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A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America

VOLUME 2

by Louis Hennepin

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HENNEPIN'S
A NEW DISCOVERY
EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES
VOLUME II
A

NEW DISCOVERY

OF A

VAST COUNTRY

IN AMERICA

By Father Louis Hennepin

Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index

By Reuben Gold Thwaites
Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"

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A CONTINUATION, OF THE
New Discovery
OF A
Vast Country in America,
Extending above Four Thousand Miles,
Between
New France and New Mexico;
Giving an
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the
Mines of St. Barbe, &c. The Taking of
Quebec by the English; With the Advantages
of a Shorter Cut to China and Japan.

By L. Hennepin, now Resident in Holland.

To which are added, Several New Discoveries in North-America, not publish'd in the French Edition.

LONDON, Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonson,

American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org
To His Majesty

William III.

By the Grace of God

King of Great Britain.

SIR,

His Catholic Majesty, His Electoral Highness of Bavaria, and the Superiors of my Order having given me leave to come into these happy Provinces, according to Your Majesty's direction, to publish the Discoveries I have made in America; [iv] and Your Majesty having been graciously pleased to accept my first Volume, I make bold to offer You also this Second Part; wherein I insert the Travels of a Gentleman whom I have accompanied several Years, and whose violent Death, by the Hands of his own Men, disappointed the great Designs he had formed upon the Mines of St. Barbe in New Mexico. ¹ The Observations I make upon his Voyage will shew unto Posterity, that a Man must never be ungrateful to his Friends, nor revenge himself of his Enemies, but as much as it concerns the Publick Good, which ought always to prevail upon the private Interest.

This is a Character peculiar to the Illustrious House of

¹ Referring to La Salle, and to his murder in 1687.—Ed.
The Dedication.

Nassau, who has formerly fill'd the Roman Imperial Throne,¹ and who is now cloathed in Your Majesty's Person with a Royal Power over Three great Kingdoms, and [v] other large Dominions which form the British Empire.

All the World agrees, that Nature and Grace have happily conspir'd to unite in Your Sacred Person all the Christian, Political and Military Virtue of Your Renowned Ancestors. The great Elevation of Your Genius, which has manifested itself by Your noble and generous Designs; Your Generosity and Liberality so worthy of Your Illustrious Birth; Your noble Inclination to do good to all Men, even to Your Enemies themselves, and the unparallel'd Constancy and greatness of Soul which You have express'd in the greatest Adversities, the true Touchstone of true Merit, are so conspicuous, that every one is convinc'd of Your Majesty's Magnanimity, Valour, Justice, Equity, Sincerity and Piety.

Your Majesty signaliz'd the Love You had for Your own Country, when [vi] You took the Command of the Armies of the States General against a powerfull and victorious Conquerour, whom Your Majesty forced to abandon almost in one Day the Conquest he had made in the united Provinces. All the World admir'd Your Valour, and more still Your unparallel'd Prudence, which no body expected in such a degree from a Prince of Three and twenty Years of Age.

¹ An allusion to the Holy Roman Empire, which was founded by Charlemagne in the year 800, and was long the temporal arm of the Roman See, throughout Catholic Europe. Its last head was Francis II, who on Aug. 6, 1806, resigned his imperial dignity, confining his sway to his own hereditary dominion of Austria. The emperor referred to by Hennepin was Adolph, count of Nassau, who reigned as head of the Roman Empire from 1292 to 1298.—Ed.
Never Prince was more master of that nice Art of softening the different Tempers of Nations, managing their different Interest, giving Life to their Resolutions, and therefore no Prince had been able hitherto to form and cement such an Alliance as we see at this Day for the safety of Europe. Those great Qualities and incomparable Virtues make Your Majesty the Darling of Your People and the Terror of Your Enemies, and keep Rebels and Factions men in awe, when Your Majesty's [vii] absence out of Your own Kingdoms seems to give them a fair Opportunity to disturb the Tranquility of Great Britain: As You ascended the Throne without any effusion of Blood, God, whose Glory has been always Your chiefest Care, having been pleased to crown with a glorious and unexpected Success, the Equity of Your Intentions, so Mercy and Clemency have been ever since the Basis of it, notwithstanding the many repeated Provocations of ill-disposed Persons, whose Obstinance deserv'd to be punished.

The Confederate Princes having chosen Your Majesty for their Generalissimo, and given proof in their choice both of the Respect and Truth they have in Your Majesty, nothing seems wanting to compleat Your Glory but to procure to Europe a solid and lasting Peace, which we hope is near at hand, and which will shew Your Majesty's incomparable Prudence and Wisdom, as [viii] the management of the War has shewn Your Valour and Magnanimity. The so much admir'd Prudence of Cæsar, and the Valour of Alexander, come very short of what Your Majesty has already expres'd,
The Dedication.

and all impartial Men will agree, that Your Majesty has exceeded the most famous Heroes mentioned in History; but I muʃt leave off this Subject for fear of offending Your Majesty, which is an inseparable Companion of all great Souls.

I muʃt beg Your Majesty's Pardon for the Liberty I take to complain against some Inhabitants of this City of Utrecht, who, though of the same Religion as I am, endeavour to render me odious, because, being a Franciscan, I have dedicated to Your Majesty two Volumes of the Discovery I have made in America. They ought to know that I have done nothing but by Your Majesty's Permission and that of the States, and therefore they [ix] have not a due respect for Your Sacred Majesty and their High and Mightinesses. I hope those very Persons will acknowledge one time or other their mistake and the sincerity of my Intentions, which are such, that I may confidently say, I propose nothing to my self but the Glory of God, and to find out, under Your Majesty's Protection, a Passage into China and Japan without crossing twice the Line, which the English and Dutch have so often vainly attempted, through the Frozen Sea: I hope, Sir, through the Assistance of God, and the Favour of Your Majesty, to succeed in my Design, and discover it before the end of this Age.

By these means a great many Barbarous Nations will be brought to the knowledge of the true God and their Redeemer Jesus Christ, which I am sure is a sufficient motive for Your Majesty to give all Encouragement for this Undertaking; for being convinced of [x] Your Majesty's Piety, I need not uʃe
The Dedication.

for an Argument the Temporal Advantages, that will accrue thereby to Your Kingdoms.

That God be pleased to blefs Your Majesty with all sorts of Prosperities, Your Undertakings with a glorious Success, and Your Subjects with an everlafting Felicity, is and will always be the Prayer of,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most Humble
and most Obedient Servant,

F. Lewis Hennepin,
Missionary Recollet and Notary Apostolick.
THE

PREFACE.

I NEED not make a long Preface to this Book, the Subject Matter thereof is able to recommend itself to the perusal of all Inquisitive Readers. The World, tbo' unjust in most cases, do however Justice to Travellers, and the Accounts of their Voyages meet, generally speaking, with a more favourable Reception than any other Performances. This is a kind of Reward to Travellers for the unspeakable Fatigues they have suffer'd. Notwithstanding I have not travelled through Polite Nations, nor seen any wonderfull Edifices in the Countries I have discovered, I have met with that Reward; the Description of the Cabins of Reeds and Rushes, which are the Habitations of above 200 Nations unknown before, me, have been as acceptable to Ingenious Readers as the Description of their noble Palaces and Temples of China in some other Authors. My Description of Louisiana was printed several times, and the [xii] late Volume I published has met with such a Reception, that I may presume this will have the same fate. And really the Discovery of 200 different Nations unknown hitherto to the Europeans is, one would think, a fit Subject to excite any one's Curiosity.

I would therefore break off my Preface in this place, were I not obliged to answer some false Accusations my Enemies have rais'd against me, and because I am in a Religious Order, I think fit to begin with inserting two Attestations or Certificates of Fathers
The PREFACE.

of my own Order, which will prevent some further Calumnies on that Point.

I UNDERWRITTEN certify to have read and examined a Book entitled, A Description of Louviana, newly discovered to the South-west of New France, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, written by Father Hennepin a Recollect Preacher, and Apostolick Missionary, and to have found nothing therein contrary to Faith or good Manners, but that on the contrary, the said Book contains many Reflections and Remarks, which may be of great use for the Conversion of the Savages, and the Advantages of the Kingdom. Given at our Co[n]vent of Recollects in Paris, December 13, 1682.

F. Cesare Harveau Lector in Divinity, Father Provincial and Custos of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denys in France.

I HAVE read a book entitled, A Description of Louviana, newly discovered to the South-west of New France, with an Account of the Manners of the Savages of that Country, in which I have found nothing but what is conformable to the Faith of the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church, the Laws of the Kingdom, and good Manners; and it may be very useful towards establishing the Faith of Jesus Christ in that new World, and extending the Empire of our Monarch in that fertile and delicious Country. Given at St. Germain en Laye in our Co[n]vent of Recollects, December 14, 1682.

F. Innocent Micault Definitor of the Recollects of the Province of St. Denys in France, and General Commissioner in the Province of Recollects of St. Anthony in Artois.
The PREFACE.

Having premised these two Certificates, I come now to answer the Objections my Enemies urge against me.

1. How, say they, can a Franciscan, and consequently a Priest of the Church of Rome, solicit a Protestant Prince to send him to preach the Gospel unto the Ignorant Nations he has discovered? For is it not more reasonable to think, that that Monarch will rather convert that People to his own Religion, than suffer Catholick Missionaries [xiv] to convert them to the Church of Rome? What Opinion then ought Men to have of the Religion of Father Hennepin? This is the chief Argument insisted on by my Enemies to make me odious to them of my Religion, or rather to the ignorant part of it; but I may easily confute that silly Calumny: For in the first place, His Majesty of Great Britain has not exacted nor demanded any Promise of me, when He was pleased to admit me into His Service, that may be directly or indirectly contrary to my Religion. These Bigots ought by the same reason to confute the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Electors of the Empire, and Bishops of Liege, Munster, &c. who are entered into so spirit an Alliance with His Majesty of Great Britain, and conclude from thence, that those Catholick Princes have formed some Design against the Catholick Religion. But supposing that the English convert those numerous Nations to their Religion, and that I contribute something to it, am I for all that to be blamed? I hope no body will say so, unless it be those more Bigots, who think that the ignorant Americans who worship the Devil, or any other Creature, are nearer to the Kingdom of God than Protestants who worship the same God as we, hope in the same Redeemer, and are separated from us only upon some points; which Opinion I look upon as a Frenzy worthy of my Com-
The PREFACE.

passion, and not of a Reply. But who told them that the Catholick Faith cannot be preached under the Protection of King William, or the States General? Those who censure me, enjoy their Religion [xv] under that very Protection, and the Reader will find at the latter end of this Volume, what offers the English made to our Recollects in America. But let them say what they please, I have the Approbation of His Catholick Majesty, the Elector of Bavaria, and the permission of the Superiors of my Order.

2. Some others think that I impose upon them in the Account I give of the course of the Meschafipi, and that it is not possible I should have travelled in so short a time from its Mouth to its Source. To these I reply, that they are not acquainted with Canous made of Bark of Trees, which are so light that one may travel 20, 25, and in case of need 30 Leagues in a Day against the Stream of a River, whereas by my Account it does not come to Ten in a Day. But if one follows the Stream, as we did from the River of the Illinois to the Mouth of the Meschafipi, the easiness is so great, that I am sure we spent twice more than was requir'd.

3. When wicked and malicious Persons conspire the Ruin of a Man they hate, or else who gives them some umbrage, they make use of all Artifices; therefore my Enemies being afraid, that the publishing of my Discoveries may prejudice their Interest, they have done their utmost to disable the Book-sellers of this City of Utrecht from printing my Books; intriguing, that this was but a Repetition of my Description of Louisiana published many Years agoe, and translated, as they say, into Dutch; but really this is very impertinent; for my Louisiana contains not 20 Sheets, and how is it [xvi] possible that the Abstract of it should contain 50? "Tis true, I repeat
some few things I published then, because otherwise I had been unintelligible, but most commonly I refer the Reader to that Book, which certainly I would not have done, if this last were nothing but the Repetition of the former. But I would ask these Gentlemen, whether they have found in the Description of Louisiana, any Account of the Course of the Melchafipi from the River of the Illinois into the Gulph of Mexico; nor the Account of Mr. de la Salle's unfortunate Travels, with my Additions, and many other things: And as there is no body so impudent to say they have, they confute themselves, and must own, that these two Books I have dedicated to His Majesty were not printed before. I have however the Comfort that they don't accuse me to have robb'd others; the Louisiana was my own Work, and I think I may be as free to borrow something from it in case of need, as others have done.

4. A Learned Man has observed in a very civil manner, that I have said that I have spent about 11 Years in my Discovery, and yet it does not appear by my Account of it that I have been so long; but he must observe, that when I say Eleven Years, I reckon from the time that I set out from Flanders, which was just after the Battel of Senneff, where I was in great danger of my life, to the second Edition of my Description of Louisiana, which was in 1688; and therefore I might have said Fourteen Years instead of Eleven; for [xvi] I have been all that while about it, either in Europe or America.

5. Some other peevish Criticks urge, that when I say that the Savages of Iffati call the Sun Louis, I designed to flatter the King of France; but this is a foolish Suggestion, and a far fetch'd Flattery, the name of Louis being common to the King and the meanest of
his Subjects; therefore I repeat, bow that having liv'd a considerable time in the Family of Aquipagueetin, one of the chief of the Iffati, and learned their Language, I was assured, that they call the Sun by no other name than Louis, and the Moon Louis Basetcha, that is the Sun of the Night.

6. Others having no Objection to make, tells us, That I relate nothing extraordinary; but in the name of Wonder, what will this People have? For if the Description of 4 or 5 Lakes, or rather Fresh-water Seas, some of which are in circuit 4, 5 and 700 Leagues, upon which we sailed with a Ship of 60 Tuns for 500 Leagues together, to the great amazement of the Savages, who had never seen the like, nor heard the noise of Cannon: If the Description of the fall of Ni[a]gara, which is one of the most surprizing things in the World, the Water falling from above 700 Foot high: If the Discovery of 200 different Nations unknown before, and of whom no Traveller had made mention; if all these things, I say, with the Description of that delicious Country, does not seem extraordinary, I don't know what will seem such to those Gentlemen. I relate what I have seen, and [xviii.] really I lie under no temptation to forge any surprizing Discovery to recommend my Book, the real things I have observ'd being worthy of the Consideration of all ingenious Men.

7. Such who have not travelled, nor read many Accounts of Voyages, are very apt to blame what they don't understand, and therefore laugh when one tells them of a new discovered Country larger than Europe, for they fancy there can be no such thing; and when they talk of Canada, they talk of it as if it were no larger than a Principality in Germany; but Men of Paris and Reading
The PREFACE.

are of another Opinion: I have demonstrated that Canada is about 700 Leagues long, and that the Coast of the River St. Laurence, which I have survey'd from its Mouth to the great Lake from which its springs is near 800 Leagues long. I say the same thing of the incomparable River Melchafipi, which is larger and bigger than the former; and to shew the probability of the thing, I have set down in the general Map of my Discovery the Course of the River of the Amazons, in the Southern America, which is esteemed much the same, though in my Opinion the Melchafipi and the River St. Laurence have a longer Course. From the Course of these Rivers, and the Extent of the Lakes, I conclude that the Continent I have discovered is larger than Europe, which might in time form one of the greatest Empires in the World.

I intend to describe in this Volume those Countries, to treat of the nature of their Soil, and of [xix] the Customs, Manners, and Genius of the Inhabitants; and what sort of Trades may be settled in those Parts; therefore I thought fit to add an Abridgment of the Voyage Mr. de la Salle made thither after me. The whole is divided into Chapters, according to the Method I followed in the First Part.

I design the latter end of my Book to treat of the few Conversions our Missionaries have wrought in Canada, notwithstanding their Zeal and indefatigable Labours, which ought to make us thankful towards God, who out of his infinite kindness has been pleased to bless us with his Knowledge, whilst so many thousands of our fellow Creatures are wholly left to themselves, without any Knowledge of God. I am however fully convinced, that the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the Melchafipi will be more susceptible and
The PREFACE.

capable of embracing our Holy Religion, because they are not so fierce, than the Savages of the North, who are commonly Cruel and Obstinate.

To make this Volume more usefull, I have made some Reflections on Mr. de la Salle’s last Voyage, because I was better acquainted with those vast Countries than Father Christian le Clercq,¹ Definitor of our Recolletts of the Province of Artois, who has published an Account of it. I have a great efeem for that Fatber, and was always his Friend, and must own, that he has given a good Account of Canada, and Gaspezia; but at the same time I must say, that the Account he gives of the Inhabitants of Louisiana and about the Mechaufipri is not to [xx] be rely’d upon, for he never was within 1200 Leagues of that Country. Gaspee in Accadia, and Quebec, the nearest places where he has been, being above that distance. ’Tis true, the Diary of my Discovery, of which I gave a Copy to Father Valentin le Roux, as I have observed in my first Volume, was communicated unto him, as also some Memoirs of Father Zenobe Mambre, who remained among the Illinois, while I was sent to discover the Course of the Mechaufipri; and so far Father le Clercq is right, but his Additions are not of the same Coym. I do not wonder that he should commend so much Father

¹ Christian le Clercq was a missionary in Gaspé from 1675 to 1689, and wrote an account of his labors there—Relation de la Gaspézie (Paris, 1691). In 1681 he went to France, and returned to Canada in the following year, commissioned by his superiors to establish a Recollet residence at Montreal. In 1690 he was recalled to France. Hennepin later refers to Le Clercq’s other book, which we have often cited, Premier Établissement de la Poy dans la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1691), which gives full accounts of La Salle’s voyages.

The final “z” in Le Clercq’s name, as here given, is doubtless an error of the English printer, arising from either some flourish at the end of “q,” or the contraction for “ue” (3), often used in early French MSS. — Ed.
The P R E F A C E.

Mambre, who was his own Cousin, and a very good Man besides. We travelled together as far as Fort Crevecoeur mentioned in my first Volume, where I left him among the Illinois, and have been always good Friends. After his return from America he came to see me in our Co[n]vent of Chateau Cambresis [Cambray], and told me, he was going again into America with Mr. de la Salle, and that he expected he should have an Opportunity to make more exact Observations on the Meschafipin than those I had done in the Year 1680, because Mr. de la Salle designed to undertake that Voyage with such a number of Men as to fear nothing from the InJults of the Savages. But if I do not blame Father le Clercqz for the honourable mention he makes of bis Relation, I think everybody will condemn him for bis concealing the name of the Author he has transcrib’d, and thereby attributing to himself the glory of my perilous Voyage.\footnote{This assumption is hardly justified by Le Clercq’s own words; he says (Shea’s translation of Établissement de la Fey, ii, pp. 125, 128, 129): “Father Louis . . . has published the description of the countries which he visited, and into which he carried the Gospel. I, therefore, must refer my reader to it without repeating any part of it here. . . . As I continue the account of a discovery in which Father Zenobius [Membre] took a considerable part and was constantly present, and as we derive from his letters the chief information we can have about it . . . it corresponds with many fragments which we have of the Sieur de la Salle, and the testimony of Frenchmen and Indians who accompanied them.”—Ed.}

This [xxi] piece of Injustice is common enough in this Age.

Mr. de la Salle undertook to go down the Meschafipin from the River of the Illinois in the Yeare 1682, that is, two Years after me, which was the source and cause of bis Animosity against me, and of the rigorous Orders they obtained from the Court of France, to command me to depart the Dominions of the French King, upon
The PREFACE.

pretence that I was a Subject of the King of Spain, as I have mentioned in my Preface to my first Volume. This Order, as I may presume to say so, was as contrary to the Rule of Justice, as of Politicks, for they might very well foresee that I should acquaint some person or other with my Discoveries, and thus thereby their Designs.

From these Observations it is plain, that as I was the first European who discovered the Course of the Mechahapi, and the delicious Country about it; so all others have seen nothing but what I had seen before, and have related nothing material, but what they have abstracted out of the Copy of the Journal of my Voyage which I gave to Father Valentin le Roux, and was by him communicated to Father Hyacinth le Fevre.

Mr. de la Salle had begun a Settlement in the Island of Montreal in Canada, which is 25 Leagues about, and this small Colony is so much improved as to be now a great and populous Village.1 They call it China, because while Mr. de la Salle lived there, and began the Settlement, he spoke very often of the Mines of St. Barbe, and said, that as soon as he had taken these Mines, he would go into China and Japan without crossing the Line, and to that end, find a Passage into the South-Sea. This was the chief Subject of our Conversations, and as the Discoveries I have made cannot be far from the Pacific Sea, I don’t question but Mr. de la Salle, whose great Courage was proof against all Difficulties and Misfortunes, would have succeeded in his Design.

1The village of La Chine. Hennepin exaggerates its growth; for the official census of October, 1688, gives the total population of Lachine, Bout de l’Isle, and Rivière St. Pierre as but 270 souls (including children).—Ed.
The Unfortunate adventures of Mons. de la Salle.
The preface.

Those who are skill'd in Geography have long ago suspected that Japan is contiguous to the Lands of the Northern America; and the Learned Graevius,1 so well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, having carefully examined our Discovery, was pleased to tell me very lately in a meeting of Vertuoii, in this City of Utrecht, That he was of my Opinion, and did not think that Japan was an Island, as it is commonly said, but that it joyns with the large Country I had discovered.

I have made use of a proof in my last Volume, Chapter 37, which I crave leave to repeat in this place, because it is a Matter of Fact: While I was amongst the Ilati and Nadoueffans there came an Embassay of Savages from a very remote Nation to the Westward. I was in the Cabin when my Foster Father Aquipagueutin (for he had adopted me bis Son) gave them Audience, and having asked them some Queستions by an Interpreter, they told me that they came from a remote Country to the Westward, that they had marched 3 Moons, (that is, Months) without meeting with any Lafa, that is in their meaning, the Seas; which certainly [xxiii] could not be true, was there any such a thing as the Streight of Agnian set down in most of our Mapps.

The English and Dutch have in vain attempted to find out a Passage to China and Japan through the Frozen-Sea, but if they are pleased to send me about it, I am confident that I shall find some great River running into the Pacific-Sea, whereby, and by means of the Meftchafip, it will be easy to trade and have Com-

1 Joannes G. Graef (Latinized, Graevius), a German philologist and archaeologist, professor in the university of Utrecht (where he died in 1703), and author of numerous books.—Eo.
The P R E F A C E.

 communion with China and Japan without crossing twice the Line: and losing abundance of Men.

I am so fully convinced of what I say, that I am willing to return into America to shew the Way unto others; some will blame me for this rash Undertaking, but why should I have less Zeal for the Service of God than those Pious Recolletts who ventured into the Kingdom of Voyu in the Eastern part of Japan, and converted the King thereof to the Knowledge of God. That Prince was so Zealous for the true Religion, that he burnt 800 Idols, and sent an Ambassador into Europe with a Retinue of 100 Gentlemen. They embarked October 28. 1613, and arrived in Spain November 10. 1614, being conducted by Father Lewis Sotello a Recollett, who presented the said Ambassador to his Catholick Majesty, and afterwards to the Pope, whom he assured, that the King his Master and most of his Subjects had renounced their Idolatry and embraced the Christian Religion. The Reader will forgive me if I relate two or three things more for the Honour of my Order. The Franciscans were the first who accompanied Christopher Columbus into his newly discovered Country, and had the Honour to preach first of all the Knowledge of God to the Indians. The Conquest of the Spaniards arrived to the highest pitch in the Years 1540 and 1541, and yet no other Religious Order had been employed to bring those lost Sheep into the Flock of the Lord, and they alone had converted a great part of the Subjects of the King of

1 The Franciscan order (also called Gray Friars, and Friars Minor) was founded in 1209, by St. Francis d'Assisi. Not long after his death, his order numbered 200,000 priests and 8,000 convents. The Recollets were an offshoot from the Franciscans (about 1531).—Ed.
The P R E F A C E.

Japan unto the Christian Faith: So that having those great Models before me, I may say, that I long to make an end of my Discovery.

That short passage into China, would, I think, prove as advantageous to Europe, as any Discovery that has been yet made; and this is another great Encouragement for me, for what greater satisfaction can a rational Being propose to himself, than to do good to Mankind, and find out something useful to his Country? Having therefore all Power and Patents necessary for my Mission, I am ready for that great Voyage, and I hope, through the Grace of God to be able to go through that Discovery, and thereby convince the World of the Equity of my Intentions.

The Reader may observe, that the Settlements that shall be made in that Country will absolutely be managed by Laicks, and that supposing the Franciscans should be employ'd 500 Years about the Conversion of the Natives, they should not have there an inch of Land to themselves, it being against the Laws of their Order; whereas in some other Countries, where another Order has got a [xxv] footing, they are Masters now of the Temporal as well as the Spiritual, the best Lordships and Mansions [Manors] belonging to them. How they have discharged their Spiritual Function, I don't know, but sure I am, they have taken a great care of their Temporal Interest, as I intend to shew in a third Volume, which I shall publish in this City of Utrecht, if it is thought convenient.

I should have a fair opportunity to avenge my self in this Preface of certain Persons of this very Town, who have oppressed me with the utmost Malice, and kept for their own use the Money
I had received from his Majesty of Great Britain, and which I advanced to them for my subsistence. This is a very foul Action, and worthy to be publickly taken notice of; but my Religion teaching me to forgive my Enemies, I follow that Precept, and do heartily forgive them.
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Chap. I.

An Account of M. de la Salle's Undertaking to discover the River Mechaipi by the Gulph of Mexico, and his establishing a small Colony at the Bay of St. Lewis.

Reason ought to rule Men in all cases, and whenever they think themselves wrong'd by others, they ought, as Christians, to impute it rather to their Pre-occupation or Prejudices, than to their Malice; and this Maxim I propose to my self as my rule, as the Readers will observe in the following Narration.

I liv'd near three Years together as Missionary with Mr. Robert Cavalié de la Salle at Fort Kataroko or Frontenac, whereof he was Governor and Proprietor; and during that
time, we read together the Voyages [2] of John Pontius de Leon, Pamphilio Narvaez Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Soto, and several other Travellers, the better to fit and prepare our selves for the great Discovery we intended to make. M. de la Salle was a fit Man for the greatest Undertakings, and may be justly rank'd amongst the most famous Travellers that ever were, as it will appear to whomsoever will consider that he spent his own Estate about the greatest, most important, and most perilous Discovery that has been yet made; which he undertook with a handful of Men, whom he preserved from the numerous Nations he discover'd, amongst whom all other Travellers, except Columbus, perish'd without reaping any advantage from their Enterprizes, which however cost them above 100000 Men: so that upon the whole, I may boldly conclude, that no body, before M. de la Salle and I, undertook so dangerous an Expedition with so few Men.

Our design was to endeavour to find out, if possible, a Passage from the Northern to the South Sea without crossing the Line, which a great many have hitherto sought in vain. The River Meschabpi does not indeed run that way, but however M. de la Salle was in hopes to discover by the means of the Meschabpi, some other River running into the South Sea, and knowing his great Courage and Ability, I don't question but he would have succeeded, had God been pleased to preserve his Life. As that unfortunate Gentleman was about it, he was murther'd; and if the divine Providence has

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1 Juan Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida; Pamphilio de Narvaez, another noted Spanish officer in Florida; Cristoforo Colombo, who discovered the New World; and Hernando de Soto, who first made known the Mississippi River.—Ed.
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spar'd me, 'tis it seems, that I may acquaint the World with a short way to go to China and Japan, which I hope may be done by means of my Discoveries: Therefore if his Majesty of Great Britain, or the States General are willing to send any body to find out that so much talk'd of Passage, and that I may accompany them, I am morally sure that by the Grace of God, we shall succeed before the end of this Age.

[3] The Country of the Illinois, and other neighbouring Nations, being the Center of our Discovery, M. de la Salle design'd to settle there a Colony; and therefore any Prince or State, who will pursue so generous a Design, must follow the same method, and build Forts from Place to Place, to have an uninterrupted Communication, and keep in awe the Inhabitants of these vast Countries. The first thing M. de la Salle did in order thereto, was to endeavour to find out by Sea the Mouth of the Masichap, which discharges itself into the Gulph of Mexico, as it has been said in my first Volume, to settle there a Colony, and build a good Fort to be as his Magazine, and serve as a retreat both by Sea and Land in case of any mishap. He made his Proposals to the French King's Council; which were perus'd and approv'd by Monsieur de Seignelay Secretary and Minister of State, and Intendant General of the Commerce and Navigation of France, his most Christian Majesty 1 approved likewise his Design, gave him all

1 Louis XIV was then King of France. Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Seignelay, son of the great Colbert, was one of his ministers until his death in 1691. Larousse says of Seignelay: "Under his administration the French marine attained a degree of prosperity which it has never known since, and could compete with the combined fleets of England and Holland."—Ed.
necessary Authority, and supply'd him with Ships, Men and Money.

M. de la Salle having obtain'd what he defir'd from the King, thought of chusing able Missionaries to convert those barbarous and wild Nations unto the Christian Religion, and resolv'd to use two different Orders; but as this choice was a nice and difficult thing, he apply'd himself to Monsieur Tronson Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpicius at Paris, who appointed three Men of great Vertue, Zeal and Capacity to attend M. de la Salle as Missionaries; these were M. Cavelier Brother to M. de la Salle, M. Chefeville a Relation of his, and M. Majulle, Priests in the said Seminary.

I had attended M. de la Salle near twelve Years in the Discovery of Louisiana, and Father Zenobe, and Gabriel de la Ribourde and my self had likewise accompanied him into the Country of the Illinois, where Gabriel was murthred by the Savages, therefore [4] M. de la Salle resolv'd to have some Recollets to endeavour to establish the Knowledge of God in those vast Countries, and to that end applied himself to Father Hyacinth le Fevre, who was then for a second time Provincial Commiffary of the Province of St. Denys in France, who granted him the Missionaries he demanded, viz. Father Zenobe Mambret of Bapaume as Superior, Father Maxime le

1. Jean Jacques Olier, a priest at Paris, founded (1640) an association of priests at Vaugirard, which he transferred in the following year to Paris, where it expanded into the Seminary of St. Sulpice, its priests being known as Sulpitians. In 1657, some were sent to Montreal, and six years later the Associates of Montreal surrendered to the Seminary their newly-formed colony, with their seigniorial rights over Montreal Island —possessions which have made the Montreal branch of the order enormously wealthy. — Ed.
A Voyage into North America.

Clerc of Lille in Flanders, Anaists Douay of Quefnoy in Hainault, and Denys Morquet of Arras, all Recollets of the Province of St. Anthony in Artois. The first, as I have said, had been as far as the Illinois with M. de la Salle, and I toward the latter end of the Year 1679. And the beginning of the following, and two Years after, viz. 1682 he went with M. de la Salle to the Mouth of the Mescobepi in the Gulph of Mexico, about two Years after my Discovery. The second Father had been five Years Missionary in Canada, and had performed the Functions of his Ministry with great Diligence and much Edification, especially in the Mission of the Seven Islands and Anticosti. Father Douay, who is now Vicar of the Recollets of Cambray, had never been in America, no more than Father Denys, who fell so sick three days after he went on board, that he was forced to go ashore and return into his Province.

The Provincial of the Order acquainted with this Mission the Congregation de propaganda fide,¹ to obtain the Power and Authority necessary for that Enterprise, who sent a Decree according to the usual Form; and Pope Innocent XI. added a Brief thereunto, containing several Powers and Commissions in 36 Articles, that are usually granted to Missionaries going into remote Countries, where they cannot refer certain Cases to Bishops. The Bishop of Quebec oppos'd it with all his Interest, but Cardinal d'Estrees² shew'd, that his

¹ This body was formed by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1622, to spread the Roman Catholic faith, and to direct all missions of that Church—a work which it still continues.—Ed.

² César d' Estrées, a French cardinal; a noted ecclesiastic and diplomatist of the seventeenth century.—Ed.
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Opposition was unreasonable, seeing the Country where these Missionaries were to preach the Gospel, was 1000 Leagues distant from Quebec.

The advantages they expected in France from our Discovery were so great, that several young Gentlemen offered themselves to accompany M. de la Salle as Volunteers, tho' they knew him only by the character I had given of him in my Description of Louisiana, which I publish'd after my return into France. This also gain'd him the esteem of Monsieur Seignelay, which was very advantageous to him. That Minister sent for me several times to discourse with him about the circumstances of our Discovery, which I told him sincerely, concealing only my Discovery of the Course of the Mefchapi from the River of the Illinois to the Gulph of Mexico, out of pure kindness for M. de la Salle, who thereby recommended himself to the favour of the late Prince of Conti and Monsieur Seignelay.

All things being thus favourably disposed, M. de la Salle chose twelve Gentlemen, who appear'd to him vigorous, and like to bear the Fatigues of that Voyage, and amongst them, he took two of his own Nephews, viz. Mr. Moranger and Mr. Cavalier, tho' this last was but fourteen Years of Age. One Merin, Son to a rich Merchant of Rochel, went also with him. In the mean time, they fitted out in that Harbour his small Fleet, which consisted of four Ships, viz. the Toby, one of the King's Men of War; the Handsom, a small Frigat; a

1 Louis Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti, who died in 1685; a dissolute but brave nobleman.—Ed.
Fly-Boat, call'd *Paimable*, and a Ketch, call'd *St. Francis*. The Man of War was commanded by Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, with whom I have had several Conversations since his return, at *Dunkirk*. This Officer is known by his great Services and long Experience, as well as his Lieutenant, the Chevalier *de Here*, who is now Captain of a Man of War. The Ensign was called *de Hamel*, a Gentleman of *Brestaigny*, of a strong and vigorous Constitution. It were to be wished that [6] the Crew of the Ships, as well as the Soldiers, had answer'd the Character of the Officers; but while M. *de la Salle* was at Court, those whom he employed to make his Levies, lift'd about 150 poor Beggars, deformed, lame, and unfit for the hard Services they were design'd for: He had also design'd them to engage Men of several Professions, as Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Journeymen, Masons, and the like; but when he came to try them, he found they were dull and ignorant Creatures, so that he was forced to find out new Soldiers and Workmen, which took up much of his time. About ten Families of the Neighbourhood of *Rochel* offer'd themselves to go with him to settle a Colony, which he accept'd, and advance'd them Money to buy what was thought most necessary for their Establishment.

His Preparations being finish'd, the Fleet sail'd *July 24*, 1684 from *Rochel*, but a violent Storm oblig'd them to come back, and they continued in the Road till *August 5*, that they fail'd for *St. Domingo*. They met with another Storm on the 14 of *September*, which separat'd the Fleet; the Fly-boat remain'd alone with the Frigate, and arriv'd together at *Petit-
Guaves, where they found the Toby, and heard that the St. Francis, on board which were their Merchandizes, was arriv'd at Port de Paix. The bad Weather being over, the Ketch failed for Petit-Guaves, the Rendezvous of the Fleet, but was unhappily taken in her way by the Spanish Cruifers.

I remember that in our Conversation at Fort Frontenac, M. de la Salle told me several times, that he would die satisfied and contented, could he but make himself Master of the Mine of St. Barbe in New Mexico; I gave him no answer at first, but seeing that he repeated it too often, tho' I knew I was a Subject of the King of Spain, I could not forbear to express my Affection for my lawfull Sovereign, and told him, that tho' I [7] was with him I had not forgot my Native Country concluding my answer with these words, Vincit amor Patriae. This was perhaps the first cause of all the hardships and injustices I have suffer'd since that time, and which I might therefore have avoided, had I been capable of dissembling, as the Generality of Mankind do. But to return to M. la Salle, the loss of the Ketch was of a fatal consequence to him, not so much for the value of the Merchandizes, but because the Spaniards had notice of his designs against their Mines.

M. la Salle was hardly recover'd of a dangerous Distemper, when those unhappy Tydings were brought to him, and was like to relapse upon that occasion; but the rest of his company being not as courageous as he, were quite dispirited, and neglected to keep the Soldiers under a severe Discipline, who giving up themselves to the Lewdness and Dissoluteness,
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so common in those Islands, contracted such Distempers that a great many died before they left Petit-Guaves, and the others continued sickly all their Life. As soon as M. de la Salle was able to walk abroad, he made his Preparations for leaving the Island, and by the assistance of Monfieur de St. Laurence Governour General of the French Islands, and Monfieur Bagon, Intendant of the same; he put his Fleet in a condition to sail from thence, November 25, 1684, having taken on board all sorts of Refreshments, a great quantity of Indian Corn, and of all sorts of tame Beasts to stock the new Country they were going to inhabit.

They sail’d along the Islands of Caimano, and touch’d at the Island of Peace for fresh Water, and from thence sail’d to St. Anthony in the Island of Cuba, where they anchor’d. The Sweetness and Situation of that place invited them to land, and they found a good Store of Refreshments, and even some Wine which the Spaniards had left in that place, having run away with too great a Precipitation. They continued there two [8] days, and then sail’d, steering towards the Gulph of Mexico.

M. de la Salle was a very understanding Man, and hardly to be impos’d upon, yet he was deceiv’d by some Men of St. Domingo, and it was by their advice that he steer’d a wrong Course. They had told him that the Northern Winds were very dangerous at the entrance of the Gulph, and this fear oblig’d him to return thence upon the Coast of Cuba; but at last he overcame all Difficulties, and got into the Gulph, January 1, 1685, and describ’d a Fortnight after the Coast of
Florida, where they were surpriz'd by a strong Wind, which parted the Fleet, the Toby keeping off from the Coaft, and the Frigat and the Fly-boat as near the Land as possible: they had told him alfo, that the Current of the Gulph runs with a great Rapidity towards the Channel of Babama, but he found himself mistaken, and loft thereby his Courfe, for thinking he was too far to the North, he fail'd by the Bay of Spirito Santo [Mobile], and overhott the Mouth of the Mechafspi. They were undeceiv'd by the Coaft of the Gulph, which bends in that place to the Southward, and having taken the Elevation of the Pole, they found they were within 50 Leagues of the Mechafspi. The three Ships joyned again about the middle of February in the Bay di Spirito Santo, where it was agreed to alter their Courfe; and about 10 Leagues off they found a large Bay, which they called St. Lewis.\(^1\) The Provisions growing scarce, the Soldiers were sent a-shore, and M. de la Salle founded the Bay, which he found deep, and the bottom a good Anchorage, fo that the Frigat got in happily on the 18th. The Channel is very deep, but somewhat narrow, and there is a Sand at the Mouth of it: M. de la Salle took that Bay for the right Arm of the Mechafspi, and indeed there was much likelihood of it.

\(^1\) Now Matagorda Bay, on the coast of Texas.—Ed.
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[9] CHAP. II.

An Account of several Misfortunes that befell M. de la Salle at the Bay of St. Lewis.

M. LA SALLES had expressly forbid the Captain of the Fly-boat to attempt to come into the Bay, without having on board the Pilot of the Frigate, who was an experienc'd Man; and for a greater security he had commanded him to unlade his Guns into the Pinnace to make his Ship the lighter; yet that Brute neglected those Orders and Advice, and without taking any notice of the Marks or Poles they had placed on the Sands to shew him the Channel, and the Advice of the Seamen, he fail'd his Ship at random, and ran her against a Sand where she remain'd: M. de la Salle was a-shore, and fearing the fate of his Ship, was going on board to save her, but was prevented by about 120 Savages who came to attack him: He put his Men in a posture of defence, but the noise alone of the Drums put the Savages to flight: M. de la Salle follow'd them and presented them the Calumet of Peace, which they accepted, and came along with him to his Camp, where he entertain'd them, and sent them back with some Presents; they were so pleas'd, that they brought some Provisions the next day, and made Alliance with M. de la Salle, whereby they engag'd themselves to supply him with
fome Pyrogues or wooden Canou's: That Alliance would likely have prov'd very advantageous to M. de la Salle, had not an unforeseen Accident broke that good Intelligence.

As they were unlading the Fly boat which had struck upon the Sand to endeavour to get her off, a Pack of Blankets fell into the Sea, which the Waves [10] drove upon the shore: The Savages found it, and M. de la Salle having notice thereof, sent to demand it of them in a very civil manner. They shew'd some Reluctancy, whereupon the Officer instead of acting the prudent part, threatened to kill them unless they restore'd it immediately. They were so frightened and incensed against them, that they resolve'd to be aveng'd of that Affront; and in order thereto, got together in the Night time between the 6 and 7 of March, and march'd to surprize the French Camp. They advance'd as near as they would, the Sentry being asleep, and made a discharge of their Arrows which killed 4 Gentlemen Officers and Volunteers, and wounded M. Moranger and another Volunteer. The French ran to their Arms, and fired upon the Savages, who ran away tho' none was wounded: they found the next day two of M. de la Salle's Men whom they murthered as they were sleeping.

In the mean time they unladed the Fly-boat, which was too far sunk to be got off, and safety most of the Goods, and as they were endeavouring to save the rest, she was dashed in Pieces by the violence of the Wind and Waves, and several Men were in great danger of being drowned, but by the Grace of God all escape'd.

Monseur Beaujeu seeing all the Goods and Merchandizes
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landed, and a Fort almost finished, failed the 12th of March for France, and M. de la Salle having fortified his Magazine or Fort, which they call Hangar, left 100 men under the Command of his Nephew M. Moranger, for the defence of it; and with the rest, being 50, and 3 Missionaries, viz. M. Cavetier, and Father Zenobe and Maxime, advanced into the Country following the Bay, in hopes to find the Mecbaspi.¹ The Captain of the Frigate was ordered to found at the same time the Channel, and bring his Ship as high as he could with safety, which he did, [11] and brought his Ship to an Anchor at a place which was call’d Hurier, from the name of the Officer who was left at that place for the Security of that Port, which was absolutely necessary to maintain the Communication between the first Habitation, and another M. de la Salle made on the 2d of April at the bottom of the Bay upon the Banks of a fine River, which was called the River of the Cow,² because of the vast number of those Beasts that were discover’d in those parts. The Savages came to attack our Men, but were so warmly receiv’d, that they retir’d without doing the French any harm.

On the 21st, being Easter-Eve, M. de la Salle return’d to the first Camp, and the next day was spent in Devotions; but the 23d they began to carry all the Effects from the two Forts, to the Settlement M. de la Salle had made upon the River above-mention’d, and when they had made an end of

¹ For detailed account of this expedition of La Salle, and his attempt to found a colony on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, see Parkman’s La Salle, pp. 322–387.—Ed.
² Now called the Lavaca River.—Ed.

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it, they razed the said Forts. They had fowne some Pulfe and Corn, but either the Soil was not good, or else the Seed was spoild by Salt Water, for it did not rife at all. M. de la Salle might have remembred what I had formerly told him in our Voyage to the Illinois, that Corn and other Seeds which we bring from Europe, muft either be in their Ears or Hulls, for otherwise they lofe their Vertue at Sea, and cannot grow in a Soil that was never cultivated before.

They built a Fort in a very advantageous Poft, with fo much diligence, that it was in a few days in a good Poffure of Defence, being defended by 12 Pieces of Cannon. They made a great Magazine under ground to preiverve their Goods and Provisions from Fire. It is to be oberved that the Forts in America, I mean fuch as I fpeak of now, require not fo much Art and Labour, as in Europe, fince the Savages have no Artillery to attack them. They are fo afraid of Fire-Arms, that none of thofe Nations ever durft attack them.[12] These mean Fortifications, except the Iroquois, who attempted to force the French in their Intrenchments in the Island of Orleans, now called St. Lawrence near Quebec. The French had fortified themselves with Pallifadoes, which the Iroquois fet on Fire, and to cover themselves againft the French in their Approach, every one of them carryd before him a thick Plank or board Musket-proof, and thereby forced the French to leave their Intrenchments. They use alfo another Strategem againft our Forts, unlefs they are defended by fome Pieces of Cannon to keep them off; they ftye to their Arrows a lighted Match, and then fhoot them in fuch manner, as to make
them fall on the Top or Roof of the Forts, which is made of Planks, and thereby set them on Fire. M. de la Salle, who knew all their Artifices, took also all imaginable Precautions to disappoint them, which he did by covering the Roof with green Turf.

In the mean time, his men grew so sickly, that a great many died in a few days, notwithstanding they were carefully look'd after, and supplied with proper Remedies, and besides this misfortune, he was forc'd to make an open War against the Savages. On the 9th of August three of his men were gone a shooting, there being abundance of Game in those Parts. The noise of their Guns gave notice of their Approach to the Savages, who immediately got together in great numbers and surrounded the three Europeans, who put themselves in a readines to fight, and killed with the first shot the General of the Savages. This sad accident terrified them so much, that they ran away, notwithstanding the Disproportion in number. They continued lurking about the Fort, and kill'd a French man who had advanc'd too far into the Woods.

M. de la Salle seeing no way to bring them to an Alliance, resolved to make War upon them to oblige them to come to Peace, and supply him with their [13] Pyroges or Wooden Canou's which he wanted. Therefore set out from his Fort on the 13th of October, with 60 stout Men to look for the Savages, having provided them with a kind of Breast-piece of Wood, to cover them against the Arrows of the Savages. He was not far advanced when he found the Savages
incamped, with whom he had several Skirmishes, killing and
wounding a great many, and returned with many Prisoners
especially young Children; amongst whom was a Girl of
about four Years of Age, which was Christened, and died
some Days after.

While M. de la Salle was building and perfecting his Fort,
those Families he had brought to begin a Colony, grubbed
up the Land, and fowed several forts of Corn and Pulte,
which they had brought in their Ear and Hulls, which suc-
cceeded very well. They made some Cannons, and crost
over to the other side of the Bay, where they found a fine
River, and a prodigious Number of wild Oxen and Turkeys.
The tame Beasts they had brought from St. Domingo, as Cows,
Hogs, and Fowls multiplied very much; and in short the
small Colony began to thrive, since the War had removed
the Savages from their Habitations, and 'tis likely that M.
de la Salle would have succeeded, had not a new Misfortune
worse than all the former, disappoointed his Noble Designs.

