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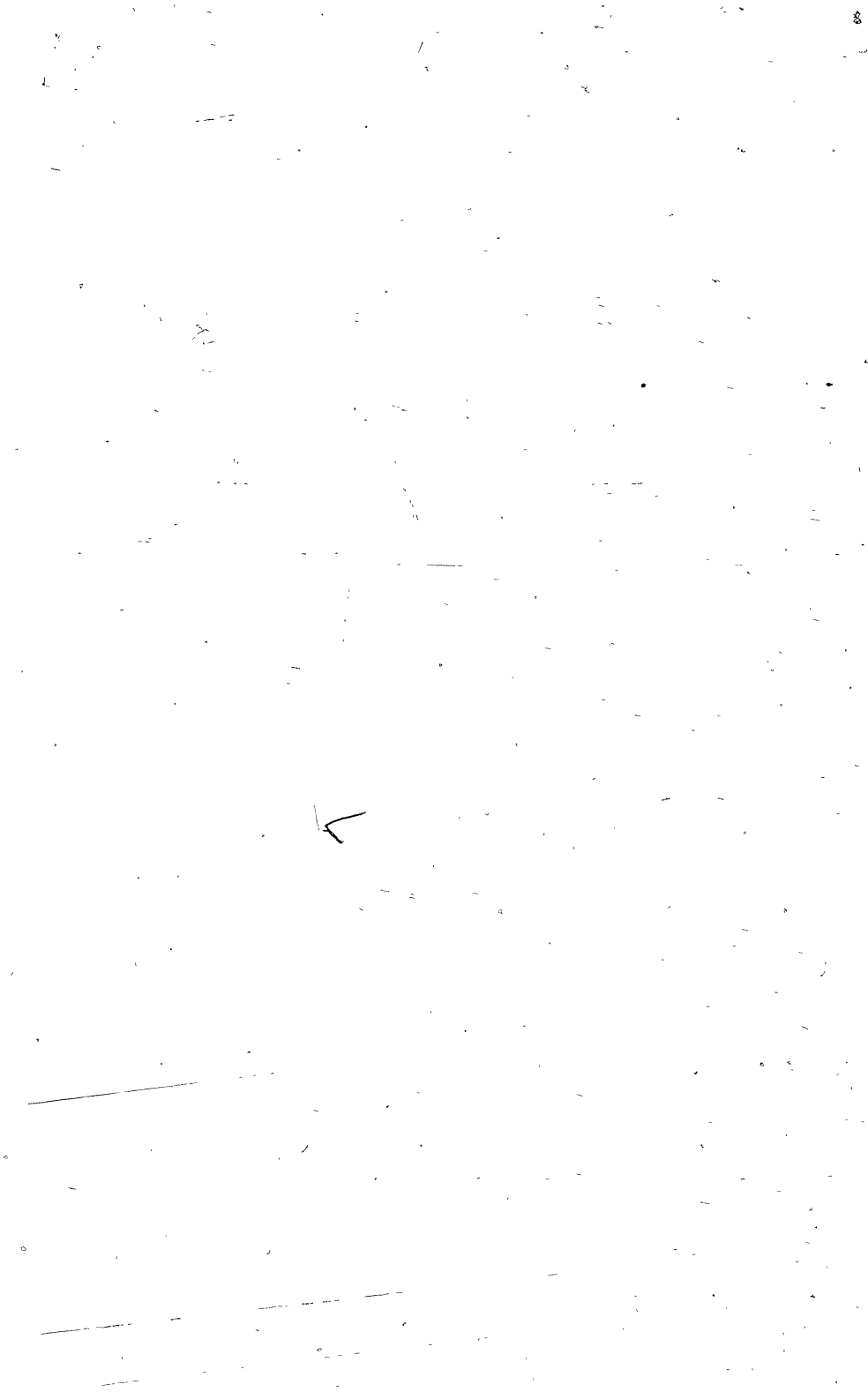
**THE JESUIT RELATIONS
AND
ALLIED DOCUMENTS**

VOL. XL

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ISAAC JOGUES, S.J.

[Statue for St. Joseph's Seminary Hall, Dunwoodie, N. Y.—Joseph Sibbel, sculptor.]

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES
IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. XL

HURONS, LOWER CANADA, IROQUOIS: 1653

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers
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CONTENTS OF VOL. XL

PREFACE TO VOLUME XL 9

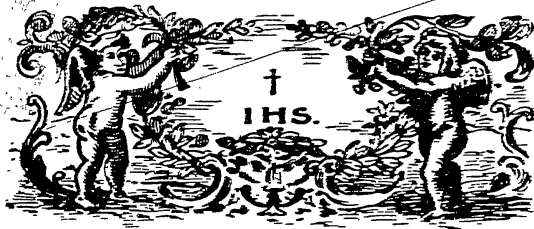
DOCUMENTS:—

LXXXIII. Breve Relatione d' alcune missioni
de' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù
nella Nuoua Francia. [Remain-
der of Part III., completing the
document.] *Francesco Gioseppe
Bressani*; Macerata, Italy, July
19, 1653 13

LXXXIV. Relation de ce qui s'est passé en
la Novvelle France, de-
puis l'Eté de l'Année 1652.
iusques à l'Eté de l'Année 1653.
Francois le Mercier; Quebec, Oc-
tober 29, 1653 67

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOLUME XL 253

NOTES 255



ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL XL

- I. Facsimile of photograph, statue of Isaac Jogues, S.J. *Frontispiece*
- II. Photographic facsimile of title-page, *Relation* of 1652-53 70

PREFACE TO VOL. XL

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in the present volume:

LXXXIII. Bressani's *Breve Relatione*, begun in Vol. XXXVIII., and continuing through Vol. XXXIX., is here completed. He relates—abridging from the *Relation* of 1650—the martyrdoms of the Huron missionaries, Garnier and Chabanel, and gives sketches of their lives. The final chapter of this document recounts “the desolation of the Huron country, and removal of the Huron mission to Kebek.” This also is largely compiled from Rague-~~neau~~neau's *Relation* of 1650. Bressani concludes with an expression of the hope still entertained by the missionaries that, at some future time, they may resume their labors among the Western savages.

LXXXIV. This is the *Relation* of 1652-53, sent by the new superior, François le Mercier, and dated at Quebec, October 29, 1653. The first chapter, written by the Paris editor, recounts the capture by an English vessel of the ship on which was conveyed Father du Peron and the Canadian mail to France. The Father's papers are seized and carelessly flung about by the soldiers; he rescues what he can, but some are lost, and the *Relation* for this year is not, in consequence, complete.

Le Mercier mentions the unusual aid sent to Montreal this year — a hundred artisans, who are not only versed in their trades, but brave in war. The Fathers residing there recommend special devotions to the Virgin, for aid in repelling the Iroquois; as a result, "God's hand was so heavy upon the enemy that they sued for peace."

Three Rivers is harassed all summer by attacks of the enemy, which are graphically described — especially an attempt to capture that village by surprise, which is foiled by the vigilance and resolution of the French. The Iroquois finally begin friendly negotiations, and go away, leaving hostages with the French for the return of Father Poncet and a companion, who were captured, a few days before, by one of the Iroquois bands. His seizure and deliverance are described — mainly as written by himself, at the command of his superior. The two French prisoners are taken to the Iroquois country, where they are tormented — in like manner, but not as cruelly, as had been Jogues and Bressani. Poncet is given, after a few days, to an old woman in place of her brother; he is then treated with the utmost kindness, and adopted into the family. His young French companion is, however, burned to death. Soon afterward, Poncet is released by his captors, who take him first to Fort Orange (Albany), to obtain some European garments from the Dutch, who treat him most generously and hospitably; then to Three Rivers, where he is surrendered to his countrymen.

Le Mercier now relates in detail the preliminary negotiations for peace — with the accompanying

speeches, presents, and ceremonies—between the Iroquois and the French. This result has been secured by the providence of God, and, next, by the influence of Father Poncet. All the five tribes join in this peace—the Mohawks consenting last of all. Father Poncet returns, somewhat later, and confirms the statements of the Iroquois envoys that their people desire peace; the ratification of the treaty will be made in the following spring.

In November, 1652, a party of Sillery Algonkins had captured some prisoners of a tribe not named, but probably one of the Abenaki tribes. As a result of this event, a treaty of peace is made between this distant people and those of Sillery, which also is described in full. Le Mercier recounts the injuries suffered by the French and their savage allies from the Iroquois war which has just ended. The fur trade, which had amounted to two or three hundred thousand livres annually, has been ruined; “for a year, the Montreal warehouse has not bought a single Beaver-skin from the Savages.” In consequence, the whole country is in distress. News is brought from the far West, that the Algonkins and Hurons who have fled thither from the Iroquois are preparing to come down to the French next year for trade; and several young Frenchmen plan to go to these tribes for the same purpose. These prospects are especially enticing, because the beaver and other fur-bearing animals, having been left undisturbed for several years, have multiplied enormously; and a rich harvest of furs is consequently expected. Another resource of Canada is in its fertile soil; and agriculture there is now becoming successful. The eel-fishery is also highly productive, and enables the

people to live when all else fails; other fish also abound—"indeed, this country is the Kingdom of water and of fish." The climate is very healthful—"an especial blessing."

The peace made with the Iroquois, detailed in the preceding chapters, fills the missionaries with joy, and great hope for the extension of their field of labor. Le Mercier finds especial encouragement in the prospect of establishing a mission in the enemy's country, on or near Lake Ontario. The Onondagas invite the Jesuits to do this. The final chapter—summarizing several letters from Canada which have come to the Paris editor—mentions that the Hurons who took refuge at Quebec have cleared and planted 300 arpents of land, thus providing food for themselves. Some of them have been clothed through gifts received from France, from friends of the mission. Several instances of the piety of these neophytes are recounted, as also of their virtuous resistance to temptation.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., February, 1899.

LXXXIII (concluded)

BRESSANI'S BREVE RELATIONE

MACERATA: HEREDI D' AGOSTINO GRISEI, 1653

This document, commenced in Volume XXXVIII., and continued throughout Volume XXXIX., is here completed.

[114 i.e., 116] CAPITOLO SESTO.

MORTE DEL P. CARLO GARNIER.

NELLE montagne della natione del Tabacco haueuamo due Miffioni, & in ciafcuna due de' nostri Padri. La più efpofta à i nemici fi chiamaua di San Giouanni, come anche la Terra principale. Quì haueua fparfi molti fudori, quì bifognaua fpargeffe il fanguè il P. Carlo Garnier operario inuitto di quefte Miffioni. Qualche prigionè fuggitiuo dal paefe de nemici ci haueua auuertiti de' lor difegni d' inueftire, ò la noftra Ifola, ò le montagne di San Giouanni, e li paefani fi tennero alcuni dì in ordine per riceuerli coraggiofamente, e come fperauano, facilmente difarli, & era per altro gente di cuore, & auuezza alla guerra. Ma annoiandofi finalmente di tanto aspettare, fi rifolfero d' andargli incontro per affalirli i primi, e forprenderli. Partirno à quefto fine li 5. di Dicembre, ma per altra ftrada, che quella, che prefero i nemici; i quali hauendo vicino al paefe presi due prigionì, feppero da effi come era sfornito delle forze di quelli, che erano vciti per incontrarli. E per non perder' vn occasione sì fauoreuole s' affrettano, e li 7. di Dicembre circa le 20. hore, fi prefentano alle porte di San Giouanni sì fubitamente, che lo fpauento hauendo occupato il cuore degli habitanti, in vece di refiftere, penforno alla fuga, ma inutile

[114 i.e., 116] CHAPTER SIXTH.

DEATH OF FATHER CHARLES GARNIER.

IN the mountains of the Tobacco nation, we had two Missions, and, in each of these, two of our Fathers. The one most exposed to the enemies, as also its principal Village, was called Saint Jean. Here Father Charles Garnier, an indefatigable laborer in these Missions, had bestowed many labors; here it was necessary that he should shed his blood. A certain fugitive prisoner from the enemies' country had warned us of their design of investing either our Island or the mountains of Saint Jean; and the country people kept themselves for some days in battle array, to receive them courageously,—and, as they hoped, to defeat them easily; these were, too, people of courage, and accustomed to war. But, at last growing weary of so much waiting, they resolved to go to meet them, in order to attack them first, and to surprise them. They started, for this purpose, on the 5th of December, but by another route than that which the enemies took; the latter, having taken two captives near that country, learned from these how destitute it was of the forces of those who had gone out to meet them. Accordingly, in order not to lose so favorable an opportunity, they make haste; and on the 7th of December, about the 20th hour, they appear at the gates of Saint Jean, so suddenly that, terror having seized the hearts of the inhabitants, instead of resisting, they thought of

per la maggior parte, che furono, ò fatti prigionj, ò uccisi di ferro, ò di fuoco, che accefero da per tutto per più sb[r]igarfi, temendo il ritorno de' guerrieri. Esercitorno però in poco tempo strane crudeltà, massime con i putti, che staccavano dalle mammelle delle madri per gettar viui nel fuoco. Il Padre Carlo Garnier era iui all' hora solo de nostri, nè volle vdir parlare di fuggire, come qualche amico gli consigliaua. Volle come gli altri morire, amministrando i Sacramenti, & esortando tutti alla costanza nella Fede, & in vita, & in morte. E lo fecè fin tanto, che riceuè da nemici vn' archibugiata con tre palle, l' vna delle quali lo ferì nello stomaco, l' altra nel petto, la terza [115 i.e., 117] in vna coscia, che lo gettò à terra, doue non mancò di leuar le mani al Cielo, e dar segni di gran diuotione, e poco doppo, come fuegliandosi da vn profondo sonno, e riguardando in giro, vidde vn ferito come lui, al quale pensò poter dare qualche aiuto spirituale; onde prese dalla carità, e dal zelo, che gli ardeua nel petto, nuoue forze, si leuò, e fece mezzo inginocchioni due passi per auuicinarfegli; ma ricadendo d' vna strana maniera, gli bisognò iui fermarsi, fin che ripreso animo fece vn secondo, e terzo sforzo per morir nell' esercizio di quella carità, che in vita haueua sempre esercitata. Non sappiamo altre particolarità della sua morte, perche vna buona Christiana, che era spettatrice di quanto quì s' è detto, fù doppo questo, ferita d' vn colpo d' accetta in testa, cadde, e fù iui lasciata per morta. Ma per diuin volere ne guarì, e ci narrò quanto di sopra. Ma il corpo del

flight. But this was in vain for the greater part, who were either taken prisoners or slain by the sword, or by fire,—which they kindled on all sides in order to expedite their work, fearing the return of the warriors. They therefore practiced, in a short time, savage cruelties,—especially upon the children, whom they tore from their mothers' breasts in order to throw them alive into the fire. Father Charles Garnier was at that time alone there of ours; nor would he hear mention of fleeing, as some friend advised him to do. He wished, like the others, to die while administering the Sacraments, and exhorting all to constancy in the Faith, both in life and in death. And he did so until he received from the enemies an arquebus shot with three balls,—one of which wounded him in the stomach, another in the breast, the third [115 i.e., 117] in his thigh. This threw him to the ground, where he did not fail to lift his hands to Heaven, and to give signs of deep devotion; and soon afterward—as it were, rousing himself from a profound sleep, and looking about him—he saw one wounded like himself, to whom he thought he could give some spiritual aid. From the charity and zeal which glowed in his breast he gained, then, new strength; he arose, and took, half kneeling, two steps in order to approach him; but falling back in a strange manner, he was obliged to stop there until, recovering strength, he made a second and a third effort to die in the exercise of that charity which he had always practiced in life. We know no other particulars of his death, because the good Christian woman, who was a spectator of what has been told, was then wounded in the head with a hatchet-blow, fell, and was left there for dead. But,

Padre haueua oltre le ferite dell' archibugiata, la testa aperta alle due tempie fino al ceruello. I due Padri, che erano nella vicina Missione riceuerono tutta la notte i poueri Christiani fuggitiui, e la mattina seguente andorno à S. Giouanni per sepellir il corpo del lor caro compagno, doue viddero con gli occhi proprij gli effetti della crudeltà del Barbaro nemico. Cercarono quel benedetto cadauero vn pezzo in vano, ma in fine lo ritrouorno nudo tra molti altri mezzo arrostiti, nè l' haurebbero conosciuto, tanto era contrafatto, senza l' aiuto d' alcuni buoni Neofiti, che soli distinfero da gli altri il loro caro Padre. Per sepellirlo i due Padri si spogliorno ciascuno d' vna parte delle fue vesti, e se ne ritornarono subito co i compagni, che gli affrettauano per tema de nemici. Ritornarono due dì doppo, i guerrieri di S. Giouanni, i quali auuertiti dal fangue, e da' cadaueri de' più deboli (che i nemici uccideuano per strada, come impaccio pericoloso) del lor disastro, e passarono secondo il lor costume, e degli antichi la giornata in vn profondo silentio, prostrati à terra senza alzar gli occhi, e quasi senza moto come statue di marmo, ò di bronzo, lasciando alle donne le lagrime, e 'l pianto.

Il P. Carlo Garnier era natiuo di Parigi. Morì all' età di 44 anni, 25. de quali haueua spesi nella Compagnia, e 13. in queste missioni. Dalla pueritia haueua hauuti gran sentimenti di deuotione, massime verso la Beatifs. Vergine, che chiamaua sempre col nome di Madre. Haueua fatto voto di difender fino

by divine will, she recovered from it, and related to us the foregoing. But the Father's body had, besides the arquebus wounds, the head cut open, from both temples even to the brain. The two Fathers who were in the neighboring Mission received the poor fugitive Christians all night; and on the following morning they went to St. Jean, in order to bury the body of their dear companion,—where they saw with their own eyes the effects of the Barbarian enemy's cruelty. They looked for that blessed body in vain, for a time; but at last they recovered it, naked, among many others which were half roasted; nor would they have known it,—so disfigured it was,—but for the help of some good Neophytes, who alone distinguished their dear Father from the others. In order to bury him, the two Fathers both stripped themselves of a part of their own clothing; and they immediately returned thence with their companions, who, for fear of the enemies, hastened away. The warriors of St. Jean returned two days later; and, being informed of their disaster by the blood and the corpses of the weakest (whom the enemies killed by the way, as a dangerous encumbrance), spent, according to their custom and that of the ancients, the day in a profound silence,—prostrated to the earth without lifting their eyes, and almost without motion, like statues of marble or of bronze,—leaving tears and lamentation to the women.

Father Charles Garnier was a native of Paris. He died at the age of 44 years, 25 of which he had spent in the Society, and 13 in these missions. From boyhood, he had had profound sentiments of devotion, especially toward the Most Blessed Virgin, whom he always called by the name of "Mother." He had

alla morte la sua purissima Concettione, della quale era diuotissimo, e morì la vigilia di questa festa per andarla à celebrar più solennemète in Cielo. [116 i.e., 118] Effendo giouane tra nostri Conuittori nel Collegio di Parigi, riceueua ogni mese dal Padre alcuni danari per sua recreatione. Egli li riferuaua per il giorno della vacanza, nel quale hauuta licenza d' vfcire, in vece di confumarli al giuoco, li portaua à i prigionì. Vn dì ne comprò vn libro cattiuo per abbruciarlo, acciò non nocesse à neffuno. Effendo con alcuni compagni, che entrorono in vn' hofteria per farui colatione, egli per non fare contro le regole della Congregatione, si tenne alla porta come vn laquay aspettando fino, che haueffero finito.

Il Signor suo Padre consegnandolo al Padre Prouinciale per la Compagnia gli disse, che gli daua vn figlio, che non haueua mai commessa vna minima difobedienza. La sua modestia veramente Angelica lo faceua dal principio steffo del suo Nouitiato proporre à tutti per esempio. I Superiori non lo voleuano riceuere nella Compagnia, e molto meno inuiare nel Canada senza consenso del Padre, che fortemente vi repugnaua, ma la perseuerante costanza d' anni intieri ottenne il tutto. Nel viaggio di mare, ch'è fece per passare alla nuoua Francia, fece con vn gran zelo, e prudenza notabili conuerfioni, tra l' altre d' vn' huomo senza coscienza, nè religione, che haueua passati più di dieci anni senza confessione. Haueua per questo vna gratia particolare, & anche più marauigliosa per la conuerfione de' Barbari, de' quali sapeua

made a vow to defend her immaculate Conception, to which he was extremely devoted even till death; and he died on the eve of this feast, in order to go and celebrate it more solemnly in Heaven. [116 i.e., 118] While a young man among our Students at the College of Paris, he received every month from his Father some money for his recreation. He reserved it for the day of the vacation; when, having obtained leave to go abroad, instead of spending it in sports, he carried it to the prisoners. One day he bought with it an immoral book, in order to burn it, so that it should harm no one. Being with some companions who entered an inn, to make a banquet there, he, so as not to act against the rules of the Congregation, stayed at the door like a footman, waiting till they had finished.

The Signor, his Father, on committing him to the Father Provincial for the Society, told him that he gave him a son who had never committed the slightest disobedience. His modesty, truly Angelic, caused him, at the very beginning of his Novitiate, to be set before all as an example. The Superiors did not wish to receive him into the Society, and much less to send him to Canada, without the consent of his Father, who strongly opposed it; but the persevering constancy of whole years obtained it all. On the sea-voyage which he made in crossing to new France, he effected, with great zeal and prudence, notable conversions,—among others, that of a man without conscience or religion, who had spent more than ten years without confession. He had a special grace for this, and a still more wonderful one for the conversion of the Barbarians,—whose language he perfectly knew, and whose hearts he gained by a

perfettamente la lingua, e guadagnaua con mille industrie i cuori. Molti affermano esserfi mutati, e risoluti di conuertirsi solo in riguardarlo. Era huomo d' vna profonda humiltà, che tutto che professò de 4. voti, & hauendo ogni cosa eminente, si stimaua il minimo di tutti anche non Sacerdoti, e sentendosi lodare, si giudicaua castigato da Dio, e ne sentiuua pena sensibile; onde per rimedio scopriua spesso à chi lo lodaua i difetti, che pensaua potergli dare auersione dalla sua persona. Nell' oratione tra le occupationi le più distrattive era raccoltissimo, e tutto fuoco dal principio fino alla fine. Oltre il dormir à terra, cosa iui commune à tutti i nostri Missionanti, si feruiua d' vna cintura di ferro con stellette d' acciaio, e con l' istesse si disciplinaua. Il viuere non solo era di cose insipidissime, ma parchissimo, per farne limosina à famelici, massime ne' due vltimi anni, che visse, ne' quali parte per necessità, parte per edificatione, ancorche delitiosamente alleuato in casa nobile, mentre *mercenarij in domo patris abundabāt panib⁹* si ridusse à priuarsi fino del gran turchesco, vnico [117 i.e., 119] cibo del paese, contentandosi di qualche ghianda, ò di qualche amara radice cotta nell' acqua semplice, senza sale, senza pane, ò altro companatico. Trè dì prima, che morisse, il Superiore della Missione gli haueua scritto, che vedesse, se per rimettersi vn poco non era espediente di ritirarsi alquanto da trauagli eccessiui, ne' quali viueua, e l' inuitaua à questo fine alla residenza fissa, detta di Santa Maria. Ecco vna parte della risposta. E vero, dice, che patisco qual-

thousand ingenuities. Many affirm that they became changed, and resolved to be converted, merely by looking at him. He was a man of profound humility, who—though he had taken the 4 vows, and was, in every respect, of eminent character—esteemed himself the least of all even of those who were not Priests; and, if he heard himself praised, he thought that he was punished by God, and felt sensible pain from it. Accordingly, by way of remedy, he often revealed his defects to the person who was praising him,—which he thought might give the latter an aversion to him. In prayer, even amid the most distracting occupations, he was most collected, and all fire from beginning to end. Besides sleeping on the ground,—a thing common there to all our Missionaries,—he used an iron belt with stars of steel; and with this he disciplined himself. His food was not only of things most insipid, but extremely moderate, so as to give alms with it to the hungry, especially in the last two years that he lived. During that time, partly from necessity, partly for edification,—although he had been delicately brought up in a noble house,—while *mercenarii in domo patris abundabant panibus*,—he reduced himself to the deprivation even of turkish corn, the only [117 i.e., 119] food of the country; he contented himself with some acorns, or with some bitter root cooked in water alone, without salt, and without bread or other relish. Three days before he died, the Superior of the Mission had written to him that he ought to consider whether it were not expedient, in order to recuperate himself somewhat, to retire for a time from the excessive labors in which he lived; and invited him, to this end, to the fixed residence called Sainte Marie

che cofa per ragione della fame, che è quì grāde, & vniuerfale, ma *non ufque ad mortem* per gratia di Dio, nè lo fpirito, nè il corpo perdono il lor vigore, non temo tanto la fame, quanto temerei, che abbandonando le mie pecorelle, in quefti tempi di miferie, e pericoli di guerra, doue io fono più che mai neceffario, non mancaffi all' occasione, che Dio mi porgerrebbe di perdermi per lui, rendendomi indegno de fuoi fauori &c. Io hò affai cura di me, e fe mi trouaffi in vera neceffità di ricuperar le forze, non mancherei di partire per S. Maria, effendo difpofto di abbandonare ogni cofa più tofto, che l' obediēza. Ma altro, che lei non mi ftaccarà dalla Croce, doue la diuina bontà mi hà attaccato. Quel che habbiamo detto del fuo interiore, è deponitione di chi l' ha confeffato, e trattato intimamente più di 12. anni, il quale aggiunge quefte parole. Io poffo dire in verità, che in quefti 12. anni, e più, ne' quali mi apriua il fuo cuore, come à Dio, non credo, che fuor del fonno fteffe vna fola hora fenza defiderij ardenti di crefcere in virtù, e di promouerui il proffimo. Tutto il refto gli era indifferente, parenti, amici, ripofò, confolationi, pene, fatiche &c. Diò gli era ogni cofa, e fuor di Dio ogni cofa gli era niente. Ma quel, che fegue è d' vno de fuoi compagni, che ad iftanza del Superiore così ne fcriue. V. R. mi ordina di fcriuergli quel, che sò del Padre Garnier. Io penfo, generalmente parlando, che haueffe tutte le virtù in grado eminente. In quattro anni, che io fono ftato fuo compagno non gli hò vifto fare mancamento alcuno,

Here is a part of his answer. "It is true," he says, "that I suffer something on account of hunger, which is great and universal here; but *non usque ad mortem*,—by the grace of God, neither the spirit nor the body loses its vigor. I do not fear hunger as much as I would fear that, by abandoning my sheep in these times of misery and dangers of war, wherein I am more than ever necessary, I might be lacking, in the opportunity which God should extend to me of losing myself for him, by rendering myself unworthy of his favors, etc. I take sufficient care of myself; and if I found myself in real need of recuperating my strength, I would not fail to leave for Ste. Marie, being disposed to abandon everything rather than obedience. But nothing else shall remove me from the Cross to which the divine goodness has attached me." What we have said of his inward feelings is the testimony of that one who heard him in confession, and intimately dealt with him, for more than 12 years, who adds these words: "I may say in truth that, in these 12 years and more during which he opened his heart to me as to God, I do not believe that, outside of sleep, he remained a single hour without ardent desires of increasing in virtue, and of advancing his neighbor therein. Everything else was indifferent to him,—relatives, friends, rest, consolations, pains, fatigues, etc. God was everything to him; and, outside of God, everything was naught to him." But that which follows is from one of his companions,¹ who at the request of the Superior thus writes of him: "Your Reverence orders me to write to you what I know of Father Garnier. I think, generally speaking, that he had all the virtues in an eminent degree.

che fuffe direttamente contro qualche virtù. Cercava in ogni cofa Dio, e non fe fteffo, nè hò mai potuto giudicare, che operaffe per principio di natura, era ardente, e pieno di zelo per il progrefso non folo della fua, ma di tutte quefte miffioni; nella diuerfità degli accidenti fempre l' ifteffo, fenza turbarfi, ma perfettamente conforme al diuin volere, al che in quefti vltimi tempi particolarmente fi ftudiaua. Rifpettaua tutti grandemente. Mai biasimaua manco i più inefcufabili, [118 i.e., 120] e fe gli s' accufaua alcun Barbaro alla fua cura commeffo, ò lo fcufaua, fe poteua, ouero taceua. Tutti i fuoi penfieri erano di promouere in quelle miffioni la gloria di Dio, e quefta è l' vnica cofa, che mi raccomandò per l' altra vita, mentre io ftauo per morire quefti anni addietro. Non fapeua quafi niente delle cofe d' Europa, e le nuoue, che ne vdiua vna volta l' anno fubito le dimenticaua, intento à quell' *vnū neceffariū*, per il quale haueua abbandonato ogni cofa. Bifognaua quafi sforzarlo à rifpondere alle lettere, maffime de' fuoi, temendo di togliere a' Barbari vn momento di quel tempo, che gli haueua interamēte confacrato. Vna delle peggiori nuoue, che riceueffe era la morte di qualche ò adulto, ò putto fenza Battefimo, e temeua fempre di non efferne in colpa. L' hò vifto partire per viaggi affai lunghi in tempi faftidiofiffimi, esponendofi à pericolo di perderfi in qualche fiume, ò precipitio per aiutar qualche anima, fenza poterlo in alcun modo, ò ritenere, ò moderare. Si accomodaua però grandemente a' compagni, mai m' hà detta vna

In the four years during which I was his companion, I did not see him commit any fault that directly opposed any virtue. He sought God in everything, and not himself, nor have I ever been able to judge that he acted upon the principle of nature. He was ardent and full of zeal for the progress not only of his own, but of all these missions; in the variety of events, always the same, without vexing himself, but perfectly conformed to the divine will,—whereto in these last times he especially applied himself. He greatly respected all. He never blamed a failing,—even the most inexcusable; [118 i.e., 120] and if some Barbarian, committed to his charge, accused himself to him, either he excused him, if he could, or else was silent. All his thought was to promote in those missions the glory of God; and this is the only thing which he recommended to me for the other life; while I remained to die these years behind him. He knew almost nothing of the affairs of Europe, and the news that he heard of them, once a year, he promptly forgot,—intent on that *unum necessarium*, for which he had forsaken everything. It was almost necessary to compel him to answer letters, especially from his friends,—he fearing to take away from the Barbarians a moment of that time which he had entirely consecrated to them. One of the worst tidings that he received was the death of either some adult or a child without Baptism; and he always feared to be at fault therein. I have seen him start on quite long journeys in most disagreeable weather,—exposing himself, in order to aid some soul, to the danger of losing his life in some river or chasm,—without being able in any way to restrain or to moderate him. Yet he thoroughly adapted himself

parola brusca, pigliaua sempre il peggio, per auvantaggiarmi in ogni cosa, volendomi persuadere, che ciò lo contentaua più. Era esattissimo nell' osservanza delle regole, e tenerissimo nell' obediencia. Per occupatissimo, che fosse, mai nè lasciua, nè fminuiua il tempo dell' oratione, esame, ò lettura spirituale, impiegandoui la notte quando era impedito il giorno à costo del riposo, e del sonno. La purità in lui andaua al pari della modestia, l' vna, e l' altra veramente Angelica, ma niente hò ammirato più, che la sua profonda humiltà &c. Questo suo compagno huomo molto virtuoso era anche suo Confessore, à cui quando erano insieme conforme il costume de nostri Missionanti, in quei paesi si confessaua ogni dì. Sò, che queste cose parranno à qualchuno forse troppo minute, ma non à chi sà in che consiste la vera virtù, & à chi le pefarà col peso del Santuario. L' habbiamo visto con infermi schifi sù le spalle fare le 3. e 4. miglia per guadagnarli à Dio; curare per molto tempo, e più volte il dì, piaghe schifosissime, & incurabili, delle quali i parenti proprij del patiente haueuano horrore, con volto sereno, e pieno di carità, per guadagnar quelle anime, che per esser in corpi cadauerosi non erano costato meno dell' altre al loro Redentore; e più s' auuicinauano alla morte, più era diligente in feruirli per il pericolo, e necessità maggiore; fare le 30. e 40. miglia à piedi ne' gran caldi della state in luoghi pericolosissimi de nemici, correndo dietro vna guida, per [119 i.e., 121] poter trouar in vita, e battezzare qualche moribondo, ò

to companions; he never said an abrupt word to me; he always took the worst, for the sake of giving me the advantage in everything, trying to persuade me that this better contented him. He was extremely punctual in the observance of the rules, and most sensitive in obedience. No matter how much occupied he was, he never omitted or lessened the time of prayer, examination, or spiritual reading,—employing therein the night, when he was hindered by day, at the cost of rest and sleep. Purity in him went apace with modesty, both truly Angelic; but I admired nothing more than his profound humility," etc. This his companion, a very virtuous man, was also his Confessor,—to whom, when they were together, agreeably to the custom of our Missionaries in those countries, he confessed every day. I know that these things will perhaps appear to some too minute; but not to him who knows what true virtue consists in, and to him who shall weigh it with the weight of the Sanctuary. We have seen him with vile sick people on his shoulders, going 3 and 4 miles, to gain them for God; tending a long while, and many times a-day, most filthy and incurable wounds, of which the patient's own relatives had a horror,—with a countenance serene and full of charity. This he did in order to gain those souls, which, though in cadaverous bodies, had not cost less than the others to their Redeemer. And, the nearer they approached death, the more diligent he was in serving them, because of the danger and greater necessity,—making 30 and 40 miles on foot, in the great heat of summer, in places full of danger from the enemies; running behind a guide, so that [119 i.e., 121] he could find alive and baptize some dying man, or some

qualche prigionie già condannato al fuoco, & hà in simili occasioni passata la notte smarrito ne' boschi tra le neui, e 'l ghiaccio. Nel tempo della contagione ci chiudeuano, come habbiam detto, da per tutto le porte. Ma il suo zelo non temeua d' esporfi à mille pericoli, per penetrare doue speraua di poter conquistare vna sola anima à Dio. Ricorreua con gran fiducia à gli Angeli di quelle contrade, e ne prouaua euidente foccorso. Qualche moribondo gli hà visto al lato vn bellissimo giouane, che l' accompagnaua, & esortaua l' ammalato à profittare dell' istruzioni del Padre. Haueua vn' inclinatione particolare per i più abbandonati, e per fiero, & ingrato, che incontrasse vn Barbaro gli mostraua vn' amore più che materno per ridurlo à Dio. Il suo zelo non haueua alcun termine, aspiraua à nuoue terre, & ad altre nationi più remote, & haueua desiderato di cascar nelle mani de gl' Hirochesi, per hauer occasione di predicargli la Fede, ma Dio gli concesse il primo senza il secondo. Era stato in tutte le missioni degli Huroni; n' haueua incominciata più d' vna, e tra l' altre quella doue morì. Non haueua alcun' attacco nè à luoghi, nè à persone, nè à suoi stessi trauagli; ogn' occupatione gli era vguale, purchè gli venisse da Superiori, che gli hanno fatto tal' hora lasciare le missioni, doue haueua il suo cuore per tirar come vn Cauallo nelle neui pesi necessarij; per feruir gli ammalati; per far la cucina, portar legna, e cercar le 20. e 30. miglia lontano delle lambrusche per farne il vino per la Messa. In tutte queste cose era eguale

captive already condemned to the fire; and he has on similar occasions passed the night astray in the woods, amid the snows and the ice. At the time of the contagion, they shut the doors on us, as we have said, on all sides. But his zeal did not fear to expose itself to a thousand dangers, in order to penetrate where he hoped he could make the conquest of a single soul to God. He had recourse, with great confidence, to the Angels of those regions, and proved their manifest help. Some dying man saw at his side a most beautiful youth, who accompanied him, and exhorted the sick man to profit by the Father's instruction. He had a special inclination for the most abandoned; and, no matter how proud and ungrateful a Barbarian he encountered, he showed him a more than maternal love in order to bring him back to God. His zeal had no limit; he was aspiring toward new villages and toward other nations more distant, and had desired to fall into the hands of the Hiroquois, that he might have an opportunity of preaching the Faith to them; but God granted him the first without the second. He had been in all the missions of the Hurons; he had founded more than one of them, and, among others, the one in which he died. He had no attachment either to places or to persons, or to his own labors; every occupation was alike to him, provided it came to him from the Superiors, who sometimes made him leave the missions, in which he had his heart, in order to draw, like a Horse, necessary burdens in the snows; to serve the sick, to do the cooking, and carry wood; and to seek, at a distance of 20 and 30 miles, wild grapes, in order to make wine of them for the Mass. In all these things he was equal to himself,—that

à se stesso, cioè sempre sereno, e contento, trouando Dio da per tutto.

Non faremo (diceua) mai niente per la salute dell' anime, se Dio non è con noi, e non c' applica per mezzo de Superiori, e cercar qualche cosa con determinatione, è cercare se stesso In vna parola, tutti quelli, che lo conosceuano lo stimauano vn Santo.

is, always serene and contented, finding God everywhere.

We shall never (he said) do anything for the salvation of souls, if God is not with us, and does not apply us by means of the Superiors; and to seek something with determination is to seek one's self. In a word, all those who knew him accounted him a Saint.

CAPITOLO SETTIMO.

MORTE DEL P. NATALE CHABANEL.

FV il festo, che morì in questa Missione di morte violenta come gli altri, non però da medesimi homicidi, come è più probabile. Il P. Natale era compagno del P. Garnier; ma due di prima dell'arriu de nemici era per ordine de' Superiori partito da [120 i.e., 122] San Giouanni per la residenza fissa di Santa Maria, parte per la fame, che era estrema in San Giouanni, onde difficilmente poteua nutrire due foggetti, parte per non esporre in quei tempi, e luoghi pericolosissimi due persone, doue bastaua vna; ma Dio, che gli haueua accompagnati in vita, non li volle seprar alla morte. Riuenendo dunque doue l'obediencia lo richiamaua, dopò 18. ò 20. miglia di cattiuissima strada, fù soprapreso dalla notte ne' boschi, in compagnia di 7. ò 8. christiani Huroni, i quali stanchi dal viaggio s'addormirono. Il Padre folo vegliaua in oratione. Verso la mezza notte intende diuerse voci, e gridi confusi, parte dell'armata vittoriosa, che haueua l'istesso dì presa la Terra di S. Giouanni, parte de pueri prigionii, che cantauano secondo i loro costumi, canzoni di guerra. Il Padre fueglia i compagni, i quali subito se ne fuggono nel più secreto de' boschi, chi quà, chi là, slontanandosi dalla strada, che l'inimico teneua. Questi fuggitiui

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

DEATH OF FATHER NOËL CHABANEL.

HE was the sixth who died in this Mission by violent death,—like the others, yet, as is most probable, not by the same murderers. Father Noël was a companion of Father Garnier; but two days before the arrival of the enemies he had started, by order of the Superiors, from [120 i.e., 122] Saint Jean for the fixed residence of Sainte Marie,—partly by reason of the famine, which was extreme at Saint Jean, for which reason it could with difficulty support two persons in charge; partly in order not to expose, in those most dangerous times and places, two persons, where one was enough; but God, who had made them companions in life, did not choose to separate them in death. Returning therefore whither obedience was recalling him, he was, after 18 or 20 miles of exceedingly bad road, overtaken by night in the woods, in company with 7 or 8 Huron Christians. These, being weary from the journey, fell asleep; the Father alone watched in prayer. Toward midnight, he hears fierce voices and confused shouts,—partly from the victorious expedition, which had on the same day taken the Village of St. Jean; partly from the poor captives, who were singing, according to their custom, songs of war. The Father awakens his companions, who hastily flee away into the most secret places of the woods,—some here, some there, withdrawing from the road,

arriuando alla natione del Tabacco, riferirono, che il Padre gli haueua feguitati qualche tempo, ma che sentendofi mancar le forze disse. Non importa, che quì io muoia, questa vita è poca cosa, la felicità del Paradiso è il vero bene, che non mi può esser tolto da gl' Hirochesi. All' Alba il Padre ripiglia la strada per Santa Maria, ma dopo alquanto di viaggio incontra vn fiume, che gl' impedisce il passo. Così ci ha riferito vn' Hurone Apostata, che aggiunge d' hauergli fatto passar il fiume nella sua canoa, e ritenne per scaricarlo (à quel, che disse) il suo cappello, & i suoi scritti, con vna coperta, che serue in quei paesi il dì, di mantello, e la notte di letto. Quel, che dopo gli auenne non lo sappiamo, se fù ucciso da nemici, se si smarrì ne' boschi, se morì di freddo, ò di fame, se tradito da chi ce ne diede l' vltima nuoua, e ne portaua le spoglie, certo è, che viaggiar in quei paesi, è viaggiare *in periculis fluminū, periculis latronum &c. periculis in falsis fratribus*, e questo è il più probabile in questo caso, per non dir certo, nè difficile à credere, d' vn Apostata, che s' era poco prima vantato, che ucciderebbe vno di noi. Il Padre Natale era della Prouincia di Tolosa. Morì all' età di 36. anni, 19. di Religione, e 6. di dimora in quei paesi, per i quali haueua hauuta vna forte vocatione, ma non già senza contrasti. Dopo li 4. e 5. anni di studio di quelle lingue appena poteua farsi intendere, ancorche non mancasse nè d' ingegno, nè di memoria, che haueua fatto comparir in Francia, doue hauea insegnata con gran sodisfattione la Rethorica. Che morti-

which the enemy held. These fugitives, arriving from the Tobacco nation, reported that the Father had followed them for a time, but that, feeling his strength fail, he said: "No matter if I die here; this life is a small thing; the felicity of Paradise is the true good, which cannot be taken from me by the Hiroquois." At Dawn, the Father resumes the way to Sainte Marie; but, after some journeying, he encounters a river, which hinders his passage. This report was given us by an Apostate Huron, who added that he enabled him to cross the river in his canoe, and retained, for landing him (as he said), his hat and his writings, together with a blanket, which serves in those countries for a mantle by day and a bed by night. What befell him afterward, we do not know,—whether he were killed by the enemies, whether he went astray in the woods, whether he died of cold or hunger, or were betrayed by the man who gave us the last news of him and was wearing his spoils.² It is certain that to travel in those countries is to travel *in periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, etc.; periculis in falsis fratribus*; and in this case this is the most probable, not to say certain; nor is it difficult to believe of an Apostate who had boasted, a little before, that he would kill one of us. Father Noël was of the Province of Toulouse. He died at the age of 36 years, 19 in Religion, and 6 of residence in those countries, for which he had had a strong vocation,—but not indeed, without struggles. After 4 or 5 years of study of those languages, he could hardly make himself understood, although he was not deficient in either talent or memory,—as he had shown in France, where he had taught Rhetoric with great satisfaction. What mortification [121 i.e., 123]

ficatione [121 i.e., 123] ad vn' huomo, che brugia di zelo, vederfi nell' impossibilità d' operare per difetto di lingua? Secondo, haueua naturalmente vna grand' auersione al viuere, e costumi de Barbari tra 'l fumo, ò tra le neui à giacer à terra tra cani, e nello strepito quasi continuo de grandi, e de piccoli, senza poterfi ritirare in luogo alcuno, che non fosse publico, fenz' altra luce di notte, che quella d' vn fuoco pieno di fumo; oltr' i pericoli più che quotidiani di cascar nelle mani d' vn nimico, che non hà per voi altro, che fuochi, e crudeltà inaudite. Terzo. Pareua, che Dio per aggrauargli la Croce lo priuasse delle gratie sensibili, abbandonandolo al disgusto, & alla tristezza Non è questa vna gran proua, massime se dura li cinque, e li sei anni intieri? Hor tal fù quella di questo seruo di Dio, col quale però il demonio non guadagnò mai niente. Gli suggeriuua ogni dì, e più volte il dì. Che ritornando in Francia vi trouerebbe il contento, che gli mancaua, e temporale, e spirituale, che haueua iui altre volte sperimentato. Che vi trouerebbe impieghi proportionati à fuoi talenti, & inclinatione, ne' quali seruirebbe Dio con perfettione, e fantità, come tanti altri, à lui forse in molte cose inferiori &c. ma non solo non si rendeuua à queste suggestioni, ma per attaccarsi più ferma, & inuiolabilmente alla S. Croce. Haueua fatto del contrario vn voto in questa forma. *Signor mio Giesù Christo, che per dispositione particolare della vostra paterna prouidenza, m' hauete, ancorche indegno, fatto coadiutore de' vostri Santi Apostoli in questa vigna degli Huroni; mosso dal*

to a man who burns with zeal, to see himself powerless to produce an effect, for want of language! Secondly, he had naturally a great aversion to the manner of life and the customs of the Barbarians—amid the smoke or amid the snows; to lie down on the ground among dogs, and in the almost continual din of great and small, without being able to retreat to any place which was not public; without other light by night than that of a fire full of smoke,—besides the more than daily perils of falling into the hands of an enemy who has for you nothing but fires and unheard-of cruelties. Thirdly, it appeared that God, in order to make his Cross heavier, deprived him of visible graces by abandoning him to disgust and to sadness. Is not this a great trial, especially if it lasts five or six whole years? Now such was that of this servant of God,—with whom, however, the demon never gained aught. He suggested to him every day, and many times a day, that by returning to France he would find there the contentment which now failed him, both temporal and spiritual, which he had experienced there in the past; that he would there find occupations adapted to his talents and inclination, wherein he would serve God to perfection and with holiness, like so many others,—who were, perhaps, in many respects inferior to himself, etc. But not only did he not yield to these suggestions, but, in order to attach himself more firmly and inviolably to the Holy Cross, he had, on the contrary, made a vow in this form: *My Lord Jesus Christ,—who through a special disposition of your fatherly providence have made me, although unworthy, a coadjutor of your Holy Apostles in this vineyard of the Hurons,—moved with the desire of*

desiderio di seguire l' impulso del vostro Spirito S. nella promozione de' Barbari Huroni; Io Natale Chabanel fo voto alla presenza del Santifs. Sacramento del Vostro Santifs. Corpo, e Sangue, vero Tabernacolo di Dio con gli huomini, di perpetua stabilità in questa Missione degli Huroni, nel modo, che i Superiori interpretaranno, i quali disporranno sempre liberamente di me. Vi supplico dunque di riceuermi per seruo perpetuo di questa Missione, facendomi degno d' vn sì sublime ministero. questo dì 20. di Giugno 1647. giorno del Santissimo Sacramento.

