

# Vol. VI

The Jesuit Relations: Volume 4 and Allied Documents  
Travels and Explorations  
of the Jesuit Missionaries  
in New France  
1610❖1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALI-  
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-  
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

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Vol. VI

Qu❖bec

*1633❖1634*

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PREFACE TO VOL. VI.

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

XXI. In the final installment of Le Jeune's Relation for 1633 (the first part was presented in our Vol. V.), the superior describes the Coming (July 28), of the Hurons to Quebec, and the conference that was held between them and the French. The missionaries make arrangements to return with these savages, to labor in their country; but, at the last moment, complications arise from the murder of a Frenchman by up-country natives, and in consequence the Hurons refuse passage to the Fathers. Le Jenne closes with an earnest appeal for help in their work in Christianizing the denizens of the great wilderness.

XXII. This is a letter from Le Jenne to his provincial, written in the year 1634, but not bearing specific date. He describes the condition of the Quebec mission; states that at last the Huron country is open to them, and Br beuf and others have gone thither. He, with Buteux, will go to the new settlement at Three Rivers, for which he gives his reasons at length. The narrator recites their difficulties with the hired workmen brought from France; and asks that these may be replaced by lay brothers of their own order. He mentions several of these [page 1] brothers by name, describing their abilities and positions. The field of missionary work is widening, and the superior tells how it ought to be occupied, and how many should be assigned for each station. He requests the provincial to appoint another superior in Canada, as his duties are too heavy for him. More missionaries are asked for, and a special petition is entered for the appointment, in this connection, of his friend Benier.

Le Jeune describes the dwelling of the Jesuits at Quebec, and asks for means to fence in a tract of land for their cattle, and to erect a small house for the herders; also, to repair their buildings, injured by the English. He plans how they may provide a portion of their own food, hitherto wholly brought from France: and describes the crops they have thus far raised, with the effect of the climate on each. He deprecates the formation of too many missions, preferring to strengthen those already formed-; and relates the kind help given them by the Company of New France.

In conclusion, our author rehearses the difficulties of reaching the wandering tribes; asks for a seminary for the children; expresses a desire to send some of these to France for education; and requests aid to enlarge the Quebec mission. The manuscript which has come down to us, lacks some of its final pages, but appears to be substantially complete.

XXIII. This document is Le Jeune's Relation of 1634, closed at the mission house in Quebec, August 7th of that year, and sent to his provincial at Paris. The following abstract covers the first nine chapters (out of a total of thirteen), which is all we have space for in the present volume. [page 2]

Le Jeune, as the superior of his order in New France, describes the good conduct and piety of the French settlers, and the wisdom and goodness of the governor, Champlain. An account is given, from hearsay, of the sudden death of Jacques Michel, a profane Huguenot, a tragedy which is thought to have been a direct punishment for his blasphemies. This is followed by a long description of the conversion and baptism of certain savages, and the happy death of some of these. A definite plan is advocated for the conversion of the natives in the neighborhood of Quebec: that the French, their protectors, should make themselves more formidable to the common enemy, the Iroquois; that the friendly natives should be systematically taught agriculture, and induced to become sedentary, and, while thus acquiring this technical education, should be aided with food; that seminaries should be established, in which Indian children,

both boys and girls, can be educated at Quebec.

The superior then gives a detailed account of the religious belief, traditions, and superstitions, of the Montagnais tribe, among whom he had passed the preceding winter, ♦ their fasts, rites, and customs. He praises their intelligence, contentment, fortitude, good nature, generosity; but condemns their filthy habits, their inveterate habit of mockery and ridicule, their fierce cruelty towards enemies, their disposition to utter slander, their deceitfulness, gluttony, intemperance, vile language, and impudent habits of begging. He enumerates the animals, birds, fishes, fruits, and roots eaten by the savages. Their numerous feasts are described, and the customs and superstitions connected therewith; also, their mode of hunting elks, beavers, and other animals, and of [page 3] fishing, both by nets and harpoons. He also describes some of the fauna peculiar to Canada, -the singing marmot, the skunk, the squirrels, and the humming-bird.

We take much pleasure in announcing that arrangements have been concluded with Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the staff of Lenox Library, to furnish notes for and to revise the Bibliographical Data for our series, his services commencing with the present volume. Mr. Paltsits is one of the members of the Bibliographical Society of London, and an expert of wide repute in this important field.

We are under obligations to the Rev. Rudolph Meyer, S. J., of Rome, for valuable advice and encouragement; and to the Rev. T. O'Leary, of Edgegrove, Pa., for kindly suggestions.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis. April, 1897.

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XXI (concluded)

## Le Jeune ♦ s Relation, 1633

Paris: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1634



Continued from Vol. V.

[page 5]

On the 4th, another council was held; I was present with Father Brebeuf, because the embarkation of our Fathers was to be talked over. Sieur de Champlain made his presents, which corresponded in value to those that the Hurons had made him. To accept presents from the Savages is to bind oneself to return an equivalent. A great many things were spoken of in this council; among others, the Hurons asked for the liberation of the Savage prisoner who [293 i.e., 193] had recently killed a Frenchman, as I stated above. Sieur de Champlain sought earnestly to make the Hurons understand that it was not right to restore him to liberty; and that, having killed a Frenchman who had done him no harm, he deserved death. The Hurons were satisfied with the reason given them. They spoke also of the friendship contracted between them and the French, saying that it would be greatly strengthened by the Fathers going into their country. The Hurons were the happiest people in the world. Those who were to embark and to carry the Fathers in their canoes had already received pay for their future trouble; we had placed in their hands the parcels or little baggage of the Fathers. We had gone to the Storehouse to sleep, Father de Nou ♦ and I, with our three Fathers, that we might see them off early the next [194] morning in their little canoes, and might say to them our last farewell, when all at once our joy was changed into sadness. At about ten or eleven o'clock that night, a one-eyed Savage, belonging to the Island tribe, closely allied to the tribe of the prisoner, went among the cabins of all the Savages crying out that they should be careful not to take any Frenchmen in their canoes, and that the relatives of the prisoner were on [page 7] the watch along the river to kill the Frenchmen, if they could catch them during the passage. On the previous Sunday some Savages of the same tribe as the prisoner had held a council with the captains of the Montagnais, of the island Savages, and of the Hurons, to determine how they might secure the pardon of this prisoner. The Hurons were besought to ask it. They refused, and this Island Savage, whose tribe was allied to the tribe of the murderer, raised this [195] general cry among the cabins, warning every one not to give passage to a Frenchman, unless they wished to place him in evident danger of his life. Having heard the cry, and Father Brebeuf, who was listening, having interpreted its meaning to me, I went with Father de Nou ♦ to the fort to give information of the same to Sieur de Champlain. We had been sleeping in the storehouse of the French, around which the Savages were encamped. The Fort was opened to us; and, after having made known the object of our night visit, we returned to the place whence we had departed. Upon the way we found the Captains of the Savages in council, to whom the Interpreter, according to the order of Sieur de Champlain, declared that he desired to talk to them once more before their departure. The next morning, at daybreak, a Savage passed through the [196] camp proclaiming that they were not to depart that day; and that the young men should keep the peace, and that those who had not sold all their merchandise should sell it. About eight or nine in the morning, sieur de Champlain again assembled the Captains of the Hurons, the Island Savages who had made this outcry, and the Captain of the Montagnais. He asked the Savage why he had aroused that [page 9] opposition; he answered that the whole country was in a state of alarm, and that it would be lost if the French were embarked to be taken to the Hurons, for the relatives of the prisoner would not fail to kill some of the party and that thereupon war would be declared; that the Hurons even would be dragged into it; for, if they defended the French, they would be attacked, and that thus the whole country would be lost; that he had [197] not aroused any opposition, but had merely made known the wicked designs of the murderer's relatives; that, if the prisoner were released, these troubles would immediately be ended, and that the river and the whole country would be free. The Hurons were asked if they still adhered to their wish to take us to their country. They answered that the river was not theirs, and that great caution must be observed in regard to those other tribes, if they were to pass by in security. As far as they were concerned, they asked nothing better than to furnish passage to the French. I observed the discretion of these Savages, for they gave evidence of their affection for us, in such manner as not to offend the tribes through which they must pass in coming to Kebec. One of them, addressing the Island Savage, said: "Now listen; when [198] we shall be up there in thy country, do not say that we have not spoken in behalf of the prisoner; we have done all that we could, but what answer wouldst thou have us make to the reasons given by sieur de Champlain? The French are the friends of all of us; if it depended only upon us, we should embark them. " It must be confessed that the Hurons showed a strong inclination to take our Fathers with them. Sieur de Champlain, seeing

this so sudden change, did all in **[page 11]** his power, and gave us liberty to advance all the reasons we could, to the end that our fathers might be set on their way. He urged very strong and very pertinent reasons; he used threats; he proposed peace and war; in short nothing more could be desired. But to all this the Savage answered that they could not restrain their young men ; that he [199] had given warning of their wicked intentions, and that the French ought to postpone their departure for this year; that they would vent their anger upon the Hiroquois, their enemies, and then the river would be free. " Do not blame us," said he, " if misfortune overtakes you; for we could not restore order. " Thereupon, in order to win over this Savage, I asked for the pardon of the prisoner, having previously agreed upon this with sieur de Champlain, who replied to me that it was a matter of life and death with him, and that our great King would ask him to give an account of the man who had been killed. I begged him to suspend the execution of the death sentence, until the King might be spoken to, and his will learned. And thereupon, following my point, I addressed the Savages, representing our affection for them; saying that we had never sought the death of any one; [200] that we everywhere tried to promote peace. Sieur de Champlain did admirably on his part, saying that we talked to God; that we were loved by all who knew us, that he wanted no other witnesses of this than the Hurons themselves, who had cherished us so dearly; that we were going to teach them great things. The Hurons answered that it was very well, that we had proposed a good expedient; that of postponing the death of this Savage until we should have news from our great King. I **[page 13]** then importuned the Island Savage, asking him whether the prisoner's kindred, if they knew that we were pleading for him, would not allow us to pass if they encountered us. "What dost thou wish me to say?" he answered, " they are furious. If the prisoner is not liberated, there is no safety; they will pardon [201] no one." Thereupon the Interpreter replied: "If they act the part of devils, so will we." In a word, Sieur de Champlain intimidated them, saying they must look out for themselves; that if a Savage was seen with arms, he would give permission to his men to fire upon him and kill him; that they [the savages] had threatened him himself, because he went about alone; but hereafter he would not go around like a child, but like a soldier. "I am a friend to all, you are my friends," said he to the Hurons; "I love you; I have risked my life for you, I will risk it again; I will protect you; but I am the enemy of evil-doers. "

It will be said that the Captain of the tribe of the murderer ought to have seized all those who had wicked designs against the French. It is true; but I have already remarked above that these [202] Savages have no system of government, and that their Captain has no such authority. What he can do, is to ask these wicked people to give up their designs. Indeed, it has happened before, when the Savages feared the Europeans more than they do now, if one of their men wanted to kill a Frenchman, either having dreamed that he was to do it, or from other cause, the others flattered him and made him presents, fearing that he would carry out his wicked intentions, and in this way they might lose the whole country. Now it is a great deal if they warn the **[page 15]** French to be on their guard, as they did not long ago, saying that there were some young men who were prowling about in the woods to kill any Frenchman that they might find by himself; and thus we [203] are not safe among these people. Let us say, however: *Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi, in protectione Dei cunctis commorabitur.*

But to the conclusion of this council. Father Brebeuf seeing that his journey was broken up, and that it would be foolhardy to undertake it, not through fear of death, because I never saw them more resolute, both he and his two companions, Father Daniel and Father Davost, than when they were told that they might lose their lives on the road which they were about to take for the glory of our Lord; but as they would involve the French in war against these people, in case they were killed, we agreed with sieur de Champlain, that the preservation of peace among these tribes was preferable to the consolation they would experience in dying on such an occasion. Now Father Brebeuf, seeing [204] the way closed for that year, addressed the Hurons, saying: " You are our brothers, we wish to go to your country to live and die with you; but, as the river is closed, we shall wait until the coming year, when all will be peaceable. It is you who will sustain the greater loss; because now, as I am beginning to be able to talk to you without an interpreter, I wish to teach you the way to heaven, and to reveal to you the great riches of the other life; but this misfortune deprives you of all these blessings." They replied that they were very sorry, and that a year would very soon pass away.

Upon the dispersion of this assembly, we went **[page 17]** through the cabins, to get the little baggage of our Fathers that we had already placed in the hands of the Savages to be carried to their [205] country. These poor people regretted this unfortunate affair very much; and some of those of the village of la Rochelle said to the Father that, if he wished to go with them, they would carry him, and they hoped to give him a peaceful passage. But that would be placing himself and them and the French in danger. Thus the hope of going into the Huron country is lost for this year. I pray God to open the door for us next year. Below are two reasons, stronger than two great locks, which seem to have closed it to us for a long time.

The first is found in the interests of the Island Savages, the Algonquains, and the other tribes which are between Kebec and the Hurons. These people, in order to monopolize the profit of the trade, prefer that the Hurons should not go down the river to trade their peltries with the French, desiring themselves to collect the [206] merchandise of the neighboring tribes and carry it to the French; that is why they do not like to see us go to the Hurons, thinking that we would urge them to descend the river, and that, the French being with them, it would not be easy to bar their passage. The second reason may be found in the fear of the Hurons, who see that the French will not accept presents as a compensation for the murder of one of their countrymen; they fear that their young men may do some reckless deed, for they would have to give up, alive or dead, any one who might have committed murder, or else break with the French. This makes them uneasy. Aside from this, as sieur de Champlain has told them that **[page 19]** there is no true friendship unless visits are interchanged, they are very desirous, at least in appearance, to have us [207] in their country. God has set limits to time, which man cannot pass. When the moment shall have come which he has fixed for giving succor to these tribes, there will be neither dike nor barrier that can resist his power.

However, as the secret resources of his providence are hidden from me, I have not been able, up to the present time, to look with regret upon this delay of our Fathers. As far as we are able to foresee with our human vision, there are hopes of a great harvest; but, having done all that was in our power to send laborers to this field, we believe that the master thereof does not wish the sickle to be yet used upon it. If this blow is a blow from the kindness of him who sees beyond our thoughts, may he be forever blessed. If it is a stroke of his justice for the [208] severe chastisement of our offences, still be he blessed beyond all time. We hate the cause of this chastisement, and adore the hand that strikes us, very confident that he who drew light out of darkness will draw good from this misfortune. Our Fathers will not be idle here. Father Brebeuf will teach them every day, evening and morning, the language of the Hurons. I myself feel very much inclined to go to this school, in order that, if Your Reverence should wish to send me with them next year, I may already have made some progress; I have decided nothing certain yet upon this point; I wish to think about it more at my leisure before God.

To return to our Hurons: Louys Amantacha, seeing that we were not going to his country, and that he was to leave us next morning at daybreak, came to **[page 21]** sleep in our little house, in order to confess and [209] to receive holy communion once more before his departure. This he did, causing us great consolation; and on the following day, August 6th, all the Hurons packed their baggage, and in

less than no time took away their houses and their riches, and carried them off, to use them on the road of about 300 leagues, which is the distance reckoned to be between Kebec and their country. I talked for some time with Louys Amantacha, and sounded him as well as I could; for the Savages are quite artful and dissimulating. I found nothing but good in him; he is one of the admirable characters that I have seen among these people. Your Reverence will permit me, if you please, to recommend him to your prayers and to those of all our Fathers and Brothers in your province; for, if once the spirit of God takes possession of this soul, he will be a powerful reinforcement for those who will carry the good news of the Gospel into these countries; and, [210] on the contrary, as he has associated with the English, if he be inclined to evil, he will ruin everything; but we have more reason to hope for good than to fear evil. Besides, it seems that God desires to open the treasures of his mercy to these poor Barbarians, who look upon us with affection; at least, judging from appearances. I see a great desire among our Fathers to overcome all the difficulties which are encountered in the study of these languages; and you might almost say that God has detained them that they may learn them more conveniently here, and may, at the same time, kindle the fire in a number of places among the Hurons, when his Majesty shall have opened to them the way. I only fear one thing in this delay; that Old France **[page 23]** fail to give New [France] the necessary aid, seeing the harvest is so slow in ripening. But let it be remembered that mushrooms spring up in a night, while it requires [111 i.e. 211] years to ripen the fruits of the palm. It was 38 years, as I have heard, before anything was accomplished in Brazil. How long have they been waiting at the gates of China? May it be God's will that they have been received there at the hour when I write. Those who run and become greatly heated often weary themselves more than they advance. I do not say this to defer for a long time the conversion of the Savages. If our Fathers had gone among the Hurons this year, I expected to write to Your Reverence next year that *raceperat Samaria verbum Dei*; that these barbarians had received the faith. That will be when it shall please him upon whom all of this great work depends; for, in my opinion, men can accomplish but very little here, although they should spare neither their labor, nor their blood, nor their lives. Oh, whoever would see in one of the great streets of Paris what I saw three days ago near the great river St. [212] Lawrence, five or six hundred Hurons in their Savage costumes, ♦ some in bear skins, others in beaver, and others in Elk skins, all well made men of splendid figures, tall, powerful, good-natured, and able-bodied, ♦ whoever would see them, I say, asking help and uttering the word of that Macedonian to saint Paul: *Transiens in Macedoniam adjuva nos*; " Come, help us, bring into our country the torch which has never yet illuminated it!" Oh, what compassion this spectacle would excite in these people, however little love they have for him who shed his blood for these souls that are being lost every day, **[page 25]** because no one gathers it up to apply it to their salvation.

But it is about time for me to reflect that I am no longer writing a letter, but a book, I have made it so long. It was not my intention to write so much; the pages have insensibly multiplied [213] and I am so situated that I must send this scrawl, as I am unable to rewrite it and to make a clean copy of it, such as I think ought to be presented to Your Reverence. I shall write another time more accurately, and with more assurance. In these beginnings, as I have said, much confidence is given to the reports of those who are believed to have had experience among the Savages. *Plus valet oculatus testis qu ♦ m decem auriti*. I have observed that, after having seen two or three Savages do the same thing, it is at once reported to be a custom of the whole Tribe. The argument drawn from the enumeration of parts is faulty, if it does not comprehend all or the greater part. Add to this that there are many tribes in these countries who agree in a number of things, and differ in many others; so that, when it is said that certain practices are common to the Savages, it may be true [214] of one tribe and not true of another. Time is the father of truth.

This is enough for this year; I offer thousands and thousands of thanks for the interest and charity of Your Reverence in our behalf, and in behalf of the many poor people whom you bless by keeping us here; for, although we do but little, yet I hope that we shall make a beginning for those who are to come after us and who will do a great deal. We are all in good health, by the grace of our Lord; and we beseech Your Reverence, with one heart, to send us **[page 29]** persons capable of learning the languages. It is what I now believe to be most necessary for the welfare of the souls in this country. As to the soil, I send you some of its fruits; they are heads of wheat, of rye, and of barley, that we planted near our little house. We gathered last year a few wisps of rye that [215] we found here and there among the peas; I counted in some of them 60 kernels, in others So, in others 112. We threshed these gleanings and took from them a little rye, which will this year pay us very well for the trouble that we had in gleaning it last year. The little wheat which we sowed before the snows is very beautiful; that which was sown in the spring will not ripen, because it is winter wheat. We must have some March wheat, and some that is beardless, for these are said to be the best. The barley is finer than in France; and I have no doubt that, if this country were cleared, very fertile valleys would be found. The woods are troublesome; they retain the cold, engender the slight frosts, and produce great quantities of vermin, such as grasshoppers, worms, and insects, which are especially destructive in our garden; we shall rid ourselves of them, little by [216] little, without, however, leaving the place. I resumed this discourse unintentionally; let us cut it short, to recommend ourselves to the prayers and to the Holy Sacrifices of Your Reverence and of your whole province. I believe that this mission is cherished by you, and that these poor Savages occupy a good place in your heart. He also is there with them who is, in truth,

Of Your Reverence,

The greatly obliged and very obedient servant, in God,

Paul le Jeune.

**[page 29]**

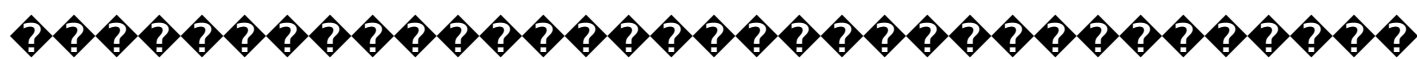
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By the King in council.

Poictevin.





## XXII

## Lettre du Le Jeune

au R. P. Provincial ❖ Paris

Qu❖bec: 1634



Source: Reprinted from Carayon's Premi❖re Mission, pp. 122 - 156.

[page 33]

## [122] Letter from Father Paul le Jeune, to the Reverend Father Provincial of France, at Paris.

*(Copied from the autograph preserved in the archives of the Ges❖, at Rome.)*

QUEBEC, 1634.

Y REVEREND FATHER,

The peace of Christ be with you.

The tears which fall from my eyes at the sight of the letters of Your Reverence, stop my pen; I am hard as bronze, and yet your love has so greatly softened me, that joy makes me weep and causes me to utter a thousand blessings to God. Oh, what a heart! What love! What good will you show toward us! I do not know how to respond to it except by saying to you, "*ecce me*; behold me altogether in your hands, for Canada, for France, and for all the world, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*." I behold myself so weak in all things, and God so mighty in all things, that it seems to me there is nothing more to be desired nor to be avoided. They have written me that Your Reverence has given for the poor Canadians even the very image from your oratory. M. de Lauson\* [123] says that his affection is boundless. and that he will put the mission in such a state, that they will be obliged to secure the continuance of so great a blessing. Everyone acknowledges that God is for us, since the hearts of the superiors, which are in his hands, are all for us. How can we be insensible to [page 35] so many benefits, and keep our hearts and eyes dry, in a downpouring of so many blessings! But let us enter upon affairs; I shall spare neither ink nor paper, since Your Reverence endures with so much love my tediousness and my simplicity. After having thanked you with all my heart for the help which you have been pleased to send us, as well as for the food and fresh supplies, I will describe to you fully the state of this mission.

Let us begin with what has occurred this year. We have lived in great peace, thank God, among ourselves, with our working people, and with all the French. I have been greatly pleased with all our Fathers. Father Brebeuf❖ is a man chosen of God for these lands; I left him in my place for six .months, with the exception of nine days, while I passed the winter with the savages. Everything went on peacefully during that time. [124] Father Daniel❖ and Father Davost❖ are quiet men. They have studied the Huron language thoroughly, and I have taken care that they should not be diverted from this work, which I believe to be of very great importance. Father Mass❖,❖ whom I sometimes playfully call Father *Useful*, is well known to Your Reverence. He has had the care of the domestic affairs [page 37] and of our cattle, in which he has succeeded very well. Father de Nou❖,\* who has a good heart, has had the care of our laborers, directing there in their work, which is very difficult in these beginnings. Our Brother Gilbert❖ has felt better this winter than the last, as it has not been so severe. I gave him liberty to return this year, but he preferred to remain. We shall see how he will succeed with our Brother Li❖geois❖ who, in My [125] opinion, will do very well. I am the most imperfect of all and the most impatient. I have passed the winter with the Savages, as I have just said. Famine almost killed us; but God is so present in these difficulties, that this time of famine seemed to me a time of abundance; were it not that I am afraid of wearying you, I would recount to Your Reverence the sentiments with which God inspired me at that time. I confess that I sometimes experienced hunger, and that often these words came to my lips: *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*; but I think I never pronounced them without adding this condition: *si ita placitum est ante te*. I also occasionally repeated these words of saint Xavier with a very good heart: *Domine, ne me his eripias malis, nisi ad majora pro tuo nomine reserves*. I was consoled even in my sleep; but let us leave this, for God was acting then. This is what I am: as soon as we were assisted by creatures, I became sick in body and in soul, God causing me to see what he is and what I am. I [page 39] was impatient, disgusted, seeking a retreat in our little house. I tried to put an end to this condition of misery; but, as my passions are altogether depraved, I stumbled at every step, bringing back nothing from this journey except my faults. I have set down in my Relation the reasons why I returned, knowing little about their language; enough upon this subject. As [126] to what concerns our men: every morning they hear holy Mass before their work, and in the evening all come to chapel, where the prayers which I send to Your Reverence are recited. We sing vespers on feast days and Sundays, and almost every Sunday an exhortation is made to them. Besides, there is preaching at K❖bec, where they also sing vespers, and occasionally a high Mass. This is the outline of our occupations during this last year; the Relation speaks thereof more fully.

For the year which we are about to begin at the departure of the ships, this is the way in which we shall be distributed and what we shall do:

Father Brebeuf, Father Daniel, and Father Davost, with three brave young men and two little boys, will be among the Hurons. At last

our Lord has opened to them the door. M. Duplessis ♦ has aided greatly in this; let us say M. de Lauson, who has without doubt recommended this affair to him, of which he has acquitted himself very well, as Your Reverence will see by the letter which Father Brebeuf has sent me on his way to the Hurons. I believe that they must now be quite near the place where they intend to go. This stroke is a stroke from heaven; we shall [page 41] hope for a great harvest from this country. Father [127] Brebeuf and Father Daniel exposed themselves to great suffering; for they went away without baggage, or without the money necessary to live. God has provided therefor, as M. Duplessis has taken care that all should go well. So much for the Hurons.

We shall live at Three Rivers, Father Buteux\* and I. This place is upon the great river, 30 leagues farther up than K♦bec, upon the way to the Hurons; it is called Three Rivers, because a certain river which flows through the land empties into the great river by three mouths. Our French people are this year beginning a settlement there, and two of our Fathers must be there. I have been doubtful for a long time as to who should go. Father Brebeuf and Father de Nou♦ thought that I should remain at K♦bec; but I perceived that Father Lalemant ♦ was apprehensive of this new abode, believing that he would never return if he were sent there, offering himself freely, however, to do what should be desired. It is true that some persons generally die in these beginnings, but death is not always a great evil.

After having commended this affair to our Lord, [128] I resolved to go there myself, for the following reasons:

1. I believed that I was doing nothing contrary to the designs of Your Reverence in leaving the house for seven or eight months, for I can return in the spring; however, I do not know whether I shall come back before the coming of the ships. Moreover [page 43] I leave it in the hands of a person who will do a hundred times better than I, for *quis ego sum?* an atom in comparison with him. I had some doubts in regard to the strength of his voice for preaching at K♦bec; but the audience room is small, and he does not find any inconvenience therein.
2. I thought that it would be more agreeable to our Lord that I should give the Father this satisfaction, that he need not leave K♦bec, where we are rather comfortably situated; and that, if there be any danger, I ought to take it upon myself.
3. The son of God, dying upon the cross, has obligated us to bear the cross, so we should not flee from it when it presents itself; this is my strongest reason, for in truth there is suffering in a new settlement, especially in one established so hurriedly as that one. I do not know how the house will be arranged; we shall be mixed up with workingmen, drinking, eating, and sleeping with them; they cannot make other provision for us of any kind whatever. All this does not appall me, for the cabins of the savages, in which I lived this winter, [129] are much worse. Father Buteux pleases me greatly, for he takes this cheerfully; I see him strongly determined to bear the cross. Your Reverence is right in saying that this is the kind of spirit that we should have. We shall study the language there, although less advantageously than at K♦bec, on account of the lodging, in which there will be a greater hubbub than in the cabins of the savages; for our French people, with whom we shall be in company, are not so calm and patient as these barbarians. Furthermore, I had intended this winter to keep a savage with me at K♦bec to instruct me, since I am beginning to be [page 45] to question them; this cannot be done at Three Rivers; but it is of no importance, I shall do what can.

There will remain at K♦bec, Father Lallemant, Father Mass♦, Father de Nou♦, and our two Brothers, with all our men. The gentleness and virtue of Father Lallemant will hold all in peace, and will cause the work of our people to prosper. I did not think it feasible to send Father de Nou♦ and Father Brebeuf to Three Rivers, ♦

1. because Father de Nou♦ looks after our men here;
2. Father Buteux would have lost a year, he would have done nothing at all in the language;
3. *Satis calidus est, licet alioquin optimum, P. de Nou♦;*

so Father Lallemant or I myself had to go. I have chosen this lot for myself, believing that I should leave the house in greater peace than if I remained, [130] and I believe that Your Reverence will approve my action; at least I thought I was following in this an impulse from God; may he be forever praised! So that is what we shall do this year. It is a great occupation, to suffer nobly; may God give us grace for it! Let us speak now of our household servants.

I have said that we lived peacefully on all sides. The murmurs and escapades which occasionally happen should not be placed in the list of great disorders, when one rises as soon as he has fallen, and when the fall is not great. A number of our men have occasionally shown some impatience; but we have reason to bless God, for nothing of importance has happened. Here are the causes for their discontent.

1. It is the nature of working people to complain and to grumble. [page 47]
2. The difference in wages makes them complain: A carpenter, a brickmaker, and others will earn more than the laborers, and yet they do no work so much; I mean that it is not so hard for them as for the others, because they are following their professions, and the others are doing more laborious things: *inde querimoni* ♦. They do not consider that a master-mason may exert himself less than a laborer, although he earns more. [131]
3. The greater part do not follow their trades, except for a short time; a tailor, a shoemaker, a gardener, and others, are amazed when required to drag some wood over the snow; besides, they complain that they will forget their trades.
4. It must be confessed that the work is great in these beginnings; the men are the horses and oxen; they carry or drag wood, trees, or stones; they till the soil, they harrow it. The insects in summer, the snows in winter, and a thousand other inconveniences, are very troublesome. The youth who in France worked in the shade find here a great difference. I am astonished that the hardships they have to undergo, in doing things they have never done before, do not cause them to make a greater outcry than they do.
5. They all lodge in one room; and, as they have not all learned to control their passions, and are of dispositions altogether different, they have occasions for causeless quarrels.
6. As we are more or less dependent upon them, not being able to send them back when they fail to do right, and as they see that a stick for the purpose of chastising them is of little use in our hands, they are much more arrogant than they would be with [page 49] laymen, who would urge them with severity and firmness.

Your Reverence will weigh all these reasons, if you please, [132] and will aid us in praising God; for notwithstanding all this, we have not failed to pass the year peaceably, reprimanding some, punishing others, though rarely, very often pretending not to see; *Deus sit in æternum benedictus!* and, as it is not enough that peace should dwell among us, but that it should be firmly established, if it be possible, I deem it best to do what I am about to say.

Only good workmen are needed here; hence it would be well for us to have three capable Brothers, to perform the minor duties of the house,- cooking, baking, making shoes, making clothes, looking after the garden, the sacristy, washing, tinkering, caring for the cattle, the milk, butter, etc. All these duties would be divided among these three good Brothers, and thus we would be relieved of giving wages to workmen who are occupied with these duties, and who complain when they are given other things to do. All our men should be engrossed with the heavy tasks, and consequently I beg Your Reverence to send us two good Brothers. Our Brother Liégeois, who is beginning very well, will be the third. As to our Brother Gilbert, perhaps he will be sent back; if not, he will work slowly at carpentry, for he is already broken down and hindered by a rupture. The following are the Brothers upon whom my choice would fall, if it please Your Reverence; our [133] Brother Claude Frémont and our Brother the locksmith, whom you promised in your letters to send us next year. I do not know either of them, but I am told that they are both peaceable and good workmen. [page 51] If this be true, Your Reverence will send them to us, if you please. One of them could be easily sent to the Hurons or to Three Rivers, according to the course of events.

With these good Brothers, we should have here at least ten men capable of building, cultivating, and reaping, in a word, of doing everything. Whoever could do still more, would be the best; these who are altogether occupied with the heavy work, will not complain of those who perform the minor duties. We have already four of these men, so there remain six to be sent; and we shall send back next year all those we have, except these four. The following ought to be the arrangement of the household for the coming year in regard to work, if it so please Your Reverence: ten good workmen and three or four of our Brothers; namely, Our Brother Liégeois, Our Brother Claude Frémont, Our Brother the locksmith, whose name I do not know, and our Brother Gilbert, if he remain. In regard to the six workmen for whom we ask, the following will be their trades: two strong carpenters, at least one of them understanding how to erect a building,- in a word, let him understand his trade; a joiner, and three workmen [134] who can be employed in clearing the land, in using the pit saw (they need not know this trade, but must have only willingness and strength to do it), in reaping, in helping the carpenters, the mason, the brickmaker in watching the cattle, in doing everything that is required of them; for this, strong men are needed, and those who are willing. If we cannot have two carpenters, let one good one, at least, come over; and, instead of the other, such a workman as I have just described. I shall speak [page 53] again of this matter elsewhere, to the end that, if one of our ships fail to arrive, the other will bear our letters. It is very easy to describe a good workman, but quite difficult to find one. I shall explain to Your Reverence elsewhere our need of having these ten men.

As to the four who desire or were desiring to enter our Society, I will tell you that Ambroise, who gave such satisfaction at Orleans and elsewhere, and who even here rendered some good services, wished to go away this year. He has a good disposition and is an excellent workman. If he gives satisfaction, we will beg Your Reverence to receive him next year; if not, he will not secure any letter of recommendation. As for Louys, he does wonders in his trade; but when he is given something else to do, he is discontented. The rough and heavy work to be done here discourages him, as well as Robert Hache. They are both good boys, but they have not enough [135] courage, and perhaps not enough strength, for the work in Canada. They almost asked to return this year, but the fear of not being received stopped them. We will see how they do from now on; they show great willingness.

As to Jacques Junier, he perseveres in doing right. In truth I would prefer ten men like him to ten others. He has now been a long time in the country; and I have told him, on the part of Your Reverence, that he would be received when he went back to France. Two things prevent his returning this year: the first is that it is exceedingly disagreeable for him to make a sea voyage, as he becomes very sick; the second, that the house can scarcely get along without him, he is so necessary to us in every way. He is a [page 55] young man who says nothing, but does much. As I was representing to Father Lallemant that Your Reverence would send him back to us as soon as possible, he said to me: "The difficulty which our Reverend Father Provincial will have, in allowing him to make his novitiate here, arises from his belief that it would not be approved at Rome, nor indeed among some of our Fathers; were it not for this, he loves our mission so much that he would leave him here, especially if he were informed of the amiability of this good boy, who needs only the gown to be a religious; and, if he conducts himself in religion as he does in the world, they will be satisfied with him. I shall write [136] now to Rome," said he, "to the end that they may grant us this favor, which is important for the good of our house ; inform Our Reverend Father Provincial of this." I am doing so through this letter. If he must return, he will return. God is the master of all. I beg Your Reverence to pardon me if I seem to speak with a lack of respect in my letters; I wish absolutely nothing, my Reverend Father, except what you deem best before God. I speak as I believe it needful, as it seems to me.

Let us speak of the Fathers whom this mission needs.

Two are needed among the Hurons; if they make peace with the Iroquois, for I am told that it is being negotiated, a number more will be needed, as we must enter all the stationary tribes. If these people receive the faith, they will cry with hunger, and there will be no one to feed them, for lack of persons who know the languages. Moreover, the Brothers who should be among the Hiroquois would exert themselves to preserve the peace between them and [page 57] Hurons; nevertheless, on account of the uncertain of this peace, we ask for only two Fathers to go to the Hurons. There must be a superior at Three Rivers, and two Fathers must remain at Kébec, near our French people; so this makes five priests and two Brothers. Let us see what need there is of having so many men.

As for the two Fathers who will be sent to the Hurons, [137] they could be sent from there to the Neutral tribe, or among the Hiroquois, or to some other tribe; or even be kept among the Hurons, who number thirty thousand souls in a very small extent of country. For Kébec, I ask two Fathers; if Father Lallemant is superior, he will remain with Fathers Massé and de Noué, and with our people, to ensure the success of the house; the two Fathers will be at the fort, where they talk of building them a little house or a room; they will preach, will hear confessions, will administer the sacraments, and will say holy mass for our French people; in short, they will perform the office of pastors, and will learn the language of the savages, going to visit them when they encamp around the place. They will have a boy, who will every week bring them their food from our house, distant from the fort a good half league.

I ask a superior for Three Rivers, for it is not too much to keep three Fathers there, so that there may be always two free for the savages. But if Your Reverence wishes to send only two, Father Buteux, to whom I shall this year teach what I know of the language, will remain with the one at Kébec, or at Three Rivers, and I with the other; but it seems to me three are not too many for Three Rivers; one will be for our French people, the two others for the [page 59] savages; indeed, it may [138] happen that one of them will be sent to the Hurons, with the two who must go up there. I am inclined to think that Father Brebeuf may ask more than two; so that, if



Your Reverence can send us five Fathers and two Brothers, it will not be too many. I often call to mind what I once heard him say, "*ad pauca attendens facile enunciat*"; I have indeed as many people as I need, but I do not say where the food will be found to nourish them." To that I have no answer. I am restricting myself as much as I can; because, for the good of this mission, it would be well to have more people than we are asking.

Just here I have two humble requests to make of Your Reverence. I make them in the name of Jesus Christ from the very depths of my heart. My Reverend Father, I beg Your Reverence to discharge me. I sometimes say to the little crosses which come to me, "And this also and as many as you wish, O my God. " But to those which Father Lallemant has brought me in Your Reverence's letters, which continue me in my charge, I have said this more than three times, but with a shrinking of the heart which could not drink this cup. In truth, my Reverend Father, I have not the talents, nor the qualities, nor the mildness, necessary to be superior: besides, I say it, and it is true, it is a great disturbance in the study of the language; I say a very great disturbance, ♦ I will even say that this, during the present year, is preventing the salvation, perhaps, [139] Of some savages. I learn that the Savages who are at Three Rivers are all sick, and are dying in great numbers. Also Father Brebeuf, who passed through there, writes me that it would be fitting that I should go there; I am busy with the letters, I have nothing **[page 61]** or very little ready; the ships will soon be ready to sail away; I shall not have my letters and reports prepared to send Your Reverence in regard to our needs, but I am hurrying as much as possible. If I were not Superior, I would be free from all this and would have been up there a long time ago. I am preparing to go there and remain until spring, or until the coming of the ships. I have not a mind capable of so many things: the care of our people, little difficulties of so many kinds, in short, all are brought to the Superior; and that distracts him greatly, especially at Kebec, where we are quite numerous. Add to this the sermons, confessions, and visits. I am willing to think that all these things would not greatly interfere with Father Lallemant's study of the language; as for me, I say it before God, it distracts me greatly therefrom. Since the month of April, when I returned from my stay with the savages, I have not looked at a word of their language. Father Lallemant, who is not so studious, wished, when he first came, to pay a little attention to the work of our men. -Finally he got [140] rid of this duty, confessing to me frankly, what he had been unwilling to believe, that it was impossible to study with this care. Time altogether free is given to those who study in our classes, they have good teachers, they have good books, they are comfortably lodged; and I, who am without books, without masters, badly lodged, shall I be able to study, engrossed with cares which very often occupy me almost entirely? Your Reverence will consider this before God, if you please; I wish only his greater glory. It is true that I start at my own shadow; but time speaks for me, ♦ it is more than three years (or will be at the coming of the ships) since I have been in charge; Father Lallemant, **[page 63]** being what he is, and dwelling at Kebec, will give great satisfaction. I thank Your Reverence in advance for granting me this request. Here is the second.

Father Benier writes me that he would be inconsolable at not coming to Canada, if he were not confronted with his sins, which prevent him from it; he begs me to write to Rome for him. I tell Your Reverence frankly that he hopes they will open to him, from there, the door which the Provincials have closed to him in France. I have written them, as he requested me; but it is not from there that I expect my greatest consolation, my Reverend Father. Permit me to ask him for God, in the name of God, and in God, for the salvation of many [141] souls; I renounce entirely anything immoderate in my affection; no, my Reverend Father, it is not the affection of the creature which speaks. If Your Reverence, to whom God communicates himself more fully than to a poor sinner, should deem, in the presence of Jesus Christ, uninfluenced by any motive whatsoever, that he is more necessary in France and near a woman\* than in the midst of these barbarous people, I ask for him no more; *majorem Deigloriam specto*. If he renders more service to Our Lord where he is, however little it may be, than he would in New France, let him remain there, in the name of God; it is there where I wish him to be. But if Your Reverence thinks that God wishes him here, I ask for him with all my heart. My fear that some changes may occur makes me conjure Your Reverence to give to us according to your affection for us. If I knew that he who may succeed you would inherit your love, I would not be so importunate; for truly I am ashamed to be so urgent. **[page 65]**

Yet this one favor, my Reverend Father, which will be in harmony with your affection; give us, if you please, Father Benier and Father Vimont. If Father Benier does not come over while you are in charge, shall never expect him; [142] I shall ask for him fervently from God, and I am confident that he will give him to us.

Will Your Reverence overlook it if I continue moment longer to speak freely? Father Lallemant being Superior at Kebec, Father Vimont and Father Buteux will remain at the fort; Father Benier, Father Pinette, or Father Garnier, and Father Le Jeune, at Three Rivers. Father Pinette, or Father Garnier, and Father Mercier, who is at the college of Paris, for the Hurons; I am not acquainted with the last named, but they speak well of him to me. Pardon me, my Reverend Father, pardon me my foolishness; I expect that all my requests will be refused, if they are not conformable to the will of God, which will be declared to me through that of Your Reverence, and which I shall embrace with all my heart, even unto death, and beyond, if I can. I cannot, and do not wish, to decide for myself in any way, nor for others; I suggest with love and confidence, and with indifference; I ask for the best workers that I can have, because such are needed here, ♦ in truth, men who come for the sake of the cross and not for conversions, who are extremely pliant and docile; otherwise there will be no longer any peace here, and consequently no fruit. The altogether angelic chastity demanded by our constitutions is necessary here; one needs only to extend the hand to gather the apple of sin.

[143] It is at this point that my tediousness will become wearisome; for it is not yet finished. Let **[page 67]** us speak of the condition of our house ♦ at the present time. We have a house which contains four rooms below: the first serves as chapel, the second as refectory, and in this refectory are our rooms. There are two little square rooms of moderate size, for they are proportioned to a man's height; there are two others, each of which has a dimension of eight feet; but there are two beds in each room. These are rather narrow quarters for six persons; the others, when we are all together, sleep in the garret. The third large room serves as kitchen, and the fourth is the room for our working people; this is our entire lodging. Above is a garret, so low that no one can dwell there; to this we mount with a ladder.

There was another building of the same size, opposite this one. The English burned half of it, and the other half is covered only with mud; it serves us ,as a barn, a stable, and a carpenter's room. Our workingmen this year have made boards, have gone to the woods to get the trees, have placed doors and windows throughout, have made the little rooms in the refectory, some furniture, tables, [144] stools, credence-tables for the chapel, and other similar things; they have enclosed our house with large poles of the fir tree, making for us a fine court about a hundred feet square, being superintended in this work by Father de Nou ♦. These poles are fourteen feet high, and there are about twelve hundred of them. It looks well, and is quite useful. We have placed some gates therein, which Louys has bound with iron. In addition to all this, we have cultivated, tilled, and seeded our cleared lands. So these are the more important works of our people, and the condition of the house. **[page 69]**

The following is what must be done in future:

We must erect a small house upon a point of land which is opposite.\* We need only cross the river to reach it; the water almost surrounds this point, forming a peninsula. We have begun to enclose it with stakes on the land side, and we shall keep there our cattle; that is, our cows and pigs; for this purpose we must build a little house, for those who will take care of them, and also some good stables sheltered from the cold.

Last year they sent us a man as a carpenter who was not one; and for this reason there has been no building this year, which has done us [145] great harm. We must also repair the damages in the building burned by the English. They have been doing this since the coming of the ship, which brought us a carpenter; we must have planks with which to cover it, and make doors, windows, etc. We must make a barn in which to put our crops. We must have a well; we have to go for water two hundred steps from the house, which causes us great trouble, especially in the winter, when we have to break the ice of the river in order to get it. We must repair and enlarge our cellar, which until now we have kept in good order. We must rebuild more than half of the building where we now are, and put a new roof upon it, for the rain and snow penetrate everywhere; at first, our Fathers made only a miserable hut in which to live; the English neglecting it, it would have fallen to the ground if we had not returned to preserve it; it is made only of planks and small laths, upon which some mud has been plastered. We must have people to look after the cattle; the little ground that we have must be tilled and sown; **[page 71]** the harvest must be cut and gathered in. We must prepare firewood, which they have to get at some distance away, and without a cart. We must have some lime made.

There are a thousand things which I cannot mention, but Your Reverence may see whether ten persons are too many for all this. We would ask for twenty or thirty, [146] if there were anything with which to feed and maintain them; but we restrict ourselves to ten, with three of our Brothers; and even then I do not know if they will be able to furnish, in France, what will be necessary for these and for us, so great are the expenses.

*What may be expected of this house for the assistance of the mission, and the expenses necessary for our support.*

There are four staples which make up the greatest expense of this mission: the pork, butter, drinks, and flour, which are sent; in time, the country may furnish these things. As to pork, if from the beginning of this year we had had a building, no more of it, or not much, would have had to be sent next year; we have two fat sows which are each suckling four little pigs, and these we have been obliged to feed all summer in our open court. Father Massé has raised these animals for us. If that point of which I have spoken were enclosed, they could be put there and during the summer nothing need be given them to eat; I mean that in a short time we shall be provided with pork, an article which would save us 400 livres. As to butter, we have two cows, two little heifers, and a little bull. M. de Caën having left his cattle here when he saw that he was ruined, we took of them three cows, and for [147] the family which is here, three others; they and we each gave to **[page 73]** M. Giffard a cow, so we have remaining the number that I have just stated. For lack of a building, they cost us more than they are worth, for our working people are obliged to neglect more necessary things for them; they spoil what we have sown; and they cannot be tended in the woods, for the insects torment them. They have come three years too soon, but they would have died if we had not taken them in; we took them when they were running wild. In time they will provide butter, and the oxen can be used for plowing, and will occasionally furnish meat.

As to drinks, we shall have to make some beer; but we shall wait until we have built, and until a brewery is erected; these three articles are assured, with time. As to grains, some people are inclined to think that the land where we are is too cold. Let us proceed systematically, and consider the nature of the soil: these last two years all the vegetables, which come up only too fast, have been eaten by insects, which come either from the neighborhood of the woods, or from that land which has not yet been worked and purified, nor exposed to the air. In midsummer these insects die, and we have very fine vegetables.

As to the fruit trees, I do not know how they will turn out. We have two double rows of them, one of a hundred feet [148] or more, the other larger, planted on either side with wild trees which are well rooted. We have eight or ten rows of apple and pear trees, which are also very well rooted; we shall see how they will succeed. I have an idea that cold is very injurious to the fruit, but in a few years we shall know from experience. Formerly, some fine apples have been seen here. **[page 75]**

As to the Indian corn, it ripened very nicely the past year, but this year it is not so fine.

As to peas, I have seen no good ones here; their growth is too rapid. They succeed very well with this family, who live in a higher and more airy location.

The rye has succeeded well for two years. We planted some as an experiment, and it is very fine.

Barley succeeds also. There remains the wheat; we sowed some in the autumn, at different times; in some places it was lost under the snow, in others it was so well preserved that no finer wheat can be seen in France. We do not yet know very well which time it is best to take before winter to put in the seed; the family living here has always sown spring wheat, which ripens nicely in their soil. We sowed a little of it this year, and will see whether it ripens. So these are the qualities of our soil.

I report all this because M. de Lauson [149] wrote to us that we should transport our people to Three Rivers, where they were going to make a new settlement, saying that everything would ripen better in that quarter. There was much hesitation as to whether it should be done; at least they wanted us to send three or four men there. I have always thought that our forces should not be divided, and that one house should be made successful, which might afterward be the support of the others; for it is necessary to see some result before undertaking anything else. In fact, those who went there first send word that the soil is very sandy, and that all would mature better for a time; but that this soil will soon be exhausted. I am going to live there, as I have said, with Father Buteux; we shall see what there is in it. Even if the soil is very good, I do not think that the care of this house, where we are, should be given up: it is **[page 77]** the landing place of the ships, it ought to be the storehouse, or place of refuge; the advantages for raising cattle here, on account of the meadows, are great. As to the cereals, if the worst comes to the worst, we have oats, but I hope that we shall also have good wheat, and that time will show us when it ought to be sown; if the spring grains ripen, wheat oats, and barley will be produced here very well. From this, let us draw some conclusions as to what should be done.

First, we must build some place where we our selves can stay, and can keep our animals and crops. [150]

Second, we must now sow what is necessary for the cattle, and try as soon as possible, in a few years, to have some pork and butter.

Third, being lodged, all our working people will apply themselves to clearing and cultivating the land, in order to have grains. The

following is the order which it seems to me we ought to follow, in regard to the temporal; when we shall have built, we shall no longer keep any carpenters or artisans, but only woodchoppers and laborers, for the maintenance of the house. Occasionally we shall borrow an artisan from the fort, giving a man in his place for the time during which we shall keep him.

Or rather, what seems to me better, we shall keep domestic servants, and shall maintain men who will clear and cultivate the land by shares, and thus, being interested in their work, we shall not have to take any trouble for them. There is still time to think of that.

Here is another matter:

They are talking about beginning new settlements in different places, and of having there some of our Fathers. I have an idea that we could not undertake to settle and build everywhere; it will be all we can **[page 79]** do if we make the place where we are prosper; and therefore, for the other settlements, two or three of our Fathers, or two Fathers and a boy, can [151] go to them, and these gentlemen will lodge and maintain them, and will furnish everything for the church or chapel that they see fit. We are going, Father Buteux and I, as I have said, to live at Three Rivers expressly to assist our countrymen, for we would not go, were it not for that; however, we are going to take furniture for the sacristy, and clothes for ourselves, and, what seems to me stranger still, our own food, which we shall give to them; for we shall eat with them, for lack of a dwelling where we might be by ourselves. We do this willingly, for I learn that these gentlemen are very much attached to us, and assist us as much as they can, according to the condition of their affairs: also we do, and will do, all that we can for their sakes; for, besides carrying with us to Three Rivers everything, even to the wax and the candles, we have sent to the Hurons three or four more persons than we should have done, were it not for their affairs which I have entrusted to our men. It is true, that they have given something for this object, according to what Father Lallemant has told me. I do not wish to importune them; but I am aware that they are glad to know that we will serve them willingly, and that we shall expect them to give what is necessary for the maintenance of [our] Fathers in the new settlements; and that they will furnish their chapel, as they have done this year this one [152] at K<sup>é</sup>bec,\* and that **[page 81]** they will give also wages and food to the men whom we shall keep for their sakes; and on their account, either among the Hurons, or elsewhere, we keep these men with us, in order that they may not become debauched with the Savages and show a bad example, as those did who were here formerly. This is all there is to be said for the temporal interests of this mission; if I remember anything else, I shall write it in another place.

Let us come to the spiritual.

First, we shall hope to have in time a great harvest among the Hurons, <sup>♦</sup>greater and nearer, if we can send there many laborers to pass into the neighboring tribes, all to be under the leadership and command of the Superior who will be among the Hurons. These people are sedentary and very populous ; I hope that Father Buteux will know in one year as much of the Montagnais language as I know of it, in order to teach it to the others, and thus I shall go wherever I shall be wanted. It is not that I expect anything of myself, but I shall try to serve at least as a companion. These people, where we are, are wandering, and very few in number; it will be difficult to convert them, [153] if we cannot make them stationary; I have discussed the means for doing this, in my Relation.

As to the Seminary, alas! if we could only have a fund for this purpose! In the structures of which I have spoken, we marked out a little place for the beginning of one, waiting until some special houses be erected expressly for this purpose. If we had any built, I would hope that in two years Father Brebeuf would send us some Huron children; they could be instructed here with all freedom, being separated **[page 83]** from their parents. Oh, what a great stroke for the glory of God, if that were done!

As to the children of the Savages in this country, there will be more trouble in keeping them; I see no other way than that which Your Reverence suggests, of sending a child every year to France. Having been there two years, he will return with a knowledge of the language, and having already become accustomed to our ways, he will not leave us and will retain his little countrymen. Our little Fortun<sup>♦</sup>, who has been sent back because he was sick, and who can not return to his parents, for he has none, is quite different from what he was, although he has lived only a little while in France; so far from mingling with the Savages, he runs away from them, and is becoming very obedient. In truth he astonishes me, for he used to begin to run to the cabins of the barbarians as soon as we said a word to him; he could not [154] suffer any one to command him, whoever he might be; now he is prompt in whatever he does. This year I wished to send a little girl, who was given me by the family, that lives here, and perhaps also a little boy, according to Your Reverence's wish. But M. de Champlain told me that M. de Lauson had recommended him not to let any Savage go over, small or great. I begged him last year to allow this to be done; I have an idea that Father Lallemant has some share in this advice and in this conclusion. Here are the reasons why they think that it is not expedient for them to go over: 1st. The example of the two who have gone over and who have been ruined. I answer that Louys\* the Huron was taken and corrupted by the English; and yet he has here performed **[page 85]** the duties of a Christian, confessing and taking communion last year at his arrival, and at his departure from Kebec; he is now a prisoner of the Hiroquois. As to Pierre the montagnais<sup>♦</sup>, taken [155] into France by the Recollect Fathers, when he returned here, he fled from the Savages; he was compelled to return among them, in order to learn the language, which he had forgotten; he did not wish to go, even saying: "They are forcing me; but, if I once go there, they will not get me back as they wish." At that time the English came upon the scene, and they have spoiled him; I may add that I have not seen a savage so savage and so barbarous as he is.

Father Lallemant's other reason is that it will cost something to maintain these children in France, and the mission is poor. If they are in a college, their board will have to be paid; if they are elsewhere, that will diminish the alms which would be given by the persons who support them. I answer that the colleges will not take anything for board; and, if it were necessary to pay this, I find the affair so important for the glory of God, that it ought to be given. Father Lallemant begins to appreciate my reasons, for I assured him that we could not retain the little Savages, if they be not removed from their native country, or if they have not some companions **[page 87]** who help them to remain of their own free will. We have had two of these: in the absence of the savages they obeyed tolerably well, but when the savages were encamped near us, our children no longer belonged to us, we dared say nothing.

If we can have some children this [156] year I shall do all I can to have them go over, at least two boys and this little girl, who will find three homes for one. Several places have asked me for them. If M. Duplessis listens to me, in the name of God, so let it be. When Father Lallemant shall have found out the difficulty there is in keeping these wild children, he will speak more peremptorily than I do.

Your Reverence sees, through all that has been said, the benefits to be expected for the glory of God from all of these countries, and how important it is, not only not to divert to some other places what is given for the mission at Kebec, but still more to find something for the maintenance at least of a house which may serve as a retreat for Our Associates, as a seminary for children, and for Our Brothers who will one day learn the languages, for there are a great many tribes differing altogether in their language.

*(The rest of this manuscript is lacking.)*

[page 89]

XXIII

Le Jeune's Relation, 1634

PARIS: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1635

Source: Title-page and text reprinted from the copy of the first issue, in Lenox Library. Table des Chapitres, from the second issue, at Lenox.

Chaps. i.-ix., only, are given in the present volume; the concluding portion will appear in Volume VII.

[page 93]

RELATION  
OF WHAT OCCURRED  
IN  
NEW FRANCE,  
IN THE YEAR 1634.

Sent to the  
REVEREND FATHER PROVINCIAL  
of the Society of Jesus in the  
Province of France.

By Father Paul le Jeune, of the same Society,  
Superior of the Residence of Kebec.

PARIS,  
SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Printer in ordinary to the King.

Ru<sup>de</sup> St. Jacques, at the Sign of the Storks.



M DC. XXXV.  
*BY ROYAL LICENSE.*

[page 95]

[iii] Extract from the Royal License.

Y the Grace and License of the King, permission is granted to Sebastien Cramoisy, Printer in ordinary to the King, Bookseller under Oath in the University of Paris, to print or to have printed a book entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est pass<sup>de</sup> en la Nouvelle France en l'ann<sup>de</sup> mil six cens trente-quatre, Envoy<sup>de</sup> au Reverend Pere Barthelemy Jaquinot, Provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Province de France, Par le P. Paul le Jeune de la mesme Compagnie, Superieur de la Residence de Kebec:* and this during the time

and space of nine consecutive years. Prohibiting all Booksellers and Printers to print or to have printed the said book, under pretext of any disguise or change which they may make therein, under penalty of confiscation and the fine provided by said License. Given at Paris, the 8th of December, one thousand six hundred thirty-four.

By the King in Council,

VICTON.

[page 97]

# [1] Relation of what occurred in New France on the Great River St. Lawrence, in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-four.

Y REVEREND FATHER,

The Letters of your Reverence, the evidences of your desire for the conversion of these people, the effects of your love for us, the coming of our Fathers whom you have been pleased to send this year for our reinforcement, the desires of so many of our society to come to these countries and sacrifice their lives and their labors for the glory of Our Lord: All this, added to the successful return of [2] our ships last year, and the fortunate arrival of those which have come this year, with the zeal which the Honorable associates of the Company of new France show for the conversion of these barbarous people, ♦ all these blessings together, pouring down at once into our great forests through the arrival of Monsieur du Plessis, General of the fleet, who makes possible for us the enjoyment of some, and brings us good news of the others, overwhelm us with a satisfaction so great that it would be exceedingly difficult to express it well. God be forever praised for these blessings! If his goodness continues to be bestowed upon these Gentlemen, as we pray it may be with all our hearts, many souls plunged in a night of error, which has already lasted so long a time, will at last see the light of Christian truth. And our good King, Monseigneur the Cardinal, the Honorable Associates, [page 99] the Marquis de Gamache, a great supporter of our Mission, and a number of others, by whose favor the Blood of the Son of God will some day be applied to these souls, will have the glory and the merit of having contributed to so blessed a work.

[3] I shall divide the Relation of this year into chapters, at the end of which I shall add a journal of things which have no other connection than the order of time in which they happened. All that I shall say regarding the Savages, I have either seen with my own eyes, or have received from the lips of natives, especially from an old man very well versed in their beliefs, and from a number of others with whom I have passed six months with the exception of a few days, following them into the woods to learn their language. It is, indeed, true that these people have not all the same idea in regard to their belief, which will some day make it appear that those who treat of their customs are contradicting each other. [page 101]

## CHAPTER I. ON THE GOOD CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH.

E have passed this year in great peace and on very good terms with our French. The wise conduct and prudence of Monsieur de Champlain, Governor of Kebec [4] and of the river saint Lawrence, who honors us with his good will, holding every one in the path of duty, has caused our words and preaching to be well received; and the Chapel which he has had erected near the fort, in honor of our Lady, has furnished excellent facilities to the French to receive the Sacraments of the Church frequently, which they have done on the great Feast Days of the year, and many every month, to the great satisfaction of those who administered them. The fort has seemed like a well-ordered Academy; Monsieur de Champlain has some one read at his table, in the morning from some good historian, and in the evening from the lives of the Saints; then each one makes an examination of his conscience in his own chamber, and prayers follow, which are repeated kneeling. He has the Angelus sounded at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the day, according to the custom of the Church. In a word, we have reason to console ourselves when we see a chief so zealous for the glory of Our Lord and for the welfare of these Gentlemen.

Could it be believed that there is one of our Frenchmen in Canada, who, to offset the licentiousness [page 103] which is carried on in other places [5] during the Carnival, came on last shrove Tuesday, with bare head and feet, over the snow and ice from Kebec all the way to our Chapel; that is, a good half league, fasting the same day, to fulfill a vow made to Our Lord; and all this was done without any other witnesses than God, and our Fathers who met him.

During the holy time of Lent, not only abstinence from forbidden meats and fasting were observed, but there was a certain one who took the discipline more than thirty times, ♦ extraordinary devotion in soldiers and artisans, such as are the greater part of our Frenchmen here.

Another has promised to use the tenth part of the profits he may make, during the course of his whole life, in works of piety. These little samples show that the Winter in new France is not so severe that some flowers of Paradise may not be gathered there.

I shall insert here, not knowing where better to put it, what one of our Frenchmen, quite worthy of credence, and so acknowledged, told us about Jacques Michel, a Huguenot, who brought the English to [6] this country. This wretch, having upon the eve of his death, vomited forth a thousand blasphemies against God and against our holy Father Ignatius, and having uttered this imprecation, that "he would be hanged if he did not give a couple of slaps before the next evening to one of our Fathers who was taken by the English," uttering the most unseemly insults against him, was soon afterwards overtaken by an illness which bereft him of all consciousness, and caused him to die the next day like a beast. Four circumstances in this incident astonished the Huguenots themselves, - the illness which seized him a few [page 105] hours after his blasphemies; the mistake of the Surgeons, who were numerous, in giving soporific remedies to a man in a lethargy; his so sudden and unconscious death, expiring without any one perceiving it, although there were six men around him; the rage of the Savages against his body, which they disinterred and hanged, according to his imprecations, and then



threw to the dogs. The English, who were in the fort at Kebec, having heard this tragic story, were amazed; and said that, if the Jesuits knew all that, they would make miracles out of it.

[7] Now, we do know it, and yet we will make neither prodigies nor miracles out of it; but we will only say that it is not well to blaspheme against God or his saints, nor to strive against one's King to betray one's country. But now let us come to our Savages.

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## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE CONVERSION, BAPTISM, AND HAPPY DEATH OF CERTAIN SAVAGES.

OME Savages have become Christians this year; three have been baptized this Winter during my absence. Here are the very encouraging particulars of these baptisms, which our Fathers related to me upon my return.

The first was a young man named Sasousmat, from 25 to 30 years of age, whom the French have surnamed Marsolet. This young man, having one day heard an Interpreter talk about the pains of Hell and the rewards of Paradise, said to him; "Take [8] me to France to be instructed, otherwise thou wilt be responsible for my soul. " Then, having fallen sick, it was easier to induce him to become a Christian. Father Brebœuf gave me this account of him.

"Having learned of the illness of this young man, I went to visit him, and found him so low that he had lost his reason. Behold us now greatly troubled at not being able to help him, and so we resolved, our Fathers and I, to offer to God the next day the Sacrifice of the Mass in honor of the glorious St. Joseph, Patron of this new France, for the salvation and conversion of this poor Savage; scarcely had we left the Altar, when they came to tell us that he had recovered his senses; we went to see him, and, having sounded him, we found him filled with a great desire to receive Holy Baptism: [page 109] we deferred this, however, for a few days, in order to instruct him more fully. At last he sent word to me, through our Savage named Manitougatche, and surnamed by our French, "la Nasse," that I should come and baptize him, saying that the night before he had seen me in his sleep, coming to his Cabin to administer to him this Sacrament; and that, as soon [9] as I sat down near him, all his sickness went away; he confirmed this to me when I saw him. Nevertheless I refused his request, in order the more to stimulate his desire, so that another Savage who was present, not being able to bear this delay, asked me why I did not baptize him, since it was only necessary to throw a little water upon him, and then all would be done. But, when I answered him that I would myself be lost, if I baptized an infidel and a poorly-taught unbeliever, the sick man, turning to a Frenchman, said, Matchounon has no sense; it was thus they called the other Savage; he does not believe what the Father says; as for me, I believe it entirely. Meanwhile, the Savages wishing to change their camp and to go farther into the woods, Manitougatche, who began to feel ill, came to beg us to receive him and the poor sick man also into our house; and so we decided to care for the bodies, in order to aid the souls, which we saw were well disposed toward Heaven. So this worthy young man was placed upon a wooden sledge, and brought to us over the snow. We received him with love, and [10] made him as comfortable as we could. He was full of gladness and satisfaction to see himself with us, evincing a great desire to be baptized and to die a Christian. The next day, which was the [page 111] 26th of January, as he had fallen into a deep stupor, we baptized him, believing that he was going to die. We gave him the name François, in honor of St. François Xavier. He regained consciousness, and, having learned what had taken place, expressed his joy at having been made a Child of God. He passed his time constantly until his death, which was two days later, in different acts that I caused him to practice, sometimes of Faith and Hope, sometimes of the Love of God, and of remorse for having offended him. He took a very obvious pleasure in this, and repeated all alone with deep feeling what had been taught him. One day, while he was asking pardon of God for his sins, he accused himself aloud, as if he were making his confession; then, his memory failing (he said to me): Teach me; I am a poor ignorant creature, I have no understanding; suggest to me what I ought to say. Another time he begged me to sprinkle some holy water upon him, to help him to be sorry for his sins. [11] I was surprised at this, for we had not yet spoken to him of the use of this water; when, at his request, we sang some prayers of the Church in his presence, we saw him during this holy service with eyes raised toward Heaven in an attitude of such devotion that we were all greatly touched, admiring the wonderful effects of mercy that God was bringing about in this soul, which finally left the body on the 28th of January, to go and enjoy God."

When the news of his conversion and death became known to our French at Kebec, some of them shed tears of joy and satisfaction, blessing God for accepting the first fruits of a land which has borne little else than thorns since the birth of the centuries. [page 113]

One quite remarkable thing happened a few hours after his death. A great light appeared at the windows of our house, rising and falling three times; one of our Fathers saw the flash, as did several of our men, who went out immediately, some to see if a part of our house had not taken fire, the others to see if it were lightning. Having found no trace of this fire, they believed [12] that God was declaring through this phenomenon the light that was being enjoyed by the soul that had just left us. The Savages belonging to the Cabin of the deceased saw this light in the woods, where they had withdrawn, and it frightened them all the more as they thought it was a foreshadowing of future deaths in their family.

I was then (I who am writing this) some forty leagues from Kebec, in the cabin of the brothers of the dead man; and this light appeared there at the same time and at the same hour, as we have since observed, Father Brebœuf and I, by comparing our notes. My host, brother of the deceased, having perceived it, rushed out in horror; and, seeing it repeated, cried out in such astonishment, that all the Savages, and I with them, rushed out of our cabins. Having found my host all distracted, I tried to tell him that this fire was only lightning, and that he need not be frightened; he answered me very aptly that lightning appeared and disappeared in an instant, but that this fire had moved before his eyes for some time. "Besides," said he to me, "hast thou ever seen lightning or thunder in such piercing [13] cold as that which we are feeling now?" It was indeed very cold. I asked him then what he thought of these fires. "It is," he said, "a bad omen, it is a sign of death. He added that the Manitou, or devil, fed upon these flames. [page 115]

To return to our happy deceased. Our Fathers buried him with as much solemnity as they could, our Frenchmen being present and showing great devotion. Manitougatche, our Savage, having seen all this, and also observing that we did not wish to accept any of the belongings or clothes of the deceased, which he offered us, was so pleased and astonished that he went about among the cabins of the Savages who came soon afterward to Kebec, relating all that he had seen, saying, that we had given the best food we had to this poor young man, that we had nursed him as if he had been our own brother, that we had inconvenienced ourselves in order to give him a lodging, that we had not consented to take anything that belonged to him, and that we had buried him with a great deal of honor. Some of them were so touched by this, [14] especially his own family, that they brought us his daughter, who had died in childbirth, to bury her in our way; but Father Brebœuf, meeting them, told them that, as she had never been baptized, we could not put her in the Cemetery of the children of God. Besides, knowing that they usually kill the child when its mother leaves it so young, thinking that it will languish after her death, the Father begged Manitouchatche to prevent this cruel act, which he did willingly; although some of our French People had determined to take charge of the child themselves, if a disposition were manifested to kill it.

The second Savage to be baptized was our Manitouchatche, otherwise, la Nasse, of whom I have spoken in my former Relations. He had begun to get accustomed to our ways before the capture of the country by the English, having commenced to clear and [page 117] cultivate the land; the bad treatment he received from these new guests drove him away from Kebec; he sometimes expressed to Madame Hébert, who remained here with her whole family, his strong desire for our return. And, in fact, as soon as he heard of our arrival, he came to see us, and settled [15] near our house, saying that he wished to become a Christian, and assuring us that he would not leave us unless we chased him away; indeed he has been away from us very little since we have been here. This intercourse has made him understand something of our mysteries. The sojourn made in our house by Pierre Antoine, a Savage and a relative of his, has been of use to him, inasmuch as we have declared to him through his lips the principal articles of our faith. Oh, how unfathomable are the judgments of God! This wretched young man, who was so well instructed in France, having been ruined among the English, as I wrote last year, has become an apostate, renegade, excommunicate, atheist, and servant to a Sorcerer who is his brother. These are the qualities which I shall assign to him hereafter, when speaking of him. And this poor old man, who has received from his infected lips the truths of Heaven, has found Heaven, leaving Hell as the heritage of this renegade, unless God shows him great mercy. But, continuing our story: after the death of François Sasousmat, of whom we have just spoken, this good man, wearied at not having any one with whom to converse, for not one of us yet [16] knows the language perfectly, went away with his wife and children; but, the disease with which he was already affected increasing, he urged his wife and children to bring him back to us, hoping for the same charity he had seen us practice [page 119] toward his fellow-savage. He was received with open arms, perceiving which, he cried out, " Now I shall die happy, since I am with you! " But as his errors had grown old with him, our Fathers recognized that he thought as much and even more of the health of his body than of the salvation of his soul, showing a great desire to live, and putting off his Baptism until my return; nevertheless, as he was continually growing weaker, they wished to see him show more interest in our belief; this induced them to offer to God a novena in honor of the glorious Spouse of the holy Virgin, for the welfare of his soul. The beginning of this devotion was the beginning of more earnest inclination on his part; he showed himself very desirous of being instructed, and began to despise his superstitions. He would no more go to sleep unless he had first prayed to God, which he did also before and after eating, [17] to such an extent that he once deferred, for more than half an hour, eating what had been presented to him, because they had not had him offer the benediction, asking Father Brebœuf to have him say it twelve or thirteen times in succession, to engrave it upon his memory. It was very edifying to see an old man more than sixty years of age learn from a little French boy, whom we have here, to make the sign of the Cross, and other prayers that he asked to be taught. Father Brebœuf, seeing that his strength was failing, and also that he was well enough instructed, told him that death was approaching; and that, if he wished to die a Christian and go to Heaven, he must be baptized. At these words he showed such joy that he dragged himself as well as he could to our chapel, not being able to wait until our [page 121] Fathers, who were making the necessary arrangements for administering this Sacrament, could go after him. One of our Frenchmen, his Godfather, gave him the name Joseph. Before and during his baptism, which took place on the third of April, the Father examining him briefly upon all the [18] articles of the Creed, and upon the commandments of God, he answered clearly and courageously that he believed the former, and would endeavor to keep the latter if God would restore him his health, and showed great regret for having offended him. His wife and one of his daughters being present, the one could not keep back her tears, and the other was greatly bewildered, admiring the beauty of the holy ceremonies of the Church.

I returned from my winter sojourn with the Savages, six days after his baptism, and found him very sick, but very glad to be a Christian. I embraced him like a brother, greatly rejoiced at seeing him a child of God. We continued to teach him and to have him practice acts of virtue, especially the Theological Virtues [faith, hope, and charity], during the twelve days that he survived his baptism.

The Savages, wishing to care for him in their way, with their songs, their uproar, and their other superstitions, tried several times to take him away from us, even going so far as to bring a sledge upon which to take him back, and one of [19] their sorcerers or jugglers came to see him, for the express purpose of enticing him away from our belief; but the good Neophyte held firm, answering that they should not speak to him about going away, and that he would not leave us unless we sent him away. It is no slight indication of the efficacy of the grace of holy [page 123] Baptism, to see a man who had been steeped for over sixty years in Barbarism, accustomed to all the ways of the Savages, imbued with their errors and with their illusions, resist his own wife, his children, his sons-in-law, his friends and his fellow-savages, his *Manitousiouets*, sorcerers or jugglers, not once but many times, to throw himself into the arms of strangers, protesting that he wished to embrace their belief, to die in their Faith and in their house. This shows that grace can give stability to the soul of a Savage, who is by nature inconstant.

Finally, after having instructed our good Joseph in the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, we administered it to him; and on that very day, Holy Saturday, his soul left the body and went to celebrate [20] Easter in Heaven. One of his sons-in-law, when he saw him very low, remained near him to see how we would bury him after death, wishing us to give him his Castelogne [blanket] and his tobacco pouch, for use in the other world; but, when he went to carry the news of this death to the wife of the deceased, we buried the latter according to the custom of the Catholic Church, showing as much honor as we could in the funeral ceremonies. Monsieur de Champlain, in order to give proof of the love and honor we bear those who die in the Christian Faith, had his people leave their work, and sent them to us to attend the services; we followed as closely as possible the ceremonies of the Church, which was very acceptable to the relatives of this new Christian. There was one thing, however, which displeased them; when we came to put the body in the grave, they noticed that there was a little water in the bottom, caused by the snow melting just then and dropping into it; this [page 125] struck their imagination, and as they are [21] superstitious, saddened them a little. It will not be difficult to combat such errors, when we know their language well. These are, as far as I know, the first adult Savages in these countries who have been baptized and died firm in the faith.

The third Savage baptized this year was a child only three or four months old; the Father, being angry at his wife, daughter of our good Joseph, either because she wanted to leave him, or because he had a touch of jealousy, took the child and threw it against the ground, to kill it. One of our Frenchmen happening along just then, and remembering that we had recommended them to administer Baptism to children whom they saw in danger of death, in case they could not call us took some water and baptized it; this poor little child did not die immediately, however; its mother took it and carried it away with her to the Islands, leaving her husband, who has since told us that he believes his child is dead, as its mother had been taken with a disease which he thought was mortal.

The fourth was the son of a Savage [22] named Khiouirineou, the mother's name was Ouitapimoueu, and they had named their little child Itaouabisisiou. His parents had promised me that they would bring him to us to be buried in our cemetery, if he died; and, if he recovered, ♦ for he was very sick, ♦ they would give him to us to be educated, thus showing their satisfaction that their little son should receive holy Baptism. So I baptized him and gave him the name Jean Baptiste, that day being the octave of this great Saint. Sieur du Chesne, Surgeon of the colony, who willingly comes with me through **[page 127]** the Cabins, to advise us of those whom he considers in danger of death, was his godfather.

The fifth was baptized the same day. His Father made known to sieur Olivier, the interpreter, that he would be very glad if they would do to his son what was done to little French children; meaning that they should baptize him. Having been informed of this by sieur Olivier, I went to see the child, but deferred baptism for a few days, as the child was still full of vitality. At last, Father Buteux and [23] I, having gone to see him, called Monsieur du Chesne, who told us that the child was very sick. I asked his Father if he would like to have us baptize him. "I should be very glad" (he answered); " if he dies, I will carry him to thy house; if he recovers, he shall be thy son, and thou shalt instruct him." I named him Adrian, after his Godfather; before this he was called Pichichich; his Father has been surnamed by the French Baptiscan, ♦ he was called, in Savage, Tchimaouirineou, his mother Matouetchiouanouecoueu. This poor little child of about eight months flew away to Heaven. The following night, his Father did not fail to bring the body, having with him eighteen or twenty Savages, men, women, and children. They had wrapped it in Beaver skins, and over that was a large piece of linen cloth, which they had bought at the store, and over all a great double piece of bark. I unrolled the parcel to see if the child was inside; then I laid it in a coffin which we had made for it, and this pleased the Savages wonderfully, for they believe that the soul [24] of the child will use in the other world of souls all the things that have been given to it at its departure. I told them indeed that **[page 129]** the soul was now in Heaven, and that it had no concern whatever with these trifling things. Nevertheless we let them go on, for fear that, if we tried to prevent them, ♦ which I might have done (for the Father already wavered) ♦ the others would not permit us to baptize their children when they were sick, or at least would not call us after they died. These simple people were enchanted, seeing five Priests in surplices honoring this little Canadian angel, chanting what is ordained by the Church, covering the coffin with a beautiful pall, and strewing it with flowers. We buried him with all possible solemnity.

All the Savages were present during the entire ceremony. When it came to lowering him into the grave, his mother placed his cradle therein, with a few other things, according to their custom; and soon after she drew some of her milk in a little [25] bark ladle, which she burned immediately. I asked why this was done, and a woman answered me that she was giving drink to the child, whose soul was drinking this milk. I instructed her upon this point, but I still speak the language so poorly that I scarcely made her understand me.

After the burial we had the funeral feast, giving some Indian cornmeal mixed with prunes to these simple people, to induce them to call upon us when they or their children were sick. In short, they went away very much pleased, as they showed us then, and more particularly two days later.

Father Buteux, as he was visiting the Cabins of the Savages on his return from saying Mass at the settlement, saw the dead body of little Jean Baptiste, which they were wrapping up like the other. His parents, although sick, promised to bring him to us. **[page 131]** " They have already told me, " (said the mother) " of the honor and kind treatment you show to our children, but I do not [26] wish mine to be unrolled." Thereupon, the Father of the one who had died first said to her, " They do no harm to the child; they do not take off any of its clothes; they only look to see if it is inside the parcel, and if we are deceiving them." She acquiesced, and presented her son to be carried into our Chapel, into which Father Buteux brought him to us, together with his relatives and other Savages. We buried him with the same ceremonies as the other, and they gave him also his belongings, to pass with him into the other world. We again held the feast that is made at the death of their people, very happy to see them, little by little, acquiring an affection for the holy offices of the Christian and Catholic Church.

On the fourteenth of July, I baptized the sixth, a little Algonquin girl about a year old. I would not have made this child a Christian so soon, had it not been that its parents wished to go to their own country. Now, believing with Monsieur du Chesne that this child, who was suffering from hectic fever, was in [27] danger of death, I administered this Sacrament. She was called Marguerite; her Savage name was *Memichtigouchiouiscoueu*, meaning, "wife of a European;" her Father was called in Algonquain, *Pichibabich*, that is to say, "Stone," and her mother *Chichip*, meaning "a Duck." They have promised me that if this poor little child recovers its health, they will bring it to me, to be placed in the hands of one of our French Women. As this is a wandering tribe, I do not know now where she is; but I believe she is not far from Paradise, if she is not already there. **[page 133]**

The seventh person whom we have placed among the number of the children of God, through the Sacrament of Baptism, is the mother of the little Savage whom we named "bien-venu; " she is called, in Savage, *Ouroutiououcoueu*, and now her name is Marie. This beautiful name was given to her in pursuance of a vow once made by Reverend Father Charles l'Allement, that the first Canadian Woman whom we should baptize should bear the name of the holy Virgin; and the first Savage, that [28] of her glorious Spouse, saint Joseph. We did not know about this vow, when the others were baptized; I hope that in a very few days it will be entirely fulfilled. But to return to our new Christian. When I found her near the French fort, abandoned by her people, because she was sick, I asked her who fed her; she answered that the French gave her a few morsels of bread, and that, on their return from the chase, they occasionally threw her a pigeon. "If you wish to stay near us," I said, "we will care for you, and will teach you the way to Heaven." She answered me in a weak voice, for she was very sick, "Alas! I would indeed like to go there, but I can no longer walk; have pity upon me, send some one in a Canoe to fetch me. " I did not fail to do this; and on the next day, the 23rd of July, I had her brought near our house. The poor woman asked me if she were not to go inside, expecting us to show her the same [29] charity that the first two who had been baptized had received; but I told her that, as she was a woman, we could not lodge her in our house, which is very small; that we would, however, carry her something to eat to her Hut, and that every day I would go to see and teach her. She was satisfied with this. When **[page 135]** I began to speak to her about the holy Trinity, saying that the Father, the Son, and the holy Spirit, were only one God, who has made all things, " I know that well," she replied, " I believe it." I was greatly astonished at this answer, but she told me that our good Savage Joseph occasionally reported to her what we told him. This was a great consolation to me, for in a short time she was sufficiently instructed to be baptized. My only trouble was to make her feel sorrow for her sins. The Savages have not this word "

sin " in their language, though they certainly have it in their customs. The word for wickedness and malice, among them, means a violation of purity, as they have told me. So I was puzzled to know how to make her understand sorrow at having offended [30] God. I read her the Commandments several times, telling her that he who made all things hates those who do not obey him; and that she should tell him she was very sorry for having offended him. The poor woman, who well remembered that God forbids all men to lie, to be wanton, to disobey their parents, accused herself over and over again of all these offences. She said of her own accord, " Thou who hast made all things, have mercy upon me; Jesus, Son of him who hath all power, have compassion upon me. I promise thee that I will not get drunk any more, that I will not utter bad words any more, that I will not lie any more. I am sorry for having angered thee, I am sorry with all my heart. I am not lying, have mercy upon me. If I recover, I will always believe in thee, I will always obey thee. If I die, have mercy upon my soul. " As I saw her thus minded, and feared beside that she might die suddenly, for she was very ill, I asked **[page 137]** her if she would not like to be baptized. " I would like to live longer, " she replied. [31] I saw she imagined that we only gave baptism to those who were to die immediately afterwards. I made her understand that we were all baptized and we were not dead, that baptism restored health to the body rather than took it away. " Baptize me then as soon as possible, " she answered. I wanted to try her. Some canoes of Savages having arrived at Kebec, I said to her: " Here is a company of thy people just arrived; if thou wishest to go away with them, they will receive thee, and I will have thee taken to their cabins. " The poor creature began to weep and to sob so violently, that I was touched, proving to me by her tears that she wanted to be a Christian, and that she did not want me to drive her away. At last, when we saw that she was growing much worse, we decided to baptize her at once. I made her understand that she might die that night, and that her soul would go into the flames if she were not baptized; that if she wished to receive this sacrament in our Chapel, I would have her conveyed there in a blanket. She showed that she [32] was satisfied with this. " I am going away, " I said to her, " to prepare what is necessary, take courage, I will send for thee soon. " The poor woman did not have the patience to wait, but dragged herself along as well as she could, resting at every step, until at last she arrived at our house more than two hundred steps from her cabin, and threw herself upon the ground completely exhausted. When she recovered herself, I baptized her in the presence of our Fathers and of all our men. She answered confidently all the questions I put to her in following the order of the administration **[page 139]** of this Sacrament to persons who have the use of their reason. We bore her, all full of joy, back to her own cabin; and we ourselves were greatly comforted at seeing the grace of God working in a soul where the devil has so long made his habitation. This happened the first day of August.

The next day, some French people, who came to see me, went to visit her, and found her holding a Crucifix in her hand, and addressing it in a low voice: " Thou who hast died for me, be merciful to me; I wish to believe in [33] thee all my life; have pity upon my soul." I report all these details purposely, that you may see that our Savages are not so barbarous that they cannot be made children of God. I hope that there, where sin has reigned, grace will triumph. This poor woman is still living, nearer to Heaven than to health.

I shall finish this Chapter with an account of the very remarkable punishment of a Canadian Woman, who, having closed her ear to God during her sickness, seems to have been rejected at her death. When Father Brebœuf went to see her, to speak to her about receiving the faith, she laughed at him and scorned his words. Having been prostrated by sickness, and the Savages wishing to break camp, they carried her to this worthy family who have lived here for quite a long time; but, as they had no place to keep her, these Barbarians dragged her to the fort; if we had not been so far away, they would no doubt have brought her to us, for I am inclined to think that they presented her to our Frenchmen because we had received with so much kindness the two deceased Christian Savages. [34] Monsieur de Champlain, as it was already late, gave her shelter **[page 141]** for one night. Those who were in the room where she was placed, had to leave, as they could not bear the odor from this woman.

In the morning, Monsieur de Champlain caused a number of the Savages to be called; and, being reproached by him for their cruelty in abandoning this creature, who was of their tribe, they took her and dragged her toward their Cabins, repulsing her as they would a dog, and giving her no covering. This wretched woman, finding herself abandoned by her own people and exposed to the severity of the cold, asked that we should be called. But, as there were no Frenchmen there, the Savages did not care to take the trouble to come all the way to our house, a good league from their Cabins; so that hunger, cold, disease, and the children of the Savages, as it is reported, killed her. We did not hear of this tragedy until some days after her death. If we had a Hospital here, all the sick people of the [35] country, and all the old people, would be there. As to the men, we will take care of them according to our means; but, in regard to the women, it is not becoming for us to receive them into our houses. **[page 143]**

## CHAPTER III.

### ON THE MEANS OF CONVERTING THE SAVAGES.

HE great show of power made at first by the Portuguese in the East and West Indies inspired profound admiration in the minds of the Indians, so that these people embraced, without an contradiction, the belief of those whom they admired Now the following is, it seems to me, the way in which to acquire an ascendancy over our Savages.

First, to check the progress of those who overthrow Religion, and to make ourselves feared by the Iroquois, who have killed some of our men, as every one knows, and who recently massacred two hundred Hurons, and [36] took more than a hundred prisoners. This is, in my opinion, the only door through which we can escape the contempt into which the negligence of those who have heretofore held the trade of this country has thrown us, through their avarice.

The second means of commending ourselves to the Savages, to induce them to receive our holy faith, would be to send a number of capable men to clear and cultivate the land, who, joining themselves with others who know the language, would work for the Savages, on condition that they would settle down, and themselves put their hands to the work, living in houses that would be built for their use; by this means becoming located, and seeing this miracle of charity in their behalf, they could be more **[page 145]** easily instructed and won. While conversing this Winter with my Savages, I communicated to them this plan, assuring them that when I knew their language perfectly, I would help them cultivate the land if I could have some men, and if they wished [37] to stop roving, ♦representing to them the wretchedness of their present way of living, and influencing them very perceptibly, for the time being The Sorcerer, having heard me, turned toward his people and said, " See how boldly this black robe lies in our presence." I asked him why he thought I was lying. " Because, " said he, " we never see in this world men so good as thou sayest, who would take the trouble to help us without hope of reward, and to employ so many men to aid us without taking anything from us; if thou shouldst do that, " he added, " thou wouldst secure the greater part of the Savages, and they would all believe in thy words."

I may be mistaken; but, if I can draw any conclusion from the things I see, it seems to me that not much ought to be hoped for from



the Savages as long as they are wanderers; you will instruct them today, tomorrow hunger snatches your hearers away, forcing them to go and seek their food in the rivers and woods. Last year I stammered out the Catechism to a [38] goodly number of children; as soon as the ships departed, my birds flew away, some in one direction and some in another. This year, I hoped to see them again, as I speak a little better; but, as they have settled on the other side of the great river St. Lawrence, my hopes have been frustrated. To try to follow them, as many Religious would be needed as there are cabins, and still we would not attain our object; for they are so occupied in seeking **[page 147]** livelihood in these woods, that they have not time, so to speak, to save themselves. Besides, I do not believe that, out of a hundred Religious, there would be ten who could endure the hardships to be in following them. I tried to live among them last Autumn; I was not there a week before I was attacked by a violent fever, which caused me to return to our little house to recover my health. Being cured, I tried to follow them during the Winter, and I was very ill the greater part of the time. These reasons, and many others that I might give, were I not afraid of being tedious, make me think that we shall work a great deal and advance very little, if we do not make these Barbarians stationary. [39] As for persuading them to till the soil of their own accord, without being helped, I very much doubt whether we shall be able to attain this for a long time, for they know nothing whatever about it. Besides, where will they store their harvests? As their cabins are made of bark, the first frost will spoil all the roots and pumpkins that they will have gathered. If they plant peas and Indian corn, they have no place in their huts to store them. But who will feed them while they are beginning to clear the land? For they live only from one day to another, having ordinarily no provisions to sustain them during the time that they must be clearing. Finally, when they had killed themselves with hard work, they could not get from the land half their living, until it was cleared and they understood how to make the best use of it.

Now, with the assistance of a few good, industrious men, it would be easy to locate a few families, especially as some of them have already spoken to **[page 149]** me about it, thus of themselves becoming accustomed, little by little, to extract something from the earth.

I know well there are persons of [40] good judgment who believe that, although the Savages are nomadic, the good seed of the Gospel will not fail to take root and bring forth fruit in their souls, although more slowly, as they can only be instructed at intervals. They imagine also that, if a few families come over here, as they are already beginning to do, the Savages will follow the example of our French and will settle down to cultivate the land. I myself was impressed with these ideas, when we first came over here; but the intercourse which I have had with these people, and the difficulty that men accustomed to a life of idleness have in embracing one of hard work, such as cultivating the soil, cause me to believe now that if they are not helped they will lose heart, especially the Savages at Tadoussac. As to those of the three rivers, where our French People are going to plant a new colony this year, they have promised that they will settle down there and plant Indian corn; this seems to me not altogether assured, but probable, inasmuch as their predecessors once had [41] a good village in that place, which they abandoned on account of the invasions of their enemies, the Hiroquois.

The Captain of that region told me that the land there was quite good, and they liked it very much. If they become sedentary, as they are now minded to do, we foresee there a harvest more abundant in the blessings of Heaven than in the fruits of the earth.

The third means of making ourselves welcome to these people, would be to erect here a seminary for little boys, and in time one for girls, under the **[page 151]** direction of some brave mistress, whom zeal for the glory of God, and a desire for the salvation of these people, will bring over here, with a few Companions animated by the same courage. May it please his divine Majesty to inspire some to so noble an enterprise, and to divest them of any fear that the weakness of their sex might induce in them at the thought of crossing so many seas and of living among Barbarians.

In the last voyage there came some women who were pregnant, and they easily surmounted these difficulties, as others had [42] done before them. There is also some pleasure in taming the souls of the Savages, and preparing them to receive the seed of Christianity. And then experience makes us feel certain that God, who shows his goodness and power to all, has, nevertheless, for those who expose themselves freely and suffer willingly in his service, favors seasoned with so much sweetness, and succors them in the midst of their dangers with so prompt and paternal assistance, that often they do not feel their trials, but their pain is turned to pleasure and their perils to a peculiar consolation. But I would like to keep here, where we are, the children of the Hurons. Father Brebœuf leads us to hope that we shall have some, if he goes with our Fathers into those well-peopled countries, and if there is anything with which to found a seminary. The reason why I would not like to take the children of one locality [and teach them] in that locality itself, but rather in some other place, is because these Barbarians cannot bear to have their children punished, nor even scolded, not being able to refuse anything to a [43] crying child. They carry this to such an extent that upon **[page 153]** the slightest pretext they would take them away before they were educated. But if the little Hurons, or the children of more distant tribes, are kept here, a great many advantages will result, for we would not be annoyed and distracted by the fathers while instructing the children; it will also compel these people to show good treatment to the French who are in their country, or at least not to do them any injury. And, lastly, we shall obtain, by the grace of God our Lord, the object for which we came into this distant country; namely, the conversion of these nations.

**[page 155]**

## CHAPTER IV.

### ON THE BELIEF, SUPERSTITIONS, AND ERRORS OF THE MONTAGNAIS SAVAGES.

HAVE already reported that the Savages believe that a certain one named Atachocam had created the world, and that one named Messou had restored it. I have questioned upon this subject the famous Sorcerer and the old man with whom I passed [44] the Winter; they answered that they did not know who was the first Author of the world,- that it was perhaps Atahocham, but that was not certain; that they only spoke of Atahocam as one speaks of a thing so far distant that nothing sure can be known about it; and, in fact, the word "Nitatahokan " in their language means, " I relate a fable, I am telling an old story invented for amusement.

"As to the Messou, they hold that he restored the world, which was destroyed in the flood; whence it appears that they have some tradition of that great universal deluge which happened in the time of Noé, but they have burdened this truth with a great many irrelevant fables. This Messou went to the chase, and his Lynxes, which he used instead of dogs, having gone into a great lake, were held there. The Messou, seeking them everywhere, was told by a bird that it had seen them in the midst of this lake. He went in, to get



them out; but the lake overflowed, covering the earth and swallowing up the world. The Messou, very much astonished, sent [page 157] a raven in search of a little piece of ground, with which to rebuild this element [the earth], but he [45] could not find any; he made an Otter descend into the abyss of waters, but it could not bring back any; at last he sent a muskrat, which brought back a little morsel, and the Messou used this to rebuild this earth which we inhabit. He shot arrows into the trunks of trees, which made themselves into branches; he performed a thousand other wonders, avenged himself upon those who had detained his Lynxes, and married a muskrat, by whom he had children who have re-peopled this world. So this is the way in which the Messou restored all things. I touched upon this fable last year, but, desiring to recapitulate all I know about their beliefs, I have repeated many things. Our Savage related to Father Brebœuf that his people believe that a certain Savage had received from Messou the gift of immortality in a little package, with a strict injunction not to open it; while he kept it closed he was immortal, but his wife, being curious and incredulous, wished to see what was inside this present; and having opened it, it all flew away, and since then the Savages have been subject to death.

[46] They also say that all animals, of every species, have an elder brother, who is, as it were, the source and origin of all individuals, and this elder brother is wonderfully great and powerful. The elder of the Beaver, they tell me, is perhaps as large as our Cabin, although his junior (I mean the ordinary Beaver) is not quite as large as our sheep. Now these elders of all the animals are the juniors of the Messou. Behold him well related, this worthy restorer of the Universe, he is elder brother to all [page 159] beasts. If any one, when asleep, sees the elder or progenitor of some animals, he will have a fortunate chase; if he sees the elder of the Beavers, he will take Beavers; if he sees the elder of the Elks, he will take Elks, possessing the juniors through the favor of their senior whom he has seen in the dream. I asked them where these elder brothers were. " We are not sure, " they answered me, " but we think the elders of the birds are in the sky, and that the elders of the other animals are in the water. " They recognize two progenitors of the seasons; one [47] is called *Nipinoukhe*, it is this one that brings the Spring and Summer. This name comes from *Nipin*, which in their language means Springtime. The other is called *Pipounoukhe*, from the word *Pipoun*, which means Winter; it therefore brings the cold season. I asked them if this *Nipinoukhe* and *Pipounoukhe* were men, or if they were animals of some other species, and in what place they usually dwelt; they replied that they did not know exactly what form they had, but they were quite sure they were living, for they heard them, they said, talking or rustling, especially at their coming, but they could not tell what they were saying. For their dwelling place they share the world between them, the one keeping on one side, the other upon the other; and when the period of their stay at one end of the world has expired, each goes over to the locality of the other, reciprocally succeeding each other. Here we have, in part, the fable of Castor and Pollux. When *Nipinoukhe* returns, he brings back with him the heat, the birds, the verdure, and restores life and beauty to the world; but *Pipounoukhe* lays waste everything, [48] being accompanied by the cold winds, [page 161] ice, snows, and other phenomena of Winter. They call this succession of one to the other *Achitescatoueth*; meaning that they pass reciprocally to each others' places.

Furthermore, they believe that there are certain Genii of light, or Genii of the air, which they call *Khichikouai* from the word *Khichikou*, which means light " or " the air. " The Genii, or *Khichikouai* are acquainted with future events, they see very far ahead; this is why the Savages consult them, not all (the savages] but certain jugglers, who know better „,than the others how to impose upon and amuse these people. I have chanced to be present when they consulted these fine Oracles, and here is what I have observed.

Towards nightfall, two or three young men erected a tent in the middle of our Cabin; they stuck six poles deep into the ground in the form of a circle, and to hold them in place they fastened to the tops of these poles a large ring, which completely encircled them; this done, they enclosed this Edifice with Castelognes, leaving the top of the tent [49] open; it is all that a tall man can do to reach to the top of this round tower, capable of holding 5 or 6 men standing upright. This house made, the fires of the cabin are entirely extinguished, and the brands thrown outside, lest the flame frighten away the Genii or *Khichikouai*, who are to enter this tent; a young juggler slipped in from below, turning back, for this purpose, the covering which enveloped it, then replaced it when he had entered, for they must be very careful that there be no opening in this fine palace except from above. The juggler, having entered, began to moan softly, as if complaining; he [page 163] shook the tent at first without violence; then becoming animated little by little, he commenced to whistle, in a hollow tone, and as if it came from afar; then to talk as if in a bottle; to cry like the owls of these countries, which it seems to me have stronger voices than those of France; then to howl and sing, constantly varying the tones; ending by these syllables, *ho ho, hi hi, guigui, niou* ♦, and other [50] similar sounds, disguising his voice so that it seemed to me I heard those puppets which showmen exhibit in France. Sometimes he spoke Montagnais, sometimes Algonquain, retaining always the Algonquain intonation, which, like the Provençal, is vivacious. At first, as I have said, he shook this edifice gently; but, as he continued to become more animated, he fell into so violent an ecstasy, that I thought he would break everything to pieces, shaking his house with so much force and violence, that I was astonished at a man having so much strength; for, after he had once begun to shake it, he did not stop until the consultation was over, which lasted about three hours. Whenever he would change his voice, the Savages would at first cry out, *moa, moa*, " listen, listen ; " then, as an invitation to these Genii, they said to them, *Pitoukhecou, Pitoukhecou*, " enter, enter. " At other times, as if they were replying to the howls of the juggler, they drew this aspiration from the depths of their chests, *ho, ho*. I was seated like the others, looking on at this wonderful mystery, forbidden to speak; but as I [51] had not vowed obedience to them, I did not fail to intrude a little word into the proceedings. Sometimes I begged them to have pity on this poor juggler, who was killing himself in this tent; at other times I told [page 165] them they should cry louder, for the Genii had gone to sleep.

Some of these Barbarians imagined that this juggler was not inside, that he had been carried away, without knowing where or how. Others said that his body was lying on the ground, and that his soul was up above the tent, where it spoke at first, calling these Genii, and throwing from time to time sparks of fire. Now to return to our consultation. The Savages having heard a certain voice that the juggler counterfeited, uttered a cry of joy, saying that one of these Genii had entered; then addressing themselves to him, they cried out, *Tepouachi, tepouachi*, " call, call; " that is, " call thy companions." Thereupon the juggler, pretending to be one of the Genii and changing his tone and his voice, called them. In the meantime our sorcerer, who was present, took his drum, and began to sing with the juggler who was in the tent, and the others [52] answered. Some of the young men were made to dance, among others the Apostate,<sup>12</sup> who did not wish to hear of it, but the sorcerer made him obey.

At last, after a thousand cries and howls, after a thousand songs, after having danced and thoroughly shaken this fine edifice, the Savages believing that the Genii or *Kichikouai* had entered, the sorcerer consulted them. He asked them about his health, (for he is sick), and about that of his wife, who was also sick. These Genii, or rather the juggler who counterfeited them, answered that, as to his wife, she was already dead, that it was all over with her. I could have said as much myself, for one needed not to be a prophet or a sorcerer to guess that, inasmuch as the poor creature was already struck with death; in [page 167] regard to the sorcerer, they said that he would see the Spring. Now, knowing his disease, - which was a pain in the loins, or rather an infirmity resulting from his

licentiousness and excesses for he is vile to the last degree,❖I said to him, seeing that he was otherwise healthy, and that he drank and ate very heartily, that he would not only see the spring but also the Summer, if some other accident [53] did not overtake him, and I was not mistaken.

After these interrogations, these fine oracles were asked if there would soon be snow, if there would be much of it, if there would be Elks or Moose, and where they could be found. They answered, or rather the juggler, always disguising his voice, that they saw a little snow and some moose far away, without indicating the place, having the prudence not to commit themselves.

So this is what took place in this consultation, after which I wished to get hold of the juggler; but, as it was night, he made his exit from the tent and from our little cabin so swiftly, that he was outside almost before I was aware of it. He and all the other Savages, who had come from the other Cabins to these beautiful mysteries, having departed, I asked the Apostate if he was so simple as to believe that the Genii entered and spoke in this tent. He began to swear his belief, which he had lost and denied, that it was not the juggler who spoke, but these Khichikouai or Genii [54] of the air, and my host said to me, " Enter thou thyself into the tent, and thou wilt see that thy body will remain below, and thy soul will mount on high." I did want to go in; but, as I was the only one of my party, I foresaw that they might commit some outrage upon me, and, as there were [page 169] no witnesses there, they would boast that I had recognized and admired the truth of their mysteries.

Now I had a great desire to know the nature of these Genii; the Apostate knew nothing about them. The sorcerer, seeing that I was discovering his mines, and that I disapproved of his nonsense, did not wish to explain anything to me, so that I was compelled to make use of my wits. I allowed a few weeks to pass; then, springing this subject upon him, I spoke as if I admired his doctrine, saying to him that it was wrong to refuse me, since to all the questions which he asked me in regard to our belief, I answered him frankly and without showing any reluctance. At last he allowed himself to be won over by this flattery, and revealed to me the secrets of the school. Here is the fable which he recounted to me touching the nature [55] and the character of these Genii.

Two Savages having consulted these Genii at the same time, but in two different tents, one of them, a very wicked man who had treacherously killed three men with his hatchet, was put to death by the Genii, who, crossing over into the tent of the other Savage to take his life, as well as that of his companion, were themselves surprised; for this juggler defended himself so well that he killed one of these *Khichikouai* or Genii; and thus it was found out how they were made, for this One remained in the place where he was killed. Then I asked him what was his form. "He was as large as the fist," he replied; " his body was of stone, and rather long." I judged that he was cone-shaped, large at one end, and gradually becoming smaller towards the other. They believe that in this stone body there is flesh and blood, for [page 171] the hatchet with which this Spirit was killed was bloody. I inquired if they had feet and wings, and was told they had not. " Then how," said I, " can they enter or fly into these tents, [56] if they have neither feet nor wings? " The sorcerer began to laugh, saying in explanation, " In truth, this black robe has no sense." This is the way they pay me back when I offer some objections to something which they cannot answer.

As they made a great deal of the fire which this juggler threw out of his tent, I told them that our Frenchmen could throw it better than he could; for he only made a few sparks fly from some rotten wood which he carried with him, as I am inclined to think, and if I had had some resin I could have made the flames rise for them. They insisted that he entered this house without fire; but I had happened to see some one give him a red-hot coal which he asked to light his pipe.

So that is their belief touching the foundations of things good. What astonishes me is their ingratitude; for, although they believe that the Messou has restored the world, that Nipinoukh❖ and Pipounoukhe bring the seasons, that their Khichikouai teach them where to find Elks or Moose, and render them a thousand other good offices,❖yet up to the present I have not been able to learn [57] that they render them the slightest honor. I have only observed that, in their feasts, they occasionally throw a few spoonfuls of grease into the fire, pronouncing these words: *Papeouekou*, *Papeouekou*; " Make us find something to eat, make us find something to eat." I believe this prayer is addressed to these Genii, to whom they present this grease as the best thing they have in the world. [page 173]

Besides these foundations of things good, they recognize a Manitou, whom we may call the devil. They regard him as the origin of evil; it is true that they do not attribute great malice to the Manitou, but to his wife, who is a real she-devil. The husband does not hate men. He is only present in wars and combats, and those whom he looks upon are protected, the others are killed. So for this reason, my host told me that he prayed this Manitou every day not to cast his eyes upon the Hiroquois, their enemies, and to always give them some of them in their wars. As to the wife of the Manitou, she is [58] the cause of all the diseases which are in the world. It is she who kills men, otherwise they would not die; she feeds upon their flesh, gnawing them upon the inside, which causes them to become emaciated in their illnesses. She has a robe made of the most beautiful hair of the men and women whom she has killed; she sometimes appears like a fire; she can be heard roaring like a flame, but her language cannot be understood. From this, in my opinion, come those cries and howls, and those beatings of the drum which they make around their sick, as if to prevent this she-devil from giving the deathblow, which she does so secretly that no one can defend himself therefrom, for he does not see her.

Furthermore, the Savages persuade themselves that not only men and other animals, but also all other things, are endowed with souls, and that all the souls are immortal;<sup>17</sup> they imagine the souls as shadows of the animate objects; never having heard of anything purely spiritual, they represent the soul of man [59] as a dark and sombre image, or as a shadow of the man himself, attributing to it feet, [page 175] hands, a mouth, a head, and all the other parts of the human body. Hence this is the reason that they say the souls drink and eat, and therefore they give them food when any one dies, throwing the best meat they have into the fire; and they have often told me that the next morning they find meat which has been gnawed during the night by the souls. Now, having declared to me this fine article of their faith, I propound to them several questions. " First, where do these souls go, after the death of man and other creatures?" "They go," they say, "very far away, to a large village situated where the Sun sets." "All your country," I say to them (meaning America), "is an immense Island, as you seem to know; how is it that the souls of men, of animals, of hatchets, of knives, of kettles,❖in short, the souls of all things that die or that are used, can cross the water to go to this great village that you place where the sun sets? do they [60] find ships all ready to embark them and take them over the water?" "No, they go on foot," they answer me, fording the water in some places." "And how, I respond, "can they ford the great Ocean which you know is so deep, for it is this great sea which surrounds your country?" "Thou art mistaken," they answer; "either the lands are united in some places, or there is some passage which is fordable over which our souls pass; and, indeed, we know that no one has yet been able to pass beyond the North coast." "It is because (I answer them) of the great cold in those seas, so that if your souls take this route they will be frozen and all stiff from cold, before they reach their villages."

Secondly, I ask them, " What do these poor souls [page 177] eat, making so long a journey? " They eat bark," they said, and old wood

which they find in the forests." I am not astonished," I replied, "that you are so afraid of death, that you shun it so greatly; there is hardly any pleasure in going and eating old wood and bark in another life."

[61] Thirdly; "What do these souls do when they arrive at their dwelling place?" "During the daytime, they are seated with their two elbows upon their two knees, and their heads between their two hands, the usual position of sick Savages; during the night, they go and come, they work, they go to the chase." "Oh, but they cannot see at all during the night," I rejoined. "Thou art an ignoramus, thou hast no sense," they answered; "souls are not like us, they do not see at all during the day, and see very clearly at night; their day is in the darkness of the night, and their night in the light of the day."

"In the fourth place, what are these poor souls hunting during the night?" "They hunt for the souls of Beavers, Porcupines, Moose, and other animals, using the soul of the snowshoes to walk upon the soul of the snow, which is in yonder country; in short, they make use of the souls of all things, as we here use the things themselves. Now, when they have killed the soul of a Beaver, or of another animal, does that soul die entirely, or has it another soul which goes to some [62] other village?" My sorcerer was nonplused by this question; and as he is quick-witted, he dodged the question, seeing that he was going to involve himself if he answered me directly; for if he had answered me that the soul would die entirely, I would have told him that when they first killed the animal its soul would have died [page 179] at the same time; if he had answered that this soul had a soul which went away into another village, I would have shown him that every animal would have, according to his doctrine, more than twenty, indeed more than a hundred souls, and that the world would have to be full of these villages to which they withdrew, and yet no one had ever seen one of them. Recognizing that he was about to entangle himself, he said to me, "Be silent, thou hast no sense; thou askest things which thou dost not know thyself; if I had ever been in yonder country, I would answer thee."

At last, I told them that the Europeans navigated the whole world. I explained to them and made them see by a round figure what country it was where the sun sets according to their idea, assuring them that no one had ever found this great village, that all that was nothing but nonsense; that the souls of men alone were [63] immortal; and, that if they were good, they would go to heaven, and if they were bad they would descend into hell, there to burn forever; and that each one would receive according to his works. "In that," he said, "you lie, you people, in assigning different places for souls, they go to the same country, at least, ours do; for the souls of two of our countrymen once returned from this great village, and explained to us all that I have told thee, then they returned to their dwelling place." They call the milky way, *Tchipa meskenau*, the path of souls, because they think that the souls raise themselves through this way in going to that great village.

They have, besides, great faith in their dreams, imagining that what they have seen in their sleep [page 181] must happen, and that they must execute whatever they have thus imagined. This is a great misfortune, for if a Savage dreams that he will die if he does not kill me, he will take my life the first time he meets me alone. Our Savages ask almost every morning, "Hast thou not seen any Beavers or Moose, [64] while sleeping?" And when they see that I make sport of their dreams, they are astonished and ask me, "What does thou believe then, if thou dost not believe in thy dream? I believe in him who has made all things, and who can do all things." "Thou hast no sense, how canst thou believe in him, if thou hast not seen him?" It would take too long to relate all their silly ideas upon these subjects; let us return to their superstitions, which are numberless.

The Savages are great singers; they sing, as do most of the nations of the earth, for recreation and for devotion, which, with them, means superstition. The tunes which they sing for pleasure are usually grave and heavy. It seems to me that occasionally they sing something gay, especially the girls, but for the most part, their songs are heavy, so to speak, sombre and unpleasant; they do not know what it is to combine chords to compose a sweet harmony. They use few words in singing, varying the tones, and not the words. I have often heard my Savage make a long song with these three words, *Kaie, nir, khigatoutaouim*, [65] "And thou wilt also do something for me." They say that we imitate the warbling of birds in our tunes, which they do not disapprove, as they nearly all take pleasure both in singing and in hearing others sing; and although I told them that I [page 183] did not understand anything about it, they often invited me to sing some song or prayer.

As for their superstitious songs, they use them for a thousand purposes, for which the sorcerer and that old man, of whom I have spoken, have given me the reason. Two Savages, they told me, being once in great distress, seeing themselves within two finger-lengths of death for want of food, were advised to sing, and they would be relieved; and so it happened, for when they had sung, they found something to eat. As to who gave them this advice, and how it was given, they know nothing; however, since that time all their religion consists mainly in singing, using the most barbarous words that come into their minds. The following are some of the words that they sang in a long superstitious rite which lasted more than four hours: *Aias, manitou, aias, manitou, aias, manitou, ahiham, hehinham*, [67 i.e., 66] *hanhan, heninakh, hos, heninakh, enigouano bahano anih, ouibini naninaouai nanahouai nanahouai aouih, ahah, aouih*, concluding with *ho! ho! ho!* I asked what these words meant, but not one could interpret them to me; for it is true that not one of them understands what he is singing, except in the tunes which they sing for recreation.

They accompany their songs with drums. I asked the origin of this drum, and the old man told me that perhaps some one had dreamed that it was a good thing to have, and thus it had come into use. I thought it most probable they had derived this superstition from the neighboring tribes; for I am told (I do not know how true it is) they imitate to a great degree the Canadians who live toward Gaspé, a tribe still more superstitious than those of this country. [page 185]

As to this drum, it is the size of a tambourine, and is composed of a circle three or four finger-lengths in diameter, and of two skins stretched tightly over it on both sides; they put inside some little pebbles or [68 i.e., 67] stones, in order to make more noise; the diameter of the largest drums is of the size of two palms or thereabout; they call it *chichigouan*, and the verb *nipagahiman* means, "I make this drum sound." They do not strike it, as do our Europeans; but they turn and shake it, to make the stones rattle inside; they strike it upon the ground, sometimes its edge and sometimes its face, while the sorcerer plays a thousand apish tricks with this instrument. Often the spectators have sticks in their hands and all strike at once upon pieces of wood, or upon hatchet handles which they have before them, or upon their *ouragans*, - that is to say, upon their bark plates turned upside down. To this din they add their songs and their cries, I might indeed say their howls, so much do they exert themselves at times; I leave you to imagine this beautiful music. This miserable sorcerer with whom my host and the renegade made me pass the winter, contrary to their promise, almost made me lose my head with his uproar; for every day, toward nightfall, and very often toward midnight, at other times [68] during the day, he acted like a madman. For quite a long time I was sick among them, and although I begged him to moderate a little and to give me some rest, he acted still worse, hoping to find his cure in these noises which only made me worse.

They make use of these songs, of this drum, and of this noise or uproar, in their sicknesses. I [page 187] explained it quite fully last

year; but since that time I have seen so much foolishness, nonsense, absurdity, noise, and din made by this wretched sorcerer in order to cure himself, that I should become weary in writing and would tire your reverence, if I should try to make you read the tenth part of what has often wearied me almost beyond endurance. Occasionally this man would enter as if in a fury, singing, crying and howling, making his drum rattle with all his might; while the others howled as loudly as he, and made a horrible din with their sticks, striking upon whatever was before them; they made the little children dance, then the girls, then the women; he lowered [69] his head and blew upon his drum, then blew toward the fire; he hissed like a serpent, drew his drum under his chin, shaking and turning it about; he struck the ground with it with all his might, then turned it upon his stomach; he closed his mouth with the back of one hand, and then with the other; you would have said that he wanted to break the drum to pieces, he struck it so hard upon the ground; he shook it, he turned it from one side to the other, and, running around the fire several times, he went out of the cabin, continuing to howl and bellow; he struck a thousand attitudes, and all this was done to cure himself. This is the way they treat their sick. I am inclined to think that they wish to conjure the disease, or to frighten the wife of Manitou, whom they hold as the origin and cause of all evils, as I have said above.

They sing and make these noises also in their sweating operations. They believe that this medicine, which is the best of all they have, would be of no use whatever to them if they did not sing during **[page 189]** the sweat. They plant some sticks in the ground, making [60 i.e., 70] a sort of low tent, for, if a tall man were seated therein, his head would touch the top of this hut, which they enclose and cover with skins, robes, and blankets. They put in this dark room a number of heavy stones which they have had heated and made red-hot in a good fire, then they slip entirely naked into these sweat boxes. The women occasionally sweat as well as the men. Sometimes they sweat all together, men and women, pell-mell. They sing, cry and groan in this oven, and make speeches; occasionally the sorcerer beats his drum there. I heard him once acting the prophet therein, crying out that he saw Moose; that my host, his brother, would kill some. I could not refrain from telling him, or rather those who were present and listened to him as if to an oracle, that it was indeed quite probable that they would find a male, since they had already found and killed two females. When he understood what I was driving at, he said to me sharply, " Believe [61 i.e., 71] me, this black robe has no sense. " They are so superstitious in these uproars and in their other nonsense, that if they have sweats in order to cure themselves, or to have a good hunt, or to have fine weather, [they think] nothing would be accomplished if they did not sing, and if they did not observe these superstitions. I have noticed that, when the men sweat, they do not like to use women's robes with which to enclose their sweat boxes, if they can have any others. In short, when they have shouted for three hours or thereabout in these stoves, they emerge completely wet and covered with their sweat.

They also sing and beat drums in their feasts, as I **[page 191]** shall explain in the chapter upon their banquets. I have seen them do the same thing in their councils, mingling therein other juggleries. For my part, I suspect that the sorcerer invents every day some new contrivance to keep his people in a state of agitation, and to make himself popular. One day I saw him take a javelin and turn the point down and the handle up (for their javelins [72] have a long stick for a handle); he placed a hatchet near this javelin, stood up, pounded on his drum, uttered his usual howls, pretended to dance, and walked around the fire. Then, concealing himself, he drew out a nightcap, in which there was a whetstone which he placed in a spoon made of wood, which had been wiped expressly for this purpose; then he lighted a bark torch, and passed from hand to hand the torch, the spoon, and the stone, which was marked with stripes, ♦ all examining it attentively, one after the other, and philosophizing, as it seemed to me, over this stone, in regard to their chase, which was the subject of their council or assembly.

These poor wretches sing also in their sufferings, in their difficulties, in their perils and dangers. During the time of our famine, I heard nothing throughout these cabins, especially at night, except songs, cries, beating of drums and other noises; when I asked what this meant, my people told me that they did [73] it in order to have a good chase, and to find something to eat. Their songs and their drums also play a part in the witchcraft of the sorcerers.

I must set down here what I saw them do on the twelfth of February. As I was reciting my hours, toward evening, the sorcerer began to talk about **[page 193]** me: *aiamtheou*, " He is making his prayers; " then, pronouncing some words which I did not understand, he added: *Niganipahau*, " I will kill him at once. " The thought occurred to me that he was speaking of me, seeing that he hated me for several reasons, as I shall state in the proper place; but especially because I tried to show that all he did was mere nonsense and child's play. just as I was thinking that he wanted to take my life, my host said to me, " Hast thou not some powder that kills men?" "Why?" I asked. " I want to kill some one, " he answered me. I leave you to imagine whether I finished my prayers without any distraction; for I knew very well that they were disinclined to kill any of their own people, and that the sorcerer had threatened me with death [74] some days before, ♦ although only in jest, as he told me afterward; but I did not have much confidence in him. Now seeing these people bustling about, I retired within myself, supplicating our Lord to help me, and to take my life at the moment and in whatever manner would be pleasing to him. Nevertheless, to better prepare myself for this sacrifice, I wished to learn if they had me in mind, and so I asked them where the man was that they wished to kill; they answered me that he was in the neighborhood of Gasp ♦, more than a hundred leagues away from us. I began to laugh, for in truth I had never dreamed that they would undertake to kill a man a hundred leagues away. I inquired why they wished to take his life. They answered that this man was a Canadian sorcerer, who, having had some trouble with ours, had threatened him with death and had given him the disease from which he had suffered so long, **[page 195]** and which was going to consume him in two days, if he did not prevent the stroke by his art. I told them that God had forbidden murder, and that we never killed people; that did not prevent them [75] from pursuing their purpose. My host, foreseeing the great commotion which was about to take place, said to me, " Thou wilt have the headache; go off into one of the other cabins near by. " " No," said the sorcerer, " there will be no harm in his seeing what we do. " They had all the children and women go out, except one who sat near the sorcerer. I remained as a spectator of their mysteries, with all the Savages of the other cabins, who were summoned. All being seated, a young man comes bearing two pickets, or very sharply-pointed sticks; my host prepares the charm, composed of little pieces of wood shaped at both ends like a serpent's tongue, iron arrow-points, pieces of broken knives, bits of iron bent like a big fishhook, and other similar things; all these are wrapped in a piece of leather. When this is done, the sorcerer takes his drum, all begin to chant and howl, and to make the uproar of which I spoke above; after a few songs, the woman who had remained arises, and goes all around the inside of the cabin, passing behind the [76] backs of the people who are there. When she is reseated, the magician takes these two stakes; then, pointing out a certain place, begins by saying, " Here is his head," (I believe he meant the head of the man whom he wished to kill); then with all his might he drives these stakes into the ground, inclining them toward the place where he believed this Canadian was. Thereupon my host comes to assist his brother; he makes a tolerably deep ditch in the ground with these stakes; **[page 197]** meanwhile the songs and other noises continue incessantly. The ditch made and the stakes planted, the servant of the sorcerer, I mean the Apostate, goes in search of a sword, and the sorcerer strikes with it one of these pickets; then he descends into the ditch, assuming the posture of an excited man who is striking heavy blows with the sword and poniard; for he has both, in this act of a furious and enraged man. The sorcerer takes the charm wrapped in skin, puts it in the ditch, and redoubles his sword-cuts at the same time that they increase the uproar.



Finally, this mystery ends, and he draws out the sword and the poniard all covered with blood, and throws them down before the other Savages; the ditch [77] is hurriedly covered up, and the magician boastfully asserts that his man is struck, that he will soon die, and asks if they have not heard his cries; they all say " no," except two young men, relatives of his, who say they have heard some very dull sounds, and as if far away. Oh, how glad they make him! Turning toward me, he begins to laugh, saying, " See this black robe, who comes here to tell us that we must not kill any one." As I am looking attentively at the sword and the poniard, he has them presented to me. "Look, " he says, "what is that?" "It is blood, " I answer, " of what? Of some Moose or other animal. " They laugh at me, saying that it is the blood of that Sorcerer of Gaspé. " How? " I answer them, " he is more than a hundred leagues away from here." " It is true," they reply, " but it is the Manitou; that is, the Devil, who carries his blood under the earth." Now if this man is really a Magician, I leave you to decide; for my part, I consider that he is neither Sorcerer nor Magician, [page 199] but that he would like very much to be one. All that he does, according to my opinion, is nothing but nonsense [78] to amuse the Savages. He would like to have communication with the Devil or Manitou, but I do not think that he has. Yet I am persuaded that there has been some Sorcerer or Magician here, if what they tell me is true about diseases and cures which they describe to me; it is a strange thing, in my opinion, that the Devil, who is visible to the South Americans, and who so beats and torments them that they would like to get rid of such a guest, does not communicate himself visibly and sensibly to our Savages. I know that there are persons of contrary opinion, who believe in the reports of these Barbarians; but, when I urge them, they all admit that they have seen nothing of that of which they speak, but that they have only heard it related by others.

Among the South Americans it is different. Our Europeans have heard the noise, the voice, and the blows that the Devil deals to these poor slaves, and a Frenchman, worthy of belief, [79] has assured me that he heard it with his own ears. In regard to this, a very remarkable thing is reported to me; it is that the Devil takes flight, and does not strike or else ceases to strike these wretches, when a Catholic enters their company, and that he does not cease to strike them in the presence of a Huguenot. From this it happened that, one day, seeing themselves being beaten in the presence of a Frenchman, they said to him, " We are astonished that the devil beats us when thou art with us, seeing that he does not dare to do it when thy companions are here." It suddenly occurred to him that this might come from his [page 201] religion (for he was a Calvinist); so, addressing himself to God, he promised to become a Catholic if the devil ceased beating these poor people in his presence. After this vow was made, never afterward did any Demon molest an American in his company, on account of which he became a Catholic according to his promise. But let us return to our story. I have seen our pretended Magician perform the same witchcraft on two other occasions. [80] He observed all the above mentioned ceremonies, except that he changed the charm, for once he made use of four sticks made in the shape of spindles, except that they were heavier, and that they had something like teeth in certain places. Also he used the end of the tail and the foot of a Porcupine, and some hairs of the Moose and of the Porcupine, bound together in a little sheaf. Another time he used these spindles also, and a foot of the Porcupine or of another animal, the bone of some beast, an iron similar to that which they fasten to a door to pull it open, and some other absurd things. His servant, the renegade, held all these things ready for him, and beat the drum while his Master was occupied in the ditch. These are a part of their actions, among which are mingled their songs, their cries, their howls and uproar.

Their Religion, or rather their superstition, consists besides in praying; but O, my God, what prayers they make! In the morning, when the little children come out from their Cabins, they shout, *Cacouakhi*, [81] *Pakhais Amiscouakhi*, *Pakhais Mousouakhi*, *Pakhais*, "Come, Porcupines; come, Beavers; come, Elk; " and this is all of their prayers.

When the Savages sneeze, and sometimes even at [page 203] other times, during the Winter, they cry out in a loud voice, *Etouctaian miraouinam an Mirouscamiklti*, I shall be very glad to see the Spring."

At other times, I have heard them pray for the Spring, or for deliverance from evils and other similar things; and they express all these things in the form of desires, crying out as loudly as they can, " I would be very glad if this day would continue, if the wind would change," etc. I could not say to whom these wishes are addressed, for they themselves do not know, at least those whom I have asked have not been able to enlighten me.

I have remarked above that they pray The Manitou not to cast his eyes upon their enemies, in order that they may be able to kill them. These are all the prayers and orisons which I have heard the Savages make; I do not know whether they have others. I [82] do not think they have. Oh, how rich and happy I consider myself among these Barbarians, to have a God to whom I can address my desires, my prayers and my vows! And how miserable they are not to have any other desires than for the present life! I was forgetting to say here, although I have mentioned it above, that they have an Imitation or kind of a sacrifice, for they throw upon the fire grease which they skim from the kettle where the meat is cooking, uttering this prayer, *Papeouekou*, *Papeouekou*, "make us find something to eat, make us find something to eat." I believe that they address this prayer to their *Khichekouai*, and perhaps to others besides. The following is a superstition which greatly annoyed me.

On the twenty-fourth of November, the Sorcerer assembled the Savages, and entrenched himself with [page 205] some robes and blankets in one quarter of the Cabin, so that neither he nor his companions could be seen. There was a woman with them, who marked on a triangular stick, half a spear in length, all the songs they recited. I [83] begged a woman to tell me what they were doing in this enclosure, and she answered me that they were praying; but I believe she made this response because, when I prayed and they asked me what I was doing, I told them, *Nata amihiau missi ca Khichit*, " I am praying to him who made all things; " and so when they sang, when they howled, and beat their drums and their sticks, they told me that they were making prayers, without being able to explain to me to whom they were addressed. The renegade told me that this superstitious rite, which lasted more than five hours, was performed for a dead person; but, as he lies oftener than he tells the truth, I give it for what it is worth. They call this superstition *Ouechibouan*. After these long orisons, the Sorcerer gave the pattern of a little sack, cut in the form of a leg, to a woman, to make one of leather. This she filled, I thought, with Beaver hair, for I felt the leg and it seemed to me light and full of soft hair. I asked often what it was, [84] and why they made this little crooked sack, but they never told me. I only know that they call it *Manitoukathi*; meaning, leg of the Manitou, or of the Devil; for a long time it was hung in the Cabin, at the place where the Sorcerer was seated; afterward, it was given to a young man to wear hung from his neck. It was one of the accompaniments of these long prayers, which I have just described; but I have not been able to find out for what purpose it was used. [page 207]

Now and then they observe a very rigorous fast, not all of them, but certain ones who desire to live a long time. My host, seeing that I ate only once a day during Lent, told me that some of their people fasted in order to have a long life; but he added that they withdrew alone into a little Cabin apart from the others, and while there they neither drank nor ate, sometimes for eight and at other times for ten days; others have told me that they emerge from this Cabin like skeletons, and that sometimes [85] they are brought out half dead. I have not seen any of these great fasters, but I have seen great diners. In truth I have no difficulty in believing in these excesses, for all false religions are full of nonsense, of excesses, or of uncleanness.



I have seen another devotion performed by the Sorcerer, which, I believe, belongs only to those of his profession. They erect for him a little Cabin distant from the others a stone's throw or two, into which he retires to remain there alone eight or ten days, more or less. Now day and night he can be heard crying, howling and beating his drum; but he is not so solitary that others do not go to help him sing, and that the women do not visit him, and it is here that great licentiousness is carried on.

The Savages are also very Religious in regard to their dead. My host, and the old man of whom I have spoken, confirmed what I have already written before, that the body of the deceased does not go out through the [86] common door of the Cabin, but the bark is raised at the place where the dead man is, in order to make a passageway for the corpse.

Furthermore, they say that the soul goes out through the chimney, or at the opening which they [page 209] make at the top of their huts. They strike heavy blows with a stick upon the Cabins, that this soul may not delay, and that it may not come near a child, for it would kill it. They bury with the dead man his robes, his kettles, and other belongings, because they love him, and also in order that he may make use of the soul of all these things in the other life. They throw, as I have already said, the best meat they have into the fire, to give something to eat to the soul of the deceased, which eats the soul of this food. They do not stretch out the bodies of their dead lengthwise, as we do those of our dead, but they place them in a crouching position like a person who is seated upon his heels. . They cut a little tuft of hair from the dead man to present to his nearest relative. I do not know [87] why they do this. But let us make another list of their superstitions and of their ignorance, as what I have just reported concerns in some manner their ridiculous religion; the following may properly be called superstitions.

The Savages do not throw to the dogs the bones of female Beavers and Porcupines, ♦at least, certain specified bones; in short, they are very careful that the dogs do not eat any bones of birds and of other animals which are taken in the net, otherwise they will take no more except with incomparable difficulties. Yet they make a thousand exceptions to this rule, for it does not matter if the vertebr♦ or rump of these animals be given to the dogs, but the rest must be thrown into the fire. Yet, as to the Beaver which has been taken in a trap, it is best to throw its bones into a river. It is remarkable how they gather and collect these bones, and preserve them with so much care, that you would say their game [page 211] would be lost if they [88] violated their superstitions As I was laughing at them, and telling them that Beavers do not know what is done with their bones, they answered me, " Thou dost not know how to take Beavers, and thou wishest to talk about it. " Before the Beaver was entirely dead, they told me, its soul comes to make the round of the Cabin of him who has killed it, and looks very carefully to see what is done with its bones; if they are given to the dogs, the other Beavers would be apprised of it and therefore they would make themselves hard to capture. But they are very glad to have their bones thrown into the fire, or into a river; especially the trap which has caught them is very glad of this. I told them that the Hiroquois, according to the reports of the one who was with us, threw the bones of the Beaver to the dogs, and yet they took them very often; and that our Frenchmen captured more game than they did (without comparison), and yet our dogs ate these bones. "Thou hast no sense," they replied, "dost thou not see that you and the Hiroquois cultivate the soil [89] and gather its fruits, and not we, and that therefore it is not the same thing? "I began to laugh when I heard this irrelevant answer. The trouble is, I only stutter, I take one word for another, I pronounce badly; and so everything usually passes off in laughter. What great difficulty there is in talking with people without being able to understand them. Furthermore, in their eat-all feasts they must be very careful that the dogs do not taste even the least of it; but of this in another chapter.

They believe that the hail has understanding and knowledge. When my host was giving a feast, that Winter, he said to a young man, " Go tell the Savages [page 213] of the other Cabin that they may come when they wish, that everything is ready; but do not carry a torch." It was night, and there was a very heavy hailstorm. So I heard the Savages going out from their Cabins, crying to their people, " Do not make any light for us, because it hails." I afterward asked the reason for this, and they answered me that the hail possessed intelligence, and that it hated [90] the light, usually coming only at night-time; that, if torches were carried out of doors, it would stop, and they would be very sorry for this, for it helped them to capture the Moose. See how intelligent these people are about atmospheric phenomena. I told them that the hail was nothing but the water of the rain, congealed by the cold, which was greater at night on account of the absence of the Sun, and so it hailed then oftener than in the middle of the day. They answered me in their usual way, " Thou art an ignoramus; dost thou not see that it has been cold all day long, and that the hail has waited until night to come?" I tried to tell them that the clouds had not yet gathered, but they said, *eca titou eca titou nama Khitirinis*, " keep still, keep still, thou hast no sense." This is the money with which they pay me, and with which they very often pay the others without any variation. Through superstition, my host cuts off the end of the tail from all the Beavers he takes, and strings them together. I asked why; and the old man told me that it was a resolution or promise that he had made in order to take many Beavers. As to whom he made this vow, [91] neither he nor I would be able to tell.

They put upon the fire a certain flat bone of the Porcupine; then look at its color attentively, to see if they will hunt these animals with success. [page 215]

When some one of their men is lost in the woods, seeing that he does not return to his Cabin, they hang a fuse to a pole to direct him, and, that done, they tell me that he sees the fire and finds his way back. When the mind has once strayed from the path of truth, it advances far into error.

But, in regard to their fuse, I will say here that it is not made like ours. For wick they use the skin of an eagle's thigh, covered with down, which takes fire very easily. They strike together two metallic stones, just as we do with a piece of flint and iron or steel; in place of matches, they use a little piece of tinder, a dry and rotten wood which burns easily and continually until it is consumed. When they have lighted it, they put it into pulverized Cedar bark; and, by gently [92] blowing, this bark takes fire. That is how they light their fires. I brought a French fuse with me, and five or six matches. They were astonished at the ease with which I could light a fire; the trouble was that my matches were soon exhausted, as I had failed to bring enough.

They have still another kind of fuse. They twist a little Cedar stick, and this friction causes fire, which lights some tinder; but, as I have never seen them use this fuse, which is more familiar to the Hurons than to the Montagnais, I will say no more about it.

When some one of them has taken a Bear, there are extensive ceremonies before it is eaten. One of our people took one, and this is what they did:

First, the Bear having been killed, the man who killed it did not bring it back, but he returned to the Cabin to impart the news, so that some one might go and see the prize, as something very precious; for the Savages prefer the meat of the Bear to all other [page 217] kinds of food; it seems to me that the young Beaver is in no way inferior to it, but the Bear has [93] more fat, and therefore the

Savages like it better.

Second, the Bear being brought, all the marriageable girls and young married women who have not had children, as well as those of the Cabin where the Bear is to be eaten, and of the neighboring cabins, go outside, and do not return as long as there remains a piece of this animal, which they do not taste. It snowed, and the weather was very severe. It was almost night when this Bear was brought to our Cabin; immediately the women and girls went out and sought Shelter elsewhere, the best they could find. They do this not without much suffering; for they do not always have bark at hand with which to make their house, which in such cases they cover with branches of the Fir tree.

In the third place, the dogs must be sent away, lest they lick the blood, or eat the bones, or even the offal of this beast, so greatly is it prized. The latter are buried under the fireplace, and the former are thrown into the fire. The preceding are the observations which I made during the performance of this superstition. Two banquets are made of this Bear, [94] as it is cooked in two kettles, although all at the same time. The men and older women are invited to the first feast, and, when it is finished, the women go out; then the other kettle is taken down, and of this an eat-all feast is made for the men only. This is done on the evening of the capture; the next day toward nightfall, or the second day, I do not exactly remember, the Bear having been all eaten, the young women and girls return.

If the bird which they call *Ouichcatchan*, which is [page 219] nearly the size of the magpie, and which resembles it (for it is gray in the places where the magpie is black, and white where it is white), tries to get into their Cabins, they drive it away very carefully, because, they say, they would have a headache; they do not give any reason for this, but have, if they are to be believed, learned it by experience. I have seen them take the throat of this animal, split it open, and look into it very attentively. My host tells me, " If I find inside a little bone of the Moose (for this bird eats everything) I shall kill a Moose; if I find a bone of the Bear, I [95] shall kill a Bear; " and so on with other animals.

In the famine which we endured, our Savages would not eat their dogs, because they said that, if the dog was killed to be eaten, a man would be killed by blows from an axe.

My host, throwing some pine branches into the fire, listened attentively to the noise which they made in burning, and pronounced some words. I asked him why he went through this ceremony; " To capture Porcupines, " he answered me. What connection there is between these burning branches and their hunting, they neither do nor can explain.

They do not eat the marrow of the vertebrae or backbone of any animal whatever, for they would have a backache; and, if they were to thrust a stick into these vertebrae, they would feel the pain the same as if some one had driven it into theirs. I did it purposely, in their presence, to disabuse them; but a disease of the mind so great as is a superstition firmly established for so many centuries, and drunk in with the nurse's milk, [96] is not eradicated in a moment. [page 221]

They do not eat the little embryos of Moose, which they take from the wombs of the mothers, except at the end of the chase for this animal. The reason is that their mothers love them, and they would become angry and difficult to capture, if their offspring were eaten so young.

They recognize only ten Moons in the year, I mean the greater part of the Savages, for I made the Sorcerer admit that there are twelve.

They believe that the February Moon is longer by several days than the others, and therefore they call it the great Moon. I asked them whence came the Eclipse of the Moon and of the Sun. They answered that the Moon was eclipsed, or appeared to be dark, because she held her son in her arms, which prevented her brightness from being seen. " If the Moon has a son, she is married, or has been," I told them. "Oh, yes," they replied, " the Sun is her husband, who walks all day, and she all night; and if he be eclipsed, or darkened, it is because he also sometimes takes the son which he has had by [97] the Moon, into his arms." "Yes, but neither the Moon nor the Sun has any arms," I answered them. "Thou hast no sense; they always hold their drawn bows before them, and that is why their arms do not appear." "And whom do they wish to shoot?" "Ah, how do we know?" I asked them what those spots meant that appear on the Moon. "Thou knowest nothing at all," they said; "it is a cap which covers her head, and not spots." I inquired why the son of the Sun and of the Moon was not bright like his parents, but black and gloomy. " We do not know," said they; "if we had been in the Sky, we might answer thee." Furthermore, they think that [page 223] he comes now and then upon earth; and, when he walks about in their country, many people die. I asked them if they had never seen Comets, those Stars with long tails, and what they were. "We have seen them," they answered; "it is an animal that has a long tail, 4 feet, and a head; we can see all that," they said.

I asked them about the thunder; they said that they did not know what animal it was; that it ate snakes, [98] and sometimes trees; that the Hurons believed it to be a very large bird. They were led to this belief by a hollow sound made by a kind of swallow which appears here in the Summer. I have not seen any of these birds in France, but have examined some of them here. They have a beak, a head, and a form like the swallow, except that they are a little larger; they fly about in the evening, repeatedly making a dull noise. The Hurons say that they make this noise from behind, as does also the bird which they think is the thunder; and that there is only one man who has seen this bird, and he only once in his lifetime. This is what my old man told me.

These are some of their superstitions. How much dust there is in their eyes, and how much trouble there will be to remove it that they may see the beautiful light of truth! I believe, nevertheless, that any one who knew their language perfectly, in order to give them good reasons promptly, would soon make them laugh at their own stupidity; for sometimes I have made them ashamed and confused, although I speak almost entirely by my hands, I mean by signs.

I am going to conclude this chapter with a [page 225] surprise; they complain in France of a [99] Mass, if it lasts more than half an hour; a Sermon limited to an hour seems too long; those Religious services are performed hardly once a week; and yet those poor ignorant people cry and howl all the time.

The Sorcerer often brings them together at midnight, or at two or three o'clock in the morning, in a cold which freezes everything. Day and night he holds them with bated breath, during not one nor two hours, but three or four in succession, to perform their ridiculous devotions. They make the poor women go out from their Cabins, rising at midnight and carrying their little children over the snow to their neighbors. Men, harassed by the work of the day, who have eaten but little and hunted a long time, at the first cry waken and promptly betake themselves to this Witches' Sabbath; and, what will seem beyond all belief, I have never known a single complaint to arise among them, neither among the women nor the men, nor even the children, each one showing himself prompt and glad to obey

the voice of the Sorcerer or juggler. Alas, my God, will the souls that love you be [100] without feeling, when they see more zeal shown for folly than for truth? Is Belial more lovely than Jesus? Why then is he more ardently loved, more promptly obeyed, and more devotedly adored? But let us pass on.

[page 227]

## CHAPTER V.

### ON THE GOOD THINGS WHICH ARE FOUND AMONG THE SAVAGES.

If we begin with physical advantages, I will say that they possess these in abundance. They are tall, erect, strong, well proportioned, agile; and there is nothing effeminate in their appearance. Those little Fops that are seen elsewhere are only caricatures of men, compared with our Savages. I almost believed, heretofore, that the Pictures of the Roman Emperors represented the ideal of the painters rather than men who had ever existed, so strong and powerful are their heads; but I see here upon the shoulders of these people the heads of Julius Caesar, of Pompey, of Augustus, of Otho, and of others, that I have seen in France, drawn upon [101] paper, or in relief on medallions.

As to the mind of the Savage, it is of good quality. I believe that souls are all made from the same stock, and that they do not materially differ; hence, these barbarians having well formed bodies, and organs well regulated and well arranged, their minds ought to work with ease. Education and instruction alone are lacking. Their soul is a soil which is naturally good, but loaded down with all the evils that a land abandoned since the birth of the world can produce. I naturally compare our Savages with certain villagers, because both are usually without education, though our Peasants are superior in this [page 229] regard; and yet I have not seen any one thus far, of those who have come to this country, who does not confess and frankly admit that the Savages are more intelligent than our ordinary peasants.

Moreover, if it is a great blessing to be free from a great evil, our Savages are happy; for the two tyrants who provide hell and torture for many of our Europeans, do not reign [102] in their great forests, ♦ I mean ambition and avarice. As they have neither political organization, nor offices, nor dignities, nor any authority, for they only obey their Chief through good will toward him, therefore they never kill each other to acquire these honors. Also, as they are contented with a mere living, not one of them gives himself to the Devil to acquire wealth.

They make a pretence of never getting angry, not because of the beauty of this virtue, for which they have not even a name, but for their own contentment and happiness, I mean, to avoid the bitterness caused by anger. The Sorcerer said to me one day, speaking of one of our Frenchmen, "He has no sense, he gets angry; as for me, nothing can disturb me; let hunger oppress me, let my nearest relation pass to the other life, let the Hiroquois, our enemies, massacre our people, I never get angry." What he says is not an article of faith; for, as he is more haughty than any other Savage, so I have seen him oftener out of humor than any of them; it is true also that he often restrains and governs himself by force, especially [103] when I expose his foolishness. I have only heard one Savage pronounce this word, Ninichcatihin, "I am angry," and he only said it once. But I noticed that they kept their eyes on him, for when these Barbarians are angry, they are dangerous and unrestrained. [page 231]

Whoever professes not to get angry, ought also to make a profession of patience; the Savages surpass us to such an extent, in this respect, that we ought to be ashamed. I saw them, in their hardships and in their labors, suffer with cheerfulness. My host, wondering at the great number of people who I told him were in France, asked me if the men were good, if they did -not become angry, if they were patient. I have never seen such patience as is shown by a sick Savage. You may yell, storm, jump, dance, and he will scarcely ever complain. I found myself, with them, threatened with great suffering; they said to me, "We shall be sometimes two days, sometimes three, without eating, for lack of food; take courage, *Chihin* ♦, let thy soul be strong to endure suffering and hardship; keep thyself from being sad, otherwise thou wilt be sick; see how we do not cease to laugh, [104] although we have little to eat." One thing alone casts them down, ♦ it is when they see death, for they fear this beyond measure; take away this apprehension from the Savages, and they will endure all kinds of degradation and discomfort, and all kinds of trials and suffering very patiently. Later, I shall give several examples of this, which I am reserving for the end of these chapters.

They are very much attached to each other, and agree admirably. You do not see any disputes, quarrels, enmities, or reproaches among them. Men leave the arrangement of the household to the women, without interfering with them; they cut, and decide, and give away as they please, without making the husband angry. I have never seen my host ask a giddy young woman that he had with him what became of the provisions, although they were disappearing [page 233] very fast. I have never heard the women complain because they were not invited to the feasts, because the men ate the good pieces, or because they had to work continually, ♦ going in search of the wood for the fire, making the Houses, dressing the skins, and busying themselves in [105] other very laborious work. Each one does her own little tasks, gently and peacefully, without any disputes. It is true, however, that they have neither gentleness nor courtesy in their utterance; and a Frenchman could not assume the accent, the tone, and the sharpness of their voices without becoming angry, yet they do not.

They are not vindictive among themselves, although they are toward their enemies. I will here give an example that ought to confound many Christians. In the stress of our famine, a young Savage from another quarter came to see us, who was as hungry as we were. The day on which he came was a day of fasting for him and for us, for there was nothing to eat. The next day, our hunters having taken a few Beavers, a feast was made, at which he was well treated; he was told besides that the trail of a Moose had been seen, and that they were going to hunt for it the next day; he was invited to remain and to have his share of it; he answered that he could stay no longer, and, having inquired about the place where the animal was, he went away. Our Hunters, having found and killed this Elk the [106] next day, buried it in the snow, according to their custom, to send for it on the following day. Now, during the night, my young Savage searched so well, that he found the dead beast, and took away a good part of it without saying a word. When the theft [page 235] became known to our people, they did not get into a rage and utter maledictions against the thief,-all their anger consisted in sneering at him; and yet this was almost taking away our life, this stealing our food when we were unable to obtain any more. Some time afterward, this thief came to see us; I wanted to represent to him the seriousness of his offence, but my host imposed silence; and when this poor man attributed his theft to the dogs, he was not only excused, but even received to live with us in the same Cabin. Then he went for his wife, whom he carried upon his back, for her legs are paralyzed; a young female relative who lives with him brought his little son; and all four took their places in our little hut, without ever being reproached for this theft; on the contrary they were

received very kindly, and were treated as if [107] belonging to the family. Tell a Savage that another Savage has slandered him, and he will bow the head and not say a word; if they meet each other afterward, they will pretend not to know anything about it, acting as if nothing had been said. They treat each other as brothers; they harbor no spite against those of their own nation.

They are very generous among themselves and even make a show of not loving anything, of not being attached to the riches of the earth, so that they may not grieve if they lose them. Not long ago a dog tore a beautiful Beaver robe belonging to one of the Savages, and he was the first one to laugh about it. One of the greatest insults that can be offered to them, is to say, " That man likes everything, he is stingy." If you refuse them anything, here is their reproach, as I remarked last year: *Khisakhitan Sakhita*, " Thou lovest that, love it as much as thou [page 237] wilt." They do not open the hand half -way when they give, ♦ I mean among themselves, for they are as ungrateful as possible toward strangers. You will see them take care of their kindred, the children of their friends, widows, orphans, and old men, never reproaching them in the least, giving them abundantly, [108] sometimes whole Moose. This is truly the sign of a good heart and of a generous soul.

As there are many orphans among these people, ♦ for they die in great numbers since they are addicted to drinking wine and brandy, ♦ these poor children are scattered among the Cabins of their uncles, aunts, or other relatives. Do not suppose that they are snubbed and reproached because they eat the food of the household. Nothing of the kind, they are treated the same as the children of the father of the family, or at least almost the same, and are dressed as well as possible.

They are not fastidious in their food, beds, and clothes, but are very slovenly. They never complain of what is given them; if it be cold, if it be warm, it does not matter. When the food is cooked, it is divided without waiting for any one, not even the master of the house; a share is reserved for him, which is given to him cold. I have never heard my host complain because they did not wait for him, if he were only a few steps from the Cabin. They often sleep upon the ground, at the sign of the [109] stars. They will pass one, two, and three days without eating, not ceasing to row, hunt, and fatigue themselves as much as they can. It will be seen in the course of this relation, that all I have said in this chapter is very true; and yet I would not dare to assert that I have seen one act of real moral virtue in a Savage. [page 239] They have nothing but their own pleasure and satisfaction in view. Add to this the fear of being blamed, and the glory of seeming to be good hunters, and you have all that actuates them in their transactions.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### ON THEIR VICES AND THEIR IMPERFECTIONS.

THE Savages, being filled with errors, are also haughty and proud. Humility is born of truth, vanity of error and falsehood. They are void of the knowledge of truth, and are in consequence, mainly occupied with thought of themselves. They imagine that they ought by right of birth, to enjoy the liberty of Wild ass colts, rendering no homage to any one whomsoever, except when they like. They have reproached me a hundred times because we [110] fear our Captains, while they laugh at and make sport of theirs. All the authority of their chief is in his tongue's end; for he is powerful in so far as he is eloquent; and, even if he kills himself talking and haranguing, he will not be obeyed unless he pleases the Savages.

I do not believe that there is a nation under heaven more given to sneering and bantering than that of the Montagnais. Their life is passed in eating, laughing, and making sport of each other, and of all the people they know. There is nothing serious about them, except occasionally, when they make a pretense among us of being grave and dignified; but among themselves they are real buffoons and genuine children, who ask only to laugh. Sometimes I annoyed them a little, especially the Sorcerer, by calling them children, and showing them that I never [page 243] could place any reliance upon all their answers; because, if I questioned them about one thing, they told me about something else, only to get something to laugh and jest about; and consequently I could not know when they were speaking seriously, or when they were jesting. The usual conclusion of their discourses and conversations is: "Really, we did make [111] a great deal of sport of such and such a one."

I have shown in my former letters how vindictive the Savages are toward their enemies, with what fury and cruelty they treat them, eating them after they have made them suffer all that an incarnate fiend could invent. This fury is common to the women as well as to the men, and they even surpass the latter in this respect. I have said that they eat the lice they find upon themselves, not that they like the taste of them, but because they want to bite those that bite them.

These people are very little moved by compassion. When any one is sick in their Cabins, they ordinarily do not cease to cry and storm, and make as much noise as if everybody were in good health. They do not know what it is to take care of a poor invalid, and to give him the food which is good for him; if he asks for something to drink, it is given to him, if he asks for something to eat, it is given to him, but otherwise he is neglected; to coax him with love and gentleness, is a language which they do not understand. As long as a patient can eat, they will carry [112] or drag him with them; if he stops eating, they believe that it is all over with him and kill him, as much to free him from the sufferings that he is enduring, as to relieve themselves of the trouble of taking him with them when they go to some other place. [page 245] I have both admired and pitied the patience of the invalids whom I have seen among them.

The Savages are slanderous beyond all belief; I say, also among themselves, for they do not even spare their nearest relations, and with it all they are deceitful. For, if one speaks ill of another, they all jeer with loud laughter; if the other appears upon the scene, the first one will show him as much affection and treat him with as much love, as if he had elevated him to the third heaven by his praise. The reason of this is, it seems to me, that their slanders and derision do not come from malicious hearts or from infected mouths, but from a mind which says what it thinks in order to give itself free scope, and which seeks gratification from everything, even from slander and mockery. Hence they are not troubled even if they are told that others are -making sport of [113] them, or have injured their reputation. All they usually answer to such talk is, *mama irinisiou*," He has no sense, he does not know what he is talking about;" and at the first opportunity they will pay their slanderer in the same coin, returning him the like.

Lying is as natural to Savages as talking, not among themselves, but to strangers. Hence it can be said that fear and hope, in one word, interest, is the measure of their fidelity. I would not be willing to trust them, except as they would fear to be punished if they failed in their duty, or hoped to be rewarded if they were faithful to it. They do not know what it is to keep a secret, to keep their word, and to love with constancy, ♦ especially those who are not of their nation, for they are harmonious among themselves, and their slanders and



raillery do not disturb their peace and friendly intercourse. [page 247]

I will say in passing that the Montagnais Savages are not thieves. The doors of the French are open to them, because their hands can be trusted; [114] but, as to the Hurons, if a person had as many eyes as they have fingers on their hands, he could not prevent them from stealing, for they steal with their feet. They make a profession of this art, and expect to be beaten if they are discovered. For, as I have already remarked, they will endure the blows which you give them, patiently, not as an acknowledgment of their fault, but as a punishment for their stupidity in allowing themselves to be detected in their theft. I will leave the description of them to our Fathers who are going there, whose lot I would envy, were it not that he who assigns us our departments is always worthy of love and always adorable, whatever part or portion he may give us.

Eating among the Savages is like drinking among the drunkards of Europe. Those dry and ever-thirsty souls would willingly end their lives in a tub of malmsey, and the Savages in a pot full of meat; those over there, talk only of drinking, and these here only of eating. It is giving a sort of insult to a Savage to refuse the pieces which he offers you. A certain one, seeing that I had declined what my host [115] offered me to eat, said to me, "Thou dost not love him, since thou refusest him." I told him that it was not our custom to eat at all hours; but, nevertheless, I would take what he would give me, if he did not give it to me quite so often. They all began to laugh; and an old woman said to me that, if I wished to be loved by their tribe, I must eat a great deal. When you treat them well, they show their satisfaction with your feast in these words, *tapou* ♦ *nimitison*, "I [page 249] am really eating," as if their highest content were in this action; and at the end of the banquet, they will say as an act of thanks, *tapou* ♦, *nikhispoun*, "I am really full;" meaning, "Thou hast treated me well; I am full to bursting." It seems to me that I have spoken of this before. They believe that it is foolish and stupid to refuse; the greatest satisfaction that they can have in their Paradise is in the stomach. I do not hesitate to exclaim: Oh, how just is the judgment of God, that these people, who place their ultimate happiness in eating, are always hungry, and are only fed like dogs; for their most splendid feastings are, [116] so to speak, only the bones and the leavings of the tables of Europe! Their first act, upon awakening in the morning, is to stretch out their arms toward their bark dish full of meat, and then to eat. When I first began to stay with them, I tried to introduce the custom of praying to God before eating, and in fact I pronounced a blessing when they wanted it done. But the Apostate said to me, "If you want to pray as many times as they will eat in your Cabin, prepare to say your *benedicite* more than twenty times before night." They end the day as they begin it, always with a morsel in their mouths, or with their pipes to smoke when they lay their heads on the pillow to rest.