M. de la Salle had often entertain'd me with the unheard
of Cruelties exercized by the Spaniards in New Mexico, and
Peru, against the Inhabitants of those vast Empires, whom
they destroyed as much as ever they could, preferring only
their Children to make new People. He exclaimed against
that Cruelty of the Spaniards, as unworthy of Men of Honour,
and contrary to the Doctrine of the Christian Religion. I
blamed them myself; but yet I offered now and then some
Reasons to excuse them, as the Necessities [14] they found
themselves under of exterminating those Nations, or perishing
themselves, and forfaking their Conquest; for whenever they thought themselves safe, they were suddenly invaded by great Armies, and therefore in a perpetual Danger. M. de la Salle experienced himself that Necessity in Canada, for the Savages do not understand the Doctrine of forgiving or forgetting Injuries; and notwithstanding all Treaties of Peace, they will revenge themselves one time or other. The French of Canada have done all that is possible, humanly speaking, to gain the Friendship of the Iroquois, yet they have not been able to heal the first Breach that happened between them, which has been the Source of many Wars, which lasts at this very time; whereas that barbarous People has never had any quarrel with the Dutch inhabiting New York, because these have always used them very kindly, dissembling some insignificant Injuries, or accepting their satisfaction. M. de la Salle knew better than any Body the Temper of the Savages, and the Methods how to gain them; therefore I wonder that he would make Wars upon the Neighbours of his new Colony, for this was almost an infallible way to ruin it, and cut off the hope of the Conversion of those ignorant Nations. From these observations we may conclude, that Meekness and Charity so much recommended in the Gospel, are two Virtues absolutely necessary for the establishment of Colonies in those new Countries; for otherwise the new Inhabitants must destroy the Ancient, or be destroyed by them, either of which is a cruel Necessity unworthy of a Christian. M. de la Salle had ordered the Captain of the Frigate to found the Bay, and to suffer none of his Men to lie a-float; however the Captain
himself, and six of his best Men being charmed with the Sweetness of the Country went ashore, and leaving their Canou’s upon the Owze with their Arms, went into a Meadow where [15] they fell asleep, and were murthered by the Savages, who broke their Arms and Canou. This sad Accident put the Colony in a dreadfull Conternation. M. de la Salle having buried his Men, resolved to travel along the Coast to find out the Mouth of the Meschafipi, and having left the Inhabitants and Soldiers who were to remain in the Fort, set out with 20 Men, and M. Cavelier his Brother.

This Bay of St. Lewis is formed by several Rivers, and lies in the Latitude of 27 Degrees 45 Minutes. None of these Rivers was broad and deep enough to be an Arm of the Meschafipi, but M. de la Salle thought they might be Branches of one of the Arms of that River, therefore he resolved to follow one of them, which cost him a world of Trouble, for he found several other Rivers running into that, too deep to be forded, which they crossed, laying together several Branches of Trees, of which they made use instead of Boats. They met with several Nations of Savages and were forced to entrench themselves every Night, for fear of being surprized. The continual Rains that fell during his Voyage, made the ways very bad, and swell’d several small Rivulets, which increased his Trouble. At last, on the 13th of February, he thought to have found his so much wish’d for River; and having fortified a Post on its Bank, and left part of his Men for its security; he advanced farther into the Country, which appeared unto him the most delicious and fertile that ever he
He visited several Nations who received him with much Humanity, and returned to his Fort on the 31st of March, charmed with his Discovery.

The satisfaction he expressed upon this account can hardly be expressed, but the Grief which the loss of his Frigate caused him, over-balanced it. This was the only Ship left unto him, with which he intended to sail in few Days for St. Domingo, to [16] bring a new Supply of Men and Goods to carry on his Design; but it ran unfortunately a ground through the Negligence of the Pilot, and was dashed in pieces. All the Men were drowned except the Sieur Chefdeville one of the Missionaries, the Captain and 4 Seamen; the Goods, Linen, and Cloath of the Colony, with the Provisions and Tools were absolutely lost. M. de la Salle was a Man of an extraordinary Courage, and unparallel'd Constancy; yet 'tis likely he would have funk under this Misfortune, had not God assisted him in an extraordinary manner.
CHAP. III.

A Continuation of the Misfortunes of M. de la Salle, with an Account of two Voyages he undertook to find out the Country of the Illinois.

Those who have conversed with Accounts of new Discoveries, are convinced that those who take upon them so difficult a Task, are obliged to do a thousand things, which prove useless and unnecessary; for looking for the right way, and no body being there to shew it unto them, 'tis no wonder if they mistake it. And as to the Misfortunes that befell the worthy Gentleman I speak of, it is nothing but what he, or any body else that shall go about the like Enterprize, must expect with a very inconsiderable Difference. The pious Design he was upon, in relation to the Conversion of those ignorant Nations, deserved it seems a better Fate; but as God's ways are not our ways, we must submit to Divine Providence, without troubling our selves about a vain inquiry into the Secrets of God Almighty. M. de la Salle who was a good Christian, knew admirably well the Practice [17] of this Doctrine, and without being dejected by the Misfortunes already mention'd, he resolved to go on with his Discovery.

As I am more concern'd than any body else to know
whether M. de la Salle had really discover'd the Meschabapip, when he return'd into Canada over land, because I am the first European that ever travell'd upon that River, I have carefully perused all the printed Accounts of his Voyage, as also private Memoirs, but after all, I found that the account publish'd by Father Anaflake is the most exact, and may be depended upon.¹

M. de la Salle seeing all his Affairs ruin'd by the loss of his Ships, and having no way to return into Europe but by Canada, resolved upon so dangerous a Journey, and took 20 men along with him, with one Savage call'd Nikana, that is to say, Companion of the Nation of Choumon.² This man had follow'd him into France, and had given such proofs of his Affection to his Master on several nice occasions, that he relied more upon him than upon any European. M. Cavelier, M. Moranger, and Father Anaflake desir'd likewise to accompany him. They took four Pound of Powder, Shot in Proportion, two Axes, two Dozen of Knives, several Pound of Raffade or Glafs Beads, and two Kettles to boil their Meat, contenting himself with these Provisions, in hopes to find out easily the Illinois and return in a short time. Having afflict'd at the divine Service in the Chapel of the Fort to implore God's Mercy and Protection, he set out the 22d of

¹ Parkman (La Salle, p. 397, note 2) regards the narrative of Henri Joutel (Paris, 1713) as the best, Douay's (given in Le Clercq's Établissement de la Fey, Shea's trans., ii, pp. 239–282), although brief, agrees therewith in essentials. Jean Caveller's Relation (printed by Shea in 1858) is regarded by Parkman as somewhat inaccurate.—Ed.

² A misprint for Chouanon (Shawnees).—Ed.
April, 1686 directing his March to the North East, for the Mejibapsi running directly from the North to the South, into the Gulph of Mexico, the Country of the Illinois is situated to the N. E. of the place where M. de la Salle left.

'Tis likely that they wanted Pyrogues and Canou’s, since Father Anaſſafe makes no mention of any, [18] and 'tis likely that M. de la Salle was not sure that he had found out the Mouth of the Mejibapsi, for then he might have easily met with the Illinois by means of that River, knowing that the River of the Illinois runs into the Mejibapsi.

After three days March, they discover’d the finest Campaign Country in the World, and were met by a great many men on Horse-back, with Boots, Spurs and Saddles. This Nation invited them to come to their Habitations, but M. de la Salle having taken some Informations from them concerning his way, thank’d them for their kindness, and would not accept of their Offers. The Reader may judge, that all this was transacted by signs, for they did not understand one another. The Equipage of the Nation sheweth they had Commerce with the Spaniards. Our men having continued their March all the day long, incamp’d upon a rising ground, which they fortified by cutting down some Trees to avoid any Surprize.

Having march’d two days through vast Meadows, they came upon the Banks of a River which they called Robeck, where they found such numbers of wild Oxen, call’d by the Spaniards Cibola, that the least Drove consisted of about 400:
They killed ten of them, and rested two or three days to broil the Meat for the rest of their Voyage.

Within a League and a half from the Robeck they met with another River broader and deeper than the Seine before Paris, its Banks being adorn'd with great Trees, so well dispos'd by Nature, that they seem as many Walks artificially planted. One side of the River is cover'd with Woods, and the other is a continued Meadow. They were oblig'd to cut Branches of Trees and tie them together to crofs it over. They call'd it the Wicked.\(^1\) The Country between this Wicked River and another they met few days after, is full of Trees, bearing all sorts of Fruit, [19] and especially of Mulberry-trees, but the Vines are so common, that the whole seems a Vineyard, and the highest Trees are cover'd with them. They call'd the last River Hiens, because one of them, a German by Birth, of the Country of Wirtemburg, fluck so fast in the Mud, that they had much ado to get him off.

The Raft or floating-boat of Branches, which they commonly us'd to crofs the Rivers, taking up much of their time, and this River being narrow, M. de la Salle caus'd one of his men to swim over with an Ax, to fell down a Tree, while they fell another on their side, and these two Trees meeting together, made a kind of Bridge; this way was both safer and easier, and therefore they always made use of it, whenever the narrowness of the River would permit it.

M. de la Salle alter'd here his course, marching directly to

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\(^1\) Rivière Maligne, on early maps; apparently the Brazos River of Texas.—Ed.
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the Eastward. As he told no body the reasons of it, it is impossible to know what was his motive; that Man was secret to a fault, and likely would have prosper'd better, had he been somewhat more communicative. After some days March through a pleasant Country, they found another, which, according to their account, may be call'd the Paradise of the World, inhabited by a numerous Nation, who receiv'd them with all imaginable marks of Friendship and Kindness; their Women embrac'd them cheerfully, and caus'd them to fit upon some fine Mats near their Captains, who present'd them their Calumet of Peace, adorn'd with Feathers of several Colours, and wherein they defir'd them to smoak. They present'd them afterwards with a Dish of Sagamitche, which is a kind of Pap made with the Root of a Shrub call'd Tique or Toque, which looks like a Briar without Thorns: Its Root is very big, and having wash'd it and dry'd it by the Sun, they pound it in a Mortar. This Sagamitche tafted pretty well. These honest Savages present'd them with some Skins of wild Oxen finely drest and good for Shooes, which are very necessary in that Country, because of some sharp cutting Herbs. M. de la Salle present'd them, in return of their kindness, some Glass Beads of black Colour, which is much valu'd amongst them, they continued some days amongst that Nation, which time M. de la Salle improv'd to give them some Idea of the Grandeur and Power of the King his

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1 Lucien Carr regards this (Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc., 1895, p. 168) as the tuckahoe, or koonti, of the South. This plant is an underground fungus (Pachyma cocc); it is bitter to the taste, but eatable when baked in hot ashes.—Ed.
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Master, whom he represented higher and greater than the Sun. These People understood something of it by his Signs, and were struck with a wonderfull Admiration. M. Cavalier and Father Anastase endeavoured also to give them some Notions of God, but with what success no body can tell.

That Nation is call'd Bisbarrone, but the Europeans call'd them the Weeping, and their River the River of Tears, because when they arriv'd there, those Savages wept for about a quarter of an Hour. They receive so all Strangers, whom they think to come from remote Countries, because this puts them in mind of their deceas'd Relations whom they think upon a long Journey, and whose return they expect. That honest People gave M. de la Salle some Guides, and supply'd his men with whatever they wanted, and crossed them over their River in their Pyrogues.

They pass'd three or four other Rivers in three days time, and met with no considerable adventure, but on the fourth day as they were near a Village, Nikana the Savage, who attended M. de la Salle, shot a wild Goat, which frighted so much the Inhabitants of that Village, that they ran away. M. de la Salle put his men in a readines to fight, and enter'd the said Village, which consisted of above 300 Cabbins. They march'd to the most considerable, wherein they found the Wife of the chief of the Savages, who had been forc'd to fly alone because of her great Age. M. de la [21] Salle made the most significant Signs he could think on to let her know that he was a Friend, which being perceiv'd by her three Sons, who advanc'd as near as they could without being
discover'd, to observe what our men would do, they brought back their men, and offer'd M. de la Salle their Calumet of Peace, which being accepted, the day was concluded with the Dance of the Calumet and other Demonstrations of Joy.

However M. de la Salle did not think fit to trust himself in their hands, and therefore refused to lie in their Cabbins and went to encamp among some Canes or great Reeds hard by, through which it was impossible to come without making a great noise. This was a Masterpiece of Prudence, for otherwise they might have been murther'd; for a Band of Savages got together to surprize them: The ratling noise of the Canes having given notice of their Approach to M. de la Salle, he awaked his men, and spoke in so bold a Tone to the Savages that they retir'd. They left that place the next day, parting from them very civilly, and having march'd six Leagues further, they were met by another Band of Savages, who had Ears of Indian Corn in their Hands; they embrac'd M. de la Salle according to their way, and invited him by Signs to go to their Village, which he contented to. They made him understand, that there was a Nation to the Westward who destroyed all other men; and by the Description they made, he judged they meant the Spaniards of New Mexico, with whom this Nation was at War. The Village having notice of the Arrival of M. de la Salle, all flock'd about them, expressing their joy by Signs and other Pfullures, and making him understand that he would oblige them to remain with them to assist them against their Enemies: M. de la Salle would not agree to that, but promis'd to return in a
short time, with a greater number of men; [22] and after having made them some Presents and receiv'd other things they gave them, he left that place, the Savages carrying him and all his men over their River in their Pyrogues. This Nation is called Kirononas.

They continued their March to the Eastward through fine Meadows, and three days after, having left the Kirononas, Nikana their Savage cry'd out of a sudden that he was a dead man, having been stung by a Rattle-Snake. This sad accident oblig'd them to tarry some days in that place: They gave him immediately some Orvietan, and having scarified the Wound, they apply'd upon it some Salt of Vipers, whereby he was recover'd.
CHAP. IV.

_A Continuation of M. de la Salle's Voyage and Discovery; and how he was receive'd by the Savages Cenis._

They march'd several days without meeting with any Savages or any Accidents, and came to a River very broad and rapid, which they judg'd to be near the Sea: They made a Raft to crofs it, and M. _de la Salle_, and M. _Cavelier_, and part of his men ventur'd upon that floating Boat, which the Rapidity of the Stream carry'd down with such a violence, that they were in few minutes out of sight, leaving their Comrades on the shore under an unspeakable Grief. Father _Anafla_ comforted them as much as he could, being himself under a great affliction; for besides their Savage, who was of great use to them, had loft his way, and was wandering in the Woods: They continued in that condition all the day, but in [23] the Evening they heard M. _de la Salle_ hailing them from the other Shore. Their Raft had been flopp'd by a Sand in the middle of the River, which gave them time to recover their strength, in fo much, that they matter'd the Current and got happily over; tho' one of them attempting to catch a Branch of a Tree, fell into the Water and was carry'd away. They thought him drown'd, but being an excellent Swimmer, and knowing it was in vain to strive
against the Stream, but by degrees he was carry'd down a great way, and at last got a-shore and rejoyn'd Father Ananias and his Companions, who having eat nothing all day long, were exceeding hungry. They found no Game about them, and wanting all manner of Provisions, they were reduc'd to a great Extremity: the divine Providence, who takes care of the meanest of his Creatures, reliev'd them also at this time, two young Eagles fell from a Cedar, which afforded them a Meal, tho' it was but a small matter for ten almost starv'd Travellers.

They tarry'd in that place that night, and the next day they endeavour'd to cross the River, and by the advice of M. de la Salle, they made a Raft of Canes, which with the help of two men that swam to defend it against the Rapidity of the Stream, they got all over except their Savage. Being thus rejoyn'd they march'd two days through a Forest of Canes, through which they were forced to cut their way with their Axes, and on the third day they found Nikana with three wild Goats already broyl'd, and another which he had just kill'd. M. de la Salle ordered two or three Guns to be fir'd to shew his Joy.

Having refresh'd themselves they continu'd their March Eastward, travelling through a most delicious Country, where they found Savages, who had nothing barbarous but their Name. They met one of them who came from shooting with his Wife and Family; [24] he presented M. de la Salle with a Horfe and some Fleth, desiring him by signs to go along with him to his Habitation, and left he should have any Sul-
picion, he left his Wife and Family with him, and went to his Village, where he was accompany'd by Nikana, and a Footman of M. de la Salle. They return'd two days after with two Horfes loaded with Provisions, and acquainted their Master with the civility of that People, who sent their chief Commanders and young Warriors to complement them. They were handfomly cover'd with drefs'd Skins, adorned with Feathers of different Colours. M. de la Salle thought fit to advance, and within three Leagues of the Village he met the Savages, who presented them their Calumet of Peace in great Ceremony. They conducted them in triumph to the Cabbin of their General, where a great number of People came to see them. M. de la Salle observ'd that the young Warriours mounted the Guard and were reliev'd by turns. The great civility of that People oblig'd M. de la Salle to leave the Village and encamp about two Miles off, for having observ'd that the Women were exceeding kind to them, and pretty handfom, he was afraid his men would be debauch'd, which might have been of a fatal consequence. They tarry'd there four days, and bought some Horfes for some of our European Commodities.

This Village belongs to the Cenis, and is one of the most populous and largest of America, being about 20 Leagues long, not in a continued Street, but because the Hamblets are so near one another, that the whole looks as if it were but one. Their Cabbins are extraordinary fine, of about 50 Foot

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1 A Pawnee tribe (of the Caddoan family), then located on the Trinity River, Texas, but now extinct.—Ed.
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long, and built as Bee-Hives. They plant Trees round-about, whose Branches joyn over their Cabins, and which they tie together: Their Beds are placed round-about their Cabins, four Foot higher than the flour, and they [25] make their Fire in the middle. Each Cabin is for two Families. They found amongst them several things which they must have from the Spaniards, as some Pieces of Eight, Silver Spoons, Lace, Cloaths and Horfes. They had also a Bull of the Pope, exempting the Spaniards of New Mexico from fasting in Summer time. How they came by it, they could never understand. The Horfes are so common, that one of M. de la Salle's men had one given him for his Ax, and another offer'd a fine one for Father Anualfe's Capuch. They have however no direct Trade with the Spaniards, but get these things from the Choumans\(^1\) their Allies, who being Neighbours of the Europeans are often in War with them. M. de la Salle having always the Mines of St. Barbe in his Thoughts, defir'd them by Signs to draw a Map of the Country, and the Courfe of their River, which they understood, and with a Piece of Coal, they made on the white Bark of a Tree a Description of their Country and River, that M. de la Salle understood they were within fix days journey from the Spaniards, whom they knew, their Warriors going often to affist the Choumans against them.

M. de la Salle, who had a particular art to gain the Friendship of the Savages, told them a great many things of the

\(^1\) The Comanches, a Shoshonean tribe, whose habitat was on the upper waters of the Arkansas, Red, and Rio Grande rivers.—Ed.
Grandeur of the King his Master, whom he represented as the greatest Captain of the World, and as much above the Spaniards as the Sun above the Earth: he gave them an account of his signal Victories: At which, says Father Anrafa, they put their Fingers upon their Mouth to express their Admiration: but seeing M. de la Salle did not speak their Language, I would fain know how the Cenis understood the account he gave them of the glorious Actions of the King of France. Surely this is a Fiction, or at best, too long a Comment upon a Conversation which was acted by signs; and Father Anrafa [26] might have spair'd this Reflection upon the Spaniards, for tho' the King of France is a great Monarch, yet the King of Spain possesseth such Countries in the old and new World, that no Prince can be compared to him in that respect, and the Motto of the Catholic Kings, Sol mihi nunquam occidit, may be more easily justified, than the Nec pluribus impar of the King of France. Those who will consider the extent of the Dominions of the Spaniards in the West-Indies, will find that they are above 2500 Leagues in length, which I think the great Master of M. de la Salle can never match.

There were at that time some Ambassadors of the Choumans, at the Village of the Cenis, who paid a Visit to M. de la Salle, and at their coming in made the Sign of the Crofs, and kneeling down kiss'd Father Anrafa's Gown, lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and giving them to understand, that Men cloathed with like Habits taught their Neighbours.
They made such signs as convinced the French that they had been at Mafs; and one of them drew with a Coal a tall Woman weeping at the Foot of the Crofs, for the Death of her Son who was nail’d to it. This he must needs have seem over an Altar in the Spanish Churches, and 'tis no wonder if they knew Father Anafale’s Gown, for the Franciscans are very numerous in that Country. Our Author adds, that they told M. de la Salle, that the Spaniards made a great slaughter of the Indians, and that if he would go along with them with his fire Arms, it would be easie to conquer them, seeing they are Cowards, and fo Effeminate as to have two Men before them, when they walk in Summer-time each with a large Fann to refresh them.

This puts me in mind of several Conversations which I had with M. de la Salle, at Fort Frontenac concerning our Discoveries, and speaking of Missionaries and the Qualities they ought to have, I remember [27] he told me often that the Jefuits of the Colledge of Goa in the East-Indies, which was given them by a Bp [Bishop] of the Order of St. Francis, and whose Revenues amount now to a prodigious Summ, travel in a Litter, where they perform this Mission, having two Men on each side to cool them with a Fann. This he knew from some of those Jefuits themselves, but as he had left this Society, I did not altogether believe what he told me of it; but I wonder that Father Anafale would charge upon the Spaniards of New Mexico, what M. de la Salle told me of the Jefuits of Goa. The reason may be easily discover'd,
the Spaniards will either scorn this Reflection, or let it go without Vengeance, whereas the Jesuits are never affronted with Impunity.

M. de la Salle having tarried several Days among the Cenis, continued his March through the Habitations of the Naffonis; these two Nations are in confederacy, and divided by a large River, on the Banks of which the Villages are situated: They have much the same customs and manners.

Within five Leagues of that Place four of M. de la Salle's men ran away to the Naffonis, which fadly vex'd him; and few Days after, he together with M. Moranger his Nephew, fell sick of a violent Fever, which obliged our Travellers to tarry in that Place for several Weeks, for notwithstanding they recover'd, it was a long time before they were able to continue their Voyage. This Distemper disappointed all their measures, and was the occasion of several misfortunes that befell them afterwards. They tarried there two whole Months, being reduc'd to the greatest Extremities; their Powder was most spent, tho' they were not advanced above 150 Leagues in a direct Line; some of their men had deferted, others began to be irresolute; and all these things being carefully confider'd by M. de la Salle, he resolved to return to Fort Lewis. [28] Every body approv'd his Design, and so they returned the same way without meeting with any remarkable Accident, except that one of them was swallowed

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1 Either the Neches or the Sabine River. The Nasonis (Assony) were apparently a Caddoan tribe.—Ed.
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by a Crocodile of a prodigious Size, as they repassed the Wicked River.

They returned to their Camp the 17th of October 1686, being received with an incredible Joy by their Companions, who thought them as good as lost amongst these barbarous Nations.
CHAP. V.

A Short Description of Fort Lewis, of its advantageous Situation, and of the Fertility of the Country about it.

What has been already observed is enough to shew the Character of M. de la Salle, and that never Traveller was more undaunted, and constant in his undertakings than him. All the misfortunes and accidents we have mention’d, were not enough to deject his Courage, nor deterr him from his former Designs, in which through the Grace of God he expected to succeed.

He remained two Months and a half at Fort Lewis, during which time he took a view of all the Rivers that run into that Bay, and found above 50 which are Navigable, if we may believe Father Anafiase, who was with him: They come most of them from the West and North-West. The Fort is situated in a sandy Ground, but the Soil about is very fertile. There are large Meadows in which the Grass grows as high as our Wheat in Europe. These Rivers are very frequent, being commonly at 2 or 3 Leagues distance. Their Banks are adorned with Oak, Mulberry-Trees, [29] and other Sorts of Trees, some whereof are altogether unknown in Europe. The Country is all alike going to the Westward, till within two Day’s Journey of the Spaniards.

This Fort is situated on a rising Ground, on the Bank of
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a River, having the Sea to the South-East, the Meadows to the West, and two large Ponds, and a Forest to the South-West; the nearest Neighbours are the Guoaquis, who have abundance of Horses, and the Babamos and Guinetts, who are wandering Nations, with whom M. de la Salles was in War. He forgot nothing during that time to comfort his small Colony, which began to multiply, several Children being born since their Arrival. He employed his men about grubbing up the Lands, which as I have said, proved very good and fertile. In the mean time our Missionaries applied themselves to the Instruction of some Savage Families, who left their own Nation to live with the Europeans. M. de la Salle us'd them with all possible kindnecs, knowing how advantageous it would be to win those barbarous Nations over to his Interest.

M. de la Salle having cast up an Intrenchment about a large Inclosure, wherein were the Habitations of the Colony, under the Cannon of the Fort, and taken all other precautions for their Security, called the Inhabitants together, and made so pathetical a Speech to them about the Necessity he was under to make a Voyage to the Illinois Country, that he drew Tears from every one of the Assembly, considering the Danger and Fatigue of so great a Voyage, for he was very much beloved. He took 20 men with him with his Brother, his two Nephews, Father Anasfave, and one Jouflel à Plato; and after publick Prayers, he set out a second time from Fort Lewis, resolv'd not to return till he had found the Illinois.
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[30] CHAP. VI.

_An Account of M. de la Salle's second Voyage, from the Bay of St. Lewis, to the Illinois._

M. **DE LA SALLE** with 20 men set out from his Fort on the 7th of January 1687, and met the first Day a great Band of **Bahamos**, who were going upon a military Expedition against the Savages, called **Trigoanna**. He made alliance with them, and designed to do the like with the **Guinetts**, whom he met also, but they ran away upon his approach: However having overtaken them by means of his Horfes, they agreed together, and promised on both sides an inviolable Peace.

They continued their March to the North-East, and crossed the first River, which they had called before the River of **Canes**, because the Banks of it are covered with them. The Country is diversified with Meadows and Woods, and the Soil is so fertile, that Grass grows 10 or 12 Foot high. There are several populous Villages of Savages upon that River, but they visited only the **Guaras** and **Anacborema**. They crossed the second River of **Canes**, distant 3 Leagues from the former.¹ Its Banks are inhabited by several different Nations, and the Country is full of Hemp which

¹ Probably the Colorado of Texas.—Ed.
grows naturally in those Parts. They met 5 Leagues further another River call'd Sablonniere, because it flows through a fandy ground, tho' the Grafs of the Meadows near its Banks sheweth the Fertility of the Soil.

Having paffed three or four small Rivers, they found 8 Leagues from the Sablonniere the River Robeck,1 whose Banks are peopled with several Villages of Savages, who speake, in a manner from their Throat. They are in War with the Spaniards, and desir'd M. [31] de la Salle to joyn with them, but he had businesse else where, and with 20 men alone he was not able to do any great things against the Spaniards. He remain'd five or six days with them, and from thence continued his march to the Wicked River, so called, because a Crocodile had devour'd one of his men. That River has a long course, and is inhabited by 40 Villages of Savages, which composeth the Nation Kanoatinno, which are likewise at War with the Spaniards. They went through some of their Villages where they were kindly receiv'd; tho', if we may believe Father Anaíafe, the cruelties of the Spaniards have somewhat chang'd their good Nature into fierceness. This, I take to be M. de la Salle's Opinion; for in all his Travels he endeavoured to represent the Spaniards as the most odious and cruel Nation in the World. I must own, as I have already intimated, that the Spaniards were forc'd to destroy several Nations in New Mexico, but they were oblig'd to it to preserve themselves against them, for else the Natives

1 Thus named from a river in the vicinity of Rouen, France; it may have been the St. Bernard.—Ed.
would have destroy'd them. 'Tis certain, that the Savages have no kindness for the Europeans, and keep fair with them, only as long as they fear them. But I wonder, that M. de la Salle should blame so much the Spaniards, and yet form the Enterprize he was about, seeing it was impossible for him to succeed without destroying the Spaniards themselves; and as to their Tyranny, I remember to have convinc'd him more than once, that the Spanish Domination is easier and milder than any other he could name.

M. de la Salle having got some Horfes from those Savages, crossed the River in Canou's made of Skins of wild Oxen, the Horfes swimming over; and four Leagues from thence crossed the River Hiens or Hans, already mention'd, continuing their march to the North-East. They crossed several other Rivers and Brooks, which were mightily fowled by the Rains [32] that fall in that Country about that time, which is their Winter, the difference of Seasons being only known by those Rains. The Country they travelled through is diversified with Meadows, Woods, Groves, Hills and Springs. They came at last to three great Villages call'd Taraba, Tyakappan and Palonna, where they found good Horfes. They met some Leagues further the Palaquefions, a People compos'd of ten Villages. These are in Alliance with the Spaniards.

I cannot but wonder at Father Anasifie's neglecting to make a more exact Diary of their Voyage, and to be more particular about so many different Nations he speaks of, and therefore I desire the Reader to give me leave to make now
and then some Reflections upon this Voyage of M. de la Salle, having so intimately known that Gentleman, and travell'd so long with him in America. My Description of Louhiana, which I printed at Paris, did him a very great kindness in relation to his Enterprize.
[33] CHAP. VII.

M. de la Salle and three more are unfortunately murthber'd by some of their own Party.

After they had gone through so many different Nations as is above related, there fell out a most unhappy Accident, to wit, the Assaffination of M. de la Salle, his Nephew Moranger, and some others. M. de la Salle was then in a fine Country for hunting: His People regal'd themselves very plentifully, and refresh'd themselves after their tiresome Travel with excellent good Chear for several days together: He had sent M. Moranger his Nephew, his Laquey Saget, and seven or eight of his men to a certain place, where Nika his Huntsman, who was a Savage Chauvenon had laid up a flock of wild Bulls Flesh, that they might get it 'moak'd and dry'd to carry along with them, and so not be oblig'd to halt so frequently to hunt for Provisions.

With all his Prudence, M. de la Salle could not discover the Conspicary of some of his People to kill his Nephew, for they resolv'd upon it, and put it in Execution all of a sudden on the 17th of March, wounding him in the head with a Hatchet. The Blow was struck by a Person whom Father Anastasius out of Charity would not name; they slew likewise the Laquey and poor Nika, who had provided for them by
The Murther of Mons. de la Salle

M. Vander Gucht Sud:
his Hunting for three years together with toil and danger: Moranger languished under his Wound for two Hours, during which time, he gave all possible tokens of his Piety, forgiving his Murtherers, and embracing them frequently, resigning himself up to God's good Pleasure, and relying upon his Saviour's Merits, as his very Murtherers acknowledg'd, when their [34] Rage was cool'd: He was a very honest man and a good Christian.

These Wretches not content with this bloody Fact, refoly'd not to stick there, but contriv'd how to kill their Master too, for they fear'd he would have justly punish'd them for their Crime. Father Anastahus says, They were two Leagues off the place where Moranger was kill'd, and that M. de la Salle being concern'd at his Nephews tarrying so long (for they had been gone two or three days) was afraid they might have been surpriz'd by some Party of the Savages; whereupon he desir'd Father Anastahus to go with him to look after his Nephew, and took two Savages along with him; upon the way M. de la Salle entertain'd 'em with a pious Discourse of Grace and Predestination; but chiefly he enlarg'd upon the great Obligations he was under to divine Providence for preserving him in the many dangers he had undergone during a twenty Years abode in America, nine of which he spent in travelling, and I with him; he seem'd to be peculiarly affected with God's Goodness to him, when all of a sudden, Father Anastahus observ'd that he fell into a deep Sorrow of which he himself could give no account; he grew mighty unquiet and full of trouble, a temper he was
never seen in before; Father *Anasfais* did all he could to recover him out of it.

They were got about two Leagues, when he found his Lacquey's bloody Cravat, and perceiv'd two Eagles (a common Bird in those parts) hovering over his head, at the same time he spied his People by the Water-side: he went up to them and enquired for his Nephew, they made him little answer, but pointed to the place where he lay. Father *Anasfais* kept going on by the River side, till at last they came to the fatal place, where two of the Villains lay hid in the Graves, one on one side, and one on the other, with [35] their Pieces cock'd, the first presented at M. de la Salle but miss'd Fire, the other fired at the same time, and shot him into the head, of which he dy'd an Hour after, *March 19, 1687*.

Father *Anasfais* expected the same fate, but did not reflect upon the danger he was in; he was sensibly touch'd at this cruel Spectacle, seeing M. de la Salle fall a little way off from him with his Face all bloody; he ran to him, took him up in his Arms, and wept over him, exhorting him as well as he could in this Conjunction to die like a good Christian; the unfortunate Gentleman had been at his Devotions just before they set out, and had just time enough to confess part of his Life to Father *Anasfais*, who gave him Absolution, and soon after he died: In these his last Moments he perform'd as far as he was capable what ever was proper for one in his condition, he press'd the Father's hand at every

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1 On early eighteenth-century maps, the locality of the assassination is marked on a southern branch of Trinity River.—Ed.
thing he said to him, especially when he admonish’d him to forgive his Enemies; mean while the Murtherers struck with Horror at what they had committed, began to beat their Breasts, and detest their Raffnes. Father Annafofius would not stir from the place till he had bury’d the Body as decently as he could, and plac’d a Crofs over his Grave.

Thus fell the Sieur Robert Cavelier de la Salle, a Man of considerable Merit, constant in Adversities, fearless, generous, courteous, ingenious, learned and capable of every thing; he labour’d for twenty years together to civilize the Savage Humours and Manners of a great number of barbarous People among whom he travell’d, and had the ill hap to be maffacred by his own Servants, whom he had enrich’d: he dy’d in the Vigour of his Age in the middle of his Courfe, before he could execute the designs he had form’d upon New Mexico.
CHAP. VIII.

The Author's Reflections upon the Life and Death of M. de la Salle, whose Murthersers kill'd one another.

M. DE LA SALLE told me several times, whilst we were together in Fort Frontenac, before we went upon our Discoveries, and also when we were in pursuit of them, that when he was a Jesuit, having liv'd 10 or 11 years in that Order, the Fathers of that Society caus'd frequent Lectures to be read during the first two Years to all those that enter'd into the Society, of the tragical Deaths and fatal Miscarriages that overtook such as had quitted their Order; and this was done to fix those that were newly entred; I ought to say this out of Justice to M. de la Salle, who formerly depos'd in my hands all his Papers, whilst he took a Voyage to France, and I tell'd at Fort Frontenac, that he quitted his Order with the consent of his Superiours, and that he had written Testimonials of his good Conduct during his stay in that Society. He shew'd me a Letter written at Rome by the General of that Order, wherein he testified that the said Sieur de la Salle had behav'd himself prudently in every thing without giving the least occasion to be suspected guilty of a venial Sin.

I have a hundred times reflect'd upon what he has said to me, when we entertain'd our selves with the Stories of our
A Voyage into North America.

new Discoveries, and I ador'd God for the unspeakable blessings of his ways, who accomplishes his Will by those means he is pleased to appoint; and uncertain as I was of my Destiny, I gave my self up to his good pleasure, resolv'd to submit patiently in every thing to his divine Providence. Father Anasbasius [37] arriv'd at length where was M. Cavellier, a Priest, Brother of the Defunct M. de la Salle, to whom he related his Death, the Murtherers came rudely into the fame Cabbin or Hut prefently after, and seiz'd upon all they found in it, the good Father had not leisure for a long Harangue, but his Countenance bath'd in Tears, was a sufficient Intimation of what he had to lay: M. Cavellier at firft fight of him, cry'd out, ah! my Brother is dead. I cannot forbear preuenting the publick with some account of this Priest, M. Cavellier, with whom I joyn'd in Canada during one Summer of my Mission to Fort Frontenac, of which his Brother was Governour and Proprietor. He was a pious and discreet Ecclesiaftick, perfectly qualified for a Missionary: He no sooner heard this fatal News, but he fell down upon his Knees, and so did the Sieur Cavellier his Nephew, expecting the Villains came to butcher them, and therefore prepar'd themselves to die like Christians; but the Assaffines mov'd with Compassion at the sight of the venerable old Man, and being forry besides for their late wicked Deeds, resolv'd to spare them, upon condition that they should never return into France, but they were a long time e'er they fixt upon granting them Mercy; some of them that had a mind to fee their Kindred once again, endeavour'd as well as they could
to clear themselves from so detestable an Action; others said, 'twas safest to rid their hands of these two innocent men, or else they might one day call them to an account, if ever they met again in France.

They chose for their Leader the Murtherer of M. de la Salle, and upon Deliberation they resolv'd to go to the famous Nation of the Cenis already spoken of; so they march'd altogether for several days, and pass'd divers Rivers. These infamous Murtherers made the two Cavellers serve them as Valets, and gave them nothing but their leavings to eat. They arriv'd without [38] any rub at the place they wish'd for. A Conteste rises betwixt a German of Wittemburg, nam'd Hans, and him that murther'd M. de la Salle, about the Superiority of Command, upon this their men divide themselves into two Parties, one follows Hans, the other the Murtherer. They were come away from the Cenis amongst whom they tarry'd some time, and arriv'd at the Naffonis, where the four Deferrers whom I mention'd before, rejoyn'd them. Thus they were all got together upon Ascension Eve, and the Quarrel betwixt the two Parties, being blown up to that height, that they determin'd to murther one another, Father Anathasmus made an Exhortation to them upon the Festival day, with which they seem'd to be so touch'd, that they made as if they would confess themselves; but they did not continue long in that mind. Those that most regretted their Masters' murther, took to Hans's side. This man two days after taking his opportunity, punish'd one crime with another, for he fir'd a
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Pistol at the Murtherer of M. de la Salle, the Bullet peirc'd his Heart, and he drop'd dead upon the place. One of Hans's Crew shot him that kill'd M. Moranger in the side, and before he could well recover himself, another let fly just at his Head, there was no Ball in his Musket, but the Powder set fire to his Hair, which catch'd his Shirt and Cloaths with so much violence and quickness, that he could not put it out, but expir'd in the Flame. The third Conspirator took to his Heels and fav'd himself; Hans was mighty eager to make sure of him, and finish in his Death, the vengeance due to M. de la Salle; but the Sieur Joutel made 'em Friends, and so the matter rested for that time.

Thus Hans became the chief Leader of this miserable Troop; they resolv'd to return to the Cenis, amongst whom they design'd to settle, for they durst not venture back into Europe for fear of meeting the punishment [39] their Crimes deferv'd: At that time the Cenis were up in arms and ready to march out to fight with the Kanoatinno a cruel People, their implacable Enemies. When they take any Prisoners, they throw them alive into a Caldron and boil them. The Cenis then took Hans and some other Europeans along with them, the rest waited till they should return, though Hans would fain have persuaded them all to go, but they would not stir. When Hans was gone, they departed out of the Country of the Cenis, and amongst 'em were the two Cavelliers, the Sieur Joutel, Father Anastasius and others; each had his Horse, Powder, and Lead, with some Goods to defray their
Charges upon the way; they made a halt in the Country of the Naffonis to celebrate the Octave of la fete dieu. In their Relations, they say, that the people entertain'd them perpetually with Stories of the Cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Americans, and told them twenty several Nations were going to make war upon the Spaniards, and invited them to go along with them, because, said they, you will do more execution with your Guns, than all our Warriors with their Maces and Arrows. But they had other designs in their Heads, and took occasion in these Discourses to give them to understand that they were come amongst them by express order from God, to instruct them in the knowledge of the Truth, and set them right in the way to Salvation, and this was their employment for 10 or 12 days to the 3d of June.

I make no question, but M. Cavellier the Priest, and Father Anastasius endeavour'd to their utmost to give light to these Naffonis and deliver them out of their ignorance. But the four other Europeans that were in their company were not enough in number to terrifie the Spaniards who are us'd to firearms; besides they did not understand the Language of these People, and therefore I cannot easily comprehend how they could gather from the Discourse of these Naffonis, that the Spaniards were so cruel to the Americans; they had no Interpreters along with them, so that they could not understand a word of what was said to them by these People, who had never seen any other Europeans before them.

Moreover 'tis certain, that since the days of the Emperor
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Charles the Fifth, the Spaniards have not dar'd to execute any Cruelties upon the Natives of New Mexico, because they have too few of their own Subjects to guard their Conquests against the insults of their neighbouring Indians, were they irritated. No, they live peaceably with them, and trouble no body, unless they are first attack'd.
CHAP. IX.

The Cenis permit M. Cavelier the Priest, and Father Anaftasius with their Company, to continue their Journey thorough several barbarous Nations.

The Cenis gave these six Europeans two Savages for Guides, who took their way thorough the finest Country in the World Northwards, and North-Eastwards; they pass'd over four great Rivers, and many Channels made by the Rain, inhabited by divers Nations Eastward, they came among the Haquis, the Nabiri, or the Naans, a valiant People at War with the Cenis, at length they arrived near the Cadodacbos,\textsuperscript{1} June the 13th, one of their Guides went before to inform the Barbarians of their coming. The chief Men and the Youth, whom they found a League from their Village, receiv'd them with the Calumet, and gave them some Tobacco; some led their Horses by the Bridle, and others carried them about in Triumph; they said they were Spirits come from the other World.

All the Village being come together, the Women according to their Custom wash'd their Heads and Feet with warm Water, after which they were seated upon a Bench cover'd

\textsuperscript{1} The Caddoes, on Red River.—Ed.
with neat white Mats; then they went to revelling, dancing to the Calumet, and made other publick rejoynings Day and Night. Thse People knew nothing of the Europeans but by Report, 'tis to be presum'd they have some shadow of Religion amongst 'em, but all their Ideas are very confus'd, and their Notions unaccountable, they seem to worship the Sun, because they fend up the Smoak of their Tobacco to him, though they have their [42] share on't; their Ceremonial Habits have commonly two Suns described upon them, and upon the rest of the Body representations of wild Bulls, Deer, Serpents, or other Animals; the two religious Europeans took occasion from hence, to give them some Lef- fons concerning the true God, and the principal Mysteries of Chrifianity; 'tis to be suppos'd all this was done by Signs.

In this place God afflicted them by a Tragical Accident, the Sieur Marne maugre all Diffwafions, would needs bath himself, June the 24th at Night. M. Caveller, Nephew to M. de la Salle went along with him to the River-fide, which lies pretty near the Village. Marne threw himself into the Water, and never came up again. 'Twas a Whirlpool that suck'd him in, and drowned him in a moment.

A little after his Body was drawn out of the Water, and carried to the Captain's Houfe; all the Village lamented his Death: The Captain's Wife wrapt him up decently in a handsom Mat, while some young Men dug a Grave for him, which Father Anafafius blef; and then they committed him to the Earth with all possibile Solemnty. The Barbarians
adm is'ed the Ceremonies of his Interment, and above all, the singing of the Psalms at his Obsequies. Upon this they offer'd them instructions about the immortality of the Soul, and continued to teach them for Eight days, for so long they tarried after in that fatal Place; the dead Man was buried upon an Eminence near the Village, his Grave was fenc'd about with Pallifado's, and a great Cross set up over it which was made by the Savages: They departed out of this Country, July the 2d.

These People dwell upon the Side of a River, where three other Nations inhabit, the Natchoes, Natcheetes and Ouidiches. The Travellers were receiv'd very kindly by all of them. From the River of [43] the Cenis, where they first met with Beavers and Otters; the farther they advanced Northward, the greater Number they found of those Animals. Whilst they sojourned among the Ouidiches, they met with three Warriours of two Nations call'd the Cabinio, and the Menteus, who dwelt twenty five Leagues farther, East-North-East, and had seen some Frenchmen. They offer'd to conduct 'em to their Countrymen, and by the way they crois'd four Rivers and Brooks, or Torrents made by the Rain, there they were receiv'd by these Nations with the Calumet of Peace in their Hands, with all possible Tokens of Gladness and Esteem. Many of these Savages talkt to 'em of an European, who was a Captain, and had but one Hand; this was the Sieur de Tonti a Neapolitan, mention'd in my firft Volume. They added, that he told 'em, that a greater Captain than himfelf would
probably pats by their Village; meaning the Sieur de la Salle.

The chief Man among them lodg'd them in his Cabbin or Hutt, and made his Family go out of it; there they were treated several Days with all sorts of good Cheer. Nay, they order'd a solemn Feast to be kept publickly, wherein they danc'd to the Calumet four and twenty Hours together, and sung Songs made purposely for the occasion, which their Captain dictated to them as loud as he could, they entertain'd 'em as Envoyes from the Sun, who came to defend them from their Enemies with Thunderbolts, meaning their Musquets which they had never seen before; in the heat of these rejoicings the younger Cavaliere let off his Pistol three times, crying out Vive le Roy, which the Barbarians repeated with a loud Voice; adding, long live the Sun.

These Savages have a prodigious Number of Beavers and Otters in their Country, which might be easily exported by a River near the Village; these [44] Savages would have loaded their Horfes with them, but they refus'd them to shew they were free from any Self design, and presented the Barbarians with Hatchets and Knives; at last they went away with two Cabinno's to guide them; after they had receiv'd the Ambassadors from the Analau, the Tanico, and other Nations Northwest, and South Westward, they travers'd for some Days the finest Country in the World full of Rivers, Meadows, little Woods, Hills, and Vineyards.

Among others they crofs'd over four large Navigable Rivers, and after a March of about sixty Leagues, they came
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to the Ossotopeez; who dwell upon a Noble River running from the North-West, upon whose Banks grow the finest Woods in the Universe.

The Skins of Beavers and Otters are everywhere found in so great a Quantity, as well as all other kinds of Hides and Skins of Beasts, that they throw 'em all in a heap and burn them, of so little value are they accounted. 'Tis upon the famous River of the Akansha that so many Villages stand, as I mention'd in the first Tome of my Discoveries.

Father Anaftahus says in his Relation, that there they began to know where-abouts they were: At the same time he knew very well, that neither he nor any Man in his Company had ever been upon the River Meschahpt: Indeed I went up it by myself, with two Indians in a Canoe in 1680, and afterwards in 1682, M. de la Salle went up it as high as Akansha: 'Tis highly probable, Father Anaftahus thought he was then at Fort Creveceur, situated in the Country of the Illinois, because he found a great Cross there, and beneath it the King of France's Arms; besides he saw a House built after the European way, and upon this the Sieur 'Jouet, and two more that were left discharged their Murther. At the Noize of the Guns out came two French Canadians, their Commander's Name was M. Couture, whom I knew particularly well

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1 The U-ts-te-hi (in nomenclature of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology; called by early writers Sitteou or Sauthois); a division of the Siouan Kwapa (Kappa) tribe (see p. 177, note 1, ante).—Ed.

2 Couture, a carpenter from Rouen, had accompanied Tony in his fruitless search for La Salle (in the spring of 1686). Tony left six of his men at the Indian villages on the Arkansas River; among these was Couture.—Ed.
when I lived in Canada, and was one that made the Voyage along with us to discover the Louifana. This M. Couture gave them to know, that he was posted there by the Sieur de Toniti, by order of M. de la Salle, to keep up an Alliance with the Neighbouring Savage Nations, and guard them against the Insults of the Iroquois, their sworn Foes.