L' vltima volta, che partì per la missione doue morì, dicendo Addio al suo Padre spirituale; questa volta sì (diffe) spero, che farò da douero à Dio, ma con vn' accento tale, che l' altro la chiamò voce d' vna vittima, che s' immolaua, & aggiunse ad vn terzo: Io non sò i difegni di Dio, ma vedo bene, che fa vn S. Confessò ad vn' intimo suo, che si sētua tutto mutato, e che essēdo stato fin' allhora timidissimo, esponendosi in quel viaggio ad euidētissimi pericoli, [122 i.e., 124] non temeua nulla. Ma questa disposizione, gli aggiunse, non vien da me. E passando il dì stesso, che morì per la Missione de S. Mattias, non sò (diffe) ad vno di quei Padri, perche l' obediēza mi richiami, ma ò non potrò, ò otterrò di ritornare al mio posto. Bi[fo]gna perfeuerare, e feruir Dio fino alla morte, la quale desideraua, e speraua ancor più dolorosa, che non la prouò. Così scriueua l' anno inanzi ad vn suo fratello della nostra Cōpagnia in Francia. *Poco, dice, è mancato, che V. R. non habbi hauuto vn fratello martire. Ma Dio domanda per questo*

following the impulse of your Holy Spirit in the advancement of the Huron Barbarians, I, Noël Chabanel, make a vow—in the presence of the Most Blessed Sacrament of Your Most Holy Body and Blood, true Tabernacle of God with men—of perpetual stability in this Mission of the Hurons, in such way as the Superiors shall interpret, who shall always freely dispose of me. I beseech you, therefore, to receive me for a perpetual servant of this Mission, making me worthy of so sublime a ministry,—this day, the 20th of June, 1647, the day of the Most Blessed Sacrament.

The last time when he started for the mission where he died, on saying Adieu to his spiritual Father, "This time indeed" (he said), "I hope that it will be in very truth *à Dieu*,"—but with such an accent that the other called it the voice of a victim going to be sacrificed, and added to a third person: "I know not the designs of God, but I well see that he is training a Holy Confessor." Father Noël said to an intimate friend that he felt himself quite changed; and that,—although he had been until that time very timid,—in exposing himself on that journey to most obvious dangers, [122 i.e., 124] he feared nothing. "But this disposition," he added, "does not come from myself." And, passing by the Mission of St. Matthieu, on the very day when he died, "I know not" (he said to one of those Fathers) "why obedience calls me back; but, whether or not I shall obtain permission to return to my post, it is necessary to persevere, and serve God even to death,"—which he desired and hoped for, of even a more painful sort than he found it. He thus wrote, the year before, to a brother of his in our Society in France: "*But little was lacking*," he says, "*that Your Reverence*

una virtù d' un' altra temprà, che la mia. Il P. Gabriel Lallement, vno de i tre ultimamente uccisi, haueua meco mutato vn mese prima. Io, come più robusto fui mandato ad vna missione più lontana, e più faticosa, ma non sì fertile in palme, come quella, della quale la mia tepidezza m' hà reso indegno. Sarà quando piacerà à Dio, purchè io dal canto mio non manchi tra tanto difar martyrem in vmbra, & martyrium sine fanguine. Il furor degl' Hirochese, che què rouina ogni cosa, farà forse vn dì il resto per i meriti di tanti Santi, co i quali io hò la consolatione di viuer in grandissima pace, ne' continui pericoli della vita &c. V. R. e cotesi Padri della Prouincia si ricordino di me all' Altare, come d' vna vittima destinata al fuoco degl' Hirochese, vt merear tot Sanctorum patrocinio victoriam in tam forti certamine. Dio glie la diede nel modo, e tempo, che meno speraua.

had had a martyr brother. But God requires for this a virtue of another temper than mine. Father Gabriel Lallement, one of the three lately killed, had exchanged with me a month before. I, as being more robust, was sent to a more distant and more fatiguing mission, but one not so fruitful in victories as that of which my lukewarmness has rendered me unworthy. It will be when God shall please, provided that on my side I meanwhile fail not, among so many, to act the part of a martyr in umbra, et martyrium sine sanguine. The fury of the Hiroquois, which ruins everything here, will perhaps one day do the rest, through the merits of so many Saints,—with whom I have the consolation of living in very great peace, in continual dangers to life, etc. May Your Reverence and those Fathers of the Province remember me at the Altar, as a victim destined to the fire of the Hiroquois,—*ut merear tot Sanctorum patrocínio victoriam in tam forti certamine.*” God gave it to him, in the way and at the time that he least expected.

CAPITOLO OTTAVO.

DESOLATIONE DEL PAESE DEGLI HURONI, E TRANSLATIONE DELLA MISSIONE HURONA À KEBEK.

LA crudeltà dal Barbaro vincitore de nostri Christiani nel lor proprio paese gettò vn tale spauento ne' loro cuori, che molti, efuli voluntarij se ne fuggirono nel più profondo de boschi; altri sù i scogli sterili del mar dolce, preferèdo i precipitij, e gli abissi al fuoco de gl' Hirochesi; altri ebbero ricorso ad vna natione, che chiamauamo neutra, per stare all' hora in pace con ambedue; altri alle montagne di quella del Tabacco. I pochi, che restauano, ci efortorno di restar feco senza slontanarci più; gl' infedeli promettendoci di farsi tutti Christiani, & i Christiani d' esser costanti nella Fede fino alla morte. Noi per accomodarci à tutti; alcuni andammo dietro à i fuggitiui sù li scogli del mar dolce, e ne [123 i.e., 125] boschi da 300. e più miglia per consolarli, e coltiuare in essi la Fede ancor nascente; altri alle montagne del Tabacco; Il resto c' impiegammo, *ut dispersos congregaremus in vnum*, vnendoci à quei pochi, che con instanza ci domandauano, con speranza di ridurne degli altri Haueuano questi scelta per lor refugio vn' Isola nel mar dolce, 24 ò 25. miglia lontano da noi. Ci bisognò dunque scasare per seguitarli, e metter noi stessi il fuoco à quel poco, che nello spatio di 9. ò

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

DESOLATION OF THE COUNTRY OF THE HURONS, AND
REMOVAL OF THE HURON MISSION TO KEBEK.

THE cruelty of the Barbarian conqueror of our Christians in their own country threw such a terror into their hearts that many, voluntary exiles, fled to the farthest depth of the woods; others, upon the barren rocks of the fresh-water sea,—preferring precipices and abysses to the fire of the Hiogois. Others had recourse to a nation which we called “neutral,” since it was then at peace with both sides; others, to the mountains of the Tobacco nation. The few who remained exhorted us to stay with them, without retreating farther,—the infidels promising us all to become Christians, and the Christians to be constant in the Faith until death. That we might accommodate all, some of us went back to the fugitives on the rocks of the fresh-water sea, and into the [123 i.e., 125] woods, 300 miles and more, to console them, and to cultivate in them the still incipient Faith; others, to the mountains of the Tobacco nation. The rest of us employed ourselves *ut dispersos congregaremus in unum*,—uniting ourselves with those few, who urgently asked us, in the hope of winning back others of the scattered people. These had chosen for their refuge an Island in the fresh-water sea, 24 or 25 miles distant from us. We were therefore obliged to go forth to follow them,

10. anni haueuamo eretto, di casa, e di Chiesa, per paura, che i nemici non profanaffero quei luoghi di Santità. Chiamammo quest' Isola di S. Giosepe, e la residenza fissa, che ci trasferimmo, la Residenza di S. Maria, col nome della prima. Questi boschi intatti forsi dal principio del mondo ci riceuerono, e ci fomministrorno materia per fortificarci con i nostri Barbari contro i comuni nemici. *Vt sine timore inimicorum liberati*, seruissimo al commun Signore. Haueuamo con noi alcuni secolari al numero di 40. che per diuotione senza speranza d' alcuna ricōpenfa temporale seruivano questa Missione, facendo ogni forte di mestiero, ciascuno secondo la propria capacità, e tutti quello di soldato, per difender quei poueri fuggitiui dall' incursioni di quei spietati. Tutti con i Barbari s' impiegarono talmente all' opra, che in vna ftate ci trouammo regolarmente difesi con i nostri Christiani, i quali in breue iui concorsero da varie parti per potere con sicurezza, e facilità riceuere l' istruzioni necessarie per la conseruatione, & augumento della lor fede. Ma non v' è in questa vita bene alcuno senza contrapefo di qualche male. Questo gran concorso, che era il fine di tutti i nostri trauagli, portò feco in parte la rouina del paese, che effendo nuouo, e non hauendo potuto effer' à bastanza coltiuato in sì breue tempo, massime da gente famelica, & occupata insieme ad alloggiarsi, e fortificarsi, non potè portar' affai di che nutrire tanta gente affamata, & oppressa da mille difagi, che haueuano cominciato l' anno inanzi. Onde non ostante le

and ourselves to set fire to that little which we had built up in the space of 9 or 10 years, in the way of a house and a Church, fearing lest the enemies should profane those places of Holiness. We called this Island St. Joseph; and the fixed residence, which we transferred thither, by the name of the first,—the Residence of Ste. Marie. These forests, unbroken, perhaps, from the beginning of the world, received us and furnished us materials for fortifying ourselves, together with our Barbarians, against our common enemies,—*Ut sine timore inimicorum liberati*, we might serve our common Lord. We had with us some laymen, to the number of 40, who from devotion, without hope of any temporal recompense, served this Mission; plying every sort of trade, each one according to his proper capacity,—and all, that of soldier, in order to defend those poor fugitives from the incursions of those pitiless foes. All, with the Barbarians, so applied themselves to the work that in one summer we found ourselves regularly defended, as well as our Christians, who in a short time gathered thither from various quarters, so that they could receive with safety and facility the instructions necessary for the preservation and increase of their faith. But there is not in this life any good without its counterpoise of some evil. This great concourse, which was the culmination of all our labors, brought with it, in part, the ruin of the country, which, as it was new, and could not be sufficiently cultivated in so short a time,—especially by starving people, and those occupied, besides in housing and fortifying themselves,—could not yield enough to feed so many people, famished, and oppressed by a thousand misfortunes which had begun the year before. In

molte limofine, che facemmo di 800. facchi, la metà di gran turchefco, la metà di ghiande, che fi ftimauano in quel tempo cofa delitiofa, e ce le leuauamo noi fteffi dalla bocca; non potemmo impedire, che non ne moriffero l' inuerno le centinaia, e centinaia di fame. L' eftate molti haueuano più tofto differita la morte, che prolongata la vita, viuendo, ò ne' bofchi di poche radiche amare, e frutti faluaticchi; ò sù i fcogli di qualche pefciolino, che come alla sfuggita pefcauano per timore de nemici. Ma [124 i.e., 126] l' inuerno, che la terra era coperta di 6. ò 7. palmi di neue, & i laghi, e fiumi agghiacciati non potendo hauere alcun foccorfo, nè dalla terra, nè dall' acqua; fi riduffero ad vn' eftrema miseria. Era cofa fpauentofa il vedere in vece d' huomini, fcheletri moribondi, caminar più come ombre di morti, che come corpi de' viui; e nutrirfi di quel che la natura hà più in horrore: diflotterrare i cadaueri, (che noi fotterrauamo con le noftre mani, mancando fpeffo i parenti de morti di forze per farlo) per cibarfene, e mangiare i refti delle volpi, e de cani. *Quid non mortalia peñora cogis facra fames?* Gli Huroni prima d' hauer la luce della Fede è vero, che mangiauano i cadaueri de' loro nemici, ma ebbero fempre horrore di mangiarfi tra di loro niente meno, che gli Europei. Ma in quefta occasione la neceffità oltrapafsò tutte le leggi: qualche fratello hà māgiato il morto fratello: qualche madre i morti figli, & i figli doppo morte non riconofceuano, nè rifpettauano i cadaueri de' proprij padri. Era vn' fpettacolo affai frequente di

consequence, notwithstanding the many alms that we gave,—800 bags, half of turkish corn, half of acorns, which at that time were esteemed a delicious article, and which we ourselves took from our own mouths,—we could not prevent hundreds and hundreds of them from dying in the winter by hunger. In the summer, many had rather postponed death than prolonged life, by living either in the woods on a few bitter roots and wild fruits; or on the rocks, on some little fish,—which they caught, as it were, by stealth, for fear of the enemies. But [124 i.e., 126] in the winter,—when the earth was covered with 6 or 7 palms of snow, and the lakes and rivers were frozen,—unable to obtain any succor from either the land or the water, they were reduced to an extreme misery. It was a frightful thing to see, instead of men, dying skeletons, walking more like shadows of the dead than like bodies of the living; and feeding themselves on that which nature has most in abomination,—exhuming the corpses (which we buried with our own hands, the relatives of the dead often lacking the strength to do so), in order to nourish themselves therewith, and eat the leavings of foxes and dogs. *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, sacra fames?* It is true that the Hurons, before having the light of the Faith, ate the dead bodies of their enemies; but they always had, no less than the Europeans, a horror of eating one another, among their own people. But on this occasion necessity exceeded all laws: a certain brother ate his dead brother; a mother, her dead sons; and the sons, after death, did not recognize or respect the corpses of their own fathers. It was a quite frequent spectacle to see two little children still sucking the dry breasts of their dead

veder due bambini fucchiar ancor le fecche māmelle della morta madre, le madri spirar con i figli nel feno, ò vederli morir alla mammella, che offeriuano anche à i più grandi vn dopo l' altro per tirarne più tosto il fangue, che il latte, ma con refignatione sì grande, e sì christiana, che tiraua dagli occhi lagrime non meno di cōpaffione, che di deuotione. Habbiam veduto venire i moribondi da loro stessi à domandarci il Battefimo per paffaporto dell' altra vita; benedicendoci in vn tēpo, che pareua, che l' impatiēza gli doueffe tirare ogni maledittione dalla bocca. Molti ci prega-uano, che li fotterraffimo ancor spiranti, per paura d' effer diuorati da' fuoi, ò almeno lasciati nudi, cofa, che ftimano più obbrobriofa in morte, che in vita. Le iftruttioni, le prediche, l' amminiftrationi de Sacramenti, mai fono ftate più frequenti, nè riceute con più deuotione non folo le feste, ma i giorni anche di lauoro, quefte con le uifite degli ammalati, e fepoltura de morti erano le occupationi quotidiane de noſtri Padri. S' aggiūgeua à queſti mali il timore de nemici, che ci faceua vegliar le notti intiere, per nō effer come l' anno inanzi preſi all' improuiſo. Ma egli ſapendo le fortificationi fatte, e la vigilanza, & ordine, che ſi guardaua nell' Ifola, voltò le armi altroue, come s' è viſto. Molti, che aiutati dalle noſtre limofine ſcamporno il flagello della fame, furono affaliti da vn mal contagioſo, che in pochi di fece grā ſtrage, maſſime ne' putti. Non vi reſtaua più che la guerra per rouinarli affatto, e queſta non mancò, e così furono nell' iſteſſo tēpo [125 i.e., 127]

mother, the mothers dying with their children in their laps; or to see them die at the breast, which was offered even to the largest, one after the other, to draw thence blood rather than milk,—but with so great and so Christian resignation that it drew from the eyes tears, no less of compassion than of devotion. We have seen the dying come of their own accord to ask from us Baptism, as a passport to the other life,—blessing us at a time when it seemed that impatience should have drawn every malediction from their lips. Many begged us to bury them while still breathing, for fear of being devoured by their people, or at least left naked,—a thing which they esteem more shameful in death than in life. Instructions, sermons, administrations of the Sacraments, were never more frequent; nor had they received with more devotion not only the feasts, but also the working days; these, with visits to the sick and the burial of the dead, were the daily occupations of our Fathers. To these evils was added the fear of the enemies, which caused us to watch whole nights, in order not to be taken unawares, as in the year before. But they, knowing the fortifications that were made, and the vigilance and order which were observed on the Island, turned their arms elsewhere, as was seen. Many who, aided by our alms, escaped the scourge of hunger, were attacked by a contagious disease, which in a few days made great slaughter, especially among the children. There remained nothing but war to ruin them altogether, and this failed not; and thus they were at the same time [125 i.e., 127] smitten with all three scourges. For, as soon as the ice began to melt and the earth to become bare, our dying people went out from the Island, in which they

percoffi da tutti tre i flagelli, imperòche fubito, chi i ghiacci cominciorno à liquefarfi, e la terra à fcoprirfi, i noftri moribōdi vfcirono dall' Ifola, nella quale erano affediati dalla fame, per cercarui rimedio nell' acqua cō qualche forte di pefca. Ma doue penfauano di ritrouar la vita, vi riceuerno, ò la fchiauitudine, ò la morte, e per nō morir di fame, molti morirono di fuoco, prefì da nemici, che gl' inueftiuano da per tutto, maffime di notte fenz' alcuna refiftenza, effēdo i noftri Huroni diuifi in varie truppe per neceffità, e carichi di donne, e fanciulli, che non feruiuano fe non per augumentar lo fpauento, e la confufione. Venne di più nuoua di due truppe nemiche, che venivano, vna per dar il guafto à i cāpi, l' altra alla gēte. Due de più antichi Capitani vēnero à trouarci in fegreto, e tennero al Superiore con alcuni altri Padri, quefio difcorfo. *Fratello, i tuoi occhi t' ingānano, mentre ci riguardi. Tu penfi veder' huomini viui, e noi non fiamo altro, che fpettri, & anime de morti. Quefita Terra, che calchi non è ferma, s' aprirà quanto prima per ingoiarci, e metterci trà morti, trà quali però già ci contiamo. Quefita notte in vn confeglio fegreto s' è rifoluto d' abbandonarla prima, che s' apra. Gli vni fi ritirano ne' bofchi, ftimādoſi più ficuri trà le fiere, ch' eſpoſti all' Hirocheſe; altri ſe ne vanno à 6. giornate verſo il Settentr. ſù i ſcogli del mar dolce in compagnia degli Algonchini; altri alla nuoua Suetia 500. miglia diſtāte; altri dicono publicamente, che vogliono menar le lor mogli, e figli, loro ſteſſi al paefe de' nemici, doue trouarāno vna grā parte de lor parēti prigionì, i quali gli eſortano alla*

had been besieged by hunger, in order to seek for its relief, in the water there, certain kinds of fish. But, where they thought to recover life, they received there either slavery or death; and, instead of dying by hunger, many died by fire. These were seized by the enemies, who were surrounding them on all sides, especially at night, without any resistance,—our Hurons being divided into several bands, from necessity; and burdened with women and children, who served only to augment the terror and the confusion. Moreover, there came news of two hostile bands that were on their way to make havoc, one with the fields, the other with the people. Two of the eldest Captains came to find us, in secret; and to the Superior, in company with certain other Fathers; they made the following speech: *Brother, thine eyes deceive thee when thou lookest at us; Thou thinkest that thou seest living men, and we are nothing but ghosts, and souls of the dead. This Land which thou treadest is not solid; it will open very soon to swallow us, and to put us among the dead, among whom we therefore already reckon ourselves. This night, in a secret council, it has been resolved to abandon it before it opens. Some retreat to the woods, accounting themselves more secure among the wild beasts than when exposed to the Hiroquois; others are going away, 6 days' journey toward the North, upon the rocks of the fresh-water sea, in company with the Algonquins; others to new Sweden, 500 miles distant. Still others openly say that they themselves will take their wives and children to the country of the enemies, where they will find many of their captive kinsmen, who exhort them to flight unless they will utterly perish. And what wilt thou do alone, forsaken by all, in this Island? Hast thou come here for the cultivation of*

fuga, se nō vogliō affatto perire. E tu che farai solo, abbādonato da tutti in quest' Isola? Sei tu quì venuto per la cultura della terra, ò dell' anime? Vuoi tu predicar la fede à questi querci, ò à questi pini? questi laghi, e questi fiumi han forse orecchie per ascoltarti, ò intelletto per intenderti? Doue anderai? chi seguirai? puoi tu forse accompagnar vn popolo, che si dissipa in tãti paesi? la maggior parte di questi fuggitiui trouerà la morte, doue crede trouar la vita, ma quando tu haueffi cento corpi per diuiderti in cento luoghi, tu non lo potresti fare senz' essergli graue, & oneroso, e ben presto in horrore. La fame gli accompagnerà da per tutto, e non si esentaranno dal flagello della guerra. Che rimedio? habbi cuore, e te lo mostreremo. Guarda verso Kebek, e lo vedrai. Arditamēte intraprendilo, e lo farai felicemente. Tu deui saluar i resti di questo rouinato paese. Pigliaci nelle mani tu che dici, che ci porti nel cuore. N' hai visti più di 10. mila morti à tuoi piedi, se aspetti ācor vn poco, nō ve ne resterà nessuno, & inuano t' affliggerai [126 i.e., 128] di non hauer saluato almeno quel, che poteui. Non bisogna più consultare, bisogna partire, e trasportar queste reliquie della Chiesa Hurona all' ombra del forte di Kebek, e quanto prima, già, che ogn' vn fugge per non aspettar l' arriuo del nemico. Iui la nostra Fede non solo non pericolarà, anzi s' auuiuarà, vedendo gli esempi degli Algonchini, e de Francesi, e le loro carità ci aiuteranno, e quando non poteffero, ò non voleffero, e ci bisognosse iui morire, hauremo almeno questa consolatione di non morire abbandonati ne' boschi, ma vicini à chi ci rincori in quel duro passaggio senza pregiudicio della nostra Fede, che più stimiamo, che la vita.

the earth, or of souls? Wilt thou preach the faith to these oaks or these pines? Have perhaps these lakes and these rivers ears to listen to thee, or sense to understand thee? Where wilt thou go? Whom wilt thou follow? Canst thou perchance accompany a people which scatters itself into so many countries? Most of these fugitives will find death, where they think to find life; but though thou hadst a hundred bodies, to divide thyself in a hundred places: thou couldst not do so without being heavy and burdensome to them, and, soon, even an object of hatred. Hunger will attend them everywhere, and they will not be exempted from the scourge of war. What is the remedy? Have courage, and we will show it thee; look toward Kebek, and thou wilt see it. Undertake it ardently, and thou wilt effect it successfully. Thou must save the remains of this ruined country. Take us into thy hands, thou who sayest that thou bearest us in thy heart. Thou hast seen more than 10 thousand of us dead at thy feet; if thou wait a little longer, not one of us will be left to thee; and vainly thou wilt grieve [126 i.e., 128] for not having saved at least what thou couldst. It is not necessary to deliberate longer; it is necessary to depart, and to convey these remains of the Huron Church to the shadow of the fort of Kebek,—and that as soon as possible, now that every one is fleeing, in order not to await the arrival of the enemy. There our Faith will not only not be in danger, but, on the contrary, it will revive by seeing the examples of the Algonquins and the French; and their charities will help us. But even if they could not or would not, and if we must die there, we would at least have this consolation, of dying not abandoned in the woods, but near one who may encourage us in that trying passage, without prejudice to our Faith, which we esteem more than life.

Il negotio era troppo importante per non penfarci, e ne vn dì, nè due, nè dieci bastauano per concluderlo. Lafciar' vn paefe tanto defiderato, tanto cercato, doue ogn' vno haueua il fuo cuore; Paefe, che riguardauamo, come la chiaue di tante miffioni à mille popoli fconofciuti, e doue attualmente haueuamo, oltre 6. miffioni della lingua Hurona, 5. per diuerfe nationi d' Algonchini non era piccol negotio. Dall' altro canto le raggioni de' Barbari ci pareuano senza replica, e conuincenti. Che fare? Raddoppiamo le noftre diuotioni con l' oratione delle 40. hore. Coll' oratione cōfultiamo il Cielo, e con frequenti confulte conferiamo tra noi le 15. e 20. volte affai à lungo; fempre ci pare, che Dio habbi parlato per la bocca di quei Capitani. Diceuano la verità: il paefe degli Huroni nō era più altro, che vn luogo d' horrore, e di carnificina, e pareua inhabitabile ad altri, che alle furie dell' Inferno. Douunq; riguardauamo per ritirarci, e ceder alle miferie del tempo, v' incōtrauamo, e fame, e guerra; e per altro fperauamo poterne faluar molti vicino alle habitationi Francesi con maggior facilità d' inftruirli nella Fede, nella quale erano ancor nuoui. Bifognò dunque renderfi; tutti d' vn commun confenfo contro la propria inclinatione, confeffandofi conuinti dalle raggioni de' Barbari. E perche il nēmico non dormiua, bifognò affrettarne l' efecutione al poffibile, prima, che ci tendeffe infidie per il camino. Abbandonammo dunque, ma non fenza lagrime, quel caro paefe, che inaffiato felicemente co i fudori, e col fangue de'

This transaction was too important not to require thought, and neither one day nor two, nor ten, were sufficient to settle it. To leave a country so much desired, so much sought after, where each one had his heart,—a Country which we regarded as the key to so many missions to a thousand unknown peoples; and where we actually had, besides 6 missions in the Huron language, 5 for various nations of Algonquins,—was not a small affair. On the other side, the reasons of the Barbarians appeared to us unanswerable and convincing. What was to be done? We redouble our devotions, together with the 40 hours' prayer. With prayer we consult Heaven; and with frequent deliberations we confer among ourselves, 15 or 20 times, at considerable length. It ever appears to us that God has spoken by the mouth of those Captains. They were telling the truth; the country of the Hurons was no longer aught else than a place of horror and of slaughter, and appeared uninhabitable to others than the furies of Hell. Whithersoever we looked, that we might retire, and yield to the miseries of the time, we encountered both hunger and war; and, besides, we hoped to be able to save many of them when near the French settlements, with greater facilities for instructing them in the Faith, in which they were still new. It was therefore necessary to yield,—all with a common consent, though against their own inclination, acknowledging themselves convinced by the Barbarians' reasons. And because the enemy was not asleep, it was necessary to hasten the execution of the plan to the utmost, before he laid snares for us by the way. We abandoned, therefore, but not without tears, that dear country, which, blessedly

nostri fratelli, ci prometteua vna copiosa messe, e ci daua à tutti speranza d' imitarli, e in vita, e in morte. L' vnica nostra consolatione fù di menar con noi circa 300. persone d' vna natione altre volte popolatissima, rouinata quasi affatto nel tempo, che era più fedele à Dio, il quale ne haueua tirati i fuoi eletti, e spopolando quella Terra, haueua popolato il [127 i.e., 129] Cielo, arricchito delle nostre perdite. Questi infelici restà de diuini flagelli nella perdita de beni, della Patria, e de' parenti nō han perfa la Fede, la quale quest' vltimo anno era stata comunicata col S. Battefimo à più di tremila persone, che hora ne possedono, come speriamo, il frutto in Paradiso. Partimmo dagli Huroni al principio di Maggio, e doppo 900. miglia di camino, varij difagi, e pericoli, e speffi naufragij, arriuāmo finalmente tutti à Kebek con perfetta fanità li 28. di Luglio 1650. doue poco doppo circa altri 300. ci hāno seguitati. Quì ācorche l' Illustrifs. Governatore, qualche particolare, & i due Monasterij di Monache si siano caricati sopra le loro forze, d' alcune poche famiglie, nondimeno il forte del peso è caduto sopra le nostre spalle, chē ci siamo di buon cuore caricati dello spirituale, e temporale del resto, che Dio non lascia fin' hora morir di fame. Mà è bisognato per questo scaricar la missione d' alcuni operarij, massime non essendo in questa paucità di gente, come prima necessarij. Che se il Lettore mi domandasse, che diuerrà questa missione; se si rimetterà vn giorno; se v' è speranza di ritorno per gli Huroni, e per i nostri. Io gli risponderai, che *Iudi-*

watered with the sweat and the blood of our brethren, was promising us an abundant harvest, and was giving all of us the hope of imitating them, both in life and in death. Our only consolation was to take with us about 300 persons of a nation formerly most populous, but now almost utterly ruined, at the time when it was most faithful to God,—who had drawn from it his elect, and by depopulating that Land, had peopled [127 i.e., 129] Heaven, which is enriched by our losses. These unhappy remnants from the divine scourges, did not, in the loss of their possessions, their native Country, and their kinsmen, lose the Faith,—which in this last year had been bestowed by Holy Baptism upon more than three thousand persons; these now enjoy, as we hope, the fruit of it in Paradise. We departed from the Hurons at the beginning of May; and, after 900 miles of march,—amid various hardships and perils, and frequent shipwrecks,—we all finally arrived in perfect health, on the 28th of July, 1650, at Kebek,—whither, soon afterward, about 300 others followed us. Here, although the Most Illustrious Governor, a certain private citizen, and the two Convents of Nuns, burdened themselves above their strength with some few families; nevertheless the bulk of the load fell upon our shoulders; but with good courage we charged ourselves with the spiritual and temporal interests of the remnant, whom God has not hitherto allowed to die of hunger. But on this account it has been necessary to relieve the mission of some laborers,—especially as they are not, in this paucity of people, indispensable as before. Now if the Reader should ask me, “What will become of this mission?”—whether it will be restored some day;

cia Dei abyssus multa. Ma fe il furor de l' Hirochefe si reprimeffe, perche nò? Io sò, che vi fono grandiffime difficoltà, mà *quæ impossibilia sunt apud homines, possibilia sunt apud Deum, apud quem non est impossibile omne verbum.* E per altro il mondo non finirà, che l' Euan-gelio non sia predicato da per tutto. Hor verso l' Oc-cidente degli Huroni fino al mare della China fono innumerabili nationi, *quibus nondum est annunciatum Regnum Dei*, bifogna dunque che vn giorno l' Euan-gelio c' arriui, quando bene tutte queste missioni per vn tempo finiffero, Dio sà il come. *Non est nostrum nosse tempora, vel momenta, quæ pater posuit in sua potestate.* Ma sì bene di supplicarlo, che quanto prima *Adueniat regnū suum*, e che sia glorificato da ogni gente, e natione, finche *fiat unum ouile, & vnus pastor, & omnes labio unum laudemus viuentem in sæcula sæ-culorum.* Restano però ancora nel Canadà circa 30. PP. per diuerse missioni, e stabili, e volanti; à Tadu-fak; verso gl' Inglesi; à gli Atticameghi &c. oltre il Collegio di Kebek, e le Residèze di Sylleri, de i tre fiumi, e di Montreale, nominate al principio, l' histo-ria delle quali si è scritta ogn' anno in Francese. Il tutto si farebbe più schiarito colla mappa, che sperauo quì aggiungere, ma non effendo in ordine; chi la desiderarà, la potrà di quì à poco hauer à parte con le figure de Barbari, e delle loro crudeltà.

LAVS DEO.

whether there is hope of a return for the Hurons and for ours,—I would answer him that *Judicia Dei abyssus multa*. But if the fury of the Hiroquois should moderate itself, why not? I know that there are very great difficulties, but *quæ impossibilia sunt apud homines, possibilia sunt apud Deum, apud quem non est impossibile omne verbum*. And, furthermore, the world will not end until the Gospel has been preached everywhere. Now Westward from the Hurons, even to the sea of China, are innumerable nations, *quibus nondum est annunciatum Regnum Dei*, hence it is necessary that the Gospel one day reach thither; even though all these missions should cease for a time; God knows how. *Non est nostrum nosse tempora, vel momenta, quæ pater posuit in sua potestate*,—but, indeed, to beseech him that *Adveniat regnum suum* as soon as possible; and that he be glorified by every people and nation, until *fiat unum ovile, et unus pastor, et omnes labio unum laudemus viventem in sæcula sæculorum*. As it is, there still remain in Canada about 30 Fathers for various missions, both stationary and itinerant,—at Tadusak, toward the English, among the Atticamegues, etc.,—besides the College of Kebek and the Residences at Sylleri, three rivers, and Montreal, mentioned at the beginning, the history of which has been written every year in French. The whole would have been made clearer with the map which I was hoping to add here, but it is not ready. Those who shall desire it can have it a little while later, in separate form, with pictures of the Barbarians and their cruelties.

LAUS DEO.

Tauola de' Capitoli.

P ROEMIO.	pag.	I
<i>Parte prima Cap. 1. Situatione, & inuentione della Nuoua Francia.</i>	pag.	I
<i>Cap. 2. Descrizione del paese degli Huroni.</i>		5
<i>Cap. 3. Del fuolo, viuere, vestire de' Barbari della nuoua Francia.</i>	pag.	7
<i>Cap. 4. Politica de Barbari Canadesi.</i>	12 [i.e., 14]	
<i>Cap. 5. Religione de' medesimi.</i>	19 [i.e., 21]	
<i>Parte Seconda Della Conuersione de Canadesi alla Fede.</i>		28 [i.e., 30]
<i>Cap. 1. Prima difficoltà della Conuersione degli Huroni presa dal Paese.</i>		29 [i.e., 31]
<i>Cap. 2. Seconda difficoltà, i pericoli del viaggio.</i>		31 [i.e., 33]
<i>Cap. 3. Terza difficoltà, la lingua.</i>		54 [i.e., 56]
<i>Cap. 4. Altre difficoltà della Conuersione de Barbari, particolarmente degli Huroni.</i>		62 [i.e., 64]
<i>Parte Terza Morte d' alcuni PP. della Compagnia di Giesù nelle Missioni della Nuoua Francia.</i>		72 [i.e., 74]
<i>Cap. 1. Morte del P. Anna de Noue, e del P. Ennemondo Massa.</i>		72 [i.e., 74]
<i>Cap. 2. Del P. Isaac Iogues.</i>		77 [i.e., 79]
<i>Cap. 3. Resto della vita, e morte del P. Iogues.</i>		102 [i.e., 104]
<i>Cap. 4. Morte del P. Antonio Daniel</i>		105 [i.e., 107]

Table of Chapters.

PREFACE.	page	I
Part first, Chap. 1. Situation and discovery of New France.	page	I
Chap. 2. Description of the country of the Hurons.		5
Chap. 3. Of the soil, food, and dress of the Barbarians of new France.	page	7
Chap. 4. Government of the Canadian Barbarians.		12 [i.e., 14]
Chap. 5. Religion of the same.		19 [i.e., 21]
Part Second. Of the Conversion of the Canadians to the Faith.		28 [i.e., 30]
Chap. 1. First difficulty in the Conversion of the Hurons—establishment in the Country.		29 [i.e., 31]
Chap. 2. Second difficulty—the dangers of the journey.		31 [i.e., 33]
Chap. 3. Third difficulty—the language.		54 [i.e., 56]
Chap. 4. Other difficulties in the Conversion of the Barbarians, especially of the Hurons.		62 [i.e., 64]
Part Third. Deaths of certain Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in the Missions of New France.		72 [i.e., 74]
Chap. 1. Death of Father Anne de Noue, and of Father Ennemond Masse.		72 [i.e., 74]
Chap. 2. Of Father Isaac Jogues.		77 [i.e., 79]
Chap. 3. Remainder of the life and death of Father Jogues.		102 [i.e., 104]
Chap. 4. Death of Father Antoine Daniel.		105 [i.e., 107]

- Cap. 5. *Morte del P. Gio: di Brebeuf, e P. Gabrielle Lallement.* 107 [i.e., 109]
- Cap. 6. *Morte del P. Carlo Garnier.* 114 [i.e., 116]
- Cap. 7. *Morte del P. Natale Chabanel.* 119 [i.e., 121]
- Cap. 8. *Defolazione del Paese degli Huroni, e translatione della Missione Hurona à Kebek.* 122 [i.e., 124]

-
- Chap. 5. Death of Father Jean de Brebeuf, and
Father Gabriel Lallement.* 107 [i.e., 109]
- Chap. 6. Death of Father Charles Garnier.
.* 114 [i.e., 116]
- Chap. 7. Death of Father Noël Chabanel.
.* 119 [i.e., 121]
- Chap. 8. Desolation of the Country of the Hu-
rons, and removal of the Huron Mission to
Kebek.* 122 [i.e., 124]



LXXXIV

RELATION OF 1652-53

PARIS: SEBASTIEN ET GABRIEL CRAMOISY, 1654

SOURCE: We follow a copy of the original Cramoisy (H. 101) in Lenox Library, New York.





RELATION

DE CE QUI S'EST PASSE

EN LA MISSION DES PERES

de la Compagnie de IESVS,

AV PAYS DE LA

NOUVELLE FRANCE,

Depuis l'Eté de l'Année 1652.

iulques à l'Eté de l'Année 1653.

Enuoyée au R. P. Prouincial de la

Prouince de France.

*Par le Superieur des Missions de la mesme
Compagnie.*



A PARIS,

Chez SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Imprimeur

ordinaire du Roy & de la Reyne,

Et GABRIEL CRAMOISY, rue S. Iacques,

aux Cicognes:

M. DC. LIV.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV. ROT.

RELATION
OF WHAT OCCURRED
IN THE MISSION OF THE FATHERS
of the Society of JESUS,
IN THE COUNTRY OF
NEW FRANCE,

From the Summer of the Year 1652
to the Summer of the Year 1653.

Sent to the Reverend Father Provincial
of the Province of France.

*By the Superior of the Missions of the same
Society.*

PARIS,
SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Printer in ordinary
to the King and Queen,
And GABRIEL CRAMOISY, rue St. Jacques,
at the Sign of the Storks.

M. DC. LIV.
BY ROYAL LICENSE.

Table des Chapitres contenus en ce Livre.

R	<i>RELATION de ce qui s'est passé en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de IESVS, au Pays de la Nouvelle France depuis l'Été de l'année 1652. iusques à l'année 1653.</i>	page	1
CH. I.	<i>D'un vaisseau pris par les Anglois, & des memoires dont il est parlé en la lettre precedente.</i>		5
II.	<i>De ce qui s'est passé à Montreal.</i>		10
III.	<i>De ce qui s'est passé aux Trois Rivieres.</i>		22
IV.	<i>De la prise & de la deliurance du Pere Ioseph Poncet.</i>		46
V.	<i>De la Paix faite avec les Iroquois.</i>		88
VI.	<i>De la Paix faite avec vne Nation qui habite du costé du Sud à l'égard de Quebec.</i>		129
VII.	<i>La Pauvreté & les Richesses du Pays.</i>		146
VIII.	<i>La porte fermée à l'Euangile, semble s'ouvir plus grande que iamais.</i>		153
CHAP. DERN.	<i>Recueil tiré de diuerses Lettres apportées de la Nouvelle France.</i>		156

Fin de la Table des Chapitres.

Table of Chapters contained in this Book.

R	<i>RELATION of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS, in the Country of New France, from the Summer of the year 1652 to the year 1653.</i>	page	1
CHAP. I.	<i>Of a vessel taken by the English, and of the memoirs referred to in the preceding letter.</i>		5
II.	<i>Of what occurred at Montreal.</i>		10
III.	<i>Of what occurred at Three Rivers.</i>		22
IV.	<i>Of the capture and deliverance of Father Joseph Poncet.</i>		46
V.	<i>Of the Peace made with the Iroquois.</i>		88
VI.	<i>Of the Peace made with a Nation dwelling in a Southerly direction from Quebec.</i>		129
VII.	<i>The Poverty and the Riches of the Country.</i>		146
VIII.	<i>The door closed to the Gospel seems to open wider than ever.</i>		153
CHAP. THE LAST.	<i>Extracts from various Letters brought from New France.</i>		156

End of the Table of Chapters.