The Savages have always been gluttons, but since the coming of the Europeans they have become such drunkards, that, ♦ although they see clearly that these new drinks, the wine and brandy, which are brought to them, are depopulating their country, of which they themselves complain, ♦ they cannot abstain from drinking, taking pride in getting drunk and in making others drunk. It is true that they die [page 251] in great [117] numbers; but I am astonished that they can resist it as long as they do. For, give two Savages two or three bottles of brandy, they will sit down and, without eating, will drink, one after the other, until they have emptied them. The company of these Gentlemen is remarkably praiseworthy in forbidding the traffic in these liquors. Monsieur de Champlain very wisely takes care that these restrictions are observed, and I have heard that Monsieur the General du Plessis has had them enforced at Tadoussac. I have been told that the Savages are tolerably chaste. I shall not speak of all, not having been among them all; but those whom I have met are very lewd, both men and women. God! what blindness! How great is the happiness of Christian people! How great the chastisement of these Barbarians! In place of saying, as we do very often, through wonder, "Jesus! what is that? My God! who has done that?" these vile and infamous people pronounce the names of the private parts of man and woman. Their lips are constantly foul with these obscenities; and it is the same with the little children. So I said to them, at one time, that if [118] hogs and dogs knew how to talk, they would adopt their language. Indeed, if the shameless Sorcerer had not come into the Cabin where I was, I should have gained thus much from my people, that not one of them would dare to speak of impure things in my presence; but this impertinent fellow ruled the others. The older women go almost naked, the girls and young women are very modestly clad; but, among themselves, their language has the foul odor of the sewers. It must be admitted, however, that if liberty to gorge oneself in such filth existed among [page 253] some Christians, as it does among these people, one would see very different exhibitions of excess from what are seen here; for, even despite the laws, both Divine and human, dissoluteness strides more openly there than here. For here the eyes are not offended. The Sorcerer alone has been guilty of any brutal action in my presence; the others only offended my ears, but, perceiving that I heard them, they were ashamed.

Now, as these people are well aware of this corruption, they prefer to take [119] the children of their sisters as heirs, rather than their own, or than those of their brothers, calling in question the fidelity of their wives, and being unable to doubt that these nephews come from their own blood. Also among the Hurons, ♦ who are more licentious than our Montagnais, because they are better fed, ♦ it is not the child of a Captain but his sister's son, who succeeds the father.

The Sorcerer told me one day that the women were fond of him, for, as the Savages say, it is his demon that makes the sex love him. I told him that it was not honorable for a woman to love any one else except her husband; and that, this evil being among them, he himself was not sure that his son, who was there present, was his son. He replied, "Thou hast no sense. You French people love only your own children; but we all love all the children of our tribe." I began to laugh, seeing that he philosophized in horse and mule fashion.

With all these fine qualities, the Savages have another, more annoying than those of which we have spoken, but not so wicked; it is [120] their importunity toward strangers. I have a habit of calling these [page 255] countries, "the land of importunity toward strangers," because the flies, which are the symbol and visible representation of it, do not let you rest day or night. During certain Summer months, they attack us with such fury, and so continually, that no skin is proof against their sting, and every one pays his blood as tribute. I have seen persons so swollen after being stung by them, that one would think they would lose their eyes, which can scarcely be seen; now all that is nothing, for this annoyance can be dispelled by means of smoke, which the flies cannot stand, but this remedy attracts the Savages, ♦ if they know our dinner hour, they come purposely to get something to eat. They ask continually, and with such incessant urgency, that you would say that they are always holding you by the throat. If you show them anything whatever, however little it may be adapted to their use, they will say, "Dost thou love it? Give it to me."

A certain man said to me one day, that in his [121] country they did not know how to conjugate the verb *do*, in the present, and still less in the past. The Savages are so ignorant of this conjugation, that they would not give you the value of an obole, if they did not expect, so to speak, to get back a pistole; for they are ungrateful in the highest degree.

We have kept here and fed for a long time our sick Savage, who came and threw himself into our arms in order to die a Christian, as I have stated above. All his fellow-savage were astonished at the good treatment we gave him; on his account, his children brought a



little Elk meat, and they were asked what they wished in exchange, for the presents of the Savages are always bargains. They asked some wine and **[page 257]** Gunpowder, and were told that we could not give them these things; but that, if they wished something else that we had, we would give it to them very gladly. A good meal was given them, and finally they carried back their meat, since we did not give them what they asked for, threatening that they would come after their father, which they did; but the good man did not wish **[122]** to leave us. Fro this sample, judge of the whole piece.

Now do not think that they act thus among themselves; on the contrary, they are very grateful, very liberal, and not in the least importunate toward those of their own nation. If they conduct themselves thus toward our French, and toward other foreigners, it is because, it seems to me, that we do not wish to ally ourselves with them as brothers, which they would very much desire. But this would ruin us in three days; for they would want us to go with them, and eat their food as long as they had any, and then they would come and eat ours as long as it lasted; and, when there was none left, we would all set to work to find more. For that is the kind of life the live, feasting as long as they have something; but, as we know nothing about their mode of hunting, and as this way of doing is not praiseworthy, we do not heed them. Hence, as we do not regard ourselves as belonging to their nation, they treat us in the way I have described. If any stranger, whoever he may be, unites with their party, they will treat him as one of their own nation. A young Hiroquois whose **[123]** life they had spared, was like a child of their own family. But if you carry on your affairs apart from them, despising their laws or their customs, they will drain from you, if they can, even **[page 259]** your blood. There is not an insect, nor wasp, no gadfly, so annoying as a Savage.

I am rather tired of talking about their irregularities; let us speak of their uncleanness, and then en this chapter.

They are dirty in their habits, in their postures, in their homes, and in their eating; yet there is no lack of propriety among them, for everything that gives satisfaction to the senses, passes as propriety.

I have said that they are dirty in their homes; the entrance to their Cabins is like a pig-pen. They never sweep their houses, they carpet them at first with branches of pine, but on the third day these branches are full of fur, feathers, hair, shavings, or whittlings of wood. Yet they have no other seats, nor beds upon which to sleep. From this it may be seen how full of dirt their clothes must be; it is true that this dirt **[124]** and filth does not show as much upon their clothes as upon ours.

The Sorcerer leaving our Cabin for a while, asked me for my cloak, because it was cold, he said, as if I more than he were exempt from the rigors of Winter. I lent it to him, and, after having used it more than a month, he returned it to me at last so nasty and dirty, that I was ashamed of it, for it was covered with phlegm and other filth which gave it a different color. Seeing it in this condition, I purposely unfolded it before him, that he might see it. Knowing very well what I meant, he quite aptly remarked to me, "Thou sayest that thou wouldst like to be a Montagnais and Savage, like us; if that is so, do not be troubled about wearing the cloak, for that is just the way our clothes look."

As to their postures, they follow their own sweet **[page 261]** wills, and not the rules of good breeding. The Savages never prefer what is decent to what is agreeable. I have often seen the pretended magician lie down entirely naked, ♦except a miserable strip of cloth dirtier than a dish-cloth, and blacker than an oven-mop, ♦draw up one of his **[125]** legs against his thigh, place the other upon his raised knee, and harangue his people in this position, his audience being scarcely more graceful.

As to their food, it is very little, if any, cleaner than the swill given to animals, and not always even as clean. I say nothing in exaggeration, as I have tasted it and lived upon it for almost six months. We had three persons in our Cabin afflicted with scrofula, ♦the son of the Sorcerer, whose ear was very disgusting and horrid from this disease; his nephew, who had it in his neck; and a daughter, who had it under one arm. I do not know whether this is the real scrofula; whatever it is, this sore is full of pus, and covered with a horrible-looking crust. They are nearly all attacked by this disease, when young, both on account of their filthy habits, and because they cat and drink indiscriminately with the sick. I have seen them a hundred times paddle about in the kettle containing our common drink; wash their hands in it; drink from it, thrusting in their heads, like the animals; and throw into it their leavings; for this is the custom of the Savages, to thrust sticks into it that are half-burned and covered with ashes; to dip therein **[126]** their bark plates covered with grease, the fur of the Moose, and hair; and to dip water therefrom with kettles as black as the chimney; and after that, we all drank from this black broth, as if it were ambrosia. This is not all; they **[page 263]** throw therein the bones that they have gnawed, then put water or snow in the kettle, let it boil, and behold their hippocras. One day some shoes, which had just been taken off, fell into our drink; they soaked there as long as they pleased, and were withdrawn without exciting any special attention, and then the water was drunk as if nothing whatever had happened. I am not very fastidious, but I was not very thirsty as long as this malmsey lasted.

They never wash their hands expressly before eating, still less their kettles, and the meat they cook, not at all, ♦although it is usually (I say this because I have seen it hundreds of times) all covered with the animal's hairs, and with those from their own heads. I have never drunk any broth among them, from which I did not have to throw out many of these hairs, and a variety of other rubbish, such as cinders, little **[127]** pieces of wood, and even sticks with which they have stirred the fire and frequently stirred up the contents of the kettle. I have occasionally seen them take a blazing brand and put it in the ashes to extinguish it, then, almost without shaking it, dip it into the kettle where our dinner was simmering.

When they are engaged in drying meat, they will throw down upon the ground a whole side of the Moose, beat it with stones, walk over it, trample upon it with their dirty feet; the hairs of men and of animals, the feathers of birds, if they have killed any, dirt and ashes, ♦all these are ground into the meat, which they make almost as hard as wood with the smoke. Then when they come to eat this dried meat, all goes together into the stomach, for they have not washed it. In fact, they think that we are **[page 265]** very foolish to wash our meat, for some of the grease goes away with the water.

When the kettle begins to boil, they gather the scum very carefully and eat it as a delicacy. They gave some to me as a favor, and during our famine I found it good; but since **[128]** then, when I sometimes happened to decline this present, they called me fastidious and proud. They take delight in hunting rats and mice, the same as rabbits, and find them just as good.

The Savages do not eat as we French do from a dish or other vessel, common to all those at the table; but one of them takes down the kettle from the fire and distributes to each one his share; sometimes presenting the meat at the end of a stick, but oftener without taking this trouble, he will throw you a piece of meat boiling hot, and full of grease, as we would throw a bone to a dog; saying, *Nakhimitchimi*, "Take it! this is thy share, here is thy food." If you are quick, you catch it in your hands; otherwise, look out that your

gown does not catch it, or that the ashes do not serve as salt, for the Savages have no other.

I found myself very much embarrassed, in the beginning; for not daring to cut the meat they gave me in my bark dish, for fear of spoiling the dish, I did not know how to manage it, not having any plate. Finally I had to become all to all, and a Savage with the Savages. I [129] cast my eyes upon my companion, then I tried to be as brave a man as he was. He took his meat in his open hand, and cut from it morsel after morsel, as you would do with a piece of bread. But if the meat is a little tough, or if it slips away from the knife from being **[page 267]** too soft, they hold one end of it with their teeth, and the other with the left hand, then the right hand plays upon it in violin fashion, the knife serving as a bow. And this is so common among the Savages, that they have a word to express this action, which we could only explain with several words and by circumlocution. If you were to lose your knife, as there are no cutlers in these great forests, you are compelled to take your share in your two hands, and to bite into the flesh and into the fat, as bravely but not so politely, as you would bite into a quarter of an apple. God knows how the hands, the mouth, and a part of the face shine after this operation. The trouble was, I did not know upon what to wipe them. To carry linen with you would require a mule, or a daily [130] washing; for, in less than no time, everything is converted into dish-cloths in their Cabins. As to them, they wipe their hands upon their hair, which they allow to grow very long, or else, upon their dogs. I saw a woman who taught me a secret; she wiped her hands upon her shoes, and I did the same. I also used Moose fur, pine branches, and, especially, powdered rotten wood. These are the hand-towels of the Savages. One does not use them as pleasantly as a piece of Holland linen, but perhaps more gaily and joyously. Enough has been said of their filth.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### ON THE MEATS AND OTHER DISHES WHICH THE SAVAGES EAT, THEIR SEASONING, AND THEIR DRINKS.

AMONG their terrestrial animals they have the Elk, which is here generally called the Moose; Castors, which the English call Beavers; Caribou by some called the Wild ass; they also have Bears,[131] Badgers, Porcupines, Foxes, Hares, Whistler or Nightingale,◆this is an animal larger than a Hare; they eat also Martens, and three kinds of Squirrels. As to birds, they have Bustards, white and gray Geese, several species of Ducks, Teals, Ospreys and several kinds of Divers. These are all river birds. They also catch Partridges or gray Hazel-hens, Woodcocks and Snipe of many kinds, Turtle doves, etc. As to Fish, they catch, in the season, different kinds of Salmon, Seals, Pike, Carp, and Sturgeon of various sorts; Whitefish, Goldfish, Barbels, Eels, Lampreys, Smelt, Turtles, and others. They eat, besides some small ground fruits, such as raspberries, blueberries, strawberries, nuts which have very little meat, hazelnuts, wild apples sweeter than those of France, but much smaller; [332 i.e., 132] cherries, of which the flesh and pit together are not larger than the pit of the Bigarreau cherry in France. They have also other small Wild fruits of different kinds, in some places Wild Grapes; in short, **[page 271]** all the fruits they have (except strawberries and raspberries, which they have in abundance) are not worth one single species of the most ordinary fruits of Europe.

They eat, besides, roots, such as bulbs of the red lily; a root which has a taste of liquorice; another that our French People call "rosary," because it is distinguished by tubers in the form of beads; and some others, not very numerous.

When they are pressed by famine, they eat the shavings or bark of a certain tree, which they call *Michtan*, which they split in the Spring to get from it a juice, sweet as honey or as sugar; I have been told of this by several, but they do not enjoy much of it, so scanty is the flow.

These, then, are the meats and other articles of food upon which the Savages, of these countries where we are, subsist. I omit, without doubt, [133] several other species of animals, but I do not recall them at present.

Besides these foods, which this people find in their own country without cultivating the soil, they have also cereals and Indian corn, which they trade for Moose skins with the Hurons, who come down as far as Kebec or the three rivers. They also buy Tobacco from that nation, who bring large quantities of it with them every year.

Besides, they get from our French People galette, or sea biscuit, bread, prunes, peas, roots, figs, and the like. You have here the food of these poor people.

As to their drinks, they make none, either from roots or fruits, being satisfied with pure water. It is true that the broth in which they have cooked the meat, and another broth which they make of the **[page 273]** ground and broken bones of the Elk, serve as beverages. A certain peasant said in France that, if he were King, he would drink nothing but grease; the Savages do drink it very often, and even eat and bite into it, when [134] it is hard, as we would bite into an apple. When they have cooked a very fat Bear, or two or three Beavers, in a kettle, you will see them skim off the grease from the broth with a large wooden spoon, and taste this liquor as if what they had were the sweetest Parochimel. Sometimes they fill with it a large bark dish, and it goes the rounds of the guests at the feast, each one drinking with pleasure. At other times, having gathered this clear grease, they throw into it a quantity of snow; this they do also in their greasy soup, when they wish to drink it somewhat cool. You will see great lumps of grease floating on the top of this drink, and yet they swallow it like Hippocras. These are, I believe, all the kinds of beverages to be found among the Savages, and which they had me taste during the Winter. There was a time when they had a horror of our European drinks; but they have now become so fond of these, that they would sell themselves to get them. I almost have forgotten to say that they generally drink everything warm or tepid, and sometimes blame me [135] when they see me drink cold water, telling me that I will become thin, and that it will chill me even to the bone.

Also, they do not mix their eating and drinking as we do; but they first distribute the meat or other dishes; then, having eaten what they want, they divide the broth, or it is put in a certain place, and each one goes and drinks as he likes.

Let us say, in concluding this subject, that with **[page 275]** all their animals, birds and fish, the Savages are almost always hungry; the reason for this is, that the birds and fish are migratory, going and returning at certain times. Besides, they are not very great hunters, and are still poorer managers; for what they kill in one day is not seen the next, except the Elk and Eels, which they dry when they have them in great abundance. So that, during the months of September and October, they live for the most part upon fresh eels; in

November, December and often in January, they eat their smoked eels, some Porcupines, [136] which they take during the lighter snowfalls, as also a few Beavers, if they find them. When the heavy snows come, they eat fresh Moose meat; they dry it, to live upon the rest of the time until September; and with this they have a few birds, Bears, and Beavers, which they take in the Spring and during the Summer. Now, if the hunt for all these animals does not succeed (which with them occurs only too often) they suffer greatly.

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## CHAPTER VIII. ON THEIR FEASTS.

NLY actual hunters, and those who have been hunters, are usually invited to their feasts, to which widows go also, especially if it is not an eat-all feast. The girls, married women, and children, are nearly always excluded. I say nearly always, for occasionally they are invited. I have known them to have *Acoumagouchanai*, that is to say, feasts where nothing is to be left, to which every one was invited, [137] men, women, and little children. When they have a great abundance of food, sometimes the women have a feast of their own, where the men are not found.

Their way of inviting is straightforward and without ceremony. When all is cooked and ready to eat (for no one is invited before), some one goes through the Cabins of those who are to be invited; or else they will cry out to them this word, from the place where the feast is given, *khinatonmigaouinaouau*, "You are invited to the banquet." The men to whom this word is addressed, answer, *ho ho*, and straightway taking their own bark dish and wooden spoon, come to the Cabin of the one who is to entertain them. When all the men are not invited, those who are desired are named. The absence of ceremony spares these simple people many words. It seems to me in the golden age they must have done like this, except that then cleanliness was in higher favor than among these people. [page 279]

In all the feasts, as well as in their ordinary repasts, each one is given his part, from which it happens that [138] only two or three have the best pieces, for they do not divide them. For example, they will give the tongue of a Moose and all the giblets to a single person, the tail and head of a Beaver to another; these are the best pieces, which they call *Mascanou*, "the Captain's part." As to the fat intestines of the Moose, which are their great delicacies, they usually roast them and let every one taste them, as they do another dish, which they hold in high esteem, namely, the large intestine of the beast filled with grease, and roasted, fastened to a cord, hanging and turning before the fire.

Also they are very magnificent in these feasts, for they only offer the good meat, separating it expressly, and giving to each one very abundantly, when they have it.

They have two kinds of feasts, one at which everything is eaten; the other at which the guests eat what they please, carrying away the rest to divide with their families. This last feast seems to me praiseworthy, for there is no excess, each one taking as much as he likes of the portion given to him; [139] indeed, I would venture to say that it is a happy invention to preserve friendship among them, and for each to help feed the others. For usually the heads of families only eat a part of their share, carrying the rest to their wives and children. The trouble is that their feasts come too often. In the famine through which we passed, if my host took two, three, or four Beavers, immediately, whether it was day or night, they had a feast for all the neighboring Savages. And if those people had captured [page 281] something, they had one also at the same time; so that, on emerging from one feast, you went to another, and sometimes even to a third and a fourth. I told them that they did not manage well, and that it would be better to reserve these feasts for future days, and in doing this they would not be so pressed with hunger. They laughed at me. "To-morrow" (they said) "we shall make another feast with what we shall capture." Yes, but more often they captured only cold and wind.

As to their "leave-nothing" feasts, they are very blamable; and yet this is one of their great devotions, because they [140] make these feasts in order to have a successful chase. They must be very careful that the dogs taste nothing of this, or all will be lost, and their hunting will be worthless. And notice that, the more they eat, the more efficacious is this feast. Hence it happens that they will give, to one man, what I would not undertake to eat with three good diners. They would rather burst, so to speak, than to leave anything. True, they can help each other; when one can eat no more, he begs his companions to assist him; or else he may pass the remains of his part along to the others, who each one take some of it, and after all this, if anything remain, it is thrown into the fire. The one who eats the most is the most admired. You will hear them describing the prowess of their jaws, naming the quantity and the parts of the beast which they have eaten. God knows what kind of music follows this banquet, for these Barbarians give full liberty to their stomachs and bellies, to utter whatever sounds they please, in order to relieve themselves. As to the odors that are then exhaled in their Cabins, they are [page 283] stronger than the perfume of roses, but not so sweet. You see them pant [141] and blow, like people full up to their throats; and, in fact, as they are naked, I saw that they were swollen as high as their necks. Still, with it all, they have mettle there inside, for their stomachs retain what is given them. I have known only the Sorcerer's stomach to be dissatisfied with what it received; many others came very near it, but they held their own. Occasionally, I have seen some of them sick after these excesses.

But let us notice the order which they observe in these banquets. Those who are to be entertained having been invited in the way I have stated, they come each with his *ouragan*, or dish, and his spoon, and enter the Cabin without ceremony, each one taking his place as he comes. They seat themselves around the kettle which is over the fire, turning their plates upside down before them. Their chairs are the ground, covered with pine branches; and no order of precedence is observed. All the members of the circle are alike bent forward; and one is as noble as the other. Sometimes one will say to another who enters, *Outaiappitou*, "Come here, sit thou there."

Each one, having taken his place, sits in the posture of a monkey, drawing up his [142] legs against his thighs. If it is an eat-all feast, not a word is said, they only sing; and if there is a Sorcerer or Manitousiou present, he beats his drum; true, they are not always so strict that they do not hold some little conversation. If it is not a leave-nothing feast, they have a little conversation about their hunting, or the like, but most frequently about their pranks.

After some talk, the server of the feast, who is [page 285] usually the one who gives it, takes down the kettle from the fire, or the kettles, if there are several, and, placing them before him, he makes a speech or begins a song, and all the others join in. Sometimes he does neither, but simply says the words at the opening of the feast, which are never omitted, namely, he declares of what it is composed; for example, he will say, "Men who are assembled here, it is such and such a one who gives this feast." They all answer in deep chest tones, *h* ~~h~~ ~~h~~ ~~h~~. "The feast is composed of the flesh of Beavers." They again utter this aspiration, *h* ~~h~~ ~~h~~ ~~h~~. "There is

also some [143~1 Cornmeal." *H* ̣̣̣, they respond, to each of the different dishes.

As to their less solemn feasts, the one who gives them addresses each one of his friends, or relatives, and says to him, "My cousin, or my uncle, here is a Beaver that I have taken, we will now eat it;" and then every one utters his *h* ̣̣̣, and lo, the feast has begun, from which they do not emerge until the words with which they are to terminate it are uttered. When this is done, the distributor sometimes collects the grease from the kettle and drinks it all by himself; at other times, he shares it with his friends; then again, he fills a large, deep dish which is offered to all the guests, as I have said, and each one drinks his share. If the feast is of peas, flour, Cornmeal, or such half-liquid things, he takes the *Ouragans*, or dishes, of each one and divides what is in the kettle, as equally as he can, returning their plates to them well filled, without noticing at what end he began. There is neither honor nor disgrace in being served first or last. If the feast is of meat, he draws it out with a pointed stick, [144] puts it into [page 287] some bark dishes before him; then, having cast his eyes over the number of guests, he distributes it as he pleases, giving to each one abundantly, but not equally. For he will give the dainty morsels to his intimate friends; and, even when ~' he has given to each of them a good piece, beginning with those who are not of his Cabin, he will serve them again, even two or three times, and not the others. No one is offended at this proceeding, for it is the custom.

He usually offers the meat on the end of the stick, naming the piece or part of the animal which he is giving in this way; if it is the head of a Beaver or of a wild Ass, or some other animal, he will say, *Nichta Koustigouanime*, "My cousin, here is thy head;" if it is the shoulder, he will say, "Here is thy shoulder;" and if it is the intestines, he will name it in the same way; at other times they simply say, *Khimitchimi*, "Here is thy meat." But bear in mind that they have not the ambiguity in their language that we have in ours. They tell a story about a certain one, who, meeting his friend, said to him through courtesy, "If I had something worthy of you I would invite you to breakfast at [145] our house, but I have nothing at all." His servant hearing him, answered in good faith, "Excuse me, Sir, you have a calf's head." If this were said in the Montagnais language, there would be nothing ridiculous in it, for they have nothing ambiguous in such terms, ̣̣̣ the words which mean "my own head" and "the head of an animal which is given me," being altogether different.

The one who gives the feast and who serves it never takes part therein, but is satisfied in watching the others, without keeping anything for himself. However, when there is a scarcity of food, as soon as [page 289] the meat is taken from the kettle, his neighbor or friend chooses the best pieces for politeness and puts them aside; then when all is distributed, he presents them to the distributor himself, saying to him, "Here is thy meat," and he answers like all the others, *h* ̣̣̣.

They have some ceremonies which I do not well understand, when they have a Bear feast; the one who has killed it has the entrails roasted over some pine branches, pronouncing some words which I do not comprehend. There is some great mystery in this; also they give him the heart-bone of the animal, which he carries in a little embroidered purse hung around his neck. When they have a Moose feast, [146] the one who has given it its deathblow, and who gives the feast, after having distributed the flesh, throws some grease into the fire, saying, *papeouekou*, *papeouekou*, of which I have already explained the meaning.

The feast distributed, if it is an eat-all, each one eats in silence, although some do not fail to say a word or two from time to time. In the other feasts, although they are usually permitted to speak, they speak very little, and are astonished at the French who talk as much and more at the table than at any other time, so they call us cackling Geese. Their mouths are almost as large as eggs, and it is the delight they have in tasting and relishing what they eat that closes their mouths, and not politeness. You would take genuine pleasure in seeing them attack, in their great bark dishes, a boiled or roasted Beaver, especially when they have just come from the chase, or in seeing them tackle a bone. I have seen them hold the foot of a Moose in their two hands by one end, the mouth and the teeth doing duty at [page 291] the other, so that they seem to me to be playing on those long German flutes, except that they go at it with a little too much force to hold their wind long. [147] When they are eating something that they are very fond of, you will hear them say from time to time, as I have already remarked, *tapou* ̣̣̣ *nimitison*, "I am really eating," as if any one doubted it. This is the great proof that they offer of the pleasure they experience at your feast. Now having sucked, gnawed, and broken the bones which fall to them, to get out the grease and marrow, they throw them back into the kettle of broth which they are to drink afterward. It is true that at the eat-all banquets this unmannerly trick is not practiced, for there are no bones.

Having eaten the meats that have been offered, the broth is served from the kettle, each one drinking of this according to his thirst. If it is a banquet of devotion, that is to say, a leave-nothing feast, sometimes they are also obliged to drink all the broth. At other times, it is enough if they eat all the meat, being free to drink what they want of the broth. When the Master of the feast sees them stop eating, he pronounces the words which terminate the banquet, which are the following, or others like them: *Egou Kh* ̣̣̣ *Khiouiecou*, "Now you will go away; return this feast when you please." The feast concluded, some remain a little while to talk, and others leave immediately, going out without trumpets; that [148] is, they go out without saying a word; sometimes they say, *Nikhiouan*, "I am going;" the answer is, *Niagout* ̣̣̣, "Go then." See the profuseness of their compliments.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### ON THEIR HUNTING AND FISHING.

ET us begin with the Elk. When there is very little snow, they kill it with arrows, the first that we ate being taken in this way. But it is a great stroke of luck when they can approach these animals within range of their bows, as they scent the Savages at a great distance, and run as fast as Deer. When the snow is deep, they pursue the Elk on foot, and kill it with thrusts from javelins which are fastened on long poles for this purpose, and which they hurl when they dare not or cannot approach the beast. Sometimes they chase one of these animals for two or three days, the snow being neither hard nor deep enough; while at other times a child could almost kill them, for, the snow being frozen after a slight thaw or rain, these poor Moose are hurt by it, and cannot go far without being slaughtered.


[149] I had been told that the Elk was as large as an Auvergne mule. True, its head is as long as that of a mule, but I find it as large as an ox. I have only seen one of them alive; it was young, and the branches or horns were just emerging from its head; I never saw in France either a heifer or young bullock that was as big or as high as it was. It is tall and erect, like the Deer; its horns are lofty, branching, and somewhat flat, not round like those of a Deer; I speak of the horns that I have seen, but there may be other kinds. I have been told [page 295] that the female always bears two little ones, always male and female. On the contrary, my Savages tell me



that she sometimes bears one, and sometimes two; and that once they found three in a female, which astonished them as if it were a prodigy.

I have sometimes thought that, in time, these animals might be domesticated, and could be used to till the soil and to draw sledges over the snow, which would be a great comfort.

When the Savages have killed a number of Elks, and passed several days in feasting, they begin to think about drying them and laying them away. They will stretch upon poles the two sides of a large Moose, the bones thereof having [150] been removed. If the flesh is too thick, they raise it in strips and slash it besides, so that the smoke may penetrate and dry all parts. When they begin to dry or smoke this meat, they pound it with stones and tramp it under foot so that no juice may remain to spoil it. At last, when it is smoked, they fold and arrange it in packages, and this forms their future store. Dried meat is poor food, but the fresh meat of the Elk is very easy to digest. It does not remain long in the stomach, therefore the Savages do not cook it much. In regard to taste, it seems to me that beef is not inferior to good Elk meat.

The Castor or Beaver is taken in several ways. The Savages say that it is the animal well-beloved by the French, English and Basques,  in a word, by the Europeans. I heard my host say one day, jokingly, *Missi picoutau amiscou*, "The Beaver does everything perfectly well, it makes kettles, hatchets, swords, knives, bread; and, in short, it makes everything." He was making sport of us Europeans, who have [page 297] such a fondness for the skin of this animal and who fight to see who will give the most to these Barbarians, to get it; [151] they carry this to such an extent that my host said to me one day, showing me a very beautiful knife, "The English have no sense; they give us twenty knives like this for one Beaver skin."


In the Spring, the Beaver is taken in a trap baited with the wood it eats. The Savages understand perfectly how to handle these traps, which are made to open, when a heavy piece of wood falls upon the animal and kills it. Sometimes when the dogs encounter the Beaver outside its House, they pursue and take it easily; I have never seen this chase, but have been told of it; and the Savages highly value a dog which scents and runs down this animal.

During the Winter they capture them in nets and under the ice, in this way: They make a slit in the ice near the Beaver's House, and put into the hole a net, and some wood which serves as bait. This poor animal, searching for something to eat, gets caught in a net made of good, strong, double cord; and, emerging from the water to the opening made in the ice, they kill it with a big club.

The other way of taking them under the ice is more noble. Not all the Savages use [152] this method, only the most skillful ; they break with blows from the hatchet the Cabin or house of the Beaver, which is indeed wonderfully made. In my opinion no musket ball can pierce it. During the Winter it is built upon the shore of some little river or pond, is two stories high, and round. The materials of which it is composed are wood and mud, so well joined and bound together that I have seen our [page 299] Savages in Midwinter sweat in trying to make an opening into it with their hatchets. The lower story is in or upon the edge of the water, the upper is above the river. When the cold has frozen the rivers and ponds, the, Beaver secludes himself in the upper story, where he has provided himself with wood to eat during the Winter. He sometimes, however, descends from this story to the lower one, and thence he glides out under the ice, through the holes which are in this lower story and which open under the ice. He goes out to drink and to search for the wood that he eats, which grows upon the banks of the pond and in the pond itself. This wood at the bottom is fastened in the ice and the Beaver goes below to cut it and carry it to his house. Now the Savages having broken this house, these poor animals, which are sometimes in great numbers [153] under one roof, disappear under the ice, some on one side, some on the other, seeking hollow and thin places between the water and ice, where they can breathe. Their enemies, knowing this, go walking over the pond or frozen river, carrying a long club in their hands, armed on one side with an iron blade made like a Carpenter's chisel, and on the other with a Whale's bone, I believe. They sound the ice with this bone, striking upon it and examining it to see if it is hollow; and if there is any indication of this, then they cut the ice with their iron blade, looking to see if the water is stirred up by the movement or breathing of the Beaver. If the water moves, they have a curved stick which they thrust into the hole that they have just made; if they feel the Beaver, they kill it with their big club, which they call *ca ouikachit*; and, drawing it out of the water, go and make a feast of [page 301] it at once, unless they have great hopes of taking others. I asked them why the Beaver waited there until it was killed. "Where will it go?" they said to me; " its house is broken to pieces and the other places where it could breathe between the water and ice are broken; it remains there in the water, seeking air, and meanwhile it is killed." Sometimes [154] it goes out through its House, or some hole; but the dogs which are there, scenting and waiting for it, have soon caught it.

When there is a river near by, or an arm of water connecting with the pond where they are, they slip into that; but the Savages dam up these rivers when they discover them, breaking the ice and planting a number of stakes near each other, so that the Beaver may not escape in that direction. I have seen large lakes which saved the lives of the Beavers; for our people, not being able to break all the places where they could breathe, therefore could not trap their prey. Sometimes there are two families of Beavers in the same House, that is, two males and two females, with their little ones.

The female bears as many as seven, but usually four, five, or six. They have four teeth, two below, and two above, which are wonderfully drawn out; the other two are small, but these are large and sharp. They are used to cut the wood for their food, and the wood with which they build their house; they sharpen these teeth when they are dull, by rubbing and pressing them against [155] each other, making a little noise which I have myself heard.

The Beaver has very soft fur, the hats made of it being an evidence of this. It has very short feet which are well adapted to swimming, for the nails [page 303] are united by skin, in the same way as those of river-birds or seals; its tail is entirely flat, quite long and oval-shaped. I measured one of a large Beaver; it was a palm and eight fingers or thereabout in length, and almost one palm of the hand in width. It was quite thick, and was covered, not with hair, but with a black skin looking like scales; however, these are not real scales. The Beaver here is regarded as an amphibious animal, and therefore it is eaten in all seasons. My idea is that the grease when melted is more like oil than grease; the flesh is very good, but it seems to me a little stale in the Spring, and not so in Winter. But if the pelt of the Beaver excels the pelt of the sheep, the flesh of the sheep is superior, in my opinion, to that of the Beaver,  not only because it tastes better, but also because the Sheep is larger than the Beaver.

The Porcupine is taken in a trap, or by coursing. The dog having discovered it, it is sure to be [156] killed if it is not very near its abode, which it makes under large rocks; having reached this, it is in a place of safety, for neither men nor dogs can crawl into it. It cannot run upon the snow, and is therefore very soon put to death. It is hardly larger than a good-sized sucking-pig. Its points or quills are white, long, and rather thin, interlaced and mixed with black or grayish hair. In France I have seen specimens of the Porcupine

with quills three times longer and ten times thicker, and much stiffer than those of the Porcupines of this country. The Savages have told me that near the Saguenay river, toward the North, these animals are much larger. They singe them as we do pigs in France; and, after they are scraped, they are boiled or roasted, and are quite **[page 305]** edible, although rather tough, especially the old ones, but the young ones are tender and delicate. But in taste they are not equal to either our Wild Boar or our common Pig.

This animal has crooked feet, which it turns outward. Its quills have this peculiarity: if they stick into a dog or person they keep on penetrating, insinuating themselves or slipping in, little by little, and coming Out [157] opposite where they entered. For example, if they stick into the back of the hand they will go through it, and come out on the inside. I have often seen dogs bristling with these quills, already thrust half-way into them when their Masters draw them out. Wishing to examine the first one that was brought into the Cabin where I was staying with the Savages, I caught it by the tail and drew it toward me. All those who were looking on began to laugh at the way I went at it; and, in fact, although I had tried to take hold of it adroitly, nevertheless a number of these little spears stuck into my hand, for there is no needle so sharp. I immediately drew them out, and threw them into the fire.

Bears are taken in a trap, in the Spring. In the Winter they are found in hollow trees, to which they withdraw, passing several months without eating, and yet they continue to be very fat. They fell a tree, to make their prey emerge, which they kill upon the snow, or as it is coming from its abode.

Hares are caught in nets, or are killed with arrows or darts. I have already stated elsewhere that these animals are white during the snow, and gray at other times. They seem to me to be a little higher and more rough-footed than those of France. They kill [158] Martens and Squirrels in the same way. These **[page 307]** are the methods of hunting terrestrial animals, so far as I have seen them.

As to the birds, some are killed with bows, arrows and Darts being used; but this is done rarely. Since they have come into possession of firearms, through their traffic with the English, they have become fair Huntsmen, some of them shooting very well. My host is one of their best musketeers; I have seen him kill Bustards, Ducks and Snipes; but their powder is very soon exhausted.

As to their fishing, they use nets as we do, which they get in trade from the French and Hurons. They have a special way of fishing for Salmon; but, not having seen it, I will not speak of it.

In regard to Eels, they fish for them in two ways, with a weir and with a harpoon. They make the weirs very ingeniously, long and broad, capable of holding five or six hundred eels. When the water is low, they place these upon the sand in a suitable and retired spot, securing them so that they are not carried away by the tides. At the two sides they collect stones, which they extend out like a chain or [159] little wall on both sides; so that this fish, which always swims toward the bottom, encountering this obstacle, will readily swim toward the mouth of the net, to which these stones guide it. When the sea rises, it covers the net; then, when it falls, they go and examine it. Sometimes they find there one or two hundred Eels in a single tide, at other times three hundred, often none at all; at other times six, eight, ten, according to the winds and the weather. When the sea is rough, many of them are taken; when it is calm, few or none, and then they have recourse to their harpoon. **[page 309]**

This harpoon is an instrument composed of a long pole, two or three fingers thick, at the end of which they fasten a piece of pointed iron, which is provided on both sides with two little curved sticks, which almost come together at the end of the iron point. When they strike an eel with this harpoon, they impale it upon the iron, the two pieces of stick yielding by the force of the blow and allowing the eel to enter; then closing of themselves, because they only open through the force of the blow, they prevent the impaled eel from getting away.

This harpoon fishing is usually done [160] only at night. Two Savages enter a canoe, one at the stern, who handles the oars, and the other at the bow, who, by the light of a bark torch fastened to the prow of his boat, looks around searchingly for the prey, floating gently along the shores of this great river. When he sees an Eel, he thrusts his harpoon down, without loosening his hold of it, pierces it in the manner I have described, then throws it into his canoe. There are certain ones who will take three hundred in one night, and even more, sometimes very few. It is wonderful how many of these fish are found in this great river, in the months of September and October; and this immediately in front of the settlement of our French, some of whom, 'having lived several years in this country, have become as expert as the Savages in this art.

It is thought that this great abundance is supplied by some lakes in the country farther north, which, discharging their waters here, make us a present of this manna that nourishes us, not only during all the time of Lent and other fish days, but also at other seasons.

The Savages dry these long fish in smoke. After they are brought into their Cabins, they let them **[page 311]** drain a [161] little while; then, cutting off their heads and tails, they open them up the back, and after they are cleaned, they are cut with slits, so that the smoke may thoroughly penetrate them. The poles of their Cabins are all loaded with these eels. After being well smoked, they are piled together in large packages, about a hundred being placed in each. Here you have their food up to the season of snow, which brings them the Moose.

They kill the Seal with blows from a club, surprising it when it comes out of the water. It goes to Sun itself upon the rocks, and not being able to run, if it is ever so little distant from its element it is lost.

This is enough for this chapter. I do not pretend to tell everything, but only to jot down some of the things which seem to me worthy of record. Whoever wishes to gain a full knowledge of these countries should read what Monsieur de Champlain has written about them. But, before I pass on, I must say a few words about four animals that I have never seen in France. I do not know where to place them, except at the end of this chapter.

One of them is called by the Savages *Ouinascou*; [162] our French call it the whistler or Nightingale.<sup>22</sup> They have given it this name, because although it belongs to terrestrial animals, yet it sings like a bird; I might say that it whistles like a well taught Linnet, were it not that I think it only knows one song; that is to say, it has not a great variety of tones, but it says very well the lesson that nature has taught it. It is about the size of a Hare and has a reddish skin. Some have assured me that it rolls itself into a ball, and, like the Dormouse, it sleeps **[page 313]** all Winter, it being impossible to awaken it. I have only seen this animal in the Summer; it is excellent eating, and excels the Hare.

The other is a low animal, about the size of a little dog or cat. I mention it here, not on account of its excellence, but to make of it a symbol of sin. I have seen three or four of them. It has black fur, quite beautiful and shining; and has upon its back two perfectly white

stripes, which join near the neck and tail, making an oval which adds greatly to their grace. The tail is bushy and [163] well furnished with hair, like the tail of a Fox; it carries it curled back like that of a Squirrel. It is more white than black; and, at the first glance, you would say, especially when it walks, that it ought to be called Jupiter's little dog. But it is so stinking, and casts so foul an odor, that it is unworthy of being called the dog of Pluto. No sewer ever smelled so bad. I would not have believed it if I had not smelled it myself. Your heart almost fails you when you approach the animal; two have been killed in our court, and several days afterward there was such a dreadful odor throughout our house that we could not endure it. I believe the sin smelled by sainte Catherine de Sienne must have had the same vile odor.

The third is a flying Squirrel. There are three kinds of squirrels here. The first are the common squirrels, which are not so beautiful as those in France. The others, which our French call Swiss, because they are spotted upon the back, are very beautiful and quite small. The flying Squirrels are rather pretty, but their chief merit lies in their flying. Not that they have wings, but they have a certain piece of skin on [164] both sides, which they [page 315] fold up very neatly against their stomachs when they walk, and spread out when they fly. I do not think they take long flights; I saw one of them flying, and it sustained itself very well in the air. My host gave me one; I would send it to Your Reverence, but death has freed it from so long a voyage.

The fourth is called by our French the fly-bird, because it is scarcely larger than a bee; others call it the flower-bird, because it lives upon flowers. It is in my opinion one of the great rarities of this country, and a little prodigy of nature. God seems to me more wonderful in this little bird than in a large animal. It hums in flying, like the bee; I have sometimes seen it hold itself in the air and stick its bill into a flower. Its bill is rather long, and its plumage seems to be a mottled green. Those who call it the flower-bird would, in my opinion, speak more correctly if they would call it the flower of birds.

[page 317]

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. VI

## XXI

See Volume V. for particulars of this document.

## XXII

The incomplete letter from Paul le Jenne to his provincial, dated at Quebec, 1634 (without month or day), we obtain from Carayon's *Première Mission*, pp. 122 - 156. The original, written in French, is in the archives of the Gesu, at Rome, where in 1858 it was copied for Carayon, by Father Martin; this apograph now rests in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal.

## XXIII.

In reprinting the text of Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1634 (closed at Quebec, August 7), we follow the example of the first edition (Paris, 1635), in the Lenox Library; but the "Table des Chapitres" we obtain from that library's copy of the second edition, as this feature is not a part of the first. These two editions are known to bibliographers as "H. 60 " and "H. 61," respectively, because referred to in Harris's *Notes*, nos. 60 and 61. The " Privilege" bears date, December 8, 1634, four months and a day later than the date of the document.

*Collation of first edition:* Title, with verso blank, i 1.; Privilege, with verso blank, i 1.; text, pp. 1 - 342. The signatures of the text are in eights, except Y which is in six, the last three leaves being blank, one of which is usually pasted to the cover. There are [page 319] two copies of this edition (H. 60) in the Lenox Library. In one of these the paragraph of fourteen lines beginning, " Le 24. du m<sup>e</sup>mois " is, through an error, given on P. 327, after the paragraph commencing with "Le premier de Iuillet. " In the other copy this is corrected by transposition, the former paragraph appearing on P. 326. This peculiarity serves to fix the priority of editions; for in H. 61 the reprinter has followed the corrected issue of H. 60 in this respect, though not line for line. This is likewise true of the Avignon edition, noticed below.

The second edition collates as follows: Title, with verso blank, i I.; text, pp. 1-342; "Table des Chapitres,"i 1; "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," with verso blank, i 1. The signatures are A-Y in eights; sig. Y consists of text, 3 ll.; table, i l; privilege, i l; blank, 3 ll

The pagination is quite erratic. In two copies of the first edition which we have examined, the following errors appear in both: 132 mispaged 332: 229 mispaged 129; 321and 322 mispaged 323 and 324; 335 mispaged 33. In the first issue of this edition 66 and 67 are mispaged 67 and 68, and 70 and 71 are mispaged 60 and 61; but in the second issue of this edition these latter mistakes have been corrected. In the second edition 220, 221, 281, 310, and 321 - 336 are ~mispaged 200, 121, 283, 210, and 323-338, respectively.

The second edition (H. 61) is in every way a reprint, varying from the first edition in line and page lengths, in contractions, in line-endings, in text, in folio headings, and in typographic style. While the title-pages of both editions end similarly, line for line, the type of the first edition is generally larger [page 320] than that of the second; L'ANNÉE and M DC. XXXV in the first, are printed L'ANNÉE and M. DC. XXXV, in the second edition. In the Privilege of the first edition the head ornament consists of eighteen parts, bisected by four dots; but in the second there are but seventeen parts without a division. The word "consecutiues" in the first is printed " c<sup>e</sup>cutiues " in the second; many similar differences in the text, too numerous to mention here, are evident. Among other differences may be noted the fact that whereas, in the first edition, native words are sometimes set in Roman and sometimes in Italic, they are uniformly in Italic in the second edition.

There is still another, a third, edition of this *Relation* of 1634, which may be designated as the Avignon edition. The only copy known to us is in the Lenox Library. It is imperfect; for almost half of the upper part of the title-page, half of leaf A<sub>4</sub> (pp. 7 and 8), and nearly the whole of the last four pages (413-416) are lacking. It was reprinted, together with the *Relation* of 1635, and the following title is restored by conjecture, through the help of the wording of similar lines in other Relations.

[Relations] | d[e ce qvi s'est passé] | en [la Novvelle France,] | en [les années 1634 et 1635.] | Enuoyé a[u R. Pere Provincial de] |

la Compagni[e de Iesvs en la] | Prouince de F[rance.] | Par le Pere le Ievne de la m[e]me] | Compagnie, Superieur de la | Re[side]nce  
de Kebec. | [*A cross patt*] | En Avignon, | De l'Imprimerie de Iaques Bramereav, | Imprimeur de a Saintet, de la Ville, & |  
Vniuer[it]. Avec permi[sion des Superieurs | M. DC. XXXVI. |

*Collation:* Title, with verso blank, i I.; preface headed "A MESSIEVRS," etc., pp. (8); Le Jeune's [page 321] Relation of 1634, pp. 1-269; p. 270 blank; Relation of 1635, pp. 271-336; Br[eu]f's Huron Relation, pp. 337-392; Perrault's Relation of Cape Breton, pp. 393-400; "Divers Sentimens," pp. 401-416. Sig. a in five, and A - Cc in eights. Sig. O is by mistake printed Oo; pp. 27, 152, 212, 323, and 345 are mispaged 77, 52, 122, 223, and 245, respectively. There is a special preface, as follows, covering eight unnumbered pages:

A Messievr[s] les Pre[dict], As[si]tans, Con[se]illers, & Con[se]reres  
de la grande Congregation de N. Dame erig[ee] au  
College d'Avignon [ous le tiltre de l'im-  
maculee Co[n]ception de la Vierge.

SEE ORIGINAL VOLUME FOR *ITALICIZED* OLD FRENCH TEXT

[page 322]

The Avignon has one peculiarity which we have not seen noted elsewhere. Signature F ends on p. 96 with the catch-word "Pour." In commencing the next sheet, signature G, the printer begins with the word "Pour" found near top of p. 130 of the Paris first issue; from that point, he continues his type-setting, seemingly without discovering that he has omitted the whole of the matter from line 4, p. 125, to line 3, p. 130 of the Paris first edition.

Harris's descriptions (nos. 60, 61, and 64) are entirely useless, being in these titles very inaccurate. There are errors and omissions, too, in Sabin, Vol. xvi., p. 537, nos. iii. and iv. As the statements of other catalogues and bibliographies are generally based on these, we omit, in this case, to refer to them. Copies of the Paris editions have been sold or priced as follows: Barlow (1889), no. 1274, \$25.; O'Callaghan (1882), no. 1215, first edition, \$9.; no. 1213, second edition, but called there first, \$65. [it had cost him 68 francs; Moore sale, pt. 2 (1894), no. 639, second edition, \$10.; Dufoss[er], of Paris, priced (1891 and 1892) at 150 francs; Harrassowitz, of Leipzig, priced (1882) at 180 marks. Copies of the Paris editions, first or second, may be found in the following libraries: Lenox (2 editions), Harvard, Library of Parliament (Ottawa), Brown (private), British Museum, and Biblioth[eq]ue Nationale, Paris.

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# NOTES TO VOL. VI

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



# VOL. VII

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents



# TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

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

EDITED BY  
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Liverpool. New York

Vol. VII  
QUÉBEC, HURONS, and CAPE BRETON  
1634-1635

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers  
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[Chapters x.-xiii., completing the document]. *Paul le Jeune*; Mai-Juin  
de N. Dame des Anges, en Nouvelle France, August 7, 1634.
- XXIV. Lettre à Monseigneur le Cardinal. *Paul le Jeune*; Kebec, August 1, 1635.
- XXV. Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1635  
[Chapters i., ii.]. *Paul le Jeune*; Kebec, August 28, 1635.

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA; VOLUME VII.

### NOTES

## ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. VII.

I. Photographic facsimile of title-page, Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1635.*Frontispiece*

## PREFACE TO VOL. VII

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

XXIII. The first installment (chaps. i.-ix.) of Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1634, written to the provincial at Paris, was given in Vol. VI. of our series. In the concluding portion herewith presented, the superior of the Quebec mission continues his account of the Montagnais. He describes their clothing and ornaments; then their language, which, though deficient in expressions for abstract ideas, he praises for its fullness and richness in vocabulary and grammatical forms. He offers to the provincial numerous reasons why he made so little progress in learning the tongue while he wintered among them—his own defective memory; the malice of a medicine man, whom he had opposed; the perfidy of the interpreter Pierre, who refused to teach him; his sufferings from hunger and illness; and the inherent difficulties of the language itself. All these points are elaborated, with many details, the result being a vivid picture of savage life, and of the hardships, danger, and suffering endured by this heroic missionary while wandering with the savages through the forests and mountains along the southern shore of the River St. Lawrence. At last, after almost six months of this wretched life, and many hair-breadth escapes from **[page 1]** death, Le Jenne, ill and exhausted, reaches his humble home, the mission house on the St. Charles. In the closing chapter he recounts, in the form of a journal, the events of the summer of 1634 at Quebec; the arrival of the French fleet, with Father Buteux and the colonists of Sieur Robert Giffard; the departure of Br  beuf, Daniel, and Davost for the Huron mission, and their hardships on the voyage; the foundation of new settlements above Quebec, at St. Croix island (not to be confounded with the site of De Monts's colony), and Three Rivers. He announces his intention to go, with Buteux, to Three Rivers; and closes with an appeal for more missionaries, who shall be competent to learn the Indian dialects.

XXIV. In this letter to Cardinal Richelieu (dated August 1, 1635), Le Jeune congratulates him on his efforts to root out the Huguenot heresy; thanks him for his kindness, and for evidences of affection for the Jesuit mission in Canada; and urges the great man to aid the Company of New France in their colonizing enterprise, for on their success depends that of the mission. The cardinal is reminded how many poor French families might be provided with homes if sent to the New World, where land is abundant; he is also informed that some savages have been converted to the faith.

XXV. This document is known as Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1635. Heretofore the superior of Quebec has been the sole author of the annual report of the Jesuit mission in New France. But with the arrival of new missionaries the work was greatly broadened, and hereafter we shall find the *Relation* a composite, arranged by the superior from the several individual reports forwarded to him by his assistants in the field, **[page 2]** often with the addition of a general review from his own pen. Of such a character is the present *Relation*, which, like its successors, is for convenience designated by the name of the superior who forwarded it to the provincial at Paris, for publication.

The 112 introductory pages are by Le Jeune, dated Kebec, August 28, 1635; of these, we have space in this volume for but 51 pages (chaps. i., ii.). Commencing with p. 113 (original pagination), we shall find a report from Br  beuf, dated Ihonatiria (in the Huron country), May 27, 1635. Then will appear, commencing on p. 207, an undated report from Perrault, for 1634  35, describing the island of Cape Breton and the characteristics of its people; and, commencing on p. 220, a number of brief, unaccredited extracts from letters by various members of the missionary staff.

In his opening letter, addressed to the provincial, Le Jeune anticipates most hopefully the growth and prosperity of Canada in the hands of the French, but is especially rejoiced at the great interest which the mission has aroused in France. There, many pious laymen are aiding the enterprise with their efforts and money; many priests desire to join the Canadian mission; and many nuns are eagerly awaiting some Opportunity to labor among the Indian women and children for their conversion to the Christian faith. Le Jenne advises these sisters not to come to Canada until they are suitably provided with a house and means Of Support: and he appeals to the ladies of France to furnish this aid for the nuns. He then describes the condition and extent of the mission, which now has six residences at various points, all the way from Cape Breton to Lake Huron. At the **[page 3]** oldest of these, Notre Dame des Anges, near Quebec, center their plans for educational work. He wishes here to establish a college for French children, and is beginning a seminary for the instruction of Indian youth. He describes the importance of the Huron mission, and states that he has received promises of funds for its extension. He recounts the work of himself and his brethren in the French settlements, especially mentioning the comfort they gave to the sick and dying during an epidemic of scurvy at the new settlement at Three Rivers. He then gives detailed accounts of the religious experiences and deaths of various Indian converts; and relates the tragic death of the two Montagnais with whom he had spent the preceding winter, Carigonan, "the sorcerer," and his brother Mestigoit, in whose cabin they all lived.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., April, 1897.

## [164] CHAPTER X.

## ON THEIR CLOTHES AND ORNAMENTS.

IT WAS THE OPINION of Aristotle that the world had made three steps, as it were, to [165] arrive at the perfection which it possessed in his time. At first, men were contented with life, seeking purely and simply only those things which were necessary and useful for its preservation. In the second stage, they united the agreeable with the necessary, and politeness with necessity. First they found food, and then the seasoning. In the beginning, they covered themselves against the severity of the weather, and afterward grace and beauty were added to their garments. In the early ages, houses were made simply to be used, and afterward they were made to be seen. In the third stage, men of intellect, seeing that the world was enjoying things that were necessary and pleasant in life, gave themselves up to the contemplation of natural objects and to scientific researches; whereby the great Republic of men has little by little perfected itself, necessity marching on ahead, politeness and gentleness following after, and knowledge bringing-up the rear.

Now I wish to say that our wandering Montagnais Savages are yet only [166] in the first of these three stages which I have just touched upon. Their only thought is to live, they eat so as not to die; they cover themselves to keep off the cold, and not for the sake of appearance. Grace, politeness, the knowledge [page 7] of the arts, natural sciences, and much less supernatural truths, have as yet no place in this hemisphere, or at least in these countries. These people do not think there is any other science in the world, except that of eating and drinking; and in this lies all their Philosophy. They are astonished at the value we place upon books, seeing that a knowledge of them does not give us anything with which to drive away hunger. They cannot understand what we ask from God in our prayers. "Ask him," they say to me, "for Moose, Bears, and Beavers; tell him that thou wishest them to eat; " and when I tell them that those are only trifling things, that there are still greater riches to demand, they laughingly reply, "What couldst thou wish better than to eat thy fill of these good dishes? " In short, they have nothing but life; yet they are not always sure of that, since they often die of hunger.

[167] Judge now how elegant must be their garments, how noble and rich their ornaments. You would enjoy seeing them in company. During the Winter all kinds of garments are appropriate to them, and all are common to both women and men, there being no difference at all in their clothes; anything is good, provided it is warm. They are dressed properly when they are dressed comfortably. Give them a hood, and a man will wear it as well as a woman; for there is no article of dress, however foolish, which they will not wear in all seriousness if it helps to keep them warm, in this respect being unlike those Lords who affect a certain color. Since they have had intercourse with our Europeans, they are more motley than the Swiss. I have seen a little six-year-old girl dressed in the greatcoat of her father, [page 9] who was a large man; yet no Tailor was needed to Adjust it to her size, for it was gathered around her body and tied like a bunch of fagots. One has a red hood, another a green one, and another a gray, ❷all made, not in the fashion of the Court, but in the way best suited to their convenience. Another will wear [168] a hat with the brim cut off, if it happens to be too broad.

The women have for dress a long shirt, or a hooded cloak, or a greatcoat, or a blanket, or some skins tied in as many places as may be necessary to keep out the wind. A man will wear one stocking of leather, and another of cloth; just now they are cutting up their old coverings or blankets, with which to make sleeves or stockings; and I leave you to imagine how neatly and smoothly they fit. In a word, I repeat what I have already said,- to them propriety is convenience; and, as they only clothe themselves according to the exigencies of the weather, as soon as the air becomes warm or when they enter their Cabins, they throw off their garments and the men remain entirely naked, except a strip of cloth which conceals what cannot be seen without shame. As to the women, they take off their bonnets, sleeves and stockings, the rest of the body remaining covered. In this you have the clothing of the Savages, now during their intercourse and association with our French.

These people always go bareheaded, except [169] in the most severe cold, and even then some of them go uncovered, which makes me think that very few of them used hats before their intercourse with our Europeans; nor do they know how to make them, buying them already made, or at least cut, from our French people. So for their head gear they have [page 11] nothing but their hair, both, men and women and even the children, for they are bareheaded in their swaddling clothes.

Their clothes are made of the skin of Elk, Bears, and other animals. The ones that they value the most are made of the skins of a kind of little black animal found in the Huron country; it is about the size of a Rabbit, the skin is soft and shiny, and it takes about sixty of them to make a robe. The tails of the animals are fastened to the bottom, to serve as fringe; and the heads above, to make a sort of border. These robes are nearly square in shape; the women paint colored stripes on them from top to bottom, which are about as wide as two thumbs, and are equally distant from each other, giving the effect of a kind of lace-work.

[170o] The men wear their robes in two ways. When it is a little warm they do not put these around them, but carry them over one arm and under the other; or else stretched across the back, and held in place by two little leather strings which they tie over the chest. This does not prevent them from appearing almost naked. When it is cold they all, men and women, wear the robe under one arm and over the shoulder of the other, then crossed; and thus they wrap themselves up comfortably, though awkwardly, against the cold; for when this garment is tied below the chest, they turn it up, fasten and tie it down near the belt or middle of the body, these folds forming a big belly or large flap in which they carry their little belongings. I once saw a Merry-andrew in a theatre in France, whose belly was built out exactly like those affected by our Savage Men and Women in Winter. [page 13]

Now as these robes do not cover their arms, they make themselves sleeves of the same skin, and draw upon them the stripes of which I have spoken, sometimes lengthwise, [171] sometimes around. These sleeves are quite broad at the top, covering the shoulders

and almost uniting at the back, ♦ two little strings fastening them in front and behind, but so clumsily that a bundle of thorn-sticks are better put together than the women are muffled up in these skins. Observe that there is no difference between the garments of a man and those of a woman, except that the woman is always covered with her robe, while the men discard theirs or wear them carelessly, in warm weather, as I have said.

Their stockings are made of Moose skin, from which the hair has been removed, nature and not art setting the fashion for them; they are considered well made if the feet and legs go into them, no ingenuity being used in making corners; they are made like boots, and are fastened under the foot with a little string. The seam, which is scarcely more than basted, is not at the back of the leg, but on the inside. When they sew them, they leave an edge of the skin itself, which they cut into fringe, occasionally fastening to this [172] a few matachias. [1] These stockings are quite long, especially in front, for they leave a piece which reaches quite high, and covers a great part of the thigh; to the upper edge of this piece are fastened small cords, tied to a leather belt which they all wear next to their skin.

Their shoes are not hard like ours, for they do not know enough to tan the leather. Our deerskin gloves are made of skin which is firmer, or at least as [page 15] firm, as their Moose skins of which they make their shoes. Also they have to wait until these hides have been used as robes, and until they are well oiled, otherwise their shoes would shrink at the first approach to the fire, which they do anyhow, well oiled as they are, if they are brought too near the heat. Besides, they absorb water like a sponge, so that the Savages cannot use them in this Element, but they are very serviceable against snow and cold. It is the women who are the seamstresses and shoemakers; it costs them nothing to learn this trade, and much less to procure [173] diplomas as master workmen; a child that could sew a little could make the shoes at the first attempt, so ingeniously are they contrived.

They make them large and capacious, especially in the Winter. In order to furnish them against the cold, they generally use a Rabbit skin, or a piece of an old blanket folded two or three times; with this they put some Moose hair; and then, having wrapped their feet in these rags, they put on their shoes, occasionally wearing two pairs, the one over the other. They tie them over the instep with a little string which is wound about the corners of the Shoe. During the snows we all, French and Savages, have made use of this kind of foot gear, in order to walk upon our Snowshoes; when the Winter had passed, we resumed our French shoes, and the Savages went barefooted.

This is not all that can be said about their clothes and ornaments, but it is all that I have seen and that I recall to mind just now; I forgot to say that those who can have or buy our French shirts wear them in the new fashion; for, instead [174] of wearing them [page 17] under, as we do, they put them on over all their clothes, ♦ and, as they never wash them, they are in no time as greasy as dish-cloths; but this is just as they wish them to be, for the water, they say, runs .over them and does not penetrate into their clothes. [page 19]

## CHAPTER XI.

### ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE MONTAGNAIS SAVAGES.

I WROTE last year that their language was very rich and very poor, full of abundance and full of scarcity, the latter appearing in a thousand different ways. All words for piety, devotion, virtue; all terms which are used to express the things of the other life; the language of Theologians, Philosophers, Mathematicians, and Physicians, in a word, of all learned men; all words which refer to the regulation and government of a city, Province, or Empire; all that concerns justice, reward and punishment; the names of an infinite number of arts which are in our Europe; of an infinite number of flowers, [175] trees, and fruits; of an infinite number of animals, of thousands and thousands of contrivances, of a thousand beauties and riches, all these things are never found either in the thoughts or upon the lips of the Savages. As they have no true religion nor knowledge of the virtues, neither public authority nor government, neither Kingdom nor Republic, nor sciences, nor any of those things of which I have just spoken, consequently all the expressions, terms, words, and names which refer to that world of wealth and grandeur must necessarily be absent from their vocabulary; hence the great scarcity. Let us now turn the tables and show that this language is fairly gorged with richness.

First, I find an infinite number of proper nouns [page 21] among them, which I cannot explain in our French, except by circumlocutions.

Second, they have some Verbs which I call absolute, to which neither the Greeks, nor Latins, nor we ourselves, nor any language of Europe with which I am familiar, have anything similar. For example, the verb *Nimitison* means absolutely, "I eat," without saying what; for, if you determine the [176] thing you eat, you have to use another Verb.

Third, they have different Verbs to signify an action toward an animate or toward an inanimate object; and yet they join with animate things a number of things that have no souls, as tobacco, apples, etc. Let us give some examples: "I see a man," *Niouapaman iriniou*; "I see a stone," *niouabat* ♦, but in Greek, in Latin, and in French the same Verb is used to express, "I see a man, a stone, or anything else." "I strike a dog," *ni noutinau attimou* ; "I strike wood," *ninoutinen misticou*. This is not all; for, if the action terminates on several animate objects, another Verb has to be used, ♦ "I see some men," *niouapamaoueth irinioueth*, *ninoutinaoueth attimoueth*, and so on with all the others.

In the fourth place, they have Verbs suitable to express an action which terminates on the person reciprocal, and others still which terminate on the things that belong to him; and we cannot use these Verbs, referring to other persons not reciprocal, without speaking improperly. I will explain myself. The Verb [177] *nitaouin* means, "I make use of something;" *nitaouin agouniscouehon*, "I am using a hat," but when I come to say, "I am using his hat," that is, the hat of the man of whom I speak, we must change the verb and say, *Nitaouiouan outagoumiscouhon*; [page 23] but, if it be an animate thing, the verb must again be changed, for example, "I am using his dog," *nitaouiouan* ♦ *taimai*. Also observe that all these verbs have their moods, tenses and persons; and that they are conjugated differently, if they have different terminations. This abundance is not found in the languages of Europe; I know it of some, and conjecture it in regard to others.



In the fifth place, they use some words upon the land, and others upon the water, to signify the same thing. As, for instance, I want to say, "I arrived yesterday;" if by land, I must say, *nitagochinin outagouchi*, -if by water, I must say, *nimichagan outagouchi*. I wish to say, "I was wet by the rain;" if it were in walking upon land, I must say, *nikimiouanoutan*, if it were upon the water, *nikhimiouanutan*. "I am going to look for [178] something;" if upon land, I must say, *ninaten*, if by water, *ninahen*; if it is an animate thing, and upon land, I must say, *ninatau*; if it be animate and in the water, I must say, *ninahimouau* ; if it is an animate thing that belongs to some one, I must say, *ninahimouau*; if it is not animate, *niuahimouau*. What a variety! We have in French only a single expression for all these things, "Je vay querir," to which we add, in order to distinguish, "par eau," or "par terre."

In the sixth place, a single one of our adjectives in French is associated with all our substantives. For example, we say, "the bread is cold, the tobacco is cold, the iron is cold;" but in our Savage tongue these adjectives change according to the different -kinds of substantives, *tabiscau assini*, "the stone is cold;" *tacabisiou nouspouagan*, "my tobacco pipe is cold;" *takhisiou khichtemau*, "this tobacco is cold;" [page 25] *tacascouan misticou*, "the wood is cold." If it is a large piece, *tacascouchan misticou*, "the wood is cold;" *siicatchiou attimou*, "this dog is cold;" and thus you see a strange abundance.

Observe, in passing, that all these [179] adjectives, and even all the nouns, are conjugated like Latin impersonal verbs. For example, *tabiscau assini*, "the stone is cold;" *tabiscaban*, "it was cold;" *cata tabiscan*, "it will be cold;" and so on. *Noutaoui*, is a noun which means, "my father;" *noutaouiban*, "it was my father, or my deceased father;" *Cata noutaoui*, "it will be my father," if such expressions could be used.

In the seventh place, they have so tiresome an abundance that I am almost led to believe that I shall remain poor all my life in their language. When you know all the parts of Speech of the languages of our Europe, and know how to combine them, you know the languages; but it is not so concerning the tongue of our Savages. Stock your memory with all the words that stand for each particular thing, learn the knot or Syntax that joins them together, and you are still only an ignoramus; with that, you can indeed make yourself understood by the Savages, although not always, but you will not be able to understand [180] them. The reason for this is, that, besides the names of each particular thing, they have an infinite number of words which signify several things together. If I wish to say in French, "the wind drives the snow," it is enough for me to know these three words, "the wind," the verb "drive," and "the snow," and to know how to combine them; but it is not so here. I know how they say "the wind," *routin*; how they say "it drives something" [page 27] noble," as the snow is in the Savage estimation, the word for this is *rakhineou*; I know how they say it snow," it is *coun*. But, if I try to combine these three words, *Routin rakhineou coun*, the Savages will not understand me; or, if they understand, will begin to laugh, because they do not talk like that, merely making use of a single word, *piouan*, to say "the wind drives or makes the snow fly." Likewise the verb *nisiicatchin*, means "I am cold;" the noun *nissitai*, means "my feet;" if I say *nisiicat chin nissitai*, to say "my feet are cold," they will indeed understand me; but I shall not understand them when they say *Nitatagouasisin*, which is the proper word to say, "my feet are cold." And what [181] ruins the memory is, that such a word has neither relation, nor alliance, nor any affinity, in its sound, with the other two; whence it often happens that I make them laugh in talking, when I try to follow the construction of the Latin or French language, not knowing these words which mean several things at once. From this it happens, also, that very often I do not understand them, although they understand me; for as they do not use the words which signify one thing in particular, but rather those that mean a combination of things, I knowing only the first, and not even the half of those, could not understand them if they did not have sufficient intelligence to vary and choose more common words, for then I try to unravel them.

This is enough to show the richness of their language; if I were thoroughly acquainted with it, I would speak with more certainty. I believe they have other riches which I have not been able to discover up to the present.

I forgot to say that the Montagnais have not so [page 29] many letters in their Alphabet as we have in ours; they confound B and P, and [182] also C, G, and K; that is, if two Savages were to pronounce the same word, you would think that one was pronouncing a B, and the other a P, or that one was using a C or K, and the other a G. They do not have the letters F, L, consonant V, X, and Z. They use R instead of L, saying Monsieur du Pressi for Monsieur du Plessi; [2] they utter the sound of P instead of consonant V, Monsieur Olipier instead of Monsieur Olivier. But, as their tongues are quite flexible, they will soon acquire our pronunciation if they are instructed, especially the children.

Father Br<sup>e</sup>beuf tells me that the Hurons have no M, at which I am astonished, for this letter seems to me almost natural, so extensively is it used.

Now if, as conclusion of this Chapter, Your Reverence asks me if I made much progress in the knowledge of this language during the winter I spent with these Barbarians, I answer frankly, "no;" and here are the reasons.

First, my defective memory, which was never very good, [183] and which continues to wither every day. Oh, what an excellent man for these countries is Father Br<sup>e</sup>beuf! His most fortunate memory, and his amiability and gentleness, will be productive of much good among the Hurons.

Second, the malice of the sorcerer, who sometimes prevented them from teaching me.

Third, the perfidy of the Apostate, who, contrary to his promise, and notwithstanding the offers I made him, was never willing to teach me, his disloyalty even going so far as to purposely give me a word of one signification for another. [page 31]

In the fourth place, famine was for a long time our guest; and I scarcely ventured in her presence to question our Savages, their stomachs not being like barrels which sound all the louder for being empty; they resemble the drum, - the tighter it is drawn, the better it talks.

In the fifth place, my attacks of illness made me give up the care for the languages of earth, to think about the language of the other life whither I was expecting to go.

[184] In the sixth place, and finally, the difficulty of this language, which is not slight, as may be guessed from what I have said, has been no small obstacle to prevent a poor memory like mine from advancing far. Still, I talk a jargon, and, by dint of

shouting, can make myself understood.

One thing would touch me keenly, were it not that we are not expected to walk before God, but to follow him, and to be contented with our own littleness; it is that I almost fear I shall never be able to speak the Savage tongues with the fluency necessary to preach to them, and to answer at once, without stumbling, their demands and objections, being so greatly occupied as I have been up to the present. It is true that God can make from a rock a child of Abraham. May he be forever praised, in all the tongues of the nations of the earth! **[page 33]**

## [185] CHAPTER XII.

### WHAT ONE MUST SUFFER IN WINTERING WITH THE SAVAGES.

**E**PICTETUS says that he who intends to visit the public baths must previously consider all the improprieties that will be committed there; so that, when he finds himself sur-rounded by the derision of a mob of scoundrels who would rather wash his head than his feet, he may lose none of the gravity and modesty of a wise man. I might say the same to those in whom God inspires the thought and desire to cross over the seas, in order to seek and to instruct the Savages. It is for their sake that I shall pen this Chapter, so that, knowing the enemy they will encounter, they may not forget to fortify themselves with the weapons necessary for the combat, especially with patience of iron or bronze, or rather with a patience entirely of gold, in order to bear bravely and lovingly the great trials that must be endured among these people. Let us begin [186] by speaking of the house they will have to live in, if they wish to follow them.

In order to have some conception of the beauty of this edifice, its construction must be described. I shall speak from knowledge, for I have often helped to build it. Now, when we arrived at the place where we were to camp, the women, armed with axes, went here and there in the great forests, cutting the frame-work of the hostelry where we were to lodge; meantime **[page 35]** the men, having drawn the plan thereof, cleared away the snow with their snowshoes, or with shovels which they make and carry expressly for this purpose. Imagine now a great ring or square in the snow, two, three or four feet deep, according to the weather or the place where they encamp. This depth of snow makes a white wall for us, which surrounds us on all sides, except the end where it is broken through to form the door. The framework having been brought, which consists of twenty or thirty poles, more or less, according to the size of the cabin, it is planted, not upon the ground but upon the snow; then they throw upon these poles, which converge [187] a little at the top, two or three rolls of bark sewed together, beginning at the bottom, and behold, the house is made. The ground inside, as well as the wall of snow which extends all around the cabin, is covered with little branches of fir; and, as a finishing touch, a wretched skin is fastened to two poles to serve as a door, the doorposts being the snow itself. Now let us examine in detail all the comforts of this elegant Mansion.

You cannot stand upright in this house, as much on account of its low roof as the suffocating smoke; and consequently you must always lie down, or sit flat upon the ground, the usual posture of the Savages. When you go out, the cold, the snow, and the danger of getting lost in these great woods drive you in again more quickly than the wind, and keep you a prisoner in a dungeon which has neither lock nor key.

This prison, in addition to the uncomfortable position that one must occupy upon a bed of earth, has four other great discomforts, ❖ cold, heat, smoke, and **[page 37]** dogs. [188] As to the cold, you have the snow at your head with only a pine branch between, often nothing but your hat, and the winds are free to enter in a thousand places. For do not imagine that these pieces of bark are joined as paper is glued and fitted to a window frame; they are often like the plant mille-pertuis<sup>[3]</sup>, except that their holes and their openings are a little larger; and even if there were only the opening at the top, which serves at once as window and chimney, the coldest winter in France could come in there every day without any trouble. When I lay down at night I could study through this opening both the Stars and the Moon as easily as if I had been in the open fields.

Nevertheless, the cold did not annoy me as much as the heat from the fire. A little place like their cabins is easily heated by a good fire, which sometimes roasted and broiled me on all sides, for the cabin was so narrow that I could not protect myself against the heat. You cannot move to right or left, [189] for the Savages, your neighbors, are at your elbows; you cannot withdraw to the rear, for you encounter the wall of snow, or the bark of the cabin which shuts you in. I did not know what position to take. Had I stretched myself out, the place was so narrow that my legs would have been halfway in the fire; to roll myself up in a ball, and crouch down in their way, was a position I could not retain as long as they could; my clothes were all scorched and burned. You will ask me perhaps if the snow at our backs did not melt under so much heat. I answer, "no, no;" that if sometimes the heat softened it in the least, the cold immediately turned it into ice. I will **[page 39]** say, however, that both the cold and the heat are endurable, and that some remedy may be found for these two evils.

But, as to the smoke, I confess to you that it is martyrdom. It almost killed me, and made me weep continually, although I had neither grief nor sadness in my heart. It sometimes grounded all of us who were in the cabin; that is, it caused us to place our [190] mouths against the earth in order to breathe. For, although the Savages were accustomed to this torment, yet occasionally it became so dense that they, as well as I, were compelled to prostrate themselves, and as it were to eat the earth, so as not to drink the smoke. I have sometimes remained several hours in this position, especially during the most severe cold and when it snowed; for it was then the smoke assailed us with the greatest fury, seizing us by the throat, nose, and eyes. How bitter is this drink! How strong its odor! How hurtful to the eyes are its fumes! I sometimes thought I was going blind; my eyes burned like fire, they wept or distilled drops like an alembic; I no longer saw anything distinctly, like the good man who said, *video homines velut arbores ambulantes*. I repeated the Psalms of my Breviary as best I could, knowing them half by heart, and waited until the pain might relax a little to recite the lessons; and when [191] I came to read them they seemed written in letters of fire, or of scarlet; I have often closed my book, seeing things so confusedly that it injured my sight.

Some one will tell me that I ought to have gone out from this smoky hole to get some fresh air; and I answer him that the air was usually so cold at those times that the trees, which have a harder skin than **[page 41]** man, and a more solid body, could not stand it, splitting even to the core, and making a noise like the report of a musket. Nevertheless, I occasionally emerged from this den,



fleeing the rage of the smoke to place myself at the mercy of the cold, against which I tried to arm myself by wrapping up in my blanket like an Irishman; and in this garb, seated upon the snow or a fallen tree, I recited my Hours; the trouble was, the snow had no more pity upon my eyes than the smoke.

As to the dogs, which I have mentioned as one of the discomforts of the Savages' houses, I do not know that I ought to blame them, for they have sometimes rendered me good [192] service. True, they exacted from me the same courtesy they gave, so that we reciprocally aided each other, illustrating the idea of *mutuum auxilium*. These poor beasts, not being able to live outdoors, came and lay down sometimes upon my shoulders, sometimes upon my feet, and as I only had one blanket to serve both as covering and mattress, I was not sorry for this protection, willingly restoring to them a part of the heat which I drew from them. It is true that, as they were large and numerous, they occasionally crowded and annoyed me so much, that in giving me a little heat they robbed me of my sleep, so that I very often drove them away. In doing this one night, there happened to me a little incident which caused some confusion and laughter; for, a Savage having thrown himself upon me while asleep, I thought it was a dog, and finding a club at hand, I hit him, crying out, *Ach* ❖, *Ach* ❖, the words they use to drive away the dogs. My man woke up greatly astonished, thinking that [193] all was lost; but having discovered [page 43] whence came the blows, "Thou hast no sense," he said to me, "it is not a dog, it is I." At these words I do not know who was the more astonished of us two; I gently dropped my club, very sorry at having found it so near me.

Let us return to our dogs. These animals, being famished, as they have nothing to eat, any more than we, do nothing but run to and fro gnawing at everything in the cabin. Now as we were as often lying down as sitting up in these bark houses, they frequently walked over our faces and stomachs; and so often and persistently, that, being tired of shouting at them and driving them away, I would sometimes cover my face and then give them liberty to go where they wanted. If any one happened to throw them a bone, there was straightway a race for it, upsetting all whom they encountered sitting, unless they held themselves firmly. They have often upset for me my bark dish, and all it contained, in my gown. I was amused whenever there was a quarrel among them at [194] our dinner table, for there was not one of us who did not hold his plate down with both hands on the ground, which serves as table, seat, and bed both to men and dogs. From this custom arose the great annoyance we experienced from these animals, who thrust their noses into our bark plates before we could get our hands in. I have said enough about the inconveniences of the Savages' houses, let us speak of their food.

When I first went away with them, as they salt neither their soup nor their meat, and as filth itself presides over their cooking, I could not eat their mixtures, and contented myself with a few sea biscuit and smoked eel; until at last my host took me to task [page 45] because I ate so little, saying that I would starve myself before the famine overtook us. Meanwhile our Savages had feasts every day, so that in a very short time we found ourselves without bread, without our, without eels, and without any means of helping ourselves. For besides being very far in the woods, where we would have died a thousand times before [195] reaching the French settlement, we were wintering on the other side of the great river, which cannot be crossed in this season on account of the great masses of ice which are continually floating about, and which would crush not only a small boat but even a great ship. As to the chase, the snows not being deep in comparison with those of other years, they could not take the Elk, and so brought back only some Beavers and Porcupines, but in so small a number and so seldom that they kept us from dying rather than helped us to live. My host said to me during this time of scarcity, "*Chibin* ❖, harden thy soul, resist hunger; thou wilt be sometimes two, sometimes three or four, days without food; do not let thyself be cast down, take courage; when the snow comes, we shall eat." It was not our Lord's will that they should be so long without capturing anything; but we usually had something to eat once in two days, ❖indeed, we very often had a Beaver in the morning, and in the evening of the next day a Porcupine as big as [196] a sucking Pig. This was not much for nineteen of us, it is true, but this little sufficed to keep us alive. When I could have, toward the end of our supply of food, the skin of an Eel for my day's fare, I considered that I had breakfasted, dined, and supped well. [page 47]

At first, I had used one of these skins to patch the cloth gown that I wore, as I forgot to bring some pieces with me; but, when I was so sorely pressed with hunger, I ate my pieces; and, if my gown had been made of the same stuff, I assure you I would have brought it back home much shorter than it was. Indeed, I ate old Moose skins, which are much tougher than those of the Eel; I went about through the woods biting the ends of the branches, and gnawing the more tender bark, as I shall relate in the journal. Our neighboring Savages suffered still more than we did, some of them coming to see us, and telling us that their comrades had died of hunger. I saw some who had eaten only once in five days, and who considered themselves very well off if they found something [197] to dine upon at the end of two days; they were reduced to skeletons, being little more than skin and bones. We occasionally had some good meals; but for every good dinner we went three times without supper. When a young Savage of our cabin was dying of hunger, as I shall relate in the following Chapter, they often asked me if I was not afraid, if I had no fear of death; and seeing me quite firm, they were astonished, on one occasion in particular, when I saw them almost falling into a state of despair. When they reach this point, they play, so to speak, at "save himself who can;" throwing away their bark and baggage, deserting each other, and abandoning all interest in the common welfare, each one strives to find something for himself. Then the children, women, and for that matter all those who cannot hunt, die of cold and hunger. If they had reached this extremity, I would have been among the first to die. [page 49]

So these are the things that must be expected I before undertaking to follow them; for, although they may not be pressed with famine every year, yet they run the risk every [198] winter of not having food or very little, unless there are heavy snowfall and a great many Moose, which does not always happen.

Now if you were to ask me what my feelings were in the terrors of death, and of a death so lingering as is that which comes from hunger, I will say that I can hardly tell. Nevertheless, in order that those who read this Chapter may not have a dread of coming over to our assistance, I can truly say that this time of famine was for me a time of abundance. When I realized that we began to hover between the hope of life and the fear of death, I made up my mind that God had condemned me to die of starvation for my sins; and, a thousand times kissing the hand that had written my sentence, I awaited the execution of it with a peace and joy which may be experienced, but cannot be described. I confess that one suffers, and that he must reconcile himself to the Cross; but God glories in helping a soul when it is no longer aided by his creatures. Let us continue on our way.

[199] After this famine, we had some good days. The snow, which had been only too deep to be cold, but too shallow to take the Moose, having greatly increased toward the end of January, our Hunters captured some Moose, which they dried. Now either on account of my lack of moderation, or because this meat, dried as hard as wood and as dirty as the street, did not agree with my stomach, I fell sick in the very beginning of February. So behold me obliged to remain all the time lying upon the cold ground; this [page 51] did not tend to cure me of the severe cramps that tormented me and compelled me to go out at all hours of the day and

night, plunging me every time in snow up to my knees and sometimes almost up to my waist, especially when we had first begun our encampment in any one place. These severe attacks lasted about eight or ten days, and were accompanied by a pain in the stomach, and a weakness in the heart, which spread through my whole body. I recovered from this sickness, but not entirely, for I was [200] only dragging myself around at mid-Lent, when I was again seized with this disease. I tell the following in order to show how little help may be expected from the Savages when a person is sick. Being very thirsty one day, I asked for a little water; they said there was none, and that they would give me some melted snow if I wanted it. As this drink was bad for my disease, I made my host understand that I had seen a lake not far from there, and that I would like very much to have some of that water. He pretended not to hear, because the road was somewhat bad; and it happened thus not only this time, but at any place where the river or brook was a little distance from our cabin. We had to drink this snow melted in a kettle whose copper was less thick than the dirt; if any one wishes to know how bitter this drink is, let him take some from a kettle just out of the smoke and taste it.

As to the food, they divide with a sick man just as with the others; if they have fresh meat they give him his share, if he wants it, but if he does not eat it [201] then, no one will take the trouble to keep a little piece for him to eat when he wants it; they will give him some of what they happen to have at the **[page 53]** time in the cabin, namely, smoked meat, and nothing better, for they keep the best for their feasts. So a poor invalid is often obliged to eat among them what would horrify him even in good health if he were with our Frenchmen. A soul very thirsty for the Son of God, I mean for suffering, would find enough here to satisfy it.

It remains for me yet to speak of their conversation, in order to make it clearly understood what there is to suffer among these people. I had gone in company with my host and the Renegade, on condition that we should not pass the winter with the Sorcerer, whom I knew as a very wicked man. They had granted my conditions, but they were faithless, and kept not one of them, involving me in trouble with this pretended Magician, as I shall relate hereafter. Now this wretched man and the smoke were the two greatest trials [202] that I endured among these Barbarians. The cold, heat, annoyance of the dogs, sleeping in the open air and upon the bare ground; the position I had to assume in their cabins, rolling myself up in a ball or crouching down or sitting without a seat or a cushion; hunger, thirst, the poverty and filth of their smoked meats, sickness, all these things were merely play to me in comparison to the smoke and the malice of the Sorcerer, with whom I have always been on a very bad footing, for the following reasons:

First. because, when he invited me to winter with him, I refused; and he resented this greatly, because he saw that I cared more for my host, his younger brother, than I did for him.

Second. because I could not gratify his covetousness **[page 55]**. I had nothing that he did not ask me for, often taking my mantle off my shoulders to put it on his own. Now as I could not satisfy all his demands, he looked upon me with an evil eye; indeed, even if I had given him all the little I had, I could not have gained [203] his friendship, because we were at variance on other subjects.

Third. In the third place, seeing that he acted the Prophet, amusing these people by a thousand absurdities, which he invented, in my opinion, every day, I did not lose any opportunity of convincing him of their nonsense and childishness, exposing the senselessness of his superstitions. Now this was like tearing his soul out of his body; for, as he could no longer hunt, he acted the Prophet and Magician more than ever before, in order to preserve his credit, and to get the dainty pieces. So that in shaking his authority, which was diminishing daily, I was touching the apple of his eye and wresting from him the delights of his Paradise, which are the pleasures of his jaws.

Fourth. In the fourth place, wishing to have sport at my expense, he sometimes made me write vulgar things in his language, assuring me there was nothing bad in them, then made me pronounce these shameful words, which I did not understand, in the presence of the Savages. Some women having warned me of this trick, I told him I would no longer soil my paper nor My [204] lips with these vile words. He insisted, however, that I should read before all those of the cabin, and some Savages who had come thither, something he had dictated to me. I answered him that, if the Apostate would interpret them to me, I would read them. That Renegade refusing to **[page 57]** do this, I refused to read. The Sorcerer commanded me imperiously, that is, with high words, and I at first begged him gently to excuse me; but as he did not wish to be thwarted before the Savages, he persisted in urging me, and had my host, who pretended to be vexed, urge me also. At last, aware that my excuses were of no avail, I spoke to him peremptorily, and, after reproaching him for his lewdness, I addressed him in these words: "Thou hast me in thy power, thou canst murder me, but thou canst not force me to repeat indecent words." They are not such," he said. "Why then," said I, will they not interpret them to me? "He emerged from this conflict very much exasperated.

Fifth. In the fifth place, seeing that my [205] host was greatly attached to me, he was afraid that this friendliness might deprive him of some choice morsel. I tried to relieve him of this apprehension by stating publicly that I did not live to eat, but that I ate to live; and that it mattered little what they gave me, provided it was enough to keep me alive. He retorted sharply that he was not of my opinion, but that he made a profession of being dainty; that he was fond of the good pieces, and was very much obliged when people gave them to him. Now although my host gave him no cause for fear in this direction, yet he attacked me at almost every meal as if he were afraid of losing his precedence. This apprehension increased his hatred.

Sixth. In the sixth place, when he saw that the Savages of the other cabins showed me some respect, knowing besides that I was a great enemy of his impostures, and that, if I gained influence among his flock, I would ruin him completely, he did all he could to **[page 59]** destroy me and to make me appear ridiculous in the eyes of his people.

Seventh. In the seventh place, add to all these things the aversion which he and all the Savages of Tadoussac had, up to the present time, against the French, since their intercourse with the English; and judge what treatment I might have received from these Barbarians, who adore this miserable Sorcerer, against whom I was generally in a state of open warfare. I thought a hundred times that I should only emerge from this conflict through the gates of death. He treated me shamefully, it is true; but I am astonished that he did not act worse, seeing that he is an idolater of those superstitions which I was fighting with all my might. To relate in detail all his attacks, gibes, sneers, and contempt, I would write a Book instead of a Chapter. Suffice it to say, that he sometimes even attacked God to displease me; and that he tried to make me the laughingstock of small and great, abusing me in the other cabins as well as in ours. He never had, however, the satisfaction of inciting our neighboring Savages against me; they merely hung their heads when they heard the blessings he showered upon me. As to the servants, instigated by [207] his example, and supported by his authority, they continually heaped upon me a thousand taunts and a



thousand insults; and I was reduced to such a state, that, in order not to irritate them or give them any occasion to get angry, I passed whole days without opening my mouth. Believe me, if I have brought back no other fruits from the Savages, I have at least learned many of the insulting words of their language. They were saying to me at every turn, *eca titou, eca titou nama khitirininis*, [page 61] "Shut up, shut up, thou hast no sense." *Achineou*, "He is proud;" *Moucachtechiou*, "He plays the parasite;" *sasegau*, "He is haughty;" *cou attimou*, "He looks like a Dog;" *cou mascoua*, "He looks like a Bear;" *cou ouabouchou ouichtoui*, "He is bearded like a Hare;" *attimonai oukhimau*, "He is Captain of the Dogs;" *cou oucousimas ouchtigonan*, "He has a head like a pumpkin;" *matchiriniou*, "He is deformed, he is ugly;" *khichcouebeon*, "He is drunk." So these are the colors in which they paint me, and a multitude of others, which I omit. The best part of it was that they did not think sometimes that I understood them; and, seeing me smile, they became embarrassed, at least, those who sang [208] these songs only to please the Sorcerer. The children were very troublesome, playing numberless tricks upon me, and imposing silence when I wanted to talk. When my host was at home, I had some rest; and, when the Sorcerer was absent, I was in smooth water, managing both great and small just as I wished. So these are some of the things that have to be endured among these people. This must not frighten any one; good soldiers are animated with courage at the sight of their blood and their wounds, and God is greater than our hearts. One does not always encounter a famine; one does not always meet Sorcerers or jugglers with so bad a temper as that one had; in a word, if we could understand the language, and reduce it to rules, there would be no more need of following these Barbarians. As to the stationary tribes, from which we expect the greatest fruit, we can have our cabins apart, and consequently be freed from many of these great inconveniences. But let us finish this Chapter; otherwise I see myself in danger [page 63] of becoming as troublesome as that impostor, [209] whom I commend to the prayers of all those who will read this. I shall set down in the following Chapter some conversations I had with him when we were enjoying a truce.

[page 65]

## CHAPTER XIII.

### CONTAINING A JOURNAL OF THINGS WHICH COULD NOT BE SET FORTH IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

IF THIS Chapter were the first in this relation, it would throw some light upon all the following ones; but I have given it the last place, because it will continue to increase every day until the departure of the ships, through the occurrence of more noteworthy events which may happen. It is only a memoir, in the form of a journal, of all the things that could not be given in the preceding Chapters.

After the departure of our French, who left the roadstead of Kebec on the 16th of August of last year, 1633, to sail for Tadoussac and thence to France, in order to have [210] opportunity of conversing with the savages, and thus learning their language, I crossed the great saint Lawrence river to a cabin of branches, and went every day to school in those of the savages, who were encamped around me, allured by my hopes, if not of bringing the Renegade to a sense of his duty, at least of drawing from him some knowledge of the language. This poor wretch had newly arrived from Tadoussac, where he had shown great repugnance to the French. The famine which afflicted this Apostate and his brothers caused them to come up to Kebec in search of food. Now, as they were occupied in fishing, I was very often in their cabin, and occasionally [page 67] invited the Renegade to come again and pass the winter with us in our little house. He would very readily have agreed to this, had he not taken a wife from another nation than his own, and he could not send her away then. Therefore, seeing that he could not follow me, I threw out some hints about passing the winter with him; but during these negotiations, a furious tempest having one night swept down upon US, [211] Father de Noe, two of our men, and myself, in our cabin, I was seized with a violent fever, which made me go back to our little home to recover my health.

The Apostate, seeing how I was inclined, discussed my plan with his brothers. There were three of them; one named Carigonan, and surnamed by the French the Married Man, because he made a great deal of the fact that he was married. He was the most famous sorcerer, or *manitousiou*, (thus they call these jugglers) of all the country; it is he of whom I have spoken above. The other was called Mestigo, a young man about thirty-five or forty years of age, a brave Hunter, and endowed with a good disposition. The third was called Sasousinat, who is the happiest of all, for he is now in Heaven, having died a good Christian, as I stated in the second Chapter. The sorcerer, having learned from the Renegade that I wished to pass the winter with the Savages, came to see me toward the end of my sickness, and invited me to share his cabin, giving me as his reason that he loved good men, because he himself was good, and had [212] always been so from his early youth. He asked me if Jesus had not spoken to me about the disease which tormented him. "Come," said he, "with me, and thou wilt make me [page 69] live now, for I am in danger of dying." But as I knew him for a very impudent fellow, I refused him as gently as I could; and, taking the Apostate aside, who also wished to have me, as he had shown to Father de Noe that he had some desire to return to God, I told him that I would be glad to winter with him and with his brother Mestigo, on condition that we should not go across the great river, that the sorcerer should not be of our party, and that he, who understood the French language well, would teach me. They both agreed to these three conditions, but they did not fulfill one of them.

On the day of our departure I gave them, for my support, a barrel of sea biscuit, which we borrowed from the storehouse of those Gentlemen, a sack of flour, some ears of Indian corn, some prunes, and some parsnips. [213] They urged me very strongly to take a little wine, but I did not wish to yield to them, fearing they would get drunk. However, having promised me they would not touch it without my permission, and having assured them that, if they did, I would throw it into the sea, I followed the advice of those who counseled me to carry a little barrel of it. Also I promised Mestigo that I would take him for my host, for the Apostate is not a Hunter, and has no management; but I promised to make him a present upon our return, which I did. It was the expectation of this food which made them wish to have a Frenchman with them.

So I embarked in their shallop on the 18th of October precisely, making profession as a little pupil on the same day that I had previously begun the profession of master of our schools. When I went to take leave of Monsieur our Governor, he recommended [page 71] me very particularly to the Savages; and my host answered him, "If the Father dies, I will die with him, and you will never

see me in this country again." Our French people showed [214] the most profound regret at my departure, knowing the dangers that one encounters in following these Barbarians. When all our Farewells were said, we set sail about ten o'clock in the morning. I was the only Frenchman, with twenty Savages, counting the men, women and children. The wind and tide were favorable, and we turned to go down past the Island of Orleans to another Island called by the Savages *Ca ouahascoumagakhe*; I know not whether it was the beauty of the day which spread over this Island, but I found it very pleasant.

As soon as we had set foot on land, my host took an arquebus he had bought from the English, and went in search of our supper. Meanwhile the women began to build the house where we were to lodge. Now the Apostate, having observed that every one was busy, returned to the boat that was lying at anchor, took the keg of wine, and drank from it with such excess, that, being drunk as a lord, he fell into the water and was nearly drowned. Finally he got out, after considerable scrambling, and started for the place where they were putting up the cabin. [215] Screaming and howling like a demon, he snatched away the poles and beat upon the bark of the cabin, to break everything to pieces. The women, seeing him in this frenzy, fled to the woods, some here, some there. My Savage, whom I usually call my host, was boiling in a kettle some birds he had killed, when this drunken fellow, coming upon the scene, broke the crane and upset everything into **[page 73]** the ashes. No one seemed to get angry at all this, but then it is foolish to fight with a madman. My host gathered up his little birds and went to wash them in the river, drew some water and placed the kettle over the fire again. The women, seeing that this madman was running hither and thither on the shores of the Island, foaming like one possessed, ran quickly to get their bark and take it to a place of security, lest he should tear it to pieces, as he had begun to do. They had scarcely had time to roll it up, when he appeared near them completely infuriated, and not knowing upon what to vent his fury, for they had suddenly disappeared, thanks to the darkness which had begun to conceal us. He approached [216] the fire, which could be seen on account of its bright light, and was about to take hold of the kettle to overturn it again; when my host, his brother, quicker than he, seized it and threw the water into his face, boiling as it was. I leave you to imagine how this poor man looked, finding himself thus deluged with hot water. He was never so well washed. The skin of his face and whole chest changed. Would to God that his soul had changed as well as his body. He redoubled his howls, and began to pull up the poles which were still standing. My host has told me since that he asked for an ax, with which to kill me; I do not know whether he really asked for one, as I did not understand his language; but I know very well that, when I went up to him and tried to stop him, he said to me in French, " Go away, it is not you I am after; let me alone;" then pulling my gown, " Come," said he, " let us embark in a canoe, let us return to your house; you do not know these people here; all they **[page 75]** do is for the belly, they do not care for you, but for your food." [217] To this I answered in an undertone and to myself, *in vino veritas*.

As the night was coming on rapidly, I retired into the woods, to escape being annoyed by this drunkard, and to get a little rest. While I was saying my prayers near a tree, the woman who managed the household of my host came to see me; and, gathering together some leaves of fallen trees, said to me, Lie down there and make no noise," then, having thrown me a piece of bark as a cover, she went away. So this was my first resting place at the sign of the Moon, which shone upon me from all sides. Behold me an accomplished Chevalier, after the first day of my entrance into this Academy. The rain coming on, a little before midnight, made me fear that I might get wet, but it did not last long. The next morning I found that my bed, although it had not been made up since the creation of the world, was not so hard as to keep me from sleeping.

The next day I wanted to throw the barrel, with what was left of the wine, into the river, as I had told them I would do, [218] in case any one abused it; but my host, seizing me around the waist, cried out, *eca toute, eca toute*, " Do not do that, do not do that. Dost thou not see that *Petrichtich*" (it is thus they call the Renegade in derision) " does not know anything, that he is a dog? I promise thee that we will never touch the barrel unless thou art present." I yielded, and made up my mind to distribute it liberally, in order to free myself of the fear that a little wine might make us drink a great, deal of water; for, if they were to get drunk while we were sailing, we would be lost. **[page 77]**

We intended leaving this Island in the morning; but the tide fell sooner than we expected, and stranded our Boat. Hence we had to wait for the evening tide, upon which we embarked, and sailed away by the aid of the Moon as well as of the wind. We reached another Island, called *Ca ouapascounagate*. As we arrived about midnight, our people did not take the trouble to make a house; and we slept in the same bed and lodged at the same sign as the night before, [219] under the shelter of the trees and sky.

The next day we left this Island to go to another one, called *Ca chibariouachcate*; we might have called it the Island of the white Geese, for I saw there more than a thousand of them in one flock.

The following day we tried to leave, but the bad weather compelled us to land again at the end of this same Island. It is a solitude, like all the country; that is, it has only temporary inhabitants, for these people have no fixed habitation. It is bordered by rocks so massive, so high, and so craggy, and is withal covered so picturesquely with Cedars and Pines, that a Painter would consider himself favored to view it, in order to derive therefrom an idea of a desert frightful in its precipices and very pleasing in the variety and number of its trees, which one might say had been planted by the hand of art rather than of Nature. As it is indented by bays full of mud, there hides here such a quantity and variety of game, some of which I have never seen in France, that it must be seen in order to be believed.

[220] Leaving this Island of game, we sailed all day and toward nightfall landed at a small Island, **[page 79]** called *Atisaoucanich etagoukhi*, that is, place where dyes are found; I am inclined to think that our people gave it that name, for they found there some little red roots which they use in dyeing their Matachias.<sup>1</sup> I would like to call it the Isle of misfortune; for we suffered a great deal there during the eight days that the storms held us prisoners. It was night when we disembarked; the rain and wind attacked us, and in the meantime we could scarcely find five or six poles to serve as beams for our house, which was so small, so narrow, and so exposed for such weather as this, that in trying to avoid one discomfort we fell into two others. We had to shorten ourselves, or roll up like hedgehogs, lest we scorch the half of our bodies. For our supper, and dinner as well, because we had eaten nothing since morning, my host threw to each one a piece of the biscuit I had [22 I] given him, informing me that we were not to drink anything with our food, as the water of this great river began to be salty in this place. The next day we collected some rainwater, which had fallen into dirty rocks, and drank it with as much enjoyment as they drink the wine of A in France.

They had left our Shallop at anchor in a strong tidal current. I told them it was not safe, and that it ought to be placed under shelter behind the Island; but, as we were only waiting for a good breeze in order to depart, they did not heed me. During the night the tempest increased, so that it seemed as if the winds were uprooting our Island. Our host, foreseeing what might occur, roused the Apostate, and urged him to come and help him save our Shallop, which threatened to go to pieces. Now either **[page 81]** this wretch

was lazy, or he was afraid of the billows; for he did not even try to get up, giving as his only reason that he was tired. During this delay, the wind broke the fastening, or cable of the anchor, and in an instant carried away our Shallop. My host, seeing this fine [222] management, came and said to me, "*Nicanis*, my well-beloved, the Shallop is lost; the winds, which have loosened it, will break it to pieces against the rocks which surround us on all sides." Who would not have been vexed at that Renegade, whose negligence caused us untold trials, considering that we had a number of packages among our baggage, and several children to carry? Yet my host, barbarian and savage that he is, was not at all troubled at this accident; but, fearing it might discourage me, he said to me, "*Nicanis*, my well-beloved, art thou not angry at this loss, which will cause us so many difficulties?" " I am not very happy over it, " I answered. " Do not be cast down, " he replied, " for anger brings on sadness, and sadness brings sickness. *Petrichtich* does not know anything; if he had tried to help me, this misfortune would not have happened." And these were all the reproaches he made. Truly, it humiliates me that considerations of health should check the anger and vexation of a Barbarian; and that the law of God, his good pleasure, the hope of his great rewards, the fear of his [223] chastisements, our own peace and comfort, cannot check the impatience and anger of a Christian.

The above misfortune was soon followed by another. In addition to the Shallop, we had a little bark Canoe, and the tide, rising higher than usual through the force of the wind, robbed us of that; [page 83] and there we were, more than ever prisoners. I neither saw tears nor heard complaints, not even among the women, upon whose shoulders this disaster fell more particularly, as they are like beasts of burden, usually carrying the baggage of the Savages; on the contrary, everybody began to laugh.

When morning came, for it was at night when the tempest committed this theft, we all ran along the edge of the river, to learn with our own eyes some news of our poor Shallop and our Canoe. We saw both of them stranded a long distance from us, the Shallop among the rocks and the Canoe along the edge of the woods of the mainland. Every one thought they were all in pieces; as soon as the sea had receded, [224] some ran toward the Shallop, and others toward the Canoe. Wonderful to relate, nothing was harmed; I was amazed, for out of a hundred ships made of wood as hard as bronze, scarcely one would have been saved in those violent blasts of wind, and upon those rocks.

While the wind held us prisoners in this unhappy Island, a number of our people went to visit some Savages who were five or six leagues from us, so that there only remained in our cabin the women and children, and the *Hiroquois*. During the night, a woman who had gone out, returned, terribly frightened, crying out that she had heard the *Manitou*, or devil. At once all the camp was in a state of alarm, and every one, filled with fear, maintained a profound silence. I asked the cause of this fright, for I had not heard what the woman had said; *eca titou, eca titou*, they told me, *Manitou*, " Keep still, keep still, it is the devil. " I began to laugh, and rising to my feet, went out of the cabin; and to reassure them I [page 85] called, in their language, the *Manitou*, crying in a loud voice that I [225] was not afraid, and that he would not dare come where I was. Then, having made a few turns in our Island, I re-entered, and said to them, " Do not fear, the devil will not harm you as long as I am with you, for he fears those who believe in God; if you will believe in God, the devil will flee from you." They were greatly astonished, and asked me if I was not afraid of him at all. I answered, to relieve them of their fears, that I was not afraid of a hundred of them; they began to laugh, and were gradually reassured. Now seeing that they had thrown some eels in the fire, I asked them the reason for it. " Keep still, " they replied; " we are giving the devil something to eat, so that he will not harm us."

My host, upon his return, having learned this story, thanked me very much for giving courage to his people, and asked me if I really had no fear of the *Manitou*, or devil, and if I knew him very well; as for them, they feared him more than a thunderbolt. I answered that, if he would believe and obey him who had made all, the *Manitou* would have no power over him; that for ourselves, being helped by him whom [226] we adored, the devil had more fear of us than we had of him. He was astonished, and told me that he would be very glad if we knew his language, for you must be aware that we were making each other understand more through our eyes and hands than through our lips.

I arranged a few prayers in their language, with the help of the Apostate. Now, as the Sorcerer had not yet come, I repeated them in the morning and before our meals, they themselves reminding me of [page 89] and I would now be saved. As long as I have any relations, I will never do anything of any account; for when I want to stay with you, my brothers tell me I will rot, always staying in one place, and that is the reason I leave you to follow them." I urged all the reasons and made him all the offers I could to strengthen him; but his brother, the Sorcerer, who will soon be with us, will upset all my plans, for he does whatever he wills with this poor Apostate.

On the thirtieth day of October, we went away from this unhappy Island, and toward nightfall disembarked at another Island which bears a name almost as big as it is, for it is not half a league in circumference; and this is what our Savages tell me it is called, *Ca pacoucachtechokhi chachagou achiganikhi, Ca pakhitaouananiouikhi*; I believe they forge these names upon the spot. This Island is nothing but a big and frightful rock; as there was no spring of fresh water, we had to [129 i.e., 229] drink very dirty rainwater that we collected in the bogs and upon the rocks. The sail of our shallop was thrown over some poles, on our arrival at this place, and this formed our shelter; our beds were white and green, I mean there were so few pine branches under us that in several places we touched the snow, which three days before had begun to cover the earth with a white mantle.

We found here the cabin of a Savage, named *Ekhennabamate*, whom our host was seeking. He learned from him that his brother, the Sorcerer, had passed, a short time before; and that, having the wind against him, he had not gone far. He did not wait until broad daylight to follow him; his Canoe, paddled by three men, went like the wind; and, in [page 91] short, on the first of November, a beautiful day, dedicated to the memory of all the Saints, he brought back this Demon, I mean the Sorcerer. I was very much surprised when I saw him, for I was not expecting him, imagining that my host had gone hunting; would that he had, and that this miserable prey [230] had escaped from his hands.

As soon as he came, there was nothing but feasting in our cabins; we had only a little food left, but these Barbarians ate it with as much calmness and confidence as if the game they were to hunt was shut up in a stable.

One day, when my host had a feast in his turn, the guests made me a sign that I should make them a speech in their language, as they wanted to laugh; for I pronounce the Savage as a German pronounces French. Wishing to please them, I began to talk, and they burst out laughing, well pleased to make sport of me, while I was very glad to learn to talk. I said to them in conclusion that I was a child, and that children made their fathers laugh with their stammering; but in a few years I would become large, and then, when I knew their language, I would make them see that they themselves were children in many things, ignorant of the great truths of which

I would speak to them. Suddenly I asked them if the Moon was [231] located as high as the Stars, if it was in the same Sky; where the Sun went when it left us; what was the form of the earth. (If I knew their language perfectly I would always propose some natural truth, before speaking to them of the points of our belief; for I have observed that these curious things make them more attentive.) Not to let me wander from my speech, one of them [page 93] beginning to speak, after having frankly confessed that they could not answer these questions, said to me: " But how canst thou thyself know these things, since we do not know them? " I immediately drew out a little compass that I had in my pocket, opened it, and, placing it in his hand, said to him, We are now in the darkness of night, the Sun no longer shines for us; tell me now, while you look at what I have given you, in what part of the world it is; show me the place where it must rise to-morrow, where it will set, where it will be at noon; point out the places in the Sky where it will never be." My man answered with his eyes, staring at me without saying a word. I took the compass and explained[232] to him with a few words all that I had just asked about, adding, "Well, how is it that I can know these things and you do not know them? I have still other greater truths to tell you when I can talk." "Thou art intelligent, " they responded; " thou wilt soon know our language. " But they were mistaken. What I write in this journal has no other order except that of time, and hence I shall frequently be telling cock-and-bull stories, as the saying is; that is, I shall pass from one observation to another which has no connection with it, time alone serving as a link to the parts of my discourse.

As the bow and arrow seem to be weapons invented by Nature, since all the Nations of the earth have made use of them, so you might say there are certain little games that children find out for themselves without being taught. The little Savages play at hide-and-seek as well as the little French children. They have a number of other childish sports that I have noticed in our Europe; among others, I have [page 95] seen the little Parisians [233] throw a musket ball into the air and catch it with a little bat scooped out; the little montagnard Savages do the same, using a little bunch of Pine sticks, which they receive or throw into the air on the end of a pointed stick. The little Hiroquois have the same pastime, throwing a bone with a hole in it, which they interlace in the air with another little bone. I was told this by a young man of that nation as we were watching the montagnard children play.

My Savage and the Sorcerer, his brother, having learned that there were a great many Montagnais near the place where they wished to pass the winter, decided to turn Northward, lest we should starve each other. They decided to go to the place where my host and the Renegade had promised me they would go; but we had scarcely made three leagues in crossing the great river, when we met four canoes which turned us back to the South, saying the hunting was not good up North. So I was obliged to remain with the sorcerer, and to winter beyond the great river, in spite of all I could [234] urge to the contrary. I realized well the dangers into which they were throwing me, but I saw no other remedy than to trust in God and leave all to him.

As soon as these new Savages, who had come in the four canoes, had landed, my host made them a banquet of smoked eels, for we were already out of bread. Hardly had these guests returned to their cabin, when they made a feast of peas which they had bought in passing through Kebec. But that you may understand the excesses of these people, [I will add that] in emerging from this banquet, they went to a third, prepared by the sorcerer, composed of eels, [page 97] and of the flour I had given to my host. This man gave me a hearty invitation to be one of the party. He had made a little apartment in our cabin with skins and blankets, and all the guests entered this place. They gave me my share in a little bark plate; but, as I was not altogether accustomed to eating their mixtures, so dirty and insipid, after having tasted it, I wanted to give the rest to one of the relations of my host; [235] but they immediately cried out, *Khita, Khita*, "Eat all, eat all," *acoumagouchan*, "It is an eat-all feast." I began to laugh, and told them they were playing a game of "burst themselves open," seeing they had already had two feasts, and were making a third at which nothing was to be left. My host, hearing me, said, "What art thou saying, *Nicanis*?" "I am saying that I cannot eat all. "Give it to me," he answered, "give me thy plate, I will help thee." Having presented it to him, he gulped down all it contained in two swallows, thrusting out a tongue as long as your hand to lick the bottom and sides, so that nothing might remain.

When they were full almost to bursting, the Sorcerer took his drum and invited everyone to sing. The best singer was the one who howled the loudest. At the end of this uproar, seeing that they were in a very good humor, I asked permission to talk. This being granted, I began to affirm the affection I had for them, " You see, " I said, " what love I bear you; I have not only left my own country, which is beautiful and very pleasant, to come into your [236] snows and vast woods, but I have also left the little house we have in your lands, to follow you and learn your language. I cherish you more than my brothers, since I have left them for love of you; it is he [page 99] who has made all who has given me this affection for you, it is he who created the first man from whom we have all descended; hence see how it is that, as we have the same father, we are all brothers, and ought all to acknowledge the same Lord and the same Captain; we ought all to believe in him, and obey his will." The Sorcerer, stopping me, said in a loud voice, "When I see him, I will believe in him, and not until then. How believe in him whom we do not see?" I answered him: "When thou tellest me that thy father or one of thy friends has said something, I believe what he has said, supposing that he is not a liar, and yet I have never seen thy father; also, thou believest that there is a *Manitou*, and thou hast never seen him. Thou believest that there are *Khichicouakhi*, or Spirits of light, and thou hast not seen them." "Others have seen them, "he answered. "Thou couldst not tell, " said I, [237] "neither when, nor how, nor in what way, nor in what place they were seen; and I, I can tell thee the names of those who have seen the Son of God upon earth, when they saw him, and in what place; what they have done, and in what countries they have been. Thy God," he replied, "has not come to our country, and that is why we do not believe in him; make me see him and I will believe in him." "Listen to me and thou wilt see him," said I. " We have two kinds of sight, the sight of the eyes of the body, and the sight of the eyes of the soul. What thou seest with the eyes of the soul may be just as true as what thou seest with the eyes of the body. No, " said he, " I see nothing except with the eyes of the body, save in sleeping, and thou dost not approve our dreams." "Hear me to the end," I said. "When thou passest [page 101] a deserted cabin, and seest yet standing the circle of poles, and the floor of the cabin covered with Pine twigs, when thou sets the hearth still smoking, is it not true that thou knowest positively, and that thou sets clearly, that Savages have been there, and that these poles and all the [238] rest of the things that you leave when you break camp, are not brought together by chance? Yes, " he answered. " Now I say the same. When thou sets the beauty and grandeur of this world, how the Sun incessantly turns round without stopping, how the seasons follow each other in their time, and how perfectly all the Stars maintain their order, thou sets clearly that men have not made these wonders, and that they do not govern them; hence there must be some one more noble than men, who has built and who rules this grand mansion. Now it is he whom we call God, who sees all things, and whom we do not see; but we shall see him after death, and we shall be forever happy with him, if we love and obey him." "Thou dost not know what thou art talking about," he answered, "learn to talk and we will listen to thee."

Thereupon I asked the Apostate to enumerate my reasons and to explain them in the Savage tongue, for I saw that they were very attentive; but this miserable. Renegade, fearing to displease his brother, would not even open his mouth. I begged him,[239] I conjured him with all gentleness; finally I spoke harshly, and threatened him in the name of God, insisting that he would be responsible for the soul of the wife of his brother, the Sorcerer, who I perceived was very sick, and for whose sake I had begun this discourse, hoping that if the Savages approved of my explanations, they would readily allow me to instruct [page 103] her. This heart



of bronze melted neither at my prayers nor at my threats. I pray God that he may be merciful to him. My host, seeing me speaking earnestly to him, said, "*Nicanis*, do not get angry; in time thou wilt speak as we do, and thou wilt teach us what thou knowest, we will listen to thee more willingly than to this stubborn fellow who has no sense and in whom we have no faith." These were the eulogies he passed upon the Renegade. I replied to him that, if this woman were well, I would feel consoled; but that she was going to die in a few days, and her soul, not knowing God, would be lost; if his brother wished to lend me his tongue I would instruct her in a little while. His answer was that I should leave him alone, for I knew very well that he was [240] a blockhead. In conclusion, they pronounced the words which ended the feast, and we all withdrew; I very sad at seeing this soul lost in my presence, without being able to help it. For the Sorcerer having begun to lift the mask, and the Apostate to refuse me his consideration, all the hopes I had of helping this sick woman, and of teaching the others, commenced to vanish. I have often wished that a Saint were in my place, to act the Saint; small souls cry out a great deal, and do very little, but one must be content with one's own insignificance. Let us continue our voyage.

On the twelfth of November we at last began to go into the country, leaving our Shallops and Canoes, and some other baggage, in the Island with the long name, which we left at low tide, crossing the meadow which separated us from the mainland. Up to this time we had journeyed through a country where fish abound, always upon the water or on Islands. **[page 105]** From this time on, we were going to invade the Kingdom of wild beasts, I mean a country far broader in extent than all France.

[241] The Savages pass the winter in these woods, ranging here and there to get their living. In the early snows, they seek the Beaver in the small rivers, and Porcupines upon the land; when the deep snows come, they hunt the Moose and Caribou, as I have said.

We made in these vast forests, from the 12th of November of the year 1633, when we entered them, to the 22nd of April of this year 1634, when we returned to the banks of the great river saint Lawrence, twenty-three halts, sometimes in deep valleys, then upon lofty mountains, sometimes in the low flat country; and always in the snow. These forests where I was are made up of different kinds of trees, especially of Pines, Cedars and Firs. We crossed many torrents of water, some rivers, several beautiful lakes and ponds, walking upon the ice. But let us come down to particulars, and say a few words about each station. My fear of becoming tedious will cause me to omit many things that I have considered trifling, [242] although they might throw some light upon these memoirs.

Upon our entrance into these regions, there were three cabins in our company, nineteen persons being in ours, sixteen in the cabin of the Savage named *Ekhennabamate*, and ten in that of the newcomers. This does not include the Savages who were encamped a few leagues away from us. We were in all forty-five persons, who were to be kept alive on what it should please the holy Providence of the good God to send us, for our provisions were altogether getting very low. **[page 107]**

This is the order we followed in breaking up our camps, in tramping over the country and in erecting our tents and pavilions. When our people saw that there was no longer any game within three or four leagues of us, a Savage, who was best acquainted with the way to the place where we were going, cried out in a loud voice, one fine day outside the cabin, " Listen, men, I am going to mark the way for breaking camp to-morrow at daybreak." He took a hatchet and marked some trees which [243] guided us. They do not mark the way except in the beginning of winter; for, when all the rivers and torrents are frozen, and the snow is deep, they do not take this trouble.

When there are a number of things to be carried, as often happens when they have killed a great many Elk, the women go ahead, and carry a part of them to the place where they are to camp the following day. When the snow is deep, they make sledges of wood which splits, and which can be peeled off like leaves in very thin, long strips. These sledges are very narrow, because they have to be dragged among masses of trees closely crowded in some places; but, to make up for this, they are very long. One day, seeing that of my host standing against a tree, I could scarcely reach to the middle of it, stretching out my arm as far as I could. They fasten their baggage upon these, and, with a cord which they pass over their chests, they drag these wheel-less chariots over the snow.

But not to wander farther from my subject, as soon as it is day each one prepares to break camp. They begin [244] by having breakfast, if there is any; for sometimes they depart without breakfasting, **[page 109]** continue on their way without dining, and go to bed without supping. Each one arranges his own baggage, as best he can; and the women strike the cabin, to remove the ice and snow from the bark, which they roll up in a bundle. The baggage being packed, they throw it upon their backs or loins in long bundles, which they hold with a cord that passes over their foreheads, beneath which they place a piece of bark so that it will not hurt them. When every one is loaded, they mount their snowshoes, which are bound to the feet so that they will not sink into the snow; and then they march over plain and mountain, making the little ones go on ahead, who start early, and often do not arrive until quite late. These little ones have their load, or their sledge, to accustom them early to fatigue; and they try to stimulate them to see who will carry or drag the most. To paint to you the hardships of the way, I have neither pen nor brush that could do it; they must be experience in order to be appreciate , and [245] this dish must be tried to know how it tastes. We did nothing but go up and go down; frequently we had to bend halfway over, to pass under partly-fallen trees, and step over others lying upon the ground whose branches sometimes knocked us over, gently enough to be sure, but always coldly, for we fell upon the snow. If it happened to thaw, Oh God, what suffering! It seemed to me I was walking over a road of glass, which broke under my feet at every step. The frozen snow, beginning to melt, would fall and break into blocks or big pieces, into which we often sank up to our knees, and sometimes to our waists. If there was pain in falling, there was still more in pulling ourselves out, for our raquettes were loaded with **[page 111]** snow, and became so heavy that, when we tried to draw them out, it seemed as if somebody were tugging at our legs to dismember us. I have seen some who slid so far under the logs buried in the snow, that they could not pull out either their legs or their snowshoes without help. Now imagine [246] a person loaded like a mule, and judge how easy is the life of the Savage.

In the discomforts of a journey in France, villages are found where one can refresh and fortify one's self; but the inns that we encountered and where we drank, were only brooks; we even had to break the ice in order to get some water. It is true that we did not make long stages, which would indeed have been absolutely impossible for us.

When we reached the place where we were to encamp, the women went to cut the poles for the cabin, and the men to clear away the snow, as I have stated more fully in the preceding Chapter. Now a person had to work at this building, or shiver with cold for three long hours upon the snow, waiting until it was finished. Sometimes I put my hand to the work to warm myself, but usually I was so frozen that fire alone could thaw me. The Savages were surprised at this, for they often sweat under the work. Assuring them now and then that I was very [247] cold, they would say to me, " Give us thy hands that we may see if thou tellest the truth;" and,

finding them quite frozen, touched with compassion, they gave me their warm mittens and took my cold ones. This went so far, that my host, after having tried it several times, said to me, "*Nicanis*, do not winter any more with the Savages, for they will kill thee." I think he meant that I would fall ill, and, as I could [page 113] not be dragged along with the baggage, they would kill me; I began to laugh, and told him that he was trying to frighten me.

The cabin finished, either toward nightfall or a little before, they began to talk about dinner and supper all in one, for as we had departed in the morning after having eaten a small morsel, we had to have patience to reach our destination and to wait until the hotel was erected, in order to lodge and eat there. But, unfortunately, on this particular day, our people did not usually go hunting; and so it was for us a day of fasting as well as a day of work. We have delayed long enough, let us come to our station.

We left the banks of the great river on the 12th of November, as I have [248] said, and pitched our camp near a torrent, traveling in the way I have just described, each one carrying his pack. All the Savages made sport of me because I was not a good pack horse, being satisfied to carry my cloak, which was heavy enough; a small bag in which I kept my little necessities; and their sneers, which were not as heavy as my body; and this was my load. My host and the Apostate carried upon poles, crossed in the form of a stretcher, the wife of the Sorcerer, who was very sick; they placed her on the snow, while waiting for the cabin to be made, and there she passed more than three hours without fire, and did not once complain nor show any sign of impatience. I was more troubled about her than she was about herself, for I often appealed to them to make at least a little fire near her; but the answer was that she would get warm when the cabin was made. These savages are hardened to such sufferings; they expect if they fall sick to be paid in the same coin. We sojourned three [page 115] days at this station; and the following [249] are some of the things I noted down in my memoirs during this time.

It was here that the Savages consulted their genii of light, in the manner I have described in Chapter four. Now as I had always shown my amusement at this superstition, and on all possible occasions had made them see that the mysteries of the Sorcerer were nothing but child's play, endeavoring to carry off his flock so that, in time, I might deliver them up to him who had bought them with his blood, this unscrupulous man, the day afterward, went through with the performance I am going to describe.

My host having invited all the neighboring Savages to the feast, when they had come and seated themselves around the fire and the kettle, waiting for the banquet to be opened, lo, the Sorcerer, who had been lying down opposite me, suddenly arose, not yet having uttered a word since the arrival of the guests. He seemed to be in an awful fury, and threw himself upon one of the poles of the cabin to tear it out; he broke it in two, rolled his eyes around in his head, looked here and there like a man out of his senses, then facing those [250] present, he said to them, *Iritnicou nama Nitirinisin*, " Oh, men, I have lost my mind, I do not know where I am; take the hatchets and javelins away from me, for I am out of my senses." At these words all the Savages lowered their eyes to the ground, and I raised mine to heaven, whence I expected help, imagining that this man was acting the madman in order to 'Lake revenge on me, to take my life or at least to frighten [page 117] me, so that he could reproach me afterwards that my God had failed me in time of need, and to proclaim among his people, that I, who had so often testified that I did not fear their *Manitou*, who makes them tremble, had turned pale before a man. So far was I from being seized by fear which, in the dangers of a natural death, makes me shrink within myself, that, on the contrary, I faced this furious man with as much assurance as if I had had an army at my side, reflecting that the God whom I adored could bind the arms of fools and madmen as well as those of demons; that besides, if his Majesty wished to open to me the portals of death by the hands of a man who was acting the devil, [251] his Providence was always loving and kind. This Thraso [braggart], redoubling his furies, did a thousand foolish acts of a lunatic or of one bewitched; sometimes he would cry out at the top of his voice, and then would suddenly stop short, as if frightened; he pretended to cry, and then burst into laughter like a wanton devil; he sang without rules and without measure, he hissed like a serpent, he howled like a wolf, or like a dog, he screeched like an owl or a night hawk, rolling his eyes about in his head and striking a thousand attitudes, always seeming to be looking for something to throw. I was expecting every moment he would tear up one of the poles with which to strike me down, or that he would throw himself upon me; but in order to show him that I was not at all astonished at these devilish acts, I continued, in my usual way, to read, write and say my little prayers; and when my hour for retiring came, I lay down and rested as peacefully through his orgies, as I would have done [page 119] in a profound silence; I was already as accustomed to go to sleep in the midst of his cries and the sound of his [252] drum, as a child is to the songs of its nurse.

The next evening, at the same hour he seemed disposed to enter into the same infuriated state, and to again alarm the camp, saying that he was losing his mind. Seeing him already half-mad, it occurred to me that he might be suffering from some violent fever; I went up to him and took hold of his arm to feel the artery; he gave me a frightful look, seeming to be astonished, and acting as if I had brought him news from the other world, rolling his eyes here and there like one possessed. Having touched his pulse and forehead, I found him as cool as a fish, and far from fever as I was from France. This confirmed me in my suspicion that he was acting the madman to frighten me, and to draw down upon himself the compassion of all our people, who in our dearth, were giving him the best they had.

On the 20th of the same month of November, finding no more Beavers and Porcupines in our quarter, we resumed our journey, this being our second station. The Sorcerer's wife was carried [253] upon a stretcher, and they placed her, as I have already said, upon the snow until our palace was erected. Meanwhile I approached her, showing how greatly I sympathized with her; already for some days I had been trying to gain her affection, that she might more willingly listen to me; I knew that she could not live long, as she was like a skeleton, hardly having strength enough to talk. When she called some one in the night, I arose and awoke him, I made fires for [page 121] her, I asked her if she was in need of anything; she had me do little things for her, such as closing the door, or stopping up a hole in the cabin which annoyed her. After these little conversations and acts of charity, I approached and asked her if she did not want to believe in him who has made all, so that her soul after death would be blest. At first she answered that she had not seen God, and that I should make her see him, otherwise she could not believe in him. She got this answer from the lips of her husband. I told her that she [254] believed in a great many thin s she had not seen, and besides, her soul would be burned through eternity if she did not obey him who has made all. She softened, little by little, and testified to me that she wished to obey him. I did not dare confer with her long, and only at intervals, for those who saw me would cry out that I should leave her alone.

Toward evening, when we were all in our new cabin, I approached and called her by name. She never would talk with me in the presence of the others. I begged the Sorcerer to tell her to answer me, and to help me teach her, showing him that nothing but good could come of this action. He would not answer me any more than the invalid. I addressed the Apostate, urging him with very humble prayers to lend me his voice, but no answer; I return to the sick woman, I call her by name, I speak to her, I ask her if she does not wish to go to Heaven; to all this not a word. I again beg her husband, the Sorcerer; I promise him a shirt and some tobacco, if he

will tell his wife to listen to me. " How canst thou ask us, " he said, " to [255] believe in thy God, [page 123] never having seen him?" " I have already answered that question for thee," I returned; "this is no time to argue, this soul is going to be forever lost if thou dost not have pity. Thou seest well that he who has made the Heavens for thee, wishes to give thee greater blessings than to go about eating bark in a village which never existed; but he will also severely punish thee if thou dost not believe in him and obey him.' Not being able to draw any answer from this miserable man, I again urged the sick woman. My host, hearing me call her by name, chided me, saying, "Keep still, do not name her; she is already dead, her soul is no longer in her body." It is a great truth that no one goes to JESUS CHRIST until the father extends to him the hand. How wonderful a gift is this faith! When these simple Barbarians see that a poor invalid no longer speaks, or that he has fainted, or been seized by a frenzy, they say that the spirit is no longer in the body; and, if the invalid returns to his senses, it is the spirit which has returned. Finally, when he is dead, they must no longer speak of him, nor name him in any way. To finish this story, [256] I had to retire without accomplishing anything.

They took counsel in this place as to what they should do to get something to eat. We were already reduced to such extremities that I made a good meal on a skin of smoked eel, which a few days before I had thrown to the dogs. Here two incidents occurred which touched my heart. Once when I threw a bone or remnant of an eel to the clogs, a little boy, more nimble than they, threw himself upon the bone, and gnawed and bit into it. Another time, a child [page 125] having asked for something to eat, when he was told there was nothing at all, the poor little fellow's eyes filled, and tears as big as peas rolled down his cheeks, and his sighs and sobs filled me with pity, although he tried to suppress them. One lesson they teach their children is to be brave in time of famine.

On the 28th of the same month, we broke camp for the third time. It was snowing hard; but, with necessity urging us on, the bad weather could not stop us. I was surprised, in this third halt, not to see them bring the invalid; but I did not dare ask what [257] had become of her, for they do not want any one to mention the dead. In the evening, I went to the Renegade, and asked him in French where this poor woman was, if he had not killed her, seeing her about to die, as he had once before killed with blows from a club a poor girl who was on the point of death, which he himself had related to our French. "No," said he, " I have not killed her. Who has then," said I, "is it the young Hiroquois?" "No, no," he answered, "for he went away very early this morning." "It is then my host, or the Sorcerer her husband, for she was still able to talk when I left the cabin this morning. " He bowed his head, admitting tacitly that one of them had put her to death. But, since then, an old man has told me that she died a natural death a little while after I departed. I am unable to say which is correct; but, at all events, as she refused to recognize the Son of God as her Shepherd during her life, it is no more than probable that he refused to recognize her as one of his flock after death.

Up to the present I have observed three kinds of [page 127] natural medicines among the [258] Savages. One of these is their sweat-box, of which I have spoken above; the second consists in making a slight gash in the part of the body where the pain is, covering it with blood which they make issue from these cuts quite abundantly. They once made use of my pen-knife to cut the head of a child ten days old. The third of these medicines is composed of the scrapings of the inside bark of the birch, at least it seems to be this tree. They boil these scrapings in water, which they afterwards drink to make them vomit. They often wanted me to drink this potion when I was sick, but I did not think it would agree with me.

On the day of saint Francois Xavier, our pretended Magician began in the evening to beat his drum and to utter his howls as usual; for he did not fail to give us this entertainment every night at our first sleep. I saw that every one was asleep, and, knowing that this poor man made all this racket in order to cure himself, I entered into conversation with him. I began by expressing a great deal of affection [259] for him, and by heaping praises upon him, as bait to draw him into the nets of truth. I made him understand that if a mind as capable of great things as his was, should know God, that all the Savages, influenced by his example, would like to know him also. He immediately began to soar, and to talk about the power, the authority, and the influence he had over the minds of his fellow-savages. He said that since his youth they had given him the name, *Khimouchouminau*, meaning, " our sire and our master; " that everything was done according to his opinion, and that they all followed his advice. I helped in this [page 129] self-praise as well as I could, for he has indeed some good qualities for a Savage. I finally told him that I was surprised that a man of judgment could not realize that there was little connection between this uproar and health. "When thou hast screamed and beaten thy drum with all thy might, what good does it do except to make thy head dizzy? No Savage is sick, whose ears they do not deafen with this drum, to keep him from dying; yet hast thou ever seen it dispel death? I am going to make a proposal [260] to thee, listen to me patiently, " I said to him. " Beat thy drum for ten days, sing and make all the others sing as much as thou wilt, do all thou canst to recover thy health, and if thou art not cured in that time confess that thy din, howls and songs cannot restore thee to health. Now abstain ten more days from all these superstitions; give up thy drum, and all these wild noises; ask of the God whom I adore that he give thee knowledge of himself; reflect, and believe that thy soul must pass to a life other than this; endeavor to interest thyself in its welfare as thou dost in the welfare of thy body ; and when thou shalt have passed these last ten days in this way, I will withdraw for three days to pray in a little cabin that shall be made farther back in the woods. There I will pray my God to give thee health of body and of soul; thou alone shalt come to see me at the time I shall indicate, and thou shalt say with all thy heart the prayers I will teach thee promising God that, if it pleases him to restore thee thy health, thou wilt call together all the Savages of the place, and in [261] their presence thou wilt burn thy drum and all the other silly stuff that thou usest to bring them together, saying [page 131] to them that the God of the Christians is the true God, that they must believe in him and obey him. If thou promise this truthfully and from thy heart, I hope that thou wilt be delivered from thy disease, for my God is all-powerful.

Now as this man is very desirous of recovering his health, he opened his ears, and said to me, " Thy discourse is very good, I accept the conditions that thou givest; but thou begin first, go away and pray, and tell thy God to cure me, for with that we must begin; then I will do all that thou hast prescribed for me. I shall not begin it, " I replied to him, " for if thou get back thy health while I would be praying, thou wouldst be attributing thy recovery to thy drum, which thou wouldst not have given up, and not to the God whom I adore, who alone can cure thee." "No," he replied, " I shall not think it has come from my drum; I have sung and have done all I could, yet I have not been able to save the life of one man; I myself am sick, and to cure myself have made use of all [262] the resources of my art; and behold I am worse than ever. I have used all my inventions to save the lives of my children, especially of the last one who died only a short time ago, and to save my wife, who has just passed away, yet all this has not succeeded; so if thou curest me I shall not attribute my health to my drum nor to my songs. I answered him that I could not cure him, but that my God could do all, and besides we must not make bargains with him, nor prescribe to him the conditions upon which he was to act, saying, " Let him cure me first, and then I will believe in him." "Prepare thyself," I continued, on thy part, and his [page 133] goodness will not fail thee; for, if he does not give thee health of the body, he will give thee health of the soul, which is of incomparably higher value." "Do not speak to me about the soul," he replied, "that is something that I give myself no anxiety about; it is this (showing his flesh) that I love, it is the body I cherish; as to the soul, I do not see it, let happen to it what will." "Hast thou any reason?" I asked, "thou speakest like a brute, dogs love only their bodies; he who has made the Sun [263] to shine upon thee, has he not prepared something

better for thy soul than for the soul of a dog? If thou lovest only the body, thou wilt lose both thy body and thy soul. If a brute could talk, it would talk about nothing but its body and its flesh; hast thou nothing above the brute, which is made to serve thee? Dost thou love only flesh and blood? Thy soul, is it only the soul of a dog, that thou dost treat it with such contempt? Perhaps thou sayest truly, he replied, "and there is something good in the other life; but we here in this country know nothing about it. If thou restorest my health, I will do what thou wishest. " This poor wretch is never able to raise his thoughts above earth. Seeing then no inclination in this haughty spirit, who thought he was obliging God by believing in him, I gave him up for the time being, and retired to rest, for it was well along into the night.

On the 3rd of December we began our fourth station, having broken camp without trumpets, but not without drums, for the Sorcerer never forgot his. We pitched our camp near a broad and rapid, [264] but rather shallow river, which they called *Capititchiouetz*; [page 135] it flows into the great river Saint Lawrence, almost opposite Tadoussac. Our Savages, having no food for a feast here, made a banquet of smoke; each inviting the others to his cabin, they passed around a little earthen plate containing Tobacco, it and every one took a pipeful, which he reduced to smoke, returning his hand to the dish if he wanted to smoke any more. The fondness they have for this herb is beyond all belief. They go to sleep with their reed pipes in their mouths, they sometimes get up in the night to smoke; they often stop in their journeys for the same purpose, and it is the first thing they do when they re-enter their cabins. I have lighted tinder, so as to allow them to smoke while paddling a canoe; I have often seen them gnaw the stems of their pipes when they had no more tobacco, I have seen them scrape and pulverize a wooden pipe to smoke it. Let us say with compassion that they pass their lives in smoke, and at death fall into the fire.

[265] I brought some tobacco with me, but not for myself, as I do not use it. I have given liberally, according to my store, to several Savages, saving some to draw from the Apostate a few words of his language, for he would not say a word if I did not pay him with this money. When our people had consumed what I had given them, and what they had of their own, I had no more peace. The Sorcerer was so annoying in his demands for it, that I could not endure him; and all the others acted as if they wanted to eat me, when I refused them. In vain I told them that they had no consideration, that I had given them more than three times as much as I had [page 137] reserved for myself. "You see," I said to them, that I love your language and that I must buy it with this money, for if it is lacking no one will teach me a word; you see if I have to have a glass of water, I must go a long way to get it, or I must give a bit of tobacco to a child to get it for me; you tell me that tobacco satisfies hunger; if the famine which now presses us continues, I wish [266] to experiment with it, so leave me the little I have in reserve. It was impossible to resist their teasing, and I had to draw out the last bit, not without astonishment at seeing people so passionately fond of smoke.

On the sixth of the same month we broke camp for the fifth time. I had a mishap at our departure, for, instead of taking the right road, I started upon another that had been well beaten down by our hunters, and so I went some distance without perceiving that I was lost. After a long stage, I observed that the way divided into five or six others, which led in several directions. So I was brought to a standstill. There was a little child who had followed me, and whom I did not dare to leave, for it would at once begin to cry. I followed first one and then another of these paths; and seeing that they wound here and there, and that they were marked by only one kind of snowshoe, I concluded that these ways did not lead to the place where my Savages were going to encamp. I did not know what to do with the little boy; for, having found out our mistake, he did not dare [267] lose me out of his sight without going into spasms; and besides, as he was only about six years old, he could not keep up with me as I increased my speed. I decided to leave him [page 139] my cloak, to show that I intended to return, if I found the right way, making him a sign that he should wait, for we did not understand each other. So I threw my cloak upon the snow, and retraced my steps, crying out from time to time to make myself heard by our people, in case the right road was not far away from me. I shout and halloo in these great forests, but no one answers; the silence is profound, for even the trees do not rustle, as there is no wind. The cold was so severe that I was sure I would die during the night, if I had to pass it upon the snow, having neither axe nor tinder with which to make a fire. I go, I come, I turn on all sides; but I find nothing which does not confuse me still more. The last thing that a man abandons is hope; I continued to hold on to it by the little end, imagining every moment that I was going to find my way; but at last, after [268] many windings, seeing that human beings could give me no help, I stopped in order to offer my little prayers to the Creator, with whom I saw these great woods all filled as well as the rest of the world. The thought came into my mind that I was not, lost, since God knew where I was; and, turning over this truth in my mind, I slowly approached the river I had crossed on leaving the cabin. I cried out, I called again, but everybody was already far away. I was beginning to loosen my hold upon the little thread of hope that I had held up to that time, when I perceived some snowshoe tracks behind the brushwood. I betook myself thither, *et vidi vestigia virorum, et mulierum et infantium*. In a word, I found what I had so long been seeking. At first I was not sure this was a [page 141] good road, hence I reconnoitered it very carefully. When I had advanced some distance, I met the Apostate, who was coming in search of us. He asked me where the little child was; and I replied that I had left it [269] near my cloak. "I have found your cloak," he said, "and have carried it to the new cabin; but I have not found the child." This was a great shock to me; to go in search of it would be to lose myself a second time. I prayed the Apostate to go, but he turned a deaf ear to my entreaties. I started directly for the cabin, to advise them of the matter, and finally reached it, sore all over and bruised from the hardships and length of the journey, which I had made without finding other hostelry than the frozen brooks. As soon as the Savages saw me, they asked where the little boy was, crying out that I had lost him. I told them the story, assuring them that I had left my cloak with him purposely, that I might go back and find him; but, as he had left that place, I did not know where to look for him, especially as I had no more strength left, having eaten nothing since early morning, and then only two or three mouthfuls of smoked meat. They comforted me with a little frozen water, which I melted in a very dirty kettle, and this was all the supper I had: for our hunters had not taken anything, so we had to fast that day. [270] As to the child, two women having heard me describe the place where I had left it, guessing where it had wandered, went in search of and found it. You must not be astonished if a Frenchman sometimes loses himself in these forests; for I have known some of our cleverest Savages to wander about in them more than a whole day. [page 143]

On the 20th of December, although the Savages do not usually take the road in bad weather, yet we had to break up during the storm, and move away quietly without any breakfast, for hunger drove us onward; the trouble is it followed us everywhere we went, for we found no game anywhere, or at least very little of it. At this station, which was the sixth, the Renegade came to tell me that the Savages were greatly terrified; and my host, addressing me seriously, asked if I did not know some remedy for their misfortune. "There is not," said he, "enough snow to kill Moose, Beavers, and Porcupines; we find almost no game; what shall we do? Dost thou not know what may happen to us? Dost thou not see within thyself what [271] ought to be done?" I wanted to tell him that our God was very good and very powerful, and we ought to have recourse to his mercy; but as I did not speak well, I begged the Apostate to be my interpreter, but this wretch is possessed of a mute devil, he never wants to talk.

On the 24th of December, the evening before the birth of our Savior, we broke up for the seventh time. We departed without



eating, and journeyed for a long, long time, then worked at house-building; and for our supper Our Lord gave us a Porcupine as large as a sucking pig, and a hare. It was not much for our eighteen or twenty people, it is true; but the holy Virgin and her glorious Spouse, saint Joseph, were not so well treated on the same day in the stable at Bethle[h]em.

The next day, a day of rejoicing among Christians on account of the newborn child, was for us a day of fasting. I was given nothing at all to eat. Hunger **[page 145]**, which makes the wolf come out of the woods, made me go farther in to seek [272] the little ends of the trees, which I ate with delight. Some women, having thrown to the dogs, either unintentionally or otherwise, some bits of hide from which they make the strings for their snowshoes, I gathered them up and made a good dinner of them; although the dogs themselves, when they have ever so little else to eat, will not touch them. I have often eaten, especially during that month, scrapings of bark, bits of leather, and similar things, and yet they have never made me ill.


In the evening of this same Christmas day I went to visit our neighbors. We were now only two cabins, as the Savage *Ekhenneabamate* had gone off in another direction five or six days before, because there had not been enough game for all of us. I found there two young hunters, in deep distress at not having captured anything that day, nor the one before. They were like all the others, wasted and thin, silent and very sad, like people who parted with life regretfully. It made my heart bleed to see them. After having said a few words of consolation, and cheered them with the [273] hope of better things, I withdrew into my cabin to pray to God. The Apostate asked me what day it was. "To-day is the Christmas festival," I answered him. He was slightly touched, and, turning toward the Sorcerer, said that on this day was born the Son of God, called JESUS, whom we adored. Observing that he showed some wonder, I told him that God was generally very bountiful on these days; and, if we had recourse to him, he would surely help us. To this there was not **[page 147]** a word, neither was there any opposition. So seizing the opportunity, I begged him to translate for me two little Prayers into his language, and I would say one of them and the Savages the other. Hoping that we would be succored, the extremity to which we were reduced made him grant, in pure recklessness, what I asked. I immediately composed two little prayers, which he turned into Savage, promising me besides that he would serve me as interpreter if I would call the Savages together, so I was very happy. I commended the matter to Our Lord and the next morning I erected a little Oratory. I hung to the [274] poles of the cabin a napkin I had brought with me; to this I attached a small Crucifix and a Reliquary that two very Religious persons had sent me, also I took from my Breviary one of the Pictures. When this was done, I had all the Savages from our two cabins called, and made them understand, partly through my stammering and partly through the lips of the Renegade, whom the fear of dying from hunger made speak, that it depended upon them alone whether or not they should be relieved. I told them that our God was goodness itself, that nothing was impossible to him; that even though a person had despised him, yet if he believed in him and hoped in him with a sincere heart, he would show himself favorable. Now as these poor people had no more hope in their bows or arrows, they showed much gladness that I had thus called them together, assuring me they would do all I commanded them. I took my paper and read to them the Prayer I wished them to offer, asking if they were content to address to the God whom I adored these prayers from their hearts, and **[page 149]** without dissimulation. They all [275] responded, *nimiroueritenan, nimiroueritenan*, "We are satisfied, we are satisfied." I knelt down first and the others followed, fixing our eyes upon our little Oratory. The Sorcerer alone remained seated; but, when I asked him if he did not wish to be like the others, he did as he saw me do. We were bareheaded, our hands all clasped and raised toward Heaven; and in this attitude I began to repeat the following Prayer aloud in their language.

My Lord, you who have made all, who see all and who know all, have pity upon us. O JESUS son of the All-powerful, you who have taken human flesh for us, who were born of a Virgin for us, who have died for us, who were resurrected and ascended into Heaven for us, you have promised that if anything is asked in your name, you will grant it. I beseech you with all my heart to give food to these poor people, who wish to believe in you and to obey you. These people promise you faithfully that, if you will help them, they will believe entirely in you, and that they will obey you [276] with all their hearts. My Lord, hearken to my prayer; I offer you my life for these people, content to die that they may live and acknowledge you. Amen."

At these words, "to die" for them, which I used to gain their affection, although really I said it with a sincere heart, my host stopped me and said, " Take back those words, for we all love thee, and do not wish thee to die for us." " I wish to show you," I answered, "that I love you, and that I would willingly give my life for your salvation, so great a thing is it to be saved." After I had offered this Prayer, all of **[page 151]** them with hands joined, heads bare, and knees upon the ground, as I have observed, repeated the following, which I pronounced to them with great solemnity.

Great Lord, you who have made heaven and earth, you know all, you can do all. I promise you with all my heart (I could not lie to you) I promise you wholly, that, if it pleases you to give us food, I will obey you cheerfully, that I will surely believe in you. I promise [277] you without deceit that I will do all that I shall be told ought to be done for love of you. Help us, for you can do it; I will certainly do what they shall teach me ought to be done for your sake. I promise it without pretence, I am not lying, I could not lie to you; help us to believe in you perfectly, for you have died for us. Amen."

They all offered this prayer, the Apostate and the Sorcerer as well as the others; God alone can judge of their hearts. After this I told them that they should go to the chase with confidence, as they did, the greater part showing by their faces and words that they had taken pleasure in this act. But, before finding out what success they had, let us couch in their language these two Prayers, in order that you may see the arrangement of their words, and their way of expressing themselves.

*Noukhimame missi ca Khichitaien missi, Khesteritamen missi, ouia*  
My Captain all who hast made, all who knowest, all who  
*batamen chaoueriminan. Jesus oucouchicha missi ca nitaoit*  *Niran*  
seest, have pity on us. Jesus, the Son all whohas made of us  
[278] *ca outchi, arichiirinicassouien, niran* **[page 153]** *Ca outchi,*  
whobecause art made man, of us who because  
*iriniouien iscouechich, niran Ca outchi nipien, niran ca outchi*  
art born of a maiden, of us who because hast died, of us who because  
*ouascoukhi, itoutaien; egou Khisitaie, nitichenicassouiniki, Khegoueia*  
to heaven art gone; thus thou saidst, in my name any  
*netou tamagaouian niga chaouerikan, khitaia mihitin naspich ou*  
thing if I am asked on it I will have pity I pray thee wholly the

*mitchimi a richiriniou miri, Ca ouitapouetasc, Ca*  
 food to these people give, who wish to believe in thee, who  
*ouipamitasc, arichiriniou khiticou naspich, ouitchihien*  
 wish to obey thee; these people say to thee wholly, if thou aidest me  
*khigatapouetatin naspich, khiga Pamtatim naspich, Noukhimame*  
 I will believe thee perfectly I will obey thee entirely my Captain  
*chaoueritamitaouitou oui michoutchi nipousin, iterimien*  
 have pity upon what I say, if thou wish in exchange my death take care  
*ouirouau mag iriniouisonan, egou inousin.*  
 as to them that they may live, so be it.

And here is the one they repeated.

[279] *Khicheoukhi man ca khichitaien ouascou, mag asti, missi*  
 Great Captain who hast made the Sky and the Earth, all  
*khikhisteriten, missi Khipicoutan, khititin naspich, tant*❖  
 thou knowest, everything thou doest well I say to thee wholly how  
*bona oukhiran? Khititin naspich, oui miriatchi*  
 could I lie? [page 155] I tell thee without pretence if thou wilt give us  
*nimitchimian, ochitau tapou*❖ *khiga pamitatin, ochitau, tapout*❖  
 our food quite positively surely I will obey thee quite certainly  
*Khiga tapouetatin, Khititin naspich, niga tin missi khe*  
 truly I will believe in thee, I tell it thee wholly, I will do all that  
*eitigaouan*❖; *khir khe, outchi Khian, ouitchihinan, khiga*  
 they shall tell me of thee because I will do it, help us  
*khi outchi hinan, naspich niga tin missi, khe eitigaouan*❖, *khir Khe,*  
 thou canst help us absolutely I will do all that which they shall tell me of thee  
*outchi khian, Khititin naspich; nama nikhirassin,*  
 because I will do it I tell it thee without pretence, I do not lie,  
*nama khinita khirassicatin, ouitchikinan khigai tapouetatinan*  
 I could not to thee lie, help us that we may believe thee  
*naspich* [280] *ouichihinan mag missi iriniouakhi ouetchi nipouan*❖.  
 perfectly, help us then of all the men because thou art dead,  
*Egou inousin.*  
 Amen.

Our hunters having finished their prayers, went away, some here, some there, to look for something to eat. My host and two young men went off to a Beaver lodge, which they were about to give up, hopeless of taking any thing, when he, on his part, took three; in the afternoon, when I went to find him, I saw him, with my own eyes, take one; and his companions captured some also, but I do not know how many. The Sorcerer, having gone hunting on [page 157] this same day with one of his young nephews, caught a Porcupine, and discovered the tracks of a Moose, which has since been killed with arrows, contrary to the expectations of all the people, for there was only a little snow. A young Hiroquois, of whom I shall speak hereafter, also killed a very fine Porcupine. In short, every one took something, except the Apostate, who returned empty-handed. In the evening, when my host returned to the cabin, carrying three Beavers, I extended to him my hand. He approached joyfully, recognizing the [281] help of God, and asked what he should do. I said to him, "*Nicanis*, my well-beloved, we must thank God who has helped us." "What for indeed?" said the Apostate, "we could not have failed to find that without the aid of God." At these words I cannot tell what emotions surged in my heart; but if this traitor had given me a sword-thrust, he could not have saddened me more; these words alone were needed that all might be lost. My host did not fail to tell me that he would do what I wished; and he might have fulfilled his duty, had not the Sorcerer interposed. For, as the Apostate had no authority among the Savages, I intended to await the banquet they would have, where all the Savages would be assembled; so that, having before their eyes the gifts our Lord had made them, they would be better disposed to recognize his assistance. But when I was about to speak to them, the Renegade, angry at being the only one who had not taken something, not only would not help me, but even imposed silence upon me, abruptly commanding me to keep still. "I will not do it," I said to him, "if you are [282] ungrateful, the others are not." The Sorcerer, seeing they were rather [page 159] disposed to listen to me, and believing that, if they gave me their attention, he himself would lose so much of his authority, said to me, arrogantly, "Hold thy tongue, thou hast no sense; this is no time to talk, but to eat." I tried to ask him if he had no eyes, if he did not plainly see the help of God, but he would not listen to me. The others, who were maintaining a profound silence, seeing that the Sorcerer was hostile to me, did not dare ask me to speak; so the one who prepared the banquet began to distribute it, and the others to eat. Then behold my pigs devouring the acorns, regardless of him who shook them down. They vied with each other in their happiness; they were filled with joy, and I with sadness; we must yield to the will of God, for the hour of this people is not yet come.

This happened on Monday. On the Wednesday following, my host and a young hunter killed with arrows the Moose whose tracks we had seen; they saw others afterwards, but, as [283] there was so little snow, they could never approach within arrow-shot of them. As soon as they had captured this game, they divided it up, bringing a large part of it to our cabins, and burying the rest under the snow. Now every one was happy, and a great banquet was made, to which I was invited. Seeing the big pieces of meat they gave to each one, I asked the Apostate if this was an eat-all feast. He answered, "yes;" and I said to him, "It is impossible for me to eat all they have given me." "Indeed you must," he answered, "you must eat it all; the others have to eat all theirs, and you must eat all yours." I made him understand that God forbids such excess, and I would not commit it even if my life depended upon it. [page 161] This wicked blasphemer, to arouse the others against me, said that God was angry because they had something to eat. "I did not say that," I replied to him in Savage, "but that he prohibits eating to excess." The Sorcerer answered me, "I am never so well off as when I

am full." Now as I could not come to the [284] end of my portion, I invited one of my neighboring Savages to take a part of it, giving him some tobacco as a reward for what he would eat for me. I threw another piece of it, secretly, to the dogs. The Savages began to suspect something, from the fight that afterwards took place among these animals; and commenced to cry out against me, saying that I was contaminating their feast, that they would capture nothing more, and that we would die of hunger. When the women and children heard of this afterward, they looked upon me as a very bad man, reproaching me disdainfully, and saying that I would be the cause of their death; and truly, if God had not granted us anything for a long time, I would have been in danger of being put to death for having committed such a sacrilege, to such an extent does their superstition go. To prevent the recurrence of this misfortune, after that they gave me only a small portion; and they also told me that I should not eat any more than I wanted to, that they would eat the rest, but above all I should take care not to throw any to the dogs.