They visited three Villages, the Forimans, the Dodinga, and the Kappa; they receiv’d ’em every where with Feasts, Speeches, Dances, and all other Expressions of Joy. They were lodg’d in the House belonging to this small Fort. These of Canada that were settled there entertain’d ’em very kindly, and made them Masters of all. Whatever Affairs these Savages contested about they never decided them immediately, but summon’d together the Chief men, and the most Ancient of the Villages, and deliberated upon the matter in dispute. These Travellers ask’d them for a Pyroogue, and some Savages in it to go up the River Mejebahpi, as far as the Illinois, by the River of that Nation, which in my Map of Louifana, I call the River of Seignelay, in honour to the Minifter of State of that Name, who favour’d and took care about our Discovery. Father Anafiopus says they offer’d their Horses, some Powder and Lead in exchange for the Pyroogue. After the Council had met upon this Subject, they came to a resolution to grant them the Pyroogue they demanded, and four Savages to man it, one of each Nation to signify the

1 These names are more correctly given by the Jesuit Paul de Poisson (*Jes. Relations*, lvii, p. 319), as Tourimas and Tougingas; they also were Kwapa bands.—Ed.
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strict Alliance they had made with them. This was punctually executed, so they dismis’d the Cabinio with Presents to their satisfaction.

Upon this Head I would observe, without pretending to reflect upon M. de la Salle, that he undoubtedly never found out the true Mouth of the River Mechtaba, nor Father Anastasius neither, who never [46] was in that Part of the Country; and if the last did luckily light upon it by help of the Savages that guided him, ’twas owing to the Directions he receiv’d from M. Couture, Commander of the Skonce; but it may be he will give us more light into this matter hereafter.

1 Apparently a misprint for Akansa.—Ed.
CHAP. X.

The Voyage of the Sieur Cavelier a Priest, and Father Anastasius a Recollet in a Pyrogue to the Illinois, and several Observations concerning their Return.

After they had tarried a little time among these People, M. Cavelier, and Father Anastasius, Embarked in the River of Mechasipi, Aug. 1. they crossed the River the same Day in a Pyrogue of 40 Foot long. The stream was very strong in that Place, so they went all a-shoar to travel the rest of the Journey on Foot, because they had left their Horses at Akansa, though they had done better perhaps to have kept them: They left no Soul in the Pyrogue but young Cavelier, whose tender Age joyn'd with the Fatigue of travelling so far, made him uncapable of prosecuting the Journey on Foot. Father Anastasius thinks that from the place where they set out to the Illinois, they had 400 Leagues to march a foot before they could get thither; but all this is spoken by guess.

One of the Savages went aboard the Pyrogue to steer it along the River, and one of his Comrades reliev'd him from time to time. The rest of the Company made no use of the Pyrogue, but only when they had occasion to avoid a dangerous Place, or cross any Rivers; [47] they underwent a great deal of Toil in this Voyage, the Heats were excessive in that
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The land was burnt by the Sun, but more than all, the want of Food, which they endured several days, reduced them to extreme hardship.

Father Anasfas adds, That they were got 200 Leagues over land from the Bay of St. Louis, that is to say, 100 Leagues to the Cenis, 60 to the North North-East, and 40 to the East North-East: from the Nafoonis to the Cadoacocho 40 North North-Eastward, from the Cadoacocho to the Cabino, and the Mentous 25 to the East North-East, and from the Cabino to the Akafoa 60 East North-East.

They continued their Progress up the River by the same way, that they had heard M. de la Salle went in 82, except that they went to Sicach. Father Anasfas, says M. de la Salle it was not there. I made mention of this Nation in my Discovery in 80, in the preceding Volume; their principal Village is twenty five Leagues East from Akafoa. The People are robust and numerous, consisting at least of 4000 fighting Men: They have abundance of all sorts of Skins and Hides. Their Leaders often brought the Calumet to them to signify that they were willing to make an Alliance with them; nay they offered to go and settle themselves upon the River Ouabache to be nearer Fort Crevecoeur in the Country of the Illinois, whither they were travelling.

This famous River of Ouabache [Ohio] is full as large as Mecbaophi; a great many other Rivers run into it, the outlet where it discharges itself into Mecbaophi is 200 Leagues

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1 A village of the Chicasses; the distance here given would locate it on the Yazoo River. — Ed.
from Akansa according to M. de la Salle's Computation; the truth is it is not so far crofs the Country, but it may be as much in following the course of the River Meʃbaʃpi, which winds about very much. Straight over land 'tis not above 5 good days journey.

[48] They crofs'd the River Ouabache, August 26. and found it full 60 Leagues along the River Meʃbaʃpi to the mouth of the River of the Illinois, about 6 Leagues below the mouth of that River North-Westward, is the famous River of the Massourițes or the Ofages, which is as large at least as the River it falls into. It is made up of several other known navigable Rivers inhabited by numerous Nations, as the Panimaba, who have but one Captain and 22 Villages, the least of which contains 200 Cabbins. The Panceff, the Pana, the Panałoga, and the Metotantes, each of which is as considerable as the Panimaba.\(^1\)

The Ofages have 17 Villages upon a River of their name, that discharges it self into that of the Massourițes. Our Maps and thoſe of M. de la Salle, have placed the Ofages there. Formerly the Akansa dwelt a great way up one of these Rivers, which bears their name till, and which I take notice of about the midſt of the paſſage of the River Ouabache to that of the Massourițes\(^2\); there lies the Cape of St. Anthony of Padua, and thereabouts live the Savage Nation of the Manjopolea.

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\(^1\) A reference to the various Pawnee tribes.—Ed.

\(^2\) Apparently this was the Saline River, which empties into the Mississippi a little below St. Genevieve, Mo. Although a small stream, it was regarded as important on account of the salt-springs near it; salt-works were established there at an early date.—Ed.

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Sept. 5. M. Caveller and Father Anatlasus arriv'd at the mouth of the River of the Illinois: 'tis reckon'd 100 Leagues from thence to Fort Crevecoeur, as I remark'd in my first Volume. The passage all the way is clear and navigable by large Vessels. A Chauwenon nam'd Turpin, having seen them enter his Village, ran by land to carry the News to M. Belle Fontaine, Commander of that Fort; he could not believe what he told him, but they follow'd apace after the Barbarian, and came to the Fort, Sept. 14. prefently they conducted them to the Chapel, where Te Deum was thankfully sung. The Canadiens that were in the place, and some Savages fir'd Volleys of Muskets.

M. de Toni, whom M. de la Salle design'd to be Commander of Fort Crevecoeur, was gone among the [49] Iroquois to dispose thofe Barbarians to an Alliance. These Travellers were receiv'd with all the kindnfs imaginable, and M. de Belle-Fountain omitted no Testimony of his joy to fee them safely arriv'd.

It must be confess'd, that no man can evade his Destiny. At the fame time it muft likewise be acknowledged that the Diſafter of M. de la Salle had something very fatal in it; he undertook this great Voyage with design to find out the mouth of the River Mofhaspi, but unfortunately fell by the way without succeeding in his enterprize, and yet juft after his Death, his Brother, Father Anatlasus, &c. went up that River and arriv'd at the Illinois.

'Tis indubitable, nevertheleft, that there is an excellent Haven at the mouth of this River, as I observ'd in 80. The
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entry into it is very convenient, as may be easiely seen. Of the three arms that compose this out-let, I always follow'd the Channel of that in the middle. 'Tis a commodious Harbour, and has several places fit to raise Fortresses upon, that are in no danger of being overflow'd, as has formerly been thought. The lower part or mouth of the River is habitable, and is inhabited by several savage Nations that don't lie far from it. The greatest Vessels may go up above 200 Leagues from the Gulph of Mexico, as far as the mouth of the River of the Illinois, which River is navigable for above 100 Leagues, and discharges it self into the River Mecabaapi. At the lower end of the River dwell several other Nations, which I forgot, as the Pibeno, the Ozanbogus, the Tangibao, the Ottonika, the Moviya, and many others, whose names easiely escape ones Memory, when one passes through them without leisure, or conveniency to take necessaries observations and notes.

'Tis probable that M. de la Salle not finding the Mouth of that River in the Sea, fancied that the Bay of St. Lewis, was not above 40 or 50 Leagues from the [30] Mouth of one of its Arms, at least in a strait line; but by misfortune he never was at it. God sets bounds to all Men, and their Enterprises, to all the desires of their Hearts, as well as to the vast Ocean.

Doubtless God permitted it so to be, that Father Anastasiaus who is now Vicar of the Recollets at Cambray, should discover 110 Nations in his Travels, without taking into the Number many more Savage People well known to those he

[American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org]
convers'd with en passant, because they traffick with them, which at the same time were never seen by any European.

These People, as I have already noted, have very good Horses, fit for any service in abundance. They think themselves well paid for a Horse, if one gives them a Hatchet.

Father Anastaﬁus went from the Bay of St. Lewis to the Gulph of Mexico with design to settle a Mission among the Cenis in his 2d Voyage. Father Zenobius Mambré Recollet, who ﬂaid behind at the said Bay, was to have come and joyn'd him, to the end they might spread the Faith among the neighbouring Nations. They expected from Europe a great number of Labourers, but the death of M. de la Salle obliging him to proceed further he don't doubt but Father Zenobius has been there to look for him.

So it may be he is now in that Country with Father Maximus a Recollet and Native of Liﬂe in Flanders, and that they have left the Sieur Chefdeville a Missionary of St. Sulpicius, at the Mission of the Port in that Bay. He determin'd himself to be there, because there were nine or ten European Families there with their Children, besides some of M. de la Salle's men have marry'd with the Women of the Country to augment the little Colony. This is the Extract of Father Anastaﬁus's account of his toilful Voyage. What are become of the people left in those parts since that time, we know not.¹

¹In April, 1689, a Spanish expedition, commanded by Alonzo de Leon, reached La Salle's Fort St. Louis in Texas; they found that it had been captured, three months before, by the Tejas (Texas) Indians, who slew most of the remaining colonists. Leon ransomed the few survivors, who had been enslaved by the Indians.
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[51] Father Anastasius conceal'd the deplorable Fate of M. de la Salle, because 'twas his duty as well as M. Cavelier's the Priest, to carry the first news of it to Court, and secure the effects of the deceas'd in the said Fort of the Illinois, because he advanc'd Money upon the enterprize. He departed from the Illinois in the Spring, 1688, together with Father Anastasius, young Cavelier, M. Joutel, and one Barbarian, who dwells at present near Versailles; they arriv'd at Quebec, July 27, and set sail for France the 20th of August following. God granted them a favourable passage to Paris, after having run through incredible Dangers; and they gave an account of their Voyage to the late Marquis de Seignelay.

This is the story of M. de la Salle's last Voyage, which I thought my self oblig'd to give the world, because 'tis a continuation of mine, and confirms several things related in my account. I go on now to describe the Religion and Manners of those barbarous Nations, which I discover'd in my Voyage.

For more detailed accounts, see Parkman's La Salle, pp. 442-446; and A. F. Bandelier's 'Southwestern Historical Contributions,' in Papers (Amer. series) of Archeological Institute of America, vol. v, pp. 180, 181.—Ed.

1 Not only Dousy, but even Cavelier (La Salle's own brother), deceived Tony in this matter, telling him that La Salle was well, and would soon return to Illinois. Apparently this was done that Cavelier might secure goods and money from Tony in La Salle's name. See Parkman's La Salle, pp. 435, 437.—Ed.
[52]  

CHAP. XI.

The Author's Reflections upon the Voyage to China; the opinion of most of the Savages of North America concerning the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.

'Tis a common saying, that Truth is the very Soul and Essence of History: now this account of the Manners of the Savages of North America being taken sincerely, needs no other recommendation. Novelty and Variety joyn together to please the Reader, tho' I treat of barbarous unpolish'd People; and therefore I hope, that a Description of 200 different Nations, which I have either seen myself, or been inform'd of by some religious that have been among them, will divert the curious.

The Son of God having foretold, that his Gospel should be preach'd throughout the Universe, the faithful have always interested themselves in forwarding the accomplishment of that Prophecy, and labour'd to convert those barbarous Nations who have no knowledge of the true God. 'Tis true, that multitude of savage People which inhabit the vast Countries of America, have had their Eyes shut against the Light of Truth: but we have already begun to preach Christ crucify'd to them, to the best of our skill, that we might bring them to Salvation. We hope therefore that those who are stirr'd up by
the Love of God, will not be wanting for the future to finish what we have begun, but endeavour the Salvation [53] of so many Souls, who might not perish, if Christians would help them to get out of their natural Blindness. To clear the way, and direct the means to it, we are going to give an account of the Ideas these People have of Religion, and likewise of their Manners, that so we may the more readily contrive the method of their Conversion, and in what manner to instruct them, to render them capable of receiving the truth and eternal Salvation.

Our Discoveries have acquainted us with most part of North America, so that I don't question if the King of Great Britain, and the States of Holland should think fit to send us back thither to finish what we have so happily begun, but we should demonstrate what we could never yet give a clear account of, though many attempts have been made to it. It has been found impossible hitherto to go to Japan by the Frozen Sea; that Voyage has often been frustrated; and I am morally assure'd, that we can never succeed in it, till we have first discovered the Continent betwixt the Frozen Sea and New Mexico. I am persuaded that God preferr'd me in all the great dangers of my long Voyages, that I might perfect that happy Discovery; and I here offer myself to undertake it, not doubting the success of the Enterprize (God willing) provided I am furnish'd with convenient means.

I don't wonder, that the learned are at a loss how America was peopled, and that infinite number of Nations settled upon that vast Continent. America is half the terrestrial
Globe. The most expert Geographers are not thoroughly acquainted with it, and the inhabitants themselves, whom we discover'd, and who in all likelihood should know best, don't know [54.] how their Ancestors came thither; and certainly if in Europe we wanted the Art of Writing (as those People do) which in a manner makes the dead live again, recalls what's past, and preserves the memory of things, I am afraid we should not be less ignorant than those Savages.

The greatest part of the Barbarians in North America have generally a Notion of some sort of Creation of the World; they say, Heaven, Earth and Mankind were made by a Woman, and that she and her Son govern the World, and for this reason, perhaps it is, that they reckon their Genealogies by Women. They say farther, that the Son is the Author of all good things, and the Woman of all Evil. That both of them enjoy perfect Felicity. The Woman, they say, fell out of Heaven big with Child, and lighted upon the back of a Tortoise, who saved her from drowning.¹ When we object against the Ridiculousness of their Belief, they usually answer, that such an Objection is of force with them that make it, but is of no weight against them, because they look upon themselves to be created after another manner than the Europeans are.

Other Savages upon the same Continent, are of opinion,

¹ This myth was current among the Huron tribes, and was related of a divinity named E-yá-ta-hén-tek (Atatsic); her son was Iouskeha. They are regarded by Brinton as personifications of the moon and sun, respectively; and, by J. B. Hewitt, as representing the goddess of night and earth, and the reproductive power which pervades Nature. See Jes. Relations, viii, p. 309; x, 323.—Ed.
that a certain Spirit call'd Otkon by the Iroquois, and Atabauta by the other Barbarians at the Mouth of the River of St. Lawrence, is the Creator of the World, and that one Messou repair'd it after the Deluge. In this manner do they alter and confound by their Traditions that Knowledge of the universal Deluge, which their Ancestors probably had: they say, that this Messou or Otkon being a hunting one day, his Dogs loft themselves in a great Lake, which thereupon overflowing, cover'd the whole Earth in a [55] short time, and swallow'd up the World. They add, That this Messou or Otkon gather'd a little Earth together by the help of some Animals, and made use of this Earth to repair the World again.¹ They think the Europeans inhabit another World different from theirs; and when we go about to undeceive them, and teach them truly how the universe was created, they say all that may be true enough of the World we live upon, but 'tis quite another thing with theirs; Nay, they often ask us, whether we have a Sun and Moon in Europe as well as they.

There are another sort of Savages who dwell at the Mouth of the River of St. Laurence and Mechafapi, that tell us a very odd Story; they say much like the former that a Woman came down from Heaven, and hover'd a while in the Air, because she could find no place to set her Foot upon. The Fish of the Sea compassionating her, held a Council to determine who should receive her. The Tortoise offer'd

¹ Messou (the same as Manabosho and Michabou), a divinity revered among the Algonquian tribes. See Jes. Relations, index, under above names.—Ed.
himself, and present'd his Back above Water, the Woman plac'd her self upon it, and staid there. In time the Filth of the Sea gathering and setling about the Tortoise by little and little, form'd a great extent of Land, which at present is that we call America.

Now say they, this fame Woman being uneasie at her living solitarily, and troubled to have no body to pass the time with, more agreeably than she did; there descended from on high a Spirit, who found her fast asleep with melancholy; he approach'd her unperceiv'd, and from that Conjunction came forth two Sons out of her side; these two Children could never agree together after they were grown up. One was a better Hunter than t'other, and every day there was some scuffling between 'em. At length [56] their Animosities grew to that Extremity, that they could not endure one another: One of them especialy was of a very violent humour, and had a mortal hatred for his Brother, who was better temper'd, the last unable any longer to submit to the rude behaviour, and ill treatment which the other bestow'd upon him perpetually, resolv'd to separate himself from him; so he flew up into Heaven, whence to denote his just resentment, he rattles his Thunder from time to time over his unhappy Brother's head.

Some time after the Spirit came down again to the Woman, and then she brought forth a Daughter from whom say the Savages is descended, that numerous People who now take up one of the largest Parts of the Universe.

How fabulous for ever this Story be in itself, yet we may
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discern a run of Truth in it. This Woman's sleep and the Birth of two Sons, has something in it akin to Adam's sleep, whilst God took one of his Ribs to form Eve.

The disagreement of the two Brothers resembles the irreconcilable Hatred of Cain and Abel; the retreat of one of 'em to Heaven, represents the Death of Abel, and the Thunder grumbling in the Sky may be compar'd with the Curse pronounced by God, upon the wretched Cain, for inhumanly killing his Brother.

'Tis a lamentable thing to consider what wild Chimæra's the Devil puts in these People's heads. Tho' they believe that the Soul is Corporeal (for they understand nothing else by their Otokon, Atabauta, or Manitou, but some material principal Being, that [57] gives life and motion to all things) nevertheless they profess their Belief of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Life to come, in which they shall enjoy all sorts of pleasure; as Hunting, and Fish in abundance, Corn for those that low it, for some never low Corn; Tobacco, and a thousand other Curiosities and Conveniences. They say the Soul does not leave the Body as soon as it dies, and therefore they take care to lay by the Body a Bow, Arrows, Corn, and fat Meat, for the Dead to subsist upon till they reach the Country of Souls.

And because they think all sensible things have Souls, therefore they reckon that after Death, men hunt the Souls of Beavers, Elks, Foxes, Otters, and other Animals. They

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1 General appellations given by the Indians to spirits of all kinds; applied, by extension, to anything mysterious or inexplicable.—Ed.
believe that the Souls of those Rackets which they wear under their Feet in Winter-time to keep 'em from sinking into the Snow, serve 'em for the fame ule in the next Life, as well as the Souls of Bows and Arrows to kill Beasts with. And so they fan'ie of the Fifth likewise, and therefore the Souls will have occasion say they for the Arms interd' with the Dead; the dead Bodies have no need of the Arms and Victuals that are set by 'em, no longer than till they get to the Country of Souls.

They imagine that the Souls walk visibly for some time in the Villages, and partake of their Feasts and Revels, therefore they always set aside a Portion for them. Nay several of these Nations go so far as to make certain general Feasts for the Dead, accompanied with Songs and horrible Cries, Feasts wherein all that is brought is to be eaten up; Dances and Presents of divers kinds. They take up the dead Bodies in the Village, and the very Bones of those that are consumed which they call Packets of Souls,¹ they [58] remove 'em from one Sepulchre to another, adorn'd with dres'd Skins, Collars of Porcelain, and other like Riches, such as their Country affords: They believe all this contributes mainly to the Happiness of the Dead.

I will not be tedious in summing up particularly all their superstitious Opinions upon this Subject, in relation to the different Places or Employs they assign to them, the manner

¹It was believed, by many tribes, that the soul dwelt in the bones, not only during the physical life, but for at least a time after death; and that it might afterward be reincarnated, if the bones remained unbroken. See Jes. Relations, xx, p. 310.—Ed.
of their living, their Wars, Peace, Policy and Laws: All extravagant, ridiculous Traditions founded upon Fables invented by their Ancestours, and deliver'd to their Posterity for credible Truths, and as such receiv'd and firmly held by them.

One would be apt to suspect that these Savages of America originally sprung from the Jews, some of whom might casually have been wreckt, and cast upon that Part of the World; for they have several Customs not unlike theirs; they make their Cabbins in the form of Tents, like as the Jews did; they anoint themselves with Oil, and are superstitiously addicted to Divination from Dreams. They bewail over the Dead with great lamentation. The Women go into mourning for their near Relations a whole Year, during which time they abstain from dancing and feasting, and wear a sort of a Hood upon their Heads, and commonly the Father or Brother of the Deceas'd take care of the Widow.

Besides it seems as if God had laid a particular Malediction upon 'em, as he did upon the Jews: They are brutish, and perfit unalterably in their Opinions; they have no certain fix'd Place of Abode; they are very lascovious, and have such gros Conceptions, [59] that when we tell 'em Souls are immortal and immaterial, they ask what they eat in the other World. Moreover we may observe some Conformity between Mo's Relation of the Creation of the World, and the Belief of these Savages about it, as I observed above. But to speak frankly, these Barbarians seem to have no kind of Idea of the Deity, and yet they believe another Life in which
they hope to enjoy the same Delights, that they are pleased with here. They live without any subordination, without Laws or any form of Government or Policy. They are stupid in matters of Religion, subtle and crafty in their Worldly concerns; but excessively superstitious.
CHAP. XII.

What Method is most proper to convert the Savages; what Manner of Persons they are that ought not to be baptized.

Our ancient Missionary Recollets of Canada, and those that succeeded them in that work, have always given it for their opinion, as I now own 'tis mine, that the way to succeed in converting the Barbarians, is to endeavour to make them men before we go about to make them Christians. Now in order to civilize them, 'tis necessary that the Europeans should mix with them, and that they should dwell together, which can never be done for certain till the Colonies are augmented: but it must be acknowledged, that the Company of Canada Merchants, have made great Obstacles to the encreasing of the Colonies; for out of greediness to keep all the Trade in their own hands, these Gentlemen would never permit any particular Society to settle themselves in the Country, nor suffer the Missionaries to persuade the Barbarians to dwell constantly in a place. Yet before this be done, there's no way to convert these Unbelievers. Thus the covetousness of those who are for getting a great deal in a short time, has mightily retarded the establishment of the Gospel among the Savages.

Hence 'tis manifest, that the office of a Missionary is very
troublesome and laborious, amongst these numerous Nations, and it must be granted that 'tis necessary to spend many Years, and undergo a great deal of pains to civilize People to extremely stupid and barbarous.

[61] And therefore, one would not venture without much caution, to administer the Sacraments to adult Persons, who pretend themselves Converts; for we see that after so many Years of Mission, there has been but little progress made, though no pains have been wanting on the Missionary's hands.

So that Christianity is not like to gain much ground among the Savages, till the Colonies are strengthened by a great Number of Inhabitants, Artisans and Workmen, and then the Treaty betwixt the Barbarians and us should be freer, and extended to all Europeans: But chiefly it should be endeavour'd to fix the Barbarians to a certain dwelling Place, and introduce our Customs and Laws amongst them, further'd by the Assistance of zealous People in Europe. Colleges might be founded to breed up the young Savages in the Christian Faith, which might in time contribute very much to the Conversion of their Country-men. This is a very proper Method without doubt, to strengthen the Temporal and Spiritual Interests of the Colonies; but the generality of Mankind are bent upon Gain and Traffic, and are little concern'd to procure God's Blessing upon them, and endeavour the advancement of his Glory.

God is often pleas'd to prove his Children, and amongst 'em those that employ themselves in saving Souls, by those means that most afflict them, but Dangers, Labours, Suffer-
ings, and even Death itself would be welcome to them, provided in sacrificing themselves for the Salvation of their Brethren, God would afford them the Consolation to see their Undertakings Crown'd with success to his Glory, and the Conversion of Infidels.

[62] It is impossible for us to look upon so great a Number of People as this relation mentions, and consider the little progress Religion has made among the Savages of these vast Countries, but we must needs admire the inflexible Decrees of God, and cry out with the Apostle, *O the Depth of the Riches of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God!* a great Number of learned secular Priests, and zealous Religious men of our Order, have carried the Light of the Gospel into all Parts of the Earth, and labour'd hard in the Lord's Vineyard. But God would have us know, that the Conversion of Souls is the Work of his Grace, the blessed Moments of which are not yet come.

I cannot help saying with Grief, that there is a great deal of difference between the modern Missions into America, and those which our Recollets began in the New World, and continued in the Southern Parts of America; there they daily converted Millions of Souls; but in Canada we find the Ground barren and unfruitful, nothing but blindness and insensibility, a prodigious Distance from God, and even an entire opposition to the Mystery of our Faith. Whole Ages are requir'd to prepare these Barbarians for the Gospel, before we can expect to see it flourish there: And to add to our affliction God has permitted that the Country should
be in the hands of a Company of Merchants, who think of nothing but their private Interest, and are unconcern'd for the Propagation of the Faith.

Our Ancient Missionary's Recolleetts did not grant the Sacrament of Baptism to the Savages but with great Caution, for fear the Sacred Mystery should be profaned by the Barbarians; and in our Days we see these Nations not at all dispos'd to Christianity: They [63] seem to have no Sense at all of Religion in general to be incapable of the most common reasonings, that lead other Men to the knowledge of a Deity true or false.

These miserable dark Creatures listen to all we say concerning our Mysteries, just as if 'twere a Song; they are naturally very vicious, and addicted to some Superstitions that signify nothing; their Customs are savage, brutal and barbarous; they will suffer themselves to be baptized ten times a Day for a Glass of Brandy, or a Pipe of Tobacco, and offer their Children to be baptiz'd, but all without any Religious Motive. Those that one takes the pains to instruct, for a Winter together, as I myself taught some of them while I dwelt at Fort Frontenac, give no better signs of Edification, than others in our Articles of Faith: So wrapt up are they in Infonability, to what concerns Religion, which occasion'd terrible Checks of Conscience in our Religious, in the beginning of their Mission among the People of Canada; they saw that the few Persons of years of Discretion that they had instructed, and afterwards admitted to Baptism, soon fell again into their ordinary indifference for Salvation,
and that the Children follow'd the unhappy Example of their Parents, insomuch that 'twas no better than a plain profanation of Baptism to administer it to them.

The Cafes was search'd into to the bottom, and argued upon with much application; nay, 'twas carried into the Sorbonne¹; at length, after all possible diligent Scrutiny into the matter it was concluded, that as for Persons of years, and Children near the Point of Death, and who in all humane Probability would certainly soon give up the Ghost; they might venture to baptize them if they demanded it, because it [64] might be justly presum'd, that in that extremity God inspir'd the adult Persons with his Grace, as 'twas thought it had been obvious in some of them; but they declar'd, that as for the other Savages, they ought not to be baptiz'd, until after long observation and experience, they were perceive'd to be well inclined and instructed, having a right apprehension of our Mysteries, and had quitted their barbarous Customs, they declar'd further that they might administer Baptism to those who dwelt constantly among the Christians, were brought up in the same way of living, were civiliz'd, and above all were well instructed, and that they should baptize their Children; and they compos'd a Form, and likewise a kind of fundamental Canon, for a Rule to these Missionaries, to which they were absolutely to conform themselves in the Functions of their Employ.

¹ Cf. the condemnation by the Sorbonne of Flèché's too hasty baptisms in Acadia (1650); see Jes. Relations, i, 311. The Sorbonne was a celebrated school of theology, founded at Paris in 1253 by Robert Sorbon. It ceased to exist in 1790; and in 1808 its buildings were given to the University of France.—Ed.
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[65] CHAP. XIII.

The Barbarians of North-America don't acknowledge any God. Of the pretended Souls of terrestrial Animals.

Our antient Missionaries Recolletts were acquainted with several different Nations within the compass of 600 Leagues in North-America; and I have been among many more, because I went farther than any of them, having made a Voyage all along the River of St. Lawrence, and Mezhep. I observed, as my Predecessors, that the Savages don't want good Sense in what concerns the general and particular Interest of their Nation. They pursue their Point, and take right Methods to come to the end of their designs: but 'tis what I am astonished at, that whilst they are so clear sighted in their common Affairs, they should have such extravagant notions of the concerns of Religion, the Manners, Laws, and Maxims of Life.

We must all of us own, that almost all the Savages in general have no Belief of a Deity, and that they are incapable of the common and ordinary Arguments and Reasonings that the rest of Mankind are led by upon this Subject; so dark and stupid are their Understandings. At the same time we may acknowledge, that now and then in some of them we discover some glimmerings of a confus'd Notion of God.
Some will confess, but very cloudy, that the Sun is God: Others say, 'tis a Genius that rules in the Air: Some again look upon the Heavens as a kind of Divinity. But these only make a shew of believing something [66] that we can hardly guess at: we can't fix them to any settled Principle. The Nations Southward seem to believe an Universal Spirit that governs all: they imagine after a fashion, that there's a Spirit in every thing, even in those that are inanimate; and they address themselves to it sometimes, and beg something of it; as we took notice of one Barbarian, who made a kind of Sacrifice upon an Oak, at the Cascade of St. Antony of Padua, upon the River Mechina.¹

All these Nations don't profess their Belief of a Deity out of any respect to Religion: They talk of it ordinarily, as a thing they were prepossessed with; or frolickishly, not regarding any thing they say themselves, any otherwise than as a kind of Fable. They have no outward Ceremony to signify that they worship any Deity: There's no Sacrifice, Priest, Temple, nor any other Token of Religion amongst them.

Their Dreams are to them instead of Prophecy, Inspiration, Laws, Commandments, and Rules, in all their Enterprizes, in War, Peace, Commerce, and Hunting: They regard them as Oracles. The Opinion they have of their Dreams draws them into a kind of necessity to be ruled by them; for they think 'tis an Universal Spirit, that inspires them by Dreams, and adviseth them what to do: And they carry this so far,

¹See p. 270, ante.—Ed.
that if their Dream orders them to kill a Person, or commit any other wicked Act, they presently execute it, and make satisfaction for it afterwards, as we shall shew anon. The Parents dream for their Children, the Captains for their Village. There are some among them, that take upon them to interpret Dreams, and explain them after their own fancy or inclination; and if their Interpretations don’t prove true, they are not looke upon as Cheats here the more for that.

[67] Some have taken notice, that when they meet with any Cascade or Fall of Waters, which is difficult to crofs, and apprehend any danger, they throw a Beaver’s Skin, Tobacco, Porcelain, or some such matter into it by way of Sacrifice, to gain the Favour of the Spirit that presides there.

There’s no Nation but what have their Jugglers, which some count Sorcerers: but ’tis not likely that they are under any Covenant, or hold communication with the Devil. At the same time, one may venture to say, that the evil Spirit has a hand in the Tricks of these Jugglers, and makes use of them to amuse these poor People, and render them more incapable of receiving the Knowledge of the true God. They are very fond of these Jugglers, tho they cozen them perpetually.

These Impostors would be counted Prophets, who foretell things to come: they would be look’d upon as having almost an infinite Power: they boast that they make Rain or fair Weather, Calms and Storms, Fruitfulness or Barrenness of the Ground, Hunting lucky or unlucky. They serve for
Physicians too, and frequently apply such Remedies, as have no manner of virtue to cure the Distemper.

Nothing can be imagin’d more horrible than the Cries and Yellings, and the strange Contorsions of these Rascals, when they fall to juggling or conjuring; at the same time they do it very cleverly. They never cure any one, nor predict any thing that falls out, but purely by chance: mean time they have a thousand Fetches to bubble [i.e., cheat] the poor people, when the accident does not answer their Predictions and Remedies; for, as I said, they are both Prophets and Quacks. They do nothing without Presents or Reward. 'Tis true, if these Impostors are not very dexterous at recommending themselves, and bringing themselves off, when any person dies under their [68] hands, or Enterprises do not succeed as they promised, they are sometimes murdered upon the place, without any more Formality.

These blind Wretches are wedded to many other Superstitions, which the Devil makes use of to delude them: They believe that several kinds of Animals have a reasonable Soul: They have an unaccountable Veneration for certain Bones of Elks, Bevers, and other Beasts; they never throw these to their Dogs, which are the only Domestick Animals they keep, because they serve for Hunting: So they preserve these precious Bones, and are very unwilling to cast them into the River. They pretend, that the Souls of these Animals come back into the World to see how they treat their Bodies, and give notice accordingly to the rest of the Beasts both dead
and living; and that if they should find they are ill us’d, the Beasts of that kind would never let themselves be taken, neither in this World nor the next.

One may say, that the Corruption of Sin has spread a strange Darkness in the Souls of these unhappy people, and a perfect Insensibility to all Religion; insomuch that they are not to be match’d in any History. 'Tis true, they are obstinately superstitious in some things; and yet at the same time, they are not mov’d by any principle of Religion. 'Tis nothing but strong Prejudice and Imagination. When we dispute with them, and put them to a nonplus, they hold their tongues; their Minds are stupid, their Faculties are befuddled. If we propose our Mysteries to them, they heed them as indifferently as their own nonsensical Whimseys. I have met with some of them, who seem to acknowledge that there is one first Principle that made all things; but this makes but a slight Impressdon upon their Mind, which returns again to its ordinary Deadness, and former Insensibility.
[69]  C H A P.  XIV.

Of the great difficulties in converting the Savages.  Of the Prayers they get by rote; and of Martyrdom.

THE great Insensibleness of these Barbarians is caused principally by their Carelessness and neglect to be thoroughly instructed. They come to us, and attend to what we say, purely out of Idleness, and natural Curiosity to converse with us, as we with them; or rather they are tempted to follow us, by the Kindness and Flatteries we express towards them, or because of the Benefit their Sick receive from us, or out of hope to gain by trafficking with us; or lastly, because we are Europeans, and they think us fouter than themselves, and hope we will defend them from their Enemies.

We teach them Prayers; but they repeat them like Songs, without any distinction by Faith. Those we have catechized a long time, are very wavering, except some few: They renounce all, return into their Woods, and take up their old Superstitions upon the least Crotchet that comes into their Heads.

I don’t know whether their Predecessors had any Knowledge of a God; but ’tis certain their Language, which is very natural and expressive in every thing else, is so barren on this
Subject, that we can't find any expression in it to signify the Deity, or any one of our Mysteries, not even the most common: this gives us great perplexity when we would convert them.

Another great Obstacle to their Conversion is this: Most of them have several Wives; and in the Northern parts they change them as often as they please: [70] They can't conceive how people can tie themselves indissolubly to one person in Marriage. See how silly you are, cry they, when we argue with them about it. My Wife is uneasy to me, I am so to her; she'll agree very well with such a one, who is at odds with his Wife: now why should we four lead a miserable Life all our days?

Another hindrance lies in a Custom of theirs, not to contradict any Man; they think every one ought to be left to his own Opinion, without being thwarted: they believe, or make as if they believed all you say to them; but 'tis their Infensibility, and Indifference for every thing, especially Matters of Religion, which they never trouble themselves about.

America is no place to go to out of a desire to suffer Martyrdom, taking the Word in a Theological Sense: The Savages never put any Christian to death upon the score of his Religion; they leave every body at liberty in Belief: They like the outward Ceremonies of our Church, but no more. These Barbarians never make War, but for the Interest of their Nation; they don't kill people, but in par-
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ticular Quarrels, or when they are brutish, or drunk, or in revenge, or infatuated with a Dream, or some extravagant Vision: they are incapable of taking away any Person's Life out of hatred to his Religion.

They are brutish in all their Inclinations; they are naturally Gluttons, and know no other Happines in this Life, but the pleasure of eating and drinking: This is remarkable in their very Eyes, and their Diversions, which are always begun and ended with feasting.

The Passion of Revenge which they are possessed with, is another great Obstacle to Christianity: They are very tender and affectionate to their own Nation, but cruel and revengeful beyond imagination towards their Enemies: They are naturally Inconstant, [71] Revilers, Scoffers, and lascivious. In short, among all the Vices they are addicted to, we can perceive no Principle of Religion or Morality; and to be sure this must needs render their Conversion extremely difficult.

To perfwade them to any thing, and dispose them to the Faith, 'tis requisite to make them familiar with us, and contract a good acquaintance with them; but this is not to be done prentely, because first of all the Colonies ought to be multiplied, and planted every where. When they have pass'd away a few Weeks with the Europeans, they are oblig'd to go to War, Hunting, or Fishing, for their Subsistence, and this depraves 'em extremely. They should be fix'd, inticed to clear the Ground, and cultivate it, and work at several Trades, as the Europeans do; and then we should see 'em
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reform their barbarous Customs, and become more civiliz'd,
as well towards one another as us.

In another place we shall treat of the other Southern
Nations, who seem better dispos'd to receive the Gospel
than those of the North.
CHAP. XV.

The manner of Feasting among the Savages.

THEY have Feasts at parting from one another, Feasts of Thanks, War, Peace, Death, Marriage, and Health. They continue revelling night and day, particularly when they hold those Feasts, which they term, Eat up all: For then they don't permit any one to quit the Company till all be eaten up. And if a Person is not able to stuff any longer, he is oblig'd to hire another into his place.

[72] They have other Feasts for the recovery of the Sick, and some ordinary common Feasts. Formerly they kept wanton Festivals, where the Men and Women mingled together promiscuously, and plaid most abominable lewd Pranks. But if they make such Entertainments now a-days, 'tis very rarely, and when they are at a great distance from the Europeans.

When they undertake a War, 'tis commonly to recover satisfaction for some Injury, that they pretend has been done to them: Sometimes they engage in it, upon account of a Dream, and often as a Fancy takes 'em: Sometimes they enter into it, because other People jeer them: You're a Coward, say they; You never were in a Battle; You have kill'd no Body yet. Then are they rouz'd by Honour, and
after they have kill’d some Fallow Deer, make a Feast, and exhort their Neighbours to accompany them in their Enterprise.

When they have a mind to go singly, and alone, they make no Feasts, but only order their Wives to get them some Meal of Indian Corn, because they are going to War. But if they would have Companions, they go through all the Villages to invite the young Men, who take their Platters of Wood, or Bark of Birch: Then they rendezvous at the Cabin of him who invited them, which they commonly enter, singing Warlike Songs. I am going to War, I will revenge the Death of such a Kinsman, I will slay, I will burn, I will bring away Slaves, I will eat Men, and such like Expressions that breathe nothing but Cruelty.

When all the Crew are assembled, they fill the Kettles of those that have any, or else their Porringers of Wood or Bark: then they sit down to eat; and during the Entertainment, he that invited them to the Feast, sings without intermission, and exhorts them to follow him.

All this while they speak not one word, and eat up [73] all they have given them in profound Silence, except one or other of ’em between whiles applauds him that made the Feast of War, by answering Natbo, or Jguenske. When the Orator has done, he says to ’em all, ’Tis well; I’ll march to morrow, or within two or three days, according as he hath projected. The next day those who are willing to accompany him to the War, go to him, and assure him that they will follow him any where to revenge him upon his Enemies.
'Tis very well, Nephews, says he, we'll be going three days hence. And the Savages make twelve or fifteen Feasts of this kind before they set out.

These Barbarians had us'd to make very lascivious Feasts. The Leader of the Party ordered a young Woman to prostitute her self to such or such a one as he pointed at. If she refus'd to gratify them, they attributed all their Miscarriages in their Enterprizes to her; so cunning is the Devil in cherishing their impure Imaginations.

When they marry their Children, they seldom make a Feast. But if they do think fit to make any, they observe certain Ceremonies in it: the first thing they do, is to prepare Victuals. To this end they fill with Meat those Kettles which they have truck'd for with the Europeans, or great Earthen Pots which the Women make. They provide as many of them as they design to have Guests: when the Meat, or Sagamite is dress'd, they go to invite their Guests, and this they do by putting a little stick into their hand, and saying, I invite thee to my Feast. No sooner said, but 'tis done, they need not be ask'd twice. They all come with their usual Utensils. The Master of the Cabin distributes to each an equal Mess, and he that provides the Feast, or some other in his place, sings without ceasing till they have eaten all up: after the Banquet they sing and dance, and at last without any Formality of [74] returning Thanks to the Donor, they go back every one to their Cabin without speaking a word. None but those who have convers'd with the Europeans, return Thanks to those that invited them.
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The Feasts made to recover the Sick are much after the same manner: But they do more good to the Guests than to the sick weak Perfons. The Feasts for the Dead are more doleful and sad. No Body sings or dances then. The Kindred of the Dead are in a deep mournful Silence. They look mightily troubl'd, to move their Guests to Compassion: all that go to these Feasts, carry Presents with 'em; and laying them at the feet of the near Kindred to the Deceas'd, say, here's something to cover him, towards building a Cabin, or making a Palisade round his Sepulchre, according to the nature of their Presents: then they feed plentifully, and return home without speaking a word.

As for the ordinary Feasts, they order 'em several ways according to their Fancy: if they have any Knives bought of the Europeans, and have eaten and cut fat Meat with them, they ordinarily wipe their Knives with their Hair. They commonly eat sitting upon the ground, and have nothing to wipe upon. So they are forc'd to wipe their greasy Knives in their Hair, and then rub their Faces all over with it. These frequent Unions without doubt harden them, and make 'um capable of undergoing much Toil.
CHAP. XVI.

The manner of Adopting the Europeans among the Savages.

TOKK notice in my former Volume that a Barbarian Captain of the Iffais, or Nadoueffans, named Aquipagueuin, adopted me in the place of his Son, who was 75 kill'd in Battle by the Miamis, and that this help'd me to gain Credit among these People, and inflinate my self into 'em, the better to dispose 'em to believe the Gospel. This is what the Missionaries should aim at, when they are among the Savages; they should endeavour to inflinate themselves into the Favour of him who is most famous of all the Leaders among 'em, and most inclin'd to the Europeans. Then this Captain brings them forth, for that's the term the Savages use to signify their Adoption; and this is done in a Feast. The Captain, I say, adopts a Missionary for his Son, or for his Brother, according to his Age and Quality; after which all the Nation look upon him as if he were actually born in their Country, and a-kin to their Captain: by means of this Ceremony he gets admittance into the Family, in the quality of a Son, a Brother, Uncle, Nephew, or Cousin, with respect to those of the Family, and according to the rank they hold in it by their Birth.

And to carry on their Designs the better, the Missionaries
cause a Council to be assembled, to set themselves off the
more to the Barbarians. And here let it be observ'd, that
all Assemblies, held by order of their Captains, are call'd
Councils. Those that come to these Assemblies, sit upon the
Ground in a Cabin, or in open Field; they keep silence whilst
their Leader makes his Harangue, and religiously observe
whatever they once firmly conclude upon.

The Missionaries deliver themselves, in these Assemblies,
either by word of Mouth, if they understand the Language
of the People, or else by Interpreters. They tell 'em that
they come among them to make an Alliance and Friendship
with them, and at the same time to invite them to traffick
with their Nation; in conclusion, they desire the Savages to
permit them to dwell in their Country, to instruct them in
God's Law, which is the only way to Heaven.

[76] The Savages often accept the Offers of the Mission-
aries, and assure them they are well satisfied with their
Persons: but to win the Barbarians, 'tis requisite that the
Missionaries give them Hatchets, Knives, or other European
Merchandizes, which the Savages, especially those who never
yet had any Commerce with the Europeans, set a high value
upon. We never treat of any Affair with them without pre-
senting them with something of that nature, which they value
more than we in Europe do Gold. After this the Barbarians
bring forth, that is to say, adopt those that have made Presents
to them. They publicly declare them Citizens, or Children
of their Country; and according to their Age, as I said be-
fore, the Savages call the adopted Persons, Sons, Brothers,
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Cousins, according to the degrees of Relation: And they cherish them whom they have once adopted, as much as if they were their own natural Brothers or Children.

I forgot to take notice in my former Volume, that the great Captain of the Iffati, named Ouafcoude, or pierced Pine-tree, call'd me his Brother. There are no examples among the other Nations of adopting any one for a Brother to a Captain so absolute as he. He had been several times at war with seventeen or eighteen Nations, Enemies to his, and brought away their Heads, or made them Prisoners.

Those that are Valiant and Courageous are very much esteem'd by the Savages. They ordinarily use no other Arms than Bows, Arrows, and Maces [i.e., war-clubs]; but they use them very dexterously. They are clear-limb'd, active, and robust: I never saw any blind, crooked, or deform'd Person among them.
MARRIAGE is not a Civil Contract among these People; the Man and Woman don’t intend to bind themselves together for as long as they live, they live together no longer than they agree together, and love one another. As soon as they are discontented with each other, they say, as I have before observed, My Wife is uneasy to me, and I to her, she’ll agree well enough with such a one who is weary of his Wife; there’s no reason why we four should live unquietly all our days: So without more ado, without any Clamor or Noise, they separate, and remain perfectly indifferent for each other.

These Barbarians sometimes marry their Daughters at nine or ten Years old, not that the young Couple come together so soon, their Age is too green for that, but they expect to make some Advantage of their Sons-in-law; for when they return from hunting, the Girl’s Father has the disposal of the Skins, and the Flesh they have taken: but at the same time the Girl is obliged to bring the Sagamite, or Milk thicken’d with Indian Corn, and the Meat provided for her Husband’s eating, tho’ she do not yet cohabit with him: sometimes ’tis five or six Years before they consummate.

When they marry, they make Feasts with great pomp
and rejoicing; all the Village is invited by turns: every one makes good Cheer. After the Banquet they sing and dance, as the Europeans upon that occasion, but after their own way.