[1] Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Mission des Pères de la Compagnie de IESVS, au Pays de la Nouvelle France, depuis l'Été de l'année 1652. iufques à l'année 1653.

LETTRE DU PERE SUPERIEUR DE LA MISSION, AU REUEREND PERE PROUINCIAL.

MON R. PERE,

Pax Christi.

Estant dans le deffein d'informer V. R. de l'estat de nos Missions en ce nouveau Monde; mon [2] esprit s'est trouué partagé, entre la crainte & l'esperance. La perfidie des Iroquois, que nous auons esprouuée à nos d'espens, me fait peur: & les raions de bonté, que Dieu a fait éclater nouvellement sur ces Contrées, bannissant cette crainte, pour loger en sa place vne douce esperance. Si nos Ennemis sont deloyaux, Dieu est tres-fidelle: s'ils sont tres-mechans, & tres-cruels, Dieu est tresbon, & tres-doux: s'ils ont la pensée de nous perdre, Dieu à la volonté de nous sauuer. Nous adorons sa conduite, & sur nous & sur nos Eglises. Je puis dire avec verité, que depuis dixhuit ans, que ie considere les ressorts de sa prouidence sur nos petits traüaux, i'ay remarqué qu'il n'a iamais éloigné sa veuë, ny ses regards, de ceux qui prodiguent leurs vies pour son honneur. [3] Il nous a releuez en nous abbaiffans;

[1] Relation of what occurred in the Mission
of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS,
in the Country of New France, from
the Summer of the year 1652
to the year 1653.

LETTER FROM THE FATHER SUPERIOR OF THE MISSION
TO THE REVEREND FATHER PROVINCIAL.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

Pax Christi.

When I purposed informing Your Reverence of the state of our Missions in this new World, my [2] heart was divided between fear and hope. The perfidy of the Iroquois, which we have experienced to our cost, causes me alarm; and the rays of goodness which God has recently caused to shed their radiance upon these Countries, banish that fear, to put a sweet hope in its place. If our Enemies are treacherous, God is very faithful; if they are very wicked and cruel, God is very good and gentle; if it is their intention to destroy us, it is God's will to save us. We adore his guidance, of both us and our Churches. I can say with truth that, in the eighteen years during which I have observed the workings of his providence over our little labors, I have remarked that he has never turned away his eyes or hidden his face from those who freely give their lives in honor of him. [3] He has exalted us in abasing us; has made us find life in death; and, at the moment when

il nous a fait trouuer la vie dedans la mort: & au point que la nuit d'un profond defefpoir, se vouloit emparer de nos cœurs, il a fait naistre vn iour, qui donnera de l'etonnement iufques dedans la France. Les chofes font encor fi recentes, que nous pouuons dire, que nous craignons fans craindre, & que nous esperons contre toute esperance. Nous enuoyons au Pere Paul le Jeune Procureur de nos Miffions, les memoires de nos bonnes, & de nos mauuaises auantures, pour les prefenter à Vofre Reuerence. Elle verra que nous auons befoin plus que iamais de fes prieres, & des fecours de tous ceux qui prennent part à nos biens, & à nos maux: qui craignent dans nos craintes, & qui esperent dedans [4] nos esperances. Vofre Reuerence fe fouuienne, s'il luy plaist à l'autel de ces pauvres peuples & de toutes nos Miffions, & en particulier de celuy qui luy est de cœur & par deuoir.

Mon Reuerend Pere,

A Quebec ce 29.

d'Octobre 1653.

Tres-humble & tres-obeiffant feruiteur, en Nofre Seigneur.

FRANCOIS LE MERCIER.

the darkness of a deep despair was about to take possession of our hearts, he caused a light to dawn that will arouse wonder even in France. These events are still so recent that we can say that we fear without fearing, and that we hope against all hope. We send to Father Paul le Jeune, Procurator of our Missions, the account of both our good and our ill fortunes, in order that he may present it to Your Reverence. You will see that we are in greater need than ever of your prayers, and of the assistance of all those who take an interest in our weal and woe, who fear in our fears and hope in [4] our hopes. Your Reverence will please to remember at the altar these poor people and all our Missions, and, in particular, him who is, cordially and devotedly,

My Reverend Father,

*Quebec, this 29th
of October, 1653.*

Your very humble and very
obedient servant in Our
Lord,
FRANCOIS LE MERCIER.

[5] CHAPITRE PREMIER.

D'VN VAISSEAU PRIS PAR LES ANGLOIS, & DES MEMOIRES
DONT IL EST PARLÉ EN LA LETTRE
PRECEDENTE.

LE Pere à qui on auoit confié ces memoires, ayant esté pris par les Anglois, le dix septiesme du mois de Decembre dernier passé: les foldats, qui s'estoient rendus maistres du vaisseau qui le portoit, le fouillerent. & le pillerent aussi bien que les autres; ils luy rauirent sa petite Chapelle, en vn mot, ils luy offerent iufques à son Breuiaire, n'épargnans n'y Calice, ny Messel, ny ornemens sacerdotaux. non pas mesme vne méchante couuerture, dont il se seruoit les nuits, [6] affés froides, & affés longues. Ils ouurirent tous les paquets, deplierent tous les papiers, esperans trouuer quelques pieces d'argent: mais se voyans frustrés de leurs esperances, ils en déchirerent vne partie, ietterent l'autre en la mer, ou bien sur le tillac du nauire, où tout le monde marchoit peste-mesle, les vainqueurs & les vaincus, les humiliés, & les Infolens. Le pauvre Pere ramassa doucement ce qu'il pût de lettres, de papiers, & de memoires. Les vns estoient en lambeaux, & les autres estoient sales, comme si on les eut retirés de la bouë. Les François les mieux vestus, furent depouillés tous nuds, pour estre couuers de vieux haillons: ils passioient les nuits sous le tillac, fans autre mattelas que les ordures, & les saletés caufées

[5] CHAPTER FIRST.

OF A VESSEL TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH, AND OF THE
MEMOIRS REFERRED TO IN THE PRE-
CEDING LETTER.

THE Father to whom the above memoirs had been entrusted, was taken prisoner by the English on the seventeenth of the month of December last.³ The soldiers who had taken possession of the vessel that was bearing him searched and plundered him, as well as the rest; they robbed him of his little Chapel, and, in short, pillaged him even to his Breviary, sparing neither Chalice nor Missal, nor sacerdotal ornaments, nor even a wretched blanket which he used at night, [6] the nights being rather cold and long. They opened all the packages and unfolded all the papers, hoping to find some pieces of money; but, being disappointed in their hopes, they tore up some of the papers and threw the rest into the sea or else on the ship's deck, where all the people were walking about, pell-mell,—victors and vanquished, the humbled and the Insolent. The poor Father quietly gathered up what he could of letters, papers, and memoirs,—some of them being in tatters, and others as dirty as if they had been taken out of the mud. The best dressed of the French were stripped quite naked, and forced to cover themselves with old rags. They passed the nights under the deck, without any other mattress than the filth and dirt which was caused by a crowd

par vn ramas de [7] Soldats, des Mattelots, & de Passagers: detrempées dans les eaux de la mer, qui entroient par les sabores, & qui se couloient entre les deux ponts, pour seruir de lits, & de couuertures, a ces pauues vaincus. Enfin le nauire fut conduit à Plymouth en Angleterre.

C'est icy, où nos François rencontrans quelques vailleaux, & quelques Capitaines leurs compatriotes, tombés dans le mesme malheur, furent saisis d'une nouvelle douleur. A peine leur nauire fut-il entré dedans le port, qu'il se vit inuesty de tous costés, de batteaux, & de gondoles remplis de marchands, qui monterent aussi-tost sur le tillac, pour acheter des foldats, le pillage & le vol qu'ils venoient de commettre. Le Pere vit vendre a l'Encan son Breuiaire, celui qui l'acheta, ne [8] demanda point s'il estoit a l'usage de Rome, ou de quelque autre Diocese, la pieté de ces bonnes gens, est d'auoir de l'argent, & d'en tirer des choses saintes, aussi bien que des prophanes. Nos François voyoient mettre a l'enchere leurs petis meubles, & la plus part des passagers perdirent en vn iour, ce qu'ils auoyent gagné en plusieurs années en la Nouvelle France. Quelques-vns d'entre eux difoient que la perte de ce nauire, pouuoit monter à trois cent mille liures. Je ne sçay si cela est veritable, mais ie sçay bien, qu'on voyoit dans vne miserable rencontre, beaucoup de ioye, & beaucoup de tristesse: les vns baissoient la teste, & les autres la leuoient avec affés de faste, se reiouïssans, *Sicut exultant victores captâ prædâ, quando diuidunt spolia*. [9] Comme des victorieux, lors qu'ils partagent leur proye, & leur butin.

Il ny a lieu au monde, excepté l'Enfer, où il ne se

of [7] Soldiers, Sailors, and Passengers, and was steeped in the sea-water which came in through the port-holes, and ran along between the two decks, to serve as beds and blankets to those poor vanquished souls. At last the ship was brought to Plymouth in England.

Here our Frenchmen, meeting with some vessels and Captains from their own country, subject to the same misfortune, were seized with a fresh grief. Scarcely had their ship entered the harbor, when it was surrounded on all sides by boats and gondolas filled with merchants, who immediately came up on deck to purchase from the soldiers the fruits of the pillage and theft just committed by them. The Father saw his Breviary sold at Auction, the purchaser not [8] asking whether it was for the use of Rome or of some other Diocese. The piety of those worthy people consists in having money, and in obtaining it from things sacred, as well as from things profane. Our Frenchmen saw their little belongings put up at auction, and the greater part of the passengers lost in one day what they spent several years in gaining in New France. Some of them said that the loss of this ship might reach as high as three hundred thousand livres. I do not know whether that is true; but I do know very well that there was seen, in pitiful conjunction, much joy and great sadness,—some hanging their heads, and others raising theirs vaingloriously and rejoicing, *Sicut exultant victores captâ prædâ, quando dividunt spolia*—[9] “like victors when they divide their plunder and booty.”

There is no place in the universe, except Hell, where there are not found some good people, or some persons of a good disposition. Some Englishmen

treuve, des gens de bien, ou des personnes de bon naturel. Quelques Anglois, s'approchant du Pere, luy firent vne petite aumosne. Il faut confesser que c'est vne chose bien rude, & bien facheuse, de faire, comme on dit, naufrage au port. Ce pauvre Pere, & tous les passagers, & les matelots du mesme equipage, ayans souffert les fatigues de la mer, dans vn long voyage, n'estans pas loing de leur patrie, goustans par auance le repos, & la douceur, qu'ils attendoyent de la veuë, & de la communication de leurs parens & de leurs amis: se virent miserablement pris & enleués, par des [10] gens, qui ne portent pas le nom d'ennemis, mais qui en font toutes les actions. Dieu soit beny de tout, pour conclusion les Anglois ayans retenu quelques iours le Pere à Plymouth, le firent passer au Havre de Grace, à la sollicitation de quelques Capitaines François, dont les vaisseaux auoyent esté pris, & conduits dans ce mesme port. Voila comme nous auons receu les fragmens des memoires, qu'on nous enuoyoit.

approached the Father and bestowed on him a small gift of charity. It must be admitted, it is a very harsh and trying experience to suffer shipwreck in port, as the saying is. This poor Father and all the passengers and sailors of the same ship, after they had endured the fatigues of the sea during a long voyage, and when they were not far from their native land,—and tasting, in anticipation, the rest and delight which they expected from seeing and conversing with their relatives and friends,—saw themselves miserably captured and carried off by [10] those who did not bear the name, although they displayed all the conduct, of enemies. Let God be blessed for all things. To conclude, after the English had kept the Father for some days at Plymouth, they sent him over to Havre de Grace, at the solicitation of some French Captains whose vessels had been captured and brought into this same port. It is thus that we received the fragments of the memoirs that were sent to us.

CHAPITRE II.

DE CE QUI S'EST PASSÉ A MONTREAL.

LE fecours extraordinaire, qu'on a enuoyé en cette habitation, au dernier embarquement; [11] a donné de la ioye, non feulement aux François, qui y font leur demeure: mais encor à tout le païs. Quelques perfonnes de merite, & de vertu, qui ayment mieux estre connus de Dieu, que des hommes: ayans donné dequoy leuer vne bonne escouade d'ouuriers, semblables a ceux qui rebatiffoient Iadis le Temple de Ierufalem, manians la truelle d'vne main, & l'épée de l'autre: on a fait passer a Montreal, plus d'vne centaine de braues Artifans; tous fçauans dans les métiers qu'ils profeflent, & tous gens de cœur pour la guerre. Dieu beniffe au centuple, ceux qui ont commencé cet ourage, & leur donne la gloire d'vne fainte perfeuerance, pour la mettre à chef.

Les Peres de nostre Compagnie, [12] qui font en cette habitation, voyans que les Iroquois la muguettoient inceffamment, faifans des courfes dedans l'Ifle: drefsans à toute heure des embuscades: tenans nos François fi étroitement affiegés, qu'on n'ofoit tant foit peu s'ecarter, fans vn danger euident de perdre la vie; comme il arriua a vn pauvre miferable, qui pour n'auoir pas fuiuy les ordres, qu'on luy auoit donnés: tomba malheureufement dans les armes de ces chaffeurs d'hommes. Nos Peres dy-ie voyans

CHAPTER II.

OF WHAT OCCURRED AT MONTREAL.

THE extraordinary assistance that was sent to this settlement by the last shipment [11] gave joy not only to the French who live there, but also to the whole country. Certain persons of merit and virtue, who choose to be known of God rather than of men, having given the means to raise a suitable company of workmen,—like those who, in days of Yore, rebuilt the Temple of Jerusalem, wielding the trowel with one hand and the sword with the other,—there were sent over to Montreal more than a hundred worthy Artisans, all well versed in the trades that they professed, and all men of courage for war. May God bless a hundredfold those who began this work, and give them the glory of a holy perseverance in pushing it to completion.

The Fathers of our Society [12] who are at this settlement observed that the Iroquois were incessantly striving to obtain it, making sallies into the Island, continually laying ambuscades, and holding our French so closely besieged that no one ventured upon a ramble, to even the least distance, without manifest danger of losing his life,—as was shown by what happened to one poor wretch, who, because he did not obey the orders that were given him, unhappily fell into the hands of these hunters of men. Our Fathers, I say, seeing the imminence of these dangers, induced our French to have recourse

ces dangers si preffans, portèrent nos François à auoir recours à la fainte Vierge par quelque deuotion extraordinaire. On fit des ieufnes, des aumônes, on institua les oraifons de quarante heures, on offrit plusieurs communions en fon honneur, bref on [13] fit vn vœu folemnel de celebrer publiquement la feste de fa presentation, demandant à Dieu par l'entremise de cette Mere des bontés, ou qu'il arrêtaft la fureur de ces ennemis, ou qu'il les exterminast, s'il preuoyoit, qu'ils ne se vouluffent pas conuertir, ny rendre à la raifon; Chose étrange, & tres-remarquable, les Iroquois depuis ce temps-là, non feulemment n'ont eu aucun auantage deffus nous, mais ils ont perdu beaucoup de leur monde, dans leurs attaques, & Dieu à la parfin, les a si fortement touchés, qu'ils ont demandé la paix.

La protection de cette Reyne des hommes & des Angés parut dans vn certain rencontre, d'une façon toute particuliere. Vingt fix François, se trouuans renfermés au milieu de deux cent Iroquois, [14] deuoyent perdre la vie, fans le fecours de cette Princede. Ces Barbares, firent vne decharge fur eux, d'un lieu fort proche; Ils tirerent deux cent coups fans tuer ny bleffer pas vn des nostres. Ce n'est pas qu'ils ne manient tres-bien leurs armes; mais c'est que Dieu vouloit, en cét attaque, verifier le prouerbe, qui dit que ce que Dieu garde est bien gardé. Le Fils de Marie ne refuse rien à fa fainte Mere. Il écarta les bales des ennemis, & dirigea si bien celles des François, qu'ils renuerferent quantité des Affiegeans, & myrent en fuite ceux qui rechapperent de la mort, ou des bleffures notables. J'ay leu dans vne lettre, que les chemins par ou ils passerent en

to the blessed Virgin in a special devotional service. Fasts were observed, alms were given, forty hours of prayer were entered upon, and several communions were offered in her honor. In short, [13] a solemn vow was made to celebrate publicly the festival of her presentation,—with petitions to God, through the mediation of this Mother of goodness, either to stay the fury of these enemies, or to exterminate them, if he foresaw that they were unwilling to be converted or yield to reason. Strange and very remarkable Circumstance! From that time not only did the Iroquois not gain any advantage over us, but they even lost many of their own number in their attacks; and God's hand was finally so heavy upon them that they sued for peace.

The protection of this Queen of men and of Angels was, on a certain occasion, made evident in an altogether peculiar way. Twenty-six Frenchmen were surrounded by two hundred Iroquois [14] and, without the aid of that Princess, would have surely lost their lives. The Barbarians discharged their pieces at them from a position of close proximity; and two hundred shots were fired by them, without killing or wounding one of our men. It was not that they did not handle their weapons well. But it was God's will, in this attack, to verify the proverb which says that "what God guards is well guarded." Mary's Son refuses his holy Mother nothing. He turned aside the enemy's bullets, and directed those of the French so well that they caused many of their Assailants to fall, and put to flight those who escaped death or serious wounds. I have read in a letter that the routes taken by them in their flight were found all covered with their blood; and that, a

s'enfuyans, furent trouués, tous couuers de leur fang ; & qu'affés long-temps apres leur depart, [15] les chiens rapportoient des lambeaux de corps humains en l'habitation des François.

Il ne s'est passé aucun mois de l'année, difent les memoires qui font venus iufques a nous, que ces Chaffeurs ne nous ayent vifités a la foûrdine, tachans de nous furprendre ; mais enfin le vingt fixiefme de Iuin, il en parut foyxante, de ceux qui font nommés par les Hurons, Onnontaeronnons, demandans de loing vn fauf conduit pour quelques vns d'entre eux : crians qu'ils estoient enuoyés de la part de toute leur Nation, pour fçauoir fi les François auroient le cœur difposé à la paix.

C'est chose eſtrange, combien ces Infideles, ſe fient en nos paroles, quoy qu'ils n'ignorent pas, qu'ils nous ayent trahis, [16] quaſi autant de fois, qu'ils ont traité avec nous : & qu'ils meritent en fuitte, le reciproque. Nos François auoient bien deſſein de leur rendre le change faiſans main baſſe de ces deloyaux, & de ces perfides : mais quand ils les virent auancer fans armes, & fans deſſence, cette franchise amolit leur cœur, & leur fit croire, que Dieu auoit exaucé les prieres qu'ils luy auoient prefentées, par les mains de la ſaincte Vierge, a laquelle ils auoyent demandé du ſecours, contre vn ennemy ſi traifre & ſi puiffant.

Quand ils furent entrés dans le Fort de nos François, & qu'ils eurent expoſé les penſées, & les deſirs de leur Nation : on ne parla plus que de confiance, de paix, & de bien veillance, vous euſſiés dit que iamais on ne ſ'eſtoit fait la [17] guerre, & qu'on n'eſtoit pas en diſpoſition, de iamais la recommancer. Nos François neantmoins eſtoient toujours ſous leurs

considerable time after their departure, [15] the dogs kept bringing back fragments of human bodies to the French settlement.

“There has not passed,” say the memoirs which have reached us, “a single month of the year in which these Hunters have not visited us by stealth and tried to surprise us. But finally, on the twenty-sixth of June, there appeared sixty of them, belonging to those who are called by the Hurons, Onnon-taeronnons, requesting from afar a safe-conduct for some of their number, and calling out that they were sent on behalf of their whole Nation to learn whether the hearts of the French would be inclined to peace.”

It is strange how much confidence these Infidels have in our word, although they are well aware that they have betrayed us [16] almost as often as they have treated with us, and that consequently they themselves deserve like usage. Our Frenchmen were, indeed, planning to deceive them, and to put these treacherous and perfidious people to the sword; but, when they saw them advancing unarmed and defenseless, such frankness softened their hearts and made them believe that God had granted the prayers which they had offered him through the mediation of the blessed Virgin, whom they had petitioned for help against so faithless and powerful an enemy.

When they had entered the Fort of our French people and had declared the purposes and wishes of their Nation, you would have said,—since nothing was any longer talked about but confidence and peace and good will,—that they had never waged any [17] war, and that they were indisposed ever to begin it again. Our Frenchmen were, nevertheless, always under arms and all ready to fight, although

armes, & tous prests de combattre, quoy que ces bonnes gens fussent parmy eux, fans verge ny baston, se contentans de la feule parole qu'on leur auoit donnée, pour toute leur deffence.

On les traita avec amour, on receu leurs presens, & on leur en fit de reciproques, & apres vne reiouissance publique, de part & d'autre: ils s'en retournerent en leur pays, ravis de ioye, d'auoir trouué des esprits, & des cœurs amateurs de la paix. Je trouue dans quelques memoires, qu'ils donnerent parole, qu'on auroit bien-toft de leurs nouvelles, & on nous a mandé, que quelques [18] vns de cette Nation, sont descendus à Quebec avec des presens, comme il se verra au Chapitre cinquiesme, où il est parlé de la paix. Pour ceux dont nous parlons presentement, on nous dit, qu'en passant, à leur retour, par le Bourg d'Onneiout, ils deplierent deuant les Habitans de cette Bourgade, les presens qu'on leur auoit fait a Montreal, racomptans mille biens des François: ce sont, difoyent-ils, des Demons quand on les attaque: mais les plus doux, les plus courtois, & les plus affables, qui soyent au monde, quand on les traite d'amis: ils protesterent, qu'ils alloient tout de bon, contracter vne étroite alliance avec eux.

Les Onneichronnons voulurent estre de la partie. Ils deleguerent quelque temps apres vne [19] Ambassade à Montreal, avec vn grand colier de porcelaine; qui témoignoit, que toute leur Nation vouloit entrer dans le traité de paix, que les Onnontaeronnons auoient commancé avec les François. Et pour donner quelque marque, de la fidelité de leur parole, ils nous donnerent auis, que six cent Iroquois Anniehronnons, estoient partis de leur país, à dessein d'enleuer le

those simple people were in our midst without rod or staff, satisfied with the mere word that had been given them for their sole defense.

They were treated with kindness; their presents were received, and others given them in return; and, after a public rejoicing on both sides, they returned to their own country, overcome with joy at having found minds and hearts desirous of peace. I find in some memoirs that they gave their promise that news should soon be heard from them; and we have received word that some [18] from that Nation came down to Quebec with presents, as will be seen in the fifth Chapter, where the peace is described. As for those of whom we are speaking at present, we are told that, on their way back, they called at the Village of Onneiout and displayed, before the Inhabitants of that Village, the presents that had been given them at Montreal. They said a thousand things in favor of the French: "They are," said they, "Demons when they are attacked, but the gentlest, most courteous, and most affable people in the world, when they are treated as friends." They declared they were really going to contract a close alliance with them.

The Onneichronnons, wishing to be parties to it, some time afterward sent an [19] Embassy to Montreal, with a large porcelain collar, declaring that all their Nation wished to enter into the treaty of peace that the Onnontaeronnons had begun with the French. And, in order to give some proof of their sincerity, they informed us that six hundred Anniehronnon Iroquois had set out from their country with the purpose of capturing the Village built by the French at three rivers. This was found to be true.

Bourg des François, basty aux trois riuieres: ce qui s'est trouué veritable. Il faut confesser, que Dieu est vn grand ouurier, & qu'il fait en vn iour, pour les hommes, ce que les hommes n'oseroient quasi esperer en trente ans. Je dirois quasi volontiers, dans ce changement de l'esprit des Iroquois, ce que disoient deux Algonquins, il y a quelques années, leur canot [20] ayant esté brisé au milieu du grand fleue, ils se ietterent sur vne glace flottante, & voyans qu'ils s'alloyent perdre sans ressource, ils firent vne petite priere à Dieu, quoy qu'ils ne fussent pas encor Chrestiens: Ils ne l'auoyent pas quasi commandée, que cette glace, quittant le courant, qui l'emportoit, trauerfa droit aux riuies de ce grand fleue, où s'estant doucement arrestée, ils se ietterent incontinent en lieu de sauueté; & à mesme temps, cette glace qui leur auoit seruy de batteau, fut fracassée deuant leurs yeux par d'autres glaces. Eux surpris de ce miracle, ne dirent autre chose, pour action de grace, que ces paroles: En verité, il a eu bien-toft fait; nous n'auions pas encor acheué, le dernier mot de nos prieres, qu'il nous a deliurés [21] du naufrage. Difons le mesme a l'egard des Iroquois. Ils estoient remplis de rage & de fureur: on prie, on leufne, on à recours à la Sainte Vierge, & à son cher Epoux Saint Ioseph, tant à Quebec, quaux trois Riuieres & à Montreal, & ces Barbares font changés en vn moment. En verité Dieu à eu bien-toft fait, c'est vn grand ouurier, *Soli Deo honor & gloria*, c'est à luy seul, que ce grand changement doit estre attribué.

Quelque temps apres le changement, & le pourparler de ces deux Nations, vne troupe d'Iroquois Annie-

It must be confessed that God is a great workman, and that he does for man, in one day, what man himself would scarcely dare hope to accomplish in thirty years. In this change of disposition on the part of the Iroquois, I would be almost willing to use the words uttered by the Algonquins some years ago. Their canoe [20] being wrecked in the middle of the great river, they leaped upon a piece of floating ice; and, seeing that they were on the point of irremediable destruction, they offered a little prayer to God, although they were not yet Christians. They had scarcely begun it when the piece of ice, leaving the current that was bearing it away, crossed straight to the bank of the great river, where it gently came to rest, and the men forthwith sought a place of safety. At the same time, the block of ice which had served them as a boat was shattered before their eyes by other ice-blocks. Surprised at this miracle, they said in thanksgiving only these words: "Truly, it was soon done; we had not yet finished the last word of our prayers, when he delivered us [21] from shipwreck." Let us say the same in regard to the Iroquois. They were filled with rage and fury; we pray, we Fast, we have recourse to the Blessed Virgin and to her dear Spouse, Saint Joseph, at Quebec as well as at three Rivers and Montreal; and in a moment these Barbarians are changed. In truth, God did his work quickly; he is a master workman. *Soli Deo honor et gloria*; to him alone is this great change to be attributed.

Some time after the change, and after the parley of these two Nations, a band of Anniehronnon Iroquois invaded the Island of Montreal for the purpose of molesting the French in their usual manner. A

hronnons, s'estant iettée dans l'Isle de Montreal, pour molester les François à leur ordinaire, vne braue escouade de Hurons Chrestiens suruenant la deffus, decouurit leur piftes, & donna la chaffe à ces chaffeurs, si [22] viuement, le propre iour de l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge, qu'ils prièrent [*sc.* prirent] le Capitaine de ces Courreurs, & quatre des principaux de sa fuite, mettant le reste en deroute. Cette prise a bien seruy à la paix generale de tous ces peuples, comme nous verrons cy-apres.

gallant company of Christian Hurons, arriving unexpectedly, discovered their trail, and gave such hot chase after these hunters, [22] on the very day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, that they made prisoners the Captain of the Skirmishers and four of his principal followers, putting the rest to rout. That capture, as we shall see hereafter, contributed greatly to the general peace of all these tribes.

CHAPITRE III.

DE CE QUI S'EST PASSÉ AUX TROIS RUIERES.

IE fuiuray, quasi de mot à mot, ce qui est couché dans quelques lettres venuës de cette Bourgade.

Le Capitaine Aontarifati, dit l'une de ces lettres, que nos Sauvages prirent l'année passée, fut si fort regretté de tous les cantons des Iroquois d'enbas ses compatriotes, qu'aussi tost que la [23] nouvelle de sa mort leur en fut portée, il se fit vne ligue generale, & vne resolution, de tirer vne sanglante, & vne cruelle vengeance de cette mort. Le massacre de Monsieur du Pleffis nostre Gouverneur, & de quantité des principaux de nostre Bourg, n'affouit point leur rage: les tourmens horribles, qu'ils firent souffrir à tous leurs prisonniers, tant François que Sauvages, n'eteignirent point le feu de leur colere. Ils firent vn edit dans tous leur pays, qu'on ne donneroit plus la vie à aucun Huron pris en guerre: ce qu'ils executerent en fuite, sur quelques miserables qui tomberent entre leurs mains. Tout cela leur parut peu de chose: il falloit pour les consoler dans la perte d'un si grand homme en leur idée, enleuer la Bourgade des [24] trois Riuieres, & mettre à feu & à sang tous les François, & tous les Sauvages qu'ils y rencontreroient.

Pour l'execution de ce dessein, vne petite armée d'Anniehronnôs vint prendre son quartier d'Hyuer, à trois lieuës ou environ de nostre Bourgade, dans le fond des bois; croyant nous surprendre, lors que les

CHAPTER III.

OF WHAT OCCURRED AT THREE RIVERS.

I SHALL follow, almost word for word, the contents of some letters that have come from this Village. "Captain Aontarisati," says one of these letters, "whom our Savages captured last year, was so deeply lamented by all the cantons of the lower Iroquois, his fellow-countrymen, that, as soon as the [23] news of his death reached them, a general league was formed, and a resolution taken to exact a bloody and cruel vengeance for his loss. The murder of Monsieur du Plessis, our Governor, and of many of the chief men of our Village, did not glut their rage; the horrible torments that they made all their prisoners undergo, French as well as Savage, failed to extinguish the fire of their wrath. They issued an edict throughout their whole country that no one should thenceforth spare the life of any Huron taken in war; and this order they afterward executed upon some wretched victims who fell into their hands. But all this seemed a small matter to them; in their opinion, it was necessary, in order to console them for the loss of so great a man, to take the Village of [24] three Rivers and put to fire and sword all the French and all the Savages that they might find there.

"To carry out this purpose, a little army of Anniehronnons came and took up its Winter quarters at the distance of three leagues or thereabout from our

grandes neiges, & les grands froids, nous feroient plutoft penfer au repos, qu'à la guerre: mais Dieu qui ne vouloit pas, nous donner en proye à ces loups rauiffans, nous fit decouurir les piftes de leurs efions, qui s'estoient auancés iufques à vne lieuë proche de nostre Bourg. Cela nous mit dans la deffenfue. On fortifia nos Baftions, & nos Courtines, on redoubla les gardes, & les fentinelles: bref on se [25] tint fi bien à couuert, que ces Ennemis, dont nous ne fçauions pas le nombre, ne trouuans plus de chaffe, aux enuirons du fort qu'ils auoient dreflé, furent contrains de fecarter, & d'aller chercher des viures, en leur pays, mais ils n'y firent pas vn bien long fejour.

Si toft que la riuiera fut libre, on ne vit de tous costés, que de petites bandes de coureurs, qui tachoient de furprendre quelque chasseur, ou quelque Laboureur, & ietter ceux qui les voudroient fâouer, dans leurs embuscades. Nos Sauvages se voyans si referrés, & si fouuent harcelés, prirent courage, ayans mieux mourir en combattans, que d'estre surpris, comme il arriuoit par fois à quelque François, ou à quelques vns de leurs compatriotes. Ils se refolurent d'arrefter l'infolence [26] de ces Trafons, qui nous venoient brauer, quasi iufques à nos portes. Dieu leur a donné benediction; car quoy qu'ils fussent en petit nombre, ils ont fouuent pourfuiuy d'affés grosses troupes: les contraignans de quitter leurs armes, leurs batteaux & leur bagage, pour se fâouer dans les bois.

Le neuvième de May, vn petit canot Algonquin ayant apperceu vne embuscade, cachée à labry des Isles des trois Riuieres, s'enfuit à forces de rames, non

Village, in the depths of the woods,—thinking to surprise us when the heavy snows and intense cold should make us think of rest rather than of war. But God, who did not choose to make us a prey to those ravenous wolves, caused us to discover the traces of their spies, who had advanced to within a league from our Village. That put us on the defensive: we fortified our Bastions and Curtains, doubled our guards and sentinels, and, in short, [25] kept ourselves so carefully protected that the Enemy, whose numbers we did not know, finding no more game in the vicinity of the fort which they had constructed, were forced to disperse and go in search of provisions to their own country; but they did not remain there very long.

“ As soon as the river was free, we saw on all sides nothing but little bands of skirmishers trying to surprise some hunter or some Husbandman, and to draw into their ambuscades those who should wish to save these. Our Savages, seeing themselves so hemmed in and so often harassed, took courage, choosing rather to die fighting than to be surprised, as occasionally happened to some Frenchman or to some of their own fellow-countrymen. They resolved to put a stop to the insolence [26] of these Trastos [boasters], who came to defy us almost at our very doors. God gave them his blessing; for, although they were few in number, they often gave chase to some rather large bands, and compelled them to abandon their arms, their boats, and their baggage, in order to seek safety in the woods.

“ On the ninth of May, a little Algonquin canoe, catching sight of an ambuscade concealed under shelter of the Islands of the three Rivers, took flight

pour euitier le combat, mais pour mettre a terre en vn cap, où il y auoit des François retranchés, vne femme qui estoit dans leur petit batteau, si tost quelle fut en assurance, ils tournent visage vers les ennemis, qui les pourfuiuoient, ils n'estoient que trois [27] hommes dans cette petite gondole, & les Iroquois remplissoient trois de leurs grands canots. Quand ces Iroquois virent la resolutiõ de nos trois guerriers qui tachoient de les aborder, ils furēt si surpris, & si étõnés, qu'ils se mirēt en fuite: croyans que d'autres les pourroient pourfuiure puis qu'ils estoient decouuerts.

Le treisième du mesme mois, Monsieur de Laufon Gouverneur pour sa Maiefté dans tout le pays, venant visiter nostre Bourgade: il arriua, qu'a mesme temps qu'on tiroit le canon par honneur, pour le saluer, que quatre ou cinq Laboueurs, qui tenoient le manche de leurs charués, dans la campagne voyfine, furent inuestis par vne troupe d'Iroquois, qui en tuerent deux. Nos Sauvages les pourfuiurent, mais vn peu trop [28] tard: ils trouuerent seulement le bagage de ces voleurs, qu'ils auoient abandonné, pour courir plus legerement, & pour se mettre plustost hors des dangers d'estre attrapés.

Le vingt-huitième, ces Chasseurs ayans tué vn petit enfant François, quasi à la portée du fusil de nos habitations, le canonier, voiant qu'il ny auoit personne pour les pourfuiure, mit le feu à vne piece de canon, pour donner le signal: mais le canon creua, & rompit vne iambe à ce pauvre homme, qui mourut peu de iours apres de sa bleffure.

Le trentième, cette mesme bande surprit vn ieune Huron, que quelques Laboueurs auoient mis en

as fast as its paddles could urge it,—not to avoid an engagement, but to put ashore, on a cape where some Frenchmen were intrenched, a woman who was in their little boat. As soon as she was in safety, they faced about toward the enemy that pursued them, although they were only three [27] men in that little gondola, while the Iroquois filled three of their large canoes. When these Iroquois saw the determination of our three warriors, who were trying to board them, they were so surprised and astounded that they took flight, thinking that others might pursue them, now that they were discovered.

“On the thirteenth of the same month, Monsieur de Lauson, Governor for his Majesty of the whole country, came to visit our Village. At the same time that the cannon fired a salute in his honor, it happened that four or five Husbandmen, who were plowing in the neighboring field, were surrounded by a band of Iroquois, who killed two of them. Our Savages pursued them, but a little too [28] late,—finding only the baggage of these robbers, which they had abandoned in order to run more freely and put themselves the sooner out of danger of being caught.

“On the twenty-eighth, these Hunters having killed a little French child, almost within gunshot of our settlement, the cannoneer, seeing that there was no one to pursue them, discharged a piece of artillery, in order to give the signal; but the cannon burst, and broke one of this poor man's legs; he died from his wound, a few days later.

“On the thirtieth, this same band surprised a young Huron, whom some Husbandmen had posted as sentinel at the edge of the wood, while they

fentinelle, sur le bord du bois, pendant qu'ils travaillaient à la terre. Ils le menerent dans un [29] fond, environ à demi lieu de la Bourgade: où ils le firent affeoir, pour luy demander en quelle posture nous estions, & pour apprendre l'estat de nos affaires. Ce bon garçon fut adroit, il leur parla en sorte que ces brigands, ne croyans point qu'on les deût fuire s'arrestèrent un peu trop long-temps en ce lieu pour leur bien, car nos Hurons suruenans, non seulement leur firent lacher leur proye, mais ils en prirent encor quelques-vns deux prisonniers, qu'ils ramenerent au fort. Le ferois trop long, si ie voulois rapporter toutes les attaques, les poursuites, & les prises qui se sont faites de part & d'autre es environs de cette Bourgade, venons au siege qu'ils ont fait à leur mode.

Quoy que les Sauvages ne [30] plantent pas de sieges à la façon des Europeens, ils ne manquent pas neanmoins de conduite dedans leurs guerres: en voicy une preuve. Les Iroquois Anniehronnons, ayans dessein d'enleuer la Bourgade des trois Riuieres, plustost par surprise, que par force, ils enuoyerent premierement, autant que ie peux conjecturer, quelques petites troupes detachées de leur gros, à Montreal, & vers Quebec: afin d'occuper nos François, & leur oster l'enuie, aux vns de descendre aux trois Riuieres, & aux autres dy monter; & par ce moyen empescher le secours, qu'on auroit peu donner à la place qu'ils vouloyent prendre.

Cela fait, ils se vinrent cacher iusques au nombre de cinq cent, dans une anse fort voyfine du [31] Bourg des trois Riuieres: la pointe qui forme cette anse, les couuroit en sorte, qu'on ne les pouuoit appercevoir. La nuit venue, ils se diuiserent en trois bandes;

worked in the field. They led him to a [29] retired spot, about half a league from the Village, where they made him sit down, in order to question him on our situation and learn the state of our affairs. This good lad was adroit; and he talked with them in such wise that these brigands, not thinking they might be followed, tarried there a little too long for their own good; for our Hurons, coming upon them by surprise, not only made them release their prey, but also took some of them prisoners and carried these back to the fort. I would take too much time if I tried to relate all the attacks, pursuits, and captures that were made on both sides in the neighborhood of this Village. Let us come to the siege, which they carried on after their usual method.

“ Although the Savages do not [30] carry on sieges in the manner of the Europeans, yet they do not lack generalship in their wars, of which I will give an instance. The Anniehronnon Iroquois, purposing to capture the Village of three Rivers by surprise rather than by force, sent in the first place, as far as I can infer, some small bands, detached from their main body, to Montreal and toward Quebec. This was in order to engage the attention of our Frenchmen and make them indisposed to go down—or up, as the case might be—to three Rivers; and by this means to cut off the aid that it might have been possible to render the place which they wished to capture.

“ That done, they came and hid themselves, to the number of five hundred, in a cove that is very near the [31] Village of three Rivers; they were covered by the point forming that cove, so that they could not be perceived. At nightfall, they divided

ils enuoierent vn canot de dix hommes, dans de petites Isles qui font toutes voisines du fort, & du Bourg des trois Riuieres, & ils firēt passer onze canots, au dela du grand fleue vis à vis de ce fort. Le reste se cacha dans les bois derriere nostre Bourgade, voicy leur pensēe dans cette conduite.

Comme ils voyoient des bleds d'inde plantés dans ces petites Isles, ils creurent, que ceux à qui ces bleds appartenoient, viendroient du matin traouiller à leur champs, comme c'est la coustume, & que ces dix hommes, qui estoient en embuscade, prendroient [32] quelqu'un, qu'ils emmeneroient dans leur petit bateau, passant deuant le fort, afin de porter les François à les pourfuiure; & alors les onze canots, qui estoient cachés à l'autre riuē du fleue, viendroient au secours; & en fuite, ils s'imaginoient que les François s'eschauffans fortiroient de leur Bourg, & se viendroient ietter à la foule sur les bords de ce grand fleue, partie pour s'embarquer, & deffaire ces douze canots: partie pour voir ce combat: & pendant que les vns & les autres, feroient occupés à voir, & à combattre, le gros qui estoit caché derrier la Bourgade, la deuoit facilement surprandre, estant depourueuē de la plus part de ses Habitans. Mais la chose ne reuffit pas comme ils pretendoient: car nos Sauvages, à qui ces bleds [33] appartenoient ne s'eloignerent point de leurs cabanes ce iour là, qui estoit le vingtiēme d'Aoust, & ainsi personne ne branla: eux demeurans cachés, & nous dans l'ignorance, que nous eussions de si mauuais voisins.

Le lendemain quelques bestiaux s'estans egarés, les Habitans François prièrent des Sauvages de les aller chercher dans les bois, ou sur les riuēs du grand

into three bands, sent a canoe with ten men to some small Islands very near the fort and the Village of three Rivers, and caused eleven canoes to proceed to the farther side of the great river, opposite this fort. The rest concealed themselves in the woods behind our Village. In this disposition of their forces their purpose was as follows:

“ Seeing some indian corn planted on those little Islands, they thought that those to whom this corn belonged would come in the morning to work in their fields, according to their custom; and that the ten men in ambush would capture [32] one of these and carry him away in their little boat, passing in front of the fort, in order to incite the French to pursue them; and then the eleven canoes that were concealed on the other side of the river would come to the rescue. Thereupon, as they imagined, the French would get excited, come out of their Village, and rush in crowds to the banks of this great river, partly to embark and put to rout these twelve canoes, partly to see the engagement; and, while these were engaged,—some in fighting, and others in looking on,—the main body, concealed behind the Village, would easily surprise it, as it would be emptied of the greater part of its Inhabitants. But the thing did not succeed according to their intention; for our Savages, to whom that corn [33] belonged, did not go away from their cabins on that day, which was the twentieth of August; and so no one moved,—they remaining in hiding, and we being unaware that we had such bad neighbors.

“ On the following day, some cattle having gone astray, the French Inhabitants asked some Savages to go and look for them in the woods, or on the

fleuve: ceux qui se mirent en deuoir d'executer cette commiffion, retournerent bien-toft fur leurs pas, difans qu'ils auoient veu les piftes d'un grand nombre de perfonnes, & que l'ennemy n'estoit pas loing. A mefme temps quelques moissonneurs quittans leur ourage, coururent vers la Bourgade, affeurans qu'ils auoient veus de nouveaux [34] vifages, des gens veltus d'une façon extraordinaire, qui se tenoient à couuert dans les bois. On enuoya des espions qui n'ayans rien rencontré, on fit passer ces auis pour des craintes mal fondées, ou pour des terreurs paniques.