On the thirtieth of the same month of December, we broke camp, and in the course of our [285] journey we passed over two beautiful lakes covered with ice. We turned toward the place where our Moose was hidden, which would not last long in this eighth station. **[page 163]**

The Sorcerer asked me if I really did love the other life, that I had described as so full of all blessings; having replied that I did, indeed, love it, "And I," said he, "I hate it, for to go there one must die, and that is something I have no desire to do; and yet if I thought and believed that this life was miserable, and that the other was full of delights, I would kill myself, to be freed from the one and to enjoy the other." I answered that God forbade us to kill ourselves, or to kill any one else, and if we destroyed ourselves we would go down into a life of misery, for having acted contrary to his commands. "Oh well," said he, "thou needst not kill thyself; but I will kill thee, to please thee, that thou mayest go to Heaven, and enjoy the pleasures that thou tellest about." I smiled, and replied to him that I could not without sin agree to have my life taken. "I see plainly," said he, sneeringly, [286] "that thou hast not yet the desire to die any more than I have." "None," said I, "to bring about my own death."

At this time, our hunters having followed a Moose, and not having been able to capture it, the Apostate began to blaspheme, saying to the Savages, "The God who is sorry when we eat, is now very glad that we have not anything to dine upon." And another time, seeing them bringing some Porcupines, "God," said he, "will be angry because we are going to fill ourselves up." Oh, blasphemous tongue, how wilt thou be chastised! Oh, brutal spirit, how wilt thou be confounded, if God does not take pity on thee! May the Angels and holy Spirits redouble their Songs of honor and of praise, as many times as this atheist will blaspheme them! This poor wretch does not fail at times to have some fear of hell, **[page 163]** which he- tries to suppress as much as he can. As I was threatening him with these torments one day, "Perhaps," he replied, "we people here have no souls, or perhaps they are not made like yours, or it may be that they do not go to the same [287] place. Who has ever come back from that country to bring us news of it?" I answered him that one cannot see the Sky, without recognizing that there is a God; that one cannot conceive that there is a God, without conceiving that he is just, and that consequently he renders to each one according to his works, whence it follows that there are great rewards or great punishments. "That's all very well," said he, "for you others whom God helps; but he has no interest in us, for, whatever he may do, we still die of hunger unless we find game." Never will this besotted mind be able to conceive that God rules the great family of the world with more wisdom and more care than a King governs his Kingdom, and the father of a family his household. I would be too tedious if I reported all I said to him about his blasphemies and dreams.

On the fourth of January of this year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, we started to make our [ninth] settlement since our departure from the banks of the great river, always seeking something upon which to live. In this place I reproached the Sorcerer with not being [288] a good Prophet, for he had assured me, the last two times when we had broken camp, that it would snow abundantly as soon as we had changed our dwelling place, which had proved to be untrue. I reported this to my host, in order to take away some of the belief that he has in this man, whom he adores. He answered that the **[page 167]** Sorcerer had not assured me that it would snow, but simply that he thought it would. "No," said I, "he assured me that he saw the snow coming, and that it would fall as soon as we had settled down." *Khikhirassin*, he replied, "Thou hast lied." As soon as you tell them something they do not wish to agree to, they pay you in this coin.

On the eve of Epiphany my host told me that he had had a dream which caused him much anxiety. "I have seen in my sleep," said he, "that we were reduced to the last extremity of hunger; and that he who thou hast told us has made all, assured me that thou wouldst fall into such a stupor, that, not being able to put one foot before the other, thou wouldst die alone abandoned in the midst of the woods; I [289] fear that my dream will be only too true, for we are now in as great need as ever for lack of snow." I had an idea that this dreamer might play some bad trick on me and abandon me, to prove himself a Prophet. For this reason I made use of his weapons, opposing *altare contra altare*, dream against dream. "As for me," I replied, "I have dreamed just the opposite; for in my sleep I saw two Moose, one of which was already killed and the other still living." "Good," said the Sorcerer, "that's very nice; have hope, thou tellest us good news." In truth, I had had this dream some days before. "Well, then," I said to my host, "which of our two dreams will be found to be true? Thou sayest we shall die of starvation, and I say we shall not." He began to laugh. Then I told him that dreams were nothing but lies, that I placed no dependence upon them; that my hope was in him who has made all, and yet I feared he would chastise us, seeing that, as soon as **[page 169]** they had something to eat, they mocked [290] him, especially the Apostate. "He doesn't know anything," they said, "do not pay any attention to him."

On the day that the three Kings adored our Lord, we received three pieces of bad news. The first was that the young Hyroquois, who had gone hunting the day before, had not returned; and, as they were very well aware that hunger had weakened him so that he could not go far, they thought he was dead, or lying somewhere so weak from lack of food that hunger and cold would kill him. In fact, he has never yet appeared; some thought he might have tried to return to his own country, but the greater part are sure he is lying dead somewhere upon the snow. He was one of the three prisoners at Tadoussac, of whom I spoke in the first letters I sent from these countries;<sup>[4]</sup> his two compatriots were executed with unparalleled cruelties, but his life was saved because he was young, at the request of sieur Emery de Can, whom we begged to intercede [291] for him. This poor young man had very kind memories of me, and had a great desire to live in our house; but the Sorcerer, to whom he belonged, would neither give nor sell him.

The second piece of bad news was brought by a young Savage who came from another quarter, who told us that a Savage of a more distant cabin had died of hunger, and that his people were greatly terrified at not finding anything to eat; when he saw us suffering from the same scarcity, he was frightened still more. The third news was that our people had discovered the trail of several Savages, who were nearer to us than we thought, for they were coming to hunt upon our very grounds, taking away our game and our lives at the same time. These three pieces of **[page 171]** news discouraged our Savages greatly, the alarm spread everywhere, and all walked with bowed heads. I do not know how I looked, but they seemed to me very much emaciated, very sad and mournful. If the



Apostate had consented [292] to help me influence and win over the Sorcerer, this was the time to do it; but his mute devil tied his tongue.

I must here speak of the little esteem the Savages have for him. He has fallen into great embarrassment, in trying to avoid a slight reproach. He gave up Christians and Christianity, because he could not suffer the taunts of the Savages, who jeered at him occasionally because he was Sedentary and not wandering, as they were; and now he is their butt and their laughingstock. He is a slave to the Sorcerer, in whose presence he would not dare to move. His brothers and the other Savages have often told me that he has no sense, that he is a buzzard, that he resembles a dog, that he would die of hunger if they did not feed him, that he gets lost in the woods like a European; the women make fun of him,- if some child cries because it does not have enough to eat, they say to it, "Hush, hush, do not cry, *Petrichrich* (they call him this in sport) will bring back a Beaver, and then thou shalt have something to eat." When they [293] hear him return, "Go and see," they say to their children, " if he has not killed a Moose;" thus making sport of him for being a poor hunter, a great reproach among the Savages. Because such men cannot find wives or retain them, the Apostate, with the help of his brothers, has already had four or five, all of whom have left him. The one he has had this winter told me she would leave him in the Spring, and, if she had belonged to this part of the [page 173] country, she would have left him then. I hear that she has, in fact, deserted him.

On a certain day, when our hunters had gone out, a council of women was held in our cabin. Now as they did not think I could understand, they spoke aloud and freely, tearing this poor Apostate to pieces. The occasion for this was, that the day before he had not carried anything home to his wife from a feast to which he had been invited, and which was not an eat-all feast. " Oh, the glutton," they said, " who gives his wife nothing to eat! If he could only kill something! He has no sense; he eats everything [294] like a dog. " There was great excitement among the women over this subject, for, as they do not usually go to the feasts, they would be very sorely afflicted if their husbands lost the good habit they have of bringing home the remains to their families. The Renegade coming in while these women were drawing this picture of him, they knew very well how to put a good face on the matter, showing countenances as smiling as usual, even to such an extent that the one who had said the worst things about him, gave him a bit of tobacco, which was then a great present.

On the ninth of January, a Savage, who came to visit us, said that a man and a woman of the place from which he had come had starved to death, and that several others were on the verge of starvation. The poor man fasted the day of his arrival as well as we, for there was nothing to eat; and we had to wait until ten o'clock of the next night, when my host brought in two Beavers, which were a great blessing to us.

[295] On the following day our people killed the [page 175] second Moose, at which there was general rejoicing. True, it was a little marred by the arrival of a Savage, and of two or three women and a child, whom famine would have slaughtered, if they had not happened to come to our cabin. They looked most hideous, the man especially, more so than the women, one of whom had given birth to a child ten days before in the snow, and, in the famine, had passed several days without eating.

But admire, if you please, the love these barbarians have for each other. These new guests were not asked why they came upon our boundaries, if they were not well aware that we were in as great straits as they were, and that they were coming to take the morsel out of our mouths. On the contrary, they were received, not with words, but with deeds; without exterior ceremony, for of this the Savages have none, but not without charity. They threw them large pieces of the Moose which had just been killed, [296] without saying another word but, *mitisoukou*, "eat;" and indeed it would have been very wrong to ask them then to use their mouths for any other purpose. While they were eating, a feast was prepared, at which they were treated generously, I assure you; for the portion given to each one of them more than filled their *ouragans*, which are very large.

On the sixteenth of the same month, we rambled about the country; and, not being able to find the place we wanted, we could only lodge in a hostelry that we erected in haste; the next day we pursued our journey, passing over a mountain so high, that even though we did not ascend to its summit, which seemed to be fortified with horrible rocks, yet the Sorcerer told me that if the Sky, which was [page 177] obscured by a cloud, had been clear, we might have seen at the same time, both Kebec and Tadoussac, distant from each other at least forty leagues. I saw with horror precipices beneath me, which made [297] me tremble. In the midst of some plains, I saw mountains which seemed to me like little towers, or rather diminutive castles, although in reality they were very large and very high. Imagine how hard it is for these barbarians to drag their baggage so high. I had trouble in getting up, but still more in coming down; for, although I was going away from the precipices, yet the slope was so steep that it was very easy to roll down and break one's head against a tree.

On the twenty-ninth, we finished our descent of this mountain, and carried our house up the slope of another to which we were going. As this was the end of our pilgrimage, we shall begin hereafter to turn back and direct our course toward the Island where we had left our Shallop. We saw here the sources of two little rivers, which flow into a river as large, our Savages say, as the St. Lawrence; they call it *Oueraouachticou*.

[298] This twelfth station delivered us from famine; for the snow was deep enough to impede the long legs of the Elk, and we had something to eat. At first, there was nothing but feasts and dancing; but this did not last long, as they soon began to dry the meat. Passing thus from starvation to good food, I felt very well; but when we changed from fresh meat to smoked, I fell ill, and did not entirely recover my health until three weeks after my return to our little house.

It is true that from the beginning of February until April we always had something to [page 179] eat; but it was smoked meat, so hard and so dirty, and in so small quantities, except a few days of plenty which passed in feasting, that our Savages counted these last months as well as the preceding ones, among the months and winters of their famines. They told me that, to live moderately well and without suffering, they had to have an Elk as large as an ox every two days, both because [299] we were rather numerous, and also because people eat a great deal of meat when they have neither bread nor anything else to make the food hold out; add to this that they are great diners, and that Elk meat does not remain long in the stomach.

I have forgotten to say elsewhere that the Savages count the years by winters. To say, "How old art thou? " they say, " How many winters hast thou passed? " They count also by nights, as we do by days; instead of saying, " It happened three days ago," they say, "three nights ago."



On the fifth of February, we left our twelfth dwelling to proceed to our thirteenth. I was very sick; the Sorcerer was killing me with his cries, his howls, and his drum; he continually reproached me with being proud, saying that the *Manitou* had made me sick as well as the others. "It is not," I said to him, "the *Manitou* or devil that has caused this sickness, but bad food, which has injured my stomach, and [300] other hardships that have weakened me." All this did not satisfy him; he did not cease to attack me, especially in the presence of the Savages, saying I had mocked the *Manitou*, and that he had revenged himself upon me for my pride. One day, when he was casting these slurs upon me, I sat upright, and said, "That thou mayest know it is not thy **[page 181]** *Manitou* who causes sickness and kills people, hear how I shall speak to him." I cried out in their language, in a loud voice, " Come, *Manitou*; come, demon; murder me if thou hast the power, I defy thee, I mock thee, I do not fear thee; thou hast no power over those who believe and love God; come and kill me if thy hands are free; thou art more afraid of me than I am of thee." The Sorcerer was terrified and said, "Why dost thou call him, since thou dost not fear him? it is the same as calling him to kill thee." "Not at all," said I; " but I am calling him to make you see that he has no power over those who worship the true God, and to show [301] thee that he is not the sole cause of sickness, as thou thinkest."

On the ninth of the same month of February we scoured the plains. The Sorcerer, in spite of the fact that I was sick, would force me to carry some of the baggage; but my host took pity on me, and, having encountered me on the way when I was ready to sink from exhaustion, he took what I carried, of his own free will, and placed it upon his sledge.

On the fourteenth and fifteenth, we made long stages, to go and plant our cabin near two small Moose that my host had killed. Upon the way, as we discovered the tracks of a third, my host interrupted the journey to go and look for it. I belonged to the rear guard of our army; that is, I was coming up slowly behind the others, when suddenly this Elk appeared, coming straight toward me, and after it my host in hot pursuit. The snow was very deep, and hence, ere it had gone five hundred steps, it was killed. We encamped near there and made a feast of it. **[page 183]**

[302] The Apostate, continuing to blaspheme here, asked me, in the presence of his brothers, in order to turn them against God, why I prayed to him who neither saw nor heard anything. I rebuked him very sharply and imposed silence upon him.

On the sixth day of March, we shifted our quarters. The Sorcerer, the Renegade, and two young hunters, directed their steps before us straight to the banks of the great river. The cause of this separation was that my host, a good hunter, had discovered four Moose, and a number of Beaver lodges; and not being able alone to hunt in places so widely separated, the Sorcerer took these young hunters to chase the Moose, and he remained for the Beavers. This separation was fraught with both good and evil for me. With good, because I was freed from the Sorcerer; I have no words to describe the pertinacity of this wicked man. With evil, because my host did not capture any Moose, and we had nothing to eat but smoked meat, which was very distasteful to me; for, if he captured any Beavers, they were smoked, [303] except the little ones, which we ate; the finest and best ones were reserved for the feasts they were to give in the Spring, at the place where they had appointed a rendezvous.

On the thirteenth of the same month, we made our eighteenth station near a river, whose waters seemed to me sweet as sugar after the dirt of the melted snow that we drank at former stations, out of a greasy and smoky kettle. I began here to experience the discomfort of sleeping upon the ground, which was cold in winter and damp in Spring; for my right side, upon which I lay, became so benumbed from cold that it scarcely had any sense of feeling. Now fearing I **[page 185]** would only carry half of myself back to our little house, the other being paralyzed, I promised a shirt and a little gown to a child, for a miserable piece of Moose skin, which his mother gave me; this undressed skin was about as hard as the ground, but not as damp. [304] Of this I made my bed, which was so short that the ground, which had up to that time taken possession of all my body, still kept the half of it

After the departure of the Sorcerer, my host took pleasure in asking me questions, especially about the things of nature. One day he asked me how the earth was made; and, bringing me a piece of bark and some charcoal, he had me describe it. So I drew for him the two Hemispheres; and, after having traced Europe, Asia and Africa, I came to our America, showing him that it is an immense Island. I described for him the coast of Acadia, the great Island of Newfoundland, the entrance and gulf of our great river saint Lawrence, the people who inhabit its banks, the place where we then were. I went up as far as the Algonquains, the Hiroquois, the Hurons, to the neutral nation, etc., showing him the places more and less populous. I passed to Florida, to Peru, to Brazil, etc., speaking to him in my jargon the best I could about these countries. He asked me [305] more particularly about the countries of which he had some knowledge. Then having listened to me patiently, he exclaimed, using one of their words expressive of great admiration, *Amonitatinaniouikhi!* "This black robe tells the truth," speaking to an old man who was looking at me; and turning toward me, he said, "*nicanis*, my well-beloved, thou dost indeed cause our wonder; for we are acquainted with the **[page 187]** greater part of these lands and tribes, and thou hast described them as they are." Thereupon I urge, "As thou seest I tell the truth in speaking of thy country, thou shouldst also believe that I do not lie in speaking of the others." " I do believe thus," he replied. I followed up my point: "As I am truthful in speaking about things of the earth, also thou shouldst persuade thyself that I am not lying when I speak to thee about the things of Heaven; and therefore thou oughtst believe what I have told thee about the other life." He paused a few moments, and then, having reflected a little, said, " I will believe thee when thou shalt know how to speak; but we have now too much trouble in understanding each other."

[306] He asked me a thousand other questions, about the Sun, the roundness of the earth, the Antipodes, France, and he frequently spoke to me about our good King. He was surprised when I told him that France was full of Captains, and that the King was the Captain of all the Captains. He begged me to take him to France to see him, and to make him some presents. I began to laugh, telling him that all their riches were nothing but poverty compared to the splendors of the King. " I mean," said he, " that I will make presents to his followers; as to him, I will be content to see him." He recounted afterwards to the others what he had heard me say. Another time he asked me if there were any great falls in the sea, that is, waterfalls. There are a great many in the rivers of this country. You will see a beautiful river flowing along peacefully; and all at once it will fall into a lower bed, as the land does not slope gradually, but as if by steps in certain places. We see one of these falls near Kebec; **[page 189]** it is called the " falls of [307] Montmorency." They are formed by a river which comes from the interior, and falls from a very high level into the great river saint Lawrence, the banks enclosing it being considerably elevated at this place. Now some of the Savages believe that the sea has these waterfalls, and that a great many ships are lost in them. I removed this error by telling them that these inequalities are not found in the Ocean.

On the twenty-third of March, we again crossed the river *Capititetchioueth*, over which we had passed on the third of December.

On the thirtieth of the same month, we encamped upon a very beautiful lake, having passed another smaller one on our way, both of them still frozen over as hard as in the middle of winter. Here my host, seeing that I was very weak and cast down, consoled me, saying, " Do not be sad; if thou art sad, thou wilt become still worse; if thy sickness increases, thou wilt die. See what a beautiful country this is; love it; if thou lovest it, thou wilt take pleasure in it, and if thou takest pleasure in it thou wilt become cheerful, and if thou art cheerful thou wilt recover." I [308] took pleasure in listening to the conversation of this poor barbarian.

On the first day of April, we left this beautiful lake, and drew rapidly toward our rendezvous. We passed the night in a miserable smoky hole, and in the morning continued on our way, going farther in these two days than we had previously gone in five. God favored us with fine weather, for there was a hard frost, and the air was clear. If it had thawed as on the preceding days, and we had stink down in the snow, as sometimes happened, either they would [page 191] have had to drag me, or I would have remained on the way, so ill was I. It is true that nature has more resistance than she makes believe; I experienced this that day, when I was so weak that, if I sat down upon the snow occasionally to rest myself, my limbs would tremble, not from cold, but from a weakness which caused the perspiration to come out upon my forehead. Now, as I was thirsty, I tried to drink some water from a torrent [309] that we were passing. The ice, which I broke with my club, fell under me and separated into a big cake. When I saw myself with my snowshoes on my feet, upon this ice, floating in a very rapid current, I leaped to the edge of the torrent before consulting as to whether I ought to do it or not, and nature, which perspired from weakness, found strength enough to escape from this mass of water, not wishing to drink so much of it at once; I had nothing but the fear of a peril which was sooner escaped than realized.

The danger passed, I pursued my way quite slowly; indeed I was not likely to be very strong, for, besides the malady from which I had been suffering since the last day of January, and which had not entirely left me, during these last days I had not been eating more than three mouthfuls of smoked meat in the morning, and would walk nearly all the rest of the day without any other refreshment than a little water, when I could get any. At last I arrived after the others upon the banks of the great river, and, three days later, [310] namely, on the fourth of the same month of April, we made our twenty-third station, going to erect our cabin on the Island where we had left our Shallop. Here we were very badly lodged; for, in addition to the presence of the [page 193] Sorcerer who had returned to us, we were so full of smoke that we could stand no more; besides, as the water of the great river was salty here, and as there was no spring in the Island, we could only drink snow or rainwater, and that very dirty. I did not make a long stay in this place. My host, seeing that I was not getting well, decided to take me back to our little house; the Sorcerer wished to dissuade him from this, but I broke up his conspiracies. I am omitting a thousand particulars in order to get to the end.

On the fifth of the month of April, my host, the Apostate, and I embarked in a little canoe to go to Kebec upon the great river, after having taken leave of all the Savages. Now, as it was still cold, we had not gone far when [311] we found that a little ice had formed during the night, which covered the surface of the water; seeing that it extended quite far, we entered it, the Apostate, who was in front, breaking it with his paddle. But either it was too sharp, or the bark of our gondola too thin; for it made an opening which let the water into our canoe and fear into our hearts. So behold us all three in action, my two Savages paddling, and I baling out the water. We drew with all the strength of our paddles to an Island which we very fortunately encountered. When we set foot upon shore, the Savages seized the canoe, drew it out of the water, turned it upside down; lighted their tinder, made a fire, sewed up the slit in the bark; applied to it their resin, a kind of gum that runs out of trees; placed the canoe again in the water, and we re-embarked and continued our journey. In view of this danger, I told them that, if they expected to encounter much of this sharp ice, [312] it would be [page 195] better to return whence we had come, and wait until the weather was warmer. " It is true," replied my host, " that we came near perishing; if the hole had been a little larger it would have been all over with us. But let us pursue our way, this little ice does not frighten me." Towards the third hour of the evening we saw before us a horrible bank of ice which blocked our way, extending across the great river for a distance of more than four leagues. We were a little frightened, but my people approached it nevertheless, as they had noticed a small opening in it; they glided into this, turning our little gondola first to one side and then to the other, in order to always make some headway. At last we found these masses of ice so firmly wedged together, that it was impossible either to advance or recede, for the movement of the water closed us in on all sides. In the midst of this ice, if a sharp wind had arisen, we would have been crushed and broken to pieces, [313] we and our canoe, like the grain of wheat between two millstones; for imagine these blocks of ice, larger and thicker than the millstone and hopper together. My Savages, seeing our predicament, leaped from one piece of ice to another, like squirrels from tree to tree; and, pushing it away with their paddles, made a passage for the canoe, in which I sat alone, nearer dying from water than from disease. We struggled along in this way until five o'clock in the evening, and then we landed. These barbarians are very skillful in such encounters. They asked me from time to time, in the greatest danger, if I were not afraid; truly nature is not fond of playing at such games, and their leaps from ice to ice seemed to me to be full of peril both for them and for me, [page 197] especially as their father, as I have been told, was drowned under similar circumstances. it is true that God, whose goodness is everywhere adorable, is found as well upon the waters, [314] and among the ice, as upon the land. We escaped also from this danger, which did not seem to them as great as the first.

When we reached land, our house was the foot of a tree, where we lay down, after having eaten a bit of smoked meat and drunk a little melted snow-water. I repeated my little prayers, and rested beside a good fire which counteracted the frost and cold of the night.

The next day we embarked early. The tide, which had brought us these legions of icebergs, had carried them during the night to the other side, so we were for some distance free from this annoyance; but the wind arose, and as our little gondola began to dance upon the waves, we turned shoreward and hurriedly landed. I had begged my people to take with them some pieces of bark, with which to make a cabin to cover us at night, and food enough for several days, as we were not sure that the bad weather might not cause us delays. They did neither [315] one thing nor the other, so we had to lie out in the open air, and make one day's food last four; they had expected to go hunting, but, as the snow was melting, they could not pursue the game. The weather promising to clear up, we embarked again, but scarcely had we gone three leagues when the wind, growing stronger, cast us upon the ice which the tide was bringing back, and caused us to glide quickly through a little stream, and all three to leap upon these great blocks of ice which were along its edge, and thus to gain land, our Savages carrying our bark ship upon their shoulders. [page 199]

Now we were lodged upon a point of land exposed to all the winds. As a shelter, we placed our canoe back of us, and fearing rain or snow, my host threw a wretched skin upon some poles, and lo, our house was made. The winds were so boisterous all night that they nearly blew away our canoe. The next day the [316] storm continuing upon the water, and my people having nothing to eat, they went hunting during most wretched weather. The Renegade did not capture anything; but my host brought back a young partridge, which served as breakfast, dinner, and supper. True, I had eaten some leaves of the strawberry plant that I had found upon

the ground, from which the snow had recently melted in some places. So we passed this day without resuming our journey. That night the storm, gusts of wind, and the cold, assailed us with such fury that we had to surrender to these forces, and get up half-frozen (for we had been lying upon the bare ground, not having taken the trouble to cover it with pine branches) and go into the woods to borrow from the trees their shelter against the wind and their covering against the Sky. Here we made a good fire and went to sleep upon ground still damp from snow which had probably covered it the night before. God be praised, his providence is adorable! We set this [317] day and this night down in the calendar of wretched days and nights, yet it was for us a period of good fortune. For, if these tempests and winds had not held us .prisoners upon the land while they were clearing away the ice and driving it down the river, it would have been massed across the way to the Islands by which we must pass; and we would have had to die from too much drink crushing our canoe, or from too **[page 201]** little food, caused by having to stop in some deserted Island. In short, if we had escaped it would have been with great difficulty. Moreover, I was so weak and sick when I embarked, that if I had foreseen the hardships of the way I would have expected to die a hundred times; yet Our Lord began to strengthen me in these trials, so that I aided -my Savages to paddle, especially toward the end of our journey.

The day after these tempests being still rather windy, my host and the Apostate went hunting. An hour after their departure the [318] Sun shone out brightly, the air became clear, the winds died away, the waves fell, the sea became calm,- in a word, it mended, as the sailors say. Then I was in great perplexity about following my Savages to call them back, for it would have been like a turtle pursuing a greyhound. I turned my eyes to Heaven as to a place of refuge; and, when I lowered them, I saw my people running like deer along the edge of the wood straight toward me. I immediately arose, and started for the river, bearing our little baggage. When my host arrived, *eco, eco, pousitau, pousitau,* " Quick, quick, let us embark, let us embark! " No sooner said than done; the wind and tide favored us, we glided on with paddle and sail, our little bark ship cutting the waves with incomparable swiftness. We at last arrived about ten o'clock in the evening at the end of the great Island of Orleans, from which our little house was not more than two leagues distant. My people had eaten nothing all day; I encouraged them. We [319] tried to go on, but the current of the tide, which was still ebbing, being very rapid, we had to await the flood to cross the great river. Therefore **[page 203]** we went into a little cove, and slept upon the sand, near a good fire that we lighted.

Toward midnight, the tide again arising, we embarked. The Moon shone brightly, and wind and tide made us fly. As my host would not take the direction I advised, we very nearly perished in the port; for, when we came to enter our little river, we found it still covered with ice. We tried to approach the banks, but the wind had piled up great masses of ice there, striking and surging against each other, which threatened us with death if we approached them. So we had to veer around and turn our prow to the wind and work against the tide. It was here I saw the valor of my host. He had [320] placed himself in front, as the place where the greatest danger was to be found. I saw him through the darkness of the night, which filled us with terror while augmenting our peril, strain every nerve and struggle against death, to keep our little canoe in position amid waves capable of swallowing up a great ship. I cried out to him, *Nicanis ouabichtigoueiakhi ouabichtigoueiakhi,* " My well-beloved, to Kebec, to Kebec, let us go there." When we were about to double the Sailor's leap, that is, the bend where our river enters the great river, you might have seen him ride over one wave, cut through the middle of another, dodge one block of ice, and push away another, continually fighting against a furious Northeast wind which we had in our teeth.

Having escaped this danger, we would have liked to land; but an army of icebergs, summoned by the raging wind, barred our entrance. So we went on as far as the fort, coasting along the shores, and sought in the darkness [323] i. e., 321] a little gleam of light **[page 205]** or a small opening among these masses of ice. My host having perceived a rerin, or turn, which is at the bottom of the fort, where the ice did not move, as it was outside the current of wind, he turned away with his paddle three or four dreadful masses of it which he encountered, and dashed in. He leaped quickly from the Canoe, fearing the return of the ice, crying, *Capatau,* " Let us land; " the trouble was, that the ice was so high and densely packed against the bank, that it was all I could do to reach to the top of it with my hands; I did not know what to take hold of to pull myself out of the Canoe, and to climb up upon these icy shores. With one hand I took hold of my host's foot, and with the other seized a piece of ice which happened to project, and threw myself into a place of safety with the other two. A clumsy fellow becomes agile on such occasions. All being out of the Canoe, they seized it at both ends and placed it in safety; and, when this was done, we all three looked at each other, and my host, taking a long breath, said to me, *nicanis khegat nipiadou,* " My good friend, a little more, and we would have perished; " he still felt horror over the gravity of our danger. It is true that [324 i.e., 322] if he had not had the arms of a Giant (he is a large and powerful man), and an ingenuity uncommon among either Frenchmen or Savages, either a wave would have swallowed us up, or the wind would have upset us, or an iceberg would have crushed us. Or rather let us say, if God had not been our Pilot, the waves which beat against the shores of our home would have been our sepulchre. In truth, whoever dwells among these people can say with the Prophet King, *anima mea in manibus meis semper*. Only a little while ago one of our **[page 207]** Frenchmen was drowned, under like circumstances, yet less dangerous, for there was no longer any ice.

Having escaped so many perils, we crossed our river on the ice, which was not yet broken; and three hours after midnight, on Palm Sunday, April 9th, I reentered our little house. God knows what joy there was on both sides! I found the house filled with peace and blessings, every one being in good health, by the grace of our Lord. Monsieur the Governor, learning of my return, sent to me [323] two of our most prominent Frenchmen, to inquire after my health. His affection for us is indeed very evident. One of the heads of the old family in the country<sup>[5]</sup> also hastened to express his joy at my return. They knew by the small amount of snow that had fallen that Winter, which was less severe than others, that the Savages, and consequently I, would suffer greatly from famine; and hence some even shed tears of joy at seeing me escaped from so great a danger. Blessed be our Lord, in time and in eternity.

I wanted to describe this journey, to show Your Reverence the great hardships that must be endured in following the Savages; but I entreat, for the last time, those who have any desire to help them not to be frightened; not only because God makes himself more powerfully felt in our time of need, and in the helplessness of his creatures, but also because it will no longer be necessary to make these sojourns when we shall know their languages and reduce them to rules. I have reported some details [324] which might have been omitted; and have passed over in silence much that would, perhaps, have been read with pleasure; but the fear of being tedious **[page 209]**, and my little leisure, have caused some disorder in my work. It is true that I am writing to a person, *quod ordinabit me charitatem*; and the others who through his agency see this Relation will do me the same favor. I feel like saying these two words to whomsoever will read these writings, *ama et fac quod vis*. Let us return to our journal.

On the 31st Of May, a shallop arrived from Tadoussac which bore the news that three vessels of Messieurs the Associates had arrived,- two being in that port, and the third at Moulin Baude, a place near Tadoussac, thus named by the French.<sup>[6]</sup> They were waiting for the fourth, commanded by Monsieur du Plessis, general of the fleet, who came soon afterwards and bestowed high praise upon Captain Bontemps for having shown very meritorious conduct in the capture of the English ship, of which I have spoken above.



As soon as this good news was brought to Monsieur de Champlain, as he never omits [325] any occasion to show his good will, he sent us tidings thereof by a special messenger, sending us also the letters of Reverend Father Lallement who wrote me that he had arrived with Our Brother Jean Ligeois in good health, and that the first breeze would bring him to us. [7] It is easy to guess with what joy we blessed and thanked our Lord for this good and so favorable news. He arrived two days later in the bark commanded by Monsieur Castillon, who is said to have done good work in the capture of the English.

On the fourth day of June, the Feast of Pentecost, Captain de Neste arrived at Kebec; in his vessel was Monsieur Giffard and his whole household, composed of many persons, whom he brought to settle in this [page 211] country. [8] His wife showed great courage in following her husband; she was pregnant when she embarked, which made her dread her accouchement; but our Lord was wonderfully kind to her, for eight days after her arrival, that is, on the Sunday of holy Trinity, she was delivered happily of a daughter who is doing [326] very well and whom Father Lallement baptized the following day.

On the 24th of the same month, feast of St. John the Baptist, the English ship, commanded by Captain de Lormel, came up thus far, and brought us Father Jacques Buteux [9] in fairly good health. Monsieur the General, honoring us with his letters, sent me word that this good Father had been very sick during the passage; the Father told us that he had been so effectively nursed and assisted by Monsieur the General and his Surgeon, that he felt overwhelmed by their kindness; he feels better now than ever before. [10]

On the first of July, Father Brebœuf and Father Daniel left in a bark to go to three Rivers, there to wait for the Hurons. This bark was destined to begin a new settlement in that quarter. Father Davost, who had come down from Tadoussac for the assistance of our French, followed our Fathers three days later in company with Monsieur the General, who wanted to meet these people at the trading post. [11] They waited there some time for the Hurons, who did not come down in so great numbers this year as usual; because the Hiroquois, having been informed that five hundred men of this nation were moving toward their country to make war upon them, themselves went on ahead to the number of fifteen hundred, it is said; and, having surprised those who were to surprise [page 213] them, they killed about two hundred of them, and took more than one hundred prisoners, Louys Amantacha [12] being one of the number. They said his father was put to death, but the report is now that he escaped the hands of the enemy. We were told that these triumphant [327] Hiroquois sent some Captains to the Hurons to treat for peace, retaining the most prominent ones in their possession after having cruelly massacred the others.

This loss caused the Hurons to come in small bands, only seven Canoes coming down at first. When Father Brebœuf heard of their arrival, he went to them, and did all he could to make them promise to receive him and his companions, and take them to their country; this they willingly granted. Thereupon [328] an Algonquain Captain, called the Partridge, who lives in the town, made a speech recommending them not to take any Frenchmen on board. Now these Hurons, who had to pass through the country of this Captain on their return, became very cold, and at this point Monsieur du Plessis arrived. All this had occurred at a place called the three Rivers, thirty leagues farther up the river than Kebec. As he was very anxious to have our Fathers penetrate into these nations, he had the Algonquains assembled in Council, especially this Captain, to have him explain the reason of his opposition. He brought forth several arguments, which they answered for him at once; he dwelt, as I judge from Father Brebœuf's letters, upon the trouble that would occur in case some Frenchman should die among the Hurons. He was told that, as the Fathers would not be in his country, the peace between the French and his Compatriots would not be disturbed, whether their death [page 215] were a natural or a violent one. So now the Algonquains were satisfied; but the Hurons began to excuse themselves on account of the [329] small number of their men, who could not carry so many Frenchmen; also on account of their small Canoes and the presence of sickness among them. In a word, they would have been very willing to take on board some Frenchmen who were well armed; but they did not want these long robes, who carried no guns. Monsieur du Plessis became urgent, pressing our cause with all the power he had; they find a place for a few. A certain Savage, addressing the Father, said, " Arrange for me to trade my tobacco for porcelain; and, my Canoe being unloaded, I will take one Frenchman." The Father had none of this; but, when Monsieur du Plessis and Monsieur de l'Espinay<sup>5</sup> heard of it, they bought his tobacco, and this made a place for six persons. When they came to embark, the Savages, who were, in fact, sick, said they could not carry more than three,-two young Frenchmen, and one Father. The Fathers promised that they would paddle; they made presents, and Monsieur du Plessis made some also and urged them as strongly as he could; they would not receive any more.

Father Brebœuf has recourse to God; [330] this is the way he speaks of it in his letter: " Never did I see an embarkation about which there was so much quibbling and opposition, through the tactics, as I believe, of the common enemy of man's salvation. It was by a Providential chance that we were taken, and through the power of the Glorious saint Joseph, to whom God inspired me to offer, in my despair of all things, the promise Of 20 masses in his honor. [page 217] After this vow was made, the Savage who had taken on board Petit Prœ, one of our Frenchmen, gave him up to receive me, especially as Monsieur du Plessis insisted strongly that this should be done." And thus Father Brebœuf, Father Daniel, and a young man named le Baron were accepted by these Barbarians, who carried them into their country in bark Canoes. There remained Father Davost and five of our Frenchmen. Do not ask if the Father was sad at thus seeing his companions depart without him, almost without taking the necessaries of life, or their clothing. In truth, they have shown that they possess a generous heart! For the desire to go into the country of the Cross made them leave their little baggage, in order not to irritate [331] their Savages, who were ill, contenting themselves merely with the Altar ornaments, and trusting the rest to the providence of our Lord. Their departure from three Rivers was so hurried that they could not write to us; but when they reached the long Sault, some twenty-four leagues from Kebec, they encountered some Hurons who were coming down the river, and sent us letters, in one of which Father Brebœuf, having recounted the difficulties of his embarkation, speaks thus: " I beg Your Reverence to express our warmest thanks to Monsieur du Plessis, to whom, after God, we are greatly indebted for our embarkation. For - besides the presents he made to the Savages, publicly and privately, and the Porcelain he traded -he held as many councils as we desired, furnished us with provisions at our departure, and honored us with several Cannon salutes; and all with great care, and an appearance of very special interest in us.

" We are going on by short stages, quite well, as [page 219] far as we are concerned; but our Savages are all sick. We paddle [332] all the time, and do this the more because our people are sick. What ought not to be done for God, and for souls redeemed by the blood of the Son of God! All our Savages are very much pleased with us, and would not have cared to take others on board; they speak well of us to those whom they meet, persuading them not to embark any others. God be praised! Your Reverence will excuse this writing, order and all; we start so early in the morning, and lie down so late, and paddle so continually, that we hardly have time enough to devote to our prayers; indeed, I have been obliged to finish this by the light of the fire." These are the exact words of the Father who adds in another place that the people of the countries through which they pass are nearly all sick, and are dying in great



numbers. There has been a sort of Epidemic this year, which has even been communicated to the French; but, thank God, no one has died of it; it is a sort of measles, and an oppression of the stomach. Let -us return to three Rivers.

Those who were awaiting some other occasion to embark were consoled [333] by the coming of three Canoes, in which Monsieur du Plessis had Father Davost and two of our Frenchmen embark, looking out for their interests with wonderful care, as the Father writes me. A short time after this, other Hurons came; and he placed in their Canoes both men and baggage, in a word, all that remained. So that three of our Fathers and six of our Frenchmen have gone up to the Hurons.

They have three hundred leagues to make over a route full of horrors, as it is described by the Hurons **[page 221]**; on their way down, they hide meal every two days, to eat on their return, and these hiding-places are the only hotels they have. If they fail to find them, or if some one robs them, for they are the worst kind of thieves, they must get along without eating. If they do find their provisions, they cannot feast very sumptuously upon them. In the morning they mix a little of this meal with water, and each one eats about a bowlful of it; upon this they ply their paddles all day, and at nightfall they eat as [334] they did at break of day. This is the kind of life that our Fathers must lead until they reach the country of these barbarians. When they arrive, they will build themselves a bark house, and there they will live on wheat, and cornmeal, and, in certain seasons, on fish. As for meat, there being no hunting where they are, they will not eat it six times a year, unless they eat their dogs, as the people do, who raise these animals as they do sheep in France; their drink will be water. So these are the delicacies of the country for well people and sick,-bread, wine, different kinds of meat, fruit, and a thousand refreshing viands found in France not yet having been introduced into these countries.

The money with which they will buy their food, wood, bark house, and other necessities, is little beads or tubes of glass, knives, awls, blankets, kettles, hatchets, and similar things; this is the money they must carry with them. If peace is negotiated between the Hurons and Hiroquois, I foresee a splendid opening for the Gospel. [33 i.e., 335] We can say then with joy and with sadness, *messis, quidem multa operarii vero pauci*, for we shall see few persons who understand these languages. I learn that **[page 223]** in the 25 or 30 leagues of country which the Hurons occupy,- others estimate it at much less,- there are more than thirty thousand souls. The neutral nation is much more populous, the Hiroquois largely so, and the Algonquains have a country of very great extent. I would like to have now only five or six of our Fathers in each of these nations; and yet I would not dare to ask for them, although for one that we desire ten would volunteer, all ready to die in these countries. But I learn that all we have in France for this mission is little; how then shall we take the children, especially those of these populous nations, to maintain and instruct them? Alas, must it be that the goods of this world are a barrier to the blessings of Heaven? Oh, that we had only the crumbs of bread that fall from the tables of the rich of the world, to give to these little children! I do not [336] complain, I ask nothing from any one whomsoever; but I cannot restrain my emotion when I see that dirt (for what else is wealth here below?) prevents these people from knowing and adoring God. And if any one thinks it strange that I speak in this way, let him come, let him open his eyes, let him see these people crying for the bread of the word of God; and, if he is not touched with compassion, and if he does not cry louder than I do, I will condemn myself to perpetual silence.

On the third of August, Monsieur de Champlain, having returned from three Rivers, where he had gone after the departure of our Fathers, told us that a French interpreter for the Algonquin nation had come from the Hurons and brought the tidings that Father Brebœuf was suffering greatly; that his Savages were sick, and that he had to paddle continually **[page 225]**, to relieve them; that Father Daniel had died of starvation, or was in great danger of dying, because the Savages who had taken him on board had left the usual route, where they had hidden [337] their food, and had turned off into the woods, hoping to find a certain tribe who would give them something to eat; but, not having found these wandering people, who had gone to some other place, they supposed that they all, Savages and French, were in danger of death, especially as there is no game in that quarter, and as the greater part of these Barbarians are sick. God be praised for all. Those who die on the way to martyrdom are surely martyrs. As to Father Davost, he is getting along very well, but the Savages who are taking him have stolen part of his baggage; I have already said that to be a Huron, and to be a Thief, is one and the same thing. So much for what this interpreter reported. The Fathers will write us next year, please God, all the particulars of their journey; but we cannot have news from them before that time. If their little outfit is lost or stolen, they will have to endure a great deal in those countries, so far from all help.

On the fourth, Monsieur du Plessis came down from three Rivers. As I [338] went to greet him, he told me that he had brought us a little orphan Savage, making a present of him to us, to take the place of his father. As soon as we shall have the means for gathering in these poor children, we shall have a number of them who will afterwards serve in the conversion of their Compatriots. He also told us that they were working with might and main in the place called the three Rivers; so, indeed, our French now have three settlements upon the great river **[page 227]** saint Lawrence,- one at Kebec, newly fortified; another fifteen leagues farther up the river, on the Island of sainte Croix, where Monsieur de Champlain has had fort Richelieu built; [\[13\]](#) the third colony is being established at three Rivers, fifteen leagues still higher up the river, that is to say thirty leagues from Kebec. Immediately after the departure of the vessels, Father Jacques Buteux and I will go there to live, to assist our French. As new settlements are usually dangerous, it has not seemed to me proper to expose Father Charles Lallemant or others there. Father Buteux goes there with me [339] to study the language.

Your Reverence will now see that the fear some people had that the foreigner would again come to ravage the country, and prevent the conversion of these poor Barbarians, is not well founded; since households have been established here, since forts and dwellings are being built in several places, and as Monseigneur the Cardinal favors this enterprise, honorable in the eyes of God and of man. That mind, capable of animating four bodies, according to what I have heard, -sees far indeed, I confess; but I am of the opinion that he does not expect from our Savages, who hear the word of God and the truths of Heaven through his agency,-for it is he who has honored us with his commands, sending us again into these countries under the care of Messieurs the Associates,- I believe, I say, that he does not expect from this vine, which he waters with his care, the fruits which it will bear for him on earth, and which he will enjoy one day in Heaven. God grant that he may see five or six hundred Hurons,- large, [340] strong, well-made men -ready to listen to the good **[page 229]** news of the Gospel which is being carried to them this year. I imagine that he would honor occasionally new France by a look, and that this glance would give him as much satisfaction as those great deeds with which he is filling Europe; but to cause the blood of Jesus Christ to be applied to the souls for whom it was shed, is a glory little known among men, but longed for by the great powers of Heaven and earth.

It is time to sound the retreat; the vessels are ready to depart, and still I have not yet read over nor repunctuated this long Relation, which ought to be enough for three years. Your Reverence will understand, through the necessity that has obliged me to borrow the hand of another to write to you, that I have not all the leisure I could desire. I do not know how it happens that news is

always written in haste. Let no one seek herein elegance, so much as truth and simplicity; my heart has spoken more than my lips, and were it not for the feeling I have [341] that, in writing to one person, I speak to many, it would overflow still more.

One word more. Since Your Reverence loves us so tenderly, and your kind care reaches out so effectively to help us, even to the ends of the earth, give us, my Reverend Father, if you please, persons capable of learning these languages. We intended to apply ourselves to this work this year, Father Lallemand, Father Buteux, and I; but this new settlement separates us. Who knows whether Father Daniel is still living, whether Father Davost will reach the Hurons? For, as his Savages have begun to rob him, they may truly play a still worse game upon him. Since the death of a poor unhappy Frenchman, [page 231] murdered by the Hurons, it has been discovered that these Barbarians caused the drowning of Reverend Father Nicolas, Recolect, considered a very worthy man. [14] All this convinces us that we must retain here as many of our Fathers as we can; because if, for example, Father Brebœuf and I should happen to die, all the little we know of the Huron [342] and Montagnais languages would be lost; and thus they would always be beginning over again, and retarding the fruits that they wish to gather from this Mission. God will raise up persons who will have pity upon so many souls, and who will succor those who come to seek them in the midst of so many dangers. It is he whom we thank for Your Reverence's so cordial affection and assistance, very humbly supplicating you to remember at the Altar and at the Oratory your children and subjects,- especially the one who is most in need of it, who will sign himself confidently and from the depths of his heart, what he is,

MY REVEREND FATHER,  
Your very humble and very obedient  
servant in Our Lord JESUS CHRIST,  
PAUL LE JEUNE.

From the little house of N. Dame des Anges, in New  
France. this 7th of August, 1634.

*Your Reverence will permit us, if you please, to implore the prayers of all our Fathers, and of all our brothers of your Province. Our great help must come from Heaven.* [page 235]

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LETTRE DE PAUL LE JEUNE

❖ Cardinal de Richelieu

Kebek, Aoust I, 1635



SOURCE : The original is in the Archives des affaires étrangères, Paris. We follow a transcript of the copy in the Library of the Dominion Parliament, Ottawa. [page 237]

Letter from Paul Lejeune, of the Society of Jesus, to Monseigneur the Cardinal.

ONSEIGNEUR,  
My very humble greetings, in him who is the salvation of all men. I do not know whether I am becoming savage, by associating every day with the savages; but I do know well that it is not so much the contact with their barbarism



as the respect I owe to Your Eminence, which has prevented me until now from giving myself the honor of writing to you. Now I fear that this reserve makes me seem ungrateful, especially as it is hard to remain from day to day in a state of wonder at your great deeds and benefactions, and not allow the tongue to give some evidence of the sentiments of the heart. All Europe, yes, all the old world regards you with admiration. The Church cherishes and honors you as one of its greatest princes, full of joy at seeing the arrogance of its enemies crushed by your government. All France owes her recovery to you, who dissipated the poison which was creeping to her heart. Alas, what misfortunes would have befallen her in these past years, if this poison had retained its strength in the midst of the State!<sup>[16]</sup> The friends and allies of the most noble crown in the universe have not words enough to acknowledge your kind deeds, and its enemies no longer have courage in your presence. You know when to make both peace and war, as you possess equally goodness and justice. **[page 239]** The land is too small for your efforts. The seas acknowledge your power, for it is you who have joined the New France to the old; and all these peoples, who do not yet know the true God, begin to acknowledge and admire your authority, and to enjoy the sweet fruits of your benevolence. I contemplate all this with astonishment, but I am charmed when I see how your mind, without leaving the care of great affairs, takes so kind and deep an interest and fondness for a small number of people lodged at the ends of the earth. I mean the religious of our society, whom you honor with special affection in these distant countries. I could not read without wondering at your goodness the recommendation which I still keep, signed by your own hand,- in which, taking us under your protection, you commanded those who, in accordance with your orders, came to take the country from the hands of the English, to accord us good treatment under penalty of answering for it in their own persons. It would have taken a heart of bronze not to feel emotion at the sight of this recommendation,<sup>[17]</sup> which was brought to us in New France by your authority, and which largely dispelled our sadness in seeing this country in such a deplorable state, after so long a time as our French had been in possession of it. But its condition goes on changing every day since you have deigned to honor it with your interest. These Gentlemen of the New Company have done more good here in one year than those who preceded did in all their lives. Families are beginning to multiply, and these already urge us to open a school for the education of their children, which we will begin soon, God helping us. I fear but one misfortune,- that these Gentlemen, who have **[page 241]** told no untruth about their great expenses, which are evident in the fine outfits they put to sea, may altogether or partly lose the great courage they now display, if unfortunately their trade in peltries should not always succeed. Monseigneur, you are all-powerful in this matter, as in many others; a single glance of your eyes can protect, animate, and help them, and indeed all these countries, from which France can one day derive great benefits. It is well known, both from experience and from reading historians and geographers, that every year a very great number of people leave France, and cast themselves, some here, some there, among foreigners, because they have no employment in their own country. I have been told, and have heard it only with great regret, that a large part of the artisans in Spain are Frenchmen. How then! must we give men to our enemies to make war upon us, when we have here so many lands, so beautiful and good, where colonies can be introduced which will be loyal to His Majesty and to Your Eminence? The son of a French artisan born in Spain is a Spaniard; but, if he is born in New France, he will be a Frenchman. It all lies in employing strong men to cut down and clear the woods, so that the land may be distributed among families which are here, or will be brought over here. The Gentlemen of the Company are doing wonders in this regard; but the outlay is so great that I would almost have doubts of their continuing in the work, were they not supported by Your Eminence. Monseigneur, you are the heart and soul of this company and of all New France. You not only can give physical life to an infinite number of poor French workmen, who go begging it among strangers for lack of **[page 243]** land; but you can give spiritual life to a great number of barbarous people, who die every day in the slavery of Satan for lack of preachers of the Gospel. If Your Eminence continues your favors to us, and these Gentlemen their kindness, I hope that, as soon as we shall know the language, you will see and taste the fruits of a new Church, so much sweeter and more savory as these poor barbarians are now in so pitiable a State. We have already, in our first stammerings, sent some souls to heaven, bathed in the blood of the lamb. These are a few fruits of a vine that you are planting, Monseigneur, and that you bedew with your favors. Also, it is very reasonable that this new Church should begin and progress under the authority and assistance of a Prince of the Church. But I am losing myself in the details of my discourse, forgetting that, in speaking to the Great, one must imitate the Laconian fashion, rather than the Athenian. I am following neither, but am simply relying upon your gentleness and goodness, which procure and grant me access to Your Eminence, and will permit me, if you please, to bear in this new world the title and character,

Monseigneur,  
Of Your very humble,  
very obedient, and greatly  
obliged servant in  
our Lord,  
Paul Le jeune, of the  
Society of Jesus.

KEBEK, NEW FRANCE, the 1st Day of August, 1635.

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XXV

LE JEUNE'S RELATION, 1635  
PARIS: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1636

SOURCE: Title-page and text reprinted from the copy of the first issue (H. 63)~, in Lenox Library.  
Chaps. i.- ii. are given in the present volume ; the remainder of the document will appear in Volume VIII. **[page 247]**

RELATION

OF WHAT OCCURRED  
IN  
NEW FRANCE  
IN THE YEAR 1635

Sent to the  
REVEREND FATHER PROVINCIAL  
of the Society of JESUS  
in the Province of France.

*By Father Paul le Jeune of the same Society,  
Superior of the residence of Quebec.*

P A R I S.

SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Printer in ordinary  
to the King, rue saint Jacques,  
at the Sign of the Storks.  
M. DC. XXXVI.  
BY ROYAL LICENSE.

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[i] Relation of what occurred in New France, in the year 1635.

MY REVEREND FATHER,  
MAY God be forever blessed. Now, at last, New France is about to experience the blessings of the mother country; and right, triumphing over injustice, will cause these countries to cease being what they have been for so many centuries, boundless forests, the abode of [2] barbarism, and the land of infidelity. We begin to see some open country, through the clearings that have been made in different places. The families who come over every year are beginning to change the barbarism of the Savages into the courtesy natural to the French; and the slight progress we are making, through our stammerings, leads us to conjecture that the faith will banish infidelity from its Empire. In short, I hope to see, some day, these words fulfilled in our great deserts: *Multi filii desertte, magis quam eius qui habet virum*. It is, indeed, proper that, in the Reign of so saintly a King, virtue should enter one of the great Seigniories of his Crown; that, under the favor and leadership of a Prince of the Church, we should see a new Church arise, *qui extendet palmites suos usque ad mare, et usque ad flumen* [3] *propagines eius*, which shall extend its branches even to the sea, and shall propagate itself along the shores of the chief of all rivers. A thousand considerations suggest these thoughts, and arouse in us these expectations. This enterprise is supported by persons of merit and rank, whose [page 255], integrity viewed by the eyes of all France, receives general approbation and praise, even from the lips of our great King. The exclusion of those who, having drained off the wealth that can be gathered in this country, left it without settlers and without cultivation, not having, in all the years they enjoyed it, cleared a single arpent of land; the great sums that the Gentlemen of



the Company of New France are expending, either upon the country or upon their establishments,<sup>[18]</sup> the disposition we [4] see in many persons to favor this project, some by their means, others by their personal labors: [all these considerations] lead us to conclude that God is conducting this enterprise.

I shall say nothing of those whose ardent zeal warms and at the same time confounds us, whose help cheers and strengthens us. Neither shall I say any more about the burning desire of a great number of our Fathers, who find the air of New France the air of Heaven, since there they can suffer for Heaven, and there can help souls to find Heaven. I pass over in silence many other Religious, who have the same sentiments and the same willingness. But what surprises me is that many young Nuns, consecrated to our Lord, wish to join us, overcoming the fear natural [5] to their sex, in order to come and help the poor girls and poor women among these Savages. There are so many of these who write to us, and from so many Convents, and from various Orders in the Church, of the strictest discipline, that you would say that each one is first to laugh at the hardships of the Sea, the riotous waves of the Ocean, and the barbarism of these countries. They have written me that the Superior of a very well-ordered House, being [page 257] asked to send some Sisters to establish a Convent of her Order in some town of France, answered that she had no Sisters except for New France, and for England, in case God restored the Catholic faith there. Another one, no less zealous, having recounted the great devotions that were performed in her House for the happy conversion of these Tribes, said that the Relation [6] of last year, capable of appalling the stoutest heart, not only has not disheartened these Sisters, but on the contrary has so inspired them, that thirteen have with their own hands signed a vow to God, to cross over into New France, there to exercise the functions of their Order, if their Superiors are pleased to allow them. I have received, seen, and read this vow with astonishment. I know another one, who, after having established several Convents of her Order in France, would consider it a great favor of God if she could come and end her days in a little home, dedicated to the service of the little Savage girls who go wandering through these great forests. To all of which I can only say that *Digitus Dei est h*<sup>c</sup>, that the hand of God guides this enterprise.

[7] But I must give this advice, in passing, to all these good Sisters, that they be very careful not to urge their departure until they have here a good House, well built and well endowed; otherwise, they would be a burden to our French, and could accomplish little for these Peoples, Men can extricate themselves much more easily from difficulties; but, as for the Nuns, they must have a good House, some cleared land, and a good income upon which to live, and relieve the poverty of the wives and daughters of the Savages. [page 259]

Alas, my God! if the waste, the superabundance of some of the Ladies of France were employed in this so holy work, what great blessings would it bring down upon their families! What glory in the sight of the Angels, to have gathered the blood of the [8] Son of God, to apply it to these poor infidels! Is it possible that earthly possessions are of greater concern to us than life itself? Behold these tender and delicate Virgins all ready to hazard their lives upon the waves of the Ocean, to come seeking little souls in the rigors of an air much colder than that of France, to endure hardships at which even men would be appalled; and will not some brave Lady be found who will give a Passport to these Amazons of the great God, endowing them with a House in which to praise and serve his divine Majesty in this other world? I cannot persuade myself that our Lord will not dispose some one to this act.

But let us change the subject, and briefly relate the little I have to say for this year. I will divide [9] this Relation into only four Chapters. [page 261]

## CHAPTER I.

### OF THE CONDITION AND EMPLOYMENT OF OUR SOCIETY IN NEW FRANCE.

WE have six Residences in New France. The first, beginning with the first land encountered in coming into these countries, is called the Residence of Sainte Anne; it is at Cape Breton. The second is the Residence of Saint Charles, at Miskou. The third, which we are going to occupy this Autumn, the Residence of Nostre dame de Recouvrance, at Kebec, near the Fort. The fourth, the Residence of Nostre dame des Anges, half a league from Kebec. The fifth, the Residence of the Conception, at the three Rivers. The sixth, the Residence of Saint Joseph, [10] Ihonatiria, among the Hurons. <sup>[19]</sup> I hope that we shall soon have a seventh, in the same country, but in a Village other than Ihonatiria. Now, as the Vessels which go to Cape Breton and to Miskou do not go up as far as Kebec, it thus happens that we have no communication with our Fathers who are in the Residences of Sainte Anne and of Saint Charles, except by way of France; hence neither letters nor other things should be sent to us to hold for them, but they should be given to those Vessels which go to these French settlements. It follows also that I can say nothing of the things which take place in these Residences, on account of their remoteness and the little commerce we have with them. All these Residences are maintained by [page 263] the Gentlemen of the Company [11] of New France, who have had Fortresses and dwellings for our French people built indifferent parts of the country, except the Residence of Nostre dame des Anges, which is supported principally through the liberality of Monsieur le Marquis de Gamache. <sup>[20]</sup> This Residence has three great plans for the glory of our Lord; the first, to erect a College for the education of the children of the families, which are every day becoming more numerous. The second, to establish a Seminary for the little Savages, to rear them in the Christian faith. The third, to give powerful aid to the Mission of our Fathers among the Hurons and other stationary Tribes. As to the College, although it is not yet built, we shall begin this year to teach a few children. Everything has its beginning; [12] the most learned once knew only the first elements of the Alphabet.

In regard to the Seminary, we are now having one built. For a while it will be in the Residence of Nostre dame des Anges; but, if some pious person be found who wishes to endow it, and to support the poor little barbarians that they may be made children of Jesus Christ, it will have to be moved farther up the river, to a place where the Savages will not object to bring their children. I send a little boy to Your Reverence, and, if you please, you will return him to us in a couple of years; he will help to retain and teach his little compatriots; the one I did send you, and who has been returned to us, pleases us greatly. The Savages are beginning to open their eyes and to recognize that children who are with us are well taught.

[13] Finally, as to the Mission among the Hurons [page 265] and other stationary Tribes, it is of the greatest importance for the service of our Lord. The Gentlemen of the Company cherish and assist it. It is among those Tribes that we expect the greatest

conversions; it is there that a great number of laborers must be sent, if the faith begins to illumine those souls, so many thousands of years plunged in darkness. If some fund cannot be found to maintain it, I would almost willingly give up the care both of a College and of a Seminary, to make it succeed. But some persons, who prefer to have their names written in the Book of life rather than upon this paper, positively forbid us to abandon in any wise our plans, assuring us of a very certain truth, that God has more strength and more willingness [14] to help us than we have courage to undertake enterprises for his glory.

Now not to wander from the subject of our Residences, we exercise in these all the functions of Cur<sup>é</sup> or Pastor, as there are no others here besides ourselves; we preach the word of God, we administer the Sacraments of Baptism, of the Altar and of Penance, of Extreme Unction; we assist at the Sacrament of Marriage; at times we bury and lay out the dead; we visit the sick; we teach the Christian Doctrine to the children, and, as they are becoming more numerous through the arrival of families, we shall soon give them the elements of letters, as I have said. Thus, if the beginnings are small, the end may be great and blessed.

[15] Besides this, some of us are making an arduous and thorough study of the language, an occupation which will some day be so much the more useful as it is now difficult. We also visit the Savages, and [page 267] through our stammerings try to cast into their souls some little grain of Gospel seed, which will ripen in its time, God willing. These are our more ordinary occupations, besides the observances of Religion, which must never be omitted. In regard to our French people, they are occupied in fortifying, in building, in clearing and cultivating the land. However, I do not pretend to describe all that takes place in this country, but only that which concerns the welfare of the faith and of Religion. This last winter, the land disease, or scurvy, appeared in the new settlement of the three Rivers, where Father Buteux [16] and I had gone; and this gave us a new occupation, which was mixed with joy and sadness. On the one hand, we were grieved to see almost all our poor Countrymen suffer, and to see some of them die; on the other, we rejoiced to see the altogether admirable effects of the grace of our Lord within their souls. A great many of the sick men never cared to ask God to restore their health, saying these words with great resignation: "He is our Father: he knows better than we what is good for us; leave it all to him, his holy will be done." I believe there was only one of those who passed to the other life, who did not make a general confession before his death. As I was very anxious that one of them, since he was a young man of very good morals, should be restored [17] to health, I advised him to make a vow to the glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, to grant him deliverance from the disease. "I will obey you," he replied; "but, if you leave me free to act as I please, I will merely pray the good St. Joseph to obtain for me from our Lord the grace to carry out his most holy will." Another time, a young man, very strong and robust, walking [page 269] about in the room of the sick, asked them what they would give to enjoy such vigorous health as his; one of them answered, very piously, "I would not even turn my head aside to enjoy all the health in the world, so readily as I would acquiesce in the good pleasure of God." This answer showed how powerfully grace was working in this soul. Another who had been a heretic, and something of a libertine, astonished [18] all his companions at his death; for, after having given proofs of his belief, after having made his confession, with great contrition for his offenses, when I presented to him the holy Viaticum, "I believe in you, my Savior," said he, "yes, I believe in you; come, be merciful to me; you are powerful enough to pardon all my sins; " and, feeling himself growing weaker, he urged us at that very moment to give him Extreme Unction, which we did. Having received it with many expressions of grief, he addressed all his Comrades, saying, "Adieu, my Comrades, adieu, my companions; I must go; I ask your pardon, I ask pity from all of you, I am very sorry to have lived so badly; but I hope that God will have mercy upon me; my God, have pity upon me." Uttering these words, he expired. [19] One may place sickness as much as he pleases in the catalogue of the misfortunes of this life; yet I consider that which carried off these young men as one of the most signal favors they ever received from the hand of God. In conclusion, health prevails throughout all our settlements, but not saintliness, as yet.

I fear very much that vice will slip into these new colonies. If, however, those who hold the reins of government in hand are zealous for the glory of our good God, following the desires and intentions of the [page 271] Honorable Directors and Associates of the Company, there will arise here a Jerusalem blessed of God, composed of Citizens destined for Heaven. It is very easy in a new country, where families arrive who are all prepared to observe the laws that will be established there, to [20] banish the wicked customs of certain places in old France, and to introduce better ones. These Gentlemen, who interest themselves more in the cause of God, and in virtue, than in commerce, have no ships to bring over drunkenness, gambling, and the dissoluteness of the Carnival, any more than uncleanness and blasphemy. New France does not desire those inhabitants of Cedar and of Babylon, who will surely slip in here, unless opposed by those who have all the power; dissimulation in this place and in these beginnings is very dangerous; and God will ask an account for duties omitted as well as for faults committed. [page 273]

## [21] CHAPTER II.

### OF THE CONVERSION AND OF THE DEATH OF SOME SAVAGES.

TWENTY-TWO SAVAGES have been baptized this year. If we were acquainted with the languages, I believe the faith would be widely extended. We dare not yet trust baptism to any except those whom we see in danger of death, or to children who are assured to us; for, not yet being able to fully instruct these Barbarians, they would soon show a contempt for our holy Mysteries, if they had only a slight knowledge of them. It is quite true that, if these people were as desirous of learning as are all civilized nations, some [22] of us have a good enough knowledge of their language to teach them. But as they make living, and not knowledge, their profession, their greatest anxiety is about eating and drinking, and not about learning. When you speak to them of our truths, they listen to you patiently; but instead of asking you about the matter, they at once turn their thoughts to ways of finding something upon which to live, showing their stomachs always empty and always famished. Yet if we could make speeches as they do, and if we were present in their assemblies, I believe we could accomplish much there. The goodness of God will ensure success in all things in his own time; let us turn to our Neophytes. On the 16th of August of last year, 1634, shortly after the departure of our vessels, I baptized, [page 275] when he was dying, a young boy about 12 or 14 years of age. The [23] Savages called him *Akkikouch*; we had chosen for him the name Dieudonn<sup>é</sup>. Monsieur du Plessis Bochart, Commandant of the fleet, had brought him to us from the three Rivers, very sick; and had given him to us that we might, if possible, save the life of the body, at the same time giving him that of the soul. He lived with us only long enough to be hastily instructed.

On the 3rd of November of the same year, Father Charles l'Allemant baptized a young Savage about twenty-five years old, called by the people of his nation *Matchonon*, surnamed by the French, Martin; at baptism he received the name of Joseph. The judgments of God are terrible; this poor wretch met with a horrible death. It was of him I spoke in the second Chapter of the Relation of last year. He would gladly, [24] if he had been able, have diverted the good Fran<sup>çois</sup> Sasousmat from receiving the Faith; and,

while one day disputing with Father Brebeuf, he uttered this blasphemy, which caused him to lose the life of the body and perhaps that of the soul: "Thou tellest us that it is through the guidance of thy God that we find something to eat; tell him that he may oppose, with all his power, my taking Beavers and Elks; and you will see that I shall not fail to take them, in spite of him." One of our Frenchmen, seized with great zeal, hearing this impiety, was ready to leap upon him, and would have beaten him soundly, had it not been for the presence of the Father. This poor, impious wretch has not, since this blasphemy, killed either Beaver or Elk. He went up beyond the three Rivers, where illness prostrated him. Father Brebeuf, when he was going up to the **[page 277]** Hurons last year, encountered him, and seeing him in [25] a pitiful state, asked him how much game he had killed since his blasphemy; the poor man was covered with confusion. The Father took pity on him, and said that he would write to me about this meeting; and that he trusted that, if he wished to ask God's forgiveness, and embrace his faith, he would be succored. Some time after I had received the Father's letter, we, Father Buteux and I, went to the new settlement of the three Rivers, to begin the Residence of the Conception. We found this blasphemer as naked as a worm, very sick, lying upon the ground, his only possession being a wretched piece of bark, -a cabin of Savages who were encamped there having refused him shelter. His brother had brought him to a place near the French settlement, and had left him there. [26] We asked him if he did not see that it was the vengeance of God, that he had not captured anything since his impious act. "I have not been able," said he, "to capture anything, for I have been sick all the time." "But dost thou not see that it is God who has punished thee by this sickness?" "Perhaps thou sayest the truth," he answered me. I tried to tell him that his brother had no pity on him, and he excused him very readily, ♦ "What wouldst thou have him do; how will he drag me about in the forest where he is going to seek his living?" "But thy people, have they no pity on thee? Why dost thou not ask these Savages to take thee into their cabin, or else to give thee a small piece of bark, to make a little one for thyself?" He did not even dare ask them, they are so ashamed to beg from each other; but he told me in a low voice to ask them to do it; I did so immediately in **[page 279]** his presence. At [27] first, they gave me no answer; but finally a woman said that they were going elsewhere to camp, and they had none too much bark for themselves. In short, this unhappy man, seeing that the bark which brought us was returning to Kebec, begged me to have him carried there, for we could find no place for him; our house in this early stage was only some logs of wood, fitted to each other, plastered over the cracks with a little clay, and covered with grass; we had in all twelve feet square for the Chapel and for our living room, awaiting the completion of a frame building which was being constructed. So, realizing that it was impossible for us to help him, I begged them to take him in the bark, which they did, and carried him to Kebec, where the [28] Savages deserted him. Father l'Allemand, seeing him abandoned, had him come to our house, the very thing he desired; one of our Brothers dressed his sores every day and the Father instructed him, in order to prepare him for baptism. Now, as they supposed that he was in danger of death, the Father baptized him, and they fed and nursed him all winter. When I returned in the Spring from the three Rivers, I was very glad to see him, hoping he would instruct me in the knowledge of his language, and that I could teach him more at leisure the truths of our belief. I had hardly arrived when his brother came along, and he [the sick man], overjoyed to see him, asked me to let him go with him to the three Rivers; I did all I could to dissuade him, foreseeing his certain ruin if he returned among the Savages, and promised all [29] assistance if he would stay. "No," said he, "I want to go up the river to see my relatives." Now, as I know the character **[page 281]** of these Barbarians very well, I told him that the Savages would soon throw him out of their cabins; that they would give him nothing to eat, and, at last becoming tired of him, they would kill him. He began to laugh, saying to me that they would not go so far as that. I threatened that, if he went away, we would not take him back again; but there was no way of stopping him. When he reached the three Rivers, Father Buteux, who was there, tried to make him see the evil that might result from his having left us, but he merely laughed at him; the Father threatened him with the judgments of God; he answered that he could as well endure the fires in hell as he had borne the cold during the-winter. At first the Savages kept him [30] in their cabins; but, getting tired of him, they put him out, and there he lay, under the shelter of the Sky and a piece of bark; they gave him only a little fish, and that not often. So he almost began to fear what I had predicted for him, as he was not ignorant of the customs of his nation. He said to Father Buteux, who was returning to Kebec to make a visit, "Thy brother told me that, if I left your house, he would never take me back again. I would like very much to be there now; tell him that if he will receive me, he may write to some Frenchman, and I will have myself taken there at the first opportunity." When the Father arrived and reported this to me, we immediately betook ourselves to the fort at Kebec, to seek some opportunity to send for him, wishing to save this poor wretch since he bore the mark of a Christian; but [31] oh, just and terrible vengeance of the great God! On our way we met a Montagnais, who told us that, immediately after the departure of Father **[page 283]** Buteux, a Savage had given this wretched man a blow from an axe, during the night, which dashed his brains out of his head. So thus he passed into the other world.

On the eighth of the same month, November, Monsieur Giffart<sup>8</sup> baptized a little savage child, aged about six months, believing him so near death that we could not be summoned; yet he lived on for some time. His wife nursed this poor little child, and cared for it as if it had been her own. One night, awakening full of astonishment and joy, she said to her husband that she believed this little Angel had gone to [32] Heaven; "No," he replied, "I have just now been to see it, and it still lives." "I beg you," she answered, "to go and look again; I cannot believe that it is not dead, as I have just seen in my sleep a great troop of Angels coming to take it." So they went to see it again, and found that it had passed away. They were very glad that they had helped send to Heaven a soul that will bless God throughout all eternity. On the sixth day of January of this year, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, Father Lallemant applied the waters of holy Baptism to a little girl about nine or ten years of age, who is being reared in the house of a French family. This child had some one ask the Father to admit her into the Church; he examined her in regard to her belief, and, seeing her sufficiently instructed, knowing besides that she [33] had no relatives who could take her from the hands of our French people, he made a present of her to the little Jesus on Epiphany; she has continued to do well since then, fleeing from the Savages, so that she cannot be induced to speak to them. **[page 285]**

On the second day of February, the little Savage who was taken to France last year was baptized in the Convent of the sisters of Mercy, that is, in the Hospital of Dieppe; as she was born in New France, I will place her among those of her country who have been made children of God this year. She was placed as a boarder with these good sisters. Here is what the Mother Superior, who with her whole house cannot be excelled in zeal for the salvation of the poor Savages, has written me about her: "Our little Canadian girl died on the day of the Purification [34] of our Lady, of smallpox, which could not be cured, although all possible remedies were used; she was baptized half an hour before her death, and it was almost a miracle that we were not surprised, for she was strong for her age, and did not seem to be so near death as she was. Her funeral was honored with beautiful ceremonies, and with songs of gladness instead of the Service for the dead, as her death followed so closely upon her baptism. This child won the love of all; she was very obliging, very obedient, and as careful as a Nun not to enter forbidden places; and when it was desired to make her enter, either through inadvertence or to test her obedience, she answered very sweetly, 'I have not permission; [35] the Mother Superior does not wish it.' She already knew several of the lessons in her Catechism, and understood a great deal of the French language; it was through this that we had made her comprehend the three principal Articles of our belief. She could say 'very well that the *Manitou* was good for nothing; that she no longer wished to return to Canada, but that she desired to be a Christian and to be baptized, knowing well that no one could go to Heaven **[page 287]** without that. We all enjoyed these talks; in a word, suffice it to say, that she tried to imitate, in



so far as she was able, all the good that she saw done." These are the very words of the Reverend Mother Elizabeth of saint François, Superior of this Hospital, one of the best regulated in Europe; it is only necessary to enter the hall of the poor patients, to see [36] the modesty of the sisters who serve them, to consider their kindness in the most annoying cases of sickness, to cast the eyes over the cleanliness of this house, to go hence full of affection and to offer a thousand praises to our Lord. If a Monastery like that were in New France, their charity would do more for the conversion of the Savages than all our journeys and our sermons.

On the eighteenth of the same month of February, Father Buteux and I received among the number of Christians, a good Savage woman, who was solemnly baptized in our Chapel of the Conception at the three Rivers. She was called *Ouetata Samakheou*, and we gave her the name of Anne. When the Savages went away, they left her near our Settlement, very sick and lying upon the hard ground; [37] others arriving, we had her placed in their Cabin; and when these moved away, after a short sojourn, we had her placed in another, the only one remaining; as the people of this Cabin wished to follow the others, we begged them to leave a few rolls of their bark to make a miserable hut for this poor creature; but they turned a deaf ear. Now as we could not have this woman taken into the fort, where there were only men, and as on the other hand we did not wish to see her die before our eyes a victim to the cold, having nothing with which to make her a house, we begged [page 289] our French people to intimidate these Barbarians, who were so cruel towards their own people. So some of them came at once, pistol in hand, and took some of the bark by force, telling them that this [38] woman would soon either die or recover, and they would get back what they had loaned. They were very angry; but nevertheless, as this violence was reasonable, one of them, to atone for their cruelty, returned from the woods where he had gone to camp, and himself put up a little cabin for her, where every day we carried her food and then instructed her. Imagine, if you please, how great is the necessity for a Hospital here, and how much fruit it could produce. Three things consoled me greatly in expounding to her the Articles of our belief; the 1st was, that, wishing to make her perform some act of contrition for her sins, in order to prepare her for baptism, I called up the names of several offenses, threatening her with the fires of hell if, having committed these crimes, she were not washed in the waters of the Sacrament; [39] this poor, frightened, sick woman began to name her offenses aloud, saying, " I have not committed those sins that thou sayest, but I have these," accusing herself of several very shameful ones. I told her it would be enough for her to ask pardon in her heart without naming them, Confession not being necessary except after Baptism; but she did not cease, begging for mercy from him who has made all. In the second place, speaking with her about death, one day after her baptism, she began to cry, being angry at me for speaking to her of such a horrible thing; I was somewhat astonished at this, and almost sorry that I had baptized her. We recommended her to our Lord, who touched her heart; for, having [page 291] returned to see her, she asked me a number of questions: " Will my soul have any [40] sense when it leaves my, body? " said she. " Will it see? Will it speak? " I assured her that indeed it would lose none of these faculties, but on the contrary would have them in a much more perfect way; and that, if she believed in Jesus Christ without dissembling, she would know wonders and would enjoy great consolation. " Thou hast told me that I shall come to life again some day; shall I be like myself," she said to me, " like what I am now, or like some one else?" " It is thyself, it is thy own body which will live again, and which will be as beautiful as the day, if thou hast had Faith; if not, it will be horrible, all deformed and destined to the eternal flames." " What will my soul eat after death?" "Thy soul has no body, it has no need of the food here below; it will feast upon [41] joys beyond conception." " What shall I see if I go to Heaven?" " Thou wilt see what is going on down here, the foolishness of such of thy people as will not receive the Faith, the beauty and the grandeur of him who has made all; and thou wilt pray to him for me." " What shall I say to him?" she asked. " Tell him to be merciful to me, to have pity on me; and to call me soon, to be with him in Heaven." " Then," said she, " it is a good thing to be up there, since thou wishest to die to go there. But perhaps I shall forget what thou tellest me." " No, thou wilt not forget it, if thou dost really and truthfully believe." " What will they do with my body when I am dead? " " It will be placed in a beautiful coffin, and all the French will bear it with honor to the place where we bury our dead." " Tell me once [42] more, will my soul [page 293] have sense when it has left my body? " "Yes, it will; it will see, hear, understand readily, and will speak in a more noble way than thy lips." While listening to my answers, her face began to brighten; and at last she exclaimed, joyfully, *Nitapoueten, nitapoueten*, " I believe, I believe; and, as a proof of my belief, thou wilt never see me fear death; until now I was trembling when thou wert speaking of it to me, but from now on I shall wish for it, so that I may go and see him who has made all; I was saying always in my prayers ' Make me well, thou canst cure me;' but hereafter I shall say to him, ' I do not care to live any longer, I am content to die to see thee.'" And, in fact, the rest of the time she lived after these questions, I never noticed in her the least indication [43] that she was afraid to die. The third thing that gladdened us was, that when a Savage called *Sakapouan*, wishing to divert her from our belief, said that we were story-tellers and she must not believe us, since we could not show nor make any one see what we were teaching, this poor Neophyte, fortified by the spirit of God, held firm, and answered steadfastly that she believed we told the truth. Thus she died a very good Christian. As to the Savage who tried to shake her faith, he did not do so long, for God drew down upon him a most severe revenge; this wretch, who already felt ill, was seized with frenzy, soon after his act of impiety, and died a maniac. We had taught him well enough; but the fear of what others would say, which is a potent factor [44] among these people, prevented him from professing the Faith. He said to us several times, " I indeed believe that all you say is true; but if I obey you, when I go to the feasts of my People, they will all make [page 295] sport of me." " Arrange it," said he to me, " so that *Outaouau* (this is one of the great orators among the Savages) may receive the Faith when he comes here; and after that I will have no more difficulty in believing you." *Outaouau* found him dead and buried at his return.

On the seventh of April, the little Savage whom we had sent to France, and whom Father Lallemant brought back to us, was made a Christian and solemnly baptized by the same Father. Monsieur de Champlain, our Governor, gave him the name Bonaventure. Every day, when he came to say good day to the Father, [45] who took care to instruct him, he never failed to ask him for baptism; he is doing very well now, thank God, and is becoming quite docile. I am hoping he will be of great service to us in our Seminary.

On the thirteenth of May, I baptized the son of the good woman whom I made a Christian and named Marie last year, and whom I had left sick near our House when I went to pass the winter at the three Rivers. As she was growing worse, Father Lallemant gave her Extreme Unction; and, when she died, buried her solemnly in our Cemetery. She left, as her only heritage, her disease to her little child, whom a slow fever sent to Heaven after his baptism; in his language he bore the name of *Aouetitîn*, which was changed to that of Pierre.

[46] On the nineteenth of August, Father Lallemant baptized a girl about four years old, who was born in the country of the Bissiriniens. [21] She is being taken to France to be reared and educated in the Christian Faith.

The rest of the persons who have been made Christians [page 297] since we have written to France, were baptized in the Huron country, as Your Reverence can see by the Relation our Fathers have sent me, which I forward to you. Among others, they have conferred this Sacrament upon an honest fellow whom Father de Noué, who knew him in that so distant country, recommended



to me highly. " We have," said he, "always believed that this man would die a Christian, and that God would be merciful to him; for he had a very good disposition, giving alms freely to aid his Countrymen, and even to us, [47] who were strangers. When he returned from fishing he always brought us some fish, not in the way the other Savages did, who give only that they may get something in return, but gratuitously; he came to see us once or twice every week, and, after having talked for some time with us, seeing that we were in good health, he would go away well satisfied." Now as he observed fairly well the Law which nature has graven upon the hearts of all men, God gave him before his death the knowledge of the Law of his son.

I will relate in this place the manifest chastisement which God has drawn down upon the wretched Sorcerer and his brother, of whom I spoke very fully in the Relation of last year. This wicked man, in order to displease me, [48] occasionally made attacks upon God, as I have said. One day he said to the Savages in my presence, " I have to-day made a great deal of sport of the one whom the black robe tells us has made all things." I could not stand this blasphemy, and told him aloud that, if he were in France, they would put him to death; furthermore, that he might sneer at me as much as he pleased and I would endure it, but that he might better kill and [page 299] murder me than to expect me to suffer him to mock my God when I was present; that he would not continue much longer with this impertinence, for God was powerful enough to burn and cast him into hell, if he kept on with his blasphemies. He never again spoke in this way before me, but in my absence he did not in the least refrain from his scoffing and impious speeches. God did not fail to strike him; for the year had not [49] yet expired, when his cabin took fire, I know not how, and he was dreadfully scorched, roasted and burned, as it was related to me by the Savages, not without wonder.

They told me also, that Mestigo, whom I had taken for my host, was drowned. I would much rather God had touched their hearts; I have been particularly grieved about my host, for he had good inclinations; but having sneered, in company with some of the Savages, at the prayers I had made them say in the time of our great need, he was involved in the same vengeance. Falling ill of a disease which made him lose his reason, so that he ran hither and thither naked, like a madman, he found himself upon the shore of the great river, at low tide; and, when the tide arose, he was smothered [50] in the waters.

Almost all of those who were in the cabin where the Sorcerer treated me so badly, have died, some here, some there, and all by a lamentable death. Only three days ago they brought me the Sorcerer's son, to have him put in a Seminary we intend to establish; I was very anxious to take him, and to do him as much good as his father had done me evil; but, as he has a most horrible scrofulous affection near the ear, we were afraid he would give the [page 301] disease to the little boys we have in our House, and so we refused him. Monsieur Gand[22] a very charitable man, has this child's sores dressed and dresses them himself ; if he recovers, we will place him in our Seminary.

As to the Apostate, he came [51] to see us, pretending that he wished to be reconciled to the Church; we demanded some proof of his good will; namely, that he should come to see us, not when the Savages were having a famine, which forced him to seek the French, but in the time of their abundance; if he returns then, we will receive him, and keep him several months before giving him permission to enter the Church. [page 303]

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. VII

## XXIII

See Volume VI. for particulars of this document.

## XXIV

The original of Le Jeune's letter to Cardinal Richelieu, dated at Quebec, August 1, 1635, is in the Archives of Foreign Affairs, at Paris. We follow a transcript of the document, in the library of the Dominion Parliament, Ottawa. So far as we are aware, this is its first publication.

## XXV

As will be seen from the Preface to the present volume, this document, which for convenience is designated by bibliographers as Le Jeune's Relation of 1635, is, like most of the Cramoisy's, a composite. It is often referred to as " H. 63, " because described in Harris's Notes, no. 63.

For the text of this document, we have had recourse to a copy in the Lenox Library.

*Collation:* Title, with verso blank, I l.; " Table des Chapitres, " pp. (2); Relation signed by Le Jeune and eighteen of his confreres, pp. I - 112; Brébeuf's Huron Relation, pp. 113-206; Perrault's Relation of Cape Breton, pp. 207 - 219; " Divers Sentimens, " pp. 220 - 246; " Extraict du Priuilege du Roy, " with the " Approbation " on the verso, I l. There is no misnumeration. [page 305]

The (civil) Privilege for this volume is dated January 12, 1636, and the (ecclesiastical) Approbation January 15, 1635. This apparent discrepancy arises from difference in the calendar: the civil authorities were using the present calendar; whereas the officers of the church were still clinging to the old ecclesiastical year, which began in March. The Approbation of the Jesuit provincial was granted three days after the granting of the royal Privilege.

Another edition of this *Relation* appears in the octavo volume published at Avignon, also in 1636, AND containing the *Relations* for 1634 and 1635 conjunctively. The volume is described in the Bibliographical Data for document XXIII., in Volume VI., P. 321, of the present series.

There are at least two issues of the Paris edition. We note the following differences:

FIRST ISSUE.

SECOND ISSUE.

P. 82, reads: *Miriuan oukachigakhi nimitchiminon*.

P. 90, reads: On l'appelle Rat muqu, pource qu'en effect les tenticules pris au Printemps entent le mué, en autre temps ils n'ont point d'odeur.

P. 91, the first paragraph ends with: "coûte de l'Acadie."

P. 82, reads: *Mirinan oukachigakhi nimitchiminan*.

P. 90, reads: On l'appelle Rat muqu, pource qu'en effect vne partie de son corps prie au Printemps ent le mué, en autre temps elle n'a point d'odeur.

P. 91, the first paragraph ends with: l'coûte de l'Acadie M<sup>r</sup> Com. de Razilly."

The Avignon edition follows the wording of the first Paris issue, though it deviates somewhat in the matter of paragraphing; cf., e.g., pp. 127 and 199 Of the Paris edition with pp. 345 (mispaged 245) and 388 of the Avignon edition. [page 306]

The Quebec reprint (1858) follows the text of the second Paris issue.

The only copy of the Avignon edition, known to us, is in the Lenox Library. Copies of the Paris edition are in the following libraries: Lenox (two issues), Harvard, Riggs (Georgetown University), Brown, British Museum, and Bibliothèque Nationale. Copies have been sold or priced as follows: Le clerq (1878), no. 778, 140 francs; O'Callaghan (1882), no. 14, \$35-it had cost him \$32.50 in gold; Barlow (1889), no. 1275, \$12.50; Dufoss, of Paris, priced (1891-1893) at 300 and 400 francs. [page 307]

# NOTES TO VOL. VII

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

- [1] (p. 15). Matachias: ornaments of shell, beads, etc.; see vol. ii., note 17.
- [2] (p. 31). Cf. vol. ii., page 67, where Plaisance is called *Présentis* by the natives.
- [3] (p. 39). *Mille-pertuis*: literally, "a thousand holes," referring to the appearance of transparent points in the leaves, caused by cells filled with volatile oil; a name applied to the genus *Hyfiericum*.
- [4] (p. 171). Concerning these Iroquois prisoners, see Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1632 (vol. v., of this series, pp. 27-31, 45-49).
- [5] (p. 209). This was the H<sup>o</sup>bert-Couillard family. H<sup>o</sup>bert (see vol. ii., note 80) bore the title of Sieur de l'Espinay (or L'Epinay), to which, upon his death (1627), his son-in-law Couillard succeeded.
- [6] (p. 211). The Moulin Baude River, in Saguenay county, Que., enters the St. Lawrence four miles below Tadoussac. It is noted for the fine quarry of white statuary marble near its mouth.
- [7] (p. 211). For sketch of Lalemant, see vol. iv., note 20. The lay brother, Jean Li<sup>o</sup>geois, was long a useful member of the mission; he had charge of the construction of the college at Quebec, and also erected at Three Rivers the house and chapel occupied by the mission there. He was several times sent to France on the business of the mission. He was slain by the Iroquois, May 20, 1655, while superintending the construction of a fort near Sillery, for the defence of the native converts there resident.
- [8] (p. 213). See sketch of Giffard in vol. vi., note 8. Ferland says (Cours d'Histoire, vol. i., pp. 265 - 267): "This edifice [Champlain's chapel, built in 1633] was not long adequate for the French population, which was every year increased by the arrival of new colonists; and in a short time it became necessary to make a considerable enlargement of the building. . . . The return of the French to Canada had produced such a movement in the maritime provinces of Western France, and especially in Normandy. From all sides came offers of aid; pious persons sent charitable gifts, either for the missions, or for the instruction of the French and the savages. In many communities, nuns offered themselves to nurse the sick, or to [page 309] educate young girls; some even were pledged to this work by vows. Christian families, desiring to seek peace in the solitudes of the new world, asked for information as to the advantages that Canada could offer them. This interest was aroused by the relations that the Jesuits sent in 1632 and 1633. These being published, and disseminated in Paris and the provinces, had drawn public attention to the colony. From Dieppe, from Rouen, from Honfleur, and from Cherbourg, went forth many young men to seek their fortunes on the shores of the St. Lawrence; many heads of families followed them; and soon the movement spread to Perche, to Beauce, and to the Isle of France. To render emigration easier, associations were formed. One of the most successful was established at Mortagne, in 1634, under the direction of Sieur Robert Giffard."
- [9] (p. 213). For sketch of Buteux, see vol. vi., note 5.
- [10] (p. 213). This paragraph occurs, in the text we follow, on page 327, after the paragraph ending, "apres avoir cruellement massaer les autres. "But in the second (Paris) issue, and in those of Quebec and Avignon, it is found as here given. The latter arrangement is undoubtedly correct, for St. John Baptist's day occurred on June 24, not on July 24.
- [11] (p. 213). For sketch of Br<sup>o</sup>beuf, see vol. iv., note 30; Of Daniel and Davost, vol. v., notes 31, 32; of the foundation of Three Rivers settlement, vol. iv., note 24
- [12] (p. 215). For sketch of Louis Amantacha, see vol. v., note 20.
- [13] (p. 229). Concerning this Sainte Croix Island, see vol. ii., note 66.
- [14] (p. 233). The Frenchman murdered by the Hurons was <sup>o</sup>tienne Brul<sup>o</sup> (see vol. v., note 37). Concerning Nicolas Viel, see vol. iv., note 25.
- [15] (p. 235).-This Table of Chapters is not in the first issue; we copy it from the second issue (see Bibliographical Data, vol. vi., doc. xxiii).
- [16] (p. 239). This "poison" was the Huguenot or "reformed" faith. The third Huguenot war had ended with the surrender of La Rochelle, Oct. 29, 1628. The edict of Nismes (July, 1629) was one of amnesty and pacification; and under Richelieu's administration, until his death (Dec. 4, 1642), the Huguenots were fairly sheltered and prosperous. Richelieu had said to the Protestant ministers of Montauban, upon the capitulation of that city: "I shall make no discrimination between the King's subjects, save as to their loyalty. This loyalty being henceforth common to the adherents of both religions, I shall help

both equally, and with the same affection. " Baird says that the cardinal was honest in this declaration, and that his treatment of the Protestants was, on the whole, tolerably **[page 310]** impartial. Still, they were, since their defeat, deprived of all political and military power; and court influences were often unfavorable and even hostile to them. Numerous restrictions were laid upon their assemblies, the functions of their pastors, and the erection or restoration of their churches, in some cases nullifying the provisions of the edict of Nismes. It is doubtless these restrictions for which Le Jenne commends Richelieu. The condition of the Huguenots at this time, and Richelieu's policy toward them, are discussed at length in Baird's *Huguenots and the Revocation* (N.Y., 1895), vol. i., pp. 343 - 359. A detailed account of the war above referred to (in which Charles I. of England at first assisted the Huguenots), with the text of the edict of Nismes, is given in *Merc. Francoise*, vol. xv. (1629), pp. 227-565.

- [17] (p. 241). This recommendation was the "passport" given to the Jesuits by Richelieu (see vol. v., *note* 2).
- [18] (p. 257). Le Jeune's expectations were somewhat too sanguine. The Company of New France (see vol. iv., *note* 21) was expending enormous sums on its Canadian enterprise; but these were directed more to the extension of its own commerce than to the development of the country. The reasons for its policy are thus concisely explained by Faillon (*Col. Fr.*, vol. i, pp. 333, 334): "Unfortunately, this Company, although numbering over one hundred members, taken from the magistrates and wealthy merchants of the Kingdom, had only about 300,000 livres of capital, each of the members being obliged to put in 3,000 livres. These funds were moreover, diminished not only by the losses that the company suffered at the hands of the English, in its first equipment, but by the indemnity demanded by De Caen for the abandonment of his pretensions to New France. But, as most of these Associates were unacquainted with business, there was formed, within the company itself, another and private company, which took charge of the trade, and established a fund of 100,000 francs for its own interests. Thus Champlain put 3,000 livres into the funds of the general company, and 800 livres into those of the other. This active association was obliged to pay the salary of the Governor, and furnish him with provisions; to support garrisons in the country, and furnish all military supplies; and to be responsible for keeping the storehouses in repair. In order to cover its expenses, it had exclusive possession of the trade in peltries, which had been transferred to it by the larger company, on condition that the surplus of profits should belong to the general association. The result was that the entire management of affairs was in the hands of merchants, who became by this arrangement the prime movers of all the company's operations; and it was difficult for them to enter into views so pure and disinterested as those that the other **[page 311]** Associates had entertained in its formation." Cf - *Merc. Francoise*, vol. xix, pp. 837, 838.
- [19] (p. 263). Information regarding the establishment of these missions (excepting that at Miscou), has been given in notes to preceding volumes. See vol. iv., *notes* 20 (N. D. de Roucouvance), 24 (Three Rivers), 30 (Ihonatiria), 46 (Ste. Anne); and vol. vi., *note* 7 (N. D. des Anges). At the end of the present *Relation* (1635), Le Jenne gives Perrault's description of the island and people of Cape Breton. The mission of St. Charles was established for the benefit of the Frenchmen who occupied the important post of Miscou, an island at the entrance of the Bay of Chaleurs, much frequented by fishermen. Turgis and Du March were sent thither in 1634; the latter returned to Quebec at the end of a year, but Turgis remained until his death, May 4, 1637.
- [20] (p. 265). For account of Marquis de Gamache, see vol. vi., *note* 9. The other missions were supported by the Company of New France, in accordance with the terms granted it by the royal edict; see *Merc. Francoise*, vol. xiv. (1628), p. 237.
- [21] (p. 297). *Bissiriniens*: the Nipissings, also called by the French "Nation des Sorciers" (see vol. v., *note* 18).
- [22] (p. 303). Francois Derr (or De R), sieur de Gand; one of the Hundred Associates, and commissary general of the company as early as 1635. In 1637, having obtained certain lands adjoining those granted to the Jesuits at Sillery, he donated them to the mission; in 1640, he had charge of the notarial record-office. His death occurred in May, 1641. **[page 312]**



# VOL. VIII

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## PREFACE TO VOLUME VIII

## DOCUMENTS:-

## XXV.

Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Novvelle France, en l'année 1635 [Chapters iii., iv., etc., completing the document]. Paul le Jeune; Kébec, August 28, 1635; Jean de Brebeuf; Ihonatiria, May 27, 1635; Julien Perrault; 1634 - 35.

## XXVI.

Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Novvelle France, en l'année 1636 [Chapters i., ii., first installment of the document]. Paul le Jeune; Kébec, August 28, 1636



[page i]

[page ii]

## PREFACE TO VOL. VIII

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

XXV. A summary of the contents of the first two chapters of the Relation of 1635 was given in Volume VII. of our series. Continuing his narrative, Le Jeune urges that French colonies be sent to Canada, to develop and hold the country for the French crown. Still more important, in his view, is the aid which these would afford to his favorite project, that of rendering the nomadic tribes stationary, by furnishing nuclei for Indian settlements. He then, as usual, closes his yearly letter by a resumé, in the form of a journal, of the chief events during the past year, beginning with the departure of the French fleet, in August, 1634. He relates how he and Buteux went, in September, to Champlain's new settlement at Three Rivers, and describes the region thereabout. An elk-hunt, a funeral, the cruel treatment of an Iroquois prisoner, an Indian dance, and various conversations on religion, with the savages, are narrated. The superior gives a sad account of the famine among the Indians that winter, and the consequent epidemic, which often proves fatal, even among the French. He has heard ill news of his brethren who had ventured into the Huron country, but letters from them show that these reports are in a measure [page 1] false. In May, Le Jeune and a companion go to Quebec, to meet the French fleet, which, however, is delayed until July, when it brings a reinforcement of six Jesuit priests and two brothers, where at there is great rejoicing among the missionaries. Champlain holds a council with the Hurons, and recommends to their friendship Fathers Le Mercier and Pijart, who depart with them. Le Jeune remains at Quebec. Again he urges that efforts should be made to render the wandering Indians sedentary, - intimating that not only could they thereby be more easily converted, but that the beaver might thus be kept from extermination. He mentions the crafty attempts of the Iroquois to arouse hostilities among the tribes on the St. Lawrence, and thus to divert the Indian trade from the French to the Dutch and English, at Albany. The journalist describes the conversion of a young French Huguenot, and closes by giving directions to his correspondents in France as to the forwarding of their letters.

In his report on the Huron mission, sent to Le Jeune the preceding May (1635), Br  beuf describes his journey to Lake Huron, with its attendant hardships and perils. He, with his companions, settles at Ihonatiria, near the place where he had formerly lived, when on his first mission to the Hurons. These savages welcome his return, and build a cabin for the French. The former suffer much from the same epidemic that had attacked Three Rivers; but the French keep in good health. Br  beuf describes his cabin, which is at once a dwelling and a church; and relates the astonishment of the natives at the sight of various articles brought by the French, a small mill, a clock (which the Indians thought was [page 2] alive), a loadstone, a magnifying glass, etc., but especially at the art of writing, which is utterly incomprehensible to their simple minds.

Br  beuf writes of the Huron myths of creation, the morals and superstitions of that tribe, the doings of their medicine men; he praises their spirit of hospitality, their patience in sickness, their courage in view of death, - upon which qualities he hopes to build a Christian faith and life in their hearts. He describes the baptisms and the apparent conversions that had rewarded the efforts of the missionaries; the kind of religious instruction they give the savages; the condition of their affairs; and the friendly relations existing between them and the Hurons. He adds a postscript, to mention a new baptism, and the mildness of the recent winter and spring.

Julien Perrault, of the mission- in Cape Breton Island, describes in a letter to his superior (Le Jeune), the situation, climate, resources, and people of that island. He praises the docility and honesty of the natives, and the decency of their behavior and conversation.

The Relation ends with an interesting collection of "various sentiments and opinions of the Fathers who are in New France, taken from their last letters of 1635," embodying their religious experiences, observations and opinions concerning their work, and the qualifications they consider necessary in those who would come to Canada as missionaries.

XXVI. Like the preceding document, the Relation of 1636, although throughout styled by bibliographers Le Jeune's, because he was the superior and the editor, is a composite: the first half being a Relation (or annual report) of eleven chapters, sent by [page 3] Le Jeune to his provincial at Paris, and dated Quebec, August 28, 1636; the second half consists of a Relation on the Huron mission, by Br  beuf, dated at Ihonatiria, July 16 of the same year, and sent down to Le Jeune by a native messenger. Br  beuf's Relation is divided into two parts, one of four chapters, the other of nine.

We have space in the present volume but for the two opening chapters of Le Jeune's own yearly narrative. He begins by describing the arrival of Montmagny, Champlain's successor as governor of New France. The missionaries are rejoiced to find that the new governor has brought with him Chastelain and Garnier, priests of their order, to aid them in their great task; and, still more, that Montmagny is a pious man, and greatly interested in their work. This is evinced by his becoming sponsor in baptism for a savage, almost as soon as he has landed at Quebec. Le Jeune mentions also the arrival of Father Nicolas Adam, as well as several families of colonists, especially those of De Repentigny and La Poterie. He then relates how interest in the Canadian mission is spreading in France, not only in religious circles, but among the nobility, court officers, and persons of wealth. He praises the piety and generosity of the Marquis de Gamache, who largely supports the Quebec mission; and several members of the Hundred Associates, whose letters are quoted, showing their zeal and liberality. He is especially pleased at the intention of a wealthy lady, Madame Combalet, to establish a hospital in New France. He continues, as usual, with circumstantial accounts of conversions among the savages, and the pious deaths of several.

The translation of Br  beuf's portion of the Relation of 1635 (Doc. xxv.) is the work of the late James McFie Hunter, M. A., principal of the Collegiate Institute at Barrie, Ont. Mr. Hunter had intended publish an English translation of all the Relations emanating from the Huron country, but his death in 1893 terminated the project.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., May, 1897.

[page 5]

## XXV (concluded)





Chaps. i.-ii., of the opening Relation by Le eune, appeared in Volume VII. Chaps. iii.-iv.,concluding LeJeune's part, here follow ; the document closes with reports on the Huron and Cape Breton missions, by Br♦beuf and Perrault respectively; and a collection of "sentiments and opinions of the Fathers who are in New France."

[page 7]

## [51] CHAPTER III.

### HOW IT IS A BENEFIT TO BOTH OLD AND NEW FRANCE, TO SEND COLONIES HERE.

T is to be feared that in the multiplication of our French, in these countries, peace, happiness, and good feeling may not increase [52] in the same ratio as do the Inhabitants of New France. It is much easier to control a few men than whole multitudes; yet it must be confessed that it would be an enterprise very honorable and very profitable to Old France, and very useful to the New, to establish settlements here, and to send over Colonies.

Shall the French, alone of all the Nations of the earth, be deprived of the honor of expanding and spreading over this New World? Shall France, much more populous than all the other Kingdoms, have Inhabitants only for itself? or, when her, children leave her, shall they go here and there and lose the name of Frenchmen among Foreigners?

Geographers, Historians, [53] and experience itself, show us that every year a great many people leave France who go to enroll themselves elsewhere. For, although the Soil of our country is very fertile, the French women have this blessing, that they are still more so; and thence it happens that our ancient Gauls, in want of land, went to seek it in different parts of Europe. The Galatians draw their origin from them; they have crossed Italy, they have passed into Greece, and into many other regions. At **[page 9]** present, our French people are no less numerous than our old Gauls; but they do not go forth in bands, but separately, some going in one direction, some in another, to make their fortunes among Strangers. Would it not be better to empty Old France into New, by means of Colonies [54] which could be sent there, than to people Foreign countries?

Add to this, if you please, that there- is a multitude of workmen in France, who, for lack of employment or of owning a little land, pass their lives in poverty and wretched want. Many of them beg their bread from door to door; some of them resort to stealing and public brigandage, others to larceny and secret frauds, each one trying to obtain for himself what many cannot possess. Now as New France is so immense, so many inhabitants can be sent here that those who remain in the Mother Country will have enough honest work left them to do, without launching into those vices which ruin Republics; this does not mean that [55] ruined people, or those of evil lives, should be sent here, for that would be to build Babylons; but if the good were to make room for the bad, it would give the latter an opportunity to escape the idleness that corrupts them.

Besides, if these Countries are peopled by our French, not only will this weaken the strength of the Foreigner,♦who holds in his ships, in his towns, and in his armies, a great many of our Countrymen as hostages,♦not only will it banish famine from the houses of a multitude of poor workmen, but it will also strengthen France; for those who will be born in New France, will be French, and in case of need can render good service to their King,♦a thing which cannot be expected from those who dwell **[page 11]** among -our neighbors and outside the dominion of their Prince.

[56] Finally, if this country is peopled by the French, it will be firmly attached to the Crown, and .,the Foreigner will come no more to trouble it. And they tell us that this year the English have restored to Monsieur the Commander de Rasily the settlement of Pemptego♦s, that they took from the French in the year one thousand six hundred and thirteen. From this will result a good which will draw down upon both old and new France a great blessing from Heaven; it is the Conversion of a vast number of Savage Nations, who inhabit these lands and who are every day becoming disposed to receive the light of the Faith.

Now there is no doubt that there can be found here employment for all sorts of artisans. Why cannot the great forests of New France largely furnish the Ships for the Old? Who doubts that there are here mines of iron, [57] copper, and other metals? Some have already been discovered, which will soon be worked; and hence all those who work in wood and iron will find employment here. Grain will not fail here, more than in France. I do not pretend to recite all the advantages of the country, nor to show what can give occupation here to the intelligence and strength of our French people; I will content myself by saying that it would be an honor and a great benefit to both old and new France to send over Emigrants and establish strong colonies in these lands, which have lain fallow since the birth of the world.

They will tell me that the Gentlemen of the Company of New France have taken it upon themselves to do this; I answer that they are discharging their **[page 13]** duty perfectly, although at very [58] great expense; but even if they should bring over three times as many people as they have promised, they would but slightly relieve Old France, and would people only a little Canton of the New. Nevertheless, in time ,they will make some progress ; and as soon as, through the clearing of the land, they can obtain from it what is necessary for life, thousands of useful things will be found in the country which will also be profitable to France. But it seems necessary that a great extent of forest should be converted into tillable land, before introducing many families, otherwise famine might consume them.

I enlarge upon a point which seems remote from my subject, although it is closely related thereto; for if I could see here a number of towns or villages, gathering enough of the fruits of [59] the earth for their needs, our wandering Savages would soon range themselves under their protection; and, being rendered sedentary by our example, especially if they were to be given some help, they could easily be instructed in the Faith. As to the stationary tribes farther back in the interior, we would go in great numbers to succor them; and would have much more authority, and less fear, if we felt that we had the support of these Towns or Villages. The more imposing the power of our French people is made in these Countries, the more easily they can make their belief received by these Barbarians. who are influencecl even more through the senses, than through reason.

**[page 15]**

[60] CHAPTER IV.

LL that will be said in this Chapter is a mere medley, in which there will be but little sequence or connection, except perhaps that of the time in which the things happened; and still they will follow each other only at wide intervals.

On the twelfth of August of the preceding year, one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, Monsieur du Plessis Bochard, Commandant of the fleet, weighed anchor and left the Roadstead of Kebec, to go to Tadoussac and thence to France, where we are told he arrived about the middle of September, having been only a month in crossing the sea.

[61] On the twenty-sixth of the same month of August, some Savages who were passing our House showed us some plums they had gathered in the woods not far from there; they were as large as the little apricots of France, their stone being flat like that of the apricot. This leads me to say that the cold of these Countries does not prevent fruit from growing. We shall know from experience, in a few years, for we have grafted some cuttings which have started very well.

On the third of September, we, Father Buteux and I, embarked to go and help our French in the New Settlement they are beginning at the three Rivers. We passed near the Island of Rich[e]lieu, called by **[page 17]** the [62] Savages Ka ouapassiniskakhi. Monsieur de Champlain has had a platform erected there, upon which they have placed some Cannon in order to command the whole River. From this Islet to a considerable distance above, the passage is very dangerous to any one who does not know the real channel. Once we touched bottom, another time we were stranded; and in a strong northeaster our bark grazed a rock, which filled with horror all those that saw it. God seems to have armed this passage for the preservation of the Country in the hands of the French, who now possess it.

On the eighth, we arrived at the three Rivers. We found living there very agreeable; the ground is sandy, the fish very abundant in its season. A Savage will sometimes bring in his Canoe twelve or fifteen [63] Sturgeon, the smallest of which is occasionally as long as the height of a man; besides these, there are also a number of other very good fish. The French have named this place the three Rivers, because there emerges here a very beautiful river which flows into the great River saint Lawrence through three principal mouths, caused by several little Islands which are found at the entrance of this river, which the Savages call Metaberoutin. I would like to describe the beauty of this place, but I am afraid of being tedious. The whole country between Kebec and this new Settlement, which we will call the Residence of the Conception, seems to me very pleasant; it is intersected by brooks and streams, which empty at short distances from each other into the King of rivers, that is, into the great river St. Lawrence, [64] which is, even at this place, fully two or three thousand paces wide, although it is thirty leagues above Kebec. **[page 19]**

On the twenty-seventh of the same month of September, an Elk appeared on the other bank of this great river; our Frenchmen gave notice of it to some Savages who were encamped near the Settlement, and some of them went to attack this great animal, which was standing in the water drinking. Approaching it from the land side, to drive it farther into the water, they flew after it in their little bark Canoes; and, approaching it within range, one of them launched a javelin at it, which made it give a bound and start for the shore to save itself; it might easily have done this if it had been able to touch the shore; but seeing its enemies there, it [65] rushed into the water where it was soon run through with javelins. When it was near its death, they drove it to the shore, and there in a moment they had cut it in pieces, to be able to carry it to their cabin. We saw this chase from our Settlement, which is on a natural elevation and commands a view of the great River. I carefully examined the head of this animal; its antlers had grown only as long as the horns of an ox, for it was still young; these antlers were covered with hair which was quite fine and almost equally thick throughout.

On the twenty-eighth, Father Buteux and I found a band of Savages who were having a feast near the graves of their deceased relatives; they gave them the best part of the banquet, which they threw [66] into the fire; and, when they were about to go away, a woman broke some twigs and branches from the trees, with which she covered these graves. I asked her why she did this, and she answered that she was sheltering the souls of her dead friends from the heat of the Sun, which has been very great this Autumn. **[page 21]** They reason about the souls of men and their necessities as they do about the body; according to their doctrine, they suppose that our souls have the same needs as our bodies. We told her repeatedly that the souls of reasonable beings descended into hell or went up into Heaven; but, without giving us any answer, she continued to follow the old custom of her ancestors. Those who do not appreciate the obligations they are under to God, for having been born in a place where he is known and worshiped, can see here at a glance what an advantage [67] they have over a world of barbarians.

On the twenty-third day of October, fifteen or twenty Savages returned from the war, bringing a prisoner. As soon as they could descry our Settlement and their cabins, they collected their canoes and sailed slowly down the middle of the great river, uttering from their chests songs full of gladness; as soon as they were seen, there was a great outcry among the cabins, each one coming out to see these warriors, who made the poor prisoner stand up and dance in their fashion in the middle of a canoe. He sang, and they kept time with their paddles; he was bound with a cord which tied his arms behind his back, another was around his feet, and still another, [68] a long one, around his body; they had torn out his finger-nails, so that he could not untie himself. Marvel, I pray you, at the cruelty of these people. A Savage, having perceived Father Buteux and me mingling with the others, came up to us and said, full of joy and satisfaction, Tapoue kouetakiou nigamouau;" I shall really eat some Hiroquois." Finally this poor man came out of the canoe, and was taken into a cabin, the children, girls, and women **[page 23]** striking him, some with sticks, others with stones, as he entered; you would have said he was insensible, as he passed along and received these blows without looking around; as soon as he entered, they made him dance to the music of their howls. After having made a few turns, striking the ground and agitating his body, which is all there is of [69] their dancing, they made him sit down; and some of the Savages, addressing us, told us that this Hiroquois was one of those who the year before had surprised and killed three of our Frenchmen; this was done to stifle in us the pity that we might have for him, and they even dared to ask some of our French if they did not want to eat their share of him, since they had killed our Countrymen. We replied that these cruelties displeased us, and that we were not cannibals. He did not die, however; for these Barbarians, weary of the war, spoke with this young prisoner, who was a strong man, tall and finely formed, about making peace; they have been treating about it for a long time, but at last it is concluded. In truth, I believe it will not last long; [70] for the first impulse that seizes some hot-headed fellow, at the remembrance that one of his relations was killed by the Hiroquois, will make him go and surprise one of them, and treacherously assassinate him; and thus the war will begin again. Fidelity cannot be expected from people who have not the true Faith.

On the twenty-fourth of the same month, a great many Algonquains having arrived, I went through their cabins, looking for a little girl I had baptized and named Marguerite, the year before. Her mother readily recognized me, and told me that she was dead; that was so much gained for Heaven; I had **[page 25]** only made her a Christian that she might go there. When I came to ask news of the father of the child whom I had begun to instruct, a Savage told me that he was dead; at this [71] answer, one of his daughters, about eighteen or twenty years old, uttered a loud cry and burst into tears; they made me a sign that I should not speak of death, its very name seeming to them unbearable.

On the twenty-ninth, a rather amusing thing happened, which I shall relate here to show the simplicity of a mind that does not know God. Two Savages having entered our Settlement during Divine Service, which we were holding in the Chapel, said to each other, "They are praying to him who made all things; will he give them what they ask?" Now as we were going rather slowly, according to their ideas, "Certainly," they said, "he does

not want to give it to them, see how they are all shouting as loud as they can," (we were singing Vespers at the time). Now, as a young interpreter was going away, they approached him and [72] said, " Well, now, he who made all things, has he granted what you ask?" "Yes," he answered, "we shall get it." "Certainly, " they replied, " he must have very nearly refused you, for you have cried and sung so hard to get it; we were saying all the time that you would not get anything; but tell us now, what did he promise you? " This young man, smiling, answered them according to their expectations, " He promised us that we should not be hungry." It is the highest state of happiness for the Savages to have something with which to satisfy their stomachs.

On the fifth of November, I went to see the remains of a good palisade, which formerly surrounded **[page 27]** a Village in the very place where our French have established their Abode. The Hiroquois enemies of these Tribes have burned everything; there can still be seen [73] the ends of the blackened stakes; there are some arpents of cleared land, where they cultivated Indian corn. I hope in the course of time our Canadians will resume this industry, which will be as profitable to them for Heaven as for earth; for, if they stop their wanderings, there will be opportunities of instructing them.

On the seventh we had described to us a kind of Savage dance that we had not yet seen. One of them begins while the others sing; the song finished, he goes and gives the bouquet, that is, he goes and makes a present to the one whom he wishes to dance after him; the other does the same thing when he finishes the dance; and, if our French are with them, they bring the bouquet and the present to our men as well as to the others.

On the eighteenth of this month, [74] all the Savages dispersed, some here and some there into the woods, to go during the winter to hunt the Elk, the Deer and the Caribou, upon which they live; so that we were without neighbors, our French alone remaining in our new Dwelling place.

On the thirtieth of December, the snow having been neither hard nor deep enough to arrest the long legs of the Elk, a troop of these poor Barbarians came crying for pity at our Settlement; the famine, which was cruel last year, has treated them still worse this winter, at least in several places; we have heard a report that, near Gaspé, the Savages killed and ate a young boy whom the Basques left with, them to learn their language. Those of Tadoussac, with whom I **[page 29]** passed the winter a year ago, have eaten each other [75] in some localities. Monsieur du Plessis Bochart, on his way to Kebec, told us that there were still some in the woods who do not dare appear before the others because they had wickedly surprised, massacred, and eaten their companions. We have been witnesses to their famine at the three Rivers; they came in bands, greatly disfigured and as fleshless as skeletons, liking, they said, as well to die near the French as in their own Forests; the misfortune for them was that, as this Settlement was only in its first stages, there was not yet a storehouse at three Rivers, our French and we having brought from Kebec only the food necessary for the number of men who were residing there; we tried, however, to help them, each on his side [76] exercising charity according to his means, or according to his inclinations; not one of those who came to us died of hunger.

When Father Buteux and I entered a certain cabin, a woman told us that no one remained but she and her companion, of all those with whom they had wintered in the forest. Hunters had been found stiff in death upon the snow, killed by cold and starvation, among others, the one who had taken prisoner the Hiroquois of whom I have spoken above.

A Savage told me, during this famine, that his wife and sister-in-law contemplated killing their own brother; I asked him why, " We are afraid," he replied, " that he will kill us during our sleep, to eat us." " We supply you," said I, " a part of. our food every day [77] to help you." "That is true," he replied, " thou givest us life; but this man is half-mad; he does not eat, he has some evil design; we wish to prevent him, wilt thou be displeased at **[page 31]** that?" I found myself a little troubled; I could not consent to his death, and yet I believed they had good cause for their fear. We advised him not to leave any hatchets or javelins in his cabin, except one which he would have to use, and he should place that under his head when he was sleeping; he agreed to this, and gave us his hatchets and javelins, to put them away in our little room. Three days later, this poor wretch went to Kebec, where, having tried to kill some Frenchman, Monsieur the Governor, seeing that he was mad, had him put in chains, to surrender him to the first Savages that [78] might come along.

Now these comings and goings of famished Savages lasted almost all winter; we usually made a little feast of peas and boiled flour for all the new bands, and I have seen certain ones among them eat more than eight bowlfuls of this before leaving the place.

While the banquet was being prepared, we talked to them about God, we represented to them their poverty; they all had the best intentions in the world to cultivate the land in the Spring, as some of them have done; but they did not remain constantly near their Indian corn,-abandoning it to go fishing, some in one direction, some in another.

As to the proposals we make to them to believe in God, one of them said to me one day, " If we [79] believe in your God, will it snow?" " It will snow, " I said to him. Will the snow be hard and deep?" "It will be." Shall we find Moose?" " You will find them. " " Shall we kill some?" " Yes; for as God knows all things, as he can do all things, and as he is very good, he will not fail to help you, if you **[page 33]** have recourse to him, if you receive the Faith, and if you render him obedience." " Thy speech is good," answered he, " we will think upon what thou hast told us." Meanwhile, they go off into the woods, and soon forget what has been said to them. It is indeed true that, in the end, some impression will be made upon their minds, if they are not harder than the stone hollowed out by drops of water.

Another time, having talked a long time upon our belief with a squad of them, who had returned to seek food for [80] their wives and children, I advised them, in case they could not find anything, to fall upon their knees and to address themselves to him who has made Heaven and earth, to promise him they would believe in him if he would relieve them; they promised that they would do so; we gave them for this purpose a little Image of our Lord Jesus Christ, and instructed them in the way in which they were to place it in the time of their great need, and in some prayers they were to make to him whom it represented, giving them strong hope that they would be helped. I placed this Image in the hands of a certain one named Sakapouan, of whom I have spoken above. He promised me that he would do everything just as we had directed; but the wretch did not keep his promise, for he never dared produce this Image, lest [81] he should be sneered at by his Companions; yes, he even laughed with the others about what we had preached to them. And indeed God chastised him, for he fell sick and was obliged to come seeking the French; we asked for the Image and he returned it. When asked why he had not prayed to the Son of the All-powerful, " I went away," he replied, " with the good will to pray to **[page 35]** him; I felt a strong hope that he would give us something to eat, I had even kept in mind the best of all the prayers thou hast taught us; but, when I arrived at our cabins, I was afraid that if I brought out the Image they would make sport of me, and that he .who has made all would be angry with me, and make us die." In one word, these people are restrained by worldly considerations. It was in vain I told him that if he had been faithful in [82] the midst of these mockeries, if he had not clung to these mockers, God would have given him powerful assistance; " It is necessary, " he said " to talk to our Captains" And, in fact, one who could gain them could gain all. I am always retracing my footsteps, in saying, that one who knew the language perfectly, so that he could crush their reasons and promptly refute their absurdities, would be very powerful among them. Time will bring all things; God giving his blessing, Populus qui est in tenebris videbit lucem magnam.

Now to end this whole story, I asked this Savage what this Prayer was that he preferred to all others. " Thou hast told us many things," he replied; "

but this prayer has seemed to me the best of all: Mirinan oukachigakhi nimitchiminan, 'Give us to-day our food, give us something to eat.' [83] This is an excellent Prayer," he said. I am not surprised at this Philosophy; Animalis homo, non perci .pit ea qua sunt Spiritus Dei. He who has never been at any school but that of the flesh, cannot speak the language of the spirit.

On the twenty-seventh of the same month of January, a Savage came to acquaint me with a secret well known among the Algonquains, but not among the Montagnais; neither is it known in this part of the **[page 39]** country, but farther into the interior. He told me that, if some one of our Frenchmen would accompany him, he would go and fish under the ice of a great pond, located some five thousand paces beyond the great River, opposite our Settlement. One of them did, in fact, go there, and brought back some fish, which greatly comforted our French people,, for they can now, in the thickest [84] ice, stretch their nets in this pond. I have seen them fish in this way; now see how they do it. With great blows of the axe they make a tolerably large hole in the ice of the pond ; then at intervals they make other smaller ones, and by the use of poles they pass a cord from hole to hole under the ice; this cord, which is as long as the nets they wish to stretch, stops at the last hole, through which it is drawn, and they spread out in the water the whole net which is attached to it. This is the way they spread the nets the first time. When they wish to examine them, it is very easily done, for they draw them out through the largest opening, to collect the fish from them; then it is only necessary to draw back the cord to respread the nets, the poles serving only to put the cord through the first time. When God has blessed these countries with a colony of French, [85] there will result a thousand benefits and a thousand conveniences for the country, of which these Barbarians are ignorant.

On the sixth of February, the great River was completely frozen over, so that one could walk over it in safety; it even froze opposite Kebec, which is very extraordinary, as the tides there are very strong. It seems to me that the severity of the winter makes itself especially felt during this month.

On the eighth of March occurred the death of the **[page 39]** Savage woman named Anne, of whom I have spoken in Chapter second; as the anguish of death approached, she said at times to herself, nitapoueten, nitapoueten, " I believe, I believe;" nisadki hau, nisadki hau, I love him, I love him;" ouaskoucki nioui itoutan, I wish to go to Heaven;" and once she said to me, as I was leaving her after having instructed and [86] visited her in her sickness; " Thou hast been a father to me up to the present; continue so until my death, which will not be long; come back and see me very soon, and if thou seest me so low I cannot speak, remember that I shall always think of what thou hast said to me, and that I shall always believe in my heart." As a Savage had informed me that she did not belong to this region, I asked her a few days before her death about her native country: she told me that the people of her Nation were called ouperigoue ouaouakhi, that they dwelt farther back in the interior, below Tadoussac, and on the same side; that they could descend through the rivers from their country to the great river saint Lawrence; that her Countrymen had no commerce with the Europeans; " that is why," she said, " they use hatchets made of stone;" that they have [87] Deer and Beavers in abundance, but very few Elk; that they speak the Montagnais language, and that they would certainly come and trade with the French, were it not that the Savages of Tadoussac try to kill them when they encounter them. I do not know whether these are the ones that we call Bersiamites, some of whom have been cruelly massacred this year at Tadoussac. These perfidious Savages received them very kindly, and, when they had them in their power, treacherously put them to death. **[page 41]**

On the fifth day of April, a Montagnais Savage came to report to Father Buteux that our Fathers and our Frenchmen who accompanied them had been abandoned in the woods and tied to trees, by the Hurons who were taking them to their country, who, [88] falling ill with a certain epidemic which last Autumn afflicted all these Nations, believed that this malady was caused by the French, and it was this which made them treat the French in this way; this savage declared that he had heard the news from the lips of some Bissiriniens, neighbors of the Hurons. We placed the whole matter in the hands of Our Lord, who will take our lives at the time and in the manner that shall please him. We had already learned, as I wrote last year, the bad news about Father Anthoine Daniel, who had been reported to us as almost dead; but at last the goodness of God has comforted us, for most of these reports are found to be false. It is true that Father Daniel and all the others have endured incomparable sufferings in their voyage, as Your Reverence can see [89] by the Relation of Father Br beuf.

On the fourteenth of the same month, as the ice was completely broken up, I embarked in a canoe with one of our Frenchmen and an Algonquain, to go and see the beautiful lake or pond of which I have spoken above, and which I had seen all frozen over during the winter. On the way, I saw a Muskrat hunt. Some of these animals are as large as rabbits; they have very long tails. When they appear upon the water, the Savages follow them in their little canoes; these Rats, upon seeing themselves pursued, immediately dive into the water, their enemies hurrying quickly to the place where they expect **[page 43]** them to come up again to take breath; in short, they pursue them until they are tired out, so that they must remain above the water a little while, in order not to suffocate; then they [90] knock them down with their paddles, or kill them with arrows. When this animal has gained the land, it usually saves itself by hiding in its hole. It is called Muskrat because, in fact, a part of its body smells of musk, if caught in the Spring, at other times, it has no odor.

On the twenty-first, I left three Rivers to come to Kebec, in order to be there, according to the wish of the Fathers, at the coming of the ships. We expected them early, but they came very late, the bad weather having caused them to have a rough passage; we hoped to see them towards the end of May, and we had no news of them until the twenty-fifth of June, when a canoe arrived, sent from Tadoussac, which reported that a ship was at the Island of Bic, and that five or six more of them were coming, with the firm [91] determination to attack all those they found in the River without Commissions.

On the fourth of July, a shallop sent from Monsieur du Plessis Bochart, commandant of the fleet, gladdened all our French, assuring us of his coming, and that he was followed by eight strong ships, six for Tadoussac and two for Miscou, not including the one sent to Cape Breton and the coast of Acadia, to Monsieur the Commandant de Razilly.

On the tenth, a bark which was ascending the river brought us Father Pijart. At the same time, two of our Frenchmen, coining down from the Hurons, presented to us the letters of our Fathers who are in that country; so we received cheering news from all sides. On the one hand, the Father **[page 45]** testified to us that Your Reverence was sending us 4 Of our Fathers, and 2 of our Brothers, as a reinforcement, [92] and two other Fathers for the Residence of St. Charles; that a vast number of people cherished this Mission, and that Your Reverence, in the fulness of your heart, would every year give as many Gospel workers as the Mission could support; the zeal to come and suffer something in these countries for the glory of our Lord, being almost incredible. On the other hand, the good health of our Fathers among the Hurons, where they were reported dead, and the good disposition of those Peoples to receive the Christian truths, and the affection they bear us, make us bless the holy Name of God, and render him thanks for so many blessings as he is about to pour down upon this enterprise.

On the twelfth, Monsieur the Chevalier de la Roche-Jacquelin, commandant of the ship called "Saint [93] Jacques," cast anchor before Kebec. Our Brother Pierre Feaut, having thanked him for his kindness, came to see us in our little House of nostre Dame des Anges. The next day our joy was increased by the arrival of Father Claude Quantin and of our Brother Pierre Tellier, who were brought in the ship of Captain de Nesle.

On the twentieth, Monsieur the General conveyed to us Father Mercier, whom he had brought in his bark. All these days were for us days of joy and contentment, seeing both our French and our Fathers in good health after much suffering upon the sea.



On the twenty-second of July, there was held an Assembly or Council between the French and the Hurons. Father Buteux, who had come down from **[page 47]** the Residence of the Conception, and I [94] participated therein. After public affairs, Monsieur de Champlain, our Governor, very affectionately recommended our Fathers, and the French who accompanied them, to these Tribes; he told them, through an interpreter, that if they wished to preserve and strengthen their friendship with the French, they must receive our belief and worship the God that we worshiped; that this would be very profitable to them, for God, being all-powerful, will bless and protect them, and make them victorious over their enemies; that the French will go in goodly numbers to their Country; that they will marry their daughters when they become Christians; that they will teach all their people to make hatchets, knives, and other things which are very necessary to them; and that for this purpose they must next year [95] bring many of their little boys, whom we will lodge comfortably, and will feed, instruct and cherish as if they were our little Brothers. And that, inasmuch as all the Captains could not come down there, they should hold a Council upon this matter in their Country, to which they should summon Echom, it is thus they call Father Brebeuf; and then, giving them a letter to bear to him, he added, " Here I inform the Father of all these points. He will be in your Assembly, and will make you a present that his Brothers send him; there you will show whether you truly love the French." I suggested these thoughts to Monsieur our governor, and he approved them; but he also amplified them with a thousand praises and a thousand proofs of affection towards our [96] Society. Monsieur the General also said a few words upon this subject, and did all he could to **[page 49]** let these Peoples know the high estimation in which the great Captains of France hold these Fathers that they send over to them; and all this was done to dispose them to recognize the God of the French and of the whole Universe. To this discourse a chief replied that they would not fail to deliver this letter, and to hold a Council upon the Matters proposed. That, as to the rest, their whole Nation loved all the French; and yet, notwithstanding this, the French loved only one of their Villages, since all those who had come up to their Country selected that as their dwelling place. They were answered that, up to the present, they had had only a few of our Frenchmen; and that, if they embraced our belief, they would have some of them [97] in all their villages.

At the conclusion of the Council, we went to see those who were to take on board Father le Mercier and Father Pijart, with their little baggage, to convey them into their Country; Father Brebeuf had designated certain ones to me in his letter, but several presented themselves. They gazed attentively at the Fathers, measured them with their eyes, asked if they were ill-natured, if they paddled well; then took them by the hands, and made signs to them that it would be necessary to handle the paddles well.

At last, on the twenty-third of the same month of July, our Savages, well pleased, embarked our two Fathers and a young French boy who has already passed a year in the country. I never saw persons more joyful than were these good Fathers; they had to go barefooted into the [98] bark ships, for fear of spoiling them, and they did this gayly, with glad eyes and faces, notwithstanding the sufferings they were about to encounter. I was reminded of **[page 51]** St. Andrew flying to the Cross. They were taken in three different canoes, the one that carried Father Pijart being the first ready, it went directly alongside, that is, of the ship of Monsieur the Chevalier, to say to him his last adieus and to thank him once more for very especial courtesies received from him while crossing in his ship from France to Tadoussac. After having saluted him, Monsieur the Chevalier had some prunes thrown into his canoe for the Savages who were taking him, and had the cannon fired off three times in his honor. These poor Barbarians were thrilled with delight, placing their hands over their mouths as a sign of astonishment.

[99] Father le Mercier came afterward in his canoe, to acknowledge the obligations he was under to Monsieur the General, and to take leave of him; the latter did not know how to express the interest he felt in those of our society who had come over with him in his ship. After the farewells, they also threw some prunes to his boatmen, the cannon of the ship and of the bark making these Savages understand that they must take good care of those whom our French Captains honored with so much affection.

In the midst of these ceremonies a laughable incident occurred. Father Buteux was starting at the same time to return to the three Rivers in a canoe; the Savages who were taking him, seeing the honors bestowed on the Fathers and the Savages who were going to the Hurons, turned, as [100] the other two canoes had done, to the ship where Monsieur the General and Monsieur the Chevalier were. Father Buteux called to them, " You must not go there; I am not going to the Hurons." It did not matter; since favors had there been bestowed upon those who **[page 53]** were taking our Fathers, these wished to taste some of them, as well as the others; so they were shown the same courtesy.

On the first day of August, Father Buteux wrote me from the three Rivers, where he had gone, as I have said, that the Montaignais Savages had elected a new Captain, the one whom they had formerly called Capitanal having died the previous Autumn. This Capitanal was a man of good sense, and a great friend of the French. Assembling the Principal Men of his Nation at the time of his death, he charged them to preserve this good [101] understanding with his friends, telling them that, as a proof of the love he bore us, he would like, even after death, to live with us; and he straightway had himself carried from beyond the great river, where he was, to die near the new Settlement. He also asked to be borne to the grave by the hands of our French, for whom he designated a little present; in short, he begged that he might be buried near his friends. All this was granted him; Monsieur de Champlain has had a little enclosure placed around his grave, to distinguish it. If we had then been at three Rivers, I do not doubt that he would have died a Christian. I was very sorry when this man died; for he had shown in open Council that his purpose was to have the people [102] of his Nation settle near the fort of the Anguien river; he had spoken to me also about this in private. He was loved by his people and by the French; it was this Captain who delighted all his hearers by a Speech he made two years ago, which I mentioned at the time. If he still lived, he would without doubt favor what we are going to undertake this Spring, to be able **[page 55]** to make them, little by little, a sedentary people.

As it happens that these poor Barbarians have been for a long time accustomed to be idlers, it is hard for them to locate and cultivate the soil unless they are assisted. Our plan now is to see if some family is not willing to give up these wanderings; if one be found, we will in the spring employ three men to plant Indian corn near the new Settlement [103] at the three Rivers, with which these people are greatly pleased. If this family settles there during the winter, we will maintain them with corn from our harvest and from theirs, for they will also work; if they do not stay with us, we will withdraw our assistance and let them go.

It would be a great blessing for their bodies, for their souls, and for the traffic of these Gentlemen, if those Tribes were stationary, and if they became docile to our direction, which they will do, I hope, in the course of time. If they are sedentary, and if they cultivate the land, they will not die of hunger, as often happens to them in their wanderings; we shall be able to instruct them easily, and Beavers will greatly multiply. These animals are more prolific than our sheep in France, [104] the females bearing as many as five or six every year; but, when the Savages find a lodge of them, they kill all, great and small, male and female. There is danger that they will finally exterminate the species in this Region, as has happened among the Hurons, who have not a single Beaver, going elsewhere to buy the skins they bring to the storehouse of these Gentlemen. Now it will be so arranged that, in the course of time, each family of our Montaignais, if they become located, will take its own territory for hunting, without **[page 57]** following in the tracks of its neighbors; besides, we will counsel them not to kill any but the males, and of those only such as are large. If they act upon this advice, they will have Beaver meat and skins in the greatest abundance.

As to the men whom we wish to employ for the -assistance [105] of the Savages, Monsieur de Champlain has promised us that he would let us have those who are at the settlement of the three Rivers; for, as they have not cleared any land there for us, we do not keep any workmen there, but merely two Fathers who care for the religious needs of our French. We will arrange for the wages and food of these workmen, according to the time we shall employ them in clearing and cultivating the land with our Savages; if I had the means of supporting a dozen, be the true way to gain the

Savages. May for whom we enter into this project, bless his goodness, and open the ears of these poor abandoned People.

On the tenth of this month, Father Masse and Father Buteux wrote me [106] from the Residence of the Conception that it was reported there that the Hiroquois had destroyed seven canoes of the petite nation of the Algonquains; if this be true, the peace of which I have spoken above, is already broken, for our Montagnais allies of the Algonquains ill take sides with them.

I have heard a report, I do not know how true it is, that a certain Savage named "the Frog" [la Grenoille], who acts as Captain here, has said that the Hiroquois, with whom he had made a treaty of peace, have incited them to kill some of the Hurons, and to make war against them. [page 59]

Those best informed believe that this is a ruse of those who trade with these Tribes, and who are striving to divert, through their agency, the Hurons from their commerce with our French; which would happen if our Montagnais made [107] war against them; and then they [the traders] would attract them to their Settlements, and there would result a very considerable injury to the Associated Gentlemen of the Company of New France.

On the seventeenth of the same month of August, Father de Quen arrived at Kebec in a shallop which Captain Bontemps sent to give the news of his arrival at Tadoussac. Now as frightful icebergs have been seen this year upon the sea, -among others, one from thirty to forty, others say sixty leagues in extent, so large that a Pilot has assured me that he coasted along it for three days and three nights having a fair wind astern, and that in some places it had level plains, in others it rose into hills and high mountains: and since some Turkish vessels had been seen sailing out [108] of the English Channel, and some damaged ships floating here and there on the sea without masts and without sails, which are believed to have been captured by those infidels, who often abandon ships which they plunder, after having robbed them of all they contain:' now as all these reports were being circulated, we had all lost hope of seeing Captain Bontemps, the season for sailing to this country having passed. It was this that made his unexpected arrival give us all the more joy, for we would have been sorry if so brave a Captain and so fine a crew had been lost. Father de Quen related to us the cause of their delay, and gave us reason to thank God, who drew them back [page 61] from the shades of death, saving them from a shipwreck which seemed inevitable.

On the twenty-sixth of the same month [109] a young man who came over into New France as a volunteer Soldier, in the ship commanded by Monsieur the Chevalier de la Roche Jacquelin, publicly abjured the errors of Calvin, and embraced the Christian and Catholic truths. Monsieur the Chevalier, seeing he had a very good disposition, and having inclined him to lend us an ear, himself took the trouble to bring him to our little House, where he afterwards came to see me several times alone, to confer with me. Finally, after having enlightened him upon the principal points of our belief, he desired to carry back to Old France the treasure of truth which God had led him to find in the New.

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, we saw, towards nine [110] o'clock in the evening or thereabout, a great eclipse of the Moon, which in my opinion did not appear in France until two or three hours after midnight.

But it is time to drop my pen, which will not be able this year to answer several letters that a bark which goes down to Tadoussac will bring us after the departure of the ships. It sometimes happens, either from forgetfulness or for some other reason, that they deliver the letters after the fleet has already set sail, so that we cannot send the answers the same year. As to our Frenchmen and our Fathers who are in the country of the Hurons, answers to letters sent from France should not be expected until two years afterwards; indeed, even if letters addressed to them are given to us here [111] to hold for them, after the departure of the Hurons, who come down [page 63] to Kebec only once a year, the answers will not be carried to France until the end of three years. I have given this information purposely, so as to excuse ourselves to persons who have done us the honor of writing to us, and who do not get their answers the same year, and sometimes do not get them at all, the letters or the replies being lost in so great a lapse of time and so long a journey. I pray God that these may arrive safely, together with all the fleet; they will bear to your Reverence, as a final conclusion, a very humble supplication to remember, at the Altar and in the Oratory, our poor Savages, and all of us who are your children, especially me, [112] who have more need of it than the others, and who will call myself, with your permission, what I am,

My REVEREND FATHER,

You will permit me, if you please, to implore the prayers of all our Fathers and of all our Brothers in your Province, as, moreover, do all of us, I who am,

At the Residence of nostre Dame des Anges, near Kebec, in New France, this 28th of August, 1635.	Your very humble and greatly obliged servant in our Lord,
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------

PAUL LE JEUNE.

AND

Father Charles l'Allemant.	Father Francois Mercier.
Father Jean Brebeuf.	Father Charles Turgis.
Father Jean Daniel.	Father Charles du March.
Father Ambroise d'Avost.	Father Claude Quantin.
Father Anne de Noe.	Father Jacques Buteux.
Father Enemond Masse.	Father jean de Quen.
Father Antoine Richard.	Father Pierre Pijart.

[page 65]

And our Brothers Gilbert Burel, jean Liegeois, Pierre le Tellier, Pierre Feaut.

[page 67]

[113] Relation of what occurred among the Hurons in the year 1635.

Sent to Kebec to Father le Jeune, by Father Brebeuf.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

I send you an account of our journey into this Huron Country. It has been filled with more fatigues, losses and expenses than the other, but also has been followed, and will be, God aiding, by more of Heaven's blessings.

[114] When last year, one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, we arrived at the three Rivers, where the trading post was, we found ourselves in several difficulties and perplexities. For, on the one hand, there were only eleven Huron canoes to embark our ten additional persons who were intending to go into their Country. On the other, we were greatly in doubt whether any others would descend this year, considering the great loss they had experienced in war with the Hiroquois, named Sonontterrhonons, last Spring, and the fear they had of a new invasion. This placed us much in doubt whether we ought to take advantage of the opportunity which was presented, or wait for a better one.

At last, after full consideration, we [11] resolved to try our fortune, judging that it was of vital importance to have a footing in the Country in order to open the door which seemed firmly closed to the Faith. This resolution was far easier than the execution of it, which perchance would have been **[page 69]** impossible without the care, the favor, and the liberality of Monsieur du Plessis Bochard, General of the fleet. For immediately after his arrival, which was on the fifth of July, 1634, he held a Council with the Bissiriniens, to whom he proposed the plan he had of sending some men with them, and of joining us to the Hurons. They made several objections, and one of the Chiefs of the Island, named " the Partridge " [la Perdrix], more than all the rest; nevertheless, arguments and presents won them over.

The next morning, the Assembly met again, by the command [116] of Monsieur du Plessis Bochard, and both the Bissiriniens and the Hurons were present. The same plan was again presented to them; but out of respect for one another they all agreed not to embark any Frenchmen; and no arguments could, for the time being, move them. Thereupon our enterprise seemed again cut off, by this action. But, at the close of the Assembly, one of the Attiguenongha, drawing me aside, asked me to visit him in his cabin. There he gave me to understand that he and his companion would embark three of us. I replied that we could not go unless five went, namely, we three and two of our men.

Thereupon the Arendarhonons became eager to embark us; we found place for six, and so we resolved to [117] set out, and leave until some other time the two little boys we were to take. We began to distribute our baggage, and made presents to each one, to encourage them; and on the morrow, the seventh of the month, Monsieur du Plessis Bochard gave them still others, on the single consideration that they would embark us, and feasted all of them at a great feast of three large kettles. But the **[page 71]** contagion which spread among all these Tribes last year, with great destruction, having suddenly seized several of our Savages, and filled the rest with fear, again threw us into confusion, and put us to great trouble, seeing that we had to set out immediately. Our six canoes being reduced to three, and our two Fathers and I being disembarked, [118] I had to find new men, to unload our slender baggage, to decide who should embark and who should remain, to choose among our packages those we were to carry, and to give orders as to the rest, -and all this in less than half an hour, when we would have needed entire days. Nevertheless, recognizing clearly that our embarkment was a decisive stroke for Heaven, we thought it necessary to put forth our utmost energies to resist the efforts of the common enemy of man's salvation, who, we doubted not, was mixed up in this matter. I therefore did everything I could; we doubled the presents, we reduced the amount of our baggage, and took only what belonged to the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and what was absolutely necessary for life. Monsieur [119] du Plessis interposed his authority, Monsieur Oliver and Monsieur Coullart their ingenuity, and all the Frenchmen their affection. Yet several times I was completely baffled and desperate, until I had special recourse to our Lord Jesus, for whose glory alone we were undertaking this painful journey, and until I had made a vow to glorious saint Joseph, the new Patriarch of the Hurons. Immediately I saw everything become quiet, and our Savages so satisfied that those who embarked Father Daniel had already placed him in their canoe, and it seemed as if they were going to take him without even receiving the ordinary pay. **[page 73]** But the Father, seeing that they had not cloaks like the others, stepped out of the canoe, told me about it, and I had some given to them.

At last, then, after having briefly [120] thanked Monsieur du Plessis, having entrusted to him the embarkation of the rest of our people, if opportunity presented itself, and having bid him and all our Frenchmen adieu, I embarked with Father Antoine Daniel and one of our men; the two others were coming with the Algonquains. Monsieur du Plessis honored our departure with several volleys, to recommend us still more to our Savages. It was the seventh of July. Father Ambroise Davost embarked eight days later, with two others of our people. The rest followed eight days after, to take their part in the fatigues of a journey extremely wearisome, not only on account of its length and of the wretched fare to be had, but also on account of the circuits that have to be made in coming from Kebec to this place by way of the Bissiriniens and the petite Nation; I [121] believe that they amount to more than three hundred leagues. It is true the way is shorter by the Saut de St. Louys and the Lake of the Hiroquois; but the fear of enemies, and the few conveniences to be met with, cause that route to be unfrequented. Of two ordinary difficulties, the chief is that of the rapids and portages. Your Reverence has already seen enough of the rapids near Kebec to know what they are. All the rivers of this Country are full of them, and notably the St. Lawrence after that of the Prairies is passed. For from there onward it has no longer a smooth bed, but is broken up in several places, rolling and leaping in a frightful way, like an impetuous torrent; and even, in some places, it falls **[page 75]** down suddenly from a height of several brasses. I remembered, [122] in passing, the Cataracts of the Nile, as they are described by our Historians. Now when these rapids or torrents are reached, it is necessary to land, and carry on the shoulder, through woods or over high and troublesome rocks, all the baggage and the canoes themselves. This is not done without much work; for there are portages of one, two, and three leagues, and for each several trips must be made, no matter how few packages one has. In some places, where the current is not less strong than in these rapids, although easier at first, the Savages get into the water, and haul and guide by hand their canoes with extreme difficulty and danger; for they sometimes get in up to the neck and are compelled to let go their hold, saving themselves as best they can from the rapidity of the water, which snatches [123] from them and bears off their canoe. This happened to one of our Frenchmen who remained alone in the canoe, all the Savages having left it to the mercy of the torrent; but his skill and strength saved his life, and the canoe also, with all that was in it. I kept count of the number of portages, and found that we carried our canoes thirty-five times, and dragged them at least fifty. I sometimes took a hand in helping my Savages; but the bottom of the river is full of stones, so sharp that I could not walk long, being barefooted.

The second ordinary difficulty is in regard to provisions. Frequently one has to fast, if he misses the caches that were made when descending; and, even if they are found, one does not fail to have a good appetite after indulging in them; for the ordinary food is only a little Indian corn [124] coarsely broken **[page 77]** between two stones, and sometimes taken whole in pure water; it is no great treat. Occasionally one has fish, but it is only a chance, unless one is passing some Tribe where they can be bought. Add to these difficulties that one must sleep on the bare earth, or on a hard rock, for lack of a space ten or twelve feet square on which to place a wretched hut; that one must endure continually the stench of tired-out Savages; and must walk in water, in mud, in the obscurity and entanglement of the forest, where the stings of an infinite number of mosquitoes and gnats are a serious annoyance.

I say nothing of the long and wearisome silence to which one is reduced, I mean in the case of newcomers, who have, for the time, no person in their company who speaks their own tongue, and who do not understand [125] that of the Savages. Now these difficulties, since they are the usual ones, were common to us as to all those who come into this Country. But on our journey we all had to encounter difficulties which were unusual. The first was that we were compelled to paddle continually, just as much as the Savages; so that I had not the leisure to recite my Breviary except when I lay down to sleep, when I had more need of rest than of work. The other was that we had to carry our packages at the portages, which was as laborious for us as it was new, and still more for others than it was for me, who already knew a little what it is to be fatigued. At every portage I had to make at least four trips, the others had scarcely fewer. I had once before made the journey to the Hurons, but I did not then ply [126] the paddles, nor carry burdens; nor did the other Religious who made the same journey. **[page 79]** But, in this journey, we all had to begin by these experiences to bear the Cross that Our Lord presents to us for his honor, and for the salvation of these poor Barbarians. In truth, I was sometimes so weary that the body could do no more, but at the same time my soul experienced very deep peace, considering that I was suffering for God; no one knows it if he has not experienced it. All did not get off so cheaply.

Father, Davost, among others, was very badly treated. They stole from him much of his little outfit. They compelled him to throw away a little steel mill, and almost all our books, some linen, and a good part [127] of the paper that we were taking, and of which we have great need. They deserted him at the Island, among the Algonquains, where he suffered in good earnest. When he reached the Hurons, he was so worn-out and dejected that for a long time he could not get over it.

Father Daniel was abandoned, and compelled to seek another canoe, as also was Pierre, one of our men. Little Martin was very roughly treated, and at last was left behind with the Bissiriniens, where he remained so long that he was about two months on the road, and only arrived among the Hurons on the nineteenth of September. Baron was robbed by his savages on the very day he arrived in these regions; and he would have lost much more if he had not compelled them, through fear of his arms, to give him back a part of what they had taken. In short, [128] all the Frenchmen suffered great hardships, incurred great expense, considering the few goods they had, and ran remarkable risks. And whosoever will come up here must make up his mind **[page 81]** to all this, and to something more, even to death itself, whose Image we see every moment before our eyes. For myself, -not knowing how to swim, I once had a very narrow escape from drowning. As we were leaving the Bissiriniens, while descending a rapid we would have gone over a precipice, had not my Savages promptly and skillfully leaped into the water, to turn aside the canoe which the current was sweeping on. It is probable that the others might say as much, and more, considering the number of such incidents there are. Three other difficulties gave trouble to me in particular. The first [129] was the importunity of my men, at the start to hide somewhere a box that one of our Frenchmen had put into our canoe. The second was anxiety for those of our men we had left behind. The third, that the Algonquains, through whose territory we were passing, ,tried to intimidate us, saying that the Hurons would kill us as they had Brul❖, and desiring to keep us among them, with abundant demonstrations of good will. Since our arrival, I have learned that the Master of my canoe had proposed to land me somewhere with my little baggage, but that his proposal had been at once repelled, and so I saw no sign of anything of the kind. All that, thank God, did not trouble me much; for having declared to them [130] that I would myself carry the box about which the trouble arose, although they had received pay to carry it, I resigned myself as far, as everything else was concerned, to the will of God, ready to die for the honor of his Son, our good Lord, and for the salvation of these poor Peoples.

I do not know when they spoke of leaving me; it my Savages exhibited so much affection for me, **[page 83]** and said so much that is kind about us to others, that they excited the desire in all the Hurons we met to embark some one of our people. This makes me doubt the truth of what has been said about the Master of my canoe. For those who had embarked Father Daniel and Baron wished to leave them at the Island; but the Master of the canoe in which Father Daniel was, seeing him dissatisfied at that, caused him to embark at once, and carried him until they met [131] the Captain of la Rochelle, who, knowing the Father from having wished to take him last year, willingly received him with his two packages into his canoe. It pleased him, and the Savages also; for the Father would have still had much trouble in a wretched canoe which had only three sick men in it, whose home was twelve leagues distant from ours; this Captain lived at a village where we had some intention of settling, and quite near the place where we are. Besides, his canoe was strong, and manned by six powerful Savages, quite healthy and good-natured. This happy exchange happened to him the morning of the day before the festival of saint Ignace, he having been shipwrecked twice the previous day. As to Baron, had it not been for the Captain of the Island, who caused his baggage to be put back into the canoes, [132] he would have remained there. Still, his people were not so barbarous as formerly were those who brought back one of our Frenchmen from the Hurons to Kebec. This young man, surnamed la Marche, would have died in the woods, if we had not had the care and the interest to send back in search of him more than a league from the place where we missed him.

Sometimes a word. or a dream, or a fancy, or even **[page 85]** the smallest sense of inconvenience, is enough to cause them to illtreat, or set ashore, and I dare say to murder one, - as happened last year to a poor Algonquain, who was abandoned in a rapid by his own nephew; and, not a month ago, a poor young man, also an Algonquain, having fallen into the fire, was killed near our village by his own Tribesmen, for fear he might [133] be an inconvenience in the canoe. What makes me believe they killed him is that it is the custom among them; that the Hurons said so; and that, the evening before, he ate heartily a good quantity of what we gave him; besides, two Algonquains assured us that they had a mind to brain him with one or two blows of an axe. Your Reverence has seen or known of similar cases in your winter's stay among the Savages. In a word, he who thinks of coming here must make up his mind to many obvious dangers and to great fatigues. I attribute, nevertheless, all these extraordinary difficulties to the sickness among our Savages. For we know very well how sickness alters the disposition and the inclinations even of the most sociable. I know not at what price our French and the Montagnais [134] will have become rid of it. I know, indeed, that the greater part of the Montagnais who were at the three Rivers when we embarked were sick, and that many of them died; and also that almost no one who returned by canoe from trading, was not afflicted with this contagion. It has been so universal among the Savages of our acquaintance that I do not know if one has escaped its attacks. All these poor people have been much inconvenienced by it, particularly during the Autumn, as much in their fishing as in their harvesting. Many crops are lying beneath the **[page 87]** snow; a large number of persons are dead; there are still some who have not recovered. This sickness began with violent fever, which was followed by a sort of measles or smallpox, different, [135] however, from that common in France, accompanied in several cases by blindness for some days, or by dimness of sight, and terminated at length by diarrh❖a which has carried off many and is still bringing some to the grave.

Among these troubles and dangers, we owe much to the care and fatherly goodness of our Lord; for neither on the journey hither, nor while in this Country, has one of us been taken with this sickness, nor yielded to hunger, nor lost appetite. Some have had since then light attacks of sickness, but they have passed away in a few days. Our Lord be forever praised, and the most immaculate Virgin with her most chaste Spouse, for this singular favor, which has aided us much in giving authority to our Faith among these Peoples.