[78] They often marry clandestinely, and there goes but one word to the Bargain. A Savage unmarried Man goes to a Maid, or unmarried Woman; without more Courtship, he tells her, if she will go with him, she shall be his Wife: She makes no Reply at first, but pauses a little while, holding her Head betwixt both her Hands while she is considering what to do; the Man holds his Head in the same posture, and stands silent. After she has thought a little of the matter, she says Netbo, or Niaoua, which signifies, I am content: The Man lifts up his Head presently, and replies, Oné, that is to say, 'tis a Match. At Night the Woman or Maid takes an Iron Hatchet, or if her Nation have no Commerce with the Europeans, she takes one made of Stone that will cut; she goes and cuts as much good Wood as she can carry, brings it to the door of the Savage's Cabin, and lays it down; she goes in and sits down by the Man, who does not offer to cares her: when they have fat together long enough without speaking, the Husband tells her in the Iroquois Tongue, Sentaoua, 'tis time to lie down, repose your self: sometime after he comes and lays himself down by her.

'Tis very rarely seen that any of 'em make Love after the European manner, courting, dallying, and jefting fondly and merrily; they re-enter into a reciprocal Kindness with as much ease as they broke it off before: They part very quietly, for they make no more words on't than, I quit thee; that's all:
they are perfectly indifferent to each other after when they meet, and take no more notice than if they had never seen one another. 'Tis true, they sometimes fight before they part, but that happens very rarely.

Among the Northern Savages, and particularly the *Iroquois,* some have two Wives, but not for any long time: when they part, sometimes the Woman carries away all the Clothes and Skins; but at other [79] times again she carries nothing away but the piece of Stuff that serves her for a little Petticoat, and her Blanket. Commonly the Children follow their Mothers, who continue to nurse and bring them up, because the Estate of every Tribe or Family lies in common: there are some that stay with their Fathers; but almost all the Savages that are divorced leave their Children to their Wives, saying, they don't believe they are theirs; wherein they frequently tell truth, for there are very few Women among them that withstand the temptation of a woollen Blanket, or any other trivial Present.

When their Children are begotten by an European, one may perceive it by their Face or Eyes; the Children of the Savages are perfectly black, and not pale or swarthy like the Europeans; they see farther into the Woods likewise, and with more quickness than ours: Their Eyes are more piercing than the Europeans.

If the Savage Women were capable of contracting Marriage, and keep steadfast in it, we might marry as many of them as we would to the Europeans; but they have no inclination to Constancy, they can't keep their Conjugal Vows.
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inviolated, and are very ready to leave their Husbands: this we know by Experience, and their common discourse upon this Subject confirms us in it. When a Barbarian who has no Wife passeth through a Village, he hires a Woman for a Night or two, whilst he tarries from home, or is hunting Bevers, or for some Weeks, according to his fancy; the Parents never hinder it: on the contrary, they make the first advances, and are over-joy'd that their Daughters gain some Clothes or Skins.

There are all sorts of Humours reigning among the Savages, as among the Europeans: some love their Wives very tenderly, others flit 'em; some beat and use them very hardly, but that does not last [80] long, because they turn them off; nay, there are some of them that are jealous, as I saw one who beat his Wife because she dance'd with other Men. Those that are good Hunters have the choice of the finest Women, the rest have none but the homeliest, and the Refuse. When they grow old, they rarely part with their Wives; and if they do, 'tis for weighty Reasons. Some of them live twelve or fifteen Years with their Wives, who are ready to go distracted if their Husband is a good Hunter, and leaves them: sometimes they are so grieved at it, that they poison themselves; I have known some attempt it, and have saved their Lives by giving them Treacle.

When these Barbarians go to hunt the Bever in the Spring-time, they frequently leave their Wives in the Village to sow Indian Corn and Gourds, and then they hire another to go along with them: When they are about to return, they
give them a Beever or two, and send 'em back to their Cabin; then they go home to their Wives as tho they had done nothing blameable: but if the last pleases them best, they take her, and turn away the first without more ado: and these Savages wonder the Europeans don't take the same course.

One day whilst I liv'd at Fort Frontenac amongst the Iroquois, the Husband of one of our Women of Canada was gone twenty or thirty Leagues from thence; the Women Savages came to her, and told her she had no sense, take another Man till your Husband returns. This great Inconstancy, and continual change of Women, are two things very opposite to the Maxims of the Gospel, which we endeavour to infil into the Savages: 'Tis one of the most considerable Obstacles to the Faith; but among the Southern Nations, and those of Meschohpi, Polygamy is in fashion. In all the Countries of the Louiiana there are Savages to be met with that have often ten or [81] twelve Wives; they frequently marry three Sifters, and give this reason for so doing, that they agree better together than with Strangers.

When a Man has given Presents to the Father and Mother of the Maid that he would espouse, she becomes his own for Life if he please. Sometimes the Parents take their Son-in-law's Children, and then they give 'em back the Presents they made 'em, but this happens very seldom. If any Woman defile her Marriage-bed, the Husband cuts off her Nose, or an Ear, or gives her a slash in the Face with a Stone Knife; if he kill her, he is clear'd for a Present which he gives to her Parents to wipe away their Tears, 'tis the very
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Expression they use: I have seen several markt in the Face.

The Men of the hot Country are more jealous of their Wives than those of the North; the first are so jealous in this matter, that they wound themselves, and sometimes kill themselves in a blind passion of Love, which prompts them to this Fury.

One thing is very remarkable, and that is, young Warlike Savages seldom have to do with Women till thirty Years of Age, because, say they, their Commerce with Women exhausts their Strength, weakens their Knees, and renders them heavy in the Course; those that marry before that Age, are look'd upon as Men unfit for War or Hunting, and are despised as Effeminate Persons.

The Southern Men commonly go naked, but their Women are partly covered with a Skin finely dress'd, especially in their Dances and Ceremonies: The Maids oil their Hair, curl it, and tie it in Locks: The Women wear their Hair like the Bohemians, they grease it too, and paint their Faces with all sorts of Colours, and so do the Men.
[82] CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Remedies which the Savages administer to the Sick; they have Mountebanks among them. Their opinion of Infant-Baptism when the Author liv’d there.

WHEN the Savages are tired and weary, they go into a Stove\(^1\) to recruit the strength of their Limbs; and if they have a pain in their Thighs or Legs, they take a Knife or a Stone that will cut, which they can get, and make a fort of Scarification upon the Part that is grieved; while the Blood runs, they scrape it off with their Knives or Stones till it has done running, and then they rub the Wounds with Bear’s Oil, or Deer’s Grease; this is a sovereign Remedy, and they use the same when they have a Pain in the Head or Arms.

To cure Tertian or Quartan Agues, they compose a Medicine with a certain Bark which they boil, and give it to the sick Person to swallow after his Fit. They have some knowledg in Herbs and Roots, with which they cure several Distempers: They have infallible Remedies against the Poison

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\(^1\) That is, a sweat-box; within a little tent or hut were placed stones heated red-hot, on which water was poured, the hut being thereby filled with steam. This process was regarded as a valuable therapeutic agency, and was also employed in superstitious rites.— Ed.
of Toads, Rattlesnakes, and other dangerous Animals; but none against the Small-Pox, as we have.

There are Mountebanks or Quacks among them, whom we have already spoke of under the name of Jugglers: Thse are some old Savages who live at other Peoples Cost, by counterfeiting themselves Physicims, after a very superstitious manner. They make no use of Medicines but when they are call'd to a sicck Perfon; they make themselves be sued to, as tho they were to do some thing very extraordinary [83] and difficult: at last, after much intreaty, the Juggler comes, he approaches the sicck Perfon, feels his Body all over; and after he has well handled and consider'd it, he tells 'em, there's a Charm or Spell in such a part, in the Head, Leg, or Stomach, or where he thinks fit; he adds, that he must remove this fame Charm, and that it can't be done but with a great deal of difficulty, and 'tis necessary to do a great many things before he can succeed in it.

This Charm is very malignant, says he, but it must be fetch'd out cost what it will: The sicck Perfon's Friends, who blindly believe all the Quack tells 'em, make answer, Ichagon, Ichagon, Courage, Courage, Do what you can, spare nothing that you know will do him good: Then the Juggler sets himself down very gravely, and considers some time what Remedies to make use of; by and by he rises up, as out of a profound Sleep, and cries, It shall be done. You such a one, the Life of your Wife, or your Child is very dear to you, then spare nothing that may save it; you must make a Feast to day, you must give one thing or other, you must do this or that: at the
fame time they never fail to execute the Juggler's Orders. The other Savages go all together into a Stove, and sing as loud as they can baul, and make a ratling with Tortoise Shells, or Pumpkins made hollow, and Indian Corn put into 'em; and to this Noise the Men and Women dance: nay, sometimes they get drunk with Brandy bought of the Europeans, and then they make a horrible din and clutter.

While they are all taken up in this manner, the old Juggler keeps close to the sick Person, whom he torments by holding his or her Feet and Legs, and gripes them hard in the part where the pretended Charm lies; he makes 'em suffer incredible Pain, enough to kill 'em, and often makes the Blood start out at the end of their Fingers or Toes; at length [84] after he has done all this, he shews a piece of Skin, a lock of Woman's Hair, or some such thing, and tells 'em 'tis the Charm which he has drawn out of the sick Person's Body, when at the bottom 'tis all a piece of Roguery.

Once I baptiz'd a little Child which seem'd to me to be at the point of Death, and next day it recovered contrary to my expectation; a while after the Mother told several Women in my presence, that I had cur'd her Child: She took me for a Juggler, saying, I was an admirable Fellow, that I knew how to cure all sorts of Diseases with sprinkling Water upon the Head and Face.

The Jugglers spited at the Woman's Character of me, began to tell 'em that I was of an austerer melancholy Humour, that I fed upon Serpents and Poison, that such Folks
as I eat Thunderbolts. The Savages were astonish'd at the strange Stories these Rascals made upon me on the occasion of baptizing the Child; nay, these impostors added, that we had all Tails like Beasts, that the European Women have but one Pap in the middle of the Breast, and bear five or six Children at a time, and a great deal more of such stuff to make us odious; and this they did because they thought that what I did would lessen their Credit, and thereby they should be depriv'd of many a good Treat.

These poor honest People, who are easily put upon, began to suspect me: when one of them fell sick, they came and ask'd me whether I had poison'd him or no? and threaten'd to kill me if I did not cure him. I had much ado to undeceive them, and I was forc'd more than once to appease them, by giving them Knives, Needles, Awls, and other such like Trifles of little value with us, but much priz'd by the Savages. After which I gave a Dose of Treacle to the sick Man, and so I quieted them. The Savages often [85] have recourse to our Medicines, because they find them good; if they don't operate successfully, they lay the fault upon the Remedy, and never upon the ill Disposition of the sick Person.
CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Constitution or Temper of the Savages.

Generally speaking, the Savages are very robust; the Men, Women and Children are of an extraordinary vigorous Constitution, therefore they are very rarely troubled with Distempers. They don't know what it is to cocker and make much of themselves; thence it comes that they are not subject to any of those Indispositions that our Luxury brings upon us. They are not afflicted with Gout, Dropsey, or Gravel, nor are they feverish; they are hardly ever incommoded with those Diseases which the Europeans fall into for want of Exercise; they are seldom troubled with lofs of Appetite; they are usually addicted to gormandizing, inform much that they rise in the Night to eat; if by good luck they have Meat or Sagamite by them, they fall to it like Dogs without getting up.

And yet they can undergo such long Abstinences as would doubtless be intolerable to the Europeans; sometimes they fast two or three days together, when there's a neceffity for it, and this without discontinuing their businesfs, whether it be War, Hunting, or Fishing. The Children of the Savages that dwell towards the North, are so harden'd against Cold, that in the depth of Winter they run stark naked through the
Snow, and tumble about in it, as Hogs wallow in the Dirt in Summer-time. When the Air [86] is fill’d with Maringouins, [i.e., mosquitoes] they don’t feel their stinging.

'Tis true, the sharp Air they expose themselves to as soon as they can run about, contributes in some sort to harden their Skin for any Fatigue; but yet it must be confessed that this great Insensibility is owing to a strong robust Temper of Body: for tho our Hands and Face are always expos’d to the Weather, yet they are never the less sensible of Cold. When the Men are a hunting, especially in the Spring-time, they are almost continually in the Water, notwithstanding it be very cold; and yet they come out of it fresh and gay, and return to their Cabins without complaining.

When they go to War, they sometimes post themselves behind a Tree three or four days together, eating a very inconsiderable quantity of Victuals all that while; and thus they lie hid in ambush, waiting to make a favourable Blow. They are indefatigable Hunters, they run very swift, and hold it a long time.

The Nations of Louiſiana, and of the River Mejicabpi, run much faster than the Iroquois; there are no wild Bulls or Cows which they can’t overtake. The Savages of the South, tho inhabiting a warmer Country, and more pleasant than the North, are no less robust, nor less accustomed to Fatigue than the Savages of the North, who sleep upon the Snow wrapt in a little Blanket, without Fire or Cabin.

The Constitution of the Women is no less vigorous than that of the Men Savages, nay they are rather more robust;
the Women serve for Porters, and are so strong, that few Men in Europe can match them; they'll carry Packs that two or three can hardly lift up: I observ'd in my first Volume, that they usually carry two or three hundred Weight, and set their Children a top of their Burden, who are not [87] reckon'd into the Weight: 'tis true they walk slowely, but they never fail to meet at the rendezvous of the Nation. The warlike Savages undertake Voyages of three or four hundred Leagues, as if 'twere no more than a kind of Walk, as from Amsterdam to Breda: They don't carry their Provisyon along with them; they live by Hunting, which they follow daily; they take nothing but a Knife with them to make Bows and Arrows with; and in that Equipage they will go a thousand Leagues, if they are minded.

The Women Savages are brought to bed without any great Pain; some of them go out of their Cabins, and retire aside by themselves into the next Wood; they come back agen presently with the new born Infant wrap't up in their Blanket or dressef Skin: Others, if they fall in labour in the Night time, deliver themselves of their Children upon their Mats, without crying out, or making a noife; the next morning they rife, and go about their ordinary Busines within doors or without, as tho nothing had happened. 'Tis further remarkable, that whilst they are big with Child, they flir about, carry heavy Burdens, sow Indian Corn, and Gourds; and what is more strange than all this, their Children are very well shap'd, there are few of them crooked or
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deformed, they have no natural Faults in their Bodies; which makes me think, that their Mind might easily be fashioned as comely as their outward Form, if it were cultivated, and if we conversed more with them to polish their wild barbarous Humour.
[88] CHAP. XX.

A Description of the Savages that go clothed, and those that do not.

The Savages of North America on the North side, according to the report of their antient Men, have always gone cover'd, even before they had any Commerce with the Europeans: The Men and Women cloth'd themselves with drefs'd Skins; they are now cloth'd after the same manner, but those that have any Commerce with the Europeans have commonly a Shirt, a great Coat, such as the Mariners watch in at Sea, with a Cowl to it, and a Piece of Cloth made fast before and behind, with a Girdle which comes down to their Knees; besides they have Stockings without Feet, and Shoes made of drefs'd Skins.

When they return from Hunting in Spring time, they truck their Skins for Coats, Shoes, and Stockings: Some wear Hats out of complaisance to the Europeans: Some of them have Blankets in which they wrap themselves, holding two Corners of it in their Hands, when they are in their Cabins, they often go quite naked, having nothing but a Piece of Cloth, which they gird about them in Winter; 'tis fasten'd about their Loins, and hangs down between their Thighs as low as their Knees. When these Barbarians go to War, or to a Feast, they dawb their Faces all over with red
or black, that their Enemies may not perceive they turn pale with Fear; they likewise colour their Hair red, and cut it in several fashions, especially the Northern Savages: Those of the South cut all their Hair off, or rather they finge it off with Stones made red hot in the Fire, till it be so short, that it does not cover their Ears: [89] Often-times the People of the North let their Hair hang down in Curls on one side, and cut the other side close, according to their Fancy. There are some that rub their Hair with Oil, and afterwards clap some Down, or little Feathers upon their Heads: sometimes they fasten near their Ears great Plumes of Feathers; some make themselves Wreaths of Flowers, others make 'em of Birchen Bark, and some of dress'd Skins, that are work'd very prettily; then they look like some of Caesar's Soldiers, who were painted of divers colours: They make themselves taken notice of for their Fantasticalnefs.

The Northern Women are clothed like the Men, except that they wear a piece of Stuff made like a Petticoat, which reaches down almost to their Knees: When they go to Feasts, they dress themselves in all their best Attire, bedaub their Temples, their Cheeks, and the Tip of their Chin with three sorts of Colours. The Boys go stark naked, till they are capable of Marriage; and even when they are clothed, those Parts, which Nature forbids Men to discover, are always left uncover'd, at least if they have no Shirts. The Girls begin to put on Clothes at five or six years old; and then they wear a piece of Stuff, that goes round 'em, reaching from their Loins down to their Knees. When we went into their Cabins
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to instruct them, we obliged them to cover themselves: this produced a good effect; now they begin to be ashamed of their Nakedness, and cover themselves a little better than they did formerly.

'Tis otherwise with the Women and Girls of the Louisiana and Mejibapi, which lie Southwest of Canada above a thousand Leagues from Quebec; there we see the Girls in puris naturalibus, just as they came out of their Mothers' Belly, till they arrive at a fit Age to marry; mean time they are not at all ashamed, because us'd to it.

[90] The Men and Women, and especially the Girls, wear about their Necks Sea-shells of all Figures; they have likewise some Shells of about a Finger's length, made like little Pipes, which they wear at their Ears for Pendants; they have Girdles likewise, some made of Porcelain, others of Porcupine's Hair, some of Bears Hair, and others of both mixed together.

The more considerable Savages carry at their Backs with much Gravity, a little Bag, wherein is their Calumet or Pipe, their Tobacco, their Steel to strike fire, and other Trifles. They have Skill enough to make a little Cloke or Coat of Robe with drees'd Skins of Bears, Bevers, Otters, black Squirrels, Wolves, Lions, and other Animals: they put 'em on when they go to their Assemblies, where they sit as gravely when they are at Council, as the Senators of Venice. But the Savages of our last discovery betwixt the frozen Sea and new Mexico, appear always naked upon all occasions; from whence I took occasion to tell Father Gabriel one day, whilst we were
among the Illinois, that probably these Savages did not fin in Adam; because he cover'd himself with Leaves, and then had a Habit of Skins given him after he had finned: These Savages have really no manner of Shame to see themselves naked; nay they seem to glory in it. When they talk with one another, they often make use of those Terms, Tzetanga, which are obscene, and would make me write 'em down, when I was about composing a Dictionary, and they nam'd the Parts of the Body to me. Whatever I might say to Father Gabriel de la Ribourd, I am nevertheless persuaded by the Scripture, that all Mankind are descended from Adam; and therefore the Savages as well as others, are Sinners, and corrupted by their Birth, and that they will perish in their Sins if they don't receive the Gospel; for there is no other name by which Men can be saved, but the Name of Christ. [91] I know very well that Habits don't have any body; but in short, if these poor People would observe the Precepts of the Law of Nature, God would work a Miracle in their favour, rather than suffer 'em to perish in their Ignorance; and therefore he would lead 'em into the knowledge of the Truth, by means worthy of his Wisdom. But these unhappy Barbarians violate the Precepts of the Law of Nature, and live in Stupidity, and in the disorders of a dreadful Corruption, which makes them fit Subjects of God's Wrath. Mean time, Christians, who are guided by the saving Rays of Truth, ought to labour with all their power to bring these People out of Darkness, into the Light of the Gospel, and the Hopes of Salvation; so may they help to extend the King-
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dom of Jesus Christ, and draw these poor People out of Condemnation. To this end they should establish strong Colonies, who by trafficking and conversing with the Barbarians, will dispose them to imitate them; engaging them, by works of Charity, their Instructions, and good Examples, and even by the temporal Advantages to be drawn from the Conversation of the Europeans, to embrace Christianity, and grow more tractable and gentle than they are yet.
CHAP. XXI.

Of the Games and Sports of the Savages.

The Savages of North America, have Games for Men, and some for Children. The Men commonly play with the Stones of certain Fruits that are red on one side, and black on t'other; they put 'em into a pretty large Wooden-platter, not very deep, or into a Bafon of Birchen-Bark, upon a Woollen-Blanket, on a dressed [92] Skin, upon a Robe of Bever, or upon a large Coat; they play fix or feven together, but there are but two of them that take hold of the Platter with their two Hands, one after another; they lift it up, and strike the bottom of the Platter against the Ground, to muddle these fix Nuts together: If there come up five red or five black all of a side, that's one Game won; for they make three or four Games up, more or lefs, according as they agree upon it. All the Gamesters play one after another. Some of the Savages are fo addicled to this Game, that they play away all they have to their great Coat, and their furr'd Gown. When they are at play, they bawl as loud as they can shout, as earnestly as if the decifion of an Empire were in agitation: and all this Noise is made as if the Chance were to be forc'd to fall on their side. When they shake the
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Platter, they lay themselves over the Shoulders at such a rate, that they make themselves black and blue with the Blows. These Barbarians play often with Straws or Broom-sprigs, half a foot long, or thereabouts; one of them takes them all in his hand, and then without looking upon 'em, divides 'em into two parts, and gives one to his Adversary: he that has the even, or the odd Number, according to their Agreement, wins the Game.¹ The Children Savages likewise often play at this Game, but they don't follow it so eagerly as the Men, because they have nothing to stake. The Women or Girls dare not meddle with this Game, I don't know for what reason.

The Savages have another Game which is common among the European Children. They take some Grains of Indian Corn, or some such thing; then they put some into their Hand, and ask how many is there: he that guesses right, has the Game.

They have another Game that they are mightily pleas'd with, and which in the Iroquois Tongue they call Oounon hayenti; but 'tis rather a sort of Traffick [93] and Barter than a Game: they go into two Cabins, fix into one and fix into t'other, then comes one with some Skins, Clothes, or what else they have a mind to truck; he goes to the Door of one Cabin, makes a certain Cry; and they within answer him: then he tells 'em, singing aloud, that he will fell or

¹For full accounts of these and other games played by Indians, see Jes. Relations, index, art. Indians: social and economic life—games and recreations.—Ed.
truck what he holds in his hands, repeating, *Ounon bayenti*:
Those within the Cabin make answer with a hollow Voice, *Hon, Hon, Hon, Hon, Hon*, five times. The Crier or Seller having ended his Song, throws the Goods into the Cabin, and returns home.

Then the fix in t'other Cabin, after they have conferred'd about the Price of the things that this Person threw into the Cabin, depute one of their Number to ask the Seller if he is willing to take in exchange, a great Coat, a Shirt, a pair of Shoes, or such like Commodity; and then a *2d Person* carries the Equivalent to the other Cabin, or else they deliver back their Goods again that they threw in, if they can't agree about it, or if it is not worth as much as what they offer in exchange.

These Ceremonies are accompany'd with Songs on all sides: sometimes whole Villages of Savages visit one another alternately, more for the diversion of this Game of *Ounon bayenti*, than to see one another. This word signifies a Bargain, where one gives to receive again. The *Iroquois* Tongue has compound words in it; one of their Terms imports sometimes five or six French words, as the word *Gannoror* is as much as to say, This is an Affair of great Consequence.

Their Children have another Game. They take a Bow and two Sticks, one big, one little: they hold the little one in their right hand, and strike it up as high as they can with the other; another looks where it falls, and throws it up again to him that struck it. This Play has likewise something
in it [94] like some among the European Children. They likewise make a Ball of Rushes or Leaves of Indian Corn; they toss it up, and catch it upon the point of a stick. The great People, Men and Women, pass away the Winter-Nights a telling Stories over the Fire, like the Europeans.
CHAP. XXII.

The manner of making War among the Savages; they are very much given to Revenge.

The Savages of America have almost all of them a strong Propension to War, because they are very Revengeful: when once they have taken a disgust to any one that is not of their own Nation, they must be reveng'd sooner or later, tho they wait an Opportunity to the third or fourth Generation. They are reflectifs day and night till they have taken Satisfaction for an Affront, by destroying, if they can, most of that Nation they are enrag'd at: And then they make the rest dwell amongst them, and take up their way of living in every thing. The Iroquois, whom the Sweeds, then the Dutch, the English, and French, have furnish'd with Fire-Arms, are reckon'd at present the most Warlike of all the Savages yet known: They have flain the best Warriorps among the Hurons, and forc'd the rest of that Nation to join with them, to make War together against all their Enemies situated 5 or 600 Leagues distant from their five Cantons. They have destroy'd above two Millions of Men, and are now actually at War with the Inhabitants of Canada.

If France do not fend Succours of Ammunition and Provision to the Canadans, the Iroquois may be able [95] to ruin
them by the means I have mention'd in my former Volume. These Barbarians can spoil their Neighbours, as we have seen by experience: we can gain nothing from them, because all we can plunder them of is worth little or nothing; this fierce Nation I say may easily ruin the Commerce of their Neighbours, who chiefly subsist by trafficking for Skins with the Savages. The European Colonies are not yet sufficiently established, and cannot subsist without Commerce, unless every thing necessary for Life be brought them by Ship; besides the Iroquois are mischievous and crafty, yet like wild Horses who don't know their own strength. They are certainly able to ruin their Neighbours, for some Reasons which 'tis not prudent to make publick. They had utterly ruin'd Canada long ago, if the Count de Frontenac had not won them by gentle Methods. They are the most formidable Enemies that the Europeans have in all America. I do but hint it here, but am asur'd of it, from what I know of those People; I dwelt four whole years among them; I have been sent in Ambassay to them, and they have carried themselves very friendly towards me.

This People have over-run many different Nations, and those who remain'd, after the defeat of the rest, have been always forc'd to submit to them. The Iroquois have considerable Men among them who are their Leaders, and Governours in their Voyages. They have those under their command that will follow them any where, and do all they are order'd: before they set out, they provide themselves
with good Firelocks, which they get in exchange from the Europeans for Skins, and Furs; they take Powder, Ball, Kettles, Hatchets, and other necessary Implements in War along with 'em. Sometimes they have young Women and Lads, that go along with them, and in this Equipage they march three or four hundred Leagues.

When they come near the place where they design to make War, they march slowly, and with much Precaution; then they never kill Deer with their Fire-arms, for fear of being discover'd. They only use their Arrows upon that occasion, which make no noise in flying. When they would shoot, they look carefully round them, for fear of a Surprize. They send out Spies, to discover the entrance into the Villages, and see where best to begin their Attack: and if they see any one come out of the Village, they surprize and take him if they can, which often succeeds, for they do all their business treacherously.

There are no Warriors like them in all America for Ambuscades: They lay wait for Men hid behind a Tree, as tho their Design was upon some Beast. They count him a good Warrior that is cunning at surprizing his Enemies. If they can escape handfomly, after they have given their blow, from their Enemies, they are reckon'd incomparable Fellows. 'Tis not to be conceived how quick they skip round a Tree with their Firelock in their hands, to defend themselves from the Arrows that are shot against them. They are very nimble at leaping over the Trees that are
fallen down in the Woods as they run along: There are abundance of these Trees of a prodigious bigness, which fall with Age for want of Roots.

Their Patience is admirable. When they find they are cleverly hid, they'll tarry behind the Trees two or three days without eating, waiting a favourable opportunity to kill an Enemy: Sometimes they will shew themselves fairly, but that's very rare; and if they were not almost certain of their Blow, they would hardly expose themselves, at least if they were not back'd by a great number of their own Men. These Barbarians don't fight after the European [97] manner, because they are not disciplin'd to it, and can't keep their Ranks so well in open Field: So that they can't stand a Skirmish so well as our well-commanded Souldiers: Nevertheless when they are once heated and animated, they are incomparable.

They are so malicious, that they set fire to the Corn of their Europeans when they are dead: They burn their Houses, which they set fire to with lighted Cotton, fastened to the Point of their Arrows; for then the Fire takes hold of the Boards, or of the Straw that their Houses are thatch'd with; for the Savages let fly their Arrows with extraordinary Force, so the Houses are soon in flames.

There was an Iroquois Captain nam'd Atreóvati Önnontagé, whom I know very well, that treated me very civilly in my Voyage from Fort Frontenac to New York; we call'd him La grande Gueule, because his Mouth was very broad. This Man having mis'd his aim once, ran into Montreal in Canada,
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...crying, Hai, Hai, which is a token of Peace: He was very kindly receiv'd, and made much of; nay, they gave him considerable Presents, because they had a mind to have a good Understanding with that insolent Nation. When he withdrew from that place, the perfidious Villain kill'd two Men that were thatching a Houfe.

Some of them told us, that they had been at War as far as the Spanish Territories in New Mexico; for they said they had been in a Country where the Inhabitants gather'd red Earth, and carry'd it to fell to a Nation who gave them Hatchets and Kettles for it; and this they said was call'd the Country of Gold: but 'tis likely this Story was devis'd by the Savages to please Mr. de la Salle when he was at Fort Fronto-nac, for he greedily heard any one talk of the Golden Mines of St. Barbe. I have been among all the Nations of the River Melchafpi, none of whom except the Illinois ever mention'd the Iroquois otherwise than [98] as certain People, Neighbours of the Illinois, from whom they learnt that the Iroquois are a very cruel People, tho' not stout, but only because they have Fire-arms, which they bought of the Europeans: That without them they never durst attack the Illinois, who are valianter, and more dexterous at Bows and Arrows than the Iroquois.

Those Iroquois that don't go out to fight, are contemn'd, and pas for Cowards and effeminate Men. Because they have Firelocks, they invade all other Nations between both Seas, that is, from North to South: and no Nation in America can stand before the Iroquois on account of their Firelocks.
This renders them haughty and insufferable. They call themselves Men by way of Excellence, as tho other Nations were no more than Brutes in comparison with them.\(^1\) I understand very well how to bring the Iroquois to a better pass: but a Man of my Character ought not to talk of these Matters but with a great deal of Caution, because the Remedies which I would propose, might perhaps be worse than the Mischief that might be apprehended from that Nation; nevertheless I may discover my Sentiments in due time to those high Persons that put me upon writing this Work.

\(^1\) This sort of arrogance was common to many other tribes; for instance, Illinois is but the Gallicized form of Ilini, a variant of *irini*, "the men."—Ed.
CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Cruelty of the Savages in general, and particularly of the Iroquois.

There are no Savages in all the Northern America but what are very cruel to their Enemies. We are astonish'd at the Cruelties which the Neroes, the Diocleians, and the Maximins inflicted upon the Christians, and have their Names in Detestation and [99] Horror; but the Inhumanity of the Iroquois towards the Nations they make Slaves goes beyond theirs.

When the Iroquois have kill'd a Man, they tear off the Skin of his Scull, and carry it home with them as a certain Mark of their Victory. When they take a Slave, they tie him, and make him run after them; if he is unable to follow them, they flstick their Hatchet into his Head, and there leave him, after they have torn off Skin and Hair together. They don't spare fucking infants: If the Slave can march after them, they tie him every Night to a piece of Wood made in the form of a St. Andrew's Crofs, and leave him expos'd to be flung by the Maringeins, and other Flies, in Summer-time, and ufe him as cruelly as may be.

Sometimes they fix four Pegs into the Ground, to which they faften their Slaves by the Feet and Hands, and fo

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leave them all Night long upon the Ground in the sharpest Weather. I omit a hundred other Sufferings which these miserable Wretches undergo in the day-time. When they are near their Villages, they set up loud Cries, whereby their Nation knows that their Warriors are return'd with Slaves. Then the Men and Women put on their best Apparel, and go to the entrance of the Village to receive them; there they make a lane for the Slaves to pass through them. But 'tis a lamentable Reception for these poor People: The Rabble fall upon them like Dogs or Wolves upon their Prey, and begin to torment them, whilst the Warriors march on in File, mightily puff'd up with their own Exploits.

Some kick the Slaves, some cudgel them, some cut them with Knives, some tear off their Ears, cut off their Noses or Lips, in so much that most of them die in this pompous Entry. Those that resist against these rude Treatments, are reserved for exemplary Punishment. Sometimes they save some, but very rarely. When the Warriors are entred into their Cabins, the Antients assemble themselves to hear the relation of what pass'd in the War.

If the Father of a Savage Woman has been kill'd, they give her a Slave for him, and 'tis free for that Woman either to put him to Death, or save him alive. When they burn them, this is their manner; They bind the Slave to a Post by the Hands and Feet, then they heat red-hot Musquet-barrels, Hatchets, and other Iron Instruments, and apply them red-hot from head to foot, all over their Body; they tear off their Nails, and pluck out their Teeth; they cut Collops of Flesh
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out of their Backs, and often flea [flay] their Skin off from their Scull: After all this they throw hot Ashes upon their Wounds, cut out their Tongues, and treat them as cruelly as they can devise. If they don’t die under all these Torments, they make them run and follow them, laying them on with Sticks. ’Tis reported, that once a Slave ran so well, that he fav’d himself in the Woods, and could not be catch’d again. ’Tis probable he died there for want of Succour. But what is more surprizing is, that the Slaves sing in the midst of their Torments, which frets their Executioners exceedingly.

An Iroquois told us that there was one Slave whom they tormented cruelly; but he told them, You have no Ingenuity, you don’t know how to torment your Prisoners, you are mere Blockheads; if I had you in my Circumstances, I’d use you after another manner: but whilst he ran on so boldly, a Savage Woman gets a little Iron Spit heated red-hot, and runs it into his Yard: this made him roar; but he told the Woman, You are cunning, you understand something, this is the Course you should take with us.

When the Slave which they burn is dead, they eat him; and before his Death they make their Children [101] drink some of his Blood, to render them cruel and inhumane. Those that they give their Lives to, live with them, and serve them like Slaves: But in length of time they recover their Liberty, and are look’d upon as if they were of their own Nation.1

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1 Regarding the treatment of Indian captives, see Jes. Relations, index, art. Indians: social and economic life—captives.—Ed.
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The Savages of the Louisiana that dwell along the River Meschaffpi, and are situated seven or eight hundred Leagues beyond the Iroquois, as the Issati and Nadowessans, amongst whom I was a Slave, are not less brave than the Iroquois; they make all the Nations round them tremble, tho they have nothing but Bows, Arrows, and Maces. They run swifter than the Iroquois, and make excellent Souldiers; but they are not so cruel: they don't eat the Flesh of their Enemies; they are content to burn them only. Once having taken a Huron, who eat humane Flesh as the Iroquois, they cut off pieces of Flesh from his own Body, and said to him, You that love Man's Flesh, eat of your own, to let your Nation know, who now live among the Iroquois, that we detest and abominate your Barbarities; for these People are like hungry Dogs that devour any sort of Meat.¹

The Iroquois are the only Savages of North America that eat humane Flesh; and yet they don't do it but in cafes extraordinary, when they are resolved to exterminate a whole Nation. They don't eat humane Flesh to satisfy their Appetites; 'tis to signify to the Iroquois Nation, that they ought to fight without ever submitting to their Enemies; that they ought rather to eat them than leave any of them alive: They eat it to animate their Warrior's; for they always march out of their five Cantons the day after, to fight with their Enemies; for the Rendezvous for next day is always given notice of by these Feasts of humane Flesh.²

¹ This story is told by Perrot (Mémoire, p. 103), of an Ottawa chief.—Ed.
² See Jes. Relations, index, art. Cannibalism.—Ed.
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If the Europeans would leave furnishing the Iroquois with Fire-arms, who are not so dextrous at the Bow [102] as formerly they were, the other Nations on the contrary having always been us’d to it, they would infallibly root out the Iroquois, their common Enemies, who dwell four and five hundred Leagues off from them.

The first Canton of the Iroquois lies Southward; they call it Gagnieguez, or Agniez; they are Neighbours to New York, and have three Villages which I have been in; they make up at most four hundred fighting Men. The Second lies Westward, and is call’d Onneiouts, and make up about a hundred and fifty fighting Men. The Third, which lies Westward likewise, contains the Onnontaguez or Mountaineers, a People situated upon the only Eminence in the five Cantons; they border upon the Onneiouts. These Onnontaguez have three hundred fighting Men, the brassest of the whole Nation. The Fourth lies about thirty Leagues further Westward, where live the Oianguens, divided into three Villages, who make up three hundred fighting Men. The Fifth contains the Tsonnontouans, towards the further end of the Lake Frontenac or Ontario: These People are the greatest and most considerable of all the Iroquois Cantons. They comprehend in three Villages three hundred fighting Men.

I took notice in my first Volume of three or four Iroquois Villages on the North-side of the Lake Ontario or Frontenac; but I don’t describe these five Cantons of the Iroquois here, I only treat of their Barbarity and Cruelty; and add, that they have sübdued a very large Country since within these
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fifty Years; that they have extended their Territories, and multiplied their Nation by the Destruction of other People, the Remainder of whom they have made Slaves, to increase the number of their Troops.
[103]  CHAP. XXIV.

The Policy of the Savage Iroquois.

The Councils held continually by these Barbarians for ordering all Affairs, ought to be consider'd as the main Cause of their Preservation, and the fear all the Nations of North America are put in by them. They assemble for every little Business that is to be done, and consult what Methods they should take to gain their ends. They undertake nothing hand over head. Their old Men, who are wise and prudent, watch over the Publick. If one complains that some Person has robb'd him, they carefully inform themselves who it is that committed the Theft. If they can't find him out, or if he is not able to make restitution, provided they be satisfy'd of the truth of the Fact, they repair the Loss, by giving some Present to the injur'd Party, to his Content.

When they would put any body to death for an enormous Crime, which they are perfwaded he is guilty of, they hire a Man, whom they make drunk with Brandy, (for these People are very greedy of it) that the Kinsfolks of the Criminal may not seek to revenge his Death. After this drunken Man has kill'd him whom they judge culpable, they give this account of
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it, that he that flew him was mad and drunk when he struck the blow. Formerly they had another way of doing Justice, but 'tis abrogated; They had a Feast once a Year, which we may call, The Feast of Fools, for they play'd the fool in good earnest, running about from Cabin to Cabin. If during that day they fell foul upon any one, or took away any thing, the cunning old Men next day excus'd [104] all, by alledging that he that had done the Mischief was a Fool, and out of his Wits. Afterwards they made some Presents to wipe off the Tears of the Kindred of the Person who was maliciously kill'd. His Relations take up with that Excuse, without proceeding to take Vengeance. Then these Antients hir'd secretly some Person, who acted the Fool, and kill'd the Person pitch'd upon, whom they had a mind to get rid of.

The Iroquois have Spies and hir'd Men amongst them, who come and go perpetually, and tell them all the News they learn. They are crafty enough in Traffick, and are not easily cheated: They deliberate maturely upon every thing, and endeavour to understand the Merchandize before they truck for it.

The Ononitagez, or Iroquois Highlanders, are more subtle and crafty than the rest: They steal very cleverly. The Algong-

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1 Drunkenness was regarded by the Indians as a sufficient excuse for a crime committed under its influence; they held that the liquor, and not the man who drank it, was responsible for the deed; see Jes. Relations, iii. p. 257. — Ed.

2 An allusion to the Huron-Iroquois feast called Ononhario, or "feast of dreams," wherein each person desired others to guess what he had dreamed, and to make him presents accordingly. See Jes. Relations, under the above title. — Ed.
kains, the Abenaki, the Esquimoves, and abundance more Savages that have convers’d with the Europeans, are as sharp and politick as they. We are not to imagine that these People are Brutes, and irrational; no, they understand their own Interest thorowly, and order their Affairs very discreetly.
C H A P. XXV.

Of the manner of the Savages hunting of all sorts of wild Beasts; and of the admirable Industry of the Caftors or Bevers.

The Savages observe the Time, the Seacons, and the Moons of the Year very punctually, for the better ordering their Hunting. They call their [105] Moons from the Name of those Beasts which at certain Seacons appear the most. They call it the Moon of Frogs, when the Frogs make their greatest Croaking; the Moon of Bulls, when those wild Beasts appear; the Moon of Swallows, when those Birds come, and when they go. These Barbarians reckon thus, because they have no other Names to distinguish their Months by, as the Europeans have. They use the same Method for the Names of Men, calling them, Serpent, Wolf, wild Cat, &c.

They hunt the Elk and the Goat in all Seacons, but more particularly when there is Snow. They hunt the wild Cat and the Marmoset in Winter, the Porcupine, the Caftor, and the Otter, in the Spring, and sometimes in Autumn. They take the Elk in a Gin by the Neck, and the Caftor in Traps. They kill the Bears with Arrows or Shot, upon the Oaks,

1This word should be "'marmot,'" referring to the animal of that name, which is abundant in Canada and the northern United States. The genus is *Arctomys*; the two most common species are the heavy marmot, or whistler (*A. pruinosis*), and the woodchuck (*A. monax*).—Ed.
when they eat the Acorns. As to the wild Cats, they fell the Tree they are upon, and then the wild Dogs\textsuperscript{1} fall upon them and kill them. The Porcupines are taken almost in the same manner, with this only difference, that they kill them with a Hatchet or Fork when the Tree is faiy; for the Dogs cannot come near them, because of their Quills, which are sharper than Awls, and by little and little pierce a Man’s Body in an imperceptible manner; and these Beasts would infallibly be the death of those Dogs that should attack them: These Beasts do not run swift, a Man may easily overtake them in running. They take the Otters in Traps, where they kill them with Arrows or Shot; they seldom kill them with Hatchets, because they are quick of hearing.

They take the Caftors in Winter under the Ice: they first seek out for the Ponds where these Beasts frequent: The Caftors shew an admirable Skill and Industry in the building of their little Cabins. When they change their abode, they seek out some [106] Brook in the Woods, and run upwards along the side of it till they come to some flat Country fit to make a Pond in; then after they have well viewed the place on every side, they begin to make a Dam to stop the Water: They make it as strong as the Dam of any Pond in Europe, of Wood, Earth, and Mud; and sometimes so big, that it will hold the Water of a Pond a quarter of a League long. They make their Cabins about the middle of the Level of the Water, with Wood, Ruffs and Mud; and they plaster it all smoothly together with their Tails, which are longer,

\textsuperscript{1}Probably a mistranslation; it would better read “the dogs of the savages.”—Ed.
and full as broad as a Mafon's Trowel. Their Buildings are three or four Stories high, filled almost full with Mats of Rushes; and in this place the Females bring forth their young ones.

At the bottom of the Water there are Passages higher and lower. When the Ponds are frozen over, they can only go under the Ice: And for this reason at the beginning of Winter they make a provision of Aspen Wood, which is their ordinary Food: They keep it in the Water round about their Cabins. The Savages pierce the Ice about the Cabin with the handle of a Hatchet, or a Stake; and when they have made a hole, they found the bottom of the Water to find out the Caflor's Track: When they have found it out, they put in a Net a fathom long, and two Sticks, of which the two ends below touch the ground, and the two ends above come out at the hole which is made in the Ice. They have two Cords fixed to the Sticks to draw the Net when the Caflor is taken.

But to the end this subtle Animal may not see the Net, nor the Men, they throw upon the Surface of the Ice rotten Wood, Cotton, and such like things. One Savage stays to watch near the Net with a Hatchet, to draw the Caflor upon the Ice when he is taken, while the rest break down the Cabins with a great deal of labour: They often find more than a [107] foot of Wood and Earth, which they are forced to hew with a Hatchet, for it's frozen as hard as a Stone. When that is done, they found the Pond, and wherever they find a hole, they break the Ice for fear the Caflors should hide themselves under it; so driving them from place to
place, at last they force them into the Net. They labour extream hard in this manner from Morning till Night without eating any thing, and for all that do not take above three or four Castors.

The Savages take also in the Spring these Beasts with Traps in the following manner. When the Ice begins to thaw, they observe the Castor’s Passage, and set a Trap there; they bait that with a branch of the Aspen Tree, which reaches from the Trap into the Water. When the Castor finds, he eats it even in the Trap, and then falls upon two great Logs of Wood which kill him. They take the Martens almost in the same manner, with this difference only, that they put no Bait for them.

All the Southern Nations towards the River Meschofspi are more superstitious in their hunting than the Northern People, and particularly the Iroques. Whilst I was among them, their old Men, six days before the hunting of the wild Bulls, sent four or five of their most expert Hunters upon the Mountains to dance the Calumet with as many Ceremonies, as amongst the Nations to which they are wont to send Embassies, to make some Alliance. At the return of these Men, they openly exposted for three days together one of the great Caldrons they had taken from us: They had wreathed it round about with Feathers of divers Colours, and laid a Gun across over it. For three days together the chief Wife of a Captain carried this Caldron upon her Back, with Flowers in great Pomp, at the head of above two hundred Hunters: They all followed an old Man who had fastned [108] one of
our Indian Handkerchiefs to the end of a Pole like a Banner, holding his Bow and Arrows; he marched with great Gravity and Silence.

This old Man made the Hunters halt three or four times, to lament bitterly the Death of those Bulls they hop'd to kill. At the last Stage where they rested, the most antient of the Company sent two of their nimblest Hunters to discover wild Bulls. They whispered softly to them at their return, before they began the hunting of these Beasts. Afterwards they made a Fire of Bulls Dung dry'd in the Sun, and with this Fire they lighted their Pipes or Calumets, to smoak the two Hunters which had been sent to make the Discovery. Presently after this Ceremony was over, a hundred Men went on one side behind the Mountain, and a hundred on the other, to encompass the Bulls, which were in great numbers: They killed a great many in Confusion with their Arrows, and we Europeans seven or eight with Shot. These Barbarians did wonderfully admire the effect of our Guns: They heard the Report, but did not see the Bullets, and they thought it was the Noise that kill'd them; they laid their Hands on their Mouths, to shew how much they were astonish'd, and cry'd out, Manfa Oucancbe, which signifies in the Language of the Iffai, this Iron does harm to Men and Beasts: We do not know how it comes to pass, but we cannot sufficiently admire how the Noise of this round Instrument breaks the Bones of the largest Beast.

It was no small matter of Admiration to see these Savages fleas [slay] the Bull, and get it in pieces; they had neither
Knives nor Hatchets, but some few they had stole from us, and yet they did it dexterously with the Point of their Arrows, which was made of a sharp Stone: Afterwards they took Stones, and broke the Bones, and with them they separated one piece from another. After they had thus dismembered the Beast, their Wives dry'd them in the Sun, and the Smoak of small Fire, upon wooden Gridirons. While the Hunting lasts, they only eat the Intrals, and the worst pieces of those Beasts, and carry the best part home to their Villages, which are above two hundred Leagues from the place of hunting.
CHAP. XXVI.

Of their manner of Fishing.

