁵ and went into their Canowes thus naked and there danced, and then they went into the water, and strooke at one another with their Oares, and beate water vpon

³Beads.

⁴Tabagie. See note, vol. II, p. 23.

⁵Matachias. See above, vol. I, p. 218.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

another: yet they did no hurt, for they warded the blows which they strooke one at the other. After they had ended all these Ceremonies, they retired themselues into their Cabines, and the Sauages went to warre against the Irocois.

The sixt [eenth] day of August we departed from Tadousac, and the eighteenth day of the said moneth we arrived at the Ile Percee, where wee found Monsieur Preuert of Saint Malo, which came from the Myne, where he had been with much trouble, for the fear which the Sauages had to meet with their enemies, which are the Armouchicoids,⁶ which are Sauages very monstrous, for the shape that they haue. For their head is little, and their body short, their armes small like a bone, and their thigh like; their legges great and long, which are all of one proportion, and when they sit vpon their heeles, their knees are higher by halfe a foot then their head, which is a strange thing, and they seeme to be out of the course of Nature.⁷ Nevertheless, they be very valiant and resolute, and are planted in the best Countries of all the

⁶The Indians of New England west of the Kennebec River. See above, vol. I, pp. 93, ff.

⁷A description by enemies, with no basis of fact.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

South Coast:⁸ And the Souricois do greatly feare them. But by the encouragement which the said Monsieur de Preuert gaue them, hee brought them to the said Myne, to which the Sauages guided him. It is a very high Mountaine, rising somewhat ouer the Sea, which glistereth very much against the Sunne, and there is great store of Verde-grease issuing out of the said Myne of Copper. He saith, that at the foot of the said Mountayne, at a low water there were many morsels of Copper, as was otherwise declared vnto vs, which fall downe from the top of the Mountaine. Passing three or foure leagues further toward the South,⁹ there is another Myne, and a small Riuer which runneth a little way vp into the Land, running toward the South, where there is a Mountaine, which is of a blacke painting, wherewith the Sauages paint themselues: Some sixe leagues beyond the second Myne, toward the Sea, about a league from the South Coast,¹⁰ there is an Ile, wherein is found another kind of Metall, which is like a darke browne: if

⁸Arcadie. Acadie, in the terms of De Monts' charter, 1603, embraced all the region from Philadelphia to Cape Breton.

⁹"Tirant à la coste d'Arcadie."

¹⁰"La coste d'Arcadie."

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

you cut it, it is white, which they vsed in old time for their Arrowes and Kniues, and did beat it with stones. Which maketh me beleue that it is not Tinne, nor Lead, being so hard as it is; and hauing shewed them siluer, they said that the Myne of that Ile was like vnto it, which they found in the earth, about a foot or two deepe. The said Monsieur Preuert gaue the Sauages Wedges and Cizers,¹¹ and other things necessarie to draw out the said Myne; which they haue promised to doe, and to bring the same the next yeere, and giue it to the said Monsieur Preuert. They say also that within some hundred or one hundred and twentie leagues there are other Mynes, but that they dare not goe thither vnlesse they haue Frenchmen with them to make warre vpon their enemies, which haue the said Mynes in their possession. The said place where the Myne is, standeth in 44. degrees and some few minutes, neere the South Coast¹² within fve or sixe leagues: it is a kind of Bay,¹³ which is certaine leagues broad at the mouth thereof, and somewhat more in length, where three Riuers, which fall into the great Bay neere

¹¹Ciseaux. Here, chisels or drills.

¹²La coste de l'Arcadie.

¹³The Basin of Mines.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

vnto the Ile of Saint Iohn,¹⁴ which is thirtie or fiue and thirtie leagues long, and is sixe leagues distant from the South shoare. There is also another little Riuer, which falleth almost in the mid way of that whereby Monsieur Preuert returned, and there are as it were two kind of Lakes in the said Riuer. Furthermore, there is yet another small Riuer which goeth toward the Mountaine of the painting. All these Riuers fall into the said Bay on the South-east part, neere about the said Ile which the Sauages say there is of this white Metall. On the North side of the said Bay are the Mynes of Copper, where there is a good Hauen for ships, and a small Iland at the mouth of the Hauen; the ground is Oze and Sand, where a man may run his ship on shoare. From the said Myne to the beginning of the mouth of the said Riuers is some sixtie or eightie leagues by Land. But by the Sea Coast, according to my judgement, from the passage of the Ile of Saint Lawrence and the Firme Land, it cannot be past fiftie or sixtie leagues to the said Myne. All this Countrey is exceeding faire and flat, wherein are all sorts of trees, which wee saw as wee went to the first Sault vp the great Riuer of Canada, very

¹⁴Prince Edward's Island.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

small store of Firre-trees and Cypresses. And this of a truth is as much as I learned and heard of the said Monsieur Preuert.¹⁵

[CHAPTER XIII

A frightful monster, which the savages call Gougou. Our short and safe return to France.

THERE¹ is still one strange thing, worthy of an account, which many savages have assured me was true; that is, that near the Bay of Heat, toward the south, there is an island where a frightful monster makes his home, which the savages call Gougou, and which they told me had the form of a woman, but very terrible, and of such a size that they told me the tops of the masts of our vessel would not reach to his waist, so great do they represent him; and they say that he has often eaten up and still continues to eat up many savages; these he puts, when he can catch them, into a great pocket, and afterward he eats them; and those who had escaped the danger of this awful beast said that its pocket was so great that it could have put our vessel into it.

¹⁵Preuert reported much hearsay testimony in a more or less distorted form.

¹Purchas omitted this account of the Gougou, evidently believing it, as Champlain thought likely, an idle tale.

VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

This monster makes horrible noises in this island, which the savages call the Gougou; and when they speak of it, it is with unutterable fear, and several have assured me that they have seen him. Even the above-mentioned Sieur Prevert from St. Malo told me that, while going in search of mines, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, he passed so near the haunt of this terrible beast, that he and all those on board his vessel heard strange hissings from the noise she² made, and that the savages with him told him it was the same creature, and that they were so afraid that they hid themselves wherever they could, for fear that she would come and carry them off. What makes me believe what they say is the fact that all the savages in general fear her, and tell such strange things of her that, if I were to record all they say of her, it would be considered as idle tales, but I hold that this is the dwelling-place of some devil that torments them in the manner described. This is what I have learned about this Gougou.]

1 Before we departed from Tadousac, to returne into France, one of the Sagamos of the Mountayners named Bechourat,

²This change of gender follows the original.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

gave his Sonne to Monsieur du Pont to carrye him into France, and he was much recommended vnto him by the Great Sagamo Anadabijou, praying him to vse him well, and to let him see that, which the other two Sauages had seene which we had brought backe againe. We prayed them to giue vs a woman of the Irocois, whom they would haue eaten: whom they gave vnto vs, and we brought her home with the foresaid Sauage. Monsieur de Preuert in like manner brought home foure Sauages, one man which is of the South Coast,³ one woman and two children of the Canadians.

The four and twentieth of August, we departed from Gachepay, the ship of the said Monsieur Preuert and ours. The second of September, we counted that wee were as farre as Cape Rase. The fift day of the said moneth we entred vpon the Banke, whereon they vse to fish. The sixteenth, we were come into the Sounding, which may be some fiftie leagues distant from the Ushant. The twentieth of the said moneth we arriued in New Haven⁴ by the grace of God to all our contentments, with a continuall fauourable wind.

³La coste d'Arcadie.

⁴Havre.