[136] I arrived among the Hurons on the fifth of August, the day of our Lady of the Snows, after being thirty days on the road in continual work, except one day of rest, which we took in the country of the Bissiriniens. All the others, except Robert le Coq and Dominique, took much longer; although usually the journey is only 20 days, or thereabout. I landed at the port of the village of Toanch❖ or of Teandeou❖ata, where we had formerly lived; but it was with a little misfortune, our Lord wishing us to recognize from the beginning that he is calling us here to suffer. My Savages,❖forgetting the kindness I had lavished upon them and the help I had afforded them in their sickness, and notwithstanding **[page 89]** all the



fair words and promises they had given me, after having [137] landed me with some Church ornaments and some other little outfit, left me there quite alone, without any provisions and without shelter, and resumed their route toward their villages, some seven leagues distant. My trouble was that the village of Toanch had changed since my departure, and that I did not know precisely in what place it was situated. The shore being no longer frequented, I could not easily ascertain my way; and, if I had known it, I could not from weakness have carried all my little baggage at once; nor could I risk, in that place, doing this in two trips. That is why I entreated my Savages to accompany me as far as the village, or at least to sleep on the shore for the night, to watch my clothes while I went to make inquiries. But their ears were deaf [138] to my prayers and my remonstrances. The only consolation they gave me was to tell me that some one would find me there. I was obliged to be patient; they went away, and I prostrated myself at once upon my knees to thank God, our Lady, and saint Joseph, for the favors and mercies I had received during the voyage. I saluted the tutelary Angel of the Country, and offered myself to our Lord, with all our little labors, for the salvation of these poor Peoples, taking hope that God would not abandon me there, since he had preserved and led me with so many favors. Then, having considered that this shore was deserted, and that I might indeed remain there a long time before any one in the village would come to find me, I hid my packages in the woods; and, taking with me what was most precious, I set out to find the [139] village, which fortunately I came upon at about **[page 91]** three-quarters of a league, having seen with tenderness and emotion, as I passed along, the place where we had lived, and had celebrated the Holy sacrifice of the Mass during three years, now turned into a fine field; and also the site of the old village, where, except one cabin, nothing remained but the ruins of the others. I saw likewise the spot where poor Estienne Brul was barbarously and traitorously murdered, which made me think that perhaps some day they might treat us in the same manner, and to desire at least that it might be while we were earnestly seeking the glory of Our Lord. As soon as I was perceived in the village, some one cried out, " Why, there is Echom come again " (that is the name they give me); and at once every one came out to salute and welcome me, each calling me by name and [140] saying: " What, Echom, my nephew, my brother, my cousin, hast thou then come again? " But without stopping, for night was approaching, I found a place to lodge; and, having rested a short time, I quickly set out with a volunteer band of young people to bring my slender baggage. It was an hour after sunset when we returned to the village. I lodged with a man named Aouando, who is, or at least was, one of the richest of the Hurons. I did this on purpose, because another with smaller means might have been inconvenienced with the large number of Frenchmen whom I was expecting, and who had to be provided with food and shelter until we had all gathered together, and our cabin was ready. You can lodge where you please; for this Nation above all others is exceedingly hospitable towards all sorts [141] of persons, even toward Strangers; and you may remain as long as you please, being always **[page 93]** well treated according to the fashion of the country. On going away, one acknowledges their hospitality by a ho, ho, ho, outo, or " many thanks! " at least among themselves; but from Frenchmen they expect some recompense, always at one's discretion. It is quite true that not all are equally hospitable, there are some more and some less so. My host is one of the first in this virtue; and perhaps it is on this account that God has crowned him until now with temporal blessings, and has preserved him among all his Fellow Countrymen; for their village, named Teandeouhata, having been burned twice, each time his house alone escaped the conflagration. Some attribute this to chance; for myself, I ascribe it to a [142] nobler cause, and so I recall a fine trait, call it prudence or call it humanity, which he displayed on the occasion of the first conflagration. For jealousy having been enkindled against him, and some wishing to destroy his cabin that the fire had spared, at once he caused a large cauldron to be hung, prepared a good feast, invited the whole village, and, having assembled them, delivered this harangue: " My brethren, I am very deeply grieved at the misfortune that has happened; but what can we do about it? It is over. For myself, I know not what I have done for Heaven, to be spared before all others. Now, in order to testify to you my deep grief and my desire to share in the common misfortune, I have two bins of corn " (they held at least one hundred to one hundred and twenty bushels); " I give one of them freely to the whole [143] village." This action calmed their jealousy, and put an end to their wicked designs which they were already forming against him. It was a wise action, this losing a part to save the rest. **[page 95]**

I lodged therefore with this man, and lived there with our two Fathers and one of our people, for the space of more than a month and a half, until we took possession of our new cabin. Yet these poor Savages lavished upon us all possible kindnesses, some influenced by their good natural disposition; others, by a few trifling gifts I made them, and the hope of some others.

I distributed the rest of our people in another cabin, to avoid the annoyance and inconvenience of being all in one lodging.

[144] That evening and the next day passed in the exchanges of affection, visits, salutations, and encouraging words from the whole village. On the following days, several from other villages, who were of my acquaintance, came to see me; and all took away with them, in exchange for their visit, some trifling presents. This is a small thing in detail, but on the whole it exerts a great influence and is of great importance in these regions. Some said to me: " What, Echom, and so thou hast come back! That's right; we were wishing and asking earnestly for thee" (adding their reasons), " and we were heartily glad when they told us that thou wert at Kebec, with the purpose of coming up here." Others said: "We are indeed very glad; the crops will no longer fail; during thy absence we have had nothing but famine." And, in truth, at our arrival there were, I believe, [145] only two families in the whole village who had a store of corn; all the others were going to buy elsewhere, and this was the case in several other villages. Since our arrival, there has been a very great abundance throughout the whole Country, **[page 97]** although in the Spring it was necessary to sow three times by reason of white frosts and worms.

In short, those of our village told me, If thou hadst not returned, the trade with the French was lost for us; for the Algonquains and even the Hurons of the other villages, threatened us with death if we went there on account of the murder of Brul; but now we shall go to trade Without fear. "I was occupied some two weeks in visiting the villages, and bringing together, at much expense and trouble, all our party, who landed here and there, and who, not knowing [146] the language, could only have found us out after much toil. It is true that one of our men was able to come without any other address than these two words, Echom, Ihonatiria, which are my name and that of our village. Among all the French I do not find any who had more trouble than Father Davost and Baron; the Father from the wicked treatment of his Savages, Baron from the length of the journey. He occupied forty days on the road; often he was alone with a Savage, paddling in a canoe very large and very heavily laden. He had to carry all his packages himself; he had narrow escapes three or four times in the torrents; and, to crown his difficulties, much of his property was stolen. Truly, to come here much strength and patience are needed; and he who thinks of coming here [147] for any other than God, will have made a sad mistake.

Jean Nicolet, in the voyage that he made with us as far as the Island, suffered also all the hardships of one of the most robust Savages. Being at last all gathered together, we decided to dwell here at Ihonatiria, and to build here our cabin, for the following reasons: First, after having earnestly recommended **[page 99]** the matter to God, we judged that such was his will, because the harvest of souls is more ripe here than in any other place, as much because of the acquaintance I have with the inhabitants of the place, and of the affection they showed for me formerly, as because they are already partly instructed in the Faith. In truth, we have baptized eight of them, of whom seven have gone to Heaven with the grace of Baptism, [148] and the whole village is of such a disposition that it is only a question of our readiness to baptize it. But we are waiting until they are better instructed, and until they have forsaken for good their principal superstitions.

Secondly, except this village there was only la Rochelle at which we might have had any inclination to stop, and that had been our intention from last year. All the inhabitants desired it very much, and invited us there, saying that we would be, as it were, in the center of the Nation, and adding other motives and reasons which pleased us well. Even on the road I entertained this thought, and only laid it aside a long time after my arrival here, so long, indeed, that we left for a considerable space of time the baggage of Father Daniel at this village of la Rochelle, with the Captain who [149] had

received him into his canoe, intending to carry the rest thither, and to abide there. But, having taken into account that they were intending this Spring to change the location of the place, as they have already done, we did not wish to build a cabin for one winter. Besides, although it is a desirable thing to gather more fruit, and to have more listeners in our assemblies, which would make us choose the large villages rather than the small, nevertheless, for a beginning we have [page 101] thought it more suitable to keep in the shadow, as it were, near a little village where the inhabitants are already disposed to associate with the French, than to put ourselves suddenly in a great one, where the people are not accustomed to our mode of doing things. To do otherwise would have been to expose new men, ignorant of the language, to a [150] numerous youth, who by their annoyances and mockery would have brought about some disturbance. Besides, if we had gone elsewhere the people of this village would have thought themselves still in disgrace with the French, and perhaps would have abandoned trade with them, especially as during this last Winter Le Borgne of the Island, spread the report that Monsieur de Champlain did not wish us to remain there, on account of the death of Brul, and that he was demanding four heads; and it is probable that, if we had not been here, and if we had not remained as pledges, several, fearing to be arrested for their own faults or for those of others, would not have returned again to the trade. Besides, these good people have claimed that we ought to remain among them if it were true that we loved them; " for," said they, [151] " if you go elsewhere, not only shall we have cause to fear on our own account, but for the whole Country besides, our interests being bound together. But, now that you take us for your hosts, we have no longer to fear as we would; for if you had chosen another place, and if some wicked person had done you harm, not only the French but the Hurons also would have blamed us for it. " I might bring forward some other reasons and considerations which are not to be despised,- as, for example, it would be a more convenient place, as [page 103] well for fish and game as for embarking. But the principal reason is the first I mentioned. Among the villages that wished to have us, the people of Oenrio have entreated us most. This little village, quite near [152] ours, used to be a part of the one in which we were formerly; but we have not judged it expedient for us to stop there this time, simply having recognized it to be best that from this village and from ours one should be formed at some other place, both for their common interests and for our own special functions and ministrations. We made, not long ago, some presents to both of them at the same time, for this purpose. Our presents have great influence among them, nevertheless they have not yet decided the question. Having, therefore, determined to stay where we are, the question of building a cabin arose. The cabins of this country are neither Louvres nor Palaces, nor anything like the buildings of our France, not even like the smallest cottages. They are, nevertheless, somewhat [153] better and more commodious than the hovels of the Montagnais. I cannot better express the fashion of the Huron dwellings than to compare them to bowers or garden arbors, some of which, in place of branches and vegetation, are covered with cedar bark, some others with large pieces of ash, elm, fir, or spruce bark; and although the cedar bark is best, according to common opinion and usage, there is, nevertheless, this inconvenience, that they are almost as susceptible to fire as matches. Hence arise many of the conflagrations of entire villages; and, without going farther than this year, we have seen in less than ten days two large ones entirely consumed, and another, that of Louys, partially burned. [154] We have also [page 105] once seen our own cabin on fire; but, thank God, we extinguished it immediately. There are cabins or arbors of various sizes, some two brasses in length, others of ten, others of twenty, of thirty, of forty; the usual width is about four brasses, their height is about the same. There are no different stories; there is no cellar, no chamber, no garret. It has neither window nor chimney, only a miserable hole in the top of the cabin, left to permit the smoke to escape. This is the way they built ours for us.

The people of Oenrio and of our village were employed at this, by means of presents given them. It has cost us much exertion to secure its completion, not only [155] on account of the epidemic, which affected almost all the Savages, but on account of the cooperation of these two villages; for although the work was not great, yet those of our village followed the example of those of Oenrio, who, in hopes of finally attracting us to their village, simply amused themselves without advancing the work; we were almost into October before we were under cover. As to the interior, we have suited ourselves; so that, even if it does not amount to much, the Savages never weary of coming to see it, and, seeing it, to admire it. We have divided it into three parts. The first compartment, nearest the door, serves as an antechamber, as a storm door, and as a storeroom for our provisions, in the fashion of the Savages. The second is that in which we live, and is our kitchen, our [156] carpenter shop, our mill, or place for grinding the wheat, our Refectory, our parlor and our bedroom. On both sides, in the fashion of the Hurons, are two benches which they call *Endicha*, on which are boxes to hold our clothes and other little [page 107] conveniences; but below, in the place where the Hurons keep their wood, we have contrived some little bunks to sleep in, and to store away some of our clothing from the thievish hands of the Hurons. They sleep beside the fire, but still they and we have only the earth for bedstead; for mattress and pillows, some bark or boughs covered with a rush mat; for sheets and coverings, our clothes and some skins do duty. The third part of our cabin is also [157] divided into two parts by means of a bit of carpentry which gives it a fairly good appearance, and which is admired here for its novelty. In the one is our little Chapel, in which we celebrate every day holy Mass, and we retire there daily to pray to God. It is true that the almost continual noise they make usually hinders us, except in the morning and evening, when everybody has gone away, and compels us to go outside to say our prayers. In the other part we put our utensils. The whole cabin is only six brasses long, and about three and a half wide. That is how we are lodged, doubtless not so well that we may not have in this abode a good share of rain, snow, and cold. However, as I have said, they never cease coming [158] to visit us from admiration, especially since we have put on two doors, made by a carpenter, and since our mill and our clock have been set to work. It would be impossible to describe the astonishment of these good people, and how much they admire the intelligence of the French. But they have said all when they have said they are *ondaki*, that is, Demons; and indeed we make profitable use of this word when we talk to them: " Now, my brothers, you have seen that and admired it, and you think you are right, when you see something extraordinary, in saying [page 109] *ondaki*, to declare that those who make so many marvels must be Demons. And what is there so wonderful as the beauty of the Sky and the Sun? What is there so wonderful as to see every year the trees almost dead during the Winter, all bare and disfigured, resume [159] without fail, every Spring, a new life and a new dress? The corn that you plant rots, and from its decay spring up such beautiful stalks and better ears. And yet you do not say, 'He who made so many beauties, and who every year displays before our eyes so many marvels, must be some beneficent *oki*, and some supereminent intelligence,' " etc. No one has come who has not wished to turn the mill; nevertheless we have not used it, inasmuch as we have learned by experience that our Sagamits are better pounded in a wooden mortar, in the fashion of the Savages, than ground within the mill. I believe it is because the mill makes the flour too fine. As to the clock, a thousand things are said of it. They all think [160] it is some living thing, for they cannot imagine how it sounds of itself; and, when it is going to strike, they look to see if we are all there and if some one has not hidden, in order to shake it.

They think it hears, especially when, for a joke, some one of our Frenchmen calls out at the last stroke of the hammer, " That's enough," and then it immediately becomes silent. They call it the Captain of the day. When it strikes, they say it is speaking; and they ask when they come to see us how many times the Captain has already spoken. They ask us about its food; they remain a whole hour, and sometimes several, in order to be able to hear it speak. They used to ask at first what it said. We told them two [161] things that they have [page 111] remembered very well; one, that when it sounded four o'clock of the afternoon, during winter, it was saying, " Go out, go away that we may close the door," for immediately they arose, and went out. The other, that at midday it said, *yo eiouahaoua*, that is, " Come, put on the kettle; " and this speech is better remembered than the other, for some of these spongers never fail to come at that hour, to get a share of our Sagamit. They eat at all hours, when they have the wherewithal, but usually they have only two meals a day, in the morning and in the evening; consequently they are very glad during the day to take a share with us.

Speaking of their expressions of admiration, I might here set down several on the subject of the lodestone, into which they looked to see if there was [162] some paste; and of a glass with eleven facets, which represented a single object as many times; of a little phial in which a flea appears as large as a beetle; of the prism, of the joiner's tools; but above all of the writing, for they could not conceive how, what one of us, being in the village, had said to them, and put down at the same time in writing, another, who meanwhile was in a house far away, could say readily on seeing the writing. I

believe they have made a hundred trials of it. All this serves to gain their affections, and to render them more docile when we introduce the admirable and incomprehensible mysteries of our Faith; for the belief they have in our intelligence and capacity causes them to accept without reply what we say to them.

[163] It remains now to say something of the country, of the manners and customs of the Hurons, of **[page 113]** the inclination they have to the Faith, and of our insignificant labors.

As to the first, the little paper and leisure we have compels me to say in a few words what might justly fill a volume. The Huron country is not large, its greatest extent can be traversed in three or four days. Its situation is fine, the greater part of it consisting of plains. It is surrounded and intersected by a number of very beautiful lakes or rather seas, whence it comes that the one to the North and to the Northnorthwest is called "fresh-water sea" [mer douce]. We pass through it in coming from the Bissiriniens. The soil of this country is quite sandy, although not equally so. However, it produces a quantity of very good Indian corn, and one may [164] say that it is the granary of most of the Algonquains. There are twenty Towns, which indicate about 30,000 souls speaking the same tongue, which is not difficult to one who has a master. It has distinction of genders, number, tense, person, moods; and, in short, it is very complete and very regular, contrary to the opinion of many. I am rejoiced to find that this language is common to some twelve other Nations, all settled and numerous; these are, the *Conkhandeenrhonons*, *khionontaterrhonons*, *Atiouandaronks*, *Sonontoerrhonons*, *Onontaerrhonons*, *Oioenrhonons*, *Onoiochrhonons*, *Agnierrhonons*, *Andastoerrhonons*, *Schahentoarrhonons*, *Rhierrhonons*, and *Ahouenrochrhonons*. The Hurons are friends of all these people, except the *Sonontoerrhonons*, *Onontaerrhonons*, *Oioenrhonons*, *Onoiochrhonons* [165] and *Agnierrhonons*, all of whom we comprise under the name Hiroquois. But they have Already made peace with the Sonontoerrhonons, since they were defeated by them a year past in the Spring. **[page 115]**

The deputies of the whole Country have gone to Sonontoen to confirm this peace, and it is said that the Onontaerhonons, Oioenrhonons, Oiochrhonons and Agnierrhonons wish to become parties to it. But that is not certain; if it were, a noble door would be open to the Gospel. They wanted me to go to this Sonontoen, but I did not judge it wise to go yet into any other part, until we have better established here the foundation of the Gospel Law, and until we have drawn a line by which the other Nations that shall be converted may guide themselves. Indeed, I would not go to any place where [166] we would not be immediately recognized as Preachers of Jesus Christ.

It is so clear, so evident that there is a Divinity who has made Heaven and earth, that our Hurons cannot entirely ignore it. And although the eyes of their minds are very much obscured by the darkness of a long ignorance, by their vices and sins, they still see something of it. But they misapprehend him grossly, and, having the knowledge of God, they do not render him the honor, the love, nor the service which is his due. For they have neither Temples, nor Priests, nor Feasts, nor any ceremonies.

They say that a certain woman named *Eataentsic* is the one who made earth and men. They give her an assistant, one named *Jouskeha*, whom they declare to be her little son, with whom she governs [167] the world. This *Jouskeha* has care of the living, and of the things that concern life, and consequently they say that he is good. *Eataentsic* has care of souls, and, because they believe that she makes men die, they say that she is wicked. And there are among them mysteries so hidden that only the old men, who **[page 117]** can speak with credit and authority about them, are believed. Whence it comes that a certain young man, who was talking to me about this, said boastingly, " Am I not very learned? " Some told me that the house of these two Divinities is at the end of the world to the East. Now with them the world does not pass beyond their Country, that is, America. Others place their abode in the middle.

This God and Goddess live like themselves, but without famine; make feasts as they do, are lustful as they; in short, they imagine them [168] exactly like themselves. And still, though they make them human and corporeal, they seem nevertheless to attribute to them a certain immensity in all places. They say that this *Eataentsic* fell from the Sky, where there are inhabitants as on earth; and, when she fell, she was with child. If you ask them who made the Sky and its inhabitants, they have no other reply than that they know nothing about it. And when we preach to them of one God, Creator of Heaven and earth, and of all things, and even when we talk to them of Hell and Paradise and of our other mysteries, the headstrong savages reply that this is good for our Country and not for theirs; that every Country has its own fashions. But having pointed out to them, by means of a little globe that we had brought, that there is [169] only one world, they remain without reply. I find in their marriage customs two things that greatly please me; the first, that they have only one wife; the second, that they do not marry their relatives in a direct or collateral line, however distant they may be. There is, on the other hand, sufficient to censure, were it only the frequent changes the men make of their wives, and the women **[page 119]** of their husbands. They believe in the immortality of the soul, which they believe to be corporeal. The greatest part of their Religion consists in this point. There are, besides, only superstitions, which we hope by the grace of God to change into true Religion, and, like spoils carried off from the enemy, to consecrate them to the honor of our Lord, and to profit by them for their special advantage. Certainly, if, [170] should they some day be Christians, these superstitions help them in proportion to what they do for them now in vain, it will be necessary that we yield to them, or that we imitate them; for they spare nothing, not even the most avaricious. We have seen several stripped, or almost so, of all their goods, because several of their friends were dead, to whose souls they had made presents. Moreover, dogs, deer, fish, and other animals have, in their opinion, immortal and reasonable souls. In proof of this, the old men relate certain fables, which they represent as true; they make no mention either of punishment or reward, in the place to which souls go after death. And so they do not make any distinction between the good and the bad, the virtuous and the vicious; [171] and they honor equally the interment of both, even as we have seen in the case of a young man who had poisoned himself from the grief he felt because his wife had been taken away from him. Their superstitions are infinite; their feasts, their medicines, their fishing, their hunting, their wars, in short, almost their whole life turns upon this pivot; dreams, above all, have here great credit.

This whole country, and I believe it is the same elsewhere, is not lacking in wicked men, who, from motives of envy or vengeance, or from other cause, **[page 121]** poison or bewitch, and, in short, put to death sooner or later those whom they wish to injure. When such people are caught, they are put to death on the spot, without any form of trial, and there is no disturbance about it. As too ther murders, they [172] are avenged upon the whole Nation of the murderer; so that is the only class I know about that they put to death with impunity. I knew indeed a girl that stole, who was at once killed without any inquiry, but it was by her own brother. If some traitor appears, who is planning the ruin of the Country, they endeavor in common to get rid of him as soon as possible; but these accidents are very rare.

They say that the Sorcerers ruin them; for if any one has succeeded in an enterprise, if his trading or hunting is successful, immediately these wicked men bewitch him, or some member of his family, so that they have to spend it all in Doctors and Medicines. Hence, to cure these and other diseases, there are a large number of Doctors whom they call *Arendiouane*. These persons, in [173] my opinion, are true Sorcerers, who have access to the Devil. Some only judge of the evil, and that in divers ways, namely, by Pyromancy, by Hydromancy, Necromancy, by feasts, dances, and songs; the others endeavor to cure the disease by blowing, by potions, and by other ridiculous tricks, which have neither any virtue nor natural efficacy. But neither class do anything without generous presents and good pay.

There are here some Soothsayers, whom they call also *Arendiouane* and who undertake to cause the rain to fall or to cease, and to predict future events. The Devil reveals to them some secrets, but with so much obscurity that one is unable to accuse them of falsehood; **[page 123]** witness one of



the village of *Scanonaenrat* [174] who, a little while before the burning of the villages mentioned, had seen in a dream three flames falling from the Sky on those villages. But the Devil had not declared to him the meaning of this enigma; for, having obtained from the village a white dog, to make a feast with it and to seek information by it, he remained as ignorant afterward as before.

Lastly, when I was in the house of Louys de sainte Foy, an old woman, a sorceress, or female soothsayer of that village, said she had seen those who had gone to the war, and that they were bringing back a prisoner. We shall see if she has spoken the truth. Her method is by pyromancy. She draws for you in her hut the lake of the Hiroquois; then on one side she makes as many fires as there are persons who have gone on [175] the expedition, and on the other as many fires as they have enemies to fight. Then, if her spell succeeds, she lets it be understood that the fires from this side have run over, and that signifies that the warriors have already crossed the lake. One fire extinguishing another marks an enemy defeated; but if it attracts it to itself without extinguishing it, that is a prisoner taken at mercy. It is thus, ♦to finish my discourse, which would be too long if I tried to say everything, ♦that the Devil amuses this poor people, substituting his impieties and superstitions in place of the compliance they ought to have with the providence of God, and the worship they ought to render him.

As regards morals, the Hurons are lascivious, although in two leading points less so than many Christians, who will blush [176] some day in their **[page 125]** presence. You will see no kissing nor immodest caressing; and in marriage a man will remain two or three years apart from his wife, while she is nursing. They are gluttons, even to disgorging; it is true, that does not happen often, but only in some superstitious feasts, ♦these, however, they do not attend willingly. Besides, they endure hunger much better than we, ♦so well that after having fasted two or three entire days you will see them still paddling, carrying loads, singing, laughing, bantering, as if they had dined well. They are very lazy, are liars, thieves, pertinacious beggars. Some consider them vindictive; but, in my opinion, this vice is more noticeable elsewhere than here. We see shining among them some rather noble moral [177] virtues. You note, in the first place, a great love and union, which they are careful to cultivate by means of their marriages, of their presents, of their feasts, and of their frequent visits. On returning from their fishing, their hunting, and their trading, they exchange many gifts; if they have thus obtained something unusually good, even if they have bought it, or if it has been given to them, they make a feast to the whole village with it. Their hospitality towards all sorts of strangers is remarkable; they present to them in their feasts the best of what they have prepared, and, as I have already said, I do not know if anything similar, in this regard, is to be found elsewhere. I think I have read, in the lives of the Fathers, that a Pagan army was converted on seeing the charity and hospitality of a Christian town, the inhabitants of which vied with each other in [178] caressing and feasting the Strangers, ♦judging well that those must profess the true Religion and worship the true God, the common Father of all, **[page 127]** who had hearts so benign and who did so much good to all sorts of persons, without distinction. We have also hope that our Lord will give at last the light of his knowledge, and will communicate the fire of his graces, to this Nation, which he seems to have disposed thereto by the practice of this noble virtue. They never close the door upon a Stranger, and, once having received him into their houses, they share with him the best they have; they never send him away, and, when he goes away of his own accord, he repays them with a simple, "thank you." This makes me hope that, if once it pleases God to illumine them, they will respond perfectly [179] to the grace and inspiration of his Son. And, since he has come as a Stranger into his own house, I promise myself that these good people will receive him at all hours into their hearts without making him wait too long on account of their hardness, without withholding from him anything in the whole range of their affections, without betraying him or driving him outside by any serious fault, and without claiming anything in his service other than his honor and glory; which is all the fidelity one can ask in a soul for the good use and holy employment of the favors of Heaven.

What shall I say of their strange patience in their poverty, famine, and sickness? We have seen this year whole villages prostrated, their food a little insipid sagamit ♦; and yet not a word of complaint, not a movement [180] of impatience. They receive indeed the news of death with more constancy than those Christian Gentlemen and Ladies to whom one would not dare to mention it. Our Savages hear of it not only without despair, but without troubling themselves, without the slightest pallor or change of **[page 129]** countenance. We have especially admired the constancy of our new Christians. The next to the last one who died, named Joseph *Oatij*, lay on the bare ground during four or five months, not only before but after his Baptism, -so thin that he was nothing but bones; in a lodge so wretched that the winds blew in on all sides; covered during the cold of winter with a very light skin of some black animals, perhaps black squirrels, and very poorly nourished. He was never heard to make a complaint, however. May our Lord Jesus Christ be ever [181] praised. It is on such dispositions and foundations that we hope, with the grace of God, to build the edifice of the Christian Religion among these people, who, besides, are already affectionately inclined toward us and have a great opinion of us. It is now our part to correspond to our vocation, and to the voice of Our Savior, who says to us, *videte regiones, quoniam alb ♦ sunt iam ad messem*. It is true, my Reverend Father, that *messis multa, operarii pauci*, and, besides, we are very weak for so great an enterprise, at least I am, and therefore I beseech our Reverend Father Provincial and Your Reverence to send us help. For this I could cry willingly to the good God, *mitte quem missurus es*; as for us, we are children, who can only stammer. Yet see what we, trusting in the goodness of Our Lord, and not in our own strength and skill, [182] have done for the conversion of this People since our arrival. In the first place, we have been employed in the study of the language, which, on account of the diversity of its compound words, is almost infinite. One can, nevertheless, do nothing without this study. All the French who are here have eagerly applied themselves to it, reviving the ancient usage of writing on **[page 131]** birch-bark, for want of paper. Fathers Davost and Daniel have worked at it, beyond all; they know as many words as I, and perhaps more; but they have not yet had practice in forming and joining them together promptly, although Father Daniel already explains himself passably well. As for me, who give lessons therein to our French, if God does not assist me extraordinarily, I shall yet have to go a long time to the school of the Savages, so prolific is [183] their language. That does not prevent me from understanding almost all they say, and from making them fairly understand my meaning, even in the explanation of our most ineffable mysteries. In addition, we have employed ourselves in visiting, entreating, and instructing the sick, who have been, as I have said, very numerous. It has been in this pious exercise that we have won souls for our Lord, to the number of thirteen. The first was a little girl of this village, only four or five months old; she died a quarter of an hour after her baptism, in which she was named Josepha, to fulfill a vow I had made to give this name to the first that we should regenerate with the holy waters, -in gratitude for so many favors that we have received and are receiving [184] by the interposition of that great Saint. This was on the sixth of September, 1634. The second was another little girl, about two years of age, whom we baptized on the next day. She died on the eleventh of the same month and year, having been named Marie.

On the 26th of the same month, I baptized Marie *Oquiaendis*, the mother of the Captain of this village, grandmother of the other Marie. She is still living, and attributes her recovery to the virtue of Holy **[page 133]** Baptism, publishing it everywhere. In truth, she was almost gone; and as soon as she was washed with the sacred waters she began to improve. On the 20th of October, I set out to go to the Tobacco Nation. In this journey God granted me the favor of baptizing and sending to Heaven three little children, one of whom, among others, was about to give forth his last breath when I reached the lodge and had scarcely time [185] to sprinkle him. When I returned from the journey I found that Father Daniel had baptized Joseph *Joutaya*, who was believed to be at the point of death. I had instructed him previously. He survived a long time, in a languishing condition, and doing many acts of virtue. We helped him both bodily and spiritually; so well that he and all his family attributed the prolongation of his life to nothing but the double assistance he had received from us. At last, having happily died in the confession and invocation of the true God, and in repentance for his sins, we solemnly interred him as he had desired. We admired the care, the charity, and the perseverance of his wife in the duties and services she rendered to him during a long, very dirty, and very disgusting sickness. She and all her house, (where we have already baptized three) have continued [186] warmly attached to us; and they have often protested to me that they will all be, in life, in death, and beyond, at our service. But we do not judge them yet sufficiently instructed. It is this cabin where lives the first Huron I ever baptized, which was in the year one



thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, before our departure from this Country. It was a little child, looked upon as dead, who seemed to be born and live again in a double sense, in the **[page 135]** life-imparting waters of holy Baptism. He still lives, being about five years of age, and is very gentle.

On the twenty-first of October, was baptized Joseph *Sondaarouhan*, about forty or fifty years of age. He had great goodness and natural sweetness, and had been attached to me for a long time. He yielded up his blessed spirit to God, on the twentieth of November. On the same [1871] day was baptized Joachim *Tsindacaiendoua*, an old man of 80 years. He was one of the best-natured Hurons I have ever known. The next day he left this life, to begin a better one, as we believe; we interred him solemnly in a separate place. This ceremony attracted upon us the eyes of the whole village, and caused several to desire that we should honor their burial in the same way, notably Joseph *Joutaia*, the one above-mentioned, who, after the obsequies were over, told me that he would have been very glad if we had passed through his cabin in the style in which we were dressed, so that he might see us from the place in which sickness kept him bound; for they had talked so much to him about the matter that he declared of his own will that he wished to be interred by our hands, which was done.

[188] Since I have referred to this man's decision, I will tell a memorable thing which happened to him after his Baptism. The Devil appeared to him in the form of one of his deceased brothers. Entering his cabin without any salutation, he sat down on the other side of the fire opposite our new Christian, and remained a long time without speaking. At last beginning to speak, he said to him, "How now, my brother, do you wish to leave us?" Our Joseph, who was not yet sufficiently equipped for this warfare, replied, **[page 137]** " No, my brother, I don't wish to leave you; I will not leave you," and it is said this false brother then began to caress him. Still, he has since declared several times that he desired to go to Heaven.

On the twenty-seventh of November, Martin *Tsicok*, already a very [189] old man and of a very gentle disposition, was baptized. This good man did not cease to invoke Jesus and Mary from his baptism until the 15th of December, when he died. I began to instruct him with this truth, that our souls after death all go to Hell or to Paradise; that Paradise is a place full of delights and contentment, and on the contrary that Hell is a place of fires, of pains, and eternal torments; that, besides, he should think, while he was yet in life, to which of these places he desired to go and dwell forever. Then this good old man, turning to his wife, said to her, "My wife, is it not indeed ,better to go to Heaven? I am afraid of those horrible fires of hell. " His wife was of the same opinion, and thus he willingly listened to the instructions we gave him.

On the nineteenth of January, I set out [190] for the house of Louys de sainte Foy, distant from our village seven or eight leagues. I had been neither able nor willing to go sooner, as he had gone to the neutral Nation to seek his father, who had remained there, a cripple.

On this journey passing through *Onnentissati*, I went to see a man named *oukhahito*, who last year embarked one of our men. Finding him dying, I instructed him; he believed, he detested his past life, he was baptized under the name of Francois, and two days later quitted this world to fly to Heaven.

On the twenty-ninth of March, we solemnly baptized **[page 139]** in our little Chapel Joseph Oatij; Francois petit Pr was his Godfather, and many were present. We had been instructing him a long time, and hence he replied [191] personally to the questions I put to him in the Huron tongue. This good young man was of a very sickly constitution; we had gained him by continual assistance, which had twice saved his life; so that he willingly put in our hands the care of his soul, which went happily to God on the fourteenth of April, after having been fortified by the Sacrament of extreme Unction.

We especially admired his patience and tranquility of mind, especially after his baptism. Scarcely had we begun to instruct him when he began to say very often, both by day and by night, "Jesus, have pity on me! Mary and Joseph, help me I"

Lastly, on the twentieth of April, I baptized at Oenrio a very old woman, who died on the twentyfourth. [192] At first, when I talked to her, and asked her whether she wished to go to Heaven or to Hell, she did not answer, except to say that she would go where her son wished. But having told her that her father, the late Joachim *Tsindacaiendoua*, had gone to Heaven, she said, "Then I wish to go there!"

These, then, are the fruits that we have gathered from our visits and private instructions. I believe the harvest would have been greater if I could have left our village, and visited the others. May it please our Lord to accept these few first fruits, and give us .strength and opportunities to gather more of them. We have instructed many others, who asked very urgently for Baptism; but not seeing them in danger **[page 141]** of death, we have kept them back for further instructions.

[193] About the month of December, the snow began to lie on the ground, and the Savages settled down in the village. For, during the whole Summer and Autumn, they are for the most part either in their rural cabins, taking care of their crops, or on the lake fishing, or trading; which makes it not a little inconvenient to instruct them. Seeing them, therefore, thus gathered together at the beginning of this year, we resolved to preach publicly to all, and to acquaint them with the reason of our coming into their Country, which is not for their furs, but to declare to them the true God and his son, Jesus Christ, the universal Savior of our souls.

We gave the Instruction or Catechism in our cabin, for we had as yet no other suitable Church. This is often the most [194] we can do; for their feasts, dances, and games so occupy them that we cannot get them together as we would like.

The usual method that we follow is this: We call together the people by the help of the Captain of the village, who assembles them all in our house as in Council, or perhaps by the sound of the bell. I use the surplice and the square cap, to give more majesty to my appearance. At the beginning, we chant on our knees the Pater noster, translated into Huron verse. Father Daniel, as its author, chants a couplet alone, and then we all together chant it again; and those among the Hurons, principally the little ones, who already know it, take pleasure in chanting it with us, and the others in listening. That done, when every one is seated, I rise and make [195] the sign of the Cross for all; then, having recapitulated **[page 143]** what I said the last time, I explain something new. After that we question the young children and the girls, giving a little bead of glass or porcelain to those who deserve it. The parents are very glad to see their children answer well and carry off some little prize, of which they render themselves worthy by the care they take to come privately to get instruction. On our part, to arouse their emulation, we have each lesson retraced by our two little French boys, who question each other, which transports the Savages with admiration. Finally the whole is concluded by the talk of the Old Men, who propound their difficulties, and sometimes [196] make me listen in my turn to the statement of their belief.

We began our Catechizing by this memorable truth, that their souls, which are immortal, all go after death either to Paradise or to Hell. It is thus we approach them, either in public or in private. I added that they had the choice, during life, to participate after death in the one or the other, which one, they ought now to consider. Whereupon one honest old man said to me, " Let him who will, go to the fires of Hell; I want to go to Heaven; " all the others followed and making use of the same answer, begged us to show them the way, and to take away the stones, the trees, and the thickets therein, which might stop them.

Our Hurons, as you see, are not so dull as one might think them; [197] they seem to me to have rather good common sense, and I find them universally very docile. Nevertheless, some of them are obstinate, and attached to their superstitions and evil customs. These are principally the old people; for beyond these, who are not numerous, the rest know [page 145] nothing of their own belief. We have two or three of this number in our village. I am often in conflict with them; and then I show them they are wrong, and make them contradict themselves, so that they frankly admit their ignorance, and the others ridicule them; still they will not yield, always falling back upon this, that their Country is not like ours, that they have another God, another Paradise, in a word, other customs.

They tell us how the woman, named *Eataentsic*, fell from Heaven [198] into the waters with which the earth was covered; and that little by little, the earth became bare. I ask them who created the Heaven in which this woman could not stay, and they remain mute; as also when I press them to tell me who formed the earth, seeing that it was beneath the waters before the fall of this woman. One man asked me very cunningly, in this connection, where God was before the creation of the world. The reply was more easy for me, following St. Augustine, than the grasp of the question put to me was for them. Another good old man, having fallen sick, did not wish to hear of going to Heaven, saying he desired to go where his ancestors were. Some days afterwards, he came to me and told me a pleasant story: "Rejoice," he said, "for I have returned from the country of souls, and I have found none there any longer; [199] they have all gone to Heaven." There is nothing which does not serve for salvation when God pleases, not even dreams.

Two things among others have aided us very much in the little we have been able to do here, by the grace of our Lord; the first is, as I have already said, the good health that God has granted us in the midst [page 147] of sickness so general and so widespread. For our Hurons have thought that, if they believed in God and served him as we do, they would not die in so large numbers.

The second is the temporal assistance we have rendered to the sick. Having brought for ourselves some few delicacies, we shared them with them, giving to one a few prunes and to another a few raisins, to others something else. The poor people came [200] from great distances to get their share.

Our French servants having succeeded very well in hunting, during the Autumn, we carried portions of game to all the sick. That chiefly won their hearts, as they were dying, having neither flesh nor fish to season their sagamit. Add that all our French have borne themselves, thank God, so virtuously and so peaceably on all sides, during the whole year, that they have drawn down the blessing of Heaven. We owe much also to our glorious saint Joseph, spouse of our Lady, and protector of the Hurons, who has rendered us tangible aid several times. It was a remarkable thing that on the day of his feast, and during the Octave, accommodations came to us from all sides.

[201] Before drawing to a close, I shall say only this one word about Louys de sainte Foy, which I would prefer not to say were it not that it may help to make this Nation more correctly known ; it is this, he is not such as he ought to be, and as we had wished. Nevertheless, we still have good hope. He was taken prisoner last year by the Hiroquois, in the common defeat, and carried away a captive. It cost him a finger. This severe stroke ought to suffice to bring him back to duty. His Father was not taken; [page 149] he escaped by flight, but in fleeing he suffered in good earnest in the woods, where he remained, according to his account, thirty days struggling against three powerful enemies, namely, cold, for it was Spring, and he was naked and fireless; sickness, for his two legs were powerless, and [202] he has not yet recovered; and, lastly, against hunger, in reference to which he relates a remarkable story, if it be true. He says that, having gone for ten or twelve days without eating, and praying to God, of whom he had heard his son speak, he saw what seemed a pot of grease, such as he had seen at Kebec, full of a very savory liquor, and heard a voice that said to him, "*Saranhes*, be of good cheer; thou wilt not die; take, drink what is in the pot and strengthen thyself, " which he did, and was marvelously solaced by it. A little later, he found in a thicket a small bagful of corn, with which he barely sustained life until some Savages of the neutral Nation, having accidentally found him, brought him to their village.

This man has declared to me that he and his whole family were desirous of being converted, [203] and of helping to bring the entire village to God's service. But his is a crafty spirit, as well as his son's, and I do not trust him yet. Our hope is in God, and in our Lord Jesus Christ, who shed his blood for the salvation of the Hurons, as well as for the rest of the world.

It is through this support, and not our own efforts, that we hope one day to see here a flourishing Christianity. Indeed, their minds are docile and flexible; I see only the liberty with which they change their wives at pleasure, and some superstitions, difficult to abolish, for in other respects they have no aversion [page 151] to the Faith nor to the Christian Law. They turn willingly to God in their [204] necessities; they come to get their crops blessed, before sowing them; and ask us what we desire of them. All we have to fear is our own sins and imperfections, and I above all. In truth, I feel myself extremely unworthy of this employment; but send holy ones to us, or pray to God our Lord that we may be such as he desires. A thousand entreaties for the holy sacrifices of your Reverence and of all our Fathers and Brothers.

YOUR REVERENCE'S

From our little House of St. Joseph, in the village of Ihonatiria in the Huron country, this 27th of May, 1635, the day on which the Holy Spirit descended visibly upon the Apostles.

Very humble and obedient

servant in our Lord,

Jean de Brébeuf.

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[205]

Y REVEREND FATHER,

Since the above was written, we have baptized a sick child, grandnephew of the late Joachim *Tsindacaiendoua*; and this the more boldly, as this family seems to be disposed to the Faith. Our Lord has restored his health, to the wonder of his parents, who remarked that immediately after the baptism he rested very sweetly. This will serve to overthrow a bad opinion that the Devil goes about sowing in some minds, whom he persuades that they will never get better after baptism. This is but one of the ruses of the Devil against us; he has many others, which he has already attempted in part; but Our Lord will confound him; it is in him that we put our trust. Your Reverence will perhaps [206] be glad to hear that the Winter here has been very short and moderate. The Country is such that it bears sufficient for the nourishment of its inhabitants. All this Spring has been extremely

clear and dry; the crops are beginning to suffer for want of rain. I pray our Lord that it may please him to remedy this, and to give us what will be necessary for his glory, for the happy beginnings of this Christianity, and for the blessing of the insignificant labors that our Society is undertaking in these distant lands, under the protection of the Fleurs de Lys and of our Great King who to-day is. causing them to bloom so gloriously.

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## [207] Relation of certain details regarding the Island of Cape Breton and its Inhabitants.

*Sent by Father Julien Perrault, of the Society of Jesus, to his Provincial, in France, in the years 1634 and 35.*

THE Island of Cape Breton is about nine hundred leagues distant from our France by sea. It is seventy or eighty leagues in circumference. The mountains here are very high and numerous, at the foot of which [208] are seen great bogs and frightful precipices. The land is covered with all sorts of trees, such as oak, beech, birch, pine, hemlock, and others.

Chibou which is the principal part of this Island, is a great Bay about two leagues wide at its entrance, becoming narrower little by little, in the six or seven leagues which form its extent. In the middle, on the left hand in ascending, on the summit of the shore that faces the Northwest, is built the fort of sainte Anne, at the entrance of the harbor, opposite a little Cove. The situation of the place is so advantageous, according to the report of those who are acquainted with it, that with ten or twelve pieces of cannon, all the hostile ships that might present themselves could be sent to the bottom.

Those who have grown old upon the sea protest that they have never seen a [209] more desirable Port, either in extent or for its facility of access. Three thousand ships could easily anchor there, and be sheltered from every wind, in a beautiful [page 157] enclosure very pleasant to look upon; for its form is circular, or nearly so. The tides here are very mild and regular; there is always from ten to twelve fathoms of water. Furthermore, notwithstanding that the Island is. in forty-six and a half degrees north latitude, the cold is extreme, the island lying in the midst of snow five or six months of the year. This is the situation of the place, let us come to the conveniences of life which it offers to its inhabitants. On this subject we may say, in general, that the Savages are more comfortable here than in many other places. If the Winter supplies them with fewer Beavers upon the water, it gives them, by way of compensation, more Moose [210] upon the land. In summer, they live very well on Marmots and Parrot fish, with Cormorants and other marine birds. They have also Bustards, Smelts, Mackerel, Codfish, and like supplies, according to the different seasons, in the forests or upon the coasts of the sea.

As to the people, there is nothing anomalous in their physical appearance; you see well-formed men, good-looking, of fine figures, strong and powerful. Their skin is naturally white, for the little children show it thus; but the heat of the Sun, and the rubbing with Seal oil and Moose fat, make them very swarthy, the more so as they grow older. Most of them go bareheaded, and they have long, black hair, with very little or no beard, so that the women cannot be distinguished, [211] except that they use a girdle and are less naked than the men; quite the reverse of what is practiced in many Christian lands, to the shame of Christianity. One sees here old men, of eighty and a hundred years, who have hardly a gray hair. As to their intelligence, if we may [page 159] judge from their conduct and from their way of dealing with the French, they are not at a great disadvantage. You do not see in their gestures and bearing any foolishness or nonsense, but rather a certain gravity and natural modesty, which makes them agreeable. They are indeed so clever that, in order to disguise their language, they add to every word a syllable, which only serves to confuse the minds of those by whom they do not wish to be understood.

[212] What they do lack is the knowledge of God and of the service that they ought to render to him, as also of the state of the soul after death; it is wonderful that we have not yet been able to discover any trace of this knowledge in what we know of their language. Perhaps we shall discover something more, when we become better versed in it; for it is not credible that the light of nature should be altogether extinct in them in this regard, when it is not in other more barbarous Nations, or that they never talk among themselves of that of which they cannot be entirely ignorant. For all that, we have not up to the present noticed any more Religion among these poor Savages than among brutes. This is what wrings our hearts with compassion for souls redeemed at the same [213] price as ours, by which they would willingly profit better than we, if they could know what they themselves are worth, and what they cost him who has loved us all so much.

Now what consoles us in the midst of this ignorance and barbarism, and what makes us hope some day to see the Faith widely planted, is partly the docility they have shown in wishing to be instructed, and partly the honesty and decency we observe in them. [page 161]

They are very diligent and attentive to the instructions we give them; I do not know whether it is through complaisance, for they have a great deal of this naturally, or through an instinct from above, that they listen to us so willingly concerning the mysteries of our Faith, and repeat after us, whether they understand it or not, all that [214] we declare to them. They very willingly make the sign of the Cross, as they see us make it, raising their hands and eyes to Heaven and pronouncing the words, "Jesus, Mary, " as we do, ♦so far that, having observed the honor we render to the Cross, these poor people paint it on their faces, chests, arms, and legs, without being asked to do so. I am very willing that they should do all these things in the beginning from a natural simplicity, which causes them to imitate all they see, rather than from any greater consideration; because in time they may be helped by it, and they will not be the first, who come to practice by choice that to which by casual encounter they have become accustomed. Besides, what is of no small importance, they sometimes urge us to pray our good Jesus for them, [215] for the success of their hunting and for relief from their diseases.

The other encouragement we see here, for the preaching of the Gospel, is in the honesty and decency that we see shining forth in them like two bright rays of light in the midst of darkness. We never think of distrusting our Savages, or of watching their hands and their feet, as with some others who attract everything to them and appropriate all they find at their convenience. Everything is free to them in all places, and yet nothing is in danger in their presence, even if they are alone in a cabin and [page 163] where no one can see them. As to decency, they hold it in such high estimation, at least as far as external appearances are concerned, in their actions and words, that there is a probability [216] that they will rise up on the last day and condemn many Christians, who will have cultivated this virtue less under the Law of grace, than these poor people have under that of nature.

We have never heard them use unseemly words, nor seen any actions too free, although we have lived on familiar terms with them inside and outside their cabins.

You would say they are trying to practice in advance that beautiful motto of the Apostle, which commands Christians not even to have, if they can help it, upon their lips a word which signifies indecency. Some one will readily reply that, if we were better versed in their language, we would not fail to notice it therein. But is it not a great deal, that the little [217] we know of it has not taught us anything of the kind? And is there not great reason to blush for many Christian Nations, among whom one does not have to serve a long apprenticeship to their Grammar, to find oneself embarrassed and confused in company, if he has even a little regard for propriety? And if our ears are not yet sufficiently opened to give positive evidence of the unconcern or decency of their talk; are we blind, or are we incapable of recognizing a shameful gesture or action? And yet we have never seen anything of this kind, not even among married people. But what shall I say about noticing one day a young Savage kissing a woman, who

I did not think [218] was his wife, as that seemed something extraordinary among them, I straightway asked **[page 165]** him if that was his wife, and he replied that she was; but it was not without embarrassment on the part of the two who had been taken by surprise. Add to this modesty the gravity which I have said is natural to them, and you will judge that, God helping, they will receive with open arms a Law which recommends nothing so much as this virtue, which makes men like unto Angels; and that they will not have as much difficulty as many badly taught Christians have, to conform entirely to the injunctions of the Gospel, when it shall be declared to them in the words of the Apostle that they have to show their modesty in the eyes of all the world, since the Lord is near. It is true they have polygamy, and pay no attention to the indissolubility [219] of Marriage. But we must hope that, when they come to recognize the obligations they are under, together with all the Nations of the earth, to a God who made himself man for them, they will willingly submit to his most holy Laws, especially in that which concerns a virtue by means of which he wishes us to bear witness to and glorify without ceasing, in our bodies, him who for us has delivered his own up to torture, and who gives it to us every day as food, for this sole purpose.

**[page 167]**

## **[220] Various Sentiments and opinions of the Fathers who are in New France.**

*Taken from their last letters of 1635*

EW FRANCE is truly a region where one learns perfectly to seek God alone, to desire God alone, to have sincere intentions toward God, and to trust to and rely solely upon his divine and paternal Providence; and it is a rich heart treasury, impossible to estimate.

2. To live in New France means truly to live in the bosom of [221] God, and to breathe only the air of his Divine guidance; the sweetness of that air can be realized only by actually breathing it.
3. It is not fitting that every one should know how agreeable it is in the sacred awe of these forests, and how much Heavenly light one finds in the thick darkness of this barbarism; we would have too many persons wishing to come here, and our Settlements would not be capable of accommodating so many; and what confounds us is that God has chosen us, to make us participants in this mercy, seeing that there are so many of our Fathers in France, who would do better than we.
4. The joy that one feels when he has baptized a Savage who dies soon afterwards, and flies directly to Heaven to become an Angel, certainly [222] is a joy that surpasses anything that can be imagined; one no longer remembers the sea, nor seasickness, nor the horror of past tempests; but one would like to **[page 169]** have the suffering of ten thousand tempests that he might help save one soul, since Jesus Christ for one soul would have willingly shed all his precious blood.
5. The greatest strife we have had among ourselves was to see which would have the good fortune of being chosen to go to the Hurons. God has made the lot fall upon those he was pleased to choose, and who are going to these barbarous Nations as if to a Terrestrial Paradise. When once a person has tasted in earnest the sweetness of the Cross of Jesus Christ, he prefers it to all the Empires of the earth.
6. Finding ourselves lately in [223] a tempest so furious that the whole Ocean seemed to be in a turmoil, they told us that we were the cause of this horrible storm; this astonished us at first, as it was said by honest people; on asking the reason, we were told that, seeing so furious and raging a tempest, it must be that Hell was enraged at seeing us go to New France to convert infidels and to diminish its power; for revenge it raised up all the Elements against us, and was trying to sink the fleet and all that was within it. But we said to them very gently: "Remember, Sirs, that God is more powerful to defend us, than Lucifer is to persecute us; that the sea may rise as high as it will, yet God must be its Master. *Mirabiles elationes maris, mirabilis in altis Dominus*. We fear indeed [224] the anger of God against our unfaithfulness, more than that of the sea against our human weakness.
7. In Europe they are accustomed to say that whoever would learn to pray to God must go upon the sea; but it is quite a different thing to be there in reality. Lately we were more than two days and two nights in continual danger of being engulfed by the **[page 171]** Ocean; every moment, it seemed, must be the last of our lives. We saw mountains coming toward us, which seemed about to swallow us up; we two were prostrate upon our knees, praying God with earnest hearts; the greatest fear was that some one would die without Confession; it is there that jaculatory Prayers are made, and that one looks gladly toward Heaven; but one can never believe the power of grace and the [225] invincible confidence that God gives to his servants in the midst of tempests and the most fearful despair.
8. I have never understood what it was to reach such a point of virtue that, to pass beyond, a miracle would have to be performed; so true is it that a person sometimes finds himself so far plunged into either suffering, or danger, or desertion by his fellow-creatures, that nothing is left to him but God, who nevertheless is always found at the end of jacob's ladder, with arms and heart open to embrace the Angels and the souls which fly straight to him; and it is wonderful how God takes pleasure in abundantly communicating himself to souls which have abandoned all and given themselves wholly to him. To lose all, that one may find God, is a sweet loss and a holy usury. [226]
9. The heart grows according as its works for Jesus Christ increase; and New France is the most suitable country in the world in which to understand the literal meaning of these beautiful words, *Sicut misit me vivens Pater, ita et ego mitto vos*, "I send you, even as my Father has sent me." *Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum*. "Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves." Among these forests, at the sight of these Savages, what can we poor Foreigners and servants of God expect but to feel their **[page 173]** teeth and some of the effects of their natural barbarism. He who truly fears God can fear nothing more in this world.
10. Truly, to make nine hundred leagues upon the waves of the sea, with hundreds of encounters with Turks, icebergs, reefs, and horrible storms♦[227] all these things can appall human nature, and cause the human heart to throb; there one experiences what David meant, *Anima mea in manibus meis semper*. "I hold my soul always in my hands," and I am always ready at any moment to sacrifice it to God; too happy, alas! to be able to make so many times a precious offering of myself; but the infusion of God into our hearts, and the relief he pours into our souls, exceed all of our ills. I confess that I have learned better upon the sea than upon the land what the infusion of God into a well-trained soul is.
11. When we see these Savages, well formed, strong, of good mien, endowed with natural good sense,♦and that it needs only a drop of water to make them children of God, and that Jesus Christ has shed all [228] his blood for them, we feel an incredible ardor to attract them to the Church and to God; and it is true that we would prefer the conversion of one of these poor Savages to the conquest of a whole Empire. The trouble we take in this is so pleasant that we do not consider it trouble, but a truly extraordinary favor of Heaven. *Caritas Dei urget nos*, so true is it that charity presses our hearts.
12. I passed twenty-four hours when, seeing that we were pursued by the Turks in leaving la manche [English Channel], I expected nothing else than to fall into their hands, to be loaded with chains and to live in slavery. In the midst of these natural fears, lo! a **[page 175]** strong thought took possession of my heart, and said to me "Ha! what good fortune it would be to be able to imitate saint Paul, and to see myself in fetters [229] for the love of Jesus, who was bound for me, and treated as a slave and as the King of thieves." This sweet thought had so much power over my soul that I had more desire for those chains than fear of captivity.
13. Three mighty thoughts console a good heart which is in the infinite forests of New France, or among the Hurons. The first is, "I am in the place where God has sent me, where he has led me as if by the hand, where he is with me, and where I seek him alone." The second is, in the words of David, "according to the measure of the pain I endure for God, his Divine consolations rejoice my soul." The third, that we never



- find Crosses, nails, nor thorns, in the midst of which, if we look closely, we do not find J. C. [Jesus Christ]. Now, can a person go wrong when he is in [230] the company of the Son of the living God?
14. When I see myself surrounded by murderous waves, by infinite forests, and by a thousand dangers there comes to mind that precious saying of the martyred St. Ignace, *Nunc incipio esse Christi discipulus*: to-day I begin to be of the Company of Jesus. For what avail so many exercises, so many fervent Meditations, so many eager desires? all these are nothing but wind, if we do not put them into practice. So old France is fitted to conceive noble desires, but the New is adapted to their execution; that one desires in old France is what one does in the New.
  15. I do not know what the country of the Hurons is, where God sends me in his infinite mercy, but I do know that I would rather go there than to an Earthly **[page 177]** Paradise, since I see [231] that God has so ordained. Strange thing! the more Crosses I see prepared for me there, the more my heart laughs and flies thither; for what happiness to see with these eyes nothing but Savages, Crosses, and Jesus Christ. Never have I understood in my life in France what it was to distrust self entirely and to trust in God alone; I say alone, and without the presence of any creature: *Major est Deus corde nostro*, "God is greater than our hearts;" this is evident in New France, and it is an unutterable consolation that when we find nothing else we immediately encounter God, who communicates himself most richly to good hearts.
  16. My consolation among the Hurons is that I confess every day, and then I say Mass as if I were to take the Viaticum and die that very day; and I do not think [232] that a person can live better, nor with more satisfaction and courage, and even merit, than to live in a place where he expects every day to die, and to have the motto of St. Paul, *Quotidie morior fratres, etc.*, "I protest, brethren, that I die daily."
  17. To convert the Savages, not so much knowledge is necessary as goodness and sound virtue. The four Elements of an Apostolic man in New France are Affability, Humility, Patience, and a generous Charity. Too ardent zeal scorches more than it warms, and ruins everything; great magnanimity and compliance are necessary to attract gradually these Savages. They do not comprehend our Theology well, but they comprehend perfectly our humility and our friendliness, and allow themselves to be won.
  18. The Huron Nation is becoming disposed [233] to receive the light of the Gospel, and inestimable good is to be hoped for in all those regions; but two kinds **[page 179]** of persons are necessary to accomplish this, ♦ those in old France, assisting by their holy prayers and their charity; the others in the New, working with great gentleness and tirelessness; on the goodness of God and on this sweet harmony depends the conversion of many thousand souls, for each one of whom Jesus Christ has shed all his precious blood.
  19. If a small Seminary of a dozen little Hurons could be founded at Kebec, in a few years incredible assistance could be derived therefrom, to help in converting their Fathers, and in planting a flourishing Church in the Nation of the Hurons. Alas! how many there are in Europe who lose in three casts of the dice more than would be needed to convert a world. [234]
  20. One of the thoughts which weigh most upon those who are so fortunate as to serve God among these forests, is their unworthiness of their Apostolic and so exalted calling, and that they have so few of the virtues worthy of a noble work. He who sees New France only through the eyes of the flesh and of nature, sees only forests and crosses; but he who looks upon these with the eyes of grace and of a noble vocation, sees only God, the virtues, and the graces; and he finds therein so many and so firm consolations, that, if I were able to buy New France by giving in exchange all the Terrestrial Paradise, I would certainly buy it. My God! how good it is to be in the place where God has placed us by his grace; truly I have found here what I had hoped for, a heart in harmony with God's heart, which seeks God alone. [235]
  21. It is said that the pioneers who found Churches are usually saints; this thought so softens my heart that, although I see I am of but little use **[page 181]** here in this fortunate New France, yet I must confess that I cannot forbid one thought which presses upon my heart. *Cupio impendi, et superimpendi pro vobis*: Poor New France, I desire to sacrifice myself for thy welfare; and though it should cost me a thousand lives, if thus I can aid in saving a single soul, I shall be too happy, and my life will be well spent.
  22. I do not know what it is to enter Paradise; but I know well that in this world it is difficult to find a greater and fuller joy than I had upon entering New France, and saying the first Mass here on the day of the [236] Visitation. I assure you that this was very truly the day of the Visitation. Through the goodness of God and of our Lady, it seemed to me that it was Christmas for me, and that I was going to be reborn into an altogether new life, and a life of God.
  23. The seasickness which troubled me, when sailing upon the ocean, was soon effaced by the mercy of Heaven and the joy that God shed in my soul, upon landing at Cape Breton. In meeting our Fathers it seemed to me I was embracing Angels from Paradise; I could not refrain from exclaiming, "Ah! what will it be when we shall enter Paradise, and when God and the Angels shall receive a beautiful soul, which will emerge from the tempests of the wretched life that we lead upon earth!"
  24. I had thought that miracles were necessary to convert these flying Savages; but I was mistaken, [237] for the real miracles of New France are the following: To do them much good, and endure many pains; to complain to God alone; to judge oneself unworthy, and to feel one's uselessness. He who has these virtues will perform miracles greater than miracles, and will become a Saint. Indeed, it is harder **[page 183]** to humiliate oneself deeply before God and men, and to annihilate oneself, than to raise the dead; for that needs only the word, if one has the gift of miracles, but to humiliate oneself as one ought to, ♦ truly, that requires a man's whole life.
  25. We were greatly astonished and infinitely glad to see in our little cabins, and in our Settlements, the Religious discipline as strictly observed as in the largest Colleges [238] of France, and that the internal fervor is so much the greater as the external seems to be subjected to so many diversions; it is God's ordinary practice, in his infinite goodness, that according to our needs he multiplies the gift of his graces; and, in truth, to the same extent as a servant of God gives himself up to his holy guidance, our Lord expands so much the more and sheds more abundantly the precious shower of his graces.
  26. These poor Barbarians are accustomed to call all the Priests, Patriarchs, and they show great respect to men of integrity. They promise to bring us their children, when they are sick unto death, to be baptized; in fact, some have been baptized who died shortly after baptism. They are indeed the elect, beyond a doubt, and so blessed as to go forth from Barbarism [239] and enter immediately into Paradise. If one should never do anything else, what happiness to have been instrumental in placing these little souls among the elect!
  27. One meets men so devoid of every notion of Religion, that one cannot find a name to make them understand God; we have to call him the great Captain of men, he who feeds all the world, he who lives on high. We do all we can; what obligations will they be under to those who instruct them and who try to make **[page 185]** them know a God in order to serve him as well as they can. Here deep learning is not needed, but a profound humility, an unconquerable patience, and an Apostolic charity, to win these poor Savages, who in other respects have good common sense. And if we begin once to gain [240] them, the fruit will be incalculable.
  28. A thousand times the thought of saint Fran♦ois Xavier passes through our minds, and has great power over us. If the men of the world, in order to have Beaver skins, and codfish, and I know not what commodities, do not fear either the storms on the sea, or the Savages on land, or the sea, or death; how dreadful will be the confusion of God's servants for being afraid of these things, or of a few little hardships, in trying to win souls ransomed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, and empurpled by his blood of inestimable value? On the day of judgment will not these petty traders and fishers of cod rise up to condemn us, if they take more pains to gain a piece of money than we do to help save the Savages? This thought stings our hearts so [241] deeply that we do not feel our sufferings, or if we feel them we do not dare to complain of them.
  29. There are many persons in France who are of no use, and have nothing to do there; they are scholars and that is all, and that is of no use in the Church of God; alas! in New France these men would be Apostles, if they would come here to use their talents; less wisdom, and more humility and zeal, would perform miracles here, and it is possible they would gain more in one year than they will do in a lifetime in France.
  30. Experience shows us that those of the Society **[page 187]** who come to New France should be impelled to it by a special and very forcible

call; persons who are dead to themselves and to the world; men truly Apostolic, who seek God alone, and the [242] salvation of souls, who love with real love the Cross and self-mortification; who do not spare themselves; who can endure the hardships of the sea and of the land, and who desire the conversion of a Savage more than the Empire of all Europe; who have Godlike hearts, all filled with God; who are like little John the Baptists, crying through these deserts and forests like voices from God, which summon all these poor Savages to acknowledge Jesus Christ; in fine let them be men whose sole satisfaction is in God and to whom suffering is the greatest delight. That is what experience shows us every day; but it is also true that it seems as if God shed the dew of his grace much more abundantly upon this New France than upon the old, [243] and that the internal consolations and the Divine infusions are much stronger here, and hearts more on fire. *Novit Dominiis qui sunt ejus*. But it belongs to God alone to choose those whom he will use, and whom he favors by taking them into New France, to make saints of them. Saint François Xavier said that there was an Island in the Orient which was quite capable of making a person lose his sight, by crying from excessive joy of the heart; I know not if our New France resembles this Island, but we know from experience that, if any one here gives himself up in earnest to God, he runs the risk of losing his sight, his life, his all, and with great joy, by dint of hard work; it belongs only to those who are here and who enjoy God to speak from experience. [244]

31. We clearly recognize that it must be Heaven [page 189] which shall convert the land of New France, and that we are not strong enough. We fear nothing so much as that our imperfections may prevent the conversion of these poor Savages; that is why we have all been minded to have recourse to Heaven and to the very holy Virgin, Mother of God, through whom God is accustomed to do what seems impossible, and to convert the hearts of the most abandoned. To this end, we have resolved to make a very solemn vow, of which the following is the purport: 32. My God and my Savior Jesus, although our sins ought to banish us from your presence, yet being inspired with a desire to honor you and your very Holy Mother, urged by a wish to see ourselves in the faithful correspondence [to your graces] that you desire in your servants, wishing [245] besides to see you acknowledged and adored by these poor people: We promise and make a vow unto you and also to the very holy Virgin your Mother, and to her glorious Spouse St. Joseph, to celebrate twelve times in twelve succeeding months the sacrifice of the Holy Mass, for those who are Priests; and for the others to say twelve times the Crown or Chaplet of the Virgin, in honor of and as an act of grace for her immaculate Conception, and all to fast the day before this festival; promising you further that, if a permanent Church or Chapel is erected in this country within this specified time, we will have it dedicated to God under the title of the immaculate Conception, if it is in our power, all this, to secure by the goodness of Our Lord the conversion of these Peoples, through the mediation of his holy Mother and of her holy Spouse. In [246] the meantime receive, O Empress of Angels and of men, the hearts of these poor [page 191] abandoned Barbarians that we present to you through the hands of your glorious Spouse and of your faithful servants, St. Ignace and St. François Xavier, and of all the Guardian Angels of these wretched countries, to offer them to your Son, that he may give them knowledge of himself and apply to them the efficacy of his precious blood. Amen.

May God in his infinite goodness render us worthy of this noble calling, worthily to cooperate with his grace, to the benefit of these poor Savages.

[page 193]

## Extract from the Royal License.

Y the Grace and License of the King, permission is granted to Sebastien Cramoisy, Bookseller under Oath in the University of Paris, and Printer in ordinary to the King, to print or to have printed a book entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année mil six cens trente cinq. Envoyé au R. P. Provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Province de France. Par le Pere Paul le Jeune de la mesme Compagnie, Superieur de la Residence de Kébec*: and this during the time and space of five consecutive years. Prohibiting all Booksellers and Printers to print or to have printed the said book, under pretext of disguise or change that they might make therein, on pain of confiscation of the copies, and of the fine provided by the said License. Given at Paris on the twelfth of January, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

By the King in Council.

VICTON.

[page 195]

## Approbation.

E, ESTIENNE BINET, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of France, in accordance with the License that has been granted to us by the Most Christian Kings, Henry III. May 10th, 1583, Henry IV. December 10th, 1605, and Louys XIII. now reigning February 14th, 1612, by which all Booksellers are prohibited from printing any of the Books which are composed by any one of our said Society, without the permission of the Superiors thereof: We permit Sebastien Cramoisy, Bookseller under Oath in Paris, and Printer in ordinary to the King, to print for ten years the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1635*, sent to us by Father Paul le Jeune of our same Society, Superior of the Residence of Kebec. In testimony whereof we have signed the present at Paris, this fifteenth of January, 1635.

Signed,

E. BINET.

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XXVI

Le Jeune's Relation, 1636

Paris: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1637



The document consists of two parts ; the first by Le Jeune, as superior, the second by Br<sup>e</sup>beuf. In the present volume we give chaps. i.-ii., of Part I.; the remainder of Part 1. will occupy Volume IX. In Volume X., will appear all of Part II.

[page 199]

RELATION  
OF WHAT OCCURRED  
IN  
NEW FRANCE  
IN THE YEAR 1636.  
Sent to the  
REVEREND FATHER PROVINCIAL  
of the Society Of Jesus in the  
Province of France.

*By Father Paul le Jeune of the same Society,*

*Superior of the Residence of K<sup>e</sup>bec.*

PARIS,  
Sebastien Cramoisy, Printer in ordinary  
to the King, ru<sup>e</sup> saint Jacques,  
at the Sign of the Storks.



XXVII.  
*BY ROYAL LICENSE.*

[page 203]

Extract from the Royal License.

Y the Grace and License of the King, permission is granted to Sebastien Cramoisy, Bookseller under Oath in the University of Paris and Printer in ordinary to the King, to print or to have printed a Book entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est Pass<sup>e</sup> en la Nouvelle France en l'ann<sup>e</sup> mil six cens trente-six. Envoy<sup>e</sup> le au R. P. Provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Province de France. Par le Pere Paul le Jeune de la mesme Compagnie, Superieur de la Residence de K<sup>e</sup>bec:* and this during the time and space of ten consecutive years. Prohibiting all Booksellers and Printers to print or to have printed the said Book under pretext of disguise or change that they might make therein, on penalty of confiscation, and of the fine provided by said License. Given at Paris on the 22nd of December, 1636.

By the King in Council,  
  
VICTON.

[page 205]

Approbation.

WE, Estienne Binet, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of France, in accordance with the License granted to us by the Most Christian Kings, Henry III. May 10th, 1583, Henry IV. December 10th, 1605, and Louys XIII. now reigning, February 14th, 1612, by which all Booksellers are forbidden to print any Book of those composed by any one of our said Society, without permission of the Superiors thereof<sup>e</sup> permit Sebastien Cramoisy, Bookseller under Oath at Paris and Printer in ordinary to the King, to print for ten years the *Relation de ce qui s'est pass<sup>e</sup> en la Nouvelle France en l'ann<sup>e</sup> 1636*, sent to us by Father Paul le Jeune of our same Society, Superior of the Residence of K<sup>e</sup>bec. In testimony whereof we have signed the present at Paris, this fifteenth of December, 1636.

Signed,  
  
E. Binet.

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Relation of what occurred in the Country of Hurons in the year 1636.

ENT to Kébec to Reverend Father Paul le Jeune, Superior of the Mission of the Society of Jesus, in New France.

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## [1] Relation of what occurred in New France, in the year 1636.

Y REVEREND FATHER,

Since it is necessary to pay the annual tribute which is exacted from us not only by Your Reverence but also by many persons of virtue, merit, and rank, who continue to interest themselves in the affairs of New France as in those of God, I shall begin by referring to the joy with which our Lord filled our hearts on the arrival of the fleet. Some were doubtful whether we would see the Vessels this year, on account of the great preparations for war which were being made in old France; but [2] those who were wisest could not doubt it, as knowing the affection of the King for his new Possessions, which are destined to become one of the bright jewels in his Crown; and, moreover, not ignorant that Monseigneur the Cardinal, being the Head of this honorable Company, the support of families that come over to these lands, the Father of this new Country, and the powerful Genius who is to bring about, under the favor and authority of his Majesty, the designs of God for the conversion of this new world, would not fail to show what place this holy undertaking holds in his heart. Another anxiety kept us between fear and hope, arising from the change of Governor. Monsieur de Champlain having left us in the last year of his Administration, to go to Heaven, we were anxious as to what zeal his successor would have for this infant [page 215] Church. But, when the Ships appeared, all these fears were dissipated; the number of the vessels showed us that the affairs of New France rank [3] among the chief concerns of the Mother country, and that the interest of the Gentlemen of the Company continues daily to increase; and the first acts of Monsieur de Montmagny, our Governor, have made us hope everything that can be expected from a spirit filled with piety, with firmness, and with discretion. I was told once that the earliest act which our great King performed, at the time of his birth, was a presage of his great piety; for the first use he made of his innocent hands was to clasp them, as if he were trying to pray to God, and the first movement of his eyes directed his sight toward heaven. If first actions are prognostications of those to come, we have that for which to bless God in the person of Monsieur de Montmagny, as I shall show in the course of this Relation. Having arrived before Kebec on the night of saint Barnabas, he cast anchor without announcing himself; the next morning, we had word that he was in the Vessel which the night had concealed from us. We went down to the shore of the great River to receive him; Father Pierre [4] Chastellain, and Father Charles Garnier were in his company. After the usual courtesies, we accompanied him at once to the Chapel; on the way, perceiving the Tree of our salvation, " Here, " said he, " is the first Cross that I encounter in the Country; let us adore the Crucified in his image." He throws himself upon his knees, as, following his example, do all his attendants, as well as all those who were coming to salute him. Thence he entered the Church, where we solemnly chanted the *Te Deum*, as well as the Prayers for our good [page 217] King. At the conclusion of his act of thanksgiving, and of the praises we rendered to God for his coming, Monsieur de Chasteaufort, who filled the place of the late Monsieur de Champlain, came to present to him the keys of the fortress, where he was received with several volleys of musketry and the thunder of numerous cannon. Scarcely had he entered when one came to ask him if it would be agreeable to him to be Godfather to a Savage who desired Baptism. " Very willingly," said he, rejoicing in this good fortune, that, upon entering his Administration, he could help open the doors of the Church to a poor [5] soul who wished to enter the sheepfold of Jesus Christ. That the Fathers who had accompanied him might put their hands to the harvest at the moment of setting foot on land, the Father who had taught this barbarian asks Father Chastellain if he would not be glad to begin his labors in New France with a Baptism. O God! what a sentiment of joy he manifested at this proposal! Behold him quite ready! Monsieur the Governor proceeds to the Cabins of these poor barbarians, followed by a brisk retinue of Nobles. I leave you to imagine the astonishment of these People at seeing so much scarlet, so many elegant personages under their bark roofs! What comfort this poor sick man experienced when they told him that the great Captain who had just arrived wished to bestow a name upon him, and to be his Sponsor! The Father questions him anew upon the mysteries of our belief. He replies that he believes in him who made all things, and in his son, Jesus, and also in the good Spirit; that he is sorry he has offended him who made himself man, and who died for us; and that he greatly regrets [6] having [page 219] learned so late to know him. Monsieur the Governor named him Joseph, in honor of the holy Spouse of the Virgin, Patron of New France; and the Father baptized him. During dinner, for all this happened in the morning, this noble Godfather said aloud, in the presence of a distinguished company, that he had received that day the greatest honor and the most genuine satisfaction that he could have desired in New France. Are not these things that give us cause for rejoicing? This is not all; that same day appeared a Vessel commanded by Monsieur de Courpon, which brought to us Father Nicolas Adam and our Brother Ambroise Cauvet. These meetings in a country so far from our Native Land, after having crossed so many seas, affect sometimes the eyes as well as the heart. Our joy did not end there. The number of families, which came over to increase our Colony, made it considerably larger. Among others, were those of Monsieur de Repentigny and of Monsieur de la Poterie, gallant Gentlemen, composed of forty-five individuals. It was a matter for which to praise [7] God, to see in this country delicate Maidens and little children of tenderest age come forth from a prison of wood, as the day comes forth from the darkness of night, and enjoying, after all, as perfect health, notwithstanding the many hardships to Which one is subjected in these floating habitations, as if they had been driving on the street in a carriage. See then how this day was for us doubly a day of festival and of rejoicing; but let us begin our discourse. I will divide all I have to say this year into several Chapters, which I will shorten or extend according to the leisure which God shall grant me for it.

[page 221]

## CHAPTER FIRST.

### OF THE SENTIMENTS OF AFFECTION WHICH MANY PERSONS OF MERIT ENTERTAIN FOR NEW FRANCE.

KNOW not what success the affairs of New France will have, nor when we shall see its doors opened wide to the Gospel; but I know [8] well,

nevertheless, that it is God who directs this enterprise. Nature has not arms long enough to reach the point to which this has attained; she loves too well material interests to bring together so many hearts and so many affections in the pursuit of a good of which she has no knowledge. To forsake one's parents and one's friends, to relinquish one's associates, to go forth from one's native land, so sweet and so refined; to cross the seas, to dare the Ocean and its storms, to give up one's life to sufferings, to abandon present advantages that one may launch out into hopes remote from one's vision, to convert the business of earth into that of heaven, to be willing to die in the midst of Barbarism, ♦ is a language which is not spoken in the school of nature. Such deeds go beyond her range, and yet they are the deeds and language of a thousand persons of merit, who are devoting themselves to the affairs of New France with as much and more of courage than they would give to their own in the Old. I do not see nor can I understand all that leads to this design; they speak to me but once a year about these matters, and then upon a piece of paper, which is like [9] those mutes of the **[page 223]** grand Seigneur, who talk without saying a word. Yet I can say, ♦ seeing so much fire, so much zeal, so much holy love, in persons so different in age, in sex, in condition, and occupation, ♦ that none other than a God can cause these thoughts, can kindle these coals, which are fed only by the aromatic woods of Paradise. I say nothing of the tender and noble desires of our great King for the conversion of these Tribes; it is for this purpose that he has established the Company of New France, honored it with his favor and with many important Privileges. Nor do I speak about the attentions of Monseigneur the Cardinal; it is enough to say that he has become Head of this honorable Company, and that he has uplifted, sustained, and animated this grand enterprise, which cannot be attacked without touching the apple of his eye. The Duke d'Anguien<sup>13</sup> eldest son of Monseigneur the Prince, honoring me with a word from his own hand, assured me last year that he had high esteem for us, and that we should see the effects of it in proportion as God should [10] grant him the favor of added years. I thanked our Lord for already having inspired this young Prince with these good intentions of serving him, the more gladly as he has a mind well qualified to fulfill them. I know from good authority and without flattery that he showed this so admirably, during the course of his studies, in the opinion of those who saw him engaged in them, that his character will always render him worthy of respect among those who shall know him. God be praised! The whole sky of our dear Native Land promises us favorable influences, even to this new star, which begins to shine among those of the first magnitude. **[page 225]**

No one can be ignorant that Monsieur the Marquis de Gamache is the chief support of our Mission. I have learned this year that he has been acknowledged as Founder of a College in New France; our Reverend Father General has written me also to this effect; and at this writing thousands of holy masses have been offered up to his divine Majesty, throughout the whole extent of the earth where our Company is scattered, for the prosperity of his House, [11] and for the good success of this plan. We began last year to teach; Father Lallemant, and afterwards Father de Quen, instructed our little French boys, and I some little Savages. We wonder to see ourselves already surrounded by so many children, in the very beginning of our work.

I learn that some one, blessed of heaven, thinks of founding a Seminary for young Hurons. Oh, holy thought! it is from these young plants that one is to expect good fruits. God be forever blessed for the care he takes of this new Colony, favoring it with the aid of persons who cherish these poor barbarians far more than they have ever loved themselves.

I had hardly intended to speak of the Associated Gentlemen of this Company; for it is not strange that they have some affection for a country over which the King has made them Lords; but this love, in the most important members of their body, seems to me so pure that I am at once rejoiced and confounded to see as great disinterestedness in persons, attached to the world by their position, [12] as one would find in a soul far removed from the scenes and affections of earth, from its cares and confusion. I do not speak by rote; these Gentlemen, having done me the honor of writing to me by the hand of Monsieur l'Amy, **[page 227]** their Secretary, put me to the blush in these terms: *The letter which it has pleased you to write us has satisfied our Company to such a degree, that we all acknowledge that our efforts and our cares have already received their reward. What we do for the Colony of New France may indeed be commendable, by reason of our zeal in the service of God, and our desire to aid our fellow-men; but to have therein the symapathy and the help of those who are experienced Masters in these virtues is to be rewarded from the beginning, and to receive one's full remuneration for the work of the first hours of the day. The gratitude which you express to us is worthy of much more than all that we have done; but it would suit well what we desire to do when God shall have given us the grace to perform it.*

These are the very words of their letter. This is not all; after having testified that their greatest purposes aim [13] only at the glory of our Lord, they rejoice to be delivered from the importunity of a man whose hands it has been necessary to bind with chains of gold. *And although that costs us much, they say, yet we consider that we have gained thereby, since no one can longer claim any right over New France, and we can offer it entire to God through your holy ministry.* Being able to add nothing to such thoughts and feelings, I will say to these Gentlemen but one word, that if they attend to the interests of God, God will attend to theirs; that they will lose nothing in the exchange, if they continue in these generous purposes; and that they are sowing blessings which their children shall reap upon the earth and in Heaven. Such are the sentiments of Messieurs the Directors and Associates of this honorable Company.

I regret that some persons, great, in truth, in the eyes of God and of men, bind my hands so tightly, **[page 229]** and oblige me to keep the secret of their letters, or rather of their virtues; they conceal from the eyes of France the tender and strong desires they feel for [14] the glory of our holy faith throughout the extent of this Savage Land, contenting themselves with revealing them to him from whom they could not conceal them. I speak of persons employed in the highest offices of the Realm; one of them is in charge of the whole country, concerning himself with both the French and the Savages, and does good to all. Another protests that he is willing to interest himself in this Company, not through the hope of any gain, but for the extension of the Kingdom of God. Here are some words taken from one of his letters addressed to a person who has communicated it to me in confidence: *I am interested in hearing news of the country, through the desire which I have for the advancement of Religion.* This is the only reason, as he asserts, that induced him to ally himself with these Gentlemen. Farther on, he says that the largest and most celebrated cities have begun with a rabble of vagabonds; and that we have here this advantage, that there are honest people among us; *that the greatest care that one must have here is, that God be faithfully served. There will be seen a notable change when the general Company shall enter into the complete [15] administration of affairs, ♦ the determination being to disregard all gain, in order to better the condition of the country and to send over a large number of French people, without the Associates receiving for a long time any of the profit which shall accrue from New France.* See how a disinterested man speaks of it! The inclinations of nature do not incite us to transfer to a barbarous land the advantages which we can enjoy in a well-governed Realm. **[page 231]** Let us say then that these hidden impulses come from the springs of the sacred providence of the great God, who seems to have grand purposes for so many poor Peoples, abandoned for so long a time. Here is what other Associates write me. *I hope that the aid which is sent you will cause the harvest to increase; that is the chief aim which those have who interest themselves in this matter. I wish I had as much power as I have desire for the advancement of the glory of God in this country, and for the conversion of these poor Savages.* Another writes to me as follows: *There is likelihood that, while our Company continues its business without gain, your colony in spiritual matters will increase more and more. The intention of the greater part of those [16] interested in it has been for no other purpose than to aid in the conversion of these poor Savages, which cannot be done without your sufferings, toils, and hardships, nay, even at the peril of your life.*

I should never finish were I to review all that is written on this subject by a great number of persons, whose modesty condemns me to silence as much as their good example would oblige me to speak, if I did not fear to offend them. It is for this reason that I say nothing about the holy wishes of many Religious, and the strong desires which a great number of our Fathers have to come to work in this new vineyard of our Lord, and to clear this land of Barbarism. It is true that these desires to live and to die in the Cross of Jesus are in keeping with their profession; but it is a thing much more

astonishing to see men who are engaged, because of their great abilities, in the highest spheres of the affairs of the world, take their recreation in working for New France, so dearly do they love her. Much more, there are found **[page 233]** some Ladies who wish to share this glory with them, rising above the weakness [17] Of their sex through the generosity of their courage.

I sought last year a brave soul who might plant the great standard of charity in these lands; the mighty God of bounties has provided one. I learn that Madame de Combalet wishes to put her hand to the work, and found a Hospital in New France. See how it has pleased her to inform me of it: *God having given me the desire to aid in the salvation of the .poor Savages, it has seemed to me, after reading the Account which you have written of it, that what you consider can best serve for their conversion is the establishment in New France of Hospital Nuns. I have therefore resolved to send thither this year six workmen, to clear some land and to construct a lodging for these good Sisters. I entreat that you will take care of this establishment. I have asked Father Chastelain to speak to you about it for me, and to explain to you my plans more in detail. If I can do anything else for the salvation of these poor people, for whom you take so much trouble, I shall consider myself happy.* With regard to that, what shall I say, save that [18] all Heaven presents before the throne of God these holy thoughts, these noble resolutions; and that all the Angels redouble their Chants of honor and praise for so holy an undertaking. These are the thanks that we render to this illustrious Lady, in the name of all the holy guardian Angels of these poor Barbarians, who cannot comprehend the greatness of the love that is felt for them. I informed them that a great Lady was about to erect a large house, where all their sick would be received; that they would be laid on soft beds, and daintily fed; that they would be supplied with the medicines and **[page 235]** ointments needed for their cure, and that no pay would be required for them. They answer me with astonishment that that is good; but, nevertheless, I know by their smiles that they will believe this miracle only with their eyes. In one word, they cannot understand the greatness of this charity; it is sufficient that the God, of hearts, who causes this holy thought to spring up in a pious heart, sees his divine work and takes [19] pleasure therein. Verily there is nothing so powerful as this device to win these poor Barbarians, nay, even to fill among them the seminaries for boys and girls. Our Lord be blessed, through time and through eternity.

If I were to occupy myself further with the sentiments of devotion manifested by a multitude of pious souls, and by a very great number even of Nuns, for the extension of the faith in New France, I would considerably exceed the proper length of a Chapter; but no matter, charity covereth all. I learn that in the Church of Mont-martre, a place sacred as the depository of so many Martyrs and by the presence of so many purified souls, the Sisters take turns praying, by day and by night, to solicit and to constrain Heaven to bestow its holy benedictions upon our labors. The Carmelites are all on fire; the Ursulines are filled with zeal; the Nuns of the Visitation have no words significant enough to show their ardor; those of Nostre Dame implore permission to share in the sufferings which must be undergone among [20] these Peoples; and the Hospitalieres insist that they be brought over here next year. Nature has no breath sacred enough to light these fires; these flames arise from a fire all divine, from an increate and **[page 237]** living fire. *We bear you more envy than compassion in your sufferings*, write some of them. *We accompany you with our feeble prayers, particularly to the holy Virgin, to whom we are dedicated, and to our Father, saint Joseph, and our Mother, saint Theresa, and to the Angels of the country where you are, that they may be with you in their strength and power.* Oh, what great help! *If it were as easy*, says another, *to build a Carmelite Convent as it is to raise one of the Cabins of the Savages, and if we were as powerful as we are impotent and weak, you would find from now on a great many Sisters very ready to go to your aid.*

Here are the exact words of another. *You must know that New France is beginning to enter the minds of a great many people, which makes me think that God is looking upon it with a favorable eye. Ah, what would you say, my Reverend Father, [21] if his divine Majesty were so to shape events that we would soon have the courage and the means to go to you. I will tell you that if such be the will of God, there is nothing in this world that can prevent me, even if I were to be engulfed in the waves on the voyage.*

This is the spirit shown by a true Ursuline, who goes on to show me in what ways her Order will some day be able to cross over into these great forests. While I am writing this, I have before my eyes the names of thirteen Sisters of the same Order, who protest, in a general letter sent to Reverend Father Adam, that they all have the same purpose and that their Superior burns with the same fire: *I have allowed*, says she, *our good Sisters to give full scope to their desires which they have set down on this paper according to their zeal,- there is nothing of myself in it, except [page 239] the approbation I show by affixing my name, as an evidence that I do not abandon the party. I envy you more than I pity you in the labors you are about to begin.* But let us hear further from these resolute spirits: *There are no difficulties which daunt us; and, although the weakness and infirmity of our sex [22] is great, our Lord so powerfully fortifies and enhances our courage, that we are emboldened to say with saint Paul, we can do all in him who strengtheneth us; neither the sea nor tempests have horrors enough to frighten hearts which live and throb only for him who has given his own to redeem them, and who desire nothing so much as to be able to give theirs for his love and for the salvation of the Savages.* Is it not right to say, after that, that perfect love casteth out fear? I pass over in silence other words as touching, and expressions of interest as strong as these, uttered from the hearts and lips of many good souls of other holy Orders, yea even from people of the world. *If delicate and refined women, actuated by we know not what interests*, say some of them, *have cast themselves bravely into the hazards of the deep, shall our hearts fail at the sight of the same dangers, since we do not claim to cross over into this land of Barbarism, except to honor and bless the God of the sea?* Those women who expect to cross first, after having distrusted their own weakness, say quite [23] boldly that, trusting themselves to God, they no longer fear anything, unless it be the too great delay. Now I answer both that they cannot have too much devotion in praying Heaven to favor this enterprise; but that they can have too much haste, if they should come over here before being notified that the Country is in a condition to receive them. Everything in its time; **[page 241]** God takes his as it pleases him, and it is upon him we must wait in patience and in meekness. Let us finish. I have said enough on this subject to show that New France is near to the heart of God, since it holds so good a place in those of so many persons who are so dear to him.

**[page 243]**

## CHAPTER II.

### OF THE SAVAGES BAPTIZED THIS YEAR, AND SOME BURIALS.

T seems that our Lord wishes to authorize the purity of the immaculate Conception of his holy Mother, by the [24] great assistance he gives to those who honor this chief dignity of the Virgin. I sent last year to Your Reverence the formula of a vow which we made according to your advice in all our Residences, on the eighth of December, a day dedicated to this sacred Conception. We concealed this act of devotion, and Your Reverence has published it, using the same words in which we made the vow, and in which we will pledge ourselves again, God helping, every year on the same day. The blessings that heaven has bestowed upon our insignificant labors, since that time, are so evident that I would like to urge upon all our Fathers of Old France, yea even of all the world, and all the good souls who cherish the conversion of these Tribes, to ally themselves with us through these holy vows, uniting all the fasts, all the prayers, all the sufferings, all the most secret acts of virtue, of those who will enter into this alliance, to be presented to the Divinity in honor of and as an act of thanks for the immaculate Conception of the holy Virgin, in order to obtain through her mediation the application of the blood of her Son [25] to our poor Savages, the entire abnegation and love for Jesus on the Cross, with a **[page 245]** truly Christian death, to those who procure their salvation and to all those associated in the practice of this act of devotion, the formula of which is given at the end of last year's Relation. I wrote in that Relation that we had baptized twenty-two persons; this year, since these vows were



presented to God, we have baptized more than a hundred, and, before that, very few. In all, since the departure of the Ships up to the present, we have made one hundred and fifteen Savages children of the Church. Furthermore, God has given us great openings for the salvation of these Tribes, making them resolve upon two points which show that the faith has entered into their souls. The first is, that they are not vexed at us for baptizing their sick children; indeed, they even summon us to do this. The second is, that the more aged ones are likewise beginning to wish to die Christians, asking for baptism when they are sick, in order not to go down into the fires with which they are threatened. In short, we have obtained what we hardly dared to ask for, so greatly [26] do we see them alienated from their former inclinations; that is, the promise to give us some little girls, but I will speak of this in its place. All these favors have come from heaven, through the merits of the holy Virgin and of her glorious Spouse, since the vows which I have mentioned. Let us come down to particulars, and follow the order of time of these Baptisms.

On the ninth of December, the very next day after the feast of the Conception, sieur jean Nicolet,<sup>26</sup> Interpreter for the Algonquins at the three Rivers, came to inform the Fathers who lived in the Residence of the Conception, situated at the same place, **[page 249]** that a young Algonquin was sick, and it would be well to visit him. The Fathers immediately hastened to his Cabin, and asked his father's permission to instruct him; God seemed to have prepared the hearts of these Barbarians, whom we had presented to him in our vows the day before. This poor Barbarian appeared very glad at the good that was being done to his son; Father Buteux instructed him; and, as the sick man was an Algonquin, and only half understood the Montagnese tongue, which [27] the Father used, a Savage woman, well versed in both these languages, served as interpreter, allowing the faith and Christian truths to flow from her lips into the soul of this poor young man without retaining them for herself, **◆**precisely like those canals or aqueducts which discharge whole fountains of water, without reserving any for themselves. Finally, on the twelfth of the month, seeing their patient was sinking, they baptized him, after having given him instruction, and named him Claude; he died shortly afterwards, pronouncing the holy names of Jesus and Mary. His parents asked the Fathers if they would not like to have his body placed near the French. "That is indeed our desire," they answered. "We will show him an honor," we told them, " that we would refuse to the greatest Captain in the world, if he were not a Christian." "Hasten then and prepare what is necessary to bury him in your way," they said, " since he is yours." A fine escort was formed, consisting of all our Frenchmen; and after them came the Savages, two by two, with a modesty which savored in no wise of Barbarians. After the burial, the father of the dead man [28] gave a feast to the Savages, during which, **◆**as he **[page 249]** did not eat, according to their custom, now singing, now talking, **◆**he said, "I have lost my courage, the death of my son has undone me; at other times I have seen myself in the hands of our enemies, about to be cut to pieces and torn by their teeth, and I have never lost courage; I ought not to lose it now, for I have something to console me, since my son, if he had lived, would not have failed to wreak vengeance upon the Hiroquois." And turning towards the Fathers, "You have greatly soothed my grief, by rendering the last honors to my son." Such was the discourse of this poor Barbarian at the obsequies of his son, whose thoughts are now quite different in heaven.

On the twenty-second of the same month, the same Fathers experienced the effects of the goodness of the holy Virgin, in the baptism of a young boy about ten years of age. This child did not wish to hear us speak of our belief at all, imagining that to be baptized and to die immediately after was the same thing. And, in fact, [29] as we do not readily bestow these sacred waters except upon those who we see are not going to abuse them, on account of their proximity to death, these Barbarians for a while had this idea that Baptism was fatal to them. We explained clearly to them that we were all baptized, and that we lived longer than they did. " These waters," they said, " are good for you, but not for us." Our Fathers, seeing this resistance, addressed themselves to our common Mother, and asked from her this soul for her Son. Wonderful thing! the child not only no longer avoids them, but he asks to be brought to their house. At these words, Father Quentin takes him in his arms, and carries him, weak **[page 251]** and languid, into his own room, where he is baptized and named Andr**◆**, by Monsieur de Malapart his godfather. This poor child was of a disposition so sweet and gentle, that he made himself loved by every one; hence when Father Buteux once asked his mother for him, " I have no intention," said she, "of giving him to thee, I love him as my own heart." It is a very special providence of the good God that this mother was absent during [30] his instruction and baptism. For it is probable that she would have thrown some impediments in the way, in accordance with the error so long prevalent among them, that what gives life to us gives death to them. There was considerable trouble in getting the body of this little innocent after his death, as I am now going to relate.

On the twenty-seventh, Monsieur de Maupertuis gave the name Marie to a little girl two years old, whom the Fathers baptized; she was the daughter of the late Capitanal, Captain of the Savages, **◆**a brave man and very wise for a Barbarian. He had left his wife with three children, a boy of about seventeen years, and two little girls; the smaller of these girls is in heaven, the boy died very pitiously, as I shall tell hereafter. At the same time that he died, little Andr**◆** passed away; now, as they were relations, they were buried in the same grave, without our Fathers knowing it; they, when they had heard about it, went to Andr**◆**'s grandmother to complain that this little baptized boy had been buried without their knowledge. Father Buteux begged them to give him the body to place in our cemetery; a Savage [31] answered him, " Go away, we do not understand thee." This is an answer that the Savages **[page 253]** occasionally make to us, when we urge them to do something that does not suit them. It is true that, as yet, we speak only stammeringly; but, still, when we say something which conforms to their wishes they never use these reproaches. The Father, seeing this, went in search of the Interpreter; he is told that the affair is ended, that the child is buried with Capitanal's son, and that Capitanal's wife would be offended if we were to ransack the grave of her son. The Father goes to see her, and begs her to allow them to take the body of this little child out of the grave; she answers not a word; a Captain who is present begins to talk. " Oh well," says he, " the two bodies belong to thee, take them to the French; but do not separate them, for they are fond of each other." " Yet they are quite distant from each other," said the Father; " the one has been baptized and the other has not, and consequently the one is happy and the other groans in the flames." " If that is all it depends upon to be together and to be happy," said this Savage, " thou hast no sense; take up the one who has not been baptized, and throw [32] as much water on his head as thou wishest, and then bury them in the same grave." The Father smiled, and gave him to understand that that would avail nothing. This Barbarian finally acquiesced; and our Fathers took little Andr**◆** from the profane grave, and placed him in holy ground. *Unus assumetur, et alter relinquetur*. After the burial, the mother of the one who died without Baptism, seeing her son had been discarded like the body of a lost soul, shed bitter tears. "Ah, my son," she said, "how sorry I am for thy death." Then the Father, who had seen the jugglers blowing upon this youth in his **[page 255]** sickness, said to her, "Behold the cure that these triflers promised to thy son; thy little girl is sick, be careful not to summon them nor have them sing to her." "Never," said she, "shall they come near her; if she grows worse, I will call you." Some time afterward the Fathers, deeming her very sick, baptized her, to the great satisfaction of the mother.

On the thirty-first a girl about sixteen years old was baptized and named Anne by one of our Frenchmen. Father Buteux while instructing her, told her that, if she were a Christian, when she came to die her [33] soul would go to Heaven to joys eternal. At this word, " to die," she was so frightened that she would no longer listen to the Father. Sieur Nicolet, the interpreter, who willingly performs such acts of charity, was sent to her, and she listened to him quietly; but, as his duties called him elsewhere, he could not visit her very often. Hence Father Quentin tried to learn the first rudiments of Christianity in the Savage tongue, in order to be able to instruct her; he succeeded in this so well that the poor girl, having tasted this wholesome doctrine, desired Baptism, which the Father granted her. Grace produces many results; it was remarked that this girl, naturally very disdainful and proud, grew very gentle and tractable on becoming a Christian.

On the seventh of January of this year one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, the son of a great Sorcerer or juggler was made a Christian, his father consenting to it after having offered a great deal of opposition; for, as our Fathers were revealing his schemes and throwing discredit upon him, he



could not endure them in his Cabin. However, as [34] his son was on the verge of death, they begged sieur [page 257] Nicolet to do all he could to save this soul. So they went, Father Quentin and he, to his bark house, and strongly urged this Savage to consent to the baptism of his little son; as he turned a deaf ear, a good old woman said: " What! dost thou think the water the black Robes will throw upon the head of thy child will make him die? Dost thou not see that he is already dead, and that he can hardly breathe? If these people were asking thy Porcelain or thy Beavers, for the charitable acts which they exercise towards thy son, thou wouldst have some excuse; but they give and ask nothing; thou knowest how they care for the sick, let them go on; if this poor little one dies, they will bury him better than thou couldst." So the sick child was baptized and named Adrien by sieur du Chesne, Surgeon of the settlement; he died some time afterwards. Father Buteux asked for him, to bury him in our way. " No, no, " said the parents, " thou canst not have him naked; wait until we have adorned him, and then we will give him to thee." They painted his face [35] blue, black, and red; they dressed him in a little red Cloak, and lined it with two Bear skins and a robe of wild Cat skin, and over all placed a large white sheet which they had bought at the Store. They arranged the little body in all this paraphernalia, in the form of a package tied closely on all sides, and placed it in the hands of the Father, who gently kissed these sacred remains, to show the Savages how greatly we esteemed a little baptized Angel. It was buried in our French Cemetery, with solemnity. This greatly pleases these Barbarians, and often influences them to allow their children to be made Christians.

On the eighth of the same month of January, a [page 259] young girl peculiarly loved by her parents, but still more so by God, went to Heaven after having been washed in the blood of the Lamb. I will notice in this place the follies her poor father committed, in order to be able to cure her. His brother-in-law came to tell him that he had dreamed his niece would recover, if they had her lie upon a sheepskin painted with various figures; a search was made for one [36] immediately, one was found, and they painted thereon a thousand grotesque figures, canoes, paddles, animals, and such things. The Fathers, who had not yet instructed this girl, urged earnestly that this remedy was useless; but they must try it. The patient rested upon these paintings, but received no real benefit. Another Charlatan was of the opinion that, if they gave the sick girl a white sheet as pillow, upon which had been drawn pictures of men singing and dancing, the sickness would disappear. They began immediately to paint men upon a sheet, but they made nothing but monkeys, such good Painters are they; this remedy succeeded no better than the first. The poor girl lay down upon this sheet without resting, and without recovering. What cannot the natural affection of fathers and mothers do for their children? These good people sought everywhere the health of their daughter, except in him who could have granted it. They consulted a famous Sorceress, that is, a famous jester. This woman said she had learned, whether from Manitou or some one else, I cannot say, that they would have to kill a dog and that the men should make [37] a feast of it. Furthermore, that they would have to make a beautiful robe of Deer skin, trim it with their red matachias made of Porcupine quills, and give it [page 261] to the patient; and that she would thus recover. While they were preparing this feast, a Savage dreamed that, for the recovery of this girl, they would have to prepare a banquet of twenty head of Elk. Now the girl's parents were placed in great anxiety, for, as there was but little snow, they could not pursue and much less capture the Elk. In this great difficulty, they consulted the Interpreters of dreams; it was decided that they must change the twenty head of Moose to twenty big loaves of bread, such as they buy from our French, and that this would have the same effect. They were not mistaken, inasmuch as this bread and this dog feast did nothing but fill the stomachs of the Savages; and this is all the twenty Moose heads could have done, for, to cure the sick, neither banquets nor beautiful robes avail.

While they were making use of these fine remedies, the Fathers were addressing themselves to God for the salvation of this poor soul; they came to see the wretched girl, but her [38] parents would not permit them to talk to her about our belief, imagining that Baptism injured the body, whatever it might do for the soul. "Wait," said they; "when our daughter is completely exhausted, when we have tried all the remedies of which we can avail ourselves, if they do not succeed, we will permit you to instruct her." The Fathers, upon hearing this, desisted for a while from visiting the sick girl, negotiating for the recovery of her soul with God. The mother of the girl felt inclined to have her instructed, her husband was opposed to this. At last, God, who holds the hearts of all men in his hands, softened those of these Barbarians, for the good of their child. [page 263] Not only were they no longer averse to the Fathers, but on the contrary they had them invited there, assuring them that their daughter would listen to them willingly. The Fathers immediately fly thither; Father Buteux begins to talk, presenting as well as he can the principal articles of our faith. The parents, to assist the Father, who is not yet well versed in the language, and to soothe their child, repeat softly and explain in clearer terms [39] what was said to this poor soul, which showed itself as thirsty for this doctrine as the dry earth for the dew from Heaven; some time was employed in instructing her, the parents always contented, and the patient still more so. During the night, she would sometimes say to her mother, " Will it not soon be day? Will the Father not come early in the morning?" Then addressing God, she would say to him: *Missi ka khichitaien chaouerimitou*, " Thou who hast made all, have pity upon me." *Khiranau, oue ka nipien khita pouetatin khisadkikitin*. " Thou who hast died for us, I believe in thee, I love thee, help me." When the Father visited her, she said to him, " Thou givest me joy when thou comest to see me; I have remembered what thou hast taught me," and thereupon she explained it to him accurately. The evening before her death, one of her uncles, having come to see the Fathers and remaining to sup with them, said, " My niece is very sick, you ought to baptize her." They replied that they wished to instruct her sufficiently. " If, however," they said to him, " thou see her perceptibly weakening, call us, and we will go and see her. " At ten or eleven o'clock at night, this poor Savage came through the snow and the [40] piercing cold, and cried out in a loud voice when he [page 265] neared the French settlement, that they should come quickly and baptize the sick girl, for she was going to die. The fathers, awakened by these cries, were indeed astonished that neither the great dogs that are let loose at night, nor the rigor of the cold, had prevented this good man from coming to call them. Sieur Nicolet and sieur de Launay accompanied them; the latter was Godfather and gave her the name Marie. Her father and mother, although Barbarians, showed that they were pleased at this act, and thanked the Fathers and our Frenchmen for having taken the trouble to come out on a night so bad that sieur Nicolet was made sick by it. The poor girl had only words enough to accept the baptism which she had so much desired; for, as soon as she had received it, she entered into the pangs of death, and soon after went to Paradise, clad in the robes of innocence with which Heaven had just covered her. When her uncle saw that she was dead, he had Father Buteux called and said to him, " You love, not only during life, but even after death; my niece belongs to you, bury her in your [41] way. Make a big grave, for my brother, whom grief has stricken dumb, wishes to place with her her little belongings. " They wished to bury with this girl two dogs, and several other things. As to the dogs, they were told that the French would not be pleased if such ugly beasts were placed among them. " Permit us, then, " said they, " to bury them near your Cemetery; for the dead girl loved them, and it is our custom to give to the dead what they loved or possessed when they were living." We do all we can to oppose this superstition, which is every day becoming less general; nevertheless, one tolerates, in these [page 267] first beginnings, many things which in time will disappear of themselves. If these poor ignorant people were refused the privilege of placing in the graves of their dead their few belongings, to go with them to the other life, they say, they would also refuse to allow us to approach their sick; and thus many souls would be lost which we are gathering in little by little, until the days of the great harvest come. So they enveloped the dead body in several robes; they gave her her trinkets, [42] her ornaments, a quantity of porcelain, which is the diamonds and pearls of this country; and besides this they put in the grave two paddles, and two large bags filled with their wealth, and with different utensils or instruments which the girls and women use. Finally, the father of this girl, so dearly beloved, seeing the honor they were showing his child, and that they had made her a beautiful coffin, a thing which gives infinite pleasure to these Barbarians, threw himself upon Father Buteux's neck and said, "*Nikanis*, my well-beloved, in truth I recognize that thou lovest me, and that all of you, who wear this gown, cherish our Nation." Then apostrophizing his child: " My daughter, how happy thou art to be so well lodged! " This man is one of the principal men of his nation; his wife has become a Christian, as we shall relate in the proper place. We hope that he will die a Christian as well as his family. So may it be.

On the twentieth of the same month, God showed his goodness in the conversion and Baptism of a Savage, of whom our Fathers had almost despaired. This young man was sick, and Father Buteux [43] went to visit him. As a great many people were going into his cabin, he invited him to

make a visit to our **[page 269]** house, provided his illness would permit it; he went there immediately. After some conversation, the Father reverted to the articles of our belief, but with little success; for, having married the daughter of one of the greatest Charlatans of the country, he would not surrender at the first summons. When the blessings of the future life were urged upon him, and he was asked if he did not wish to enjoy them, he answered that he could not believe those things. " For," said he, " after my death my soul will have no intelligence, and hence will not be capable of enjoying these blessings." "How dost thou know," replied the Father, "that souls, after their departure from this life, are without sensibility and knowledge?" "Two of our men," he answered, "once returned, after their death, and told this to the people of our nation." "Did those souls that returned have any intelligence?" "No," he replied. "Thou art mistaken," said the Father, "for it is intelligence to know that one has not intelligence; but let us leave these subtleties. Does it require intelligence to be a good hunter?" The Savages will never deny [44] this proposition, for their greatest Philosophy and Theology is not in their heads, but in their feet. " Now is it true," continued the Father, " that there are souls of Savages that are bravely hunting the souls of Beavers and of Elks? Then they must have intelligence." To this argument, a little too forcible for a Savage, he answered nothing, except, that as his people were not going to Heaven, he did not wish to go there. " You people," said he, " are sure of going up yonder. Well and good, go there, then; each one loves his own people; for my part, I shall go and find mine." The Father, seeing clearly that **[page 271]** he would be obstinate, changed the subject and asked him about his disease. "It is," he replied, "a wicked Algonquain who has given me this disease which sticks in my body, because I was angry at him; and his fear that I would kill him induced him to bargain for my death with the Manitou." "And how dost thou know that?" "I have had the Manitou consulted, and he told me I should make haste and give presents to the *Manitousiouekhi*," ♦ these are their jugglers, ♦ and that he would forestall my enemy, taking his life, and that thus I would be cured; but [45] my misfortune is that I have nothing more, ♦ I have given my Porcelain and my Beavers; and, because I cannot continue these presents, I must die." So the only use to which these jugglers put their art is to draw what they can from poor sick people; and, when they have nothing more, they abandon them. The Japanese have similar errors. They believe that, as the poor can give nothing to the Bonzes, they cannot go to Paradise. Christians are obliged to adore and to acknowledge the goodness of their God. What light there is in faith, though it be a dark lantern; and how well our belief, though it may be elevated above the forces of nature, conforms to reason! Theologians say very truly that it is necessary to have the *piam motionem* in order to consent to the propositions of our faith; the will must be softened and must give up its natural hardness. This is done by the gentle breathing or stirring of the Holy Spirit, which leads us to believe. I daily see men who are convinced of this truth, that our belief is good, that it is holy, that it conforms to reason; and, after [46] all that, seeing no conclusions drawn from these premises, I exclaim, " What have we done to **[page 273]** God that he gives us this Faith, which enters with so much difficulty into the souls of these poor Savages! " But to return to our young man. The Fathers had, as it were, despaired of his salvation; nevertheless, as the conversion of a soul depends upon him who is all-powerful, they did not cease to visit him, to impart to him, from time to time, some fear of hell, or some hope of eternal life. At last, this poor young man was touched all at once; this understanding full of darkness began to see the day; and his will became supple and obedient to the will of God, like a dutiful child to the desires of its parents. One day, when the Fathers entered his Cabin, he made them a present of a piece of Elk-meat which had been given him; Father Buteux said to him, " We do not come here to receive, but to give to thee; we are not seeking thy goods, but wish to give thee those of Heaven; if thou wouldst believe in God, how happy thou wouldst be!" "Yes," said he, "I wish to believe, and I wish to go to him." He said [47] this with his hands clasped, his eyes raised to Heaven, with an accent so devout and a manner so composed, that the Fathers were filled with joy and astonishment, seeing that God does more in a moment than all men can do in a hundred years; he is indeed the God of hearts. Behold this heart of stone changed into a heart of flesh. He listens eagerly to what he already believes; he is full of regret at his former opposition; he cannot sufficiently admire the goodness of him who has so gently vanquished him. The Fathers, seeing him so well disposed, offered for him the holy sacrifice of the Mass; and, after thorough instruction, finally changed the savage name *Amiskoueroui* to the name Nicolas, which was **[page 275]** given to him in holy Baptism. God knows how to take his time when he pleases. At the time he was converted, when he was baptized and when he died, certain scoffers and triflers who lived in his Cabin, and who would have done all they could to divert him from Christianity, had gone to the chase; they returned exactly two hours after he died, very much astonished at what had taken place; but *quis ut Deus?* Who can turn away the goodness of God, [48] any more than his thunderbolts? *Non est qui se abscondat* ♦ *calore ejus*. There is no heart of bronze that will not melt when God wishes to heat it.

On the twenty-fifth, the day of saint Paul's Conversion, a young Savage was named Paul. His father secured for him in his sickness what he did not take for himself in health. So far was he from showing anger at the instruction given his son, a boy of fifteen or sixteen, that on the contrary, he urged him to listen to the Fathers; and having sometimes visited them himself, and having heard them speak of the realities of the other life, he related afterwards to his children what he had learned, not having enough courage to embrace and profess the truths that he approved in his heart. Fear of the world does a great deal of harm everywhere.


On the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, two sisters were enrolled in the Catalogue of the children of God. The smaller, about two years old, now sings his greatness among the Choirs of the Angels. The elder followed her, a short time afterward. She was about sixteen years old when she received a new birth in Jesus Christ; [49] having fallen sick, it was not hard to persuade her to become a Christian. It seems that she had already possessed the faith, **[page 277]** before the Fathers talked with her; her brother was in the habit of visiting our House to instruct our Fathers in his language; and, as they often spoke to him of our Mysteries, he related to his sister what he had learned. He was happier than the Fathers themselves in scattering this sacred seed; although it has not been observed to have as yet germinated in his soul, it has borne flowers and fruit in the heart of his sister. When she was asked during her sickness if she did not wish to be baptized, she answered that she greatly desired it. The Fathers, intending to instruct her, found that she knew enough to receive holy Baptism, which surprised and consoled them. So she was called Jeanne, receiving with this name so great an abundance of grace, that it seemed as if the Son of God took particular pleasure in this new Spouse. Father Buteux, seeing her at her departure to go into the woods with her mother and the other Savages, said to her, " Farewell, my daughter; remember that you are now [50] a friend of God, and that if you die he will take you to his house, filled with all blessings." " Farewell, my Father," she replied, " I shall see you no more; but it matters little if I die, since I am to go to such a good place." She said this with so deep a sense of piety, that tears came to the eyes of the two Fathers, who were carried away at seeing a little Barbarian speak like an Angel of Paradise. " But what can we give you, Jeanne, since you are going to leave us for so long a time?" they said to her. "If you have any raisins, give me a few; this will be the last time you will relieve me in my sickness, for I am going to die in the woods. But I believe that I will go to Heaven. Do you think so, my Father?" "Yes, my **[page 279]** daughter, you will go there, if you continue in the faith." " Be assured," she said, " that I believe in God, and that I will believe in him all my life." They gave her all the raisins they had left, which were not many, ♦ the few that had been sent them having already been distributed to many other invalids. When they came to tie this poor girl with her little sister, both newly baptized, upon the long sledges, to take them [51] into these great forests, it seemed to the Fathers like tearing out their hearts; for these poor people had no other food than a little bread that they gave them; their dinner and supper depended upon the providence of God, their hostelrys were the snow and trees, and a little bark. A strong Northwester, the coldest wind of these Countries, blew upon these poor invalids, and yet they went away as contented as if they were about to enter a promised land. " Oh, how disgusted I was with myself," writes the Father who sent me these memoirs, " when I saw this beautiful sight! These people condemned me of cowardice, for not placing my confidence in God as strongly as they do theirs in their bows and arrows, and in not doing from virtue what these Barbarians do from nature."

## XXVI

As with its predecessor for 1635, the *Relation* of 1636 (Paris, 1637), although for the convenience of bibliographers styled Le Jeune's, is a composite. The first half, closing with p. 272, is the annual report of Le Jeune, as superior, dated August 28, 1636; the second half, separately paged, is a special report on the Huron mission, by Br  beuf, dated Ihonatiria, July 16, 1636.

*Collation* (H. 65). Title, with verso blank; "Extraict du Privilege du Roy" (dated Paris, Dec. 22, 1636), p. (I); "Approbation" by the provincial (dated Paris, Dec. 15, 1636), p. (i); "Table des Chapitres," pp. (4); Le Jeune's *Relation* (11 chaps.), pp. 1-272; Brébeuf's *Huron Relation*, (in two parts, 4 and 9 chaps. respectively), pp. 1-223; verso of last leaf blank.

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

# VOL. IX

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS  
OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES  
IN NEW FRANCE

1610❖1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALI-  
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-  
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY  
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PREFACE TO VOL. IX

Following is a synopsis of the second installment of Document XXVI., contained in the present volume:

XXVI. A résumé of the contents of the first two chapters of Part I. of Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1636, was given in Vol. VIII. of our series. In chapters iii.-xi., which close this portion of the document, Le Jenne continues his narrative of conversions and baptisms. One of these converts was a son of Carigouan, the "sorcerer" who had so tormented the superior. The annalist describes the wretched deaths of Carigouan and his brothers, Mestigoët and Pierre ("the Apostate"), which he regards as the righteous judgments of an offended Deity. Several other savages have also died miserably, in their sins and impenitence; and Le Jenne has met with much annoyance from the medicine men, whose tricks are described in some details

Considerable space is then devoted to explaining, for the benefit of sundry impatient patrons of the mission, in France, the difficulties necessarily encountered in the conversion of the natives; satisfaction is expressed at the progress that has, nevertheless, been made in this work. The number of baptisms is greatly increasing, especially as the Indians are, since the coming of the missionaries, in wholesome dread of the fires of hell. [page 1]

Le Jeune hopes much from the hospital for the Indians, which some pious friends at home are proposing to establish in Canada. He also anticipates good results from the education, in the French manner, of several little native girls who have been given him for that purpose; these, he expects, will become the wives of Frenchmen or of baptized savages, and thus exert a great influence in civilizing their countrymen. He also desires to establish at Quebec a seminary for the youth of both races -the native schools at Notre Dame des Anges being too remote from the settlement, to be available for the children of the colonists.

The writer recounts various minor superstitions current among the natives, also some of their legends concerning the Manitou.

The versatile superior next describes with admiration the skill with which the beaver constructs its dwelling. He mentions the attempt made by Montmagny, the governor, to domesticate the native elk; and hopefully anticipates the time when this animal may be trained as a beast of burden, thus greatly aiding the labors of both the missionaries and the colonists. He also has a plan for a "park," in which beavers may be enclosed and raised on a large scale, for both their skins and their flesh.

Turning easily from natural history to social and economic conditions, the superior surveys the present state of Canada: he congratulates the Hundred Associates on their efforts to support the colony; describes the fortifications, new buildings, and other improvements at the French settlements; mentions the rapidly-increasing population; and praises the peace, simplicity, and honesty that prevail in the community. [page 3] Severe penalties are imposed, he says, for drunkenness, blasphemy, and failure to attend mass; the chapel of the Jesuits has been considerably enlarged; and the officials and prominent families set an edifying example of piety and devotion. Various questions propounded by intending immigrants are answered, regarding the situation resources, and opportunities of this new land; and eminently practical and sensible advice is proffered to those who wish to settle in New France. The annalist discusses at length, and justifies, the handling of peltries by the Jesuits, which had aroused in France much hostile criticism.

The *Relation* concludes by the usual recital, in journal form, of the more important events of the past year. The sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians had been forbidden, under severe penalties. The death and burial of Champlain are described; also Indian councils held at Three Rivers and Quebec, and various conversations between the missionaries and the savages. Fathers Ragueneau, Du Marché, and Jogues arrive from France, and Garnier and Chastellain are sent as reinforcements to the Huron mission. The Algonkins, having been rebuked for their atrocious cruelty toward an Iroquois prisoner, as a peace offering present to the French a woman of that nation, who is forthwith sent to France for education. Daniel and Davost return from the Huron country with some Indian boys for the Jesuit seminary; on the way, they are delayed by the savages resident at Allumettes Island, but propitiate them with gifts of tobacco. Apropos of these Huron children, Le Jenne naively remarks, "It is a Providence Of God that Father Daniel is not bringing as many [page 3] of them as he hoped to," since at Quebec they have neither lodging, food, nor clothing for many besides those already on their hands. The superior ends by giving a list of the various missions in New France, and of the

priests and brethren employed therein.

The second part of the *Relation* of 1636 consists of Br<sup>♦</sup>beuf's report of the Huron mission; it will occupy all of Vol. X. Bibliographical Data for this *Relation* were given in Vol. VIII.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., June, 1897.

## XXVI. (continued)

# LE JEUNE'S RELATION, 1636

PARIS: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1637



Chaps. iii.-xi. of Part 1. (Le Jeune's own *Relation*) are given in the present volume, thus closing this portion of the document. Part II. (Br<sup>♦</sup>beuf's Huron report) will occupy Volume X.

[page 5]








## [51] CHAPTER III.







### CONTINUATION OF THE SAME SUBJECT.

**A**S the Savages like the three Rivers better than [52] K<sup>♦</sup>bec, they stop there oftener, and in greater numbers. This is why the Fathers who have been living this year in our Residence of the Conception have baptized more people than did those who remained at K<sup>♦</sup>bec, where these Barbarians do not stay so long. We have not failed, however, to gather some fruit among them, as we have induced them to give us some of their children, of whom I shall speak hereafter, and as some of them have received holy Baptism. I do not separate them from the others who received this Sacrament at the Conception, speaking of all according to the time when they entered the Church.

On the ninth of February, a Savage named *Attikamegou*, and surnamed " the Prince" by our Frenchmen, having camped quite near nostre Dame des Anges, sent posthaste for one of our Fathers to baptize a little boy of his, who was dying. The Father took a little water with him, fearing he might not find any in their bark house, as the cold had frozen the brooks and rivers. He hurried as fast as he could, [53] and finally, all out of breath, arrived at the place where lay the child, who was on the verge of death. His father begged that he should be made a Christian before his death; his mother opposed this, saying quite harshly that she did not [page 7] wish him to be baptized, and that all those who were baptized would die. She was told that all the French were baptized, and named some of her own tribe who also had been, and who nevertheless enjoyed perfect health; that, if some Savages died after baptism, it did not result from the Sacrament, but from the disease, which would not fail to kill them even if they were not baptized, as she could see in the cases of some who died without receiving this Sacrament. Her husband chided her: " Is it baptism, " said he, " that makes thy son die now? And yet he lies there dying. I wish him to be a Christian. " The mother continued to object, while the child was approaching nearer to death, being hardly able to breathe. The Father, on his part, urged the mother, assuring her that baptism not only did not make one die, but on the contrary sometimes restored the life of the body [54] and the life of the soul together; and that, if she would believe God could perform this wonder, her son might recover. Instantly, upon hearing this suggestion, the woman begins to open her ears: " If thou canst cure him, " she replies, " baptize him; if not, do not touch him." " As for me," says the father of the child, " I believe that he who has made all can cure him." " If thy wife had the same belief," said some one, " thou wouldst soon see thy son alive. " He began to urge her: " Thou hast no sense; thou fearest that baptism will make him die, and thou seest he is dying without baptism; he who has made all, and can do all, is strong enough to restore him to life; and, even if he does not restore him, he will at least have pity on his soul." " Let them baptize him then," said the mother. " Take courage," replied her husband, [page 9] "and consider well if thou believest; for, if thou liest in thy heart, God will not cure thy child. " " I believe," said she, "let them baptize him." The Father found himself in a rather difficult position; for he understood perfectly that this woman gave consent to the baptism of her child only in the hope of his recovery; and that, consequently, if the child died, which all were expecting, [55] she would be certain to greatly decry this Sacrament. Nevertheless, as he could not see him die before his eyes, he resolved to baptize him,♦asking the parents, in case he recovered, to give him to us when he grew larger, to instruct him. At this request the mother again became obstinate. " I see plainly that he wishes to have my son; he shall not have him." Her husband, turning toward the Father, said, " Dost thou ask my son for all time, or simply to instruct him? " " I only want him to instruct him, and not that until he is six or seven years old." " Baptize him, thou canst have him; " and, urging his wife, he assured her that they would restore her her child when he should be well instructed, in case God granted him health. The Savages who were there were surprised that there should be any discussion about a child who was in the throes of death. " There he lies dying, and you are debating as to who shall have him." " In fact," said his father, " he is dead if baptism does not restore him. " They were again assured that, if they believed that God was powerful enough and good enough to restore life to their child, he would do it. At last the mother herself presents him for baptism, as an evidence of [56] her faith and of her hope. The child is baptized on the instant, without ceremony and without giving him a [page 11] name, because the malady did not permit more. Strange to say, the Father who baptized him had no sooner finished pronouncing the holy words, pouring a little water upon this poor infant's head, which his mother uncovered, than he opened his eyes, began to breathe, to stretch, and to move about in his little portable cradle. His mother, completely beside herself, offered him the breast, which he could not take before; he took it now without difficulty, and before the Father departed from the Cabin he had entirely recovered. Some Savages hastening in, the father of the child told them what had occurred, and they were struck dumb with amazement. Now this little Christian is fine-looking and plump, the joy of his parents and the admiration of those who saw him in his sickness.

This result of the Sacrament has aided greatly in uprooting from the minds of these Barbarians the belief that death was in

these health-giving waters, and that it was only necessary to be baptized to soon die. The Prince,  this is the surname of the child's father,  going afterwards [57] to the three Rivers, related this everywhere; so that the Father who had baptized him, upon entering one day a Cabin in which this man had been, was asked by those who lived there if he had any more of that water which had cured the son of Attikamegou, and if he would give some of it to a sick man who was there. Alas! he had enough of it, but the poor sick one could not drink it,  that is, the Father only seeing him in passing, had not leisure to instruct him, and on his return found him dead. But, to finish this subject,  the Prince, seeing his son recovered, said to his wife, " Take care of this child, and see that thou dost not prevent him [page 13] from being instructed some day; for the death which was to have killed him would fall upon thy head." The Father asked him if he would not like to have them administer to him the holy Rites in the Chapel at K  bec. " Do to him," said he, " all thou doest to the French children." The Father appointed a day for him to bring the boy, and advised him to choose a man and a woman from among the French to act as Godfather and Godmother to his child, explaining to him what these words meant. The man doubted if the French [58] would consent to do him this favor; but, having assured him that they would be very glad to do it, he invited sieur Olivier, Clerk and Interpreter, and Madame Hebout, <sup>[1]</sup> who willingly performed this act of charity. One Sunday morning these two poor Barbarians themselves brought their child to the Church of K  bec. The Father who had baptized him explained to our French, who had assembled to hear high Mass, how it had all happened; that the consecrated waters of Baptism had restored life to this little child, and that they had come themselves to present him to receive the holy Ceremonies that he had not been able to administer to him; that, furthermore, they promised some day to give him to be instructed; and, being asked again in the presence of all, they confirmed the promise they had made. At this point the bell is rung; one of our French women takes the little one and presents him; his Godfather and Godmother give him the name of Fran  ois Olivier; they apply to him the consecrated Oils and administer the other holy Rites, to the great satisfaction of all our French, the happiness of the [59] father and mother being so great that joy beamed upon their faces. [page 15]



They had swaddled this little Christian in the French fashion; its mother, holding it, said to her husband: " I do not know what ails our little Fran  ois Olivier; when he is dressed in the French way he laughs all the time, when he is dressed in our way he cries and grieves; when I hold him he is quite sad and mournful, and when a French woman holds him he acts as if he wants to jump all the time." She wished by these words to show her satisfaction at seeing her son become French, as it were. His father had still better ideas, for one day I heard him say to his wife that the Sorcerers had no longer any power over his son, and that through Baptism he had been placed under the protection of him who made all. He held this conversation apropos of two Sorcerers who had been fighting together, each reproaching the other that he had killed the other's parents by his arts. The Savages greatly fear these jugglers, and one of our Frenchmen has assured me that they usually kill those against whom they [60] aim their charms, and that nevertheless they have never been able to do anything to Christians. Now whether they have really some secret communication with the Devil, which I greatly doubt, or whether they have not,  having taken issue with one of these two Sorcerers, I defied him to kill me with his magic, assuring him that, as I was baptized and believed in God, I was beyond his reach. The father of little Fran  ois Olivier was present when I said this: " Well then," said he, " my son being baptized, cannot he be put to death by these people?" " No," I answered him, " do not fear them. And even if they could, give them my word that I will forgive them for my death if they kill me by their sorceries; but [page 17] also, in case their enchantments are too weak to injure me, tell them that I pray them to throw themselves with me under the safeguard of him who holds all demons in check." The poor man had remembered this lesson well, and hence he was rejoicing with his wife because his son was out of the clutches of these human wolves. Another time he came to me trembling with fear lest some misfortune should happen to him, because, his wife having carried the child to [61] a banquet, where she was going in his place, a juggler took it from her and sang to it; then said aloud, to discredit us, that we were deceivers,  that Baptism had not cured this child, since there was no sign that it had been sick. I reassured him, and ridiculed this mountebank. Furthermore, the poor man has often shown me that he desired Baptism; I have given him some instruction, and to make him stationary I placed him in the company of some Frenchmen to cultivate the land, but he did not stick to it. Now as, a short time ago, he was in company with from thirty to forty Savages, who were going to war, I sounded him in the presence of his compatriots,  reproaching him with being afraid of them, and that out of regard for others he would not believe in God, although he had often assured me that he ought to believe in him. He answered me before all of them that he had had this desire, and that he had it still; that he would not be afraid to profess his belief before everybody. " But thou thyself," he replied, " thou hast deserted me on account of the difficulty I had with one of thy Frenchmen. " I was very glad to hear this response, for there is [62] nothing which so deters the Savages from professing the faith as the fear of being mocked [page 19] by their fellows. When we arrived at the three Rivers, while giving a feast to these warriors, I attacked him again; and he proved to me before all that he was neither a liar nor a child, and that he would be constant in our faith if he should embrace it. For this reason I spoke to him in private, and told him that, on his return from the war to which he was going, I would instruct him, if he wished to be instructed. "I would like it," he replied. "Go then, " I said to him, " into the Chapel and pray him who has made all to preserve thee, that thou mayest be baptized." He did so, and at his departure he begged me to look after his little Fran  ois Olivier if he died in war, and to assist his wife; if he returns, I hope God will be merciful to him. I commend him to the prayers of those who shall read this; for if once God should effectually move some one of them who might be able properly to instruct the others, he would be a powerful help in attracting them to the knowledge of the truth.

On the seventeenth of March, a young Frenchman wintering with the Savages [63] baptized a little child which was going to die. God is admirable in his choice of some and his rejection of others. This young Frenchman, seeing that some Savages were coming to visit the three Rivers, wrote on a piece of bark to his brother that there were some sick people in the Cabin where he was, and that he should inform the Fathers of it, especially of a little boy who was going to die. The Fathers judged that it would be enough to carefully instruct this young man, or rather to rewrite for him, exactly, all that he had already been taught for the baptism of little children; this they did. The Son of God, who says that we [page 21] must suffer the little ones to come unto him, received this one. For, as this young Frenchman was reading the letters our Fathers had sent him, the father of the little sick boy asked him what they had written him. " The Fathers," he replied, " write me that they love thy son, that they are very sorry he is sick; and they instruct me how he should be baptized, in case he is in danger of dying; they also write me that, if the older persons are very sick, they will come here." The Savage replied, " I am very glad to have my son baptized. [64] Here is water; baptize him, for he is going to die. As soon as he is dead, I will send them his body, in order that they may honor it with a French burial. " The child was baptized, and the father kept his word, sending him to us after his death by some Savages, with his belongings. Whereupon our Fathers would have been at a loss to know whether he had been baptized, and whether they could put him in consecrated ground, if one of the Savages had not assured them of it, explaining what he had seen the young Frenchman do.

On the first day of April, Father Buteux baptized a little girl, whom he went to find about ten good leagues higher up than our French settlement. This was the occasion of it: Some Algonquins who had come to the Store to get Tobacco, came to see our Fathers before returning, and informed them that they had some persons in their Cabins who were very sick. At this Father Buteux, taking a young man who lives in our Residence, gave these Barbarians their breakfast, and then placed himself in their company. He had not



gone far from the house before he met, as they [65] say, with his match. The roads here are much less used than in France, and very [page 23] much worse; sometimes they had to wear their snowshoes, sometimes take them off; they walked upon the great frozen River, which deprived them indeed of the sight of its waters, but not of the apprehension of the danger of being lost therein; for the Sun had begun to melt the ice, which in some places was no more than a finger-breadth in thickness. In other places, the snow beginning to melt in the middle of the day, they sank into it with their snowshoes; and these, becoming loaded with pieces of ice, made them suffer a species of torture in their legs. Yet they had to drag this plow from six o'clock in the morning until six at night, without unharnessing, except perhaps for a little quarter of an hour when they stopped to drink some water in a hostelry of ice. In truth, if God did not give other refreshments than these to people who are not accustomed to such journeys, the flesh would succumb. But it is wonderful how these days of hardship are days of peace, and how the body seems to forget its weakness when the spirit [66] tastes the strength of God. "I had no inclination," said the Father, "to repent having undertaken this journey, since I found content in this labor, and security in fear." At last, having arrived at the Cabins, he finds that his Savages had deceived him, for they had described as dying those who were hardly sick; he shows them, nevertheless, that he is very glad to see them out of danger, that he has come to instruct them, and that he would have better means of doing so if they would return towards the French settlement. Most of them were astonished at the trouble he had taken, and, rejoicing to see him, they made him a feast of Moose tongues and muzzles, which they had in abundance. The depth and hardness [page 25] of the snow this year has been the cause of death to a great many Elk, and has given life to many Savages. God did not will that the Father should return with empty hands; he had gone for grown persons, and he gave him the salvation of a little girl. For, as he was visiting the huts of these poor Barbarians, he perceived this child very low; he remembered that he had already [67] wished to baptize her before she had been taken into the woods, but, as the opportunity had slipped by, he had misgivings about it in his soul, asking her from our Lord for this purpose every day at the Altar. Now, seeing it hand the opportunity which he had not expected, he asked her grandmother's permission to baptize her. This good old woman answered, "You are good, you people, you take pity on the sick; thou hast indeed taken the trouble to come and visit us. Do all that thou deemest proper; I give her to thee." The young man who accompanied the Father gave her the name Marie, and the Father baptized her. After this act a Savage, knowing the Father intended to return, presented himself to conduct him; the Father was surprised at this courtesy, and the Barbarian told him that he and his son-in-law had been delegated by the other Savages to thank him, adding that he wished also to take with him the body of one of his sons who had been dead for two weeks, to be buried in the French Cemetery. The Father having thanked him, gave him to understand that this child, not having been baptized, could not be placed among the French. These simple [68] people insisted, however, and started on their way some distance ahead of the Father. All they gained by doing this was to come back again, after receiving very good treatment. [page 27]

On the seventeenth of the same month of April, a young girl received holy Baptism, which she had ardently desired. Our Lord, having chastised very severely all those with whom I passed the winter, for not having tried to fulfill the promise they had made him to acknowledge him, consoled me in the conversion of two children of these Barbarians. One is the son of the dead Sorcerer, who was called *Carigo* , [2] of this child I shall speak at the proper time. The other is the girl who occasionally did me some little service when I was sick in the Cabin of one of her relations, getting me a little water or melting the snow for me to drink. This poor child, being left without father or mother, afflicted by a very grievous malady, was forsaken and looked upon with horror by the people of her own tribe. God willed that our Fathers, who were at the three Rivers, where she was, should repay her a hundredfold for the charity she had exercised [69] toward me, for they took care of her body and of her soul. They made her a Cabin at the Fort, and every day the Fathers gave her food, had her cared for, and instructed her. As she had a good mind (the Fathers wrote me), she understood readily and enjoyed the doctrine of the Son of God, showing an especial affection for the holy Virgin, whose name she wished to take at baptism. After a little while she seemed to improve, so much so that they talked of sending her back to the Savages. This poor girl dreaded this return worse than death. God, who wished to have her for himself, sent upon her a fever which reduced her so low that she saw clearly her life was at stake. Hence they administered baptism to her, which greatly comforted her; for when some one said to [page 29] her that she was going to die, "I know it well," she answered, "but I console myself that I shall go to Heaven." "Oh, how happy you will be," some one remarked to her, "to see him who has made all in his grandeur!" "Shall I not also see," said she, "the good MARY, mother of God?" and when she had been assured that she would see her, "I will tell her," she replied, "what I have always said to her with a sincere heart,  [70] *Ou kaouia JESUS Khisadkihitin*, I love you, O Mother of JESUS. "This good soul, washed in the blood of the Lamb, now prays for her Nation and for all those who succor it in any way whatsoever.

On the twenty-fourth of the same month, an Algonquain, wishing to die a Christian, was baptized and named Jacques. After his death, [which occurred] in the absence of our Fathers, the Captain of the Nation was won over by means of a dinner to reveal the place of his burial and to permit his remains to be disinterred; while this was being done, it had to be discontinued, on account of the complaints of some women, who cried loudly that their dead were being stolen. One must at times humor their weakness.

On the thirtieth of the same month, the same Fathers baptized two little children, a boy and a girl. When they asked the little boy's father if he did not approve of their doing to his child what they did to the children of the French, he answered very sagely, "I have found you so good and so charitable, that I do not believe you wish to do any harm to the child, having done good to the (71) father. In the beginning of this Moon, having brought to you the dead body of my oldest son, to bury him in your [page 31] way, you answered me that you could not do it because he was not a Christian; I do not wish the same thing to happen to this poor little one. Moreover, as the weather was bad and I could not return to my Cabin without danger of being lost in the ice which was breaking up, you kept me and my son-in-law for some days in your house and fed us, although we wished to return lest we be a burden to you. I do not believe that men who do so much good would do any harm to our children. Look, here is my son; do what you please with him." We did do him a service which he will enjoy through the lapse of all the centuries, and beyond them; for we conferred holy Baptism upon him, and the name Jacques, given by his Godfather, sieur Hertel. [3]

As to the little girl, her mother was very glad to offer her to God. Sieur Godefroy [4] named her Magdelaine. She was the daughter of one called *Eroacki*, who played the Captain among the Savages. This [72] poor wretch will groan in hell as long as his daughter will rejoice in Heaven. O how different are these two states! Forever damned, and forever saved! Forever a companion of Angels, and forever an associate of devils! We will speak of his death in the proper place.

On the third of May there was baptized a little Algonquain Savage, about nine years of age; he was called Jean. The Fathers who placed these memoirs in my hands did not write me the circumstances of this baptism; it is a great deal that his name is written in the book of life.

On the twenty-first of the same month Monsieur Gand [5], being on a journey to the three Rivers, gave the name Joseph to a



young lad, about fifteen years **[page 33]** old. The Fathers had him come to their room every morning to give him nourishment for the body and for the soul, sending him back towards evening to his Cabin near the Fort. But, when this poor child could no longer walk, Father Quentin himself went after him and brought him in his arms, to the great edification of our French, who lauded [73] this act of charity. Father Buteux asked him, after his baptism, if he were well-pleased to be a Christian, and if he did not fear death. He answered that he was very glad that he was no longer a Savage, and that he did not wish to be called hereafter *Miskouaskoutan*, which was his old name, but that he should be called Joseph. " As to death, I fear it no more than that," showing the little end of his finger; " why should I fear it? since in dying I shall go to Heaven." Father Quentin, on going after him one morning, found him in the death throes. An old Savage woman said to him, " Take him away, since he is dead." He waited until he expired, then, taking him in his arms, he brought him to our house where, having laid him out, he was buried like the others. **[page 35]**

## CHAPTER IV.

### BAPTISMS OF SAVAGES, CONTINUED.

**I**F anyone finds these stories a little tedious, I beg him to remember that to win some poor Savage to God, [74] and to the Church, is our sole business in this new world, and all the manna that we gather in these deserts; that we hunt for no other game in these vast forests, and fish for nothing else in these broad Rivers.

On the twenty-third of May, the mother of that so beloved girl, of whom I have spoken in Chapter second, followed her child to baptism, to death, to burial, and, as we believe, to Paradise. She was the wife of one named *Mataouau*, surnamed by the French, "big Olivier," who I have said had some standing among his people. He is great in three ways, great in body, a great talker, and a great juggler. He showed himself as well disposed to the baptism of his wife, as he had been opposed to allowing the baptism of his daughter. And as he had brought into play all the resources of his art to give the life of the body to the child, so he did not spare anything to give that of the soul to the mother. This woman, who had obtained her husband's permission to have her daughter made a Christian, did not wish to be one herself, and so abhorred the Fathers that she would make them no answer. Having [75] gone on some business to the three Rivers, I made her a visit; she recognized that I was not the **[page 37]** one who had instructed her daughter, and answered me. I mildly represented to her the danger into which she was throwing herself of being forever separated from her child, whom she loved so passionately that, in my opinion, she was sick from grief and sadness. " Thy daughter," I said to her, " is very happy, and thou wilt be forever unhappy; she is in Heaven, and thou wilt be at the bottom of the abyss. Thou sayest that thou lovest her, yet thou dost not wish to go with her; thou canst not follow her, if thou dost not believe and if thou art not baptized. " She began to weep. I added that if I were going to remain at the three Rivers I would see her often; but, as I had to go down to K<sup>o</sup>bec, I begged her to listen to my brother. She indeed did this, but not immediately. After my departure, the Fathers having visited her several times, gave her up for a while as a bad-tempered woman. Her husband took offense at this, and complained to the Interpreter, saying that it was wrong to let his wife die without baptism; that it was true that up to that time she had been out of her mind, but she had [76] returned to her senses, and the Fathers should try her again. Never was a complaint more agreeable to them. They visited this poor sick woman and instructed her during several days, her husband always being present and saying a great deal of good to her about the Fathers, to make our belief more acceptable to her. "Thou knowest," he said to her, "that these people are great Captains, that all the French love them; that they are always doing good to our sick, that all winter, when we are hungry, they give food to those who have none; why then wilt thou not believe them?" "Yes, I will," she **[page 39]** answered, " they speak the truth." Whereupon Father Buteux asked her whether, if she was restored to health, she would promise to be faithful to the belief she wished to embrace. " Whether I live or whether I die, I will always believe in God," she answered. Being sufficiently instructed, her husband one day sent for the Fathers and all the relatives of the sick woman, as she was dying. Father Buteux, approaching her, wished to question her; but they told him she had lost her speech since midnight, and that he should hasten to baptize her, [77] since she was dying. The Father looked at her, and told her to open her eyes as a sign of her belief, and as a proof that she desired holy Baptism. She immediately opened her eyes, looked at the Father, and said to him, " I believe in God, and I believe also what thou hast told me." This was more than could have been hoped for from a woman in the grasp of death. She was then baptized, and her sponsor gave her the name Michelle. As soon as she had been cleansed in this sacred bath, she spoke more freely, and, calling her husband, she begged him to send out many of the people who had come into the Cabin. " Shall I make the Fathers go out also?" he asked her.

No," she replied, " but all the others." After the Father had consoled her, he praised her husband for having loved his wife with a true love. " If I had not loved her," he answered, " I would not have urged her to believe in him who has made all; but I rejoice that she will see in Heaven him who is all good, being baptized in his name. " It is strange that these Barbarians find our truths very adorable, I mean that many of them approve our belief, and yet do not wish to receive it until they are dying; **[page 41]** they are afraid of being [78] mocked by their countrymen, acting as a great many Christians do who think in the depths of their souls that it is a very great benefit to attend the Sacraments; but, as they are afraid of being considered devotees and of receiving little bites from scoffers or impious people, the fear of a little annoyance makes them lose the fruit of a very great good.

On the thirtieth of the same month, God performed a kind of miracle in the baptism of an Algonquin girl. The Fathers, having found her speechless and out of her senses, despaired of being able to instruct her. They addressed themselves to St. Francis Xavier, promising him to give his name to this poor creature if it pleased him to obtain for her the necessary strength to receive Baptism. Strange to say, this dying girl, whom her parents had already painted black, as if she were dead, returned to her senses. The Algonquin interpreter was called, she was instructed, she believed, she desired Baptism; it was given to her, and, in accordance with the promise made to this great Saint, the interpreter called her Francis. As soon as she was freed from the burden of her sins, she went to sleep [79] on earth, to awake in Heaven. O what blessings! O what acts of grace! To see one's self at the same moment in the belief, in the desire, and in the enjoyment of a good that the eye has not seen, nor the mind conceived.

On the fifth day of June, a good Savage woman brought her little sick son to our Chapel at the three Rivers to receive holy Baptism; Monsieur Rousseau<sup>[6]</sup> named him Denys. This good mother had already given two children to God; these three souls will forever adore the three adorable persons, and, as we **[page 43]** hope, will secure the salvation of so good a mother.

On the sixth of June, Father de Quen baptized a stout young Savage, to whom Monsieur Gand gave the name Joseph; he was called in his language *Echkanich*, meaning "a little horn." This poor young man having fallen sick at the three Rivers, during the

winter, and wishing to be with his relations who were ranging the woods near K<sup>o</sup>bec, another Savage, a relative, fastened him to his sledge, and dragged him for thirty leagues over the snow and ice. I leave you to imagine what restoratives [80] he gave to this poor invalid and in what hostelryes he passed the nights. None but bodies of bronze can endure the hardships of the Savages. This poor wretch was brought, still alive, as far as K<sup>o</sup>bec. One of our Fathers went to see him, as greatly astonished at the enterprise of the one who was well as at the determination of the sick man. He gave them both something to eat; and, while they were attending to their bodies, the Father was thinking of the salvation of their souls. As he instructed them, he saw that the poor invalid took pleasure in hearing about the other life, knowing well that the present most miserable one was slipping from him. As to the well man, seeing himself deceived in the hope of meeting the sick man's relations at K<sup>o</sup>bec, he left him there in a wretched hut, and went to look for them in the woods. Meanwhile, the Father took care of this Savage, and above all asked our Lord in the holy sacrifice of the Mass which he offered for his salvation, that his Majesty would grant Baptism to this poor soul which seemed to enjoy his word. At the Altar, he was very confident that his prayer had been heard; but, on [81] going out, he thought almost the contrary. [page 45] For lo, there arrived the nearest relatives of this carcass, which had no longer aught but bones; and they, having fastened this dying bundle upon the sledges, took it with them into the depths of the forests. Those who saw him depart would not give him five days of life. However, he lived through the winter, his poor mother and relations dragging him through all the stations made by the Savages, now over Mountains, now through Valleys, now upon frozen Rivers or Lakes, oftenest upon the snow and always in the woods. Spring came, and they brought him back to K<sup>o</sup>bec. The Father who had asked him of God was greatly astonished when he saw him, and approached him, to give him some instruction. This poor young man had only the sense necessary for the faith, namely, the ears; for he had lost his sight, and all his other senses were greatly dulled, he was more like a skeleton than a man. He listened willingly to what was told him, his mother herself impressing it upon him and making him softly answer. In a word, he believed and gave proof of his belief, invoking sometimes one, sometimes another [82] Of the three persons of the holy Trinity, especially the holy Ghost, which he finally received through Baptism, which Father de Quen conferred upon him. He remained only five or six days upon earth after this favor; his Country was Paradise, to which he withdrew, leaving his body to his poor mother, who enveloped it in many robes, and, without giving us notice, went and placed it upon a high scaffold, to bury it afterwards according to their ancient custom. The Father who had instructed him, hearing that they had elevated this body, went to the Cabins of the Savages, and asked his mother and relatives [page 47] where they had put it. They uttered not a word. He went to see the Captain of this Nation, and begged him to restore to him the remains, saying that this young man was baptized, and that Monsieur the Governor would be angry if they did not place him in the Cemetery of the French. "Wait," said he to the Father, "I will make them give thee what thou desirest." He went straightway to see the relatives of the dead man, made them a fine speech, declaring the affection we bore to their Nation, the help we gave to their sick, and the honors we showed to their dead. At once [83] the mother yielded to our desire, and this Captain urged the young men to go and get the body and place it in our hands. As the Father was urging them, one of them replied, "Do not be in such haste; perhaps his soul has not yet left his body, it may be still at the top of his head." And yet he had been dead for two days. The Father, having received this trust, had the necessary arrangements made for the funeral, and notified Monsieur de Montmagny, our Governor, of all that had passed. This man of piety and courage, who had, three days before, upon his arrival in the Country, aided in giving a poor Savage admittance to the Church and to grace, as I have just related, left the outlines of the fortifications which he was marking out, and which he is now having built, to honor these funeral ceremonies with his presence. He himself bears a torch or a candle in his hand. Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle, his Lieutenant, does the same; Monsieur de Repentigny, Monsieur de saint Jean, all gallant Gentlemen, a number of soldiers, and other persons, render the last rites to this [84] new Christian. Father Garnier and Father Chastelain [page 49] bore his body, which was followed by the Savages with much humility and in Silence. [7] When they were lowering it into the grave, his relatives threw in, besides the robes with which he was covered, a Blanket, a Cloak, a bag containing his little belongings, and a roll of bark. The Father insisted that these things were of no use to a soul which was in Heaven; but they replied that this was their custom, and that they would not take, at his death, anything that belonged to him. I leave you to imagine how astonished were our Frenchmen and women, who had just arrived and who were present at this burial, at this way of doing things. They looked with compassion on the living, and with a pious envy upon the dead, considering the former miserable and the latter blest.

The eleventh of the same month, day of saint Barnabas, was to us a day of rejoicing in every way, as I have testified at the beginning of this Relation. Monsieur our Governor, upon landing, consented to be Godfather to a Savage who had asked for baptism, and gave him the name Joseph. Father Chastelain, [85] as I have already said, upon disembarking began his apprenticeship in New France by this baptism. Having mentioned this act, I will only tell what I have omitted concerning this Neophyte, who was one of the best prepared for Heaven that I have ever seen. The Father, who instructed him, seeing he had a good disposition, and knowing that the faith was taking root in this soul, had a great desire to He employs our French Surgeons, takes care of himself, visits him, carries him refreshing food. But, as the malady was stronger than the remedies, this poor man said to him, "*Nikanis*, [page 51] my good friend, let us think of the soul; baptize me; as to the body, I see clearly that it must die." The Father deferred doing so in order to make him desire more ardently so great a blessing. Now it happened that, when he visited him one day, he found a juggler blowing upon him, crying, howling, striking his drum and making a thousand grimaces, according to their custom. He reproached both of them very severely, the sick man for having had recourse to any one else but God, the Charlatan for having intruded with his drumming upon a person who already believed in Jesus Christ. The latter [86] looked at the Father, without saying a word, and withdrew. The poor patient, addressing him, said, "*Nikanis*, why art thou angry? this man came to treat me according to the custom of our Nation; if there is any harm in it, it must be stopped, for we do not do these things with bad intentions." Those who were present added, speaking to the Father, "Thou hast no sense; thou dost what thou canst to cure this sick man, thou canst not succeed; the other wishes to aid thee, and thou art angry thereat. Two persons are not too many to cure so bad a disease. Do thy part, and let him do his; thus the matter must be arranged. " They acted exactly like the Philistines who wished to join together the Ark and Dagon. JESUS does not agree well with Belial. It is true, however, that these absurdities are more innocent than I thought in the beginning. The most simple believe that they are restored through these songs, without knowing how; others take them, so to speak, as one would take medicine; some think that these noises drive away the Manitou; and the Charlatans engage in these [page 53] apish tricks for their own [87] profit. Our patient allowed himself to be blown upon, to follow the custom of his Ancestors. He firmly promised me never again to have recourse to these remedies. But, do what they will, their relations procure these for them, against their own wish. Now, as they continued to explain to him the Christian truths, he urged the Father to make him a Christian and to take care of his soul. "Thou seest," he said, "that I believe, and that, to obey thee, I will not have our Medicine Men come near me; I can now scarcely move; if I die without Baptism thou sayest that I will go into the fires that are never extinguished. Why dost thou delay so long? " The ships having meanwhile arrived, he was granted the accomplishment of his desire. After being baptized, he called the Father and said to him, "*Nikanis*, my soul is full of comfort; it has, nevertheless, one more desire, that is, to see my relatives for the last time; they are up there at the three Rivers; dost thou see fit that I should go there? If thou dost not approve this, I will die here near thee; but thou hast some brothers up yonder; write them to take care of my soul, as thou hast done." The Father answered him that he would die on the way. "No," said he, "I shall not die; [88] I feel in my heart that I shall reach three Rivers, and make a short stay there, and then I



shall die;" all this was true. The Father gave him some letters, and they placed him in a Canoe, his wife and children taking him away. When they arrived, he sent for Father Buteux, had him sit down near him, and handed him the letters that had been given him. The Father, learning through these letters that he was a Christian and godson of Monsieur the Governor [page 55], embraced him warmly, and promised him all assistance. His relations who had come to see him, wondered at these caresses and evidences of charity, which are not seen among them. Then, addressing the Father, he said, " Thy older brother has helped me at K<sup>é</sup>bec. " " We will do the same here," answered the Father, " but dost thou keep in mind what my brother has taught thee? " " Yes, indeed," said he; and, dropping a bark dish that he held in his hand, he began to indicate with his fingers the three persons of the holy Trinity, and to recite the first lessons of the Christian; if he forgot anything, his wife reminded him of it. " Truly, I could scarcely restrain my [89] tears, " writes the Father, "when I saw a man of forty years reared in the depths of Barbarism, speaking the language of the children of God, and reciting his Faith and his Catechism with the meekness of a child and the devotion of a mature person." He finally died on the thirtieth of June, after having passed a few days at three Rivers, as he had predicted; and his body was given to us for burial, not without making entreaty for it in an assembly which these Barbarians had purposely called together.

On the sixteenth of the same month two little Savages were changed into two little Angels. Sieur Jean Paul came to advise the Fathers of the dangerous illness of one of them. The Fathers went to the Cabins, made him a Christian, and, the name Jean Paul was given him by the one who had given notice of his sickness, and who wished to be his Godfather. He was only one year old; his father promised that he would make him a Frenchman, if he recovered. At the same time that they came to baptize this one, [page 57] Robert Hache, [8] a young man who lived with our Fathers at the three Rivers, [90] came to us exclaiming that we should hasten to baptize a child but eight days old, who was at the last gasp. Father Buteux ran thither, and upon the remonstrance made to the mother by the wife of Capitanal, [9] he obtained permission to baptize it, to name it Ignace, and to bury it shortly afterwards.

On the twenty-sixth of the same month, Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle became Godfather to a little Savage girl that one of our Fathers baptized at K<sup>é</sup>bec; he named her Marie, seeing her die almost immediately.

On the seventh of July, a Savage woman came to offer to our Fathers at the three Rivers, a little girl that she had, to be baptized, with the promise to have her instructed in the faith when she was large enough. Father Garnier, who was there waiting for the Hurons, to embark with them, baptized her solemnly in our Chapel. Sieur de la Treille [10] named her Marie.