The Savages that dwell in the North fish in a different manner from those of the South: They first catch all sorts of Fish with Nets, Hooks, and Harping-irons [i.e., harpoons], as they do in Europe. I have seen them fish in a very pleasant manner: They take a Fork of Wood with two Grains or Points, and fit a Gin to it, almost the same way that in France they catch Partridges: After they put it in the Water, and when the Fish, which are in greater plenty by far than with us, go to pass through, and find they are entred into the Gin, they snap together this sort of Nippers or Pinchers, and catch the Fish by the Gills.

The Iroques in the fishing leafoo sometimes make use of a Net of forty or fifty fathom long, which they put in a great Canoe; after they cast it in an oval Form in convenient places in the Rivers. I have often admired their dexterity in this Affair. They take sometimes four hundred white Fish, besides many Sturgeons, which they draw to the Bank of the River with Nets made of Nettles. To fish in this

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1 La Potherie describes (Amér. Septentrionale, iii, p. 34) the way in which the fibers of the nettle (Urtica) were spun by the Iroquois women into cords, with which they made fish-nets. See also Holmes’s “Prehistoric Textile Art,” in U.S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep., 1891-92, pp. 3-46.—Ed.
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manner, there must be two Men at each end of the Net, to draw it dexterously to the shoar. They take [110] likewise a prodigious quantity of Fisih in the River of Niagara, which are extremally well tafted.

The Fishery is so great in this place, that it's capable to furnish with Fisih of several sorts the greatest City in Europe. It's not to be wonder'd at. The Fisih continually swim up the River from the Sea towards the Spring, to find convenient places to spawn in. The River of St. Lawrence receives in this part of Niagara an infinite quantity of Water from the four great Lakes of which we have spoke, and which may properly be called little fresh-water Seas. This great deluge of Water tumbling furiously over the greatest and most dreadful Leap in the World, an infinite number of Fisih take great delight to spawn here, and as it were stagnate here, because they cannot get over this huge Cataraft: So that the quantity taken here is incredible.

Whilst I was in the Miflion of the Fort Frontenac, I went to see this Leap, which comes from a River in the North, and falls into a great Baffin of the Lake Ontario, big enough to hold a hundred Men of War. Being there, I taught the Savages to catch Fisih with their Hands: I caused Trees to be cut down in the Spring, and to be rolled down to the Bank of the River, that I might lie upon them without wetting me; and after I thrust my Arm into the Water up to the Elbow, where I found a prodigious quantity of Fisih of different Species; I laid hold on them by the Gills, gently frotting them; and when I had at several times taken fifty
or sixty large Fish, I went to warm and refresh me, that I might return fresher to the Sport: I cast them into a Sack which a Savage held in his hand. With these I fed above fifty Iroquefe Families of Ganneouffe, and by the assistance of Monfeur de la Salle, taught them to plant the Indian Corn, and to instruct their Children in the Christian Religion at the Fort Frontenac.

[111] The most considerable Fishery of the Savages is that of Eels, which are very large, of Salmons, and Salmon-trouts, and white Fish. The Fishery of the Iroques Agnies which are near New York, is of Frogs, which they take, and put them whole into their Caldrons without skinning them, to seafon their Sagamite, which is a sort of Pottage made of Indian Corn. The Salmon-trouts are taken in many other places of the Rivers which fall into the Lake of Frontenac: There are there such quantities of them, that they kill them with Sticks.

They take the Eels in the Night when it's calm: These come down all along the River of St. Lawrence, and are taken in this manner. The Savages put a large Bark of the Birch-Tree, with some Earth upon the end of a Stake, after which they light a fort of a Flambeau which gives a clear Light; after that one or two go into a Canoe, with a Harping-Iron placed between the two Grains of a little Fork: when they see the Eels by the light of the Fire, they strike an infinite quantity of them, because the great white Porpoises which pursue them make them fly towards the Banks of the River where the Porpoise cannot follow, because of the shallowness
of the Water. They take Salmons with Harping-Irons, and the white Fish with Nets.

The Southern People which dwell upon the River *Mef-ebatpi* are so crafty, and have such quick and piercing Eyes, that tho the Fish swim very fast, they will not fail to strike them with Darts a great depth in the Water, which they shoot with a Bow. Besides, they have long Poles sharp at one end, which they dart most dexterously: In this manner they kill great Sturgeons, and Trouts, which are seven or eight fathom in the Water.
Of the Utensils of the Savages in their Cabins; and of the extraordinary manner they strike Fire.

Before the Europeans arrived in the North America, the Savages of the North and the South made use (as they do even to this day) of Pots of Earth; especially those that have no Commerce with the Europeans, and can procure no Caldrons or other Utensils: Instead of Hatchets and Knives, they make use of sharp Stones, which they tie with Thongs of Leather in the end of a cleft Stick. Instead of Awls, they make use of a certain sharp Bone, which is above the Heel of the Elk: They have no Fire-Arms, but only make use of Bows and Arrows.

For to make Fire in a new manner, new, and quite unknown to us, they take a Triangle of Cedar Wood, of a foot and half, in which they make some Holes of a small depth: After they take a Switch or little Stick of hard Wood; they twirl it between both their Hands in the Hole, and by the quick Motion, produce a kind of Dust or Meal, which is converted into Fire; after they pour out this white Pouder

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upon a Bunch of dried Herbs, and rubbing altogether, and blowing upon this Poudre, which is upon the Herbs, the Fire blazes in a moment.

When they would make Platters, or wooden Spoons, or Porringers, they drill their Wood with their flone Hatchets, and hollow it with Fire, and do after scrape it, and polish it with a Bever's Tooth.

[113] The Northern Nations, who have commonly very sharp Winters, make use of Rackets to go over the Snow; they make them of the Thongs of Skins cut out as broad as little Ribbons, neater than our Tennis Rackets: These Rackets have no Handles, as those of the Tennis Court, but they are longer and broader; they leave in the middle a Slit the breadth of their Toes, that they may be at more liberty to walk with their savage Shoes: They will perform a greater Journey in a Day than without them. Without these Rackets they would sink into the Snow, which is commonly six or seven foot deep, and sometimes more in Winter; in some places it's higher than the highest Houses in Europe, being driven into Mountains by the Wind.

Those Savages which are near the Europeans, have at present Guns, Hatchets, Caldrons, Awls, Knives, Tongs, and such like Utensils.

To plant their Indian Corn, they make use of Pickax's of Wood, for want of those of Iron: They have large Gourds in which they put the Fat of Bears, wild Cats, &c. There is none, but has his leather Bag for his Pipe and Tobacco. The Women make Bags of the Rind of Linden Tree, or of Rushes,
to put their Corn in: They make Thred of Nettles, and of the Bark of the Line Tree, and of certain Roots, whose Names I know not. To few their savage Shoes they make use of very small Thongs: They make likewise Mats of Bulrushes to lie upon; and when they have none, they make use of the Barks of Trees. They swathe their Children as the European Women do, with this only difference, that they make use of swathing Bands of large Skins, and a sort of Cotton, that they may not be too hot: After they have swathed them, they tie them upon a Board, or Plank with a Skin Girdle; after they hang this Plank upon the Branch of a Tree, or in some place of their Cabin, so that their little ones never lie in Bed; they hang perpendicularly: And to the end their Urine may not hurt them, they place conveniently a piece of Birch-tree Bark; so that it runs away as it were in a Gutter, and touches not the Child's Body.

These Women have so great a care of their Children, that they avoid all carnal Commerce with their Husbands, till the Child be three or four Years old: The European Women do not so, because 'tis easy to supply the defect of the Mother's Milk, with the Milk of Cows, and other domestick Animals; but they have none of this sort of Cattel: They avoid therefore the Commerce of their Husbands while they are Nurses; for if they should prove with child, their Infants would undoubtedly perish, they having nothing futable for a Child of seven or eight Months old.

The Savages which have Commerce with the Europeans,
begin to make use of Iron Crooks and Pot-hooks, which they hang upon a Stick, which rests upon two-forked Sticks fixed in the Ground: but those that have no Commerce, make use of the Branches of Trees to hang their earthen Pots upon to boil their Victuals.
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CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Manner of their Interiting their Dead: Of the Festival of the Dead, with some Reflections on the Immortality of the Soul.

The Savages bury their Dead with the greatest Magnificence they can devise, especially their Relations, and particularly their Captains or Heads of their Clans or Tribes: They put on their best Attire, and paint their Face and Body with all sorts of Colours. They put them in a sort of Coffin made of the Bark of Trees, and they polish the outside neatly with light Pumice Stones; and they make a Place where they bury them in the manner of a Mausoleum, which they encircle round about with Stakes or Palisades twelve or thirteen foot high.

These Mausoleums are commonly erected in the most eminent Place of their Savage Borough. They send every Year solemn Embassies to their neighbouring Nations, to solemnize the Feast of the Dead. All the People of the Northern America spare nothing to honour their dead Friends and Relations, whom they go to lament: They make Presents esteemed among them very considerable, as Girdles dyed with Sea-Purple, and Pipes made with the most precious Stones that can be found; and in a word with what they look upon to be the most estimable to the Parents of the
Defunct. They conduct them to the Mausoleum, muttering a fort of Prayers, accompanied with Tears and Sighs, before the Bones, whose Memory they honour for their great Exploits in Peace and War.

[116] These Savages have particular Ceremonies for the Children of their deceas'd Friends: When they design to bury these little ones, as soon as they are dead they wrap their Bodies in a white pinked Skin in the presence of their Parents; it's painted with many Colours: After they carry it and place it upon a kind of Sledg, and so carry it to be buried: but instead of making Presents to the Parents of the deceased Infants, as they do for those of riper Years, they themselves receive them to wipe away their Tears, which they shed in abundance, in the presence of the Parents.

The Savages have likewise a Custom of putting in the Coffin of the deceased of riper Years, whatever they esteem valuable, tho' to the value of two or three hundred Crowns: They put there Shoes of pinked Skins, garnished with red and black Porcupine, a Piece of Tongs, a Hatchet, Necklaces of Purple,¹ a Pipe, a Caldron, and a potful of Sagamite, or Pottage of Indian Corn, with some fat Meat. If he be a Man, they bury him with a Gun, Powder, and Ball; but those that have no Fire-Arms, content themselves with putting in their Coffin their Bows and Arrows, that when they are in the Country of Souls (as they phrase it) and of the Dead, they may make use of them in Hunting.

¹ That is, of wampum beads of the purple variety, regarded by the Indians as more valuable than the white.—Ed.
When I was among the Issait Nadoueffans, there died one of the Savages, that had been bit with a Rattle-Snake; I came not time enough to give him my infallible Remedy, viz. Orvietan in Poudar. If this Accident happened to any one in my presence, I made them presently be scarified upon the place that was bit, and cast some of the Poudar upon it; afterward I made them swallow some of it, to keep the Poison from the Heart. These Barbarians strangely admired me, that I cured one of their Chieftains, that had been bit by one of these Serpents: [117] They said to me, Spirit, for so they call all Europeans, we fought after you, and the other two Spirits your Companions; but we were so unfortunate, that we could not find you; leave us no more, we'll take care of you for the future: if you had been with us, our Chieftain, whom you see dead, would have been in a condition to have been merry with you: He was excellently well versed in the trade of surprizing and killing his Enemies; he with hunting maintained his ten Wives: He would have been in a condition to have been your Benefactor, if you had been here to save his Life: You could have done it easily, since you have cured so many of our Relations; you would have done him this important piece of Service, and spared our Tears.

These poor People seeing our Method, but not comprehending it, believe we are capable of doing any thing even of arresting Death: They often admired the effects of the Remedies, which I gave to their Sick, with a design to cure their Spiritual Maladies, in bringing them to the Knowledge of the true God, by the Care I took of their Bodies.
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I admired how neatly these Savages had laid out the dead Corps; they had laid him upon fine Mats, and put him in the posture of a Warrior, with his Bow and Arrows: They painted his Body with divers Colours; one would have thought at first he had been alive. They said I must give him some Tobacco of Martineco, of which I had a small quantity, that the Deceased might have something to smok: This gave me an occasion to tell them, that the dead did neither smok nor eat in the Country of Souls, and that they have no more need of Bows and Arrows; for in the Country whither those Souls go, they go no more a hunting: That if they would learn to know the great Captain, they would be so much satisfied with seeing him, that they would think no [118] more of Hunting, neither of eating or drinking; for the Souls do not need it.

They made but a gross Conception of what I said to them: afterwards I made them a Present of two Fathom of our black Tobacco; they love it passionately: Theirs is not so well cured, nor so strong as that of Martineco, of which I made them a Present. I made them understand, that I gave it them to smok, and not to the deceased, because he had no need of it. Some of those Savages present gave me an attentive Ear, and were pleased with my Discourse of another Life; others said in their Language, Tepatou, which is as much as to say very well: Afterwards they sat them down, and fell a smooking, taking no further notice of my Discourse.

I observed that the Tears which they shed, and the Ceremonies they practised, as rubbing the Deceased with Bears
Fat, and such like things, were rather the Effects of Custom, derived to them by Tradition, which seems to retain something of Judaism, than of any strong Attachment [attachment] they have for them. I do not absolutely despair of the future Salvation of these Barbarians. I believe God will raise up some proper means to enlighten them with the Light of the Gospel; for his Holy Gospel is to be preached to all the World before the Day of Judgment.
[119]  CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Superflitious of the Savages, and of the ridiculous things they believe.

I always observed that the strongest Arguments that can be brought for the Conversion of Infidels are of no value till God give a Blessing. How shall they believe in him whom they have not heard speak? says St. Paul. How shall they understand, if some do not preach to them? And how shall they preach if they be not sent? The sound of the Apostles is gone through the World, and their Words are heard even to the ends of the World. I ardently beg that the sound of the Successors of the Apostles may bring to the Pastures of Life that infinite number of Savages which I have seen in my Travels. Great pains have been taken a long time, but as yet no considerable progress is made, for the generality of them are strongly fixed in their Superflitious.

These Barbarians are one more superflitious than another, the Old Men especially; and the Women most obstinately retain the Traditions of their Ancestors. When I told them it was a Foolery to believe so many Dreams and Fancies; they ask'd me how old I was? You are not above thirty five or forty years old, and do you pretend to know more than our Antient Men? Go, go, you know not what you say;
you may know what pass'd in your own Country, because your Ancestors have told you, but you cannot tell what has pass'd in ours, before the Spiritus, that's to say the Europeans, came hither.

I reply'd to these Barbarians, that we knew all by the Scripture, which the great Master of Life has given [120] us by his Son; that this Son died to deliver Men from a place where burns an eternal Fire, which would have been their lot, if he had not come into the World to save us from Sin and from Death; that all Mankind were Sinners in Adam, the first Man of the World. These Savages, who have a large share of common Sense, often ask'd me, Did you Spiritus know of our being here before you came hither? I answer'd them, No: You do not learn therefore all things by Scripture; it tells you not all things, reply'd they.

It requires a great deal of time to shew them the Falsity of their Superstitions, and much more to perswade them to imbrace the Verities of the Gospel: There's none but God can do it by the Unction of his Grace and Holy Spirit. But for all this the Evangelical Reapers must not desert the Harvest. A time will come that Men will prefer the Interests of Jesus Christ, before their own: then there will be but one Shepherd, and one Sheepfold.

There are many of the Savages that make the Stories of their Antients the Subject of their Raillery, but others believe them. I have formerly given an account of the Sentiments they have of their Origine, and of the Cure of their Maladies. They have some Sentiments of the Immortality
of the Soul. They say there is a delicious Country towards the West, where there's good Hunting, and where they kill as many Beasts as they please. It's thither they say their Souls go. They hope to see one another there. But they are yet more ridiculous, in believing that the Souls of Caldrons, Guns and other Arms, which they place near the Sepulchre of the Dead, go with them to be made use of in the Country of Souls.

A young Savage Maid dying after Baptism, the Mother seeing one of her Slaves at the point of Death, said, my Daughter is all alone in the Country of the Dead, among the Europeans, without Relations, [121] and without Friends: The Spring is at hand; it's time to sow Indian Corn, and Citruls,¹ or Pompions; baptize my Slave, says she, that she may go and serve my Daughter in the Country of the Europeans.²

A Savage Woman being at the last Gasp, cried out that she would not be baptized, for the Savages that die Christians are burned in the Country of Souls by the Europeans. Some of them told me one day, that we baptized them to make them our Slaves in the other World. Others asked me, if there was good Hunting in the Country, whither their dying newly baptized Infants were going? When I answered them, that they lived there without eating and drinking, because they are there satiated with the Contemplation of the great Matter of Life: We will not go thither, say they, be-

¹ Fr. citronilles; the summer squash (Cucurbita polymorpha).—Ed.
² This story is told of a Seneca woman, in Jes. Relations, liv, pp. 93–95.—Ed.
cause we must eat. If we reply that they will have no need of Food, they clap their Hands upon their Mouths in sign of Admiration, and say, you are a great Liar; Can one live without eating?

A Savage told us one day this Story: One of our old Men, says he, being dead, and being come to the Country of Souls, he found there first Europeans that cared for him, and made much of him; after he came to the place where his Country-men were, who likewise received him very kindly: There were Feasts there every day, to which the Europeans were often invited; for there are there neither Quarrels nor War: After this old Man had taken a full view of the Country, he returned home, and recounted all his Adventures to those of his Nation. We asked the Savage if he believed this Story? He answered, No, that their Ancestors related it, but they might tell a Lie.

These People admit some sort of Genius in every thing; they all believe one Master of Life, but they make divers applications of it. Some have a lean [122] Crow, which they carry always about with them, and which they call their Master of Life. Others have an Owl, others a Bone, some the Shell of a Fish, and such like things. When they hear the Owl hoot, they tremble, and take it for an ill Omen. They are great believers of Dreams. They go unto their Baths to procure good weather for Hunting. They never give the Bones of Bevers or Otters to their Dogs. I asked them the reason; they answered me, that there was an Otkon, or Spirit, in the Wood which would tell the Bevers and Ot-
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ters, and after that they would catch none. I asked them what that Spirit was; they answered me that it was a Woman that knew every thing, who was the Lady of Hunting. But the greatest part of them do not believe these Fables.

Whilst I was in the Mission of Frontenac, a Savage Woman was poison'd in the Wood by accident: The Hunters brought her into her Cabin; I went to see her after she was dead. I heard them discoursing near the Body of the Dead; they said they had seen upon the Snow the winding Tracts of a Serpent which came out of her Mouth. They related this very seriously. While they were discoursing thus, an old superstitious Beldam said, she had seen the Spirit that had killed her.

I have seen a Boy of about eighteen years old, who believed himself to be a Girl; and this Fancy wrought so strongly upon him, that he acted all things accordingly: He habited himself like a Girl, and employed himself in their sort of work. A Savage which we had decoyed into the Fort, and who was the Chief of his Village, told me one day that Onontio, which is the Name they give to the Governor-General of Canada, who at that time was the Count of Frontenac, would come such a day, when the Sun was in such a place: which precisely came to pass as he had [123] said. This same old Man, who was called Ganneoufe Kera, that is to say, the bearded, was the only Man of all the Savages which I saw with a Beard. The People of the Northern America commonly pluck away the Beard when it is but Down, and for this reason they have no Beards. I must confess I knew not what
to say when I saw the Count de Frontenac arrive. This Man had heard no News from any body. When I asked him how he came to know it; he said he had learned it of a Jugler who pretended to foretell things. But I believe their Predictions are rather the effect of Hazard, than of any Commerce they have with the Devil.
CHAP. XXX.

Of the Obstacles that are found in the Conversion of the Savages.

There are many Obstacles that hinder the Conversion of the Savages; but in general the difficulty proceeds from the indifferency they have to every thing. When one speaks to them of the Creation of the World, and of the Mysteries of the Christian Religion; they say we have Reacon: and they applaud in general all that we say on the grand Affair of our Salvation. They would think themselves guilty of a great Incivility, if they should shew the least suspicion of Incredulity, in respect of what is proposed. But after having approved all the Discourses upon these Matters; they pretend likewise on their side, that we ought to pay all possible Deference to the Relations and Reasonings that they make on their part. And when we make answer, That what they tell us is false; they reply, that they have acquiesced [124] to all that we said, and that it's want of Judgment to interrupt a Man that speaks, and to tell him that he advances a false Proposition. All that you have taught touching those of your Country, is as you say: But it's not the same as to us, who are of another Nation, and inhabit the Lands which are on this side the great Lake.

The second Obstacle which hinders their Conversion, pro-
ceeds from their great Superstition, as we have intimated before.

The third Obstacle consists in this, that they are not fixed to a place. While I was at Fort Frontenac, Father Luke Buffet, and my self, were employed a great part of the Year to teach many Children our ordinary Prayers, and to read in the Iroquois Language; their Parents assisted at the Service in the Chappel: they lift up their Hands to Heaven, and kneeled, beating their Breasts, and behaved themselves with great respect in our Presence. They seemed to be moved with our Ceremonies; but they did so to please us, and their only aim seemed to be to get some Presents from the Europeans.

But in case they had had some laudable Design, they would quickly have renounced it, because they stay no longer in their Villages than till Harvest be over, which is but a small time: All the rest of the Year they pass in Wars and Hunting. Then they carry their Families with them, and are absent eight or nine Months: Their Children then, which have begun to learn something, forget all, and fall to their former Superstitions and methods of living. Besides, their Juglers, and their old Superstitious Men, minding nothing but their Interest, endeavour to create in them a hatred towards us, lest they should believe what we teach them.

The Merchants who deal commonly with the Savages, with a design to gain by their Traffick, are [125] likewise another Obstacle: St. Augustine long since said of them, Continua est in illis meditatio doli, & vitura mendacii; They think
of nothing but cheating and lying, to become rich in a short time. They use all manner of Stratagems to get the Furs of the Savages cheap. They make use of Lies and Cheats to gain double if they can. This without doubt causes an aversion against a Religion which they see accompanied by the Profeffors of it with so many Artifices and Cheats.

It must likewise be confessed, that there are some Missionaries which in part hinder the progress. It's hard to learn their Languages, they being so different one from another, that they are nothing like. There is then required a great deal of time to be able to teach them the Mysteries of our Religion; and unless the Holy Ghost inspire extraordinarily, little Fruit is to be expected from these barbarous People.

Besides, the different methods that are used to instruct them, retard much their Conversion. One begins by the Animal part, and another by the Spiritual. There are diversity of Beliefs among the Christians; every one abounds in his own Sense, and believes his own Faith the purest, and his Method the best. There ought therefore to be an uniformity in Belief and Method, as there is but one Truth, and one Redeemer, otherwise these Barbarians will not know what to resolve.

I put a great deal of difference between the zeal and indefatigable pains of the Missioners, and the pretended Successes which are vaunted of in the World. They who are absolutely disengaged from the love of Riches, and who have been in the Mission among the People of the Southern America, have without doubt made a great progress in those
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Countries. There are forty or fifty Provinces of our Order, where the publick Service is performed. They are in possession [126] to preach with Authority, after having destroyed Idolatry.

But we must confess, that those who have laboured in the Northern America, have not had the same progress. They have made it their application to civilize those barbarous People, and make them capable of something of Policy. They have endeavoured to put a stop to the Current of their Brutal Sallies, and so prepare the way of our Lord: notwithstanding we must confess they have made little Progress. These barbarous Nations, by I know not what fatality of Interest, are almost as Savage, and have as great an Attaché to their antient Maxims, to Gluttony, Pride, Curfing and Cruelty, and a thousand other abominable Vices as ever.

They are the same they were forty years ago, and above: And yet many Books are published of the great Conversions of the Iroquois and Hurons. We were told for certain, that these Barbarians had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had destroyed, and yet they are still Enemies of all the good Maxims of Christianity.

I do not deny here but that the Missionaries have faithfully discharged their Ministry: But the Seed has fallen upon an ungrateful Soil, either on the Highway, or among the Thorns; so that they'll remain inexcusable at the day of Judgment, having resisted so clear Conviictions.

Be it as it will, every day a great many Children are
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baptized, and some grown Men on their Death-beds if they
desire it, which is a great step to Eternity: But as to thole
in Health, few are converted, and fewer persevere. But
the Pains, and the entire Sacrifice of the Life of a Mis-
ionary, would be well employ'd, and gloriously recompens'd,
if they had had the Happines to convert and save one only
Soul.

[127] The principal and most assured part of a Missioner
consists in the Administration of the Sacraments to thole who
go to barter among the Savages. And we may to our shame
true say, that as soon as the Furs and the Bevers begin to
grow scarce among the Savages, the Europeans retire, and
not one is to be found. The Savages reproached us with it
once in the Presence of Monsieur the Count de Frontenac, in
full Council, at the three Rivers of Canada, saying, While we
have Bevers and Furs, he that prayed was with us; he in-
structed our Children, and taught them their Prayers and
Catechisms; he was inseparable from us, and honoured us
sometimes at our Fasts: but when our Merchandize failed,
these Missioners thought they could do no further Service
among us.

It's likewise true, that the greatest part of thole Missions
which were established above forty Years ago have failed:
Witness thole of the great Bay of St. Lawrence, of Rjigouch,
of Nipissiguat, of Miskou, Cape Breton, Port-royal, of the River
Wolf, of the Cape of St. Mary Magdalen, of the three Rivers,
and many more which were established among the Hurons at

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the head of this River. Tho’se that were Miffionaries in tho’se Parts, thought good to quit them, and even Tadoussac it self, to eftablith themselves at Chigouini.

If God give me Health and Life, in a third Tome I’ll give an account of other Obfacles more considerable, which hinder the propagation of the Gospel: I’ll only lay in this place, that tho’se that would employ themselves to the purpose in tho’se Parts in this painful Miniftry, must tread under foot the Riches of the World, and content themselves with a mean Subsifience, according to the Doctrine of the Apostles.

1 Miscou (Miskou) is a small island at the mouth of Baie des Chaleurs, the inlet separating New Brunswick and Gaspe. Restigouche and Nepisiguit are rivers flowing into that bay. Port Royal is the early name of Annapolis in Nova Scotia (Acadia). By "River Wolf" is meant Rivière du Loup, a river in Kamouraska and Temiscouata counties, Que. Cap de la Magdelaine was the headland near Laprairie, in the vicinity of Montreal. Three Rivers is a town at the mouth of the River St. Maurice, above Quebec. Jesuit missions had been conducted at all these places, but many of them were for various reasons abandoned at the time when Hennepin wrote. In some cases, the Indians had removed to other places, or had been exterminated by pestilence, famine, or intemperance. The Acadian missions were transferred to the Capuchins, after the retrocession of Canada to France (1632). The Laprairie mission was transferred (1675) to the present Caugnawaga, opposite Montreal. "The Hurons at the head of this River" is a vague and inaccurate phrase. The Huron missions were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649–50; and the remnants of that people were scattered in various directions. — Ed.
[128]  

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the barbarous and uncivil Manners of the Savages.

The Savages have small regard to the Civilities of Europe: They make a Mockery of the Civilities we use one to another: When they come to a place, they seldom salute those that are there: They fit upon their Breech, and have no regard even to those that come to visit them. They enter into the first Cabin they meet with, without speaking a word: They take a Seat where they can, and after light their Pipe or Calumet: They smoak without paying any thing, and even go away again.

When they enter into a House built and furnished after the European Mode, they take the chief place: If there be a Chair before the middle of the Fire, they seize upon it, and never rise up for any body, tho' he were a Prince or a King. They look upon themselves as the best Men of the World.

In the Northern Parts the Men and Women hide nothing but their Nakedness; all else is exposed to view. The Savages of the South are quite naked, having not the least sentiment of Shame: They do the Necessities of Nature before all the World, without the least scruple, and without regard to any Man. They treat their Elders with great Incivility when
they are out of Council. The common Discourse both of Men and Women is down-right Bawdy.

But as to the Commerce which Men have with their Wives, for the most part it's in private: But sometimes it's done with so little Precaution, that they are often surprized. Besides, the Savages observe [129] none of the Rules of that natural Honesty which is used among the Europeans of both Sexes. They never practice any Carefles or Endearments, which are common among the People of Europe; all is done grossly, and with a great deal of Brutality.

They never wash their Platters made of Wood or Bark, nor their Spoons. When the Savage Women have cleaned their little Infants with their hands, they wipe them very superficially upon a piece of Bark, after which they will handle the Meat that they eat. This often turned my Stomach, that I could not eat with them when I was invited to their Cabins. They seldom or never wash their Hands or Face.

The Children shew but small Respect to their Parents: Sometimes they will beat them without being chastised for it; for they think Correction would intimidate them, and make them bad Souldiers. They eat sometimes snuffling and blowing like Beasts. As soon as they enter into a Cabin, they fall a smoking. If they find a Pot covered, they make no difficulty to take off the Lid to see what's in it. They eat in the Platter where their Dogs have eaten, without wiping it. When they eat fat Meat, they rub their Hands upon their Face and Hair to clean them: They are perpetually belching.
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Those that have trucked Shirts with the Europeans, never wash them; they commonly let them rot on their backs: They seldom cut their Nails: They seldom wash the Meat they dress. Their Cabins in the North are commonly filthy. I was surprized one day to see an old Woman bite the Hair of a Child, and eat the Lice. The Women are not ashamed to make water before all the World: but they had rather go a League in the Woods than any body should see them go to stool. When the Children have pissed their Coverlets, they cast away their [130] piss with their hands. One may often see them eat lying along like Dogs. In a word, they act every thing brutally.

For all that there are many things found among them honest and civil. When any one enters into their Cabins when they are eating, they commonly present him with a plate-full of Meat, and they are extremly pleas'd when all is eaten that they give. They had rather fast two days without Víctuals, than let you go without heartily presenting you with part of all they have. If by chance the Portions be distributed when one comes in, the Wife who makes the Distribution orders the matter so, that she gives [her] share to the New-comer.

Some Savages presented us the finest Mats, and the best place in the Cabin, when we paid them a Visit. Those who frequent the Company of Europeans, salute us when they meet us. It's likewise the Custom of these People to return Present for Present.

Altho' they shew small Respect to their old Men, yet they
have a great Deference for their Counsels. They follow them exactly, and confess that they have more Experience, and know Affairs better than themselves. If an ancient Man should say to a young Man, by way of Reproach, before others, _Thou hast no Wit_, he would presently go and poison himself, they are so sensible of Ignominy and Disgrace. In the Assemblies which are held for debating their Affairs, the young People dare not say a word unless they be asked.

In their Feasts they often give to the most considerable of the rest the whole Head of the Beast which they have killed, or the best portion of what is dressed: They never eat on the same Plate, unless it be in War, for then they observe no measures. They have a great Deference for the old Men, in that they leave them the whole Government [131] of Affairs, which is esteemed honourable among them.

There are few that salute after the mode of Europe. I knew a Savage who was called Garagonie,¹ which is as much as to say, the Sun that moves; he one day made an Harangue before Monsieur the Count of Frontenac; and every time he began a new Discourse, he took off his Cap, and made a Speech like an Orator. Another Captain of the Hojogoin [Cayugas] seizing his little Daughter which he had given to the Count de Frontenac to be instructed,paid very civilly to him, Onnotio, (for so they call the Governour of Canada, which word signifies a beautiful Mountain) thou art the Master of this Girl; order the business so that she may

¹ Or Garagonie: a converted Onondaga chief, who greatly aided the Jesuit missionaries among his people.—En.
learn to write and read well; and when she grows great, either fend her home, or take her for a Wife. Which shows you, that the Iroquois look upon themselves as much as the greatest Perfons in the World.

I knew another Iroques who was called Astreovati,¹ which signifies great Throat: this Man eat as the Europeans do; he washed his Hands in a Bason with the Governour; he sat down at the Table, and opened his Napkin handfomly, and eat with his Fork; and did all things after our mode: But often he did it out of Craft or Imitation, to get some Present from the Governour. The Count de Frontenac was very complaiant with thefe Savages; because he knew that the Iroquois were the Enemies moft to be dreaded by the French, of all the People in the North America.

¹Ottara’i, an Onondaga chief; called by the French Grande Gueule ("Big Throat"), a name afterward corrupted into Garangula.—Ed.
[132]  C H A P.  XXXII.

Of the great Indifference of the Humours of the Savages.

GENERAL speaking, all the Savages of the Nations I have seen in the Northern America, have an extrem Indifference for all things: They have no particular Attachè to any thing, and let no great value upon the most precious thing they have: They look upon every thing as very much below them; and if they had a thousand Crowns, or any thing of equal value, they would part with it without trouble, and give it all to have what they desire. But of all the Northern Nations there is none so indifferent as the Iroquois: they look upon themselves as Masters of other People, and have often dared to declare War against the French in Canada, and would have conquered it if they had known their Forces.

Notwithstanding, their Indifference for all things either of Peace or War, often induced them to make a counterfeit Peace with those of Canada. Besides, they are persuaded, that unless one send great Reinforcements thither, they can absolutely destroy them when they please, and ruin the Commerce. Let the Efforts be never so great against them, they can never extirpate them; and it will never pay the Charges which will be necessary to do it: There is nothing but blows to be got; and it will be a difficult thing to defend ones self.
from their Treacheries: One can get but small Booties among them.

Their Indifference is such, that there is nothing like it under the copes of Heaven: They have a great Complaisance for all that is said to them, and in appearance [133] do all seriously you entreat them to do. When we say to them, Pray to God with us, they presently do it, and answer word for word, according to the Prayers they have been taught in their Tongue. Kneel down, they kneel; take off your Bonnet, they take it off; hold your tongue, they do it. If one say to them, Hear me, they hearken diligently. If one give them some Image, Crucifix, or Beads, they use them as Jewels to adorn themselves with. When I said to them, To-morrow is Sunday, or Prayer-day, they answered me, Niaora, that's well, I am content. I said to them sometimes, Promife the great Master of Life never to be drunk any more; they answered, Netbo, I promise you I'll commit no more such Folly: but as soon as they got Aquavitae [i.e., brandy], or other strong Liquors, which they trucked with the French, English, and Hollanders, for their Furs, they began afresh to be drunk.

When I asked them if they believed in the Great Master of Life, of Heaven and Earth; they answered, Yes. Notwithstanding, the Savage Women which some Missioners had baptized, and who were married in the face of the Church with some French Men of Canada, often left their Husbands, and took others, saying, they were not subject to the Laws of the Christians, and that they did not marry but with a
design to stay with their Husbands as long as they agreed together: but if they did not agree well, they were at liberty to change.

It's necessary to civilize this Nation before they be made to embrace the Christian Faith. If they be not under the Yoak, it's in vain to labour their Conversion, unless God by a particular Grace should do some Miracle in favour of this People. This is all I can say upon this Subject, founded upon the Experience I as well as many other Recolets have had of them.
[134] CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country of the Savages: That powerful Colonies may easily be planted on the North and the South.

Before I enter into the Particulars of these charming Countries which are in the North and the South of the Northern America, I'll speak two words of the Countries of the North, to the end one may see that it's easy to establish there powerful Colonies.

We must confess that there are vast Forests to be rid up, which reach from Canada to the Country of Loiusiana, all along the River of Meschasp; so that it would require a great deal of time to clear the Ground. But this is incident to all new Establishments.

Considerable Advantages were formerly made, and are so still, from the Fishery, of which they dried one part, because they sold them in the hot Countries; in which Traffick were employed in the past Age a thousand or twelve hundred Vessels. The great Bank of Newfoundland, the adjacent Banks, the neighbouring Isles, Cape Breton, the broken Island,1 and Acadia, have the most Fish in the World. I do

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1 Probably he means Isle Percée ("the pierced island"), a small island on the east coast of Gaspé; it has even now the most extensive cod-fishery in Quebec province.—Ed.
not speak here of the Fishery of the North, which France pretends a Right to, under the Title of the first Possessors. These Fisheries would be inexhaustible Mines for the Kingdom, which could not be taken from it, if they were supported by good Colonies. A great many Vessels might go every Year to fish for the Porpore, the Whale, and the Sowolf [i.e., Seal], which would furnish us with an infinite quantity of Oil for our Domestic Manufactures, of which a part might be transported into Foreign Countries.

It's granted that the Traffick of Fishing which is upon these Coasts of Canada, gave birth to the first Establishments which were made in those Parts of America. There has not been time enough, nor Means to search the Country for Mines; without doubt there are Mines of Tin, Lead, Copper and Iron in many places, which are left for the Discovery of future Ages. The Country, by reason of the vast Forests, will furnish all sorts of Wood necessary to compleat the Mines. In many places is found a sort of bafard Marble, and great Bands of Coal fit for the Forges; there is also a sort of Piaister which much resembles Alabaaster.

The further one advances into the Country, the more beautiful Forests are found, full of gummy Trees, fit to make Pitch for Ships, as also infinite store of Trees fit for Masts, of Pines, Firs, Cedars, Maples, fit for all sorts of Work, especially for the building of Ships: Great Men of War might be built there, Mariners might always find employ enough, and get sufficient to maintain their Families; they would become abler Sea-men by this Navigation and Com-
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merce of the Weft, than of the Levant, and their Experience would be greater.

At the first beginning of the Establishment of the Colony in Canada, the Community gain'd every Year a hundred thousand Crowns, besides the Gains of private Persons. In the Year 1687, this Sum was tripled and above, by the Furs which were sent to France: And tho' the Merchants are forc'd to advance further into the Country than at first, it's notwithstanding an inexhaustible Commerce, as we have observed, by the great Discoveries we have made.

It must be granted, that there are no Nations in Europe that have such an Inclination for Colonies as [136] the English and the Hollanders: The Genius of those People will not permit them to be idle at home. So the vast Countries of America which I have described, may be made the Soul of their Commerce. Private Persons who shall undertake it, without interfering their own Country, may bring it to a happy issue: They may easily contract Alliances with the Savages, and civilize them. The Colonies which they shall establish there will quickly be well peopled, and they may fortify themselves there at a very small Expence: They may content themselves at first with a moderate Gain, but in a short time it will be extreamly considerable.

There are in England and Holland a great many forts of Merchandizes and Manufactures of all sorts, which cannot be confumed upon the place, but in time here might be had a prodigious utterance of them. And from hence one may better learn to understand, than hitherto we have done, the
admirable Providence of God, whose Will and Pleasure it was that every Country in the World should not be equally furnished with all things, to the end Society and Commerce between different Nations might be established, and the glad Tidings of the Gospel be divulged to the ends of the World.

It is something great and glorious to gain Battles, and subdue rebellious Subjects; but it's infinitely more glorious to gain Souls to Christ: And I must needs say, that the principal aim I propose in publishing this great Discovery, is to animate Christians to extend the Dominions of our Saviour, and to aggrandize his Empire.

It's certain, to return to our Discourse of Trade and Commerce, that the Trade of Furs in the North is of infinite Profit and Advantage. There are to be had Skins of Elks or Orignaux,¹ as they are called in Canada, of Bears, Bevers, of the white Wolf or [137] Lynx, of black Foxes, which are wonderfully beautiful, which were sometimes valued at five or six hundred Francs; of common Foxes, Otters, Martens, wild Cats, wild Goats, Harts, Porcupines; of Turkies, which are of an extraordinary bigness, Buftards, and an infinity of other Animals, whose Names I know not.

There may be catch'd, as I said before, Sturgeons, Salmons, Piques [Pikes], Carps, large Brems, Eels, Sword-fish, Gilt-heads, Barbels of an extraordinary bigness, and other

¹ Orignal is a name (of Basque origin) given in Canada to the moose (often called also "Canadian elk").—Ed.
forts of Fish without number. There is infinite Gain for the Fowlers: There is an infinity of Sea-Larks, which are a lump of Fat: There are Partridges, Ducks of all sorts, Huars, a kind of Dottrel, which imitates Mens Voices, which have an admirable diversitv of beautiful Colours, Turtles, Ring-doves, Cranes, Herons, Swans, Buftards, which have a relish of all sorts of Meat when you eat them, and a great abundance of all such like Game.

The great River of St. Laurence, which I have often mentioned, runs through the middle of the Country of the Iroquois, and makes a great Lake there which they call Ontario, viz. the beautiful Lake; it's near 100 Leagues long, and a vast number of Towns might be built upon it. These places having Correspondence with New York, judicious Persons will easily fee of what vast Profit the Trade will be; and here it's to be observed, that the middle of this River is nearer New York than Quebec, the Capital City of Canada.

The River of St. Laurence on the South has a Branch which comes from a Nation which is called Nez, or the Outaouaets; on the North are the Algonquins, where the French have taken posseffion: Towards the East dwells the Nation of Wolves [Mohicans] near New Holland or York: On the South of the same River is situated New England or Boston, where are many [138] trading Ships: On the South-west is

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1 This should be "North"; the reference is evidently to the Ottawa River, and the tribe of the same name. By "Nez," Hennepin apparently means the Amikous, or Beaver tribe — known to the French as Nes Percés ("Pierced Noses"); they were located on the north side of Georgian Bay.—Ed.
Virginia, which together with New Holland was formerly called New Sweetland: On the East is the Country of the Hurons, so called, because they burn their Hair, and leave but a little Tuft upon their Head, which flares like a wild Boar's Britles. This Nation has been almost destroy'd by the Iroques, who have incorporated the Remainder among themselves. I have added many other Countries towards the North of the River of St. Lawrence in the general and particular Map, which I have published in the first Volume of our Discovery.

The great Bay called Hudson's, is on the North of this River; it was discovered by the Sieur Desgroseilliers Rochebouart, with whom I was often in a Canoo during my stay in Canada. The English have given him a Penfion; and Mr. Blaibwait, first Secretary of War to William the Third King of England, told me the last Year, that Sieur Desgroseilliers was then living in England.

This Hudson's-Bay is situated on the North of New France, and of the River of St. Laurence; it has above four hundred

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1 Referring to the colony planted in 1638 by the Swedes, at the site of the present Wilmington, Del.—Ed.

2 Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, came from France to Canada about 1641. His name is inseparably linked with that of Pierre Esprit Radisson, his brother-in-law, in the history of exploration in northern North America. During 1644-56 and 1659-60 they traveled through the region of Lakes Michigan and Superior; and the period of 1668-83 was mainly devoted by them to exploration and traffic around Hudson Bay; during a large part of this time they were in the English service, and one result of their discoveries was the formation in England of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670. Groseilliers went back to England in 1683, where, so far as is known, he spent the rest of his life.—Ed.
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Leagues Extent, and by Land it is not far from Quebec, as it may be observed in my Charts: Notwithstanding we count it eight hundred Leagues from Quebec by the River to the Sea. And the Navigation it self has something of difficulty, because of the continual Fogs.

While I was at Quebec, the Canadins told me that Sieur Delgrufiers assured them he had great trouble to get thither by reason of the Ice, which was seven or eight foot thick, which was driven from the Northward with whole Trees, and the Earth itself together. Birds were seen which had there built their Nests, so that they looked like so many little Islands. I do not affirm that it's altogether just as I say: But the said Sieur Delgrufiers and others [139] have assured me, that they have passed through Ice for two Leagues together, and that it's prodigiously thick, one piece upon another, driven by the Winds higher than the Towers of great Cities. So that we are not to admire 1 what Sea-men tell us, that upon those great Banks of Ice they have placed their Forges, and made Anchors.

The English have in Hudson's-Bay the Forts of Nelson and Neufavane. The Court of France ordered heretofore the Traders in Canada to drive the English hence; but they had notice of it, and prevented the Canadins, by sending four great Ships to their assistance.

In the Countries to the North of the River of St. Lawrence are found Mines of Iron and Steel, which would yield 40 or

1 The word is here used in the literal sense of its etymology, "wonder at." — Ed.
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50 per Cent. There are Lead-Mines which would yield about 30 per Cent. and Copper which would yield 18: And according to all appearance there might be found Mines of Silver and Gold. Miners were sent thither while I was there: but the French are too quick in their Enterprizes; they would be rich too soon, and threw them up, because they did not presently find what they sought for.

Messieurs Genins, the Father and the Son, who were sent thither to see the Work go on, then told me, That since the Company did not perform their Contract, they had taken a Resolution to return home to Paris. That if the French who were in Canada had had as much Patience as other Nations, as Mr. Genin sen. told me at that time, they had without doubt gain'd their Point.

In short, all the Countries upon the River of St. Laurence produce all sorts of Herbage and Seeds. There are all sorts of Materials, as Oak, and all other sorts of Wood fit for building of Ships; and the prodigious quantity of Firs furnish Pitch in abundance. [140] Above all this, the Firs of which we have spoke, and Ashes fit to make Potashes of, which may yield more than a hundred and fifty thousand Livers a Year, and which alone are sufficient to subsist a great number of poor People; all these things, I say, are capable of producing a considerable Profit for the subsistence of the Colonies which may be established there.

That which is most remarkable is, that those who are Masters of those Countries may keep in awe above a thousand Vessels which go every Year to fish, and who bring back
Whale-Oil, and a great quantity of Salmon, and Poor-Jack,\textsuperscript{1} enough to furnish whole Kingdoms. All those Ships must of necessity come to the Pierced Island,\textsuperscript{2} where our Reolets have a little Mission House near the Fishers Huts, because there is no other convenience in those Countries. There is no Fortresses at the entrance of the River, at least I saw none. An Establishment in this place without doubt would gain the Trade, and make it very advantageous in case a good Colony were settled there, which were very easy.

In the Description which we have published of Louisiana, and the Countries of the South, which may truly be called the Paradise of America, we have made mention of all the Animals, of which we have spoke here above; but besides them, there are a great quantity of Bulls and wild Cows, which have a frilled Wool; they may be tamed and made fit for labour: besides they would serve for Food, and might be shorn every Year like Sheep, and as good Cloth made of them as any in Europe. The Savages that dwell in those Countries were never able to destroy these Beasts, because they change their Country according to the seasons.

There are many Medicinal Herbs which are not in Europe, whose Effects are infallible, according to [141] the Experience of the Savages: They cure with them all sorts of Wounds, the Tertian and Quartan Agues; some of them purge well, and allay the Pains in the Reins, and such like Maladies.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] A popular term for the hake (\textit{Merluccius vulgaris}), a sea-fish of the cod family, but coarser and poorer: it was formerly proverbial as a cheap sort of food.—\textit{Ed.}
\item[2] Isle Percé; see page 555, \textit{note 1}, \textit{ante}.—\textit{Ed.}
\end{footnotes}
There are likewise great quantities of Poisons, as the Rind of the wild Gourd, and others which they make use of to destroy their Enemies. Serpents are common in some Parts, particularly Adders, Aspicks, and Rattle-snakes; they are of a prodigious length and bigness, and bite dangerously poor Passengers: But they have Sovereign Remedies against their biting. There are in these Countries Frogs of a stupendous bigness, their croaking is as loud as the lowing of Cows.