Le vingt-deuxiesme du mefme mois, on retourna au trauail des moissons, & pour affurer les moissonneurs, on pofa quelques sentinelles à l'orée des bois. Les Iroquois impatiens, coururent fur l'une de ces sentinelles pour fçauoir l'estat de nostre habitation. Cét homme gagne au pied, mais ils l'attraperent, & luy donnerent deux ou trois coups de maffe, ou de hache fur la teste, qui l'offencerent beaucoup, mais ces coups ne furent pas mortels. On ne douta plus pour lors, que les ennemis [35] ne fussent en campagne, ou plutoft dans les forets.

Le vingt-troisiéme ils parurent fur l'eau, auffi bien que fur la terre. Le canot qui s'estoit caché dedans les Isles, dont i'ay fait mention, voyant que perfonne ne paroiffoit, quitte son poste pour trauerfer la riuere, & pour s'aller ioindre à ces onze batteaux que l'ennemy auoit mis en embuscade fur l'autre riué. On luy donna la chaffe, non tant pour le combattre, que pour découurir par son moyen, si les ennemis estoient en grand nombre. Mais comme on ne le pût attraper, le Capitaine du fort enuoya vne chaloupe armée de bons hommes au haut du fleuve.

banks of the great river. Those who took it upon themselves to execute this commission, retraced their steps in a short time, saying they had seen traces of a great many people, and that the enemy was not far away. At the same time, some harvesters, leaving their work, came running toward the Village, declaring that they had seen new [34] faces,—those of people dressed in an unusual manner, who were keeping themselves hidden in the woods. Spies were sent out; but, as they discovered nothing, this information was ascribed to ill-founded fears or panic.

“On the twenty-second of the same month, the men returned to the work of harvesting; and, in order to give security to the harvesters, some sentinels were placed on the edge of the woods. The Iroquois, growing impatient, rushed out upon one of these sentinels, for the purpose of learning the condition of our settlement. This man took to his heels; but they overtook him, and gave him two or three blows on the head with clubs or hatchets, hurting him severely, although these blows were not mortal. There was then no longer any doubt that the enemy [35] were in the field, or, rather, in the forests.

“On the twenty-third, they appeared on the water as well as on the land. The canoe that had hidden among the Islands, as already mentioned, seeing that no one appeared, left its post to cross the river and go to join those eleven boats which the enemy had placed in ambush on the other bank. We gave chase after it, not so much to fight with it as to find out, by its means, whether the enemy were many in number. But, as we could not overtake it, the Captain of the fort sent an armed shallop, well manned, up the river.”

Ecoutons-le parler, i'ay tiré ce qui fuit de la copie de l'vne de ses lettres. A peine nos gens étoient-ils [36] éloignés d'vn quart de lieuë du fort, qu'ils apperceurent vn grand nombre de canots, echoüés dans vne ance: ils déchargent deffus leurs armes à feu, & auffi-toft reprennent leur route vers le fort. Le Tambour, à qui i'auois commandé de donner quelques coups de baguettes fur fa caiffe, en cas que la chaloupe eut découuert l'ennemy, me rapella dans le fort; comme i'en approchois, ie vy vn grand nombre d'Iroquois, courans à bride abbatuë, comme on dit, a trauers les champs, faifant mine de venir attaquer la Bourgade. Ie crie aux armes: ie fay fermer les portes, & rouler deux pieces de canon, que i'auois difposé pour ce fujet. Ces Barbares au bruit de ce tonnerre, se iettent fur des bestiaux qui passoient proche du Bourg, ils les [37] pouffent dans le bois, & les ayans massacrés, ils courent fur les riuës du grand fleuve, déchargeans leurs fusils fur nostre chaloupe, qui se vit affaillie de tous costés: car les onze ou douze canots, dont nous auons parlé, vinrent fondre fur elle, la voulant contraindre de s'approcher de la terre pour estre battuë, & par eau & par terre. On fit feu de tous costés: l'air fut bientôt remply de flammes & de fumée. Ie fit tirer plus de vingt coups de canon en vn quart d'heure, qui n'eurent autre effet, pour ce que nos boulets n'estoient pas de calibre, que de faire retirer l'ennemy, & donner passage à nostre chaloupe, qui se defendit vaillamment, & avec vn bon-heur: car nos gens tirerent & blefferent quelques Iroquois, & pas vn deux ne receut aucun dommage.

[38] Ces demis Demons voyans qu'ils auoient esté

Let us hear him speak; I have taken what follows from the copy of one of his letters.⁴ “ Scarcely had our people [36] proceeded a quarter of a league from the fort, when they perceived a large number of canoes that had stranded in a cove; they discharged their firearms at these, and immediately resumed their course toward the fort. The Drummer, whom I had ordered to give some drum-beats in case the shallop should discover the enemy, called me back into the fort; as I approached it, I saw a great number of Iroquois running with loose rein, as the saying is, across the fields, and acting as if they were coming to attack the Village. I called to arms, had the gates closed and two pieces of ordnance discharged, which I had arranged for this purpose. Those Barbarians, at the noise of this thunder, rushed upon the cattle that were passing near the Village, [37] drove them into the woods, and, after butchering them, ran to the banks of the great river, discharging their muskets at our shallop. The latter found itself assailed on all sides; for the eleven or twelve canoes that we have mentioned, came and pounced upon it, trying to force it to approach the shore, that it might be beaten both by land and by water. Fire was opened on all sides, and soon the air was full of flames and smoke. In a quarter of an hour, I had more than twenty cannon shots fired,— which, because our balls were not of the right caliber, produced no farther effect than to make the enemy retire and give passage to our shallop. This defended itself valiantly and with success; for our people used their firearms and wounded a number of Iroquois, while not one of them received any injury.

[38] “ These half-Demons, seeing that they had

maltraités, allèrent décharger leur colere sur nos bleds d'Indes, & sur nos bleds François. Ils coupoyent tout ce qu'ils pouvoient rencontrer, bruslans les charruës, & les charettes laissées en la campagne, pour mettre le feu dans les tas de pois, & de bled qu'ils ramassoient: ils mirent le feu en quelques maisons écartées, tuerent les bestiaux des Peres, qu'on n'auoit peu retirer affés tost: en vn mot, on eut dit qu'ils estoient enragez, tant ils faisoient paroistre de fureur.

Ie fi rouler vn canon, sur vn platon, & ie le fi tirer deffus eux; les Sauvages s'auancerent, faisant quelques escarmouches, & dans ces petits combats vn de nos Algonquins receut vn coup de fusil [39] au genoüil, & nous bleffasmes, & tuasmes quelques Iroquois.

Enfin ces Barbares se retirerent faisant mine d'auoir assoupy leur rage, & leur vengeance: mais à dessein de s'approcher la nuit de la Bourgade pour y mettre le feu, n'estant enuironnée en plusieurs endroits que de gros arbres. Nous fumes sous les armes tant que la nuit dura, ie redoublay les sentinelles: le Trompette, & le Tambour ioierent quasi toûjours au fort. On n'entendoit par tout que ces paroles, qui va là: la Redoute tira plusieurs coups d'arquebuse, si bien que l'ennemy qui faisoit ses approches, épouuanté par ces bruits, desespera de nous pouoir ny prendre, ny surprendre.

Pendant cette nuit, arriua vn canot Algonquin qui venoit de la chasse, & qui fut bien estonné de [40] le voir sain & sauue au milieu de tant de dangers. Il arriua aussi vn canot François, qui nous dit que le Pere Poncet auoit esté pris au Cap rouge, és enuiron

been hardly used, proceeded to vent their wrath on our Indian corn and French wheat. They cut down all that they could find, burning the plows and carts left in the field, in order to set fire to the heaps of peas and grain that they gathered together. They set fire to some scattered houses and killed the Fathers' cattle, which we had been unable to place in safety soon enough. In a word, one would have said they were madmen, so great fury did they manifest.

"I had a cannon rolled out upon a level place,⁵ and fired at them. The Savages advanced, engaging in several skirmishes; and in these little actions one of our Algonquins received a musket-ball [39] in the knee, and we wounded and killed several Iroquois.

"At length, these Barbarians retired, feigning to have glutted their rage and vengeance, but planning to approach the Village at night and set fire to it, as it is surrounded in several places only by large trees. We were under arms all night long; I doubled the sentinels, and the Trumpeter and Drummer played almost constantly at the fort. Everywhere was to be heard only the cry, 'Who goes there?' The Redout fired several arquebus volleys; and, as a result of all this, the enemy, after making their approach, were frightened by these noises, and despaired of being able either to capture or to surprise us.

"During that night there arrived a canoe of Algonquins, who were returning from the chase; they were much astonished to [40] find themselves safe and sound in the midst of so many dangers. There also arrived a canoe of Frenchmen, who told us that Father Poncelet had been made prisoner at Cap rouge, in the neighborhood of Quebec; and that a squad of Frenchmen and Christian Savages, full of determina-

de Quebec; & qu'une escoüade de quelques François & quelques Sauvages Chrestiens bien resolus, pourfuiuoient ceux qui l'auoient enleué: mais le rencontre des Iroquois, qui nous tenoient comme assiegés, leur fit changer de deffein. Dieu nous enuoioit ce renfort, qui releuant nostre courage, affoiblit autant le cœur de nos Ennemis.

Le lendemain vingt-quatrième d'Aouft, ils se répandirent vne autre fois dans nos petites campagnes, recommançans leurs degats, nostre canon les empescha bien de s'approcher de trop prés, mais il n'arresta point nos Hurons, [41] qui ayans vne passion de sçauoir des nouvelles de leurs parens, & de leurs amis, pris autrefois en guerre, & deuenus Iroquois, s'approcherent doucement des Ennemis pour leur parler. S'estans reconnus les vns les autres, la confiance se gliffa petit à petit de part & d'autre, si bien qu'en peu de temps, ce ne furent plus que conferences, & qu'entretiens d'Iroquois avec les Hurons: cela continua quelques iours en forte qu'on eut dit, que iamais on ne s'estoit battu. Nous faisons bonne garde de nostre costé, chacun demeurant en son poste, & sous les armes. Quelques Hurons du party Ennemy, se vinrent rendre à nous. Comme on vid ces grands pourparlers, & qu'on ne doutoit point que les Ennemis ne cherchassent l'occasion [42] de nous surprendre, il fut proposé en la maison de Ville, si on les tromperoit eux mesmes: mais il ne fut pas iugé à propos, pour plusieurs raisons.

Enfin on en vint iusques là, que les Ennemis s'approchoient de nous sans armes, ils nous firent mesme des presens à diuerfes fois, protestans qu'ils n'auoient plus d'amertume, ny de venin dedans le cœur. Vn

tion, were in pursuit of his captors, but, meeting with the Iroquois,—who were holding us, as it were, besieged,—they were led to change their plan. God sent us this reinforcement, which raised our courage and depressed proportionately the spirits of our Enemies.

“ On the next day, the twenty-fourth of August, they once more dispersed throughout our little fields and renewed their ravages. Our cannon prevented them from coming too near, but did not deter our Hurons, [41] who,—being eager to learn news of their relatives and friends who had formerly been taken in war, and had become Iroquois,—quietly approached the Enemy, in order to speak to them. When they had recognized one another, confidence spread little by little, on one side and the other, to such an extent that in a short time there was nothing to be seen but conferences and interviews between Iroquois and Hurons; and this continued for several days, so that one would have said there had never been any war between them. We kept careful guard on our side, each man remaining at his post, and under arms. Some Hurons of the Enemy's side came and gave themselves up to us. When these earnest parleys were noticed, and it was not doubted that the Enemy were seeking an opportunity [42] to surprise us, the question whether we should not practice deception upon them themselves was proposed in the Town house; but, for several reasons, this was deemed inadvisable.

“ At last, matters reached the point that the Enemy approached us without arms, and even made us presents on several occasions,—protesting that they had no more bitterness or venom in their hearts. A

Huron Iroquisé s'estant gliffé parmy nos gens, emmena au camp Ennemy vne sienne fille, qu'il rencontra parmy nous, & luy & les Iroquois apprirent beaucoup de chofes de fa bouche, bonnes & mauuaifes. Elle leur dit, qu'il nous estoit venu quelque fecours, qu'une compagnie de Hurons auoit pris des Iroquois à Montreal, & qu'on attendoit de iour à autre, les victorieux, [43] & les vaincus. Cela fut caufe de leur retardement: car dans les prefens que nous nous estions faits les vns aux autres, ils nous auoient donné parole, qu'ils s'en retourneroient bien-toft en leur pays, mais ils voulurent attendre le retour de ces Hurons, qui amenoient de leurs gens prifonniers. Dans cette treve ou attente, ils parlerent de rendre prifonniers pour prifonniers, ils promirent de ramener le Pere Poncet, & le François qui auoit esté pris avec luy.

Le trentiefme du mois d'Aouft, les Hurons retournans de Montreal, avec leurs prifonniers Iroquois Anniehronnons, tomberent non pas tous, mais en partie entre les mains des Ennemis qui les attendoient. Nous dirons au Chapitre de la paix comme tout [44] se passa entre les Iroquois pris par les Hurons: il y auoit vn Capitaine de confideration, il parla fortement à fes compatriotes, qu'il trouua defia tous difpofés à la paix, pouffés par vn esprit plus fecret, que celui qui anime les hommes.

Ils enuoyerent promptement deux canots en leur pays, pour empescher qu'on ne fit aucun mal au Pere, & à fon compaignon, si on les trouuoit encor en vie: & apres auoir renuoyé les Hurons en nostre fort, les principaux d'entre eux nous venoient visiter, entrans & couchans en nostre Bourgade avec autant de témoi-

Huron who had turned Iroquois, stealthily slipping in among our people, carried off to the Enemy's camp a daughter of his, whom he found with us; and he and the Iroquois learned from her mouth many things, good and bad. She told them that assistance had come to us; that a company of Hurons had captured some Iroquois at Montreal, and that victors [43] and vanquished were daily expected. That was the reason of their delay; for in our interchange of presents, one side with the other, they had given us their word to go back soon to their own country, but said they wished to await the return of these Hurons, who were bringing some of their people prisoners. In this truce, or period of waiting, they spoke of returning prisoner for prisoner, and promised to bring back Father Poncet and the Frenchman who had been captured with him."

On the thirtieth of the month of August, the Hurons, returning from Montreal with their Anniehronnon Iroquois prisoners, fell—not all, but a part of them—into the hands of the Enemy, who were waiting for them. We shall relate in the Chapter on the peace how it all [44] came to pass among the Iroquois captured by the Hurons. Among these was a Captain of influence, who spoke in energetic terms to his compatriots, whom he found already universally in favor of peace, impelled by a more secret influence than that which actuates men.

They straightway despatched two canoes to their own country, to prevent any harm being done to the Father and his companion, if they should be found to be still alive; and, after sending back the Hurons to our fort, the chief men among them came to visit us, entering our Village and sleeping there with as

gnage d'affurance, que s'ils euffent esté nos plus fideles, & plus constans amis. Bref ils nous ont laiffé quatre ou cinq de leurs gens en ostage, protestans qu'ils rameneroient [45] le Pere dans peu de iours, & qu'ils viendroient traiter la paix avec nous, mais vne paix veritable & du fond du cœur: voilà vn abregé de deux lettres venuës des Trois Riuieres, où ces choses fuddites se font passées, ce qui fuit est tiré d'une troisiéme qui a esté efcrite par vn Pere de nostre Compagnie.

Nous attendons de iour à autre le resultat d'un Conseil, ou d'une assemblée generale, que tiennent nos Ennemis en leur pays, sur la proposition de la paix qu'ils nous ont faite eux-mêmes, apres mille actes d'hostilité, & mille efforts de prendre nostre Bourgade des Trois Riuieres. Ils ont esté fideles dans la treve de quarante iours, qu'ils nous auoient accordées: car ils n'ont point paru du tout pendant ce temps-là, & [46] nous auons marché sur terre, & vogué sur les eaux, sans aucun mauuais rencontre. J'adjousteray pour conclusion de ce Chapitre, que les Onnontaeronnons descendans à Quebec pour traiter de la paix, les Anniehronnons, dont nous venons de parler, deleguerent quelques-uns d'entr'eux pour entrer dans ce même traité, comme il fera remarqué dans le Chapitre de la paix.

much exhibition of confidence as if they had been our most faithful and constant friends. In short, they left us four or five of their people as hostages, solemnly promising that they would bring back [45] the Father in a few days, and that they would come and treat of peace with us—a peace, too, which should be genuine and sincere. The foregoing is an abridgment of two letters that came from Three Rivers, where the above events occurred; what follows is drawn from a third which was written by a Father of our Society.

“ We are daily awaiting the result of a Council or general assembly, that our Enemies are holding in their own country, on the proposal of peace which they themselves made to us after a thousand acts of hostility, and a thousand attempts to take our Village of Three Rivers. They were faithful in the truce of forty days which they granted us; for during that time nothing at all was seen of them, and [46] we went our way, on both land and water, without any hostile encounter.” I will add, in concluding this Chapter, that, when the Onnontaeronnons were on their way down to Quebec to treat of peace, the Anniehronnons, of whom we have just spoken, delegated some of their own number to enter into this same treaty, as will be related in the Chapter on the peace.

CHAPITRE IV.

DE LA PRISE & DE LA DELIURANCE DU PERE IOSEPH PONCET.

LES Iroquois ayans massacrez au mois de Iuin quelques François au Cap rouge, lieu éloigné de trois lieuës ou enuiron du fort de Quebec, surprirent au [47] mesme endroit le vingtiesme du mois d'Aouët dernier passé le P. Ioseph Poncet, & vn François nommé Maturin Franchetot. Ce bon Pere, voyant qu'une pauvre vefue Françoisse auoit du grain sur la terre, & qu'elle manquoit de bras pour le ramasser, s'en alloit en ce quartier là, chercher quelques bonnes personnes, qui la voulussent aider à faire sa petite recolte. Il venoit de parler au François que ie viës de nommer, quelques Iroquois fortans de la forest voisine, où ils estoient cachez en embuscade, se jetterent sur eux separément, & à l'improuiste, & les entraînerent. On a commandé au Pere à son retour, de coucher sur le papier sa prise, & toutes ses auantures, il a obey avec repugnance, fouhaittant que ses Croix ne fussent conuës [48] que du Roy des crucifiés; mais vne partie de ses memoires a esté dechirée par les Anglois. Nous fuiurons dans ce Chapitre ce qui est venu entre nos mains, apres auoir rapporté deux ou trois petits mots d'une lettre escrite sur ce fujet.

Si tost que la nouvelle fut apportée à Quebec, que les Iroquois auoient enleué le P. Poncet, comme il estoit aimé de tout le monde, non seulement on en

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE CAPTURE AND DELIVERANCE OF FATHER JOSEPH
PONCET.

THE Iroquois, having butchered some Frenchmen in the month of June, at Cap rouge,—a place distant three leagues, or thereabout, from the fort of Quebec,—surprised in the [47] same place, on the twentieth of the month of last August, Father Joseph Poncet and a Frenchman named Maturin Franchetot. This good Father, seeing that a poor French widow had some grain in the field, and lacked help to gather it in, went off in that direction to hunt up some good people who would be willing to aid in garnering her little harvest. He had just spoken to the Frenchman mentioned above, when some Iroquois, issuing from the neighboring forest, where they had been hidden in ambush, rushed upon them separately and unexpectedly, and dragged them away. The Father was bidden, upon his return, to commit to paper his capture and all his adventures; he obeyed with reluctance, desiring that his Crosses be known [48] only to the King of the crucified; but a part of his account was torn up by the English. After citing two or three short passages from a letter written on this subject, we shall follow, in this Chapter, what has come into our hands.

“As soon as the news was brought to Quebec that the Iroquois had carried off Father Poncet, not only was general sadness felt on his account, as he was

conceut vne tristesse generale: mais trente ou quarante François, & quelques Sauvages Chrestiens, prirent vne forte resolution de le retirer des mains de ces Barbares, quoy qu'il leur en coustast. Ils monterent en canot le lendemain de sa prise, à dessein de preuenir l'Ennemy, l'allant attendre en quelque endroit où il deuoit [49] passer, pour le surprendre au passage. On fait icy tant de prieres, en public & en particulier, depuis leur depart, que ie ne puis penser autre chose, ou que Dieu nous le rendra, ou que par son moyen, il donnera la paix au dedans, & au dehors de ce pauvre país. Et plus bas dás la mesme lettre, le P. Poncet fut pris le vingtième d'Aouft sur le soir, le vingt-vnième, nos coureurs le suiurent sur la nuit, & voila, que le vingt-sixième, l'un des canots qui estoient allés donner la chasse aux voleurs, qui l'emmenent, nous rapporte nouvelle, que ces coureurs se sont arrestés aux Trois Riuieres, pour secourir la Bourgade, infestée par cinq cens Iroquois, qui la tiennent bouclée, rodans aux enuirs de tous costés. Ceux qui sont retournez dans ce canot, nous [50] disent qu'ils ont trouué proche l'Isle de saint Eloy, deux visages crayonnez avec du charbon, sur un arbre, dont on auoit enleué l'écorce, & les noms du Pere Poncet, & de Mathurin Franchetot, écrits au dessous de ces deux visages. De plus, qu'ils ont remontré [*sc.* rencontré] au mesme endroit, un liure dans lequel estoit escrit le sens de ces paroles: Six Hurons Iroquizez, & quatre Anniehronnon, emmenent le P. Poncet, & Mathurin Franchetot, ils ne nous ont encore fait aucun mal. C'est leur coustume de traiter doucement leurs prisonniers, tant qu'ils sont encor dans la crainte d'estre attrappez. Voila

beloved by all; but thirty or forty Frenchmen, and some Christian Savages, firmly resolved to rescue him from the hands of those Barbarians, whatever it might cost them to do so. They launched their canoes on the day following his capture, purposing to forestall the Enemy by going to wait for them in some spot which they must [49] pass, in order to surprise them as they went by. So many prayers have been offered here, in public and in private, since their departure, that I can but think either that God will restore him to us, or that by his means he will give peace to this poor country, both within and without its borders." And, farther down in the same letter: "Father Poncet was captured on the twentieth of August, toward evening; on the twenty-first, toward night, our scouts followed him; and on the twenty-sixth, one of the canoes that had gone in pursuit of the robbers who were carrying him off brought back news to us that those scouts had stopped at Three Rivers to give help to the Village, as it was harassed by five hundred Iroquois,—who were holding it closely beset, and were prowling about the neighborhood in all directions. Those who returned in this canoe [50] told us that they found, near the Island of saint Eloy, two faces drawn with charcoal on a tree from which the bark had been removed, and the names of Father Poncet and Mathurin Franchetot written beneath these. Furthermore, they said they had found in the same place a book in which was written, in substance, these words: 'Six Hurons, turned Iroquois, and four Anniehronnons are carrying off Father Poncet and Mathurin Franchetot. They have not yet done us any injury. It is their custom to treat their prisoners gently as long as they

ce qui m'a esté recrit sur la prise de ce bon Pere. Venons maintenant aux lambeaux de ses memoires, dont ie feray vn petit abbrege.

[51] Nous arriuafmes, dit-il, à vne Riuierie fort rapide, où l'armée qui estoit allée aux Trois Riuieres auoit campé. Le Barbare qui m'auoit pris au Cap rouge, m'osta le Reliquaire que ie portois au col, & le pendit au sien: comme il couroit, certain iour dās les bois, ce Reliquaire s'ouurit, & toutes les Reliques furent perduës, il ne resta dans la petite boëte de cuire, qui composoit ce Reliquaire, qu'vn petit papier, sur lequel i'auois escry de mon propre sang, comme i'estois encore au pais des Hurons, les noms de nos Peres martyrisés en l'Amerique, & vne petite Oraison, par laquelle ie demandois à Nostre Seigneur, vne mort violente pour son seruice, & la grace d'y répandre tout mon sang. De sorte, qu'ayant adroitement retiré ce papier, [52] d'entre les mains de ce Barbare, ie voyois sans cesse deuant mes yeux, la sentence de ma mort, écrite de mon propre sang, si bien que ie ne m'en pouuois dedire. I'auois neantmoins vne pensée, que ces grandes ames, & ces braues courages, qui m'auoient precedez en ce combat, auoient esté effectiuement immolez, comme ayans des vertus veritables, & que moy qui n'en auois que les ombres, & la figure, ne ferois crucifié qu'en peinture.

I'auois encor dans mon Breuiere, vne Image de S. Ignace, avec Nostre Seigneur portant sa Croix, mystere propre de nostre Compagnie, auquel ayant toujours esté fort affectionné, il luy a pleu de m'y donner quelque part, dans les fatigues extraordinaires que i'eus dans ce chemin, [53] l'Image de Nostre

are still in fear of being overtaken.' " That is what was written to me concerning this good Father's capture. Let us now come to the tattered remnants of his own account, of which I shall make a brief abridgment.

[51] "We arrived," says he, "at a very rapid River, where the army that had gone to Three Rivers had camped. The Barbarian who had captured me at Cap rouge took away from me the Reliquary which I was wearing on my neck, and hung it to his own. One day, when he was running in the woods, this Reliquary flew open and all the Relics were lost,—there remaining in the little copper box composing the Reliquary only a small piece of paper on which I had written in my own blood, when I was still in the country of the Hurons, the names of our Fathers martyred in America, and a short Prayer in which I asked Our Lord for a violent death in his service, and the grace to shed all my blood for the same cause. It so happened that, when I had adroitly removed this paper [52] from that Barbarian's grasp, I saw constantly before my eyes the sentence of my death written in my own blood, so that I could not revoke it. Nevertheless, I had a feeling that those great souls and stout hearts who had preceded me in this conflict had been actually immolated, as having genuine virtues; and that I, who had only the shadows and faint likenesses thereof, would be crucified only in appearance.

"I still had in my Breviary a Picture of St. Ignatius, with Our Lord bearing his Cross,—a mystery which well suited our Society; and in which, as I had always felt a strong affection for it, he was pleased to give me some share, in the extraordinary

Dame de Pitié, entourée des cinq playes de son Fils, m'estoit aussi restée; c'estoit ma plus grande recreation, & mon reconfort, dans mes detresses: mais la crainte que ces saints portraits ne fussent méprisez, me fit résoudre de m'en prier, & de les cacher dans un buisson.

Je garday une petite Couronne de Notre Seigneur, qui me resta seule de tout ce que je portois sur moy, quand je fus pris. Je la cachay si bien qu'elle ne fut jamais aperçue de ces Barbares.

Pour revenir à notre voyage. Quand il fut question de passer le Torrent, dont j'ay parlé: on me commanda de le traverser à beau pied, j'étois desia tout mouillé, ayant passé la nuit, dans des herbiers tous trempés de la bruine, [54] & de la rosée de la nuit, qui fut fort froide. J'eus de l'eau jusques à la ceinture dans ce Torrent; tout cela, avec le manque de nourriture, me causa de grandes coliques, & des peines excessives. Je ne laissay pas néanmoins de faire toutes mes deuotions à l'ordinaire, me consolant doucement avec Notre Seigneur, de la main duquel je prenois cette Croix, & non pas de la main des hommes.

Il me prit dans ces travaux, un si grand engourdissement en la jambe gauche, & je recevois une si grande incommodité, d'une grosse ampoule qui me vint sous le même pied gauche, que mes hostes furent contraints de faire un gifte, auquel ils ne s'attendoient pas. Ils n'avoient plus qu'un morceau de chair bouillie, [55] qu'ils avoient gardée de leur dernier repas, croyans arriver en lieu, où ils trouveroient des viures: ils le mangerent, dans la même hôtellerie, où nous avions logé en tout notre voyage, sous

hardships that I underwent on this journey. [53] The Picture of Our Lady of Pity, surrounded by the five wounds of her Son, was also left me, and formed my greatest recreation, and my consolation in distress. But the fear that these hallowed portraits might meet with some indignity, made me decide to forego their possession and hide them in a bush.

“ I kept a little Crown of Our Lord, which was the only thing left me of all that I had on my person when I was captured. I concealed it so well that it was never perceived by those Barbarians.

“ To return to our journey: when it came to crossing the Stream of which I have spoken, I was ordered to wade through it. I was already soaking wet, having passed the night in the tall grass, which was all saturated with drizzling rain [54] and the dew of night, the nights being very cold. I was wet up to the waist in this Stream; and all that, with the want of nourishment, caused me a severe colic and excessive pains. I did not, however, cease to perform all my devotions as usual, taking comfort quietly with Our Lord, from whose hand, and not from the hand of men, I received this Cross.

“ Amid these labors, I was seized with so great numbness in the left leg, and was so severely inconvenienced by a large blister under this same left foot, that my hosts were compelled to halt for a time, a thing which they had not expected. They had only a morsel of boiled meat left, [55] which they had kept from their last meal, thinking to reach a place where they would find provisions. They ate it at the same inn where we had lodged throughout our journey,—under the vault of Heaven; and, as I felt extremely exhausted, I had recourse to my two

la voûte du Ciel; & comme ie me sentoie extrêmement épuisé, i'eus recours à mes deux Patrons, Saint Raphaël, & Sainte Marthe: leur disant doucement en mon cœur, que i'aurois bien besoin de quelque rafraichissement, dans la soif que i'endurois, & d'un peu de bouillon, dans mon épuisement. A peine auois-je formé ces sentimens en mon cœur, que l'un de nos cōducteurs, m'apporta quelques prunes sauvages, qu'il trouua, par grande auanture, dans les bois: car plus de six cens hômes auoient passé par cet endroit. Sur la nuit, ayant eu bien de la peine [56] d'auoir un peu d'eau nette, pource que nous estions dans un vilain marais, ie me couchay, & m'endormy, sans autre reconfort que de ma lassitude: mais ie fus bien estonné, que mon hoste m'eueilla, & me presenta un bouillon, sans sçauoir comment il l'auoit pu faire.

Le lendemain matin, il fallut partir sans desjeuner, & marcher avec une jambe, & un pied estropié, & un corps tout rompu: i'attribuë la force, que Dieu me donna, à mes chers Patrons, notamment à S. Ioseph, auquel i'auois un grand recours. Estans arriuez, à deux heures apres midy, proche de la riuere qui descend au quartier des Hollandois, au delà de laquelle est placé le premier Bourg des Iroquois, on nous commanda de nous dépouïller, [57] & de quitter ce qui nous restoit de nos habits François; n'ayant plus qu'un brayer, on ietta sur mon dos, une houppe-lande bleuë toute dechirée, & on laissa à mon compagnon, un vieux pourpoint de toile tout rompu. Quelques Sauvages de nostre bande, ayans pris le deuant, estoient retournés iusques à cette riuere avec leurs femmes, apportans des epics de bled d'Inde, &

Patrons, Saint Raphael and Saint Martha, saying to them softly in my heart that I greatly needed some refreshment in the thirst from which I was suffering, and a little broth in my exhaustion. Scarcely had these feelings arisen in my breast, when one of our conductors brought me some wild plums that he had found in the woods,—by great good luck, for more than six hundred men had passed that spot. Toward night, after experiencing much difficulty [56] in finding a little clean water, because we were in a nasty swamp, I lay down and went to sleep, with no other comfort than what I gained from my weakness; but when my host aroused me and offered me some broth, I was much surprised, not knowing how he could have made it.

“On the following morning I was compelled to set out without breakfasting, and walk with one leg and one foot crippled, and my whole body disabled. The strength that God gave me I attribute to my dear Patrons, especially to St. Joseph, to whom I had frequent recourse. At two o'clock in the afternoon, reaching a spot near the river which flows down to the territory of the Dutch, and across which is situated the principal Village of the Iroquois, we were ordered to strip ourselves, [57] and give up what was left us of our French garments. When I had nothing left on me but a breech-clout, a blue great-coat, all in rags, was thrown over my back; and to my companion was left an old linen doublet, badly tattered. Some Savages of our band, who had gone on ahead, had returned as far as this river with their wives, bringing some ears of Indian corn and some native squashes to our conductors; but they never offered us a single morsel. It was late; we were

des citrouilles du païs à nos conducteurs, iamais on ne nous en presenta vn feul morceau. Il estoit tard, nous estions à ieun, estrangement harassez du chemin, couuers de haillons fort fales, & pour rafraichissement on nous commanda de chanter, & de marcher en cét equipage. C'estoit le cōmencement du triomphe de nos victorieux, i'entonnay les Litanies de la sainte Vierge, [58] le *Veni Creator*, & autres Hymnes de l'Eglise.

Comme nous passions la riuere des Hollandois, ie confessay mon compaignon, qui se voulut disposer à la mort; ayant apperceu, enuiron quarante ou cinquante Iroquois, qui paroissoient nous attendre avec des bastons à la main. On nous dépoüilla tous nuds, à la referue de nos brayers, & on nous fit passer au trauers de ces Barbares, rangez en haye. Ils me donnerent quelques coups de houffines sur le dos: mais comme ie doublois le pas, l'vn de ces bourreaux m'arresta tout court, me prenant par le bras, qu'il estendit, pour me descharger vn coup d'vn gros & court baston, qu'il éleua en l'air: ie donnay mon bras à Nostre Seigneur, croyant qu'il m'alloit casser & [59] briser l'os, entre le coude & le poignet: mais le coup portant sur la iointure, i'en fus quitte pour vne meutriffure, qui s'est euanoüie avec le temps. Entrez que nous fumes dans la Bourgade, on me fit monter le premier, sur vn eschaffaut, planté au milieu de la place publique, éleué enuiron de cinq pieds; mon compaignon y vint bien-tost apres moy, portant les marques des bastonnades qu'il auoit receuës: on voyoit, entr'autres, les vestiges d'vne fascheuse, & douloureuse cinglade, au trauers de sa poitrine.

fasting, extremely fatigued by our journey, and covered with very dirty rags; but for refreshment were ordered to sing as we walked, thus attired. It was the beginning of our victors' triumph. I intoned the Litany of the blessed Virgin, [58] the *Veni Creator*, and other Hymns of the Church.

“ As we crossed the river of the Dutch, I confessed my companion, who wished to prepare himself for death, having caught sight of about forty or fifty Iroquois who appeared to be waiting for us with staves in their hands. We were stripped entirely naked, except our breech-clouts, and were made to pass through these Barbarians, who were drawn up in line. They gave me some blows on the back with their switches; but as I was quickening my steps, one of those executioners stopped me short, taking me by the arm and stretching it out, in order to give me a blow with a short, thick stick that he raised aloft. I gave my arm to Our Lord, thinking the man was about to break and [59] shatter the bone between the elbow and the wrist; but, the blow falling on the joint, I came off with a wound which disappeared in course of time. When we had entered the Village, I was made to take the lead in ascending a scaffold erected in the middle of the public place, and raised about five feet from the ground. My companion joined me there soon afterward, bearing the marks of the blows he had received; and, among others, were seen the traces of a troublesome and painful lashing across his breast.

“ I felt so firm and calm on this stage, and faced, with so serene an eye and mind, those who were looking at me, that I wondered at myself. Nevertheless, I felt some alarm at the sight of a certain

Le me fentois si fort, & si paisible sur ce theatre, & i'enuifageois ceux qui me regardoiēt, d'vn œil & d'vn esprit si serain, que ie m'estonnois de moy-mesme. Le fenty neantmoins quelque frayeur, à la veuë d'vn certain Borgne, qui [60] portoit vn couteau d'vne main, & vn morceau de leur pain de l'autre. Le me souuenois que le bon Pere Ifaac Iogues, auoit perdu l'vn de ses pouces sur vn semblable eschaffaut, & ne me sentant point pour lors, dās la disposition de luy donner mes doigts, ie m'adressay à son bon Ange, & cēt homme s'estant auancé, donna le pain, qu'il tenoit, à mon compagnon, & puis se retira sans fa[i]re aucun mal. Vne pluye suruenant, écarta les spectateurs, & on nous conduisit sous vn petit toit, à l'entrée d'vne cabane. Là on nous fit chanter, Dieu me mit dans vne telle soumission à ces Barbares, & ie m'abandonnay si fortement à toutes fortes de mépris, qu'il n'y auoit rien que ie ne fisse, pourueu qu'il me fut commandé, & qu'il ne fut pas [61] contre la Loy de Dieu. Je diray icy en passant, ce que i'ay remarqué dans vne lettre particuliere. Que le Pere, ne reüssissant pas dans toutes ces singeries, selon l'idée des Sauvages; qui, par consequent, estans moins satisfaits, l'auroient plustost condamné à mort; vn ieune Huron captif parmy ces peuples, se presenta pour chanter, pour danfer, & pour faire toutes les grimaces, en la place du Pere, qui n'auoit iamais appris ce mestier.

Sur le soir, poursuit le Pere, on nous conduisit dans la cabane de celui qui m'auoit pris; & là on me donna vn plat de leur sagamité, c'est de la bouillie faite avec de l'eau, & de la farine de bled d'Inde. Les vieillards s'estans assemblez, dans cette cabane,

One-eyed man who [60] carried a knife in one hand, and a piece of their bread⁶ in the other. I remembered that the good Father Isaac Jogues had lost one of his thumbs on a similar scaffold; and, not feeling then disposed to give the man my fingers, I appealed to his good Angel; and the man, approaching us, gave my companion the bread that he was holding, and then withdrew without doing any injury. A shower, coming up suddenly, dispersed the spectators, and we were conducted to the shelter of a little roof at the entrance to a cabin. There we were made to sing; and God put me in such a state of submission to those Barbarians, and I abandoned myself with such fortitude to all sorts of indignities, that there was nothing I would not have done, provided it were bidden me and were not [61] contrary to God's Law." I will say here, in passing, what I have noticed in a private letter,—namely, that, as the Father did not succeed in all these apish tricks in a manner satisfactory to the Savages,—who, in consequence, would have been inclined to condemn him to death,—a young Huron, a captive among these people, came forward to sing and dance, and execute all the grimaces, in the Father's place, the latter having never learned that trade.

"Toward evening," continues the Father, "we were conducted to the cabin of him who had captured me, and there I was given a dish of their sagamité, or porridge made of Indian corn and water. The old men having assembled in this cabin, a woman presented a brasse of Porcelain [62] to enforce her request that one of my fingers should be cut off. I felt no farther reluctance at giving up my hands, especially as—in the hope which I had entertained,

vne femme presenta vne brasse de Porcelaine, [62] pour me faire couper vn doigt. Je n'eus plus de repugnance de donner mes mains; veu mesmement, que dans les esperances que i'auois eues de la vie, pendant mon voyage, & dans les desirs de trauailler en fuitte à la paix; ie croyois tousiours qu'il estoit expedient, que i'en portasse les marques, & qu'il m'en coutast quelque doigt. Si bien que ie ne m'adressay plus aux Anges de ces Barbares, pour éuiter cette croix: mais bien à Saint Gabriel, pour obtenir la force de la souffrir gayement. Le Borgne qui s'estoit approché de nostre eschaffaut, pour faire ce qu'il n'executa pas pour lors, me prit la main droite, considerant mes doigts; & comme i'auois la pensée, que les doigts de cette main, m'estoient vn peu plus necessaires, [63] que ceux de la gauche: il la prit, quittant la droite, & appellant vn enfant âgé de quatre à cinq ans, il luy donne son couteau: me prit l'index, ou le second doigt de la main gauche, & le fit couper à cét enfant. I'offry mon sang, & mes souffrances, pour la paix: regardant ce petit sacrifice d'vn œil doux, d'vn visage ferain, & d'vn cœur ferme: chantant le *Vexilla*, & ie me fouuiens, que ie reïteray deux ou trois fois le couplet, ou la Strophe, *Impleta sunt quæ concinit, David fideli carmine, dicendo nationibus, regnauit à ligno Deus.*

L'Hymne acheué, & le doigt coupé, cét homme me mit au col, vne partie de la Porcelaine, que cette femme auoit donnée, & de l'autre il entoura mon doigt coupé, qu'il porta à celui qui m'auoit pris. Or comme le sang fortoit [64] de la playe en abondance, ce Borgne y voulut appliquer le feu de sa pippe à prendre du tabac, pour l'estancher: ce qui

during my journey, of saving my life, and in my desire to work afterward in the cause of peace—I always believed it expedient that I should bear the marks of my experience, and that it should cost me one of my fingers. As a result, I no longer appealed to the Angels of these Barbarians, in order to avoid that cross, but rather to Saint Gabriel, that I might gain strength to suffer it cheerfully. The One-eyed man, who had approached our scaffold with a purpose which he did not execute at the time, took my right hand and examined my fingers; and, just as I was thinking that the fingers of that hand were a little more necessary to me [63] than those of the left, he took the latter and dropped the right. Then calling a child, from four to five years of age, he gave him his knife, took the index or forefinger of my left hand, and made the child cut it off. I offered my blood and my sufferings in the cause of peace, regarding this little sacrifice with a mild eye, a serene countenance, and a stout heart; I sang the *Vexilla*, and I remember that I repeated two or three times the couplet, or Strophe,—*Impleta sunt quæ concinit David fideli carmine, dicendo nationibus, regnavit à ligno Deus.*

“ The Hymn completed and the finger cut off, that man hung around my neck a part of the Porcelain beads which the woman mentioned above had given; and with the rest he encircled my severed finger, and carried it to my captor. Now, as the blood flowed [64] from the wound in abundance, the One-eyed man wished to apply to it the fire of his tobacco-pipe, in order to stanch it—which would have caused me intense pain. But he was anticipated by others, who had a glowing coal applied to it by the same

m'auroit caufé vne grande douleur: mais il fut preuenu par d'autres, qui y firent appliquer vn charbon ardent, par le mefme enfant qui l'auoit coupé. Le fang ne laiffant pas de couler, on me l'enuelopa quelque temps apres, d'une feuille de bled d'Inde, & ce fut tout l'appareil qu'on y mit, iufques à ce qu'on m'eut donné la vie. J'abbregeray, adjoufte le Pere, ce qui fuit, puis qu'il me femble qu'on me l'arrache des mains.