On the eighth of the same month, a Savage of about forty years, wishing to pass the rest of his days under the law of God, was baptized by Father Charles [91] du March<sup>é</sup>; [11] he was named Joseph by his Godfather, Monsieur de Repentigny. A long time ago, he had been cured of a disease, as he said, through the prayers one of the Fathers had offered for him, or rather had taught him. For the Father who had instructed him in the faith, upon visiting one of the Cabins of the Savages, was asked by a sick woman, " Teach me the words thou hast taught to *Naaktuch*," this was the man's name, " for he says they have helped him, and that, when his life has been in danger [page 59], he has been delivered by pronouncing these words." When the Savages, before his Baptism, happened to speak of our Religion, this poor man seemed to be cast down, seeing that some of them found fault with, and made sport of it. For some time the Father suspected him greatly of being deceitful, but at last he was convinced that he had a good heart. Sometimes he entered the Chapel all alone, and offered his prayer. One day he asked of his own accord for a picture, to remind himself of him who had died for us. The Father, seeing him show publicly before all those of his [92] Cabin that he wished to be a Christian, instructed him fully, and then granted him holy Baptism. His wife, seeing they were getting ready to baptize him, began to weep, saying that if they baptized him he would die immediately. When he heard her, he exclaimed, " Thou dost not know what thou art saying; keep still; I will not die from it, and, even if I should die, I wish to be baptized, to purify and wash my soul." Monsieur and Mademoiselle de Repentigny, and some other persons who were present, were greatly touched when the Father explained to them what he had said; but their sense of devotion was increased when they saw the pious manner in which he received Baptism. Having received it, he took the hand of the Father who had taught him, and of the one who had baptized him, as also that of Monsieur de Repentigny, and kissed them with great tenderness, thanking them for the good they had procured him. After the Baptism of this poor man, I was obliged to go away to meet the Hurons, in order to secure the embarkation of our Fathers who were appointed to go there. Being at the three Rivers, I [page 61] received a Letter from Father de Quen, who spoke in these terms [93] of this Neophyte, whom I had recommended to him. *Joseph, formerly called Nahakhich, thought he was going to die to-day. He sent for me as I was about to say Vespers; I went to him promptly with sieur Hebert, [12] who assisted me greatly. He perseveres in his good intentions to believe; we have had him perform some acts of contrition, which he does willingly; he said that he did not wish to be burned with the wicked, that he always wished to believe what Father le Jeune told him; in saying this he wept. He has a great desire to see you, I say very great; I fear, however, that he will never see you again, except in the other world. As for me, your return would give me great comfort and relief; for as long as he is sick I shall have to go to see him frequently during the day; and what grieves me is, that I cannot speak.* These are the very words of the Father, who, as well as the others, is very busy, and has many distractions; and this is why he has not advanced in the knowledge of the language as he would desire. In truth, it is a very sad thing to see a poor dying man ask for the bread of the Gospel, and only be able to give it to him in little crumbs, which are not [94] sufficient to satisfy him. Father du March<sup>é</sup>, who delivered to me Father de Quen's Letters, added that this poor Savage wept pathetically; and that, according to the report of the interpreter, he exhorted one of his countrymen, with tears in his eyes, to believe in God and to embrace his holy faith. Finally he died, on the last day of July. The Savages had already placed his body in a Canoe to take it to the Falls of Montmorency, when Father Mass<sup>é</sup>, coming upon the scene, stopped them and made them give it back to be buried with the Christians. Father de [page 63] Quen wrote me about his death. *Joseph, said he, so much and so often commended, quitted this life on the day of our blessed Father and Founder, saint Ignace. I visited him three times every day; I served my apprenticeship by teaching him; and had him perform acts of faith and contrition, without borrowing any one else's language. At times, he made me repeat what I had had him say, to show me he had become fond of it. Monsieur de Repentigny, his Godfather, visited him often in his sickness, and sent him sometimes a few eggs, sometimes some Pigeons, occasionally some preserves. At the end, he rendered him the last offices, accompanying him to the grave, as also did [95] Mademoiselle his mother and Mademoiselle his wife, [13] and other members of his family.* I will say thus much in praise of our French, they are willing to honor the obsequies and Baptisms of our Savages by their presence; this is greatly to the edification of these Barbarians who see that we make a great deal of those of their nation who receive our holy faith. Four Frenchmen bore his body: Monsieur de Courpon, Monsieur Gand, Monsieur de Castillon, [14] and a number of others were in the funeral procession, and were followed by the Savages who were then at K<sup>é</sup>bec.

On the fourteenth of the month of August, Father Antoine Daniel, coming down from the Huron Country, and passing by the petite Nation of the Algonquins, baptized a poor Hiroquois prisoner whom the Savages were going to torture. Seeing that this man

understood the Huron language well, he therefore made some presents to his guards, in order to be able to approach him and speak with him freely. He represented to him that his life was done; that after death his soul would have to suffer torments, incomparably greater than those he had already [page 65] experienced and would experience in his [96] body; that if, however, he would believe in him who has made all, he would escape these torments, and would enjoy the delights of Heaven. In a word, he instructed him and baptized him immediately, before he should be led to death. The Father told us that one evening, when he was near him, the Savages came and bound the prisoner so that he might not escape in the night; they tied him by the arms. and feet to two heavy pieces of wood, which fastened his poor body, stretched out upon the earth in such a position that he could not move. While one was binding him, another furnished light with a bark torch, purposely shaking this torch in order to scatter the sparks over this poor wretch, as naked as the hand, while he could not brush away these sparks, which stuck to his flesh and burned him with an intense pain. Yet he did not cry out, enduring this torment with a firmness worthy of admiration.

On the twenty-second of the same month, a Savage woman brought her little son to the Fort, asking for him some raisins or prunes. Seeing this little child very sick, I asked if she would not like to have him [97] baptized. She willingly agreed to it, and he was immediately carried to the Chapel. Monsieur the General was there, and consented to act as Godfather, giving him the name Theodore. He was solemnly baptized, in the presence of most of our French people.

These are all who have been baptized at the Residences nearest to K<sup>ébec</sup>, all the others having been made Christians among the Hurons. The Relation of those so distant Countries, which I send, will mention these baptisms, as well as many other very remarkable things. [page 67]

## CHAPTER V.

### ON THE MISERABLE DEATH OF SOME SAVAGES.

SOME one has said that God has feet of wool and hands of lead. It seems to me that he has had the feet of a Deer and arms of iron or bronze, in the punishment of certain Savages. The Apostate, of whom I have spoken fully in past years, will lead the band. I [98] have often been astonished in thinking it over, how God has let his thunderbolts fall, so to speak, upon the three brothers with whom I passed the winter, [15] for having wickedly violated the promise they had made to acknowledge him as their sovereign, to love and to obey him as their Lord. They had had recourse to his goodness in their extreme famine; he had succored them, giving them food in abundance. *Adhuc esc<sup>ent</sup>, erant in ore ipsorum, et ira Dei ascendit super eos.* They had not yet swallowed the morsel when God took them by the throat. Before the year had expired, the eldest, that wretched Sorcerer, who had given me a great deal of trouble, was burned alive in his own house. The second, who was my host, a man who had naturally a good disposition, but who, to please his brother, was willing to displease God, was drowned, having lost his mind, as I have already related. There remained the Apostate, the youngest of the three. I believe that the stamp of the Christian for a little while arrested divine justice. But, as he would not acknowledge it, the same thunderbolt, that struck [page 69] [99] his brothers, reduced him to ashes. That wretch died this year of hunger, abandoned in the woods like a dog. It is very remarkable that he did not have anything to eat, in their abundance; for perhaps not since ten years have the Savages killed so many Elk as they have this winter, the snow being in exactly the condition they desired for hunting them. I do not know the particulars of this accident; the Savages merely told us that they had found him starved to death in the woods. It was very reasonable that his impious mouth, which had so often blasphemed God, should lack food; and that God should condemn to this kind of death him who had seen poor sick persons die before his eyes, without ever consenting to aid me in giving them a piece of the bread of the word of God. In a word, the Apostate is dead. Whether he died an Apostate or not, I do not know, at least he died without any earthly help; I do not know whether he received any from Heaven; I would be very glad if it were so. Some one assuring me, not long ago, that he was pleased to hear of his death, reproached me for having this year again [100] invited him to come and see me, knowing well that he was a wicked man. I admit that he was a wicked man. I confess that last year, and again this year, I wrote to *Tadoussac* to have him come to me. I say even more; that, if it were in my power to free him from the irons and chains in which perhaps he now is, I would release him, that I might procure for him, in exchange for the wrongs he has done me, the greatest blessing that can be obtained for a reasonable creature, eternal salvation. Alas! is it then so small a thing that a soul be damned? All the great affairs of Conclaves, of the Courts of [page 71] sovereigns, of Palaces, and of Cabinets, are only child's play, in comparison with saving or losing a soul. But let us pass on.

A Savage woman having fallen sick at K<sup>ébec</sup>, one of our Fathers wished to instruct her; she pretended to listen to him. But, although they say the Savages sometimes deceive us, pretending to lend the ear to a doctrine which their heart does not relish, yet it is easy to recognize in a continued instruction whether or not the heart agrees with [101] the tongue. The Father never believed that she really wished to become a Christian. She saw with her own eyes the sudden recovery of the Prince's little son, of which I have spoken in Chapter III. This made her often ask for Baptism, that she also might be cured. The Father, who saw only concern for the body in this soul, did not wish to grant it to her, promising that, as soon as she was better instructed, they would baptize her. "Baptize me," she said, "and then thou shalt instruct me," but this was not the proper order. At last *Attikam<sup>égou</sup>*, the Savage called "the Prince," wishing to go off into the woods to hunt, asked her if she would not remain, to be instructed; that our French would assist her, and that we would feed her; but she would never consent to this. Then she was thrown upon a sledge, to be taken away. The Father very positively forbade the Savage who dragged her to kill her, for it is thus they rid themselves of their burdens. Indeed, he did not kill her; but she herself, through despair or by accident, <sup>let</sup> us say rather, through a just chastisement of God, <sup>caused</sup> her own death. During a certain night, as there was a good fire in her Cabin and while every one was sleeping [102] soundly, this [page 73] woman, in trying to arise, fell into the flames and was instantly suffocated, drinking in this life the fire which she was about to find much hotter in the other. The Prince having come to see us, and having related this catastrophe, the Father who instructed her asked him if he knew the reason why this woman had not been willing to believe, nor to remain to be instructed. "She said," he replied, "that if she died among the French they would only give her a sheet after her death." "And what didst thou give her?" he was asked. "I wrapped her in a Bear skin that you had given her, that was already half-rotten. I am sure," he continued, mockingly, "that her soul will not take the trouble to come back and inquire about it, for it would hardly prevent her from feeling the fires which burn unbelievers. "

Those who aid in the conversion of souls are not always saved; the first conversion one ought to make is that of one's self.



Woe unto him who acts as a broom, cleaning the house but soiling itself. Thus a Savage has done this year. This wretch [103] has had his own son baptized, his daughter, his niece, and several others, and would not be baptized himself. Having fallen sick at the three Rivers, Father Buteux, upon visiting him, found a juggler beside him; he wished to make him leave the Cabin, but this Charlatan replied that he himself would listen to what he was going to teach the sick man. So the Father asked him if he did not wish to believe in God, who alone could cure him in this life, and make him happy in the other. "Yes indeed," he replied, " I believe that your Manitou is all-powerful; tell him to cure me, and I [page 75] will give thee ten Beavers. " " Thou knowest well, " replied the Father, " that we do not come to see the sick in order to get presents from them, but rather to give to them." " I know it very well, and therefore come and see me again about noon. " He wished to have himself sung to by this juggler; but the Father had the latter come to him privately and so frightened him that he did not sing nor blow upon this poor wretch, as he expected to do. The Father having returned to see him about noon, found that he had either been touched by the prayers of his children, who are in Heaven, or else that he was acting the hypocrite, for he promised wonders. But as [104] he was extremely proud, the faith could not enter nor make a long sojourn in his soul. *Quomodo vos potestis credere, qui gloriam ab invicem accipitis*. Pride places great barriers between God and the soul, and closes the door to Faith as well as to Charity. Some days afterward, he sent for the Father, and told him that he had been assured he would recover, if he would sleep with a hat on, begging him to give him one. When they tried to divert him from this superstition, this haughty spirit, impatient of contradiction, flew into a passion and uttered insults against the Fathers and against all the French, calling them liars and impostors. They tried to restore him to reason by gentleness; but he spitefully turned over, and would not answer a word. A little later, his brother, seeing he was nearing the end, said to a young French boy that he should inform the Fathers of it, but he forgot to do so. As death was rapidly approaching, another Savage came and rapped at the Fathers' door; but one of them was saying the holy Mass, and the other was otherwise [page 77] prevented, so he could find no one. He returned again, met Father Buteux, and took him [105] with him; but, as they were entering the Cabin, this proud man drew his last breath. These accidents in the eyes of men are only accidents, but in the sight of God they are great judgments. He had been regarded by the French as a wicked man, although toward the end of his days he had tried by some good deeds to efface this bad reputation. We have often observed that those who are naturally good, have been succored by God, while the lustful, the arrogant, and other such persons, have not enjoyed the same favors at death. I was told that it was this Savage who set on fire the Cabin of the Sorcerer, of whom I have just spoken, burning him alive to get rid of the annoyance he caused him by his disease, afterwards spreading the report, to cover up his cruelty, that this fire had been caused by the performance of another Sorcerer, with whom the former had had some quarrel, this report being so exaggerated that some one told me the fire had come up out of the ground.

Capitanal's son, about eighteen years old, like this unfortunate man, [106] passed into the other world in a very pitiable way. He was the child of very good parents, for Savages; his Father died two years ago enjoying the reputation among his people of a wise and valiant Captain; [16] his mother is still living, being the most modest Savage woman I have yet seen; their son fell short of these good qualities. A year ago, Father Buteux and another of our Fathers, having met at a feast of the dead, which the Savages were holding near the grave of his father, were constrained to drive him away publicly, on [page 79] account of a brutal action he was about to commit before their eyes. Those present recognized his fault, and showed their appreciation of our Fathers' remonstrance. For these Savages have this good quality, that they never contradict the truth when they know it, although they do not always follow it. I do not know what this wretch did afterwards; but the following is his deplorable death. Falling sick, Father Buteux went to visit him, and asked his mother if she would not like to have him talk to her child; she replied that she would like it very much, but at present there was some obstacle to it in the Cabin, [107] and therefore he should return in a little while. This obstacle arose from two jugglers. Nevertheless, the Father wished to approach him; but these fine Physicians signaled him to peremptorily dismiss him, which he did. Scarcely had the Father gone out, when these impostors began to cry, howl, beat their drums, and make their usual uproar. When this is done, they approach the poor sick boy, make those who are too near him retire, and then exclaim to him, " Take courage, my child; we have found the cause of thy sickness; only close thy eyes, and let us do our work." The poor patient closes the lids as tightly as he can, while the jugglers, examining his body, draw from their bag a great butcher knife, and pretend to be opening his side and probing a wound; then they produce a little knife covered with blood, which they show to those present, exclaiming, " Behold the cause of the trouble; courage! the Manitou had placed this in thy body; behold thee relieved, dost thou not feel well? " " Yes, " replied the patient, " I am much better. " All those present were surprised, looking at [page 81] this knife [108] with wonder. Thereupon my Charlatans, to cover up their game and their deceit, make a plaster of ashes mixed with water, and apply it to the side they pretend to have opened, expressly forbidding the mother and child to touch this balm, which must cure him of all disease if its value is recognized. A Savage informs the Fathers of all these proceedings, and they hasten to the Cabin of the sick boy. Father Buteux urges the mother to tell him what they have done to her son. After some resistance, she discloses the secret; and the Father exposes the jugglers, for, having gently raised this fine plaster, he finds neither wound nor scar. Dost thou not see," he said to this poor mother, that these *Manitosiouekhi* [17] are abusing thee, making thee believe that this knife has come out of thy son's body, without leaving any trace thereof? " " That is just the wonder of it," she replied; " they have performed their operation so deftly that the body has been relieved and yet in no wise injured thereby. Canst thou deny that my son is better? Thou canst see it at a glance." In fact, either the invalid had some respite, or the imagination, which everywhere operates [109] powerfully, made him believe he was better; he even seemed to be gayer than usual. I believe the hope of a sure recovery, which these false Esculapii had inspired in him, had caused this deceptive joy. The Father contends, but in vain, that the absence of this bloody knife restores his health no more than its presence had made him sick; and, in order not to irritate the woman any more, he leaves her. The next morning she sent a Montagn<sup>o</sup>s Captain to bear the news to the Fathers that her son had died during the night, without any one having [page 83] seen him expire; that she was very disconsolate, and would give them the corpse of him whom they had desired living; and that, although he had wished to be buried near his father, she would leave to them the entire disposition of his body. The Fathers answered that, as he had died a Barbarian, he could not be buried as a Christian. This was the bad end of a young man who had begun a bad life.

I would rather speak of the dews of Heaven than of its thunderbolts, and of the blessings of the goodness of God than of the severity of his justice. I leave this subject, to [110] begin a pleasanter one, after saying that a young Algonquin man received a like and even worse reward for having trusted to these jugglers; for, in fact, they cut open his throat in three places, to make it appear they had drawn therefrom three pieces of curved iron, which they placed in his hand. Our Fathers of the residence at the three Rivers visited him, but without profit; for in trying to make a compact with God for transitory health, he died and went away to begin an eternal torment. [page 85]

## CHAPTER VI.

# ON THE HOPES OF CONVERTING THIS PEOPLE.

**A**MONG various propositions that have been made to me from Old France, some one asks me how it happens that in so many years so few persons have been baptized. It seems to me that the proposition ought to be reversed, and stated, 'How happens it that in so few years so many persons have been baptized?' The holy Scriptures, in speaking of Saul, say that he reigned only two years; and yet [111] it is certain that he bore the Scepter and the Crown a much longer time. In this regard, the holy Spirit estimates his virtue, and not the years of his Scepter and his Crown. I say the same; if you count how many years it has been since men came to New France in search of the spoils of animals, you will find it a long time. But if you ask how many years they have been preaching the holy Gospel, I answer that they have hardly yet begun; for, to speak correctly, we should only reckon from the time that the Gentlemen of the New Company reentered Kébec. And if you go further back, you will -not be astonished that the faith made no progress in these countries, while a heretic had the principal administration of affairs here, and authority over those who might -have devoted themselves to that work. Now the time has been so short since then, that we have reason to offer a thousand praises to God for the progress that has been made in Religion, [page 87] in the first stammerings of a language which has to be learned, holding the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other, that is to say, while doing a thousand other [112] things. Those who know what languages are, will rightly consider that to learn one without books and almost without an Interpreter, among wandering people, and in the midst of several other occupations, is not the work of a day. Is it nothing, in addition to that, to preach to our French, to hear Confessions, to administer the Sacraments, to visit the sick, to adjust little differences which are liable to occur, and to perform many other duties sufficient to keep one man constantly employed? It is my decisive opinion that for lack of a complete knowledge of the language we have not yet even begun to unfold the grandeurs of our belief. Themistocles said to the King of Persia that language was like a piece of beautiful tapestry, one must unroll it, in order to see its beauties. Certainly, one must speak in order to be understood; and this is what we cannot do yet, except as children. If nothing else were needed than to propose a few truths stammeringly, in order to fully convince the Savages, this would soon be done. But one must question and answer, satisfy inquiries, dispose of objections, and prepare one's hearers. In short, our [113] truths, which are newer to these Barbarians than the operations of Algebra would be to a person who could only count to ten, must almost make them forget their own language, when we use it to explain these to them. In the same way, are we far from being sufficiently familiar with it, in so short a time, for the explanation of mysteries so deep. And then they ask why it is that we have advanced so little in [page 89] the conversion of these Barbarians. Great affairs are usually concluded only in a long time. He who undertook the building of the Temple of saint Sophia, in Constantinople, ran away as soon as he had laid the foundations of this miracle of human ingenuity. He was often sought for, but in vain; at the end of three years this honest Architect reappeared. When the Emperor asked him why he went away, he answered that so great a piece of Mechanism could not be made in a short time,- that 'the foundations must be allowed to settle and solidify before loading them down; and that he feared his Majesty would not have had the patience needful for that. It is virtue that is necessary, not only to build a Church of stones, but still more for [114] a celestial Jerusalem. The souls which must be the materials of this edifice are not like the stones of which the Temple of Solomon was built, which were cut and placed in position without noise. These cry out only too much, they resist, and with two kinds of resistance, natural and acquired. To be a Barbarian and a good Christian, to live as a Savage and as a child of God, are two very different things. This metamorphosis is not accomplished by a word nor in a moment. A great many people in France imagine that all we have to do is to open our mouths and utter four words, and behold, a Savage is converted. And when they are here, and see these Barbarians in their resistance, they exclaim that it is time lost to preach to them the word of God. How can they be satisfied, and Heaven peopled, with these barbarians? If I were not already somewhat tedious, I would show that the greater number of Christians resist God more than do the Savages. Leave these beggars," say [page 91] some, "you are losing your labors, you are racking your brain for nothing." I would like to whisper a word into the ears of those people. How many times has either [115] your Confessor, or the Preachers, or some good Book, or your own conscience, reproved you for that secret sin you committed ten years ago? How many were the entreaties on the part of Heaven and of your good Angel, to make you give it up? Did you resist all these batteries and all these cannons? You who have been reared in the house of God, who have been stamped by his stamp, who believe that this monstrous sin displeases him, who do not doubt that his justice is terrible, and you cry out that a poor Savage is a rascal, a beggar, an obstinate fellow; that it is losing time to teach him, when you see him grow restless at the first or second statement made to him of a doctrine so new to him and to all his ancestors. And inasmuch as you do not see him running with open arms to embrace these truths, which he does not yet believe, you despise him and condemn those who instruct him, you, who have feet of lead in seeking the virtue which you believe to be adorable. Oh, that God may give you patience! *Referunt fructum in patientia.* The most hasty affairs are not the best conducted; [116] he who runs too fast is soon out of breath. Up to the present we have no reason to complain, thank God. For the future, we entertain good hopes, which I shall proceed briefly to explain.

In the first place, you will grant me that if there is any goodness in God, he will share it with his friends; that if he has ears, they are especially for his favorites. *Voluntatem timentium se faciet.* He does the will of those who fear him with love and [page 93] respect. Now is it not true that a vast number of pure souls entreat him incessantly for the conversion of these Peoples? I have mentioned some of them above; I know of several others. And all those of whom I have spoken, or of whom I have any knowledge, are only a few in comparison with the many others who wrestle for us, as Moses did for the people of Israel. Is not the holy Spirit, which causes this great void in these so pure wills, powerful enough to fill it? I conjure all these good souls to continue; their prayers are not without blessing. A sign that God wishes to give, is that he causes himself to be asked, [117] and asked with love, with ardor, and with perseverance. We feel the effects of this powerful assistance; if this blare of the trumpets of Heaven continue, the walls of Jericho will fall; they seem already to be shaking.

In the second place, the goodness of God, while raising some obstacles to the faith, little by little casts fear into these souls. *Initium sapienti timor Domini.* Many Savages, as well as we ourselves, were astonished at the chastisement of the Sorcerer and his accomplices. The death of the Apostate will not allay the fear that many have of mocking God. But I cannot sufficiently admire his mode of humbling the pride of the naughtiest among them, especially of a certain man named *Oumastikoueiau*, surnamed by the French la Grenoille ["the Frog"]. [18] This wicked man had more authority than the Captains, and his influence extended even among all these Tribes. His plans were laid to divert them entirely from commerce and friendship with the French. To this end he had negotiated peace with his enemies; but God, who knew the malice of his heart, crushed [page 95] him, and permitted the [118] most wicked of the Savages to be involved in his crimes. For in trying to open a way to the Foreigners through the lands of their enemies, whom he thought he had won over, they imbrued their hands in his blood, slaughtering him miserably, as well as all those whose pride had caused us the most trouble. When Goliath was slain, the army of the Philistines no longer had any strength. The death of these men renders the others more pliable and more disposed to grant us what we desire from them.



In the third place, the more the glory of the French continues to increase in these Regions, the more these Barbarians will respect them, and the more fear they will have of offending them. The Inhabitants of the East Indies, holding the Portuguese in great esteem, more readily received their belief; and the Savages, coming little by little to admire the power, ingenuity and morality of our French, I tremble while writing these last words, so greatly do I fear being disappointed in this expectation, will make much of their faith, and will more readily embrace it.

In the fourth place, if they begin [119] already to secure Baptism to their sick children, one must hope that some day they will desire for themselves what they consider good for others. I beg you to note this point and the one that follows. You see mothers themselves bringing their children to Baptism when they see them in danger of death; and some weep bitterly when they hear it said that their children are in the flames, for not having wished to believe, or that they are deprived of the pleasures of Heaven because they were not baptized. Is not this [page 97] a good beginning? It is such as I would not have dared to hope for in so short a time. We see in these acts how God hearkens to the prayers of those who entreat him for this Nation.

In the fifth place, we have a still surer indication that the seed of the Gospel is beginning to germinate in the hearts of these Barbarians. It is that many of them are very glad to die Christians; not, in truth, so much through love as through fear of falling into the fires with which they are threatened. This is surely not a little. Still [120] more, they are beginning to lose the dread they had of Baptism, and the belief that this Sacrament must cause them to die; they are confident their souls are cleansed by these holy waters; they desire to be buried with us. If this faith is not yet quite strong in their souls, it is something that it is beginning to grow there. I have seen those who have said to me, " I fully realize that I am to die; let us give up the body, and think of the soul. " Can that be said unless they have faith? All that we say is only idle fancy, some exclaim. You know what the truth is. Do not these thoughts show that light is beginning to dawn in their hearts? The godson of Monsieur the Governor, having gone to the three Rivers, asked Father Buteux if it were permitted to ask God for health, as if he wished to know whether it would not be better to leave that to him.

In the sixth place, the Hospital that we are encouraged to hope for, will have, we believe, powerful results. [19] It is certain that all the sick Savages will come [121] to die there. For to be sick among these Barbarians, and to have already one foot in the grave, is one and the same thing; of this they are [page 99] very well aware. Hence, I know none among them who do not prefer in sickness the poorest house of the French to the richest Cabin of the Savages. When they find themselves in comfortable beds, well fed, well lodged, well cared-for, do you doubt that this miracle of charity will win their hearts? We are very impatient indeed to see this wonder. But I beg those good sisters who are to have the care of them, not to cross over the sea until their House is in such a condition that they can exercise their duties. Simply to be here, is not all; they must accomplish something ; otherwise, it would be far better to be in France. As soon as buildings are erected, we shall send for them; but a large house cannot be built well in a short time, and by a few people. We are more desirous of seeing our sick in their hands than they are of nursing -them, although they burn with desire, so to speak. We see clearly that their Hospital will fill the Seminaries with boys and girls; for the children of those [122] who die there, will belong to them. I will say still more, that, in succoring the fathers and mothers, it will be necessary to feed and clothe the children; it is precisely this that is requisite, that they may be instructed. Would to God that they were already charged with fifty little girls as boarders; they would soon have some brave Ursulines here, who would take these children, and would leave the sisters to their sick, who will give them enough to do; and thus both, in exercising the practical virtues, will have something to keep them busy here. And then they must have a good income, to feed and maintain persons who will use more clothes in one year than others would in three. In short, let them bear in [page 101] mind that they are leaving France, a Country full of comfort and politeness, to come to a Country of rudeness and barbarism.

In the seventh place, we have done so much for these poor unbelievers, that they have given us some of their daughters, which seems to me an act of God. These little girls, brought up as Christians and then married to [123] Frenchmen, or baptized Savages, will draw as many children from their Nation as we shall desire. All will lie in our succoring them, in giving them a dowry, in helping them to get married, which I do not think they will fail to secure; God is too good and too powerful. These children are being kept at the house of sieur Hebout [Hubou], who married the widow of the late Monsieur Hebert, first resident of K<sup>é</sup>bec. He has one of them himself, whom he feeds and supports. Sieur Olivier le Tardif keeps another of them in the same house, whom the Savages have given him; he pays her board, as we do that of the others who are in the same lodging. These little girls are dressed in the French fashion; they care no more for the Savages than if they did not belong to their Nation. Nevertheless, in order to wean them from their native customs, and to give them an opportunity of learning the French language, virtue, and manners, that they may after-wards assist their countrywomen, we have decided to send two or three to France, to have them kept and taught in the house of the Hospital Nuns, whom it is desired to bring over into New France. I beg all Societies that [124] ask me for them to have patience, and to believe that, if I do not satisfy their desire, it is because I have not the power. As to these first ones, it seems to me that the glory of our [page 103] Lord requires that they be taught in the house of the Sisters who will bring them back in such way as shall be prescribed to them. It does not seem best to separate them, lest they lose the knowledge of their own language. Oh, if we could only send a certain one who is to remain in the house of which I have spoken, what comfort I could give those who would get her! This child has nothing savage about her except her appearance and color; her sweetness, her docility, her modesty, her obedience, would cause her to pass for a young well-born French girl, fully susceptible of education. Her father gave her to us only for two years, on condition that she should not go to France. Ah, how I fear that this child will escape us! I pray God to give her so strong a desire to continue with the French, that her parents will never be able to take her away. Since I am speaking of the children who are being sent to France, I will also say that Monsieur Gand makes a present to Monsieur de Noyers, Secretary of State, of a [125] little Savage boy. I have great hopes that so good a hand will return him to us some day, so well educated that he will serve as an example to the people of his nation.

In the last place, I consider it very probable that, if we had a good building in K<sup>é</sup>bec, we would get more children through the very same means by which we despaired of getting them. We have always thought that the excessive love the Savages bear their children would prevent our obtaining them. It will be through this very means that they will become our pupils; for, by having a few settled ones, who will attract and retain the others, the parents, who do not know what it is to refuse their children, [page 105] will let them come without opposition. And, as they will be permitted during the first few years to have a great deal of liberty, they will become so accustomed to our food and our clothes, that they will have a horror of the Savages and their filth. We have seen this exemplified in all the children brought up among our French. They get so well acquainted with each other in their childish plays, that they do not look at the Savages except to flee from them, or [126] make sport of them. Our great difficulty is to get a building, and to find the means with which to support these children. It is true, we are able to maintain them at Nostre Dame des Anges; but as this place is isolated, so that there are no French children there, we have changed the plan that we formerly had to locate the Seminary there. Experience shows us that it must be established where the bulk of the French population is, to attract the little Savages by the French children. And, since a worthy and virtuous person has commenced by giving something for a Seminary, we are going to give

up our attempts to clear some land, and shall make an effort to build at Kébec. I say an effort, for it is with incredible expense and labor that we build in these beginnings. What a blessing from God if we can write next year that instruction is being given in New France in three or four languages. I hope, if we succeed in getting a lodging, to see three classes at Kébec, the first, of little French children, of whom there will be perhaps twenty or thirty Pupils; the second, of Hurons; the third, of Montagnés. We can have [127] the latter all winter. But I confidently expect that they will continue right on, after once having tasted the sweetness [page 107] of a life that is not always crying hunger, as do these Barbarians. Blessed are those who contribute from their means to this generous enterprise. There are many rich persons in the world, but few of them are chosen for these great works. To have the riches of the earth, is a blessing of the earth; to use them for Heaven, is a blessing of Heaven. To so use them as to gather up and apply the blood of Jesus Christ, this is to participate in the merits of the Apostles, to range one's self in the number of the most intimate friends of Jesus Christ.

These are some of our reasons for hoping that in the course of time we shall make something out of our wandering Savages. I say nothing of the sedentary ones, like the Hurons and other Tribes who live in villages and cultivate the land. If we have a grain of hope for the former, who are fickle and wandering, we have a pound, so to speak, for the latter, who live clustered together. The Relation sent to us from their country, which we forward to France, will [128] show how strongly inclined they are to the faith. [page 109]

## CHAPTER VII.

### ON SOME REMARKABLE PECULIARITIES OF THESE REGIONS.

TAKE up this subject in order to add or correct in my preceding Relations what from day to day I discover to be new or more positive information. Let us begin with the feasts of the Savages. They have one for war. At this, they sing and dance in turn, according to age; if the younger ones begin, the old men pity them for exposing themselves to the ridicule of the others. Each has his own song, that another dare not sing lest he give offense. For this very reason, they sometimes strike up a tune that belongs to their enemies, in order to aggravate them. An unusual exhibition of nakedness sometimes slips in, not through lewdness, but to propitiate the Manitou, who, they say, is pleased with this. Father Buteux wrote me, that the Prince [129] one day absented himself from the dance of the naked girls, "Because," said he, " he who has made all hates these indecent acts, and Father le Jenne would be angry with me if I went there." They have the usual food at these feasts, except that in accordance with their dreams they occasionally eat a dog, a dish as shameful in the eyes of our Montagnés as it is rare and delicious in those of the Hurons.

I have already mentioned how the Charlatans, or jugglers and Sorcerers are obeyed here; sometimes more than he who has made all, as we say in these [page 111] Countries, is obeyed by those who acknowledge him. One of these new Physicians one day ordered a patient to get a pair of stockings like those of the Black robes, the name they give us. When Father Buteux visited this poor man, his relatives declared that the patient's recovery depended only upon him. The Father asking what they meant, they replied, " Give him thy black stockings, and thou wilt soon see him upon his feet, for thus the Manitou has told him. " The Father answered them that these dreams were but nonsense; and, to prove it to them, that he [130] would give him what he wanted, on condition that after he had worn them four days, more or less, if he did not recover he would abandon these idle fancies and believe in God. They replied that he must give them without any condition, and that the sick man must even wear them into the other world if he died. What talk! Is not that a good medicine which is to benefit both in this world and in the other, and which being sure of curing its patient, does not fail, nevertheless, to provide that he does not have cold feet after death, in case it carries him off ?

I have spoken very fully in the Relation of the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, of a certain Tent they make, to which the jugglers summon and consult the Genii of the Air, or of light. Now not only the men, but even the women, enter this fine Tent. At the three Rivers, a juggler having called the Manitou, or some other Genius, and not having succeeded in making him come, a woman entered and began to so shake the house and to sing and cry so loudly, that she caused the devil to come, who [131] told them more than they wanted. First, he said that the sick man for whom they were [page 113] consulting him, would die; and that the cause of his sickness was that, having offered some insult to the daughter of an Algonquin, this girl had prayed her father to take vengeance upon him; and her father had done this so well by his sorceries, that his wife, that is, the devil's wife, had cast herself into his body, and was gnawing it from the inside, and hence it was all over with him. Secondly, this Devil, or this Manitou, testified that if he had not responded to the preceding juggler, it was because this juggler was an Algonquin and of the same Nation as the one who had caused the sickness. In the third place, when he was asked if he saw any Hiroquois leaving their own Country to come and surprise them, he answered, after this woman had invoked him by hissings and shakings and uproar, " Hasten, hasten to go to war, I see the Hiroquois Country filled with all sorts of arms, with bows and arrows, that they are preparing, to come and attack you." This Demon, or rather this Devilish woman, for it was this shameless person [132] who made them believe that it was the Manitou who spoke, added that he had eaten some *Attikamegouekhi*,<sup>[20]</sup> these are Tribes that live north of the River which is called the three Rivers, -and that he would eat a great many more of them if he were not called elsewhere. But that *Atchen* (a sort of werewolf), would come in his place to devour them, if they made a village, as they had decided to do; that he would come to get them, even up to the French Fort; that he would slaughter the French themselves. Oh, wicked woman! As she was in the habit of running here and there, she was afraid of being restricted to one village; and consequently she wished to impart fear, [page 115] and in fact did impart it, to her Nation, who no longer thought of anything but war. When Father Buteux took her to task for her maliciousness, she drew a knife, and threatened to kill him. But was this not a ruse of the enemy, who fears to lose, in a sedentary life, those who in their vagrant journeys are wholly his?


Here are some minor superstitions, which throw dust in their eyes and darkness over their minds. They [133] are not pleased to hear one speak of death, or of sickness, or of any misfortune, whatever it may be, lest the Manitou, hearing this talk, may take occasion to afflict them, or make them die. I have said before that they have a great fear of death; it is true, for they cannot endure the word. Yet, when they are sick, they have not such a horror of it; especially when they suffer a great deal; then some even beg to be killed, either to be delivered from the torments they are enduring, or to relieve from trouble those who have to drag them about with them.

They sometimes wear on the bottom of their garments little ornaments made from Bears' claws, that they may more easily kill



these animals, and not be hurt by them.

There are some among them who say that their chest or breast throbs when some one is about to come. One of them, declaring that the Savages of the Island were near the River of the Hiroquois, <sup>[21]</sup> where this year the council of war is to be held, gave no other reason than that his chest was throbbing. One of our Frenchmen, who has long [134] associated with these Barbarians, has assured me that he has frequently found out by experience the truth of **[page 117]** these pretended prophecies; and lately, said he, a certain Savage woman, feeling her breast throb, said to her mother and the others who were in the Cabin, " The French will soon come here," which was true; he was one of those who appeared. I do not know whether the devil thrusts himself into this; but I do know well that, in examining these frauds a little closer, you will find that the first inventors of them are either dead or absent.

The young man who is with our Fathers at the three Rivers, having caught a certain fish which in some respects resembles a great lizard, as it has four feet and a rather long tail,  some Savages who saw him came to tell our Fathers that it was wrong to catch this animal, which caused the winds, and that the barks would not arrive for a long time, on account of this; hence it would be better to throw it immediately into the river, to appease the wind, which was contrary. These simple people do not understand that God draws the winds from his treasure-house, and not from the belly and chest of a [135] beast. The young women and girls will not eat the heads of pike, for fear they will have no children.

There are those who carry about them some article prescribed by the Manitou, in order to live a long time, as I am told. Concerning this custom, something very amusing happened to one of our Fathers at the three Rivers. Seeing a Savage adorned with a handsome belt, he asked him if he was very fond of it. " Yes," he replied, " for the Manitou told me to wear it, in order to live long." " And he who has made all," replied the Father, " says that it is of no use whatever, either for death or for life." **[page 119]** This Savage went away; but, upon thinking over what the Father had said to him, he returned and said to him, " Here, take my belt, give me something for it; I have concluded that thy Manitou has more sense than ours, and consequently I do not mind parting with it." The Father began to laugh at seeing a man so easy-going.


Another one, seeing the solemn ceremonies performed on the eve of saint John, thought this feast was observed to drive away the Manitou; and said that we understood much better how to send him away and banish him from [136] us than they did, and that was the reason why we lived longer. This confirms me in my opinion that they make their uproars and beat their drums to drive away the devil, so that he will not kill the sick person. I fear that one of these days they will come and beg us to shoot off our cannons in order to cure them.

It sometimes happens that the Savages get angry in the winter at the severity of the cold, which prevents them from hunting, and give vent to their wrath in a ridiculous manner. All those who were born in the summer go out from their Cabins, armed with fire and blazing torches, which they throw at *Kapipou noukhet*, namely, at him who has made the winter, <sup>[22]</sup> and by this means the cold is appeased. Those who were born in winter are not among the company; for, if they were to mingle with the others, the cold would increase instead of diminishing. I have not seen this ceremony, but have heard of it from the lips of a Savage.

A Savage, seeing a Frenchman eat the heart of a certain bird, said to him, " How! thou who art a man, darest thou eat that? If we people should eat **[page 121]** it, our enemies [137] would surprise us and would kill us; that is a woman's food."

Another one said the birds usually made their feasts during the shortest nights of the year; the Moose, in the longest; and the Beavers, in those of average length.

One of our people, visiting a sick Savage and finding him very disconsolate, asked him what new thing had happened to him. " Alas," said he, " I was beginning to get better; I went out of my Cabin, a girl in her courses looked at me, and my disease attacked me as severely as ever." I have already said that these girls withdraw from the Cabin when they are subject to this infirmity, and that the Savages dread even to meet them. The Father consoled him, and made him understand that this glance was incapable of injuring him. <sup>[23]</sup>

Here is the wonderful voyage of a *Nipisirinien*, which was related to me by a Montagn<sup></sup>s. This man, having traveled a long distance, at last reached the Cabin or house of God, as he named one who gave him something to eat. He found him alone, but his daughter came in soon afterwards. He has only this [138] girl, and still it is not known how he came by her, for he has no wife. All kinds of animals surround him, he touches them, handles them as he wishes, and they do not fly from him; but he does them no harm, for, as he does not eat, he does not kill them. However, he asked this new guest what he would like to eat, and having learned that he would relish a Beaver, he caught one without any trouble, and had him eat it; then asked him when he intended going away. " In two nights," was the answer. " Good," said he, " you will remain two **[page 123]** nights with me. " These two nights were two years; for what we call a year is only a day or a night, in the reckoning of him who procures us food. And one is so contented with him that two winters, or two years, seem only like two nights. When he returned to his own country, he was greatly astonished at the delay he had experienced. I asked if a person could not go again to this place where the Savage had been. There is but one person, I was answered, who can go there, and even he not always, according to the report of him who has returned thence. This contains I know not what of good, for one who can get the essence of it, as [139] also does this, which I am going to relate. Father Buteux entering a Cabin with Sieur Nicolet, <sup>[24]</sup> who understands the Algonquin tongue very well, an Algonquin, who acts the part of a Wiseacre, invited them to sit down near him, which they did. And thereupon he told them that the Savages recognized two Manitous; but, for his part, he recognized a third, who presided over war. That one of the three had made the land, at least, that of his country; as to that of the French, he was not entirely certain. Having made the land, he produced the animals and all the other things of his country. The narrator gave him a great lake, or a Waterfall, for his home, as we give the sea to Neptune. This worthy Creator of the earth, drawing his bow one day upon a Beaver, to chase it far away, in order to people the country with them, missed it; and the arrow, lodging in a tree, had made it very beautiful and smooth; and as for this not being true, " I have," said he, " known old men who have seen this tree." He related a thousand other foolish tales. The Father had him asked **[page 125]** where this God was before he created the earth. " In his Canoe," he replied, " which was floating upon the waters. " " If he [140] had a Canoe, " was said to him, " there must have been trees, for it is made of the bark of trees; if there were trees, there was land; if there was land, how has he created it? " " The land," he replied, " was there before, but it was flooded by a deluge." " And before the deluge, who created this land?" " I know nothing about it; you have more intelligence than I have, do not ask me anything more." " Since thou dost not know it, listen to us," was said to him. " If I were young, you would be right in wishing to teach me; but as I am already old, you would lose your pains, for I have no longer any memory. " " It is because thou art old," said the interpreter, " that thou must hasten to learn these truths; for, if

thou dost not believe, thou wilt be very unhappy after thy death. " Thereupon he outlined for him the creation of the world, redemption, and the punishments and rewards of the other life. " I have not," said he, " the mind to be able to retain so many things; teach them to the children, who have a good memory." Nevertheless, this doctrine made some impression upon his mind; for since then he has taught some sick persons what he could remember of it. I will set down in this place, [141] not knowing where better to record it, what I have recently learned about the Beaver. This animal is wonderful. He makes his Cabin, as I have said, upon the banks of a River or of a Pond; he has a sort of double story in this house, which is quite round and is built like a well-plastered oven. The first story is the lower part of the Cabin, into which water enters through its opening: but the [page 127] Beaver places heavy pieces of wood across, upon which he scatters branches of fir and other kinds of trees, which he uses as a floor. The second story has a hole in the middle, through which he descends into the water at the bottom of his Cabin, that is, in the lower story, whence he slips into the Pond through the door of his house. I have been told that he carries his winter store of wood, which forms his food, into this, house; but a Savage has contradicted this. He says that he cuts a quantity of wood during the Autumn, and places it in the River or Pond on the shores of which he has made his house; and in order that this wood may not float away and get caught in the ice, when the surface of the water freezes, he sinks his stores to the bottom, by means of a certain heavier [142] wood with which he loads it, and thus makes it secure. How wonderful are the works of God! When winter comes, the surface of the water freezes, and the ice covers the opening or door of his house; but, as the water is not frozen below the surface, this animal is free to leave his little tower and swims about in the Pond or in the River under the ice. But here is something that seems to me still more marvelous. When the Beavers sometimes find themselves too numerous in one place, and are not able to agree among themselves, some of them withdraw and go to seek a home elsewhere. Finding a suitable stream, they stop there; and, if this brook is not deep enough, they bar it and make a dam, which fills the mind of man with wonder. They cut large trees with their teeth, they throw the wood across the River in every way; then they plaster it with mud, so neatly on the side where they wish to retain the water, that artisans would certainly [page 129] find it hard to do better. These dams are about three toises broad, [25] and in length more or less, according to [143] the width of the River or Brook they have dammed. Sieur Olivier informed me that he crossed over one of these dams, which was more than two hundred steps long. Sieur Nicolet has seen another of almost a quarter of a league, so strong and so well made that he was filled with astonishment. The waters that are checked by this dam become deep, and form, as it were, a beautiful Pond in which the Beaver goes to swim. I am told even this, that, when soil is lacking in the place where they do this great work, they go and get it elsewhere, bringing it upon their backs. I do not know what to believe of this except that *mirabilis Deus in omnibus operibus suis*.

As we have some Elks here among us, which Monsieur our Governor is domesticating, I have noticed that this tall animal gets on its knees as easily as the Camel, either to drink, eat, or sleep. Nature, or rather its Author, has wisely provided for all; as the Elk is of high stature, he has given it this facility of bending its knees and of easily sustaining its body, which he has not granted to other animals that are smaller and of less height. [page 131]

## [144] CHAPTER VIII.

### ON THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW FRANCE, ON THE GREAT RIVER ST. LAWRENCE.

IN contemplating the progress of affairs in New France, I seem to see an Aurora emerging from the profound darkness of the night, which, lighting up the surface of the earth with its golden rays, finally changes into that great Ocean of light brought in by the Sun. The great losses incurred by these Gentlemen in the early infancy of their Company are indeed like a most heavy night, which covered all these countries with horror. They were never thought of except to be rebuffed, they were never looked upon except with aversion. The rightful possession of these lands was debated in France, while famine and the English, one after the other, divided and afflicted them. The Lilies died here in their birth; the few French who dwelt here were Strangers in their own Land. In short, these immense Provinces could aspire to no [145] higher fortune than to be made a storehouse for the skins of dead animals, than to fill savage mouths, to support Elk, Beaver, and great quantities of Trees. Behold to what height the glory of New France could attain under the bondage of the Foreigner, or under the administration of those who love it only for its spoils! But, God having poured out his blessings upon this new Company, that night has been scattered; and now the Dawn of a mild and peaceful prosperity is [page 133] spreading along our great River. This makes us hope that the Sun of plenty will follow these happy beginnings, every day advancing until it reaches the highest point of its Apogee, never to descend therefrom. For the greatest abundance that can be wished for it, is the abundance of virtues, whose fruits are eternal. But let us point out some of the rays of this Dawn, which is beginning to show forth its beauties.

I made it understood by the heading of this Chapter that I would not speak of what occurs or of what is encountered in the whole extent of New [146] France,-as, for example, in Acadia, or the Residence of saint Anne at Cape Breton, or the settlement of St. Charles on the Island of saint Louis at Miscou. [26] For although the greatest of Rivers indeed opens to us a royal highroad by which we may visit one another, and exchange the good things that God has bestowed upon each country, yet our harbors are not yet sufficiently stocked with ships, nor our dwellings numerous enough for people to undertake this commerce. The Savages, who alone journey over these lands or sail in their little gondolas upon these Rivers, occasionally bring us news of these more distant settlements. For instance, lately a stout young fellow coming from Acadia informed us that Monsieur de Rasilly was considered a very great Captain, not only among the French and English, but also in the estimation of all the Tribes of his Country. [27] He is not mistaken. The integrity of this great man deserves to be honored, even in the midst of Barbarism. This preamble is long; let us enter our place of residence.

[147] Four things make a Country desirable: good [page 135] soil, strong and fortified localities, the character and number of inhabitants, and the government.

As to the excellence of the land which forms the banks of the great River, I shall speak hereafter. As to strongholds, I shall simply tell what there are. Monsieur de Champlain, before his death, fortified the place that the English had usurped and that they surrendered. Since his death, the work has been continued there, and the redoubt which he raised to command the length of the Quay has been repaired; the cannons which faced upon the river have been increased in number, the platform upon which they rest has been strengthened. The Islet de Richelieu remains as it was, with its heavy ordnance. I spoke of it last year, and will say no more about it at present. Plans grow with time. Monsieur de Montmagny, our Governor, has traced the plan, as I have already said, of a fortress



which is to be regularly built. Some are working at the lime, others at the brick, and others are hauling stone, and others leveling the ground. They have drawn the plans of a city, in order that all building [148] hereafter shall be done systematically. A place on the river has been visited which can prevent not only the passage of big Ships, but also of little Barks and perhaps even of Shallops.

The settlement at the three Rivers has been increased. by two detached buildings, by a store, and by a platform provided with cannon. Now this is what has been done, but not all that ought to be done, for the preservation of the Country.

I say nothing about the houses of private persons, which have been built and are building every day, some here, some there, according to the inclination [page 137] and convenience of each. Those who have not seen the Country in its poverty, perhaps do not admire these still quite small beginnings. As to me, I frankly confess that K<sup>ébec</sup> seems to me another Country, and no longer the little corner hidden away at the end of the world, where could be seen nothing but some dilapidated huts and a few Europeans. The courage of these Gentlemen is going much farther; they are thinking about a number of homes or settlements as far up as the great Sault de saint Louys, which will be [149] some day perhaps as many Cities. Indeed, in the course of time they will even be able to secure the great river up as far as the fresh-water sea of the Hurons, which is a lake of more than five hundred leagues in extent. But we must unite and rally our forces in some permanent and well-protected places, before spreading out so far.

As to the inhabitants of New France, they have multiplied far beyond our hopes. When we entered the Country, we found here only a single family, who were seeking a passage back to France in order to live there under the laws of the true Religion. And now we see a great number of very honorable persons land here every year, who come to cast themselves into our great forests as if into the bosom of peace, to live here with more piety, more immunity, and more liberty. The din of Palaces, the great uproar of Lawyers, Litigants, and Solicitors is heard here only at a thousand leagues' distance. Exactions, deceits, thefts, rapes, assassinations, treachery, enmity, black malice, are seen here only once a year, in the letters and Gazettes which people bring from Old [150] France. Not that we have not our maladies, but they are easier to cure; and, besides, no money is needed [page 139] to pay for the attendance of the Physicians. Would to God that souls enamored of peace could see how sweet is life remote from the ~gehenna of a thousand superfluous compliments, of the tyranny of lawsuits, of the ravages of war, and of an infinite number of other savage beasts that we do not encounter in our forests. But I am not taking heed, while intending to speak of the new inhabitants of New France, I go on talking about the peace they possess. Let us say then that we have here two brave Chevaliers, one as Governor, Monsieur de Montmagny, the other as his Lieutenant, Monsieur de l'Isle. We have also some very worthy Gentlemen here, and a number of fine-looking and resolute soldiers. It is a pleasure to see them engage in their warlike exercises during the calmness of peace, to hear the noise of muskets and of cannon, only in rejoicing, our great forests and mountains responding to these reports by Echoes rolling as innocent thunders, which have neither [151] bolts nor lightning. The Diane [28] wakens us every morning; we see the sentinels resting upon their arms. The guardhouse is always well supplied; each squad has its days of sentry duty. In a word, our fortress at K<sup>ébec</sup> is guarded in time of peace as is an important place in the midst of war. The remaining and greater part of the population is composed of different kinds of artisans, and of some respectable families, and has considerably increased this year. Our Savages themselves, who are not great admirers of the Universe, are astonished to see, they say, so many Captains and so many children of Captains. Among the families that have come recently, those of Monsieur de Repentigny and Monsieur de la Poterie, gallant Gentlemen, hold the first [page 141] rank. [29] When we were told at K<sup>ébec</sup> that there were many persons at Tadoussac who were coming to increase our Colony, that nothing was seen down there but men, women and little children, -we praised God, and prayed him to bestow his holy benediction upon these new Emigrants; but when we were assured that there were, among others, six Damsels, and some children as beautiful [152] as the day, that Messieurs de Repentigny and de la Poterie were establishing a large household, and that they were in good health, I leave you to imagine if joy did not take possession of our hearts, and surprise of our minds. All this was doubled in their presence; their elegance, their conversation, showed us the great difference there is between our French and our Savages. Who will now find difficulties in crossing our seas, since children so tender, Damsels so delicate, women naturally timid, ridicule and laugh at the vastness of the Ocean? Let us quickly bring this Chapter to a close. It remains to speak of our government, Ecclesiastical and Civil. I have already said that there is no chance here for Tricksters. The quarrels which I have seen arise up to the present have appeared only soon to disappear. Every one is his own Advocate, and the first person one meets judges as a final tribunal from which there is no appeal. If there is anything that is worth reporting to Monsieur the Governor, he despatches it in two words, or has it arranged and concluded by those who may have knowledge of the affair. [153] This is not saying that one cannot proceed judicially here, and that this has not been done occasionally; but as there are no great causes for dispute, so we can have no great trials, and consequently the [page 143] whole system of government is mild and agreeable. Everywhere there are libertine spirits who consider the mildest laws as chains; but their discontent is a disease of the mind, and does not arise from the severity of the laws, which are in no wise characterized by bitterness. Furthermore, those laws enacted here are also observed. Here are some proofs of this. On the twenty-ninth of December of the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, there were placed upon a pillar in front of the Church certain notices and prohibitions, with certain penalties, against blasphemy, drunkenness, failing to attend the Mass and divine services on Holydays. In pursuance of which an iron collar was fastened to the same pillar, and a chevalet [30] near by for the delinquents; and here in fact, on the sixth of January, a drunkard and blasphemer was placed; and on the twenty-second, one of our residents was condemned to fifty livres fine for having made some Savages drunk. [31] The best laws in the world [154] are of no value, if they are not observed. As to Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it is only exercised as yet in the hearts and consciences. Truly, we have reason to bless God, seeing that the increase of our Parishioners is the augmentation of his praises. The first sacrifices of the Mass that we presented in this country were offered in a wretched little hut that we would be ashamed of now; afterwards we used a room, then they had a Chapel built. They have tried to change it into a Church, enlarging it by half or thereabout; and with all that, on F<sup>ête</sup>-days the first two Masses which are said at K<sup>ébec</sup> are so frequented that this large Chapel, or this little Church, is full *usque ad cornu altaris*, from one end to the [page 145] other. The service is now conducted with solemnity; besides the low Masses, one is sung every Sunday and every F<sup>ête</sup>-day, when the holy Water and Bread are blessed; a Lecture is given, for the instruction of the more ignorant; and there is preaching at the proper time, and an explanation of the Catechism after Vespers. Our French are present, [155] some to be better instructed, others to give courage to the children, who do as well as in any Parish I have ever seen in France. As soon as we had been lodged near the Church, Father Lallemant, who had just begun to live at the Residence, at the same time initiated its solemnities; Father de Quen has succeeded him with the same inclination for ceremony. I frankly confess that my heart melted the first time I assisted in this divine service, at the sight of our Frenchmen so greatly rejoicing to hear sung aloud and publicly the praises of the great God in the midst of a barbarous People, at the sight of little children speaking the Christian language in another world. It seemed to me that a well-regulated Church, where God is served with love and respect, had crossed the sea; or that I found myself all of a sudden in our own France, after having passed some years in the country of the Savages. What is a common thing for you in Old France, and touches only the best-disposed souls, rejoices us to the bottom of our hearts in our little Churches built of foreign wood. As often as we present to the God of Heaven [156] the adorable sacrifice of the Altar, in some new place, it seems to us that we banish

therefrom the demons, and that we take possession of these lands in the name of Jesus Christ our sovereign Lord and Master, whom we wish to see reigning fully in the **[page 147]** hearts of our French and in the belief of our Savages. Monsieur Gand's zeal in exercising all his energies to cause our French to love these solemn and public devotions, seems to me very praiseworthy. But the regulations of Monsieur our Governor, his very remarkable example, and the piety of the more prominent people, hold all in the line of duty. Who would refuse to attend the explanation of the Catechism, since these persons of worth and authority honor it with their presence, and take great pleasure in occasionally hearing sung in the Savage language the prayer of the Son of God, and the articles of our belief by the still childish mouths of little boys and girls, French and Savage? God be praised through time and through eternity by the tongues of all the Nations of the earth.

I forgot to say that the establishment [157] of a College is also of great service for the welfare of the country.<sup>[32]</sup> Also, a number of very respectable persons can assure us that they would never have crossed the Ocean to come to New France, if they had not known that there were persons there capable of directing their consciences, of procuring their salvation, and of instructing their children in virtue, and in the knowledge of Letters. **[page 149]**

## CHAPTER IX.

### ANSWERS TO SOME PROPOSITIONS SUBMITTED TO ME FROM FRANCE.

SOME persons of standing have caused to be proposed to me, privately and from different places, certain difficulties in regard to which they wish to be enlightened, in order to decide whether to cross over into these countries. It is reasonable to give them exact and satisfactory answers.

- I. It is asked whether this country is beyond the incursions of the Spaniard; and thereupon a Chorography is desired, to see the distance there is between new France and the lands he possesses in America.

[158] I answer that there is no need of a Chorography to know this distance; besides, I could only indicate it on the maps already in circulation, having neither the time, nor the leisure, nor the means of visiting so many places to take the necessary altitudes; nevertheless, what I am going to say will fully satisfy the question. The Spaniard could only come to us by sea or by land. To come by land is impossibility itself, and he who has ever so little knowledge of the Country would make himself ridiculous by fearing his approach across so many hundreds of leagues of woods, of forests, of rivers, of lakes, and of mountains. To come by water, he has a long voyage to make; for between him and us there is the whole of Florida, and perhaps several **[page 151]** other countries beyond; all of Virginia, and all the other lands which belong to France, which are of vast extent. This is not all; after having found the mouth of our great river, he would have to go up about two hundred leagues, according to the sailors, who only allow about seventeen leagues and a half to a degree. So if we follow [159] the Geographers, who make it twenty-five leagues, he would have to come over three hundred leagues up this great River to reach us; and, when all this distance is covered, we are now in such a condition and in such numbers that we do -not fear his forces. If Monsieur de Champlain had had food and powder and other munitions of war, the English would never have entered the fort of K<sup>◆</sup>bec. He had the right kind of courage, and the place was besides easy enough to hold, although it was nothing compared to what has been added and is being added to it every day. As to provisions, they always send us enough for two years; and indeed we shall soon be in a condition to support ourselves from our own labor. But that is what I am asked in the second place.

- II. The land being cleared and ploughed, will it produce enough for the inhabitants?

I answer, yes; this is the opinion of those who understand the subject. Sieur Giffard, who has been clearing the land for only two years, and still leaving a great many stumps, hopes to harvest enough this year, if his wheat [160] yields in proportion to present indications, to maintain twenty persons. The last year's harvest was eight puncheons of wheat, two puncheons of peas, three puncheons of Indian corn; and all this was done by the labor of seven men, who were at the same time engaged in **[page 153]** building, in making hay, and in other work. His land is good; not all is like it.

- III. Is there any hope of apple and other fruit trees producing fruit here?

I cannot answer positively, as I have had no ocular proof of this. Sieur Hebert planted some apple trees during his lifetime, which have borne some very good fruit, as I have been assured; but the cattle spoiled these trees. We have grafted some wild trees this year, and the scions have united very well. Time will show us what there is in it. One sees here pear, apple, plum, cherry, and other trees bearing wild fruit; if they can stand the severity of the winter, I do not see why they should die for being grafted with good shoots. . In some places there are many wild vines loaded with [161] grapes; some have made wine of them through curiosity; I tasted it, and it seemed to me very good. Many are sure that the vine would succeed here; and, when I urged against this the rigor of the cold, they replied that the vine-stock will be safe all Winter under the snow, and that in the Spring it need not be feared that the vines will freeze as they do in France, because they will not sprout so early. All this seems probable.

- IV. How long would it take twenty men to clear an arpent of land? What would it cost apiece to maintain them for a year? And what provisions would it be necessary to furnish?

Twenty men will clear in one year thirty arpents of land, so clean that the plow can pass through it; if they had an interest in the matter, perhaps they would do more. There are some places which are much easier than others. The usual task for each man is an arpent and a half a year, if he is not **[page 155]** engaged in other work. As rations, each one is given two loaves of bread, of about six or seven pounds, a week,<sup>◆</sup>that is, a puncheon of flour a year; [162] two pounds of lard, two ounces of butter, a little measure of oil and of vinegar; a little dried codfish, that is, about a pound; a bowlful of peas, which is about a chopine [pint],<sup>◆</sup>and all this for one week. As to their drinks, they are given a chopine of cider per day, or a quart of beer, and occasionally a drink of wine, as on great f<sup>◆</sup>te-days. In the winter they are given a drop of brandy in the morning, if one has any. What they can get from the Country, in hunting or fishing, is not included in this. By following this memorandum, one can see what it costs to keep a man, and the provisions that must be supplied. I say nothing of the other edibles which it is well to bring,<sup>◆</sup>prunes, rice, raisins,



and other things that can be used for the sick. Neither do I speak of the clothes, blankets, mattresses, and other such things, that every one can bring according to his condition and ability.

- V. How is the great saint Lawrence River formed? What kind of banks has it? How far up do the great Vessels go, and of what burden are those which go up as far [163] as Kébec and the three Rivers? What is the condition of the fortifications that have been made for the safety of the Country?

Here are a great many questions, all at once, which it is difficult to answer without making long journeys. When you come up to Kébec and have the wind astern, you hardly notice the banks of the great River, which sometimes do not appear at all, either from their great distance, the River being very wide, or from the fogs that obscure the view. To coast along [page 157] these shores, you would have to make four hundred leagues, and carry men and provisions for a long time. Yet I must give some answer. Upon entering these lands, you encounter a Gulf as large as a sea; farther up, this Gulf changes into a very broad River, for you can scarcely see the banks while sailing in the middle of it. It keeps on narrowing, and yet it is fully ten leagues wide at more than a hundred leagues from its mouth. Opposite Kébec, where it becomes very narrow, it is six hundred and seventy-two toises wide, this distance having been measured on the ice. Four leagues farther up, its bed widens [164] out again, and opposite the settlement of the three Rivers, which is thirty leagues above Kébec, it is still two or three thousand ordinary paces in width, as I wrote last year; a little higher it forms the great Lake of saint Peter, about seven leagues wide. This King of all Rivers is bordered sometimes by mountains, sometimes by a flat country, or by land but slightly elevated. I have often navigated it from Kébec up to the three Rivers. I have observed that some of the banks are rocky, others sandy; upon others one finds clay, heavy soil, very good for making brick. The Country is beautiful and very attractive, intersected by rivers, brooks, and torrents issuing from the ground. The Savages pointed out to me some places where the Hiroquois once cultivated the land. It seems to me I am going into repetitions, but those who ask for these answers wish it so. This River from the Cape of saint Lawrence, that is, from its mouth, up to Tadoussac flows partly toward the Northwest, a quarter from the West, partly toward the West, a quarter from the Southwest, according to Monsieur [page 159] Champlain's maps; for I have not made these observations while sailing upon it, not supposing [165] that that would be necessary for my purposes. As to the size of the Ships that can enter this River, I am persuaded that all those which can sail the Ocean with safety can safely come up as far as Tadoussac, and perhaps even to Kébec, and a little higher. However, they do not generally bring vessels up here except those of one hundred to two hundred tons. Beyond Kébec only Barks are sent, which pass far above the three Rivers. Enough upon this point. As to the question about fortifications, I have answered it in the preceding Chapter.

- VI. In regard to the quality of the soils, to describe those which are suitable for tillage, for planting, for pasture; whether it will be necessary to work them with teams of oxen, or horses; what grains will they bear?

If our great forests were leveled, I could very easily answer these questions; but as they are still standing, and as one does not easily visit them, I will say that I have seen both good and bad land in the places I have frequented. One must reason about [166] New France in this respect the same as one does about the Old. There are fertile lands, in some places sand, in others meadows, and places very fit to make meadows. I believe there are some quarters adapted to vines, to plants; but all these are not together, and yet this is what one would desire. In these beginnings, as all these experiments have not yet been made, I cannot indicate the peculiar quality of every soil with certainty. The three Rivers seems to me like Anjou; it is a sandy country, and I believe the vine would flourish there. Kébec [page 161] is diversified; there are very low places where wheat might do well, upon the heights the vine and wheat might flourish. As to wheat, experience has given us faith. Meadows can be made in a thousand places. There are some upon the borders of the great River, but these are greatly injured by the tides. There is no need to bring over grains as seed; they will be found here in exchange for other grains, or something else. March wheat sown in the spring succeeds better than wheat sown before winter. Not that I have not seen some very fine wheat that was sown in October. [167] But as we are not yet thoroughly acquainted with the weather and the nature of the soil and climate, it is safer to sow in the Spring than before the Winter. Common barley and hulled barley succeed to perfection, and rye does very well; at least I can assert that I have seen all these grains grow here, as beautiful as they have in France. The peas are better and more tender than those they bring over in ships. Pot-herbs do very well, but the seeds must be brought over. It is true that the nearness of the forests, and so much rotten wood, of which the land is, as it were, formed and nourished, engender, at times, insects which gnaw everything; as these animals die during the heat of Summer, everything comes to perfection, but sometimes later than is desirable to secure the grain and seed. We have here oxen and cows, which we use to cultivate the cleared land; this year some asses have been brought over, which will be of great service; horses could be used, but there is no hurry about bringing them.

- VII. Is building stone to be found there, [168] also clay, sand?

All these are here in abundance in some [page 163] places, in others not. For a distance of two leagues round about Kébec lime is made; good building stone is quarried, which can be easily cut; excellent brick is made, and sand is found almost everywhere.

- VIII. Notice what the country furnishes to sustain human life, the kinds of animals, etc.

Game among river birds is abundant in season, that is, in the Spring and Autumn; but as it has been so greatly disturbed in the more inhabited localities, it is going farther and farther away. There are Islands which are full of Geese, Bustards, Ducks of various kinds, Teal and other Game; but, as we are occupied with more necessary affairs, we do not often engage in hunting these animals. There are Elks, Beavers, Porcupines, Hares, and some of the deer family, such as the common red Deer, and a kind of cow that appears to have some affinity with ours. [33] This chase of the larger animals is as yet mainly indulged in by the Savages, who, by the pursuit of them, have driven these animals from our settlements; [169] some of the French, however, have killed Elks, but not many. The time will come when they can be domesticated, and we shall make good use of them, having them drag over the snow the wood and other things which we shall need; these Gentlemen are keeping three of these animals, two males and one female, and we shall see how they will succeed; if they become tame, it will be easy to provide for them, as they eat nothing but wood. In time, parks can be made, in which to keep Beavers; these would be treasure-houses, besides furnishing us with fresh meat at all times. For if one sees so many ewes, sheep, and lambs in France, although the Ewe generally bears but one lamb a year, [page 165] I leave you to imagine how much more Beavers will multiply, since the female bears several.

As to the fish, he is here, as it were, in his empire. There are a great many Lakes, Ponds, and Rivers, filled with them. The great river is full of Sturgeon, Salmon, Shad, Pike, Flounders, goldfish, whitefish, Carp of different kinds, Eels, etc. Not that they [170] can be caught everywhere in the same abundance, but there are places where the quantity of fish seems marvelous. While I am writing this, here comes a boy bringing twenty-five or thirty Flounders, caught in one night. There are some Lakes where one could live on fish, winter and summer. This last winter our French caught Pike there three or four feet long, Sturgeons of four or five feet, and other fish in abundance. It was a Savage who made me acquainted with this trade. It is now being enjoyed by our French at the three Rivers, where the fishing, to tell the truth, exceeds all ideas that we may have of it; but it is not that way everywhere. When we can do here as we do in France, where certain ones give themselves up solely to fishing, others to hunting, others to tilling the soil, others to building, we shall have as many comforts as we do in France; but we cannot yet hope for that, as there are not enough of us.

- IX. What kind of merchandise can we send from here to France, such as Peltries; Codfish, dry and fresh; oil of the Whale, and of other big fish? What minerals can be found here, [171] gummy woods which produce resin, Pines, Firs, Cedars, Oak planks, materials with which to build our Ships?

I answer that all these things are found in this country, but there are not yet enough people here to [page 167] gather in its riches. We have Codfish at our door, so to speak. They come from France to fish for it in our great river, at Gaspé, at l'Isle percée, at Bonaventure, [34] at Miskou; and yet the Codfish that is eaten at Kébec generally comes from France, because there are not yet enough men here to go down to that fishery. I can say the same of the coal and gypsum, these are found here, but ships are needed to go and get them; these forces are as yet lacking, for our chief care must be to provide for lodgings, fortifications, and the clearing of the land. The Basques come up as far as Tadoussac, or farther, to kill Whales; effort will be made this year, I have been told, to take Porpoises, or white Whales, which pass in numberless shoals before Kébec, [35] For a long time we have seen them swimming before our eyes, and yet [172] more urgent affairs have thus far retarded this enterprise. And yet, if it were necessary to go ten or twenty leagues from here to get them, they would be let alone. Everything will come in its turn. Some persons of good business ability, such as are needed in this country, assure me that they are sending to France Clapboards, Oak planks, and those made of other woods, for Ships, to the value of ten thousand francs; and all this has not taken one year's work, for they have been engaged part of the time in clearing the land. I should like to have fifty such families here, but not all are so capable. If any profit can be made out of Firs, Cedars, Pines, Spruce, there are plenty of them here and in many places. As to the mines, the land must first be cleared, because we must not expect from France the quantity of flour necessary for so many mouths, and for so many persons who will have to [page 169] work at the furnaces. One man thinks he has found a gold mine, and another a silver mine; I am not prepared to say whether this is true or not. Not only can [173] Codfish of all kinds be found here, but also Salmon in some places; one can also salt Eels in abundance, which are very good; we catch and make provisions of these long fish because they are found at Kébec; the Salmon and Codfish, being farther away, are out of our reach; but it will not be always so. As to the Peltries of Beavers, Otters, Foxes, and other animals, this is something which need not be considered, for these Gentlemen reserve this business for themselves. One can, however, make something from these, inside the Country, for they do not care through what hands their Beavers pass, provided they come to their storehouses. The inhabitants can barter the products of their own lands, but on condition that they will not have these sent over to France. This seems very reasonable, for it is impossible to defray the heavy expenses of their shipments if they do not derive some benefits from these countries. I wish every one would grasp my idea, that all would thoroughly comprehend this truth, that the power of this honorable Company is the support of the Country. If their resources are taken away, [174] we shall all be undone; if we all contribute to their prosperity, we shall build up and strengthen our own.

Now, in regard to this Trading; Your Reverence wrote me and called my attention to the rule of the seventh general Congregation of our Society, which absolutely forbids all kinds of commerce and business, under any pretext whatever. Some others of our Fathers send me word that we must not even look [page 171] at from the corners of our eyes, or touch with the ends of our fingers, the skin of any of these animals, which are of great value here; what can be the cause of this advice? Surely, it cannot be that our Society distrusts those it sends to these regions, in regard to this matter, any more than in a great many others. It seems to me I have heard that, in France, some who do not know us, and do not wish to know us, cry out that our hands are not clean from this traffic. May God bless them and make them understand the truth, as I am about to utter it, when it will conduce to his glory. We cannot expect long to serve the Master we serve, without being slandered. These [175] are his liveries and he himself would not recognize us, so to speak, if we did not wear them.

Now here is what I can write about it, with the same sincerity with which I would some day render an account to God of all my actions. Peltry is not only the best thing and the easiest to make use of in this country, but it is also the coin of the greatest value. And the best of it is that, after it has been used as a covering, it is found to be ready-made gold and silver. You know in France how much consideration is given the style of a gown. Here all there is to do is to cut it out of a Beaver skin, and the Savage woman straightway sews it to her little child with a Moose tendon, with admirable promptness. Whoever wishes to pay in this coin for the goods he buys here, saves thereby the twenty-five per cent that the market price gives them over that in France for the risk they run upon the sea. The day-laborers also would rather receive the wages for their work in this money than in any other. And certainly it seems that commutative justice allows [page 173] that, if what comes [176] to us from France is dearer for having floated over the sea, what we have here is worth something for having been chased in the woods and over the snow, and for being the wealth of the Country; especially as those who are paid with this coin always find therein their reckoning and something more. It is for this reason that the Gentlemen of the Company permit to a -reasonable extent this practice to every one, and do not care whether these skins are used for trade or for protection from the cold, provided that, in the end, they come back to their storehouse, and do not cross the seas except in their own Ships. In consequence of this, if occasionally one of them gets into our hands, we do not scruple to use it in the way of a purchase, any more than we would as a covering for the little Savages who cause us expense, or to make for ourselves shoes from the skins of Moose, that we may walk upon our snowshoes, for which the common ones are of no use whatever, because they are so hard. Such is here the custom of both the French and the Barbarians. We send also some old Elk skins to our Fathers who are among the Hurons, and some Porcelain, [177] when we have any; it is the best part of their money, and with it they pay for their frugal provisions of Indian corn and smoked fish, as also for the materials and making of their bark Palaces. This, in truth, is all the profit we derive here from Peltries and other rare things of the Country, all the use that we make of them. If it is dispassionately believed that there is some kind of traffic, or even if Your Reverence deems it best to drop all this, in order not to offend any one, we are all ready to give it up entirely. I say all, meaning as many of [page 175] us as are here, and, if I dare to build hopes upon the goodness of our Lord, those who come after us will



keep the same rule. What blindness would it be for us to come here to disobey our Superiors, or to scandalize those for whom we would willingly have sacrificed our lives! But if, on the contrary, you write us that all this is according to God, without semblance of traffic, ♦ although a few slanderers, about whom we should not trouble ourselves, may stir up their passions at it, and turn it into poison, ♦ we shall not fail to go on, after [178] having entreated these same lugubrious and irritable natures to believe that, if it pleases them to make us give up this innocent practice, they must open their own coffers to assist us in these distant Countries, after they have, through caprice, cut off a part of what was necessary to us. However carefully we have been able to manage things up to the present time, the last letters from that one of our Fathers who handles our income or our charitable gifts over there, and who sends us our supplies, indicate that without a little miracle he experienced lately in the assistance of saint Joseph, he would not have been able to furnish us anything this year. Now how would it be if we had to buy the remainder here, and send to him its items increased by a third or a fourth? Besides, if there is any charity in the world, no one should envy our little Seminary children because we cover them with stuffs which originate among them, and which last longer, especially upon their rather uneasy shoulders, and which protect them better from the cold than anything else. Nor should we be blamed for using [179] the money of the Country to save something for the benefit of these poor abandoned creatures; to **[page 177]** give them covering and food while they are willing to be instructed and desirous of becoming Christians, if they are not so already; and to have something with which to bury them, when they come to die. If France were reduced to such a condition that money was not in circulation, one would be obliged in commerce to use the articles and commodities themselves, trading one for the other; or even if there were any profit in doing this beyond the mere necessity, and if such were the custom, could any one find it wrong that, no matter what profession we make of poverty, we should follow the way of others, and when some objects of value should become ours, whether by purchase or donation, ♦ either in exchange, or as a pure gift, ♦ we should make use of them according to circumstances? We have no greater attractions for these poor people than their hope of getting from us some material assistance, and they never cease asking us for it. To refuse them is to estrange them. If we always give to them without taking anything in return, we [180] shall soon be at the end of our string; and yet, if we take away from them the liberty of asking, they will never become civilized. What remains then? To tell them to apply to those who have more to give than we? That will hardly help us, or render them more familiar with us. Shall we receive in order to give to those who would furnish us with something to satisfy them? This would be making us their Agents. But who has ever imagined that it is trafficking to give and take according to the necessity of the ordinary occurrences of human life? inasmuch as what you get in one place will exceed the value **[page 179]** of what you have given for it in another place. This is what I had to say on this point, yielding after all, as I have already declared, to what obedience shall deem proper or what shall be considered most edifying. For to consent to answer those who slander us, as if we were secretly making some other use of these skins and sending them to France, this would be making ourselves ridiculous. It is just as well to leave them something to say; and if they find ears ready to listen to these absurdities, I would be culpable [181] in expecting to find them open to the truth. What then? Shall men who have given up greater worldly blessings than they could hope for in the imaginations of these slanderers, finally decide to exchange France for Canada, to go there for the sake of two or three Beaver skins, and to trade them off unknown to their Superiors, ♦ that is to say, at the expense of their consciences and of the loyalty they owe to him, to imitate whom they have so subjugated themselves that they cannot freely dispose of even a pin?

## CREDITE POSTERI.

Moreover, I shall be displeased with all this honorable Company of New France, if they are aware of anything like this in us, and do not speak of it. What fruit for heaven can they hope from our works, if they see us attached to the earth by avarice of any kind? Some one will also urge for us that, if we became implicated in these infamous transactions, without these Gentlemen finding it out, they would not be very vigilant in their affairs and in the principal part of their business. But I am abusing my leisure **[page 181]** and your patience, in dwelling [182] so long on what did not merit an answer. [\[36\]](#)

X. I am asked finally what this Country of the Hurons is, and what prospects there would be for those who would like to go there.

To this I could not answer better than by the *Relation* which I send with this one. I pray God that he may send there a number of young men, strong, bold, and courageous, but, above all, singularly virtuous, and who would prefer to lose all else, rather than his holy grace, even if it were only for a moment. Without this qualification, they would ruin body and soul, considering the occasions for it that are encountered there. With this qualification, they would perform the offices of so many Apostles. And, besides, they could after a while live there at their ease, and be held in honor like so many little Kings. But they must undertake this voyage for the love of God alone. He who seeks only him is astonished to see himself surrounded by all the rest. **[page 183]**

## [183] CHAPTER X.

### SOME ADVICE TO THOSE WHO DESIRE TO CROSS OVER INTO NEW FRANCE.

ALL those who desire to come and increase this Colony are either people of means, or poor people; I will speak to both. Let us begin with the poor.

A poor man burdened with a wife and children should not come over here the first years with his family, if he is not hired by the Gentlemen of the Company, or by some one else who will bring them hither: otherwise he will suffer greatly, and will not make any headway. The Country is not yet in a condition to care for the poor who cannot work. But if there happen to be some worthy young men or able-bodied married men, who can handle the axe, the hoe, the spade, and the plough, ♦ such people, if willing to work, could become rich in a little while in this Country, to which they could finally bring [184] their families. This is the way they should proceed.

Four or five of them would have to join together, and engage themselves to some family for five or six years on the following conditions: That they should be boarded during all this time without receiving any wages, but also that they should possess entirely and in their own right one-half of all the land they clear. And, as they will need something for their own support, the contract should provide that all they **[page 185]** get every year, from the lands they have already cleared, should be shared by half; this half, with the little profits they can make in the Country, would be enough to keep them, and to pay after the first or second year for half the tools which they will use in clearing and in tilling the land. Now if four men could clear eight arpents of land a year, doing nothing else,

winter or summer, in six years forty-eight arpents would be cleared, of which twenty-four would belong to them. With these twenty-four arpents they could support thirty-six persons, or even forty-eight, [185] if the land is good. Is not this a way of becoming rich in a little while? And all the more so, as the land here will one day become very profitable and will bear a great deal of grain. There is now brought from France so much flour, with its attendant risks upon the sea, that if some one had wheat here these risks and the encumbrance of the vessels would be obviated, and he would derive much profit therefrom. There are so many strong and robust peasants in France who have no bread to put in their mouths; is it possible they are so afraid of losing sight of the village steeple, as they say, that they would rather languish in their misery and poverty, than to place themselves some day at their ease among the inhabitants of New France, where with the blessings of earth they will far more easily find those of heaven and of the soul? For debauchery, dissoluteness and intrigues are not yet current here. But to whom do I speak? To people who cannot know what I am writing, unless more capable ones than they tell it to them. These I beg to do so, in the name of God and of the King; for the interests of both are involved in peopling this Country.

[186] As to people of wealth and rank, I would **[page 187]** advise them before coming here to obtain from the Gentlemen of the Company a place to build a house in the town which has been laid out, and also a few arpents of land near the town, capable of sustaining their families. In addition to this, a grant of some fine locality which they will choose in the course of time. When this has been accomplished, they must bring over at least two Masons, two Carpenters, and some laborers; and, if they desire more, some workmen to clear the land, provided with tools adapted to their trade. Above all, let them have some axes made expressly, sparing no money on them, for the winter is harder than bad steel. There must be a man of authority and discretion to take care of all these people, to direct them, and to take charge of the provisions which are sent over. The more good flour that can be sent here the better, and the more security there will be. Monsieur de Repentigny has brought enough for two years, and in doing so has acted wisely. It would be a good thing to bring over in a bundle the parts of a gribane, or large boat, capable of sailing upon the tides; that is to say, it ought to be elevated [187] at the sides, and perhaps flat, in order to draw less water. It must be strong and large, to carry wood, stone, lime, and other such things. It could be put together at Tadoussac. All these men having reached the Country, some of them will be occupied in clearing the land, according to the plan of the one who will direct them. When a building capable of accommodating them and their servants is finished, the whole family will come over, and will bring some cattle if they receive word that it is best to do so, for perhaps these can be found upon the ground; to have them on board prevents better things from being taken, and costs enormously, **[page 189]** unless they are placed with those which are at Cap de Tourmente, <sup>[37]</sup> by an understanding with the Gentlemen who have some there. If this order is followed, when the women and children reach here they will all be comforted at finding a dwelling ready for them, a garden for their refreshment, and people at their service who will have a knowledge of the Country. As I have been told, without any one being named, that there are very honorable families who wish to come to enjoy the delights of rest and peace in New France, I have thought that the love [188] I already feel for them, without having the honor of their acquaintance, obliges me to give them this advice, which cannot injure them. I will make two more suggestions. The first, that if they can have men who have interests at stake, to clear the land, as I have just said, it will be much better. The men who work for wages, for the most part try to be like some of our neighbors, who, having scarcely passed the line of the Equator, all begin to call themselves Gentlemen, and no longer care to work; if they felt constrained to do it for themselves, they would not sleep over it.

In the second place, I beg those who shall come, to come with a desire to do good. New France will some day be a terrestrial Paradise if our Lord continues to bestow upon it his blessings, both material and spiritual. But, meanwhile, its first inhabitants must do to it what Adam was commanded to do in that one which he lost by his own fault. God had placed him there to fertilize it by his own work and to preserve it by his vigilance, and not to stay there and do nothing. I have more desire to see this country cleared, [189] than peopled. Useless mouths would be a burden here, during these first years. **[page 191]**

## CHAPTER XI.

### or, JOURNAL OF THE THINGS THAT COULD NOT BE RELATED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

ON the fifteenth of September, having embarked for our residence of the Conception, I was consoled at seeing that the Nibrisiriniens, a tribe living near the Hurons, could understand my Montagn<sup>◆</sup>s jargon. Any one who knows perfectly the language of the K<sup>◆</sup>bec Savages can make himself understood, I conjecture, by all the Tribes from the great Isle of Newfoundland to the Hurons of the Northern region. For the difference in these languages consists only in certain Idioms, that one could easily learn if he frequented these Nations.

On the ninth of October, Father Buteux having entered the Cabin of a Montagn<sup>◆</sup>s Captain, where some Strangers had [190] arrived, this Captain made him sit down beside him, and then, addressing his guests, openly told them many good things about us. " These people," said he, " have great knowledge; they are charitable, they are kind to us in our necessity; one of them has cured my daughter, who was going to die. " Father Quentin had given her some ointments which had helped her. " Nevertheless," he added, " they never ask anything in return; but, on the contrary, they feed our sick people, while restoring them to health. And that you may know how intelligent they are, <sup>◆</sup>Take thy *Massinatrigan*, " he said to the Father, <sup>◆</sup>that is to say, " thy Book or thy **[page 193]** Tablets, " <sup>◆</sup>" write what I shall say. " He repeated to him the names of twelve or thirteen little Nations which are towards the North, and begged him to pronounce them aloud. The Father obeyed him. When these Strangers heard him name these Nations, they were astonished to see so many Tribes enclosed in a little piece of bark, <sup>◆</sup>it is thus they call the leaves of his Tablets. Thereupon the Father took occasion to tell them that God, through the medium of his book, had made us know about the blessings of Heaven, and the [191] torments of Hell. One of them asked him if God had not told him how deep the snow would be the next winter. *Omnes qu<sup>◆</sup> sua sunt qu<sup>◆</sup> runt*. Men of earth think only of earth.

On the first of December, the settlement at the three Rivers being on fire, a Captain of the Savages urged them so vigorously to come to our aid, and to save the bread and the peas, that in fact the storehouse was saved. " For, " said he, " we are lost, if that burns."

On the sixth of the same month, a Savage, seeing an Image of Our Lord in our House, told me that I had killed his brother with a portrait like that. I was quite astonished, and asked him how I had made use of this Image to kill a man. "Dost thou remember, "



said he, " that last winter thou gavest to *Sakapo* ♦*an*, my brother-in-law, such an Image as that? He became sick soon after, and died." Then I remembered that, in fact, upon seeing the wretchedness of these People who were crying from hunger, after having had a large band of them eat with us, I spoke to them about having recourse to the God of Heaven, saying that he would assuredly succor them. [192] I showed them the Image of his Son and placed [page 195] it in the hands of this *Sakapo* ♦*an*, explaining to them all how they must have recourse in their need to him whom it represented, assuring them also that if they believed and hoped in him, they would be assisted; but if they ridiculed him, he would punish them. This wretch never had the courage to show this Image, nor to pray to him whom it represented, for fear of being mocked by his people. Perhaps as a punishment for this treachery, God afflicted him with a sickness which carried him off, as I wrote last year. So this was what my Savage was trying to tell me, imputing to me the death of this man in the presence of several others of his Nation. But, having explained to them how the thing happened, I began to reproach my accuser with having saved his life, which was true. He wished to deny it; but, when I had related all the circumstances of the affair, all the Savages said to him, " Hold thy tongue, thou hast no sense; the Father tells the truth. " He was much surprised when I told him that his brother-in-law and his own sister had determined to kill him in his sleep; and that, [193] if I had not prevented them, he would no longer be in this world. This poor man, quite astounded, began to tell me that he had no brains, and that the threat he had made against me should have been directed against the Hiroquois, and not against any Frenchman, and that I should not get angry with him. I have noticed that the Savages are like Demons in one respect, ♦if you carry a high hand with them, they are cowards; if you yield to them, they are furious. I mean that it is dangerous to use too much severity or too much dissimulation toward them, for either of these two extremes will one day arouse them against us, if we [page 197] are not careful. You see some persons who dare not say a word to them, others drive them with a switch; the former will make them insolent and unbearable, the latter will make them refractory. Being kind to the Savages, helping them in their need, doing them no wrong or injury, exercising some kind of justice toward those individuals who are insolent, especially if their Captains cannot make them listen to reason, ♦these are the means of holding these Barbarians a long time in the line of duty.

[194] On the tenth of the same month of December, Father Buteux having entered a Cabin where they were having an eat-all feast of Bear fat, and taking his place with the others without having noticed this, some one gave him a great dish full of this Nectar. Very much surprised, he refused it, saying he had just dined. The distributor of the feast became angry, and said to him, " Why hast thou come here, then, if thou dost not wish to take part in the feast? Thou must eat all that, otherwise our feast will be spoiled." To please him, the Father tasted a little of it. just then Father Quentin arrived, who also entered without heeding the feast; and behold him doomed to eat his share. When they both declared that it would be impossible, they were accused of stupidity, and of having only a small heart, since they did not have a large stomach. " I have eaten more," said one of them, " than all the black robes together could eat." The Fathers answered him, " Since thou art so valiant a man, eat our share too." " Yes, indeed," said he; and he really did it, on condition that we would give him something more to eat in our little House.

[195] On the same day, ♦which was the second [page 199] since the vow we had made to God in honor of the Conception of the holy Virgin, for the conversion of these Peoples, ♦a Savage came and brought me of his own accord, or rather through the unseen guidance of the holy Spirit, a little girl, to make me a present of her. That greatly rejoiced us, for heretofore there has been great difficulty in obtaining girls. Now to free myself from the importunity of these Barbarians, I advised them to present her to some French Captain; it is thus they call all those who have any authority. I hinted at Monsieur Gand, whom I begged to accept this child, and to make some present to this Savage, assuring him that we would be responsible for everything. He did not fail us, but appeared to be very well pleased, ♦evinced an interest in this Barbarian, and making him a present of a blanket and a keg of sea biscuit, which were placed upon our accounts. He had her lodged at sieur Hebout's, and we immediately had her dressed like a French child, paying her board besides. It is true Monsieur Gand wished to give her a dress at his own expense, so glad was [196] he to see this poor girl in the way of obtaining her own salvation, and that of many others also. We have observed and will observe the same plan in regard to those who have been given to us since, and who will be given to us hereafter; for, as these Barbarians are disposed to retract their promises, I send them to the French Captain, and tell them that he will be off ended if they act like children, who change their minds every moment; this holds them to their duty.

On the eighteenth of the same month, Monsieur de Champlain being very sick, Monsieur Gand went to the Cabins of the Savages to give orders about the [page 201] traffic that was being carried on in brandy and other drinks, which intoxicate and kill these Barbarians. They will finally murder some Frenchman in their drunkenness; and the Frenchmen, in defending themselves, will kill some Savages, and behold the ruin of trade for a time. The prohibition against selling these drinks having been repeated among our French people, it was desired to give fair warning of it to the Savages. Monsieur Gand had it announced to them, that, if any one of them became intoxicated hereafter, he would be asked, when he returned to his [197] senses, who had given or sold him this drink; and that, if he told the truth, no harm would be done to him, but that the Frenchman would have to pay the fine provided in the regulations. In case he should refuse to name the one from whom he had obtained this drink, he would be forbidden to enter the houses of the French; and if any Frenchman admitted him to his own house, both would be punished alike. This is an excellent device to obviate this evil, which will exterminate these Nations if an effective remedy is not found for it. The Savages were very glad of this procedure, ♦saying that, if the French did not give them either wine or brandy, their wives and children would have something to eat, inasmuch as they would make a good living from their Peltries; but that, when it came to exchanging them for drinks, there were only the men and a few women who enjoyed them, and that to the detriment of their health and the loss of their lives. Finally, in order to urge us to enforce these regulations, they asked three times if Monsieur Gand spoke in earnest, or if he were only indulging in words, as had been done, [198] they said, up to that time. They were [page 203] assured that the French and they themselves would be punished in the way described above, if they did not obey. " See who of us is good," they answer; " if, when we go into your houses, we are given a piece of bread instead of a drink of brandy, we shall be far better satisfied." Very well spoken, according to the voice of reason, which makes them see that these " waters of life " cause death; but not according to the senses, for they are only too eager for our drinks, ♦both men and women experiencing a singular pleasure, not in drinking, but in becoming drunk, glorying in this and in making others so. Now the penalties provided by these ordinances having been executed soon afterwards against some Frenchmen who had been forgetful of their duty, the Savages had intelligence enough to say that formerly we had talked, but at present we were acting. Evils cannot be corrected until they are known.

I will notice two instances bearing on this point before proceeding further. The first is, that one of the Savages who had been made drunk, was meditating the murder of a young Frenchman; in fact, he would have killed him, if he could have surprised him. Having slept off the effects of his wine, [199] he learned that the Frenchman who had given him this drink had been condemned to fifty francs fine; I have been told, I know not how true it is, that he promised to give him the value of it in Peltries. This is a proof of natural goodness; but I know the hypocrite, ♦he talks much more readily than he acts. The second is, that Monsieur Gand, in his talk to the Savages, which I have mentioned, remonstrated with them, saying that if death was so common among them they must ascribe,

it to these drinks, which they [page 205] did not know how to use with moderation. " Why dost thou not write to thy great King," said they, " to have him forbid them from bringing over these drinks that kill us? " And when they were answered that our Frenchmen needed them upon the sea, and in the intense cold of their country, " Arrange it, then, so that they alone drink them." An attempt will be made, as I hope, to keep this business under control; but these Barbarians are troublesome to the last degree. Another one, breaking into the conversation, took up the defense of wine and brandy. " No," said he, " it is not these drinks that take away our lives, but your writings; for since you have described our country, our rivers, our lands, and our woods, [200] we are all dying, which did not happen until you came here." We began to laugh upon hearing these new causes of their maladies. I told them that we described the whole world, that we described our own country, that of the Hurons, of the Hiroquois, in short, the whole earth; and yet they did not die elsewhere as they did in their country. It must be, then, that their deaths arose from other causes. They agreed to this.

On the twenty-fifth of December, the day of the birth of our Savior upon earth, Monsieur de Champlain, our Governor, was reborn in Heaven; at least, we can say that his death was full of blessings. I am sure that God has shown him this favor in consideration of the benefits he has procured for New France, where we hope some day God will be loved and served by our French, and known and adored by our Savages. Truly he had led a life of great justice, equity, and perfect loyalty to his King and towards the Gentlemen of the Company. But at his death he [page 207] crowned his virtues with sentiments of piety so lofty, that he astonished us [201] all. What tears he shed! how ardent became his zeal for the service of God! how great was his love for the families here! saying that they must be vigorously assisted for the good of the Country, and made comfortable in every possible way in these early stages, and that he would do it if God gave him health. He was not taken unawares in the account which he had to render unto God, for he had long ago prepared a general Confession of his whole life, which he made with great contrition to Father Lalemant, whom he honored with his friendship. The Father comforted him throughout his sickness, which lasted two months and a half, and did not leave him until his death. He had a very honorable burial, the funeral procession being formed of the People, the Soldiers, the Captains, and the Churchmen. Father Lalemant officiated at this burial, and I was charged with the funeral Oration, for which I did not lack material. Those whom he left behind have reason to be well satisfied with him; for, although he died out of France, his name will not therefor be any less glorious to Posterity.

After these funeral ceremonies, Monsieur de Chateau-fort, [38] who now commands [202] at the three Rivers, assumed his office, in pursuance of the power which had been given to him by the Gentlemen of the Company, through the Letters which were opened and read at once -in the presence of the People assembled in the Church. These Gentlemen had made me the trustee of these documents, to produce them at the proper time and place, which I did.

On the thirtieth of the same month, a Savage, having engaged in a dispute with one of our Fathers [page 209] on the cause of, death, insisted that the Manitou caused sickness and death. The Father, having talked to him of sin, and seeing that this was too deep for him, convinced him by a homely comparison, setting aside the moral cause of death to make him comprehend the physical. " When thy hatchet is dull," said he, " or when it is nicked a little, thy arms do not serve thee so well, because it is sick in its way; when it is entirely broken, and no longer worth anything, thou throwest it away, thou abandonest it; it is as if dead, thy arms can no longer make use of it. Now what thy axe is to thy hands, thy body is in regard to thy soul; when thine eye is hurt, it does not serve thy soul [203] so readily in seeing, because it is sick; thus it is with other injured organs, the soul can-not use them so easily; but if the lungs, the spleen, the heart, or any other vital organ, is completely ruined, thy soul, being no longer able to use it, drops it then, and this is how we die. Now it is not the Manitou that spoils these organs, but too great cold, too much heat, excess of any kind. Dost thou not feel thyself burn when thou hast drunk brandy? That consumes thy liver and dries it up, it impairs the other internal organs, and causes sickness, which, becoming more aggravated, entirely destroys some organ; whence it happens that thy soul goes away, thou art dead, and this without the Manitou having touched thee." "I believe," said he, " that thou art right; we are lacking in wit to believe that it is the Manitou who kills us."

On the fifteenth of the same, there was a great Northeaster accompanied by a rainfall which lasted a long time, and by a cold severe enough to freeze this water as soon as it touched anything; so that when [page 211] this rain [204] fell upon the trees, from the summit to the roots it was converted into ice-crystals, which encased both the trunk and the branches, causing for a long time all our great forests to seem but a forest of crystal, for, indeed, the ice which everywhere completely covered them was thicker than a teston [39]. In a word, all the bushes and everything above the snow were surrounded on all sides and encased in ice. The Savages told me that this did not happen often.

"I have seen thy Manitou, and I thy JESUS," said two Savages who came to see one of our Fathers about this time. " Oh what a good year he promised us! What Beavers, what Elks! providing thou givest us a good lot of Tobacco to sacrifice to him." " Go away, Frauds; that is neither what he asked in sacrifice, nor what you intend to give him. Believe in him, and serve him as you shall be taught, and you will be blessed," answered the Father. These are their tricks for obtaining what they lay claim to, or devices they have retained from some of our French, who formerly deceived [205] them under these fine pretenses.

On the twelfth of February, one of our Fathers speaking to the Savages about the justice of God, and how he would measure us by the same standard by which we measured our fellow-beings, a Savage of whom I have spoken above said to him afterward in private, " I believe what thou hast said about the justice of God, I have seen an example of it with my own eyes. We had gone hunting, one of my brothers and I; and, as we had very few provisions, my brother said to me that we should kill a poor orphan boy who accompanied us; and while saying [page 213] this he put a cord around his neck, and made me pull at one end while he pulled at the other. I obeyed him against my will. Be that as it may, having killed this young man, we separated to seek for the trail of a Moose; and, having found one, I followed it, I encountered the animal, and killed it; I carried the great beast to our Cabin, where I did not find my brother. As he did not return and as it was growing late, my mother went to seek him; she found him very sick, and wild-looking. The poor woman, very much disturbed, begged him gently to return. 'No,' said he, 'I [206] must die.' Finally, making a pretense of obeying her, he said to my mother that she should walk on ahead and he would follow slowly. When my poor mother had gone a little distance, this wretched man turned around and went away, so that we have never seen him nor heard of him since, although we have made diligent search for him. In that, " said this Savage, " I recognized that he who has made all pays us in the same money that we use with each other."

On the second day of April, Father Quentin made a journey a few leagues from the three Rivers, to visit some sick persons of whom we had heard. The fruit that he brought thence was that he several times risked his life for God among the dangers of ice and bad weather. He contented himself with giving them some instruction, without baptizing any of them, seeing that they were neither in



danger of death nor sufficiently instructed. Sieur Jean Nicolet served him as interpreter, with his usual kindness and fidelity, of which our Fathers make good use on similar occasions. I have some memoirs from his hand, which may some day appear, concerning the [page 215] Nipisiriniens, with whom he has [207] often wintered, and from whom he only withdrew to place his salvation in safety by the use of the Sacraments, without which there is great risk for the soul among the Savages.

On the fourth of May, as Monsieur Gand was going to make a visit to the three Rivers, I entered his bark, desiring to be present at an assembly of Savages which was to be held there. The wind being against us, fortunately for me a Canoe of Savages passed us which took me on board, and soon set me down where I wished to be. Monsieur Gand having at last arrived, the Savages came to see him, and held a council to implore him to induce the Captains who were coming to give them assistance in their wars. The first one who spoke pleased us greatly. He began with an exclamation: " What can I say? I have no longer any voice; heed not my words; listen to these poor widows and these poor orphans, who cry that they no longer have fathers or husbands. Do you alone, you Frenchmen, wish to exist in this country? Keep your hands folded, do not help us; and in a little while you will see [208] but women and children. We are going to die with our Captains whom our enemies have slaughtered. No, I am wrong, you are too good to see us rush headlong to death without lending us a hand. A very few of you can save all our lives, and make the whole country live again. Come, take courage; and, when the Captains arrive, speak for us." Monsieur Gand, looking quite as much to the salvation of their souls as to the welfare of their bodies, answered that he loved them, and would willingly speak in their behalf to the Captains; yet he feared that these Captains would no [page 217] more lend their ears to his words, than the Savages had shown affection for the French. " In the first place, you have not allied yourselves up to the present with our French people, your daughters have married with all the neighboring Nations, but not with ours. Your children live in the land of the Nipisiriniens, of the Algonquins, of the Attikamegues, of the people of the Sagné, and in all the other Nations. Up to the present you have not offered them to the French for instruction. If you had done this from the time of our first arrival in the Country, [209] you would all know by this time how to handle arms as we do, and your enemies would not exist in your presence, you would not die every day as you are doing. He who has made all, and who protects us, would preserve you as well as he does us, as we would then be only one and the same People. Secondly, we remember very well that the Hiroquois have killed our people, and we will get satisfaction for it; but we will not be too hasty. You see that we are increasing every day; when our numbers shall be large enough we will attack them, and will not give up the war until we have exterminated them. If you wish to come with us, you may come; but, as you do not know how to obey in war, we shall not count upon your assistance. In the third place, if the Captains ask me if you do not seek Foreigners in your trading, I do not know what I can answer them. Nevertheless, if you are partial to an alliance with us, I will petition them in your behalf. Not that we have need of your daughters or your children; we are as populous as the leaves of your trees. But we [210] would like to see only one People in all this land." They answered that all [page 219] this was reasonable, and that Monsieur de Champlain had previously talked about this in private; that it must be spoken of in the presence of all the Nations.

On the twenty-second of the same month, I learned some very bad news at Kébec. A young baptized Savage, who lived in our house, being with one of our Frenchmen who was hunting beyond the Sault de Montmorency, the Frenchman's gun having burst in his hands and having wounded him, he returned in haste to have himself cared for, leaving a fire and some food to the little Savage, who could not follow him. This child, being afraid to be left alone, as we conjecture, coming to the torrent which falls at the Sault de Montmorency, tried to pass it; but, as it is very rapid, he was drowned. Oh what grief this accident caused us! For this poor little child was very docile, and gave us great hopes of some day succoring his compatriots by his good example. His purity consoles us and we hope he will not be less effective in heaven than he would have been upon earth. I [211] greatly feared that the Savages would reproach us for this death; and, in fact, some of them spoke to me about it. But when they were told how it happened, and learned of the promptness with which we went after him; when they saw that we even offered them beautiful presents if they would find him, alive or dead, they were pacified. It is true that I followed their custom in defending myself against them; for as they abuse those who speak to them of their dead, I chided them when they opened their mouths about this, saying they revived my grief, that I loved him like a brother; this made them keep still, saying to each other, " Speak [page 221] of it no more, for thou makest him sad; dost thou not see that he loved him? " Now to prove that education alone is lacking to the Savages, this child, who had been only one year in France, fulfilled his duties here so well that he made himself greatly loved by our French. Our Lord had blessed him, especially since his Baptism, with three or four good qualities quite the opposite of those great defects of the Savages. He was neither a liar, nor a scold, nor a glutton, nor lazy. These are the four [212] vices which seem to be born in these People, who are lazy and dissolute to the last degree. Now this poor little boy had just the opposite perfections. I do not know of a single Frenchman who knew him who did not love him, and who did not show great regret at his death. He confessed with so much candor, and showed so much grief at his lightest offenses, that it was very evident he took them to heart. He was very fond of praying to God and attended Mass quite early every morning. But if, on account of some occupation, he did not hear it at the usual hour, and if meanwhile he was somewhere offered his breakfast, he would not touch it until he had taken part in this holy Sacrifice. If a little Savage did something unseemly in his presence, he was ashamed of him, and said, " He is not yet baptized; he has no sense. " We have learned that the wicked Apostate, seeing that we loved him for his docility, very often urged him to leave us, even going so far as to strike and whip him two or three times on this account; but this good little fellow would not obey him. He fully appreciated the coarseness and cruelty of his Nation, and held it in horror. [213] He one day showed me the place where his mother died, and [page 223] told me that, as soon as she expired, the Savages killed a little brother of his, perhaps to save it from the suffering it would have to endure after the death of its mother; they would have done the same to him if he had not already been quite large. We had named him Fortuné before his baptism. Monsieur de Champlain gave him the name Bonaventure when he was made a Christian, and certainly, *funes ceciderunt ei in praeparclaris*. His case makes us hope that there will not be found in these wildernesses a nature so ferocious that our Lord may not tame it by his grace when it shall please him.

On the fourth of June, came from the Hurons a young Frenchman, who had gone with some Algonquins, at the beginning of the winter, for the purpose of learning their language. They took him by land, or rather by snow, up to the country of the Hurons, a daring and very difficult enterprise. Our Fathers there were surprised indeed, and very much pleased, to see him at so unusual a time. They wrote us, upon his return, that they had baptized nearly sixty Savages since [214] the vow we all made on the day of the Conception of the holy Virgin, and that the Fathers we sent to them last year had arrived in good health, by the grace of our Lord, who is daily smoothing away the greatest difficulties in this journey. These Algonquins went there to solicit the Hurons to enter with them into a war against the Hiroquois.

On the twenty-eighth of the same month, Monsieur du Plessis Bochart, Commandant of the fleet, came up to Kébec, and rejoiced us greatly by his presence. We thanked him for his usual courtesy toward us, and for the kindness he showed our Fathers [page 225] who crossed in his Ship, Father Ragueneau [40] and our Brother Louis Gobert being in his Bark.



On the first of July, Father Chastellain and Father Garnier embarked to go and await the Hurons at the Residence of the Conception, at the three Rivers. Monsieur our Governor escorted them to the banks of the great River, with matchless courtesy and affection, having three cannon shots fired as a salute at their departure. This great [215] God, who gives us the hearts and the love of so many worthy people, constrains us, by the same means, to a holy and true gratitude.

On the second of the same month, Father Jogues<sup>[41]</sup> and Father du Marché came to add to our great joy, which we felt all the more deeply, as our Lord had brought them both to us in good health. I pray that his goodness may give us all the strength necessary to faithfully carry out his holy will in promoting the salvation of our French and of our Savages.

This same day, the Captain of the Tadoussac Savages, being at Kébec with a squad of his people, who were going to war, desired to hold a council with Monsieur the Governor and with Monsieur the Commandant; in a word, with the French. The Captain of the Kébec Savages took part in it; the assembly was held at the storehouse of the Gentlemen of the Company, where I also was present, by command of Monsieur the Governor. All being seated, the French on one side and the Savages on the other, the Tadoussac Captain began to make a speech. He was dressed in the [216] French fashion, with a very handsome coat under a scarlet cloak. Wishing to speak, he took off his hat and made a very polite bow in the French way, then directing his words to **[page 227]** the Captains, especially to Monsieur du Plessis, whom he called his younger brother, "You see," he said, "that I am a Frenchman; thou knowest, my brother, that my Nation regards me as one; it is believed that I have the good fortune to be loved by the Captains, and that I am their relation. As for me, you know that I have a French heart, I have always loved you; ought I to doubt that it is reciprocated? Tell me, I pray you, if I can count upon your friendship, as you can be assured of mine?" When this was said, he paused for an answer. Being assured that he had our love, he continued: "My countrymen urge me very strongly to show some evidence of the credit I have among you; they believe that you love me, but they would like to see it put into practice; what word shall I carry them, up there, where I am going to see them? You know it is the peculiar privilege of friends to succor in time of need those whom they love; the help that you will give us in our wars will be the true proof of your [217] friendship; your refusal will cover my face with confusion." The above is very nearly the speech of this Barbarian, who astonished Monsieur our Governor. The other Captain, beginning to speak, said: "When the weather is bad, we go into our houses, we put on our robes, we close our doors to defend ourselves from the injurious effects of the air. We are now in a time of very troublesome war; we have not enough strength to place ourselves under cover from our enemies; we seek shelter from you, do not refuse it. Your friend conjures you to do this; if you do not lend him your hand, you will see him disappear in the conflict against his enemies; you will seek him with your eyes and with your lips, **[page 229]** demanding, 'Where is such a one, who loved us so much, and whom we loved?' Learning of his disaster, you will be sad, and your heart will say to you, 'If we had succored him, our eyes would have taken pleasure in looking at him and our heart in loving him; but lo, we are in bitter grief.' Now it depends only upon you to avoid such anguish, and to give yourselves the pleasure of seeing him return from the combat full of life and glory." I add nothing to the discourse of this Savage; he touched upon all [218] these arguments and several others, that he reasoned out very gravely in his own language. A hoary-headed old man talked afterwards, after the fashion of the aged. These simple people had had a bundle of Beaver skins thrown at the feet of our Captains, according to their custom of making presents when they wish to obtain something. It was, in reference to these that the old man began. "When we visit the Tribes which are our neighbors and allies, we make them presents, which speak while we keep silence. Those who receive these presents address themselves to their young men, apostrophizing them in this way: 'Courage, young men, show your generosity; behold these fine robes, which await you upon your return from the combat; remember those who have made these gifts, kill many of their enemies.' This is a good custom, you ought to observe it as well as we," said this simple old man. From this we took the text of our answer, saying that if they should fill the house with Beavers, we would not undertake the war for the sake of their presents; that we helped our friends, not in the hope of any reward, but for the sake Of [219] their friendship. That, besides, we had not brought any men for them, **[page 231]** not knowing that they were carrying on war; that those whom they saw with us did not all bear arms; and those that did bear them were not satisfied because the Savages were not yet allied with the French by any marriage; and that it could easily be seen that they did not care to be one People with us, giving their children here and there to their allied Nations, and not to the French. The Captain of Tadoussac replied that the way to make a strong alliance was to show our courage and our good will. "For," said he, "when your young men return from the war after the massacre of our enemies, they will not have any trouble in obtaining our girls in marriage. As to children," said he, "one does not see anything else but little Savages in the houses of the French; there are little boys there and little girls, what more do you want? I believe that some of these days you will be asking for our wives. You are continually asking us for our children, and you do not give yours; I do not know any family among us which keeps a [220] Frenchman with it." Monsieur the Governor, upon hearing this answer, said to me, "I do not know what a Roman Senator could have answered that would have been more appropriate to the subject under discussion." I replied that in France our Savages were represented as far more obtuse than they are. But let us finish with this assembly. They were answered that the deceased Monsieur de Champlain, of happy memory, had helped them in war, and that even then they had not allied themselves with us; they were given to understand that we desired their children only for instruction and that we might be some day one People with them; that we were under no necessity to burden ourselves with **[page 233]** them; that if we did not give ours to them, it was because they asked great recompense, although they had nothing for them to eat; but that we maintained and instructed theirs for nothing. This truth silenced them. As to whatever concerned the war, the answer was that we could not give to them either a large or a small number of French. As to giving them a large number, they could see that the thing could not be done, as the ships would not consent to be [221] stripped of their men; as to giving them a few, our Frenchmen did not wish to go with them, "Because," say they, "the Savages cannot obey nor stand firm in war, at the first whim that takes them, flying off like birds;" so that our Frenchmen also, being few in number, would have to take to flight, which would make them greatly ashamed, for deserters are ridiculed among us. Brave soldiers, such as we have here, wish to conquer or die. They were satisfied with these arguments, and thus the council ended.

On the ninth of the same month of July, I entered a bark to go and meet the Hurons, who were not coming down as far as Kébec. We had to be at the rendezvous, to obtain passage for our Fathers who were going there, and to answer the letters of those who are there. We had not advanced far, when an adverse wind stopped us in the middle of the great River; and as I have already often found, by experience, that our Ships are not as safe nor as swift, if the wind is not fair, as the little bark Canoes of the Savages, I had suggested to some of those who were going up to the three Rivers to come alongside [222] our Bark and take me up in passing. This they did not fail to do, and I took my place among them. There were twelve Canoes and about thirty or forty **[page 235]** people, mostly young men who were going to war; they surrounded me on all sides, and begged me to accompany them to the country of the Hiroquois; I began to laugh, and to talk to them about other things. About three or four o'clock in the afternoon, as they were tired of paddling against a rather violent wind, they all landed; each one took his Boat and laid it down near the woods which we entered for the purpose of preparing our house, and of making a fire, or rather some smoke, to drive away the mosquitoes. Our hostelry was soon made, for they broke off a few ends from the branches of trees, and threw them upon the ground, and lo, our palace was ready. I threw over these a wretched skin, to distinguish my chamber and my bed from the others. When we go into the country, French and

Savages, Religious and others, we have no other beds than some wretched skins, no other tent than the sky, unless it rains, during the rain, we cover ourselves [223] as best we can; the Savages have for this purpose very light and convenient pieces of bark. Having withdrawn to say my prayers, a Captain came after me, and, drawing me still further to one side, said, " Thou hast often given us to understand that, if he who has made all does not favor us, the worst will happen to us; what must I do to make him aid us? " I saw very clearly that he was speaking for himself, and that he did not have the courage to propose to his men the counsel he would receive-. So I told him that God was greatly pleased to have one believe and trust in him; and that consequently he must believe, from this moment, that God alone could help him; that he must ask him for help, and promise him that, in case he should return safe and sound, he would openly express his [page 237] belief in his Name. I advised him, if he found himself surrounded by his enemies, or if his life was in danger, to remember to ask deliverance of him, so that he might have an opportunity to be baptized. He promised me he would do so. In the twilight, the more prominent ones among them accosted me, and began to talk about our ways of doing things. They said that when I prayed God they [224] greatly approved of it, as well as of what I told them; and hence, that I must also approve of their customs, and I must believe in their ways of doing things; that one of their number was going to pray in their way, soon, and that I should listen patiently. I saw at once that they were preparing a little tent, in order to consult the Manitou, or some Spirit; I asked them if they believed that the *Manitou* or Demons would come into this little tower, and if it was not the Sorcerer who was shaking this house or tent; they protested that it was not he. Thereupon I made them an offer. " When this tent is shaking," I said to them, " allow me to enter it; and if, after I, have seized the two hands of the juggler, you still see his tent shaking, I promise that I will give you a keg of peas as soon as we reach the three Rivers." Give us a Cask of bread," said the young fellows. Very well; let the juggler enter." But the older ones did not wish to accept this proposition; and, as it was already quite dark, the Captain cried out, " Go to sleep, young men, [225] and note carefully what you dream; conceal nothing of what you shall see in your dreams." Thereupon all go to sleep, and I throw myself upon my pallet and do as the others do. About midnight, I heard three or four men singing and howling in the woods-, I arose, but these singers soon afterward [page 239] became silent. It was the Charlatan who was trying to have his consultation. Now I do not know whether he heard me; be that as it may, he went out from his tent, without accomplishing anything, saying that the Manitou would not come. The next morning having discovered some Beaver tracks, and having found some wood suitable for making shields, they wished to pass the day there; this annoyed me greatly, for I desired to offer the holy Sacrifice of the Mass on the following day, which was Sunday, hoping we would reach the three Rivers. I prayed them, I urged them; no change. They asked me if I was a child, that I should be cast down, saying that I would be still farther away, if I had remained in the Bark; finally, having told them that I wished upon the following day to pray to the one who can do all things, and that I would pray for them that he would aid them in [226] their combats, they allowed the one who took me in his Canoe to depart, and they themselves embarked soon after. Bad weather caused us to remain at a standstill, six leagues from the three Rivers. In the evening, before any one went to sleep, the Captain cried out, " Keep your arms ready, O young men; let each one have his javelin, his hatchet, and his knife near him while asleep." They were beginning to fear ambushes from their enemies. Toward midnight there fell a heavy shower of rain upon those who were not under shelter; I rolled myself like a ball, under the skin which served me as mattress, and which I made serve as a covering; and beneath this, as happy as under a gilded roof, I received over a cask of water without getting very wet. The next day, when the Dawn begins to appear, I waken my people; I urge them all I can, and, addressing [page 241] myself to my host, I promise him that if we reach the three Rivers before noon, I will make him a fine present; but I also assure him that, if we arrive later, he will have only the half of it. "Dost thou not see," he replied, " that I cannot slip away from my company? " I had just [227] applied to a Canoe in which there was a young man who had the falling sickness [epilepsy], and who was taken with it before my eyes, a little while before we re-embarked; this alarmed me, for, if the attack had seized him in the middle of the river, it would have resulted in upsetting both us and the Canoe, and we would have been lost; I did not wish, however, to change boats for the little distance that remained. At last we arrived so as to have time enough to offer to God the holy sacrifice of the Altar. Nearing the three Rivers, our Canoes were brought together in a body, and our Fathers, seeing them come from afar, and thinking I might be in the crowd, came to meet me; my Savages, seeing them, said to me, " Behold thy Brothers, who come to receive thee." I stepped on shore, then; and as we were saluting each other, embracing as a sign of affection, my crowd of Savages begin to utter a loud cry from the depths of their chests, all showing by this joyful cry that they approved these marks of affection and of deference, which we were bestowing upon each other. Father Buteux and Father Chastelain [228] were the first two; I joined them, and we walked along the strand, while my Savages paddled slowly, in fine order, along the shores of the River, not advancing any more than we. Later, encountering Father Quentin and Father Garnier, who had come at the first sound, and saluting them as we did the others, these poor Barbarians [page 243] all redoubled their cries of joy, thus giving us a second time evidence of their affection. The next day we made a feast for them, which, according to their custom, they readily accepted; this word " feast " is among them wonderfully agreeable; it is by this that one wins them.

On the fifteenth of the same month, Monsieur the Commandant arrived at the three Rivers in his Bark. On the same day there arrived seven Hurons in a Canoe, who brought us letters from Father Breboeuf which caused us great rejoicing, for we had been almost sure that the Hurons would not come down this year, on account of the great rumors of war which were heard in all the Nations through which they must pass.

On the eighteenth, Monsieur the Commandant departed from the three Rivers, to go up [229] to the river of the Hiroquois, where he was awaited by the Savages to the number of two or three hundred, to talk about their wars; he told me that he went there also to reconcile them, as they had some dissensions among themselves; and, in fact, one of the Montagn<sup>ons</sup> Captains had come to throw himself under his protection. " There is no one left but thou and Father le Jeune," said he, " who loves me; my Allies are banded against me; the Algonquins wish to kill me and to ruin the Country." He was suspected, but wrongly, of having received presents from the Hiroquois, and of having betrayed la Greno<sup>ille</sup> ["the Frog"] and the others who had been massacred. They had the same opinion of another, whom they wished also to slaughter. Monsieur du Plessis settled all that, as we shall soon see.

On the twenty-first of the same month of July, [page 245] Chastelain and Father Garnier embarked, the happiest men in the world, to go to the Hurons. This affair seemed so easy of accomplishment that we almost suspected something was wrong. The affairs of God are generally crossed in the beginning, but they do not fail to produce results. These seven Hurons who, as I [230] said, arrived on the fifteenth of this month, when leaving their Country did not intend to come so far as the Frenchmen, but only to go up to the Island to see if their Nation would have a free passage; for it was rumored that these Island Savages, the naughtiest of all these Tribes, were using threats. All was made right by the Hurons, who sent back two of their men to give notice that the river was free, and meanwhile they descended to the three Rivers. Now as one of these seven was Captain of the Village where our Fathers are, with the Hurons, and as he had last year taken Father le Mercier, and had shown a great deal of interest in us, he asked if none of our Fathers were going to his Country, saying that he would gladly take one of them, provided they would give him a Canoe, for there were seven in the one they had. They immediately found for him a Montagn<sup>ons</sup> Canoe, much smaller than those of the Hurons; having seen it, he was satisfied. The affair being concluded, they gave presents to him and to those who were embarking with him;



they were well pleased, and Father Chastelain still more so at seeing himself destined to depart with this Chief. Those who were [231] in the other Canoe, seeing there was still another Father to embark, came to tell us that it was not necessary to separate him from his Companion, and that they would be very glad to have him with them in their [page 247] little bark Ship. See how the times are changed! In past years we had to go and come, to interpose the authority of everybody and the affection of many, to find a place for one of our Fathers among these Barbarians; and this year the first seven who have come down have themselves asked for them. There was given to the two chiefs and governors of these two Canoes, each a blanket, to the others each a cloak, a keg of peas, some bread, and some prunes; this is for the maintenance of our Fathers, and of their Savages, who had not made any caches on their journey down, and all this is for twenty or thirty days, over roads that make one shudder to hear about. May our Lord give them his holy benediction.

On the last day of this month, Monsieur the General returned to the three Rivers, and here are the particulars of his voyage. Having found the Savages assembled at the River of the Hiroquois, he spoke to them of the [232] quarrels that existed among them, and had some presents given to them to make them more easily swallow, as one may say, their grievances. In a word, he restored peace among them; and, that he might ever accustom their ears to hear our belief spoken of, he told them that, if they loved the French, they should love and listen to those whom the French cherish, and to whom they open their ears; that they must give them their children for instruction; he spoke of us, adding that the great Captain who had recently come to Kébec had been instructed in our schools, that he himself had been taught by us; and that, if they wished us all to be but one People, they must begin there. To all this they answered, h! h! h! according to their custom when they approve a speech. [page 249]

When they parted, these Barbarians went off in search of some poor wretched Hiroquois; for the greater part of their wars consists in ambushes, lying in wait for each other as one would for a Wild Boar. Meanwhile Monsieur the Commandant [233] goes up higher, continuing as far as the River of the Prairies. [42] Upon his return he described these places to us as a terrestrial Paradise. The land there, he says, is better, the trees more flourishing, the meadows abundant, the beauty of the Country ravishing; the fish enormous in quantity, in quality, and in size. There indeed are riches, collected in one place; but the Mosquitoes are the little dragons that guard these beautiful golden apples, which cannot be had without difficulty, any more than the other gifts of the earth.

On the thirteenth day of August, there arrived a Canoe from the Country of the Hurons which had encountered Father Garnier and Father Chastelain at the petite Nation of the Algonquins. The Fathers wrote me these few words upon the leaf of a tablet, for lack of paper: *The bearers of this will tell you, better than we can, the name of the place where they met us, we are in good health, thank God; we are gliding along swiftly in our bark gondolas; we are flying to this so-desired Paradise with an increase of courage that God has given us. Kionch shows at least as good treatment to Father Garnier, as Aenons does to Father Chastelain; they have managed our* [234] provisions well, we have still a little bread. The rest I could not read.

On the tenth of the same month, the Captain of Tadoussac returned with his company from the war. He told us that they had found an abandoned Cabin where perhaps three hundred Hiroquois had slept; that part of their troop were still pursuing them, [page 251] many having turned their faces about, he being of this number, on account of some dispute which had arisen among them. The next day, the news came that the rest of the army was returning, and that some of the enemy had been put to death. Finally, on the thirteenth, a party of these warriors appeared in their Canoe; they bore in the form of Guidons the scalps of those whom they had killed, for it is their custom to tear the skin, with all the hair, from the head of him whom they slay. These scalps are great trophies. One sees them with moustaches waving, each on the end of a long pole that they raise in the air, as if they were banners. The women ran hurriedly at the sight of these palms and these laurels, dropped their clothes, and leaped in to swim after these garlands. [235] There was a struggle among them as to which should catch one to hang it in their Cabins, is a token of the warriors' generosity. Some one came and told us of this barbarity; we went to the Cabins, and, as I was examining these scalps, the women who had captured them began to boast of it; but they were greatly surprised when they heard the reproaches we heaped upon them for their vanity. Now to express in two words the result of this war, some hundred Savages and more having disbanded, the rest followed up their purpose. They went off into the neighborhood of one of their enemy's settlements, and, encountering one or two poor wretches, they seized them, and promised to spare their lives if they revealed in what place their compatriots might be found. These showed them a river not far distant, where some men had gone, partly to fish and partly for the purpose of making stout snares of bark, suitable for catching Deer. There were also several [page 253] women who were gathering the hemp of the country, that is, nettles, of which they make very strong ropes. These Barbarians immediately run thither, and throw themselves [236] upon these poor people, like wolves upon their prey. Now cries are heard from all sides; some flee, others defend themselves; the women scream, and try to escape; in short, they take and kill in all twenty-eight persons, according to their story, as many men as women and children, there being more women than children. They brought alive three men, a young woman, and a young girl. The Savages who live above the three Rivers had as their share two men and the girl, those here had one man and the young woman. They would have brought back more of them, but, as they were afraid of being pursued by their enemies, they killed on the way those who did not walk fast enough. They say that this young woman, seeing them kill those who could not keep up, was at the head of the whole troop, enduring the fatigue better than a man. For imagine that they were several days without anything at all to eat, flying in breathless haste in rainy and disagreeable weather. No house of retreat was to be found there where they could dry themselves; he who wets them, dries them, as the saying is. This poor woman did not say a [237] word, being apparently without fear in the midst of these Wolves. She had a modest face, but so bold an eye that I took her for a man. It is true that the Barbarians do not usually harm the women or the children, except in their sudden attacks. Indeed, many a young man will not hesitate to even marry a prisoner, if she is very industrious; and thereafter she will pass as a woman of his country. As to the men, they do not receive [page 255] the same treatment; it is cruelty itself which martyrs them. As soon as the one who had been brought to the three Rivers had set foot upon land, the women and children fell upon him, each one trying to see which could strike the hardest blows. Meanwhile the prisoner sings, and continues on his way without turning around to see who strikes him. A wretched cripple, seeing him entirely naked, took a heavy doubled rope, and lashed this poor body, upon the back, upon the stomach, and upon the chest, so that he staggered and was about to fall, his flesh becoming quite livid and dead. Others put fire in his mouth, others thrust firebrands at him from different directions, to roast him; then he was given a little respite, [238] and was made to sing and dance; a woman came and bit into his finger, trying to tear it off, as a dog would do; not being successful, she finally took a knife and cut it off, then put it in his mouth, to make him swallow it; he tried to do so, but could not. Having restored it to this Tigress, she roasted it, to give it to some children to eat, who continued to suck it for some time. One of our soldiers coming along, asked them for it, but these children were reluctant to give it up; then he snatched it, and threw it into the river, in abhorrence of these cruelties. Another time two young men took this poor wretch by his two arms, and bit into them as greedily as rabid Wolves, shaking him as an angry dog shakes a carcass to get a piece off. As soon as I learned that these insane acts were being committed at our door and before the eyes of our French people, I went down to the Cabins, and reproached these tormentors severely and emphatically, threatening that the French would no longer love them. And, in [page 257] fact, it would be well to make a note of



all those who perpetrate these outrages, and to exclude them from the houses of all the French; that would restrain them. The men [239] did not answer me, holding down their heads, ashamed and confused. Some of the women told me that the Hiroquois did still worse things to their fathers, husbands, and children, asking me if I loved such a wicked Nation. I replied that I did not love them, but that they could kill this wretch without treating him with such cruelty. In a word, I gave them to understand that, if their enemies had no intelligence, they should not imitate them; that it was no sign of courage and generosity to beat and bite a man who was bound; that among themselves the most valiant did not engage in these cruel acts; and, turning toward those whom I considered the most humane, I said, " These are they who pursue the Hiroquois, who kill them in the heat of combat, who capture them, who bind them, and who lead them away, while the cowards who remain at the Cabin fireside devour them like dogs." They began to laugh, and admitted that they would not willingly practice such butchery. There was, however, a strange Captain called la Perdrix ["the Partridge"]<sup>[43]</sup> who, I was told, became angry after hearing me say this, asserting that, [240] if the prisoner had belonged to him, he would have driven me out of his Cabin. I am quite sure he would not have done so; for I would be careful not to speak to the Algonquins, especially to those of the Island, as I speak to our Montagnons. I permitted myself to say that when Monsieur de Champlain went to help them in their wars, and saw one of them treat roughly a woman prisoner, or a child, he tried to make them **[page 259]** understand that such barbarity was foreign to the kindness natural to man. An Island Savage, upon hearing this, said to him, " See what I shall do, now that thou speakest of it; " and he took by the foot a nursing child, and struck its head against a rock or a tree. If those proud spirits spoke thus to a Captain who had arms within reach, what would they do to a man who has nothing but his voice? I know full well that great discretion must be used with these Tribes, who will not submit to any yoke. I also know well that they have some reason, or rather excuse, for treating their enemies in this way; for, when the Hiroquois get hold of them, they are still more rabid. But I know [241] well, also, that, if one never commences a thing, he will never finish it. I pay no attention to those who think they have said all when they have represented to you that it is their custom, that you must let them go on, and that nothing will be gained. They are mistaken. We are not the only ones who can see at a glance that a great deal has been achieved within a certain time among a good part of these Barbarians; if it were only that we have gained the hardihood and authority to reprimand them when they commit these great wrongs, that is always some advantage. The first year we came here, if I had known the Language to perfection, I would not have dared to assume over them the ascendancy which I can take now with my stammerings, for they would have soon imposed silence upon me. But when I daily see men crying with hunger at our doors, whom we are constantly favoring and who have no other support than our Frenchmen, it seems to me that, in return for the help they receive from our hands, we can exact from them some courtesy. **[page 261]** Of course, when we reprimand them we must never threaten them [242] with any violence, for this would be to lose all; therefore I generally tell them that, if they are going to be stubborn about their customs, we will hold fast to ours -, that, if they do not care enough for us to give up some of their acts of cruelty for our sake, we will certainly not do them any harm, but we will not cherish them to the extent of taking the morsel from our own mouths to assist them in their needs; that we will observe very carefully those who perpetrate any public indecency, or who take part in these outrages and insane acts, so that we may close our doors against them and open them to those among them who are good. Would to God that all our French people would do the same. Our -neighboring Savages depend greatly upon us; if we all should agree to exclude without doing them any harm, those who commit acts so at variance with reason and nature, we would soon see a change among them. Besides, they know I love them, and that is why they are not willing to offend me. Not that some of them do not still sneer and laugh at what we say to them; [243] but this is nothing in comparison with the insults I formerly had to swallow. And, after all, I cannot say that one finds more internal resistance in a Christian enchained by the bad habits of his life than in a Savage, however barbarous he may be. To conclude this subject, the Captain whom I particularly chided, for the prisoner belonged to him, having been given to him in exchange for a brother of his, who had been killed by the Hiroquois, this Captain, I say, having come to see me the next day, I explained to him that he ought to take all I had said to him as a mark of my affection for him; that I was **[page 263]** heartily sorry that he, who professed to love the French, should permit to be done in their presence deeds that they hated like death; that our soldiers, upon returning to France, would say to our countrymen that these Peoples here are dogs, and that they have sprung from dogs; and that I, who love them, would be annoyed at such statements. I told him that my friendship could not be doubted, that he himself had said to Monsieur the Commandant that there was no one now that loved him but he and I; that I had prayed that great Captain to take him under [244] his protection, in opposition to those who wished to kill him; that the Captain had made presents in his behalf, to settle their quarrels; that he was well aware that I had helped him in his time of need. I reminded him that he had always been assisted by the French; that he wished to spend the winter in Kébec, where I expected to be, near the great Captain of all the French Captains who are in their country; that this Captain is a gentle and humane man; that he is not fond of blood nor of carnage, unless in the fury of war. " We sometimes grant you what you ask of us; grant us also what we ask of you, so that we may come to be, little by little, only one and the same People." He admitted that I was right, and that he would always love his friend Monsieur our Governor, begging me to succor him in his need, which would become greater and greater as age interdicted him from war and the chase.

On the fourteenth of the same month of August, the Savages came in a body to see Monsieur the Commandant, to present to him the young Hiroquois woman. The one who had captured her, seeing that all were seated on one side or the other, arose and **[page 265]** harangued in this [245] fashion: " Listen, Frenchmen, I am going to chide you, for what else could be done by a great beast like me, who has the boldness to speak in the presence of Captains? If I were Captain, I would have the right to speak; I am only a dog, yet I must speak, and have a friendly quarrel with you. Our Fathers and our old Captains loved each other; they are dead now; we love each other, both French and Savages; we love each other, yes, we love each other; therefore it would have been very fitting to see some of your young men with us in the war; but as that failed us, we have done as well as we could. Here is a young female prisoner whom we present to you, to take the place of one of the three Frenchmen who was killed quite near here, some time ago. I still see the deep red blood that accuses the cruelty of our enemies and of yours; this present will conceal a part of it; it is a little thing, but it is all we have, the rest having been killed; if we had been helped, we would have done more, but we were deserted on all sides." This was about the substance of [246] his discourse, which was finished with the exclamation, h, h, h, which all his companions drew from the pit of their stomachs. This done, they presented the unfortunate young woman, who appeared this time very sad, and, lowering her eyes, seemed to me to shed some tears. She was asked, however, if she was not glad to be given to so gallant a Captain, who would be very fond of her, and who would place her with his Sister. She showed that she was well satisfied at this; but she was greatly cheered afterward when they told her that the French were very honorable, and that they would do her no harm; that in crossing over to **[page 267]** France she would be accompanied by some girls of this country; she smiled gratefully at this news, which was very agreeable to her. Two days later, I had a Savage tell her that if any person, among so many as she would encounter in the fleet which was going to France, tried to offer her any insults, she should inform the Captain, Monsieur the commandant, or else one of my Brothers who was going across. She replied that she was now of their Nation; that she did not fear they would do her [247] any harm; that, if she were commanded to marry, she would obey; but that no one, except he to whom she had been given, should approach her. I begged the Gentlemen of the Company, to whom she was to be presented, to lodge her with the Hospital Nuns who were coming over to New France, to learn in their house to know God and to nurse the sick, so that they might bring her with them, if



she succeeded. But let us return to our orator. Monsieur the Commandant made known to him that he would cherish this present for the sake of the hand of his friends, whence it proceeded, and not for the Country from which it had come, which he hated like death; that, besides, they themselves could see clearly that if the French had followed them they would have deserted them, when the quarrels arose among themselves; and that, if we ever did go to war, we would go strong and powerful, and not return until we had destroyed entire villages. They received this answer with pleasure, begging that, as a sign of mutual rejoicing and love, some of our young people should dance to the sound of a hurdy-gurdy, that a little Frenchman held. This was granted [248] them, to their great satisfaction. [page 269]

On the fifteenth of the same month, the day dedicated to the glorious Assumption of the holy Virgin, some Canoes which were going down to Kébec, for all this took place at the three Rivers, brought the prisoner, to put him to death there. I will mention further on the particulars of his death, if they send them to me, or if I hear them, since I go down there soon; for I am writing now, from day to day, what I think deserves a stroke of the pen.

This same day there arrived a Canoe of Hurons, which greatly pleased Monsieur the Commandant, as he had resolved to depart in five days, if he had not received the news they brought, the season being very unfavorable to navigation toward the end of Autumn. This Canoe was sent on ahead by Father Daniel, who, having learned from our Fathers, whom he encountered on the way, that Monsieur the Commandant would not undertake to return at the end of the season, sent to him, with a great deal of trouble, this Courier from about one hundred and fifty leagues above the three Rivers, to assure him that the Hurons were coming down. This is how he writes me. *I am staying at the Island, waiting for the [249] main part of the band, composed equally of Hurons and Nipisiriniens. The Savages of this place have already sent back thirteen Canoes of Hurons, forbidding them to go to the French; but their Captain, called Taratouan, having learned that I was coming down, held firm until my arrival; for as he had departed before we did from the Huron country, so we reached the Island after he did. Then he told me that the inhabitants of this Island forbade them to pass; when I asked him the reason for this, he answered that he had heard nothing except that the body of a recently-deceased Captain it was le Borgne<sup>[44]</sup> of the Island had not yet [page 271] been cached; you know what that means, and therefore that to go on ahead would be merely scattering fire to augment their grief and to irritate anew the young men, who are very angry and mutinous. I told him that he must pluck up courage, that I would speak to the Captain here. In fact, I did see him and he received me well, thank God. Their position was that they should take us Frenchmen on to you, but that the Hurons should turn back. Now I had resolved not to proceed, unless the Hurons did; I had already promised them this, and they were greatly pleased over it. These difficulties show them that it is important for us to remain in their Country, which they [250] know very well. I begged the Captain to consent to my sending a Canoe on ahead, to give notice of our coming; it is the one which brings you these letters. I met our Fathers on the third of August, three days journey above the Island; both wore their shoes in the Canoe and were not paddling, which made me think they were being well treated; this caused me to do something for their men which I had not yet wished to do for my own, which was to make them a present of an herb that they adore and that we do not care for, namely, Tobacco, which is very high-priced this year. I would willingly give up ten times as much of it at the Island, and see you so much the sooner, together with my young Hurons; I shall spare nothing to accomplish it. This is a matter of the greatest importance. Of the twelve children who promised to follow me with the consent of their parents, I have only three with me, one of whom is the grandson of a very great Captain, I am very hopeful about getting some larger ones, if you wish them; we shall see them together when I have the pleasure of meeting you; the little ones had some trouble in leaving their mothers to make a journey of three hundred leagues. I am writing to Monsieur du Plessis that there are few Canoes, but that [page 273] they carry a great amount of merchandise. I commend the bearers to you, that my promises, [251] if there are means of doing so, may be fulfilled; this is of importance.* These are the contents, and here is the date of his Letter. *From the Island, this seventh of August, by the glimmer of a piece of burning bark, which forms the candles and the torches of this Country.*

I think I have said before that this Island, which I mention here, is in the great River saint Lawrence, about one hundred and fifty leagues above the three Rivers, and that the Savages who inhabit it are very haughty. The Hurons, and the French who are now staying in their country, wishing to come down here, pass first through the lands of the Nipisiriniens, and then come alongside this Island, the inhabitants of which every year cause them some trouble. These Islanders would prefer that the Hurons should not come to the French nor the French go to the Hurons, so that they themselves may carry away all the trade; for this reason, they have done all they could to block the way; but, as they fear the French, those who accompany the Hurons make the journey easier for them. It is strange that although the Hurons may be ten against [252] one Islander, yet they will not pass by if a single inhabitant of the Island objects to it, so strictly do they guard the laws of the Country. This portal is usually opened by means of presents, sometimes greater and sometimes smaller, according to the emergency. They ought to be very rich this year; for, a Captain of the Island having died this Spring, and their tears being not yet dried, no strange Nation can pass by there without making them some gift, to make them more easily swallow, as they say, the grief occasioned by the death of their Chief. [page 275] When he who has passed away has been raised from the dead, that is, when his name has been given to another, and presents have been offered to his relatives, then it is said that the body is "cached," or rather, that the dead is resuscitated; and then only the usual tribute is paid when one passes over the highways and boundaries of these Islanders.

Since I have told this, for the better understanding of this Letter, I will explain what made Father Daniel conclude that Father Garnier and Father Chastelain were being well treated by their hosts, since they wore shoes, and [253] were not paddling. It was this, that, when one goes with these Barbarians, he must be very careful not to carry the least dirt or sand into their Canoes; for this reason, the Fathers go into them barefooted; whether it is cold or warm, they must do this, unless they encounter some good Savages who let them follow their own custom. Moreover, he who would sail with them must know how to handle the paddle; and, as it is hard work, especially at first, when one is not accustomed to it, we give to every Canoe in which any of our Fathers embark a large sheet which serves as sail, to relieve them from this work; but, although these Barbarians may be told that this sail is the Fathers' paddle, that they do not wield any others, they do not fail sometimes to make them take one of wood, which has to be well worked, to satisfy them. As for the children the Father mentions, it is a Providence of God that he is not bringing as many of them as he hoped to, for we have neither houses at Kébec in which to lodge them, nor food to nourish them, nor stuff with which to comfortably clothe them, as we would desire and [254] as is fitting in these beginnings, [page 277] especially as we already have some others to maintain. We still have hopes of half a dozen. God, who feeds the birds of the air, will not abandon them; he has begun the work, he will know well how to make it succeed.

On the eighteenth of the same month, sieur Godefroy, a young man of light and agile body, beat one of the Hurons in a race, before the eyes of four or five Nations, upon a wager that a Montagnais had made for him; at which the Hurons were greatly astonished, for they look upon us as turtles in comparison with all the Savages.



On the nineteenth of the same month of August a part of the main body of the Hurons arrived. As soon as we saw their Canoes appear upon the great River, we descended from the Fort to receive Father Daniel and Father Davost, and a few of our French, whom we were expecting; Monsieur the Commandant himself was there. Father Daniel was in this first company, Father Davost in the rear guard, which did not yet appear; and we even began to doubt whether [255] the Island Savages had not made them return. At the sight of Father Daniel, our hearts melted; his face was gay and happy, but greatly emaciated; he was barefooted, had a paddle in his hand, and was clad in a wretched cassock, his Breviary suspended to his neck, his shirt rotting on his back. He saluted our Captains and our French people; then we embraced him, and, having led him to our little room, after having blessed and adored our Lord, he related to us in what condition was the cause of Christianity among the Hurons, delivering to me the Letters and the Relation sent from that Country, which constrained us to sing a *Te Deum*, as a thanksgiving for the blessings [page 279] that God was pouring out upon this New Church. I shall not speak of the difficulties of his voyage, all that has been already told; it was enough for him that he baptized a poor wretch they were leading to his death, to sweeten all his trials.

I heard from him that Louys de sainte Foy, [45] before leaving to go to the war, held this conversation with his father, as he learned from the father himself: " My father, since you wish to be a Christian, [256] and to go down there to the French, I beg you to understand well why you wish Baptism, and do not mingle therein any worldly considerations; do it to honor God and for the salvation of your soul, and not in the expectation of deriving some benefit or some favor from the French. You already have enough Porcelain necklaces; I have still some, that I leave you. All is yours, do not seek anything more; we shall be rich enough, if we believe in God and if we obey him. When you are down there with the French, do not go idling from Cabin to Cabin, do not go into the houses of the French, playing the nuisance or the beggar; visit Monsieur de Champlain often, and do not go far away from the Fathers. " These are the counsels that the son gave to the father; he realized that he was fond of gambling and of worldly wealth; for this reason, when he saw that our Fathers talked of baptizing his parent, owing to his earnest entreaties, he begged them not to be too hasty, as he wished to see a better preparation in his father for a Sacrament of so great importance. Now, our Hurons having arrived, they held their councils, [257] and made some presents to cause our French to dry their tears, and more easily swallow the bitterness they experienced at the death of the late Monsieur [page 281] de Champlain, also, to confirm the friendship formed long ago between them and us. Father Daniel was present at this council and tells me that Monsieur the Commandant gave great satisfaction to these Savages by his answers. After these councils they began to trade, or to sell their merchandise; and, when this was done, they held another meeting with our French, and, as the first meetings were on their own account, this one was held for the business of the French. Now, having certain things to represent to them, I prayed Monsieur the Commandant to hear what I had to say, which he was kind enough to do. I wished particularly to speak about obtaining their children, and beginning a Seminary, as a matter of the greatest importance to the salvation of these Nations, and to the success of the Gentlemen of the Company; for their children will be as so many hostages to us for the safety of the French who are among them, and for the strengthening of our commercial relations. Monsieur the Commandant had already conceived this idea, [258] and hence he spared no pains to accomplish it. He said, and allowed us to say, upon this subject whatever judgment could suggest. Here it must be remarked that our Fathers had prepared twelve very nice little boys of the Country, who were quite satisfied to come down here. Father Daniel came to train and instruct them, as he already possessed a very fair knowledge of their language. But when they were about to depart, the mothers, and above all the grandmothers, would not allow their children to go away for a distance of three hundred leagues, and to live with Strangers, quite different from them in their habits and customs. Some embarked, however; but, when [page 283] they arrived, the fathers of these children drew back and sought a thousand excuses. Poor Father Daniel went hither and thither, coaxed some, made presents to others, and yet after all he saw himself almost a master without pupils, a shepherd without sheep. A single young man, grandson of a Captain, remained steadfast, never yielding in his determination to follow him. Thereupon a council was held, where all assembled. Monsieur the Commandant [259] presented his gifts, in consideration of the love they bear us, and of their visits, also, to rest their arms from the labor they had in paddling so far to come to see us; and to induce them to continue their kindness and their affection toward the Fathers and toward all the French who are in their Country; in short, to encourage them to come early next year. The Interpreter, who is acquainted with the way of doing things in this Country, made the announcements after their fashion. " Here," said he, " is a present to grease your arms and to limber them, to relax them from the work they have had on the way. Here is another to fasten a rope to your Canoes, to pull them down here early next year." Soon after these presents were made, Monsieur the Commandant told them that he had still some points of importance to communicate to them.

Then he had them asked if they loved us as much as we loved them; they answered that they really did. " Then why do you not show your friendship? You give Beaver robes to the French, and they give you hatchets and other goods, [260] all this is called trafficking; these are not the evidences of the real love that I seek, but to visit and to help one another, to go into each other's country, to [page 285] ally ourselves together like the fingers of the hand, these are acts of friendship; that is what we are doing, we are going into your country, we are sending our Fathers there, our Teachers, those whom we hold most dear, those who show us the way to Heaven; and not one of you will live with our French. Why do you not trust as much in us as we do in you? Why then is there only one Village among the Hurons that loves us? We show in this respect our friendship toward you, why do you not do likewise? " I had seated the young man who remained faithful to us between Father Daniel and myself; Monsieur the Commandant, caressing him, said in a loud voice that he loved him as his own brother, that he should want for nothing; that, to make those of his Village understand how great was our regard for him, he would make them a present; that, for himself, he could not prepare a feast for those who had come, as he was in great haste to return, but that this young man should make one [261] in his stead, that he would give him something with which to entertain them; that, furthermore, if they wished next year to give us an evidence of their affection, they should bring down some children to live with the French. He had them told also that they were always in a state of alarm in their country, that they were very anxious to have some French to defend them, and that this was in their power; for, if they were willing to give twenty little Hurons, they would get in return twenty Frenchmen, and that we had good reason for speaking as we did. To all this they replied that, first, this matter must be talked over in their country. Father Daniel interrupted them, and said that Father Brebeuf had spoken of it in la Rochelle, [page 287] one of their Villages; that, with this in view, he had offered them some presents, and they had accepted them; and that now they had failed to keep their word. Secondly, they said that there was great danger in coming down here, on account of the incursions of their enemies. They were asked if there was any more danger in their coming to see us, than in our going to their country. They said that the children were dependent upon their parents, that the way was rough and wearisome, that the [262] mothers had tender hearts. We replied to them that our mothers loved us, and that we sent up yonder children that were not less loved by their parents than the little Hurons were by theirs; that there was no hesitation about letting them take this long journey as a mark of our love for them; and that they should imitate, us in this respect, if they wished to cultivate our friendship. We saw clearly that these poor people were convinced; that they were forcibly impressed by these considerations, and that they were perplexed. At last an old man, taking up the word, said that they would leave this young man on trial, as it were, that we should treat him well, and that upon his report the following year would depend our having their children. His excuse was accepted, and it



was made clear to them that if their hearts were kindly disposed towards us, they would show us as much affection as had that Village whence *Satouta*, the young man' who remained, had come. Thereupon they went away; but they were not gone very far when some of the chief men of a certain Village held a consultation among themselves, which the Captain began [263] by saying that they ought to be ashamed to show less affection for the French than **[page 289]** did the Nation of the Bear, to which *Satouta* belonged; that we were good and courteous, and that there was no danger in remaining with us. And then, turning toward his nephew, he said, " My nephew, you must remain with the French; be courageous, do not fear, for they will love you. And you, so and so," speaking to another, " you must keep him company. How now, have we no love? Are we men? Have we no hearts, not to love so good a nation? Be faithful, remain with them, and act with discretion." These two young men readily agreed to this, and straightway one of their relations came to inform Father Daniel of it. We went to impart the news to Monsieur the Commandant, who could hardly express his joy, so glad was he, showing the Savage who brought the news a thousand kindnesses. As it was already night, they waited until the next day to bring us these two young boys. The father of one of them made him a fine speech, saying, *My son, be [264] firm, do not weaken in thy resolution; thou art going with good people, thou wilt want for nothing with them; take nothing without the leave of Antoine* (this is what they call Father Antoine Daniel), *do not associate with the Montagnons, but only with the French; above all, obey those who wear the black gowns, with whom thou art to live; if thou takest Deer in the chase, give away the flesh and keep the skin; do not go into Canoes with the French, lest, by not understanding each other, you may take offense at something. Keep up thy courage until the coming year, when I shall see thee.*" We made some presents to their relations and invited them to a feast before our departure. Thereupon one came to ask Father Daniel, on the part of the Captain and of the inhabitants of la Rochelle, if we had less affection for that Village **[page 291]** than for the others. Why then did we not give them some French people to embark? We replied that, if they wanted some, they should have them; and as Father Brebeuf had asked me for several Fathers that he might prepare them up there for the harvest, I gave them Father Isaac Jogues. Father Daniel made them some presents, that they might take him and treat him kindly, [265] and behold them the happiest people in the world. Now as time was pressing Monsieur the Commandant, and as he was suffering from poor health, he wished to depart. While we were finishing up some business, as we had not yet taken our Seminarists, they came and asked us if we were not going to let them embark with us, so great was their desire to do so. They were taken and conducted to the Shallop, and it was pleasant to see their kinsmen apostrophizing them and recommending them to be of good cheer, and not to take anything while among us, saying that it was not the custom with us to steal; in short, they did this with such an appearance of love that all our French were comforted by it. Then we entered the Bark, the anchor was weighed, the cannon of the Fort, the swivel guns and other pieces of artillery of the Bark were fired off as a salute, and lo, we were under sail. Let us pause a little.

So now, by the grace of God, we have begun a Huron Seminary. If you like you can have two more; another one for the Hurons and other [266] neighboring Tribes in the same territory as the Hurons, where more than five hundred children could be educated if we had people and means enough. The third will be among the Montagnons; I have already said that nothing more is wanting now but a **[page 293]** place to lodge and maintain their children. If the Gentlemen of the Company continue, as we hope they will do, to send us persons who will use the authority they give them for the service of God, all will go well, and New France will some day imitate the piety of her elder sister. I have already said that Monsieur our Governor shows as much zeal as possible. Monsieur the Commandant of the fleet returns with this glory in the sight of God, never to have neglected anything for his glory here.

The day after our departure from the three Rivers we arrived at K<sup>bec</sup>. Our Hurons, who are strong and active youths, Father Daniel and I, having saluted our Governor, withdrew to Nostre Dame des Anges, where I found Father Nicolas Adam<sup>[46]</sup> stricken with paralysis, which deprived him almost entirely of the use of his feet and hands; this is the [267] result of a fever which seized him a few days after his arrival. There is talk of sending him back for the recovery of his health, but he says that he came here to give his life to our Lord and to the souls that he has redeemed; that he is ready to obey, but that the sentiments of his heart would be not to retreat, and to go to Heaven from the summit of the Cross where God has placed him. So we will retain him; his example will be edifying to us, and his patience will procure new blessings upon these wildernesses.