There are here all sorts of European Trees, and many of different species from ours, as I have already mentioned: Those are, for Example, the Cotton Tree,¹ and many others. These Trees take deep rooting, and become very tall, which shews the goodness of the Soil. But the greatest advantage that may be drawn from our Discovery between the frozen Sea and New Mexico consists in this, as I have said, that by the means of these Countries of the South, a Passage may be found to China and Japan, without being obliged to pass the Equinoctial Line.

¹ Platanus occidentalis, or American sycamore.—Ed.
[142] CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the Methods of the Savages in their Councils. Their crafty Policies against their Enemies, and their Cruelty against the Europeans; and how a flap may be put to them.

It often happens that the Savages exercise great Cruelties against the Europeans, when they pretend to have been insulted. These Barbarians make Proclamation of War by three or four old Men in all their Villages: They do it with so loud a Voice, and so dreadful a Tone, that all that are in their Cabins, as well Men as Women, tremble for fear.

Presently all the antient Men, and all those who are to share in their Counsels, meet at one of their great Cabins, where the Chief of their Nation dwells: There one of their Chiefs speaks to them always in this manner; My Brethren, and my Nephews, one of such a Nation has killed one of our People. For tho' they have but a small occasion of Discontent, they always give out they are killed: We must then, lays the Chief, make War upon them, extirpate them, and revenge the Evil they have done. If all those that assist at the Council answer one after another, Netbo, or Togenske; and if they smoak in the Calumet, or Pipe of War, whilst a little Savage takes care from time to time to ram it with Tobacco; this is taken for an unanimous Content of the Nation, and their
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Allies. Then one may fee from time to time Troops of Souldiers marching to surprize their Enemies, tho they be often very innocent, and 'tis wholly upon the falue suggéotion of some ill-minded Savage.

[143] One day the Iroques pretending an Injury done by a French-man of Canada, they would not attack the whole Nation, butcontented themselves to discharge their Fury upon two of them, whom they killed with Hatchets; after they tied their Bodies to great Stones, and caft them into the River to conceal this black Aktion; and there had never been any thing known of it, if after some time the Ropes had not broke, and the River brought their Bodies to the Bank.

The Savages perceiving that they were suspected, because they were forbidden to come near the Fort and the Houses of the Inhabitants, began to fear lest the Canadins should revenge this barbarous Aktion: To prevent the Effects of it, they went up to the three Rivers, and held a Council of about eight hundred Men: The Refult of their Assembly was, that they should endeavour to surprize and cut the Throats of all the People in Quebec, the Capital City of Canada, at that time but poorly inhabited.

It's hard to keep Secrecy in a Council of so many Men at once, who without doubt were not all of one sentiment: Providence therefore, that watched for the Conservation of this little growing Colony, permitted that one of the Savages, called Forier, whom some of our Order of St. Francis had instructed at the three Rivers two years together, who had a
great kindnests for them, gave Advice to one of our Friars, called Friar Pacificus, who preently gave notice to the Gov-
ernment. This obliged them to intrench themselves in a lit-
tle wooden Fort, fortified with Stakes, and ill-ordered Pal-
fadoes. This Savage was highly rewarded, and more was
promised him, to oblige him not only to discover their fur-
ther Designs, but afo to endeavour to divert them from
their Enterprize against the Canadins.

This Savage acquittted himself very well of his [144.] Com-
nission: He manag’d this Affair so happily, that he not only
made them to quit their former Design, but fully persuaded
them to reconcile themselves with the French, and to obtain
Provisions, of which they stood much in need at that time.
The Savages sent to this end forty Canoos with Women to
fetch in Provisions. The Canadins furnished them with as
much as the time would permit.

The French received with a great deal of Joy the Propo-
sitions of Peace, which were made them in full Council by
the Savage Foriere on the part of the Iroques, whom he had
appealed. They were told that the Chiefs and Captains of
the Nation should give up the Murderers to the Canadins to
dispose of them as they thought good: To this effect their
Antients should have Orders to come to Quebec to treat on
this Affair.

The Proposition which Foriere made to the Savages on
this Subjecet, at first frighted them; but afterwards reflect-
ing upon the Weaknests, and the sweet Temper of the French in

1The Recolet brother Pacificus du Plessis; he died at Quebec in 1619.—Ed.
Canada, and relying upon the Credit of Father Joseph Caron a Recolet, whom they esteemed their Friend, they persuaded one of the two who was the less guilty, to go down with them to Quebec. In the mean time the Iroques ordered their little Army to make a halt half a League from the French Fort, to expect [i.e., await] the Success of the Negotiation.

The Iroques presented their Criminals to the Canadins, with a quantity of Beaver Robes, which they gave to wipe away their Tears, according to their Custom. In effect they made up the Business by their Presents: It's thus they commonly appease the Anger of those they have provoked, and engage their Allies, make Peace, deliver Prisoners, and as I may say, raise the Dead: In short, there's neither Proposal nor Answer, but by Presents, [145] which serve instead of Words in their Harangues.

The Presents which the Savages make for a Man who has been murdered, are many; but commonly it's not he that committed the Murder that offers them; but the Custom is that it be done by his Parents, Township, or sometimes by the whole Nation, according to the Quality of him who was killed. If the Murderer be met with by the Parents of the Deceased, before he has made satisfaction, he's put to Death immediately. According to this Custom, before Fuerie, the Antients and Captains of the Savages began to speak, who made a Present of twelve Elk Skins to sweeten the Canadins.

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1 Joseph le Caron was one of the first party of Récollet missionaries sent to Canada (1615), and was superior of the mission from 1617 to 1629, when the English sent all its workers back to France. Le Caron died in 1632.—Ed.

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After they had treated, they made a second Present, and laid it at the Feet of the Canadins, saying, It was to cleanse the bloody Part of the Place where the Murder was committed, protesting they had no knowledge of this Affair till it was done; and that all the Chiefs of the Nation had condemned the Attempt. The third was to strengthen the Arms of those who had found the Bodies on the Bank of the River, and who had carried them into the Woods: They gave them also two Robes of Beaver, to repose upon, and refresh themselves after the Labour they had suffered in burying them. The fourth was to wash and cleanse those who were polluted with the Murder, and to obtain the Spirit again which they had lost, when they gave the unfortunate Stroke. The fifth to efface all the Resentments the Canadins might have. The sixth was to make an inviolable Peace with the French; adding, that for the future they would cast away their Hatchets, so far that they should never be found; which was as much as to say, that their Nation being in perfect Peace with the Europeans, they would have no use of any Arms, only for Hunting. The seventh was to evidence the Delhi they had that the Canadins would have their [146] Ears pierced; which is to say in their Language, that they would be open to the Sweetness of Peace, to pardon the two Murderers the Fault they had committed.

They offered a Quantity of Chains of Sea-Purple-Shells, to light a Fire of Counsel (as they phrased it) at the three Rivers, where the Iroques then were, and another at Quebec. They added another Present of two thousand Grains of black
and blue Purple, to serve in Wood and Fewel for these two Fires.

Here the Reader is to observe, that the Savages seldom have any Assemblies, but they have their Pipe in their Mouth; Fire being necessary to light their Pipes, they always have it ready in their Confects: so that it’s the same thing among them to light a Fire of Counsel, as to assemble to consult. The eighth Prefent was to desire a Union of their Nation with the Canadins; and then they offered a great Chain of Sea Purple, with ten Robes of Bever and Elk; to confirm all they had said.

Whatsoever purpose was made at Quebec to punish the Murderers, to prevent the like Mischiefs for the future, they were obliged to desist from it, and pardon the Murderers; because they were not in a condition to resist such a powerful Enemy: so all was concluded, and two Hostages were demanded of the Savages for the performance of their Promises. They put into Father Josef’s Hands two young Iroques Boys, called Nigamon and Tebachi, to be instructed. In conclusion, the guilty Persons were sent back notwithstanding, upon condition that at the arrival of the Ships which were expected from Europe, this Affair should have its final Decision.¹

I remember when I was in Canada, I heard the French often murmur that this Affair was managed thus, and that the Murderers should avoid the Stroke of Justice. After

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¹ This is only another version of the account given by Le Clerc in Établissement de la Roy; see Shea’s translation, i, pp. 121–127.—Ed.
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this the Iroques committed a great [147] many such like Enormities, saying they should be quit for a few Skins of wild Beasts, instead of those of the Canadins, whom they would fleo off alive; and that those of their Nation would not suffer such like Actions without autable Revenge, tho the whole Nation of the Iroques should perish to a Man.

In effect these Barbarians grew every day more inolent upon it, and despied the Canadins, as People of no Courage; so that whatsoever Face they put upon the Matter in their Treaty, it was only done out of Policy to advantage themselves by their Commerce of Furs for the Merchandizes of Europe.

We see at this day, that the War which the Iroques have at present with the French in Canada, furnishes us with continual Examples of their Cruelty. The Europeans ought to take away their Fire-Arms, to reduce them, and to make them reside in one Place, and to live after the mode of Europe: This would be the means to convert them to Christianity. The Spaniards took this Method with the Mexicans, who dare not carry Fire-Arms, it being punished with Death; nevthertheless they are not the worse used, and the Mexicans are as good Catholicks as any in the World and carry the easieft Yoak of any Subjects in the Univerfe.

Our first Recollets in the first Colony of Canada, saw a necessity of overthrowing the Council of the Iroques, which are the most redoubted Enemies of the Europeans: They observed that all the Peaces which these Savages made, were only Feints to cover the Breaches of former Treaties. Our
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Fathers often represented this to the Court of France, that to convert these Barbarians, and to hinder them from taking Measures prejudicial to the Colony of Canada, it was necessary to found a Seminary of fifty or sixty young Iroques for seven or eight years only; after which they might be maintained of the Revenue of the Ground, which might be cultivated during that time. That those Children offered themselves every day to our Religious by consent of their Parents, to be instructed and brought up in the Christian Religion. That the Iroques and other Savages, seeing their Children educated in this manner, would form no more Enterprizes against the Colony, as long as their Children were in the Seminary, as Guaranties of the Fidelity of their Parents.
CHAP. XXXV.

Of the proper Methods to establish good Colonies. The Thoughts and Opinions of the Savages touching Heaven and Earth.

The Religious of our Order of St. Francis can possess nothing in Property, neither can they according to their Institute, buy or possess any Revenues. There is no Order so fit as ours to support the Colonies that are established by the Catholicks in America: The Truth of what I say is seen by those which the Emperor Charles the fifth sent into new Mexico; where are to be seen this day an infinity of great Families, that have made great Advantages of the Disinterestedness of our Religious; the best Lands have not been swallowed up, as we see in Canada, where we see the richest and most fertile Places in the hands of some Communities, who have laid hold of them during the absence of the Recollects, who notwithstanding are the first Missioners of Canada, having near fourscore Years ago attempted the planting of the Gospel there.

The People of New France having earnestly desired our Return, after a long forced absence, we [149] found that the best Lands of our Establishment of the Convent of our Lady
of Angels,¹ were feized upon; where I have often renewed and marked the Bounds which remained, to prevent the Designs of tho'fe who would feize upon the Remainder: But my Design is not to tax or offend any body; tho' I publish tho'fe things that may displease some, I shall speak nothing but Truth.

I shall not speak here of the great Advantages which have accrued to the four Parts of the World by the Missions of our Recollets, it would require large Volumes; I shall only relate here the Labours of our Religious in this Age, and the great Discoveries made by us in America. When the French Colony of Canada was establisht, our Recollets asked nothing of the Government, but a dozen Men fit for Husbandry-Affairs; which were to be commanded by a secular Master of a Family, for the Subsistence of fifty or sixty young Savage Children, whilst our Religious extended themselves on all sides in the Mission to draw others to Chriftianity. These Religious expose their Lives, and subject themselves to all sorts of Trouble and Fatigue, in order to plant the Gospel all over the World.

Our Religious long ago advised that Christian Religion, and the Authority of Justice, should be supported by a good Garifon, eftablisht in some convenient Place in the Northern

¹The convent of Notre-Dame des Anges was built by the Récollets on the St. Charles River, about half a (French) league from the fort of Quebec. After the return of the French to Canada (1632), the house and lands of the Récollets were used by the Jesuits, as the former order was not then allowed to resume its Canadian missions. Permission was finally granted, however, in 1650; and the Récollet missionaries then sent over again occupied their former possessions. A few years later, Count Frontenac, who was their firm friend, built for them a house at his own expense.—Ed.
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America, which might keep in subje#ion more than eight hundred Leagues of Country all along the River of St. Lawrence: There is no way to approach thither, but by the Mouth of this great River. This would be the true means to make Trade flourish: The Power of the Prince would be augmented, and his Dominions far extended by the Possession of this great River.

There might be joined to this many great Countries which might be seized upon in this vast Continent [150] upon the River Mefchapsi, which is far more convenient than the River of St. Lawrence to establish Colonies in: for here may be had two Harvests a year, and in some places three, besides a great many other advantages. To which may be added, that by this means a great many Countries would become tributary, and might be joined to these new Colonies. To this I would heartily contribute, being ready to sacrifice the remainder of my Days to such a good work.

First, To bring to a happy conclusion so noble an Enterprize, it's necessary that the Princes or States, which would make use of our Discoveries, should very exactly administer Justice. The beginnings of all Colonies are difficult. It's necessary therefore to prevent Thefts, Murders, Debaucheries, Blasphemies, and all other sorts of Crimes, which are too common with the Europeans that inhabit America.

Secondly, A Fort ought to be built at the mouth of the River of St. Lawrence, and above all at the mouth of Mefchapsi, which are the only places where Ships can come. Then the Inhabitants might extend themselves, and clear the
Ground twenty, or twenty five Leagues round about. They might have several Harvests in the Year, and might employ themselves in taming wild Bulls, which might be made use of several ways: besides, advantage must be drawn from Mines and Sugar-Canes, which are here far more frequent than in the Isles of America, the Ground being richer and fitter for Canes; among which may be fown great quantities of several sorts of Grain, which never come to maturity in those Islands. The Climate of the Countries which are betwixt the frozen Sea and the Gulph of Mexico, is far more temperate along the River Mejchaipi than in the Isles above mention'd. The Air is of the same Temperature as in Spain, Italy, and Provence. The Men and Women go always [151] with their Heads bare, and are taller than the Europeans.

As to the Sentiments these Barbarians have of Heaven and Earth; when they are asked, Who is he that made them? some of their more antient and abler Men answer, That as to the Heavens they know not who made them. If you have been there, say they, you must know something of the matter; it's a foolish Question, say they, to ask what we think of a place so high above our Heads; how would you have us to speak of a place that never none saw?

But, say they, can you shew by the Scripture of which you speak, a Man that ever came from thence, and the manner how he mounted up thither? When we answer, that our Souls being unfettered from the Body, are of infinite agility, and that in the twinkling of an Eye they mount up thither to receive the recompence of their Works from the hand of
the Master of Life; these People, who have a great indifference for whatsoever is said to them, and are cunning enough in seeming to approve in outward appearance, whatsoever is thought convenient to propose to them; being harder pressed, they answer, It's well for those of your Country; but we Americans do not go to Heaven after Death: We only go to the Country of Souls, whither our People go to hunt fat Beasts, where they live in greater Tranquillity than here. All that you say is good for those that dwell beyond the great Lake; for so they call the Sea. They further say, that as to themselves they are made in another manner than the People of Europe: So that their Conversion does solely depend upon the good will and pleasure of God, who must water our planting.

As to the Sentiments of the Savages relating to the Earth, they make use of a certain Genius which they call Micaboche,1 who covered all the Earth with Water, [152.] which seems to retain some Tradition of the Deluge. These Savages believe that there are between Heaven and Earth, certain Spirits in the Air, which have power to predict future things; and others that are excellent Physicians, for the cure of all sorts of Maladies. This makes them very superstitious, and to consult the Oracles with great exactness.

One of these Master-Juglers, who passed for a Wizard and Conjurer among them, made a Cabin be erected with ten great Stakes well fix'd in the Ground. He made a dreadful

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1 A poor phonetization of Missibizi, or Manabozho, the name of an Algonkin divinity (see p. 451, note 1, ante).—Ed.
Noife about consulting the Spirits, to know if there would quickly fall abundance of Snow, for the better hunting of Elks and Bevers. This famous Jugler cried out all on a sudden, that he saw great store of Elks which were at a distance, but that they were coming within seven or eight Leagues of their Cabins. This made these poor People rejoice exceedingly.

It's to be observ'd that when the Jugler, or pretended Prophet, missesthe mark, they have no less esteem for him; it's sufficient that he hath gueßed right three or four times, to gain him a lasting Reputation. I told them that the great Master of Heaven, who governs all things, ought only to be addressed in our Petitions and Necesities. They answered me that they knew him not, and that they would be glad to know whether he could send them Elks and Bevers; so blind are these People. I told them once that we Europeans knew how all things were made, and by whom. They told me that if I would go and live with them, they would send their Children to be instructed. These Sentiments of the Savages let us see, that the greatest good that can be done among them, is to baptize their dying Infants.

The Missions of the Northern America are far different from others. There is nothing to be found agreeable to Nature, nothing but what contradicts the [153] inclination of the Senfes: One must submit to infinite Fatigues, and barren and ingrateful Labour. Notwithstanding those who apply themselves with zeal, confess they find a secret Charm
which inclines them to this work; so that if any Necessity
diverts them from it, they are much perplexed.

This seems to me to be a good Preface for the Missions
of these Countries, and that God Almighty will not suffer
them always to remain in the Shadows of Death; since by
his Grace he makes the Missioners find so much pleasure in
those Labours, so contrary to Flesh and Blood.

Patience is absolutely necessary for this Employ. All
along our Travels in America we dined upon the Ground, or
upon some Mat of Bulrushes when we were in the Cabins of
some Savages. A Fagot of Cedar was our Pillow in the
Night; our Cloaks our Coverlets; our Knees our Table;
some Bulrushes tied together, our Seats; the Leaves of Indian
Corn, our Napkins. We had some Knives, but they were
of no use to us for want of Bread to cut. Except in the
time of the great Hunting, and certain Seasons of the Year,
Flesh-meat was so scarce that we were oft six Weeks, or two
Months, without eating any, unless it were a morsel of a wild
Dog, or some piece of a Bear, or Fox, which the Savages
gave us at their Feasts.

Our common Food was the same with the Savages, viz.
Sagamite, or Pottage made of Water and Indian Corn with
Gourds: To give it a Relish, we put into it Marjoram, and
a sort of Balm, with wild Onions which we found in the
Woods and Fields. Our ordinary Drink was Water. If any
of us was indisposed, while the Sap was up in the Trees, we
made a hole in the Bark of a Maple, and there dropt out a
sweet Sugar-like Juice, which we faved in a Platter made of
the Bark of a Birch-tree; we drank it as a Sovereign [154]
Remedy, tho' it had but small effects. There are in the
Vallies of those Forests great store of Maples, from whence
may be drawn distill'd Waters. After a long boiling, we
made of it a kind of reddish Sugar, much better than that
which is drawn from the ordinary Canes in the Isles of
America.

Our Spanish Wine failing us, we made more of wild
Grapes which were very good; we put it into a little Barrel,
in which our Wine was kept that we brought with us, and
some Bottles. A Wooden-Mortar and an Altar-Towel was
our Prefs. The Fat [Vat] was a Bucket of Bark. Our
Candle was Chips of the Bark of Birch-tree, which lasted a
small while. We were forced to read and write by the light
of the Fire in Winter, which was very inconvenient.

While we were at the Fort of Frontenac, about sixscore
Leagues from Quebec towards the South, we made up a little
Garden, and paled it in to keep out the Savage Children:
Peas, Herbs, and whatsoever Pulse we sowed there, grew ex-
remely well. We had had great store, if we had had proper
Tools to work with at the beginning of the establishment of
that Fort, which was but then fortified with great Stakes:
We made use of sharp-pointed Sticks, because we had no
other Husbandry-Tools. All our Consolation was, in the
midst of these Fatigues, to see the Gospel of Christ advanced.

The Savages seem'd to have some Inclination; they were
attentive and diligent in coming to their Prayers, tho' they
had none of that openness of Spirit which is necessary to enter into the Verities of Religion. They came to seek Instruction with a Spirit of Interest, to have our Knives, Awls, and such like things.

I owe the following Thoughts to an excellent Religious Man of our Order, whom I shall name in my third Volume, if it please God I perfect my Design.

[155] I make a great deal of difference between the Zeal, the Labours of true Missioners, and the pretended Successes which have been so often brag’d of, without any probability of Truth. The Justice we are obliged to pay to the painful Fatigues of Apostolical Men in New-France, is that they cannot be expressed: They equal the Enterprizes, Courage, and Sufferings of St. Paul, who was expos’d to great Dangers, to Famine, Thrift, &c. Their Silence it self was great and laudable among the Calumnies of their Enemies. But the Conduet of the Missioners in the Christian World is justified by it self, and puts them above such-like Reproaches, as well in regard of Canada, as any place else.

Formerly it employed all my Thoughts, as well as those of other Missioners among the Iroquois, to civilize these Savages, to make them capable of Laws and Civil Policy, and to put a stop to their brutal Sallies as much as possible. I have done my utmost to difabuse them, and shew them the folly of their vain Superstitions; and so I prepared the way of our Lord to the utmost of my power. But it must be confessed the Harvest was little; those People are as Savage as ever, always fixed to their antient Maxims, to their profane
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Customs, to Pride, Drunkenness, Cruelty, being even uncapable of Instruction and Obedience. They are the same they were thirty or forty years ago. Since the French of Canada made a Peace with them, and that the Jesuits became their Missioners, altho they had built as many Churches and Chappels as they had destroyed, these Iroquois, who may justly be called the unconquerable Philistines, have made no progress in Faith: To speak truth, we see the quite contrary at this day. These Barbarians maintain a cruel War with the French. I must confess it's hard for me to conceive that Christians should have a War with such brutal People, [156] whom I had managed with all the dexterity I could, during the six or seven Years I was among them; sometimes by Embassies, which I was charged with; sometimes by the Instructions I gave them for Reading and Writing, and for Religion itself. We continued this warlike Nation in Peace as much as possible.

The Iroquois, who call the Religious of our Order Chitagon, that is to say, naked Feet, have often regretted our Absence about the Lake Ontario, or Frontenac, where they had a Mission-house. I have often heard say, that when a Priest of St. Sulpiusius, a Jesuit, or any other Ecclesiastic of Canada, asked them how it happen'd that they gave them no share of their Game, as they were wont to give the naked Feet? They answered, that our Recollets liv'd in common as they did, and that they took no Recompence of all the Presents that they made them: That they neither took Furs, of which all the Europeans are so greedy, nor any other
Recompence, for all that our Religious did for them. This shews, that one must begin by the Animal part with those People, and after proceed to the Spiritual. And that if, as in the Primitive Church, the Christians of this Age were of one Heart, and one Soul, and wholly disinterested, without doubt this Nation would be easier converted.

It’s true, that while I was a Missioner at Fort Frontenac, among the Iroquois, and that the Jesuits were scattered here and there in their Country, these Religious served to other purposes than my self: For as those Barbarians are wholly led by Sense, they then looked upon the Jesuit Missioners as Captains, and Men of considerable Quality, as Envoys, and perpetual Residents of the French Colony of Canada, who maintained the Alliance which was among them, who disposed of Peace and War, who served for Hostages when they went to trade in the inhabited [157] parts of Canada; otherwise these Barbarians would have had perpetual Diffidences, and would have been afraid of being detained for want of Hostages, and of this Security for their Lives and Goods.

It’s observed, that the Missioners of whom I speak, undertake the Tutelage of the Savages, of which they acquit themselves very well. They draw these Barbarians into their Residences, and exercise them in clearing the Ground of their Settlements, which contributes much to the Advantage of the Colony, and the Church itself. To their Reputation and Zeal must be attributed many considerable Foundations for this Mission, which they have obtained from many powerful and zealous Persons, whose Liberality they manage as well as
the annual Gratifications of the King for the same purpose.¹

Besides, these Missions are the places where true Saints are formed, by the Labours of an indefatigable Zeal, a fervent Charity, accompanied with Patience and Humility, and by a great Disinterestedness; by an extraordinary Sweetness, and by a lively and pure Faith: but it’s a kind of an Apostle-ship different from that of other Nations.

But to speak here one word of the Progress of these Missions. Is it possible that this pretended prodigious number of converted Savages should escape the Knowledge of a crowd of French Canadians, who go abroad every Year from home at least three or four hundred Leagues, to the utmost Borders of the discovered Countries, to trade, where some of them sojourn whole Years for to barter their Commodities? How happen’d it that these devout Churches disappeared when I travelled through the middle of the Countries? How comes it to pafs, that so many Men of Sense should not discern them?

Besides, it’s well known that the Savages come every Year in great Troops into Canada with their [158] Canoos loaden with Furs. There is to be seen a Concourfe of all sorts of

¹The Jesuit missions in Canada were granted, from the year 1647, an annual pension of 5,000 livres; from 1684, they were exempted from payment of tithes; an instructor was long mainained by the King at the college of Quebec; and other gifts and allowances were, at various times, granted them by the government. Besides these, they possessed large and valuable landed estates, given by the King or by private persons. When Canada was conquered by the English (1760), the property of the Jesuits was appropriated by the English government, which held it for more than a century; finally (1871), ceding the Jesuit estates to the Provincial government of Quebec. For further details, and citations of authorities, see Jes. Relations, lxxi, pp. 392, 393.—Ed.
Savages, who are as it were the select People of all those different Nations. All the Country are Witnesses, that in their Manners and Doings nothing appears but Barbarity, without any sign or mark of Religion. All the Proof they can give, is, that like Idols they assièt at our Mysteries and Instructions: for the rest we may see them indifferent, without discovering any Faith or Spirit of Religion. It may be called rather an effect of their Curiosity: Some of them come upon the account of Interest, others upon a Motive of Fear, or some particular Esteem they have for the Person of some Missioner, whom they often regard as a considerable Chief.

All therefore that can be done, is to draw out of the Woods some Families which shew the most Docility, and to dispose them to settle in some inhabited Place. There are two Villages in the Neighbourhood of Quebec, and two other higher up upon the River of St. Lawrence, near Mont-royal, which are separated from the Commerce of the Europeans. It's therefore in those Parts that the Church of the Savages is to be found. Tho their Language as well as Manners are altogether savage, yet for all that those Neophytes are kept in their Devoir. Great pains is taken to educate them in Piety, yet not much is gain'd upon their Spirit. There are some that are Christians in good earnest; but there are many entire Families who escape from the Missioners after having abode with them ten or twelve Years, and return to the Woods to their first mode of living.

It may be reply'd by some, that we see many Christians in Europe swerve from their Duty, and disgrace their Char-
after by a Libertine Conduéct; but we do not discouer here of the Corruption of the Manners of the Savages, but of their adhesion to Chriſtianity: It's certain they quite apofta-tize from it.

[159] The contrary has been declar'd in France, in fev-eral Relations, which have been publilh'd upon this Subject, which were order'd to be read to the Pensionaries of the Ursulines. It's said, that there are a great many Indians con-verted, and others ready for the Sacrament of Confirmation, and that some of them have received the leffer Orders. Would to God that all thofe Churches fpoke of in the Re-lations were as real, as all the judicious People of Canada know they are chimerial. If they were formerly, what's be-come of them now? after almost an Age they are no more to be feen; and yet the Colony of Canada increafes. The Trade is greater than formerly, and it's better known, fo that the pretended number of Converts would be easily discovered.

When formerly thefe Relations were read to Perſons who had not that knowledg of Canada we have at preſent, it gained Credit with every body according to their Inclina-tions. It was eafy to impose upon People in this refpeét. But as to me who have been upon the Place, and who have always fpoke my mind with a great deal of Candor and Liberty, I content my felf to appeal to all the Inhabitants of New France, who are at preſent fifteen or sixteen thoufand Souls¹; I am affured they will confefs ingenuously, there is

¹The population of Canada is given by Sulte (Canad.—Français, v, p. 85; vi, 46–48) as follows: In 1681, 9,677; in 1691, 12,000; in 1698, about 15,000.—Ed.
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scarce any Christianitie among the Savages at this day, except some particular Persons, and those in small numbers, very fickle and inconstant, ready at every moment for any small Interest to abandon their Religion.

It may be that some Advances are made towards the civilizing those Barbarians, and to make them more polite than they were. But all the Inhabitants of those Countries know, that they are no more Christians than formerly. Notwithstanding it's very probable that they would have adhered better to the Christian Religion, if they had trod in the steps [160] of the Religious of our Order, if they had kept a solid Peace with the Iroquois and other Savage Nations, and if they had been mingled among the Europeans, to make them more docile and more tractable.

While I was in the Mission of Canada, I bethought me one day to ask some judicious Men, how it happen'd that we had no more Annual Relations of the Missions of Canada. When those whom I had asked gave me no Answer, a certain Person who thought no ill, told me, that the Court of Rome had order'd that the Relations of foreign Missions should be exactly true: That the Congregation De propaganda Fide had order'd that no more should be published that were not of publick Notoriety, and clear as the Sun at Noon. This seem'd to me to be a judicious Answer.¹

¹In the preceding four pages, Hennepin has attacked the missionary labors of the Jesuits in Canada, although without mentioning that order by name. The published reports here alluded to are the annual Relations sent by the Jesuit missionaries in Canada to their superiors in France or at Rome; these were regularly published from 1632 until 1672. From that time they ceased to appear, in consequence of an order
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Reflecting upon this, we ought to admire the Judgments of God upon these barbarous Nations, and to acknowledge his Mercy toward us, that he has been pleased to let us be born of Parents illuminated with the bright Rays of the Christian Faith, in a Country where we are betimes formed to Piety, and all manner of Vertues; where the multitude of interior Graces and exterior Helps present us the means to secure our Salvation, if we be faithful.

We ought to give him the Glory that is due to him for the excellent Lights we have received, and which distinguish us so advantageously from so many Nations who are in the Darkness of Error and Blindness. This ought to oblige us to make our Election sure by all sorts of good Works, setting before our Eyes the account we must one day give before the dreadful Tribunal of God, of the use we have made of all his Graces and Benefits.

issued (Dec. 19, 1672) by the Congregation of the Propaganda, and enforced by a brief (Apr. 6, 1673) of Pope Clement X, forbidding the publication (without written permission from the Congregation) of any books about missions. See Jes. Relations, especially lv, pp. 315, 316.—Ed.
The Taking of Quebec by The English

|American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org|
[161]  CHAP. XXXVI.

The History of the Irruption which the English made into Canada in the Year 1628. The taking of Quebec, the Metropolis of Canada, in the Year 1629. The most honourable Treatment they gave the Recolets.

I THOUGHT my self obliged to publish the Observations which I have drawn from the Reverend Father Valentine le Roux, Provincial Commisary of our Recolets of Canada, who is a Man of singular Merit. I have told you in my first Volume, that I communicated to him my Journal of the Discovery I made of all the River of Mefebafpi. This Man, who has a deep and piercing Judgment, has published what he knows of the Intrigues of Canada under a borrowed Name; and he shews in his Work, that the Conduet of Providence is always admirable, and that she accomplishes her Designs by ways impenetrable, in their Beginning, in their Progres, and in their Perfection.

The Colony of New France, says this clear-sighted Religious, for a long time flourished more and more; great Discoveries were made, Trade advanced, the People encreased, Chappels and Oratories were built in many places, and the

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1 See the first sentence of the following chapter (xxxvii). Hennepin here gives a sort of paraphrase of chap. xii in Le Clercq’s Établissement de la Foy.—Ed.
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Country had a new face of Government: But God permitted all this to be ruined by the deceit of the English, who pretend that their Sovereign is not only King of three Kingdoms, but also of the Sea.

Some English, zealous for their Nation, armed a Fleet in 1628, to seize upon Canada, in the Reign of Lewis XIII, Father of the present King. Two Turtles,2 [162] of which great Flights are in this Country, fell of themselves in a very calm time into the Fort of Quebec the 9th of July the same Year. The Inhabitants of Canadá took it for a Prefage of the Change that happen'd.

The English in their Route seized upon a French Vessel which was at the Mouth of the River of St. Francis,3 in that part of the Isle which is called Pierced, because of a small Cape of Land which shoots out into the Sea, in the middle of which is a great Arch which is naturally pierced in the Rock, under which the Chaloupes that fish for Poor Jack pafs

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1 Reference is here made to the London trading company called "Merchant Adventurers to Canada." Its founder, Sir William Alexander, had obtained from James I of England a grant of all the territory from the St. Croix River to the St. Lawrence, ignoring all French claims to that region. In 1627, Alexander settled a small colony in Nova Scotia; and in the following year David Kirk, another of the associates, seized all the French fishing vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, threatened Quebec, and captured a French squadron sent with supplies for that town. In 1629, he returned to the attack, captured Quebec, and took possession of Canada for England.---Ep.

2 The passenger pigeon (Columba migratoria); formerly abundant, but now practically extinct, in the United States. The word "Turtles" is, however, an absurd error of either Hennepin or his English translator; for this incident, as originally related by Sagard (Canada, Tross ed., pp. 831, 832, 887), was that of the sudden fall, without apparent cause, of two small towers (Fr. turelles) of the fort.---Ep.

3 The Mal Baie River, in Gaspé; Isle Percé is not far from its mouth.---Ep.
when they return from Fishing. The English sail'd with a 
fair Wind, and advanced up the River as far as Tadoussac,1 
which is a River that falls into this, and comes from the 
Countries which are towards Hudson's Bay, as may be seen in 
the Maps.

The English found a Bark, which they made use of to 
land 20 Souldiers: These were sent to seize upon Cape 
Tournent, so called, because of the danger the Ships are in 
there during the Tempetts, which are more frequent here 
than in any part of the River. Two Savages who lived among 
the Europeans having discovered them, gave advice to Quebec, 
which is but about seven or eight Leagues from the Cape.

Monsieur Champlin,2 who was Governour of that City, 
ettreated Father Joseph Caron, Superiour of the Recolets, to 
go near the English Fleet in a Canoo of Bark, to know the 
Truth. The Advice was but too true. He found it con-
firm'd about five Leagues from Quebec, and had no other 
time but presently to run a shoar, and save himself in the 
Woods. The two Religious we had at Cape Tournent came 
by Land to Quebec, with the Sieur Faucher, who was Com-
mandant there, to give an account of the taking of Cape

1 Tadoussac is the seaport village at the mouth of the Saguenay River, Que. This river rises in Lake St. John, into which fall rivers that connect, by portages, 
with the streams flowing into Hudson Bay.—Ed.

2 Samuel de Champlain, the great explorer of Canada and the New England 
coast. His Voyages—of which several editions were published during his life, and 
which has also been translated into English—is one of the prime authorities on early 
Canadian history and geography. He founded Quebec (1608), and was the first 
governor of the colony (1612 until his death, Dec. 25, 1635—except during the 
English occupation, 1629–32).—Ed.
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Tourment. The English there seized upon all the Effects valuable, and the Inhabitants fled into the Woods. There were but three that fell into the hands of the English; one of whom was called Piver, with his Wife and his Niece. Soon after they appeared before Quebec, accompanied with an Officer of Mr. Kirk, Admiral of the English Fleet.

This Officer summoned them by a Letter from the Admiral to surrender the Place; but the Gouvernor, who was a gallant Man of his Perfon, tho much embaras'd with this Invasion, remaining firm and undaunted, made them to fierce an Answer, that the English, who will rather perifh than defert from an Enterprize, believed by this Answer that the Fort of Quebec was in a better condition than they thought it was. So this time they let it alone, and putting off their Design to a more convenient time, they let fail for England.

The English General then putting off the Design to the Year following, contented himself with taking a great number of Prisoners, which he carried into England, and among the rest a young Savage Huron, called Lewis of the Holy Faith, who had been baptized two Years before by the Archbishop of Rouen. The rest of the Prisoners, doubtless with a Design to be the more valued, said, that that Savage was the Son of the King of Canada. The English General believed that so considerable a Prisoner would much facilitate the Conquest of the whole Country the Year following. But he was much surprized when after he had taken Quebec, he under-

1 Nicolas Pivert, one of the first settlers at Beaupré, Que.—Ed.
2 Louis de Sainte-Foi, whose Huron name was Amantacha.—Ed.
stood that the Father of this Savage was a poor miserable Huron, who had neither Credit nor Power in his own Nation. This was the Reason that the Son was restored in a pitiful Habit: The English took from him all the Equipage they had given him, as supposing he had been the Son of a King. The Reputation this Savage was in for some time was the Cause of his Ruin, and it may be of his eternal Damnation; for being [164] among the Savages, he lost all the Ideas of Christian Religion.

In the fright that every body was in upon the Arrival of the English, many Savage Mountaineers came to offer their Service to the Recolets of Quebec: among the rest the above-mentioned Napaga Biscou, who having been instructed and baptized by Father Joseph Caron, endeavoured to do the best service he could to his Benefactor. As soon therefore as he could make his Escape from the English, he represented to Father Joseph, that if the Enemy did the same at Quebec they had done at Cape Tourment, the Savages would find no Retreat any more for their Comfort during Winter: I beg of you Father, says this Savage, that you would be pleased to let two or three of your Friars go along with me; they will say Prayers for us, and instruct our Children, and those of our Nation who have not as yet seen any Naked Feet, for so they call our Recolets: I'll support them; they shall be treated as my self, and we'll come from time to time to visit you.

Father Joseph liked well this Proposition: the Savage took two along with him, which he led to a place where this In-
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dian dwelt, who likewise begg'd that Friar Gervase Mabier, a Lay-brother, might be one of them: they designed to pafs
that Winter among the Algonquins. They presently therefore
departed for the three Rivers, and run a great many rifques
in the Journey: Their Canoos were bilged about fifteen
Leagues below the three Rivers, fo that they were forced to
go the rest of the Journey thorow the Woods. They thought
to be carried by the Tide, which flows up the River of St.
Lawrence above a hundred and thirty fix Leagues from the
Sea: At laft by the help of a Canoo which they light upon
by chance, they came to the three Rivers, where were Vil-
lages erected by the Mountaineers and Algonquins: [165]
these Savages were expecting there the Harveft-time for their
Indian Corn. They made great demonstrations of the real
Affection they had for them, of whom they had heard much
Discourse from Father to Son.

Being there, they understood the English were gone out
of the River, and that before that they had fought and van-
quifhed the French Fleet which came into Canada. This
News obliged Monsieur Champlain, Governour of Quebec, as
well as all the rest of the French, to desire Father Jofeph to
come back.

While things paffed thus, twenty Canoos were seen to ar-
rive, conducted by the Hurons, who brought along with them

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1 An appellation of the St. Maurice River, given on account of the three divisions
or branches of its current made by two islands which lie near its mouth; a French
settlement was founded by Champlain (1634) at its mouth, which is now the city of
Three Rivers, Que.—Ed.
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Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon,¹ Recolet. The Grief of Nepaga Buscon is not to be expressed when he was to part with this Religious: But the Order was peremptory. I cannot here forget the dexterous Contrivance of a young Christian Savage to rid himself out of the hands of the English, or rather to procure some Present from the French: He was called Peter Antony Arekouanoon,² and had been baptized in France, and educated in a College at the Expence of the Prince of Guimeni: He was at Tadoussac when the English appeared there, and so was taken Prisoner with the rest, and carried aboard: he was interrogated in French and Latin, but made as if he understood nothing of what he was asked.

Captain Michel³ a French-man, who out of Discontent had a long time before gone over to the English, knew this Savage, and that he understood both Languages: He gave an account to the General of it, who kept him for an Interpreter for the English when they should go to traffick with the Indians. Peter Antony could no longer conceal his Knowledg of the two Languages, and that he was a Christian; but he bethought him of a Stratagem: He pretended [166] he would really espouse the part of the English. He told the Admiral he was to keep some measures with the French; and

¹This Récollet missionary came to Canada in 1625, and labored among the Hurons from 1626 to 1628; he then went to Quebec, and was sent back to France by Kirk in the following year.—Ed.
²Pierre Antoine Arekouanoon (according to Le Clercq; but Pastedechouan, in the Jesuit Relations, q. v. under that name).—Ed.
³Jacques Michel, mentioned in the Relations as a Huguenot.—Ed.
above all, that he was much obliged to the Recollets who had converted him, and who had taught him what he understood of Latin and French. He begg'd of the Admiral, that he would not carry him to Quebec, that he could be more serviceable to him if he would be pleased to let him go to the three Rivers with Canoos loaden with Provisions and Merchandizes; and that he would induce a great number of Savages to come and trade. The Admiral believed what he said, and granted him all he demanded: But this Man seeing himself out of the hands of the English, who had treated him very civilly, went straight to the Red Island,¹ crofs'd the River of St. Laurence, came to the River of Wolves [Rivière du Loup], and afterwards the Admiral heard no farther tidings of him.

They had a hard Winter of it at Quebec, for they wanted all forts of Necessaries; and because the Ships which brought Provisions were seiz'd on by the English, they were therefore obliged to divide the small Provision that was left. Our Religious might have had their share as well as others, but they contented themselves with Indian Corn, and the Pulse they had fown. Madam Hébert² made them a Prefent of two Barrels of Peafe, which are extraordinary good and large in Canada; besides they had Raifins, and had made a provision of Acorns in case of necessity, and they were so happy as to catch some Eels, which are plentiful in that River.

¹ An island in the St. Lawrence, opposite the mouth of the Saguenay; in early times, noted for its seal-fisheries.—Ed.
² Marie Rollet, widow of Louis Hébert; he was the first agricultural settler in Canada (1617). He died in 1627.—Ed.
Providence multiplied their Provisions so, that they were able to furnish three Seminaries of Savages, and many more who were in great Necessity.

The Jesuits, who for some time had made use of one half of our House, having built one for themselves, where they now dwell, did their utmost to succour the French.

[167] Early in the Spring Monsieur de Champlain seeing the Necessity we were in all Winter, which was very sharp in Canada, inasmuch that for the most part the Snow was five or six foot deep, and continued so, for it seldom rains in Winter, begged of Father Joseph to grant him a part of our Lands towards Hair-point, or Point aux lieures: Some other private Persons granted other Lands: They were plowed in haste, and there was sown bearded Wheat, Pease and Indian Wheat, at the beginning and middle of May. They were forced to do so, because Wheat there cannot endure the Winter as in our Parts of Europe, because of the extreme Cold.

The said Sieur Champlain had sent People towards Gaspeé, which is between the Pierced Island and Bofou, which belongs to the English, to see if they could hear any tidings of any French Vessel; they went in a Chaloup, but could hear no news of any. But they were assured that the Gaspeéens Savages offered to maintain twenty intire Families. The Algonquins and Mountaneers offered larger Supplies. A Ship was equipped to go into France; the Sieur de Boulé, Sieur

1 "Point of Hares"; a headland on the St. Lawrence shore, near Quebec; the Jesuits had a cattle-farm there.—Ed.
Champlain's Brother-in-law, was made Captain of her; he took the Sieur des Dames\(^1\) Commisary of the Company, for his Lieutenant.

Being come near Gaspe in the Bay of St. Lawrence, they happily met with a French Ship commanded by the Sieur Emeric de Caen, who brought them Supplies. He told them that the King did fend the Sieur de Rafilly to fight the English, and save the Country.\(^2\) The Ship was laden, and the Sieur de Bouille returned towards Quebec, and then was taken by an English Vessel, and was made a Prisoner of War with all his Crew.

In the interim the Hurons arrived at Quebec with twenty Canoos, we bought their Indian Corn: Monsieur de Champlain gave one part to the Jesuits, who [168] had taken upon them the charge to take care of several; and our Recollets having also receiv’d a supply of Victuals, subsisted till the arrival of the English, which was not long.

The English Fleet surprized the French in Canada; they appeared in the Morning the 19th of July 1629, over against

\(^1\) Thierry Desdames, a naval captain; he came to Canada as early as 1622, and remained until the conquest. Returning after the retrocession of that country, he was commandant at Miscou from 1639 to 1646. — Ed.

\(^2\) Emery de Caen, a Huguenot naval officer, was prominent in the early history of Canada. During 1620–27 he, with his uncle Guillaume de Caen, was at the head of a mercantile company who had obtained the monopoly of the Canadian fur trade; for full account of this and several other commercial companies, see H. P. Biggar’s *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1907). He was also provisional governor of Quebec during the first year of the French reoccupation.

Isaac de Razilly, a naval officer of high standing, was ordered to relieve the suffering Quebec colonists; but, through some misunderstanding or neglect of orders, the ships failed to reach the place in time to prevent its capture by Kirk. Razilly is best known as governor of Acadia (1632–35. — Ed.)
the great Bay of Quebec, at the Point of the Isle of Orleans. The Fleet consisted of three Ships, and six others which stay'd at Tadoussac, and followed them. The Missioners, Jesuits, and Recollets had Orders to retire into the Fort of Quebec with the Inhabitants. Father Valentine le Roux affurres us there was only Powder for three or four Discharges of Cannon, and eight or nine hundred Loads for Musquets.

Mr. Kirk, General of the English Fleet, sent an English Gentleman to Sieur de Champlin to summon the Place, and to deliver a very honourable Letter. The miserable state of the Country, which had neither Provisions nor Ammunition, for there had come no Supply for two Years past, obliged the Governor to return a more supple Answer than the Year past.

He therefore deputed Father Jospeb Caron, Superior of the Recollets, and sent him aboard the English Admiral, to treat of the Surrender of Quebec upon advantageous Terms; and above all, to obtain some delay, if possible. Father Jospeb demanded fifteen days, but the English General knowing the weak condition of the place, would admit of no delay. The Father insisted still upon fifteen days, upon which the English call'd a Council, and the Refult was, they would only grant them that day till night. The Admiral gave Orders to Father Jospeb to return to Quebec with this Answer, and that they should there make the Articles of Capitulation ready, which should be punctually perform'd.

[169] The English Admiral in a very civil and obliging manner told Father Jospeb, that he with his Religious might
return to their Convent, and bid him be of good cheer, for no harm should be done them, happen what would.