Le lendemain on nous mena dans vne autre Bourgade, où fe deuoit tenir vne grande Affemblée des notables du païs. Vne femme m'ofta mes fouliers, [65] croyant, peut-eftre, qu'on nous alloit executer à mort. Je fis dōc ce voyage nuds pieds, & nud teste. Nous fufmes exposez trois iours & deux nuits, fçauoir est le Vendredy, le Samedy, & le Dimãche, qui estoit la veille de la Natiuité de la faincte Vierge, à la rifée, aux brocards, & aux infolences des enfans, & de tout le monde: nous participafmes à la promesse, qui fut faite au Fils de Dieu, deuant fa naiffance. *Saturabitur opprobrijs.* Il fera repeu d'opprobres: c'estoit nostre grand mets, depuis le matin iufques au foir, dedans la grande place publique, où nous estions exposez. Les vns me donnoient des coups de leurs calumets fur mon doigt coupé: d'autres y appliquoient des cendres brulantes: quelques vns m'y donnoient des chiquenodes: [66] d'autres y appliquoient le feu de leur tabac; & d'autres la pierre chaude de leurs petunoirs. En vn mot, chacun nous faifoit quelque mal, félon fa fantaisie. Voila ce que nous fouffrions au dehors; & au dedans, nous n'attendions, pour le dernier acte de cette tragedie, que des tourmens horribles, & épouuentables.

child who had done the cutting. As the blood did not cease flowing, they wrapped the wound for me, some time afterward, in a leaf of Indian corn; and that was all the dressing applied to it until my life had been granted me. I shall abridge what follows," adds the Father, "since it appears to me as if it were being snatched out of my hands.

"On the following day, we were conducted to another Village, where there was to be held a great Assembly of the notables of the country. A woman took away my shoes from me, [65] thinking perhaps that we were going to be put to death; accordingly I made that journey barefooted and bareheaded. For three days and two nights—namely, the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday immediately preceding the Nativity of the blessed Virgin—we were exposed to the ridicule, the taunts, and the insolence of the children and of every one. We shared in the promise that was made to the Son of God before his birth: *Saturabitur opprobriis*,—'He shall be filled with reproaches.' It was our principal dish, from morning until evening, in the great public place where we were exposed. Some gave me blows with their pipes on my cut finger, others applied to it burning ashes; some gave me fillips on it; [66] others applied thereto the fire from their tobacco, and others the hot stone of their pipes. In a word, every one did us some injury, according to his fancy. Behold what we suffered outwardly, while inwardly we were expecting, as the last act of this tragedy, only horrible and frightful torments.

"In the night from Friday to Saturday they burned in the fire of their pipes the two Index-fingers, both right and left, of poor Mathurin; my companion,—an

La nuit du Vendredy au Samedy, ils bruslerent dans le feu de leurs calumets, les deux Index de la main gauche, & de la main droite du pauvre Mathurin mon compaignon: ce qu'il endura avec vne patience admirable, chantant l'*Aue maris stella* dans ses souffrances. Nous fumes liéz fort rigoureusement, pendant ces deux nuits; on attachâ les liens de nos pieds, & de nos mains, si haut, & d'une façon si rude & si mauffade, [67] que nous estions à demy suspendus en l'air, ce qui nous cauoit vne douleur tres-grande, & si sensible, qu'un bon vieillard voyant bien qu'elle estoit insupportable, lâcha nos liens, & nous foulagea vn petit.

Les Anciens commanderent à la ieunesse, de se contenter, l'une de ces deux nuits, de nous faire chanter & danser, sans nous causer d'autres tourmens. Ce qui n'empescha pas, qu'en passant aupres des feux, qui estoient en la cabane, ceux qui les entouroient, ne nous appliquassent quelque tison ardent sur la chair. Je receus vne bonne part de ces brusleures.

Le Dimanche se passa en conseils & en assemblées, pour sçauoir ce que l'on feroit de nous. Sur le soir, on prononça nostre sentence: mais en des termes, que [68] ie n'entendy point. Je la pris pour vne sentence de mort, & mon esprit s'y trouua si disposé, qu'il sembloit que ie voyois la grace toute prestee, pour me soutenir dans la cruauté des derniers tourmens: mais ma sentence estoit plus douce. Je fus donné à vne bonne vieille femme, en la place d'un sien frere, pris ou tué par ceux de nostre party. Je n'auois pas pour cela la vie sauue: car cette femme me pouoit faire mourir par tous les tourmens que la vengeance

operation which he bore with admirable patience, singing the *Ave maris stella* in his sufferings. We were very rigorously bound during these two nights, the cords around our hands and feet being made fast at such a height, and in a manner so extremely uncomfortable, [67] that we were half suspended in the air; we suffered in consequence, a pain of such excruciating severity that a good old man, seeing plainly that it was unbearable, loosened our bonds and relieved us a little.

“ On one of these nights, the Elders ordered the young people to content themselves with making us sing and dance, without causing us further torments. But that did not prevent those who were around the fires in the cabin from touching glowing firebrands to our flesh as we passed. I received a good part of these burns.

“ Sunday was spent in councils and assemblies, in order to determine what should be done with us. Toward evening, our sentence was pronounced, but in terms which [68] I did not understand. I took it for a sentence of death, and my mind was so well prepared for this that I seemed to see the divine grace all ready to sustain me in the cruelty of the last torments. But my sentence was milder: I was given to a good old woman in place of a brother of hers, who had been captured or killed by those on our side. Nevertheless, my life was not yet safe; for that woman could have made me die in all the torments that could have been suggested by revenge. But she had pity on me and delivered me from death, at the season when the Church is wont to honor the birth of the blessed Virgin. I pray God to reward that goodness. As soon as I had entered her cabin, she

auroit pû fuggerer à son esprit: mais elle eut compassion de moy, me deliurant de la mort, au temps que l'Eglise honore la naissance de la sainte Vierge. Je prie Dieu de recompenser cette bonté. Si tost que ie fus entré en sa cabane, elle se mit à chanter vne chanson des morts: [69] que deux de ses filles poursuuiurent avec elle. I'estois aupres du feu, pendant ces chants lugubres: on me fit affeoir sur vne espece de table vn peu éleuée: & alors ie connu, que i'estois donné pour vn mort, dont ces femmes renouelloient le dernier deuil, faifant resusciter le trespasé en ma personne, fuiuant leur coustume. Je rencontray dans cette cabane, vne Algonquine captiue, adoptée dans cette famille; où ie me voyois aussi adopté, comme ie l'auois veuë autrefois, & que i'entendois sa lague, cela me réjoüit. Je trouuay aussi vn Huron de mon ancienne connoissance, ce qui augmenta ma ioye.

Aussi-tost que ie fus fay parent de ma maison, on commença de penser mon doigt à la Sauuage: on y appliqua ie ne sçay quelles [70] racines, ou ecorces cuittes, qu'on enueloppa d'vn chiffon de toille, plus gras qu'vn torchon de cuisine. Ce cataplasme me dura quinze iours, si bien qu'il s'endurcit, en forte qu'il m'estoit fort incommode. On me donna vne demie couuerte, pour me feruir de robe, & de liêt; & quelque temps apres, on me fit des chaufes, & des fouliers à leur mode: on me donna aussi vne vieille chemise fort grasse, & tout cela avec tant de bonté fauage, & avec vne si grande affection, que ie n'ay point éprouué plus de cordialité parmy les Sauuages, qui nous font amis. De plus, on alla payer ma vie à celuy qui m'auoit pris, par quelques milliers de Porcelaine.

began to sing a song of the dead, [69] in which two of her daughters accompanied her. I was near the fire during these doleful chants and was made to sit down on a kind of table slightly raised from the ground; and then I became aware that I was given in return for a dead man, the last mourning for whom these women were renewing,—causing the departed to become alive again in my person, according to their custom. In this cabin I met a captive Algonquin woman, who had been adopted into that family, into which I saw myself also adopted. As I had seen her before, and as I understood her language, I was delighted. I found also a Huron of my former acquaintance, which increased my joy.

“As soon as I had been made a relative of my house, they began to dress my finger after the manner of the Savages,—applying to it I know not what [70] roots or barks, previously boiled, which they wrapped in a linen rag that was greasier than a kitchen-cloth. This poultice lasted me a fortnight, so that it became hard, in such a manner as to cause me great inconvenience. I was given half a blanket, to serve me as robe and as bed; and, some time afterward, they made me some stockings and shoes after their fashion; I was also presented with an old and very greasy shirt,—and all that with so much savage kindness and so great affection, that I have not experienced more cordiality among the Savages who are friendly to us. Moreover, they went to my captor, and paid him for my life with several thousand Porcelain beads.

“As for my poor companion, he was conducted on Sunday to another Village and was burned on Monday, [71] the day of the Nativity of the blessed

Pour mon pauvre compagnon, il fut mené le Dimanche en vne autre Bourgade, & bruslé le Lundy, [71] iour de la Natiuité de la sainte Vierge, qui m'auoit deliuré dès la premiere entrée de sa feste.

A trois iours de là, on apporta dans la Bourgade où i'estois, des nouvelles de l'armée, qui estoit allée au Trois Riuieres. Je fus vn assez long-temps dans les alarmes de la mort, ne sçachant pas, si elles estoient bonnes ou mauuaifes: estant bien affeuré, que ie ferois l'objet de leurs vengeances, au cas qu'elles fussent [t] mauuaifes.

Mais enfin, il vint vn Capitaine, qui auoit charge de me faire donner la vie, & de me reconduire aux Trois Riuieres. Il écheut par vne prouidence toute particuliere, que cét homme estoit de la famille, où i'auois esté donné, & frere de celle qui m'auoit adopté pour son frere. Il demouroit dans [72] vne autre Bourgade, d'où il m'enuoya deux Hurons, pour m'inuiter de l'aller voir. Ces bônes gens dirent des merueilles de moy, aux Iroquois; les assurans, que iettois [sc. i'estois] regretté de tous les François, & que de ma vie, & de mon retour, dependoit la vie de leurs compatriotes, qu'on auoit laiffés pour ostages aux Trois Riuieres. Ces discours me firent autant confiderer que i'auois esté méprisé. Le Capitaine dont ie viens de parler, fut rauy me voyant encor en vie, il me donna vn vieux chapeau, qui me fit plaisir, pource qu'il y auoit douze iours que i'al[1]ois nuë teste. Il me promit de me mener aux Hollandois, pour me faire habiller: & en fuite, de me ramener aux pays des François.

On commença, sur le rapport de ce Capitaine, à faire des affemblées: [73] & à tenir des conseils pour

Virgin, who had delivered me at the beginning of her festival.

“ Three days thereafter, there was brought to the Village where I was news of the army that had gone to Three Rivers. For a considerable time I was in fear of death, not knowing whether the news was good or bad, and being well assured that I would be the object of their vengeance, in case it were bad.

“ But at length there came a Captain, who was commissioned to grant my life, and to conduct me back to Three Rivers. It happened, by a very special providence, that this man was a member of the family to which I had been given, and a brother of her who had adopted me as her brother. He lived in [72] another Village, whence he sent two Hurons to invite me to go and see him. These good people told the Iroquois marvels about me, assuring them that I was mourned by all the French, and that on my life and my return depended the lives of their fellow-countrymen who had been left as hostages at Three Rivers. These words caused me to receive as much consideration as I had before met with indignity. The Captain whom I have just mentioned was delighted to see me still alive; and he gave me an old hat, which was very acceptable to me, inasmuch as I had been going bareheaded for twelve days. He promised to conduct me to the Dutch, in order to have me clothed, and then to take me back to the country of the French.

“ Upon this Captain's report, they began to call assemblies [73] and hold councils, for the purpose of concluding peace with the French. Meanwhile, I was conducted to fort Orange, occupied by the Dutch, where I arrived on the twentieth of September.

arrester la paix avec les François. Pendant lesquels ie fus mené au fort d'Orange tenu par les Hollandois, où i'arriuy le vintiesme de Septembre. La premiere maison que ie rencontray, me receut tres-charitablement: on m'y presenta dequoy difner, & entre autres choses, i'y mangeay des pommes, dont ie n'auois point gousté depuis quinze ans, on m'y fit encor present d'une chemise blanche, vn ieune homme, pris aux Trois-Riuieres, par les Iroquois, & rachepté par les Hollandois, auquel il seruoit d'interprete, me vint trouuer: & apres quelque entretien, me dit qu'il se viendroit confesser le lendemain qui estoit Dimanche.

Vne bonne Dame Ecoffoise, qui s'est montrée, dans toutes rencontres, [74] tres-charitable aux François, & qui auoit fait tout son pouuoir, pour rachepter le petit fils de Monsieur Petit, qui est mort depuis parmy les Iroquois; me mena en sa maison, pour leuer l'appareil d'écorce, ou de racines que ces bonnes Iroquoises, dont i'ay parlé, auoient mis sur mon doit, & l'ayant veu encor bien malade m'enuoya au fort d'Orange, pour le faire penfer par vn Chirurgien. Je rencontray là le Gouverneur de ce fort, à qui le Capitaine Iroquois, auoit presenté vne lettre de Monsieur de Lauzon Gouverneur pour le Roy sur le grand fleuve de saint Laurens en la nouvelle France: Cét homme me receut fort froidement, nonobstant que la lettre, qu'on luy auoit apportée, me recommandast tres-avantageusement. Comme [75] la nuit s'approchoit, & que ie m'en allois coucher sur le plancher, fans lit, & fans soupper: vn Sauvage demanda permission au Gouverneur, de me mener en vne maison qui luy estoit amie. I'y fus cōduit, & i'y trouuay vn

The first family to whom I came received me with much charity: I was given a dinner and, among other things, I there ate some apples,—a fruit which I had not tasted for fifteen years; and I was also presented with a white shirt. A young man who had been captured at Three Rivers by the Iroquois, and ransomed by the Dutch, whom he served as interpreter, came to find me, and, after some conversation, told me that he was coming to make his confession on the next day, which was Sunday.

“A good Scotch Lady, who has shown herself on all occasions [74] very charitable toward the French,—and who had done all in her power to ransom Monsieur Petit’s little son, who has since died among the Iroquois,⁷—conducted me to her house, to remove the dressing of bark or roots which those good Iroquois women, of whom I have spoken, had applied to my finger; and, when she saw that it was still very far from being healed, she sent me to fort Orange, to have it dressed by a Surgeon. There I met the Governor of that fort, to whom the Iroquois Captain had presented a letter from Monsieur de Lauzon, Governor for the King over the great river saint Lawrence in new France. This man received me very coldly, although the letter which had been brought to him commended me in the highest terms. As [75] night was approaching, and I was going away to lie down on the bare floor, without bed or supper, a Savage asked the Governor for leave to take me to a family who were friendly to him. I was conducted thither, and found there an old man who received me with much kindness. The Frenchman whom I mentioned above was living in that house; and he set his conscience in order during the

vieillard, qui me receut avec beaucoup de bienveillance. Le François, dont i'ay fait mention cy-deffus, demouroit en cette maison: il mit ordre a sa conscience, pendant trois nuits, que ie demeuray avec luy chés cét honneste homme, dont ie voudrois pouuoir reconnoistre la courtoisie, par toutes fortes de seruices, tant il me traita honestement, lors que i'estois en vn estat le plus méprifable du monde. Ie ne pouuois pas manquer d'habits, cét honneste Gentilhomme m'en presenta vn fort honneste; & à mesme temps, vn [76] bon Vualon, ne sçachant rien de cét office, alloit quester par les maisons, pour trouuer dequoy m'habiller. On me dit encor, que cette bonne Dame Ecoffoife, me preparoit la mesme charité: mais ie les remerciay tous, & ie ne voulu iamais rien accepter, qu'un capot, & des bas de chausses à la Sauvage, avec des fouliers François, & vne couuerture, qui me deuoit seruir de lit à mon retour, cette Dame prit le foin de tout cela avec tant d'adresse, & tant d'affection, qu'elle n'épargna aucun ajustement, dont elle se peut auiser. Mes hostes me preferent, de prendre des prouisions pour mon voyage: mais ie me contentay, de receuoir quelques pesches, d'un Marchand de Bruxelles bon Catholique, que ie confessay à mon depart. Il fallut leur promettre à [77] tous, que ie les retournerois voir, l'Esté prochain: tant ils me témoignioient d'amour & de bienueillance.

Sortant du quartier des Hollandois, ie fus conduy à la Bourgade de celuy qui m'auoit pris. L'allant visiter, il me rendit mon Breuiaire. De là nous allâmes au Bourg, & à la cabane où i'auois esté adopté. Ie n'y fus que deux iours: car on me vint prendre

three nights that I spent with him under the roof of that worthy man,—whose courtesy I wish I could acknowledge by any kind of service, so handsomely did he treat me when I was in the most despicable condition in the world. I could not lack coats, as this worthy Gentleman presented me a very decent one; and, at the same time, a [76] good Walloon, knowing nothing of this kindness, went to search through the houses, to find me the means of clothing myself. I was also told that that good Scotch Lady was preparing to do me the same charity; but I thanked them all, and would not accept anything but a hooded cloak, and some stockings of the Savage fashion, with some French shoes, and a blanket that was to serve me for bed on my return journey. That Lady took charge of all this, with so much skill and affection as to include every conceivable provision for my comfort. My hosts urged me to take some food for my journey; but I contented myself with some peaches from a Brussels Merchant, a good Catholic, whom I confessed at my departure. I had to promise them [77] all to come back and see them the next Summer, so much affection and kindness did they manifest toward me.

“ Leaving the Dutch settlement, I was conducted to the Village of the man who had captured me. Upon going to visit him, he returned to me my Breviary. Thence we proceeded to the Village and to the cabin where I had been adopted, where I remained only two days; for some one came to conduct me, together with my sister who had given me my life, to the largest of the Iroquois Villages, for the purpose of attending the councils and assemblies in which the question of peace was to be discussed.

avec ma sœur, qui m'auoit donné la vie, pour me mener en la plus grande des Bourgades Iroquoises: afin d'affister aux conseils, & aux assemblées, où on deuoit parler de la paix. Je remarquay qu'on amassoit par tout des presens, pour me reconduire à Quebec. Ce n'estoient plus que festins, dans lesquels, on me faisoit tout le bon accueil possible. Enfin le iour de S. Michel, [78] il fut arresté, qu'on iroit demander, & conclurre la paix avec les François, & avec leurs Alliez. Cette conclusion fut prise, en la Bourgade, où le premier François, le bon René Goupil, compagnon du Pere Ifaac Iogues, auoit esté tué par les Iroquois, le mesme iour de S. Michel. Je m'estois tousiours attendu, que cette feste, ne se passeroit pas, sans quelque chose de remarquable.

Trois iours apres cette resolution, on me dit, que le Capitaine qui m'auoit conduit au quartier des Hollandois, me conduiroit au pais des François; non par eau, à cause des tempestes, qui sont ordinairement en cette saison, sur le lac de Champlain, par où il eut fallu passer: mais par vn autre chemin, tres-fascheux pour moy; dautant qu'il falloit marcher sept [79] ou huit iours à pied, dans ces grandes forests, & ie n'auois ny force, ny jambes pour vn si grand trauail. Au bout de ces huit iournées, on trouue vne riuere, sur laquelle on vogue enuiron deux iours, & puis on rencontre le grand fleue de saint Laurens, dans lequel se descharge cette riuere, à soixante lieuës, ou enuiron, au dessus de l'Isle de Montreal, assez proche du lac nommé l'Ontario.

Je me fouins pour lors de S. Ioseph, qui porta Nostre Seigneur en Egypte, par les deserts d'Arabie, comme on croit, ie le priay de me seruir de guide, &

I observed that presents were being everywhere collected, to accompany my escort back to Quebec. There was nothing but feasting, and I was given the best possible reception at these gatherings. At length, on St. Michael's day, [78] it was decreed that they should solicit and conclude a treaty of peace with the French and their Allies. This conclusion was reached in the Village where the first Frenchman, the good René Goupil, companion to Father Isaac Jogues, had been killed by the Iroquois on that very day of St. Michael. I had always expected that this festival would not pass without some important occurrence.

“ Three days after this resolution, I was told that the Captain who had escorted me to the Dutch settlement would be my conductor to the country of the French,—not by water, because of the storms which ordinarily prevail at this season upon lake Champlain, over which we must have passed; but by another route, which was very fatiguing to me, as we had to proceed [79] on foot through those great forests for seven or eight days, and I had neither strength nor legs for so great an undertaking. At the end of these eight days is found a river upon which we proceed by boat for about two days, and then we come to the great river saint Lawrence, into which the first empties its waters, sixty leagues or thereabout above the Island of Montreal, and not far from the lake called Ontario.

“ I at that time recalled to mind St. Joseph, who bore Our Lord to Egypt through the deserts of Arabia, as is believed; and I prayed him to serve me as guide and support in the fatigues of this journey. I had always had frequent recourse to his protection in

de fupport, dans les fatigues de ce voyage. I'auois toujurs eu grand recours à fa protection, dans tous mes trauaux; comme auffi à S. Michel, protecteur de l'Eglife, & de la France. Et il arriua, comme i'ay [80] appris depuis, que le quatrième de Septembre, iour auquel i'entray pour la premiere fois, en vne Bourgade Iroquoise, qu'on chanta à Kebec le *Te Deum*, dās vne petite Eglife dediée à S. Ioseph, en actiō de grace de ma deliurance, & de mon retour aux Trois Riuieres; vn bruit s'estant éleué, sans qu'on en ait iamais pū découurer le premier autheur, que ie m'estois échappé des mains de l'Ennemy. Et ce mesme iour, on alla presenter le Sacrifice de la Messe pour le mesme fujet, en l'Ance de S. Ioseph, dans vne Eglife dediée à Dieu, sous le nom de S. Michel; que nous pouuons appeller l'Ange de nostre paix, puis qu'elle a esté concludē le iour de sa feste, au païs des Iroquois.

Enfin, le troisième d'Octobre, ie quittay le dernier Bourg des [81] Iroquois pour retourner à Quebec. Le rencontray sur vne petite coline, vn peu éloignée du Bourg, les Capitaines, & les Anciens du païs, qui m'attendoient: avec les presens qu'ils enuoyoient, comme les contrats de la paix. Ils me firent leur derniere harangue, m'excitant à lier fortement nostre nouvelle alliance. Mon conducteur s'estant chargé des presens, nous pourfuiuifmes nostre chemin, & fimes seulement quatre lieuës cette premiere iournée. Tous ceux que nous auions à la rencontre, me faisoient quelque careffe à leur mode, & me prioient de moyenner vne bonne paix avec les François.

Ie commençay, & acheuay ce chemin par terre, avec des peines inconceuales. Nous partifmes vn

all my labors, as also to that of St. Michael, protector of the Church and of France; and it happened, as I have [80] since learned, that on the fourth of September, the day on which I entered an Iroquois Village for the first time, the *Te Deum* was sung at Kebec in a little Church dedicated to St. Joseph. This was in thanksgiving at my deliverance and my return to Three Rivers,—a report having arisen, though the first author of it could never be discovered, that I had escaped from the hands of the Enemy. On that same day, too, the Sacrifice of the Mass was offered for the same reason at the Cove of St. Joseph [Sillery], in a Church dedicated to God under the name of St. Michael,—whom we may call the Angel of our peace, since that was concluded in the country of the Iroquois on the day of his festival.

“ At length, on the third of October, I left behind me the last Village of the [81] Iroquois; to return to Quebec. On a little hill at a short distance from the Village, I met the Captains and Elders of the country, who were waiting for me with the presents which they sent in ratification of the peace. They made me their last harangue, urging me to bind our new alliance firmly. My conductor having taken charge of the presents, we pursued our journey, accomplishing only four leagues on that first day. All those whom we met bestowed some endearment on me, according to their custom, and begged me to use my influence in concluding a satisfactory peace with the French.

“ I began and completed this journey by land, with inconceivable fatigues. We started upon a Friday, the third of October; [82] and we arrived at the first river that I mentioned above on Saturday, the elev-

Vendredy troisiéme d'Octobre, [82] & nous arriuasmes à la premiere riuere, dont i'ay parlé cy-deffus, le Samedy onziéme du mois. Nous marchions en compagnie de plusieurs Iroquois, qui s'en alloient à la chasse du Castor, au lac de l'Ontario: les pluyes, les montagnes, & les valées, les torrens, & les ruisseaux, & quatre riuieres assez grosses, qu'il fallut passer à guay, & se mouiller iufques à la ceinture, vne autre plus grande, qu'il fallut trauerfer avec des cayeux branflans, & mal liez, les viures fort courts, & du seul bled d'Inde tout nouveau, fans pain, fans vin, fans viande, fans aucune chasse, ces endroits en estans depeuplés: Toutes ces choses, dis-je, me bastirent vne Croix si horrible, & si continuelle, qu'il me semble que ce fut vn miracle perpetuel, que ie l'aye pû [83] porter, dans vne peine si excessiue, & dans vne si grande foiblesse. Ce fut aussi vne merueille bien particuliere, que mon Guide soit toûjours demeuré dans la douceur, & dans la patience, me voyant si mauuais pieton. Il me semble que ie participay vn petit en ce retour, aux langueurs, & aux defaillances du Roy des affligez; comme i'auois eu part en mon voyage, apres ma prise, à ses liens & à ses agonies.

Mais voicy qu'au bout de ce trauail de neuf iours, parurent trois ieunes hommes, enuoyez de la part des Anciens du païs, pour donner auis à mon Conducteur, qu'vn Capitaine, à qui on auoit fait des preffens aux Trois Riuieres pour ma deliurance, venant d'arriuer au païs, rapportoit que les ostages Iroquois, laissez [84] dans le fort des François, auoient esté mis aux fers, & qu'on auoit desia cassé la teste à quelques-vns d'iceux: ce Capitaine affeuroit, qu'il auoit appris cette nouvelle, de la bouche d'vn Sauuage fon

enth of the month. We proceeded in company with several Iroquois who were going to hunt the Beaver about lake Ontario. The rains, and the mountains and valleys; the mountain-streams and brooks, and four rivers of considerable size which we had to cross by fording, wetting ourselves thereby up to the waist; another larger one, that had to be crossed on rafts, insecure and badly put together; very short rations, consisting solely of Indian corn just picked, without bread, without wine, without meat and without game, those regions having been hunted bare,—all these things, I say, formed a Cross for me that was so formidable and unceasing that it seems to me a perpetual miracle that I was able [83] to bear it, suffering, as I was, such intense pain and such extreme weakness. It was also very remarkable that my Guide never lost his gentleness and patience, although he saw what a bad traveler I was. In this return journey, I seem to have participated a little in the weakness and exhaustion of the King of the afflicted,—as on my outward journey, after my capture, I had shared in his bonds and his agony.

“But now, at the end of this nine days’ labor, there appeared three young men, sent by the Elders of the country to notify my Conductor that a Captain, to whom presents had been given at Three Rivers for my deliverance, had just arrived in the country with a report that the Iroquois hostages who had been left [84] in the French fort had been put in irons, and that some of them had already had their heads broken. This Captain declared that he had learned that news from the mouth of a Savage, a friend of his. Upon leaving, they warned my Conductor and his attendants to be on their guard, if they

amy. Et partant on auertiffoit mon Conducteur & ses gens, de prendre garde, s'ils deuoient s'engager plus auant dans mon retour. Ils me demanderent, si ie voulois passer plus auant, dans l'estat des affaires. Je n'eus point de repartie. Mon Conducteur me dit avec vn grand courage, que si ie luy voulois donner ma parole, que ie tafcherois de conferuer sa vie, qu'il l'exposeroit à toutes fortes de dangers, pour me remener sain & sauue parmy les François. Je luy donnay fort librement, & ce plusieurs fois: car il me la demanda touïjours. La parole donnée [85] & acceptée, nous nous embarquafmes, & pourfuiuifmes nostre chemin. I'ay fceeu depuis, que ce faux bruit estoit fondé, sur ce qu'on auoit mis les fers aux pieds, à vn Sauvage Algonquin, qui s'estoit enyuré. Ces alarmes nous venoient de temps en temps, & quelques-vns prenoient plaisir de me les donner, croyans m'intimider: mais ces gens-là, n'estoient pas du nombre de mes Guides, lesquels m'ont tousiours traité avec beaucoup de douceur.

Comme nous commencions d'approcher de l'Isle de Montreal, mes gens auoient peur de rencontrer des Algonquins, & cependant ils s'amusoient si fort à la chasse, qui es[t] tres-abondante en ces endroits du grand fleuve saint Laurens, que ce retardement me sembloit ennuyeux. Nostre [86] derniere Croix, fut le danger de nous perdre, dans les boüillons du faut de saint Louys, à la veüé de l'habitation de Montreal. Je creü quasi trouuer, mon tombeau, dans ces courans: mais ils ne me firent autre mal, que de lauer le reste de mes fautes.

Enfin nous abordafmes heureusement en cette habitation, le vingtquatrième d'Octobre; les neuf

were to involve themselves farther in conducting me home. They asked me if I wished to go on, as affairs then stood, and I had no answer. My Conductor, with great courage, said to me that if I would give him my word to try to save his life, he would expose it to all sorts of dangers for the sake of leading me back, safe and sound, among the French. I gave it to him very freely, and that many times; for he constantly asked me for it. The promise given [85] and accepted, we embarked and pursued our journey. I have since learned that this false rumor was based on the fact that irons had been put on the feet of an Algonquin Savage who had become intoxicated. These alarms came to us from time to time, and some took pleasure in reporting them to me, thinking to intimidate me; but those persons were not of the number of my Guides, who always treated me with much gentleness.

“As we began to draw near the Island of Montreal, my people were afraid of meeting with some Algonquins; and meanwhile they took such great pleasure in hunting—game being very plenty in those regions of the great river saint Lawrence—that this delay seemed tiresome to me. Our [86] final Cross was the danger of being swallowed up in the whirlpools of the saint Louys rapids, within sight of the Montreal settlement. I almost thought I would find my grave in those currents, but they did me no further harm than to wash away the rest of my sins.

“At last, we landed safely at that settlement on the twenty-fourth of October,—nine weeks having passed, in honor of St. Michael and all the holy Angels, since the beginning of my captivity. We left Montreal on the twenty-fifth, toward evening,

femaines accomplies de ma captiuité, en l'honneur de S. Michel, & de tous les saints Anges. Nous en partismes le vingt-cinquième sur le soir, & arrivâmes aux Trois Rivières, le vingt-huitième: où nous demeurâmes jusques au troisième de Novembre. Le cinquième, nous mismes pied à terre à Québec; Le sixième, nos Iroquois mes Conducteurs, [87] firent leurs propositions pour la paix, auxquelles on répondit par d'autres propositions, & ainsi un Dimanche au soir, quatre-vingt & un jour[s] après ma prise, c'est à dire neuf fois neuf jours accomplis, le grand affaire de la paix tant désirée, fut terminé. Les Saints Anges faisant voir par ce nombre de neuf, qui leur est dédié, la part qu'ils prenoient en ce saint ouvrage, conduit tout d'une autre façon, que les affaires des Sauvages, qui sont extrêmement longs en leurs assemblées, & en leurs procédures. Je n'ay esté qu'un mois dans le pays des Iroquois. J'y entray le quatrième Septembre. J'en sorty le troisième d'Octobre. Et dans ce peu de temps, j'ay communiqué avec les Hollandois: j'ay veu le fort d'Orange: j'ay passé trois fois dans les quatre Bourgades des Iroquois [88] Anniérōns: le reste du temps de ma captiuité, a esté employé, dans mon allée, & dans mon retour. Je fus conduit par la Rivière des Iroquois, & par le Lac de Champlain, & ne fis en fuite que deux journées de chemin par terre. Et je suis revenu par une autre route: si bien que j'ay passé par les deux chemins que tiennent leurs armées, & leurs guerriers, quand ils nous viennent chercher. Voilà à peu pres, ce que l'obéissance a exigé de moy, sur mon voyage.

and arrived on the twenty-eighth at Three Rivers, where we remained until the third of November. On the fifth we set foot on shore at Quebec; on the sixth our Iroquois, my Conductors, [87] made their presents in the cause of peace, which were responded to with other presents; and thus, upon a Sunday evening, eighty-one days after my capture,—that is to say, just nine times nine days,—the great affair of the peace, so ardently desired, was brought to a close. The Holy Angels made manifest by this number, nine, which is dedicated to them, the share which they had in this sacred work,—which was conducted in an entirely different manner from the affairs managed by the Savages, who protract to extreme length their assemblies and proceedings. I spent only one month in the country of the Iroquois, entering it on the fourth of September, and leaving it on the third of October; and in this short time I held communication with the Dutch, saw fort Orange, and thrice entered the four Villages of the Annihronnon Iroquois,—[88] the rest of the period of my captivity being consumed by my journey thither and back. I was taken by way of the River of the Iroquois and Lake Champlain, and then proceeded, for two days only, by land; and I returned by another way, so that I passed over the two routes taken by their armies and warriors when they come to seek us. That, approximately, is what obedience required me to relate concerning my journey.”

CHAPITRE V.

DE LA PAIX FAITE AVEC LES IROUOIS.

ENFIN nous auons la paix, pleût à Dieu que ces paroles, fussent auffi veritables dans la bouche des François: qu'elles font [89] douces & agreables aux Habitans de la Nouvelle France. Oüy, mais dira quelqu'un, les Iroquois, font des perfides? ils ne font la paix, que pour trahir plus auantageusement dans vne nouvelle guerre? le passé nous est vn grand pronostique du futur? nous auons desia eu la paix avec eux, & ils l'ont violée. Je confesse que nous auons eu la paix avec eux: mais ie ne sçay si iamais ils l'ont eüe avec nous: car à vray dire, c'estoit nous qui les portions à la paix, nous les pressions, & par presens, & par de longs conseils. Ils auoient bien quelque inclination de s'allier des François: mais ils auoient horreur des Sauuages, notamment des Algôquins. Ceux qui auoient les yeux ouuerts, connoissoient bien que cette paix n'estoit pas dans la parfaite idée des Sauuages. [90] Mais, quoy qu'il en foit du futur, duquel ie ne voudrois pas répondre, ny en l'une ny en l'autre France: si pouuons nous dire avec verité, que ce font presentement les Iroquois, qui ont fait la paix. Ou plustost difons que c'est Dieu, car ce coup est si soudain, ce changement si impreueu; ces dispositions, dans des esprits Barbares, si surprenantes: qu'il faut confesser, qu'un genie plus releué que l'humain, a conduit cét ourage.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PEACE MADE WITH THE IROQUOIS.

AT last we have peace. Would to God that these words were as true in the mouths of the French as they are [89] sweet and agreeable to the Inhabitants of New France! "Yes," some one will say, "but the Iroquois are treacherous, making peace only in order to betray us to better advantage in a fresh war. The past is very ominous to us of the future: we have already had peace with them and they have violated it." I admit that we have had peace with them, but am uncertain whether they have ever had it with us; for, to tell the truth, it was we who induced them to make peace, urging them with presents and in long councils. — They had, indeed, some inclination to ally themselves with the French, but held the Savages, and especially the Algonquins, in abhorrence. Those who had their eyes open recognized clearly that that peace did not entirely suit the Savages' notions. [90] But, however it may be in the future,—which I would not like to answer for, either as to old France or as to new,—yet we can say with truth that, in the present instance, it is the Iroquois that have made peace. Or, rather, let us say that it is God; for this stroke is so sudden, this change so unexpected, these tendencies in Barbarian minds so surprising, that, it must be admitted, a genius more exalted than that of man has guided this work. In the evening there

Le foir, il n'y auoit rien de si hideux, pour ainfi dire, & de si deffait, que le vifage de ce pauvre pays: & le lendemain, il n'y a rien de si guay, & de si ioyeux que la face de tous les Habitans: on se tuë, on se massacre, on faccage, on brufle, vn Me[r]credy par exemple, & le leudy on se fait des prefens, & on se visite les vns les autres, [91] comme font les amis. Si les Iroquois ont quelque deffein, Dieu a auffi les fiens. Je m'affeure qu'on auoiera, que ce que [ie] vay dire, ne s'est point fait par vn pur rencontre.

Le iour de la Vifitation de la fainte Vierge, le Capitaine Aontarifaty tant regreté des Iroquois, ayant esté pris de nos Sauuages, & instruit par nos Peres, fut baptifé, & ce mefme iour, ayant esté executé à mort, il monta au Ciel. Je ne doute point qu'il n'ait remercié la fainte Vierge de fes malheurs & de fon bon-heur, & qu'il n'ait prié Dieu pour fes Compatriotes.

Les habitans de Montreal, comme nous auons remarqué cy-deffus, ayans fait vn vœu folennel, de celebrer publiquement la feste de la Presentation de cette Mere des bontez, les Iroquois [92] des Nations plus hautes, les rechercherent de paix.

Ce fut le iour de l'Affomption de cette Reine des Anges & des hommes, que les Hurons prirent dans l'Isle de Montreal, cét autre fameux Capitaine Iroquois, qui fut caufe que les Annifhronnon demanderent nostre alliance, comme nous verrons bien-toft.

Le François qui accompagnoit le P. Poncet en fa prise, ayant esté brulé au païs des Iroquois, ils dōnerent la vie au Pere, au temps que l'Eglise honore la Natiuité de la fainte Vierge, & il trouua en fuite,

was nothing so unsightly, so to speak, and so dejected as the face of this poor country; and the next day there is nothing so blithe and joyous as the countenances of all the Inhabitants. On Wednesday, for example, there is mutual killing, butchering, pillaging, and burning; but, on Thursday, presents are exchanged and visits paid on both sides, [91] after the manner of friends. If the Iroquois have some design, God also has his. I am sure that it will be admitted that the event I am going to describe was not brought about purely by chance.

On the day of the Visitation of the blessed Virgin, Captain Aontarisaty, so mourned by the Iroquois, after his capture by our Savages was instructed by our Fathers, and baptized; and on that same day, after suffering execution, he ascended into Heaven. I doubt not he has thanked the blessed Virgin for his misfortunes and for his good fortune, and has prayed to God for his Compatriots.

The people of Montreal, as we have remarked above, having made a solemn vow to celebrate publicly the festival of the Presentation of that Mother of kindness, the Iroquois [92] of the upper Nations sought to make peace with them.

It was on the day of the Assumption of that Queen of Angels and of men that the Hurons captured, on the Island of Montreal, that other famous Iroquois Captain who was the cause of the Anniehronnons' asking for an alliance with us — as we shall presently see.

After the Frenchman who accompanied Father Poncet in his captivity had been burned in the country of the Iroquois, they gave the Father his life, at the time when the Church honors the Nativity of the blessed Virgin; and he worked thereafter so effectively.

si efficacement à la paix, ou plustost la sainte Vierge, & les saints Anges, que le iour de S. Michel, il fut arresté dans vn Conseil public des vieillards du païs, qu'on remeneroit le Pere à Quebec, & qu'on lieroit fortement [93] la paix avec les François.

Le mesme iour de la naissance de la sainte Vierge, pendant que les Iroquois Anniehronnons concludoient la paix en leur païs, on faisoit vne procession generale à Quebec; pour gagner le cœur du fils, par l'entremise de la mere. On y fit marcher quatre cens mousquetaires bien armez, qui faisans leur descharge de temps en temps bien à propos, donnerent de l'épouuâte aux Iroquois, qui estoient descendus pour parler de la paix, ce qui leur fit iuger que cette paix leur estoit d'autant plus necessaire, qu'ils remarquoient d'adresse en nos François, à manier les armés, dont ils venoient d'experimenter quelques effets, aux Trois Riuieres.

Or dites-moy maintenant, si le hazard, ou la Prouidence ont trauaillé [94] dans ces rencontres? & si la deuotion des habitans de la nouvelle France, & la confiance qu'ils ont euë enuers l'Epouse du grand S. Ioseph, Patron de toutes ces nouvelles Eglises, n'a pas esté bien recompensé? passons outre.

Les Iroquois qui nous faisoient la guerre estoient diuisez en cinq Nations, dont voicy les noms en langue Huronne.

Les Anniehronnons, dont le païs s'appelle Anié.

Les Onneihronnons, dont le principal Bourg se nomme Onneiout.

Les Onnontaëronnons, dont le païs & la principale Bourgade se nomme Onnontaé.

in the cause of peace — or, rather, the blessed Virgin and the holy Angels did this — that on St. Michael's day it was decreed, in a public Council of the elders of the country, to conduct the Father back to Quebec, and conclude a firm [93] peace with the French.

On the same day, that of the birth of the blessed Virgin, while the Anniehronnon Iroquois were concluding peace in their country, a general procession was celebrated at Quebec for the purpose of winning the heart of the son through the mediation of the mother. Four hundred musketeers, well armed, were made to join in this procession; and as they discharged their pieces from time to time, at fitting moments, they filled with alarm the Iroquois who had come down to treat of peace; and who were led to conclude, from this exhibition, that peace was the more necessary for them, as they remarked our Frenchmen's address in handling their arms, some effects of which they had just experienced at Three Rivers.

Tell me, now, whether it was chance or Providence that was at work [94] in these emergencies, and whether the devotion of the people of new France, and the trust which they reposed in the Spouse of the great St. Joseph, Patron of all these new Churches, has not been well rewarded. Let us continue.

The Iroquois who made war upon us were divided into five Nations, whose names, in the Huron language, are as follows:

The Anniehronnons, whose country is called Anié.

The Onneihronnons, whose principal Village is named Onneiout.

Les Sonnontouaheronçons du païs nommé Sonnonthouan.

Les Onionehronçons, dont le Bourg s'appelle Onneïoté.

[95] Qui a porté toutes ces Nations, à prendre des sentimens de paix, independemment les vnes des autres? Nous auons sceu de bonne part, que les Sonnontouaheronçons, qui font la plus grande nation Iroquoise, & la plus peuplée, pensoient à la paix dès le Printemps: avec dessein d'y faire ioindre les Onionehronçons leurs plus proches voisins.

Nous auons veu au Chapitre second, comme les Onnontaëronçons, & en fuite les Onnejohronçons, font venus la demander aux François de Montreal.

Il ne restoit plus que le seul Iroquois Anniehronnon, lequel enflé de ses victoires, vouloit perseverer dans les desirs de la guerre: mais il a donné les mains, aussi bien, que les autres. Toutes ces pensées de paix, & d'alliance; font [96] elles entrées, quasi à mesme temps, dans les esprits farouches, & insolens de ces Nations, sans vne prouidence toute particuliere? *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.* Difons plutost. *Digitus Dei est hic.* Ce coup, est vn coup de la puissance du grand Dieu. Ce qui nous console fortement dans cette sainte prouidence est, que si quelqu'une de ces Nations venoit à se dementir, il est bien croyable que les autres, nous ayans recherchés, chacune en leur particulier, ne romperoient pas si facilement avec nous, mais venons au detail.

Les Onnontaëronçons, s'estans presenté au nombre de soixante à Montreal, pour sonder si les cœur des François auoit quelque disposition à la paix, le Gouverneur de la place, se desfiait deux prudemment,

The Onnontaëronnons, whose country and chief Village are named Onnontaë.