I remember saying above that, on the fifteenth of this month, the Hiroquois prisoner was brought down to K<sup>bec</sup>, to be put to death there by the Savages. Here are the details of his torture as related to me by Father de Quen. As soon, said. he, as this poor **[page 295]** victim stepped ashore, the women seized him and led him to their Cabins; there he was made to dance. Meanwhile a Fury appeared, armed with a whip of knotted cords, with which she rained blows upon him around his arms, with as much rage as she had strength; another struck him upon the chest, the stomach, and the belly, with a great stone; and a [268] third gashed his shoulders with a knife and made the blood flow in streams. A little while afterwards a Savage, as dry and fleshless as a skeleton, having been sick for several months, regained his strength at the sight of this wretch, jumped upon his neck, caught him by the ear like a dog, greedily bit it off, and placed it in his mouth; the prisoner took it without being disconcerted, chewed it a while, and, not being able to swallow it, spit it into the fire. See what a reception they gave him. After this, he was granted a little respite, and was regaled with the best food there was in the Cabin. And, what seems incredible, this man seemed to be as greatly pleased as if he had received news of his liberty. Toward evening they dragged him, bound with ropes, from Cabin to Cabin, while an infuriated woman whipped him to the music of a song. It is said that they perpetrated another act of cruelty upon him which would make this paper blush. When Monsieur the Governor was informed of all this, he made known to them that he was dissatisfied with these outrages, and that they should go somewhere else, not to wound the eyes of our French people by these acts of barbarity, [269] to our eyes intolerable. This caused them to restrain their mad rage; they then crossed over the great river and strangled their victim **[page 297]**, whom they roasted at the fire and then gave to the dogs, throwing the bones into the river. To such a point can the rage and fury of souls which know not God attain. The men or women who indulge most fiercely in these acts of cruelty are those whose fathers or husbands or nearest relatives have been treated with equal fury in the country of their enemies; it is the recollection of the death of their kindred that fills their hearts with this madness.

As I am writing this, on the twenty-eighth of August, Father Buteux sends me word of the departure of Father Jogues, and of the arrival of another band of Hurons from whom sieur Nicolet has obtained three young boys, upon the report made by their companions of the good treatment that Monsieur the Commandant and all the other French people have shown them. I finish, praying Our Lord to be a foster Father to the souls and bodies of those he sends us in addition to the ones we have. [270] The coming winter, we are going to dismiss a part of our men on account of the scarcity of food; for to refuse this Heavenly blessing by sending away part of our Savages, this we will never do,- we would rather give them the half of ourselves; the matter is too important for the glory of Our Lord. May he be blessed forever through time and through eternity.

We are here to clear this little corner in the vineyard of the great Head of the family. At present there are twenty-six of us,- twenty Priests and six of our lay Brothers ; they stay in the following places, beginning with the most distant: In the residence of saint

Joseph, among the Hurons, Reverend Father Jean Brebeuf, Superior of that Mission; Father [page 299] François Mercier, Father Pierre Pijart, Father Pierre Chastelain, Father Charles Garnier, and Father Isaac Jogues.

In the residence of the Conception, at the three Rivers, Father Jacques Buteux and Father Charles du Marché; they are building at that Residence, and we will send there another Father when they shall have a lodging for him.

[271] In the Residence of Nostre Dame de Recouvrance at Kébec, Father Jean de Quen and I. We are building here also, for the Seminary and the College. As soon as there shall be a place for them, I shall send for some Fathers; meanwhile Father de Quen will teach the French Pupils and I the Savage ones,- and with all this we shall have to help our French people, who already form quite a little Parish, and to study the Montagnés language.

In the Residence of Nostre Dame des Anges, Reverend Father Charles Lallemant, Superior of that House, Father Nicolas Adam, Father Enemond Massé, Father Anne Denoué, Father Antoine Daniel, Father Ambroise Davost; our Brothers Gilbert Burel, Pierre le Telier, Jean Liegeois, Pierre Feaute, Ambroise Cauvet and Louys Gobert.

In the Residence of Miskou, Father Claude Quentin, if he has succeeded in reaching there, and Father Charles Turgis.

In the Residence of Ste. Anne at Cap-Breton, Father Daudemare<sup>[47]</sup> and Father André Richard. God knows with how much ardor we all implore, both for ourselves and for [272] these poor Peoples, the help of the prayers of Your Reverence and of all our Fathers and Brothers. I desire ,it in my own behalf [page 301] with all my heart, as one who will sign himself in the name of all, what he is in fact

Your very humble and very  
obedient servant in our  
Lord,

PAUL LE JEUNE.

I have jotted this Relation down hastily, now in one place, now in another; sometimes upon the water, sometimes upon the land. I finally conclude it in the Residence of nostre Dame des Anges, near Kébec in New France, this 28th of August, 1636. [page 303]

# NOTES TO VOL. IX

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

[1] (p. 15).♦*Madame Hebout*: this was Marie Hubou, whose first husband was Louis Hébert (see vol. v., *note* 13).

[2] (p. 29).♦Le Jenne gives (in *Relation* of 1634) a long account of the persecutions he endured at the hands of this man.

[3] (p. 33).♦Jacques Hertel, a native of Normandy, came to Canada in 1615. He was long employed by Champlain as an interpreter, and, upon the capture of Quebec, took refuge with the savages. In 1633 he obtained a grant of land at Three Rivers, where he was the first settler (see vol. iv., *note* 24); and two other estates there were granted him by Montmagny, Aug. 18, 1636. Five years later he was married to Marie Marguerie; their son François was ennobled by Louis XIV. He died at Three Rivers, Aug. 10, 1651.♦See Sulte's *Can.-Français*, vols. i., ii.

[4] (p. 33).♦*Sieur Godefroy*: probably the "Sieur Jean Paul" mentioned in the next chapter. This was Jean Paul Godefroy (Godfroy), who came to Canada at an early date, and served as interpreter and trading clerk; he returned to France with Champlain in 1629, but his name appears at Three Rivers in 1636, as a clerk there. In 1644, he accompanied Pierre Le Gardeur to France, delegated by the Canadian colonists (see vol. viii., *note* 57). In the following year, he was commander of a ship, and during 1648♦50 was admiral of the fleet Oct. 3, 1646, he married Marie Madeleine, daughter of Le Gardeur; he had by her two daughters, one of whom became an Ursuline nun. In 1650, he formed a commercial association with Tilly, Buissot, Lespiné, and others, for seal-fishing at Tadoussac and fur-trading with the Indians. In June, 1651, he went with the Jesuit Druillettes on an embassy to the New England authorities, to carry on the negotiations begun in 1647, relative to commerce and to the formation of an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the Iroquois. This proposal, however, was refused by the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Godefroy was elected a member of the Quebec council, in 1648; he was apparently a prominent colonist, and active in developing the commerce and resources of the country. He was a relative of the noted Jean Godefroy de Linctot. [page 305] The date of his death is not recorded. He is mentioned several times in *Jour. des Jésuites*; see also Sulte's *Can.-Français*, vols. ii., iii.

[5] (p. 33).♦For sketch of M. de Gand, see vol. vii., *note* 22.

[6] (p. 43).♦Sulte says (*Can.-Français*, vol. i., p. 82) that in the register of Three Rivers appears, early in 1636, the name of Jean Rousseau, a Parisian; he died there in 1643 (July 21), killed by the discharge of a gun.

[7] (p. 51).♦M. de Lisle (L'Isle), a chevalier of the knights of Malta, was the lieutenant of Montmagny, and commanded at Three Rivers in the summer of 1636. He was a man of great piety, and is frequently mentioned in the Relations, from 1636 to 1641. as a friend of the missionaries, and as participating in various religious ceremonies.

For a sketch of Montmagny, see vol. viii., *note* 50.

Sulte says (*Can.-Français*, vol. ii., P. 81); "A gentleman named St. Jean, who had come in 1635, if not earlier, accompanied Montmagny on his official journeys;" he appears to have remained in Canada until 1641.

Concerning Chastellain and Garnier, see vol. viii., notes 51. 52. Details of the baptism at which the former officiated upon first arriving in Canada are given in Le Jeune's Introduction to this Relation (see vol. viii., P. 219). Chastellain's Christian name is given in *Jour. des Jésuites* as Guillaume Pierre.

[8] (p. 59).♦Robert Hache, a Jesuit donné, who lived in the mission at Three Rivers, is named in the register of that town during the years 1636♦40. Lalemant also mentions him in a letter to the provincial in 1634 (see vol. vi., p. 55). Hache was at Sillery in 1645, and, in the year after, made a journey to France. He is occasionally mentioned in the *Jour. des Jésuites*,♦the last time (Sept. 12, 1659), under the following significant entry: "*Item*, as for Robert Hache, it was decided that he should go away, or come to an understanding with the other donnés."

[9] (p. 59).♦For a sketch of the chief, Capitanal, see vol. viii., *note* 67.

[10] (p. 59).♦The register of Three Rivers mentions, in 1637, the name of M. de la Treille, clerk.



- [11] (p. 59). ♦ For a sketch of Du March ♦. see vol. viii., *note* 19.
- [12] (p. 63). ♦ This was Guillaume H ♦ bert, eldest child and only son of Louis H ♦ bert (see vol. ii., *note* 80) and Marie Rollet. Guillaume married, Oct. 1, 1634, H ♦ l ♦ ne Desportes, then aged fourteen; he died five years later, leaving three children.
- [13] (p. 65). ♦ Mademoiselle: in olden times, the appellation given to every married lady who was not noble, or who, though noble. [page 306] bore no title, ♦ the designation "madame" being reserved exclusively for the wives of those on whom knighthood had been conferred.
- [14] (p. 65). ♦ Jacques Castillon, a bourgeois of Paris, and one of the Hundred Associates; the Isle of Orleans was granted him Jan. 15, 1636, as the representative of a company of eight persons ♦ Lauson, Cheffault, and others.
- [15] (p. 65). ♦ For a sketch of Daniel, see vol. v., *note* 53; concerning the Petite Nation, *note* 56 in same volume.
- [16] (p. 69). ♦ "The apostate" was Pierre Antoine (see volume v., *note* 33); regarding his brothers, see Le Jeune's account of his winter sojourn with them (*Relation* of 1634, vol. vii. of this series).
- [17] (p. 83). ♦ *Manitousiouekhi*: see vol. v., *note* 43.
- [18] (p. 95). ♦ This Oumastikoueau (Onmasaticouei) was an Algonkin chief of unusual shrewdness and ability; it was he who endeavored, in the summer of 1635, to incite strife between the Montagnais and Hurons ♦ in order, as Le Jenne thought, to divert the Huron trade from the French. The latter mentions this Indian several times; in July, 1633, his son was baptized by Br ♦ beuf; and in 1636 he was slain by the Iroquois.
- [19] (p. 99). ♦ Le Jenne here refers to Madame de Combalet's scheme for a hospital at Quebec (see vol. viii., *note* 62).
- [20] (p. 115). ♦ The Attikam ♦ gues were a Montagnais tribe, dwelling on the upper St. Maurice River, by which stream they descended to Three Rivers for trade (though not until 1637, when the French fort there insured them some protection from the Iroquois). The missionaries found them docile and receptive, and made numerous converts among them. It was during one of Buteux's journeys to visit this tribe that he was slain by the Iroquois, who often made hostile incursions even thus far north of the St. Lawrence. Letters from the Huron missionaries were often sent to Three Rivers and Quebec by the Attikam ♦ gues, who traded with the Hurons, as a safer though more circuitous despatch than that by the Ottawa River, which was especially infested by the Iroquois. The Attikam ♦ gues, though a timid people, at times valiantly resisted their enemies; but by 1661, they had been practically destroyed by the Iroquois, and their ruin was completed, a few years later, by the ravages of the smallpox. Vimont says (*Relation* of 1641, chap. vii.) that the appellation of this tribe was derived from the Montagnais name of a certain white fish, of excellent quality, which abounded in the rivers and lakes of that region (probably the "whitefish," now found in the Great Lakes, *Coregonus*, of the *Salmonid* ♦).
- [21] (p. 117). ♦ *Rivi ♦ re des Iroquois*: the Sorel or Richelieu River (see vol. i., *note* 67). [page 307] *Savages of the Island*: the tribe that inhabited Allumettes Island (see vol. v., *note* 57). Traces of its early occupants are still found on this island.
- [22] (p. 121). ♦ See Le Jeune's account of the spirits or progenitors of the seasons, vol. vi., p. 161.
- [23] (p. 123). ♦ Like the Hebrews, the North American aborigines regarded a woman in her periodical illness as unclean, defiling all that she touched; but the latter race also cherished a superstitious belief that her look, or touch, or even the sight of her, had a malign influence - inducing disease, causing ill-luck in hunting or war, and bringing misfortune. In consequence, seclusion at this period was imposed by custom upon the woman, who must dwell apart from her family, in a small hut or wigwam constructed for this purpose (cf. Biard's statement, vol. iii., p. 105). This superstition still exists among many tribes. Schoolcraft mentions it, and a custom resulting therefrom ♦ that a woman in this condition, and naked, makes the circuit of the cornfields at night, to destroy blight, vermin, and noxious insects. A Menomonee legend given by Hoffman (*Bur. of Ethnol. Rep.*, 1892 ♦ 93, p. 175) relates that M ♦ n ♦ bush (Manabozho, or Michabou, "the Great Hare") once threw a clot of bear's blood at his grandmother, hitting her on the abdomen; whence originated menstruation. An Omaha version of this story is mentioned by Dorsey, who gives the following account of the periodical seclusion of women among that tribe: "The Omaha woman reckons pregnancy from the last time that she 'dwelt alone.' Among the Omahas and Ponkas, the woman makes a different fire for four days, dwelling in a small lodge apart from the rest of the household, even in cold weather. She cooks and eats alone, telling no one of her sickness, not even her husband. Grown people do not fear her, but children are caused to fear the odor that she is said to give forth. If any eat with her, they become sick in the chest, and very lean; and their lips become parched in a circle about two inches in diameter. Their blood grows black; children vomit. On the fourth or fifth day, she bathes herself, and washes her dishes, etc.; then she can return to the household. Another woman who is similarly affected can stay with her in the small lodge, if she knows the circumstances. During this period, the men will neither lie nor eat with the woman, and they will not use the same dish, bowl, and spoon." The Omaha name for this illness indicates their superstitious notions regarding it, ♦ *Wak ♦ ndatathica*," pertaining to Wakanda the Great Spirit "). ♦ See *Bur. of Ethnol. Rep.*, 1881 ♦ 82, pp. 263, 267. The same custom of seclusion obtains among many tribes, in connection with childbirth. MacCauley says (*Bur. of Ethnol. Rep.*, [page 308] 1883 ♦ 84, p. 497) that a Seminole woman, just before childbirth, builds a small lodge, not far from the main house of the family, and goes there for her confinement. Boas and Murdoch describe a similar custom among different tribes of the Eskimos; a small hut or snow house is built for the mother, in which she spends the time of her delivery and recovery. Murdoch was told by one of these natives that a sore on the latter's face was caused by drinking from a cup that had been used by a woman who had recently had a miscarriage. ♦ See *Bur. of Ethnol. Rep.*, 1884 ♦ 85, p. 610; and 1887 ♦ 88, p. 415.
- [24] (p. 125). ♦ A sketch of Jean Nicolet is given in vol. viii., *note* 29.
- [25] (p. 131). ♦ The toise is a French linear measure, of six (French) feet, equal to 1.949 metres. Littr ♦ cites Thaumassi ♦ re's *Coutume de Berry* (16th century), thus: "We use in this country two toises ♦ one, the carpenter's toise, of 5 ♦ feet; the other, the mason's toise of 6 feet, with which is measured the square toise." Wurtele's *Tables for Reducing Measures* (Montreal, 1861) makes the toise equivalent to 6.395 English feet.
- [26] (p. 135). ♦ The early settlement of Acadia by the French is related at length by Lescarbot and Biard in vols. i.-iii. of this series. A sketch of the first English settlement there is given in vol. iv., *note* 46. After the restoration of New France by England (1632), Acadia was governed by Isaac de Razilly until his death in 1635. Upon that event, his authority mainly devolved upon his lieutenants, D'Aulnay and La Tour; while another of his officers, Nicolas Denys, sieur de Fronsac, remained in possession of Cape Breton and other islands, with the coasts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Denys established flourishing settlements at Ste. Anne's, Chedabouctou (now Guysboro'), and St. Peter's (on the isthmus now cut by a ship canal), also at Miscou (see vol. vii., *note* 19); and carried on an extensive trade in fish, lumber, and other products of the country. After his return to France (about 1671), he wrote an interesting account of the territory he had occupied in America, ♦ *Description G ♦ ographique et Historique de l'Am ♦ rique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1672). Bourinot gives (*Cape Breton*, pp. 139-141) a bibliography of Denys's work, and translates his description of Cape Breton.
- [27] (p. 135). ♦ See sketch of De Razilly in vol. viii., *note* 2. As governor of Acadia. he established his official residence at La H ♦ ve (see vol. i., *note* 42). He erected fortifications there, brought over colonists, cultivated grain and fruit, established fisheries, and ruled the province with energy, judgment, and foresight. Williamson (*Maine*, vol. i., p. 263) relates this instance of his generosity towards the English: "Afterwards the French treated the colonists with [page 309] more forbearance and kindness. A crew of Connecticut mariners, for instance, being wrecked on the Isle of Sables, received from them many testimonies of humanity, and were even transported to La H ♦ ve, the residence of Razilla; from which place, he gave four of them a passage to France, and furnished the others with a shallop to convey themselves home. These generous acts were in the last days of his life ♦ happily monumental of his



[28] (p. 141). ♦ *Diane*: the drumbeat which is sounded at daybreak. This appellation is, according to Littré ♦, derived from the Italian *stella diana* ("the morning star"), originally from Latin *dies*; it has been used as above since the 16th century.

[29] (p. 143). ♦ De Repentigny and La Poterie are sketched in vol. viii., *notes* 57, 58.

[30] (p. 145). ♦ *Chevalet*: an instrument of torture, "a sort of wooden horse, with a sharp back, on which soldiers who had committed disorders were placed, with cannon balls attached to their feet " (Littré ♦).

[31] (p. 145). ♦ Champlain had strictly forbidden any traffic with the Indians in intoxicating liquors (see vol. vi., *note* 19). Cf. pp. 203 ♦ 207 of this volume.

[32] (p. 149). ♦ Plans for the establishment of a college at Quebec had been made by Rene de Rohault and his father (see vol. vi., *note* 9), as early as 1626; but the hostilities between England and France, and the capture of Quebec, hindered the execution of their design. Le Jenne, however, was able to carry it out later ♦ having received from the Marquis de Gamache, in 1635, a large sum of money, and from the Company of New France (Mar. 18, 1637) twelve arpents of land, for this purpose. The history of this college is related at length by Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 205 ♦ 230).

[33] (p. 165). ♦ The terms *vache sauvage*, *bœuf sauvage*, and sometimes even *buffe* and *buffle*, were applied by the early French writers alike to the buffalo, the moose, and the elk, ♦ whence has arisen much confusion in regard to the former habitat of the buffalo. But examination of the fossil remains of this animal, and of the statements of early writers, both English and French, indicates at least the strong probability that the buffalo was not found east of Hudson's Bay and the Great Lakes, or the Alleghanies. Boucher, in his *Hist. verit. et nat.* (reprinted, with numerous annotations by Sulte, in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 1896), chap. v., makes (1663) a definite statement on this point: "As for the animals called Bufles, they are only found in the country of the Outaouais, some four or five hundred leagues from Quebec, towards the West and North." The subject is exhaustively discussed in Allen's valuable monograph, **[page 310]** History of the American Bison," published in *U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Survey of the Territories, Ninth Ann. Rep.*, 1875 (Washington, 1877), pp. 443-587.

Le Jenne doubtless refers in the text to either the elk or the moose (see vol. ii., *note* 34).

[34] (p. 169). ♦ L'Isle Percé ♦ (now called Percé ♦ Rock) is situated on the eastern coast of Gaspé ♦, opposite the village of Percé ♦, and 36 miles from the town of Gaspé ♦ Basin. It lies at the foot of Mt. Joly, from which it has evidently been separated (like Cape Forillon ♦ see vol. iii., *note* 45) by the action, through many centuries, of waves and ice. This rocky islet is 288 feet high, 1200 feet long, and about 70 feet wide; its sides are boldly precipitous, and within it. cut by the waters, are three great arches, from which it derives its name ♦ the central one large enough to allow the easy passage of a boat under sail. Vast numbers of sea fowl resort here every summer, to rear their young. Percé ♦ is noted for its grand and romantic scenery, and as the location of the most extensive cod fishery in Quebec province.

Bonaventure is a small island opposite Percé ♦, 2 ♦ miles long, and ♦ of a mile wide; it forms a natural breakwater between Percé ♦ and the Gulf. It contains about 50 families. A river of the same name empties into the Bay of Chaleurs.

[35] (p. 169). ♦ Concerning white whales, see vol. v., *note* 6.

[36] (p. 183). ♦ For citations on the connection of the Jesuits with the fur trade, see vol. i., *note* 31; vol. iii., *note* 33.

[37] (p. 191). ♦ This cape was named by Champlain. In his voyage of 1609 (Laverdière's ed., p. 294), he says: "Coasting the shore from the Isle aux Coudres, we made a headland, which we named cap de Tourmente, five leagues away; and we named it thus because, however little wind may blow, the sea rises there as if it were high tide. At this place, the water begins to be fresh." this point is, however, eight leagues from Isle aux Coudres, instead of five, and is ten leagues below Québec. It is a lofty, steep promontory, rising to the height of 1,900 feet above the fertile meadows at its base (whence the name Beaupré ♦).

Champlain, in 1626, sent to this place the cattle of the colony, with a few men to care for them, erecting buildings for their use; and every week he made a trip thither to inspect the establishment and provide for its needs. This settlement was destroyed by Kirk in 1628, at which time it was in charge of Nicholas Pivert, who had with him his wife and niece, besides the men who took care of the cattle. Upon the return of the French, a few colonists settled at Beaupré ♦, attracted by its great natural advantages - a little stream which furnished a good landing-place, abundant and diversified **[page 311]** forests, and excellent pasturage, admirably adapting it for stock-raising. Jan. 15, 1636, the Company of New France granted to Antoine Cheffault, one of its members, the seigniorship known as Côte de Beaupré ♦ having six leagues of river frontage, and embracing all of the present Montmorency county, and more. Flourishing settlements soon arose in this region ♦ among them, one at Ste. Anne, where was laid (March, 1658) the corner stone of a church, named Ste. Anne de Petit. Cap. The Jesuit missionaries frequently visited these colonies, to minister to their spiritual needs.

[38] (p. 209). ♦ See sketch of Chasteau-fort in vol. viii., *note* 53.

[39] (p. 213). ♦ *Teston* (*teste*, "head"): an old French silver coin, stamped with the likeness of the king. It was worth, under Francis I., ten sous and a few deniers; under Louis XIII., its value had gradually risen to 19 ♦ sous; its use was then discontinued.

The English shilling of Henry VIII. was called "testoon" ♦ a name adopted from that of the above French coin; it was in use during 1544-48.

[40] (p. 227). ♦ Paul Ragueneau, born in Paris, Mar. 18, 1608, became a Jesuit novice Aug. 21, 1626. His studies were pursued at Clermont and Bourges; he was also an instructor in the latter institution during 1628 ♦ 32, among his pupils being "the great Conde" (vol. viii., *note* 13). He came to Canada June 28, 1636, and labored in the Huron mission until its close-except during the year 1640 ♦ 41; in the spring of the latter year, he, with Nicolet, held an ineffectual conference with the hostile Iroquois near Three Rivers (vol. viii., *note* 29). He was named by the Hurons Aondechet ♦.

Ragueneau was superior of the Huron mission from early in 1645 until its destruction in 1649 and superior of all the Canadian missions from 1650 to 1653. In June, 1657, Ragueneau and Joseph Du Peron undertook the mission to the Onondagas (for sketch of this tribe, see vol. viii., *note* 34); but they found these savages bitterly hostile to the French, and, learning that the former had planned to murder them, all the French (March 1658), secretly fled for their lives, and escaped in safety, arriving at Quebec April 23.

Returning to France in August, 1662, Ragueneau became agent in that country for the Canadian mission, and died at Paris, Sept. 3, 1680. As superior, he wrote the *Relations* of the Huron mission, during 1645 ♦ 49, and edited the general Relations for the years 1649 ♦ 53; he was also editor of the *Jour. des Jésuites* from Nov. 1, 1650 to Aug. 15, 1653. After his return to France, he wrote *Vie de Mère Catherine de St. Augustin*, a Hospital nun at Quebec (published at Paris, 1671). Sommervogel also cites a MS., *Mémoires touchant les vertus des Pères de Noë, Jogues, Daniel*, etc. (4to, pp. 314), as collected from different sources by Ragueneau, in 1652, ♦ "to **[page 312]** be used in a plea for beatification," ♦ each memoir bearing at the end his signed and sworn attestation.

François Ragueneau, a brother of Paul, was born at Blois, Jan. 14, 1597, and entered the Jesuit novitiate Apr. 16, 1614. In 1628, he went to Canada with Charles Lalemant, on Roquemont's expedition; but they were captured by Kirk (vol. iv., *notes* 20, 46), and the Jesuits were obliged to return to France. François was rector of Bourges, and died there Apr. 10, 1665. A MS. written by him is cited by Sommervogel as in the archives of Ste. Geneviève, Paris ♦ *Annué, litteré, Missionis Canadensis Societatis Jesu, 1663 ♦ 64* (dated Feb. 1, 1665).

No information is available concerning the lay brother Louis Gobert. Some writers seem to consider this name as a mere error for that of Ambroise Cauvet; but both these names are mentioned by Le Jeune in the text (p. 301).

[41] (p. 227). ♦ Isaac Jogues was born at Orleans, France, Jan. 10, 1607. At the age of ten, he became a student in the Jesuit college just established at Orleans, and a novice in that order Oct. 24, 1624, at Rouen, where he was under the care of Louis Lalemant, a relative of the missionaries of that name. His studies were pursued at Rouen, La Flèche, and Clermont; and he was ordained as a priest, early in 1636. In April of that year, he departed for Canada, in company with Chastellain, Garnier, Adam, Du Marché ♦, Ragueneau, and the lay brother Ambroise Cauvet (vol. viii., *note* 56); they came with the fleet that escorted Montmagny, Champlain's successor. Jogues went immediately to the Huron mission, and there labored six years ♦ mainly at Ste. Marie-on-

the-Wye. During this time, he, with Garnier (vol. viii., *note* 52), made an unsuccessful attempt to found a mission among the Tobacco tribe (vol.v., *note* 18). In September, 1641, Jogues, with Charles Raymbault, made an expedition to Sault Ste. Marie, to visit the Chippewas there, and obtain information concerning that region. In June, 1642, they descended to Quebec, with a company of Hurons, to obtain supplies for their mission. On the return journey, an ambushed band of Iroquois attacked the party, 31 miles above Three Rivers, and captured Jogues, the *donn*s Ren Goupil and Guillaume Couture, and several Huron converts. The captives were taken to the Mohawk villages, where they were cruelly tortured, and some burned alive; Goupil was murdered, soon after; while Jogues and Couture were given to Indian families as slaves. In August, 1643, Jogues contrived to escape by the aid of the Dutch commandant at Rensselaerswyck (also called Fort orange; now Albany), and of Jan Megapolensis, a Protestant "dominie;" and on Nov. 5 he left New Amsterdam (New York) on a Dutch vessel, arriving, after many hardships and dangers, at the Jesuit college in Rennes, Jan. 5, 1644. **[page 313]**

In the following spring, he returned to the Canadian mission, and was stationed at Montreal. For three years past, the Iroquois had been especially hostile and dangerous, and their incursions constantly harassed the French, and so terrified the Hurons and Algonkins that they no longer dared come down the St. Lawrence for trade. July 5, 1644, a Mohawk embassy came to Three Rivers, to negotiate a treaty of peace; they brought Couture, and restored him to the French. The treaty was concluded, after many delays; but it was not ratified until May, 1646, when Jogues and Jean Bourdon were sent to the Mohawks by Montmagny, for this purpose. Their commission was safely executed, and they returned to Quebec. In the following September, Jogues was again sent to the Mohawk country, by his superiors, to spend the winter there; but the savages had renewed their hostility to the French, and, capturing Jogues not far from Fort Richelieu (on the Sorel), they took him as a prisoner, with his companion Jean de la Lande, to the Mohawk town of Ossernenon (now Auriesville, N. Y.). A council of the tribe decided to set the prisoners at liberty; but they were treacherously assassinated (Oct. 18, 1646) by some fanatical members of the Bear clan of Mohawks (vol. viii., *note* 34). Information of this cruel murder was sent to Montmagny by Wilhelm Kieft, then governor of New Netherlands. See Martin's *Le R. P. Isaac Jogues* (Paris, 1873); English translation by Shea, under the title, *Life of Father Isaac Jogues* (N.Y., 1885).

Jogues wrote an account of the life and death of Ren Goupil; and a description of the Dutch colonies on the Hudson, under the title *Novum Belgium* (to be reproduced in this series). These are translated by Shea, in *Life of Jogues (ut supra)*.

[42] (p. 251). The name Rivière des Prairies (vol. viii., *note* 25) was restricted to the south branch of the Ottawa at an early date, as may be seen by the description of the original seigniorie of Terre-bonne, which was granted Dec. 23, 1673, to Daulier Deslandes "two leagues frontage upon the Rivière Jésus, formerly called Rivière des Prairies." This later name was evidently transferred from the Isle Jésus (at first known, during a few years, as Isle Montmagny). In the autumn of 1672, this island was granted to Sieur Berthelot, a royal councilor and State officer of France; and the Rivière des Prairies to Jean Baptiste Le Gardeur, a grandson of Pierre (vol. viii., *note* 57), whose wife was Marguerite Nicolet (vol. viii., *note* 29).

[43] (p. 259). *La Perdrix*: a chief of the Island tribe (vol. viii., *note* 22).

[44] (p. 271). Apparently the second of the chiefs known to the French by the appellation "Le Borgne" (vol. viii., *note* 30). **[page 314]**

[45] (p. 281). Louis de Sainte Foy (vol. v., *note* 20) returned to his own nation, and rendered valuable aid to the missionaries in the Huron country. See Brébeuf's frequent mention of him in the *Relation* of 1635, and in this *Relation, post*.

[46] (p. 295). See sketch of Nicolas Adam in vol. viii., *note* 55.

[47] (p. 301). Georges d'Eudemare (according to Rochemonteix; Daudemare, in the text; Dendemare, in *Jour. des Jésuites*; and D'Endemare, in Quebec edition of the *Relations*) had apparently joined Richard at the Ste.,Anne (Cape Breton) mission about 1635; but he is not mentioned elsewhere in the *Relations*. According to *Jour. des Jésuites*, he was at Quebec in 1645, having returned from the abandoned Fort Richelieu (built in 1642 by Montmagny, as a defense against the Iroquois, at the mouth of the Richelieu or Sorel River); he is also mentioned several times in the journal, as taking part in important consultations at the headquarters of the mission in Quebec, and (May, 1648) as present at negotiations with the Iroquois, at Montreal. **[page 315]**



# VOL. X

## The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

# Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France

1610↔1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALI-  
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-  
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

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Historical Interpreter at

Onondaga county parks

Ste. Marie Among The Iroquois Living History Museum

Liverpool. New York

Vol. X

Hurons

1636

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## PREFACE TO VOL. X

Following is a synopsis of the third and final installment of Document XXVI., contained in the present volume:

XXVI. In the Preface to Vol. VIII., we explained that the *Relation* of 1636, like many others of the series, is a composite. Part I. is a general report to the provincial of the Jesuits, at Paris, upon the progress and condition of the missions in New France, in 1636, from the pen of the superior, Le Jenne; Part II. consists of a specific *Relation*, addressed to the latter by Br❹beuf, of the mission to the Hurons for this year. In Vols. VIII. and IX. were presented Le Jeune's *Relation* proper, the present volume being devoted to Br❹beuf's Huron *Relation*, thus completing the document.

As usual, Br❹beuf commences his annual letter by describing " the conversion, baptism, and happy death of some Hurons." During the year, the missionaries in that far-away field have baptized eighty-six savages, ❹an encouraging gain over the fourteen who were " rescued from the service of the devil " during the first year of their labors. Their great hope is in the conversion of the children, who, they report, show surprising aptitude and willingness to learn the doctrines of the Christian faith; and, through them, many parents have been reached.

At a council of the Huron chiefs, Br❹beuf produces [page 1] letters from Champlain and Duplessis-Bochart, who exhort the tribesmen to follow the teaching of the missionaries, and embrace Christianity; to emphasize this advice, and in accordance with the custom of the country, he " presents to the assembly a collar of twelve hundred beads of Porcelain, telling them that it was given to smooth the difficulties of the road to Paradise."

The writer describes the unusual and intense drought which prevailed throughout Canada, in the spring and early summer of 1635. The Huron country, being sandy, is especially affected, and is threatened with a total failure of the crops. The "sorcerers," or medicine men, practice all their arts to bring rain, but without success, and attribute their failure to the cross erected by the missionaries. The latter, as a last resort, appeal to their patron saints; and abundant rains are secured, ❹in June, by a novena of masses in honor of St. Joseph; and in August, by another novena for St. Ignace. The result is a plentiful harvest, which increases the good will of the savages toward the black gowns.

The Hurons are in constant dread of hostile incursions from the Iroquois; the missionaries promise to assist them in such emergencies, and instruct them how to improve the fortifications around their villages; for this, the Hurons are duly grateful.

In August, Mercier and Pijart arrive from Quebec, ❹a welcome reinforcement. Many details of missionary work are given, ❹journeys, instructions, debates with Indians, conversions, baptisms, etc. Louis de Sainte-Foi (Amantacha), who had been educated in France during 1626-28, is praised for his intelligence, fidelity, and Christian character; [page 2] and he greatly aids the labors of the missionaries.

An embassy of Island savages (from the Allumettes) visits the Hurons, attempting, but in vain, to incite them to an attack on the Iroquois. Br  beuf takes this opportunity to win, for himself and his brethren, the friendship of these Islanders,  giving them a canoe and other presents.

For the benefit of those of his brethren in France who desire to undertake missionary work in the Huron country, Br  beuf recounts the many perils of the journey hither, and the annoyances and dangers to which apostles of the faith are continually exposed among the savages; but he offers much encouragement and consolation to those who are willing, nevertheless, to brave all obstacles, and to devote themselves to the conversion of the natives.

The missionaries are compiling a grammar and dictionary of the Huron dialect; and Br  beuf devotes a chapter to the peculiarities of this tongue.

The second part of this Relation, is occupied by a minute account of "the beliefs, manners, and customs of the Hurons,"  their myths of Deity and creation; their notions regarding the nature of man's soul, and its condition after death; their worship of the sky, and of demons; their superstitions, and faith in dreams; their feasts and dances; their games, and the general habit of gambling. Then are described, at length, the tricks of medicine men; the national characteristics of the Huron tribes; their customs, both in peace and war; their councils and oratory; and, finally, their solemn feast of the dead,  at which ghastly ceremony, once in twelve years, the corpses of all who have died during that time receive a public and common burial. [page 3]

Br  beuf closes his account with an expression of much hope for the future success of their labors,  mingled, however, with fear lest these savage neophytes may grow restive when placed under greater restrictions on their moral and social conduct, than have thus far seemed advisable to the cautious missionaries.

The translation of Br  beuf's portion of the *Relation* of 1636, contained in the present volume, was made by the late James McFie Hunter, M. A., of Barrie, Ont.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., October, 1897

## XXVI (concluded)

### LE JEUNE'S RELATION, 1636

Paris: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 137

Part 1 (Le Jeune's own *Relation*) appeared in Volumes VIII., IX. The present installment, which closes the document, is Part II., consisting of Br  beuf's annual report on the Huron mission. [page 5]

## [1] Relation of what occurred in the Country of the Hurons in the year 1636.

*Sent to K  bec to Reverend Father Paul le Jeune, Superior of the Mission of the Society of Jesus, in New France.*

Y REVEREND FATHER,

Having learned from your letters, and from the statements of the Fathers who arrived here fortunately last year, how old France is burning with ardent desires for the New; that our Reverend Father General cherishes this Mission as the apple of his eye; that the Father Provincial is inclined to it with his whole heart; that the ardor in our Colleges is so great that it is more difficult to check the [2] tears of those who are turned away, and refused permission to come to our assistance, than to find those who will work; that a very great number of persons, Religious and secular, are continually offering their prayers and their vows to God for the conversion of the poor Barbarians of this whole country; and that in the House of Montmartre, not to speak of others, a Nun is prostrated night and day before the Holy Sacrament, praying for this result; all this makes us hope and believe that God will now open the treasures of his grace and favor upon these poor Peoples, and unseal the eyes of their souls to know the truth. For he would not incite so many devout persons to ask, if he had not the inclination to grant their prayers. Besides, we learn that the colony of Kebec is rapidly increasing, through the efforts [page 7] of Messieurs the Associates of the Company of New France, who spare no pains on their side; and we hope the good example of our Frenchmen will greatly aid not only to bring together and encourage to work the idle and wandering Savages, but to incite them to do for God what they shall find practicable. Moreover, I can say [3] with reason that if divine Goodness continues to scatter his favors and blessings on our Hurons, and on us who labor among them, as freely as he has done since our arrival, we ought, without doubt, to expect here some day an abundant harvest of souls. It is true, there are among these Tribes many errors, superstitions, vices, and utterly evil customs to uproot,  more than we had imagined at first, as will be seen in the course of this Relation; but with God nothing is impossible. It is by his aid that we have already planted the Cross in the midst of this Barbarism, and are beginning and will continue, if it please him, to make known the name and marvelous works of him who by the Cross has redeemed the world. But enough has been said in a general way; it is time to enter into particulars, which I shall willingly and fully do, assuring you that I shall state nothing that I have not seen myself or have not learned from persons worthy of credence. [page 9]

[4] Part First.

# CHAPTER FIRST.

## OF THE CONVERSION, BAPTISM, AND HAPPY DEATH OF SOME HURONS; AND OF THE CONDITION OF CHRISTIANITY AMID THIS BARBARISM.

URING the present year, eighty-six have been baptized, and, adding to these the fourteen of last year, there are a hundred souls in all who, we believe, have been rescued from the service of the devil in this country since our return. Of this. number God has called ten to Heaven, ♦ six while they were young, and four more advanced in age. One of these, named Fran ♦ ois *Sangwati*, was Captain of our village. He had a naturally good disposition, and consented very willingly to be instructed and to receive Holy Baptism, a course he had previously praised and approved in others. I admired the tender Providence of God in the conversion of a woman, who is one of the four deceased. I baptized her [5] this Autumn at the village of *Scanonaenrat*, when returning from the house of Louys de sainte Foy, where we had gone to instruct his parents. The deafness of this sick woman, and the depths of the mysteries I brought to her notice, prevented her from sufficiently understanding me; and, besides, the accent of that Nation is a little different from that of the Bears, with whom we live. My own imperfect acquaintance with the language rendered me [page 11] still less intelligible, and increased my difficulties. But Our Lord, who willed to save this soul, immediately sent us a young man, who served us as interpreter. He had been with us in the Cabin of Louys, and had heard us talking of our mysteries, so that he already knew a considerable part of them, and understood very well what I said. It is said that this woman, who was named Marie, in the midst of her greatest weakness foretold that she would not die for eight days; and so it happened.

They seek Baptism almost entirely as an aid to health. We try to purify this intention, and to lead them to receive from the hand of Cod alike sickness and health, death and life; and teach them that the life-giving waters of Holy [6] Baptism principally impart life to the soul, and not to the body. However, they have the opinion so deeply rooted that the baptized, especially the children, are no longer sickly, that soon they will have spread it abroad and published it everywhere. The result is that they are now bringing us children to baptize from two, three, yes, even seven leagues away.

Moreover, the divine Goodness which acts in us according to the measure of our Faith, has thus far preserved these little ones in good health; so that the death of those who have passed away has been attributed to incurable and hopeless maladies contracted beforehand; and, if another has occasionally suffered from some trifling ailment, the parents, although still unbelieving, have attributed it to the neglect and irreverence they have shown toward the service of God.

There is in our village a little Christian girl named Louyse, who at six months began to walk alone; the [page 13] parents declare they have seen nothing like it, and ,attribute it to the efficacy of Holy Baptism. Another person told us one day, with great delight, that his little [7] boy, who had always been sick and much emaciated before Baptism, had been very well since then. This will suffice to show how Our Lord is inspiring them with a high opinion of this divine Sacrament, which is strengthened by the perfect health God gives us, and which he has given to all the French who have been in this country; for, they say, it is very strange that, except a single man who died here from natural causes, all the others, during the twenty-five years or thereabout in which the, French have been frequenting this region, have scarcely ever been sick.

From all this may be easily gathered the present state of the young Christianity of this country, and the hope for the future. Two or three things besides will help to the same end. The first is the method we pursue in the instruction of the Savages. We gather together the men as often as we can; for their councils, their feasts, their games, and their dances do not permit us to have them here at any 'hour, nor every day. We pay especial attention to the Old Men, inasmuch as they are the ones who determine and decide all matters, and everything is ordered by their advice. [8] All come willingly to hear us; all, without exception, say they have a desire to go to Heaven and fear the fiery torments of hell. They have hardly anything to answer us with; we could wish sometimes that they would bring forward more objections, which would always afford us better opportunity to explain our holy Mysteries in detail. Of a truth, the Commandments of God [page 15] are very just and reasonable, and they must be less than men who find therein anything to censure. Our Hurons, who have as yet only the light of nature, have found them so noble, so agreeable to reason, that after having heard the explanation of them they would say, in admiration, *ca chia attwain aa arrihwaa*, "Certainly these are important matters, and worthy of being discussed in our councils; they speak the truth, they say nothing but what is to the purpose; we have never heard such discourse." Among other things which made them acknowledge the truth of one God, Creator, Governor, and Preserver of all things, was the illustration I employed of the child conceived in its mother's womb. " Who," said I, but God forms the body of. this child; who out of one and the same material [9] forms the heart, the liver, the lungs, ♦ in short, an infinite variety of members, all necessary, all well-proportioned, and joined one to another? Not the father, for these wonders take place in his absence, and sometimes after his death. Nor is it the mother, for she does not know what takes place in her womb. If it be the father or the mother that forms this body at discretion, why is not a son or a daughter begotten at will? Why do they not produce children, handsome, tall, strong, and active? And, if parents give the soul to their children, why do they not impart to all of them great minds, a retentive memory, and all sorts of noble and praiseworthy qualities, seeing that there is no one who would not desire to have such children if this were in his power?" To all this the Hurons, full of wonder, make no reply. They confess that we speak the truth, and that indeed there is a God; they declare that henceforth they will recognize, [page 17] serve, and honor him; and, desiring to be promptly instructed, they ask us to teach them the Catechism every day; but, as I have said, their occupations and amusements do not permit that.

[10] Moreover, the harmony of all points of Christian Doctrine pleases them wonderfully; "For," they say, " you always speak connectedly, and consistently with what you have said; you never wander off, you never speak save to the purpose; we, on the contrary, speak heedlessly, not knowing what we say." It is a characteristic of falsehood to embarrass itself in a multitude of contradictions.

The evil is, they are so attached to their old customs that, knowing the beauty of truth, they are content to approve it without embracing it. Their usual reply is, *oniondechouten*, "Such is the custom of our country." We have fought this excuse and have taken it from their mouths, but not yet from their hearts; our Lord will do that when it shall please him.

Thus, then, we deal with the Old Men. As the women and children caused us much trouble, we have hit upon this plan, which succeeds fairly well. Father Antoine Daniel and the other Fathers go every day through the Cabins, teaching the children, whether baptized or not, Christian doctrine, ♦ namely, the sign of the Cross, [11] the *Pater; the Ave, the Credo*, the Commandments of God, the Prayer to the Guardian Angel, and other brief prayers, all in their own tongue, because these Peoples have a natural inaptitude for



learning any other.

On Sundays, we assemble all these young people twice in our Cabin, which serves as a Chapel. In the morning we get them to assist at Mass, even **[page 19]** to the offertory, before which we solemnly bless the holy water; then I make them say all together, after me, the *Pater*, the *Ave*, and other prayers they know. In the afternoon I propose to them some little question from the Catechism, and make them give account of what they have learned during the week, giving to each some little prize according to his merit.

This method, along with the little rewards, has wonderful results. For, in the first place, it has kindled among all the children so great a desire to learn that there is not even one who, if it can stammer out words at all, does not desire to be instructed; and, as they are almost all fairly intelligent, they make rapid progress, for they even [12] teach one another.

I cannot tell you the satisfaction and consolation these little children give us. When we consider their Fathers, still plunged in their superstitions, although recognizing sufficiently the truth, we are afraid that God, provoked by their sins, has rejected them for a time; but, as for the children, without doubt he holds out his arms to them and draws them to himself. The eagerness they show to learn the duties of a Christian keeps us from doubting it. The smallest ones throw themselves into our arms, as we pass through the Cabins, and do not require to be urged to talk and to learn. Father Daniel hit upon the plan of quieting a little child, crying in its mother's arms, by having it make the sign of the Cross. And indeed, one day when I had just been teaching the Catechism to them in our Cabin, this child made us laugh; its mother was carrying it in her arms, and was going out; but, as soon as she reached the door, it began to cry so that she was **[page 21]** compelled to turn back. She asked it what was the matter. "Let me begin again," [13] it said, "let me begin again, I want to say more." I then got it to make again the sign of the Cross, and it immediately began to laugh and to jump for joy. I saw the same child, another time, crying hard because it had had its finger frozen; but it quieted down and laughed, as soon as they had it make the sign of the Cross. I dwell willingly upon this matter, as I am sure pious souls take pleasure in hearing all these particulars. In the beginnings of this infant Church, what can we speak about if not the stammerings of our spiritual children? We have one little girl, among others, named Marie *Aoesiwa*, who has not her equal. Her whole satisfaction seems to be in making the sign of the Cross and in saying her *Pater* and *Ave*. Scarcely have we set foot in her Cabin, when she leaves everything to pray to God. When we assemble the children for prayers or for Catechism, she is always among the first, and hastens there more cheerfully than many would to play. She does not stir from our Cabin, and does not omit making the sign of the Cross, and saying over and over fifty times a day the *Pater* and *Ave*. She gets others to do the same; and, one of our [14] Frenchman having newly come, her only greeting was to take his hand, and have him make the sign of the Cross. Often she is in the field when our Fathers recite their Office there; she stands in the road, and, almost every time they return, she begins to make the sign of the Cross, and to pray to God in a loud voice.

Another little girl named Catherine had often been wayward about receiving instruction, and so had not been rewarded like the others. Some days afterward, **[page 23]** one of her companions brought her to one of our Fathers, giving him to understand that she was quite disposed to learn; but, when it came to the point, she acted as usual. The little girl who had brought her became annoyed, and used all her little natural rhetoric to make her open her lips and to get her to speak, sometimes using threats, sometimes holding out a reward from me if she spoke properly; she was so earnest that she succeeded, to the great satisfaction of those of our Fathers who were listening to her.

Another benefit that results from this practice which is in conformity with our Institute is, that even the adults become instructed by this means; [15] for the desire of the fathers and mothers that their children should be praised and rewarded leads them to be instructed themselves, in order to teach their children; particularly many older girls take pleasure in imitating the younger ones. When they are returning from the forest, they often stop the first of our Fathers whom they meet, and say to him, *ta arrihwaienstan sen*, "Teach me, I pray thee;" and although they may be well laden, they are not satisfied unless he has them say the *Pater* and the *Ave*. Sometimes they anticipate us, and, from as far as they can see one of our Fathers, they begin to recite what they know. What a consolation to hear these districts resound with the name of Jesus, where the devil has been, so to speak, adored and recognized as God during so many ages.

This exercise also enables us to improve greatly in the use and knowledge of the language, which is no small gain. Generally speaking they praise and approve the Christian Religion, and blame their wicked customs; but when will they leave them off entirely? **[page 25]** Some say to us: "Do you think [16] you are going to succeed in overturning the Country?" Thus do they style the change from their Pagan and Barbarous life to one that is civilized and Christian. We reply that we are not so presumptuous, but that what is impossible to man is not only possible but easy to God. Here is another indication of their good will toward the Faith. Monsieur de Champlain and Monsieur the General du Plessis Bochart rendered us great service last year, by exhorting the Hurons in full council to embrace the Christian Religion, and by telling them that it was the only means not only of being some day truly happy in Heaven, but also of cementing in the future a very close alliance with the French, who, if this were done, would readily come into their Country, marry their daughters, teach them different arts and trades, and assist them against their enemies; and that, if they would bring some of their children next year, to be instructed at K<sup>ébec</sup>, our Fathers would take good care of them. And, inasmuch as the Captains of the country were not there, they asked them to hold a general council on their [17] return, concerning the points mentioned; also to give me the letters with which they were pleased to honor me, in which these Gentlemen informed us of what had been said, in order that we might be present at the Huron Council, and be able to avail ourselves of what they had done. In accordance with this, in the month of April last, having been invited to an Assembly or Council, where all the Old Men and Chiefs of the Nation of the Bear met to deliberate on their great feast of the dead, I took occasion to show them the letters of these Gentlemen, and asked them to decide, after careful **[page 27]** deliberation, what they wished to answer thereto. I told them that every man, as possessing an immortal soul, would at last, after this life, go to one or the other of two places, Paradise or Hell, and that forever; but that these places were widely different, since Paradise is a place abounding in blessings of all kinds, and free from all manner of ills; Hell, a place where no blessing comes, and where ills of all kinds abound; that it is a fiery furnace, in the midst of which the damned would be forever tormented, and burned without ever being consumed; [18] that they must now consider to which of these two places they preferred to go some day, forever, and to do this while they were still in this life, because the matter was decided so far as it concerned all the dead for whom they had made or were going to make feasts; that all those who had slighted God and broken his commandments had followed the path to Hell, where they now were tormented by punishments that could not be imagined, and for which there was no remedy. I told them that, if they wished to go to Heaven, we would teach them the way; and, inasmuch as all affairs of importance are managed here by presents, and as the Porcelain that takes the place of gold and silver in this Country is all-powerful, I presented in this Assembly a collar of twelve hundred beads of Porcelain, telling them that it was given to smooth the difficulties of the road to Paradise. It is customary to employ such terms, when they make presents to succeed in some difficult enterprise. Then all, in turn expressing their opinions, said that they dreaded these glowing fires of Hell, and that they preferred the road to Heaven. There was, nevertheless, one who either seriously, or more probably [19] in **[page 29]** jest said it was very fine that all should wish to go to Heaven, and be

happy; but that, as far as he was concerned, it did not matter even if he should be burned in Hell. I replied that God gave us all the choice of the one or the other; that he did not know what Hell fire was, and that I hoped he would change his mind when he was better informed.

You see the inclination of the Hurons, and especially of the Nation of the Bear, to receive Christianity; and this will be greatly increased by the fact that we have already baptized many of their children. For they say, " We do not wish to be separated from our children, we desire to go to Heaven with them. You can judge," they say, " how much we approve your talk, seeing we willingly listen to it, without contradiction, and permit you to baptize our children." I must not forget to express on this occasion the satisfaction which Louys de sainte Foy gives us; he certainly performs his duties as a Christian as much to our edification and pleasure as formerly he failed therein. In this month of September he had a desire to return to our house at Kébec for the winter, in order to resume quietly [20] the good instructions he had had formerly from our Fathers in France, and to devote himself again to the practice of virtue and Christian piety. We strongly approved this design, the more so as he could have taken with him some young relative who might have been instructed and baptized there; but as some difficulty came in the way of his resolution, he concluded that he would pass a good part of the Winter with us. This he has done with much satisfaction and profit, both to himself and to us; for he has resumed attendance upon the Sacraments, and the habit of [page 31] prayer. At Christmas he made a very good general Confession for the period since his Baptism. Besides, in our Catechizing and teaching of the Savages, he served as Interpreter, and has translated several things into the Huron language for us, wherein we admired the facility with which he understood our language, and comprehended and explained the most difficult mysteries. In short, he gives evidence that truly he has the fear of God before his eyes.

To conclude this chapter, we hope to send you Fathers Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davot with a band of honest little Hurons, to make [21] a beginning for the Seminary, from which we can reasonably expect much fruit in the conversion of these Peoples. If there were Nuns at Kébec, I believe we might be able to send also girls for a Seminary. There are here a number of fine little girls, who, if they were well brought up, would not yield in any respect to our young French girls. It makes our hearts ache to see these innocent young girls so soon defile their purity of body and beauty of soul, for lack of a good example and good instruction. I doubt not at all that the divine Goodness will crown with great blessings those in particular whom he inspires to contribute to the foundation of these Seminaries, and to the education of these young plants of this infant Church. [page 33]

## CHAPTER II.

### CONTAINING IN THE ORDER OF TIME THE OTHER REMARKABLE THINGS THAT HAPPENED DURING THIS YEAR.

FIRST, I notice the dryness of the past Summer, which has been very general [22] throughout these Regions, so far as I can learn from Kébec letters, and from Savages returning from distant trading expeditions; everything was so dry and so and that at the least spark of fire the forests and fields were at once in a blaze. Thus it happened that many Savages, going about the country and not being on their guard, had their Cabins and provisions burned, as did also two of our men. But to speak only of the Huron Country, the drought was very great, for from Easter until the middle of June there was no rain at all, or very little. Nothing was growing, everything was dying, so that we apprehended a serious famine, and rightly; for, the soil of the Huron country and adjacent regions being sandy, if three days pass without its being watered with rain from Heaven, everything begins to fade and hang its head. Filled with these apprehensions, the whole Country was dreading a famine, especially as last Spring three villages had been burned which, but for this accident, might have served in case of necessity as granaries to the whole Country. All were crying for help, and imploring, according to their custom, the help of the Sorcerers, or *Arendiowane*, [page 35] who are here held in reverence, [23] because they promise, to turn aside the misfortunes with which Heaven threatens them. These deceivers played all the tricks that dreams and their own empty heads could suggest to them, in order to bring rain, but in vain, the Heavens were as brass to their foolishness. There was one of these Sorcerers named Tehorenhægnon, more famous than the others, who promised marvels, provided the whole Country made him a present of the value of ten hatchets, not to speak of a multitude of feasts; but these efforts were in vain, dreaming, feasting, dancing, were all to no purpose, there fell not a drop of water; so that he had to confess that he could not succeed, and he declared that the crops would not ripen; but unfortunately, or rather fortunately for us, he said that he was hindered from making it rain by a Cross which is before our door, and that the house of the French was a house of demons, or of ill-disposed people who had come into their Country in order to make them die. Some thereupon, trying to outdo him, said perhaps we cherished resentment for the death of Estienne Bruslé and that we wished to draw down vengeance upon the whole Country for the death of a single person. [24] Others added that the Algonquins had told them that the French came here only to compass their death, and that from them had come the contagion of last year. In consequence of these statements we were told that we must take down our Cross; and that, if the crops should not mature, they might beat us to death as they do the Sorcerers and other pernicious people here, Some, to our great regret and sorrow, said that they would pull down the Cross; and it even went so far that some young [page 37] people, having made another and having placed it on the ridge of a Cabin, began to shoot at it as at a target with their bows and arrows, but our Lord did not permit them to hit it even once. Others were much more wicked, since they were more fully acquainted with the knowledge of the one God, Creator and Governor of all things, for they accused his Goodness and Providence with horrid blasphemies. One would have to be of bronze not to be irritated by such insolence. What touched us most keenly was the misery of these poor People, their blindness, and above all the offense they committed [25] against God by forsaking him for the Sorcerers. As to death, I believe that all of us would have been very glad to submit to it for the defense of the Cross. We therefore assembled in our Cabin the men and women of our village, especially because they alone had not resorted to the Sorcerers, but had always asked us to make it rain. They believe that nothing is impossible for us. I told them that neither we nor any man could bring rain or fine weather; that he who made Heaven and earth alone was master of them, and distributed them according to his good pleasure; that recourse must be had only to him; that the Cross we had planted had not hindered the rain, as it had often rained and thundered since we had erected it; but that perhaps God was angry because they had spoken ill of him and had had recourse to wicked *Arendiowane*, who either had no power, or, indeed, perhaps had themselves caused the drought by their intercourse and pacts with the devil; that, besides, everything they did was only to get presents, and that, if they could do [26] anything, they should make rain. Consequently, if they would obtain what [page 39] they desired, I urged them to address him who made everything, and who alone is the Author of all blessings, of whom we had so often spoken to them, and to whom we would teach them to pray. This Nation is very docile, and when influenced by temporal considerations it can be bent as one pleases. They all replied that they put no faith in their soothsayers, and that they were deceivers; that they wished no other God than him whom we taught to them, and that they would do what we told them. I then told them that they must hate their sins, and resolve in earnest to serve that God whom we announced to them; that henceforth we would every day make a Procession to implore his help,

that all Christians did this; that they should be constant and persevering, not losing courage if they were not immediately heard. We added to this a vow of nine Masses in honor of the glorious Spouse of our Lady, the Protector of the Hurons. We exposed also the Blessed Sacrament on the occasion of its Feast, which happened at that time.

[27] Now it happened that, exactly as the novena was completed, which was on the thirteenth of June, we could not finish the Procession on account of the rain, which followed very abundantly and lasted, with several intervals, the space of a month, with a great improvement and growth of the fruits of the earth; and because, as I have said, these sandy soils need rain almost every other day, another drought having occurred from the middle of July until the last of the month, we undertook another novena in honor of our Blessed Father St. Ignatius, through whose prayers we had, from the day after this novena began and since, such an abundance of rain that **[page 41]** it caused the corn, to form perfect ears, and ripened them; so that there was this year as much corn as there has been for a long time.

Now these rains have produced two good results one in that they have increased the fruits of the earth; the other that they stifled those false opinions and notions conceived against God, against the Cross, and against ourselves. For all the Savages that knew us, and especially those of our village, came expressly to see us, [28] to tell us that God was in truth good, and that we also were good; and that in the future they would serve God, adding a thousand abusive words in reference to all their *Arendiowane*, or soothsayers. To God be forever the glory of the whole; he permits the drought of the soil, to bedew all hearts with his blessings.

In the year 1628, when the English defeated the fleet of the Company of New France, whose loss was the damnation of many Canadians and the postponement of the conversion of many others, as. may be believed, ♦there happened to me in this country an incident almost the same as the preceding, which, by reason of its likeness to it, seems to me worth relating here. The drought was very great everywhere, but particularly so in our village and its neighborhood. I was indeed astonished, sometimes, to see the air heavily laden with clouds elsewhere, and to hear the thunders roaring; while in our neighborhood, on the contrary, the Sky was clear, very bright and very hot. It seemed even that the clouds separated as they approached our region. That same tool of the devil that I have mentioned before, *Tehore nhaegnon*, having been entreated to make rain, replied that he could not [29] make it; and that the **[page 43]** thunder, which they pretend is a bird, was afraid of the Cross that was in front of the Frenchmen's house, and that the red color with which it was painted was like a fire burning and flaming, which divided the clouds in two when they passed above it.

The Captains of the village, having heard these stories, sent for me and said, "My nephew, here is what so-and-so says; what dost thou answer to it? We are ruined, for the corn will not ripen. If at least we should die by the hands and arms of our enemies who are ready to burst upon us, well and good, ♦we should not at any rate pine away; but if, having escaped from their fury, we are exposed to famine, that would be to go from bad to worse. What dost thou think of it? Thou dost not wish to be the cause of our death? besides, it is of as much importance to thee as to us. We are of the opinion that thou shouldst take down that Cross, and hide it awhile in thy Cabin, or even in the lake, so that the thunder and the clouds may not see it, and no longer fear it; and then after the harvest thou mayest set it up again." To this I answered, " As for me, I shall never take down nor hide the Cross [30] where died he who is the cause of all our blessings. For yourselves, if you wish to take it down, consider the matter well; I shall not be able to hinder you, but take care that, in taking it down, you do not make God angry and increase your own misery. Do you believe in this deceiver? He does not know what he says. This Cross has been set up for more than a. year, and you know how many times there has been rain here since. Only an ignorant person would say that the thunder is afraid; it is not an animal, it is a dry and burning exhalation which, being shut in, **[page 45]** seeks to get out this way and that. And then what does the thunder fear? This red color of the Cross? Take away then, yourselves, all those red figures and paintings that are on your Cabins." To this they did not know what to reply; they looked at each other and said, " It is true, we must not touch this Cross; and yet," added they, " Tehore~nhaegnon says so." A thought came to me. "Since," said I, " *Tehore nhaegnon* says that the thunder is afraid of this color of the Cross, if you like we will paint it another color, white, or black, or any other; and if, immediately after, it begins to rain, you will be sure *Tehore nhaegnon* has [31] told the truth; but if not, that he is an impostor. " " Well said, " they replied, "we will do that." The Cross was therefore painted white, but one, two, three, four days passed without any more rain than before; and meanwhile all who saw the Cross became angry at the Sorcerer who had been the cause of disfiguring it thus. Thereupon I went to see the Old Men. " Well, has it rained any more than before? Are you satisfied?" "Yes," said they, " we see clearly enough that *Tehore nhaegnon* is only a deceiver; but now, do thou tell us what to do, and we will obey thee. " Then our Lord inspired me to instruct them in the mystery of the Cross, and speak to them of the honor that was everywhere rendered to it; and to tell them that it was my opinion that they should all come in a body, men and women, to adore the Cross in order to restore its honor; and, inasmuch as it was a matter of causing the crops to grow, they should each bring a dish of corn to make an offering to our Lord, and that what they gave should afterwards be distributed to the poor of the village. The hour is appointed for the morrow; **[page 47]** they do not wait for it, they anticipate it. We surround the Cross, painted anew in its first colors, [32] upon which I had placed the body of our Lord crucified; we recite some prayers; and then I adored and kissed the Cross, to show them how they ought to do it. They imitated me one after the other, apostrophizing our crucified Savior in prayers which natural Rhetoric and the exigency of the time suggested to them. In truth, their fervent simplicity inspired me with devotion; briefly, they did so well that on the same day God gave them rain, and in the end a plentiful harvest, as well as a profound admiration for the divine Power.

In concluding these two accounts, I shall say that these Peoples admire and esteem highly those persons who have anything that elevates them above the crowd. Such persons they call *oki*, the same name as they give to demons; consequently, if there were any one here endowed with the gift of miracles, as were those who first announced the Gospel to the world, he would, in my opinion, convert all these Barbarians without difficulty. But God dispenses such favors when, how, and to whom he pleases; and perhaps he wishes us to wait for the harvest of souls with patience and perseverance. Besides, certainly, they are inclined [33] as yet to their duty only by temporal considerations, so that we may well apply to them the reproach of the Gospel: Amen, *amen dico vobis, qu ♦ritis me, non quia vidistis signa, sed quia manducastis ex panibus, et saturati estis.*

We have had this year two alarms, which resulted, thank God, in nothing worse than the fear aroused by the apprehension of enemies. The first, for which there were some grounds, occurred last Summer **[page 49]** and lasted the whole month of June, It is one of the most fitting times for such fear, inasmuch, as then the Country is stripped of the men, who have gone trading, some one way, some another. The other was this Winter, and turned out to be false; in both cases the alarm was quite often given very unexpectedly, sometimes by day, sometimes by night; the women and children began packing up their baggage on the report of the criers, who are our spies here. Flight is to some extent tolerable in Summer, for one can escape to an Island or hide in the obscurity of some dense forest; but in Winter, when ice serves as a bridge to enable the enemy to search the Islands, and when the fall of the leaves has laid bare the forest recesses, you do not know [34] where to hide; besides, the tracks on the snow are immediately discovered; and it is, moreover, extremely cold in Winter to sleep long at the sign of the Moon. There are some villages tolerably well fortified, where one



might remain and await siege and assault; those who can, withdraw there; the others take to flight, which is most commonly done; for the small number of men, the lack of arms, the multitude of enemies, cause them to dread the weakness of their forts. Only a few old people, who are not able to go away, quietly await death in their Cabins. That is our usual condition. This Winter, we were on the point of fleeing; but where could we conceal our few belongings? for the Hurons are as fond of them as are the Iroquois. In other ways, however, these fears have not been useless, for besides the prayers and vows we made to turn aside the scourge, the pains each one took to prepare himself for death or slavery, and the opportunity we had to impress upon the **[page 51]** Savages the help they might expect from God, ♦ we were able to win for ourselves the regard and esteem of the People, and to make ourselves useful to them, [35] as well by giving them iron arrow-heads as by arranging to assist them in their forts, according to our power. In fact, we had four of our Frenchmen furnished with good arquebuses, who were ready to hasten to the first village where an attack should be made; and I had resolved to accompany them, to assist them in spiritual matters.. and to take advantage of any other occasions which might present themselves to advance the glory of God. From this I leave you to imagine whether or not we need help from on high; and may those who live in comfort and safety obtain it for us by their prayers, which we humbly ask from them.

The Hurons have remained very friendly to us, on account of the promptitude we showed in assisting them. We have told them also that henceforth they should make their forts square, and arrange their stakes in straight lines; and that, by means of four little towers at the four corners, four Frenchmen might easily with their arquebuses or muskets defend a whole village. They are greatly delighted with this advice, and have already begun to practice it at la Rochelle, where they eagerly desire [36] to have some of our Fathers. God employs all means to give an entrance to those who bear the Gospel.

Summer here is a very inconvenient season for instructing the Savages. Their trading expeditions and the farms take every one away, men, women, and children ♦ almost no one remains in the villages. I will tell you how we spent last Summer.

In the first place, we all came together for the **[page 53]** spiritual exercises, as is the custom of our Society. We had the more need of these exercises, as the high duties we are called upon to perform need more union with God, and because we are compelled to live in a continual bustle. For this reason we often acknowledge that those who come here should bring a good reserve fund of virtue, if they wish here to gather the fruits thereof. After our exercises we made a confused memorandum of the words we had learned since our arrival, and then we outlined a Dictionary of the Huron language which will be very profitable. In it will be seen the various meanings; one will easily recognize in it, when the words are grouped, their differences, which consist sometimes in only a single letter, or even [37] in an accent. Finally we busied ourselves in revising, or rather in arranging, a Grammar. I fear we shall often have to make similar revisions; for every day we discover new secrets in this science, which for the present hinders us from sending anything to be printed. We know now, thank God, sufficient to understand and to be understood, but not yet to publish. It is indeed an exceedingly laborious task to endeavor to understand in all points a foreign tongue, very abundant, and as different from our European languages as Heaven is from earth, ♦ and that without master or books. I say no more about it here, as I shall write a Chapter about it, further on. We all work at it diligently; it is one of our most common occupations. There is not one of us who does not already talk a jargon, and make himself understood, the newly-arrived Fathers as well as the others. I trust that Father Mercier, in particular, will soon be master of it. **[page 55]**

On the ninth of August, one of our men arrived from K ♦ bec two months and twelve days after departing hence. God [38] knows how glad we were to hear of the state of all the French at K ♦ bec and the three Rivers, who report had declared were all dead of the plague. We were also very glad to hear of the happy arrival of five ships of the Gentlemen of the Company, commanded by Monsieur the General du Plessis Bochart, which we had been informed were lost in the ice. Our joy was somewhat lessened by the fear they had that some accident had befallen Captain Bontan; but we have been relieved of this apprehension.

On the thirteenth of the month of August, Father Mercier arrived, and Father Pijart on the seventeenth. Father Mercier, who had had good health all the way from France, was seized with a slight fever a day or two before his arrival among the Hurons; but the day after his arrival he was free from it, except for a slight disturbance, which was followed by perfect health. It is a blessing from Heaven, it seems, that as soon as we are in the Huron country we should have good health. For the rest, all the Fathers have been well treated on the way. They have neither paddled, nor carried burdens, except their little supply of clothing: but, on the contrary, have been honored and have been themselves carried [39] over troublesome and difficult places. Consequently let no one fear difficulties in coming up here, from having read my Relation of last year. Beginnings are always hard, and then the causes of our troubles were extraordinary; and, moreover, I believe that my sins, which required that I should suffer these things, fell also upon the others; but, **[page 57]** please God, we have drunk the cup of bitterness to its dregs. Yet no one should lose courage, even if our labors were always equally hard; for truly our Lord has endured more for the salvation of souls. Our scanty baggage was also faithfully brought, and in fairly good condition. You would scarcely believe the good done last year by the distribution you made to our Hurons of peas, bread, and sagamit ♦, and by the kindly attentions you showed them. That good treatment has won their hearts for you and for us also. We do not go anywhere without hearing that our Brothers at K ♦ bec are very courteous and liberal. Everything is leading these Peoples to receive the seed of the Gospel, for the affection they have for us renders them disposed to believe what we tell them.

[40] On the Eclipse of the Moon, of August twenty-seventh, our Barbarians expected a great defeat of their men, because it appeared over their enemies' Country, which is on their Southeast; for if it appears in the East, it is on their account that the Moon is sick, or has experienced some displeasure; they even invited us, perhaps in jest, to shoot at the Sky, to deliver it from danger, assuring us that it was their custom to discharge several arrows for this purpose. Indeed, they all cry out as loudly as they can on such occasions, and make imprecations against their enemies, saying, " May such and such a Nation perish." I was at that time in another village, where was living the famous Sorcerer of whom I have already spoken, *Tehorenhægnon*; he made a feast, I was told, to turn aside the unluckiness of this Eclipse.

On the twentieth of October, an old man of our **[page 59]** died in his unbelief; his end frightened some, and awakened in them good resolutions to become converted. It seems that our Lord had communicated to him, a year ago, several good impulses. He was willingly present at all our Assemblies, listening to our instructions; he was the first to make the sign of the Cross; [41] but afterwards he tried to blend our creed with their superstitions and nonsense, and said that he wished to go with his Ancestors. Some dream seemed to have inclined him to good; but as he liked to live well, and to have his say, God punished him. Being sick for the last time, he made his *Athataion* or farewell feast, in a large Assembly, where he partook of the best, after their fashion, renewing his indulgences after each syncope which came upon him. We went to see him, and he again sought our good offices, ♦ threatening that, if we did not satisfy him by singing in our way, he would overturn everything in our Cabin after his death, and even carry it away. One day he asked us for Baptism; but, as he seemed to be recovering, we distrusted his mood. When we returned in the evening, he was sleeping. Scarcely were we outside his Cabin, when he expired; and God did not permit that what he had scorned during life should be

granted him at death. *Judicia Dei abyssus multa.*

On the twentieth of September, the father of Louys de sainte Foy came to visit us in our Cabin, and told us of his desire that he and all his family should be baptized, ♦[42] urged, he said, among other motives, by the fact that, in their defeat by the Iroquois, God had extraordinarily preserved his life.

On the fourth of November, we set out to instruct this household, and to consider more exactly their [page 61] disposition towards the Faith. On the way we baptized two sick persons whom. we believe to be now in Heaven. We remained away seven days, during which we instructed the whole family in all the important points of the Christian Religion. Louys served us in this as interpreter, as he is well acquainted with our mysteries, and explains them with enthusiasm. They all approved and enjoyed greatly the Christian truths; and, far from judging any of the commandments of God difficult, they even found them easy. Conjugal continence, and the indissolubility of marriage, seemed to them the most serious obstacles in the progress of the Gospel; and indeed this will be, among other things, a stumbling-block. However, they said that, in view of a life of eternal happiness or of eternal misery, nothing [43] ought to seem difficult. " And then," said ~Louys's father, " if you said that we must pass two, three, or more days without eating, we might find that a hardship; but there is none in all the rest." He said that the French who had been here had never spoken to them of God, but had been as much addicted as they to run after and dally with the women. Moreover he urged Father Pijart, who was with me, to learn the language quickly, that he might settle in their village, and be there the Superior of a house.

On this visit I noticed two or three things. Louys's father, hearing that it was necessary to learn the sign of the Cross, the *Pater*, the *Ave*, and the Apostles' Creed, said that all that was a small matter, and that he would have little intelligence if he could not learn it; that, having gone to various Nations, he had sometimes been entrusted with more than twenty different kinds of business, and that on his return he [page 63] had reported them all faithfully; and consequently he could very soon learn and remember the little we asked. Yet this intelligent man had to work hard to learn the sign of the Cross. It is wonderful how prompt [44] and wide awake men are in worldly affairs, and how dull they are in Spiritual things.

I took pleasure in hearing Louys explain our Mysteries to his relatives; he did it with grace, and showed that he had understood them and made them his own. Ah! how I wish I could speak Huron as well as he does, for indeed in comparison with him I only stutter; and yet the way of saying a thing gives it an entirely different meaning. When I brought forward the burning of the five wicked cities, and the preservation of Lot and his family, to show how God chastises severely even in this life the wicked and vile, and how he saves the good, Louys drew the conclusion from it for his relatives that, if they served God faithfully, their Cabin would not be burned even if all the village were afire.

Perhaps some one will think these things too trifling to be written; but why? *C♦m eram Parvulus, loquebar ut Parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus; c♦m autem factus ero vir, evacuabo qu♦, erant Parvuli.* When this Church shall attain its growth, it will produce other fruits. Some day, perhaps, will be told the great alms, the fasts, the mortifications, the admirable patience, even the martyrdoms of the Huron [45] Christians. Now that they are yet in their cradle, we ought to expect only the stammerings of children; and so I shall continue the recital of these little things which shall be, with God's aid, the seed of greater.

In explaining to Louys's relatives the commandment not to steal, and mentioning that in France thieves [page 65] were put to death, his father asked him if, when he became Captain, he would also put them to death. Louys replied that in that case the Country would very soon be depopulated, as it would be necessary to kill every one, ♦a Huron and a thief being almost the same. While we were here, we made them keep the first Friday and the first Saturday that had ever been observed by the Hurons. From Thursday they laid aside the remainder of their sagamit♦ and their meat; and on Friday and Saturday, having been invited to a feast, they said that if meat were given to them they would keep it until Sunday; and, indeed, once in our village we saw Louys's father refuse, at a feast given on Friday, a piece of meat that was offered him,. but not scrupling to eat some of the sagamit♦ with which it had been cooked. This new [46] proselyte knew no better. We left them kindly disposed and well-intentioned, and that was all; the fruit is not yet ripe.

On the fifteenth of October, we went to the village of *Wenrio*, to visit some sick people, in which our Lord helped us by means of a young girl of our village who was there, and who so opportunely dispelled the fear of a poor sick woman that Baptism would shorten her life, that she at last gave way, and another with her.

On the first of November, seeing a woman with child at the point of death, we made a vow to saint Joseph that, in case she recovered, the child should be baptized. Immediately she began to improve, and some time afterward gave birth to a daughter, who by Baptism has been brought within the ranks of the children of God.

One the eighth of December, we celebrated with all [page 67] possible solemnity the Festival of the immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and each of us vowed to say a Mass every month in the year in honor of this same holy Mystery, with the other details your Reverence [47] had laid down for our guidance. We believe that the Blessed Virgin has accepted our humble devotions; for that very day we baptized three little girls, ♦one of whom, named Marie of the Conception, is that little girl so eager to learn, of whom we have spoken above, ♦and before the end of the month we had baptized twenty-eight; since then, we see a notable change, so much so that every month we have gained a goodly number, in consequence of that offering.

On the day of the Purification, having assembled all the Christian children, adorned as best they could, along with their parents, we performed in their presence the benediction of the tapers; then we explained to the adults how on such a day our Lady had offered her Son in the Temple to the Eternal Father, and how, in imitation of her, they ought also to present their children to the service of God, and if they did so God would take a more particular care of them; they were very well pleased with these statements. Hence, taking a Crucifix in my hand, I pronounced in their language this Prayer:

[48] Come listen you who have made the earth, and you who Father call yourself, and you his Son who call yourself,

Io sakhrihote de Sondechichiai, dinde esa d'Oistan ichiatsi, dinde de hoen ichiatsi,

and you Spirit Holy who call yourself; come listen, for it is not a thing of small importance that we do;

dinde de Esken d'oatatoecti ichiatsi; Io sakhrihote onekind♦ oeron d'icwakerha, [page 69]

look upon these assembled children, already these are thy creatures all; Because that they have been baptized.

atisacagnren cha ondikhucwat Atichiah, onne atisatawan weti; aerhonu onatindecwaesti.

But lo! again we to thee present them all, all we give them up to thee, this is what these think,

Caati onne weto es taancwas echa weti, weti es tonkhiens, ondayee echa wenderhay

these assembled women, they think master that he is of all the children. Come, then, now

cha wendikhucwat otindekhien, wenderhay awandio awaton ewa tichiaha. Io ichien nonhwa

take courage, keep them; defend them. That they may not become sick, that they may sin

etsaon hatsacaratai, atsatanonstat. Enonche watinonhwak, enonch watirihwanderk,

never, turn away all that which is evil; and if the plague attack us again,

aonhwentsannenhan, serrewa ewa d'otechienti, din de ongnratarr etsesonachien,

turn away that also; and if famine [49] attack us, turn away that also; and if war assail us,

serrewa itondi; din de onrendich esonachien, serrewa itondi; din de ouskenraetac esonachien,

turn away that also; and if the demon provoke us, that is, the bad demon,

serrewa itondi; din de Oki esoniatoata ondayee d'okiasti.

and the wicked ones who through poison cause death, turn them away also.

chia daononcwaiaessa d'oki asaoio, serrewa itondi.

Finally, turn away all that which is evil. Jesus our Lord of God the Son, for this thou wilt exhort thy Father,

ocwetacwi serrewa ewe d'otechienti. Jesus onandaerari Dieu hoen ondayee achiehetsaron de hiaistan,

[page 71]

for he does not refuse thee anything. And you also Mary, of Jesus the Mother who art Virgin, that also say.

onek tehianonstas. chia desa Warie Jesus ondwe de chikhonewan, ondayee itondi chihon.

So be it.

to hayawan.

This Prayer, among others, pleased them, inasmuch as we asked God to preserve them from pestilence, famine, and war. They desired nothing more than these two prayers, that they might not be shipwrecked, and might not suffer by fire: *enonche watiwareha*, *enonche watidtat*, these being added, they thought it complete. God and the Blessed Virgin be praised for ever; for we can say that, from that day, we took possession of these little ones, who [50] have continued since then to gather every Sunday in our Cabin, to worship God. It was very fitting that, since they had become children of God on the day of the immaculate Conception of the holy Virgin, they should also begin on the day of her Purification to practice Christian duty, to continue it the rest of their lives. This we hope through the mediation of the Mother of mercy, who has shown us plainly that she will be the Mother of this rising Church.

On the twenty-first of March, a woman, who had been about twenty-four hours in travail, brought forth a child happily, as soon as we had applied to her a Relic of Our Blessed Father St. Ignatius. Her child lived only long enough to enable us to send it to Heaven by Baptism.

On the twenty-eighth of March, Francois Marguerie, who had gone to winter with the Savages of the [page 73] Island, brought four of them to us. It was a great consolation to receive visits from Frenchmen at such a season and to hear news of Kébec and the three Rivers. We were also deeply astonished to see that a young [51] man like him, only twenty to twentytwo years old, had the courage to follow the Savages. over ice and snow, and through forests, forty successive days, and for the space of some three hundred leagues, carrying, dragging, and working as much as, and more than any of his band, for these Barbarians, having arrived at their halting place, made him get ready their meal, while they warmed themselves and rested. Furthermore, he taught us a good lesson; for if, to satisfy a wish to see, he took so much pains, and endured such hardships in a season so, rude and over roads so strange, surely Religious persons, urged on by a holy desire to win souls to, God, ought in no way to dread the roughness of the roads which the convenience of Canoes, the pleasantness of the Summer season, and the company of generally helpful Savages, render not only much less. annoying, but even to some extent agreeable. Besides, while God has admirable consolations for those who fear him, he has much greater ones for those who love him.

The occasion of the coming of these Island Savages to the country of the Hurons was the death [52] of twenty-three persons whom the Iroquois had massacred, notwithstanding the peace. This perfidy had excited a strong desire for vengeance. They had collected some twenty-three collars of Porcelain, to rouse the Hurons and the Algonquins to take up arms and lend them assistance, promising that our French would be of the party, as against the common [page 75] enemy; but neither the Hurons nor the Algonquins have been willing to listen to them, and have refused their presents. The Bissiriniens likewise have refused to listen to them, on account of the extortion practiced on them by the Island Savages in going down for trade. As to the Hurons, they have covered their refusal with the apprehension they have of an army with which they were lately threatened. But the real cause was in fact that the Nation of the Bear, which constitutes the half of the Hurons, was piqued because the Island Savages not invite them as well as the others, offering them no presents, and on the contrary forbidding that they should be told of the matter.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, we are afraid that these are all stratagems of Satan to hinder the conversion of these Peoples; for the men of the Isle, seeing themselves [53] refused, have returned very much discontented at the Hurons as well as at the Bissiriniens, and have threatened that they would let neither of them pass down to the French.



Le Borgne [the One-eyed] of the Isle said to the Hurons, in our presence, in order to recommend the subject of his Embassy, that his body was hatchets; he meant that the preservation of his person and of his Nation was the preservation of the hatchets, the kettles, and all the trade of the French, for the Hurons. They even say, whether true or false, that he has boasted that he is master of the French, and that he would lead us back to K~bec and make us all ~recross the sea. I am telling what is said, and the boasts attributed to him, for we did not hear them; on the contrary, they went away, so far as we are [page 77] concerned, with every appearance of satisfaction an contentment.

They had, in fact, a long and friendly talk wit us, with the object in view of making us entirey leave the Country of the Hurons or at least the Nation of the Bear, as the most wicked of all the tribes since it had murdered Estienne Brusl and good Father Nicolas, the Recolet, with his companion; [54] and had some time before, for a blow, slain eight of their men. To me in particular, in the way of flattery and praise, they said that, rather than risk my life among a Nation so perfidious, they would advise me to go down to K~bec, at least after having passe another year here to learn the language perfectly; and that I would be a great Captain, and the only one who could speak in their councils. Thus these brave counsellors gave us advice, with many and long speeches, to show the friendship they had always had for the French above all Nations. We replied that we had not come into this Country to act as interpreters, nor in the hope of getting riches, nor yet in the hope of becoming one day great Captains; but that we had left behind our parents, on means, and all our possessions, and had crossed the sea in order to come to teach them the way of salvation, at the peril of our lives; that, for the rest, we were trying and would try so to comport ourselves that other Nations would have more reason to love us than to do us harm. In short, we told them that one day [55] some of our Fathers might stay in their Country, to instruct them; and that they would have had them before this, had it not been for their wandering life. They declared that they were well [page 79] content, and acquiesced in our reasons; to confirm which, we gave them a Canoe with some other little presents, with which they were very well satisfied, saying that they were already on their return to their own Country, and uttering a thousand thanks and many promises to treat our Fathers well when they should pass through their territory. We endeavor to gain for ourselves the friendship of all these Peoples, in order to obtain them for God.

During Holy Week, Louys de sainte Foy came to visit us, and spent Easter with us in order to prepare himself to go to war with his uncle against the Iroquois. He has not yet returned; they try to make us believe that he has gone down to K~bec; but I have confidence in him.

On the fourteenth of April, the son of Chief Aenons, after having lost at the game of straws a Beaver robe and a collar of four hundred Porcelain beads, had such a fear of meeting his relatives that, not daring to enter the Cabin, he became desperate, and hanged himself to a tree. He had a [56] very melancholy disposition. The first of the Winter he was on the point of putting an end to himself, but a little girl caught him in the act. When asked what had led him to this wicked resolution, " I do not know," said he, " but some one within me seems always to be saying, 'Hang thyself, hang thyself.'" Gambling never leads to anything good; in fact, the Savages themselves remark that it is almost the sole cause of assaults and murders.

On the eighth of May, having gone to la Rochelle, a woman who had just given birth to a child presented it to me for baptism. As it was well, and as [page 81] our custom is, except in case of necessity, to baptize only in our Cabin with the ceremonies of the Church, in order to cause the Sacrament to be more highly respected, I was about to say that she might bring it at her first convenience, when I felt inspired to depart from our custom; and no doubt it was a special Providence, for, a few days after, its parents brought us news of its death.

On the eighth of June, the Captain of the Naiz percez, or Nation of the Beaver, [57] which is three days journey from us, came to request one of our Frenchmen to spend the Summer with them, in a fort they had made from fear of the *Aweatsiwaenrrrhonon*, or stinking tribe, who have broken the treaty of peace, and have killed two of their men, of whom they made a feast.

On the ninth, a Savage who lay dead under the ice was cast ashore here. The whole village hastened out and paid to his relations the accustomed devoirs, with so good a grace that the management of the ceremonies was given over to the villagers on this occasion, among mutual presents, although the dead man had been found to be not one of their people.

On the thirteenth of the same month, we had news of a troop of Hurons who had gone to war, and who were encamped at the distance of a musket-shot from the last village, a day's journey from us; after having passed two nights in singing and eating, they were overtaken with so profound a sleep, that the enemy, coming suddenly upon them, cleft open the heads of a dozen without resistance, the rest escaping by flight.

I might have added here many things that have [page 83] taken place this year, and of which we have been eyewitnesses, but [58] I have thought it best to reserve them for a second part of this Relation. I hope in this way more easily to avoid confusion, and to satisfy more fully those who are curious to know the manners and customs of these Tribes. [page 85]

## CHAPTER III.

### IMPORTANT ADVICE FOR THOSE WHOM IT SHALL PLEASE GOD TO CALL TO NEW FRANCE, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE COUNTRY OF THE HURONS.

E have learned that the salvation of so many innocent souls, washed and made white in the Blood of the Son of God, is stirring very deeply the hearts of many, and is exciting new desires in them to leave old France that they may come to the New. God be forever blessed that he, as this shows us, has at last opened to these Tribes the bowels of his infinite pity. I wish not to chill the ardor of this generous resolution. Alas! it is those [59] hearts after God's own heart whom we are expecting; but I only wish to give one word of advice.

It is true that *fortis ut mors dilectio*, the love of God has power to do what death does, that is to say, to detach us entirely from creatures and from ourselves; nevertheless, these desires that we feel of working for the safety of Infidels are not always sure signs of that pure love. There may be sometimes a little self-love and regard for ourselves, if we look only at the blessing and satisfaction of putting souls in Heaven without considering fully the pains, the labors and the difficulties which are inseparable from these Evangelical functions.

*On this account, in order that no one may be [page 87] deceived in regard to this, ostendam illi quanta h* ❖ *c oporteat pro nomine jesu pati.* True, the two who came last, Fathers Mercier and Pijart, had no such trouble in their journey as those of us who came here the year before. They did not paddle, their men were not sick, as ours were; they had not to bear the heavy loads. Yet notwithstanding [60] this, easy as may be a trip with the Savages, there is always enough to greatly cast down a heart not well under subjection. The readiness of the Savages does not shorten the road, does not smooth down the rocks, does not remove the dangers. Be with whom you like, you must expect to be, at least, three or four weeks on the way, to have as companions persons you have never seen before; to be cramped in a bark Canoe in an uncomfortable position, not being free to turn yourself to one side or the other; in danger fifty times a day of being upset or of being dashed upon the rocks. During the day, the Sun burns you; during the night, you run the risk of being a prey to Mosquitoes. You sometimes ascend five or six rapids in a day; and, in the evening, the only refreshment is a little corn crushed between two stones and cooked in fine clear water; the only bed is the earth, sometimes only the rough, uneven rocks, and usually no roof but the stars; and all this in perpetual silence. If you are accidentally hurt, if you fall sick, do not expect from these Barbarians any assistance, [61] for whence could they obtain it? And if the sickness is dangerous, and if you are remote from the villages, which are here very scattered, I would not like to guarantee that they would not abandon you, if you could not make shift to follow them.

When you reach the Hurons, you will indeed find [page 89] hearts full of charity; we will receive you with open arms as an Angel of Paradise, we shall have all the inclination in the world to do you good; but we are so situated that we can do very little. We shall receive you in a Hut, so mean that I have scarcely found in France one wretched enough to compare it with; that is how you will be lodged. Harassed and fatigued as you will be, we shall be able to give you nothing but a poor mat, or at most a skin, to serve you as a bed; and, besides, you will arrive at a season when miserable little insects that we call here *Taouhac*, and, in good French, *pulces* [fleas], will keep you awake almost all night, for in these countries they are incomparably more troublesome than in France; the dust of the Cabin nourishes them, the Savages bring them to us, [62] We get them in their houses; and this petty martyrdom, not to speak of Mosquitoes, Sandflies, and other like vermin, lasts usually not less than three or four months of the Summer.

Instead of being a great master and great Theologian as in France, you must reckon on being here a humble Scholar, and then, good God! with what masters! ❖ women, little children, and all the Savages, ❖ and exposed to their laughter. The Huron language will be your saint Thomas and your Aristotle; and clever man as you are, and speaking glibly among learned and capable persons, you must make up your mind to be for a long time mute among the Barbarians. You will have accomplished much, if, at the end of a considerable time, you begin to stammer a little.

And then how do you think you would pass the Winter with us? After having heard all that must [page 91] be endured in wintering among the Montagnets Savages, I may say that that is almost the life we lead here among the Hurons. I say it without exaggeration, the five and six months of Winter are spent in almost continual discomforts, ❖ excessive cold, smoke, and the annoyance of the Savages; we have a Cabin built [63] of simple bark, but so we'll jointed that we have to send some one outside to learn what kind of weather it is; the smoke is very often so thick, so annoying, and so obstinate that, for five or six days at a time, if you are not entirely proof against it, it is all you can do to make out a few lines in your Breviary. Besides, from morning until evening our fireplace is almost always surrounded by Savages, above all, they seldom fail to be there at mealtimes. If you happen to have anything more than usual, let it be ever so little, you must reckon on most of these Gentlemen as your guests; if you do not share with them, you will be considered mean. As regards the food, it is not so bad, although we usually content ourselves with a little corn, or a morsel of dry smoked fish, or some fruits, of which I shall speak further on.

For the rest, thus far we have had only roses; henceforth, as we have Christians in almost every village, we must count upon making rounds through them at all seasons of the year, and of remaining there, according to necessity, [64] for two or three whole weeks, amid annoyances that cannot be described. Add to all this, that our lives depend upon a single thread; and if, wherever we are in the world, we are to expect death every hour, and to be prepared for it, this is particularly the case here. For not to mention that your Cabin is only, as it were, chaff, and that it might be burned at any [page 93] moment, despite all your care to prevent accidents, the malice of the Savages gives especial cause for almost perpetual fear; a malcontent may burn you down, or cleave your head open in some lonely spot. And then you are responsible for the sterility or fecundity of the earth, under penalty of your life; you are the cause of droughts; if you cannot make rain, they speak of nothing less than making away with you. I have only to mention, in addition, the danger there is from our enemies; it is enough to say that, on the thirteenth of this month of June, they killed twelve of our Hurons near the village of Contarrea, which is only a day's journey from us; that a short time before, at four leagues from our village, some Iroquois were discovered in the fields [65] in ambuscade, only waiting to strike a blow at the expense of the life of some passer-by. This Nation is very timid, they take no precautions against surprise, they are not careful to prepare arms or to inclose their villages with palisades; their usual recourse, especially when the enemy is powerful, is flight. Amid these alarms, which affect the whole Country, I leave you to imagine if we have any grounds for a feeling of safety.

After all, if we had here the exterior attractions of piety, as they exist in France, all this might pass. In France the great multitude and the good example of Christians, the solemnity of the Feasts, the majesty of the Churches so magnificently adorned, preach piety to you; and in the Houses of our order the fervor of our brethren, their modesty, and all the noble virtues which shine forth in all their actions, are so many powerful voices which cry to you without ceasing, *respice, et facsimiliter*. You have the consolation of celebrating every day the holy Mass; in a [page 95] word, you are almost beyond the danger of falling, at least, the falls are insignificant, and you have help immediately at hand. Here we have nothing, it seems, which [66] incites towards good; we are among Peoples who are astonished when you speak to them of God, and who often have only horrible blasphemies in their mouths. Often you are compelled to deprive yourself of the holy Sacrifice of the Mass; and, when you have the opportunity to say it, a little corner of your Cabin will serve you for a Chapel, which the smoke, the snow, or the rain hinders you from ~ornamenting and embellishing, even if you had the means. I pass over the small chance of seclusion there is among Barbarians, who scarcely ever leave you, who hardly know what it is to speak in a low tone. Especially I would not dare to speak of the danger there is of ruining oneself among their impurities, in the case of any one whose heart is not sufficiently full of God to firmly resist this poison. But enough of this; the rest can only be known by experience.

"But is that all?" some one will exclaim. " Do you think by your arguments to throw water on the fire that consumes me, and lessen ever so little the zeal I have for the conversion of these Peoples? I declare that these things have served only to confirm me the more in my vocation; that I feel myself more carried away than ever by my affection for New France, and that I bear a holy jealousy [67] towards those who are already enduring all these sufferings; all these labors seem to me nothing, in comparison with what I am willing to endure for God; if I knew a place under Heaven where there was yet more to be suffered, I would go there." Ah! whoever you [page 97] are to whom God gives these sentiments and this light, come, come, my dear Brother, it is workmen such as you that we ask for here; it is to souls like yours that God has appointed the conquest of so many other souls whom the Devil holds yet in his

power; apprehend no difficulties, there will be none for you, since it is your whole consolation to see yourself crucified with the Son of God; silence will be sweet to you, since you have learned to commune with God, and to converse in the Heavens with Saints and Angels; the victuals would be very insipid if the gall endured by our Lord did not render them sweeter and more savory to you than the most delicious viands of the world. What a satisfaction to pass these rapids, and to climb these rocks, to him who has before his eyes that loving Savior, harassed by his tormentors and ascending Calvary laden with his Cross; [68] the discomfort of the Canoe is very easy to bear, to him who considers the crucified one. What a consolation! for I must use such terms, as otherwise I could not give you pleasure what a consolation, then, to see oneself even abandoned on the road by the Savages, languishing with sickness, or even dying with hunger in the woods, and of being able to say to God, " My God, it is to do your holy will that I am reduced to the state in which you see me, " considering above all that God-man who expires upon the Cross and cries to his Father, *Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me*. If God among all these hardships preserve you in health, no doubt you will arrive pleasantly in the Huron country with these holy thoughts. *Suaviter navigat quem gratia Dei Portat*.

And now, as regards a place of abode, food, and [page 99] beds, shall I dare to say to a heart so generous, and that mocks at all that of which I have already spoken, that truly, even though we have hardly more of those necessities than the Savages have, still, I know not how, the divine Goodness renders every difficult thing easy; and all and every one of us find everything almost as comfortable [69] as life is in France. The sleep we get lying on our mats seems to us as sweet as if we were in a good bed; the food of the Country does not disgust us, although there is scarcely any other seasoning than that which God has put into it; and, notwithstanding the cold of a winter six months long, passed in the shelter of a bark Cabin open to the daylight, we have still to experience its evil effects; no one complains of his head or his stomach; we do not know what diarrhœa, colds, or catarrh are. This leads me to say that delicate persons do not know, in France, how to protect themselves from the cold; those rooms so well carpeted, those doors so well fitted, and those windows closed with so much care, serve only to make its effects more keenly felt; it is an enemy from whom one wins almost more by holding out one's hands to him than by waging a cruel war upon him. As to our food, I shall say this further, that God has shown his Providence very clearly to our eyes; we have obtained in eight days our provision of corn for a whole year, without making a single step beyond our Cabin. They have brought us dried fish in such quantities that we are constrained to refuse some of it, and to say [70] that we have sufficient; you might say that God, seeing we are here only for his service, in order that all our work may be for him, wishes to act himself as our provider. This same Goodness takes care [page 101] to give us from time to time a change of provisions in the shape of fresh fish. We live on the shore of a great Lake, which affords as good fish as I have ever seen or eaten in France; true, as I have said, we do not ordinarily procure them, and still less do we get meat, which is even more rarely seen here. Fruits even, according to the season, provided the year be somewhat favorable, are not lacking to us; strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries are to be found in almost incredible quantities. We gather plenty of grapes, which are fairly good; the squashes last sometimes four and five months, and are so abundant that they are to be had almost for nothing, and so good that, on being cooked in the ashes, they are eaten as apples are in France. Consequently, to tell the truth, as regards provisions, the change from France is not very great; the only grain of the Country is a sufficient nourishment, when one is somewhat accustomed to it. [71] The Savages prepare it in more than twenty ways and yet employ only fire and water; it is true that the best sauce is that which it carries with it.

As for the dangers of the soul, to speak frankly, there are none for him who brings to the Country of the Hurons the fear and love of God; on the contrary, I find unparalleled advantages for acquiring perfection. Is it not a great deal to have, in one's food, clothing, and sleep, no other attraction than bare necessity? Is it not a glorious opportunity to unite oneself with God, when there is no creature whatsoever that gives you reason to spend your affection upon it? when the exercises you practice constrain you without force to inward meditation ? Besides your spiritual exercises, you have no other employment [page 103] than the study of the language, and conversation with the Savages. Ah! how much pleasure there is for a heart devoted to God to make itself the little Scholar of a Savage and of a little child, thereby to gain them for God, and to render them Disciples of our Lord! How willingly and liberally God communicates himself to a soul which practices from love to him these heroic acts [72] of humility! The words he learns are so many treasures he amasses, so many spoils he carries off from the common enemy of the human race; so that he has reason to say a hundred times a day, *Lætabor super eloquia tua tanquam qui invenit spolia multa*. Viewed in this light, the visits of the Savages, however frequent, cannot be annoying to him. God teaches him the beautiful lesson he taught formerly to Saint Catherine of Sienna, to make of his heart a room or temple for him, where he will never fail to find him, as often as he withdraws into it; that, if he encounters Savages there, they do not interfere with his prayers, they serve only to make them more fervent; from this he takes occasion to present these poor wretches to this sovereign Goodness, and to entreat him warmly for their conversion.

Certainly we have not here that exterior solemnity which awakens and sustains devotion. Only what is essential in our Religion is visible, the holy Sacrament of the Altar, to the marvels of which we must open the eyes of our Faith without being aided by any sensible mark of its grandeur, any more than the [73] Magi were in the stable. But it seems that God, supplying what we lack, and as a recompense of grace that he has given us in transporting it, so to speak, beyond so many seas, and in finding a place [page 105] for it in these poor Cabins, wishes to crown us with the same blessings, in the midst of these infidel Peoples, with which he is accustomed to favor persecuted Catholics in the Countries of heretics. These good people scarcely ever see either Church or Altar; but the little they see is worth double what they would see in full liberty. What consolation would there be, in your opinion, in prostrating ourselves at times before a Cross in the midst of this Barbarism! to turn our eyes toward, and to enter, in the midst of our petty domestic duties, even into the room which the Son of God has been pleased to take in our little dwelling. Is it not to be in Paradise day and night, that we are not separated from this Well-beloved of the Nations except by some bark or the branch of a tree? *En ipse stat post parietem nostrum. Sub umbra illius quem desideraveram, sedi*. See what we have within. If we go outside our cabin, Heaven is open to us; and those great buildings which lift their heads to the [74] clouds, in large cities, do not conceal it from our view; so that we can say our prayers in full liberty before the noble Oratory that saint Francois Xavier loved better than any other. If the question is of the fundamental virtues, I will glory not in myself, but in the share which has fallen to me; or, if I must, acknowledge it humbly beside the Cross which our Lord in his grace gives us to bear after him. Certain it is that this Country, or our work here, is much more fitted to feed the soul with the fruits of Heaven than with the fruits of earth. I may be deceiving myself, but I imagine that here is a grand means of increasing the soul in Faith, in Hope, and in Charity. Should we scatter the seeds of the Faith without ourselves profiting by them? [page 107] Could we put our confidence anywhere but in God in a Region where, as far as man is concerned, everything is lacking to us? Could we wish a nobler opportunity to exercise Charity than amid the roughness and discomfort of a new world, where no human art or industry has yet provided any conveniences? and to live here that we may bring back to God men who are so [75] unlike men that we must live in daily expectation of dying by their hand, should the fancy take them, should a dream suggest it to them, or should we fail to open or close the Heavens to them at discretion, giving them rain or fine weather at command. Do they not make us responsible for the state of the weather? And if God does not inspire us, or if we cannot work miracles by faith, are we not continually in danger, as they have threatened us, of seeing them fall upon those who have done no wrong? Indeed, if he who is the Truth itself had not declared that there is no greater love than to lay down one's life, verily and once



for all, for one's friends, I should conceive it a thing equally noble, or even more so, to do what the Apostle said to the Corinthians, *Quotidie morior Per vestram gloriam, fratres, quam habeo in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*, than to drag out a life full of misery, amid the frequent and ordinary dangers of an unforeseen death, which those whom you hope to save will procure for you. I call to mind occasionally what Saint François Xavier once wrote to Father Simon, and wish that it may please God to so act that at least the same thing may be said or written one [76] day even of us, although we may not be worthy of it. Here are the words: *Optimi Moluco perferuntur nuntii, quippe in maximis periculis perpetuisque vitis, discriminibus, Joannes Beira eusque socii* [page 109] *versantur, magno cum Christiani Religionis incremento.*

There seems to be one thing here which might give apprehension to a Son of the Society, to see himself in the midst of a brutal and sensual People, whose example might tarnish the luster of the most and the least delicate of all the virtues, unless especial care be taken—I mean Chastity.

In order to obviate this difficulty, I make bold to say that if there is any place in the world where this so precious virtue is safe, for a man among us who wishes to be on his guard, it is here. *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam. Scivi quoniam aliter non possem esse continens, nisi Deus det. Et hoc ipsum erat sapientia, scire cujus esset hoc donum.*

It is said that the victories which this Daughter of Heaven gains over her enemies, are gained by flight; but I believe it is God and no one else who puts to flight this very enemy in the most severe encounters, before those who, fearing nothing so much as his approaches, go with bowed heads, and [77] hearts full of confidence in his Goodness, where his glory calls them. And where should we seek this glory? I should say, where find it more fully purified and disentangled from our own interests, than in a place where there is nothing more to be hoped for than the reward of having left all for the love of him of whom St. Paul said, *Scio cui credidi*. You remember that plant, named "the fear of God," with which it is said our Fathers at the beginning of our Society charmed away the spirit of impurity; it does not grow in the land of the Hurons, but it falls there abundantly from Heaven, if one has but a little care to cultivate that which he brings here. Barbarism, ignorance, poverty, and misery, which render the life [page 111] of these Savages more deplorable than death, are a continual reminder to us to mourn Adam's fall, and to submit ourselves entirely to him who still chastises disobedience in his children, in so remarkable a way, after so many centuries. Saint Theresa said once that she never found her meditations more profitable than in the mysteries in which she found our Lord apart and alone, as if she had been in the garden of Olives; and [78] she called this a part of her simplicity. You may reckon this among my follies, if you like; but it seems to me that we have here so much the more leisure to caress, so to speak, and to entertain our Lord with open heart, in the midst of these uninhabited lands, because there are so few people who trouble themselves about him. And, on account of this favor, we can boldly say, *Non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es*. In short, I imagine that all the Guardian Angels of these neglected and abandoned Nations are continually endeavoring and laboring to save us from these dangers. They know well that if there were anything in the world that ought to give us wings, to fly back whence we came both by obedience and by our own inclination, it would be this misfortune, if we were not shielded from it by the protection of Heaven. This is what excites them to procure for us the means to guard against it, that they may not lose the brightest hope they have ever had, by the grace of God, of the conversion of these Peoples.

I finish this discourse and this Chapter with this sentence: If, at the sight of the difficulties and Crosses that are here prepared for us, some one feels himself so fortified from above that he [79] can say it is too little, or like St. François Xavier, *Amplius*, [page 113] *amplius*, I hope that our Lord will also draw from his lips this other confession, in the midst of the consolations he will give him, that it will be too much for him, that he cannot endure more. *Satis est, Domine, satis est.* [page 115]

## CHAPTER IV. OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE HURONS.

HIS is only to give some little foretaste of the language, and notice some of its peculiarities, in anticipation of a Grammar and a complete Dictionary.

They have a letter to which we have nothing to correspond—we express it by Khi; the use of it is common to the Montagnais and to the Algonquins. They are not acquainted with B. F. L. M. P. X. Z; and I. E. V. are never consonants to them. The greater part of their words are composed of vowels. They lack all the labial letters. This is probably the reason why they all open their lips so awkwardly, and why we can scarcely understand them [80] when they whistle or when they speak low. As they have hardly any virtue or Religion, or any learning or government, they have consequently no simple words suitable to express what is connected with these. Hence it is that we are at a loss in explaining to them many important matters, depending upon a knowledge of these things. Compound words are most in use with them, and have the same force as the adjective and substantive joined together, among us. *Andataras*, fresh bread; *Achitetsi*, a foot long. The variety of these compound nouns is very great, and that is the key to the secret of their Language. They have, like us, a diversity of genders; and, like the Greeks, of number; besides a certain [page 117] relative declension which always includes in itself the possessive pronoun, *meus, tuus, suus*, for example, *Iatacan*, my brother, *aiatacan*, my brothers; *satacan*, thy brother; *tsatacan*, thy brothers; *atocan*, his brother, *atotacan*, his brothers.

As to cases, they have them all, or supply them by very appropriate particles.

The astonishing thing is that all their words are universally conjugated, for example, *Ass*, it is fresh, *ass*, chen, it was fresh; *gaon*, old, *agaon*, he is old, *agaonc*, he was old, *agaonha*, he is growing old; and so [81] with the rest. It is the same with that word *iatacan*, which means, my brother; *oniatacan*, we are brothers, *oniatacan chen*, we were brothers; that is copious. Here is one which is not so. A relative noun with them includes always the meaning of one of the three persons of the possessive pronoun, so that they can not say simply, Father, Son, Master, Valet, but are obliged to say one of the three, my father, thy father, his father. However, I have translated above in a Prayer one of their nouns by the word Father, for greater clearness. On this account, we find ourselves hindered from getting them to say properly in their Language, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost*. Would you judge it fitting, while waiting a better expression, to substitute instead, *In the name of our Father, and of his Son, and of their holy Ghost*? Certainly it seems that the three Persons of the most holy Trinity would be sufficiently expressed in this way, the third being in truth the holy Spirit of the first and of the second; the second being Son of the first; and the first, our Father, in the terms of the Apostle, who applies to him those fitting words in Ephesians 3. It may [page 119] be added that our Lord has given example of this way [82] Of speaking, not only in the Lord's Prayer, as we call it from respect to him, but by way of commandment to Mary Magdalaine in saint

John 20. to bear from him these beautiful words to his Brethren or Disciples, *I ascend to my Father and to yours*. Would we venture to employ it thus until the Huron language shall be enriched, or the mind of the Hurons opened to other languages? We will do nothing without advice.

Now in connection with this name *Father* I must not forget the difficulty there is in teaching to say Our Father who art in Heaven, to those who have none on earth; to speak to them of the dead whom they have loved, is to insult them. A woman, whose mother had died a short time before, almost lost her desire to be baptized because the command, *Thou shalt honor thy Father and thy Mother*, had been inadvertently quoted to her.

As for the verbs, what is most remarkable in their language is: 1. That they have some to signify animate things, and others to signify things without life. 2. That they vary their tenses in as many ways as did the Greeks; their numbers also, besides that the first person, of both the dual number and the plural, is, moreover, double; thus [83] to say " we set out, thou and I, "we must say *kiarascwa*, and to say " we set out, he and I," *aiarascwa*. Likewise in the plural, "we, several of us, set out," *awarascwa*, "we, together, set out," *cwarascwa*.

Besides all this, there is to be noticed a double conjugation, and I believe that this is common to the American languages. The one is simple and absolute, like our Latin and French conjugations. For example, the verb *ahiaton*, meaning "to write," is [page 121] conjugated absolutely in this way: *iehiaton*, I write; *chiehiatonc*, thou writest, *ihakiatonc*, he writes, *awahiatonc*, we write, *scwahiatonc*, you write, *attihiatonc*, they write.

The other method of conjugation may be called the reciprocal, inasmuch as the action signified by the verb terminates always on some person or thing; so that, instead of saying, as we do, in three words, "I love myself," the Hurons say only *iatenonhw*, "I love thee," *onnonhw*, "I love you both," *inonhw*, "I love you" (several), *wanonhw*, and so for the rest.

What I find most extraordinary is that there is a feminine conjugation, at least in the third person both of the singular and [84] of the plural; for we have not discovered more of it, or very little. Here is an example of it: *ihaton*, he says; *iwaton*, she says; *ihonton*, they say [masculine]; *ionton*, they say [feminine]. The principal distinction of this feminine conjugation from the masculine is the lack of the letter H, in which the masculine abounds, perhaps to give the women to understand that there ought to be nothing rough or coarse in their words or in their manners, but that the grace and law of gentleness ought to be upon their tongues, following that rule of the Sage, *lex clementi*, in *lingua ejus*. This is enough of this subject for the present, unless it be that some one may wish to hear something about their style. They use comparisons, time-words, and proverbs very often. Here is one of the most remarkable, *Tichiout eto*, "Behold," they say, " the fallen star," when they see some one who is fat and corpulent; for they hold that once upon a time a star fell from Heaven in the form of a fat Goose. *Amantes sibi somnia fingunt*. [page 123]

## [85] Part Second.

### On the belief, manners, and customs of the Hurons.

## CHAPTER FIRST.

### WHAT THE HURONS THINK OF THEIR ORIGIN.

NE is astonished to see so much blindness in regard to the things of Heaven, in a People who do not lack judgment and knowledge in reference to those of earth. This is what their vices and brutality have merited from God. There are some indications that they had formerly some more than natural knowledge of the true God, as may be remarked in some particulars of their fables; and even if they had had only that which Nature can furnish to them, still they ought to have been more reasonable on this subject, if it had not [86] happened to them according to the word of the Apostle, *Cum cognovissent Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt, sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipientes cor eorum*. For not having been willing to acknowledge God in their habits and actions, they have lost the thought of him and have become worse than beasts in his sight, and as regards the respect they have for him.

Now, to begin with the foundation of their belief, [page 125] the greater part boast of deriving their origin from Heaven, which they found on the following fable, which passes among them for a truth.

They recognize as head of their Nation a certain woman whom they call *Ataentsic*, who fell among them, they say, from Heaven. For they think the Heavens existed a long time before this wonder; but they cannot tell you when or how its great bodies were drawn from the abysses of nothing. They suppose, even, that above the arches of the Sky there was and still is a land like ours, with woods, lakes, rivers and fields, and Peoples who inhabit them. They do not agree as to the manner in which this so fortunate descent occurred. [87] Some say that one day, as she was working in her field, she perceived a Bear; her dog began to pursue it and she herself afterwards. The Bear, seeing himself closely pressed, and seeking only to escape the teeth of the dog, fell by accident into a hole; the dog followed him. *Aataentsic*, having approached this precipice, finding that neither the Bear nor the dog were any longer to be seen, moved by despair, threw herself into it also. Nevertheless, her fall happened to be more favorable than she had supposed; for she fell down into the waters without being hurt, although she was with child, after which, the Waters having dried up little by little, the earth appeared and became habitable.

Others attribute this fall to another cause, which seems to have some relation to the case of Adam, but falsehood makes up the greater part of it. They say that the husband of *Aataentsic*, being very sick, dreamed that it was necessary to cut down a certain tree from which those who abode in Heaven obtained their food; and that, as soon as he ate of the fruit, [page 127] he would be immediately healed. *Aataentsic*, knowing the desire of her husband, takes his axe and goes away with the resolution not to make two trips of it; but she had no sooner dealt the first [88] blow than the tree at once split, almost under her feet, and fell to this earth; whereupon she was so astonished that, after having carried the news to her husband, she returned and threw herself after it. Now, as she fell, the Turtle, happening to raise her head above water, perceived her; and, not knowing what to decide upon, astonished as she was at this wonder, she called together the other aquatic animals to get their opinion. They immediately assembled; she points out to them what she saw, and asks them what they think it fitting to do. The greater part refer the matter to the Beaver, who, through courtesy, hands over the

whole to the judgment of the Turtle, whose final opinion was that they should all promptly set to work, dive to the bottom of the water, bring up soil to her, and put it on her back. No sooner said than done, and the woman fell very gently on this Island. Some time after, as she was with child when she fell, she was delivered of a daughter, who almost immediately became pregnant. If you ask them how, you puzzle them very much. At all events, they tell you, she was pregnant. Some throw the blame upon some strangers, [89] who landed on this Island. I pray you make this agree with what they say, that, before *Aataentsic* fell from the Sky, there were no men on earth. However that may be, she brought forth two boys, *Tawiscaron* and *Iouskeha*, who, when they grew up, had some quarrel with each other; judge if this does not relate in some way to the murder of Abel. They came to blows, but with very different [page 129] weapons. *Iouskeha* had the horns of a Stag; *Tawiscaron*, who contented himself with some fruits of the wild rosebush, was persuaded that, as soon as he had struck his brother, he would fall dead at his feet. But it happened quite differently from what he had expected; and *Iouskeha*, on the contrary, struck him so rude a blow in the side, that the blood came forth abundantly. This poor wretch immediately fled; and from his blood, with which the land was sprinkled, certain stones sprang up, like those we employ in France to fire a gun, which the Savages call even to-day *Tawiscara*, from the name of this unfortunate. His brother pursued him, and finished him. This is what the greater part believe concerning the origin of these Nations.

[90] There are some who do not soar so high, and are not so ambitious as to believe that they derive their origin from Heaven. They say that, in the beginning of the world, the land was quite covered with water, with the exception of a little Island on which was the sole hope of the human race, - to wit, a single man, whose sole companions were a Fox and a little animal like a Marten, which they call *Tsouhendaia*. The man, not knowing what to do, seeing himself cut off in so narrow a range of country, asked the Fox to plunge into the water, to see if there were any bottom to it; but he had no sooner wet his paws than he drew back, fearing that this experience would cost him his life. Whereupon the man became indignant; "*Tessandion*, thou hast no sense," he said to him, and kicked him into the water, where he drank a little more than his fill. However he did not desist from his design, and so encouraged the little animal that was now his sole companion, that it finally [page 131] resolved to plunge in; and as it did not imagine that the water was so shallow, it did this so violently as to dash itself against the bottom, and came back with its snout all covered with slime. The man, very glad [91] at this happy discovery, exhorts it to continue, and to bring up soil to increase the size of the Islet; which it did with so much assiduity, that the Islet lost its identity, and was changed into these vast fields that we see. If you again press them here, and ask them what they think of this man, who gave him life, who put him upon this little Island, how he could become the father of all these Nations, since he was alone and had no companion; you will gain nothing by asking all these questions, except that you will get this solution, which would not be bad, if their Religion were good, *We do not know; we were told so; our Fathers never taught us any more about it*. What would you say to that? All that we do is to bear witness to them that we feel compassion for their so gross ignorance; we take thence occasion, when we judge them capable of appreciating it, for explaining some of our Mysteries, and of showing them how fully they conform to reason. They listen very willingly, and are well satisfied therewith.

But to return to *Aataentsic* and *Iouskeha*; they hold that *Iouskeha* is the Sun and [92] *Aataentsic* the Moon, and yet that their Home is situated at the ends of the earth, namely, toward our Ocean sea; for beyond that it is a lost country to them, and before they had any commerce with the French they had never dreamed that there was under Heaven a different land from their own, and, now that they are disabused of this idea, many still believe that their [page 133] country and ours are two pieces quite separate, and made by the hands of different workmen. They say, therefore, that four young men once undertook a journey to find out the truth about it; that they found *Iouskeha* quite alone in his Cabin, and that he received them very kindly. After some compliments on both sides, in the fashion of the Country, he advised them to conceal themselves in some corner, otherwise he would not answer for their lives; that *Aataentsic* was sure to play them a bad trick, if they did not keep on their guard. This Fury arrives toward evening, and, as she assumes any form she sees fit, perceiving that there were new guests in the house she took the form of a beautiful young girl, handsomely adorned, with a beautiful necklace and bracelets of [93] Porcelain, and asked her son where his guests were. He replied that he did not know what she meant. Thereupon she went out of the Cabin, and *Iouskeha* took the opportunity to warn his guests, and thus saved their lives. Now, although their Cabin is so very distant, they are nevertheless both present at the feasts and dances which take place in the villages. *Aataentsic* is often badly abused there. *Iouskeha* throws the blame on a certain horned oki named *Tehonrressandeen*; but it is found at the end of the tale that it is he himself who, under that disguise, thus insults his mother.

Moreover, they esteem themselves greatly obliged to this personage; for, in the first place, according to the opinion of some, who hold a belief quite contrary to that of those whom we have mentioned thus far, without him we would not have so many fine rivers and so many beautiful lakes. In the beginning of the world, they say, the earth was dry and [page 135] arid; all the waters were collected under the armpit of a large frog, so that *Iouskeha* could not have a drop except through its agency. One day, he resolved to deliver himself and all his Posterity from this servitude; and, in order to attain this, he made [94] an incision under the armpit, whence the waters came forth in such abundance that they spread throughout the whole earth, and hence the origin of rivers, lakes, and seas. Behold here a subtle solution of the question of our Schools upon this point. They hold also that without *Iouskeha* their kettles would not boil, as he learned from the Turtle the process of making fire. Were it not for him, they would not have such good hunting, and would not have so much ease in capturing animals in the chase, as they now have. For they believe that animals were not at liberty from the beginning of the world, but that they were shut up in a great cavern, where *Iouskeha* guarded them. Perhaps there may be in that some allusion to the fact that God brought all the animals to Adam. However, one day he determined to give them liberty in order that they might multiply and fill the forests, in such a way, nevertheless, that he might easily dispose of them when it should seem good to him. This is what he did to accomplish his end. In the order in which they came from the cave, he wounded them all in the foot with an arrow. However, the Wolf escaped the shot; hence, they say, they have great difficulty in catching him in the chase.

[95] They pass yet beyond this, and regard him as profane Antiquity once did Ceres. According to their story, it is *Iouskeha* who gives them the wheat they eat, it is he who makes it grow and brings it to [page 137] maturity. If they see their fields verdant in the Spring, if they reap good and abundant harvests, and if their Cabins are crammed with ears of corn, they owe it to *Iouskeha*. I do not know what God has in store for us this year; but, to judge from the reports going round, we are threatened in earnest with a great scarcity. *Iouskeha*, it is reported, has been seen quite dejected, and thin as a skeleton, with a poor ear of corn in his hand. Some add that he was carrying a man's leg and was tearing it with sharp teeth. All this, they say, is an indubitable sign of a very bad year. But the fun of it is, no one can be found in the Country who will say, "I have seen him, or I have spoken to a man that has seen him;" and yet every one deems this an indubitable fact, and no man takes the trouble to make a more searching inquiry into the truth of it. If it should please the divine Goodness to prove these false Prophets untruthful, it would be no small advantage to add authority to our [96] faith in this Country, and to open the way for the publication of the holy Gospel. We have received and are receiving every day so many favors from Heaven that we have reason to hope for this one as well, if it is for the glory of God. [page 139]



# CHAPTER II.

## THE IDEAS OF THE HURONS REGARDING THE NATURE AND CONDITION OF THE SOUL, BOTH IN THIS LIFE AND AFTER DEATH.

It is amusing to hear them speak their souls, ♦ or rather, I should say, it is a thing quite worthy of compassion to see reasonable men, with sentiments so low concerning an essence so noble and bearing so distinct marks of Divinity. They give it different names according to its different conditions or different operations. In so far as it merely animates the body and gives it life, they call it *khiondhecwi*; in so far as it is possessed of reason, *oki anda ♦ randi*, "like a demon, counterfeiting a demon;" in so far as it thinks and deliberates [97] on anything, they call it *endionrra*; and *gonennoncwal*, in so far as it bears affection to any object; whence it happens that they often say *ondayee ihaton onennoncwat*, "That is what my heart says to me, that is what my appetite desires." Then if it is separated from the body they call it *esken*, and even the bones of the dead, *atisken*, ♦ in my opinion, on the false persuasion entertained by them that the soul remains in some way attached to them for some time after death, at least that it is not far removed from them; they think of the soul as divisible, and you would have all the difficulty in the world to make them believe that our soul is entire in all parts of the body. They give to it even a head, arms, legs, ♦ in short, a body; [page 141] and to put them in great perplexity it is only necessary to ask them by what exit the soul departs at death, if it be really corporeal, and has a body as large as that which it animates; for to that they have no reply.

As to what is the state of the soul after death, they hold that it separates in such a way from the body that it does not abandon it immediately. When they bear it to the [98] grave, it walks in front, and remains in the cemetery until the feast of the Dead; by night, it walks through the villages and enters the Cabins, where it takes its part in the feasts, and eats what is left at evening in the kettle; whence it happens that many, on this account, do not willingly eat from it on the morrow; there are even some of them who will not go to the feasts made for the souls, believing that they would certainly die if they should even taste of the provisions prepared for them; others, however, are not so scrupulous, and eat their fill.

At the feast of the Dead, which takes place about every twelve years, the souls quit the cemeteries, and in the opinion of some are changed into Turtledoves, which they pursue later in the woods, with bow and arrow, to broil and eat; nevertheless the most common belief is that after this ceremony, of which I shall speak below, they go away in company, covered as they are with robes and collars which have been put into the grave for them, to a great Village, which is toward the [99] setting Sun, ♦ except, however, the old people and the little children who have not as strong limbs as the others to make this voyage; these remain in the country, where they have their own particular Villages. Some [page 143] assert that at times they hear the noise of the doors of their Cabins, and the voices of the children chasing the birds in the fields. They sow corn in its season, and use the fields the living have abandoned; if any Village takes fire, which often happens in this country, they take care to gather from the middle of this fire the roasted corn, and lay it by as a part of their provisions.

The souls which are stronger and more robust have their gathering place, as I have said, toward the West, where each Nation has its own Village; and if the soul of an Algonquin were bold enough to present itself at the Village of the Bear Nation's souls, it would not be well received.

The souls of those who died in war form a band by themselves; the others fear them, and do not permit their entry into their Village, any more than to the [100] souls of those who have killed themselves. As to the souls of thieves, they are quite welcome, and, if they were banished from them, there would not be a soul left; for as I have said, Huron and thief are one and the same thing; and the wealthiest man in the Country will do all he can to try his hand at it, if he finds something in your house lying apart which he likes.

I asked one day one of our Savages where they thought the Village of souls was; he answered that it was toward the Tobacco Nation, that is to say, toward the West, eight leagues from us, and that some persons had seen them as they were going; that the road they took was broad and well-beaten; that they passed near a rock called *Ecaregniondi*, which has often been found marked with the paint which they use to smear their faces. [page 145]

Another told me that on the same road, before arriving at the Village, one comes to a Cabin where lives one named *Oscotarach*, or "Pierce-head," who draws the brains out of the heads of the dead, and keeps them. You must pass a river, and [101] the only bridge you have is the trunk of a tree laid across, and very slightly supported. The passage is guarded by a dog, which jumps at many souls, and makes them fall; they are at the same time carried away by the violence of the torrent, and stifled in the waters. "But," said I to him, "whence have you learned all this news of the other world?" "It is," he told me, "persons brought back to life, who have reported it." Thus it is the devil deceives them in their dreams; thus he speaks by the mouth of some, who having been left as dead, recover health, and talk at random of the other life, according to the ideas that this wretched master gives them. According to them the Village of souls is in no respect unlike the Village of the living, ♦ they go hunting, fishing, and to the woods; axes, robes, and collars are as much esteemed as among the living. In a word, everything is the same; there is only this difference, that day and night they do nothing but groan and complain. They have Captains, who from time to time put an end to it and try to moderate their [102] sighs and groans. God of truth, what ignorance and stupidity! *Illuminare his qui in tenebris, et in umbra mortis sedent.*

Now this false belief they have about souls is kept up among them by means of certain stories which the fathers tell their children, which are so poorly put together that I am perfectly astounded to see how men believe them and accept them as truth. [page 147] Here are two of the most stupid ones, which I get from persons of intelligence and judgment among them.

A Savage having lost one of his sisters, whom he loved above all the rest, and having wept for some time after her death, resolved to seek her, in whatever part of the world she might be; and he traveled twelve days toward the setting Sun, where he had learned the Village of souls was, without eating or drinking. At the end of this time, his sister appeared to him in the night, with a dish of meal cooked in water, after the fashion of the country, which she gave to him, and disappeared at the moment he wished to put his hand on her and stop her. He went on, and journeyed three whole months, hoping always to succeed [103] in claiming her. During all this time she never failed to show herself every day, and to render him the same service that she had at first, ♦ increasing in this way his desire, without giving it any other consolation than the little nourishment which she brought him. The three months expired; he came to a river, which presented great difficulty to him at first, for it was very rapid and did not appear fordable. There were, indeed, some fallen trees thrown across it; but this bridge was so shaky that he did not dare to trust himself to it. What should he do? There was on the

other side a piece of cleared land, which made him think there must be some inhabitants near. In fact, after looking in all directions he perceived, on the outskirts of the wood, a little Cabin. He calls several times. A man appears and shuts himself up immediately in his Cabin; this gives him great joy, and he resolves to cross. Having successfully accomplished this, he [page 149] goes straightway to this Cabin, but finds the door closed; he calls, he beats on the door. He is told to wait, and first to pass in his arm, if he wishes to enter; the other one is much astonished to see a living body. He [104] opens to him, and asks him where he was going and what his purpose was, as this country was only for souls. "I know that well," says this Adventurer, " and that is why I came here to seek the soul of my sister." "Oh indeed," replies the other one, "well and good; come, take courage, you will be presently in the Village of souls, where you will find what you desire. All the souls are now gathered in a Cabin, where they are dancing to heal *Aataentsic*, who is sick. Don't be afraid to enter; stay, there is a pumpkin, you can put into it the soul of your sister." He takes it, and at the same time bids good-bye to his host, very glad of so fortunate a meeting. On his departure he asks the host his name, " Be satisfied," says the other, " that I am he who keeps the brains of the dead." So he goes away and reaches the Village of souls. He enters the Cabin of *Aataentsic*, where he finds that they are indeed dancing for the sake of her health; but he cannot yet see the soul of his sister, for the souls were so startled at the sight of the man that they vanished in a moment, so that he remained [105] all day the master of the Cabin. In the evening, as he was seated by the fire, they returned; but they showed themselves at first only at a distance. Approaching slowly, they began again to dance; he recognized his sister amid the troop, he endeavored even to seize her, but she fled from him. He withdrew some distance, and at last chose his time so well that she could not escape him. Nevertheless, he made certain of [page 151] his prey only by securing her well; for he had to struggle against her all night, and in the contest she grew so little that he put her without difficulty into his pumpkin. Having corked her in well, he immediately returns by way of the house of his host, who gives him his sister's brains in another pumpkin, and instructs him in all he must do to resuscitate her. " When thou reachest home," he says to him, " go to the cemetery, take the body of thy sister, bear it to thy Cabin, and make a feast. When all thy guests are assembled, carry it on thy shoulders, and take a walk through the Cabin holding the two pumpkins in thy hands; thou wilt no sooner have resumed thy place than thy sister will come to life again, [106] provided thou givest orders that all keep their eyes lowered, and that no one shall look at what thou art doing, else everything will go wrong." Soon the man returns to his Village; he takes the body of his sister, makes a feast, carries out, in due order, all the directions given him, and, indeed, he already felt motion in the half-decayed corpse; but, when he was two or three steps from his place, one curious person raised his eyes; at that moment the soul escaped, and there remained to him only the corpse in his arms, which he was constrained to bear to the tomb whence he had taken it.

### SI CREDERE FAS EST.

Here is another of their fables, of like tissue. A young man of the highest standing among them, being ill, after much entreaty finally answered that his dream showed a bow rolled in bark; that if any one wanted to go with him as an escort, there was but one man on earth who had one of the sort. A company [page 153] of resolute men put themselves on the road with him; but at the end of ten days there remained to him only six companions, the rest turning back on account of the hunger which pressed them. The six go with him [107] many a day's journey, and in following the tracks of a little black beast, come upon the Cabin of their man, who warns them not to partake of what a woman who was to be present should offer them for the first time. Having obeyed him, and having upset the dishes upon the ground, they perceived it was only venomous reptiles she had presented to them. Having refreshed themselves with the second course, it was a question of bending the rolled bow, which not one of them succeeded in doing, except the young man in whose behalf the journey had been undertaken. He received it as a gift from his host, who invited him to take a sweat with him, and, upon emerging from the sweat-box, metamorphosed one of his companions into a Pine tree. From there they advanced to the Village of souls, whence only three returned alive, and all frightened, to the house of their host; he encouraged them to return home with the help of a little meal, such as the souls eat, and which sustains the body wonderfully. He told them, moreover, that they were going to pass through woods where Deer, Bears, and Moose were as common as the leaves on the trees; but that, being provided with so marvelous a bow, they had nothing to fear, that [108] they would be very successful in the chase. Behold them returned to their Village, with every one around them rejoicing, and learning their different adventures.

*Forsan et hoc olim meminisse juvabit*, when these [page 155] poor people, enlightened by heaven, will laugh at their own stupidities, as we hope. [page 157]

## CHAPTER III.

### THAT THE HURONS RECOGNIZE SOME DIVINITY; OF THEIR SUPERSTITIONS, AND THEIR FAITH IN DREAMS.

S these poor Savages, being men, have not been able altogether to deny God, and, being given to vice, could have only conceptions of him unworthy of his greatness, and they have neither sought nor recognized him except on the surface of created things, in which they have hoped for happiness or dreaded some misfortune. They address themselves to the Earth, to Rivers, to Lakes, to dangerous Rocks, but above all, to the Sky; and believe that all these things are animate, [109] and that some powerful Demon resides there. They are not contented with making simple vows, they often accompany them with a sort of sacrifice. I have remarked two kinds of these. Some are to render them propitious and favorable; others to appease them, when they have received in their opinion some disgrace from them, or believe they have incurred their anger or indignation. Here are the ceremonies they employ in these sacrifices. They throw some Tobacco into the fire; and if it is, for example, to the Sky that they address themselves, they say, *Aronkiat onn aonstaniwas taitenr*, "O Sky, here is what I offer thee in sacrifice; have pity on me, assist me." If it is to implore health, *taenguiakens*, "Heal me. They have recourse to the Sky in almost all their [page 159] necessities, and respect the great bodies in it above all creatures, and remark in it in particular something divine. Indeed, it is, after man, the most vivid image we have of Divinity; there is nothing which represents him to us so clearly; we remark his omnipotence in all the prodigious effects they cause here below, his immensity in their vast extent, his wisdom in the order [110] of their movements, his goodness in the benign influences they shed continually over all creatures, and his beauty in the Sun and in the aspect of the Stars. I say this to show how easy it will be, with time and divine aid, to lead these Peoples to the knowledge of their Creator, since they already honor so especially a creature which is so perfect an image of him. And, furthermore, I may say it is really God whom they honor, though blindly, for they imagine in the Heavens an *Okî*, that is to say, a Demon or power which rules the seasons of the year, which holds in check the winds and the waves of the sea; which can render favorable the course of their voyages, and assist them in every time of need. They even fear his anger, and invoke him as a witness in order to render their faith inviolable, when they make some promise of importance, or agree to some bargain or treaty of peace with an enemy. Here are the terms they use, *Hakhrih ekaronhiat tout Icwakhier ekentat*, "The Sky knows what we are doing to-day;" and they think that if, after this, they [111] should violate their word or break their alliance, the

Sky would certainly chastise them. More than that, they do not think it right to mock the Sky. Here is a very remarkable proof of it: A very renowned Sorcerer of this Country threatens us this year with a great famine. The corn will [page 161] grow, he says, and will shoot into ear; the children will even cause the ears to be roasted when they are green; but a white frost will occur, which will destroy the hopes of the Country. Moreover he does not base his statements on those pretended apparitions of *Iouskeha*; here is what leads him to speak in this way. "The people," he says, "are crying every day to the Sky, *Aronhiat* *onne aonstaancwas*; and yet nothing is given to it. This irritates the Sky, it will not fail to take revenge; and, when the corn shall begin to mature, it will without doubt vent upon it the effects of its wrath."

They believe that the Sky is angry, when any one is drowned or dies of cold; a sacrifice is needed to appease it, but, good God! what a sacrifice, or rather what a butchery! The flesh of the dead man is the victim who is to be immolated. [112] A gathering of the neighboring villages takes place; many feasts are made, and no presents are spared, as it is a matter in which the whole Country is interested. The dead body is carried into the cemetery, and is stretched out on a mat. On one side is a ditch, and on the other a fire for a sacrifice. At the same time, some young men chosen by the relatives present themselves, and station themselves around the corpse, each with a knife in his hand; and the protector of the dead person having marked with a coal the parts which are to be cut, they vie with each other in cutting the body, tearing off the fleshiest parts. At last they open the body and draw out its entrails, which they throw into the fire with all the pieces of flesh they had cut off, and throw into the ditch the carcass quite stripped of flesh. I have observed that during this butchery the women walk around them several [page 163] times, and encourage the young men who cut up this body to render this good service to the whole Country, putting Porcelain beads into their mouths. Sometimes even the mother of the deceased, all bathed in tears, [113] joins the party and sings in a pitiful tone, lamenting the death of her son. That done, they firmly believe they have appeased the Sky. If they fail in this ceremony, they look upon all the disastrous changes of the weather, and all the untoward accidents which happen to them afterwards, as so many results of its anger.

Last year, at the beginning of November, a Savage was drowned when returning from fishing; he was interred on the seventeenth, without any ceremonies. On the same day snow fell in such abundance that it hid the earth all the winter; and our Savages did not fail to cast the blame on their not having cut up the dead person as usual. Such are the sacrifices they make to render Heaven favorable.

On the way by which the Hurons go to K<sup>ébec</sup>, there are some Rocks that they particularly reverence and to which they never fail, when they go down to trade, to offer Tobacco. They call one of them *Hihihouray*, meaning "a Rock where the Owl makes its nest." But the most celebrated is the one they call *Tsanhohi Arasta*, "the home of *Tsanhohi*," which is a [114] species of bird of prey. They tell marvels of this Rock. According to their story, it was formerly a man who was, I know not how, changed into stone. At all events, they distinguish still the head, the arms, and the body; but he must have been extraordinarily powerful, for this mass is so vast and so high that their arrows cannot reach it. Besides, they hold that in the hollow of this Rock there is a [page 165] Demon, who is capable of making their journey successful; that is why they stop as they pass, and offer it Tobacco, which they simply put into one of the clefts, addressing to it this prayer, *Oki ca ichikhon condayee aenwaen ondayee d'aonstaancwas*, etc., "Demon who dwellest in this place, here is some Tobacco which I present to thee; help us, guard us from shipwreck, defend us from our enemies, and cause that after having made good trades we may return safe and sound to our Village."<sup>15</sup> I could willingly say thereupon, *Voluntaria oris eorum beneplacita fac Domine*: My God, listen to them, and make yourself known to them, for they desire to address themselves to you.

They hold that fish are possessed of reason, [115] as also the Deer and Moose; and that is why they do not throw to the Dogs either the bones of the latter when they are hunting, or the refuse of the former when fishing; if they did, and the others should get wind of it, they would hide themselves, and not let themselves be taken. Every year they marry their nets or Seines to two little girls, who must be only from six to seven years of age, for fear they may have lost their virginity, which is a very rare quality among them. The ceremony of these espousals takes place at a fine feast, where the Seine is placed between the two virgins; this is to render them fortunate in catching fish. Still, I am very glad that virginity receives among them this kind of honor; it will help us some day to make them understand the value of it. Fish, they say, do not like the dead; and hence they abstain from going fishing when one of their friends is dead. But lately, when they took up from the cemetery the bodies of their relatives and carried them into their Cabins, on the [page 167] occasion of the feast of the dead, some brought into our Cabin their nets alleging as a pretext the fear they [116] had of fire, <sup>for</sup> it is usually in this season that fire often ruins entire Villages; that in our Cabin we were almost always moving about, and slept very little; that we were at some distance from the Village, and consequently were in less danger in that respect. But all this was talk; the true reason was, as we learned afterwards, that they were afraid their nets would be profaned by the proximity of these dead bodies. That is something, to be sure; but here is the foundation of the greater part of their superstitions.

They have a faith in dreams which surpasses all belief; and if Christians were to put into execution all their divine inspirations with as much care as our Savages carry out their dreams, no doubt they would very soon become great Saints. They look upon their dreams as ordinances and irrevocable decrees, the execution of which it is not permitted without crime to delay. A Savage of our Village dreamed this winter, in his first sleep, that he ought straightway to make a feast; and immediately, night as it was, he arose, and came [117] and awakened us to borrow one of our kettles.

The dream is the oracle that all these poor Peoples consult and listen to, the Prophet which predicts to them future events, the Cassandra which warns them of misfortunes that threaten them, the usual Physician in their sicknesses, the Esculapius and Galen of the whole Country, <sup>the</sup> the most absolute master they have. If a Captain speaks one way and a dream another, the Captain might shout his head off in vain, <sup>the</sup> the dream is first obeyed. It is their Mercury in [page 169] their journeys, their domestic Economy in their families. The dream often presides in their councils; traffic, fishing, and hunting are undertaken usually under its sanction, and almost as if only to satisfy it. They hold nothing so precious that they would not readily deprive themselves of it for the sake of a dream. If they have been successful in hunting, if they bring back their Canoes laden with fish, all this is at the discretion of a dream. A dream will take away from them sometimes their whole year's provisions. It prescribes their feasts, their dances, their songs, their games, <sup>in</sup> in a word, the dream does [118] everything and is in truth the principal God of the Hurons. Moreover, let no one think I make herein an amplification or exaggeration at pleasure; the experience of five years, during which I have been studying the manners and usages of our Savages, compels me to speak in this way.

It is true that all dreams are not held in such credit; regard is had to the persons, and there are some who dream in vain; for these no one will stir a step. Likewise if it is a poor person, his dreams are held in very little consideration. It must be a person in fairly good circumstances, and one whose dreams have been found several times true. And even those who have the gift of dreaming well do not all give heed to their dreams indifferently; they recognize some of them as false and some as true, <sup>the</sup> the latter, they say, being quite rare. Yet in practice they act in another way, and carry out some so badly put together, and made up of so many parts having so little



connection, that it would not be possible to say what are in their own judgment false, and what true; I fancy they [119] themselves would find considerable [page 171] difficulty in doing this; that is why, for fear of failing in this point, many carry out the greater part of them. If there be any obscurity in their dreams, or if the things they have dreamed are either impossible or difficult to recover, or are out of season, there are found Artemidores who interpret them, and who cut and slice them as seems good to them. When children are sick, the fathers or mothers dream for them; we saw an example of this in our Village this winter. One of our little Christians was very sick; his mother dreamed that to make him well he must have a hundred cakes of Tobacco, and four Beavers, with which she would make a feast; but, because the Tobacco was very rare, the hundred cakes were reduced to ten, and the Beavers which were out of season were changed to four large fish that passed for Beavers in the feast, and the tails of which were given to the principals as Beaver tails. But this little Angel, for all that, flew away to heaven, to the great grief of its parents, but with much consolation to us. These innocent souls have no doubt great power with [120] God to bring about the conversion of their fathers, and even to request very special graces for those who employ themselves in the salvation of these Peoples, and who have procured for them the good of which they see themselves in possession forever. But let us pass on; we are not yet at the end of their superstitions. [page 173]

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONCERNING FEASTS, DANCES; THE GAMES OF DISH AND CROSSE; WHAT THEY CALL *ONONHAROIA*.

O NOT undertake to mention in detail everything our Savages are accustomed to do in virtue of their dreams; I should be compelled to display on this paper too many absurdities. I shall content myself with saying that their dreams usually relate either to a feast, or to a song, or to a dance, or to a game, or, lastly, to a certain sort of mania that they in fact call *Ononharioia*, or turning the brain upside down." If therefore it happens that some one of some consideration falls sick, [121] the Captain goes to inquire so often, on behalf of the Old Men, what he has dreamed, that at last he draws from him what he desires for his health, and then they all put themselves to trouble to find it for him; if it does not exist, it must be found. From this mode of acting, and from the fact that they exercise hospitality among themselves gratuitously, taking nothing except from us, from whom they always expect something, I entertain the hope that they will one day become susceptible of Christian charity.

*The ononhara* is for the sake of mad persons, when some one says that they must go through the Cabins to tell what they have dreamed. Then, as soon as it is evening, a band of maniacs goes about among the Cabins and upsets everything; on the morrow they return, crying in a loud voice, "We have [page 175] dreamed," without saying what. Those of the Cabin guess what it is, and present it to the band, who refuse nothing until the right thing is guessed. You see them come out with Hatchets, Kettles, Porcelain, and like presents hung around their necks, after their fashion. When they have found what they sought, they thank him who has given it to them; and, after having received further [122] additions to this mysterious present, as some leather or a shoemaker's awl, if it were a shoe, they go away in a body to the woods, and there, outside the Village, cast out, they say, their madness; and the sick man begins to get better. Why not? He has what he was seeking for, or what the Devil pretended.

As regards feasts, it is an endless subject; the Devil keeps them so strongly attached thereto that they could not possibly be more so, he knowing well that it is a means of rendering them still more brutal, and less capable of supernatural truths. They ascribe their origin to a certain meeting of Wolves and of the Owl, in which that nocturnal creature predicted for them the coming of *Ontarraoura*, a beast allied to the Lion, by its tail. This *Ontarraoura* resuscitated, they say, I know not what good Hunter, a firm friend of the Wolves, in the midst of a great feast. From this they conclude that feasts must be capable of healing the sick, since they even restore life to the dead. Is it not well reasoned for people who are slaves of the belly and of the table?

All their feasts may be reduced [123] to four kinds. *Athataion* is the feast of farewells. *Enditeuhwa*, of thanksgiving and gratitude. *Atouront aochien* is a feast for singing as well as for eating. *Awataerohi* [page 177] is the fourth kind, and is made for deliverance from a sickness thus named.

The ceremonies here are almost like those of the Montagnais; on this account, I refer for the most part to the Relations of preceding years.

I blush to say that they engage in them often whole days and whole nights, for they must, at the last, empty the kettle. And if you cannot, in one day, swallow all that has been provided for you, if you cannot find any one who will help you in consideration of a present, when the others have done their utmost you will be left there in a little enclosure, where no one but yourself will enter for twenty-four whole hours. It is a matter of importance, this feasting, they cry, driving away those who present themselves when the game of teeth has begun, and when the distributor has filled for each his bowl, in which usually there is enough to keep one eating from morning until night. And, whoever soonest accomplishes this, it is for him to be served [124] again and again, until the kettle be empty. Is it not true, on hearing all this, and several other traits of gluttony, which I omit out of respect for good taste, to say that *si Regnum Dei non est esca et potus*, verily the Kingdom of God is not in eating and drinking; such is indeed the one which the Devil has usurped over these poor blind beings. May it please our Lord to have pity on them, and to deliver them from this tyranny.

But the most magnificent of these feasts are those they call *Atouronta ochien*, that is, singing feasts. These feasts will often last twenty-four entire hours; sometimes there are thirty or forty kettles, and as many as thirty Deer will be eaten. This last winter one was made in the village of *Andiata*, of twenty-five kettles, [page 179] in which there were fifty great fish, larger than our largest Pike in France, and one hundred and twenty others of the size of our Salmon. Another took place at *Contarrea*, of thirty kettles, in which there were twenty Deer and four Bears. Also there is usually a large company, for eight or nine villages will often be [125] invited, and even the whole Country. In this case the master of the feast sends to each captain as many sticks as the number of persons he invites from each Village.

Sometimes they make these Feasts purely from display, and to become renowned; at other times, when they take a new name, principally when they raise from the dead, as they say, the name of some deceased Captain who has been held in esteem in the Country for his valor and his skill in the management of affairs, but above all when they are inclined to take arms and go to war. The largest Cabin of the Village is set aside for the reception of the company. They do not hesitate to inconvenience themselves for each other on these occasions. The matter is esteemed of such importance that, when a Village is built, they purposely put up one Cabin much larger than the others, sometimes making it as much as twenty-five or thirty brasses in length.

When the company is assembled, they sometimes begin to sing before [126] eating; sometimes, to have more courage, they eat first. If the feast is to last, as is often the case, the whole day, one portion of the kettles is emptied in the morning and the other is reserved for the evening.

During these songs and dances, some take occasion to knock down, as if in sport, their enemies. Their most usual cries are *hen, hen*, or *h* ♦♦♦♦♦, or else [page 181] *wiiiii*. They ascribe the origin of all these mysteries to a certain Giant of more than human size, whom one of their tribe wounded in the forehead when they dwelt on the shore of the sea, for not having given the complimentary answer, *Kwai*, which is the usual response to a salute. The monster cast among them the apple of discord, in punishment for his wound; and after having recommended to them war feasts, *Ononharoia*, and this refrain *wiiiii*, he buried himself in the earth, and disappeared. Might this indeed have been some infernal spirit?

Since I am speaking on this subject, I will say that they recognize a sort of war God; they imagine him as a little Dwarf. By what they say, he appears to many when they are on the [127] point of going to war. He caresses some, and that is a sign, they say, that they will return victorious; others he strikes upon the forehead, and these can truly say that they will not go to war without losing their lives.

Let us return to the feasts. The *Aoutaero*hi is a remedy which is only for one particular kind of disease, which they call also *Aoutaero*hi, from the name of a little Demon as large as the fist, which they say is in the body of the sick man, especially in the part which pains him. They find out that they are sick of this disease, by means of a dream, or by the intervention of some Sorcerer. Having one day gone to visit a woman who thought herself sick of *Aoutaero*hi, when I assigned another cause for her sickness, and laughed at her *Aoutaero*hi, she began to say, apostrophizing this Demon, *Aoutaero*hi *hechr*io *Kihen*kho*n*. *Aoutaero*hi, "Ah, I pray thee that this one may know who thou art, and that thou wilt make him feel the ills that thou makest me suffer." [page 183]

Now, to drive away this Demon, they make feasts that they accompany with songs which very few indeed can [128] sing. There is, indeed, much to bewail at the foot of the Altars. But alas! this is not yet all. Besides what I have just mentioned, I might speak of as many different sorts of feasts as there are extravagances in their dreams, for, as I have said, it is usually dreams that ordain feasts, and fix even to the smallest details the ceremonies that must be observed there. Hence come those feasts where they disgorge, which cause horror to most of them; and yet whoever is invited must resign himself, and resolve to skin the fox, otherwise the feast will be spoiled. Sometimes the sick man will dream that the guests must enter by a certain door of the Cabin, and not by the other, or that they must pass only on one side of the kettle, else he will not be healed. Can anything be more ridiculous?

There are as many as twelve kinds of dances that are so many sovereign remedies for sickness; now to know whether this or that is the proper remedy for such and such a disease, only a dream [129] or else the *Arendiowane*, or Sorcerer, can determine.

Of three kinds of games especially in use among these Peoples, ♦namely, the games of crosse, dish, and straw, ♦the first two are, they say, most healing. Is not this worthy of compassion? There is a poor sick man, fevered of body and almost dying, and a miserable Sorcerer will order for him, as a cooling remedy, a game of crosse. Or the sick man himself, sometimes, will have dreamed that he must die unless the whole country shall play crosse for his health; and, no matter how little may be his credit, you will see then in a beautiful field, Village [page 185] contending against Village, as to who will play crosse the better, and betting against one another Beaver robes and Porcelain collars, so as to excite greater interest.

Sometimes, also, one of these jugglers will say that the whole Country is sick, and he asks a game of crosse to heal it; no more needs to be said, it is published immediately everywhere; and all the Captains of each Village give orders that all the young men do their duty in this respect, otherwise some great [130] misfortune would befall the whole Country.

The game of dish is also in great renown in affairs of medicine, especially if the sick man has dreamed of it. This game is purely one of chance: they play it with six plum-stones, white on one side and black on the other, in a dish that they strike very roughly against the ground, so that the plum-stones leap up and fall, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. The game consists in throwing all white or all black; they usually play Village against Village. All the people gather in a Cabin, and they dispose themselves on poles, arranged as high as the roof, along both sides. The sick man is brought in in a blanket, and that man of the Village who is to shake the dish (for there is only one on each side set apart for the purpose), he, I say, walks behind, his head and face wrapped in his garment. They bet heavily on both sides. When the man of the opposite party takes the dish they cry at the top of their voice *achinc*, *achinc*, *achinc*, "three, three, three," or perhaps *ioio*, *ioio*, *ioio*, wishing him to throw only three white or three black. You might have seen this winter a great crowd returning from here to their Villages, having lost their moccasins [131] at a time [page 187] when there was nearly three feet of snow, ♦apparently as cheerful, nevertheless, as if they had won. The most remarkable thing I notice in regard to this matter is the disposition they bring to it. There are some who fast several days before playing: the evening before, they all meet together in a Cabin, and make a feast to find out what will be the result of the game. The one chosen to hold the dish takes the stones, and puts them promiscuously into a dish, and covers it, so as to prevent any one from putting his hand into it. That done, they sing; the song over, the dish is uncovered, and the plum-stones are found all white or all black. On this point, I asked a Savage if those against whom they were to play did not do the same on their side, and if they might not find the plum-stones in the same condition. He said they did; "And yet," said I to him, "all can not win;" to that he knew not what to answer. He informed me besides of two remarkable things: in the first place, that they choose, to handle the dish, some one who had dreamed that he would win, or who had a charm; moreover, those who have a charm do not conceal it, and [132] carry it everywhere with them: we have, they tell me, one of these in our Village, who rubs the plum-stones with a certain ointment and hardly ever fails to win. Secondly, that in making the attempt some of the plum-stones disappear, and are found some time after in the dish with the others.

Among all these fooleries, I dare not speak of the infamies and uncleanness which the Devil makes to slip into them, causing them to see in a dream that they can only be healed by wallowing in all sorts of filth. May he who has saved us by the blood of the [page 189] Lamb grant to remedy this as soon as possible, accepting for this purpose, if need be, our souls and lives, that we most willingly offer to him for the salvation of these Peoples, and the remission of our own sins. [page 191]

## CHAPTER V.

### WHETHER THERE ARE SORCERERS AMONG THE HURONS.

ERE ARE some conjectures, let the wiser ones judge of them. In the first place, these People are not so foolish as not to seek and to

acknowledge something [133] above the senses; and, since their lewdness and licentiousness hinder them from finding God, it is very easy for the Devil to thrust himself in and to offer them his services in their pressing necessities, causing them to pay him a homage that is not due him, and having intercourse with certain more subtle minds, who extend his influence among these poor people.

2. You see nothing more common here than charms; children inherit them from their fathers, if they have been proved good; and they do not make any secret of them, as I have just said. We have a Savage in our Village, surnamed the *Fisher*, on account of his good fortune in fishing; this man attributes all his success to the ashes of a certain little bird that is called *Ohguione*, which, according to his statement, penetrates the trunks of trees without resistance. When he goes fishing, he mixes his ashes with a little water, and, having rubbed his nets with them, he feels confident that the fish will enter them in abundance; in fact, he has acquired fame from this.