Two French Prisoners, the one called Bailli, formerly Commissary of the Company of Merchants, and Peter le Roy, by trade a Waggoner, had done ill Offices to the Jesuits with one of the English Captains: They persuaded him that he should find with them great Riches. This was the reason that this Captain told Father Joseph in a heat, that if the Wind had proved good, they would have begun with their College first. Father Joseph at his return told them of the design, on purpose that they might take care of their Affairs in the Articles of the Treaty which were to be made.

Father Joseph having receiv'd this Answer from the Admiral, who shewed him the Ships with all the Ammunition, and the Souldiers with their Arms; in conclusion, he was set a shoar, and made his Report to Monsieur Champlin at Quebec.

A Council was held, and they were divided in their Sentiments. Two French Men who had accompanied Father Joseph, observed that the English were but few in number, and that they had not above two or three hundred Men of regular Troops, with some others that had not the Mein of Souldiers: Besides, they confided much in the Courage of the Inhabitants of Quebec; they were therefore much inclined, as well as the Jesuits, and our Religious, to run the risk of a Siege. But the Experience that Monsieur Champlin had of the Bravery of the English, who would rather perish than

1 Called Le Baili in the Jesuit Relations.—Ed.
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defiht from an Enterprize which they had once begun, advised the Council rather to surrender upon honourable Terms than ruin all. The Articles of Capitulation were drawn up according [170] to Monsieur Champlin's Advice: Father Joseph was commissiomed to carry them aboard the English Admiral; and all things being adjusted, they demanded time till the next day.

At the same time the Savages that were lovers of our Religious, and above all, the afore-mentioned Chaumin, solicited Father Joseph and our Friars, that they would be pleased to grant, that two or three of our Religious might retire into the Woods, and from thence into their Country. Altho Chaumin was not yet well confirmed in the Christian Religion, he had a very great love and esteem for our Religious, because they lived in common as the Savages do. Then having deliberated on this Proposition, they considered on the one side, that the English would not be any long time in possession of the Country, and that sooner or later the King of France would re-enter by Treaty, or some other ways; that in the interim it would advance the common good amongst the Savages, who offered to entertain our Religious; and that when the Country returned under the Dominion of France, our Religious might still be found in Canada, and in estate to continue their ordinary Labours, and support their begun Establishment. They were the more invited to embrace this Proposition, because the English General had given so great marks of Friendship to Father Joseph: In conclusion, two of our Religious offered to go. Father Joseph at the same time
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did not go far off, and during this he thought it good to lose no time, since they must depart and escape, as some of the French did, who went away with the Savages in a Canoo; and it was not little Grief to the Missioners to be stopp'd by force in their just Designs.

The Council of Quebec and the other Chieftains opposed their departure, and it was concluded for divers Reasons politick and purely human; which [171] whether it was for the Reproach they pretended to have reason to fear in France, or whether it was the distrust of Providence towards our Religious, or whether, in short, it was they did not believe the French would return again into Canada, they were forced to yield.

This afforded matter to build a Complaint upon at Court, and particularly by our Friars of the Province of St. Denis, against Father Jofepb, as not having that Firmness and Zeal which he ought to have had on this occasion; and that the Savages who had put all their Confidence in the Recollets, had been better disposed to the Christian Religion than ever before.

Father Jofepb justified himself the best he could, and affirmed he had done nothing but executed the Orders of the Council of Quebec, as the Answers make evident, when he gave an account to the Definitor of his Province at his return, giving an account of his Mission.

The next day, being the 20th of July, in the Year 1629, the Sieur de Champlain having been on board the English Admiral, the Articles of Capitulation were signed by both
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Parties; after which the English went ashore, and were put in possession of Canada by the Sieur de Champlain.

Father Valentine de Roux, an antient Commissaire, Provincial of the Friars of Canada, whom I saw at my return from my Discovery, hath all the Articles of Capitulation made by the French at Quebec with the English, when the English took possession; he said the Sieur de Champlain gave his Family all his Effects, and even found some advantage by this Treaty by the good Entertainment the English shewed him. The French Inhabitants who were then in the Country had every one twenty Crowns, and all the rest of their Goods were to remain to the Conquerors; [172] and from this was made the great Complaint, because there were found some particular Persons who were enrich'd upon this occasion. Those who were willing to stay in the Country, obtained great Advantages of the English, but most of all the Family of Monsieur Habert, whom I have often conversed with at Mount Royal, when I passed by to go to the Fort of Frontenac. The Religious, I confess, were much indebted to the Generosity of the English for divers singular Favours, which has always made me have a great Esteem for that brave Nation: They kept punctually their Word given by their Admiral, not suffering any Injury to be done to the Convent of our Lady of Angels at Quebec, nor to our first Residence, which was the place where now stands the Cathedral Church of Quebec, our Religious not having been re-established there since.¹ But

¹ This is evidently an error; as we have already seen, the Recollets returned to Quebec in 1672.—Ed.
notwithstanding all the Diligence that the English Officers made use of in our favour, they could not hinder but one of their Souldiers stole from us a Silver Chalice: But the English Officers, who are naturally generous, testified much Trouble at it to our Religious, and swore solemnly to take Revenge on the Party if he could be discovered.

The Jefuits, who came not into Canada till fourteen or fifteen Years after our Friars¹ (who by consequence were the first Missioners of America) met with a Treatment far different; their House was pillaged, and all that was found was given as a Prey to the Souldiers; and they were obliged to imabark the next day with the Sieur Champlin, and all the French except twenty seven, who set sail towards Tadousac: But the two Brothers Lewis and [Thomas] Kirk, the one Admiral, and the other Vice-Admiral of the English, permitted our Religious to stay at Quebec: The English testifying then publickly, that they left us in Canada, to instruct the Natives in the [173] Principles of the Christian Religion, and that with the consent of the King of England, that we might be hindered from returning into France. They had at the same time as much familiarity with them in all things, to say or do, or make Visits, with the same liberty as before the taking of Quebec; also they were so far from hindering the exercise of the Romish Religion, that they prayed them to take from them Wine for the Maifs; which they knew was before de-

¹ The Récollets in Canada, finding themselves unequal to so great a task, invited the Jesuits (1624) to aid them in evangelizing the Indian tribes. In accordance with this request, a party of Jesuit missionaries came to Canada in the following year; and the two orders labored together until the conquest (1629).—Ed.
puted for the ordinary Service of the Church, which there they heartily offered. Our Recolletts lived so above six Weeks after the taking of Quebec, and received much Civility from the English, who solicited them to stay amongst them, having liberty to instruct the Natives who dealt with them. This continued till the 9th of September following, when they embarked us aboard the Sieur Pontgrave, who remained at Canada, because of his Indisposition, with a design to rejoin the Sieur Champlain, the Jesuits, and all the French of Canada, who were ordered to pass to Tadousiac, the day after the taking Quebec. I leave you to think how great Sorrow the Missioners were plunged into, when enforced to abandon a Mission so long followed, and with so much application.

The hopes that our Friars had of returning in some good time into Canada, made them hide in several places part of their Utensils, and closed up in a Cafe of Elk Skins, put into a good Box, which no Air could get into, the principal Ornaments of the Church. The English Fleet set sail the 14th of September for England, and arrived at Plimouth the 18th of October, where our Recolletts stayed five or six days; after which they were conducted to London, with some more French; from London they got to Calais [Calais] the 24th of the same Month, and from thence to our Convent of Paris.

[174] The Publick may remark, that the English having conveyed our Convent of Quebec, and that of our Lady of Angels, the last of which was found in good estate to receive

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1 François du Pont (also called Pontgravé) was a French merchant who came with his friend Champlain to Canada in 1603; he was engaged in the fur trade from that time until the conquest. — Ed.
the Jesuits at their return into Canada, whilst their House was making ready; our Religious having told them of the place where they had hid their Ornaments, gave power to the Jesuits to make use of them, or any thing they had there, as by their consent declared to Father John the Jofuit,\(^1\) which they were pleased to accept, and made use of our Goods as their own; also of our House, of our Church, and of our Lands, of which one part they hold at present, from a place called the Grihanne, unto the side of the Convent of our Lady of Angels. From which it is to be observed, that a Letter attributed to Father L’Allemant Jofuit, and related in the 13th Tome of the French Mercury, must be a Forgery: For there he, amongst other things contrary to Truth, makes him say that he was of the Sentiments of his Provincial, to whom he writ, to dedicate their Church to our Lady of Angels, and that ours was consecrated to St. Charles; which clearly demonstrates that this Letter was not Father L’Allemant’s, as is said: He was better vers’d in the History of America, than to be ignorant that the first Church in Canada belonged to the Recollets, who were the first Missioners, and that it was consecrated under the name of our Lady of Angels.\(^2\)

\(^1\)This is a blunder for Paul le Jeune, who was first of the Jesuits to return to Canada in 1632. He was one of the most noted among the Canadian missionaries of that order, and was superior of the missions during 1632-39. In 1649 he returned to France.—Ed.

\(^2\)A reference to a letter written (Aug. 1, 1626) by Charles Lalemant, then superior of Canadian missions, to his brother Jérôme, also a Jesuit. It was published at Paris in 1647, and reprinted in the Mercure François, then the chief periodical journal of France. Hennepin’s statement that this letter is a forgery seems to have no valid foundation. See Shea’s Le Clercq, p. 339, note*; also Jes. Relations, iv, pp. 185-227, 248-350—where the letter is republished in full.—Ed.
[175]  CHAP. XXXVII.

How the Religious of the Order of St. Francis, in their Missions through the habitable World, have been before the Jesuits.

I cannot but follow the Sentiments of Father Valentine le Roux, whom I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, which he hath been pleased to publish under the Name of Father Christian le Clerc.

It is a great Glory, and a great subject of Consolation, for our Holy Order of the Religious of St. Francis, to have had the advantage to be the first Forerunners of the Reverend Fathers of that Company of Jesus, in all places, by preaching the Gospel, and first digging, and preparing the Vineyard of our Lord, in all Apostolical things, in both the Indies East and West, in Asia, in Barbary, in Turkey, and generally through all parts; where the Children of St. Ignatius have since walked in the Steps of the Children of St. Francis.

In the East-Indies, where the Jesuits are at this day great in Credit, in Merit, and in Wealth, having the Dew of Heaven, and the Fat of the Earth; the Receiver-General, whose Name I have forgot, made this Discourse in my presence, at the Table of Monsieur Comte de Frontenac, Governour-General of New-France: That eight Friars Minors were sent in the Year of our Lord 1500, and preached the Gospel at
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Calicute, and Cochin; there receiving the Crown of Martyrdom, all except Father Henry, who at his return into Spain was made Confessor to the King of Portugal, and Bishop of Ceuta.

[176] In 1502, there was ordered a great Mission of our Religious, who opened the way much farther to advance the Standard of the Crofs; and there made a very great progress of the Gospel, by the Conversion of a prodigious number of these People.

In the Year 1510, our Religious of the Order of St. Francis built the famous College or Seminary of Goa, the capital City of the East-Indies; and our Religious had the Conduct of it, and what accrued to it, for the space of 28 Years; till at the last, in the Year 1542, our Religious gave it to St. Francis Xavier, that he might apply himself wholly, with his Disciples, to preach the Gospel to those barbarous Nations; of which the Historians of those times give evidence, and the Life of St. Francis Xavier, the first Edition, does declare; above all Father Horace Torcellin, in a later Edition, alloweth it: But a certain late Author of the Jesuits has been pleased to suppress this mark of Acknowledgment, which of Justice is due to us.

It is well known we have had the honour both in the East and West-Indies, and even in Japan, where we have been

1 These names should be Calicut and Cochin, cities on the west coast of Southern Hindostan.—Ed.

2 One of the most important cities on the west coast of India.—Ed.

3 The Society of Jesus was founded in 1534, by Ignacio de Loyola; his most prominent disciple was Francisco de Xavier. These two were afterward canonized, as St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. The latter began, in 1542, the missionary labors which have made him famous as ‘‘the apostle of the Indies’’; in India and
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sharers with the Fathers in the Crown of Martyrdom; our
Religious having planted the Gospel in the Kingdom of
Voxu, part of the East of Japan, as I have shewn in the Preface of this Book: and it is in these vast Countries where the Jesuits have been afterwards introduced, supported, loved, favoured, and joined with them in the Apostolical Labours.

It is not less evident in other parts of the World; the Religious of St. Francis having supported and implanted to this day, as powerful Missioners as any since the beginning of their Order.

Alexander the Fourth, in the Year 1254, gives Testimony, in one of his Epistles, that our Religious had spread themselves in all Countries, not only of [177] Schismatics, but amongst those of Infidels. Remark the words of the Sovereign Pontiff.

"Alexander, &c. To Our well-beloved the Friars-minors,
"who have been sent Missioners into the Land of the Sarazens,
"Painims, Greeks, Bulgarians, Cumanians, Ethiopians, Syrians,
"Iberians, Jacobites, Nubians, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians,
"Indians, Monofolites, Tartars, the Higher and Lower Hungary,
"to the Christian Captives among the Turks, and to
"other unbelieving Nations of the East, or in any other parts
"where they are, wishing them Health, and sending them our
"Apostolick Benediction.

In 1272, our Reverend Father Jerom d’ Asole, afterwards

Japan his preaching converted thousands to the Christian faith, and in this occupation he died (1552).

Orazio Torcellini (Torcellin) was a professor in the Jesuit college at Rome, and wrote many historical and poetical works; he died in 1599.—Ed.
created Pope Nicholas the Fourth, with his Disciples, not only managed the Reconciliation of the Greek with the Latin Church, but preached also the Gospel in Tartary; and by this means the Religious of our Order were sent for by the Princes of the Higher and Lower Armenia, in 1289, and continued their Conquests in 1332.

Turky, with the Kingdoms and Countries under the Grand Signior, have been, and are yet the Theaters of the Zeal of the Religious of St. Francis, and are demonstrations of our Travels. In the Holy Land, and other places, now subject to the Turks, the Christians are yet governed by the direction of the Children of St. Francis. Those who keep the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, have done considerable Service to the Reverend Fathers Jesuits; others of them upon divers occasions have willingly served them.

History maketh mention, that in the Year 1342, our Missioners went into Bosnia and Scelonia, amongst the Infidels, amongst the great Tartars; who now possess China, and into Peria, Media, and Chaldea.

[178] In 1370 our Mission was reinforced by Urban the fifth with 60 of our Religious; the Order being then honoured by a great number of Martyrs.

The Embassy of Eugenius the 4th, and the Mission of 40 of our Religious to Prester John in 1439, supported afterward

1 Prester (i.e., Priest) John was the title given, in the middle ages, to a supposed Christian sovereign and priest in Central Asia. It is said that this notion arose from the conversion by Nestorian missionaries, in the eleventh or the twelfth century, of a Tartar chief named Ung Khan, which was corrupted or incorrectly translated into Prester John.—Ed.
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by a greater Number, is well known, as well as the Reduction of these States by them to the Obedience of the Church of Rome.

I should never have done, if I should undertake to give an account of all the famous Missions we have been honoured with through all the World; in which the Reverend Fathers Jesuits have since spread themselves, and are now entred into our Labours, or rather we have the Advantage of continuing them with us, and acting together in perfect Union for the Glory of God, and Propagation of his Gospel, which we only seek.

It is for this reason, that our Recolets of Paris called into Canada the Jesuits to help them, that they might labour together for the gaining of Souls: But it is remarkable, that when the English had restored Canada to the French after four Years abode there, the Jesuits, who had better Helps for returning thither than our Religious, and as it were by Intrigues, a Bar was put to the Return of our Recolets. It was a sensible trouble to see, that since we had preceded all the Jesuits in all other Missions of the Christian World, that of New France was the only Place where we had not the Convolotion to continue with them in the Apostolical Labours; and by so much the more, because that reciprocal Charity, which was not in the least diminished between the two Bodies, persuaded us that the Jesuits, full of Virtue and Merit, had much regretted our absence, as seems to be evident by their Letters at that time.

It would require a Volume to describe the Difficulties that
our Religious have had, to return into our [179] Missions of Canada, and the Intrigues that some have made use of to hinder it: but nothing was omitted as to that. In conclusion, about thirty years after the Deputies of Canada, who were impatient for the return of our Recolets, told our Religious more than they were willing to know, and more than Charity would permit to publish; the Deputies told our Religious, they wanted some to make Curats at Quebec, and in some other places; that their Confessions were much troubled to have to do with the same People, both for Spirituals and Temporals, there being no Persons to whom they might communicate the difficulties of their Confessions, but to the Jesuits; and that the Recolets not being suffered to be amongst them was a great loss.

The Directors of the Company of Canada\(^1\) discoursed us to the like purpose, particularly Monsieur Rose, in company of Monsieur Margonne, Berbubier, and others; who speaking to our Recolets, expres'd himself in these terms. 'My Fathers, it had been better you had returned into Canada than any others; it is a high Injustice done to them, and the Inhabitants: we now see where the Fault lay, present your Reasons, and you, and those of the Country, shall have all the Justice we can do you. The Secretary of the Company

\(^{1}\)The commercial company (formed 1667) by Richelieu and other French officials, with many wealthy merchants, for carrying on the fur trade; it was called 'Company of New France,' also 'the Hundred Associates.' It had a monopoly of all Canadian trade, and thus gained enormous profits. In 1663 the company surrendered its charter to the crown. Margoone and Jean Rozée were directors of the company; the other name is probably a misprint for Berthier (Alexandre).—Ed.
likewise spoke thus to the Religious. 'At other times, my
'Fathers, I have been against you, for which I have begged
'God's pardon: I was mistaken at that present; I see well I
'have offended; and I pray God you may be suffered to re-
'turn into Canada, after so long time, there to take charge
'of your Cures: you are much longed for, for the repose of
'Consciences.

Father Zachary Moreau, Recolet, who died the death of
the Just in my Arms, in our Convent of St. Germain en Lay,
and Paul Huett, who hath been my Father and Master from
my Youth, at our Convent [180] of Recolets at Montargis,
said to the Deputies of the Company of Canada; 'That tho
'they would even permit us to return, we would not pretend
'to exercise the Function of Curates, lest we should give
'Jealousy to any: But if the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits
'should do us the same favour that our antient Fathers had
'done them, in the Year 1625, when our Father Joseph le
'Caron, Superior of our Convent of Quebec, permitted them,
'and even pray'd them out of love to exercise the Function
'of Cures by turns. But all at last serv'd for nothing; the
'Company sent back our Religious to the Council of Quebec,
'to amuse them; because the Council was composed of a
'Governor, and Persons who were Creatures of the Re-
'verend Fathers Jesuits, as were the Superior of the Mission
'of [sic. and] the Sindic, and [some] of the Inhabitants, whom
'they easily gained to hinder our return into Canada. The
'Father Provincial of the Jesuits, and the Father L'Allemont
'Superior of the Prefeft House, was then in France, Supe-
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riour of the Missions, which all center'd to prolong our return. The Reader may judge, that if the Reverend Fathers Jesuits had been in our place, and our Recolets in theirs, whether we should have been wanting to put a value upon their Requests, and employed our Credit to serve them: Our Recolets stood firm for them against the whole Country, who were against their coming into Canada; and after their arrival, when the Governour and Inhabitants opposed their Reception, in the Year 1625, we supported them.

True Charity, which is right and simple, perswaded us the Reverend Fathers Jesuits would not be wanting to make us a willing return of the like, upon this present occasion; and they assured us by their Letter the Year following, that it was only want of Power and Credit in the Council of Quebec, that they could not do us the Service they desired.

[181] From this it is easy to judge, that there was not one favourable Resolution given towards our Religious: The Director-General of the Company, Monsieur Lauzon, appearing to be careless of our return, and in it a very great Obstacle; he passing in quality of Governour of Canada, having often promised our Re-admission: and afterwards going Governour, pretended not to be wanting to do us good Offices. The Marques de Deno[nn]ville, who after the great Discovery I had made, went over in quality of Governour of Canada, made us the like Promises of Monsieur Lauzon,\(^1\) for the progress of our Discovery: besides, the

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\(^1\) Jean de Lauzon (one of the Hundred Associates) was Governor of Canada during 1651-56. Both he and Denonville were friendly to the Jesuits. — Ed.
Marquefs had Orders to support our Recolets in their Institute, from the Court of France; but it proved quite contrary. The Court afterwards recalling him from his Government, it was given to Monfieur the Count de Frontenac, who hath been in my time a true Father to our Recolets, and a great support to our Missions in Canada; as I have spoke at large in my Description of my Louisiana, and more in my former Volume.
CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Sentiments that a Missioner ought to have of the little Progress they find in their Labours.

All the Christian World acknowledg for a certain and undoubted Truth, and Maxim of Religion, and one of the chief Principles of Faith, that the Vocation and true Conversion of People and Nations, is the great Work and Mercy of the Power of God, and of the triumphant Efficacy of his Grace and Spirit. But if this be true of Nations that are Infidels and Idolaters, which are already under some [182] Laws and Rules, and so better prepared to receive the Instructions of Christian Religion; the Apostolick Man ought much more to acknowledg this dependance upon the Sovereign Lord, in respect of those barbarous Nations who have not any regard of any Religion true or false, who live without Rule, without Order, without Law, without God, without Worship, where Reason is buried in Matter, and incapable of reasoning the most common things of Religion and Faith.

Such are the People of Canada, all along the River of St. Laurence, and generally a prodigious quantity of People, of sundry Nations; which I have given an account of in my Louisiana, or former Book. And that which I offer is that they would in earnest acknowledg, that the Work of
the conversion of so many blind Nations, is above our strength, and that it only appertains to the Father of Spirits, as faith St. Paul, who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands, and who only is able to remove the Vail which covereth the Eyes of these Barbarians, and to clear their Understanding, to dissipate the Chaos of darknes, wherein they are buried, to bend their Inclinations, soften their hard and inflexible Hearts, and civilize them, and make them capable of those Laws which right Reason suggetts; and so submit themselves to that which Religion prescribes.

This is the Foundation of a true Parliament, in respect of the Natives of Canada, and all our great Discoveries twelve hundred Leagues beyond it. They ought to have all Moral and Theological Virtues, who are designed for so great a work as the Conversion of so many Nations; for whose Salvation I would willingly expose my Life. But before one sacrifices, and wholly devotes himself to this great Mission, he ought to lay it down for a certain Principle, That none can be drawn efficaciously to Jesus Christ, if the [183] Father of Lights do not draw him by the force of his victorious Grace: This his invisible Spirit breathes where and when he pleases; that the moments of Grace are known to God, and in the hands of the Power of the Father; and that having called all Men to Faith, in the preparation of his good Will, common to all, he gives them in his own time, exterior, interior, and sufficient Grace to obtain it: That the work is not only of him that runs, nor him that wills, but principally of him who illuminates and touches the Heart. The Glory
does not belong to him that preaches, nor to him that plants, nor to him that waters, but to him that gives the increafe. That a Sacrifice of all Nature is not able to merit of right, the firft Grace of Creation, which does not fall under that head. That it's in vain to endeavour to erect a Spiritual Edifice, if God do not assist by his preparing and preventing Grace.

An humble Simplicity must be the sole of all their Apo- tolical Labours, and a profound Annihilation of themselves, and submiffion to the holy Will of God. When their Zeal has not its effect, they must be content to say, We have done our part, as to what is required of our Miniftry, but we are unprofitable Servants.

I now beg of my Lord God upon my Knees, with my hands lifted up to Heaven, that he would be pleafed to continue and imprint in my Heart even to death, the Sentiments of Submiffion to the Will of God, and my Superiors, touching the Salvation of the Souls of so many Savages, who are in the darkness of Ignorance; that I may make an entire Sacrifice of the reft of my days in so laudable an Affair, exposing my Soul to all the Events of the Providence of God, living and dying; and that I may be so happy as to leave Sentiments truly Apostolical, full of light, capacity, Virtue and Grace, of Zeal and Courage to undertake any thing for the Conversion of Souls, to suffer patiently the greatest Difficulties, and the severest Contradictions, for the accomplishment of their Miniftry.

I beg of God from the bottom of my Heart, that all the
Missions of the Universe may with me be of the number of the Vessels of Election, destined to carry the Name of our Lord to People and Barbarous Nations, to the utmost ends of the World; and that the adorable Providence of God would be pleased to fortify his Militant Church with a number of Workmen, to labour in his Vineyard, to second the Labours of all other Orders, Secular and Regular, in the new establishments of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

FINIS.
An Account of several New Discoveries in North-America.

Of New-France.

Mr. Joliet, who was sent by Count Frontenac to discover a Way into the South-Sea, brought an exact Account of his Voyage, with a Map of it; But his Canow being over-set, at the Foot of the Fall of St. Louis, in sight of Montréal, his Cheft and his two Men were loft; therefore the following Account contains only what he has remembred.¹

I set out from the Bay of Puans in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 4 Minutes, and having travell'd about 60 Leagues to the Westward, I found a Portage; and carrying our Canows over-land for half a League, I embark'd with fix Men on the River Miscoing, which brought us into the Meschaispi in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and an half, on the 15th of June, 1674. This Portage is but 40 Leagues from the Misissipi. This River is half a League broad; its Stream is gentle to the Latitude of 38 degrees; for a River, from the West-North which runs into it, increafe so much its Rapidity, that we

¹ This is a poor and inaccurate abridgment of the account given in a contemporary MS. which is published by Margry in his Découvertes et établissements des Français, i, pp. 262–270; it is reproduced (with translation) in Jes. Relations, lviii, pp. 92–109. — Ed.
A New Discovery of

coul'd make but five Leagues a Day in our Return. The Savages told us, that the Current is not half so great in Winter. The Banks of that River are covered with Woods down to the Sea; but the Cotton-Trees are so big, that I have seen some Canows made of those Trees, eighty Foot long, and three broad, which carry thirty Men. I saw 180 of those Wooden-Canows in one Village of the Savages, [186] consisting of 300 Cabins. They have abundance of Holly Trees, and other Trees, the Bark whereof is White; Grapes, Apples, Plums, Chefnuts, Pomegranates, Mulberries, besides other Nuts unknown to Europe; plenty of Turky-Cocks, Parrots, Quails, Wild-Bulls, Stags, and Wild-Goats. These Savages are affable, civil and obliging; and the first I met with presented me with a Pipe or Calumet of Peace, which is a Protection even in a Fight. Their Women and old Men take care of the Culture of the Ground, which is so fertile as to afford three Crops of Indian Corn every Year. They have abundance of Water-Melons, Citruls, and Gourds. When they have sown their Corn, they go a Hunting for Wild Bulls, whose Fleish they eat, and the Skin serves for their Coverings, having dressed the same with a sort of Earth, which serves also to dye them. They have Axes and Knives from the French and Spaniards, in exchange of their Beavers, and Skins of Wild Goats. Those who live near the Sea have some Fire-Arms.

The Missipi has few Windings and Turnings, and runs directly to the South, and having follow'd its Course till the 33rd Degree of Latitude, I resolved to return home, seeing
that River did not discharge it self into Mar Vernejo,¹ which we look'd for, as also because the Spaniards observ'd our Motions for six Days together. The Savages told me, that the Spaniards live within thirty Leagues to the Westward.

The said M. Joliet adds, That he had set down in his Journal an exact Description of the Iron-Mines they discover'd, as also of the Quarries of Marble, and Cole-Pits, and Places where they find Salt-Petre, with several other things. He had also observ'd what were the fittest Places to settle Colonies, &c. The Soil is very fertile, and produces abundance of Grapes, which might make delicious Wines.

[187] The River of St. Lewis,² which hath its Source near Michigan, is the biggest, and the most convenient for a Colony, its Mouth into the Lake being very convenient for an Harbour. It is deep and broad, and well stock'd with Sturgeons, and other Fishes. The Stags, Bulls, Wild-Goats, Turky-Cocks, and other Game, are more plentiful on the Banks of the said River, than any where else. There are Meadows Ten or Twenty Leagues broad, encompass'd with fine Forerfts; behind which are other Meadows, in which Grains grows six Foot high. Hemp grows naturally in all that Country.

Those who shall settle themselves there, need not be oblig'd, as we are here, to bestow Ten Years labour for felling down the Trees, and grubbing up the Land, before it is fit for Corn; for the Ground is ready for the Plough in that

¹ The Vermillion Sea, now the Gulf of California.—Ed.
² So called by Joliet, but later known as the Illinois River.—Ed.
A New Discovery of

fortunate Country, where they may have good Wine. Their young Wild Bulls may be easily learn'd to plough their Land; and their long curl'd Hair, or rather Wool, may serve to make good Cloth for their wearing. In short, that Soil wou'd afford any thing necessary for Life, except Salt, which they might have another way.
[188] *An Account of M. La Salles Voyage to the River Mississipi. Directed to Count Frontenac, Governor of New-France.*

**THE River of Niagara** is Navigable for three Leagues, that is, from the Fall to the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*; but the Stream is so rapid, that it is almost impossible for a Bark to fall up into the Lake, without a strong Gale, and the help of many Men to hale from the Shore at the same time. But besides all this, it requires so many other Precautions, that one cannot expect always to succeed.

The Mouth of the Lake *Erie* is full of Sands, which make it dangerous; therefore to avoid that Danger, and not venture a Ship every Voyage, it will be safer to leave it at an Anchor, in a River which runs into the Lake six Leagues from the River *Niagara*, and is the only Harbour and Anchorage in this Lake.

There are three great Points which advance above ten Leagues into it; but being chiefly made up of Sand, they are so low that there is great Danger of running a Ship against them before they are discover'd, and therefore a Pilot must be very skilful and careful to steer a Ship in this dangerous Lake.

The Streight or Canal between the Lake *Erie*, and the *Huron*, is very rapid, and no less difficult than that of *Niagara*,

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though much deeper. The Streight of Missilkinac between the Lake Huron, and that of the Illinois, is attended with no less Difficulties, for the Current is commonly against the Wind. There is no Anchorage in the Lake [189] Huron, nor any Harbour in that of the Illinois, upon the Northern, Western, and Southern Coasts. There are many Islands in both Lakes, which make the Navigation of that of the Illinois very perilous; for there being no Harbour to run into for shelter, and the Storms being very terrible on that Lake, 'tis a great Providence when a Ship escapes being daññd in pieces against those Islands. However, some Canals and Anchorages may be discover'd in time, which will remove those great Difficulties, as has hapned in the Lake of Frontenac, the Navigation whereof is now easy, whereas it was at first as dangerous as that of the Lake Huron or Illinois.

The Creek through which we went from the Lake of the Illinois, into the Divine River, is so shallow, and so much expos'd to the Storms, that no Ship can venture to get in, unless it be in a great Calm.¹ Neither is the Country between the said Creek and the Divine River, fit for a Canal; for the Meadows between them are drown'd after any great Rain, and so a Canal will be immediately fill'd up with Sands: And besides, it is impossible to dig up the Ground, because

¹This "creek" was the Chicago River; and the Divine River was the Des Plaines, the northern fork of the Illinois; on Joliet's map of 1674 the name Divine is applied to the entire course of the Illinois. The old portage-trail and these two rivers have been made the route for the great Chicago Drainage Canal, which extends from Chicago to Joliet, and furnishes a waterway for navigation (thus far, not open to large vessels) between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.—Ed.
several Countries in America.

of the Water, that Country being nothing but a Moraits: But supposing it were posibble to cut the Canal, it woud be however ufelefs; for the Divine River is not navigable for forty Leagues together; that is, from that Place to the Village of the Illinois, except for Canows, who have hardly Water enough in Summer-time. Besides this Difficulty, there is a Fall near the Village.

We have seen no Mines there, though several Pieces of Copper are found in the Sand when the River is low. There is the best Hemp in that Country I have seen any where, though it grows naturally without any culture. The Savages tell us, that they have found near this Village some yellow Metal; but that cannot be Gold, according to [190] their own Relation, for the Oar [Ore] of Gold cannot be so fine and bright as they told us. There are Coal-Pits on that River.

The Wild Bulls are grown somewhat scarce since the Illinois have been at War with their Neighbours, for now all Parties are continually Hunting of them. The Navigation is easy from Fort Crevecoeur to the Sea; and New-Mexico is not above twenty Days Journey from the said Fort. The Nations of the Metontonta,¹ who live within Ten Days Journey from the said Fort, came to see M. la Salle, and brought a Horse’s Hoof with them: They told us, That the Spaniards make a cruel War upon them, and that they use Spears more commonly than Fire-Arms. One may go by Water from Fort Crevecoeur to the Habitation of these Savages.

¹ Or Otontenta; the Des Moines River, and tribes dwelling thereon.—Ed.
There are no Europeans at the Mouth of the River Colbert (or Misissipi); and the Monster of which M. Joliet gives so dreadful a Description, is a Fancy of some Savages, and had never any Original. It is within a Days Journey and a half from Fort Creveœur; but had M. Joliet gone down the River, he might have seen a more terrible one. That Gentleman has not consider’d that the Mosopoea, of whom he takes notice in his Map, were altogether destroy’d before he set out for his Voyage. He sets down also in his Maps several Nations, which are nothing but Families of the Illinois. The Prunevoa, Carcarilha, Tamaraa, Koracocnisonon, Chinko, Caokia, Choponco, Amokooa, Cankia, Ocanfa, and several others, make up the Nation and the Village of the Illinois, consisting of about 400 Cabins cover’d with Rushes, without any Fortifications. I have told 1800 fighting Men amongst them. They have Peace now with all their Neighbours, except the Iroquee; and it would be easy to reconcile them, were it not to be fear’d that they would afterwards fall upon the Ottouats, whom they mortally hate, and disturb [191] thereby our Commerce; so that we must leave them as they are; for as long as they shall have occasion for us, they will be ready to comply with any thing that we can desire from them, and keep in awe the Nations inhabiting to the Westward, who are much afraid of the Illinois.

The Banks of seven or eight Rivers, which discharge themselves into the Misissipi, or Colbert-River, the least whereof runs above 300 Leagues, are cover’d with Fine Timber for Building Ships.
Several Countries in America.

M. la Salle has seen some Savages of three Nations through which Ferdinand Sotto pass'd with his Army, viz. the Sicabia, Cascin, and Aminoya\(^1\): They told him that we might go by Water from Crevecœur into their Country.

It is highly necessary to carry on this Discovery; for the River inhabited by the Sicabia, which in all likelihood is the true Chukagoua, has its Source near Carolina, and consequently very near the Habitation of the English, about three hundred Leagues to the Eastward of the Mississippi in the French Florida, at the foot of the Apalacbin Hills: For had the English notice of it, they might by means of this River-Trade with the Illinois, Miamis, Nadoussians, and other Savages, spoil for ever our Commerce.

The Winter has been as hard in the Country of the Illinois as at Fort Frontenac; for though the Weather was there in January as temperate as in Provence, yet the River was still frozen on the 22d of March; and therefore I conclude 'tis much the same Climate as the Country of the Iroquois.

The Country between the Lake of the Illinois and the Lake Erie, is a row of Mountains for a hundred Leagues together, from whence spring a great number of Rivers, which run to the Westward into the Lake of the Illinois, to the North into the Lake Huron, to the East into the Lake Erie, and to the South into the River Ohio.\(^2\) Their Sources

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\(^1\) Sicabia were Chiesas. The Tennessee River was on early maps called Casquinambo; one of these, by De l'Isle, names it "River of the Casquinambo or Cheraquis" (Cherokees). It is apparently the Tennessee River which is mentioned in the following paragraph.—Ed.

\(^2\) The southeastern watershed of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan varies from 400
are so near one [192] another, that in three Days Journey I crofs'd twenty two, the leaft whereof is bigger than that of Richelieu. The top of these Mountains are flat, and full of Bogs and Morasses, which being not frozen, have prov'd an insupportable difficulty and trouble in our Voyage. There are now-and-then some Plains, which I take to be very fertile; they are cover'd with Bears, Stags, Wild-Goats, Turkey-Cocks, and Wolves, who are fo fierce as hardly to be frighted away by the Noife of our Guns. There is a River in the bottom of the Lake Erie, within Ten Leagues of the Canal, which may very much shorten the way to the Illinois, it being navigable for Canows till within two Leagues of theirs¹; but the most convenient of all is the River Ohio, which being navigable for Barks, will save all the trouble of making a Communication between the Lake of the Illinois and the Divine River, and the great Expences of making the said River navigable to Fort Crevecaur.

One muft not fancy that the Ground in the Country of the Illinois is ready for the Plough; some of them are too dry, others too wet; and in short, all require some Toil and Trouble; but I am sure they can sufficiently recompence in a little time, those who will be at the pains to cultivate them.

The Nations through which we have pass'd have receiv'd us very kindly, because of our Calumet of Peace, which is a
to 600 feet in altitude. Hennepin mentions it as a "row of Mountains" simply because it rises abruptly from a trough or depression (with an altitude of not over 72 feet) which extends across the center of the Peninsula; this sudden rise gives the effect of an apparently much greater height to the watershed.—Ed.

¹ The Maumee River.—Ed.
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safe Conduct and a sufficient Recommendation amongst the Savages.

The Illinois offer'd to accompany us to the Sea, in hopes, as we told them, that we would supply them that way with European Commodities; for the want of Knives, Axes, &c. makes them very officious. The young Calves may be easily tam'd, and very useful for settling our Plantations. The Illinois have also many Slaves which may be of great ufe to us.

There are as many idle Fellows amongst them as among other Nations, and a great many more Women [193] than Men. They marry several Wives, sometimes nine or ten, and commonly all Sisters if they can, thinking they agree better in their Family.

I have seen three Children who have been Baptiz'd; one call'd Peter, the other Joseph, and the third Mary, who nevertheless are like to live as their Father, who has marry'd three Sisters; for they have no farther Christian Instruction; Father Allouez, who Baptiz'd them, having left that Country, unless one would think that the Stick that Father left amongst them, as a Mark that the Country belongs to him, has any extraordinary Virtue to promote Christianity. These are the

1 The Illinois Indians were especially active in collecting, and selling to other tribes, slaves captured from the regions beyond the Mississippi. The French who settled at Kaskaskia and other places on the great river adopted from the savages the custom of slaveholding—first of Indian captives, and later of negroes brought from Louisiana.—Ed.

2 Claude Jean Allouez came to Canada in 1658, and labored in the Western missions from 1665 until his death (Aug. 27, 1685). He founded the Jesuit missions at Chequamegon Bay and Green Bay, and succeeded Marquette among the Illinois tribes; at the time of his death, he was laboring with the Miamis on St. Joseph River.—Ed.
only Christians I have found amongst them, which I am sure cannot be such but in Fide Ecclesiae.

Father Allouez lives now in a Village of the Miamis, Madlakoutens, and Ockiakenens, who have quitted their own Nation and Ancient Habitations, to confederate themselves with the Iroques against the Illinois; and for that purpose they sent last Summer an Embassy into the Country of the Iroques, with a Letter of Father Allouez. The end of that Embassy was, as I have said, to oblige 'em to unite themselves with them against the Illinois; and they were negotiating the Alliance, when I arriv'd at the Village of the Tjonmontouans; and upon notice thereof, a Woman was sent to tell them to run away, for fear the Iroques should kill them. They had however no design to do them any harm, as it appear'd afterwards; for the Iroques having overtaken the said Ambassadors, they were kindly us'd; but they enter'd upon no Business, as long as I continu'd there. I met with one of the said Ambassadors since that time in their own Country, who told me such horrid things, that I cannot entirely believe them; and I rather suppose the Miamis to be Contrivers thereof. However, Father Allouez had no sooner intelligence that I was arriv'd at the Village of the [194] Illinois, than that they sent one Monfo, one of their Chiefs, with four large Kettles, twelve Axes, and twenty Knives, to persuade the Illinois that I was Brother of the Iroques; that my Breath smell'd like theirs; that I eat Serpents; that I was sent to betray them, and attack them one way, while the Iroques should attack them.
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by another; that I was hated by all the Black-Gowns, who forfook me because I design'd to destroy the Miamis, having taken two of them Prisoners; and, lastly, that I understood Physick enough to payson all the World. Their Suggestion were so ridiculous and so falf, that I had no great difficulty to convince the Illinois of the Malice of my Enemies; and Mono was in great danger of losing his Life for his pains. They told him he had an Iroquoise Serpent under his Tongue, meaning his Benefices and Malice; that his Comrades who had been Ambassadors into their Country, had brought that Venom, and had breathed in the Malice of the Iroquoise in smoying in their Calumet. I was oblig'd to intercede for him, for else they would have murther'd him.

'Tis certain, that their Design is to engage Count Frontenac into a War with the Iroquoise; and having tri'd in vain several Ways to succeed, they think there is no better than to persuade the Nation of the Miamis, who are our Confederates, to settle themselves near the Illinois, and make an Alliance with them, in so much that the Iroquoise cannot attack one Nation, without breaking with the other, and thereby oblige your Lordship either to forfake our Allies, or declare Wars against the Iroquoise. This is not a rash and groundless Judgment; for these Miamis, with whom Father Allouez lives, have kill'd several Iroquoise this Winter; and having cut the Fingers of another, they sent him back to tell their Nation that the Miamis are join'd with the Illinois against them. Perhaps that Perfidiousness obliges [195] Father Allouez to quit them

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next Spring, as I understand he designs to do. However, I am confident to stop the Progress of this Cabal, if your Lordship comes this Year to weep for the Death of the Onontake [Onondagas], who have been kill'd; for the Illinois have promis'd me to releafe some Slaves, and forbear their Excurions against the Iroques, who having been inform'd of my Good Offices, have express'd a great Gratitude thereof. This Weeping is a common Ceremony among the Savages, when any of their Warriors have been kill'd.

I do not wonder that the Iroques should talk of invading our Allies; for they are every Year provok'd; and I have seen at Missilinaokinak, amongst the Poutouatamis and the Miamis, the Heads of several Iroques, whom they have kill'd by Treachery, as they were a Hunting last Spring. This is come to the Knowledge of the Iroques; for our Allies have been so impudent as to boast of it; and especially the Poutouatamis, who dancing the Calumet at Missilinaokinak before three Agneiz, or Envoys of the Iroques, boasted of their Treachery, and held in their Hands severall Heads of Hair of Iroques's.

I cannot forbear to take notice of the Discourse I had with a Savage of the Nation of the Wolf, who being convinc'd of the Truth of the Christian Religion, and press'd by some Missionaries to embrace the Catholick, and by some English Ministers to embrace Theirs, was in great perplexity which of the two he should chuse; for, as he told me, these Men are very unlike the Apostles; the former because of their great Covetousness, and the latter because of their being
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marri'd. But having observ'd in the Recolletts both Chastity and the Contempt of the Riches of the World, he was Bap-
tiz'd by them.

I have seen in this Country abundance of Green Parrots, bigger and finer than those of our Islands.
ON the 13th of May, 1673, I embark'd with M. Joliet, who was chosen to be our Director in this Undertaking, and five other French-men, in two Canows made of Barks of Trees, with some Indian Corn and boil'd [sc. smoked] Fleth for our Subsistence. We had taken care to get from the Savages all the Intelligence we could, concerning the Countries through which we design'd to travel, and had drawn a Map of the same, according to their Relation, in which we had mark'd the Rivers, and the Name of the Nations we were to meet, and the Rhombs of the Wind we were to make use of in our Journey.

The first Nation we met with, is call'd the Nation of the Wild-Oats: I went into their River to visit that People, to whom we have preach'd the Gospel for several Years, and amongst whom there are many good Christians. The Wild-Oats, from which they have got their Name, is a sort of Corn which grows naturally in the small Rivers, the bottom whereof is Owzie, as also in marshy Grounds. It is much like our

1 The Menomines, whose name means "wild-rice people"—so called because that grain (Zizania aquatica) is abundant in their country, and an important part of their food. They lived on the river which still bears their name; it forms part of the boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin.—Ed.
2 That is, oozy, meaning "slimy" or "muddy."—Ed.
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European Oats; the Stem is knotted, and grows about two Foot above the Surface of the Water. The Corn is not bigger than ours, but it is twice as long, and therefore it yields much more Meal. It grows above the Water in June, and the Savages gather it about September in this [197] manner: They go in their Canows into those Rivers, and as they go they shake the Ears of the Corn in their Canows, which easily falls, if it be ripe: They dry it upon the Fire; and when it is very dry, they put it into a kind of Sack made with the Skin of Beasts; and having made a Hole in the Ground, they put their Sack therein, and tread on it till they see the Chaff is separated from the Corn, which they Winnow afterwards. They pound it in a Mortar to reduce it into Meal, or else boil it in Water, and season it with Grease, which makes it near as good as our Rice.

I acquainted that Nation with the Design I had to travel farther into the Country, to discover the remotest Nations, and teach them the Mysteries of our Holy Religion; at which they were mightily surpriz’d, and did their utmost to dissuade me from that Enterprize. They told me that I should meet some Nations who spare no Strangers, whom they kill without any Provocation or Mercy; that the War those different Nations had one with the other, should daily expose me to be taken by their Warriors, who are perpetually abroad to surprize their Enemies: That the great River was exceedingly dangerous, and full of dreadful Monsters, who devour’d Men, and even the Canows themselves. They added, That a Devil stopp’d the Passage of the said River, and funk thos
who were so bold as to come near the place where he stood; and, in short, that the Heat was so excessive in those Parts, that we should never be able to preserve our Health.

I return'd them my hearty Thanks for their good Advices; but told them I would not follow them, since the Salvation of a great many Souls were concern'd in our Undertaking, for whom I should be glad to lose my Life. I added, That I laugh'd at their pretended Devils and Monsters, and that their [198] Informations would oblige us to stand the more upon our Guard to avoid any Surprize. And so having pray'd to God with them, and given them some Instructions, we parted from them, and arriv'd at the Bay of Paans [Green Bay], where our Fathers make a considerable Progress towards the Conversion of those Ignorant Nations.

The Name of this Bay sounds better in the Language of the Savages than in ours; for according to the Word they make of, one may call it as well the Salted Bay, as the Stinking Bay; for they call the Sea after the same Name. This oblig'd us to enquire whether there were in that Country any Salt Springs, as there is one among the Iroques; but we could find none; and therefore we think that this Name was given to this Bay, because of the great quantity of Mud and Owze that is there, from whence such Vapours arise, that occasion the most dreadful Thunders that ever I heard in any Country.