The Sonnontouaheronnons, of the country called Sonnonthouan.

The Onionehronnons, whose Village is called Onneioté.

[95] Who prompted all these Nations to adopt sentiments of peace independently of one another? We have learned, on good authority, that the Sonnontouaheronnons, who constitute the most extensive and populous Iroquois nation, were thinking of peace as far back as last Spring, planning to induce the Onioehronnons, their next neighbors, to join in it.

We saw in the second Chapter how the Onnontaëronnons, and afterward the Onneioehronnons, came to ask it from the French at Montreal.

There remained no longer any save the Anniehronnon Iroquois who, puffed up with his victories, wished to persevere in his desires for war; but he has yielded as well as the others. Did all these thoughts of peace and of alliance [96] come, almost at the same time, into the fierce and insolent minds of those Nations, without a very special providence? *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.* Let us say rather, *Digitus Dei est hic.* This stroke is a stroke of the might of the great God. A consideration which, in this holy providence, greatly reassures us is, that if any one of these Nations should forfeit its word, it is very easy to believe that the others, inasmuch as they each sought us individually, would not so easily break with us. But let us come to details.

The Onnontaeronnons having presented themselves at Montreal, to the number of sixty, in order to ascertain whether the hearts of the French were

leur dit, que leurs [97] desloyautez passées, rendoi[en]t leurs propositions fort suspectes, & que s'ils auoient quelque amour pour nostre alliance, qu'il falloit le témoigner à Monsieur de Lauson Gouverneur de tout le païs, qui estoit à Quebec. Le Capitaine répondit, qu'il falloit bien distinguer, entre Nation & Nation, que les Onnontaëronnons n'estoient pas infideles, comme les Iroquois Anniehronnons, qui recuifent leur fiel, & l'amertume de leur cœur, au milieu de leur poitrine, quand leur langue profere quelques bonnes paroles. Que pour luy, à qui toute la Nation auoit fait entendre ses intentions, qu'il parloit de toutes les parties de son corps, depuis ses plus petits orteils, iusques au fomet de la teste; & qu'il n'y auoit rien dans son cœur, ny dans le reste [98] de ses membres, qui dementit ce qui estoit forté de sa bouche. Qu'il iroit voir le grand Onontio, le Gouverneur des François, & qu'il luy feroit ses presens, dans lesquels estoient renfermez, les desirs de toute la Nation.

En effet, il descendit de Montreal iusques à Quebec, faisant soixante lieuës sur le grand fleue. La premiere assemblée se tint en l'Isle d'Orleans, en la Bourgade des Hurons, a deux lieuës de Quebec. Ce Capitaine fit étaler ses presens, qui seruent parmy tous ces peuples Barbares, comme parmy nous, les escrits, & les Contrats. Tout le monde estant assis: il se leua, inuouquant premierement le Soleil, comme vn témoin fidele, de la sincerité de ses pensées, comme vn flambeau, qui bannissoit la nuit, & les tenebres [99] de son cœur: pour donner vn iour veritable à ses paroles.

in any wise inclined to peace, the Governor of the place, prudently distrusting them, told them that their [97] past acts of treachery rendered their proposals highly suspicious, and that, if they had any desire for an alliance with us, they must make it evident to Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of the whole country, who was at Quebec. The Captain replied that a careful distinction must be made between Nation and Nation; that the Onnontaëronnons were not faithless, like the Anniehronnon Iroquois,— who cherish, deep in their breast, their rancor and bitterness of heart, while their tongues are uttering fair words. He said that, as for him, whom the whole Nation had acquainted with its sentiments, he spoke with every part of his body, from his little toes up to the top of his head, and that there was nothing in his heart, or in any of his other [98] members, that gave the lie to what had come out of his mouth; and that he would go and see the great Onontio, Governor of the French, and would offer him his presents, in which were enclosed the wishes of his entire Nation.

In fact he did go from Montreal down to Quebec, voyaging sixty leagues upon the great river. The first assembly was held on the Island of Orleans, in the Village of the Hurons, two leagues distant from Quebec. This Captain displayed his presents, which, among all these Barbarous tribes, have the same use that writings and Contracts have with us. When every one was seated, he arose, and first invoked the Sun as a faithful witness of the sincerity of his intentions, and as a torch that banished the night and the darkness [99] from his heart, to let in a veritable daylight upon his words.

Ces prefens confistoient en castors, & en porcelaine, & chacun d'eux auoit son nom, & faisoit voir le desir de celuy qui parloit, & de ceux qui l'auoient delegué.

Le premier, se donnoit pour effuyer les larmes, qu'on iette ordinairement, à la nou[u]elle des braues guerriers maffacrez dans les combats.

Le second, deuoit seruir d'vn breuage agreable, contre ce qui pourroit rester d'amertume, dans le cœur des François, pour la mort de leurs gens.

Le troisiéme, deuoit fournir vne écorce, où vne couuerture, pour mettre sur les morts, de peur que leur regard, ne renouuellât les anciennes querelles.

[100] Le quatriéme, estoit pour les enterrer, & pour fouler bien fort, la terre deffus leurs fosses: afin que iamais rien ne fortit de leurs tombeaux qui pût attrister leurs parens, & causer dans leurs esprits, quelque émotion de vengeance.

Le cinquiéme, deuoit seruir d'enueloppe, pour si bien empaqueter les armes, qu'on n'y touchast plus d'oresnauant:

Le fixiéme, pour nettoyer la riuere, fouillée de tant de fang.

Le dernier, pour exhorter les Hurons d'agreer ce qu'Onontio, grand Capitaine des François, deuoit conclure touchant la paix.

Comme il se faut accoustumer, aux coustumes, & aux façons de faire, des peuples qu'on veut gagner, quand elles ne sont pas éloignées de la raison: Monfieur le [101] Gouverneur, rendit parole pour parole, & prefens pour prefens.

Le premier fut donné, pour faire tomber la hache d'armes, des mains de l'Iroquois Onnontaëronnon.

These presents consisted of beaver-skins and porcelain; and each of them had its name, and testified the desire of the speaker and of those who had delegated him.

The first one was given to wipe away the tears that are commonly shed upon hearing of the brave warriors killed in battle.

The second was intended to serve as a pleasant draught to counteract whatever of bitterness might remain in the hearts of the French, because of the death of their people.

The third was to furnish a piece of bark, or a blanket, to put over the dead, for fear the sight of them might renew the old-time dissensions.

[100] The fourth was to bury the dead and tread down the earth very hard over their graves, in order that nothing might ever issue from their tombs that could sadden their relatives, and arouse any feeling of revenge in their bosoms.

The fifth was to serve as a wrapping for packing away the implements of war so securely that they would never be touched again in the future.

The sixth, to make clear the river, stained with so much blood.

The last, to exhort the Hurons to accept whatever decision Onontio, the great Captain of the French, should choose to make concerning peace.

As one must needs adapt himself to the customs and methods of procedure of those whom he wishes to win, when those customs are not unreasonable, Monsieur the [101] Governor gave back speech for speech and present for present.

The first was given to make the war-hatchet fall from the hands of the Onnontaëronnon Iroquois.

Le fecond, pour brifer la chaudiere, où il faifoit cuire les hommes, qu'il prenoit en guerre.

Le troisiéme, pour leur faire quitter les couteaux, qui seruoient à cette boucherie.

Le quatriéme, pour leur faire mettre bas leurs arcs, & leurs fleches, & autres armes.

Le cinquiéme, pour effacer les peintures, & les couleurs rouges, dont ils se barbouillent le visage, quand ils vont en guerre.

Le fixiéme, pour cacher si bien les canots, ou les batteaux qu'ils font pour les combats, qu'ils ne puissent iamais plus les retrouver.

[102] Ces Contractz passez: tout le monde s'en réjouit. Ces Ambassadeurs, ou ces Deleguez pour la paix, emporterent leurs Capots, leurs couuertures, leurs chaudières, & autres semblables denrées, en quoy, à mon auis, consistoient leurs presens. Ils promirent que dans quelque temps, ils rapporteroient des nouvelles, de la ioye vniuerselle de toute leur Nation. Venons maintenant aux Iroquois Annihronnons, les plus orgueilleux, & les plus superbes, de toutes ces Contrées. Ce font eux, qui ont massacré le P. Isaac Iogues, bruslé le P. Iean de Brebeuf, & le P. Gabriel Lallemant, & plusieurs autres François.

Ces Thracons, ayans pris resolution de surprendre, & de mettre à feu, & à sang, le Bourg des Trois Riuieres, comme nous auons vëu [103] cy-deffus: & trouuans plus de resistance qu'ils n'auoient pensé, furent changez quasi en vn moment. Dix ou douze d'entr'eux, parurent avec vn Guidon blanc, sur le grand fleuve, s'approchans du fort, & crians, qu'ils vouloient parlementer, & traiter de paix: & qu'on

The second, to break the kettle in which he cooked the men whom he captured in war.

The third, to make them throw down the knives used in this butchery.

The fourth, to cause them to lay down their bows and arrows and other arms.

The fifth, to wash off the paint and the red dyes with which they besmear their faces when they go to war.

The sixth, to hide so carefully the canoes or boats that they make for use in war, that they shall never be able to find them again.

[102] These Agreements exchanged, everybody rejoiced over the event; and the peace Ambassadors, or Delegates, carried away their Cloaks, their blankets, their kettles, and other like commodities,—in which, I believe, their presents consisted. They promised that they would, in a short time, bring back news of the universal joy of their entire Nation. Let us come now to the Anniehronnon Iroquois, the proudest and most arrogant people of all these Regions. It was they who murdered Father Isaac Jogues, and burned Father Jean de Brebeuf, Father Gabriel Lallemant, and several other Frenchmen.

These Thrasos, after resolving to surprise and put to fire and sword the Village of Three Rivers, as we have seen [103] above, and finding more resistance than they had expected, were changed almost in a moment. Ten or twelve of their number appeared on the great river with a white Flag, approaching the fort, and calling out that they wished to parley and to treat of peace, and that some one should be sent to them for the purpose of hearing what they had to say. The one who presented himself, on the part

leur enuoyast quelqu'un pour les écouter. Celuy qui se presenta, de la part des François, commença par des inuectives, leur reprochant leurs fourbes, & leurs perfidies. Tu es un ieune homme, répondit le Capitaine de ces Iroquois, nous auons demandé quelqu'un qui nous écoutast, & non pas un ieune homme pour nous venir parler. Vas t'en voir tes vieillards, & ceux qui determinent de vos affaires, prend langue d'eux, & puis tu parleras. Je sçay, repart le François, leurs sentimens: ils [104] croyent tous, que vous estes des trompeurs, qui ne sçaez que c'est de tenir vostre parole. Va les consulter, & dis leur, que nous auons de bonnes pensées: & que nostre cœur n'a plus de venin. Le François remonta au fort; on s'assembla en la maison de Ville, & on creut, que ces Barbares, n'auoient aucune volonté de la paix: mais qu'ils cherchoient les occasions de nous surprendre. Cét homme les retourne voir. Je vous auois bien dit, leur fit-il, que j'auois connoissances des pensées de nos Anciens. Ils vous prennent tous pour des fourbes, & pour des gens avec lesquels il ne faut point parler, que par la bouche de nos canons. Si vous auiez des pensées de paix, vous parleriez de nous rendre un de nos Peres, & un François, que vos gens ont pris depuis [105] peu, és enuiron de Quebec. Ce Capitaine fut surpris à cette nouvelle, n'ayant point de connoissance de cette prise. Je n'ay pas sceu, repart-il qu'on ait pris des François: mais ie m'en vay presentement enuoyer deux canots en diligēce en nostre païs; afin d'empescher qu'on ne leur fasse aucun mal, & ie te donne parole, que s'ils font encor viuans, tu les verras bien-tost dās vos habitations.

Cét homme parloit d'un tel accent, que son cœur

of the French, began with invectives, reproaching them with their acts of knavishness, and perfidy. "Thou art a young man," returned the Captain of these Iroquois; "we asked for somebody to listen to us, and not for a young man to come and talk to us. Off with thee, to see thy elders and those that have the direction of your affairs; take thy speech from them, and then thou shalt speak." "I know their sentiments," replied the Frenchman; "they [104] all think you are deceivers who know not what it is to keep your word." "Go and consult them, and tell them that we have good intentions, and our hearts have no more venom." The Frenchman went up to the fort again; there was an assembly at the Town hall, and it was the opinion that these Barbarians had no peaceful intentions, but were seeking opportunities to surprise us. The man went back again to see them, and said to them: "I had told you plainly that I was acquainted with the thoughts of our Elders: they take you all for knaves, and for people with whom no communication must be held except by the mouths of our cannon. If you had thoughts of peace, you would speak of restoring to us one of our Fathers and a Frenchman, whom your people captured [105] a short time ago in the vicinity of Quebec." That Captain was surprised at this news, having no knowledge of the capture. "I did not know," returned he, "that any Frenchmen had been captured; but I will go at once and send two canoes with all haste to our country, in order to prevent any harm being done them; and I give thee my word that, if they are still alive, thou shalt soon see them in your settlements."

This man spoke in such a tone that his heart

parut s'accorder avec ses paroles. Mais vn rencontre arriua sur ces entrefaites, qui fit iuger, que ce petit rayon de paix, qui commençoit à poindre, s'alloit éteindre dès sa première naissance. Nos François s'imaginoient, que ces Barbares, ayans appris, que nos Hurons tenoient quelques-vns de leurs gens prisonniers, [106] demandoient la paix pour leur sauuer la vie: & par ie ne sçay quel malheur, disons plustost par vne secrette prouidence, ces prisonniers tomberent en leurs mains, en la façon que ie vay dire.

Vn Capitaine Huron allant en guerre, fut auerty par les François qui font à Montréal, qu'il y auoit des ennemis dedans leur Isle; ce Capitaine, comme nous auons desia remarqué, les cherche, les trouue à la piste, les poursuit, les attaque, & les ayant deffaits, il prit leur Capitaine, & quatre des principaux de ses gens; or comme il ne sçauoit pas, qu'il y eut vne armée d'Iroquois aux Trois Riuieres, & qu'il falloit passer par là, pour descendre à Quebec: où il vouloit mener ses prisonniers, il alla iustement donner dans les [107] panneaux, comme on dit. Car lors qu'il y pensoit le moins, & qu'il descendoit doucement sur le grand fleuve; s'entretenant de la paix, & de la guerre, avec ses prisonniers, il apperçeut de loin, l'armée Iroquoise: & il se vid, quasi en vn moment, de victorieux, vaincu: & de triomphant, captif. Vne partie de ses gens, tournant le cap de leurs petits batteaux vers la terre, se sauuēt au plustost vers les bois: les autres, ne voulans pas reculer, furent sur le point de massacrer leurs cinq captifs, pour mourir plus glorieusement, selon les idées du païs dans le sang de leurs ennemis. Mais Dieu retint

seemed to be in accord with his words. Meanwhile, however, an incident took place which made us think this little ray of peace that was beginning to dawn was going to be extinguished at its very birth. Our French people imagined that those Barbarians, upon learning that our Hurons were holding some of their men as prisoners, [106] were asking for peace in order to save the lives of the latter; and, by some misfortune or other—or let us rather say, by an inscrutable providence—these prisoners fell into their hands in the manner I am about to describe.

A Huron Captain, upon starting out to war, was warned by the French at Montreal that there were some enemies within the confines of their Island. This Captain, as we have already noted, hunted for them, and traced, pursued, and attacked them; and after defeating them, he captured their Captain and four of his principal followers. Now, as he did not know that there was an army of Iroquois at Three Rivers, and as he was obliged to pass by that place in going down to Quebec, whither he wished to conduct his prisoners, he fell right into the [107] trap, as the saying is. For, when he was least expecting such a thing, and was quietly proceeding down the great river, talking with his prisoners about peace and war, he caught sight of the Iroquois army from a distance, and saw himself changed, almost in a moment, from victor to vanquished, and from being triumphant to being himself a captive. Part of his men, turning the prows of their little boats toward the land, ran away as fast as they could toward the woods; the others, not wishing to retreat, were on the point of butchering their five prisoners,—that they might die the more gloriously, according to the

leur bras, defia leué pour ramener le coup. Il leur donna des penfées de vie, & de paix, à la veuë de la mort, & dans les apparences de la continuation d'une cruelle guerre. [108] Aaoueaté Capitaine des Hurons, s'adreffant au Capitaine Iroquois fon captif, nommé Aronhieiarha, luy dit: Mon neveu, (c'est vn terme d'amitié vfité parmy ces peuples) ta vie eft entre mes mains, ie te peux tuer, & me fauuer auffi bien que les autres, où me ietter au milieu de tes gens, pour en maffacrer autant qu'il me feroit poffible: mais ton fang, & celuy de tes gens, ne nous retireroit pas des malheurs, où vos armes nous ont iettez. Nous auons parlé d'alliance, puis que la paix eft plus precieufe que ma vie, j'aime mieux la rifquer, dans le deffein de procurer vn fi grand bien à mes petits neveux, que de venger par l'effufion de ton fang, la mort de mes Anceftres. Au moins mourray-ie honorablement, fi on me tuë, apres t'auoir donné la vie. [109] Et toy, fi tu me laiffe m'affacrer par tes parens, le pouuant empescher, tu passeras le refte de tes iours, dans le deshonneur; tu feras tenu pour vn lafche, d'auoir fouffert qu'on mit à mort, celuy qui venoit de te donner la vie. Le Capitaine Iroquois repartit: Mon oncle, tes penfées font droites. Il eft vray, que tu me peux oster la vie: mais donne la moy, pour te la conferuer. La gloire que j'ay acquife à ma Nation, par mes victoires, ne me rend pas fi peu cōfiderable, dās l'esprit de mes Compatriotes, que ie ne puiffe t'affeurer de la vie, toy & tes gens. Si les miens te veulent attaquer, mon corps te feruira de bouclier. Je souffrirois pluftoft, qu'ils me brûlaffent à petit feu, que de me rendre méprifable iufques à ce point, de ne pas honorer vofre

notions of the country, in their enemies' blood. But God stayed their arms, already raised to deal the blow, and gave them thoughts of life and of peace, at the sight of death and when there were indications of the continuation of a cruel war. [108] Aaoueaté, Captain of the Hurons, addressing his captive—the Iroquois Captain, Aronhieiarha—by name, said to him: “My nephew” (that is a term of friendship used among these tribes), “thy life is in my hands: I can kill thee and make my escape with the others, or rush into the midst of thy people and kill as many of them as possible. But thy blood and that of thy people would not deliver us from the ills into which your arms have thrown us. We spoke of alliance. Since peace is more precious than my life, I choose to risk the latter, for the sake of insuring so great a blessing to my grandnephews, rather than to avenge the death of my Ancestors by shedding thy blood. At least I shall die honorably, if I am killed, after having given thee thy life. [109] And if thou, on thy part, suffer me to be killed by thy kinsmen, being able to prevent it, thou shalt pass the rest of thy days in dishonor and shalt be deemed a dastard for having allowed to be put to death one who had just given thee thy life.” The Iroquois Captain made answer: “My uncle, thy thoughts are right. It is true, thou canst take my life; but give it to me, in order that I may save thine own. The glory that I have won for my Nation by my victories does not render me of so little consequence in the minds of my Compatriots that I cannot secure to thee thy life, and that of thy people as well. If my people wish to attack thee, my body shall serve thee as a shield. I would rather suffer them to burn me by a slow fire

bien-fait, [110] & 'mon retour, par vostre déliurance.

Les Onnontaeronnons, qui portoient les presens, dont nous venons de parler, à Onnontio, c'est à dire à Monsieur le Gouverneur, pour disposer son esprit à la paix, s'estans embarquez à Montreal, avec ces deux Capitaines victorieux, & vaincu, voyans la medaille tournée, & la face des affaires bien changée, par le rencontre de cette armée Iroquoise, se mirent du costé des Hurons, & protesterēt, tout haut, que si on attaquoit leurs conducteurs, car c'estoient les Hurons qui les auoient embarqués, qu'ils exposeroient leur vie pour eux. Aronhieiarha Capitaine Iroquois leur dit, ne craignés point. Je vous donne parole, que nous ferons receus fauorablement. Ils [111] auoient fait alté pendant cē discours. Ils pouffent leurs canots vers l'Armée qui les ayant reconnus enuoie dix-huit grands canots au deuant deux. Ils se virent inuestis de tous costés en vn moment, ces canots venoient tous avec vn esprit de paix: iufques la, que celuy qui les commandoit, ayant parlé en peu de mots au Capitaine Iroquois captif, son compatriote, enuoia du monde à terre, pour chercher les Hurons fuyards, & leur donner assurance de la vie, & de la paix. Aaueaté Capitaine Huron, se voyāt au milieu de ses Ennemis, dont les témoignages de bienueillance, luy paroiffoient des marques de trahison: & leurs careffes, des indices de sa mort, ou plustost de mille morts, auant que de mourir: se leue, & pour l'animer aux souffrances, [112] chante d'vn ton tout martial, ses anciens proüesses; Il rapporte le nombre d'Iroquois qu'il a tués, les cruautés qu'il a exercé sur eux, & cellés dont il espere, que ses neuëux vengeront quelque iour, les tourmens qu'il va souffrir.

than to render me contemptible to the extent of not honoring your benefaction [110] and my return, by setting you free."

The Onnontaeronnons who were bearing the presents which we have just mentioned, to Onnontio,—that is, to Monsieur the Governor,—in order to incline his heart to peace, after embarking at Montreal with these two Captains, victor and vanquished, and seeing the tables turned and the aspect of affairs reversed by meeting with this Iroquois army, put themselves on the side of the Hurons, and stoutly maintained that, if any one attacked their escort,—for it was the Hurons who had taken them into their boats,—they would risk their own lives for them. Aronhieiarha, the Iroquois Captain, said to them: "Fear not; I give you my word that we shall be favorably received." They [111] had halted during this conversation, after which they urged their canoes toward the Army; which, after reconnoitering them, sent eighteen large canoes to meet them. They saw themselves surrounded on all sides in a very short time; but these canoes all came with peaceful intent,—so entirely so, that their commander, after holding a brief interview with the captive Iroquois Captain, his countryman, sent some men ashore to look for the runaway Hurons and give them assurance of life and peace. Seeing himself in the midst of his Enemies, whose testimonials of good will seemed to him signs of treachery, and their caresses signs of his death,—or, rather, of a thousand deaths before the final one,—Aaoueaté, the Huron Captain, arose and, in order to give himself courage for suffering, [112] sang, in a martial tone, his former deeds of prowess. He related the number of Iroquois he had

Tu n'es ny captif, ny en danger de mort, luy répondent les Iroquois, tu es au milieu de tes freres, & tu sçauras que le François, le Huron & l'Iroquois, quitte la chanfon de guerre, entonne vne chanfon de paix, qui commence aujourd'huy pour ne finir iamais.

Vous estes des perfides, repart le Capitaine Huron, vostre cœur est enuenimé, vostre esprit est remply de fourbes, si vous parlés de paix, ce n'est que pour vser d'une [113] trahison plus funeste, & pour nous & pour les François. Je ne connoy que trop vos ruses. Contentés vous maintenant, de manger la teste des Hurons: mais sçachés que vous ne tenés pas encor les autres membres. Mes gens ont encor des pieds, & des mains; des iambes & des bras: cela dit, il tend le col pour estre coupé: mais voyant que personne ne mettoit la main au cousteau, bruslés moy donc, leur dit-il, n'epargnés point vos supplices: aussi bien fuis-ie mort. Mon corps est déjà deuenu insensible, ny vos feux, ny vos cruautés n'estonnent point mon cœur, i'ayme mieux mourir aujourdhuy, que de vous estre redeuable d'une vie, que vous ne me donnés, qu'à dessein de me l'oster par vne trahison funeste.

Tu parles trop rudement à tes [114] Amis, répondent les Iroquois, nostre cœur s'accorde auec nos paroles.

Je vous connoy bien, repart Aoueaté, vostre esprit est garny de sept doublures, quand on en a tiré vne, il en reste encor six. Dites-moy de grace, si cette trahison que vous machinez si adroitement, est la dernière de vos malices? Vous vous estes oubliez des

killed, the cruelties he had perpetrated upon them, and those with which he hoped his nephews would some day avenge the torments he was himself about to endure.

“Thou art neither a captive nor in danger of death,” the Iroquois answered him; “thou art in the midst of thy brothers; and thou must know that the Frenchman, the Huron, and the Iroquois are dropping the war-song and are beginning a song of peace, which begins to-day, to last forever.”

“You are faithless rogues,” rejoined the Huron Captain; “your hearts are full of venom, and your minds of knavishness; if you talk of peace, it is only to employ a [113] treachery more baleful both for us and for the French. I know your wiles only too well. Content yourselves now with eating the head of the Hurons; but know that you do not yet hold the other members. My people still have feet and hands, legs and arms.” Saying this, he offered his throat for them to cut; but seeing that not a man put his hand to his knife, “Burn me, then,” he said to them; “do not spare your tortures,—all the more, as I am a dead man. My body has already become insensible; and neither your fires nor your cruelties will shock my courage. I would rather die to-day than be indebted to you for a life which you give me only with the intention of depriving me of it by some dire treachery.”

“Thou speakest too harshly to thy [114] Friends,” returned the Iroquois; “our hearts are in accord with our words.”

“I know you well,” rejoined Aoueaté; “your minds are furnished with seven linings, and when one of them is taken away, there are still six remain-

paroles mutuelles, que s'estoient données nos Ancestres, lors qu'ils prirent les armes les vns contre les autres. Que si vne simple femme, se mettoit en deuoir de découurer la Su[e]rie, d'arracher les bastons qui la soustiennent, que les victorieux poseroient les armes, & prendroient les vaincus à mercy. Vous auez violé cette loy: car non seulement vne femme; mais le grand Capitaine des François, a [115] découuert cette Suerie funeste, où se prennent les conclusions de la guerre; il a par ses presens, arraché les bastons qui la soustiennent, taschant de gagner les Nations que vous appuyez, & vous méprisans sa bonté, vous auez foulé aux pieds les ordres, & la parole de vos Ancestres. Ils en rougissent de hôte au pays des Ames, voyans que vous violez, auec vne perfidie insupportable, les loix de la nature, le droit des Gens, & toute la societé humaine.

Cét homme pressa ce point si fortement, que le Capitaine Iroquois, fut cōtraint d'auoüer qu'ils auoient tort, & que dorefnauant les choses passeroient d'vn autre air.

Ils furent long-temps dans cette conteste. Le Huron ne pouuant croire ce qu'il voyoit; & les Iroquois [116] ne pouuant luy persuader, que c'estoit vrayemēt tout de bon, qu'ils auoient des pensées de la paix.

Quoy qu'il en soit, les Iroquois, non seulement ne firent aucun mal aux Hurons, mais ils ne parlerent plus que de festins, & de réjouïffance, tant la face des affaires se vit changée en vn moment.

Enfin, apres quelques entretiens d'amitié, vn Capitaine Iroquois s'adressant au Capitaine Huron, & le congediant auec honneur, luy dit, Mon Frere,

ing. Tell me, I beg you, whether this treachery that you are devising with such skill is the last of your knavish tricks. You have forgotten the exchange of promises that took place between our Ancestors,—when they took up arms, the one side against the other,—to the effect that if a mere woman should undertake to uncover the Sweat-house and take away the stakes supporting it, the victors should lay down their arms and show mercy to the vanquished. You have violated this law; for not merely a woman, but the great Captain of the French has [115] uncovered this ill-omened Sweat-house where decisions of war are adopted. By his presents he has taken away the stakes that support it, trying to win the Nations which you are upholding; and you, scorning his kindness, have trampled under foot the orders and the promise of your Ancestors. They blush with shame, in the land of Souls, at seeing you violate, with an unbearable perfidy, the laws of nature, the law of Nations, and all human society.”

That man pressed this point so urgently that the Iroquois Captain was forced to admit that they were in the wrong, promising that in the future things should go differently.

They were a long time engaged in this altercation, the Huron being unable to believe what he saw, and the Iroquois [116] unable to persuade him that they were really in earnest in entertaining thoughts of peace.

But, whatever the state of affairs, the Iroquois not only did no harm to the Hurons, but they also talked of nothing but feasting and rejoicing,—so greatly was the aspect of affairs changed in a moment.

At length, after some interchange of friendly

Et Sagon, prends courage, vas faire reuerdir les campagnes des François, par les bonnes nouuelles de la paix, que nous voulons auoir avec eux, & avec tous leurs Alliez. On luy rend tout son bagage, & celuy de ses gens, à la reserue d'une arquebuse qui s'estoit égarée. Ce Capitaine Huron, ne pensant pas encores [117] estre en assurance, s'écrie, Quoy donc, oste-t'on les armes à vn homme, qui se trouue seul entre cinq cens? A mesme temps on iette à ses pieds, cent arquebuses, pour en choisir vne, en la place de la sienne, que quelque soldat auoit enleuée. Cela fait, il s'embarque, avec le peu de ses gens qui luy restoient; & avec les Ambassadeurs d'Onnontaté, pour voguer droit à la Bourgade des Trois Riuieres.

Ce Capitaine, qui est Chrestien, a dit depuis à vn de nos Peres, qu'il ne creut point auoir la vie sauue, iusques à ce qu'il vit son canot, hors la portée des moufquets de l'armée ennemie: c'est pour lors qu'il s'écria avec S. Pierre, Je sçay maintenant que Dieu m'a deliuré de la main des Iroquois.

Nos François qui ne sçauoient [118] rien, de ce qui se passoit dans le camp des Ennemis, furent bien estonnez, apprenans ces nouuelles. Ils ne sçauoient quasi, s'ils les deuoient croire: mais enfin ils se rendirent, quand ils eurent auis, qu'un Capitaine Iroquois Anniehronnon, nommé Andioura, vouloit descendre à Quebec, pour porter des presens à Onnontio, & l'affurer des volôtez qu'ils auoient tous de faire vne vraye paix.

Cét homme partit des Trois Riuieres, au commencement du mois de Septembre, & aussi-tost qu'il fut arriué à Quebec, ayant rendu ses premieres visites, il exposa ses presens, dont voicy la signification.

words, an Iroquois Captain, addressing the Huron Captain and dismissing him with honor, said to him: "My Brother, *Et Sagon*, cheer up, go and make the fields of the French green again with the good news of the peace that we wish to have with them and with all their Allies." All his baggage was restored to him, together with that of his followers, with the exception of an arquebus which had been lost. The Huron Captain, not yet believing [117] that he was in safety, cried out: "How is this, do you take away a man's arms when he is alone among five hundred?" Immediately a hundred arquebuses were thrown down at his feet, for him to choose one in place of his own, which some warrior had carried away. That done, he embarked with the few of his people who were left him, and with the Ambassadors from Onnontae, to proceed directly to the Village of Three Rivers.

This Captain, who is a Christian, has since told one of our Fathers that he did not regard his life as out of danger until he saw his canoe beyond the range of the hostile army's muskets; then he cried out with St. Peter: "I know now that God has delivered me from the hand of the Iroquois."

Our French, who knew [118] nothing of what was going on in the Enemy's camp, were greatly astonished at learning this news. They scarcely knew whether to believe it, but finally allowed themselves to do so, when they received word that an Anniehronnon Iroquois Captain, Andioura by name, wished to go down to Quebec, in order to carry some presents to Onnontio and assure him of the desires they all felt to conclude a genuine peace.

This man set out from Three Rivers in the begin-

Le premier estoit, pour éclaircir le Soleil, obscurcy par les nuages, & par les troubles de tant de guerres.

[119] Le second estoit vn mets, qu'il presentoit à Onnontio, Gouverneur des François: afin qu'estant repeu, il écoutast plus facilement les paroles de la paix, puis que les longs discours, ne font pas agreables, à ceux qui font à ieun.

Le troisiéme devoit seruir de cure oreille: afin que les harangues sur vn sujet si aimable, entraissent plus nettement dans son esprit.

Le quatriéme se donnoit pour dresser vne Habitation Françoisse dedans leurs terres, & pour y former, avec le temps, vne belle Colonie.

Le cinquiéme, pour faire qu'un mesme cœur, & vn mesme esprit, animast dorenavant, tous ceux qui seroient compris dans ce traité de paix.

Le sixiéme estoit vn canot, ou [120] vn batteau, pour porter Onnontio en leur pays, quand il voudroit donner vne visite à ses Alliez.

Le septiéme portoit vne priere, à ce qu'on les laissast rembarquer en paix, pour retourner en leur pays, lors qu'ils viendroient visiter leurs amis François, Algonquins, & Hurons.

Le huitiéme, demandoit que la chasse fut commune, entre toutes les Nations confederées, & qu'on ne fit plus la guerre qu'aux Elans, aux Castors, aux Ours, & aux Cerfs, pour gouter tous ensemble les frians mets, qu'on tire de ces bons animaux.

Monsieur le Gouverneur répondit par d'autres presens, qu'il fit expliquer par son Interprete, à la façon de ces peuples.

Le premier se donnoit, pour redresser l'esprit d'Andioura, c'est le [121] nom du Capitaine Iroquois,

ning of the month of September, and as soon as he arrived at Quebec, after paying his first visits, he displayed his presents, their meaning being as follows:

The first was to make bright the Sun, darkened by the clouds and the disturbances of so many wars.

[119] The second was a dish which he presented to Onnontio, Governor of the French, in order that, after satisfying his hunger, he might listen more readily to the words of peace, as long speeches are not pleasing to those who are fasting.

The third was to serve as an ear-pick, in order that the harangues upon so pleasant a theme might enter his mind more distinctly.

The fourth was given for the building of a French Settlement within their territory, and for the formation there, in course of time, of a fine Colony.

The fifth, to cause that one and the same heart and spirit should, in the future, animate all those who should be embraced in this treaty of peace.

The sixth was a canoe or [120] boat, for carrying Onnontio to their country when he wished to pay a visit to his Allies.

The seventh bore a petition that they be allowed to embark again in peace and return to their country, when they came to visit their French, Algonquin, and Huron friends.

The eighth asked that the hunting might be shared by all the confederated Nations, and that there might be no more war except on the Elks, Beavers, Bears, and Deer,—in order that all might enjoy together the dainty dishes that are obtained from these good animals.

Monsieur the Governor made answer by means of

qui venoit d'exposer ses présents. Si ton esprit est encor tortu, luy dit le Truchement, voicy dequoy le redresser, afin que tes pensées soient droites.

Le second, estoit pour l'affurer, que nous n'aurions plus qu'un cœur avec luy, & avec tous ceux de la Nation.

Le troisième, pour concourir avec eux, à dresser & applanir les chemins d'un pays à l'autre: afin de se visiter les uns les autres, avec plus de facilité.

Le quatrième, pour estendre un tapis, ou une nappe aux Trois Rivières, où se tiendroient les conseils, & les assemblées de toutes les Nations.

Le cinquième, pour disposer un lieu dans leur pays, où feroient exposer, les présents d'Onnontio.

[122] Le sixième, estoit pour rompre les liens, qui tenoient captif en leur pays le Pere Joseph Poncet, que tous les François honoroient, & qu'ils demandoient avec instance.

Le septième, pour le relever de la place, où il estoit couché, lié, & garotté.

Le huitième, pour luy ouvrir la porte de la cabane, où il estoit logé.

Le neuvième, pour adoucir les fatigues, qu'il devoit souffrir en son chemin, à son retour.

Le dernier présent, estoit composé de six capots ou espèces de cafaques, de six tapabors, & de deux grands colliers de porcelaine, qui furent offerts aux six Ambassadeurs, pour les défendre contre les iniures du temps, dans leur voyage, & pour soulager les peines, [123] qu'ils devoient souffrir en chemin.

Il se fit quelques harangues, apres la distribution de ces présents. Noel Tekouerimat Algonquin, inuectiva puissamment contre la perfidie des Iroquois,

other presents, which he caused to be explained by his Interpreter, after the manner of these peoples.

The first was to set aright the mind of Andioura,—the [121] name of the Iroquois Captain who had just displayed his presents. “If thy mind is still twisted,” said the Interpreter to him, “here is something with which to straighten it, in order that thy thoughts may be right.”

The second was to assure him that we had thenceforth only one heart with him and with all the people of his Nation.

The third, to unite with them in straightening and clearing the roads from one country to the other, in order that visits might be exchanged with greater ease.

The fourth, to spread a carpet or mat at Three Rivers, on which might be held the councils and assemblies of all the Nations.

The fifth, to prepare a place in their country, for displaying the presents from Onnontio.

[122] The sixth was to break the bonds that held captive, in their country, Father Joseph Poncet, whom all the French honored and asked for with urgency.

The seventh, to raise him from the place where he was lying bound and tied fast.

The eighth, to open for him the door of the cabin where he was lodged.

The ninth, to mitigate the fatigues that he must suffer on his return journey.

The last present was composed of six hooded cloaks, or cassocks of a certain kind, six riding-caps, and two large porcelain collars; these were presented to the six Ambassadors to protect them against

leur reprochant qu'ils auoient tué par cinq ou fix fois de leurs Ancestres, à l'heure mesme qu'ils remenoïët des prisonniers Iroquois en leur pays, pour rechercher la paix. Que les Algonquins auoient receu avec honneur, tous les Iroquois qui les estoient venus visiter en leur pays. Qu'au reste, que s'ils auoient desseïn de contracter vne veritable alliance, ils renuoyeroient plusieurs femmes, qu'ils retenoient dans la captiuité; que si elles estoient mariées, leurs maris les pourroient suiure, pour demeurer avec elles au pays des Algonquins; [124] & que si ce pays ne leur estoit pas agreable, qu'ils les pourroient remener au lieu d'où ils les auroient amenées: que c'est ainsi qu'en vsoient leurs Alliez, qui demeurent sur les riuages de la mer, en l'Acadie.

Vn Capitaine Huron repartit, qu'il falloit maintenant oublier les anciennes querelles, & que si l'Iroquois auoit mal traité les Algonquins, qu'il leur rendoit la pareille, ayant rabaissé leur insolence, par vne autre insolence: & que le Ciel punit ordinairement au double, ceux qui abusent de ses faueurs dans leurs victoires.

Monfieur le Gouverneur fit dire par son Truchement, qu'il auoit toujours desiré d'estre le Mediateur de la paix publique. Qu'il n'auoit point encor pris les armes contre les Iroquois, & que [125] s'il eut donné liberté à ses gens de les attaquer, qu'il y a long-temps que leurs Bourgades seroient reduites en cendre. Qu'ils auoient tres-bien fait de rechercher son alliance: pource qu'il se laissoit de crier si fouuent; la paix, la paix. Que si presentement, on ne la faisoit pas avec sincerité, que les perfides éprouueroient la colere des François. Qu'au reste Annon-

the inclemency of the weather on their journey, and to lighten the fatigues [123] which they must undergo on the way.

After the distribution of these presents, a number of speeches were made. Noel Tekouerimat, an Algonquin, inveighed forcibly against the perfidy of the Iroquois,—reproaching them with having killed, on five or six occasions, some of the Algonquins' Ancestors at the very time when the latter were conducting some Iroquois prisoners back to their own country, in order to seek peace; while the Algonquins had received with honor all the Iroquois who had come to their country to visit them. Besides, he said, if they purposed the formation of a genuine alliance, they would send back a number of women whom they were holding in captivity; if these were married, their husbands could follow them, to dwell with them in the country of the Algonquins; [124] and if this country did not please them, the Iroquois could take them back to the place whence they had brought them. Such, he said, was the usage of their Allies who dwelt on the sea-coast in Acadia.

A Huron Captain made answer that the old disputes must now be forgotten; that, if the Iroquois had treated the Algonquins ill, he was paying them back like for like, in humbling their insolence by another insolence; and that Heaven generally punishes in twofold measure those who abuse its favors in their victories.

Monsieur the Governor made reply through his Interpreter, to the effect that he had always desired to be the Mediator of public peace; that he had not yet taken up arms against the Iroquois; and that, [125] if he had permitted his people to attack them,

hiasé, c'est Monsieur de Maifonneüe, Gouverneur de Montreal, devoit aborder au plustost, & qu'il amenoit quantité de soldats, pour ranger nos ennemis à leur deuoir.

Vn Capitaine Huron conclud le conseil, par vne petite harangue fort éloquente, preffant les Iroquois, de ramener au plustost le Pere Poncet. Sçachez, leur difoit-il, qu'il est le Pere des François, des Algonquins, & des Hurons: [126] & qu'il nous enseigne à tous le chemin du Ciel, chacun en nostre langue. Soyez assurez que la paix, qui fera confirmée par la deliurance d'un tel personnage, sera inuiolable de nostre costé; & que vous la cimenterez plus fortemēt, en le rendant aux François, que si vous nous rameniez vn monde entier de Hurons, voire mesme d'autres François, si vous les teniez dans la captiuité.

Les harangues finies, & les presens donnez, & acceptez de part & d'autre: on témoigna quelques réjouïssances de tous costez, & en fuite les Ambassadeurs Onnontaeronnon, & Anniehronnon, s'en retournerent en leur pays.

Tout cela se passa au mois de Septembre: mais enfin, le Pere Ioseph Poncet paroissant à Quebec, le cinquième de Nouembre, [127] remplit tous les cœurs des François, de ioye, & d'allegresse. Les lettres & les memoires, qui parloient de son arriuée, & des conseils tenus pour la conclusion de la paix, ont esté perdus, dans le vaisseau pris par les Anglois. Voicy deux petits mots, tirez d'une lettre écrite à vne personne de condition, qui disent beaucoup en peu de paroles. Il a donc pleu à Dieu, d'exaucer nos prieres, & de nous rendre le bon Pere Poncet. Sept

their Villages would have been long ago reduced to ashes. He said they had acted very wisely in seeking an alliance with him, because he was tired of so often crying, "Peace, peace!" And, if now it were not made with sincerity, the faithless ones would feel the wrath of the French. Furthermore, Annonhiasé—that is, Monsieur de Maisonneuve, Governor of Montreal—was expected to arrive very soon; and he was bringing with him a large force of soldiers to impose respectful behavior upon our enemies.

A Huron Captain closed the council with a short harangue of great eloquence, in which he urged the Iroquois to bring back Father Poncet at the earliest moment. "Know," he said to them, "that he is the Father of the French, of the Algonquins, and of the Hurons, [126] and that he teaches us all, each in his own language, the way to Heaven. Be assured that the peace which shall be confirmed by the deliverance of such a personage will be inviolable on our side, and that you will seal it more firmly by restoring him to the French than if you brought back to us a whole world of Hurons or even of other Frenchmen,—supposing them to be in captivity."