3. There are among these People men who presume to command the rain and winds; others, to [page 193] predict future events; others, to find things that are [134] lost; and, lastly, others to restore health to the sick, and that with remedies that have no relation to the sicknesses. That they have these gifts from God, nobody in my opinion will dare to say; that all they do is deception or imagination, hardly accords with the reputation they have acquired, and the length of time they have followed this profession. How is it that, their tricks have not been discovered during so many years, and their business has acquired so much reputation, and been always so well rewarded, -if they have never succeeded except by sheer imagination? No one dares to contradict them. They are continually at feasts, which take place at their command. There is, therefore, some foundation for the belief that the Devil occasionally gives them assistance, and reveals himself to them for some temporal profit, and for their eternal damnation. Let us see some examples of it. *Onditachia* is renowned among the Tobacco Nation, like a Jupiter among the Heathens of former times, from having in hand the rains, the winds, and the thunder. This thunder is, by his account, a man like a Turkey-cock; the Sky is his Palace, and he retires there when it is serene; he comes down to earth to get his Supply [135] of adders and serpents, and of all they call *Oki*, when the clouds are rumbling; the lightnings occur in proportion as he extends or folds his wings.<sup>3</sup> If the uproar is a little louder, it is his little ones who accompany him, and help him to make a noise as best they can. Raising the objection to him who told me the tale, "whence, then, came dryness?" he replied that it came from the caterpillars, over whom *Ondiaachia* had no power. And asking him " why the lightning struck [page 195] trees?" "It is there," said he, "that it lays in its supply." "Why does it burn Cabins, why does it kill men?" *Chieske*? "How do I know?" he said. That is their refrain when they are driven to the wall. As regards predicting the future which is not remote, nor hard to know for that reason, I have been assured by Louys de sainte Foy that, when they were going to war, one of their jugglers, as he came forth from the Sweat-box, predicted a meeting with the Iroquois at a certain spot. There is indeed much probability that the Devil was sentinel for him. I could say this of others who, in truth, have been found false, and about whom a good old man entertained me some time ago. *Ah*, said he, *there is a greater master* [136] *than he*. He spoke of a certain false Prophet who had been deceived in his calculation. Was it not well said for a Savage? and is there not something in this to inspire some hope in regard to what we are seeking here?

The most famous among these Sorcerers or Deceivers are the *Arendiwane*, who make it their business to tell a sick man the extent and nature of his sickness, after a feast or a Sweat, and leave him there. True, they prescribe for one a dog feast; for another, that a game of crosse or dish should be played; for another, sleep on such and such a skin, and other stupid and diabolical extravagances; another still, an emetic, to make the charm, if there be any, come forth, as I myself saw, when at la Rochelle, a poor woman who threw up a coal as large as one's thumb, after some doses of water; and a Savage assured me that he had seen sand coming forth from all parts of the body of another, who had hectic fever, after his *Arendiwane* had shaken him as one would shake a sieve. [page 197] Formerly these offices of *Arendiwane* were more valued than they are at present; they have them now at many of the feasts. Time was when it was necessary to fast thirty entire days, in a Cabin apart, [137] without any one approaching it except a servant, who, in order to be worthy of carrying wood there, prepared himself for it by fasting. The honors and emoluments are always great. These poor people, having nothing dearer than this life, knowing nothing of a better, will give their all for the recovery of their health, and to any one who pretends to help them. They sometimes close our mouths when we wish to undeceive them about this charlatanry, saying, "Do you cure us, then." If some wise and upright Physician would come here, he would perform noble cures for their souls, in relieving their bodies; and I am certain God would take pleasure in saying to him some day, as to Abraham, *Ego ero merces tua magna nimis*. The miracles of nature are great aids to those of grace, when it pleases the Author of both to employ them.

I pass by many other remarks on this subject, to relate a part of what has astounded this country for a whole month. A Savage named *Ihongwaha* dreamed one night that he could become *Arendiwane*, that is, a master Sorcerer, provided he could fast thirty days without eating. [138] On the morrow, when he awoke, he considered this accomplishment so honorable and so advantageous that he resolved to keep this fast very strictly. In the meantime, he was invited to a feast of *Aoutaerohi*. There are few who can sing to the satisfaction of this Demon; this one is one of the Masters. He allowed himself, at last, to be so carried away, and ate so heartily and sang [page 199] with so much vehemence that he left the feast with his brain in a sling. See him then with the turtle, or more correctly, with the fool's cap in his hand, in the most trying season of winter, naked as when he was born, running about in the snow, and singing night and day. Next day-it was the twenty-eighth of January-he went to the village of *Wenrio*, where they made three or four feasts for his health; and he returned thence, as mad as when he went away. Some Savages said we were the cause of this; but the wiser ones remarked that he had mocked when, in explaining the Commandments of God, I had condemned the *Aoutaerohi*; and they attributed his madness to divine punishment.

On the night of the thirty-first, he dreamed that he must have a Canoe, eight Beavers, two Rays, six score Gull's eggs, a Turtle, and [139] a man who would adopt him as his son; just think, what a fancy! and yet they must make for him a cataplasm of all that, to heal his brain. Indeed, he had no sooner recited his dream than the old people of the village met to talk it over. They set about finding what he had asked with as much care and eagerness as if it had been a question of preserving the whole Country; the Captain's father adopted him as his son, and everything he had dreamed was given up to him, the same day; as for the Gull's eggs, they were changed into as many small loaves, which kept busy all the women of the village. The feast took place in the evening, and all without effect. The Devil had not everything yet.

On the first of February, there was another feast; I would have liked several Christians to be present at this sight; I doubt not they would have been [page 201] ashamed of themselves, seeing how like these Peoples they act in their carnival follies; these dress and disguise themselves, not in truth so richly, but almost as ridiculously as they do elsewhere.

You would have seen some with a sack [140] on the head, pierced only for the eyes; others were stuffed with straw around the middle, to imitate a pregnant woman. Several were naked as the hand, with bodies whitened, and faces as black as Devils, and feathers or horns on their heads; others were smeared with red, black, and white; in short each adorned himself as extravagantly as he could, to



dance this Ballet, and contribute something to the health of the sick man. But I would not forget one notable circumstance. The reports of war were serious, they were in continual alarms, they expected the Enemy every hour; all the youth had been invited to go to the village of *Angwiens*, to work at a palisade of stakes, that was only half-made. The Captain had to cry in vain, as loudly as he could, *enonou eienti ecwarhakhion*, "Young men, come." No one stirred, preferring to listen to this fool, and to carry out all his wishes. This medicine accomplished no more than the preceding.

After having fasted eighteen days without tasting anything, it was said, except tobacco, he came to see me; I gave him seven or eight raisins; he thanked me and told me he would eat [141] one every day, that was in order not to break his fast. On the fourteenth of February, making the round of Cabins as usual, he found the people preparing a feast; "I shall prepare a feast," said he then, "I wish this to be my feast;" and immediately he took his snowshoes and himself went around to invite the people [page 203] of the neighboring Villages. But it seems probable that he was no sooner in the country than he forgot his errand; for he only returned almost forty-eight hours later, and made, where he was, seven or eight feasts for one. It is said there happened to him on this journey three memorable things. The first, that he was not buried in the snow, though it was three feet deep. The second, that he threw himself from the top of a large rock, without being hurt. The third, that when he came back he was not at all wet, and his shoes were as dry as if he had not set foot outside the Cabin. The one who told us this added that no one need be astonished, that a Devil had guided him. At the end of his sickness, he begged me to go to see him; I found him, to all appearances, perfectly right in his mind. He told me the progress and cause of his malady, [142] which he attributed to the breaking of his fast; and he told me he had resolved to go on to the end, that is, during the term prescribed by his dream. Another day, he visited us, and told us that it was in earnest he had become *oki*, that is to say, Demon. This was to rise above the title of Sorcerer, to which alone he aspired; still he was not free from his madness, he must yet dream, once for all, to free himself from it. He dreamed, therefore, that there was only one certain kind of dance which would make him quite well. They call it *akhrendoiaen*, inasmuch as those who take part in this dance give poison to one another. It had never been practiced among this Nation of the Bear. The season was very disagreeable, the company very large, and it could only create a great deal of disorder in a little Village; all these considerations did not stop them. So, behold, couriers are [page 205] sent immediately in all directions; a fortnight passes in assembling the company, which is composed of about eighty persons, including six women; they set off without delay. Here I must remark that they think fasting renders their vision wonderfully piercing, [143] and gives them eyes capable of seeing things absent and far removed. Is not this to overthrow the belief of all that School, who, if I am not mistaken, hold that nothing so much weakens the sight as excessive fasting? However that may be, there is considerable ground for the belief that our madman had not yet fasted enough, for his sight deceived him very thoroughly, and did not help increase his reputation as a Prophet. The troop had not set out when he declared it was two leagues from the Village.

Now having arrived within musket-range,. they stopped and began to sing; those of the Village replied. From the evening of their arrival, they danced, in order to get an understanding of the disease; the sick man was in the middle of the Cabin, on a mat. The dance being ended, because he had fallen over backward and vomited, they declared him to belong entirely to the Brotherhood of lunatics; and came to the remedy therefor which is usual in this disease, and which would be sufficient to make them pass for fools, even if they were the wisest men in the world. It is the dance they call *Otakrendoiae*; the Brethren they call *Atirenda*. I would describe the details of it, were I not afraid of being too long. I will do so another time, if I learn [144] that there is any desire to know them. Let it suffice for the present to say, in general, that never did frenzied Bacchantes of bygone times do anything more [page 207] furious in their orgies. It is a question of killing one another here, they say, by charms which they throw at each other, and which are composed of Bears' claws, Wolves' teeth, Eagles' talons, certain stones, and Dogs' sinews. Having fallen under the charm and been wounded, blood pours from the mouth and nostrils, or it is simulated by a red powder they take by stealth; and there are ten thousand other absurdities, that I willingly pass over. The greatest evil is, that these wretches, under pretext of charity, often avenge their injuries, and purposely give poison to their patients, instead of medicine. What is very remarkable is their experience in healing ruptures, wherein many others in these regions are also skillful. The most extraordinary superstition is that their drugs and ointments take pleasure, so to speak, in silence and darkness. If they are recognized, or if their secret is discovered, success is not to be expected. The origin of all this folly comes from one named *Oatarra*, or from a little idol in the form of a doll, which he asked, [145] for the sake of being cured, from a dozen Sorcerers who had come to see him; having put it into his Tobacco pouch, it began to stir therein, and ordered the banquets and other ceremonies of the dance, according to what they say. Certainly you have here many silly things, and I am much afraid there may be something darker and more occult in them. [page 209]

## CHAPTER VI.

### OF THE POLITY OF THE HURONS, AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

O NOT CLAIM here to put our Savages on a level with the Chinese, Japanese, and other Nations perfectly civilized; but only to put them above the condition of beasts, to which the opinion of some has reduced them, to give them rank among men, and to show that even among them' there is some sort of Political, and Civil life. It is, in my opinion, a great deal to say that they live assembled in Villages, with sometimes as many as fifty, sixty, and one hundred Cabins, that is, three hundred and [146] four hundred households; that they cultivate the fields, from which they obtain sufficient for their support during the year; and that they maintain peace and friendship with one another. I certainly believe that there is not, perhaps, under heaven a Nation more praiseworthy in this respect than the Nation of the Bear. Leaving out some evil-minded persons, such as one meets almost everywhere, they have a gentleness and affability almost incredible for Savages. They are not easily annoyed, and, moreover, if they have received wrong from any one they often conceal the resentment they feel, at least, one finds here very few who make a public display of anger and vengeance. They maintain themselves in this perfect harmony by frequent visits, by help they give one another in sickness, by feasts and by [page 211] alliances. When they are not busy with their fields, hunting, fishing, or trading, they are less in their own Houses than in those of their friends; if they fall sick, or desire anything for their health, there is a rivalry as to who will show himself most obliging. If they have something better than usual, as I have already said, they [147] make a feast for their friends, and hardly ever eat it alone. In their marriages there is this remarkable custom, they never marry any one related in any degree whatever, either direct or collateral; but always make new alliances, which is not a little helpful in maintaining friendship. Moreover, by this so common habit of frequent visitation, as they are for the most part fairly intelligent, they arouse and influence one another wonderfully; so that there are almost none of them incapable of conversing or reasoning very well, and in good terms, on matters within their knowledge. The councils, too, held almost every day in the Villages, and on almost all matters, improve their capacity for talking; and, although it is the old men who have control there, and upon whose judgment depend the decisions made, yet every one who wishes may be present, and has the right to express his opinion. Let it be added, also, that the propriety, the courtesy, and the civility which are, as it were, the flower and charm of ordinary human conversation, are to some extent observed among these Peoples; they [148] call a polite person *Aiendawasti*.

To be sure, you do not observe among them any of those hand-kissings, compliments, and those vain offers of service which do not pass beyond the lips; but, nevertheless, they render certain duties to one another, and preserve, through a sense of propriety, certain customs in their **[page 213]** visits, dances, and feasts, in which if any one failed, he would certainly be criticized on the spot; and, if he often made such blunders, he would soon become a byword in the village, and would lose all his influence. When they meet, the only salutation they give is to call the other by name, or say, " my friend, my comrade," " my uncle," if it is an old man. If a Savage finds himself in your Cabin when you are eating, and if you present to him your dish, having scarcely touched anything, he will content himself with tasting it, and will hand it back to you. But, if you give him a dish for himself, he will not put his hand to it until he has shared it with his companions; and they content themselves usually with taking a spoonful of it. These are little things, of course; but they show nevertheless that these Peoples [149] are not quite so rude and unpolished as one might suppose. Besides, if laws are like the governing wheel regulating Communities, or to be more exact, are the soul of Commonwealths, it seems to me that, in view of the perfect understanding that reigns among them, I am right in maintaining that they are not without laws. They punish murderers, thieves, traitors, and Sorcerers; and, in regard to murderers, although they do not preserve the severity of their ancestors towards them, nevertheless the little disorder there is among them in this respect makes me conclude that their procedure is scarcely less efficacious than is the punishment of death elsewhere; for the relatives of the deceased pursue not only him who has committed the murder, but address themselves to the whole Village, which must give satisfaction for it, and furnish, as soon as possible, for this purpose as many as sixty presents, **[page 215]** the least of which must be of the value of a new Beaver robe. The Captain presents them in person, and makes a long harangue at each present that he offers, so that entire days sometimes pass in this ceremony. [150] There are two sorts of presents; some, like the first nine, which they call *andaonhaan*, are put into the hands of the relatives to make peace, and to take away from their hearts all bitterness and desire for vengeance that they might have against the person of the murderer. The others are put on a pole, which is raised above the head of the murderer, and are called *Andaerraehaan*, that is to say, " what is hung upon a pole." Now each of these presents has its particular name. Here are those of the first nine, which are the most important, and sometimes each one of them consists of a thousand Porcelain beads. The Captain, speaking, and raising his voice at the name of the guilty person, and holding in his hand the first present as if the hatchet were still in the death wound, *condayee onsa hachoutawas*, " There," says he, " is something by which he withdraws the hatchet from the wound, and makes it fall from the hands of him who would wish to avenge this injury. " At the second present, *condayee oscotaweanon*, " There is something with which he wipes away the blood from the wound in the head." By these two presents he signifies his regret for having killed him, and that he would be quite ready to restore him to life, if it were possible. [151] Yet, as if the blow had rebounded on their Native Land, and as if it had received the greater wounds, he adds the third present, saying, *condayee onsa hondedehari*, " This is to restore the Country;" *condayee onsa hondwaronti*, *etotnhwentsiai*, " This is to put a stone upon the opening **[page 217]** and the division of the ground that was made by this murder." Metaphor is largely in use among these Peoples; unless you accustom yourself to it, you will understand nothing in their councils, where they speak almost entirely in metaphors. They claim by this present to reunite all hearts and wills, and even entire Villages, which have become estranged. For it is not here as it is in France and elsewhere, where the public and a whole city do not generally espouse the quarrel of an individual. Here you cannot insult any one of them without the whole Country resenting it, and taking up the quarrel against you, and even against an entire Village. Hence arise wars; and it is a more than sufficient reason for taking arms against some Village if it refuse to make satisfaction by the presents ordained [152] for him who may have killed one of your friends. The fifth is made to smooth the roads and to clear away the brushwood; *condayee onsa hannonkiaai*, that is to say, in order that one may go henceforth in perfect security over the roads, and from Village to Village. The four others are addressed immediately to the relatives, to console them in their affliction and to wipe away their tears, *condayee onsa hoheronti*, " Behold," says he, " here is something for him to smoke," speaking of his father or his mother, or of the one who would avenge his death. They believe that there is nothing so suitable as Tobacco to appease the passions; that is why they never attend a council without a pipe or calumet in their mouths. The smoke, they say, gives them intelligence, and enables them to see clearly through the most intricate matters. Also, following this present, they make another to restore completely the mind of the offended **[page 219]** person, *condayee onsa hondionroenkhra*. The eighth is to give a drink to the mother of the deceased, and to heal her as being seriously sick on account of the death of her son, *condayee onsa aweannoncwa* [153] *d'ocweton*. Finally, the ninth is, as it were, to place and stretch a mat for her, on which she may rest herself and sleep during the time of her mourning, *condayee onsa hohiendaen*. These are the principal presents, the others are, as it were, an increase of consolation, and represent all the things that the dead man would use during life. One will be called his robe, another his belt, another his Canoe, another his paddle, his net, his bow, his arrows, and so on. After this, the relatives of the deceased regard themselves as perfectly satisfied. Formerly, the parties did not come to terms so easily, and at so little expense; for, besides that the public paid all these presents, the guilty person was obliged to endure an indignity and punishment that some will perhaps consider almost as insupportable as death itself. The dead body was stretched upon a scaffold, and the murderer was compelled to remain lying under it and to receive upon himself all the putrid matter which exuded from the corpse; they put beside him a dish of food, which was soon filled with the filth and corrupt blood which little by little fell into it; and merely to get the dish [154] pushed back ever so little would cost him a present of seven hundred Porcelain beads, which they called *hassaendista*; as for the murderer, he remained in this position as long as the relatives of the deceased pleased, and, even after that, to escape it he had to make a rich present called *akhiataendista*. If, however, the relatives of the dead man avenged themselves for this injury by the death of him who **[page 221]** gave the blow, all the punishment fell on them; it was their part also to make presents to those even who were the first murderers, without the latter being obliged to give any satisfaction, to show how detestable they regard vengeance; since the blackest crimes, such as murder, appear as nothing in comparison with it, as it does away with them and attracts to itself all the punishment that they merit. So much for murder. Bloody wounds, also, are healed only by means of these presents, such as belts or hatchets, according as the wound is more or less serious.

They also punish Sorcerers severely, that is, those who use poisoning, and cause death by charms; [155] and this punishment is authorized by the consent of the whole Country, so that whoever takes them in the act has full right to cleave their skulls and rid the world of them, without fear of being called to account, or obliged to give any satisfaction for it.

As to thieves, although the Country is full of them, they are not, however, tolerated. If you find any one possessed of anything that belongs to you, you can in good conscience play the despoiled King and take what is yours, and besides leave him as naked as your hand. If he is fishing, you can take from him his Canoe, his nets, his fish, his robe, all he has; it is true that on such an occasion the strongest gains the day, still, such is the custom of the Country, and it certainly holds some to their duty.

Besides having some kind of Laws maintained among themselves, there is also a certain order established as regards foreign Nations. And first, concerning commerce; several families have their own **[page 223]** private trades, and he is considered Master of one line of trade who was the first to discover it. The children [156] share the rights of their parents in this respect, as do those who bear the same name; no one goes into it without permission, which is given only in consideration of presents; he associates with him as many or as few as he wishes. If he has a good supply of merchandise, it is to his advantage to divide it with few companions, for thus he secures

all that he desires, in the Country; it is in this that most of their riches consist. But if any one should be bold enough to engage in a trade without permission from him who is Master, he may do a good business in secret and concealment; but, if he is surprised by the way, he will not be better treated than a thief, ♦ he will only carry back his body to his house, or else he must be well accompanied. If he returns with his baggage safe, there will be some complaint about it, but no further prosecution.

Even in wars, where confusion often reigns, they do not fail to keep some order. They never undertake them without reason; and the commonest reason for their taking arms is when some Nation refuses to give satisfaction for the death of some one, and to [157] furnish the presents required by the agreements made between them; they take this refusal as an act of hostility, and the whole country espouses the quarrel; in particular, the relatives of the dead man consider themselves obliged in honor to resent it, and raise a force to attack them. I am not speaking of the leadership they- display in their wars, and of their military discipline; that comes better from Monsieur de Champlain, who is personally acquainted with it, having held command among them. Moreover, [page 225] he has spoken of it fully and very pertinently, as of everything which concerns the manners of these barbarous Nations. I will only say that, if God gives them the grace to embrace the Faith, I shall find certain matters in some of their procedures to reform; for, in the first place, there are some who raise a band of resolute young braves for the purpose, it seems, of avenging a private quarrel and the death of a friend, rather than for the honor and preservation of the Fatherland, ♦ and then, when they seize some of their enemies, they treat them with all the cruelty they can devise. Five or six days will sometimes pass in assuaging their wrath, and in burning them at a slow [158] fire; and they are not satisfied with seeing their skins entirely roasted, ♦ they open the legs, the thighs, the arms, and the most fleshy parts, and thrust therein glowing brands, or red-hot hatchets. Sometimes in the midst of these torments they compel them to sing; and those who have the courage do it, and hurl forth a thousand imprecations against those who torment them; on the day of their death they must even outdo this, if they have strength; and sometimes the kettle in which they are to be boiled will be on the fire, while these poor wretches are still singing as loudly as they can. This inhumanity is altogether intolerable; and so many do not go willingly to these baleful feasts. After having at last brained a victim, if he was a brave man, they tear out his heart, roast it on the coals, and distribute it in pieces to the young men; they think that this renders them courageous. Others make an incision in the upper part of their necks and cause some of his blood to run into it, ♦ which has, they say, this virtue, that since they have mingled [page 227] his blood with their own they can never be surprised by the enemy, and have always knowledge of their approach, however secret [159] it may be. They put him in the kettle piece by piece; and although at other feasts the head, ♦ whether of a Bear, or a Dog, or a Deer, or a large fish, ♦ is the Captain's share, in this case the head is given to the lowest person in the company; indeed some taste of this part, or of all the rest of the body, only with great horror. There are some who eat it with pleasure; I have seen Savages in our Cabin speak with gusto of the flesh of an Iroquois, and praise its good qualities in the same terms as they would praise the flesh of a Deer or a Moose. This is certainly very cruel; but we hope, with the assistance of Heaven, that the knowledge of the true God will entirely banish from this Country such barbarity. Moreover, for the security of the Country, they surround the principal Villages with a strong palisade of stakes, in order to sustain a siege. They maintain pensioners in the neutral Nations, and even among their enemies, by means of whom they are secretly warned of all their plots; they are, indeed, so well advised and so circumspect on this point that, if there be some People with whom they [160] have not entirely broken, they give them, in truth, the liberty of going and coming in the Country, ♦ but, nevertheless, for greater assurance, they assign to them special Cabins, to which they must retire; if they found them elsewhere, they would do them grievous harm.

As regards the authority of commanding, here is what I have observed. All the affairs of the Huron are included under two heads: The first are, as it were, affairs of State, ♦ whatever may concern either citizens [page 229] or Strangers, the public or the individuals of the Village; as, for example, feasts, dances, games, Crosse matches, and funeral ceremonies. The second are affairs of war. Now there are as many sorts of Captains as of affairs. In the large Villages there will be sometimes several Captains, both of administration and of war, who divide among them the families of the Village as into so many Captaincies. Occasionally, too, there are even Captains to whom these matters of government are referred on account of their intellectual superiority, popularity, wealth, or other qualities which render them influential in the Country. There are none who, by virtue of their election, are of higher rank [161] than others. Those hold the first rank who have acquired it by intellectual preeminence, eloquence, free expenditure, courage, and wise conduct. Consequently, the affairs of the Village are referred principally to that one of the Chiefs who has these qualifications; and the same is true with regard to the affairs of the whole Country, in which the men of greatest ability are the leading Captains, and usually there is one only who bears the burden of all; it is in his name Treaties of Peace are made with foreign Peoples; the Country even bears his name, ♦ and now, for example, when one speaks of *Anenkhiondic* in the Councils of Foreigners, the Nation of the Bear is meant. Formerly only worthy men were Captains, and so they were called *Enondecha*, the same name by which they call the Country, Nation, district, ♦ as if a good Chief and the Country were one and the same thing. But today they do not pay so much attention to the selection of their Captains; and so they no longer give them that name, although they still call them *atiwarontas*, [page 231] *atiwanens*, *ondakhienhai*, "big stones, the elders, the stay-at-homes." However, those still hold, as I have said, the first rank as well in [162] the special affairs of the Villages as of the whole Country, who are most highly esteemed and intellectually preeminent. Their relatives are like so many Lieutenants and Councilors.

They reach this degree of honor, partly through succession, partly through election; their children do not usually succeed them, but properly their nephews and grandsons. And the latter do not even come to the succession of these petty Royalties, like the Dauphins of France, or children to the inheritance of their fathers; but only in so far as they have suitable qualifications, and accept the position, and are accepted by the whole Country. Some are found who refuse these honors, ♦ sometimes because they have not aptitude in speaking, or sufficient discretion or patience, sometimes because they like a quiet life; for these positions are servitudes more than anything else. A Captain must always make it a point to be, as it were, in the field; if a Council is held five or six leagues away for the affairs of the Country, Winter or Summer, whatever the weather, he must go. If there is an Assembly in the Village, it is in the Captain's Cabin; if there is anything to be made public, he must do it; and then the small authority he usually has over his subjects is not [163] a powerful attraction to make him accept this position. These Captains do not govern their subjects by means of command and absolute power; they have no force at hand to compel them to their duty. Their government is only civil; they represent only what is to be done for the good of the village, or of the whole [page 233] Country. That settled, he who will takes action. There are, however, some who know well how to secure obedience, especially when they have the affection of their subjects. Some, too, are kept back from these positions by the memory of their ancestors who have badly served their Country. But, if they are received therein, it is by dint of presents which the Old Men accept in their Assembly and put into the Public coffers. Every year, about Spring, these resurrections of Captains take place, if some special cases do not delay or hasten the matter. I should like here to ask those who have a low opinion of our Savages, what they think of this method of conducting affairs.

But, in proof of what I have just said of the intelligence of our Captains, I must conclude this Chapter with a speech, made to me, this Spring, by a Captain named [164] *Aenons*. He was trying to persuade us to transfer our Cabin to his Village. For this we have to praise



God, that he gives us the favor to be loved and sought after throughout the Country; there is a strife as to who will have us in his Village. The *Arendoronnon* have often invited us; the *Attignenonghac*, and the people of the Village of *Ossossan* ♦, which we call la Rochelle, have pressed us still more earnestly; but, if we have regard to importunities, assuredly this Chief will prevail. For more than six months he has given us no rest; whatever Public affair he may relate to us, he never fails to draw expressly or tacitly this conclusion; but this Spring, more than ever, he has employed all his Rhetoric to secure our promise, and gain our full consent. Going then one day to *Wenrio*, to visit one of our Christians sick unto death, I [page 235] met by the way a Savage who was coming with a message for me from *Aenons*. I went to see the latter after having attended to our sick man, and he took me to one side. He made to me this speech, but I shall do him wrong to put it here, for I shall not give it the grace it had in the mouth [165] of this Chief; no matter, the reader will see his ideas, which I have set down, as I think, almost in their order. See how he began.

"*Echon*, I have sent for you to learn your final decision. I would not have given you the trouble to come here, had I not been afraid that I should not find at your house the opportunity of speaking to you. Your Cabin is always full of so many people visiting you, that it is almost impossible to say anything to you in private; and then, now that we are on the point of assembling to deliberate regarding the establishment of a new Village, this interview might have aroused the suspicions of those who wish to keep you.

"The French have always been attached to me, and have loved me; I have always assisted them in every way I could, and they have not found in all this land a better friend than I. This has not been without incurring the envy of others throughout the Country, who have therefore for a long time regarded me with an evil eye, and have done all they could to prejudice you against me. They have even, as you [166] know, imputed to me the death of Brusl ♦; and immediately after he was killed, when the question of going down to K ♦bec was discussed, it was said loudly and distinctly that, if I went, I would without doubt lose my head. Notwithstanding all that, the following year (for that year I went elsewhere to [page 237] trade) I was not hindered from embarking and going down, supported as I was by my innocence. Moreover, if that misfortune had happened and the axe been raised over my head, I should have asked a little time to speak; and I believe I should have so fully cleared myself that I would have compelled him who ordered it either to do a manifest injustice, or to leave me my life. But I had no trouble about it, and those who expected to see me struck down were very much astonished when they saw the honor that was done me; so astonished were they, that some said, since a murderer was so favorably dealt with, the true way to get oneself liked by the French was to cleave some one's head open. All these speeches have not prevented my innocence from always being above suspicion; whatever may be said, I shall, all my life, love and serve the French, in every way I can.

"*Echon*, we thought that your Village [167] ought to follow ours, and join itself to ours, now that we are on the point of establishing another one elsewhere, and it is not your fault, since the presents you made on this account, last year, were only too well calculated to bring them to this resolution. Nevertheless, as far as we can see, it is not necessary to say anything more regarding this, ♦ it is a matter quite aside; and lately when I was going to your house to learn your decision, I lost courage; you answered me so coldly that I had almost resolved not to speak to you any more about it.

"Yet the thing is of such importance, as well for your interests as for ours, that I have judged it fitting to speak my feelings about it once more. If you do not answer me clearly to-day, I shall never [page 239] more open my lips to you about it. Five of our Villages meet to-morrow, to settle the plan we have of uniting and making only one of them. We have reason to take this resolution, since, if we are at peace this year, we are certain next Spring to have the enemy on our hands. We are only too well informed about them; in the position in which [168] we are now, we should be in trouble, at least for our wives and our children, if necessity should compel us to take arms; whereas if we are in one good Village, well protected by stakes, our youth will have occasion to show their courage, and we will place our wives and children in safety. On this account the whole Country turns its eyes upon you; we shall esteem ourselves quite beyond fear, if we have you with us; you have firearms, the mere report of which is capable of inspiring dread in the enemy, and putting him to flight.

"Moreover, these are also your own interests; see in what trouble you are at the least report of war; and then, if any harm is done to you, to whom will you have recourse, living in that petty Hamlet where you are? You have no Captain there who will take you under his protection, and cause right to be done you; there is no one to keep the young men within bounds; if corn is lacking to you, who will give orders to provide you with it? for your Village is not capable of furnishing you with a sufficiency of it, and how much trouble it would be to go yourselves in search of it [169] elsewhere. On the other hand, if you were with us, you would lack for nothing; as we shall have asked you to come with us, so we shall be obliged to support you; and, in case they should be lax in furnishing you your provisions, I give you my [page 241] word that I will use all my influence in representing to our people the obligations they are under to you, and I know well there is not one of them who will not put himself immediately to work to serve you; in the same way, when the question arises of erecting your Cabin, I shall command all the young men to put their hands to the work, and you will see yourself immediately as well lodged as you can wish in this Country."

He stopped at this point, and told me that he had not yet finished; but he desired that, before proceeding further, I should communicate to one of our Fathers who was with me what he had just said. Then he continued in these words:

"*Echon*, I see well that you were going to say to me that you fear to be further distant from the Lake than you are now; but I give you my word that you will not be as far from it as you might think; [170] and then, even if it were so, how could it inconvenience you? You do not go fishing; the whole Village will go for you. You will have difficulty in embarking your parcels for K ♦bec? Not at all; there will be nobody in the Village who will not consider himself happy to serve you in this matter. It is true, you will not be on the shore of the Lake to receive the parcels sent to you; but what does it matter, since they will be brought all the way to your house? And in case you desire to employ the people of la Rochelle, if they love you, as they must usually pass before the Village we intend to build, they will not give you the trouble to go and seek for them in their Village. *Echon*, this is what I had to say to you; I beg that I may learn now your final decision, in order that I may report it to the Council to-morrow." [page 243]

That is the harangue of this Captain; and, in my opinion, it would, if the subject moved him, pass in the judgment of many for one of those of Titus Livius; it seemed to me very persuasive. In effect, I replied that he laid us under obligations by the affection he showed for us, which he had made apparent [171] on several occasions, but above all on this one; that we were perfectly satisfied with the idea of transporting our Cabin to his Village; that we had intended doing this for a long time, and had only stayed at *Ihonatiria* as in a Village which was depending on him, and was keeping apart only for a time; but, nevertheless, we could not yet resolve to pledge our word unless the Captains of the five Villages which were to meet would promise us, in the first place, in the name of all their subjects, that they would be content to receive the Faith, to believe all that we believe, and to live as we do. I then took occasion to repeat to

him a few of the principal mysteries of our Faith, and tried especially to show him how easy it ought to be for them on this point, since God commanded us to do nothing which was not most reasonable, and which they themselves would not afterwards consider very advantageous for the Country. He listened to me very attentively, and promised to make a faithful report of our talk to the Council, adding that, so far as he was concerned, he was of a mind to be baptized, and that all in his Cabin were similarly inclined.

[172] The Council took place some days after; this Captain was there. He was asked what was the final sentiment and decision of the French. He replied that we made some objection. They asked him what it was. " They do not wish," he said, " to go to a **[page 245]** Village where they will not be certain of having to do with persons who will listen to them, and will do all they teach. " To that they replied, " That is well, we are satisfied. He will teach us, and we will do all he desires." In short, they believed the matter so fully concluded that they came to tell us afterward that they were coming for our Cabin to transport it there. But this will not occur this year; the feast of the Dead, they say, has come in the way of this arrangement. In the meantime, this Chief who is so anxious to have us with him in this new Village, seeing that our Cabin was almost uninhabitable, and that our Village seemed about to be scattered, and fearing lest we should go elsewhere, came to offer us his Cabin at the risk of inconveniencing himself and his whole family. Nevertheless, we have judged it best to pass one more [173] Winter where we are, as much to cultivate these new plants we have won for our Lord by means of holy Baptism, as because we hope the Captains of those Villages who intend to come together, and are now at variance with the rest of the Country, will be able between now and Spring to reunite, and thus we can more readily take such action as we shall judge most proper for the glory of God, without fear of offending any one, which would be very difficult in the present condition of affairs.

This resolution taken, we were obliged to think of repairing and enlarging our Cabin. I broached the matter to the Captain of our Village. He immediately assembled the Old Men, and communicated to them our plan. They were so pleased that they came to us to present their congratulations, for they were **[page 247]** afraid from day to day that we were going to leave them.

To encourage them, I made them a present of a dozen cakes of Tobacco, and some skins. They gave me back the skins, saying that it was their duty to give some to us, and that, besides, they were already under sufficient [174] obligation to us, that we helped them every day, in an infinite variety of ways; that if any had need of a knife, or an awl, they had only to come to us, and we gave them to them at once. Moreover, these pledges of good will were not mere words, they were followed by good results. They set to work so diligently and worked with so much zeal that they erected a new Cabin for us in less than three days. Indeed, no one spared himself; the old people were foremost in the work. Some, forgetting their age, even climbed to the top of the Cabin; others went to seek and prepare plenty of bark to cover it, or worked at setting up the frame thereof.

The zeal of the Captain prevented four of us from saying Mass on the last day; for, as soon as it was daylight, he set himself at work; and from the top ridge of the Cabin, where he was, he shouted as loudly as he could, and invited all the youth who were not already awake to come and get to work. But let us say a word about their Councils. **[page 249]**

## [175] CHAPTER VII. OF THE ORDER THE HURONS OBSERVE IN THEIR COUNCILS.

SHALL speak here of the general Councils or Assemblies, the special ones being ordered in almost the same way, although with less display. These General Assemblies are, as it were, the States-General of the Country, and consequently they take place only so often as necessity requires. The place of these is usually the Village of the principal Captain of the whole Country. The Council Chamber is sometimes the Cabin of this Captain, adorned with mats, or strewn with Fir branches, with several fires, according to the season of the year. Formerly, each one brought his fagot to put on the fire; this is now no longer the custom, the women of the Cabin take this responsibility; they make the fires, but do not warm themselves thereat, going outside to give place to Messieurs the Councilors. Sometimes the assembly takes place in the midst of the Village, if it is Summer; and [176] sometimes also in the obscurity of the forest, apart, when affairs demand secrecy. The time is oftener night than day, whole nights often being passed in council.

The Head of the Council is the Captain who calls it. Matters are decided by a plurality of votes, in which the authority of the Captains draws over many to their views; in fact, the usual way of coming to a decision is to say to the Old Men, Do you give advice, you are the Masters. **[page 251]**

The usual wages of these Gentlemen are assigned according to the strength of their arms, to their zeal and good management. If they clear the ground better than the others, hunt better, fish better, in short, if they are successful in trading, they are also richer than the others; but if not, they are the most necessitous, as experience has shown in the cases of some.

The incidental advantages are, in the first place, the best portions of the feasts, to which they are sure to be invited. 2. When any one makes a present, they get the best part Of it. 3. When some one, be he Citizen or Stranger, wishes to obtain something from the Country, the custom [177] is to grease the palms of the principal Captains, at whose beck and call all the rest move. I am quite sure of what I have just said. The regret that some private individuals have for such irregularities, and the envy of the other Captains who have not been called upon to share the booty, discourage the practice more than they like; they decry. one another, and the mere suspicion of these secret presents stirs up sometimes great debates and divisions, not so much through desire of the public good as from regret at not having a share in them; and this jealousy sometimes hinders good measures. But let us come to the order they keep in their Councils.

In the first place, the Captain, having already consulted in private with the other Captains and Old Men of his Village, and having concluded that the affair warrants a public assembly, sends invitations to the Council, to as many persons of each Village as he desires. The Messengers are young men who volunteer or sometimes an Old Man, in order that **[page 253]** the summons may be more efficacious, inasmuch as they do not always put faith in young people. These Messengers address their errand to the principal Captain [178] of the Village, or, in his absence, to the one who is nearest him in authority, stating the day on which they are to assemble. These summons are entreaties, not commands, and accordingly some excuse themselves entirely, others delay setting out; whence it happens that these assemblies are sometimes tedious, for they do not like to set out in bad weather, and certainly they have enough difficulty in sometimes coming ten or twelve leagues on foot, and this in Winter and over the snow.

All having arrived, they take their seats each in his own quarter of the Cabin, those of the same Village or of the same Nation near one

another, in order to consult together. If by chance some one is absent, the question is raised whether, notwithstanding this, the assembly would be legitimate; and sometimes, from the absence of one or two persons, the whole gathering is dissolved, and adjourns until another time. But if all are gathered, or if, notwithstanding, they think it their duty to go on, the Council is opened. It is not always the Leaders of the Council who do this; difficulty in speaking, unwillingness, [179] or even their dignity dispenses them from it.

After salutations, thanks for the trouble taken in coming, thanksgivings rendered, I know not to whom, that every one has arrived without accident, that no one has been surprised by enemies, nor has fallen into any stream or River, nor has been injured, ♦ in brief, that every one has arrived happily, all are exhorted to deliberate maturely. Then the affair to be [page 255] discussed is brought forward, and Messieurs the Councilors are asked to give their advice.

At this point the Deputies of each Village, or those of one Nation, consult in a low tone as to what they will reply. Then, when they have consulted well together, they give their opinions in order, and decide according to the plurality of opinions, in which course there are some things worthy of remark. The first is in the manner of speaking, which, on account of its unlikeness [to common speech], has a different name and is called *acwentonch*; it is common to all Savages; they raise and quaver the voice, like the tones of a Preacher in olden times, but slowly, decidedly, distinctly, even [180] repeating the same reason several times. The second remarkable thing is, that the persons giving their opinions go summarily over the proposition and all the considerations brought forward, before giving their advice.

I once heard it said by some Interpreter, that these Nations had a private language in their Councils; but I have learned by experience that this is not so. I know well that they have some private terms, as there are in all kinds of arts and sciences, as in the Palace, the Schools and elsewhere. It is true that their speeches are at first very difficult to understand, on account of an infinity of Metaphors, of various circumlocutions, and other rhetorical methods: for example, speaking of the Nation of the Bear they will say, " the Bear has said, has done so and so; the Bear is cunning, is bad; the hands of the Bear are dangerous." When they speak of him who conducts the feast of the Dead, they say " he who cats souls; " when they speak of a Nation, they often name only the principal Captain, ♦ thus, speaking of the [page 257] Montagnets, they will say, " *Atsirond* says:" this is the name of one of their Captains. In short, it is in these places they dignify their style of language, and try [181] to speak well. Almost all their minds are naturally of very good quality; they reason very clearly, and do not stumble in their speeches; and so they make a point of mocking those who trip; some seem to be born orators.

3. After some one has given his opinion the Head of the Council repeats, or causes to be repeated, what he has said; consequently, matters must be clearly understood, so often are they repeated. This was very fortunate for me, at the Council of which I have spoken to you, where I made them a present to encourage them to take the road to Heaven; for one of the Captains felicitously repeated all that I had said, and dilated upon it and amplified it better than I had done, and in better terms; for, in truth, owing to our limited knowledge of the Language, we say not what we wish, but what we can.

4. Each one ends his advice in these terms, *Coxdayauendi Ierhayde cha nonhwiwahachen*: that is to say, " That is my thought on the subject under Discussion:" then 'the whole Assembly responds with a very strong respiration drawn [182] from the pit of the stomach, *Haau*. I have noticed that when any one has spoken to their liking, this *Haau* is given forth with much more effort.

The fifth remarkable thing is their great prudence and moderation of speech; I would not dare to say they always use this self-restraint, for I know that sometimes they sting each other, ♦ but yet you always remark a singular gentleness and discretion. I have scarcely ever been present at their Councils; but, [page 259] every time I have been invited, I have come out from them astonished at this feature.

One day I saw a debate for precedence between two war Captains: An Old Man who espoused the side of one, said that he was on the edge of the grave, and that perhaps on the morrow his body would be placed in the Cemetery; but yet he would say frankly what he believed to be justice, not for any interest he had in the matter, but from love of truth: which he did with ardor, though seasoned with discretion. Then another Old Man, beginning to speak, replied to him and said, very properly: " Do not speak now of those things, this is no [183] time for them; see the enemy, who is going to attack us; the question is one of arming ourselves and fortifying with one mind our palisades, and not of disputing about rank. " I was particularly astonished at the wise conduct of another Council, at which I was present, which seemed to be steeped in a condescending humor and fine words, notwithstanding the importance of the questions discussed.

This Council was one of the most important that the Hurons have: to wit, concerning their feast of the Dead: they have nothing more sacred. The question was a very delicate one, for the matter discussed was whether the whole Country should put their dead in the same grave, according to their custom; and yet there were some discontented Villages, who wished to remain apart, not without the regret of the whole Country. Yet the thing passed over with all the gentleness and peace imaginable: at every turn the Masters of the Feast, who had assembled the Council, exhorted to gentleness, saying that it was a Council of peace. They call these [page 261] Councils, *Endionraondaon* ♦, as if one should say, " A Council even and easy, like the level and reaped fields." Whatever the speakers say, the Leaders of the Council always say only this, [184] "That is very well." The mutinous persons excused their division, saying that no evil could arise therefrom to the Country; that in the past there had been similar divisions, which had not ruined it. The others softened matters, saying that, if one of their friends went astray from the true road, they must not immediately abandon him; that brothers sometimes had quarrels with each other. In short, it was a matter for great astonishment to see in these embittered hearts such moderation of words. So much for their Councils. [page 263]

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF THE CEREMONIES THEY OBSERVE IN THEIR BURIALS AND MOURNING.

UR SAVAGES are not Savages as regards the duties that Nature itself constrains us to render to the dead; they do not yield in this respect to many Nations much more civilized. You might say that all their exertions, their labors, and their trading, concern almost entirely the amassing of something with which [185] to honor the Dead. They have nothing sufficiently precious for this purpose; they lavish robes, axes, and Porcelain in such quantities that, to see them on such occasions, you would judge that they place no value upon them; and yet these are the whole riches of the Country. You will see them often, in the depth of winter, almost entirely naked, while they have handsome and valuable robes in store, that they keep in reserve for the Dead; for this is their point of honor. It is on such



occasions they wish above all to appear magnificent. But I am speaking here only of their private funerals. These simple people are not like so many Christians, who cannot endure that any one should speak to them about death, and who in a mortal sickness put a whole house to trouble to find means of breaking the news to the sick man without hastening his death. Here when any one's health is despaired of, not only do they make no difficulty in telling him that his life is near its close, but they even prepare **[page 265]** in his presence all that is needed for his burial; they often show him the robe, the stockings, the shoes, [186] and the belt which he is to wear. Frequently they are prepared after their fashion for burial, before they have expired; they make their farewell feast to their friends, at which they sometimes sing without showing any dread of death, which they regard with very little concern, considering it only as the passage to a life differing very little from this. As soon as the sick man has drawn his last breath, they place him in the position in which he is to be in the grave; they do not stretch him at length as we do, but place him in a crouching posture, almost the same that a child has in its mother's womb. Thus far, they restrain their tears. After having performed these deities the whole Cabin begins to resound with cries, groans, and wails; the children cry *Aistan*, if it be their father; and the mother, *Aien, Aien*, " My son, my son." Any one who did not see them, quite bathed in their tears, would judge, to hear them, that these are only ceremonial tears; they make their voices tremble all with one accord, and in a lugubrious tone, until some person of authority makes them stop. As soon as they cease, the Captain goes promptly [187] through the Cabins, making known that such and such a one is dead. On the arrival of friends, they begin anew to weep and complain. Frequently some one of importance begins to speak, and consoles the mother and the children, ♦ at times launching into praises of the deceased, lauding his patience, his good-nature, his liberality, his magnificence, and, if he were a warrior, the greatness of his courage; at times he will say, " What would you have? there was no longer any remedy, **[page 267]** he must indeed die, we are all subject to death, and then he dragged on too long," etc. It is true that, on such occasions, they are never lacking in speech. I have sometimes been surprised to see them dwelling a long time on this subject, and bringing forward, with much discretion, every consideration that might give consolation to the relatives of the deceased.

Word of the death is also sent to the friends who live in the other Villages; and, as each family has some one who takes care of its Dead, these latter come as soon as possible to take charge of everything, and determine the day of the funeral. Usually they inter the Dead [188] on the third day; as soon as it is light, the Captain gives orders that throughout the whole Village a feast be made for the dead. No one spares what he has of the best. They do this, in my opinion, for three reasons: First, to console one another, for they exchange dishes, and hardly anyone eats any of the feast he has prepared; secondly, on account of those of other Villages, who often come in great numbers. Thirdly, and principally, to serve the soul of the deceased, which they believe takes pleasure in the feast, and in eating its share. All the kettles being emptied, or at least distributed, the Captain publishes throughout the Village that the body is about to be borne to the Cemetery. The whole Village assembles in the Cabin; the weeping is renewed; and those who have charge of the ceremonies get ready a litter on which the corpse is placed on a mat and enveloped in a Beaver robe, and then four lift and carry it away; the whole Village follows in silence to the Cemetery. A Tomb is there, made of bark and supported on four stakes, **[page 269]** eight to ten feet high. However, before the corpse is put into it, [189] and before they arrange the bark, the Captain makes known the presents that have been given by the friends. In this Country, as well as elsewhere, the most agreeable consolations for the loss of friends are always accompanied by presents, such as kettles, axes, Beaver robes, and Porcelain collars. If the deceased was a person of importance in the Country, not only the friends and neighbors, but even the Captains of other Villages, will come in person and bring their presents. Now all the presents do not follow the dead man into the grave; sometimes a Porcelain collar is put around his neck, and near by a comb, a gourd full of oil, and two or three little loaves of bread; and that is all. A large share goes to the relatives, to dry their tears; the other share goes to those who have directed the funeral ceremonies, as a reward for their trouble. Some robes, also, are frequently laid aside, or some hatchets, as a gift for the Youth. The Chief puts into the hand of some one of the latter a stick about a foot long, offering a prize to the one who will take it away from him. They throw themselves [190] upon him in a body, with might and main, and remain sometimes a whole hour struggling. This over, each one returns quietly to his Cabin.

I had forgotten to say that usually, during this whole ceremony, the mother or the wife will be at the foot of the grave calling to the deceased with singing, or more frequently complaining in a lugubrious voice.

Now all these ceremonies do not always take place; as for those killed in war, they inter them, and the relatives make presents to their patrons, if **[page 271]** they had any, which is rather common in this Country, in order to encourage them to raise a force of soldiers, and avenge the death of the deceased. As to the drowned, they are interred also, after the most fleshy parts of the body have been taken off, piece by piece, as I have explained more in detail in speaking of their superstitions. Double the presents are given on such an occasion, and people from the whole Country often gather there, and contribute of their property; and this is done, they say, to appease the Sky, or the Lake.

There are even special ceremonies [191] for little children who die less than a month or two old; they do not put them like the others into bark tombs set up on posts, but inter them on the road, ♦ in order that, they say, if some woman passes that way, they may secretly enter her womb, and that she may give them life again, and bring them forth. I doubt not the good Nicodemus would have found much difficulty about this, although he only raised the objection in regard to old people, *Quomodo potest homo nasci c♦m sit senex?* This fine ceremony took place this Winter in the person of one of our little Christians, who had been named Joseph at baptism. I learned it on this occasion from the lips of the child's father himself.

The funeral ceremonies over, the mourning does not cease, the wife continues it the whole year for the husband, and the husband for the wife; but the great mourning properly lasts only ten days. During this time they remain lying on mats and enveloped in furs, their faces against the ground, without speaking or answering anything except *Cway*, to those who come to visit them. They do not warm themselves even in Winter, they [192] eat cold food, **[page 273]** they do not go to the feasts, they go out only at night for their necessities; they cause a handful of hair to be cut from the back of the head; they say this is done only when the grief is profound, ♦ the husband practicing this ceremony generally on the death of his wife, or the wife on the death of her husband. This is what there is of their great mourning.

The lesser mourning lasts all the year. When they go visiting they do not make any salutation, not even saying *Cway*, nor do they grease their hair; the women do it, however, when their mothers command them, as the latter have at their disposal their hair, and even their persons; it is their privilege to send the daughters to feasts, for without the command many would not go. What I find remarkable is that, during the whole year, neither the husband nor the wife remarries; if they did, they would be talked about throughout the Country.

The graves are not permanent; as their Villages are stationary only during a few years, while the supplies of the forest last, the bodies only remain in the Cemeteries until the feast of the [193] Dead, which usually takes place every twelve years. Within this time they do not cease to honor the dead frequently; from time to time, they make a feast for their souls throughout the whole Village, as they did

on the day of the funeral, and revive their names as often as they can. For this purpose they make presents to the Captains, to give to him who will be content to take the name of the deceased; and, if he was held in consideration and esteem in the Country while alive, the one who resuscitates him, ♦after a magnificent feast to the whole Country, that he may make himself known under this name, ♦makes a levy of [page 275] the resolute young men and goes away on a war expedition, to perform some daring exploit that shall make it evident to the whole Country that he has inherited not only the name, but also the virtues and courage of the deceased. [page 277]

## CHAPTER IX.

### OF THE SOLEMN FEAST OF THE DEAD.

HE feast of the Dead is the most renowned ceremony among the Hurons; [194] they give it the name of feast because, as I shall now fully relate, when the bodies are taken from their Cemeteries, each Captain makes a feast for the souls in his Village,-the most considerable and most magnificent having been that of the Master of the Feast, who is for that reason called par excellence, the Master of the feast.

This Feast abounds in ceremonies, but you might say that the principal ceremony is that of the kettle; this latter overshadows all the rest, and the feast of the Dead is hardly mentioned, even in the most important Councils, except under the name of " the kettle. " They appropriate to it all the terms of cookery, so that, in speaking of hastening or of putting off the feast of the Dead, they will speak of scattering or of stirring up the fire beneath the kettle; and, employing this way of speaking, one who should say " the kettle is overturned," would mean that there would be no feast of the Dead.




Now usually there is only a single feast in each Nation; all the bodies are put into a common pit. I say, usually, for this year, which has happened to be the feast of the Dead, the kettle has been divided; [195] and five Villages of the part where we are have acted by themselves, and have put their dead into a [page 279] private pit. He who was Captain of the preceding feast, and who is regarded as the Chief of this place, has given as an excuse that his kettle and his feast had been spoiled, and that he was obliged to make another; but in reality this was only a pretext. The principal cause of this separation is that the notables of this Village have been complaining this long time that the others take everything upon themselves; that they do not become acquainted as they would like with the affairs of the Country; that they are not called to the most secret and important Councils, and to a share of the presents. This division has been followed by distrust on both sides; God grant that it may not cause any hindrance to the preaching of the holy Gospel. But I must touch briefly on the order and the circumstances of this feast, and then I must finish.

Twelve years or thereabout having elapsed, the Old Men and Notables of the Country assemble, to deliberate in a definite way on the time at which the feast shall be held to the satisfaction of the whole Country and of the foreign Nations [196] that may be invited to it. The decision having been made, as all the bodies are to be transported to the Village where is the common grave, each family sees to its dead, but with a care and affection that cannot be described: if they have dead relatives in any part of the Country, they spare no trouble to go for them; they take them from the Cemeteries, bear them on their shoulders, and cover them with the finest robes they have. In each Village they choose a fair day, and proceed to the Cemetery, where those called *Aiheonde*, who take care of the graves, draw the bodies from the tombs in the presence of the relatives, who [page 281] renew their tears and feel afresh the grief they had on the day of the funeral. I was present at the spectacle, and willingly invited to it all our servants; for I do not think one could see in the world a more vivid picture or more perfect representation of what man is. It is true that in France our Cemeteries preach powerfully, and that all those bones piled up one upon another without discrimination,-those of the poor [197] with those of the rich, those of the mean with those of the great,-are so many voices continually proclaiming to us the thought of death, the vanity of the things of this world, and contempt for the present life: but it seems to me that what our Savages do on this occasion touches us still more, and makes us see more closely and apprehend more sensibly our wretched state. For, after having opened the graves, they display before you all these Corpses, on the spot, and they leave them thus exposed long enough for the spectators to learn at their leisure, and once for all, what they will be some day. The flesh of some is quite gone, and there is only parchment on their bones; in other cases, the bodies look as if they had been dried and smoked, and show scarcely any signs of putrefaction; and in still other cases they are still swarming with worms. When the friends have gazed upon the bodies to their satisfaction, they cover them with handsome Beaver robes quite new: finally, after some time they strip them of their flesh, taking off skin and flesh which they throw into the fire along with the robes and mats in which the bodies were wrapped. As regards the bodies of those [198] recently dead, they leave these in the state in which they are, and content themselves by simply covering them with new robes. [page 283] Of the latter they handled only one Old Man, of whom I have spoken before, who died this Autumn on his return from fishing: this swollen corpse had only begun to decay during the last month, on the occasion of the first heat of Spring; the worms were swarming all over it, and the corruption that oozed out of it gave forth an almost intolerable stench; and yet they had the courage to take away the robe in which it was enveloped, cleaned it as well as they could, taking the matter off by handfuls, and put the body into a fresh mat and robe, and all this without showing any horror at the corruption. Is not that a noble example to inspire Christians, who ought to have thoughts much more elevated to acts of charity and works of mercy towards their neighbor? After that, who will be afraid of the stench of a Hospital; and who will not take a peculiar pleasure in seeing himself at the feet of a sick man all covered with wounds, in the person of whom he beholds the Son of [199] God? As they had to remove the flesh from all these corpses, they found in the bodies of two a kind of charm,-one, that I saw myself, was a Turtle's egg with a leather strap; and the other, which our Fathers handled, was a little Turtle of the size of a nut. These excited the belief that they had been bewitched, and that there were Sorcerers in our Village,-whence came the resolution to some to leave at once; indeed, two or three days later one of the richest men, fearing that some harm would come to him, transported his Cabin to a place two leagues from us, to the Village of *Arontaen*.






The bones having been well cleaned, they put them partly into bags, partly into fur robes, loaded them on their shoulders, and covered these packages [page 285] with another beautiful hanging robe. As for the whole bodies, they put them on a species of litter, and carried them with all the others, each into his Cabin, where each family made a feast to its dead.

Returning from this feast with a Captain who is very intelligent, and who will some day be very influential in the affairs [200] Of the Country, I asked him why they called the bones of the dead *Atisken*. He gave me the best explanation he could, and I gathered from his conversation that many think we have two souls, both of them being divisible and material, and yet both reasonable; the one separates itself from the body at death, yet remains in the Cemetery until the feast of the Dead,- after which it either changes into a Turtledove, or, according to the most common belief, it goes away at once to the village of souls. The other is, as it were, bound to the body, and informs, so to speak, the corpse; it remains in the ditch of the dead after the feast, and never leaves it, unless some one bears it again

as a child. He pointed out to me, as a proof of this metempsychosis, the perfect resemblance some have to persons deceased. A fine Philosophy, indeed. Such as it is, it shows why they call the bones of the dead, *Atisken*, " the souls."

A day or two before setting out for the feast, they carried all these souls into one of the largest Cabins of the Village, where one portion was hung [201] to the poles of the Cabin, and the other portion spread out through it; the Captain entertained them, and made them a magnificent feast in the name of a deceased Captain, whose name he bore. I was at this feast of souls, and noticed at it four peculiar things. First, the presents which the relatives made for the **[page 287]** feast, and which consisted of robes, Porcelain collars, and kettles, were strung on poles along the Cabin, on both sides. Secondly, the Captain sang the song of the deceased Captain, in accordance with the desire the latter had expressed, before his death, to have it sung on this occasion. Thirdly, all the guests had the liberty of sharing with one another whatever good things they had, and even of taking these home with them, contrary to the usual custom of feasts. Fourthly, at the end of the feast, by way of compliment to him who had entertained them, they imitated the cry of souls, and went out of the Cabin crying *ha* , *ha* , *ha* .

The master of the feast, and even *Anenkhiondic*, chief Captain of the whole Country, sent several [202] pressing invitations to us. You might have said that the feast would not have been a success without us. I sent two of our Fathers, several days beforehand, to see the preparations and to learn with certainty the day of the feast. *Anenkhiondic* gave them a very hearty welcome, and on their departure conducted them himself a quarter of a league thence, where the pit was, and showed them, with great demonstrations of regard, all the preparations for the feast.

The feast was to take place on the Saturday of Pentecost; but some affairs that intervened, and the uncertainty of the weather, caused it to be postponed until Monday. The seven or eight days before the feast were spent in assembling the souls, as well as the Strangers who had been invited; meanwhile from morning until night the living were continually making presents to the youth, in consideration of the dead. On one side the women were shooting with **[page 289]** the bow for a prize, - a Porcupine girdle, or a collar or string of Porcelain beads; elsewhere in the Village, the young men were shooting at a stick to see who could hit it. The prize for this victory was an [203] axe, some knives, or even a Beaver robe. From day to day the souls arrived. It is very interesting to see these processions, sometimes of two or three hundred persons; each one brings his souls, that is, his bones, done up in parcels on his back, under a handsome robe, in the way I have described. Some had arranged their parcels in the form of a man, ornamented with Porcelain collars, and elegant bands of long red fur. On setting out from the Village, the whole band cried out *ha* , *ha* , and repeated this cry of the souls by the way. This cry they say relieves them greatly; otherwise the burden, although of souls, would weigh very heavily on their backs, and cause them a backache all the rest of their lives. They go short journeys; our Village was three days in going four leagues to reach *Ossossan* , which we call la Rochelle, where the ceremonies were to take place. As soon as they arrive near a Village they cry again *ha* , *ha* . The whole Village comes to meet them; plenty of gifts are given on such an occasion. Each has his rendezvous in one of the [204] Cabins, all know where they are to lodge their souls, so it is done without confusion. At the same time, the Captains hold a Council, to discuss how long the band shall sojourn in the Village.

All the souls of eight or nine Villages had reached la Rochelle by the Saturday of Pentecost; but the fear of bad weather compelled them, as I have said, to postpone the ceremony until Monday. We were lodged a quarter of a league away, at the old Village, **[page 291]** in a Cabin where there were fully a hundred souls hung to and fixed upon the poles, some of -which smelled a little stronger than musk.

On Monday, about noon, they came to inform us that we should hold ourselves in readiness, for they were going to begin the ceremony; they took down at the same time, the packages of souls; and the relatives again unfolded them to say their last adieus; the tears flowed afresh. I admired the tenderness of one woman toward her father and children; she is the daughter of a Chief who died at an advanced age, and was once very influential in the Country; she combed his hair and handled his bones, one after the other, with as much affection as if she would have desired [205] to restore life to him; she put beside him his *Atsatonewai*, that is, his package of Council sticks, which are all the books and papers of the Country. As for her little children, she put on their arms bracelets of Porcelain and glass beads, and bathed their bones with her tears; they could scarcely tear her away from these, but they insisted, and it was necessary to depart immediately. The one who bore the body of this old Captain walked at the head; the men followed, and then the women, walking in this order until they reached the pit.

Let me describe the arrangement of this place. It was about the size of the place Royale at Paris. There was in the middle of it a great pit, about ten feet deep and five brasses wide. All around it was a scaffold, a sort of staging very well made, nine to ten brasses in width, and from nine to ten feet high; above this staging there were a number of poles laid across, and well arranged, with cross-poles to which these packages of souls were hung and bound. The **[page 293]** whole bodies, as they were to be put in the bottom of the pit, had been [206] the preceding day placed under the scaffold, stretched upon bark or mats fastened to stakes about the height of a man, on the borders of the pit.

The whole Company arrived with their corpses about an hour after Midday, and divided themselves into different cantons, according to their families and Villages, and laid on the ground their parcels of souls, almost as they do earthen pots at the Village Fairs. They unfolded also their parcels of robes, and all the presents they had brought, and hung them upon poles, which were from 5 to 600 toises in extent; so there were as many as twelve hundred presents which remained thus on exhibition two full hours, to give Strangers time to see the wealth and magnificence of the Country. I did not find the Company so -numerous as I had expected; if there were two thousand persons, that was about all. About three o'clock, each one put away his various articles, and folded up his robes.

Meanwhile, each Captain by command gave the signal; and all, at once, loaded with their packages of souls, running as if to the assault of a town, ascended [207] the Stage by means of ladders hung all round it, and hung them to the cross poles, each Village having its own department. That done, all the ladders were taken away; but a few Chiefs remained there and spent the rest of the afternoon, until seven o'clock, in announcing the presents which were made in the name of the dead to certain specified persons.

"This," said they, " is what such and such a dead man gives to such and such a relative." About five or six o'clock, they lined the bottom and sides of the **[page 295]** pit with fine large new robes, each of ten Beaver skins, in such a way that they extended more than a foot out of it. As they were preparing the robes which were to be employed for this purpose, some went down to the bottom and brought up handfuls of sand. I asked what this ceremony meant, and learned that they have a belief that this sand renders them successful at play. Of those twelve hundred presents that had been displayed, forty-eight robes served to line the bottom and sides of the pit; and each, entire body, besides the robe in which it had been enveloped, [208] had another one, and sometimes even two more, to cover it. That was all; so that I do not think each body had its own robe, one with another, which is surely the least it can have in its



burial; for what winding sheets and shrouds are in France, Beaver robes are here. But what becomes then of the remainder? I will explain, in a moment.

At seven o'clock, they let down the whole bodies into the pit. We had the greatest difficulty in getting near; nothing has ever better pictured for me the confusion there is among the damned. On all sides you could have seen them letting down half-decayed bodies; and on all sides was heard a horrible din of confused voices of persons, who spoke and did not listen; ten or twelve were in the pit and were arranging the bodies all around it, one after another. They put in the very middle of the pit three large kettles, which could only be of use for souls; one had a hole through it, another had no handle, and the third was of scarcely more value. I saw very few Porcelain collars; it is true, they [209] Put many on the bodies. This is all that was done on this day. **[page 297]**

All the people passed the night on the spot; they lighted many fires, and slung their kettles. We withdrew for the night to the old Village, with the resolve to return the next morning, at daybreak, when they were to throw the bones into the pit; but we could hardly arrive in time, although we made great haste, on account of an accident that happened. One of the souls, which was not securely tied, or was perhaps too heavy for the cord that fastened it, fell of itself into the pit; the noise awakened the Company, who immediately ran and mounted in a crowd upon the scaffold, and emptied indiscriminately each package into the pit, keeping, however, the robes in which they were enveloped. We had only set out from the Village at that time, but the noise was so great that it seemed almost as if we were there. As we drew near, we saw nothing less than a picture of Hell. The large space was quite full of fires and flames, and the air resounded in all directions with the confused voices of these Barbarians; the noise ceased, however, [210] for some time, and they began to sing,-but in voices so sorrowful and lugubrious that it represented to us the horrible sadness and the abyss of despair into which these unhappy souls are forever plunged.

Nearly all the souls were thrown in when we arrived, for it was done almost in the turning of a hand; each one had made haste, thinking there would not be room enough for all the souls; we saw, however, enough of it to judge of the rest. There were five or six in the pit, arranging the bones with poles. The pit was full, within about two feet; they turned back over the bones the robes which bordered the edge of the pit, and covered the remaining space **[page 299]** with mats and bark. Then they heaped the pit with sand, poles, and wooden stakes, which they threw in without order. Some women brought to it some dishes of corn; and that day, and the following days, several Cabins of the Village provided nets quite full of it, which were thrown upon the pit.

We have fifteen or twenty Christians interred with these Infidels; we said for their souls a *De profundis*, with a [211] strong hope that, if divine goodness does not stop the course of its blessings upon these Peoples, this feast will cease, or will only be for Christians, and will take place with ceremonies as sacred as the ones we saw are foolish and useless; they are even now beginning to be a burden to them, on account of the excesses and superfluous expenses connected with them.

The whole morning was passed in giving presents; and the greater part of the robes in which the souls had been wrapped were cut into pieces, and thrown from the height of the Stage into the midst of the crowd, for any one who could get them; it was very amusing when two or three got hold of a Beaver skin, since, as none of them would give way, it had to be cut into so many pieces, and thus they found themselves almost- empty-handed, for the fragment was scarcely worth the picking up. In this connection, I admired the ingenuity of one Savage,-he did not put himself to any trouble to run after these flying pieces, but, as there had been nothing so valuable in this Country, this year, as Tobacco, he kept some pieces of it in his hands which he immediately offered to those who were disputing over a skin, and [212] thus settled the matter to his own advantage.

Before going away from the place, we learned that, **[page 301]** during the night, when they had made presents to outside Nations on behalf of the master of the feast, our names had been mentioned. And indeed, as we were going away, *Anenkhiondic* came to present to us a new robe of ten Beaver skins, in return for the collar that I had given them as a present in open Council, to open for them the way to heaven. They had felt themselves under such obligations for this gift that they desired to show some gratitude for it in so great an assembly. I did not accept it, however, telling him that, as we had only made this present to lead them to embrace our faith, they could not render us greater service than by listening to us willingly, and believing in him who made all things. He asked me then what I desired he should do with the robe; I replied that he might dispose of it as seemed good to him, whereat he remained perfectly satisfied.

As to the rest of the twelve hundred presents, forty-eight robes were used in adorning the pit. Each whole body had [213] its robe, and some had two or three. Twenty were given to the master of the feast, to thank the Nations which had taken part therein. The dead distributed a number of them, by the hands of the Captains, to their living friends; some served only for show, and were taken away by those who had exhibited them. The Old Men and the notables of the Country, who had the administration and management of the feast, took possession secretly of a considerable quantity; and the rest was cut in pieces, as I have said, and ostentatiously thrown into the midst of the crowd. However, it is only the rich who lose nothing, or very little, in this feast. The middle classes and the poor bring and leave there **[page 303]** whatever they have most valuable, and suffer much, in order not to appear less liberal than the others in this celebration. Every one makes it a point of honor.

Let me add that we narrowly escaped not being present at the feast. During this Winter the Captain *Aenons*, of whom I have spoken before, came to us to make an overture on behalf of the Old Men of the whole Country. At that time, the kettle was not [214] yet divided. They asked, therefore, if we would be satisfied to raise the bodies of our two Frenchmen who died in this part of the Country, Guillaume Chaudron, and Estienne Brusl❖, who was killed four years ago, that their bones might be put in the common grave with their dead. We answered, first of all, that that could not be, that it was forbidden to us; that, as they had been baptized and were, as we hoped, in heaven, we respected their bones too much to permit them being mingled with the bones of those who had not been baptized; and, besides, that it was not our custom to raise the bodies.

We added, nevertheless, that as they were interred in the woods, and as they desired it so much, we would be pleased to raise their bones if they would grant us permission to put them into a private grave, along with the bones of all those we had baptized in the Country.

Four principal reasons induced us to give this answer. 1. As it is the greatest pledge of friendship and alliance they have in the Country, we [215] were already granting to them on this point what they wished, and were making it appear thereby that we desired to love them as our brothers, and to live and die with- them. 2. We hoped that God would be **[page 305]** glorified thereby,-mainly in this, that, in thus separating, with the consent of the whole Country, the bodies of Christians from those of Unbelievers, it would not have been difficult afterwards to obtain from private persons that their Christians should be interred in a Cemetery apart, which we would

consecrate for that purpose. 3. We were intending to inter them with all the ceremonies of the Church. 4. The Elders, of their own accord, wished us to erect a beautiful and magnificent Cross, as they stated afterwards more particularly. Thus the Cross would have been authorized by the whole Country, and honored in the midst of this Barbarism, and they would not have taken pains thereafter to impute to it, as they have done in the past, the misfortunes that might overtake them.

This Chief found our proposition very reasonable, and the Elders of the Country seemed to be pleased with it. Some time after, the kettle was divided, and, [216] as I have said, five Villages of the part where we are, resolved to have their feast by themselves.

In the Spring, a general Assembly of the Notables of the whole Country took place, to consider everything connected with this feast, to endeavor to heal this schism, and to reunite the kettle. The disaffected ones were there, and I was invited also. The same proposition was made to me; I replied that we would be quite satisfied provided the conditions we had asked should be fulfilled. They referred to the division of the kettle, and asked me, -since there were two kettles, that is, two pits, -with which did I desire our private grave to be. To this I answered, in order not to offend any one, that I referred the [page 307] matter to their judgment; that they were good and wise, and could talk over the affair among themselves. The Master of the feast of la Rochelle then said, condescendingly, that, so far as he was concerned, he claimed nothing; that he was perfectly satisfied that the other, who is the Chief at this place, should have on his side the bodies of our two Frenchmen. The other replied that he laid no claim to him who had [217] been buried at la Rochelle; but, as for the body of Estienne Brusl♦ it belonged to him, since he had embarked him and brought him into the Country; and thus the bodies were divided, one on one side, one on the other. Thereupon some one said, in an undertone, that he was quite right in asking the body of Estienne Brusl♦ -that it was very reasonable that they should render honor to his bones, since they had killed him. This was not said so discreetly as not to be heard by the Captain; he dissembled his feelings, however, for the time being. After the Council, when we had left, he took notice of the reproach, and had very high words with the Captain of la Rochelle; and finally ceased to lay any claim to the body of Brusl♦, in order not to irritate and reopen this wound, from which those of this part have not yet purged themselves.

This made us also deem it best, with those of la Rochelle, not to touch either the one or the other. Truly there is reason here to admire the secret judgments of God; for that infamous wretch did not deserve to have this honor shown him; and, to tell the truth, we would have had [218] much difficulty in resolving to make on this occasion a private Grave, and in transporting to consecrated Ground a dead man that had lived so scandalous a life in the Country, [page 309] and had given to the Savages so bad an impression of the morals of the French. At first, some felt annoyed that we did not join in the feast, and were offended, -saying to us that our action prevented them from boasting, as they had hoped, to strange Tribes that they were relations of the French; and they were afraid they would say that the friendship was only in appearance, since we had not allowed the bones of our Frenchmen to mingle with theirs. Afterward, however, when they had heard all our reasons, they thought we had acted prudently, and that it was the true way to maintain friendship with both parties.

Shall I finish the present letter with this funeral ceremony? Yes, since it is a very clear token of the hope of a future life that nature herself seems to furnish us in the minds of these Tribes, as a most fitting means to get them to taste the promises of Jesus Christ. Is there not reason to hope that they will do so, [219] and as soon as possible? Of a truth, I dare indeed affirm that, judging from present appearances, we have grounds for strengthening our courage, and saying about our Hurons what saint Paul wrote to the Philippians, *Confidens hoc ipsum, quia qui c♦pit in vobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in them Christi Jesu*. These poor people open their ears to what we say to them about the Kingdom of Heaven; they find it very reasonable, and dare not contradict it; they fear the judgments of God in a future life; they are beginning to have recourse with us to his goodness in their necessities, and Our Lord seems to favor them, at times, with some special assistance. They procure Baptism for those whom they see in danger of death; they give us their children to be instructed, [page 311] even permitting them to come three hundred leagues for that purpose, notwithstanding the tender affection they have for them; they promise to follow them some day, and declare they would not give us pledges so precious, if they were not desirous of keeping their word. You might say they are only waiting to see one of their number take the first dreaded step, and [220] venture to run counter to the customs of the Country. Let me add they are a People who have a settled habitation, - judicious, capable of reason, and sufficiently numerous.

I made mention last year of twelve Nations, all being sedentary and populous and who understand the tongue of our Hurons; and our Hurons make, in twenty Villages, about thirty thousand souls. If the remainder is in proportion, there are more than three hundred thousand of the Huron tongue alone. God gives us influence among them, causes us to be held in estimation, makes us so much loved that we do not know to whom to listen, so eager is every one to have us. In truth, we should be very ungrateful to the mercy of God if we lost courage amid all this, and did not give him time to bring forth the fruit in its due season.

It is true I have some little fear in regard to the time when I must employ a new language in reference to their morals, and teach them to keep down the flesh, and hold them in the honesty of Marriage, preventing divorces by fear of the judgments of God on the lewd; when it will be a question Of [221] saying to them on all occasions, *Quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt*. I am afraid they will become restive when we shall speak to them of being reclothed in Jesus Christ, of wearing his livery, and [page 313] of being distinguished in the capacity of Christians, from what they were previously, by a virtue of which they scarcely recognize the name, when we shall say to them with the Apostle, *For this is the will of God, your sanctification; that every one of you should know how to preserve his body as a \_Precious vessel in sanctification and in honor, and not give way to the passion of his lusts, like the Gentiles that know not God*. It is, I say, much to be feared that they will be alarmed at the proposal of purity and chastity, and that they will reject, when it is presented, the doctrine of the Son of God, saying with the men of Capernaum, on another subject, *Durus est hic sermo, et quis potest eum audire?* Since, however, by the grace of God, through the open profession we, leave, made of this virtue. we have secured thus much, that they dare neither to do nor to mention anything contrary to it in our presence, - even going so far as to threaten Strangers when they offend against propriety before us, warning them that the French [222] and especially the black Robes, detest such liberties, - is it not most probable that, if once the holy Spirit takes them in hand, he will impress upon them so deeply, in every place and time, the respect they owe to his divine presence and immensity, that they will be very glad to be chaste in order to be Christians, and will ask earnestly to be Christians in order to be chaste? I imagine that it was for this particular purpose that Our Lord inspired us to put them under the special protection of saint Joseph. This great Saint, - who was in other times given as a Spouse to the glorious Virgin, to conceal both from the eyes of the world and from the Devil a virginity that God honored by his Incarnation♦ has so much power with this Holy Lady, in whose [page 315] hands her Son has placed, as in deposit, all the graces which assist this celestial virtue, that there is scarcely anything to fear in the contrary vice for those who are fully devoted to her, such as we desire our Hurons and ourselves to be. It is for this end, and for the complete conversion of these Tribes, that we [223] commend ourselves cordially to the prayers of all those who love or wish to love God, and in particular of all our Fathers and Brothers.

Your  
very  
humble  
and  
very  
obedient  
servant  
in  
our  
Lord,

JEAN DE BREBEUF.

ILLUSTRATION  
OR MAP  
TO BE INSERTED ON  
THIS PAGE  
NOTES TO VOL. X

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

*Map of Huron Country.* ♦ The (subsidiary) map of the Huron country which appears on the large map accompanying vol. i. of this series is substantially the same as that given in Parkman's *Jesuits*, which was based on Tach ♦'s researches. The map in the present volume, facing this page, embodies the results of the arch ♦ ological investigations pursued in the Huron country during the thirty years and more since Tach ♦ (vol. v., pp. 295-298), in the identification of mission sites ♦ notably those of St. Michael, St. Joseph, and St. Ignace, which are now more satisfactorily established than when Parkman wrote his *Jesuits*. This map has been prepared especially for this work, by Andrew F. Hunter, of Barrie, Ont., whose careful and enthusiastic researches are already known to our readers through his notes, contributed to this series, on Huron tribes and localities; and it will aid the reader to follow more accurately the vicissitudes of the ill-fated Huron missions.

Localities indicated on this map are described in preceding volumes as follows: Vol. v., ♦ country of the Attignaouantan (Bear clan), *note* 17; Ossossan ♦ and Ihonatiria, *notes* 60, 61. Vol. viii., ♦ O ♦ nrio (Wenrio), *note* 31; Scanonaenrat, *note* 38; Onentisati, *note* 42. See also vol. viii., *note* 23, for location of the Attiguenongha clan of Hurons.

Through an oversight, the map does not indicate the name of the township of Tiny; this lies west of the township of Tay, and extends from Thunder Bay, on the north, to Cranberry Lake on the southern end.

*end of Volume X*

VOL. XI

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents  
Travels and Explorations  
of the Jesuit Missionaries  
in New France  
1610 ♦ 1791

Travels and Explorations



# of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France

1610❖1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALI-  
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-  
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

Reuben Gold Thwaites

Secretary of the State historical Society of Wisconsin

COMPUTERIZED TRANSCRIPTION BY

Thom Mentrak

Historical Interpreter at

Ste. Marie Among The Iroquois Living History Museum

Liverpool. New York

Vol. ?

*{PLACE}*

*{YEAR}*

CLEVELAND: The Burrows Brothers

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PREFACE TO VOL. XI.

PREFACE TO VOL. XI

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

XXVII. Brébeuf, the superior of the Huron mission, writes a brief letter from Ihonatiria, in the Huron country, to his general at Rome, Vitelleschi, outlining the progress of the Huron mission thus far, and asking for more laborers in this great field; the prime qualifications for effective service are, unvarying gentleness, and unshaken patience. The letter is without date, but bears internal evidence of having been written in 1636.

XXVIII. This second letter of Brébeuf to the general, dated at Ihonatiria, May 20, 1637, is a similar special report upon the condition of the Huron missions. The more detailed Huron *Relation* of the year, by Le Mercier, was closed at Ihonatiria a month later (June 21), and forwarded to the Quebec superior, Le Jenne. In his letter, Brébeuf mentions two hindrances experienced in their work during the past year, the ravages of a pestilence (apparently the smallpox) to which many Indians had succumbed, but from which the whites had fortunately recovered; and the reports, spread by their enemies, that the disease had been introduced by the French, which at first were easily believed by the credulous tribesmen. However, upon the mitigation of the [page 1] scourge, the missionaries had regained their influence, and many conversions now occur. Over two hundred have been baptized, and many of the natives are under regular instruction. A new mission station, that of the Immaculate Conception, has been erected at Ossossané (La Rochelle); and Huron boys are being sent to the seminary at Quebec. He names his five co-workers, who are studying the native language, and especially praises the aptitude of Garnier therein.

XXIX. The *Relation* of 1637 is, as usual, a composite; see, for particulars, Bibliographical Data for the present volume. Le Jeune's *Relation* proper, as superior of the Jesuit missions in New France (Part I. of the document), was closed on board the ship Ste. Marie, " at Cap Rouge; in the present volume, we give chaps. i. ix. thereof, reserving the rest of Part I. for Vol. XII., and Part II. (the annual Huron *Relation*) for Vols. XIII., XIV. The following synopsis covers the portion published in this volume:

The superior opens his *Relation* by describing the sympathy and assistance bestowed upon the Canadian mission by its friends in Europe. The Pope has sent them plenary indulgences for certain feast days, and asks the general of the order for a Relation of the progress made by the mission. Montmagny, the new governor of Canada, appointed as successor to Champlain, is one of the Knights of Malta, who have consented to defend New France. Several persons are thanked with heartfelt gratitude, who have given financial aid to the mission. The superior reports that prayers innumerable are being uttered in France, for the success of the cause. Nuns are planning to come hither, the Ursulines to teach the Indian [page 2] girls, the Hospital nuns to nurse the sick.

The writer then praises the good conduct of the French colonists, and their lively interest in the religious services held by the missionaries. A vivid and ingenuous description is given of the fireworks with which was celebrated the feast of " the glorious Patriarch, Saint Joseph, whereat the simple savages were filled with astonishment and delight. The new governor avails himself of this opportunity to warn the natives that " the French are more powerful than the demons, and command the fire." The peace and good order prevailing in the colony are largely ascribed to the piety and ability of the governor, who is a firm friend of the missionaries, and treats the Indians with the utmost kindness.

Le Jenne then enters upon his customary recital of the conversions and baptisms that have occurred during the year, the latter numbering over three hundred, counting those in the Huron country. Again, too, he urges strongly the importance not only for their conversion, but for the civilization and development of the country of rendering the nomadic tribes stationary. He devotes much space to an account of the debates upon religious doctrines, held between the missionaries and the Indians, and the instruction which

the latter thus receive. Prominent among the natives is a chief named Makheabichtichiou, who shows many signs of conversion, and whom the missionaries hope soon to receive into the fold of the church. The other savages have at least become more friendly and attentive, though but few are willing to give up their old superstitions and Customs. The Fathers find, however, great consolation and encouragement in the Indian children who [page 5] attend the mission school; "neither snow, nor wind, nor cold prevents them from coming," and they are apt and interested pupils. Much to his surprise, the superior finds that "it is incomparably easier to tame and instruct the little girls than the boys." With both, but especially with the girls, a strong incentive to progress is found in the example of the French children, who are taught in the same school, and of whom the Indian youth are fond.

The missionaries have to meet many difficulties, the sale of liquor to the Indians, slyly practiced by certain Frenchmen; the slanders and misrepresentations of disaffected savages; the jealousy of the medicine men, with whom they are in frequent and hostile collision; and the constant rage and opposition of the devil, whose kingdom they have so resolutely invaded. But they have great faith that, in the strength of God, they will eventually overcome all these enemies, and cause New France to become a province of his kingdom.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., November, 1897.

## XXVII XXVIII

# Two Letters by Jean de Br beuf, to the General of the Order

XXVII. Ihonatiria [1636, *ca.*]

XXVIII. Ihonatiria, May 20, 1637

SOURCE: We follow Father Martin's apographs (now in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal) of the original Latin *ex MSS. Soc. Jes.* [page 5]

## Letter of Father Jean de Br beuf to the Very Reverend Father Mutius Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

ERY REVEREND FATHER,

The peace of Christ.

In order that Your Paternity might have full knowledge of matters pertaining to this house which we have established among the Huron peoples of New France or Canada, relations of this and the preceding years should have been sent to you; but, because I think that Our Reverend Father Provincial will see that these are sent, I will merely say that we have good hope of some day reaping a large harvest of souls at this mission. The Hurons live in towns, not wandering about after the manner of wild animals, or even like many other savages. They have in all twenty towns, some of which are enclosed by very strong wooden walls. They change their abode sometimes certainly when there is no longer sufficient wood for their fires, or when the land, long tilled, produces scanty crops. For they cultivate the fields, from which they gather Indian corn, the grain which some call Turkish, abundance of excellent pumpkins, and also tobacco. All this region abounds in game and fish; and so the Hurons have at hand the means of supplying a living, if not luxurious, yet adequate and healthful; and they sell to others. They are not so uncivilized as not to be endowed with excellent sense and judgment [page 7]; and this is true of almost all of them. As for the mysteries of our faith, although these are entirely new to their ears, they yet do not gainsay them, or mock or scorn them; nay, rather they wonder, praise, and approve, though without keeping them long before their minds. They all have but one answer "Such is not our custom; your world is different from ours; the God who created yours," they say, "did not create ours." In short, caught in Satan's snares, their evil habits still hold them back. Many, it is true, gladly worship the God whom we preach; but when opportunity for their old superstitions again arises, they scarcely abstain therefrom. Among other things that move them, they are frightened by the torment of hell; and, enticed by the joys of paradise, they open their eyes to the light of truth. Since we came here, 2 years ago, we have baptized more than go. Of this number, some, both adults and children, have already gone to heaven, as we believe, or at least hope. We believe that many others must be allured by the prayers and examples of these. For parents yet surviving say that they do not wish to be separated from their children, and that where these have gone, they too will go after death. Only three fathers of our Society were here last year, but this year there are five. We have enjoyed great peace with all men, and health so complete that it is almost a miracle to the savages, and convinces them that the God whom we worship, and who exercises so great care over his own, is the best especially since hardly one of the savages escaped last year the infection of a certain plague, by which very many were destroyed. Two of the Fathers who are here, Father Antoine Daniel and [page 9] Father Ambroise Davost, are to go back to Kebec, I believe, and take with them some picked young men of the Hurons, to make the beginning of a seminary. We expect 2 or 3 other Fathers in their place, and request still others for the following year. For now there is need of laborers not a few not indeed to reap, but to sow, or rather to learn the language, that the word of God may be sown. For, if they are not versed in the language, they cannot sow, much less reap. I have tolerable skill in that language, but the others who are here are very proficient therein. Among the other jewels with which the laborer in this mission ought to shine, gentleness and patience must hold the first rank; and never will this field produce fruit except through mildness and patience; for one should never expect to force it by violent and arbitrary action. All, surely, who are here are zealously striving towards perfection; I alone, as it seems to me, am feeble, to my own great disadvantage.

From the residence of St. Joseph, among the Hurons, Canadian peoples, at the village of Ihonatiria.



Your Paternity's most humble servant, and obedient son in Christ,

J. DE BREBEUF.

[page 11]

## Letter of Father Jean de Br beuf to the Very Reverend Father Mutius Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

ERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

The peace of Christ.

I wrote last year to Your Paternity regarding the condition of the Hurons, among whom we labor of their customs, and of the prospect of reaping there, in the future, a harvest of some souls. Besides this, I think there were sent you two relations of the preceding years, from which, as from the one we now send, you can gain a clear understanding of all our affairs. I will say, therefore, to Your Paternity, that two things occurred this year, which somewhat checked the progress of the gospel. The first was a pestilence, of unknown origin, which eight months ago spread through several villages, and caused the death of many. The divine providence even so dealt with us that we should not be exempt from the calamity. In fact, it almost began with us, or at least attacked both us and the savages at the same time. Of us who labor here, six priests, and the four lay brothers then with us, we saw seven confined to their beds at the same time, and near unto death. The same divine goodness has restored us all to our former health and strength, in which we still continue. But our Hurons either, still ignorant of life eternal, or still unbelievers sought remedies for their diseases, [page 13] sufficient for this present life, with so distressful anxiety that they scarcely lent ear to us who admonished them concerning the life eternal. No one would have refused, if we had promised health. But very many, on account of their ardent desire for this life, wretchedly lost both, to our great sorrow. The second obstacle arose from the tales spread among the people by followers of the devil, that our Frenchmen, and we in particular, were the cause of this pestilence, and that our sole purpose in coming to their country was to compass their destruction; and much else of the same sort, and equally false, did they scatter broadcast. All this, moreover, not only estranged several villages from us for a time, but also caused a determination on the part of some to remove us from their midst, as being dangerous to the common weal. But he who alone "mortificat et vivificat, ad inferos deducere et reducere potest," snatched us from these dangers, and even made the savages sue for pardon in suppliant wise. Now those false reports have all finally ceased. We are gladly heard, we have baptized more than two hundred this year, and there is hardly a village that has not invited us to go to it. Besides, the result of this pestilence and of these reports has been to make us better known to this people; and at last it is understood, from our actions and from our truths [of religion], that we have not come hither to buy skins or carry on any traffic, but solely to teach them and win them to Christ, and to procure for them their souls' health, and finally everlasting and immortal life. Furthermore, since some families, although not yet baptized, rested all their hope in the Lord, and therefore [page 15] almost alone remained safe and unharmed, it has resulted that they believe, and eagerly ask for baptism, which, as we hope, they will receive, when they shall have been sufficiently proved. We have seen, too, no uncertain signs of present grace in many whom we have purified through baptism; and already many, both old and young, have, as we believe, soared away to heaven, blessed intercessors before God for their friends. Finally, we have come to hope that this pestilence, which still rages, once abated in due season, and the minds of men restored to that tranquillity necessary to the hearing and understanding of the truths of the faith very many will be converted.

We are now building a new house in this village, which we call Rupella [La Rochelle], the savages Ossossan, a populous town, where the pestilence was especially severe, where we have always been kindly welcomed and heard, and where they long for us. This house will be called the Residence of the Immaculate Conception. We plan, too, even this year, to send two of our number to that Huron nation that is called Attignenonghac, to establish there at first these men, and later a residence, if a prospect of some success shall appear. I believe those at Quebec report about the seminary of the Hurons begun there, in which five young men have spent the past winter. We shall now send others there, and look for no little aid from that quarter in binding the Huron people closely to us and to Christ. Thus, indeed, the faith gathers its harvest, but in toil, vigils, sorrows, and patience. Long must be the time of clearing, long the time of sowing; and [page 17] afterwards comes the reaping. Although now, in the beginning, we sow the seed with tears and sighs, yet some day *II venientes veniemus cum exultatione portantes manipulos nostros.*"

The Fathers with whom I am associated are Father Francois Mercier, Father Pierre Pijart, Father Pierre Chastellain, Father Charles Garnier, and Father Isaac Jogues. These are in every way extraordinary workers, who in an unusual manner combine eloquence and union with God with a burning zeal for souls. So persistent and studious are they all, that in only one or two years they have gained a truly wonderful proficiency in a language still rude and not reduced to grammatical rules; however, in this regard Father Charles Garnier ranks first, I think. Since matters stand thus, why should we not, assured of the goodness of God, look forward with hope to a bounteous harvest of souls?

Your Paternity's most humble servant and obedient son in Christ,

JEAN DE BREBEUF. J.

From the residence of St. Joseph, among the Hurons, in the village of Ihonatiria. May 20, 1637.

Since the time of writing the above, the new residence of the Conception, which I mentioned, has been finished; and we began to live there on the day sacred to the holy martyrs Primus and Felicianus that is, June 9th. It is [wonderful] with what good will and applause of the whole village we were received. Later, on the day sacred to the holy Trinity, we purified by holy baptism, and that with solemn ceremony, a man aged fifty years, from whom we [page 19] entertain hopes of great results in the future; for he is in all respects well instructed and long proved. He is of great repute, influence, and esteem the first adult man baptized in health; and, indeed, through his example some have already come and urgently entreated that we should baptize them.

XXIX

Le Jeune's Relation, 1637

Rouen: JEAN LE BOULLENGER, 1638



Source: We reprint from the original of the first issue (H. 67), in Lenox Library.

The document consists of two parts: Part I., by Le Jeune, as superior, consisting of the *Relation* proper, and a *Dernière Lettre*; Part 11., the annual Huron Relation, made to Le Jeune by Le Mercier. In the present volume, we give chaps. i.-ix. of Part I.; the remainder of Part 1. will occupy Vol. XII. In Vol. XIII., will appear the greater portion of Part 11., the document being completed in Vol. XIV.

RELATION  
OF WHAT OCCURRED  
IN  
NEW FRANCE  
IN THE YEAR 1637.  
Sent to the  
REVEREND FATHER PROVINCIAL  
of the Society of Jesus  
in the Province of France.

*By Father Paul le Jeune of the same Society,*

*Superior of the Residence of Kébec.*

*ROUEN,*

Jean le Boullenger, near the

College of the Jesuit Fathers.



M. D C. XXXVIII.

BY ROYAL LICENSE.



## Extract from the Royal License.

BY the Grace and Prerogative of the King, permission is granted to Jean le Boulenger, Book seller and Printer at Rouen, to print or to have printed and exposed for sale, a Book entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année mil six cents trente-sept. Envoyé au R. P. Provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Province de France. Par le Pere Paul le Jeune de la mesme Compagnie, Supérieur de la Residence de Kébec*: and this during the time and space of seven consecutive years. Prohibiting all Booksellers and Printers to print or to have printed the said Book, under pretext of disguise or change they may make therein, on penalty of confiscation of the copies that shall be found, and of seven hundred livres fine, as provided by the License. Given at Paris the 5th day of February, 1638.

By the King in Council,

PETIT.

[page 25]

## Approbation.

I, Estienne Binet, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of France, in accordance with the License which has been granted us by the Most Christian Kings, Henry III. May 10th 1583, Henry IV. December 10th 1605, and Louis XIII. now reigning, February 14th 1612, by which all Booksellers are prohibited from printing any Book of those composed by one of our said Society, without permission of the Superiors thereof; I permit Jean le Boulenger, Bookseller and Printer in the city of Rouen, to print for ten years the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la nouvelle France, en l'année* 1637, which has been sent me by Father Paul le Jeune of our same Society, Superior of the Residence of Kebec. In testimony whereof, I have signed the present at Paris this 22nd of January, 1638.

Signed,

E. BINET.

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Y REVEREND FATHER,

When I took my pen in hand to begin the Relation of what occurred this year in some places in new France where our Society makes its dwelling, my mind was almost void of ideas, if not quite bewildered. I found myself overcome by a feeling of wonder which left my soul only the strength necessary to cast my eyes upon the greatness of God, and to adore his guidance. Then, recovering myself, I reflected upon the various tidings written to me from your Europe, and from some parts of our America. I learned through my eyes

and my ears how France was on fire for us, and how the upper countries of the Savages were nothing but ice. I read on one side that the great of the earth were giving us their hearts for Heaven, and that the small of the world (thus I call those who know not God) held us in abhorrence.

I heard a thousand plaudits from our lands to the East, and from the countries that we possess almost to the West came only insults; so that we were at the same time covered with glory and with opprobrium. They wrote me from your France that we should take courage, that God was for us, since he granted us the affections of his friends; that an infinite number of saintly souls were blessing our insignificant labors; and the intelligence came to me from the remoter parts of this, our Land of Barbarism, that no misfortunes, neither rain, nor pestilence, -nor drought, happened there, that those unbelievers did not impute to all the French, and to us most **[page 39]** especially. From afar I heard this cry: " What do you fear? Your heart is too much oppressed; is the arm of God shortened? Ask for Fathers and for men to scatter the fire everywhere." And others said to me, confidentially, as it were, " You are making great strides, you are already burdened with people beyond your strength; do not ask according to the needs of these countries, but according to your own ability. You are going into extravagances which will make excellent men suffer, if succor should fail you; the country is not yet in a condition to sustain both French and Savages at the same time, and if the ships should not come, you must needs be embarrassed." I learned through a great many letters that people of high rank and most signal virtue were contending for us in heaven and upon the earth; and it was made evident to me, on a bit of bark or paper, that the Demons were let loose and were powerfully opposing our plans. In short, we find ourselves in life and in death. Old France desired us for centuries, and part of the New could scarcely endure us for a moment. In a word, we were at the same time taken for Angels and for Devils. Such were the news I received on the arrival of the ships from France, and the bark canoes from the Algonquins and Hurons. Turning it all over in my mind, I found myself (as I have already said) amazed at the greatness of God. For I can say with truth that this shocking news brought from a Barbarous land has not pleased me less than the gentle favors with which the skies of France have blessed us. It is a sign that the Demons have been powerfully attacked, since they put themselves vigorously on the defensive. The enemy who does not give battle is **[page 41]** dangerous, for he does not weaken his strength; the bloodier a battle is, the nobler the victory and the more glorious the triumph. The more this infant Church has in common with the primitive one, the greater hope it gives us of seeing it produce flowers and fruits

worthy of Paradise. But let us defer this discussion to the fourteenth chapter, and to

the Relation which has been sent me from the Hurons. Let us speak of our

French Colony, and of the wandering Savages, who will be all the

slower to embrace our faith the less resistance they make to

us.. But after all, both the former and the latter belong

to God; when it shall please him, his goodness

will unseal their eyes. This film which

covers their sight seems to be

growing thinner; some day

we shall see it fall, with

joy and with

benediction.

So be it.

**[page 43]**

[I] Relation of what occurred in new France in the year one thousand six hundredand thirty-seven.

## CHAPTER I.

### OF THE ASSISTANCE WHICH OLD FRANCE GIVES TO THE NEW.

THOUGHT I was speaking so fully last year on the sentiments of affection for new France, entertained by many persons of merit, that I could write nothing more upon this subject without repetition. But the interest that is felt in the salvation of our poor Savages continues to extend, with so remarkable a growth that we would be condemned for ingratitude before God and men if we did not bless [2] heaven therefor, and bear witness thereof to the earth. I will not repeat what I have said of the kind interest of our great King, of the attentions of Monseigneur the Cardinal, of the great outlays of Messieurs the Associates and Directors, who assure me that they did not receive any special letter from me on the return of the fleet, which has not prevented them from honoring me with strong evidence of their affection; but I beg them very humbly to believe that I did perform this duty towards them, as well as towards a number of very honorable personages who have received no news from me; I do not know by what fate my letters were not delivered to them. **[page 45]** Moreover, these Gentlemen speak to me in terms which should be made public, after having declared the desire they had of extending the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Here is the way they continue:

*We have learned, and hold it to be a safe rule, that, in order to form the body of a good Colony, it is necessary to begin with Religion. It is to the state what the heart is to the organism of a man, the chief and vitalizing part. It is upon this that the founders of great Republics have based the plans of their edifices, which would not endure if they had other foundations. Therefore, we declare [3] that*

*it shall always be treated as something precious, and that on all occasions we will give it precedence in new France.* My heart utters a long discourse in reading these words, to which my mouth will give no other answer than these two words, *Fiat, fiat, in nomine Domini!* David, wishing to build the house of God, effectively established his own.

The interest felt in our Colony and in our poor Savages, is not bounded by the Alps. His Holiness, wishing to crown us with his blessings, has had sent to us this year plenary Indulgences for the days of the Conception of the blessed Virgin, and of our glorious patron and protector, saint Joseph. Furthermore, he has requested from our Reverend Father General a brief Relation of all that is done here for the glory of our Lord, in order to grant us the graces and favors necessary for the welfare of this infant Church.

The grand Master of Malta, a man full of courage, of wisdom, and of virtue, is pleased, as I have been informed, with the reports made to him concerning new France. His most Christian Majesty, [4] Monseigneur the Cardinal, and Messieurs the Directors **[page 47]** and Associates, have given us as Governor one of his Chevaliers, whom I would willingly call, with due respect to all those brave soldiers of Jesus Christ, the honor of Malta and the good fortune of our Colony. Monsieur his Lieutenant, who wears this same honorable cross, walks so strictly in his footsteps, that we all have reason to acknowledge our great obligations to this holy soldiery, constantly armed for the glory of the Christian name.

If I dared to violate the secret, I would place here the names of a number of persons, very high in honor, in virtue, in merit, whose hearts and hands contend along with us, in heaven and upon earth. One of them, seeing that a Hospital was being provided for the poor Savages, lays the foundations of a Seminary for little girls. I know not whither my thoughts carry me when I write this. I desire to speak and am condemned to silence; I wish to render some acts of thanksgiving in behalf of these poor little creatures, and I am commanded to be ungrateful.

Others manifest a disposition to lay the foundations of a Seminary for Montagnets, [5] Algonquins, and Hurons. One great heart, well known to God, but very little to men, has already laid a few stones of this noble edifice. " This," says another, " is to maintain three Fathers, or three Huron children, " and with these three words he doeth an act with his right hand which his left hand knoweth not. All this and many other things are whispered in my ears with an injunction against obeying these words of the son of God, *Quod in aure auditis predicate super tecta*, preach in public what you shall have heard in secret. The secrets of Kings should be held as secrets; but to hide from men the knowledge of the **[page 49]** goodness of God in the hearts of men, is a species of injustice into which I am pushed. To be sure if seals are placed upon our lips they cannot be placed upon our hearts; if we are rendered mute before men, we cannot be forbidden to speak in the presence of God. We will bless him, then, in time and in eternity; and we will procure for him blessings forever, in heaven and upon earth, in thanksgiving for all the favors his friends bestow either upon our Colony, or our Savages, or ourselves. The time will come, [6] it is not far distant, for life is short, when all things will be seen in their true light, and when souls once barbarous, now washed in the blood of the lamb, will bestow a thousand benedictions upon those who have drawn them from the abyss, either through their prayers, or their liberality, or their works. Oh how long is eternity! If only one single soul were placed in heaven, what acts of thanksgiving will not this spouse of Jesus Christ in the lapse of endless ages, render to those who shall have been instrumental in her salvation! She will see the felicity she will enjoy and the unhappiness she has escaped; she will commune on the other side of time in a familiar and perfect friendship, with those who shall have averted her unhappiness and procured her blessedness. God! who can conceive the sentiments she will feel for them! My heart melts when I think of the souls I see leaving this world, still red with the blood of Jesus Christ. Ah! what gentle looks they cast upon the Divinity! What thoughts and what love have they for those, who, near or far, have extended to them a hand to place them in the bosom of glory.

[7] But I could not omit, without some sort of crime, **[page 51]** that the Queen, elevated as high by her virtues as by the steps of her throne, is not so dazzled by the splendors of her crown, that she does -not sometimes cast her regards upon her new France. I have learned this through the letters of mother Magdalene of saint Joseph Carmelite, of the great Convent of the Faubourg saint Jacques. This good soul also testifies to me that Madame the Princess is interested in our plans as well as Monseigneur the Duke d'Anguien, her son. Here are her words:

*Thus far great blessings have been showered upon these .poor little ones* (she is speaking of the little Savage girls, whom we have sent to France) *and the hand of God is plainly manifested in the affection that every one shows for them; and even Madame the Princess says she will take the one who remains to its, when she is fourteen or fifteen years old. This is a great blessing, for a good and virtuous Princess, as she is, can do much.* Dare I say one little word in favor of this new Christian? If some one would give her a dowry, when she is of marriageable age, and then send her back to these [8] countries, I believe that much would be accomplished for the glory of our Lord. For a little Savage girl comfortably settled here, and married to some Frenchman or Christian Savage, would be a powerful check upon some of her wandering countrymen. This is the point to be aimed at, if this nation is to be effectually succored. I depend greatly upon the goodness of our Lord, that he will open the hands of some of his friends to bring about the marriage of another one, whom we have here in the home of one of our Frenchmen, who is now rearing and supporting her. Seeing her grow taller every day, not long ago I asked our Fathers who are here what help we **[page 53]** could give her in case she should marry. I proposed to have a little house built and some land cleared for her, and to support her until she should have enough for herself. This was thought a great undertaking in our straitened circumstances; for in truth first beginnings are fraught with great outlays. Nevertheless, after having recommended the matter to God, here is what the Reverend Father Charles l'Allemand, Superior of the residence of nostre Dame des Anges, wrote me in regard to it: *I have thought over what [9] your -Reverence said to us the other day about the marriage of Amiskoueian (this is the name of the girl who is not yet baptized); if he who wishes to marry her is a God-fearing man, let us make an effort; how do we know that God will not enter by this door?* I leave the matter, however, to your Reverence. God will do all in his time; he will know so well how to direct this effort that it will not dislocate our arms, which have no other support than in his strength.

Although I have already become very tedious, yet I must render a thousand thanks to Madame de Comballet. I would sooner add another chapter than be forgetful of a heart which is guilty of no other excess than love of its God, in which there can be no excess. This Lady is endowed with a great mind; she sees in eternity the good which she does in time; but if her eyes, moistened by the waters of a single baptism, saw that the salvation of these tribes depends upon the powerful aid she gives them through the establishment and foundation of a Hospital, her heart would make use of a language which only speaks in silence, the language in which she often communes with God, blessing him for having chosen her for so great a work. **[page 55]**

[10] Moreover, so many prayers, so many vows are made, and so many Sacrifices are offered to advance his honor and secure his glory in these countries, that all this surpasses wonder. I will say here, for the last time, what I have often reiterated in the preceding Relations, that a vast number of most holy Religious in the house of God are throwing open their souls before his goodness, to cause him to bestow his mercies upon a people barbarous in the extreme.



Word is sent me that the Congregations of the holy Virgin, established in our houses, and the pupils in our Colleges, have thousands of times presented our Savior to his Father, in order to wrench infidelity from the souls of these Savages.

The Prioress of the Carmelites of Aix in Provence informs me that likewise Madame the wife of the First President of that city, foundress of their house, has established a hermitage in their enclosure, where all prayers and orisons which shall ever be offered there, will be addressed to God for the salvation of new France. All this holy Order takes arms for us with so much ardor that I am overwhelmed therewith. I should never finish if I tried to exhibit the sentiments of their hearts [11] which I see before my eyes, contained in their letters. There is a struggle among them as to who shall humble herself the most before God, to raise to heaven souls which do not fear hell.

There has fallen into my hands a vow signed by the Nuns of the Annonciade, lately established at Paris, by which they offer all their mortifications, their fastings, their prayers, in a word, all their acts of holiness, to be united and presented to God with our little labors, that it may please him to open the [page 57] eyes of a people blind for so many centuries. I will say nothing of the Ursuline mothers; they write me with such ardor, and in so great numbers, and from so many different places, that if the door were open for their desires, a city of Nuns would be formed, and there would be found ten teachers to one pupil. Sex, age, disease, severe attacks of seasickness, do not prevent them from making a sacrifice of their persons to God. If they could transport ready-made cities and cleared lands, I would advise that ships be chartered expressly to bring them over; otherwise, not, ♦ God hears them as well in old France as in the new. The time [12] Will come when some of them will obtain what an army of them is demanding; our Lord will make his choice from among them.

If I had to report all the acts of devotion of the Sisters of Montmartre, of the Nuns of Ave Maria at Paris, of the daughters of sainte Marie, of nostre Dame, ♦ in a word, of a multitude of holy institutions, I should make a Relation of what is being done in your France for the welfare of ours.

Let us put in the last place the Hospital Nuns, since they are the first to cross over. I had written to them to send me the names of those who wished to come to these countries to begin that institution; they wrote me a letter full of edification, concluding that it would be necessary to set down the names of all in the house. This zeal is praiseworthy; but let them be persuaded, if they please, that those who might be too much grieved at not being the first to come over, are not the proper persons to come last. The spirit of God is not in a violent and troublous wind, Sed in aura tenui, factus est in pace locus ejus, it is in the gentleness of peace. Finally, as a conclusion [page 59] to this chapter, I will say that our Lord, kindling so many hearts, animating [13] so many persons great in virtue and in honor, wishing to be prayed to from so many places by the most purified souls, gives us reason to believe that he intends to be known to these peoples, and that our littleness will not hinder the excellence of his goodness, solicited by the prayers and vows, and by the help of so many souls, who have no other interests than his glory. Our hope is contained in these four words: In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras, in patience alone is gathered the harvest of souls. It seems to me I see two quite opposite extremes in various persons; some expect too soon, the others postpone too far, the conversion of the Savages. Patience abides on middle ground, ♦ it will accomplish what some think they already hold, and what they will not have so soon; it will enjoy in its own time what others despair of. O that I might be blessed in being a little grain of sand cast into the depths of the foundation of this Church! If the edifice is not so soon erected, it will be firmer and more solid. So be it. [page 61]

## [13 i.e., 14] CHAPTER II.

### OF THE GOOD CONDUCT OF OUR FRENCH.

HERE are lands so good and fertile that they produce better grain than the seeds sown in them. There are some so malignant that they change the good grain into bad, transforming wheat into rye, and causing barley to degenerate into oats. But I do not believe there is to be found in the bosom of nature any land which produces heads of wheat after having received only thistle seeds. Yet this miracle happens quite often in new France. Every year the ships bring us many people who come to increase our Colony; this number, like coin, is of mingled gold and base alloy; it is composed of choice and well-selected souls, and of others indeed base and degraded. Now it seems to me that I can say with truth that the Soil of new France is watered [15] by so many heavenly blessings, that souls nourished in virtue find here their true element, and are consequently healthier than elsewhere. As for those whose vices have rendered them diseased, they not only do not grow worse, but very often, coming to breathe a salubrious air, and far removed from opportunities for sin, changing climate they change their lives, and a thousand times bless the sweet providence of God, which has made them find the door to felicity where others fear only misery. To be sure, we take pains everywhere to instruct our French; everywhere the word of God is preached; [page 63] there is no place where the doctrine of Jesus Christ is not explained. Our Churches or Chapels are by far too small; it is a very real consolation to see them usually filled, *usque ad cornu altaris*. Father Adam, who has almost recovered from his paralysis in the great severity of the Winter, when the others usually contract it, had assumed as his share the instruction of those who lived at nostre Dame des Anges; but he was listened to by many other people, and found so much readiness to learn in some of his auditors, that he had a few of the young [16] men recite some of the doctrinal points that he had taught them; whence there ensued a spirit of emulation full of edification and profit. The children and young people of nostre Dame de Recouvrance at Kebec were so pleased with the Christian doctrine, that, although there had been preaching in the morning, and although high Mass was usually sung on Holydays and Sundays, yet at the close of Vespers they did not fail to stay and hear the Christian doctrine; so that the Chapel was as full at the end as at the beginning. And although Father de Quen continued this holy exercise for a long time, not only the people did not grow weary of it, but they took pleasure in seeing his skillful instruction of both children and adults. In a word, God has been worshiped in his houses, preaching has been well received both at Kebec and at the three Rivers, where Father Buteux usually instructed our French people; each of our brethren has been occupied in hearing many confessions, both ordinary and general; very few Holydays and Sundays during the Winter have passed in which we have not seen and received persons at the table of our Lord. And certain ones [page 65]

# ILLUSTRATION

## TO BE ADDED AT A LATER DATE

who for three, four, and five years had not confessed in [17] old France, now, in the new, approach this so salutary Sacrament oftener than once a month; prayers are offered kneeling and in public, not only at the fort, but also in families and little companies scattered here and there. As we have taken for patroness of the Church of Kebec the holy Virgin under the title of her Conception, which we believe to be immaculate, so we have celebrated this Festival with solemnity and rejoicing. At the first Vespers a Flag was raised on the bastion of the fort to the sound of cannon; and in the morning, at dawn, the artillery renewed our joy. Even the inhabitants, in testimony of their devotion to the blessed Virgin, and their belief in her purity from the moment of her Conception, fired a salute of muskets or arquebuses, and many approached the holy table in her honor.

The Festival of the glorious Patriarch saint Joseph. Father, Patron, and Protector of new France, is one of the great solemnities of this country. On the eve of this day, which is so dear to us, the Flag was hoisted, and the cannon fired, as I have said above. Monsieur the Governor had an exhibition of fireworks, [18] as artistically devised as almost any I have seen in France; on one side a skin was stretched, upon which appeared, in illuminated letters, the name of saint Joseph; above this sacred name burned a number of lighted candles from which sprang eighteen or twenty little serpents, which performed wonders. Behind this first contrivance had been placed fourteen large rockets, which were sent up, one after the other, to the astonishment of the French and still more of the Savages, who had never before seen anything of the kind. They wondered at the rain of **[page 67]** gold, or of fire, and at the stars which descended from far above, the fire of the rockets shooting straight upward, then curving around, and all the time very high in the air.

Near by they had erected a little castle, very well proportioned, and adorned with divers colors; it was flanked by four small towers filled with lighted candles, which showed all this little battery in full view. Around this piece of mechanism there were sixteen large rods enveloped in saucissons. At its four corners were seen four spinning wheels, and another larger one above the castle, which revolved around a cross of fire, lighted [19] by a number of burning candles, which made it look as if covered with diamonds. Besides this, there had been placed around this fortress, at equal distances, four large cylinders, whence could be seen springing forth thirteen dozen serpents, darting out six at a time, and at regular intervals; and four dozen rockets, which were to ascend twelve at a time. Here is the shape of this edifice.

Sieur Bourdon had constructed this contrivance, and sieur de Beaulieu had manufactured the fireworks. Towards evening Monsieur the Governor, and Monsieur de l'Isle, and all our Gentlemen emerged from the fort and came near the Church, to the place selected for these fireworks. All the inhabitants of new France, in the vicinity of K<sup>ebec</sup>, were present at this rejoicing. The shades of night had covered the sky and the earth, when sieur de Beaulieu presented a lighted brand to Monsieur the Governor, who set on fire the device, having it explained to the Savages, especially to the Hurons, **[page 69]** that the French were more powerful than Demons, that they commanded the fire; and that, if they wished to burn the villages of their enemies, they could soon do it.

On this Holyday our Church was full of people and of devotion, almost as [20] it is on an Easter day, all blessing God for having given us as a protector the foster father and Guardian Angel (so to speak) of Jesus Christ, his Son. It is, in my opinion, through his favor and through his merits, that the inhabitants of new France who live upon the banks of the great river saint Lawrence, have resolved to receive all the good customs of the old and to refuse admission to the bad ones.

Here is a holy law published and received with love and honor in the bosom of our churches, that in these sacred places, where people go to adore the crucifix, so charged with ignominy, no attention whatever is paid to precedence; woe to him who, through pride, shall attempt to violate this holy custom. Alas, if we had to consider whose right it is to pass first when it is a question of adoring Jesus Christ bound to the cross, we should create a Babylon instead of a holy Sion, and we would go in pride to seek humility. I bless God that those persons who, according to the world, would be most concerned in these precedences, or in these indecorous actions, to call them thus, are the first to trample under foot these puerilities unworthy of a strong character. And to tell the truth, so long as we have a Governor [21] who is a friend of virtue and so long as we have free speech in the Church of God, the monster of ambition will have no Altar there. I almost forgot to **[page 71]** say that we have spoken of God in his house in the Latin, French, Montagn<sup>s</sup>, and Huron tongues. But that will be taken up more in detail in the following chapters.

The ships had left us two persons of the pretended Religion. They have come over to the truth of the Catholic Church, and have publicly protested that they desired to live and die in this holy belief.

I have here a request to make, of all those who wish to express an opinion of the condition of our colony, to close their eyes while the ships are at anchor in our ports, and to open them at their departure, or shortly afterwards, to the agreeable sight of our countrymen. They wish to make merry, and they fall into excesses; their good habits grow drowsy, and vice begins to try to raise its head; there is a greater indulgence in drink and feasting during that time than in all the rest of the year. Those who have just arrived and who have read in the Relations that everything is done [22] here in an orderly way, seeing some dissoluteness, readily condemn us, and perhaps insert in the letters they write to France the sentence of our condemnation, having in fact some reason to disapprove an evil which it is difficult enough to remedy. But when the fleet has departed, when visits come to an end, when the Winter begins to rally us, how they lend ear to the word of God, and how those who have taken too much liberty recognize their shortcomings! Then those who thought that lawlessness reigned in our Colony, joyfully praise the piety and devotion thereof, provided they are not terrified and do not cry out that all is lost when they see, now and then, the misdeeds of a **[page 73]** few individuals. For although I praise and greatly honor our French people of new France, I do not deny that we have some who are weak and diseased. I know there are loose fellows who scandalize the Savages through their brutal language. These Barbarians say to me quite often, " Thou sayest one must not steal, and yet thy French have taken from us such and such things; thou sayest drunkards will go into the fires of hell, then such and such a one will be damned, for he is always drunk." Surely [23] it would be far better to be tied to a millstone and thrown into the sea, than to scandalize these poor infidels; and whoever does it shall render an account for the blood of Jesus Christ which he prevents from being applied to these poor souls. But these are the faults of very few persons, and of those of no consequence. All those who hold an honorable position here do not fall into these excesses, which are covered and hidden by the night, for they would not dare to show themselves openly. Virtue, by the grace of our Lord, walks here with its head erect, in honor and in glory; sin, in obscurity and in confusion. All the principal personages of our Colony honor Religion; I say with joy and God's blessing, that those whom his goodness has given to command over us, and those also who are coming to establish themselves in these countries, enjoy, cherish, and wish to follow the most sincere maxims of true Christianity. Is it not a very praiseworthy thing to harmonize soldiers, and artisans, and Frenchmen, gathered from different regions, with Savages; to hold all in check and in profound peace, and to gain the affection of all? It is the skill, [24] **[page 75]** prudence, and wisdom of Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, which works this kind of miracle. I believe I am uttering the sentiments of all those who are under his rule. We are under very singular

obligations to our great King, to Monseigneur the Cardinal, and to the Gentlemen of the Company, and we render to them very humble thanks, for having given us a man so valiant and so well versed in all kinds of knowledge; so fit to command, and, what I place before all these great qualities, so little interested in the world, and so greatly concerned for God. He is the first in pious acts, is present at the least important services, and in this way makes them honorable in the eyes of the greatest personages. The *primum mobile* takes up and carries away in its movement all the other heavenly spheres; and this man of God, loved by God and by men, walking in the footsteps of God, draws men along with him. I asked a good old man not long ago if he would not give his goddaughter in marriage, having learned that many were seeking her. " Neither her father, nor her mother, nor I " (he answered), " are in haste to send her away from us, as long as Monsieur our [25] Governor shall be here; and as long as you, my Fathers, shall have full liberty and authority to correct our vices and to show us the way to heaven, nothing shall oblige us to marry her. justice reigns here, insolence is banished, and shamelessness would not dare to raise its head. But when Monsieur our Governor shall go away, we shall have trouble in putting her in a place of safety; for we do not know who will come after him." May God preserve him to us for a long time. It is very important to introduce good laws and pious customs in these early [page 77] beginnings, for those who shall come after us will walk in our footsteps, and will readily conform to the example given them by us, whether tending to virtue or to vice. [page 79]

## [26] CHAPTER III.

### OF THE SAVAGES WHO HAVE RECEIVED BAPTISM.

UR Savages are always savage, they resemble the migratory birds of their own country. In one season turtledoves are sometimes found in such abundance that the end of their army cannot be seen when they are flying in a body; at other times in the same season they appear only in small flocks. It is the same with many other birds, with fish, and with terrestrial animals, ♦they vary according to the year. Our Savages are like them in this inconstancy. *Ephraïm sicut avis volavit*. Sometimes they come in a body, sometimes singly. Be that as it may, here are the fruits that have been gathered from those who have lived near our settlements.

Last year we baptized about one hundred Savages; this year, we have baptized more than three hundred in all, including those among the Hurons, at Kebec, and at the three Rivers. The first to receive this grace at Kebec was called *Tisiko* in his own language; he is one of the Seminarists [27] from the Hurons, of whom I shall speak in the proper place. Father Charles l'Allemant baptized him when he was almost in the last agony, and gave him the name of François.

On the 19th of September another Seminarist, named *Satouta*, was made a Christian, and named [page 81] Robert in his baptism; we shall speak of him also in the chapter on the Seminary for Hurons.

The third who has entered the Church of God was a little girl who was brought to me when I was at the River des prairies with Monsieur our Governor. When her mother found she was sick, meeting me by chance, she said to me, " We come from far up on the great river; I have hastened on ahead of the others, who are coming after me, to present to you my sick child, that you may baptize her as you have my other children. I intended to take her to Kebec; but, as I have met thee here, see, here she is, pray for her." Now seeing that the child was tolerably well, I told her to go down to the three Rivers; that she would find my brother, Father Buteux, there, and he would grant her request. She went in her canoe, and did not fail to find the Father, whom she addressed, with tears in her eyes, in these words:

"Look, here is the fourth of my children whom I [28] present to you; I hope that baptism will be more favorable to her body than it has been to those of the other three; but even if she shall not get well, do not fail to do with her according to your custom; for what you do cannot be bad, since you all love us." The Father baptized her on the 26th of September; Monsieur de Chateau-fort was her sponsor, and gave her the name Marie; soon afterwards she flew away to heaven, to be with her brothers and sisters, so that this poor barbarian woman has four children in Paradise. May God grant her the blessing she has procured for her children.

On the 5th of November Father de Quen baptized a boy about fourteen years old, whom he had previously instructed. Sieur Olivier was his sponsor, and [page 83] named him Martin; his parents showed that they were very glad that their son had been taught. I am surprised that these barbarians, when they see their children's bodily health hopeless, are pleased, at least some of them, to have a place in heaven procured for them; and, when they are well, they care only for the world. But alas! this misfortune is not so peculiar to the Pagans, that those who have the faith and who bear the name of Christians [29] do not participate therein. How many persons do we see in Europe whose souls are so attached to the earth that they do not leave it until their bodies are placed in it. I observed, during the instruction of this child, the kindness of a Savage. He, seeing this poor sick child fall into a kind of swoon, ran towards our house and, meeting me on the way, told me, all out of breath, that this poor boy was about to render up his soul, " I came to call thee, run as fast as thou canst. " This zeal shows some belief in our mysteries. May God grant an increase to these small beginnings of a faith which is not yet strong enough to induce them to give up their bad habits.

On the same day we also baptized an adult Savage, about forty-five years old, named in his own language *Chibanagouch*. Sieur Olivier was his godfather also, and gave him the name Paul. He was loved by those of his nation, not only because he was one of the principal persons among them, but because he was a good warrior and a bold man. He fell sick while on his return from Acadia; and, as I saw him wasting away every day, I approached him several [30] times to speak to him about God, but in vain; his heart, filled with pride, could not make room for the truth; he hated his enemies with rage and fury. [page 85] Having seen an Hiroquois, who had been brought to Kebec, enter his cabin, he raised himself, sick as he was, threw himself upon this poor man as a Mad dog falls upon some other animal, and savagely bit off his ear, working himself into so brutal a fury as to cause horror in those who saw him. This madness is far removed from the gentleness of Jesus Christ; but God has more goodness than the heart of man has malice. This wretch, finally seeing that he would have to depart this life, opens his eyes, and comes to live near Kebec to be instructed. At that time I had gone to Beaupré ♦, which is usually called Cap de Tourmente; Monsieur the Governor and Monsieur Gand, wishing to see those fine prairies, took me there to give spiritual assistance to a French family that resides in that place. On our return sieur Hebert, meeting us, told me that *Chibanagouch* had come to stay near our French people, and that he had been expecting me for a long time, in order to hear the doctrine of Jesus Christ and to receive [31] Holy Baptism. I found him, in fact, thus well disposed. "*Nikanis*," he said to me, " I have been waiting for thee a long time; instruct me, for I do not wish to go into the fires." " How does it happen," (said I to him) " that thou hast resisted me so long when I have spoken to thee of thy salvation? " " I had no sense," he replied; " but now, that I am going to die, I am thinking upon what thou hast taught me." "But art thou really in earnest in wishing to believe in God? " " Thou wilt see that I am in instructing me, for I will remain close to thee until my death." So we continued our visits to him, usually Father de Quen and I; as I brought him a few pictures, having explained to him what [page 87] they represented, he taught this to the others.



"Look," said he, "here is the picture of those who would not believe; see how they are bound in irons, how they are in the flames, how mad with pain they are; those others who go to heaven, are the ones who have believed and obeyed him who has made all things." Heretics are very much in the wrong to condemn and to destroy representations, which have so good an effect. These sacred pictures are half the instruction that one is able to give the Savages. I had desired some portrayals of hell and of lost souls; they sent us some on paper, [32] but that is too confused. The devils are so mingled with the men that nothing can be identified therein, unless it is studied closely. If some one would depict three, four, or five demons tormenting one soul with different kinds of tortures, one applying to it the torch, another serpents, another pinching it with red-hot tongs, another holding it bound with chains, it would have a good effect, especially if everything were very distinct, and if rage and sadness appeared plainly in the face of the lost soul. Fear is the forerunner of faith in these barbarous minds. But to conclude this story, this poor Neophyte having been baptized on the 5th of November, lived until the eleventh of the following month, performing acts of faith and hope, and making it plainly understood that he had received this divine Sacrament for the salvation of his soul, and not in the hope of any benefit to his body. For although he was in great want, yet he asked us for nothing,, contrary to the custom of his nation, which is importunity itself toward foreigners. When he died, Monsieur the Governor and Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle, his Lieutenant, [page 89] honored [33] his obsequies, as well as many others of our Frenchmen.

On the eleventh day of November, Father de Quen baptized a little sick Savage called *Penoutet*. One of our Frenchmen changed this name for him into Jean Baptiste; his mother very cheerfully permitted him to be instructed and made a Christian.

On the same day, we baptized still another one, whose name was Louys; his parents were very glad to have this great blessing conferred upon him before they went farther inland.

The judgments of God are strange; he bestows his spirit upon such as he pleases. The road to the Savages' cabins was very bad; it was necessary to ascend a very steep mountain, or to go by water, which we could not do; we were very busy just at that time; yet, having been seized by a desire to go and see these Barbarians, we gave up everything else and arrived there so opportunely that, had we been even a little time delayed, these two poor little ones would have departed both from the neighborhood of Kebec and from this life, without being washed in the blood of the lamb. For their parents were going to drag them into the woods with [34] them, where, as we have learned, they died soon after their baptism.

On the 14th of the same month, we baptized in our Chapel at Kebec, with the holy ceremonies of the Church, a little child a few months old; its parents had named it *Ouasibiskounesout*, and Monsieur Gand called it François. This poor little one was very sick, but God soon afterwards restored it to health. It's father's name was *Mantoueabeouichit*, and its mother's, *Outchibahabanoukoueou*. They have given [page 91] one of their children, a little girl, to sieur Olivier, who cherishes her tenderly; he provides for her, and is having her brought up in the French way. If this child occasionally goes back to the Cabins of the Savages, her father, very happy to see his daughter well clothed and in very good condition, does not allow her to remain there long, sending her back to the house where she belongs. But to return to our little François. When his parents came back from the woods in the early Spring, Monsieur Gand, who is as charitable as possible to these poor barbarians, recognized his little godson; calling him by name, this poor little fellow answered him falteringly, but in so pretty a way, he is indeed a very beautiful child, that Monsieur Gand straightway had a [35] little dress made for him in the French fashion. As soon as he shall be in a condition to be taught, I hope we shall get him for instruction; his father and mother promised this when he was baptized.

On the 12th of December, our Fathers who live at the Conception, at the three Rivers, baptized a little girl whom Madame Godefroy named Marie. It is not for us to know the secrets of God. The Savages, having withdrawn into the woods, took with them this poor little child, only two or three years old. The Fathers, seeing her sick, did not dare to baptize her, on account of the uncertainty of her health. Finally, a short time before her death, these Barbarians came back with her, although they had intended staying away a much longer time, and God received *cuncti commorabitur*.

On the 5th of January, two little Savage girls were solemnly baptized in the Church of the great [page 93] convent of the Carmelites of Paris. The fleet which returned last year from our ports took five Savages from this country, a young Hiroquois woman, a little boy, and three little Montagnais girls. This young Hiroquois woman lives in the [36] house of Madame de Combalet, who, as I have learned, sometimes takes the trouble herself to instruct her in the faith of Jesus Christ and in the fear of God; if virtue should so take possession of her -heart that she should be fitted to return with the Nuns, who will come at the proper time, she would be of great service to them; for she would teach the little Savage girls, who will be with them, to plant Indian corn. But it would be desirable for her, in the course of time, to be put in a place where she can devote herself to gardening, otherwise, having too long tasted the sweetness of repose and the abundance of a great house, she would afterwards shun labor. I am told that they intend to do thus. As to the little boy, I am assured that he is in a good place; I hope that, after he has been well brought up, he will some day be sent to succor his countrymen.

In regard to the three little girls, one of them was already a Christian, and we sent her to the hospital at Dieppe. The Superior of this excellently regulated house writes me in these terms. *Our little Louis is doing very well. She is very sweet, compliant, obedient, and devoted. When there is some small act of devotion to be performed in the class of little Seminary girls, she is the first to ask to do it; she is so modest and [37] attentive during the holy services of the Church that she puts our little French girls to shame; for my part, she inspires me with devotion. I often converse with her about the things which concern our holy Religion; [page 95] she shows so much satisfaction therein that I believe she will be capable of doing great good in her own country, if our Lord gives her a long life. We hope she will take Communion at Easter, considering how devoted she is. There are millions of Christians who have received our Lord, who do not know as much as she does. I send you a chalice pall, the point lace edging of which was made by her: If she had not been sick, we would have returned her or brought her back better taught; she says she desires to be a Nun, and that she does not wish to return to Canadas except with our sisters.* These are the words of the mother Superior, who was to send back this poor little child next year; but sieur Hebout, who has been as a father to her, seeing her so contented, is willing to leave her until the coming of the Nuns. This poor child has written me a few words, which I shall be glad to set down here. *My Reverend Father, the Peace of our Lord. I am very glad to be in France, for the favors I have received here and expect to receive, seeing myself on the eve of my first Communion; this gives me so much joy that I have no words to express it. I take the liberty to beg, in all humility, [38] that Your Reverence will thank the Divine Majesty for it. I send you the first work I have done. I hope to have more learning and to cross over to Canada when our Mothers do, to render the debt of hospitality to the women of my nation, if God grants me the grace to do so.* And farther down she excuses herself if she writes very badly, not yet being able to form the letters. May God bestow his holy blessing upon these poor children. But let us speak of the other two. I had presented them to Madame de Combalet, as to one whose greatness does not disdain the littleness of these poor creatures. This Lady, having decided to have them baptized, [page 97] had them taken to

the Church of the Carmelites, where they gave up the names of Barbarians, to enter into the freedom of the children of God. Mother Magdelene of saint Joseph describes their baptism to me in a few words: *You will hear (she says) about the blessing God has granted us in the baptism of two little Savages, not only on account of the celebrity of the act, but for the great devotion shown by the distinguished people who were in our Church. The taller one was held over the font by Madame the Princess de Condé, who named her Marguerite Therese; the godfather was Monsieur the Chancellor. The second was held by Madame de Combalet, [39] and named Marie Magdelene; the godfather was Monsieur des Noiers, Secretary of State. We had in our Church, as Preacher, Monsieur the Bishop of saint Papoul, one of the most estimable Preachers of our time, and a very holy man; he having taken that beautiful topic, the vocation of the Gentiles, because it was Epiphany, did not forget to commend the act of our two little Canadians, and to praise the charity of those who are striving to obtain these souls for the son of God.* And, further on, she adds: *I will tell you also that Marguerite Therese, the one remaining to us of the two little Savages, the other having died, is as pretty as she can be. She seems to be a very good child, and to have much intelligence. She asks little questions, such as whether we shall be resurrected, if we shall see God, if our bodies will be glorified, in regard to the holy Sacrament, if God is concealed there under the sacramental elements; and likewise. ,many other things which she asks, regarding such matters, I hope God will bless her and take her under his care.*

Ah! would that I could say to this child, " Alas, my daughter, who has drawn you from your lowly estate to place you in the affection of nobles? What [page 99] have you rendered to God for your deliverance from slavery, and for your enrollment among the number of his children? Do you [40] remember the resistance you made when your father placed you in my hands? You wished to escape by force, to run after your misery! You would not believe what your countrymen could not yet be convinced of, that we desired to secure for you the greatest of all blessings. Pray for them now, and prepare yourself to succor them. Every day I see your compatriots poorly clothed, lodged under bark, and almost always famished, while you are living in abundance. Bless him who has given you these comforts, and implore him to have pity on your poor and wretched nation. As for all those great personages whom I have just mentioned, who have coöperated in your baptism, all I can say to them is, *Benedicti vos ☩ Domino*, that they are the anointed of God. It is not, my daughter, for the nobleness of your extraction that they have held you over the font, that they take the trouble to teach you, that they honor you with their affection; but these souls are the souls of the elect, who know the greatness and the value of the blood of Jesus Christ, which they wish to apply to you for the love they bear him. Acknowledge these favors, abase yourself before them, and still more [41] before God, taking these beautiful words as your motto, *Misericordias Domini in ☩ternum cantabo*, "I will sing forever the mercies of my God." Enough upon this point; I have felt that these two children, born in our new France, ought to be placed among those whom God has taken as his children in their own country.

On the 20th of January, we baptized the little son of a Savage called *Itaomigabaouiou*. As we had [page 101] observed that his child was sick, we recommended him strongly to let us know if he saw it in danger of death, that we might secure for it an entrance to heaven. He did not fail to do so, for, seeing that it could no longer eat, he came to tell us that it was all over with his son, and that we should do to him what we had intended. We asked him if it could be brought to the Chapel, for they were encamped quite near Kebec; and if he was not acquainted with some Frenchman, whom he could ask to be godfather for his child. He replied that he would have the sick one brought there, and would ask Monsieur de saint Sauveur to give it a name. This was done; the child was consecrated to Jesus Christ, and named Nicolas. Three days afterwards, as this poor little Christian was nearing [42] his end, his father sent for us to come and see him die. The Cabin was filled with Savages, who were there as guests at a feast that had been prepared in anticipation of the death of the child. We entered after the feast was over; the father was holding his poor little infant, which, in agony, was experiencing violent convulsions; its mother was uttering loud laments, all the Savages were in a sad and mournful silence; having entered, we, like the others, maintained silence for some time, in order to show them that we were participating in their mourning. Truly, we admired the firmness of the father of this little innocent; for although his eyes saw the very evident sufferings of his only son, and although his ears heard the mournful sobs and lamentations of his wife, he gave no sign nor indication of a weak heart, but with great equanimity of mind, which appeared upon his face, he soothed his son with the love of a mother, preserving, however, [page 103] the firmness of a father. After having shared their silence for some time, I began to try to console the mother, not so much in the hope of dispelling her sadness, as for the sake of introducing a more cheering topic. We [43] Europeans make a mistake in overwhelming one who is in sorrow with arguments serving to remove his trouble, for it is just that which augments his grief. The best way to comfort an afflicted soul is to follow the advice of saint Paul, *Flere cum fientibus*, " Weep with those who weep," that they, especially women, may shed through the eyes the bitterness that inundates the heart; after this is done, the thing that causes their grief need no more be mentioned. The Savages follow this rule to perfection, for they do not allow any one to mention the dead in their ordinary conversation, but only when it is desired (as they say) to take up or to restore the deceased to life by having another assume his name. But let us resume our discourse. Then I began to speak, and, addressing myself to the mother, said to her, " I will observe among you the French custom; when a child dies in France and the -mother mourns for it, they say to her that she has indeed reason to grieve for the loss of so sweet a child, but that, nevertheless, she ought soon to assuage her grief if her child has died a Christian; for the sky is opened to it, whither it will go to a place full of delights, where sickness, [44] hunger, poverty, grief, and death do not enter. In a word, I tried, in my Savage patois, to make her see a little specimen of the great blessings which this little child of God is going to enjoy. They listened to this in profound silence, and showed that they took great pleasure therein; in conclusion, this little Angel, having held [page 105] out for some time, flew away to heaven, and his body was solemnly buried, with that of another Christian of whom I am about to speak.

On the 25th of the same month, the son of a Savage, whom the French surnamed Le Cadet, received holy Baptism. Father de Quen made him a Christian, and Monsieur Gand named him Paul; he was about seventeen years old. For a long time this poor boy closed his ears against us, not willing to hear God spoken of in any way; I do not know whether he fancied that misfortune had come upon one of his brothers for having received the faith, imagining that the Sacrament of life had been the cause of death to him; be that as it may, when I approached to give him instruction, as he was very sick, he wrapped himself up in his robe, and would not listen to me at all. I tried, therefore, to frighten him with the fear of hell, ☩so that, indeed, I made him [45] weep; as soon as I became aware of this, I redoubled my efforts, and with greater earnestness said, " Thou dost not fear eternal death, and thou fearest the death of thy body; whether thou believest or dost not believe, thou art dead, thou canst do no more; and, not content to suffer the long pain of thy disease, thou wishest to suffer the horrible torments of hell; if I hated thee, I would let thee go into the flames, but I have compassion for thy soul; listen, and see if what thou art taught is bad." His father, seeing that I was urging him, said, " My son, thou must obey the father; what he teaches thee is good. " Finally God touched his heart, so that he promised to listen to me, which he did. Having judged him sufficiently instructed, we baptized him; five days after his baptism, he died, on the same [page 107] night as little Nicolas, and this is the reason why they were buried together. But as there was considerable trouble in digging the grave, for the ground was frozen hard, the Savages who came to take part in the funeral procession withdrew to our house, to wait until it was made. Now I retired into my little room, and one of them, seeing me leave, took the floor and began to say to his compatriots, " I admire what these people say; they take a great deal of trouble for us; they tell us that the [46] dead who have believed go away before us, to enjoy great happiness,

and that we shall go after them if we will believe; that punishments are ordained for the wicked. I believe they are telling the truth; we could not gainsay them; for since what they say is new to us, and as not one of us has any knowledge of it, if we do not see the truth thereof, at least we dare not accuse them of lying. If our ancestors had known how to write, they would have left us great books filled with fables and falsehoods; for my part, I find that the doctrines of the French are good." I listened from my chamber to this discourse, which the others did not, in truth, disapprove, but neither did they show much evidence that they greatly approved it.

On the 14th of February a paralytic woman was placed among the number of Christians. See how Father Buteux speaks of her: " This poor woman had nothing left her but her lips and power of speech; she was lying on a piece of deerskin about two feet square, and was covered with a quarter of a very meager and worn-out blanket; she was in a cabin open to the daylight on all sides. As she could not get near the fire, nor kindle one when it went out at night, [47] she was sometimes all stiff and frozen [**page 109**] with the cold. The Savages, who have no faith and therefore no charity, let her ask for a drink more than four times before giving it to her once; I myself gave her food," says the Father, " feeding her like a child. When I went to the cabins, these barbarians told me that her loins were quite raw; and yet, during all the time we visited her, we never saw an act of impatience, nor heard a complaint against those of her cabin, except when she saw they were going to break camp; " Alas! " said she, " they will kill me, or abandon me somewhere." That very thing happened the day after her baptism; for Father du Marché having gone to the cabins to take her something to eat, they stopped him and said to him, 'Wait, thou shalt go in soon.' They were preparing to bury this poor creature, who two hours before was feeling well enough, as she had made the sign of the cross and pronounced the sweet names of Jesus and Mary. It is quite probable that they put her to death. The hospital will remedy these great wrongs."

On the 18th of the same month a Savage woman received baptism; but it would have been much better for her if she had never received it, for she died in apostasy. As Father [48] de Quen and I visited her very often during her sickness, if we opened our mouths to say anything to her about our belief, " Cure me," she would say, " and I will believe, otherwise not; I wish to live; if you will restore me my health, I will obey your words." In vain did I tell her that this was not in our power. As a Savage named *Makheabicktichiou* was feeling ill, and as we had ministered to him in his sickness, occasionally having him sleep in our house, this woman, seeing that he [**page 111**] became well, attributed the restoration of his health to our power, and to our acquaintance with the Manitou, that is, with the one who takes away or restores life; hence she always asked us for the life of the body, not troubling herself much about that of the soul. I used all the mildness I could to gain her attention, I passed from gentleness to threats; but neither oil nor vinegar was powerful enough to cure so great a disease as obstinacy. He who loves this life too much is in danger of losing the other; thus it was with this poor creature, as far as we can with probability judge. Now as her salvation seemed almost hopeless, I informed sieur Olivier, who knew and cared for her parents [49] efficiently, and who was very kind and charitable to this poor invalid. He went to see her and asked her if she were willing to be lost, and why she would not listen to me. " He ,does nothing but chide me, and speak to me of death, crazing me in my sickness," she replied. Indeed, as I could not make the faith enter her mind through the hope of heaven, I had tried to gain admission for it through the dread of hell. Now either because she was playing a part, or because she had in truth some good intentions, she promised sieur Olivier to believe in God and to be obedient to what I should tell her. We visited her several times, she listened to us quietly and peacefully, showing that she enjoyed our doctrine. Seeing her sufficiently instructed, we granted her the baptism that she wished, at least in appearance. Sieur Olivier named her Marie; I confess that my soul felt a sort of repugnance that it is not wont to feel during the baptism of others. I could not refrain from testifying to sieur Olivier that my heart was not satisfied. Father de Quen had the [**page 113**] same sentiments. But what should we do? There is no excuse for refusing this Sacrament to a person who shows [50] a desire to avail himself of it. After she received these sacred waters, we tried hard to feel some joy therein, but my soul could not entertain that feeling, although I tried to constrain it thereto by force of argument. A few days slipped away, and she did not show any alienation from the faith; but, when she returned to the thoughts of the present life, she conceived a horror for us, so that she would no longer speak to us nor respond to our inquiries. In vain do we try to bend her by coaxing; her ears are deaf to our words, and her heart closed to the inspirations of God. Now seeing that she was going to be lost, I took her in hand one day, representing to her the complaints her soul would make in its despair and in the flames, perhaps before three days would pass away. I related to her something of the rage and fury of the devils. She could not endure these threats; she began to weep, and to grind her teeth; and, without saying anything to me, she went out of the cabin on all fours, as they say, for she could not stand on her feet, and lay down on the snow. I thought she had gone out to attend to some necessity; but Father de Quen said to me, " No, I knew very well from her actions that she had gone. out from vexation and rage." Seeing that she did not return, I imagined [51] that she had entered some neighboring cabin. Hence, having stayed about half an hour longer to instruct those with whom we were, we went out, intending to return home; but we were astonished to see this poor abandoned woman lying upon the snow, exposed to the air, and having no covering but a miserable piece of fur. I offered to [**page 115**] take her back to her cabin, speaking to her kindly and pityingly; she obstinately repulsed me. Her husband, a good-natured Savage, was very sorry about this, but he could furnish no remedy for it.

A few days later, a Savage woman came to see me, and told me that this miserable apostate had tried to kill herself; that all the knives had been put out of her reach; that she had been seen raised in the air more than a cubit; that she had escaped from her people, fleeing in the night so as to vanish and be carried away by the devil; that her people had captured her; that, if she had disappeared, she would have wasted away, and would have caused the death of the Savages. All this astonished me. I inquired if occasionally some Savage disappeared, never to be seen again, and I was answered that this did happen. But I [52] Will speak of this in another place. Now wishing to know whether this woman had related true or false news to us, we begged Monsieur Olivier to go and visit this desperate creature, to learn whether she intended to persevere in her unhappy course, and find out what had happened to her. He went and saw her; she would not answer his inquiries, nor speak to him at all. He questioned her mother as to what had taken place; she said enough to convince him that she had really tried to kill herself, that she had escaped from them in the night without their knowing how; but that they had captured her, and brought her back to her cabin. " How could she escape," he asked, " seeing that she is unable to move? " " How do we know?" they replied. " Perhaps, " said the mother, " her soul tried to go away, and she ran after it so as not to let it escape." That is the story sieur Olivier-brought back to us. Finally [**page 117**], when the poor wretch had death upon her face, she was carried to the other side of the great river, where the Savages were going to hunt the Moose, and died soon after her departure, as we have been told.

On the 28th of the same month of February, Monsieur Gand was sponsor to a Savage woman [53] and named her Anne in baptism. The hopeless condition of her bodily health made her think of the health of the soul; as long as she had any hope of temporal life, she gave herself no anxiety for the eternal; but, when she saw she was losing her hold on time, she sought to grasp eternity. As I expressed some surprise at the long resistance she had made to us, a young Savage told me that I need not be astonished at it, ♦that many of their nation had this idea, that baptism is injurious to life, but that it is a good thing with which to protect oneself from the fires with which we threaten them. So this is why some do not consent to be baptized until they have lost all hope of being able to recover their health. It is an error that the devil puts in their minds, like that of our heretics who give passports to unbaptized children to go to



heaven; but both are deluded. This poor woman, after she became a Christian, survived a few days. As we often went to console her, and to help her strengthen herself in the faith she had accepted, I asked her if she had not heard about Marie, whom she knew very well (she is that Apostate of whom I have just spoken), and if she would not be lost as she had been. [54] " Ah, indeed I do not," she replied; " I wish to believe until death; I do not wish to go down under the earth, into those furnaces you have told us about. " Having persevered [**page 119**] in this pious resolution, she finally went to enjoy the blessings she had hoped for. On the 7th day of March, we buried her body in the Christian way. Now it happened that her parents, having wrapped up some little package of bark with her body, wanted to exhume her the next day. I opposed this, and strongly urged the Savage who brought me this message to tell me what it was. Finally he told me it was a little of her hair, that they had cut and wrapped in some bark; and that this little package had been placed with the body by mistake, ♦ that it must be taken out, to be given to the nearest relative of the dead girl. I ridiculed their superstitions; and, when he told me that this man would get angry, I told him laughingly to cut a little hair from his own head, or to take a little Moose hair, to give to this relative, ♦ that it would be just as useful as what he asked; he began to laugh, and went away.

"On the 13th of May we made a Christian," write our Fathers from the three Rivers, " of a little boy about four or five years old, son of a Savage named *Aouesemenisk*. He was not so very near [55] death; but, since his father would take him farther inland for a year, promising to give him to us if he recovered his health, we judged it proper to confer upon him a blessing, the importance of which he will not recognize until he gets to heaven. The Surgeon of the fort named him Aim ♦ "

On the 14th day of the same month, Father Adam conferred Holy baptism upon a little boy about 9 or 10 years old. One of our men, called Christofle, gave him the name Ignace. We had withdrawn, Father de Quen and I, to the house of nostre Dame des Anges, to enjoy for a little while the repose of a [**page 121**] sweet solitude with God, according to the custom of our Society. The father of this little Christian, knowing we were there, came to see us, and brought us two of his children whom he had already presented to us at Kebec. We accepted one of them for baptism, and promised to take the other for the Seminary. He saw this Sacrament conferred upon his son, with the holy ceremonies of the Church, and went away well satisfied.

On the 25th of the same month, Father de Quen baptized a tall young man, lying ill, who consoled us greatly while we were instructing him. Sieur de la Porte was his godfather, and named him Pierre. As we were in his cabin to explain to him the points of [56] our belief, his mother, who was returning from another cabin, hearing us, cried to him in a loud voice, before entering, " My son, believe what the Fathers tell thee. If I were sick, I would believe them, for they tell the truth; if thou canst not speak, think in thy heart upon him who has made all things, and tell him to have pity upon thee. I have just come from a sick woman, who told me that, when the Fathers instructed her, she said in her heart what they said with their lips; he who has made all sets what thou thinkest. " Upon hearing this, the poor young man became very attentive. He died soon after his baptism; as his mother refused to give his body to be buried in our cemetery, Father l'Allemand, who was then at Kebec, wrote me that it would be proper for me to go there, to get these holy remains from the hands of this woman. I begged Father de Quen to go, since I was prevented. He tried to find out why this woman was loath to give up the body of her son. She gave [**page 123**] three reasons for it: first, that the cemetery at Kebec was very damp; second, that we would not permit them to put bark in the grave; and the third reason, which was the most important, according to her idea, was that we had baptized her son with water from the river, and [57] that we baptized the others with water we had brought from our house; that the river water would have no effect, and that her son would not go to the place I had said he would. She was obstinate about it, and retained this poor body three days without burying it. Finally, having still more confidence in us than she had in the people of her own nation, she brought it to us at nostre Dame des Anges, being assured that we would not take away any of the bundles that she gave it to take into the other world. Necessity had compelled us to baptize this poor boy without ceremony, but we buried him with the chant of the Church, which was a great consolation to the barbarians who were present at the funeral. When I told them that the soul had no use for all this baggage which they were throwing into the grave, they replied, " We believe so, too; but we remove from our sight what would cause our grief, recalling to us the dead."

On the same day, a man about 50 years old, of the nation of the *Attikamegues*, was enrolled among the number of Christians, at the three Rivers. Father Buteux informed me that, on seeing him sick, he asked him where he expected to go after death. " To heaven," he replied. " Thereupon I took occasion to teach him," said the Father, [58] " what he must do to obtain this great blessing. I found him very well disposed and partly instructed, as he had heard me speak of our faith in their cabins; [**page 125**] hence we made him a Christian. One of the interpreters was his godfather, and called him Fran ♦ ois; as I had him pronounce his name, 'I am very glad,' said he, 'that I shall henceforth be called this and no longer Memegou ♦ chiou as formerly.' "

On the 5th of June, sieur Olivier baptized a young girl about twelve years old. We had begun to instruct her, but as we were not yet satisfied, we had not conferred upon her this Sacrament. Sieur Olivier, happening to be among the cabins, found her in the death throes; hence, having no hope that we could be informed in time, he baptized her without ceremony; she was buried the same day.

On the 8th of July, a young Algonquin child received health for the body and for the soul by means of the sacred waters of baptism. Now a Montagnes, seeing it was going to die, came to inform Father Buteux, telling him that the father of the child would not be sorry if he would go and see it, as he had given all he had to the sorcerers, even to his own robe, to have it sung to and blown upon in their fashion, [59] add all this had been without effect. The Father betook himself thither. He assures this barbarian that he has not entered his cabin to get, but on the contrary to give, help, both to the body and to the soul of his son; that, if he wished to have him baptized, perhaps our Lord would restore him his health. This poor man was very well satisfied; Monsieur de Chateau-fort, who commands at the three Rivers, consented to be his godfather, and named him Jean; this poor little one, having become a child of God, fully recovered in the two days following, to the great astonishment of its parents.

On the 18th of the same month, Father Daniel [**page 127**] baptized a Huron, one of those who had come to trade, who had descended as far as the residence of the Conception at the three Rivers. As he was not capable of receiving instruction, being so oppressed by his sickness, he decided to have the Huron Seminarists who accompanied him kneel, and pray to God, with him, for the salvation of their countryman. While they were repeating their prayers the sick man opened his eyes and cast them upon the Father, who immediately asked him if he understood well. Having answered that he did, he represented to him that human remedies, and all the help [60] that sieur de la Perle, Surgeon of the settlement, had given him, could not avail to restore health to his body; that he must think upon his soul, which would not go into their *Eskendend* ♦, the country where their souls go, but that it would be taken to heaven or to hell; that all souls went at last into one of these two extremes, the good into joy, the wicked and unbelieving into misery. This poor man caressed the Father, embracing him, and showing that he took pleasure in his conversation. So he continued to instruct him upon the mystery of the holy Trinity and of the Incarnation. He gave him to understand that, if he believed these truths, he could be baptized, and that in baptism his sins would be pardoned, and his soul purified and prepared for heaven; that it only required that he should be sorry for having offended him who has made all things. At these words, this simple man, already dying, began to clasp his hands as a

sign of rejoicing, but with so much strength that, if one had not already seen his eyes drowned in the sleep of death, he would have taken him for a man in good health. " How good **[page 129]** that is," said he, " how good that is." So he was baptized, and -named Robert; scarcely was he made a child of God than he rendered up his soul [61] to his father, dying more happily than he had lived. His companions came immediately to bring the news of his death to the Father, who went to his cabin and asked them what they intended to do with his body. They are accustomed to burn the flesh of a person who dies outside of their own country, and, extracting the bones, to take these with them. But when the Father told them that as he had died a Christian it would be fitting that he should be buried as a Christian, they told him that he was the master, that he might do with the body what he deemed proper. The Father immediately informed Monsieur de Chateau-fort, who arranged a fine funeral procession for this Neophyte. This so greatly pleased the Hurons that the principal men among them, lingering at the gates of the fort, on the return of the procession, courteously thanked our French people for the care they had given the sick man, and for the honor they had rendered him after his death.