This Bay is about thirty Leagues long, and about eight
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broad, that is to say in its greatest breadth; for it grows narrower, and forms a Cone at the extremity; where one may easily observe, that this Bay has its seted Tides just as the Sea. This is not a proper place to enquire whether the Flowing and Ebbing of the Water of this Bay, may be properly call'd a Tide, or whether they are occasion'd by the Winds, which never, or very seldom fail to blow from the same Point upon the Moon's ascension to our Horizon; but this I may say, That in the greatest Calm, the Waters in this Bay flow and ebb according to the Motion of the Moon; though I will not deny but that the Winds, which move the Waters towards the middle of the Lake, may contribute to this effect.¹

We left this Bay to go into a River that discharges itself therein; and found its Mouth very [199] broad and deep. It flows very gently; but after we had advanced some Leagues into it, we saw it was interrupted by several Rocks and rapid Streams; and so shallow in some places, that it would hardly bear our Canows. The bottom is full of Flints, which are so many Razors that cut the Canows, and made it impossible for our Men to walk therein, to make the Canows more light, when the shallowness of the Water did not permit us to row away.² It is full of Buffard, Ducks, and Teals, because of the Wild Oats in the Marshes thereabouts. However, we conquer'd those Difficulties, and

¹ See the observations made by the Jesuit Louis André upon these tides (Jes. Relations, i. vii, pp. 137-139; ii. ii, 201-205; ix. 205-207). — Ed.

² The Lower Fox River of Wisconsin, the outlet of Lake Winnebago. — Ed.
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came to an Habitation of the Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabœux; but before we arriv’d at the Village, I had the Curiosity to taste the Mineral Water of a River near it, and found a Simple of a wonderful Virtue against the Venom of the Serpents. A Savage who knew it, had shown it to Father Allouez, who had often occasion to try its Virtues, God having been pleased to provide that Country with that wonderful Antidote against the Serpents, who are very dangerous in those Parts. The Root of that Simple is very hot, and tastes like Gunpowder; they chew it, and apply it to the Part of the Body stung by the Serpents; and this without any other Mystery cures the Wound; and the Serpents have such an Antipathy against the Herb, that they run away from any Man who has rubb’d his Body with the same. It produces several Stalks about a foot high; the Leaves are somewhat long; the Flower is white, and the whole looks like our Gilliflowers. I took one into our Canow, the better to examine it.

This Bay of Puans had been hitherto, as one may say, the Ultima Thule of the French, for they never durst advance further into the Country. This Village, as I have intimated, consists of three several Nations, viz. Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabœux [Kickapoos]. The first are more civil than the other, and better [200] shap’d, as well as more liberal. They wear long Hair over their Ears, which looks well

1 The site of this Indian village cannot be identified, further than to locate it on the Upper Fox River, above Lake Winnebago—probably in Green Lake County. See discussion of the subject in Jes. Relations, liv, p. 308; and Wis. Hist. Colls., xvi, p. 42, note 1. — Eb.
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enough. They are accounted valiant Men amongst their Neighbours; but are so cunning, that they seldom return from their warlike Expeditions without Booty. They are apt to learn any thing, for they love to hear the European's Talk; and Father Allouez told me, That they had such a violent desire to be instructed, that they often disturb'd his Reft to ask him Questions about what he had told them the Day before. The Maskoutens and Kikabeux are more Clownish; and there is as much difference between the Miamis and them, as between our Boors and Citizens. As the Rind of Birch-Tree are scarce in this Country, they are oblig'd to make their Cabins with Rushes, which serve as well for covering the same, as for Walls. It must be own'd that these Cabins are very convenient; for they take them down when they please, and carry them by small Parcels wherever they will, without any trouble.

When I arriv'd there, I was very glad to see a great Cross set up in the middle of the Village, adorn'd with several White Skins, Red Girdles, Bows and Arrows, which that good People had offer'd to the Great Maniou, to return him their Thanks for the care he had taken of them during the Winter, and that he had granted them a prosperous Hunting. Maniou is the Name they give in general to all Spirits whom they think to be above the Nature of Man.¹

¹The cross had to these savages a symbolic meaning, long before they saw white men. See W. J. Hoffman's explanation of its use by the Medicine society among the Menominees, in U. S. Bnr. Ethnol. Rep., 1885-86, p. 155.—Ed.
discover the largest Meadows in the World, adorn'd at certain distance with Groves and Woods. The Soil is very fertile, and produces a great quantity of Indian Corn. They preferre also Plums and Grapes.

[201] As soon as we were arriv'd, M. Joliet and I desir'd the Eldest of the Savages to meet us, and I told them that M. Joliet was sent by the Governor of Canada to discover new Countries, and I from God Almighty to teach them the Knowledge of their Creator, who being absolute Master of all his Creatures, will have all Nations to know him; and that therefore to comply with his Will, I did not value my Life, which I freely expos'd to all manner of Dangers; Concluding, That we wanted two Guides to put us in our Way, which we desir'd them to grant us. We enforce'd our Compliment with some Prefents that were kindly accepted by the Savages; who answer'd us likewise with a Present, viz. a Mat, which was our Bed during our Voyage. They granted us also two Guides, to accompany us for some Days. The next Day, being the 10th of June, the two Miamis who were to conduct us, imbarke'd with us in sight of all the Inhabitants of the Village, who could not admire enough that seven Europeans should venture upon so dangerous and extraordinary an Undertaking.

We were inform'd, that within three Leagues of the Miasoutens, there was a River which runs into the *Hennepin calls *Missiippi, and that we were to go directly to the it Mieschaffpi. West-South-West, to find it; but there are so many Morasses and Lakes between it, that had it not been for our Guide,
we had never been able to find it; and the River upon which we row'd, to find the Place we were to Land and carry our Canow into the other, was so full of Wild-Oats, that it lookt rather like a Corn-Field than a River; infomuch that we cou'd hardly discover its Channel. As the Miamis frequented this Place, they conducted us to the usual Place of Portage, and help'd us to carry our Canow over-land into the other River, distant from the former about two Miles and a half; from [202] whence they return'd home, leaving us in an unknown Country, having nothing to rely upon but the Divine Providence. We made a Solemn Vow in this place, and resolv'd to use some particular Prayers every Day to the Blessed Virgin, to recommend our Persons and Enterprize to her Protection, and afterwards embark'd.

This River is call'd Mosconhin [Wisconsin]: It is very broad, but the Sands make its Navigation difficult; and this Difficulty is increas'd by an infinite Number of Islands cover'd with Vines. The Country through which it flows is very fine; the Groves dispo's'd at certain Distances in the Meadows, make a noble Prospect; and the Fruit of the Trees discovers the Fertility of the Soil. Those Groves are full of Walnut-Trees, as also of Oaks, and of another sort of Trees unknown to us in Europe, the Boughs whereof are arm'd with long Thorns. We saw no other Game in these Meadows but abundance of Wild-Goats, and Wild-Bulls. Within thirty Leagues of this Place where we embark'd, we found some Iron-Mines; and one of our Company, who had formerly

1 The Fox-Wisconsin portage (see p. 306, note 1, ante).—Ed.
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feen such Mines, told us that these were extraordinary good: They are not above three Foot deep, and are fituate near a Row of Rocks, the Foot whereof is cover'd with fine Woods. After having row'd ten Leagues further, that is, forty Leagues in all from the Place where we embark'd, we came into the Mississipi on the 17th of June. The Mouth of the Meconfin is about forty two Degrees and a half of Latitude. The Satisfaction I had to see this famous River, is almost incredible; for though the Savages had often spoken of it to our Men, none of them had been so bold as to venture so far in this unknown Country. This oblig'd me to consider this River with a greater Attention than otherwise I wou'd have done, as the Reader will perceive in perusing the following Account.

[203] The Mississipi is form'd by several Lakes in the North-Country, from whence it runs to the South. Its Channel is pretty narrow at the Mouth of the Meconfin, being frighten'd by a Row of high Mountains on the other side; but however its Stream is very gentle, because of its depth; for we found there nineteen Fathom Water. But a little below that Place, it enlarges it self, and is about three quarters of a League broad. Its Banks are very fine; but three Days after, we discover'd a much better Country. The Trees are higher, and the Islands so beautiful, that I verily believe there is nothing like it in the World. The Meadows are cover'd with an infinite number of Wild-Goats and Bulls, and the River with Bufsards and Swans without Wings, because their Feathers fall in this Country about that
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time. We saw extraordinary Fishes, and one of them was so big, that our Canow was like to be broke into Pieces, because it ran against it. We saw also a very hideous Sea-Monster; his Head was like that of a Tyger; but his Nose was somewhat sharper, and like a Wild-Cat; his Beard was long, his Ears stood upright, the Colour of his Head being Grey, and the Neck Black. He look'd upon us for some time; but as we came near him, our Oars frightened him away: This is the only one we saw.¹ We caught abundance of Sturgeons, and another sort of Fish somewhat like our Trouts, except that their Eyes and Nose are much leffer, and that they have near the Nose a Bone like a Woman's Busk, three Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long, the End whereof is flat and very broad, insomuch that when they leap out of the Water, the Weight of that Bone makes them fall backwards. We saw also abundance of Turky-Cocks on the Banks of the River.

[204] The Pishious, which we call Wild-Bulls, are not much unlike ours; they are not altogether so long, but twice as big: We shot one of them, and thirteen Men had much ado to drag him from the Place where he fell. Their Head is of a prodigious bigness, their Forehead broad and flat, and their Horns (between which there is at least a Foot and a half distance) are all black, and much longer than those of our European Cattle. They have a Bump on the Back; and their Head, Breast, and part of the Shoulders, are cover'd

¹ Probably a panther. The fish here described is the spade-fish (p. 219, note 1, ante).—Ed.
with long Hair. They have in the middle of their Forehead an ugly Tuff of long Hair, which falling down over their Eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look dreadful. The rest of the Body is cover'd with curl'd Hair, or rather Wooll, like our Sheep, but much thicker and ruffer. Their Hair falls in Summer-time, and then their Skin is as soft as Velvet, nothing remaining but a kind of short Down. The Savages make use of their Skins for Gowns, which they paint with several Colours. Their Flesh and Fat is excellent, and the best Difh of the Savages, who destroy abundance of them, though they are very fierce and dangerous; and if they can but take a Man with their Horns, they tofs him up, and then tread upon him. The Savages hide themselves when they have shot at them, for else they shou'd be in great danger of their Lives, those Beasts being fiercer when wounded; they follow them at certain distances, till they have lost so much Blood as to be unable to do them any hurt, or to defend themselves. They Graze upon the Banks of the River; and I have seen above four hundred together.\footnote{Regarding the bison (usually known as buffalo), see monographs in U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, Ann. Rep., 1875, pp. 443-587; and Smithsonian Inst. Rep., 1887, pt. 2, pp. 367-548.—Eu.}

We continu'd to fall down the River, having seen nothing for above a hundred Leagues, but Beasts and Birds; however, we were always upon our Guard, and especially during the Night, for [205] fear of any surprize. We landed in the Evening to dress our Supper, and made but a little Fire, and then left the Shore, casting an Anchor near the middle.
of the River, where we lay, as the safest Place, and yet one of us watch'd always by turns. On the 25th of June we went a-shore, and found some fresh Traces of Men upon the Sand, and then found a Path which led into a Meadow. We call'd our Men together, and it was resolv'd that our Men shou'd continue in the Canows, while M. Joliet and I shou'd follow that Path, and endeavour to find the Habitation of the Savages. This Undertaking was very bold, yet relying upon God Almighty, we went on, and within ten Leagues from thence, discov'rd a Village on the Banks of a River, and two other Villages on a Hill within half a League from the former. Having again implor'd God's Protection, we advanc'd so near to the Savages, that we cou'd hear them talk, and therefore thought it was time to give them notice of our Arrival, which we did with a loud Cry, and then stopp'd. The Savages immediately came out of their Cabins, and seeing but two Men, they were not frighted, and especially because we had acquainted them by our Cry, with our Approach; therefore they sent four of their Old Men to talk to us, and fee who we were, and what Business we came upon. They carri'd two Pipes adorn'd with Feathers of several Colours, which they presented to the Sun, without speaking a Word. They march'd so slowly, that we began to be impatient; and when they came near us, they stopp'd, and us'd many Ceremonies. We were very glad to see them cover'd with Cloth, for thereby we judg'd they were either our Allies, or Friends of our Allies; and therefore I spoke to them, and ask'd them who they were? They answer'd,
That they were *Illinois*, and [206] presented us their Pipe to smoke, desiring us also to walk to their Habitations. Those Pipes are call'd both by the Savages and Europeans, *Calumets*; and therefore I shall make use of their Word for the future, having often occasion to mention these Pipes.

They conducted us to a Cabin, where an Old Man waited for us, in a very extraordinary Posture, which, as I understand since, is the usual Ceremony they use for the Reception of Strangers. This Man stood before the Cabin, having both his Hands lifted up to Heaven, opposite to the Sun, so much that it darted its Rays through his Fingers, upon his Face; and when we came near him, he told us, *What a fair Day this is since thou comest to visit us! All our People wait for thee, and thou shalt enter our Cabin in Peace.* Having repeated the Compliment to M. *Joliet*, he conducted us into his Cabin, where abundance of People crowded to see us, keeping however a great Silence, that we heard nothing a great while, but now and then these Words, *You have done well, Brothers, to come and see us.*

As soon as we sat down, they presented us, according to Custom, their *Calumet*, which one must needs accept, for else he shou'd be lookt upon as an open Enemy, or a meer Brute; however, it is not necessary to smoke; and provided one puts it to his Mouth, it is enough. While the Old Man smoked in our Cabin to entertain us, the Great Captain of the *Illinois* sent us word to come to his Village, where he design'd to confer with us; and accordingly we went to him, being attended by all the Inhabitants of this Village, who having
never seen any Europeans before, accompani'd us all the Way. We met that Captain at the Door of his Cabin, in the middle of Ten Old Men; all of them were standing, and each had his Calumet [207] towards the Sun. He made us a short Speech, to congratulate our happy Arrival in that Country; and presented us his Calumet, wherein we were oblig'd to smok before we went into his Cabin.

This Ceremony being over, he conducted us, and desir'd us to sit down upon a Mat, and the Old Men of that Nation being present, I thought fit to acquaint them with the Subject of our Voyage, and therefore I told them, 1. That we design'd to visit all Nations that were on that River, down to the Sea. 2. That God Almighty, their Creator, took pity on them, and had sent me to bring them to the Knowledge of his Being, and therefore expected a full Submission from them. 3. That the Great Captain of the French had commanded me to tell them, that he had subdued the Iroques, and would have every Body to live in Peace. 4. We desir'd them to tell us whatever they knew concerning the Nations we were to meet along the River. We enforc'd every Point of our Speech with a Present, and then sat down. The Captain of the Illinois ans wer'd, That he was very glad to hear of the great Actions of our Captain, meaning the Governor of Canada, and desir'd us to remain amongst them, because of the great Dangers to which we shou'd be expos'd in continuing our Voyage; but I told them that we did not fear to lose our Lives for the Glory of God; at which they were mightily surpriz'd. He presented us with a Calumet.
the most mysterious thing in the World; of which I shall give an Account in another Place.

The Council being over, we were invited to a Feast, which we were oblig'd to accept. The first Meal was a Dish of Sagamithee, that is, some Meal of Indian Corn boil'd with Water, and season'd with Grease: The Master of Ceremonies holding [208] a kind of Spoon-full of that Sagamithee, put some thrice into my Mouth, and then did the like to M. Joliet. They brought for a Second Course, three Fishes in a Dish, whereof he took a Piece, and having took out the Bones, and blown upon it to cool it, he put it into my Mouth, just as a Bird feeds his young ones. The Third Service was a huge Dog, whom they kill'd on purpose; but understanding that we eat no such Creatures; they brought a Piece of Beef, and serv'd us as before.

As soon as we had done, we went to visit the Village, which consists of near three hundred Cabins, being attended by an Officer, to oblige the Savages to make room, and not crowd upon us. They presented us with Girdles and Garters, and some other Works made of the Hair of Bears and Bulls. We lay in the Cabin of the Captain, and the next Day took our Leave of him, promising to return in Four Moons.¹ They conducted us as far as our Canows, with near eight hundred Persons, who express'd an extraordinary Joy for our kind Visit, as they call'd it.

It will not be improper to relate here what I observ'd of the Custom and Manners of this People, which are very

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¹ That is, four months; for the Indians reckon time by the moon's revolutions.—Ed.
several Countries in America.

Different from what is practis'd among the other Nations of the Northern-America.

The Word Illinois in their Language signifies Men, as if they did look upon the other Savages as Beasts; and truly it must be confess'd that they are not altogether in the Wrong, for they have more Humanity than all the other Nations that I have seen in America. The short time I remain'd with them, did not permit me to inform my self, as much as I desir'd, of their Customs and Manners; but here is what I was able to observe; They are divided into several Villages, whereof some are very remote [209] from those that I have seen. They call them Perouarea [sc. Peouarea]; but as they live so far one from the other, their Language is also very different. However, it is a Dialect of the Algonquin, and therefore we were able to understand what they said, and to converse with them. They are good-natur'd Men, tractable and easy: They keep several Wives, and yet they are exceedingly jealous: They observe with great Care their Behaviour; and if they find them in any Fault as to their Chastity, they cut off their Noses and Ears; and I saw several who carry'd upon their Faces the Marks of their Infidelity. The Illinois are very well shap'd, and very dextrous: They are good Marks-men with their Arrows and small Guns, with which they are suppos'd by the Savages that have Commerce with the Europeans. This makes them formidable to the other Nations inhabiting to the Westward, who have no Fire-Arms. The Illinois knowing how much they are frighted at the Noise of their Guns, make Excursions very far to the Westward,
and bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other Nations for the Commodities they want. Those Nations are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools; and their Knives, Axes, and other Instruments, are made of Flint, and other sharp Stones.

When the Illinois go upon any Expedition, the whole Village must have notice of it; and therefore they use to make an Out-cry at the Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and the Morning they are to set out. Their Captains are distinguished from the Soldiers by Red Scarfs, made with the Hair of Bears or Wild Bulls, that are curiously wrought. They have abundance of Game; and their Soil is so fertile, that their Indian Corn never fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine. They sow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and especially those whose Seed is Red. They [210] greatly esteem their Citruls, though they are none of the best. They dry them up, and keep them till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabins are very large; they are made, cover'd, and pave'd with Mats of Marish-Ruhes. Their Dishes are of Wood; but their Spoons are made of the Bones of the Skull of Wild-Oxen, which they cut so as to make them very convenient to eat their Sagamitee. They have Physicians amongst them, towards whom they are very liberal when they are sick, thinking that the Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportionable to the Presents they make unto those who have prescribed them. They have no other Clothes but Skins of Beasts, which serve to cover their
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Women; for the Men go most of the Year stark-naked. I don't know by what Superstition some of the Illinois and Nadoueffians wear Women's Apparel. When they have taken the same, which they do in their Youth, they never leave it off; and certainly there must be some Mystery in this Matter, for they never Marry, and work in the Cabins with Women, which other Men think below them to do. They may go however to their Wars, but they must use only a Club, and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they say, for Men alone. They affix at all the Superstitions of their Fuglers, and their solemn Dances in honour of the Calumet, in which they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are call'd to their Councils, and nothing is determin'd without their Advice; for, because of their extraordinary way of Living, they are look'd upon as Manitous, or at least for great and incomparable Genius's.¹

I must speak here of the Calumet, the most mysterious thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not so much respected; for the Savages have such a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it, the God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of [211] Life and Death. One, with this Calumet, may venture amongst his Enemies, and in the hottest Engagement they lay down their Arms before this Sacred Pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them, which was very useful to us in our Voyage. Their Calumet of Peace is different from the Calumet of War; They make use of the

¹ See p. 168, note 1, ante.—Ed.
former to seal their Alliances and Treaties, to travel with safety, and receive Strangers; and the other is to proclaim War.

It is made of a Red Stone like our Marble\(^1\); the Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixt to a hollow Reed, to hold it for smoking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of several Colours; and they call it, \textit{The Calumet of the Sun}, to whom they present it, especially when they want fair Weather or Rain, thinking that that Planet can have no less respect for it than Men have, and therefore that they shall obtain their Desires. They dare not wash themselves in Rivers in the beginning of the Summer, or taste the new Fruit of Trees, before they have drank the \textit{Calumet}, which they do in the following manner:

This Dance of the \textit{Calumet} is a solemn Ceremony amongst the Savages, which they perform upon important Occasions, as to confirm an Alliance, or make Peace with their Neighbours. They use it also to entertain any Nation that comes to visit them; and in this Cafe we may consider it as their Balls. They perform it in Winter-time in their Cabins, and in the open Field in the Summer. They choose for that purpose a fit Place among Trees, to shelter themselves against the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the middle a large Matt, as a Carpet, to lay upon [it] the God of the Chief of the

\(^1\) This red stone was that now known as "catlinite," thus named for George Catlin, the artist, who was the first to describe (1836) the place from which the Indians obtained it. This is the noted Pipestone Quarry, in Pipestone county, in the southwestern corner of Minnesota. \textit{See Jes. Relations}, lix, p. 310.—Ed.
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Company, who gave the Ball; for every one has his peculiar God, whom they call Manitou [sc. Manitou]. It is sometime a Stone, a Bird, a Serpent, or any thing else that they dream of in [212] their Sleep; for they think this Manitou will supply their Wants, by Fishing, Hunting, and other Enterprises. To the Right of their Manitou they place the Calumet, their Great Deity, making round about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms, viz. their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.

Things being thus dispos’d, and the Hour of Dancing coming on, those who are to sing, take the most Honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or the Green Arbours they make in cafe the Trees be not thick enough to shadow them. They choose for this Service the best Wits amongst them, either Men or Women. Every Body sits down afterwards, round about, as they come, having first of all saluted the Manitou, which they do in blowing the Smoak of their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering to it Frankincense. Every Body, one after another, takes the Calumet, and holding it with his two Hands, dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs. This Preludium being over, he who is to begin the Dance, appears in the middle of the Assembly, and having taken the Calumet, pretends it to the Sun, as if he would invite him to smoke. Then he moves it into an infinite number of Postures, sometimes laying it near the Ground, then stretching its Wings, as if he would make it fly, and then presents it to the Spectators, who smoke with
it one after another, dancing all the while. This is the first Scene of this famous Ball.

The Second is a Fight, with Vocal and Instrumental Musick; for they have a kind of Drum, which agrees pretty well with the Voices. The Person who dances with the Calumet, gives a Signal to one of their Warrioras, who takes a Bow and Arrows, with an Ax, from the Trophy already [213] mentioned, and fights the other, who defends himself with the Calumet alone, both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being over, he who holds the Calumet, makes a Speech, wherein he gives an Account of the Battles he has fought, and the Prisoners he has taken, and then receives a Gown, or any other Present, from the Chief of the Ball. He gives then the Calumet to another, who having acted his Part, gives it to another, and so of all others, till the Calumet returns to the Captain, who presents it to the Nation invited unto that Feast, as a Mark of their Friendship, and a Confirmation of their Alliance. I can't pretend to be so much Master of their Language as to judge of their Songs, but methinks they are very witty.

We parted from the Illinois towards the middle of June, about Three o'clock, and fell down the River, looking for another call'd Pekitanou, which runs from the North-West into the Mississipi, of which I shall speak anon. As we follow'd the Banks, I observ'd on a Rock a Simple, which I take to be very extraordinary. Its Root is like small Turnips link'd together by some Fibres of the fame Root, which

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1 One of the early names of the Missouri River.—Ed.
Several Countries in America.

taftes like Carrots. From that Root springs a Leaf as large as one's Hand, and about an Inch thick, with some Spots in the middle; from whence spring also some other Leaves, each of them bearing five or fix yellow Flowers, like little Bells.

We found abundance of Mulberries as good and as big as ours; and another Fruit which we took at first for Olives, but it taftes like Orange. We found another Fruit as big as an Egg, and having cut it into two Pieces, we found the inside was divided into sixteen, eighteen, and twenty small Cells or Holes, and in each of them a Fruit like our Almonds, which is very sweet, though the Tree stinks: Its Leaves are like our Walnut-Trees. We [214] saw also in the Meadows a Fruit like our Filbirds [Filberts]: The Tree which bears it has its Leaves much broader than ours; and at the End of the Branches there is a kind of a Purse like a Turnbole, in which the Filbirds are lock'd up.¹

Along the Rocks I have mention'd, we found one very high and steep, and saw two Monsters painted upon it, which are so hideous, that we were frighted at the first Sight, and the boldest Savages dare not fix their Eyes upon them. They are drawn as big as a Calf, with two Horns like a Wild-Goat; Their Looks are terrible, though their Face has something of Human Figure in it: Their Eyes are Red, their Beard is like that of a Tyger, and their Body is cover'd with Scales. Their Tail is so long that it goes o'er their Heads, and then

¹ B. F. French (in Shea's Discovery of the Mississippi Valley, p. 28), identifies these fruits as Cactus opuntia, Diospyros virginiana (persimmon), and Castanea pumila (chincapin).

"'Turnbole'" is a misprint for "'turnsole'" (Fr. tournesol), the sunflower.—Ed.

American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org
turns between their Fore-Legs under the Belly, ending like a Fife-Tail. There are but three Colours, viz. Red, Green, and Black; but those Monsters are so well drawn, that I cannot believe that the Savages did it; and the Rock whereon they are painted is so steep, that it is a Wonder to me how it was possible to draw those Figures: But to know to what purpose they were made, is as great a Mystery. Whatever it be, our best Painters would hardly do better.

As we fell down the River, following the gentle Stream of the Waters, and discoursing concerning those Monsters, we heard a great Noise of Waters, and saw several Pieces of Timber, and small floating Islands, which were hudled down the River Pekitanoui. The Waters of this River are so muddy, because of the violence of its Stream, that it is impossible to drink of it, and they spoil the Clearness of the Mississippi, and make its Navigation very dangerous in this Place. This River runs from the North-West; and I hope to discover, in following its Channel towards its Source, [215] some other River that discharges it itself into the Mar Marvejo [i.e., Bermejo, or Vermejo], or the Caliphornian-Gulp. The Savages told me, That about six Days Journey from its Mouth, there is a Meadow of thirty Leagues broad, at the end whereof, directly to the North-West, is a small River, which is almost navigable for Canows, and runs to the South-West into a Lake, from which springs a deep River, which runs directly Westward into the Sea, which certainly must be the Mar Vermejo, and I hope I shall have, one time or other, the opportunity to undertake that Discovery, to instruct those
poor Nations who have been so long ignorant of their Creator. But leaving this Digression, I return to the Mississipi.

About 20 Leagues lower than the Pekitanou, we met another River call'd Ouabouskigo, which runs into the Mississipi, in the Latitude of 36 degrees; but before we arriv'd there, we pass'd through a most formidable Place to the Savages, who believe that a Manitoa, or Devil, resides in that Place, to destroy such who are so bold as to come near it. They told us dreadful Stories to deter us from our Undertaking; but this terrible Manitoa proves nothing but some Rocks in a turning of the River, about thirty foot high, against whom the Stream runs with a great violence; and being beaten back by the Rocks and Island near it, the Waters make a great noise, and flow with a great rapidity through a narrow Canal, which is certainly very dangerous to unskilful Canow-men. This River Ouabouskigo comes from the Eastward; the Chouanas\(^1\) inhabit its Banks, and are so numerous, that I have been inform'd there are thirty eight Villages of that Nation situated on this River. This People is much infested by the Iroque, who make a cruel War upon them without any Provocation, but only because they are [216] a poor harmless Nation, unacquainted with any Arms. They take them without any resistance, and carry them into Slavery.

A little above the Mouth of the River, we saw some

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\(^1\) A misprint for Chouanons (Shawnees). The river here mentioned was the Ohio, often called by early French explorers Ouabache, which is apparently a corruption of the Indian name given in the text. —Ed.
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Downs, wherein our Men discover'd a good Iron-Mine: They saw several Veins of it, and a Lay of about a foot thick. There is also a great quantity of it adhering to the Flints, some of which they brought into our Canow. There is also a kind of fat Earth of three different Colours, viz. Purple, Violet, and Red, which turns the Water into a deep Blood-colour. We found also a red Sand very heavy: I put some upon my Oar, which immediately became red; and the Waters could not wash it away for a Fortnight together. We had seen no Reeds or Canes; but they begin to be so thick in this Place, that Wild Bulls can hardly go through them. They grow very high and big, and their Knots are crown'd with several Leaves long and sharp, the greenness whereof is incomparable.

We had not been troubled hitherto with Gnats, but they began to be very troublesome to us a little lower in the Ouabouskigou. The Savages who inhabit this Country are oblig'd to build their Huts in a different manner from the other, because of those troublesome Flies. They drive into the Ground big Poles, very near one another, which support a large Hurdle, which serves them instead of a Floor, under which they make their Fire; and the Smoak drives away those Creatures, who cannot abide it. They lay upon that Hurdle, the Roof whereof is cover'd with Skins against the Rain, and serves also to shelter them against the Heat of the Sun. The same Reason oblig'd us to make a Cabin over our Canow.

[217] As we were considering the Country, the Banks of
the River being very low, we discover'd several Savages arm'd with Fire-Arms, waiting for us upon the Shoar, where the Stream of the River carri'd us. Our Men prepar'd themselves to fight, and it was revolv'd to let them fire first of all; and as we came near, I spoke to them in the Language of the Hurons, and shew'd my Calumet of Peace; but they did not answer me, which we took for a Declaration of War. However, we revolv'd to venture to pass; but when they had seen us at a nearer distance, they desir'd us in a friendly manner to come to their Habitations, where they entertain'd us with Beef and Oil of Bears, together with white Plums, as good every whit as ours. These Savages have Guns, Knives, Axes, Shovels, Glass-Beads, and Bottles wherein they put their Gunpowder. They wear their Hair long as the Iroquois do, and their Women are cover'd as they are amongst the Hurons. They told us, That they were only within Ten Days Journey of the Sea; that they bought those Commodities from Europeans who live to the Eastward; that these Europeans had Images and Beads; that they play upon Instruments; that some were cloath'd as I was, and that they were very kind to them. However, I could find nothing in them that could persuade me that they had receiv'd any Instructions about our Holy Religion. I endeavour'd to give them a general Idea of it, and presented them with some Medals to put them in mind of it.

The account given us by the Savages was a great Encouragement to us, in hopes to see the Sea in a few Days; and therefore we row'd with an extraordinary vigour. The Banks
of the River began to be cover'd with high Trees, [218] which hinder'd us from observing the Country, as we had done all along; but we judged from the bellowing of the Bulls, that the Meadows are very near. We saw some Quails on the Water-side, and shot a small Parrot, who had the half of his Head red, and the other part and the Neck yellow, and the rest of the Body green. We found our selves in this Place in the Latitude of 33 Degrees, steering directly Southerly; and a little while afterwards we discover'd a Village on the River-side call'd Micrigamea. The Savages made a great noise, and appear'd in Arms, dividing themselves into three Parties, one of which stood on the Shoar, while the others went into their Wooden Canows, to intercept our Retreat, and prevent our escape. They were arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Clubs, Axes, and Bucklers. Notwithstanding these Preparations, we row'd directly to the Shoar, where their main Body stood; and as we came near, two of their young Warriors flung themselves into the Water to board my Canow, which he would have done, had not the rapidity of the Stream prevented his Design; so that they were forc'd to return a-shore, having thrown at us their Clubs, which by good fortune went over our Heads. I presented my Calumet of Peace, but they were so busy that they could not see: However, as they advance'd in a body to shoot at us, the Old Men discover'd my Calumet; whereupon they made an Out-cry, commanding their Youth to stop, and two of them advance'd to the Water-side, throwing their Arrows and Quivers into our Canow, as a sign of Peace, desiring us by signs to come
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a-hoar, which we did, though with great apprehensions. I spoke to them in six different Languages, [219] of which they understood none; but they brought an Old Man who spoke Illinois, whom we told, That we design'd to go to the Sea, and made them some small Presents. They understood what I told them on this matter; but very little, as I fear, of what I added concerning the Creator of the World. They answer'd, That we should learn whatever we desire'd ten Leagues lower, at a great Village call'd Akamsea, and presented us with their Sagometta, and some Fife.

We lay there that Night in great Fears, and the next Morning embark'd again with our Interpreter and ten Savages in one of their Wooden Canows, and met within half a League from Akamsea two large Canows full of Savages. The Captain was standing in the first, holding his Calumet, of which he made several Motions, according to the Customs of his Country. I stood up likewise in my Canow with my Calumet, at which they were so pleas'd, that they met us with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, attended with Songs and Shouts. They presented us their Calumet to smoke, and some Bread made of Indian Corn, and then return'd home, bidding us to follow him, which we did at some distance. They had in the mean time prepar'd a kind of Scaffold to receive us, adorn'd with fine Mats; upon which we sat down, and the Old Men and Warriors near us, the rest of the People standing off. We found amongst them a young Man who spoke Illinois much better than the Interpreter we had brought with us from Mitchigamea; and we desire'd him to
acquaint his Nation with the Subject of our Voyage, as he had understood it from us. We made him some small Presents, which they receiv'd with great Civility, [220] and seem'd to admire what I told them concerning God, the Creation of the World, and the Providences; telling us by the Interpreter, That they should think themselves very happy, if we would remain with them to teach them.

They told us that we were within five Days Journey from the Sea; but that they were not acquainted with the Nation inhabiting the same; meaning doubtless the Europeans; for their Enemies hindered them from keeping any Correspondence with them. They added, That their Axes, Knives, and Glass Beads, had been given them in exchange of other Commodities, by some Nations inhabiting to the Eastward, and by some Illinois, who had an Habitation to the Westward within four Days Journey of them: That the Savages whom we had met with Fire-Arms, were their Enemies, who hindred their Commerce with the Europeans; and that we should be expos'd to great Dangers, if we did venture to proceed farther, because those Savages were continually cruising on the River. In the mean time, they brought us some Sagametee, with some roasted Corn, and a piece of a Dog.

These Savages are very courteous, and give freely what they have; but their Provisions are but indifferent, because they dare not leave their Habitation to go a Hunting for fear of their Enemies. They have Indian Corn in great plenty, and at all times, having three Crops every Year. They roast it, or else boil it in great Pots of Earth, which
are curiously made. They go naked, and wear their Hair very short, boring their Ears, which they adorn with Rings of Glass-Beads; but their Women are cover'd with Skins, having their Hair divided into two \( \text{[221]} \) Tresses, which they throw behind their Back, without any other Ornament. Their Feasts are without any Ceremony: They serve their Meats in great Dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases. Their Language is very difficult, and I could never pronounce any Word of it. Their Cabins are made with the Barks of Trees, and are generally very long; they lie at the two ends, their Beds being about two foot higher than the Floor. They keep their Corn in Paniers made of Rufhes, or in great Gourds. They have no Beavers, and all their Commodities are the Skins of Wild Bulls. It never snows in their Country, and they have no other Winter than some violent Rains, which makes the only difference between Summer and Winter. They have no other Fruit but Water-Melons, though their Soil might produce any other, did they know how to cultivate it.

They held a Council, wherein some proposed to murther us, because of our Commodities; but their Chief oppos'd that bafe Design, and having sent for us, 

\[ \text{danc'd the Calumet} \]

in our Prefence, which he presented me with, to seal our common Friendship. M. Joliet and I in the mean time call'd our Men together, to advise whether we shou'd proceed any

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1 Regarding the pottery manufactured by the tribes of this region, see Holmes’s "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," in U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep., 1882-83, pp. 360-436; and Report of Peabody Museum for 1875 and 1876.—Ed.
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further; or return home from thence; and having consider'd that the Gulph of Mexico lying in the Latitude of 31 Degrees and 40 Minutes, cou'd be but within three or four Days Journey 'from the Akamsea, and that therefore the Mississippi discharg'd it self into it, and not to the Eastward of the Cape of Florida, or into the Californian-Sea, as it was expected, it was resolv'd to return home. We consider'd likewise that the Advantage of our great Voyage wou'd be altogether lost to our Nation, did we fall into the [222] hands of the Spaniards, from whom we cou'd except no other Treatment but Death or Slavery; and therefore it was more prudent to content our selves with this Discovery, and make a Report thereof to those who had sent us. So that having rested another Day, we left the Village of the Akamsea, on the 17th of July, having follow'd the Mississippi from the Latitude of 42 to 34, and preach'd the Goæpel to the utmost of my Power, to the Nations we visitid. We went up the River with great difficulty, because of the Rapidity of the Stream, and left it in the Latitude of 38 Degrees, and went into a River, which conducted us into the Lake of the Illinois, which Way is much shorter than the other, by the River Missourin, through which we came.

I never saw a more pleasant Country than the Banks of that River. The Meadows are cover'd with Wild-Bulls, Stags, Wild-Goats; and the Rivers and Lakes with Buitards, Swans, Ducks, Beavers. We saw also abundance of Parrots. Several small Rivers fall into this, which is deep and broad, for 65 Leagues, and therefore navigable almost all the Year.
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long. There is but a Portage of half a League into the Lake of the Illinois.¹ We found on the Banks of the said River a Village of Illinois call'd Kwikka [sc. Kaskasia], consisting of 74 Cabins. They receiv'd us with all the Kindness imaginable, and oblig'd me to promise that I wou'd return to instruc't them, and live in their Country. Their Captain, with most of their Youth, accompani'd us to the Lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan], from whence we return'd to the Bay of Puans; where we arriv'd towards the latter end of September, having been about three Months in our Journey.

[223] Although my tedious Journey shou'd be attended with no other Advantage than the Salvation of one Soul, I shou'd think my Pains sufficiently rewarded, and I hope I may presume so much; for having preach'd the Gospel to the Illinois of Perouacca for three Days together, in our Return, my Words made such an Impression upon that poor People, that as we were embarking, they brought to me a Dying Child, to Chriften him, which I did about half an Hour before he dy'd, by a special Providence of God, who was pleas'd to fave that innocent Creature.²

¹A reference to the Chicago-Des Plaines portage; see p. 626, note 1, ante.—Ed.
²This is an inaccurate and often abridged translation of Marquette's report of his voyage with Joliet down the Mississippi River. For an accurate reproduction of this document (with translation), see Jes. Relations, lix, pp. 189-163.—Ed.
Frequent mention having been made in the preceding Journal, of M. du Salles; it may be expected some Account should be given of his latter Discoveries, the unfortunate Success thereof, and his own Tragical End; which so discourag'd the French, that they never made any further Attempt.

Mr. du Salles, with divers French who did accompany him, fell down to the Mouth of the Great River, where it difembogues itself into the Gulf of Mexico; but neither he nor any of his Company understanding Navigation, or wanting Instruments, fanci'd they were in the Latitude of 27 Degrees, whereas really it was 29; and not being able to inform themselves of its Longitude, or distance from the most Weasterly End of the Gulf, they presum'd they were within a few Leagues of the River of Magdalen, which is 60 Leagues North of the River of Palms, and 120 from the River Panuco, as it is represented in Hennepin's Chart, and on the Great Globe of Coronelli; which great Mistake was the cause of all his Misfortunes: For after his return up the River, and through the Great Lakes to Canada, he embrac'd the next Opportunity of returning by Shipping for France; where he

1 Marco Vincenzo Coronelli, an Italian geographer, who lived from about 1650 to 1718.—Ed.
Several Countries in America.

to the King and his Ministers gave such a favourable Representation of the Country, and Commodities therein contain'd, the Populousness [225] of the Country, Civility of the Inhabitants, far exceeding all the other Natives of America they had the knowledge of; that the King thereupon order'd him a Fleet, and a very considerable Equipage, viz. a Man of War carrying 56 Guns, a great Fly-boat, a Patache,¹ and a Brigantine, with things convenient for establishing a Colony and Traffick with the Natives. This Fleet was Commanded by M. Beujoiau, an Experienced Sea-Captain, who was Victual'd for a Year; and M. du Salles had under his Command 150 Land-men, who were to settle in the Country. The Fleet pass'd by Martinico and Guardaloupe, where they took in fresh Provision and Water, together with divers Volunteers; and by M. du Salle's Direction, sail'd thence to the North-West end of the Gulf, in 27 Degrees. When they arriv'd there, they were in great Confusion, not being able to come near the Coast of Florida, by reason of a long Bank Recif, or as the French call it, Contre-cofe,² which they search'd for some hundred Miles. It was no-where above a Musket-shot over, and every twenty or thirty Miles there was a Breach, by which the Water of it out of a vast Laguna, whose breadth they could not learn. They went in their Ship-Boat above forty Miles, and could not gain fight of the main Land or

¹ Parkman (La Salle, p. 331) calls these two vessels "a store-ship and a ketch."
— Ed.

² This term is not to be found in standard French dictionaries, but it evidently refers to the reef- formations which front that and other parts of the Gulf coast, as well as the Atlantic Southern States.— Ed.
Continent. This Lagune was shallow, in some Places six foot, in few above nine or ten; there are scatter'd up and down in it divers small Islands, upon one of them they found above four hundred Indians, who did not inhabit there, but came accidentally, being upon some Expedition. They were all Archers, very proper goodly Men; their Hutts were cover'd with Skins of the wild crook-back Kine, which the French call Poikies; the Spaniards Corcobades, or Crook-back. They convers'd and traffick'd very friendly with the French divers Weeks, until an unhappy Accident made a great Breach.

[226] M. du Salles, against the Opinion of the Pilots, would adventure the Fly-boat through one of the Breaches into the Lagune, apprehending he had found a Channel of sufficient depth, through which he might pass to the Continent: But whether the Channel was too shallow, or that they mistook it, the Fly-boat was lost, and the Frigat drawing little Water, escape'd. The Indians upon the Island fav'd some small matter of the Wreck, which the French would take by force from them: They offer'd in exchange Skins, and such other Commodities as they had. The French when they could get no more, took two of their Piroques, or large Canows; which being absolutely necessary for them, and without which they could not possibly return to the main Land from whence they came, occasion'd a Skirmish, in which the French loft fifteen Men, and the Indians many more. M. du Salles being almost distracted, not knowing how to

1 The name Piskiou is an Algonkin appellation of the wild bison; it was, naturally, adopted by the French.—Ed.
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find the Mouth of the River, took the Frigat, divers Boats and Pinnaces, together with a hundred and fifty Men, and Provisions for a Month, and crost'd the Lagune, with an intention to search the Coast till he found the Mouth of the Great River. M. Beaujeau waited ten Weeks, and heard no Tidings from him, it being in the Heat of Summer. They wanting Water and Provisions, besides abundance of his Men falling Sick of Fevers and Bloody-fluxes, he departed for France, without any News of M. du Salle; who after he departed from the Ships, rambled some Days in the Lagune, and coasted the Main chiefly towards the West; which was directly contrary to the Course he should have taken, the great River being distant above one hundred Leagues to the East. But many believe M. du Salle was guilty of a wilful mistake; for he persuaded his Men, That since they could not find the River, and were come to the River of St. Magdalen, being the North-Wefterly [227] end of the Gulf, which was not above two hundred Leagues from the rich Mines of Endebe, Santa Barbara, la Parale, and others in the Province of Saceatecas [Zacatecas], where the Spaniards are few, and not Warlike, they could not fail of rich and easy Booty. This Proposition occasion'd a great Division amongst his Men, and deadly Feuds: One part were ready to comply with his Project; others for returning to their Ships; a third Party for searching the Continent towards the East, till they found the Great River, and then return and Pilot the Ship thither, and purse their Instructions of Planting and Trading. From Words they came to Blows; many were
kill'd in the Scuffle, and amongst others, M. du Salle very treacherously by one of his pretended Friends. Upon his Death they divided, and took several Courfes. They that return'd to seek the Ship, found it departed, and were never heard of since; others scatter'd, some Easterly, some Wetterly, and Northerly. When I receiv'd this Account, which was above three Years after this disastrous Expedition, not above Six were return'd to Canada, and amongst them M. du Salle's Brother.¹

So that the Providence of Almighty GOD seems to have reserv'd this Country for the English, a Patent whereof was granted above Fifty Years ago to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, who have made great Discoveries therein, seven hundred Miles Wetterly from the Mountains, which separate between it Carolina and Virginia, and Six hundred Miles from North to South, from the Gulf of Mexico to the great Inland Lakes, which are situated behind the Mountains of Carolina and Virginia. Besides, they have an Account of all the Coast, from the Cape of Florida to the River Panuco, the Northerly Bounds of the Spaniards on the Gulf of Mexico, together with most of the chief Harbours, Rivers, [228] and Islands thereunto appertaining; and are about to establish a very considerable Colony on some part of the Great River, so soon as they have agreed upon the Boundaries, or Limits, which

¹This entire paragraph is grossly inaccurate in its statements. For a correct account of La Salle's colony, and of its and his tragic end, see Parkman's La Salle, pp. 351-428, 442-446. Cf. Hennepin's own account as given in the present volume, pp. 388-442. — Ed.
fewer Countries in America.

the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, who claim by a Patent procur’d long after that of Carolana. But there being space enough for both, and the Proprietors generally inclin’d to an Amicable Conclusion, the Success of this Undertaking is impatiently expected: For considering the Benignity of the Climate, the Healthfulness of the Country, Fruitfulness of the Soil, Ingenuity and Tractableness of the Inhabitants, Variety of Productions, if prudently manag’d, it cannot, humanly speaking, fail of proving one of the most considerable Colonies on the North-Continent of America, profitable to the Publick and the Undertakers.

POSTSCRIPT.

I am inform’d a large Map, or Draught, of this Country is preparing, together with a very particular Account of the Natives, their Customs, Religion, Commodities, and Materials for divers sorts of Manufactures, which are by the English procur’d at great Expense from other Countries.

FINIS.

1The earlier of these grants was made in 1627, to Sir Robert Heath: it covered the territory from 31 degrees to 36 degrees north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic coast to the Western Sea; and to this territory was given the name Carolina, in honor of Charles I. In 1663, the same region was granted by Charles II. to Edward, earl of Clarendon, and others of the King’s adherents; and various settlements in what are now North and South Carolina were made under their auspices. Heath had sold his patent, and later it was formally set aside in favor of the Carolina proprietors; but about 1690 it was purchased by Daniel Coxe, who endeavored to obtain governmental recognition for his claim. He also had schemes for planting colonies in the region that he claimed. It is to this state of affairs that reference is made in our text.—Ed.
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