The harangues concluded and the presents interchanged, rejoicing was manifested on all sides; and then the Ambassadors, Onnontaeronnon and Anniehronnon, returned to their own country.

All this occurred in the month of September; but at length Father Joseph Poncet, appearing at Quebec on the fifth of November, [127] filled the hearts of all the French people with joy and gladness. The letters and memoirs which told of his arrival and of the councils held for the establishment of peace, were lost in the vessel taken by the English.⁸ Here

Iroquois l'ont ramené avec huit prefens : qui font les premices, de ceux que leurs Anciens doiuent apporter au Printemps, pour establir la paix generale, qui semble concluë. Le Pere Poncet assure sur sa vie, de la sincerité des intentions des Ennemis. Dieu vetuille qu'il ne se trompe pas. Amen, Amen.

[128] Ces derniers Ambassadeurs, voyans que la saison s'auançoit, & que les glaces les pourroient arrester en chemin dans vn long voyage, exposerent briuement leur legation, donnerent leurs prefens, avec assurance, que la paix qu'ils faifoient seroit inuiolable de leur costé, & apres auoir pris congé, & receu des témoignages reciproques de la bonne volonté des François, ils leur laisserent le plaisir & la ioye, qu'apporte vne paix si long-temps desirée. Bon-heur que ie fouhaitte à la France, de toute l'estenduë de mon cœur.

are two short extracts taken from a letter written to a person of quality; they say much in a few words: "God has, then, been pleased to answer our prayers and give back to us the good Father Poncet. Seven Iroquois escorted him home with eight presents, which are an earnest of those which their Elders are to bring in the Spring for the establishment of the general peace, which seems to be decided upon. Father Poncet pledges his life for the sincerity of the Enemy's intentions. God grant he may not be deceived. Amen, Amen."

[128] "These last Ambassadors, seeing that the season was advancing, and that the ice might bar their way on a long journey, briefly stated the purpose of their embassy, and gave their presents with the assurance that the peace they were making would be inviolable on their side. Then, after taking leave, and receiving reciprocal testimonials of the good-will of the French, they left with the latter the pleasure and joy resulting from a peace so long desired,—a happiness which I wish to France with all my heart."

[129] CHAPITRE VI.

DE LA PAIX FAITE AVEC VNE NATION QUI HABITE DU COSTÉ DU SUD À L'EGARD DE QUEBEC.

IL femble que Dieu ait voulu donner, vne paix vniuerfelle, à la Nouvelle France. Plaife à fa Bonté, de la rendre stable, & folide. Neuf Algonquins, de la Residence de faint Ioseph à Sillery, estans allez, au mois de Nouembre, à la chasse du Castor, s'écartèrent de quatre iournées, des riués du grand fleuve, du costé du Sud-est, c'est à dire, entre l'Orient & le Midy. Comme ils marchoiēt, à la pointe du iour, dans ces grandes forests: cherchans quelques lacs, ou quelques riuieres, où les Castors bastirent leurs maisons: [130] ils rencontrerent les pistes de quelques hommes. Ils crurent aussi-tost, que c'estoient des Iroquois. Ils marchent sur leurs brifées, & sur leurs traces, quittans la chasse des Castors, pour chasser aux hommes. Ils doubloient le pas, mais sans bruit, pour n'estre découuerts. Enfin ils trouuerent, deuant que le Soleil parut, cinq hommes endormis, dans vne cabane passagere, qu'ils auoient dresseé, à la façon des chasseurs. Ils se iettent aussi-tost sur leur proye. L'vn d'iceux voulāt vser de resistance, fut arresté par vn coup de fusil, qu'vn Algonquin luy tira dans la cuisse. En vn mot, ils se virent dans les liens des hommes, quasi deuant que d'estre deliurez des liens du fommeil.

Aussi-tost que nos gens eurent fait cette prise, ils

[129] CHAPTER VI.

OF THE PEACE MADE WITH A NATION DWELLING IN
A SOUTHERLY DIRECTION FROM QUEBEC.

IT seems to have been God's will to give a universal peace to New France; may it please his Goodness to render it stable and lasting. Nine Algonquins of the Residence of saint Joseph at Sillery, going to hunt Beaver in the month of November, turned aside from the banks of the great river and went four days' journey toward the Southeast, that is, in a direction between the East and the South. While they were proceeding at daybreak through those vast forests, seeking some lakes or rivers where the Beavers built their houses, [130] they came upon the trail of some men. They immediately thought that these were Iroquois, and they followed close upon their heels, leaving the hunting of Beavers in order to hunt men. They quickened their pace, but noiselessly, in order not to be discovered. At length they found, before the Sun rose, five men asleep in a temporary cabin, which they had erected after the manner of hunters. They immediately pounced upon their prey, one of whom, wishing to use resistance, was quieted by a musket-shot delivered him in the thigh by an Algonquin. In a word, they saw themselves in the bonds of men, almost before they were delivered from the bonds of sleep.

As soon as our party had made this capture, they lost all thought [131] of Beavers, and brought their

perdent la pensée [131] des Castors, ramenans ces captifs à Sillery. Or comme il y auoit en cette Residence, vn ramas de diuerfes Nations, dont vne partie n'estoient pas encor Chrestiens: ils receurent ces captifs d'une estrange façon. On les charge de coups de bastons, on leur arrache les ongles, on leur coupe quelques doigts, on leur applique des tifons de feu: bref on les traite en Sauvages, & comme des ennemis des Sauvages. Noel Tekouerimat, bon Chrestien, & Capitaine de cette Residence, ayant ouy parler ces prisonniers, dit tout haut, qu'ils n'estoient pas Iroquois, & qu'il doutoit fort, qu'ils fussent de leurs Alliez. Ils font, disoit-il, Abnaquiois ou voisins, & amis des Abnaquiois. Il ajoutoit, qu'estant vers les costes de la Nouvelle Ang[1]eterre, au dernier [132] voyage qu'il auoit fait, au païs des Abnaquiois, il croyoit auoir veu quelqu'un de ces vifages. Cela arrefta le coup de leur mort: mais il n'appaisa pas la fureur de ceux, qui estans enragez contre les Iroquois, fouhaitoient d'affouuir leur vengeance sur ces pauvres miserables. Et pour les faire mourir avec quelque Iustice, ils dirent, qu'il se falloit assembler pour deliberer de leur vie, ou de leur mort.

Noel, qui vit bien que la passion, & non la raison, assembloit ce conseil, ne s'y voulut pas trouuer. Les factieux ne laissent pas de passer outre; ils condamnent au feu ces pauvres victimes. Nostre Capitaine Chrestien voyant ce defordre, fait des prefens pour racheter leur vie. On fait derechef vne assemblée: on donne la [133] vie à quatre, & on veut brusler le cinquième. Mais Noel, voyant que ces assemblées n'estoient pas de toutes les Nations interressées

captives back to Sillery. Now, as there was at this Residence a gathering from different Nations, a part of whom were not yet Christians, they gave the prisoners a strange reception. They were belabored with blows; their nails were torn out, and some of their fingers cut off; firebrands were applied to their bodies; and, in short, they were treated like Savages and enemies of Savages. Noel Tekouerimat, a good Christian and the Captain of this Residence, after hearing these prisoners talk, said emphatically that they were not Iroquois, and that he doubted very much whether they were Allies of the latter. "They are," said he, "Abnaquiois, or neighbors and friends of the Abnaquiois." He added that, when he was in the neighborhood of New England, on the last [132] journey he had made to the country of the Abnaquiois, he thought he had seen one of those faces. This statement arrested their execution, but did not appease the fury of those who, being enraged against the Iroquois, wished to wreak their vengeance upon these poor wretches. And in order to make them die with some show of Justice, they said an assembly must be held to deliberate upon their life or death.

Noel, seeing plainly that passion and not reason was calling this council, would not attend it. The factious element did not cease its proceedings, but condemned these poor victims to the flames. Our Christian Captain, seeing this lawless conduct, made presents for the ransom of their lives. Again an assembly was called, and [133] four of the men were given their lives, while it was desired to burn the fifth. But Noel, seeing that these assemblies were not composed of all the Nations interested in the war, exclaimed that a general council of all the chief

dedans la guerre; s'écrie, qu'il faut tenir vn conseil vniuersel, de tous les principaux, qui se trouuoient pour lors au pays, & qu'il ne falloit pas proceder à la legere, dans des affaires si importants: où il s'agissoit de la vie des hommes, & peut-estre d'une nouvelle guerre. Cét auis fut fuiuy. On s'affemble, les Capitaines haranguent à leur tour. L'auis commun, & le plus vniuersel, fut, qu'ils estoient tous coupables, ou tous innocens, & par consequent qu'ils deuoient tous mourir, ou qu'il leur falloit donner la vie à tous. Là dessus, comme la paix n'estoit pas encor faite avec les Iroquois, Noel Tekouerimat parle fortement, disant [134] que nous auions assez d'ennemis sur les bras, qu'il ne falloit pas en multiplier le nombre; que ces pauvres gens ne venoient point en guerre; que c'estoient des Chasseurs, & qu'il les falloit renvoyer en leur pays.

Les principaux du Conseil, fuiuans cette pensée, conclurent qu'il n'en falloit faire mourir aucun: & qu'il estoit à propos d'en renvoyer deux en leur pays: pour donner auis à leur Nation, de ce qui s'estoit passé. On les fit venir sur l'heure mesme dans l'assemblée: où ils parurent liez, & tous nus, excepté leur brayer. Ils s'affirent à platte terre, pour entendre leur sentence, qui les réjouyt fort. Vn Capitaine prenant la parole, fit vne petite harangue, leur disant, qu'ils auoient tous la vie: que pas vn d'eux ne mourroit: [135] qu'ils estoient libres. A mesme temps, on coupe leurs liens, qu'on iette au feu, on les fait leuer debout: on leur donne à chacun dequoy se courir: & on les exhorte à chanter, & à danfer, & à se réjouyr, puis qu'ils estoient parmy leurs amis. Ce commandement fut executé sur

men then in the country must be held; and that they must not proceed lightly in affairs of such importance, wherein human life, and perhaps a new war, were concerned. This advice was followed, a meeting was held, and the Captains made speeches, each in his turn. The common and most general opinion was that the prisoners were all guilty or all innocent; and that, consequently, they ought all to die, or all be given their lives. Thereupon, as peace had not then been made with the Iroquois, Noel Tekouerimat spoke in emphatic terms, saying [134] that we had enough enemies on our hands, and their number must not be multiplied; that these poor men did not come to make war on us, but were Hunters; and that they must be sent back to their own country.

The chief men of the Council, in accordance with this sentiment, decided that not one of them should die; and that the fitting course was to send back two of the number to their own country for the purpose of informing their Nation of what had occurred. Forthwith they were made to enter the assembly, where they appeared bound and wearing nothing except around their loins. They squatted on the ground to hear their sentence, which rejoiced them greatly. A Captain took the word, and made them a short harangue,—telling them that they were all given their lives, that not one of them should die, [135] and that they were free. At the same time their bonds were cut, and thrown into the fire; they were raised from the ground, and each was given some clothing; and they were exhorted to sing and dance and rejoice, since they were among their friends. This order was executed on the instant,—

l'heure, promptement, ioyeuſement, & magnifique-
ment, difent les memoires, qui font venus iufques à
nous.

Après quelque temps de réjouyſſance: on en ren-
uoya deux en leur pays, & on retint les trois autres
en oſtages. Leur commiſſion contenoit trois articles,
diſtinguez par trois petits baſtons, qu'on leur mit en
main. Le premier port, qu'on les renuoyoit pour
expoſer aux principaux de leur Nation, comme ils
auoient eſté pris, & deliurez. Le ſecond, [136] qu'ils
retournaffent, au commencement de l'Eſté ſuiu-
ant. Le troiſième, qu'ils retiraffent des mains d'une Na-
tion, qui leur eſt amie, & voiſine, nommée Sokoueki;
quelques-vns de leurs parens captifs depuis deux ans:
& qu'il les amenaffent à Sillery, s'ils auoient deſir
de contracter alliance, avec les peuples qui s'y
retirent ordinairement: & que la veuë de ces captifs,
adouciroit les yeux de ceux qui ne les auoient pas
regardez de bonne grace, & qu'ils feroient le nœud
de l'ancienne amitié, qu'ils auoient eue autrefois par
enſemble. Ces bonnes gens ſe voyans declarez
innocens ne demanderent point reparation des torts,
qu'on leur auoit faits. Ils ne ſe plainquirent point,
des coups de baſtons, qu'on leur auoit donnez, ny
des feux, qu'on auoit appliqués [137] ſur leurs corps.
Ils ne prefferent point la reſtitution des ongles, qu'on
leur auoit arrachez, ny des doigts, qu'on leur auoit
coupez. Tous ces preludes font comtez pour neant:
pourueu qu'on n'oſte point la vie; le reſte paſſe
comme vn petit ieu. Les femmes, difent-ils, en
ſouffriroient bien autant ſans mot dire.

Ils partirent au commencement de Decembre, de
l'an 1652. & ils parurent ſur le grand fleuue, à la fin

“ promptly, joyfully, and in fine style,” as the account says which has reached us.

After some time of rejoicing, two of them were sent back to their own country, and the three others were retained as hostages. Their commission embraced three articles, distinguished by three little sticks that were put into their hands. The purport of the first was, that they were sent home to describe to the chief men of their Nation how they had been captured and delivered. The second said [136] that they must come back again, at the beginning of the following Summer. The third was a petition that they should rescue from the hands of a Nation called Sokoueki, friends and neighbors of theirs, some of the petitioners' kinsfolk, who had been two years in captivity; and that they should bring them to Sillery, if they desired to form an alliance with the peoples who commonly resort thither. The sight of these captives would, it was urged, soften the looks of those who had not regarded them favorably; and they would serve to tie the knot of the old-time friendship that had once been maintained between them. These simple souls, finding themselves declared innocent, demanded no reparation for the injuries done them. They did not complain of the blows inflicted, or of the fire that had been applied [137] to their bodies. They did not urge the restitution of nails torn out, or of fingers cut off. All these preliminaries are accounted as nothing; provided life is not taken, the rest passes for a little sport. Even women, they say, would endure as much without a murmur.

They departed in the beginning of December of the year 1652, and made their appearance on the

du mois de May, de l'an passé 1653. Si tost qu'ils apperceurent la demeure des François, & des Sauvages de Sillery, ils firent refonner leurs tambours, en signe de paix, & de réjouissance. Ils amenoient deux vieillards, des plus confiderables de leur pays, chargez de prefens, qui estoient comme les ordres, & les commiffions, [138] qui leur auoient esté données. Les Algonquins accourans sur les riués du grãd fleuue, & ne voyans point les captifs, qu'ils auoient demandez, furent d'abord mécontents: mais ces Ambassadeurs sçachans bien, qu'ils manquoient au point le plus important, rendirent de si fortes raisons de leur procedé: qu'ils calmerent les esprits des mécontents. Peut-estre que ces captifs estoient morts. Les memoires, & les lettres que i'ay receuës, n'en disent rien.

Les esprits estans appaifez. Ces nouveaux hostes furent appelez au conseil, le lendemain de leur arriué. L'assemblée se tint en vne sale de nostre petite maison, où nous receuons, & où nous instruifons les sauuages. On commença par l'exhibition des prefens, qu'on estendit sur vne corde, qui trauerfoit [139] toute la sale. Ce n'estoient que des coliers de porcelaine fort larges, des bracelets, des pendans d'oreilles: & des calumets, ou petunoirs. Chacun ayant pris sa place: le plus ancien de ces Ambassadeurs, prit la parole, disant à toute l'assistance, qu'il venoit de déplier l'affection, & l'amitié de ceux de sa nation, figurée sur ces coliers; que leur cœur estoit tout ouuert, qu'il n'y auoit aucun ply, qu'on voyoit dans ses paroles, le fond de leurs ames. Et là-dessus, tirant vn autre grand collier, il l'estendit au milieu de la place, disant. Voila le chemin, qu'il faut

great river at the close of the month of May of last year, 1653. As soon as they caught sight of the settlements of the French and the Savages of Sillery, they had their drums beaten, in sign of peace and rejoicing. They escorted two of the most influential elders of their country, laden with presents representing the orders and commissions [138] that had been given them. The Algonquins, hastening to the banks of the great river, and not seeing the captives whom they had asked for, were displeased at first; but the Ambassadors, well aware of their negligence in the most important point, gave such forcible reasons for their conduct as to appease all dissatisfaction. Perhaps those captives were dead; the memoirs and letters which I have received say nothing about it.

Displeasure being allayed, these new guests were summoned to the council on the day after their arrival. The assembly was held in a hall of our little house, where we receive and instruct the savages. It was opened by the exhibition of the presents, which were stretched upon a cord extending [139] quite across the hall. They consisted merely of porcelain collars of great size, of bracelets, and ear-rings; and of calumets, or tobacco-pipes. When each one had taken his place, the oldest of these Ambassadors began to speak, and said to all present that he came to manifest the affection and friendship of the people of his nation, as symbolized by these collars; that their hearts were entirely open, and there was not a single fold in them; and that in his words were seen their inmost thoughts. Thereupon, taking another large collar, he stretched it out in the middle of the room, and said: "Behold the route that you must take to come and visit your friends."

tenir, pour venir visiter vos amis. Ce colier estoit composé de porcelaine blanche, & violette, en forte qu'il y auoit figures, que ce bon homme expliquoit à la mode. Voila, difoit-il, les lacs, [140] voila les riuieres, voila les montagnes, & les vallées, qu'il faut passer; voila les portages, & les cheutes d'eau. Remarquez tout; afin, que dans les visites, que nous nous rendrons les vns aux autres, personne ne s'égaré. Les chemins feront maintenant faciles: on ne craindra plus les embuscades. Tous ceux qu'on rencontrera, feront autant d'amis.

Cela fait, il se leue, & s'approchant des presens estendus, comme i'ay desia dit, il en donna l'explication, comme on feroit d'un enigme, touchant les personnages du tableau, les vns apres les autres. Voila, faisoit-il, montrant le premier present, le liure, ou le papier, où sont peints les ordres, & les commissions, que i'ay receuës de mon pays, & les affaires que i'ay à vous communiquer. [141] Quiconque méprisera, ce que porte cette peinture, ou cét écrit, merite qu'on luy casse la teste.

Touchant le second present, qui faisoit vne grande ceinture de porcelaine. Allons mes freres, leuez-vous, & ceignez-vous de cette ceinture, & allons de compagnie à la chasse de l'Elan, & du Castor.

Le troisiéme, estoit composé de quelques bastons de porcelaine, qu'ils portent à leurs oreilles, si prodigieusement percées, qu'on y passe aisément un gros baston de cire d'Espagne. Voila, s'écria-il, pour percer vos oreilles: afin que nous puissions nous parler les vns les autres, comme font les amis, & que nous assistions aux conseils les vns des autres.

This collar was composed of white and violet-colored porcelain, so arranged as to form figures, which this worthy man explained after his own fashion. "There," said he, "are the lakes, [140] there the rivers; there the mountains and valleys that must be passed; and there are the portages and waterfalls. Note everything, to the end that, in the visits that we shall pay one another, no one may get lost. The roads will be easy now, and no more ambuscades will be feared. All persons who are met will be so many friends."

That done, he arose; and, approaching the presents as they hung there, in the manner I have already described, he gave an explanation of them, as one would of an enigma, regarding the personages of the picture, one after the other. "There," said he, pointing to the first present, "is the book, or the paper, wherein are painted the orders and commissions that I have received from my country, and the matters that I have to communicate to you. [141] Whoever shall lightly esteem the purport of this painting or writing, deserves to have his head broken."

Concerning the second present, composed of a large belt of porcelain, he said: "Come, brothers, arise and gird yourselves with this belt; and let us go together to hunt the Elk and the Beaver."

The third was composed of some sticks of porcelain, worn by them in their ears, which are pierced with such very large holes as easily to receive a great stick of Spanish wax. "Those," he exclaimed, "are for piercing your ears, in order that we may speak to one another as friends are wont to do, and that we may take part in one another's councils."

Le quatrième, composé de six grands coliers, pour les six Nations, [142] avec lesquelles ces Ambassadeurs renouelloient leurs alliances, representoit les robes, dont elles se devoient reuestir. Comme nous n'auons plus qu'un cœur, il ne faut plus qu'une façon d'habits, ou de robes: afin que tous ceux qui nous verrôt, croyent que nous sommes tous freres, vestus de mesme parure; & que celuy qui en offenserà l'un, offenserà l'autre.

Cela fait: ce bon homme s'affit au milieu de la place. Il prend deux grands petunoirs, faits d'une pierre verte, belle, & fort polie, longs d'une coudée, c'estoit le cinquième present. Il en remplit un de tabac, il y met le feu, & en succe, ou en tire la fumée fort grauelement. Toute l'affemblée le regardoit, ne sçachant pas ce qu'il vouloit dire. Enfin apres auoir [143] bien petuné à son aise. Mes freres, dit-il, ces deux pipes, ou ces deux petunoirs, font à vous. Il faut dorefnauant, que nous n'ayons plus qu'un souffle, & qu'une seule respiration, puis que nous n'auons plus qu'une mesme ame.

Et venant au sixième present, qui consistoit en des liens de porcelaine, enfilez en brasses, & en quelques coliers. Ah! mes freres, s'écria-t'il, que les liens de ces pauvres prisonniers, nous ont mis en grand danger de tous costez! mais enfin les voila bas; le danger est passé. Vos Peres, ont autrefois contracté alliance, avec nos Ancestres: cela s'estoit mis en oubly: un mauuais rencontre, a fait du mal à nos gens, & du bien à toutes nos Nations: car nous ne nous connoissons plus: nous estions égarés, & nous voila réunis. Ouy, [144] mais nos pauvres gens, ont les doigts coupez? on les a bastonnez? on les a tourmen-

The fourth, comprising six large collars, for the six Nations [142] with whom these Ambassadors were renewing their alliances, represented the robes with which these nations ought to reclothe themselves. "As we have henceforth only one heart, we need only one kind of coat or robe, in order that all who shall see us may understand that we are all brothers, clothed in the same costume, and that he who shall offend one of us will offend the others."

That done, this good man seated himself in the middle of the room and took two large tobacco-pipes, a cubit in length and made of a beautiful, highly-polished green stone; these constituted the fifth present. He filled one of them with tobacco, applied fire to it, and sucked or drew the smoke from it with great gravity. All the assembly looked at him, not knowing what he meant. At length, after he had [143] smoked very much at his ease, "My brothers," said he, "these two tobacco-pipes are yours. We must in the future have only one breath and a single respiration, since we have only one and the same soul."

And coming to the sixth present, which consisted of porcelain strung in brasse-lengths, and in a number of collars, "Ah, my brothers," he cried, "in what great dangers on all sides have we been placed by the bonds of those poor prisoners! But at length they are loosed, and the danger is past. Your Fathers formerly contracted an alliance with our Ancestors. That had been forgotten, and an unlucky event caused harm to our people and good to all our Nations; for we had ceased to know one another, we had gone astray, and lo! we are reunited. Yes, [144] but have not our poor people had their fingers cut off? have

tez? ce n'est pas vous, mes freres, qui avez fait ce coup. Ce font ces meschans Iroquois, qui vous ont tant fait de mal. Vostre veuë bleffée par ces malheureux, nous a pris pour des ennemis: vous nous avez frapez, croyans frapper des Iroquois. C'est vne méprise: nous n'en difons mot.

Son discours finit. Noel Tekouerimat, Capitaine de Sillery, prit la parole, au nom de tous les autres Capitaines. Il remercia fort humainement ces Ambassadeurs, les loüant de ce qu'ils auoient de l'amour pour la paix, & pour la bonne intelligence, avec les Alliez de leurs Ancestres. Et pourfuiuant son discours, il fit voir à toute l'assemblée, & notamment [145] aux Hurons, qui s'estoient monstrez fort contraires aux pensées de la paix, prenans ces prisonniers pour de vrais ennemis, combien il estoit important, de ne se point precipiter, en des affaires de telle consequence: combien il estoit à propos, de renouer l'ancienne amitié, qu'ils auoient eüe avec ces peuples.

Pour conclusion: les Ambassadeurs, voyans qu'ils auoient esté écoutez fauorablement, qu'on auoit agréé leurs presens, & relasché leurs prisonniers, se mirent à danser, & à entonner vne chançon, de toute l'estenduë de leur voix, & de toute la force de leur poulmon: leur chançon ne portoit que ces trois mots: C'est maintenant qu'il se faut réjouyr, puisque nos presens s'ont acceptez. La ieunesse, par le cōmandement [146] des Capitaines, se mit de la partie, pour rendre la ioye publique: les ieunes hōmes dançans à part, & les filles à part, se suiuaient neantmoins les vns les autres, à la mode du pays. Ainsi se termina toute cette ceremonie.

they not been beaten and tortured? It is not you, my brothers, who dealt this blow; it is those wicked Iroquois, who have done you so much harm. Your eyes, injured by those wretches, took us for enemies, and you struck us, thinking you were striking Iroquois. It was a mistake; we will say nothing about it." 9

His speech ended, Noel Tekouerimat, Captain of Sillery, took the word, in the name of all the other Captains. He thanked these Ambassadors very kindly, praising them for entertaining a love for peace and a good understanding with their Ancestors' Allies. And, continuing his speech, he made it manifest to all the assembly, and especially [145] to the Hurons,—who had shown themselves much opposed to thoughts of peace, taking these prisoners for real enemies,—how important it was not to act with precipitation in affairs of such consequence; and how fitting it was to reestablish the old-time friendship they had had with these peoples.

In conclusion, the Ambassadors, seeing that they had been heard with favor, that their presents had been accepted, and their prisoners set free, began to dance, and to sing a song with the full volume of their voices and all the strength of their lungs. Their song contained only these few words: "Now is the time to rejoice, since our presents are accepted." By order of the Captains, the young people [146] joined them, in order to render the joy public,—the young men dancing by themselves and the girls by themselves, following one another, however, after the manner of the country. Thus ended that whole ceremony.

CHAPITRE VII.

LA PAUURETÉ & LES RICHESSES DU PAYS.

I AMAIS il n'y eut plus de Castors dans nos lacs, & dans nos riuieres: mais iamais il ne s'en est moins veu dans les magasins du pays. Auant la defolation des Hurons, les cent canots venoient en traite, tous chargez de Castor. Les Algonquins en apportoient de tous costez, & chaque année, on en auoit pour deux cens & pour [147] trois cens mil liures. C'estoit-là vn beau reuenu, dequoy contenter tout le monde, & dequoy supporter les grandes charges du pays.

La guerre des Iroquois a fait tarir toutes ces fources. Les Castors demeurans en paix, & dans le lieu de leur repos. Les flottés de Hurons ne descendent plus à la traite. Les Algonquins sont depeuplez: & les Nations plus esloignées, se retirent encore plus loin, craignans le feu des Iroquois. Le magasin de Montreal, n'a pas achepté des Sauuages vn feul Castor, depuis vn an. Aux Trois Riuieres, le peu qui s'y est veu, a esté employé pour fortifier la place, où on attendoit l'ennemy. Dans le magasin de Quebec, ce n'est que pauureté; & ainsi tout le monde a fujet d'estre mécontent, n'y [148] ayant pas de quoy fournir, au payement de ceux, à qui il est deu: & mesme n'y ayant pas de quoy supporter vne partie des charges du pays, les plus indispensables.

Les riuieres les plus profondes, & les plus riches

CHAPTER VII.

THE POVERTY AND THE RICHES OF THE COUNTRY.

NEVER were there more Beavers in our lakes and rivers, but never have there been fewer seen in the warehouses of the country. Before the devastation of the Hurons, a hundred canoes used to come to trade, all laden with Beaver-skins; the Algonquins brought them from all directions; and each year we had two or [147] three hundred thousand livres' worth. That was a fine revenue with which to satisfy all the people, and defray the heavy expenses of the country.

The Iroquois war dried up all these springs. The Beavers are left in peace and in the place of their repose; the Huron fleets no longer come down to trade; the Algonquins are depopulated; and the more distant Nations are withdrawing still farther, fearing the fire of the Iroquois. For a year, the warehouse of Montreal has not bought a single Beaver-skin from the Savages. At Three Rivers, the little revenue that has accrued has been used to fortify the place, the enemy being expected there. In the Quebec warehouse there is nothing but poverty; and so every one has cause to be dissatisfied, there [148] being no means to supply payment to those to whom it is due, or even to defray a part of the most necessary expenses of the country.

The deepest and most abundant rivers of the earth

de la terre, feroient bien-toft à fec, fi leurs eaux s'écoulans dans la Mer, les sources n'en furniffoient plus de nouvelles. Les Villes, & les Prouinces plus proches de la Mer, qui en auroient esté autrefois les plus richement arroufées, auroient tort de se plaindre, des Prouinces plus voisines des sources, comme si elles retenoient toutes les eaux pour elles, & les enuoyoit au public.

Ce font les Iroquois, dont il se faut plaindre: car ce font eux, qui ont arresté les eaux dedans leurs sources. Je veux dire, que ce font eux qui empeschent tout le commerce [149] des Castors, qui ont toujours esté les grandes richesses de ce pays.

Mais maintenant, si Dieu benit nos esperances, de la paix avec les Iroquois, on fera bonne guerre aux Castors, & ils trouueront le chemin des magasins de Montreal, des Trois Riuieres, & de Quebec, qu'ils ont oublié depuis ces dernieres années. Les Nations superieures descendront avec ioye, & apporteront les Castors, dont ils ont fait amas depuis trois ans.

Ce Printemps, trois canots arriuerent aux Trois Riuieres, de l'ancien pays des Hurons, ou plutoft du profond des terres, les plus cachées de ces costez-là: où diuerfes familles se font retirées hors le commerce de tout le reste des hommes, crainte que les Iroquois [150] ne les y allassent trouuer.

Ces trois canots, conduits par vn Sauvage Chretien, estoient de quatre Nations differentes, qui nous ont apporté d'excellentes nouvelles. Sçauoir, qu'ils s'assemblent, en vn tres-beau pays, enuiron à cent cinquante lieuës, plus loin que les Hurons, tirans vers l'Occident, au nombre de deux mille hommes,

would soon be dry if, when their waters ran into the Sea, the springs ceased to furnish fresh supplies. The Cities and Provinces nearer the Sea, and formerly the most abundantly watered by it, would be wrong to complain of the Provinces nearer the water-sources, as if they retained all the water for themselves and sent it out to the public.

It is the Iroquois of whom complaint must be made, for it is they who have stopped the water at its fountainhead. I mean, it is they that are preventing all the trade [149] in Beaver-skins, which have always been the chief wealth of this country.

But now, if God bless our hopes of peace with the Iroquois, a fine war will be made on the Beavers, and they will find the road to the warehouses of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, which they have forgotten during these later years. The upper Nations will come down with joy, and will bring the Beaver-skins which they have been amassing for the past three years.

This Spring, three canoes arrived at Three Rivers from the former country of the Hurons,—or, rather, from the depths of the most hidden recesses of those regions, whither several families have withdrawn, out of all communication with the rest of mankind, for fear lest the Iroquois [150] might go and find them there.

These three canoes, led by a Christian Savage, contained people from four different Nations, who brought us excellent news. This was, that they were gathering together, to the number of two thousand men, in a very fine country about a hundred and fifty leagues farther away than the Hurons, toward the West; and that they were to come the next

& qu'ils doivent venir de compagnie le Printemps prochain, apporter grand nombre de Castor, pour faire leur trafic ordinaire, & pour se fournir de poudre & de plomb, & d'armes à feu; afin de se rendre plus redoutables aux ennemis.

De plus, toute nostre ieunesse Françoisse, est en dessein d'aller en traite, trouuer les Nations dispersées, çà & là, & ils esperent d'en reuenir chargez, des Castors de [151] plusieurs années.

En vn mot, le pays n'est pas depeuplé de Castors, & ce sont les mines d'or, & les richesses; qu'il n'y a qu'à puiser dans les lacs, & dans les ruisseaux: où il y en a d'autant plus, qu'on en a moins pris ces dernières années, craignant de s'écarter, & d'estre pris des Iroquois. Ces animaux d'ailleurs se multiplient en grande abondance.

Pour ce qui est de la fertilité des terres, elles sont icy de bon rapport. Les grains François y viennent heureusement: & nous pouons en cela, nous passer des secours de la France, quelque nombre que nous soyons icy. Plus qu'il y aura d'habitans, plus ferons-nous dans l'abondance.

Le bestail, & les lards, sont vne douceur au pays, qu'autrefois on [152] n'osoit esperer. Le gibier y foisonne; & la chasse des Orignaux, n'est pas pour y manquer.

Mais l'anguille y est vne manne, qui surpasse tout ce qu'on en peut croire. L'expérience & l'industrie nous y a rendus si sçauans, qu'en vne seule nuit, vn ou deux hommes, en prendront des cinq, & six milliers: & cette pesche dure deux mois entiers; dont on fait prouision abondamment pour toute l'année: car l'anguille est icy d'vne excellente garde, soit

Spring in company, to bring a large number of Beaver-skins, for the purpose of doing their ordinary trading and furnishing themselves with powder, lead, and firearms, in order to render themselves more formidable to the enemy.

Moreover, all our young Frenchmen are planning to go on a trading expedition, to find the Nations that are scattered here and there; and they hope to come back laden with the Beaver-skins of [151] several years' accumulation.

In a word, the country is not stripped of Beavers; they form its gold-mines and its wealth, which have only to be drawn upon in the lakes and streams,—where the supply is great in proportion to the smallness of the draught upon it during these latter years, due to the fear of being dispersed or captured by the Iroquois. These animals, moreover, are extremely prolific.

Concerning the fertility of the soil, it is here very productive. The French grains yield excellent crops, and in that respect we can do without aid from France, however numerous we may be here. The more settlers there shall be, the greater plenty shall we enjoy.

Beef and bacon are here delicacies, which formerly we [152] did not dare to hope for. Game is abundant, and there is no lack of Moose-hunting.

But the eel constitutes a manna exceeding all belief. Experience and ingenuity have rendered us so expert in catching them that one or two men will take five or six thousand in a single night; and this fishing lasts for two whole months, in which an ample provision of them is made for the whole year; for the eels here have excellent qualities for keeping,

fechée au feu, soit falée: & elles font beaucoup meilleures, que toutes les anguilles de la France.

La pefche du Saumon, & de l'Esturgeon, y est tres-abondante en fa faifon. Et à vray dire, c'est icy, le Royaume des eaux & des poiffons.

Le pays est tres-fain, on y voit [153] fort peu de maladies. Les enfans y font & tres-beaux, & tres-faciles à eleuer. C'est vne benediction particuliere.

whether dried by fire or salted, and are much better than any eels in France.

Salmon and Sturgeon are very plentiful in their seasons; to tell the truth, this country is the Kingdom of water and of fish.

The country is very healthful, [153] remarkably few diseases being seen here; and children are very comely and easy to rear. That is an especial blessing.

CHAPITRE VIII.

LA PORTE FERMÉE À L'EUANGILE, SEMBLE S'OUURIR PLUS GRANDE QUE IAMAIS.

LE plus grand mal qu'ait fait la guerre des Iroquois, c'est d'auoir exterminé nos Eglifes naiffantès, defolant le pays des Hurons, dépeuplant les nations Algonquines; faifant mourir cruellement & les Pasteurs, & le troupeau: & empeschant qu'on ne passast plus outre, aux Nations éloignées, pour en faire vn peuple Chrestien.

Maintenant, cette paix nouvelle, nous ouurira vn grand chemin, [154] vers les Nations superieures, dont la guerre nous auoit chaffé. Le zele de nos Peres, les y porte desia avec amour, & avec ioye, comme au centre de leurs desirs.

Mais ce qui les anime dauantage, & ce qui fera vn moyen bien puissant, pour conferuer la paix avec les Iroquois, c'est l'ouuerture que Dieu nous donne, pour aller faire vne Residence au milieu du pays ennemy, sur le grand lac des Iroquois, proche des Onnontaronnons. Le chemin en est tres-aisé, n'y ayant que deux cheutes d'eau, où il faut mettre pied à terre, & faire vn portage qui n'est pas long: où il feroit facile de faire quelque petit réduit, pour auoir le commerce libre, & pour se rendre maistres de ce grand lac: d'où par apres on peut aller aux Nations éloignées, & mesme [155] dans l'ancien pays des Hurons; sans nous voir obligez à ces peines inconceuables, que

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DOOR CLOSED TO THE GOSPEL SEEMS TO OPEN
WIDER THAN EVER.

THE greatest evil wrought by the Iroquois war is the ruin of our infant Churches; for it laid waste the Huron country, depopulated the Algonquin nations, cruelly put to death both Pastors and flock, and prevented any farther passage to the remote Nations, in order to make of them a Christian people.

Now, this new peace will open for us a highroad [154] to the upper Nations, whence the war has driven us away. The zeal of our Fathers already impels them thither with love and joy, as toward the object of their desires.

But what still more animates them, and what will be a very effectual means of maintaining the peace with the Iroquois, is the opening which God gives us for establishing a Residence in the midst of the enemy's country, on the great lake of the Iroquois, near the Onnontaeronnons. The route thither is very easy, there being only two waterfalls where it is necessary to land and make a portage,—a short one at that; and there it would be easy to construct a small redout for the purpose of maintaining free communication and of making ourselves masters of this great lake. Thence, we can afterward make journeys to the distant Nations, and even [155] into the former country of the Hurons, without being

nous auons pris autrefois, de porter & canots, & bagage sur nos épaules, pour éviter les précipices d'eau, & les torrens impetueux, qui ne sont pas nauigables.

Les Iroquois Onnontæronnons, nous inuitent eux-mêmes, & nous attirent par présents: ils nous ont désigné la place, & nous en ont fait un récit, comme d'un lieu le plus heureux qui soit en toutes ces contrées. Il le fera, plus mille fois qu'ils ne le croient, si Dieu achève cet ouvrage, & si les Anges tutélaires des peuples qui sont à convertir, nous aident en ce dessein. Car à vrai dire, ce seroit-là le cœur d'une terre, qui doit devenir sainte, puis qu'elle est rachetée du sang du Fils de [156] Dieu, & qu'il est temps qu'il y soit adoré. Nous demandons pour ce sujet des ouriers, que nous attendons par le premier embarquement.

obliged to undergo those inconceivable fatigues of former times, when we had to carry both canoes and baggage on our shoulders in order to avoid the waterfalls and impetuous floods which are unnavigable.¹⁰

The Onnontaeronnon Iroquois invite us of their own accord, and solicit our coming by presents; they have assigned a place to us, and have described it to us as the finest spot in all those regions. It will be a thousand times more so than they think, if God complete this work, and if the guardian Angels of the peoples to be converted aid us in this project. For, in truth, that spot would be the heart of a land destined to become holy, since it has been ransomed with the blood of the Son of [156] God, and since it is time he were worshiped there. For this purpose we ask for laborers, and we expect them by the first ship that sails.

CHAPITRE DERNIER.

RECUEIL TIRÉ DE DIVERSES LETTRES APPORTÉES DE
LA NOUVELLE FRANCE.

LE païs des Hurons, qui nourrissoit trente à trente-cinq mille ames, dans l'estenduë de dix-sept à dix-huit lieuës seulement, ayant esté pillé, ruiné, bruslé: ceux qui sont échappés de ce grand naufrage, se sont retirés en diverses Nations. Un bon nombre s'est venu ietter entre les bras des François, & notamment des Peres de nostre Compagnie, qui les ont si fortement secourus, qu'on écrit, [157] qu'ils avoient, cét Eté dernier, environ trois cens arpens de terre, ensemencé de leurs bleds d'Inde, c'est à dire, qu'il a fallu abbattre trois cens arpës de bois: pour faire cette grande explanade, tres-vtilé à cette nouvelle Colonie, qui a maintenât dequoy se nourrir: mais non pas encor dequoy se courir. Il est vray, que Dieu qui a soin des petits oyseaux, ne les a pas mis en oubly: car des personnes de pieté, & de vertu, leurs ayans enuoyé, par aumosnes, quelques couvertures, on les a diuifées en quatre: pour courir quatre petits orphelins de chacune. D'autres fouhaitans de faire porter leurs noms, à quelques nouveaux conuertis, leur ont fait tenir quelques presens, qui ont feruy d'habits, au pere, & à la mere, & quelquefois à tous leurs enfans.

[158] J'ay leu ce qui fuit, dans vne lettre, écrite par vne bonne Mere Vrfuline. Nous auons appris,

CHAPTER THE LAST.

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS LETTERS BROUGHT FROM
NEW FRANCE.

THE country of the Hurons, which sustained from thirty to thirty-five thousand souls within a stretch of territory of only seventeen or eighteen leagues, having been pillaged, laid waste, and burned, those who escaped this general wreck took refuge among various Nations. A large number came and threw themselves into the arms of the French, and especially of the Fathers of our Society. The latter gave them such substantial aid that, as we learn by letter, [157] they had this last Summer about three hundred arpents of land planted with their Indian corn,—that is, it was necessary to fell three hundred arpents of timber in order to make that great esplanade, a work of much utility to this new Colony, which has now the means of feeding itself, but not yet the means of providing itself with clothing. It is true, God, who cares for the little birds, has not forgotten it; for certain persons of piety and virtue sent it, out of charity, some blankets, which were cut into quarters, that with each blanket four little orphans might be clothed. Others, wishing to have their names borne by some new converts, have caused presents to be given them, which have served to clothe the father, the mother, and sometimes even all their children.

[158] I read the following in a letter written by a

que nostre Seminarifte Huronne, qui fut prise, il y a environ dix ans, par les Iroquois: estoit mariée en leur pays. Qu'elle estoit la maistresse dans sa cabane, composée de plusieurs familles. Qu'elle prioit Dieu tous les iours, & qu'elle le faisoit prier par d'autres: ce qui paroist d'autant plus estonnant, qu'elle n'auoit qu'environ treize, ou quatorze ans, quand elle fut enleuée par ces Barbares. Nous auons sa sœur en nostre maison, qui est vne ieune vefue, d'une modestie rauissante, fort addonnée à l'oraïson: elle en fait tous les iours autant que les Religieuses: elle est dans vne presence de Dieu, quasi continuelle: & son esprit est si éclairé, & si remply de lumieres, [159] & de raisons, pour l'exercice de la vertu: qu'on void bien qu'elle est gouvernée, par vn Esprit plus haut, & plus sublime, que l'esprit humain.

Les pere, & mere, de l'une de nos Seminaristes (que la paureté, nous contraint, de tenir en vn fort petit nombre) estans venus voir leur fille, âgée d'environ dix ans, luy dirent, que la paix se faisant avec les Iroquois, ceux qu'il auoit connu en ce pays-là, où il auoit esté captif, l'inuitoient d'y aller demeurer, avec toute sa famille: & là-dessus, ils luy demanderent, si elle ne seroit pas bien aise d'estre de la partie, & de suiure son pere, & sa mere. Comment donc, répondit-elle, n'estes-vous point honteux, de vouloir quitter le pays de la priere, pour aller en vn lieu, où vous ferez en danger, de [160] perdre la Foy? Ne sçavez-vous pas bien, que les Iroquois ne croient pas en Dieu, & qu'estans parmy eux, vous viurez comme eux? Allez, si vous voulez, en ce miserable pays: mais ie ne vous suiuray pas, ie ne quitteray iamais les filles saintes, si vous m'abandonnez. Ses

good Ursuline Mother: "We learned that our Huron Seminarist, who was captured about ten years ago by the Iroquois, was married in their country; that she was the mistress in her cabin, which contained several families; that she prayed to God every day; and that she induced others to pray to him. This appears the more wonderful, as she was only about thirteen or fourteen years old when she was carried away by those Barbarians. We have in our house her sister, who is a young widow of charming modesty, and greatly given to prayer. She prays every day, as long as do the Nuns themselves; she lives almost constantly in the presence of God; and her soul is so illuminated, and so filled with light [159] and with motives for the exercise of virtue, that, plainly, she is governed by a Spirit more exalted and sublime than that of man.

"The father and mother of one of our Seminarists (our poverty compels us to maintain them in very small numbers) came to see their daughter, who was about ten years old. They told her that, as peace was being made with the Iroquois, those whom her father had known in that country, where he had been a captive, were inviting him to go and dwell there with all his family; and, thereupon, they asked her whether she would not like to be one of the party and follow her father and mother. 'What?' she rejoined; 'are you not ashamed to wish to leave the country of prayer, and go to a place where you will be in danger of [160] losing the Faith? Are you not well aware that the Iroquois do not believe in God, and that, being among them, you will live as they do? Go, if you will, to that wretched country, but I shall not follow you; I will never leave the holy

parens, honorans son courage, l'affurerent qu'ils ne s'éloigneroient pas de la maison de priere.

Les saints Peres, parlans de la chasteté, la font passer, pour vne vertu descenduë des Cieux: pour vne beauté, inconnuë à la nature: & pour l'vne des plus belles filles, ou des plus beaux fruits de la grace. Ce fruit commence à paroistre, dans les vergers de ces nouvelles Eglises. J'apprends qu'un ieune Huron, âgé d'environ trente ans, fortement sollicité, depuis [161] quatre ans, de se marier: a toujours résisté. Enfin, comme ses proches, le pressoient extraordinairement, par des considerations puissantes: il alla trouver l'un des Peres, qui ont soin de cette Eglise, & luy dit ce peu de paroles. Mon Pere, on me dit tous les iours, marie toy; quelle est ta pensée? determine moy. Le Pere luy repartit, qu'il n'estoit pas defendu de se marier: qu'il le pouoit faire. Oüy, mais repart le ieune homme, lequel des deux est plus agreable à Dieu; de se marier, ou de ne se pas marier? Le Pere luy répondit, que ceux qui renonçoient aux plaisirs de la terre, pour mieux servir IESVS-CHRIST, luy estoient plus agreable. C'est assez, replique ce bon Neophyte, il ne faut plus me parler de mariage. [162] Adieu mon Pere, ie n'auois que ce mot à te dire.

Le Pere, qui nous a fait part de cét entretien, adjouste, qu'ayant, certain iour, rencontré vne vefue assez ieune, venant du traual: luy dit, la voyant fort mal vestuë, marchant pieds nuds, à cause de sa pauvreté. Jeanne, (c'est le nom qu'elle a receuë au Baptême) la peine que tu prends, pour nourrir tes pauvres enfans, me fait croire, que tu ferois bien soulagée, si tu prenois quelque bon mary, qui te

maidens if you forsake me.' Her parents respected her courage, and assured her that they would not go away from the house of prayer.

"The holy Fathers, in speaking of chastity, affirm it to be a virtue descended from Heaven, a beauty unknown to nature, and one of the fairest daughters, or one of the finest fruits, of heavenly grace. This fruit is beginning to appear in the orchards of these new Churches. I learn that a young Huron, who is about thirty years old, and has been for the past four years strongly urged [161] to marry, has always resisted. At length, when his relatives, by weighty arguments, pressed him with unusual persistence to take this step, he went in quest of one of the Fathers who have charge of that Church, and thus briefly addressed him: 'My Father, I am told every day to marry; what is thy opinion? Decide for me.' The Father answered him that it was not forbidden to marry, and that he could do so. 'Yes,' returned the young man; 'but which of the two is more pleasing to God, to marry or not to marry?' The Father replied that those who renounced the pleasures of earth, for the sake of serving JESUS CHRIST better, were more acceptable to him. 'That is enough,' rejoined this good Neophyte; 'there must be no more talk of marriage to me. [162] Good-bye, Father; that is all I had to say to thee.'

"The Father who communicated this conversation to us adds that, meeting one day a widow, still quite young, on her way from work, and seeing that she was very poorly clad,—she was walking barefoot because of her poverty,—he said to her: 'Jeanne' (that is the name which she received at Baptism), 'the trouble thou takest to feed thy poor children

fecourût. La pauvre femme répondit par les yeux, versant beaucoup de larmes. Helas, fit-elle, où trouueray-ie vn mary, semblable à celui que i'ay perdu? Il faut confesser, luy dit le Pere, que c'estoit vn grand homme de bien: mais il n'est pas impossible d'en trouuer vn semblable, qui te [163] fecoure autant que celui que Dieu t'auoit donné. Il n'importe, répond-elle, ie ne veux pas me remarier. Il y a long-temps, que i'aurois vescu comme cœur, avec mon mary, si on m'eut permis de faire ma volonté. Le desir que i'ay de me sauuer, m'éloigne du mariage. Oüy, mais tu ne laisseras pas de te sauuer estant mariée? Il est vray: mais ie ne ferois pas si agreable à IESVS-CHRIST. Luy as-tu promis, de ne te plus remarier? non pas: mais i'ay dessein la premiere fois que ie me communieray, de luy dire ces paroles. Mon Dieu, ie renonce aux plaisirs du mariage. Je prefere ton plaisir au mien. Les plaisirs d'icy bas sont courts, ceux du Ciel sont éternels. Ceux qui ne goustant pas, les bons sentimens des Sauvages, [164] diront que celui-cy, vient plutost de l'esprit de Dieu, que de l'esprit d'un Sauvage.

Comme les bons arbres, produisent de bons fruits: cette genereuse Chrestienne a vne fille, qui suit les saintes inclinations de sa bonne mere. Cette enfant demeure avec les Religieuses hospitalieres, seruant d'Interprete aux pauvres Hurons malades; dont il y en a eu bon nombre toute l'année, dans cette maison de misericorde. Elle a l'esprit si bon, qu'elle a appris en moins de deux ans, la langue Françoisse, & en fuitte, à lire & à écrire: en forte, qu'elle deuance les petites Françoises. Elle est d'un si bon naturel,

makes me think that thy lot would be much lighter if thou wouldst take some good husband to help thee.' The poor woman made answer with her eyes, shedding many tears. 'Alas!' said she; 'where shall I find a husband like the one I have lost?' 'It must be admitted,' replied the Father, 'that he was a very excellent man; but it is not impossible to find one like him, to [163] aid thee as much as did he whom God had given thee.' 'It makes no difference,' she answered; 'I am determined not to marry again. If I had been permitted to do as I wished, I would, long ago, have lived with my husband as a sister. Regard for my salvation estranges me from the thought of marriage.' 'Yes, but wilt thou not be saved just the same, even if thou art married?' 'It is true, but I would not be so acceptable to JESUS CHRIST.' 'Hast thou promised him not to marry again?' 'No; but I intend, the first time I receive communion, to say these words to him: "My God, I renounce the pleasures of marriage. I prefer thy pleasure to my own. The pleasures here below are short; those of Heaven are eternal."'" Those who take no delight in the Savages' good impulses, [164] will say that this one was rather inspired by the spirit of God than that it originated in the mind of a Savage.

"As good trees bring forth good fruit, this noble Christian woman has a daughter who inherits the holy inclinations of her good mother. This child lives with the hospital Nuns, acting as Interpreter for the poor Huron patients, of whom there has been a goodly number all the year in that house of mercy. She is so intelligent that she mastered the French language in less than two years; and then

que iamais elle ne s'excuse, dans la correction de ses petits deffauts: & si on accuse quelqu'une [165] de ses compagnes, elle dit, pour l'ordinaire, que c'est elle qui a fait la faute: & qu'elle n'a point d'esprit. Il n'y a pas long-temps, qu'elle a fait sa premiere Communion; & pour preuve, qu'elle connoissoit celuy qui la venoit visiter, elle s'offrit d'elle-mesme à luy, le suppliant de la retenir en sa maison, & de luy faire la grace d'estre Religieuse. Elle a vne si forte creance, qu'il luy accordera cette faueur, qu'elle ne veut iamais fortir du Monastere, où elle est: pour aller voir sa bonne mere, & ses parens, qui ne sont qu'à deux lieuës de Quebec. Et s'ils la viennent voir, elle a si peur, qu'ils ne luy parlent, de mettre le pied hors de cét Hospital, qu'elle les expedie en quatre paroles. Ce qui est peu ordinaire à des enfans: mais [166] celuy qui dōne le poids aux vens, & qui se plaist dans l'innocence, rend leurs cœurs solides, & leurs langues difertes, quand il luy plaist.

Difons en passant, puis que nous parlons de l'Hospital, ce que i'ay leu dans vn bout de lettre, qu'un Sauvage fort opiniastre, & fort éloigné de la Foy, ayant esté porté en cette maison de Dieu, pour y estre pensé, fut si surpris, & si estonné, voyant la douceur, la bonté, la modestie, & la charité de ces bonnes Meres, qu'il ne faisoit autre chose, que de reïterer ces paroles; Mais, que pretendent ces filles, qu'attendent-elles de ces malades qui n'ont rien? elles dōnent leurs viures, leurs moyës, leur travail, avec tant de bonté, & on ne leur donne rien! Il faut [167] bien, qu'elles esperent d'autres biens, apres cette vie? ces pensées liquefierent ce cœur de fer, qui fe

learned to read and write, so that she outstrips the little French girls. She is of so excellent a disposition that she never excuses herself when her little faults are corrected; and if any one of her companions is accused of error, [165] she is wont to say that it was she who committed the offense, and that she has no sense. Not long ago she made her first Communion; and, in proof that she knew him who had just visited her, she voluntarily offered herself to him, imploring him to retain her in his house and graciously permit her to become a Nun. She has so strong a faith that he will grant her this favor, that she is determined never to leave the Convent where she is, for the purpose of going to see her good mother and her relatives, who live at a distance of only two leagues from Quebec. And, if they come to see her, she is so afraid that they will speak to her of leaving this Hospital, that she dismisses them with very few words—an unusual thing for children to do. But [166] he who gives force to the winds, and who takes pleasure in innocence, makes their hearts strong and their tongues eloquent when he chooses.”

Let us relate in passing, since we are on the subject of the Hospital, what I read in a scrap of a letter. A Savage who was very headstrong and much opposed to the Faith, upon being carried to that house of God for the purpose of having a wound dressed, was so filled with surprise and wonder at seeing the gentleness, the goodness, the modesty, and the charity of those good Mothers, that he did nothing but exclaim over and over again: “Why, what do these girls mean? What do they expect from those sick people who have nothing? They give their food, their means, their labor, with so much kind-

rendit, & s'estant fait Chrestien, il fit paroistre, que la charité estoit vn bon Predicateur.

Mais pour dire encor deux mots de la pureté, qui s'establit dans quelques ames d'élite. Vne autre ieune veufue, paroist si retirée, depuis la mort de son mary, que mesme, elle ne répond aucun mot aux hommes, qui feroient capables de luy parler de mariage. Le Pere, qui a soin de son ame, en voulant fçauoir la raison: elle la rendit en ces termes. Il y a long-temps, que i'ay promis à Dieu, que iamais plus ie ne me marierois. C'est pour son honneur, & non pour mon contentement, ce que i'en fay. C'est assez vescu avec les [168] hommes, ay-je dit en moy-mesme: Je fçay bien que je suis encor ieune, & que ie suis capable d'auoir des enfans, qui feroient mon soutien: ie me priue volontiers de cét appuy. Il n'importe que ie sois pauvre: mais il importe que i'ayme Dieu. Je n'ay qu'vne petite fille, c'est mon enfant vnique: i'ay dit souuent à Nostre Seigneur, la voila: si tu me la veux oster, ie ne laisseray pas de t'aymer: ie ne souhaite sa vie que pour te seruir. Qu'on en die ce que l'on voudra, ce langage du cœur, est eloquent deuant Dieu. Si quelques hommes ne le goustent pas, quantité d'Anges y prennent plaisir.

Voicy vne deuotion bien innocente. Quelques femmes Huronnes, font entrées dans vn combat, à qui rendroit plus d'honneur [169] à la sainte Vierge, & par leur bonne vie, & par les prieres qu'elles luy adreffoient, notamment en recitant son Chapelet. Il y en a telle, qui s'endormant l'*Aue Maria* en la bouche, la continuë à son réueil, comme si le sommeil ne l'auoit point interrompuë. Et afin que le nombre

ness; and they are given nothing in return! They must [167] certainly hope for other blessings after this life." These thoughts melted that heart of iron, and it yielded; and, becoming a Christian, he made it evident that charity was a good Preacher.

But,—to say a word or two more regarding the purity that has been implanted in some elect souls,—another young widow has become so reticent since her husband's death, that she does not even answer those men who, perchance, might address her on the subject of marriage. When the Father who has the care of her soul wished to know the reason of this, she gave it to him as follows: "A long time ago I promised God that I would never marry again. It is in his honor, and not for my own pleasure, that I act thus. 'Enough of living with [168] men!' said I to myself. I am well aware that I am still young, and that I could have children who would be my dependence; but I voluntarily deny myself that support. Whether or not I be poor matters not; but it is of importance whether I love God or not. I have only a little daughter; she is my sole child. I have often said to Our Lord: 'There she is: if it be thy will to take her from me, I shall not cease to love thee; I wish her to live only that she may serve thee.'" Say what you will, this language of the heart is eloquent before God. If there are men who do not appreciate it, there are many Angels who take pleasure in it.

The following is an instance of devotion of a very innocent kind. Some Huron women joined in a contest as to who should pay the greatest honor [169] to the blessed Virgin, both by exemplary living, and by addressing prayers to her,—and this especially by

de fois qu'elles le difent, foit honorable à leur bonne Mere: elles mettent à chaque fois, vne de leurs perles, ou de leurs diamans à part; ce font leurs grains de porcelaine. Elles apportent tous les Dimanches, au Pere qui les conduit, le petit amas qu'elles ont fait pendant la femaine: afin de tirer de ce magasin, dequoy faire vne Couronne, & vne Echarpe, à la façon du pays, à l'image de la fainte Vierge. Le Pere a marqué dans vn papier, [170] qu'il s'est trouué cinq mille de ces perles, depuis l'Affomption, iufques au quinzième d'Octobre. Je m'affure, que tous ceux qui font enrolez en la Confrairie du Rofaire, ne recitent pas fi fouuent leur Chapelet, que ces bonnes Neophytes.

Il faudroit maintenant parler de la Refidence de faint Iofeph à Sillery. De la Refidence des Trois Riuieres. De la Miffion de fainte Croix à Tadouffac. De la Miffion de S. Iean en la nation des Porcs-Epics. De la Miffion des Poiffons blancs. De la Miffion des Abnaquiois. Des peuples appelez les Nipifiriniens; les Piskitang: les Algonquins de la petite Nation, & autres, qu'on a commencé d'instruire en la foy: mais ie n'ay pas affez d'instruction pour parler en [171] détail de tous ces peuples & de toutes ces Nations. Je rapporteray quelque petite chofe, de ce qui est venu entre mes mains.

Vne femme, nommée Geneuiefue, ayant vn fils malade, âgé d'enuiron huit à neuf ans, fit tout fon poffible, pour luy faire recouurer la fanté, ou pour le difpofer à vne fainte mort, en cas que Dieu le voulut retirer de ce monde. Elle follicitoit les Religieufes Hospitalieres, & les Vrfulines, de prier inceffamment pour luy: Elle importunoit fouuent nos Peres, les

reciting the Rosary. There are those among them who, falling asleep with the *Ave Maria* on their lips, continue it upon awaking, as if sleep had not interrupted it. And, in order that the frequency with which they repeat it may be to their good Mother's honor, they put aside, each time, one of their pearls or diamonds,—these are their porcelain beads. Every Sunday, they bring to the Father who directs them the little pile they have amassed during the week, in order to draw from this store the material for making a Crown, or Scarf, after the fashion of the country, for the image of the blessed Virgin. The Father has noted down on paper [170] that these pearls amounted to five thousand, from the day of the Assumption to the fifteenth of October. I am sure that not all those who are enrolled in the Confraternity of the Rosary recite their Chaplets as often as do these good Neophytes.

I ought now to speak of the Residence of saint Joseph at Sillery, the Residence of Three Rivers, the Mission of the holy Cross at Tadoussac, the Mission of St. Jean in the Porcupine nation, the Mission of the Poissons-blancs, the Mission of the Abnaquiois; of the people called the Nipisiriniens, of the Piskitangs, of the Algonquins of the petite Nation, and of others whose instruction in the faith has been begun. But I have not sufficient information to speak in [171] detail of all these peoples and all these Nations. I will relate a little circumstance, taken from what has come into my hands.

A woman named Genevieve, who had a sick son about eight or nine years of age, did her utmost to make him recover his health, or to prepare him for a holy death, if God should will his removal from

priant de le visiter, & de le fortifier: en vn mot, de faire en forte, qu'il allast droit au Ciel, fans rien rencontrer en son chemin qui l'arrestat. Elle auoit cette pensée en l'esprit, que Dieu sollicité par les prieres de ses amis, & touché [172] de compassion, à la veuë des bonnes dispositions de son enfant, luy rendroit la fanté, ou s'il le vouloit appeller à foy, qu'il le deliuroit, des peines qu'on souffre pour l'ordinaire, apres la mort. Ce motif luy donnoit vn soin si violent, & de l'ame, & du corps de cét enfant fort innocent, qu'elle se rendoit importune à tout le monde, & à son fils mesme: luy demandant, s'il n'oublioit rien en ses Confessions, & s'il auoit douleur de ses pechez. Ce pauvre enfant, luy disoit par fois, ne vous attristez point, ma mere, mon cœur n'est pas méchant, il n'y a rien qui le puisse gaster: i'ay dit au Pere, tout ce qu'il y auoit de mauuais. Or comme la maladie augmentoit tous les iours: Quelques Jongleurs, ou Medecins du pays, parens [173] de la mere de cét enfant, luy dirent, qu'ils trouueroient bien le moyen de guerir le malade. Elle fit au commencement la fourde oreille: voyant bien, qu'ils se vouloient feruir de leurs superstitions, & de leurs badineries ordinaires: mais enfin, se voyant pressée, le grand amour, qu'elle auoit pour la fanté de son fils, qui estoit son enfant vnique, la fit diffimuler, & à demy condescendre à leurs volontez. Ils abordent doucement cét enfant, luy demandent s'il ne feroit pas bien aise de guerir: il répond qu'ouy; il faut donc, repartent-ils, que vous permettiez qu'on vous chante, & qu'on dresse vn Tabernacle, pour consulter les Genies de l'air, touchant vostre mal. Non pas cela, dit-il, non pas cela. Et se tournant [174] vers

this world. She begged the Hospital and Ursuline Nuns to pray for him without ceasing; she often importuned our Fathers, asking them to visit him, to strengthen him, and, in short, to take such measures as would insure for him a straight path to Heaven without encountering any obstacle on the way. She thought that God, solicited by the prayers of his friends, and touched [172] with compassion at the sight of her son's good qualities, would restore him to health; or that, if it were his will to call him to himself, he would exempt him from the pains that are ordinarily suffered after death. This idea inspired her with such excessive solicitude for both the soul and the body of that innocent child, that she rendered herself troublesome to every one,—and even to her son, whom she would question whether he were forgetting anything in his Confessions, and whether he were sorry for his sins. That poor child would say to her sometimes: "Do not grieve, mother; my heart is not wicked, there is nothing that can spoil it; and I have told the Father all that was evil in it." Now, as the illness increased every day, some Jugglers, the Physicians of the country, relatives [173] of this child's mother, told her that they would infallibly find a remedy to cure the patient. At first she turned a deaf ear to their words, seeing plainly that they wished to employ their superstitious rites and customary buffooneries; but at last, seeing herself hard pressed, her great desire to restore her son to health—he was her only child—caused her to dissemble, and partially to comply with their wishes. They softly approached the child, and asked him if he would not be glad to become well again; he replied that he would. "You

fa mere, il s'écrie, ie ne veux point aller en Enfer. Ces chofes font deffenduës: en vn mot, il fit voir, par gestes, & par paroles, qu'il abhorroit toutes ces fuperftitions: mais comme ce n'estoit qu'un enfant, & qu'il perdoit fes forces, & fa vigueur, ces Jongleurs passerent outre. Ils luy pendent au col, trois petits rondeaux faits de brins de porc-epic de la grandeur d'un petit ietton, difans que son mal caché dans les intestins, estoit de mesme grandeur, & qu'il le falloit faire fortir. Ils luy demandoient soigneusement, s'il ne voyoit rien dans ses songes, auxquels tous ces Barbares ont grande creance. Il répondit, qu'il auoit veu vn canot. Aussi-tost, on luy en fit faire vn petit, qui luy fut apporté, afin de contenter le genie, ou [175] le Demon des songes. Remarquez que tout cela se faisoit en cachette, dans la profondeur de la nuit, de peur que les Peres, n'en eussent connoissance. Enfin comme ces remedes n'auoient aucun effet, les Jongleurs prennent leurs tambours, ils hurlêt, ils chantent, ils soufflent le malade, ils font festin d'un chien roux, pour arrester le cours de sa maladie: mais au lieu de foulager ce pauvre enfant, sa fièvre redouble avec vne telle vehemence, qu'il s'écrie, qu'il brûle, qu'il sent desia le feu de l'Enfer, & qu'on le tuë. A ces cris, ces beaux medecins se retirent, la mere épouuantée, ouure les yeux, passe le reste de la nuit en pleurs, & en larmes, transpercée de douleur, d'auoir donné quelque creance à ces charlatans, & à ces trompeurs.

[176] Le Pere qui a soin de ce quartier, arriuant le matin, pour voir le malade: cette pauvre femme, l'aborde, & luy dit en pleurant. Mon Pere, allons à la Chapelle, ie desire de me confesser: à peine y

must, then," they rejoined, "allow us to sing, and to put up a Tabernacle for consulting the Genii of the air in regard to your ailment." "Not that!" he exclaimed, "not that!" And, turning [174] to his mother, he cried: "I do not want to go to Hell; those things are forbidden." In short, he showed by word and gesture that he abhorred all those superstitions; but, as he was only a child and was losing his strength and vigor, the Jugglers continued their operations. They hung about his neck three little disks, made of porcupine quills and of the size of small counters,—saying that his ailment, hidden in the intestines, was of the same size, and must be made to come out. They carefully inquired of him whether he saw anything in his dreams,—all these Barbarians having great faith in dreams. He replied that he had seen a canoe. Immediately they had a small one made and brought to him, in order to satisfy the genie or [175] Demon of dreams. Note that all this took place in secret, in the dead of night, for fear lest the Fathers should gain knowledge of it. Finally, as these remedies produced no effect, the Jugglers took their drums, yelled, sang, blew upon the patient, and feasted on a red dog, in order to arrest the course of the malady. But, instead of relief, the poor child's fever redoubled, with such vehemence that he cried out that he was burning, that he already felt the fire of Hell, and that he was being killed. At these cries the worthy physicians withdrew; the mother opened her eyes in alarm, and passed the rest of the night in lamentations and tears, pierced with grief at having reposed any faith in those charlatans and deceivers.

[176] When the Father in charge of that district

fut-elle entrée, qu'elle se iette par terre, versant quantité de larmes, pouffant tout haut ces paroles entrecoupées de sanglots. C'est moy qui fay mourir mon fils. Ce sont mes pechés qui luy ostent la vie. C'est moy qui le tuë. Je suis coupable, & il est innocent. Je merite la mort; & il merite de viure, fut-il ainsi, que ie mourusse, & non pas luy: car il est bon, & ie suis meschante. J'ay faché celuy qui a tout fait, que feray-ie pour l'appaiser? & se tournant vers le Pere, elle tire vn grand collier de porcelaine de son sein, & luy dit, voila pour appaiser [177] celuy que i'ay fashé, offre luy ce present par les mains des pauvres: prie pour moy mon Pere, afin que mes pechés, ne soient point imputés, à mon enfant: & que la porte du Ciel, ne luy soit point fermée. Je luy preparois vne belle robe de castor, ie te l'apporteray mon Pere, & tu la penderas en quelque lieu, dedans l'Eglise: elle parlera pour moy, & fera voir à tout le monde, mon peché, & ma repentance.

Enfin son pauvre petit Estienne, c'est ainsi qu'il s'appelloit, mourut fainctement. Cette pauvre mere le baissant apres sa mort, luy disoit, pardonne moy mon fils, c'est moy qui t'ay fay mourir par mes pechés, pardonne à ta mere, elle a peut-estre, faly ta pauvre [178] ame, permettant ces sotises, & ces superstitions, sur ton petit corps. Je crains que cela ne t'empesche, l'entrée du Paradis. Et le voulant, elle-mesme enseuelir, elle luy ioignit ses deux petites mains, comme s'il eut prié Dieu: mettant son Chappelet à l'entour, & son petit Crucifix entre ses doigts. Voila mon fils, luy disoit-elle, l'image de celuy qui a netoyé tes pechés. C'est luy qui te logera dans sa maison, où iamais plus tu ne pourras mourir.

arrived in the morning to see the patient, this poor woman accosted him, and thus addressed him with tears: "Father, let us go to the Chapel; I wish to be confessed." Scarcely had she arrived there, when she threw herself on the ground, shedding many tears and exclaiming aloud, her words interrupted by sobs: "I am making my son die. My sins are taking away his life; I am killing him. I am guilty, and he is innocent. I deserve death, and he deserves to live. Would I could die in his stead; for he is good, and I am wicked. I have displeased him who made all things. What shall I do to conciliate him?" And, turning to the Father, she drew from her bosom a large porcelain collar, and said to him: "That is to appease [177] him whom I have offended. Offer him this present through the poor. Pray for me, my Father, in order that my sins may not be imputed to my child, and the door of Heaven be closed against him. I was making him a fine beaver-skin robe; I will bring it to thee, Father, and thou shalt hang it somewhere inside the Church. It will speak for me, and show to every one my sin and my repentance."

Finally, her poor little Estienne—for that was his name—died a holy death. The poor mother kissed him after his death, and said to him: "Forgive me, my son; it is I who made thee die by my sins. Forgive thy mother; she has perhaps defiled thy poor [178] soul by permitting those foolish and superstitious rites to be performed over thy little body. I fear that may prevent thy entrance into Paradise." And, wishing to bury him herself, she joined his little hands as if in prayer to God, winding his Rosary about them and placing his little Crucifix

Voicy vne grace bien particuliere arriüée, à vne bande de bons Chrestiens, qui voguoient sur le grand fleuve, sur la fin de l'Hyuer. Les glaces les entourans de tous costez, & se jettans les vnes sur les autres: en forte [179] qu'ils ne voyoient aucun moyen d'eschapper, attendans à tous momens vn debris, de leur petit vaiffeau: le Pere qui les accompagnoit; voyant bien que sans vn secours du Ciel, c'estoit fait de leurs vies: les fit mettre en priere. Chose estrange, vous euffiés dit, que leur oraison écartoit ces grands corps de glaces, & les faisoit fuir, pour leur donner passage: le coup fut si foudain, qu'il les estonna tous. Et pour marque, que c'estoit vne faueur extraordinaire, l'effet fut grand pour leurs ames, aussi bien que pour leurs corps, dautant que ce prodige, les rendit plus fermes à la Foy, & augmenta fortement leur confiance en Dieu.

Ce qui fuit n'est pas moins [180] étonnant. Vn Chrestien malade à la mort, fut prié, sollicité, & pressé, par ses parens, & par ses amis, de se laisser penser à la façon des Sauvages: c'est à dire, avec des cris, des hurlemens, & des tambours, dont se seruent les Iongleurs, croyans par ce tintamarre, épouvanter le Manitou, qui oste la vie aux hommes. Ce bon Neophyte les rebuta, disant, qu'il ayroit mieux mourir, que de souffrir ces badineries, & ces superstitions, plus propres à faire mourir vn malade, qu'à le guerir: mais comme il vid, que ces Iongleurs, se dispoioient à le souffler, mal-gré ses resistances, il se feruit du peu de force qui luy restoit, pour fortir de la cabane, & pour se traifner dans le bois. Chose estrange à mesure [181] qu'il s'éloigne de ces Sorciers, il s'approche de la santé: en forte qu'il fut guery

between his fingers. "There, my son," said she to him, "is the image of him who has washed away thy sins. He will give thee a place in his house, where thou canst never die any more."

The following is an instance of very special grace shown to a band of good Christians who were journeying on the great river, toward the end of Winter. They were surrounded on all sides by blocks of ice, which were dashed upon one another in such a way [179] that they saw no means of escape, but expected every moment that their little bark would be crushed. The Father who was with them, seeing plainly that without Heaven's help they would lose their lives, made them resort to prayer. Strangely enough, you would have said their prayer dispersed those great masses of ice, and put them to flight, in order to give passage to the men. This took place so suddenly as to astonish them all. And, in proof that it was an extraordinary favor, the effect upon their souls as well as upon their bodies was remarkable, inasmuch as this miracle rendered them stronger in the Faith, and greatly increased their trust in God.

The following is not less [180] wonderful. A Christian who was fatally ill was urged in the strongest terms, by his relatives and friends, to allow himself to be treated after the manner of the Savages,—that is, with shouting, yelling, and drumming, which the Jugglers employ, thinking by this din to frighten away the Manitou who deprives men of their lives. This good Neophyte repulsed them, saying that he chose to die rather than allow these apish and superstitious ceremonies, more liable to kill than to cure a patient. But, seeing the Jugglers

quasi en vn instant, avec vne ioye de son cœur, & vn étonnement de tous ceux qui le tenoient pour mort.

Ce que ie vay dire, est digne d'estre sceu. Deux ieunes filles Chrestiennes, se voyans pourfuiuies, par deux ieunes hommes, se iettent dans les forests, qui couurent ce grand pays: elles coururent si fort, & entrerent si auant, dans ce pays perdu: qu'elles furent deux mois sans paroistre. On les cherche, on les appelle, point de nouvelles, la peur les auoit si bien éloignées qu'on les tenoit pour mortes: car n'ayât porté aucun viure, avec elles, chacun croyoit, que la faim les auroit égorgées. [182] Enfin apres auoir bien couru, & bien marché dans ces grands bois, elles se trouuerent sur les riuies, de la grand' Riuiere de S. Laurens, où ayant apperceu vn vaisseau François, qui montoit à Tadouffac, elles appellerent, & firent signe, qu'on les embarquast, ce qui fut fait.

Bref elles arriuerent en bonne santé au logis de leurs parens: n'ayans vescu, tout ce temps-là, que de racines, & de petits fruitcs Sauvages, qu'elles trouuoient dans les bois. *Non in solo pane viuit homo*, ces paroles, pouuoient estre prises au pied de la lettre à leur égard.

Vne autre ieune fille, ne se ietta pas dans ce danger, mais elle y ietta vn impudent qui la pressoit [183] avec violence: car prenant vn cousteau en main, elle luy alloit planter dans la gorge, où dans le sein, si sa mere accourant, n'eut retenu son bras.

Le Pere qui a esté en Mission dans le lac de S. Iean, dit, qu'une fille le vint prier, de luy donner le Baptesme. Il luy demande, si quelqu'un de nos Peres, l'auoit instruite; elle dit que non, & qu'elle

preparing to blow upon him despite his opposition, he made use of the little strength left him to go forth from his cabin and drag himself into the woods. Strange to relate, the farther [181] he went from those Sorcerers, the nearer he came to health, so that he was cured almost in a moment,—to the delight of his heart, and the astonishment of all those who considered him as dead.

What I am about to relate is worthy of publication. Two young Christian girls, seeing themselves pursued by two young men, fled into the forests which cover this great country. They ran so hard, and penetrated so far into that wild region, that they were not seen again for two months. People searched and shouted for them, but there was no news of them. Fear had driven them so far away that they were accounted dead; for, as they had taken no food with them, all believed that hunger must have caused their death. [182] At length, after they had run and walked a long distance in those vast forests, they found themselves on the bank of the great River St. Lawrence, where, perceiving a French vessel that was on its way up to Tadoussac, they hailed it and made signs to be taken aboard, which was done.

In brief, they arrived in good health at their parents' lodge, having lived all that time on nothing but roots and small Wild fruits that they found in the woods. *Non in solo pane vivit homo*,—these words admitted of a literal interpretation in their case.

Another young girl exposed to a like danger not herself, but an impudent fellow who was importuning her [183] with violence. Taking a knife in her hand, she was about to plant it in his throat or in his breast, had not her mother ran up and stayed her arm.

n'a iamais veu, de gens faits comme nous, portans des robes noires: mais qu'elle a demeuré avec des Chrestiens, qui luy ont appris à prier Dieu, & qui luy ont fait connoistre l'importance du Baptesme. Le Pere voyant sa candeur, son zele, son assiduité, & sa perseverance à demander cette grace, ne luy osa refuser. On a accordé cette mesme faueur à environ [184] vne centaine de Sauvages, de ceux qui trafiquent ordinairement en ce quartier-là.

FIN.

The Father who has been acting as Missionary at the lake of St. John says that a girl came and begged him to give her Baptism. Upon his asking her if any of our Fathers had instructed her, she said "No," and that she had never seen any one dressed like us, wearing a black robe; but that she had lived with some Christians who had taught her to pray to God, and had made her understand the importance of Baptism. The Father, seeing her candor, her zeal, her assiduity, and her perseverance in asking for this grace, dared not refuse her. This same favor was granted to about [184] a hundred of the Savages ordinarily trading in that district.

END.

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FRANÇOIS ANNAT.



BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. XL

LXXXIII

For a bibliographical account of this document, see Vol. XXXVIII.

LXXXIV

In presenting the text of the *Relation* of 1652-53 (Paris, 1654), we follow the original Cramoisy edition, from the copy in the Lenox Library. The prefatory epistle of the superior, François le Mercier, is dated on p. 4, "A Quebec ce 29. d'Octobre 1653." The "Priuilege" is not dated; but the "Permiſſion," signed by the Provincial, François Annat, was "Fait à Paris ce 10. Feurier 1654." This annual is no. 101, in Harrisse's *Notes*.

Collation: Title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; "Table des Chapitres," pp. (2); prefatory epistle from Le Mercier to the Provincial, pp. 1-4; text (9 chaps.) pp. 5-184; "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," with verso blank, 1 leaf; "Permiſſion du R. P. Prouincial," with verso blank, 1 leaf. Signatures: ã in two, A-L in eights, M in two, N in four.

In the Harvard copy, line 17 of p. 132 ends with "de," and line 18 begins with the same word. This duplication is removed in the Lenox copy. On p. 159, line 15, of the Harvard copy, we find "fa-famille;" but in the Lenox copy it is corrected to "fa famille." The Harvard copy is, therefore, apparently, the earlier impression.

Copies of this *Relation* have been sold or priced as follows: Harrassowitz (1882), no. 37, priced at 120 marks; O'Callaghan (1882), no. 1233, sold to Library of Parliament of Canada for \$15, and had cost him a like amount; Barlow (1890), no. 1303, sold for \$27.50; Dufossé, priced, at different times, between 1891-1893, at 200 and 265 francs. Copies are to be found in the following libraries: Lenox, Harvard, Brown (private), Marshall (private), Ayer (private), St. Mary's College (Montreal), Laval University (Quebec), Library of Parliament (Ottawa), British Museum, and Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).

NOTES TO VOL. XL

(*Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.*)

1 (p. 25).—Martin, who largely avails himself in the translation of these biographical sketches, of the MS. of 1652, says that this correspondent was Father Leonard Garreau. Bressani here draws freely from the *Relation* of 1650 (vol. xxxv.).

2 (p. 37).—"An autograph note of Father Paul Ragueneau, appended to the precious MS. of 1652, and affirmed under oath, leaves us no doubt upon this point. This missionary states that he obtained, from most trustworthy witnesses, the following details. The Huron apostate, named Louis Honarenhax, finally avowed that he had killed Father Noël, out of hatred to the faith; for, since he and his family had embraced the faith, all kinds of misfortunes had befallen them." According to this note, the murderer and his entire family were objects of "the divine vengeance, of which the Iroquois were the instruments."—Martin's *Bressany*, p. 276, note.

3 (p. 79).—The Father here mentioned was Joseph du Peron (vol. xxii., note 3); he sailed from Quebec Nov. 10, 1653.

4 (p. 109).—The commandant of Three Rivers at this time was Pierre Boucher (vol. xxviii., note 18). After the death of Duplessis, this post was commanded by Boucher and La Poterie, in irregular alternation, until September, 1667.

5 (p. 111).—*Platon*: a corrupt form of plateau (vol. xix., note 4).

6 (p. 131).—Carr describes the process by which the Indians made bread from corn (as also from beans, acorns, or other vegetable products); it was baked in hot ashes, or on broad stones placed over a fire. The ash-cake, johnny-cake, and pone, still used by whites, are survivals of the aboriginal cuisine.—"Food of American Indians," in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, vol. x., part 1, pp. 181, 182.

7 (p. 143).—Pierre le Petit, a settler upon the Jesuit lands at Beauport, had a wife and two infant children. The boy, Joseph, born in July, 1647, was carried away by the Iroquois when barely three years old (vol. xxxv., p. 43). In the passage here cited, *enter-*

rement is apparently a *lapsus calami* for *enleuement*, in the light of Poncet's mention of the child's death among the Iroquois.

8 (p. 191).—Interesting contemporary documents regarding Canadian affairs at this juncture are the letters of Marie de l'Incarnation. Writing from Quebec, Aug. 30, 1653, she mentions Poncet's capture, and the siege of Three Rivers by the Iroquois; and adds: "But the reverend Father Mercier, superior of missions, has so fortified this place that the French people here are safe. . . . Those wretches have so devastated these districts that we have sometimes believed that we would be obliged to return to France. . . . Now the harvests, which are abundant, are being gathered. With that, too, aid is coming from France, which is a consolation to all the people; for it would have been deplorable if matters had come to the extremity of abandoning the country. More than 2,000 French settlers, who have made great outlays in order to establish themselves here, would be destitute, having no property elsewhere."

In another letter,—dated 1653 (month and day not given), and addressed to the Ursuline superior at Tours.—Mother Marie makes a statement of especial interest, in view of the credit given by most historians to Frontenac for planning the erection of the fort which bore his name: "At present, a peace is being negotiated; and there is talk of sending Gospel laborers to establish a great mission at Ontario, which is ten days' journey above Montreal. It is intended to take soldiers there also, and to build a fort, in order to make the place secure,—because, as that post will be in the midst of several important tribes, it will be a resort for those who shall go to announce the Gospel."

The name "Ontario" was not, as far as is known, applied at that early date to any fixed settlement, whether of French or Indians; but the lake—otherwise known as Lac des Iroquois, Lac St. Louis, and Lac Catarakoui—was already called Ontario (vol. xxi., p. 191—its first mention by that name in the *Relations*), and would be first reached from Montreal at the place known as Catarakoui, where Fort Frontenac was erected (July, 1673), the site of the present city of Kingston. The name Ontario means, according to many writers, "beautiful lake." Upon this rendering, Hale remarks: "This, doubtless, is the meaning conveyed to an Iroquois of the present day, unless he belongs to the Tuscarora tribe. But there can be no doubt that the termination *io* (otherwise written *iyó*, *zio*, *eeyo*, etc.) had originally the sense, not of 'beautiful,' but of 'great.' It is derived from the word *wiyo*, which signifies in the Seneca dialect 'good,' but in the Tuscarora 'great.' . . . *Ontario* is derived from the Huron *yontare*, or *ontare*, 'lake' (Iroquois, *oniatare*), with this termination. It was not by any

means the most beautiful of the lakes which they knew; but . . . it was to both of them emphatically 'the great lake.'"—*Iroquois Book of Rites* (Phila., 1883), p. 176.

Another letter from Mother Marie, dated Sept. 6, 1653, written to the Ursuline superior at Dijon, gives a graphic account of the events related in our text. After mentioning the rumors, current in the summer, of Iroquois attacks, and the belief of the French colonists that these were false reports, she adds: "But the reverend Father superior of the missions—a man very zealous for the public welfare, who considers it necessary to remain continually upon his guard—labored energetically to secure the fortification of that settlement of Three Rivers. This was contrary to the opinion of the inhabitants of the place themselves,—who, devoted to their own personal affairs, had no inclination to quit these in order to labor on the fortress. Notwithstanding the hindrances encountered by the Father in his undertaking, the fortifications were completed, and all the inhabitants were protected from sudden attacks by the enemy. Hardly three weeks had passed, when 600 Iroquois (by whom we had been threatened) appeared, with the intention of putting all to fire and sword, without sparing age or sex,—which they would certainly have accomplished, if the place had been in the condition in which they expected to find it. All those who lived in the Huron village, being informed of the enemy's approach, immediately took refuge within the fort, and consequently they, as well as the French, escaped slaughter. So true is it that the Iroquois intended to exterminate all and render themselves masters of the place, that they had brought their wives and children, and all their baggage, in order to establish themselves there."—See Richaudeau's edition of the *Lettres*, t. ii., pp. 11–25.

9 (p. 209).—Concerning the use of wampum, see vol. viii., *note* 70, and vol. xxvii., *note* 24; of tobacco on ceremonious occasions, vol. vi., *note* 25.

10 (p. 221).—This passage, and a similar statement by Marie de l'Incarnation (*note* 8, *ante*), would indicate that the Jesuits had anticipated by twenty years Frontenac's plan of building a fort for the control of Lake Ontario.