On the day of the feast of our Father, St. Ignace, Father Claude Pijart, lately arrived in new France, bestowed the waters which give spiritual life upon the body of a little Algonquin girl. When they spoke to her father about baptizing her, he, having never heard of baptism, wished to get information. from the other Savages, asking if they really knew. [62] what it was. Fortunately, he addressed himself to the uncle of little Jean, of whom I have just spoken, who told him that baptism did no harm, ♦that, on the contrary, it had restored health to his little nephew. Upon hearing that, this simple man **[page 131]** permitted the name Marguerite to be given to his little daughter, making her a Christian.

On the 4th of August, Father Buteux, seeing a little girl sick in one of the cabins, asked her father if he would not like to have her soul enriched; he answered that it would please him indeed, and that he knew very well we did no harm to children. " If thou desire " (he said to him) "to have her baptized, have her brought into our Chapel." This man, without further delay, came to our house with his wife, who was carrying her child. I was greatly consoled at seeing this promptness; I asked him if he would not give us his daughter for instruction in case she recovered her health. "Certainly," said he, "I will give her to thee." I count upon his word, not only because he is a Captain, but also because he is regarded by his people as a peaceable and truthful man. When I was urging him this Spring to become a Christian, asking him if what was being taught him was bad, he said, " No." " Why, then, dost thou not promise me to believe it? " " If I had promised thee, " he replied, [63] " I would be obliged to do it." In fact, a Savage said to me one day that I should urge him to embrace our faith, " for, if he promise thee to do it," said he, " he will keep his word. As to the others, do not put so much trust in them." So we have reason to believe that, if his child recovers, he will give it to us at the proper time, to be reared in the faith it has received in Holy baptism. This poor little one was called *Ouemichtigouchiou iskou* ♦*ou*, meaning, "wife of a European. " Two young soldiers, who have been in the service of Madame de Combalet, being present at her baptism, one of them named her Marie Magdelene. **[page 133]**

On the 6th, Father Pijart baptized the one who had brought him from the Hurons. It was the Captain of their village. This good man, named A ♦non, having fallen sick on the way, was made a Christian, and died at the three Rivers. Before his death, he earnestly recommended his people not to do any harm to the French in his country; he was sufficiently instructed, but flesh and blood caused him to cling to his barbarous life. He approved of the commandments of God, but he did not believe he could keep them. Now seeing himself near death, and no longer threatened by the possibility of offending God, he willingly received the Sacrament of life [64] in order to escape the woe of an eternal death.

On the 8th Father Daniel made a Christian of another sick Huron, called *Tsondak* ♦, naming him Jean at his baptism. He was one of the most continent men among the Hurons, and it was for this reason (perhaps) that God was merciful to him.

On the 9th, he also baptized another one, called *Arachiokouan*, naming him No ♦l. This young man did not know how to show his gratitude to him who had procured heaven for him; he took him by the hand and said to him, " Thou dost not utter trifles to me, in speaking about going to heaven; I wish to go there; I have seen some of my baptized countrymen, who have invited me to go with them." The Father asked him if he would surely remember him, when he was in that happy land. "Oh yes," he said, " I will remember thee, and I will tell him who has made all things to love thee well."

On the same day, Father Buteux received among the number of Christians a Montagnez Savage, whose name, *Nenaskoumat*, was changed to that of Pierre. **[page 135]** The Father, wishing to prepare him for baptism, asked him often if he did not wish to believe. " Yes, ' I said he, "I wish to believe; if I did not, I would say to thee at this very moment, ' Go away, I do not wish to listen to thee.' " As a proof of his belief, a little while before [65] falling into the agony of death, he made the sign of the Cross, to the great edification of our French who were looking at him. When he died, his brother came to beg the Father to bury him in our way.

On the 16th of the same month, as the Hurons were about to depart from the three Rivers, Father Raymbaut baptized one of them, whom Father Pierre Pijart had instructed; he was named Robert, by a young boy who lives with us. He had hardly been made a Christian when his people cast him into a Canoe, to take him away with them. Perhaps when two leagues away they may have thrown his body into a grave, while his soul will go on to enjoy Paradise.

On the 24th of the same month, Father Buteux baptized a little girl about seven years old. One of the soldiers sent here by Madame de Combalet gave her the name Marie. The Father, having entered the cabin where this child was, asked her father if he would not like to have her baptized, he, quite melancholy at seeing his three children all sick, said to him, "Do what thou wilt. My friends and I have done all we could to cure her, and we have accomplished nothing; see if thou wilt succeed better." The Father began to teach her, but as she was not able to retain anything, her mother learned [66] the instruction, to impart it to her daughter. In a word, after being baptized she became better ; she was **[page 137]** given holy water to drink, which soothed her so much that her parents rejoiced greatly, and the other sick ones asked us for the same medicine.

These are all who have been baptized among our wandering and unsettled Savages. The rest received this Sacrament in the country of the Hurons, as will be seen in the Relation of these countries, which I send your Reverence.

I am well aware that many Savages have asked me for holy baptism; but we have been careful about conferring it upon any adult in health, except after a long probation. To be sure, one cannot refuse it to a poor man almost in the agony of death, who gives proof that he has the faith, and who shows sufficient instruction. It would be a strange act of cruelty to see a living soul descend into hell, through the refusal of a blessing which Jesus Christ has earned for it by the price of his blood. " Yes, but if this man regains his health, and if he continues to live in Barbarism, you profane this Sacrament," will some one say? I answer that the Sacrament is made for man, and not man [67] for the Sacrament; and consequently it is better to endanger the Sacrament than the salvation of a man.

Besides, what is done with reason and charity is done without offense, and without any profanation of which we are the cause; if a few Savages abuse it afterwards, that does not make those guilty who have conferred it upon them, any more than the Sacrilege which a person commits against the Sacrament of penance injures the conscience of the Confessor who has behaved with discretion.


I freely admit that great care must be taken not to baptize those who are in health, without having **[page 139]** tried them and kept them for some time in the rank of Catechumens, as was done in the primitive Church; but as for assigning 4 or 5 years, it is a term which saint Peter did not enjoin in his first sermons. Christian discretion ought to limit the term; some fruits are ripe at the beginning of Summer, others in midsummer, some in the Autumn, and there are some which are not good until winter. There are Savages to whom I would not confide our mysteries after six years- of instruction; there are others, especially among the sedentary ones, who will mature sooner, and to whom one cannot, without injustice, deny [68] what belongs to them as much as to us. It is the condition of the postulant or Neophyte which ought to determine the time of his baptism, or of the reception of our adorable Sacrament at the altar, and not a rule which is general and common to all.

Furthermore, if our Fathers who are among the Hurons had as much influence over the savages of these countries as we have over our Savages of Kebec and its vicinity, and if our wandering and unsettled barbarians were gathered around our settlements, and would become sedentary like the Hurons, we should not wait so many years to baptize them. For our French people, having the advantage and the power in their hands, will keep strictly to their duty those who will voluntarily submit themselves to the mild yoke of the Gospel. But the Hurons are so strong and so populous, and the French who live in their country so few in number, that they could not gain these tribes through great acts of kindness, nor banish Barbarism from them through fear. And our montagnez are so accustomed to their wanderings, their camp is so light and temporary, that, if they **[page 141]** saw one trying to place them under any restraint, however reasonable it might be, they would quickly pitch their tents and pavilions [69] out of the reach of our cannons, before they could be primed and aimed at them. So the only way we can make them stationary is by kind offices. Every year, towards spring, they talk much of settling down; but when they see the difficulties attendant upon clearing the land,  cutting down so many trees, removing so many logs, and pulling up so many roots,  they lose heart, preferring to live in repose and in the idleness of animals, to enjoying the fruits of labor. This year I have been present in some of their councils; they urged me to aid them with men; they also asked Monsieur our Governor to do this, saying their country was being stripped of Elk and other animals, and that consequently, if the land could not furnish them a living, they would be utterly lost. In reply to this, they were told that the country was not yet in such condition that we could take away our Frenchmen for them, since we had not, as yet, enough cleared land for so many as we are here, which is very true; in other respects, we are doing all we can to aid them. Monsieur our Governor often says to me, " Father, spare nothing, either of my personal property, or of the power and authority which God, [70] the King, Monseigneur the Cardinal, and Messieurs the Associates have placed in my hands for the welfare of our French and of the Savages; for I know that God wishes this from me, and that such is the will of these Gentlemen. Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle, his Lieutenant, who is a man of wise conduct and of resolution, is of the same mind. Monsieur Gand has nothing for himself, when it is necessary **[page 143]** to perform some act of charity; he sometimes attends to the sick Savages with his own hands. Sieurs Olivier and Nicolet, in a word, all our French except a few persons of no importance, are greatly interested in the salvation of these poor barbarians, and help them, some in one way, some in another; but *rationabile debet esse obsequium nostrum*, we must proceed with discretion. The small number of laborers, and the large number of Frenchmen who are here, prevent us from giving this help to the Savages. In truth, it is pitiful how the lack of the temporal so effectually retards the spiritual. They have so many vain thoughts in France,  there is so great a superfluity of clothes, of banquets, of buildings, so many losses in gambling; the amount which these excesses will consume, would be of good service here, [71] to procure the blessing of Heaven both upon this France and the other. Would to God that those Ladies whom our Lord is to some extent touching, and whom vanity still holds in its chains, might for one moment see a crowd of little Savage boys and girls present at the Catechism, clothed like John the Baptist, to-day praying to God, and to-morrow flying off into the woods, on account of the wandering habits of their parents. I am sure their hearts would soften; and, as their sex is full of compassion and tenderness, they would place at the service of Jesus Christ what is now only devoted to Belial, and would dedicate to the highest virtue what is now only used for vice.

In conclusion, I will report a Godly man, walking in the footsteps of God, whose name is written in the books of God. It is he who began that miracle, which is now being performed, of making a family **[page 145]** of Savages stationary. His heart will speak to God for them, and his hands will bind them through his good deeds, and through the help of men he has already sent and will send to them; and we who are here will urge these barbarians to make use of the blessings that Heaven sends them through a [72] man of heavenly mind. If once they can be made to settle down, they are ours. I am mistaken, I meant to say they are Jesus Christ's, to whom be the honor and glory in time and in eternity. But let us see what we have accomplished, this winter, with a little squad of them who came to encamp near Kebec. **[page 147]**

## CHAPTER IV.

### OF THE INSTRUCTION OF A SAVAGE CAPTAIN.

HIS SAVAGE of whom I propose to speak is called in his own language Makheabichtichiou; he is strong and hardy, a good warrior, and has a very ready tongue. It is for this reason that, although he is not really the Captain of his Tribe, yet, as it divides into squads he is generally taken as the chief of his band. From this he derives his title of " Captain, " since he often performs the office of one. It was he who last year gave the young Hiroquois woman whom Monsieur the General took to France. Now having come to Encamp near Kbec, he endeavored to get into the good graces of [73] Monsieur our Governor, and thus into those of all our French people. As he was particularly well acquainted with Father Buteux, he had asked him for a written message to bring to me, that he might gain free access to our house. Now as Monsieur de Montmagny, our Governor, is rich in piety, courtesy, and magnanimity, and as he knows how to use these weapons with skill, he gave this savage a warm welcome, but did so in such a way as to show him that he only granted his more intimate friendship to those who were instructed in our belief. It is thus that all should use what influence and authority they have, for the glory of the sovereign King, and not for their own vanity. This savage now had a flea in his ear. As they honor the great Captain of the French, he desired to **[page 149]** insinuate himself thoroughly into his good graces. Therefore he evinced a disposition to learn our faith; at certain times, when he was not hunting, he was almost as often in our house as in his own cabin. He showed so much zeal that, seeing us frequently occupied with our French people, he said to me, " Nicanis, I always find people in thy house; during the day, the French are always demanding thy attention; give them the day, and me the night; [74] let me come and sleep in thy house, and during the silence of the night we will confer more at our ease." We granted his wish, and in the evening, after having said our prayers, instead of sleeping we talked over the articles of our faith, doing the same during the day when



we had time. I explained to him the creation of Heaven and earth, the fall of the rebellious Angels, how our first Father had been created; the contentment he might have enjoyed in the terrestrial Paradise if he had obeyed his God; how death, disease, poverty, came from his sin; how the animals would have been obedient to man if man had been obedient to God; how death would not have held its Empire over the human race; how the earth would almost spontaneously, and without human labor, have given its grains and fruits to men. " Indeed," he said to me, " as to that, I believe that, as it produces of itself so many trees and so many kinds of herbs, it could also have produced grain without cultivation." I explained to him how God, seeing the disobedience of man, wished to cast him into the flames, but that his son presented himself as a pledge and atonement for men. However, [75] since he delayed to make himself man, that he might instruct and save men, corruption, casting itself into the world, ruined **[page 151]** all. God was so deeply offended thereat that he sent rain upon the earth for 40 days and 40 nights, like unto the pouring out of the waters, ♦so that all men and animals were drowned, except one family composed of eight persons, who made a great ship in which two animals of each kind took refuge. Finally, the waters receded and dried off. God's wrath was appeased, and from that family and from those animals have sprung all the people and beasts of the earth, who have, little by little, repopled the world. I told him that their nation had sprung from this family; that the first ones who came to their country did not know how to read or write, and that was the reason their children had remained in ignorance; that they had indeed preserved the account of this deluge, but through a long succession of years they had enveloped this truth in a thousand fables; that we could not be mistaken about this event, having the same belief as our ancestors, since we see their books. He asked me if, during this long lapse of time, there was no mention of the son of God. I answered that good men had had knowledge of him, and that, from the deluge [76] to the time of his coming, God sent men whom we call Prophets, because they learn the truths of God and teach them to men, to announce the coming of his son. Until then these Prophets likewise declared, many years before his birth, where this Prince would be born; how he would die, and be resurrected; that his Mother would be a Virgin; that the sins of men caused him to delay his coming, so that he might make known to men how much they ought to desire him, since without his aid they knew nothing except as fables. In short, having come, he taught the people, healed the sick, resuscitated **[page 153]** the dead; and, as he rebuked the wicked, they bound and nailed him to a Cross, taking away his life through these tortures; that, if he had wished to overwhelm them all, he could have done it easily by a single word; but on the contrary, being good, he said to his Father, " My Father, men deserve death, they have offended you, they merit the flames, but here I am to atone for them; I implore you to have mercy on all those who shall believe in me and who shall be sorry to have offended you; forget their sins, do not cast them into the flames." " Now this is [77] good, indeed," said this poor Barbarian; " but I am afraid he will reject me, for I do not know what I must do, nor how I ought to pray. " " I will teach thee," (said I). " Do not weary thyself," (he replied) " but if thou art not sleepy, spend the night in instructing me. It is thus we do when we are discussing some great matter; we meet in the nighttime, so as not to be diverted." I related to him the miracles that followed the death of our Lord, ♦how he appeared, full of glory, three days after his body had been placed in the sepulchre; how he sent twelve men throughout the world to teach his truths, and how those who should believe their teachings would go to Heaven, whither he had ascended; how unbelievers would be cast into hell; how we call those men Apostles, and how they had instructed others through their writings; how those others went everywhere, announcing these good tidings, and that it was for this we had come to their country; how they saw plainly that we did not engage in traffic, that we did not ask any recompense; and how I had brothers all over the world. " The son of God did not love our country," (said he) "for he did not come here, **[page 155]** and did not say anything to us [78] about all that." I replied that he was only born in one country, that also he had not come to ours; that at first we did not believe, but that, having opened our ears to his teachings, we had recognized them as very good and accepted them, seeing how many miracles he had wrought. When I asked him what he thought of our belief as I had explained it to him, " I cannot contradict thee," he replied, " for I have no knowledge to the contrary; thou tellest me new things, that I have never heard before; if I had been in the places where these things have taken place, I would speak, but now I have nothing to say, save that thou knowest many things; I admire thy discourse, but begin over again and review for me from the creation of the world to the present time." I obeyed him, relating in a few words what had taken place in all the ages touching our holy faith. He took a pencil and marked upon the ground the different periods in their order, " Here is he who made all," said he; " he begins in this place to create the Angels and the world; there he created the first man and the first woman; see how the race of men, increasing, divides, and [79] offends God; here is the deluge, here are the Prophets, " ♦in short, he came up to our own time; then rising, he began to laugh; " I am not surprised at our being tired," said he, " for we have made a long journey. In truth, our Fathers were but ignorant men, for they had no knowledge of all these things, except the great waters of the deluge, and that they do not describe as you do. I have nothing to say against all this, for I have not been taught anything to the contrary."

Now I understood perfectly that, although this **[page 157]** way of proceeding was good, yet it is not thus that one should begin to instruct an unbeliever; for, since all these things are historical, the mind which has no knowledge of him who has revealed to us these truths remains free to believe or not to believe. To convince him, he must be confronted with natural truths; and when he has been rendered pliant to the truths of nature, which are in harmony with our belief, then he embraces the supernatural truths through faith. So I saw quite plainly that it would be necessary to change my battery.

Consequently, in our other conferences I applied myself to proving to him that there was a God, a sublime spirit, who had built the great mansion of the world and who governed it; [80] who caused the stars to roll, and the waters to flow against their course by the tides of the Ocean; who formed children in the wombs of their mothers ♦in a word, who governs all nature. " Men," said I to him, " cause none of all these things, and yet they appear every day before our eyes. There must, then, be another and more powerful cause." I brought forth many other arguments to make him recognize the great Prince; I explained that he was just, that he rewarded each one according to his works. " You yourselves love good people, you hate the wicked; you do good to your friends, you punish your enemies. God does the same, especially after death. Can you imagine that two men, dying, the one very good, the other very abominable, can be equally happy in the other life? Here below no reward has been given to the good one, no punishment meted out to the wicked one, ♦indeed, the upright man has even been despised and the wicked one honored; would it be **[page 159]** possible for that to pass without justice being done, without something resulting from it? If this confusion existed in the universe, it were better to be bad than good, and yet thou seest the contrary. Understand then that he who has made all things also measures the [81] actions of men, and that he will deal with them according to their works. You say that you all go to the same place; there are among you most detestable men; dost thou wish to go with them? Then you will be fighting and quarreling in the other world, as you do in this. That is not credible. The good all go to Heaven, the bad all into the flames. God has placed us between Heaven and Hell, to teach us that we can go to one of these two extremes. And, as our soul is immortal, it will be forever happy or miserable. This life is short, the other is very long; do not be like dogs, which think only of the body." These arguments and others like them made some impression upon his mind. He asked me many questions, of which I may speak hereafter. He said to me sometimes, " Our belief is very silly; we have no sense, we follow only what our eyes believe, we do not reason." At other times he said to me, " Nikanis, I have not slept all night; I have been going over in my mind all thou hast taught me, like a man following a path. " Sometimes, fear entering into his soul, he dreaded [82] the long duration of the other life. " This life, " said he, " is very short, the other very long, since it has no end; to be sad without consolation, to be hungry and to eat only serpents and toads, to be thirsty and drink nothing but flames, to wish to die and not

be able to kill oneself, and to live forever, for an eternity, in these afflictions—it is upon [page 161] that that I think sometimes; thou wouldst do me a great favor to baptize me soon."

While I was instructing him he had a great temptation, arising from the fear that, in giving up his ways of action to take up new ones, he would soon die. The Devil made use of certain persons to strengthen this idea in his mind, saying to him that the majority of those who had been baptized soon passed into the other life. I represented to him that we all were baptized. "All nations " said he, " have something peculiar to them. Baptism is good for you others, and not for us." " If Baptism," I replied to him, " causes death to you, not one of those who have been baptized would escape it; and thou seest clearly that it is only the sick and the very sick that die after their baptism; yes, some of them even [83] suddenly recover. What dost thou fear? God has forbidden to kill; thinkest thou I would make thee die? Thou art made of flesh and bone as we are, God is thy Father as well as ours; he will love thee more than he does us, if thou hast a stronger belief in him." In fine, God gave him the grace to overcome this temptation. "It does not matter," said he, " whether I die, but I do not want to go into the fires. We die every day in our unbelief; I would, as soon die believing as to continue in unbelief.", We inspired him with as much faith as we could., Scarcely had he become free from this temptation when he fell sick.

Now the majority of the Savages looked upon him as dead. I kept him for some time in our house and we cared for him tenderly, addressing ourselves to God and to the Physicians. He was bled, and nursed as well as possible; he seemed to be very firm, and [page 163] gave us consolation. " Nikanis," he exclaimed one day, " do not doubt my heart; I will believe until death. I will not have myself blown upon by our Sorcerers. " His countrymen saddened us more than he did, for when we went to the Cabins they would ask us how he was, and if he would die soon. We [84] answered that we did not think he was going to die. " He will die," said some of them, " do not doubt it." Their prophecy turned out to be false. By the grace of Our Lord, at the end of a few days he found himself well and happy. This gave us joy, and caused wonder among some of the Savages, who believed that our knowledge of God had cured him. It was for this reason that the poor Apostate mentioned above always declared to us that it depended upon us alone to restore her to health. During his sickness, which was not so serious as we feared, when I said to him that I had asked God to let me die in his place, if it should be that our Lord wished to call him, " Not so, Nikanis, " he replied, " thou dost not do well; thou must live to instruct our nation; as for me, it matters little if I die." I found this affection quite wonderful, for these people have a great fondness for life, cherishing it immoderately. But let us close this chapter, it is already too long; let us say a few words about his good sentiments. [page 165]

## [85] CHAP. V.

### OF SOME GOOD SENTIMENTS THAT GOD GAVE THIS CAPTAIN.

HEN HE SLEPT sometimes in our little house, as I have remarked above, he told us that he had never had a very strong belief in most of their fancies. "At the death of my children, " (said he) " I did not put much in their graves, and I hardly expected that our sorcerers could cure them in their sicknesses. I saw very clearly that our feasts were ruining us, but I did as the others did, that I might follow the customs of the country. But I am going to cast away all these old observances. Thou forbiddest me the eat-all feast; I will take part in it no more. Thou forbiddest me to believe in dreams; I will believe in them no more. Thou forbiddest me to sweat, to secure good hunting and fishing; I will sweat no more for those purposes, but 'only for my health." He made a great many other similar remarks to us, before going to sleep. He said his prayers as we recommended him to do, but he shouted them in a loud voice, as they are accustomed to do when they address [86] their desires to him who has made the light, or to some one else that they call their great Father. " He who has made all," said he, " help me; I wish to believe in thee; teach me thy ways of doing, for I wish to follow them. The wicked Manitou tries to deceive me, defend me from his snares." In the morning, when [page 167] he awoke, he did the same thing, always crying out in a loud voice, so that he could be heard from afar. As he advanced in the knowledge of our mysteries, he also increased the prayers that he made himself, exclaiming, in his own way, " Thou who hast made all, I wish to believe in thee; help me, teach me thy ways, I wish to do as thou dost, I wish to imitate thee. Thou Manitou who art wicked, I have no more belief in thee, thou art a deceiver; I believe in him who has made all, and who measures all. Thou who art the thought of God, who made thyself man for us, I love thee; help me, keep me, defend me against the Manitou. " He calls our Lord " the thought of God," because I had explained to him that God was not married, although he had a son, and that his knowledge or his Word was his son. Hence, of his own accord, [87] he called him "the thought of God. "


Here is what he said another time: " Thou who hast made all, hear me, I will not speak French to thee, for I do not know that language; I will speak to thee in my own way; I will say a few things to thee, for I only know a few; if I knew more, I would say more. Thou art good; teach me how thou doest, for I wish to do likewise. I will do no more what has been forbidden me. I wish to believe in thee, help me." He added several other things that I did not hear; for he offered his prayers after we had retired to our rooms, and when he saw that we did not speak so loudly in saying ours, he began to speak lower. Now all this was done at first; for when he had learned the *Pater*, the *Ave*, and the *Credo* in his own tongue, he said them on his knees and in a low voice, imitating our way of praying [page 169]. However, he asked me if it was wrong to speak as loud as he did. I replied that it was not; but that, as God knew all our thoughts, we need not speak so loud to make ourselves heard. After that, he spoke in a lower voice, and said the prayers that he was told to say.

[88] He asked me one day if the Devils were not damned because they did not trust in God. " For if God," (said he) " is so good, it is to be supposed he would have pity on the Demons if they trusted in him." I said, in reply, that while a man is on the way to saving himself he can hope in God; but that in Hell there is nothing but everlasting despair.

When he told me that he would know whether or not we loved him from one thing, namely, if we baptized him before long, I replied to him that we would prove his steadfastness before doing so, representing to him also the obligations he would assume in Baptism. " Very well," said he, " it is right that you should put me on trial. Give me a Frenchman who will stay with me when I withdraw into the woods to hunt; he will teach me how to pray to God morning and evening; he will spy upon all my actions, and will report to you if I take part in the eat-all feasts, if I still believe in dreams, if I obey our Sorcerers; in short you will know through him if I have violated the prohibitions you have made."



This chapter would become too long if I tried to report all the conversations we had [89] with him. It now remains to tell the success of this instruction, for that is exactly what you are waiting for.





Towards the end of the winter, the Devil made him commit two acts of insolence, one against us and the other against sieur Olivier.

Having asked us for **[page 171]** something or other that we could not give him, he became angry; and in his anger, the devil inciting him, he returned to us the Chaplet and the Agnus Dei which we had given him, and went away; we could do nothing but recommend him to God, the affair being more in his province than ours. Scarcely was this poor wretch in his cabin than he found himself overcome by fear and sadness. He did not dare afterwards to come and see us; but, as his conscience pricked him, he addressed himself to sieur Olivier, and explained to him his trouble, and the fault he had committed,  assuring him that anger had carried him away, that he was not a child, that he would keep the promise he had given us to believe in God. Sieur Olivier brought him back to us; the poor man did not dare look at us, so great was his confusion. He afterwards asked me to give him back his chaplet, but I would not restore it to him. He asked us if we had informed Monsieur the Governor about his fault; we [go] said that we had just informed him thereof, seeing he had delayed one day in acknowledging his misdeed. " Let us go," (said he) " take me to him: I wish to speak to him." So we went there together, and hardly had we entered his room before he cried out, " Ah, Nikanis, what a bad thing I have done! I am very sorry for it: I have no sense, anger has come near to ruining me. No, I am not a child, I will remain firm in the promise I have given you. We have passed the winter so peaceably, I ought not to act the fool at the end; my fault is great, but I have neither beaten nor struck anybody; I hate what I have done." Monsieur the Governor had him told that he had indeed doubted whether the Devil would **[page 173]** not have so much power over him as to prevent him from acknowledging his fault; that if he persevered in his good intention of believing in God, this fault could not efface the love he bore him.

After that he resumed his good behavior, so that, having made a feast several days afterwards, he addressed me before his countrymen, and said in a loud voice, " Father le Jenne, what I promised thee at the beginning of the winter, I promise thee at the end; and what I say now, I will say in the Summer. I am not [91] a child, that I should lie; I know I shall be ridiculed, but laughter will not kill me; and, if I should die for it, I will persevere to the end, as indeed I must die some day. " These good resolutions did not prevent him, on another occasion, from giving way to his anger against sieur Olivier, because of I know not what misunderstanding. He did not know how to get back into favor with him; but finally, on Good Friday, he approached him and addressed him in this fashion: " Tell me, I pray thee, knowest thou well the prayer the son of God made, the one they have taught me?" " I do indeed know it well," said sieur Olivier, dost thou not say it sometimes?" " I say it every day; are not these words in this prayer, *Forgive us our offenses, as we forgive those who have offended us?* " Sieur Olivier, seeing clearly what he was trying to say, embraced him, and said that he heartily pardoned the fault he had committed against him. After departing thence, he came to see me, full of joy at being reconciled, and giving a thousand praises to him who had granted his pardon.

Now although we all may fail, and ought not to reject a man when he acknowledge his sins, yet we must **[page 175]** be [92] careful in these early stages to find out what spirit actuates those who wish to range themselves on the side of Christianity. This man, if he were deeply touched, would be a power among his own people; but, as he is so choleric and haughty, we do not urge him much, especially as he has several wives whom he has promised to give up, but whom he does not give up. He alleges certain excuses for this. I remember that, being one day in the presence of Monsieur the Governor, he said to him: " Nikanis, I do really wish to embrace your belief, but you give me two commandments which conflict with each other; on the one hand you forbid me to kill, and on the other you prohibit me from having several wives; these commandments do not agree. Of the three wives I have married I love only one, whom I wish to keep with me; I send the other two away, but they return in spite of me, so that I must either endure them or kill them; I hope, however, that in a little while they will return to their own country." I can readily believe that he keeps only one of them as his wife, and that he loves her very much, hating the other two; but we must avoid scandal, and give these barbarians the impression that Christians can have only one [93] wife. Nevertheless, as it is their custom, it will be difficult to do away with it. We tolerate it, and wait patiently until the faith becomes stronger in the soul of this poor man, in order to get him to make an effort which would be quite difficult to a soul almost of flesh. And yet it does not seem to me that his body is the greatest obstacle to the faith, but rather his proud spirit. If God rejects him, I imagine that it will be in punishment for his pride rather than for his **[page 177]** lust, although he may be sunk deep in both these abysses.

But to continue, he says wonders of our Holy doctrine, preaching it publicly. Father Buteux writes me from the three Rivers that he declared openly his belief in God, and that he was keeping all the commandments, except that one about having only one wife. I have seen him at K  bec speak quite boldly in favor of our holy Faith, saying in the presence of his compatriots that he was going to cast off his old customs  that he would never give eat-all feasts, that he would not summon the Sorcerers to treat him in his sicknesses, that he would no longer believe in dreams, and that he desired to be baptized and to believe what the French believe. After all that he still crawls [94] upon the ground; his understanding acknowledges what his will, accustomed to evil, cannot or will not wholly embrace. I implore with all my heart those to whom God has given the faith almost as an inheritance, I may say, to have pity on this poor man and to supplicate our Lord to give him humility. Ah, how little we value the gift of the Faith in Europe! It seems as if belief in God were a part of our nature. Oh what a gift! Great God, what a favor! It is here that one sees what a privilege it is to believe in Jesus Christ; it is here one realizes the difficulty there is in making this belief enter the mind of an infidel Barbarian; it is here that the obligations to love him, who has acquainted us with so great a blessing, appear fully revealed. Indeed, the obstinacy of heretics is a true illustration of the callousness of our Savages. Let us pass on.

I am well aware that some of our French people, on seeing this Savage intractable, after so many **[page 179]** promises made in private and in public, were ready to say that all this man had done was only to gain credit with the French, in order [95] to marry a young woman whom he could not have had otherwise. That is a mistake, for I thoroughly understand the whole affair, and unwittingly helped to bring it about. I intended to have him retain one of the two older ones that he had; but this young woman loved him, yet did not dare to marry him through fear that a Sorcerer, who wished to make her his second wife, would kill her by his charms. It happened that our Savage on some other occasion had declared to me that he feared the artifices of this man, and I gave him to understand that he should not fear,  that, if he believed in God, his faith would serve as a shield against all charms. To demonstrate the truth of this, I myself provoked the Sorcerer, attacking him so severely that he either feared the punishments of God, or else thought I was a greater sorcerer than he was; he made peace with this Chief in our house, imagining, perhaps, that I would kill him with charms more potent than his own, if he persevered in his ill-will toward a man that I loved. As soon as they were reconciled, this young woman, freed from her fears, married him against [96] my wishes,  for, truly, if I had thought that this reconciliation would have caused this marriage, I would not have procured it as I did. However, just as in your France, as soon as a man betakes himself to following piety, imperfect men cannot tolerate him if he falls into some error, as if he could become a Saint in a moment; so in ours you will find some,  but very few and of slight importance in these affairs, in which they have not the least perception,  who would have **[page 181]** a Savage become a very fervent Christian and shed his old skin all at once, and as soon as he has shown any favorable inclination to our belief, otherwise all he does is only hypocrisy. If their conclusion were just, I would convince them of great deceit and perhaps of sacrilege; for, after having promised God so many times to correct their own faults, they do not acquit themselves of the promises they have made in his presence, therefore they act the part of hypocrites. The conclusion is not just, either for them or for our Savages. Let us



## [97] CHAPTER VI.

### WHAT HAS BEEN DONE FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF OTHER SAVAGES.

CANNOT sufficiently bless God for having given us as Governor a man after his own heart. He is full of love for our French, and is not lacking in affection for our Savages. He is wonderfully adroit in using for the benefit of Religion all the presents, all the feasts, in a word, all the help and all the benevolent acts which have to be done for these barbarians, to get along in peace with them. So that what is usually secured through unobjectionable policy is done by him with truly Christian and truly praiseworthy prudence, giving, as the saying is, two blows with one stone; for by means of the same favors and the same kind acts which he uses to attach them to the French, he also attracts them to the faith, which is the blessing and the true end for which God sends floating over the waves the ships from Europe to this new world. Therefore, pursuant to this [98] policy, the Savages at the beginning of Winter having withdrawn, some here, some there, into their great forests to seek their living, a little band of Algonquins who, as I have said, had remained near the fort, were, after having been there a few days, called together by him on the 15th of December, that a feast might be made for them. They were all there, men, women, and children, leaving only a few of their number to guard their cabins. [page 185] All having taken their places, Monsieur the Governor, accompanied by several Frenchmen, said to them through the interpreter, Sieur Olivier, how very glad he was that they were conducting themselves so peaceably, and that he would always love and protect them as long as they should persevere in this good understanding; that, having desired to see them, he had invited them to the feast to rejoice with them in the mutual love that the Frenchmen and the Savages bore to each other. This they answered with their exclamation, h, h, h, but in a tone which showed their satisfaction in this evidence of affection. After this Sieur Olivier, in accordance with the wish of Monsieur, had the banquet opened by a Captain, who observed their ceremonies, [99] explaining who it was that had invited them, and of what the feast was composed; at every different dish, although they were all mixed together, they showed their satisfaction by their h, h, h, drawn from the depths of their stomachs. After they had eaten heartily, the banquet was closed, and all the women and children were ' sent away. The old men made a few speeches in acknowledgment of the love Monsieur the Governor bore them, who thereupon taking occasion to speak, told them that he did, in fact, love them, but that he was surprised that, living as they did face to face with the French for so long a time, they had not yet accepted their belief, assuring them that the God who preserves the French would preserve the Savages also if they believed in him. He asked them if what was taught them was bad, pressing them strongly on this point. They replied that certainly what they had heard was good, but that he must blame the dullness of their minds, [page 187] and the lack of persons who understood their language well, to give them instruction. I had requested Sieur Olivier to make a speech, and we [100] had prepared some arguments to urge upon them; but they know very well how to ward off and edge away from suggestions which are not agreeable to them. Perceiving this, and raising my voice, I began in the presence of our French and of the Savages to speak publicly in their language for the first time. I had refrained from doing so until then, not so much through fear of embarrassment to myself, as of degrading our mysteries in exposing them to their laughter through my stammerings. I said to them that in truth we had not, up to that time, preached the faith to them in their public assemblies, but had only invited them to do as we did, not having the power to declare to them the beauties of our belief; that from now on we could do this, since we had made progress in the knowledge of their language; and that if they wished to respond to our great Captain's love for them, they would sometimes assemble in our house during the winter to hear about God and to talk over his doctrine; that sieur Olivier would be there to explain to me what they should say, and that I would answer with my own lips, as they understood me very well; that Monsieur our Governor invited them to do this. I told them that God himself could not love them [101] when he saw that they did not wish to acknowledge him; and addressing myself to a Captain, I said to him, " If thy son did not love thee, if he ridiculed thee, wouldst thou not be angry? Now know that thou art more a child of God than thy son is thy son; it is not thou who hast shaped the body of thy son, thou hast not inserted [page 189] the eyes in his head, thou hast not fitted the bones into their sockets, attached and fastened the arms to the shoulders; if thou hast managed this work, why hast thou not given him four arms, why hast thou not enclosed the eyes in the back of the head? It is God who has formed this structure, it is he who is the author of it, he has used you to bring it to the light and to take care of it. Now think what ingratitude it is not to be willing to believe, and to obey our real father. You tell me that you do not know him; come and see us and we will teach you about him." I said many other things to them, asking from time to time if they understood me, " Yes," they would answer, " we understand thee well." " Is what I say bad?" " No." " Do you wish to be instructed in this doctrine?" " We do, indeed." " Gather at our house sometimes then to talk about it." " We will, " they reply. " Shall you be sorry to have me bring your [102] children together, to teach them the same things?" " We shall be very glad of it; and thou wilt gain more with them than with us, for our memories are poor, seeing we are already old." Urge them, then, to come when they are called." We will not fail to do so." Monsieur the Governor and our Frenchmen showed a great deal of satisfaction at these good resolutions, which have had some good effect; for the fathers, the mothers, and the children have all received some instruction, and, although they have not yet embraced our belief, they do not fail for the most part to respect it; this divine seed will germinate in its own time. I say still more; that if they were enclosed in a village and were to settle down for a couple of years, I would not scruple to baptize some of [page 191] the adults and all the children who should be instructed; for, having received the Law of Jesus Christ, they would be called upon to put it into practice, and thus, little by little, they would become accustomed to the path of truth, and in a few years this would be a consecrated people. It all lies in getting the young people into the right habits, which cannot be easily done except by making them sedentary, or by having well-endowed Seminaries. It is that which is lacking, as I have already said; for the expenses in a [103] new and altogether primitive country are very great. But let us come to the conferences we have had with them. They came, then, to see me several times; when there were only Algonquins, I requested sieur Olivier to be present; for, as I have often said, I hardly understand them, although they understand me very well, just as I do not understand a genuine Gascon or a Provençal, although he might understand my French quite well. The first ones who came after this feast were the most prominent among them; they proposed three or four questions before entering upon a discussion of our Religion.

First, they asked why so many of them died, saying that since the coming of the French their nation was going to destruction, that before they had seen Europeans only the old people died, but that now more young than old died.

Secondly, one of them said that they had heard his grandfather say that the more French there should be here, the fewer would be the Savages; and that, especially when they should bring over women, the Savages would die in great numbers. He said also that black robes would come over to instruct them, [page 193] and that [104] likewise would make them die, " As, in fact," said he, " the greater part of those who have been baptized have died."

In the third place, he related how a certain Basque, coming in the early days to this country, was unwilling to come near the Savages;

he repulsed them, and spau upon the ground, telling them to be gone, that they had a bad smell; " Yet he wrote our names upon apiece of paper," said he, "and perhaps by this means he has bewitched us and caused us to die."

In the fourth place, another one said that the Manitou bad revealed to him in a dream that those alone would receive our doctrine who should become sedentary; that the others would ridicule it. Now these are their objections to us, which they very often repeat.

I admit that the wandering savages cannot multiply rapidly, and I might give many reasons for it. Suffice it to say that they lead such a wretched life that only the most robust can endure their hardships. But I would have considerable trouble to assign a natural cause for their dying so much more frequently than they did in the past. It is attributed to the beverages of brandy and wine, which they love with an utterly unrestrained passion, not for the [105] relish they experience in drinking them, but for the. pleasure they find in becoming drunk. They imagine in their drunkenness that they are listened to, with attention, that they are great orators, that they are valiant and formidable, that they are looked up to as Chiefs, hence this folly suits them; there is scarcely a Savage, small or great, even among the girls and women, who does not enjoy this intoxication, and who does not take these beverages when **[page 195]** they can be had, purely and simply for the sake of being drunk. Now as they drink without eating, and in great excess, I can easily believe that the maladies which are daily tending to exterminate them, may in part arise from that. Efforts are being made to remedy this, but it is very difficult to prevent our Frenchmen from co❖perating in this dissolute conduct, which may finally extinguish, if it remains unchecked, the whole nation of the Montagnes, who usually take refuge in the neighborhood of our French settlements. According to what some of them have told me, they have derived this habit from the English. Now as the devil perhaps foresees their ruin, he gives them these notions, attributing the cause of their mortality, not to their excesses, but to the law of God and to the multitude of French, so as to estrange [106] these poor barbarians as much as possible from their salvation. Let us see how the objections they proposed were answered. To the first, sieur Olivier replied that, even before the French came there, they had been attacked by certain epidemics which carried off many of their people, and that it was not as they said. " When I was very young," he continued, " I learned that the first who landed in your country found few people there, and that they were informed that the previous winter had killed an enormous number of them." I told them also that if they would consider all wandering peoples, they would find them in small numbers in comparison with those who were sedentary; and that we had heard that the nations of the North, where the Nipisiriniens went to barter, were almost entirely exterminated by the famine of the past winter. " You cannot," I said, " attribute their death to **[page 197]** the French, since the French do not have intercourse with those tribes." They replied that the Nipisiriniens carried them divers wares from France, and their death might arise from that. I replied that certain tribes living far inland, below Tadoussac, had no commerce with the Europeans, using only stone hatchets, according to what a woman of that country had related to me; and that, notwithstanding, they died in as great numbers [107],as the other wandering nations. After all the best answer was that we feared God, that we believed in him, and therefore he preserved us, whence it arose that we were a numerous people; that furthermore this great and sovereign Lord forbade us to kill, except in war, and hence we had no intention of killing them, who were our allies and our friends. "As for you people, " added sieur Olivier, " as soon as you are numerous, you become haughty and unbearable; you make war upon your neighbors without cause, you murder one another; he who measures and weighs all things, seeing that, does not allow you to multiply. " They confessed that this was true. Their intemperance in drink was represented to them; but, as they cannot restrain themselves, they answered that our great King ought to prohibit the importation hither of intoxicating drinks. They were answered that it is not necessary to throw knives and hatchets into the river, although children and stupid people sometimes hurt themselves with them.

On the second point, they were given to understand that, far from the increase of the French making them die, the more of them there were, on the contrary, the more provisions there would be in the country, and consequently the more help they would **[page 199]** receive; that they were well aware that the French had not [108] yet slain a single Savage, and that God prohibited them from it. As for ourselves, I told them that, if they would open their eyes, they would see clearly that we were trying to save the lives both of their bodies and of their souls; that we asked for their children to care for and maintain them, and to teach them to know God,❖so that, if the older ones chose to die through their excesses, and because they were unwilling to believe in him who has made all, their nation might survive and reestablish itself through these young plants, that God will preserve as he preserves us. I said that, if some of those who had been baptized had died, it was not surprising, for they had only received this Sacrament at the last moment of life, so as to assure the salvation of their souls; that they would have died, even if they had not received it; that they could see very well that not one of those who had been baptized while in health had died suddenly,❖but, on the contrary, some sick people had even recovered their health in this sacred bath. They yielded to these arguments; but, as the devil is not willing to let them escape his hands, he soon caused them to fall again into their first doubts.

On the third point, we testified that we had never heard of this Basque Captain; that probably, not being [109] accustomed to seeing Savages, he could hardly endure the odor from them; that, as for writing, those people are not bewitched who are mentioned in writing, for in that case all the nations of the earth would be bewitched, for we speak of them in our books; that they need not judge us by their standard, for among them sorcerers are not punished, **[page 201]** but in our country we kill them; and consequently, if this Basque had been a sorcerer, his people would have killed him.

In the fourth place, we tried to show them that dreams were only dreams,❖that is, deceit and falsehood,❖" For, if thou dreamest that no one will be ,converted, we will dream that you all will be converted; which of the two will tell the truth? " They began to laugh.

Now during some of the winter months, when they were at leisure, they came to see us quite often (as I have already mentioned), telling me to instruct them. At other times we went and invited them, imitating their way of doing it; we passed, Father de Quen and I, near their cabins and I cried out, " O men, come to our house; we will speak of him who has made all; I will teach you his doctrine." They replied, [110] "h❖, h❖, h❖, " and did not fail to come. Sometimes they asked me if I would make a feast; and, if I told them no, " Never mind," they said, " we will not fail to go and hear thee." Now note that, after having nourished their souls, we usually gave them food for their bodies, in order to win them. In fact, some came in order to eat, others through curiosity and for the novelty, and others came through good will. As these conferences were carried on for some time, I explained to them on different occasions the various points of our belief. Some opposed me, but I shall speak of this in the chapter on the disputes we had with them; others explained to me their doctrine, as if to oppose it to ours, of which I shall also make some mention in its proper place; others ridiculed, some approved. Generally speaking, they seemed well satisfied, either because our Lord had begun to **[page 203]** act upon their souls, or because they were dissimulating, for they are rather condescending and complaisant. I usually endeavored to prove to them that it was reasonable that he who made all things should take cognizance of our actions, that he should reward or punish us according to our works. I told them that this [111] great Captain overwhelms us with blessings,❖it is he who gives us light with the Sun, who maintains for us the fish with the waters, and the animals with the land; it is he who forms our bodies in our mothers' wombs, who creates our souls by his word. How, if we cannot tolerate the ingratitude of a man who would turn his back upon us when we had

made him many presents, do we think that this great Captain will tolerate those who are not willing to acknowledge him? I singled out one in particular and said to him, " Has not the Sun sometimes given thee pleasure, filling thee with joy at the sight of a beautiful day? Why then dost thou not say to him who has made all, ' I thank thee for the joy and pleasure thou givest me in granting me light, and for warming me by the Sun thou hast made?' Thou thankest me for giving thee something to eat, and thou dost not thank God for preserving thy life." " I do not know him," he replied, " if I could see him, I would thank him." " It is not necessary that thou shouldst see him, ♦ it is enough that he is always looking upon thee; if thou doest good to a blind man, or if thou sendest a present to an absent friend, he would surely love thee for it, although [112] he does not see thee. " Thou art right," answered another. " We also are wont to thank him who has done us good; we cry to him in a loud voice, ' Our great Father, we are very glad to be **[page 205]** well; we greatly desire to feel secure; we would like to have a fine day.'" " Who is that, " (I asked them) " whom you call your great Father? " " How do we know? it is perhaps," they answered, "he who made the light." "Now know that it is he who has made all, who with his word created the first man and the first woman, the Sun and all the stars." I would be tedious, if I were to describe all that takes place in these assemblies; I will cut it short.

I remember that, having spoken to them very fully of Hell and of Paradise, of punishment and of reward, one of them said to me, " Half of thy discourse is good, the rest is worth nothing. Do not speak to us of those fires, for that disgusts us; speak to us of the blessings of Heaven, ♦ of living a long time here below, of living at our ease, of the pleasure we will experience after our death, ♦ for it is thus men are won; when thou speakest to us of those blessings, we think in our hearts that that is good, and that [113] we surely desire to enjoy it; if thou speakest thus, all the Savages will listen to thee very readily; but those threatening words thou usest do not serve at all to that end. " I replied that, if I believed them in danger of falling into some great misfortune, I would be wicked if I did not warn them against it; this argument satisfied them.

Another one asked me how God could be good, when he cast men into eternal fires. I replied that he was good, but that he was also just, rewarding each one according to his works. " If thou shouldst injure a young man, thou wouldst not be punished so severely as if thou hadst hurt a wise old man; and if thou shouldst do evil to a common person, thou **[page 207]** wouldst not be so severely punished as if thou hadst wronged a Captain. Now know that God is a very great Captain. He punishes as a God and rewards as a God; and, as he bestows upon us great blessings, so he punishes us with severity, if he sees us wicked and proud, ♦ us, who are only worms of the earth." I added many things that it is not necessary to report.

Others proposed certain questions, ♦ namely, " if after the resurrection our bodies would be [114] like those we have now? if people will marry? if they will have children? if they will have houses like ours? if they will dress as we do? if men will have beards? if animals will live again? " and some other matters of the same kind, which I do not remember.

To all this we answered according to the principles of our belief. The only question I found myself unable to answer satisfactorily was the one as to whether or not men would have beards, for they consider that a great deformity. I got out of it the best I could, saying that men, whether they have or have not beards, would not cease to be men; and that God assured us that all those who obeyed him would be very beautiful, and more shining than the Sun.

When I told them that we had a book which contained the words and teachings of God, they were very anxious to know how we could have gotten this book, ♦ some of them believing that it had been let down from the Sky at the end of a rope, and that we had found it thus suspended in the air. This simplicity made me laugh; I tried to satisfy them on this point.

If these barbarians would only display some curiosity [115] to know about things, this would be the gate to true knowledge. But they are as cold as **[page 209]** marble, and are so imbued with this indifference that you would say they are surprised at nothing. This quality would be of use if they were Christians, for their minds would be less subject to errors; but at present I would rather have them show a little more activity and a little more fire. Oh, God! what a difference there is between a Frenchman and a Savage! If a Frenchman returns from the chase, he is hardly in the house before it is already known whether or not he has captured anything, ♦ even if he has not, he cannot wait until the table is set for the meal, having the appetite of a hunter; if he returns from some journey, although he may be quite tired out, they do not wait till he has rest before having him tell all the news he knows. Our Savages are far removed from this animation. Here is what I have very often seen among them. A Savage, returning from the chase, will sometimes throw outside the cabin what he has brought back with him; having entered he does not say a word, neither does any one address him. He sits down near the fire and undresses; his wife takes his leggings and shoes, wrings them out if they are wet, and puts them to dry; he throws a robe over his shoulders and warms himself, [116] this all taking place in silence; if his wife has saved him anything to eat, she presents it to him on a bark plate without saying a word; he takes it and eats in silence. After having eaten, he smokes; and, when he has finished smoking, he begins to talk. If no one has looked outside to see what he has brought back, he informs them that there are some Beavers or some Porcupines. This indifference astonished me, at first; but they told me rightly that one ought not to weary a man who has more need of rest than of **[page 211]** words. If any one comes from some other quarter, having entered the cabin he makes himself comfortable in the way I have just described. Knowing that he brings news, people come to see him and sit down near him; yet no one says a word to him, ♦ for, as he came for the purpose of talking, it is for him to begin. After resting a while, he speaks without being questioned, or interrupted in any way. After he has related his news, the old men question him, and engage in conversation with him. I have seen two Savages arrive at our house, who came from the quarter where a young Savage who was with us had relatives; they were at leisure for a long time, and yet this young [117] man never asked them how they were, nor what was going on in the place whence they came. I asked him the cause of this so great silence: " It was for them to speak," he said to me, " for, as they are old, I did not not dare question them. " Oh, how little curiosity have these souls! I should have attributed this conduct to stupidity, were it not that when a young fellow like himself came along he talked very well with him. Now when some of our French notice this indifference, they almost imagine that all the evidences these poor people give of wishing to receive our faith are only feigned, since they are without fire and without enthusiasm; but if they appear cold in things that are so natural to them, I am not surprised that they observe the same custom in regard to things so far removed from their comprehension. But let us tell now what benefit has resulted from these conferences, and then we shall pass to another chapter.

I say, in the first place, that these discourses have given them a high opinion of our faith; this seed of **[page 213]** the word of God will bear fruit in its own time; it is not all to cast the seed into the ground, ♦ Heaven must operate also; and when the corn is green it is not yet in ear; when it is in ear, it [118] must have time to ripen. If some of those who have heard us should fall sick, I am sure they would ask for baptism. Grace, entreating these hearts, will cause to germinate in its time what we have sown therein. It is for this we should implore the goodness of our Lord.

I say in the second place that I no longer find these Barbarians so intractable. The dread of punishment is beginning to gain such an



ascendancy over their minds that, although they do not so soon amend, yet they are, little by little, giving up their evil customs. Here is an example of this. Some Savages had arrived from Tadoussac on their way to war; Father de Quen and I visited them in their cabin, and, after some conversation, they told us that we should go to see the preparations for a great feast which were being made in a place that they named to us. But they advised us not to remain there long, " Because, " said they, " as it is a war feast, the women will serve there entirely naked." Then we went to the cabin they had indicated to us, and, in conversation with the master of the feast, we asked him if he should observe this wicked ceremony. At first, he seemed disposed to insist upon [119] observing it. But, recalling to his memory what we had told him during the winter about such nonsense, and representing to him the anger and justice of him who has made all, he said, " Go away; I promise you it shall not be done." In fact, neither in their feasts, nor at their departure, did they observe this filthy custom. [page 215]

In the third place, when we went into their cabins, this spring, they begged us to teach them, which we did all the more willingly as they showed themselves very attentive. The very man whom we had persuaded to give up that so brutal custom, said to me, " Tell us of our war, and pray God to assist us; teach us how we must behave." We told them that they must offer this prayer: "Thou who hast made all, help us; thou commandest us to love one another, we would love the Hiroquois, our enemies, but they are wicked; so act that they may become good, or else aid us to kill them. We have no intention to kill them except for this reason, that they are wicked, and that they have violated the peace we had made with them; help us, and make us return safe and sound to our own country; we desire to believe in thee, for thou art true, and to obey thee, [120] for thou art good; help us that we may believe and that we may obey." They thought this prayer so good, that one of the Savages assured me that they were going away with the hope of being aided by God; and that they particularly enjoyed these words, " we have no intention to kill the Hiroquois, except for this reason, that they are bad, and have violated the peace. " " This," said they, " is what he who has made all will approve." I had also told them to offer some prayers before departing; they did not do this at K<sup>é</sup>bec, but Father Buteux writes me from the three Rivers that, before proceeding further, some of them asked to enter the Chapel, there to request help from God. I know well that what they did was only based upon their fears that some misfortune might befall them, but *initium sapienti<sup>é</sup> est timor Domini*. Moreover, I have learned that when they were nearing the [page 217] enemy's country, they assumed an intolerable arrogance, indulging in a thousand boasts, and promising themselves wonders. God greatly humiliated them, for their Captains and some others were put to death. I may speak of this in my journal. [page 219]

## [121] CHAPTER VII. OF THE INSTRUCTION OF THE LITTLE SAVAGES.

E DIVIDED our time during this winter, so that we gave some days to the little Savages as well as to the adults. Yea, even as we expect more fruit from these young plants than from the old trees, almost entirely rotten, we have taken more especial care of them. We only invited them once to come and see us. They came so often that we were obliged to tell them that we ourselves would go after them, or send some one. The girls made up one band and the boys another; there was neither snow, nor wind, nor cold that prevented them from coming, sometimes from a quarter of a league, although they were not too warmly clad. But the pleasure their parents took in seeing them instructed, the applause our French gave them, the little presents we made them, and the slight desire they had to learn something new, attracted them. When they entered the Chapel, I had the boys placed on one side, [122] and the girls on the other. Near the little Savage boys I seated some little French boys, and some little French girls near the young Savage girls,<sup>é</sup> in order that these poor barbarous children, who have no education whatever, should learn to join hands, kneel down, make the sign of the Cross, stand up properly when they are questioned, answer modestly, and make an obeisance, when they see our little French boys and girls do so. I had imagined [page 221] that it would be difficult to tame and instruct the little girls; it is incomparably easier to retain them than the little boys, for they are very fond of our little French girls and take pride in imitating them. May God bless them all, according to his goodness!

Before commencing their instruction, I had them get on their knees with me. We began with the sign of the Cross, pronouncing these words, " In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," first in Latin, then in the Savage tongue. I repeated a little prayer in their language to implore the help of the Holy Ghost, and grace to believe in God. They all said this with me, and, when it was finished, each one took his place,<sup>é</sup> grown Savages often being present with the little ones. They all did, [123] usually, what they saw me do. Every one being seated, I slowly pronounced the Pater or the Credo, which I have arranged almost in rhyme so I can have them chant it; they followed me word for word, learning it very nicely by heart. Having learned a couplet or strophe, we sang it. They took great pleasure in this, the older ones also singing with them. After this, I made them say after me some questions and answers relative to our faith, which they retained very well, and conveyed to me satisfactorily, answering without stumbling, the questions I proposed afterwards, although I occasionally varied them. Then I gave them a little talk, either upon some article of the Credo, or upon the finalities, or else I refuted or ridiculed their foolish belief. In conclusion, they all knelt to ask our Lord for grace to retain what had been taught them; for his light, to believe in him; the strength to obey him; and his protection against the malice of the devil. [page 223] In this way the explanation of our catechism was conducted, at the end of which we had them warm themselves, and quite often we prepared a little feast for them, at the beginning and end of which they prayed to God in the way Christians do.

[124] This was especially done on workdays. Sometimes on holidays we conducted these exercises in public. Father de Quen is accustomed to teach the catechism to our French after vespers, children and adults taking part therein. Now in order to encourage our little Savages, we had them come sometimes and the Father yielded his place to me; I spoke to them in the Savage tongue, in the presence of all our French people, who took great pleasure in seeing these poor little barbarians answer the questions which I put to them, as readily as if they had been instructed since they were at the breast. The trouble is, that our Chapel is too small for both French and Savages together, hence we cannot often have this exercise in public.

Desiring one day to have some of their parents see them answer in public before our French, I requested Makheabichtichiou to bring four of the principal ones to attend vespers, and after vespers to hear their children answer; instead of four, ten or twelve of them came. All the little Savages sat on the small benches, while the older ones disposed themselves here and there, wherever they could find places. During the service, they all behaved [125] very modestly. After vespers I had our little catechists pray to God; I had them sing, and questioned them concerning our faith. They answered me boldly, in the presence of Monsieur our Governor and of all our French people, and of their Savage relatives,<sup>é</sup> a [page 225] great throng, who filled the entire Church. Now and then I explained their answers, in French, to the others, so that they might know how satisfactorily they replied to the questions put to them. In place of the little agnus Dei and other images, that one gives to the French, I made them presents of knives, iron arrow-points, rings, awls, and

needles, which they received very politely, kissing their hands and making an obeisance in the French fashion. It is not to be doubted that our French took great pleasure in these exercises, but much more did the Savages, when they saw the honor that was shown to their children. There was one, among the others, who had three girls, who answered very well and who all three received some prize; I noticed the father's face beaming with the joy that filled his heart, although these barbarians can passably well cover and disguise their feelings. This good man said afterwards to his children, as they have told me, " My children, listen to the [126] Father, what he says is true; you are young, you can remember it better than we who are old." Our French people were so pleased with these primary instructions that they came sometimes to see them, on days when the children were by themselves. Monsieur de Repentigny, Monsieur de la poterie, and a number of others came occasionally, and Monsieur Gand quite often, which greatly encouraged these little ones to do well; Monsieur our Governor took so much satisfaction in, and, so thoroughly approved this instruction, that, after having abundantly provided me with the little presents I gave them, he told me several times that he would be displeased if he knew that I had dispensed with anything which was in his power to furnish, in **[page 227]** order to keep up this so pious work. Monsieur Gand told me the same thing, and many others blessed God in hearing his praises celebrated in a foreign tongue.

Now, that a little specimen of their answers may be seen, I will record a few of them here. I ask them, " What is the name of him who has made all? " They answer very correctly that his name is God. " How many Gods are there? " " There is only one," they say. "How many persons are therein God? " " Three, who are called the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost; and these [127] three persons are only one God."

"Which of these three persons made himself man? " The Son, who was born of a Virgin named Mary." " Why did he make himself man? " " To die for us, and in dying to atone for our sins." " Why was it necessary for him to atone? " " Our first father, having disobeyed God, had to be thrown into the fire, and his children, that is, all men, might not enter Heaven; but the son of God said to his father, 'My Father, have pity upon men, and I will make myself man, and will suffer for them,' and this is why he made himself man, and died for us." " Did he not rise after his death?" "Yes, he indeed arose, and he instructed twelve men who are called Apostles, telling them they should teach the nations, and that those who believed would go to Heaven, those who did not believe would be condemned to the fires."

"What is the name of the Son of God? His name is Jesus."

"Where is he? He ascended into Heaven, and thence he shall come one day to reward all men according to their works."

"How many things are necessary to go to Heaven?" **[page 229]** "Three, to believe, to be baptized, and to obey. " " What [128] must we believe? " " What we sing in these words, ' Nitapou et taouau outanimau Dieu,' and what follows; it is the Apostles' creed." " Why do we baptize persons? " " To purify their souls, and to remove sin therefrom. " " Whom must we obey, in order to go to Heaven? " " God, who commands us to love him, and forbids us to kill, to rob, to practice lewdness, to get drunk, etc."

This is as far as we have gone. But there was one boy among the rest, who, remembering what I told him in explaining our mysteries, answered me remarkably well. Having perceived this, I questioned him without regard to order, now upon one point, now upon another, asking him where God was? " He is here, he is in Heaven, he is everywhere." "Does he really see us?" "He sees everything that goes on in Heaven, on earth, and in hell. " " Will the Savages go to Paradise? " " Yes, certainly, if they believe in God, if they are baptized, and if they obey." " Will the French go?" " Not all, for there are wicked ones among them; those who obey God will go." " Thou sayest that it is necessary to believe, to go to Heaven; dost thou believe? " "Yes, I believe, I try to believe." "What dost thou believe?" "I believe in the Father, in the Son, and in the holy Ghost; I believe that the son was made man in the womb of a [129] Virgin named Mary; that we shall all die, that we shall be raised from the dead; that Jesus will come, and will reward us according to our works." " The Virgin, is she God? " He studied a little while, then answered, " No, she is not God, for thou sayest there is only one God." I confess to you that I was surprised at **[page 231]** hearing these answers, given more readily than I put the questions, for I had not uttered in regular order, and consecutively, what I asked him, but had mentioned these things in talking, now upon one subject, now upon another. This poor young lad asked me for baptism more than three times. Once, upon going into the woods, he said to me, " Thou dost not wish to baptize me, and I am going far away from here; if I fall sick and if I die, what will become of me?" Now we have not yet dared to confer this Sacrament upon him, for as he is young and has no influence among his own people, he will easily succumb if attacked by the other unbelievers, which will happen only too often. It is necessary either to see great indications of the spirit of God in their souls, or to wait until they are protected by the authority of some person who has influence among them. If they were settled among the French, I would not scruple to baptize him, and not only him, but all the others whom we have instructed, [130] after having put them on trial for some time; for the practice of Religion would strengthen them, and the authority of the French would keep them easily and peaceably in this course.

Nevertheless they will profit by this explanation of our doctrine, for they now laugh at their own absurd notions, and are adapting themselves and accustoming their minds to receive our truths, which are indeed powerful. I have not up to the present time found a single barbarian who has not freely admitted that what we teach is very good.

I foresee that some one will ask me if we are not continuing in this so holy work. I say " no." When the spring came, our flock scattered here and there, **[page 233]** many of them withdrawing to a place near the Residence of the conception at the three Rivers. Here is what Father Buteux writes me about them. *Your Reverence cannot imagine the surprising results here, of the instruction in the Catechism that was given at Kébec. They no longer laugh when God is mentioned. They ask me every day when I shall teach the catechism, my pupils urging me more than I urge them. But the lack of room, and my own weakness in the language, make me delay. A good widow, among others, talks to me about nothing else; she came to see me yesterday, to request me, she said, to write to Father le Jeune that her daughter, whom he instructed, [131] was well, saying that she owed her health to this good Father, who had taught her to pray to God. I went to visit her in her cabin. I found her in good health, and well disposed to continue her prayers. Your Reverence cannot realize how much consolation, In domino loquor, I have experienced in seeing these little germs of Paradise.* These are the very words of the Father who wrote me. This good widow of whom he speaks, seeing her daughter sick this Winter, desired to give her to me; I did not know where to put her, for we do not keep girls in our house, and, besides, we were very short of provisions. I consoled her as well as I could, and told her that, if her daughter learned to serve God, he would make her well. This poor child did not fail to come to catechism, sick as she was. God has taken care of her, restoring her to health.

In another letter the same Father sends me word that I ought to go up there for the good of the Savages, and especially to continue these holy exercises. This would indeed be my wish; but I was not able to leave Kébec so promptly, the coming of the ships **[page 235]** giving me too much to do. I have sent him what I wrote in the Savage tongue, on the catechism; as he speaks or stammers about

as I do, he will try to help these little souls. [132] In the course of time, the Savages will become stationary; and, if they do not, their principal and longer sojourns will be near our French, now in one settlement, now in another, ♦so that, if they find Fathers who know the language, they will everywhere receive a little instruction. May our Lord in his holy goodness open their eyes. [page 237]

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF SOME DISPUTES OR DIFFICULTIES WE HAVE HAD WITH THE SAVAGES.

N OLDEN TIMES, the high Priest would not enter the Sancta sanctorum until after the shedding of the blood of some victim. I can hardly persuade myself that these tribes (especially in the countries where they are numerous) will enter the Church without a sacrifice, ♦I mean without putting to death some of those who shall instruct them. Scarcely has one begun to reveal to them some of the truths of the Gospel than he has experienced opposition; if it be said that this has been very slight, it may also be said that there has been as yet but little preaching. The devil will not allow his Empire to be overthrown without giving [133] battle; he has begun to whet some tongues against us, but to his own confusion.

As soon as we had commenced speaking in public, and *Makheabichtichiou* had shown a partiality for our belief, a Montagnez Captain, jealous of our love for him, began secretly to deride our holy faith and those who proclaimed it. He said that our belief was fatal to them, ♦that believing and dying were one and the same thing for them; and privately assured his own people that he would be sorry if they let themselves be instructed. He asserted that his grandfather had told him that black robes would come there, who would be the cause of their death. As his malice [page 239] was recognized, and as, besides, he is not a man of influence, all this did not make much impression upon the minds of the Savages. Seeing himself weak in this direction, he changed his tactics.

He spread a report that I had said that *Makheabichtichiou's* people and his intended to kill them both; that some one had told me that he wished to kill me, because he had dreamed that he would kill me; and that I did not like him on that account. Being informed of his underhand dealings, I took occasion and time to speak to him when he came to see me in [134] company with several Savages. I gave him to understand that he injured himself by circulating these bad reports; and that, as the French and the Savages knew that I loved them, he had gained nothing by his lies, unless it was the reputation of being a wicked man. "Thou art wrong," I said to him, "to believe that I hate thee; my heart is large enough to hold you all, as many as you are. Last year, when some Savages desired to kill thee, because, when in the Hiroquois country, they suspected thee of treason, thou knowest that, when thou didst inform me of it, I requested Monsieur the Commandant to take thee under his protection, and to save thy life; which he did, reconciling the dissensions among you. Thou didst tell him also that there were none but he and I who loved thee, assuring me of this with thine own lips; and in acknowledgment of this love, thou art scattering false reports which show thy faithlessness. Thou complainest that the French forsake thee, and that Monsieur the Governor does not love thee. Thou art mistaken about this, ♦he loves and protects you all. But thou art jealous of the affection that he has for [page 241] another man. Is it not true that thou cherishest those of thy own nation more than the Algonquins who [135] are your allies? Monsieur the Governor does the same. All those who believe in God are of his nation, he holds and loves them as such. As for the others, he does not hate them, he does them no harm; but wilt thou prevent him from being kindly disposed to those who wish to embrace our faith? Dost thou not remember how, when I was coming down with thee last year from the three Rivers, I gave thee some good advice about preserving your nation, which is going to destruction; and how thou thyself saidst aloud that I did indeed, love you all, and that, if my advice were followed, all would be well, but that thou didst not believe the young people would agree to it? Have I not told thee what brings us to this country? Hast thou discovered that I liked your Beavers? Have I ever asked anything from you? Thou seest, on the contrary, that I give you according to my limited capacity. We have left our kindred and friends; we have gone away from our country, milder and more agreeable than yours; I have many times risked my life to learn your language, in order to instruct you; I have projected thee in thy difficulties; and, after all that, could it be possible that I do not love you? I [136] cherish you all; but I have a particular interest in those who lend ear to our doctrine, and who are willing to acknowledge our common Lord, he who has made all." To all this he answered that, in truth, he was well aware that we loved their nation; furthermore, that he had said to Monsieur the Governor that, when his people came together again, he would propose to them our belief: and, if they [page 243] wished to accept it, he would embrace it with them, ♦that, if he did otherwise, he would be jeered at. *Mak[h]eabichtichiou*, who was present, replied, "As for me, I am inclined to think that those of my nation will laugh at me for wishing to believe in God, but I ought not to be ashamed of doing right; if there are some persons who are against me, I shall perhaps find others who will be on my side."

I forgot to say that this same barbarian, seeing how much the children loved to come to us to be instructed, had tried to divert them from it by a very wicked slander, He gave out that he had told me that the Savages were trying to poison me, and I answered that I would forestall them. On the same day that this rumor was spread among the cabins, Father de Quen and I, knowing nothing of it, [137] went to get the children. We were surprised to find that only three of them followed us, but attributed that to their play, in which we saw them much engrossed. After having instructed and sent away these three little ones, *Makheabichtichiou* came to us and said to me, "Nikanis, dost thou know what they are saying among our cabins?" "No," I replied. "Didst thou come to our quarters to-day?" "Yes, we went there, my brother and I." "Did you take away the children with you?" "No indeed, only three followed us." "Do you know the reason?" "No." "Here it is: it is whispered about that some one warned thee that the Savages intend to poison thee, and that thou saidst thou wouldst anticipate them, ♦whereupon the parents have forbidden their children to come to you." I began to laugh when I heard this misrepresentation, and said to him, "Nikanis, no one has told me that you wanted to kill me, [page 245] and if they should I would not believe it; and if I did believe it, I would not avenge myself for it. Thou knowest that we do not carry arms, that we try to settle any differences which may arise, both among the French and the Savages. Dost thou not remember the advice I gave thee to pray to God for thine enemy who wished to put thee to death, assuring thee [138] that he who has made all took upon himself the defense of the innocent? Dost thou not know that I have told thee a hundred times that God forbade us not only to kill, but even not to wish to kill, and that he saw the thoughts as well as heard the words? Know that he who has sown this seed of discord is angry because I love thee and all thy people."

"All that thou sayest is true," he answered, I have not believed these false reports in the least; I pray thee, Nikanis," he said to me, "do not think the Savages who are with me wish thee any harm. Thou wilt see now how much confidence they have in all of you. Dost thou wish me to have the little ones or the grown people come immediately?" "No," I replied to him, "it is too late, to-morrow we will continue the instruction of the children." "They will not fail," said he, "to come to thee; but, as thou seest there are bad ones among us, I beg thee not to readily believe in false reports. They will report many bad things to thee about me; if thou give them credit, thou wilt hate me and no longer teach me. I say still more; as you are beginning to understand our language, do not report to



your Captain and to the French what annoying remarks you may hear in our cabins, for that would produce discord [139] between the two nations. You [page 247] have intelligence enough, you Frenchmen, to know what ought to be said, and what ought to be left unsaid. " This poor man, all Savage as he is, has very good sense. Would to God that he were a little more humble than he is; the faith would not be long in taking root in his soul, for he is sufficiently instructed.

When he left us, he went to cry aloud among their cabins, according to their custom when they wish to make some public announcement; he cried in a loud voice, walking around their houses: " Listen, O men! Do not believe the false reports that have been spread among us, do not fear that the Father will do us harm; is it not he who teaches us that we must not kill, and that he who has made all takes vengeance on murderers? He is a man as we are; he fears, like us, him who measures and rules all things. And you, children, do not fail to visit him to-morrow, that you may be instructed; what he says is good, listen to him." These poor children came the next day in goodly numbers, as usual. But we were quite astonished, after learning this news, that those three children, already nearly grown, had not failed to follow us [140] the day before, notwithstanding the prohibition of their parents, and the threat that they would be killed. As for this great sower of calumnies, he has so little influence that he does not frighten us much. Even his own son does not have much respect for him, according to what sieur Olivier told me, he even went so far as to say to him one day, " I cannot live with thee, for, although thou hast no sense, thou wishest to act the Captain; this is why they make fun of thee, and I am humiliated by it. If thou wish me to live with thee, give up this vain idea of being a Captain, since thou hast [page 249] neither the ability to make speeches nor to be a leader." In fact, I have heard several of his band make fun of him.

We had another dispute with a sorcerer named Pigarouich. He was in the same district as *Mak[h]eabichtichiou*, and, as he had a deadly hatred for him, when he saw that he was on good terms with the French, he was jealous of him, as the other so-called Captain had been; and, in my opinion, what aroused him still more was that he heard that we ridiculed his sorceries, and that we assured *Mak[h]eabicktichiou* that his enemy could not harm him if he trusted in God. Now having come one day with the men, to confer about the points of our belief, and [141] the vanity of theirs, *Mak[h]eabicktichiou*, speaking first, said boldly that what I had told them was good, and that he intended to give up their customs and adopt ours. The sorcerer, thereupon beginning to speak and addressing me, said, " Father le Jenne, I will speak in my turn. Know, then, that whatever there may be in your belief, there are five things that I will not give up, ♦the love for women, the belief in our dreams, the eat-all feasts, the desire to kill the Hiroquois, the belief in sorcerers, and making feasts for them even to bursting. Those are the things," said he, " that we will never abandon. " Sieur Olivier explained all this to me, for the language and the accent of this Savage are altogether Algonquin. Having heard this horse-and-mule speech, I answered it in this way:

" As to women, thou art permitted to keep one with thee; having only one body, thou hast need of only one woman; and as thou wouldst not like to have other men debauch thine, so it is not permitted thee to touch theirs." He replied that he would not [page 251] fail to do it if he could. I rejoined that, if this licentiousness existed among them, they could not be sure of their own children, ♦" Thou thinkest sometimes that thou art caressing thy son, but thou [142] art mistaken, thou caressest the son of another. For if thou be as bad as thou sayest, the others pay thee in the same coin, and thus there is the same confusion among you that there is among dogs." He was very much embarrassed, and the others laughed at him.

As for dreams, I asked him if he would kill his Father, in case he dreamed that he was to do it. " The devil meddles with your imaginations in the night; and, if you obey him, he will make you the most wicked people in the world." I added several other things.

In regard to the eat-all feasts, I told him that the demons were glad to have them burst, so as to kill them all the sooner; that God, on the contrary, wishing them to live a long time, prohibited these excesses which ruined their health. The others considered this a very good answer. "As for the Hiroquois, since you are at war with them, kill them all, if thou can. As regards the sorcerers, since you will see every day that they cannot cure any sickness with their drums and other nonsense, if you have any sense you will give up all that." I expatiated still more upon this subject, but it would take too long for me to report it all. In conclusion, I declared to them that there were two lives, one very short, and the other very long, and that the [143] long one would be very happy or very miserable, ♦that he could now choose the one which pleased him more. He replied that the only life he cared for was the life of this world. Sieur Olivier said to him, " And as for me, I care for the other. If some one [page 253] presented thee two robes," ♦said he to him, "an old one which could not last more than three days, and a fine new one which might last several years, which of the two wouldst thou take? Doubtless thou wouldst take that one which would last; and yet thou sayest that thou lovest a life which is slipping away from thee every day, and that thou wilt lose, perhaps, in a short time, and thou despisest the future life which is to endure forever."

Another Savage of the company, speaking afterwards, said that they were not of the opinion of this man, but that they approved of what had been taught them. And, a few days later, two or three of them, coming to see us privately, told us that we should hold out firmly against this sorcerer, that he was feared in the cabins, and that he would oppose us. We did not fail to attack him. Another time, when he came to see us, he informed us that in a few days he should consult *Ka-Khichigou Khetikhi*, those who make the light. In my relations I have called those whom they invoke in their little tents *Khichikouekhi*, which I interpreted " genii [144] of light," for it seemed to me I had heard them called so; but this sorcerer and his people call them by the name I have just mentioned, or by another one almost like it, which signifies " those who make the light." Now having told me that he intended to consult these demons, I replied to him that he was deceiving his people in making them think that these fine " makers of the light " were moving his tent, when it was he. He asked me if I would bet with him that his tent would move, although neither he nor any one else should touch it. " I will lie down flat upon the floor of my tent," said he, " I will stretch my arms and my legs outside, and yet thou wilt see it shake [page 255] violently." I accepted the wager, and put up three times as much as he suggested. The Savages enjoyed this dispute very much, some saying to me, "Thou wilt lose," the others declaring, "No, he will win, for he is a greater sorcerer than *Pigarouich*. " I told them that I did not wish to derive any gain from this wager, that I gave them the share the sorcerer would lose; this excited them very much, and they placed themselves all on one side. Then addressing myself to the sorcerer, I said to him, " Be careful what thou doest; for, if it is thou who movest thy tent, I will instantly cut all the cords which hold it in place and I will show thee [145] to be an impostor. If it be some spirit or the wind, as thou sayest, know that it is the devil. Now the Devil fears us, and, if it is he, I shall speak to him severely, ♦I shall chide him, and shall force him to confess his impotence against those who believe in God; and I shall make him confess that he is deceiving you. Now when he sees himself ridiculed, if he gets into a fury, and if he kills thee, do not lay the blame upon us; if he goes out and strikes those who shall have called him, do not reproach us for it, for you will see that we will defy him to approach us, and that he will not be able to do it, because God protects us." In fact I had intended to hold this over them as a sword hereafter, and I feared that God would permit the Demon to do harm to these infidels and skeptics, and they would believe nothing else than that it had been done at our instigation. When the poor man heard this, he was afraid, though he preserved a bold front; but changing the subject, he said to me, " Wilt thou bet that I cannot put a stick of Porcelain in thy hand, which thou wilt see and touch and close in thy hand, ♦[page 257] then, upon opening it, thou wilt no longer find it there?" " Done," said I, " I will accept the bet, for

it is thou who must take away this stick, and thou wilt be sly indeed if thou deceivest me; if it be the Devil, he is afraid of those who believe in God. He [146] will not touch me, but perhaps he will give thee a close dusting." My poor sorcerer, shrugging his shoulders, would have been very glad to withdraw his pin from the game, as the saying is, but I urged him strongly, and, addressing myself to his people, said, "You see how he deludes you; he would not dare to take up the bet; do you urge him, so that you may discover his frauds and his deceits." When he perceived this, he appointed an hour for the next day. I immediately informed sieur Olivier of it, and requested him to be there with Father de Quen and me, and some Frenchmen, whom we would take along as witnesses of the affair. The next day, I waited for them to come and summon us, as we had arranged; but, on the contrary, they came to tell us that the sorcerer had gone off at daybreak to hunt hares, which is here the sport only of young boys. His people said among themselves that he was afraid, that he had no courage; some of them were astonished, and wondered at our belief; others said the French were greater sorcerers than they were. In truth they name such people Man[i]tousiouckhi, meaning, "those who are acquainted with the Manitou, with him who is superior to men," applying the name Manitou now to God and now to the devil.

[147] Some days having elapsed, this sorcerer tried to come and see me privately; it would take me too long to relate here how he tried to win me by gentle means, ♦ I will leave a part of these things for the [page 259] journal. While he was with us, several Savages entered, and I wished to remind them of what had occurred; he pulled my gown, and begged me in a whisper to drop that subject. I obeyed him on this particular, but I dumbfounded him and his companions by what I am going to relate. I took a sheet of paper, and made them hold it by the four corners; then, having placed upon it some needles, I slowly passed my hand over it, holding between my fingers a little lodestone. The needles, attracted by this stone, went and came, advanced and retreated, according to the movement of my hand. They were astonished at seeing these needles run and turn about, without any one touching them. Seeing their amazement, I told the sorcerer that he should do the same; he answered by staring at me, without saying a word. I explained to them that this was a natural phenomenon, that I did not avail myself of the devil, in order to do it, and that it was a wicked thing to use his help; that in France they put Sorcerers and Magicians to death, when [ 148] they could be discovered; that the evil spirit never did any one any good; that in the beginning he tried to cover up his malice, but in the end he deceived those who had recourse to him. "As for thee, Pigarouich, " said I to the Sorcerer, "if thou wilt take my advice, thou wilt never consult the Demons, they are liars. They tell thee it is they who make the light; this is an imposition, for it is God who makes the light by creating the Sun. After these Demons shall have caused thee to do much harm to others, they will kill thee and drag thee into the flames. Think on what I tell thee." He answered that he would come and see us. He did indeed come, and proposed to us some questions which I am going to explain. [page 261]

## [149] CHAPTER IX.

### SOME INTERVIEWS WITH THE AFORESAID SORCERER.

HIS MAN, ♦ having seen that we are holding our Town against him, that we often defied him to exercise his charms upon us; that we even ridiculed the Manitou, whom they fear as they do death; that we were saying boldly that the Sorcerers had no power outside of that which the God of the Christians grants them, and that all those who believe in him ought not to fear, ♦ began, I imagine, to consider us greater Sorcerers than himself. He came to see me secretly, and proposed to me divers questions ridiculous in the extreme.

Being, then, alone with me in our house, he said, I am going to tell thee what I do; if thou dost not approve of it I will give it up, for I wish to believe in him who has made all. I give feasts at which all must be eaten, I sing loudly during these feasts; I believe in my dreams, ♦ I [150] interpret them, and also the dreams of others; I sing and beat my Drum, in order to be lucky in the chase and to cure sickness; I consult those who have made the Light; I kill men by my sorceries and with my contrivances; I take robes and other gifts for curing the sick; I order that these should also be given to the sick themselves. Tell me, what dost thou find bad in all that? "I refuted all these points by good arguments, the best I could conjure up.

Another time, he told me that during their [page 263] epidemic three or four years ago, he, being almost in the agony of death, like the others, had seen in a dream a House made like ours, in which were some Images like those he saw in our house; and that after this dream he recovered; and, since then, whenever he has been sick, if he could have the same dream, he quickly recovered his health. "Now then," he said to me, "is that not a good thing?" I took pains to show him the vanity of their dreams.

He told me another day that, in order to become a sorcerer, ♦ that is, to have communication with the Manitou, and to be lucky [151] in dreams, ♦ he had fasted five days and five nights, without drinking or eating, isolated in a little cabin in the midst of the woods.

As I had reprimanded him for his lusts, he proposed certain questions of Conscience to me. "Thou sayest, " he said, "that God prohibits a plurality of wives; well, then, to satisfy him I will only have one with me; but will there be any harm in going to seek others, whom I shall not take as wives?" I answered him, "Dost thou wish some one to come and debauch thy wife or thy daughter?" "No," said he. "Well, then, thou seest plainly it is an evil deed to solicit the wives and daughters of others."

"That is true," said he, "but, if the women seek me, shall I do wrong to yield to their desire? " "If thy wife or thy daughter were to seek some man with whom to prostitute herself, would she be doing right? " "No, that is not doing right. " "Then the women who seek thee, are they doing wrong? " "Certainly, they have no sense," he replied. "If they do wrong to ask thee for an unlawful thing, thou also doest wrong to grant it to them." "Thou art right," said he, "I grant what thou sayest." [page 265]

He asked me if Makheabichtichiou did really [152] wish to believe in God. I told him that he said he did. "Moreover," I added, "I have been told that thou wishest to kill him by thy charms; be careful, for now that he is trying to believe in him who has made all, he is under his protection; and the Devil, not being able to do him any harm, may discharge his wrath upon thee. As to Makheabichtichiou, I have advised him not to wish thee any harm, but to pray God to make thee wise and to make thee give up thy sorceries; for our God forbids us to hate any one, he himself taking revenge for us upon our enemies. "This simple man, greatly frightened, immediately made peace with Makheabichtichiou, each promising the other in my presence to love and treat the other as a brother. After that time this Sorcerer became more curious to know about our doctrine. He asked me various questions regarding the future life, hell, the resurrection of the body, and showed himself so attentive that I was astonished. He promised me he would pray to God in secret, and had me repeat a Prayer for him to learn. He assured me that he would no longer consult the Demons, and that he would refrain from other things I had prohibited. He [153] kept this up as long as he was our neighbor; but, as he is only slightly instructed, and as his faith, if he have any at all, is the faith of fear and servility, he easily forgets his promises. One day, in the hunt, when they were pressed by hunger, having captured nothing, Makheabichtichiou said to the Savages, "You know that the Father has

told us to have recourse to God in our distress; let us pray him now to assist us." All the other Savages began to laugh except the Sorcerer, who did not oppose the [page 267] proposition made to pray to God. Now for the present I do not know where this poor man is; this is the misfortune of this Nation, which I verily believe has descended from Cain, or from some other wanderer like him. [page 269]

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. XI

### xxvii - xxviii

Br beuf's two letters to the general of the order, here given, were both sent from Ihonatiria,- one without date, but bearing internal evidence of having been written in 1636, and the other dated May 20, 1637. The original manuscripts are in Latin, and preserved in the *MSS. Soc. Jes.* In 1858, Father Martin made copies thereof, and his apographs are now in the Archives of St. Mary's College, at Montreal; we follow the text of the Latin apographs, in the present issue, and our English translation is made therefrom. This is, so far as we are aware, the first publication of the letters in the language in which they were written.

Martin's French translations of his apographs are given in Carayon's *Premi re Mission*, pp. 163-166, and 157-162 respectively. Through a clerical error, Carayon gives 1638 (instead of 1636) as the date of our Doc. XXVII., thus throwing them out of true chronological sequence; we restore them to their proper places.

### xxix

The Relation of 1637 (Rouen, 1638) is, for convenience, styled Le jeune's; but like many others of the series, it is a composite. The book contains three sections: the first (pp. 1 - 313) consisting Of 309 pp., is Le jeune's own Relation, as superior, dated on [page 271] board the ship *Sainte Marie* at Cap Rouge, August 31, 1637, and addressed to the provincial of the Jesuits, for the province of France; following this (pp. 314- 336), is a letter of 23 pp., from Le Jenne to the provincial, dated Sept. 11, evidently sent in the same ship with the *Relation*, as a postscript; the third section, of 256 pp., separate pagination, is the annual Huron *Relation*, rendered to Le Jenne, this time, signed by Fran ois Joseph le Mercier, and dated at Ihonattiria, June 21, 1637. Owing to the fact that Le jeune's two contributions are continuously paged, they are classed by bibliographers as together constituting Part I. of the *Relation* of 1637; and the separately-paged Huron report as Part II. thereof.

For the text of this document, we have had recourse to the original printed *Relation* (first issue), in Lenox Library, which is usually designated as "H. 67, "because described in Harrisse's *Notes*, no. 67.

*Collation* (H. 67): Title, with verso blank, i leaf; " Extraict du Priuilege du Roy (dated Paris, Feb. 5, 1638), p. (i); "Approbation by the provincial (dated Paris, Jan. 22, 1638), p. (i); " Table des Chapitres," pp. (2); introductory letter, Le Jenne to the provincial, pp. (4); text by Le Jeune (15 chaps.), pp. i-313; " Derni re lettre dv P. Paul le Jeune," pp. 314-336; text by Le Mercier (Huron Relation, 7 chaps.), pp. 1-256 (separate pagination). A folding wood-engraving, representing fireworks, appears between pp. 18 and 19 of Part I.

*Peculiarities*: The pagination is, in places, erratic: In Part I., p. 14 is mispaged 13; p. 182, mispaged 128; there are no pp. 193 - 196 in this part, signature "M" ending with p. 192, and signature "N" beginning with p. 197. The copy in Harvard College has [page 272] p. 167 mispaged as 168, though in both issues in the Lenox Library the pagination, in this respect, is correct. In Part II. (the Huron Relation), p. 170 is mispaged 172. There are several errors in page references, in the Table des Chapitres, which will be found corrected within brackets, in the present issue. Signature "A" begins with p. 1 of the text - the preliminary matter is made up of the title, plus sig. "a" in four. Although Parts I. and II. are separately paged, the signatures of the volume form a continuous series, Part II. beginning with "Aa."

Harrisse's *Notes* (no. 68), and the Lenox Catalogue (p. 5) describe what is called a second issue. The title-page of the example in the Lenox Library is an entire reset; it reads line-for-line like H. 67, down to the ornament; in the place of the one reproduced in our facsimile, H. 68 presents "the monogram of Christ, surrounded by rays of light." The remainder of the title of the second issue is as follows:

A ROVEN, Chez IEAN LE BOVLENGER. | *Et fe vendent*   Paris, | Chez PIERRE DE BRESCH , ru  S. E tienne | des Grecs   l'Image Saint Iofeph. | M. DC. XXXVIII. | *AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.*

Harrisse declares that the differences in title-page, between H. 67 and H. 68, are the only ones discoverable. The errors in pagination, both in Table and text, are identical; but we have discovered two typographical differences, in Part I., which are slight, but interesting: On P. 300, line 21, the word *tra cts*, in H. 67, appears with the " i " dropped out, while in H. 68 the defect is remedied to read *traicts*; on P. 304, last line, the *longt-emps* of H. 67 becomes *long-temps* in H. 68. Possibly other changes might be found, upon a line-for-line comparison. Harrisse [page 273] (no. 67) has omitted to indicate the parallel line-divisions between the seventh and eighth lines, after the word "Provincial." In no. 68 he has made a similar omission in the imprint, between the second and third lines, after " Bovlenger."

Apparently, the Rouen printer and dealer worked off a special edition for sale in Paris, with a fresh title-page giving the name of the dealer in the latter city the home edition being H. 67, and the Paris edition H. 68. That the Rouen edition was the first, is evident from the typographical corrections above noted. Further, in the Rouen example in Lenox, there are numerous " bites " of the ~frisket, in printing; in the Paris example, in the same library, the impressions are all clear, showing that the ~frisket had by that time been adjusted.

A note in Lenox Catalogue, after the description of H. 68, says: " In the Bib. du Roi at Paris there was a copy having folio i of first part double. The title to Chap. i. was mil six cens trente sept in the other trente six the latter no doubt a mistake and intended to be cancelled."

Copies of this *Relation* are to be found in the Brown (H. 67), Lenox (both issues), Laval University at Quebec (both issues), and Harvard College (H. 67) libraries, and (H. 67) in the British Museum. Copies of the first issue (Rouen) have been sold or priced as follows: O'Callaghan (1882), no. 1216, brought \$20, and had cost him \$33.75 in gold; Harrassowitz (1882), no. 24, priced at 150



marks; Barlow (i889), no. 1277, sold for \$22.50; Dufoss❖ (1892), priced at 300 francs. Copies of the second issue (Rouen et Paris) have been priced as follows: Leclerc (1878),no. 779, 200 francs; Dufoss❖ (1891 and 1893), 225 and 300 francs. **[page 275]**

# NOTES TO VOL. XI

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



# VOL. XII

## The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

Travels and Explorations  
of the Jesuit Missionaries  
in New France

1610❖1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALI-  
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-  
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

Reuben Gold Thwaites

Secretary of the State historical Society of Wisconsin

COMPUTERIZED TRANSCRIPTION BY

Thom Mentrak

Historical Interpreter at

Onondaga county parks

Ste. Marie Among The Iroquois Living History Museum

Vol. XII

Qu bec

1637

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PREFACE TO VOL. XII

Following is a synopsis of the concluding portion of Part I. of Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1637, the first installment thereof having been

published in Vol. XI. of our series:

XXIX. Le Jenne commences chap. x. of his *Relation* of 1637, by describing the character and practices of the medicine men (whom the missionaries call "sorcerers"), and discusses the question whether these persons really have intercourse with the devil; he inclines to the opinion that such is the case. He goes on to recount certain superstitious beliefs, current among the natives, regarding various matters the genesis of thunder, eclipses, and other natural phenomena; the condition of departed souls; and the destiny of the human race. The curious legend of Tchakabech, a wonderful dwarf, who climbed to the sky, and caught the sun in a net is also narrated.

The writer then describes the foundation at Quebec of a seminary for Huron boys. After many difficulties, it was opened with three pupils, a number afterwards doubled. The seminary soon meets a great loss in the death of its two most promising lads, Tsiko and Satouta, as the result of overeating. They, however, passed away in a pious frame of mind, and were baptized just before that event. The [page 1] remaining Seminarists are doing well in both secular and religious studies, and prove surprisingly apt therein, as well as docile in behavior; they wish to remain always with the missionaries, who hope that these heretofore wild youths may be induced to become tillers of the soil, thus affording a needed example to their fellow-savages.

Le Jenne recounts the hindrances to their work from the credulity of the natives, influenced by various false reports spread among them concerning the smallpox epidemic which, that year, had ravaged all Canada. This and other misfortunes were attributed to the French, and especially to the preachers of the new faith; these are considered by the Indians as sorcerers, who have bewitched them, and the tribesmen have sometimes threatened the lives of the Jesuits. The seminary is for a time in danger of ruin; but a turn in affairs, with a novena of masses in honor of St. Ignace, restores it to safety; and new pupils are sent down from the Huron country.

Br  beuf has sent a letter of " instructions for the Fathers of our Society who shall be sent to the Hurons," which is here given in full. Among these, are injunctions to "never make the savages wait for you in embarking; take, at first, everything they offer, although you may not be able to eat it all, for when one gets somewhat accustomed to it, there is not too much; do not be at all annoying to even one of these barbarians; do not ask too many questions; try always to be cheerful; " etc.

Le Jenne concludes his relation by the usual "Journal" of the year's events. In September he had gone with Montmagny to Three Rivers and the Richelieu River; and in October he had visited [page 2] Beaupr  . Later, the Indian women come to him for instruction; but he soon has to dismiss these visitors on account of the noise made by the babies that accompany them. In April, a party of Algonkins and Montagnais go to attack the Iroquois, but are defeated, losing both their chiefs in battle. Makheabichtichiou, the Montagnais chief, applies to Montmagny for aid, and is told that it will be given them, if they consent to settle at Three Rivers and give up their nomadic life.

May day is celebrated by the light-hearted French, and a Maypole erected before the Quebec church the first May day on which New France has honored the Church.

In June, a battle occurs between the Iroquets and Iroquois. The latter are defeated, losing thirteen Prisoners, whom the Algonkins put to death with fearful tortures.

In July, a party of Abenakis come to Quebec, to visit the Montagnais. In defiance of prohibitions from the latter and from the French, they go to Three Rivers, to barter for beaver skins; but Montmagny compels them to return to their own country without any pelts, that they may not injure the trade of the Hundred Associates. The ships from France bring Fathers Claude Pijart and Claude Quentin.

Le Jenne and Ragueneau attend Montmagny to Three Rivers, to meet the annual Huron fleet. Pierre Pijart meets them there, having come with the Huron chief A  nons (mentioned by Br  beuf, in his *Relation* of the preceding year, as a warm friend of the Mission). This man, becoming sick on the journey, dies at Three Rivers, meeting his end piously, after having been baptized. As the Huron canoes [page 3] start to return, they are attacked by an ambushed band of Iroquois, numbering some 500 warriors. Some of the Hurons are captured; but the others escape for their homeward journey, Ragueneau being, fortunately, with this band. The Iroquois even threaten the French at Three Rivers; but Montmagny keeps them at bay, and sends to Quebec for reinforcements, whereupon the Iroquois retire. Soon after, the French return to Quebec, arriving there in time for Le Jeune to send his letters to France by the returning ships. He finishes writing the *Relation*, " on board the Sainte Marie, " the ship that carried them back from Three Rivers.

Arrived at Quebec, he writes a *derni  re lettre*, as a postscript to the former; this letter closes Part I. of the present document. In this epistle he relates that he was obliged, four days after reaching Quebec, to return to Three Rivers, to meet another Huron fleet that had just arrived at that settlement. The Hurons bring with them new pupils for the seminary, even more than the Fathers can accept. Letters from the Huron mission relate the calumnies current there regarding the French, who are accused of being the cause of all the natives' misfortunes; but the missionaries heed not their persecutions, and continue their work full of faith and ardor. Montmagny's lieutenant, De l'Isle, and Le Jeune hold a council with the savages at Three Rivers, making many speeches and presents; the savages are thus pacified, and their friendship won. Le Jeune concludes by relating the particulars of the illness and death of Charles Turgis, the missionary at Miscou.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., December, 1897.

[page 4]

## XXIX (continued)

### Le Jeune's Relation, 1637

### Rouen: JEAN LE BOULLENGER, 1638





Chaps. x. & xv. of the *Relation* proper, of 1637, and Le Jeune's *Derniére Lettre*, completing Part 1. of the document, are given in the present volume. The greater portion of Part II. ( Le Mercier's Huron *Relation* will occupy volume XIII.

[page 5]

## [154] CHAPTER X.

### OF THE SORCERERS, AND WHETHER THEY HAVE COMMUNICATION WITH THE DEVIL.

HE Montagnet Savages give the name Manitou to all Nature superior to man, good or bad. This is why, when we speak of God, they sometimes call him the good Manitou; and, when we speak of the Devil, they call him the bad Manitou. Now all those who have any special acquaintance with the Manitou, be he good or bad, are called among them " Man[i]touisiouekhi. " And inasmuch as these persons know only the bad Manitou, that is, the Devil, we call them Sorcerers. Not that the Devil communicates with them as obviously as he does with the Sorcerers and Magicians [155] of Europe; but we have no other name to give them, since they even do some of the acts of genuine sorcerers, & as, to kill one another by charms, or wishes, and imprecations, by the abetment of the Manitou, by poisons which they concoct. And this is so common among them, at least in their own opinion, that I hardly ever see any of them die who does not think he has been bewitched. This is why they have no other Physicians than the Sorcerers, whom they employ to break the spells by which they think they are held. In fact, they nearly all die of consumption, becoming so thin that they are nothing but skin and bone when they are borne to the grave. Hence it arises that these sorcerers are greatly feared, and that one would not dare offend [page 7] them, because they can, the people believe, kill men by their arts. They are also greatly sought after, inasmuch as they can, it is said, remove disease which has been inflicted by them. It is a pitiable sight to see how the Devil makes sport of these people, who are astonished when they see how easily we challenge and defy their Sorcerers. They attribute it to a better acquaintance with the Manitou. They believe that there are men among [156] them who have no communication with the Devil. These are jugglers who perform the same apish tricks as the Sorcerers, in order to get a few presents from others. One day, when we were inveighing against the malice of the Sorcerers, one of the Savages present, who was regarded as such, exclaimed, "As for me, I know nothing about these tricks; my father beat his drum near the sick; I have seen him do it, and I do as he did; this is all the artifice I understand. " These poor Barbarians, perishing every day, say that there is no longer any real Man[i]touisiou among them, that is to say, no genuine Sorcerer.

It is the office of the Sorcerer to interpret dreams, to explain the singing of birds, or encounters with them. The Romans had their Augurs, who did the same thing. They say that when one dreams he has seen a great deal of Moose meat, it is a sign of life; but if one dreams of a Bear, it is a sign of death. I have already said several times that these Charlatans sing and beat their drums to cure the sick, to kill their enemies in war, and to capture animals in the hunt. Pigarouich, the Sorcerer of whom I have spoken above, sang to us El 5 71 once the song he uses when he intends to go hunting. He uttered only these words, *Iagoua mou itoutaoui ne e-* & , which he [page 9] repeated several times in different tones, grave and heavy, although pleasant enough to the ear. We asked him why he sang this to capture animals. " I learned," said he, "this song in a dream; and that is why I have preserved and used it since." He requested us earnestly to teach him what must be sung to cure the sick, and to have a good chase, promising us to observe it exactly.

Here is one of the methods employed by the wicked ones to kill their countrymen. Some one has told me that they had formerly tried to use these deviltries against the French, but that they could not make them sick. If the Christian realized his own dignity he would hold it in high esteem. A Sorcerer, wishing to kill some one, enters his Tent and summons the Genii of the light, or those who make the light; they call them thus, and we call them Devils. When they arrive, he sends them after the soul of him, or of those, whom they wish to kill. If these persons belong to another Nation, they change their name, lest their relatives, getting wind of the affair, [158] take vengeance on the sorcerer. The Genii bring these poor souls in the form of stones, or in some other shape. Then the sorcerer strikes them with blows of javelins or hatchets, so hard that the blood runs down from them, so copiously that the javelin or the hatchet remains all stained and red with it. When this is done, the one whose soul had been struck falls sick, and languishes unto death. See how these poor people are deluded by the Demons. When one Savage hates another, he employs a sorcerer to kill him in this way; but they say that if the sick man happens to dream who it is that has bewitched him, he will get well and the sorcerer will die. These [page 11] Genii, or makers of Light, induce them to believe that they greatly love their Nation, but that the wicked Manitou prevents them from procuring for it the blessings they would desire.

They imagine that he who longs for, or desires the death of another, especially if he be a sorcerer, will often have his wish gratified; but also the sorcerer who has had this wish dies after the others. It is strange to see how these people agree so well outwardly, and how they hate each other within. They do not often get angry and [159] fight with one another, but in the depths of their hearts they intend a great deal of harm. I do not understand how this can be consistent with the kindness and assistance that they offer one another.

One of these Sorcerers or jugglers told me that occasionally the devil speaks to some Savage, who hears only his voice, without seeing any one. He will say to him, for example, " Thou wilt find a stone upon the snow, or in such a place, or in the heart, or the shoulder, or some other part of an Elk, or of another animal; take this stone, and thou wilt be lucky in the chase." He assured me that he had found one of these stones in the heart of an Elk, and that he had given it to a Frenchman. " Hence I shall kill nothing more," said he.

He also said that the Devil made himself known through dreams. A Moose will present itself to a man in his sleep, and will say to him, " Come to me." The Savage, upon awaking, goes in search of the Moose he has seen. Having found it, if he hurls or launches his javelin upon it, the beast falls stonedead. Opening it, he occasionally finds some hair or a stone in its body, which he takes and keeps with [page 13] great care, that he may be fortunate in finding and killing many animals.

[160] Moreover, he added that the Demons taught them to make ointments from toads and snakes, to cause the death of those whom they hate. If he tells the truth, there is no doubt they have communication with the Devil. I believe that from this superstition or notion has sprung a custom the Savages observe, of having a little bag so especially for their own use, that no one else would dare look inside of it; they would be greatly offended thereat, perhaps even so much as to kill the other. They are unwilling that any one should see this

stone, or similar object, if they have one; and one of me one day, " In this way thou wilt know whether a Savage really desires to believe in God, if, having one of these stones, he gives it to thee."

Makheabichtichiou has related to me that once, when he was still a young lad, and was hunting all alone in the woods, he saw coming toward him a Genie of light; he was dressed and adorned like an Hiroquois, and was borne through the air. " I halted," said he, " filled with fear. He stopped also, at a little distance from me, and all the earth around him seemed to tremble. He told me that I should not fear; that I would not die so soon, but that it would not be the same with my people. At last I saw him rise [161] into the air, and disappear before my eyes. I returned to the Cabin, thoroughly frightened, and related to my countrymen what I had seen; they took it as a bad sign, and said that some one of them would be killed by their enemies. Immediately after this, some one came to tell them that one of their fasters, being separated from the **[page 15]** others, had been surprised and murdered by the Hiroquois. " If fear, which makes the imagination see what is not there, did not trouble this man's fancy, then doubtless the Devil appeared to him, although he is not a Sorcerer.

I have been told by a Savage that they think the eyes of the Genii of Light are in an oblique line, one above and the other below. As I have spoken of them in other Relations, I will say no more about them here. Let us answer the question proposed in the heading of this Chapter, namely, whether these Sorcerers really have communication with the Devil. If what I am about to tell is true, there is no doubt that the Demons sometimes manifest themselves to them; but I have believed until now that in reality the devil deluded them, filling their understandings with error and their wills with malice, though I persuaded myself that he did not [162] reveal himself visibly, and that all the things their Sorcerers did were only Deceptions they contrived, in order to derive therefrom some profit. I am now beginning to doubt, even to incline to the other side, for the following reasons:

I have said before that, when they intended to consult the Genii of Light, they prepared Tents by driving stakes into the ground, binding and fastening them with a hoop, then covering them with robes or blankets. When the sorcerer has entered therein, and has sung and invoked these Genii or Demons, the Tent begins to shake. Now I imagined that the Sorcerer shook it; but Makheabichtichiou, speaking to me frankly, and the Sorcerer Pigarouich, revealing to me with great sincerity all his knaveries, protested to me that it was not the Sorcerer who moved this **[page 17]** edifice, but a strong wind which suddenly and violently rushed in. And, as proof of this, they told me that the Tent is sometimes so firm that a man can hardly move it, " Yet thou wilt see it, if thou pleasest to be present there, shake and bend from one side to the other, with such violence and for so long a time, that thou wilt be compelled to confess [163] that there is no human strength that could cause this movement. " While passing the winter with the Savages, I saw them perform this deviltry; I saw strong young men sweat in erecting this Tent; I saw it shake, not with the violence they say it does, but forcibly enough, and for so long a time that I was surprised that a man had strength enough to endure such exertion. Nevertheless, as I did not try this round tower to see if it was firmly fixed, I imagined that it was the juggler who shook it.

Furthermore, those whom I have just named, and others, have stoutly asserted to me that the top of this Tent, seven feet high or thereabout, is sometimes bent even to the ground, so powerfully is it agitated. Also, that the arms and legs of the Sorcerer, who was stretched upon the ground, were sometimes seen to emerge at the bottom of the Tent, while the top was shaking violently. They say that the Demon or the wind which enters this little house rushes in with such force, and so disturbs the sorcerer, making him think he is going to fall into an abyss, the earth appearing to open under him, that he emerges in terror from his Tent, which goes on shaking for some time after he [164] has left it. Aniskaouaskousit, a young Savage, has assured us that Etouet, the Captain at Tadoussac, having gone last Autumn into his Apitouagan, ♦this is the name **[page 19]** they give the Tent, ♦his clout was thrown out of it at the top, and his body was lifted up, so that those who looked inside no longer saw him; finally, he was heard to fall down, uttering a plaintive cry like a man who feels the shock of a fall. Having emerged from these enchantments, he said that he did not know where he had been or what had taken place.

The same one related to me, very freely, for he was our domestic and we were instructing him in the Faith, that once during the winter, when he and another young man were on a frozen Lake, they saw a sorcerer enter into a state of frenzy. He was lifted up, and without any one knowing how, for he suddenly disappeared from before their eyes. Towards evening, his robe was found, but not his body; a few days later, he returned utterly worn out, and could not tell where he had been, or what he had done. I have said before that sometimes, during their great famines, some of them disappear never to return; they have assured me that this did happen, and that it was a very bad sign for them, for [165] then the Manitou finished them.

Furthermore, this same young Savage said that he had seen with his own eyes the Sorcerer Karigouan, with whom I passed a winter, draw a stone from his bag, put it upon a shield and burn it; he assured me that the stone had not been heated.

Finally, Makheabichtichiou has informed me that the Algonquins, who are higher up on the great river, divine by Pyromancy. But, as it is not different from that of the Hiroquois, of which Father Breb ♦uf has spoken in his Relations, I will not explain it further. All these arguments show that it is probable that the Devil sometimes has visible communication **[page 21]**

with these poor Barbarians, who have need of great assistance, both temporal and spiritual, to draw them out of the slavery which oppresses them. Since the conclusion of this Chapter, Father Pijart, who recently arrived from the Hurons, has brought me a stone that Father Breb ♦uf sent me, which was used by a Sorcerer in this way. This man, wishing to cure a sick person, placed the stone in the fire, and left it there a long time, until it was red-hot. Meanwhile, he entered in a frenzy, drew this burning stone out of the fire, [166] took it between his teeth, ran like a madman through the Cabin, and cast the still glowing stone away without having received any injury therefrom. Father Pijart was an eyewitness of this act; and, as the stone is quite large, he wished to see if it had not burned his lips or tongue; he found it had not. This made him believe that it could not have been done without the agency of some Demon. I send to Your Reverence this same stone, which is still marked with the Sorcerer's teeth. As it had been in the fire, it was, as it were, calcined and made softer; hence, in pressing it with the teeth, he made the two notches which appear. **[page 23]**

## [167] CHAPTER XI.

### OF THEIR CUSTOMS AND THEIR BELIEF.

DO not propose to repeat what I have previously said upon this subject, but intend to add only what new things I have learned about it. If I use repetitions, it is because I have forgotten what I have already told, or that I may explain it more fully. Among the superstitions used to cure the sick, they sometimes induce a man, a woman, or a child to remain near them, imagining that this helps them to

recover their health. They are so compliant in this respect that, if a sick person asks some one to stay near him in this way, he is so readily obeyed that one who should refuse him this kind office would be considered very ungrateful, although it is a very tiresome duty; for he must remain there idle, [168] without other occupation than to sit beside the patient.

They have their patients take emetics; dysentery is cured by drinking the juice of leaves or branches of the Cedar, which have been boiled. Father Buteux said he saw a child recover very soon, after having taken this medicine.

They throw the Bear's gall into the fire to see if it will crackle, conjecturing from this noise whether they will capture others.

Father Buteux asked a Savage why they fixed their javelins point upward. He replied that, as the thunder had intelligence, it would, upon seeing these naked javelins, turn aside, and would be very careful **[page 25]** not to come near their cabins. When the Father asked another one whence came that great clap of thunder, " It is, " he said, " the Manitou who wishes to vomit up a great serpent he has swallowed; and at every effort of his stomach he makes this great uproar that we hear. " In fact, they have often told me that flashes of lightning were nothing but serpents falling upon the ground, which they discover from the trees struck by lightning. "For," say they, " here is seen the shape of those creatures, stamped, as it were, in sinuous and [169] crooked lines around the tree. Large serpents have even been found under these trees, " they say. A new kind of Philosophy, truly!

When the Savages have been defeated in war, some one of their number is sent on ahead as a Herald, who cries out in a loud voice as soon as he perceives the Cabins, uttering the names of those who have been captured or killed. The daughters and wives, hearing their relatives named, spread their hair over their faces, burst into tears, and paint themselves black.

When they return from war, they hang to a tree, at the spot where they begin to turn back to retire into their own country, as many little sticks as there were soldiers, perhaps to let their enemies know, if they pass by those places, how many men there were, and how far they went, in order to intimidate them. I know no other reason for it.

In their wars, while fighting, they shout every time one of their enemies is struck, if they perceive it. I am inclined to think this is to cheer themselves and increase their own courage.

[170] They believe the earth is entirely flat, and **[page 27]** that its ends are cut off perpendicularly; that souls go away to the end which is at the setting Sun, and that they build their Cabins upon the edge of the great precipice which the earth forms, at the base of which there is nothing but water. These souls pass the time in dancing; but sometimes, when they are sporting on the edge of this precipice, some one falls into the abyss, and is immediately changed into a fish. To be sure, there are trees along these shores, but they are so slippery that souls can grasp them only with great difficulty. I have already said that they imagine that the souls eat and drink. I may also add that they fancy that they marry, and that the children who die here are children in that end of the world, and grow up just as they would have done in the country where they were born. Now this belief, so full of nonsense, gives us good opportunities to convince them of error. First, we tell them that, if the earth were entirely flat, it would soon be flooded by the tide of the Ocean. Moreover, we show them that it would be day at the same time all over the world. But as it is now, when it is Noon here it is night [171] in France, during the Winter. We assure them that our ships sail to the rising and the setting Sun, and that the land of souls has never been encountered. They are astonished when one speaks to them of the Antipodes, and laugh at the idea, just as others, of better understanding than these, scoffed at it in former times.

We often tell them that, if souls ate, they would grow old and die; how is it that they believe them to be immortal? Besides, if they married and had children, as they do not die, the whole earth would soon be filled with souls; we would run across them **[page 29]** everywhere; for, since the time they came into this land of the Setting Sun, they would have multiplied infinitely. They comprehend these arguments well, and others that we urge upon them.

Here is an admirable reason for the Eclipse of the Sun. They say there is a certain being, either a man or some other creature, who has a great love for men. He is angry at a very wicked woman, and at times even conceives the desire to kill her. But he is withheld, for in doing so he would kill the day and would bring upon the earth an eternal night. This wicked creature is the wife of the Manitou, she who makes the Savages die. The Sun is her heart, [172] and hence he who should slay her would kill the Sun forever. Sometimes this man, getting angry at her, threatens her with death ; her heart trembles and grows feeble; and it is at such a time, they say, that we see the Sun eclipsed. When the Sun of justice does not illuminate a soul, it knows not even the Sun which lightens its eyes. They vary so greatly in their belief that one can have no certainty about it. Alas, how can we find truth in the midst of error?

They believe, according to what Makheabichtichiou told me, that all the people in the world will die, except two, a man and a woman; that all the animals will die also, except two of each kind; and that the world will be peopled anew from the few that are to remain.

I have heard them tell a number of fables, at least I imagine the most intelligent among them regard these tales as fables. I will consider only one, which seems to me very ridiculous. They relate that, a man and a woman being in the woods, a Bear came, which threw itself upon the man, and strangled and **[page 31]** ate him. A hare of formidable size threw itself upon the [173]woman and devoured her. However, it did not touch the child that she still bore in her womb, of which she was about to be delivered. A woman, going past that place shortly after this carnage, was greatly astonished to see this child living. She took him, raised him as her son, but called him her little brother, giving him the name Tchakabech. This child did not grow in stature, always remaining like a child in swaddling clothes ; but he attained a strength so formidable, that he used the trees as arrows for his bow. It would take too long to recount all the adventures of this man-child. He killed the Bear which had devoured his father, and found in its stomach, his hair still preserved. He also killed the great Hare which had eaten his mother, whom he recognized from the bunch of hair that he found in its belly. This great Hare was some Genie of Light, for they call one of these Genii, who they say is a great talker, by the name of Michtabouchiou, meaning " great Hare." To be brief, this Tchakabech, wishing to go to the Sky, climbed a tree. When he had almost reached the top, he blew against this tree, which [174] grew tall and large at the breath of this little Dwarf; the more he climbed, the more he blew, and the taller and larger became the tree, so that he reached the Sky, where he found the loveliest country in the world; everything was delightful there, the land excellent, and the trees very beautiful. After having thoroughly viewed everything, he came to bring the news of all this to his sister, that he might induce her to mount to the Sky and remain there forever. Then he came down this tree, building Cabins at intervals in its branches, **[page 33]** where he would have his sister lodge while ascending. His sister at first would not consent; but he represented to her so strongly the beauty of that land, that she decided to overcome the difficulties of the way. She took with her one of her little nephews, and went up this tree, Tchakabech going behind to catch them if they should fall. At every halt they found their Cabin ready, which was a great comfort to them. Finally, they reached the Sky; and, that no one might follow them, this child broke off the end of the tree just low enough so that no one could reach the Sky from thence. After they had



thoroughly admired the country, Tchakabech went to spread the nets, or as [175] others call them, the snares, hoping, perhaps, to trap some animal. In the night, when he arose to go and look at his nets, he saw them all on fire, and did not dare go near them. He returns to his sister and says to her, " My sister, I do not know what there is in my nets; I saw only a great fire, which I did not dare approach." His sister, suspecting what it was, said to him, "Ah! my brother, what a misfortune! you have surely taken the Sun in the net; go quickly and unloose it; perhaps, walking in the night, it fell in there unwittingly. " Tchakabech, greatly astonished, goes back; and, after having looked carefully, finds that he has indeed captured the Sun in his net; he tries to free it, but he dares not go near. By chance he encounters a little mouse; he takes it, blows upon it, and makes it become so large that he uses it to extend his nets, and to let out the Sun, which, finding itself free, continues its usual course. While it was caught in these toils, there was no day here below on the earth; how long this lasted, or what became of the child, [page 35] they do not and cannot say. I may mention that the [176] Mahometans believe that the Moon once fell from the Sky and was broken. Mahornet, wishing to remedy this disturbance, took it, passed it through his sleeve, and by this action repaired it, and sent it back to its place. This story of the Moon is as credible as the one I have just related about the Sun. In conclusion, *Beati oculi qui vident quod, nos videmus*. Blessed indeed are those whom the goodness of God has called to the school of truth. What shall they render to his Majesty for this blessing? A constancy in the Faith, and a firm resolution to live conformably to the maxims that it teaches us, since those who do not follow the paths that this torch reveals to them deserve to walk in darkness. [page 37]

## [177] CHAPTER XII. OF THE SEMINARY FOR THE HURONS.

OUR glorious Father and founder, St. Ignace, upon being informed from various places that his children were meeting with great opposition in their holy enterprises, rejoiced greatly thereat, saying that the affairs of God were wont to begin in trials and humiliations, and finally would end in glory, even going so far as to have a poor opinion of the establishment of our Society in any Province, if he learned that it had been received with so much honor, and with so general an approbation of its functions, that it had met with no resistance. If Crosses and trials are the most solid foundations of the edifice which is to raise its pinnacle to Heaven, the Seminary for the Hurons is very well established. Its birth is full of labor, its first steps full of sadness; I pray God that its end may be accompanied [178] by joy and peace. Your Reverence having written to us that we should try to begin a Seminary, as God seemed to be disposing some good souls to endow it, I wrote to Reverend Father de Brebœuf to send us some little Hurons. Our Fathers who are in that country immediately set about finding some; from a great number of children, they chose twelve very fine lads, and appointed Father Antoine Daniel to care for these young plants. The final arrangements were made throughout the country; the Father embarked to come down here, hoping his Pupils would [page 39] not fail to take their places, each in the Canoe of his parents or friends. For to come all together in one vessel would have been impossible, as they have no other boats or shallops than their bark canoes, which are very small. But when it came to separating the children from their mothers, the extraordinary tenderness which the Savage women have for their children stopped all proceedings, and nearly smothered our project in its birth. One worthy youth, named Satouta, clung to the Father, promising to remain with him and even to go to France, if it were desired. This youth alone was faithful, persevering in the midst of the greatest trials in his determination to be instructed and to remain [179] with us. When the Father reached the three Rivers, where we had long been expecting him with the twelve little Hurons, who they had sent us word were coming, we were much surprised when we saw him with a single lad, already nearly grown. We did not lose courage on account of this first difficulty; we had recourse to God and to men. All the French, on their side, endeavor to get some young Hurons who had come down with their relatives. Monsieur the Commandant kindly uses his influence to this end, as I wrote in my last Relation. Sieur Nicolet and the other Interpreters do what they can; they address now one Savage, now another; presents are made, Father Daniel begs and conjures the children to remain, and their parents to give them permission to do so. Some were influenced in this way; but if they were with us in the morning, in the evening they were gone. Finally, as these tribes are accustomed to hold an assembly or council with our French before returning to their own country, Monsieur the Commandant had [page 41] Satouta sit near him, he being the only one who had been faithful and persevering in his purpose, honored him before all the Chief Men of his Nation, ascribed to him the feast he made for them, and sent some presents to his friends. All this showed the Hurons that [180] we loved their Nation, but it did not make them immediately decide to let us have their children. The Assembly over, we were almost losing hope of being able to begin the Seminary that year; when all at once our Lord, solicited by the prayers of old and of new France, moved one of these Barbarians, and caused him to hold a council with the chief Hurons, in which he spoke so eloquently in favor of the Seminary, and of the benefit they might expect from the alliance with the French, that the Captains enjoined two young men to bear Satouta Company, and remain with us. You can imagine how this news raised our courage and animated our hopes, which, indeed, were now faltering. We can most truly say that *Deus deducit ad inferos et reduci[t,] attollit et deprimit, exaltat et humiliat*. Here we are now with three young men instead of twelve little Seminarists, as we expected. As time was pressing us, Monsieur the Commandant gave us passage with these three lads to go down to Kebec. Scarcely had we departed, when another band of Hurons, arriving at the three Rivers, and learning what had happened, gave us three more, whom sieur Nicolet brought to Kebec. A little while afterwards, other [181] Hurons, arriving unexpectedly at this same place, the three Rivers, offered some of their children also, saying that nothing else was talked about along the great river but the decision the Hurons had made to stay with the French, that it would be discussed a [page 43] great deal in the country, and would be the subject of great rejoicing. Now since there was no one who could hold a Council with them, the Interpreters having gone down to Kebec, nothing more was done. It was a providence of God that no more of them were sent, for we would have lacked food and other necessities to maintain them.

Behold, then, our Seminary begun under very great difficulties. These young men are petted, are dressed in the French way, are furnished with linen and other necessary articles. They are lodged in a place selected for this purpose, with the Father who is to have the care of them. All seems to be going along peacefully. Our French people are pleased at seeing these young Savages anxious to live after the French fashion; all seemed very contented. He who places his contentment elsewhere than in the Cross will not long be without sadness. One of these young men, being of a melancholy disposition, asks, soon after his arrival, to return to his own country, saying he could not agree with the others. In the meanwhile, [128 i.e., 182] a Huron Captain, having heard at the three Rivers about the Seminary, came down to Kebec to see these young men, and encourage them to do well, especially one of his nephews who was among them. This good old man (for he is fully sixty years old) having seen what order was observed at the Seminary, and the treatment received by those of his Nation, exclaimed, " Oh, how they will talk about all this in our country! My children, how fortunate you are to be made so comfortable! Among us we do not know what it is to have food so well prepared as this that they give you; come, have courage, be peaceable and very obedient; observe carefully [page 45] all you shall see that is good among the French, to make use of it afterwards in our country; you can aspire to the highest positions there, for from now on you will be held in great esteem." The poor young man who desired to go away, seeing how greatly those who remained were praised, changed his mind;

but, as he was seen to be more unstable and less compliant than the others, we were glad to have him return. Father Daniel asked him in the presence of his Countrymen if he had any fault to find with us." No," said he, " for you have shown great affection for me; but it is hard for me to agree with my Companions. " He had come without clothes, and without [183] a robe; he was sent away well dressed. Great expenses are incurred, in order to win these Nations. When the Savages give you their children, they give them as naked as the hand, ♦ that is, as soon as you get them you must have them dressed, and give their robes back to their parents. They must be well lodged and well fed; and yet these Barbarians imagine that you are under great obligations to them. I add still more; generally, presents must be made to their parents, and, if they dwell near you, you must help them to live, part of the time. It is a custom among them that, if a man sees one of his friends without children, he gives him one of his own, to console him; the latter does not fail to make a present to the parents or friends of the child. This custom will entail great expenses upon us; but God will provide therefore if it please him. To return to our subject; after this young man departed, the others acted so well, and lived so peaceably among themselves, that we were all consoled. They were contented, cheerful, obedient; in short, it seemed to **[page 47]** us that nearly all the tempests had passed over, and that, after the rains, fine weather was appearing upon our horizon. But lo, one of the most prominent of them is suddenly taken with a severe and protracted fever. He is nursed and treated with the [184] greatest care; he is watched day and night; fervent prayers are offered for him to God; but after all that, the poor young man, having suffered a long time, sinks into the last agony, is baptized by Father l'Allemant, and shortly after renders up his soul to God. Alas! how keenly we felt this death! especially Father Daniel, who has charge of these boys; he stayed near his patient day and night, rendered him all possible offices of charity, but had to see him die before his eyes.

Scarcely was this one buried, when Satouta was stricken with the same disease. The poor young man was a model of humility and patience in his sickness, being naturally grave and serious. He was purged and bled, as his companion had been, and the most assiduous care was employed to save his life; but, as our Lord wished to have him, holy Baptism was conferred upon him, which soon gave him admission to Heaven. Behold the two eyes of our Seminary extinguished within a brief period, the two columns overthrown. For they were unmistakably endowed with very excellent qualities, for Savages. Adoring the counsels of God, though to us they were dark, Father Daniel, among others, nursed and watched over them so assiduously that he became very ill, so ill that we almost thought the Master would die [185] with his Disciples. Our Lord restored him to us to take care of the others, who have **[page 49]** had some slight attacks of illness, but are now thank God, in good health.

Truly, the death of these two young men was a great affliction to us, since they had occasioned very strong hopes that some day they would effectively succor their Nation; but a circumstance which occurred just before their death caused in us all serious apprehension. Tsiko (the first one who died) jesting with one of our hot-headed Frenchmen, the latter became angry and began to quarrel with the Huron; they went so far in this as to strike each other several times with their fists, ♦ not dangerous blows, as can easily be imagined. Nevertheless, the Huron, falling ill soon after, accused the Frenchman, complaining of the blows he had received on his head. He was examined, and no traces of them, or dangerous indications, were found. In fact, he died not from this very slight boxing-bout, but from overeating, as I shall now relate. Nevertheless, as he had told his comrades what had happened with the Frenchman, we were in great dread as to the outcome of this affair; for if once the Hurons had gotten the idea that their children died through some act of violence, they would have killed as many Frenchmen as [186] might have been sent to their country. The same thing occurred at the death of Satouta. This poor boy caressing a Frenchman, and passing his hand over his face, the other took it as an affront, thinking he was trying to pull his nose; he pushed him angrily away, and some say he struck him; so the Huron picked up some stones to defend himself, and the Frenchman seized his sword, as it was reported to me. I declare that he did not give him any blow capable of hurting him much; yet, as this **[page 51]** poor Huron fell sick and died soon after, we were seized by a new fear, inasmuch as an Algonquin, who knew Satouta's parents, was present during all this ill ♦ played tragedy. These two events were capable of completely ruining us, but our Lord provided a remedy therefor through his goodness. May he be forever blessed by Angels and by men, and by all creatures! I was at the three Rivers, with Monsieur the Governor, when I received this fatal news; it was thought best to suppress it, for fear of strengthening the Savages in a mischievous notion. The true cause of their death lay in the change of air and of occupation, and especially of diet. The sagamit ♦, or thin Cornmeal broth, that these people eat is not solid or substantial, [187] like the bread and meat of the French. These young men, enjoying greatly the food which was given to them, were always eating, so that too great indulgence killed them. To obviate this danger, we fed the others partly in the Huron way and partly in the French, and this kept them in good health. Besides, when the Savages are sick, they do not know what it is to take care of themselves; if they are warm, they go into a cool place, or have cold water thrown on them, without considering that the symptoms of a crisis or a good sweat might cure them.

But let us say a few words about these poor young men. Satouta, who was named Robert in his baptism, was the grandson of Tsondechaouanouan, who is, as it were, Admiral of the country. To him are reported all matters pertaining to navigation, and all the news of the nations to which these Hurons go by water on their fresh ♦ water sea. His name is so well known that, if it is desired to communicate something **[page 53]** from the Hurons to more distant nations, it is usually uttered in the name of Tsondechaouanouan. He takes cognizance also of all the affairs relating to the Hiroquois and the neutral Nation, to say nothing of the differences which he daily settles among his Compatriots. This Captain had promised his grandson, our Seminarist, to give him [188] his own name, and afterwards to admit him into all the responsible positions that he had in his country; Our Lord has disposed otherwise. This poor boy, seeing himself sick unto death, very respectfully thanked those who watched over him, and who rendered him some kindly service. Father de Nou ♦ declared to me that he showed so much gratitude for these little services that he was greatly touched and surprised thereat. Father Daniel, who has given me the memoranda of what relates to the Seminary, notes that this poor sick boy, turning sometimes towards our Lord, would say to him, My God, you have made me your son and I have taken you for my Father; now please watch over me, have pity on me, blot out my sins, I hate them, I will never commit them again. At other times he would say, Jesus, my Captain, since you have suffered so much to open Heaven to me, do not let me fall down into the fire; but, on the contrary, grant that I may see you as soon as possible in Heaven.

He was afflicted by I know not what dream or evil vision. " What do I see," said he, " who are those people there? What are they counselling me? " " Dost thou not recognize them? " asked the Father. "No," said he, "I do not know who they are." Then the Father cheered him, and explained to him that the devils, enraged because he had been made [189] a child of God by Baptism, were trying to make **[page 55]** him renounce the faith that he had embraced, and therefore he should hold fast, and God would not abandon him. Thereupon, addressing his words to the Demons, *Go, evil ones*, he said to them, *go away from me, I hold you in horror. I do not know any other Master than he who has made heaven and earth, and who has taken me for his child. Oh my God, do not leave me, I will never leave you. My Captain, you have paid for me, I am yours; you have bought heaven for me, give it to me.* Racked by the pangs of his malady, he sometimes sighed softly, and uttered these words, broken by sobs: *My Captain, take what I suffer in good part, take it for my offenses; my sufferings are slight indeed, in comparison with your tortures; but permit that the one be mingled with the other,*

*and there will be enough to atone for all my sins, and to have heaven also, in addition to my pardon.*

" He took a singular pleasure in hearing me tell him," reports the Father, " that his sufferings were looked upon from the highest Heaven; and that the more we endure with steadfastness, and the more we are like our Lord, the more we please him, and consequently the greater will be our reward. Finally, after having passed two nights and a day after his Baptism, practicing acts of Faith and [190] of hope, yes, even of Charity, towards God, he rendered up his soul to his Creator, all red and stained with the blood of his well-beloved son, Jesus Christ, our Savior. "

His Companion, Tsiko, who died first and was named Paul, was the son of Ouanda Koca, a Captain, and one of the best speakers of his country, and consequently held in high esteem. His son promised to surpass him, for he possessed a very rare natural **[page 57]** eloquence. " Sometimes in the evening, when I made him talk," says Father Daniel, " he would color his speech with figurative expressions and Personifications, without having other study or advantage than good birth, and he composed very natural Dialogues; in short, his discourse was enlivened by such grace and artlessness in his language that he charmed his companions, and me with them. He was not so thoroughly instructed as Robert Satouta, inasmuch as the latter had been in the habit of associating with our Fathers in his own country, and Paul Tsiko had never heard of the Faith, except at the Seminary. He was of a happy disposition, making himself beloved by all who knew him. The interest he had shown in our Belief, while he was being instructed, caused them to baptize him in his sickness, although he very soon lost the sense of hearing." **[page 59]**

## [191] CHAPTER XIII.

### OF THE ORDER OBSERVED IN THE SEMINARY, AND SOME PARTICULARS RELATING TO THE SEMINARISTS.

HERE is nothing so difficult as to control the tribes of America. All these Barbarians have the law of wild asses, they are born, live, and die in a liberty without restraint; they do not know what is meant by bridle or bit. With them, to conquer one's passions is considered a great joke, while to give free rein to the senses is a lofty Philosophy. The Law of our Lord is far removed from this dissoluteness; it gives us boundaries and prescribes limits, outside of which we cannot step without offending God and reason. Now it is very hard to place this yoke, although it is very mild and easy, upon the necks of people who make a profession of not submitting to anything, either in heaven or upon earth; I say it is very hard, but not impossible. In fact, I am convinced that it is beyond the power and skill of men, but that it is very easy to God. [192] We are astonished to see how wild young men, accustomed to follow their own caprices, place themselves under subjection, with so much meekness, that there seems to be nothing so pliant as a Huron Seminarist. Not that it does not require great skill, gentleness, and remarkable patience to manage them, for to employ harshness towards these Nations is to throw them into rebellion. I believe, indeed, that **[page 61]** the consciousness of being three hundred leagues distant from their own country makes these young men more tractable; but it must be confessed that their docility and obedience has been a great gift to us from our Lord. As they took pride, at the start, in living after the French manner, the Father gave them to understand that we regulate all our actions, that we do not act according to mere whims, but do what is reasonable and what we have planned beforehand; that it would be well for them to imitate us in this regard. Upon showing themselves very willing to do this, the following little program was arranged for them, which they observe daily, with much obedience and submission.

When they arise in the morning, we have them pray to God; they thank him for having created them, for having kept them, and that he is pleased to call them to a knowledge of himself; they ask him for his help and grace, that they may not offend him during [197 i.e., 1931 the day; then they offer him all their actions, consecrating them to the most holy Trinity, in honor of which they thrice repeat our Lord's prayer, and thrice the Angelical salutation, in honor of the holy Virgin. They also repeat the Apostles' creed, and some other prayers. After their prayers they go to the Chapel, where they attend the holy Mass, as far as the offertory only. They are so punctual that, as soon as the Mass assigned to them is rung, they are usually the first ones there, so that they have been often held up as an example to some of our French who are much more careless than they are in this respect. . After Mass they breakfast, then are taught reading and writing; after which, having taken an **[page 63]** intermission, the Father teaches them the Catechism, explaining to them the mysteries of our faith, to which they give strict attention.

When the dinner hour comes, they themselves, with one or two young Frenchmen who have remained with them, set the table; and some time after this meal they do not fail to go to the Chapel to salute and adore our Lord, offering him this little prayer: " My [198 i.e., 194] God, I thank you for having kept me from morning until now; keep me the rest of the day; forget my faults, and aid me not to relapse into them again; I present to you all my acts, give me your grace to perform them well."

After that, they are given a little more instruction in reading; and then are free to go and walk, or to devote their attention to some occupation. They generally go hunting or fishing, or make bows and arrows, or clear some land in their own way, or do anything else that is agreeable to them.

In the evening, after supper, they make their examination of conscience, saying their prayers on their 'knees, and then retire to rest. To be born a Savage and to live in this restraint, is a miracle. To be a Huron and not to be a thief (as in truth they are not), is another miracle. To have lived in a freedom which dispenses them even from obeying their parents, and then to undertake nothing without leave, is a third miracle. But let us come down to some peculiarities that their master and instructor has observed.

One of them having offended one of our Frenchmen, went to ask his pardon after [199 i.e., 195] having made his examination [of conscience], immediately **[page 65]** before going to bed, not willing to go to sleep upon the fault he had committed.

Another one, not having been wakened soon enough to attend the holy Mass, regretted it so keenly that he shed tears. He was not consoled when the Father told him that he was not yet obliged to be present there, and finally they sent him to the Chapel to say his prayers; this satisfied him.

It is wonderful how well they agree among themselves, and how the younger defer to the elder; but then the larger ones do not command the others in an imperious or dictatorial manner, but amiably and deferentially, as if exhorting them, and testifying their love. They are so united that, if one offends the least among them, they consider themselves all equally offended.

It is a sweet consolation to hear them sing publicly, in our Chapel, the Apostles' creed in their own language. Now, as a greater



incentive to them, our French sing a Strophe of it in our language, then the Seminarists another in Huron, and then all together sing a third, each using his own language, in excellent harmony. They like this so well that they make [200 i.e., 196] this holy and sacred song resound everywhere. They are also made to answer in public the questions of the Catechism, in order to ground them and establish them in the faith. I have heard the French, the Montagnez, and the Hurons all sing together the articles of our belief; and, although they used three languages, they harmonized so nicely that it was a great pleasure to hear them.

" They strongly urged me " (says the Father) " to baptize them; and as an inducement they represented to me, among other reasons, that I could not doubt **[page 67]** their good will since they had made a resolution never to leave us. One of them said that he would do very well those things the Christians do; 'I will fast well,' said he, ' I will strongly resist the bad thoughts the devil puts into our minds; I now have no more bad dreams, so that I no longer ask God to keep me from my bad dreams, but to take away from me all evil thoughts.' Another one said that, if they were baptized, they would have more intelligence, and learn better what was taught them."

One day, when the Father was explaining the Commandments of God, he showed them the difference there was between these beautiful ordinances, so [201 i.e., 197] in harmony with reason, and what their Charlatans enjoin upon them. " They command you" (said he) "to make feasts of animals, they sometimes gather a multitude of people from several villages, and have ridiculous or abominable ceremonies performed, and all that at the expense of the patient, who receives no other benefit from these demoniacs than to be tormented by their cries and their uproar, and to be devoured to the bones by their gluttony, without counting the presents that must be made to them. When we desire to obtain something, we are not subject to so many Demons, to stones and to rocks, to streams of water, to the foolish ceremonies you perform. We have recourse to one God only, who is all-powerful, who is omniscient, and who is goodness itself."

Thereupon one of them, beginning to speak, said, "We do still another thing, more grievous than any thou hast mentioned. When we wish to have success in hunting, we fast sometimes for a week, drinking or eating nothing; we cut and slash our bodies, **[page 69]** so that the blood runs down abundantly; we readily see that that is not right."

When these good children intend to undertake [202 i.e., 198] some enterprise, or when they return from any occupation, they go to the Chapel to ask help from God, or to bless him and thank him for his assistance. Our Lord has shown them that he required from them this acknowledgment; for often some little trouble or affliction has happened to them when they failed in this duty.

One day they went away to the chase without leave, and without having asked help from God at his house. They became lost in the woods, and did not return to the house until after they had endured and suffered great hardships among the snows. They recognized that this misfortune had happened to them for having undertaken this expedition in the Savage way.

Another time, they departed without having been at the Chapel; and, in trying to cut down a tree, one of them nearly killed his companion, his hatchet missing its aim. They returned, ashamed and full of confusion; so much so that when the Father asked them if they had been to pray to God in the Chapel before setting out, without making any other answer, they immediately went out and betook themselves thither, to ask pardon for the fault they had committed.

One of them having come in from outdoors [203 i.e., 199] hurriedly and without going to say his little prayer, had a board fall on his head, which hurt him severely. The first words which one of his comrades said to him were, " Hast thou been at the Chapel, before returning to the house? " Upon the wounded **[page 71]** boy replying that he had not, " That, then," said he to him, " is the cause of thy misfortune. " And, as he showed some signs of the pain he was suffering while his wound was being cared for, one of them said in the ear of his companion, " All our ill-luck comes to us because we do not pray to God."

When the Father was explaining to them some circumstance of the passion of our Lord, and speaking to them of the eclipse of the Sun, and of the trembling of the earth which was felt at that time, they replied that there was talk in their own country of a great earthquake which had happened in former times; but they did not know either the time or the cause of that disturbance. " There is still talk " (said they) " of a very remarkable darkening of the Sun, which was supposed to have happened because the great turtle which upholds the earth, in changing its position or place, brought its shell before the Sun, and thus deprived the world of sight." All those who have not the knowledge [204 i.e., 200] of God have more darkness in their minds than the earth has through the absence of the Sun. They admire our truths when compared with their own fables.

Once when Father de Nou<sup>◆</sup> went to the cabins of the Savages, distant from Kebec about seven or eight leagues, two Huron Seminarists chose to accompany him. The Montagnez, seeing them, offered them some Elk meat; now, as it was Saturday, they would not consent to eat it. The Father told them that, as they were not yet baptized, they were not bound by this Commandment of the Church. " It does not matter " (said they), " we do not wish to eat meat, since you do not eat it." The same Father related to me that these good boys knelt and said their prayers, **[page 73]** and made their examination of conscience, so admirably, that his heart was touched.

It is true God has afflicted us in the death of their companions, but he has also consoled us by the docility and deference of those who remain. They pride themselves on living in the French way; and, if one of them commits some act of rudeness, they call him " Huron, " and ask him how long it is since he came from that country. They make neat courtesies [205 i.e., 201] and humbly salute our Frenchmen, touching their hats when they meet them. All our Fathers and our brethren have borne excellent testimony to me of their docility. Not that some one of them does not sometimes show a little temper or outburst of anger, but it does not last long; they are also governed with great gentleness. The oldest one, having committed a wilful act, remained obstinate about it for some time. When Father Daniel came to Kebec, he told me what had happened; I sent for this young man; I asked him if, having always done well, he wished all at once and out of anger to abandon the right way; that, having seen so many proofs of our love for him, it would be an indication of a narrow mind not to respond to it. That, besides, God would be very angry with him if he left him; as for us, we would lose nothing, that all the misfortune would fall upon his own head; that I had been told he had ceased to pray. He replied that he had indeed become very angry, imagining that they wanted to make him believe in God by threats and by force; and, to show that his heart would not let itself be affected by fear, he had committed a [206 i.e., 202] wilful act; that, moreover, he had ceased to pray to God in public, but that he prayed to him, **[page 75]** nevertheless, when alone. " One should not be surprised, " he added, " at the little vexations that occur; we have indeed some disagreements in our own country, among our nearest relations, but we do not hate them nor leave them on that account; we look upon Father Daniel here as our Father; we have no inclination to leave him on account of little annoyances. " His answer pleased me greatly, and confirmed me in the idea I have, that it is necessary to govern these people with great prudence, since the mere threat of fires and eternal torments sometimes repels them. Yet it is very necessary to inculcate

this truth in their minds; it is by this bridle that they will be retained in the faith, if they can once hold it in their mouths without chafing.

Here is a circumstance full of consolation. On the eve of the Conception of the holy Virgin, whom we greatly honor in new France, they all resolved to clear some land and sow it, and afterwards to make a house or cabin like those in their own country. At first, we regarded this as an idea or resolution [207 i.e., 203] of young men, who change their opinions at every turn. But the results surpassed our expectations; they began, little by little, to strip the trees of their branches, and, when Spring came, they had cleared so large a plot of ground that they astonished us by their great diligence in this work. A misfortune happened to them in one particular; the Indian corn they had planted, being too old and dry, or having been planted too deep, did not grow well. Their house proved a greater success; they finished it neatly, although it is not used for anything, for they had put it up as a storehouse for their grain, none, or very little of which, came up. Now **[page 77]** although this work did not have great temporal results, perhaps it will be of very considerable benefit spiritually. Seeing themselves provided with food, tools, and clothes, and besides greatly cherished by the French, they had resolved to do their utmost to get their parents' permission to remain not only the next year with us, but even to live here all the rest of their days with the desire of attracting some of their compatriots, and also of getting some girls of their country to come down, that they might have them instructed, and [208 i.e., 204] marry them according to the Christian and Catholic religion. If this plan were to succeed, it would be a great and very important event for the glory of our Lord, and even for the good of Messieurs the Directors and Associates who are Lords of these countries. First, in a few years there would be here a village of Christian Hurons, who would help in no slight degree to bring their compatriots to the faith, through commerce with each other; and our wandering Montagnez would, little by little, become stationary through their example and through alliance with them. Secondly, Messieurs the Directors and Associates would have hostages here to assure the lives of our French in the country of the Hurons, and to maintain the commerce they have with all the more distant peoples and nations. I say still more, that if the wandering tribes saw some sedentary Hurons in our neighborhood, they would be diverted from making war upon us, if they had such a purpose; because they know that these Savages, being near us and under our protection, would not leave us, and having, moreover, a knowledge of the woods, and running as well as the rest of the Savages, they would dread these **[page 79]** more than the French themselves. Thus we would guard the village of the Hurons with our arms, and they in their hunting expeditions would give chase to [209 i.e., 205] or at least would discover their enemies.

Whoever will carefully weigh these reasons will conclude that it is quite necessary to exert ourselves, and to spare no expense, to form near us a settlement of Hurons. Those whom we have here are already well disposed through the grace of our Lord. Here is another example of their affection.

As the ships arrived very late, the passage having been long and troublesome this year, our food gave out, and we were in great straits as to what we should do with these poor children. I asked the advice of Monsieur de Montmagni, our Governor, in this matter. I honor his courage; he replied that, as we had had so much trouble in getting these young men, he did not think we would have the heart to send them back, since they were behaving so well. "It is a matter of suffering," he said, "and of saving something from your food and from ours." He fully appreciates the importance of this Seminary for the glory of our Lord and for the commercial interests of these Gentlemen. Having reported this so wise reply to our Seminarists, the oldest one said thereupon, "That suits us well; it would have been a great pity to send us back to our country, for although we had made up our minds to stay [210 i.e., 206] with Echon " (Father Brebeuf) " and with Antoine," (Father Daniel) " if he had gone up there again, yet it will avail a great deal more to suffer a little down here than to return into so great dangers." Alas! **[page 81]** it was this poor boy who was nearly undone, the occasion whereof we shall see in the next chapter. God brought him back through strange adventures. **[page 83]**

## CHAPTER XIII.

### OF THE CONDITION OF THE SEMINARY AT THE COMING OF THE HURONS, THEIR COUNTRYMEN.

If the Mission and Seminary of the Hurons had not been established on that rock of which it is said, *Petra autem erat Christus*, it would have come to an end this year, the edifice would have been overthrown. Troubles, wars, sicknesses, slanders, in a word, all the machinations that can issue from the Arsenal of the Demons, have been directed against this Holy enterprise, so that we could say, *morimur et ecce vivimus*. We see it entirely overthrown and [211 i.e., 207] entirely established almost at the same time. All the misfortunes, all the pests, wars, and famines which in the early ages of the infant Church afflicted the world, were formerly attributed to the faith of Jesus Christ, and to those who embraced or preached it. What occurred in this regard in the primitive Church can be seen every day in new France, especially in the Huron country. There is no black malice of which we are not accused. Here are the causes of it.

As the contagion caused a great many Hurons to die, these people, not recognizing therein the justice of God, who takes vengeance for their crimes, imagined that the French were the cause of their death. A certain Algonquin, a very wicked man, reported to them last year that the late Monsieur de Champlain, of blessed memory, had said to a Montagnez **[page 85]** Captain, shortly before rendering up his soul, that he would take away with him the whole country of the Hurons. It is customary for Barbarian Captains to wish that others may bear them company at their departure, going so far that sometimes they send one to kill another Captain to go with them into the other world. These ignorant people, full of malice, readily imagine [212 i.e., 208] that we share their detestable ideas, hence they suspect Monsieur de Champlain of procuring their death at his own departure.

Some others attributed the cause of their epidemic to our vengeance, saying that we only went up to their country in order to sacrifice every one of their bodies to the soul of a certain Estienne Bruslé, whom they had wickedly assassinated. All things appear yellow to the yellow eyes of the jaundiced; people who are being consumed by the fierce flame of a vengeance aroused against those who have done them harm, believe that all of us are heated and burned by the same fire.

In short, they reasoned upon their sickness in still another way. They said that our French had bewitched a cloak or a robe, and had buried it at the three Rivers, but in such a place that they suspected, and rightly, that the Hurons, as they were very great thieves, would take it away, which they did. Having then carried it to their own country, they bore thither at the same time the pestilence and contagion.

These nations persuade themselves that they die almost entirely through charms; and hence, measuring us by the same standard, they think and believe we are greater sorcerers than they themselves. [213 i.e., 209] Upon the strength of these reports, as [page 87] far removed from the truth as they are adapted to the minds of the Savages and in harmony with their customs, these barbarians have made attempts upon the lives of our Fathers, even going so far as to talk in open council of slaying them; but God is more powerful than men and all the Demons. His goodness raised up for us as a protector a Barbarian against Barbarians, even a Captain named *Taratouan*, whose nephew we have in the Seminary. On hearing this talk he drew out a long string of porcelain, and threw it down in the midst of the assembly, saying, " There is something to close your mouths and stop your talking. " It is a custom of the country to act ordinarily only through presents, so this blow was averted. I do not know whether this was known to our Fathers among the Hurons, but the nephew of this brave Captain related it to us at the three Rivers. I will soon speak of his deplorable capture. Another time, in the very village where our Fathers lived, they talked about sending them back down here, or of killing them. Their Captain, named *Amon*, began to speak, and harangued in such a way that they came and begged the Fathers not to write any of these evil thoughts to us, lest they should be badly treated in the places where our French are. This Captain is one of [214 i.e., 210] those who are supposed to have killed the wretched Bruslé, whose wounds are still bleeding. But he so entirely atoned for this fault by the affection which he afterwards displayed towards the French, that our Lord graciously allowed him to come and die as a Christian in our arms. Now judge whether these circumstances were favorable to the peopling of a Seminary; for, if they spoke in public of ruining us, I leave you to imagine what calumnies [page 89] the more insolent would spit forth against us. Nothing was heard but insults, but threats, so that most of the good people among them feared that some of us would be massacred; and consequently they might have persuaded themselves that we would kill their children down here, if they sent them to us, according to the wicked custom of all these peoples, who avenge themselves upon the first comer for wrongs they have received from some individual of another nation. Now, notwithstanding the rage of the demons, the Seminary survives. I have seen it within two finger-lengths of ruin; then, all at once, what seemed to overthrow it, propped it up; and, if sickness and war had not afflicted the Hurons on the way, we would have been perhaps obliged to send back their children, for our backs are not strong enough to feed and maintain all those whom we could have. But [215 i.e., 211] let us consider the rather strange accidents that have happened to this poor Seminary.

Of the six young Hurons who composed it, one of them, of a somewhat peevish disposition, left his companions and returned to his country (as I have said above); but he did us more good than we had hoped, for he told wonderful things about the good treatment he had received from us, which greatly comforted the Hurons. Death did us a great deal more harm, for it took from us the two best minds of the Seminary. As these barbarians are full of suspicion, we were very much afraid that they would imagine that these poor young men had lost their lives through our fault, considering the circumstances which I have said attended their deaths; and hence we feared that they would take some vengeance on [page 91] our Fathers—or rather, what seemed to us more probable, we feared they would persuade themselves that our houses were fatal to them, and that therefore they would no longer consent to give us their children. God in his providence has dispelled these fears; therefore we base our hopes upon his pure goodness only. The report of these two deaths was brought to the Hurons by some Algonquins; and when the Father of *Tsiko*, one of the two fine young men that died, heard this news, [216 i.e., 212] he not only did not indulge in the anger of a barbarian, but spoke like a man of great prudence and wisdom. " Ah, well, " said he to our Fathers who are up there, " they say my son is dead; if the younger is dead, I will give you his elder brother. I would not be cast down if all my children were to die in your hands, for I know well that you are very careful of them." When these words were reported to me, my eyes were affected by them as soon as my ears.

The parents of *Satouta*, seeing that the epidemic was slaughtering the Hurons in their own country, were not surprised to hear the report of the death of their son. It is thus that God abases and raises up, that he saddens and consoles those who work for his glory. May he be forever blessed! See, then, how one of the causes that we thought would ruin the Seminary had no effect. Let us consider the others.

There remained three Seminarists—one called *Teouatirhon*, another *Ariethoua*, and the third *Aiacidace*. Let us say a few words about their adventure. We had sent them to the three Rivers, at the beginning of Summer, to see their relatives, who were expected at the coming of the Hurons. When a band of them arrived, Father Buteux sent one of them, [page 93] named *Andehoua*, to bring me from Kebec. In the meanwhile there arrived an uncle of *Teouatirhon*, a War Captain, [217 i.e., 213] and a rather inconsiderate man. The latter told his nephew that, when he was at the Island, an Algonquin had told him that the Hurons had killed two Frenchmen. At this news this poor young man and his companion prepared for flight; for they were given to understand by this Captain that they would be made to atone for the death of the Frenchmen. At first they tried to get permission to depart; but, as they had been given publicly, it was not desirable to receive them secretly—at least this was the case with the younger one named *Aiandace*, whose parents had not yet come down. As for *Teouatirhon*, since his relative asked for him, he was allowed to go. It would take too long if I should try to explain all the details of this affair. Since the secrets of the Savages are public talk, the report which was being circulated about the death of two Frenchmen became known, and this Huron Captain was detained; he promised to remain a few days, but when night came he wanted to take flight with his nephew and with the other Seminarist, who threw himself down from a bastion of the fort, in order to escape. Our French people, their weapons in their hands, rushed forward and took this 'Captain prisoner, seeing he had violated his parole, and was trying to take away our Hurons. At this point Monsieur the Governor arrived [218 i.e., 214] at the three Rivers. I was with him, bringing our third Seminarist. Scarcely had we landed when some Huron canoes appeared, which dispelled these false rumors and assured us that the French were all well in their country, and that we would soon see [page 95] some of them coming down. Now affairs assume quite another aspect, the Seminary that we thought dissolved, is established, the Captain is covered with confusion, each is glad to have learned the truth. Nevertheless, as our Seminarist, *Teouatirhon*, persevered in his desire to return and visit his parents, especially his mother, who is quite old, to do what he could to make her comfortable in the general malady; we gave him leave to do so—and so much the more willingly as he promised us to go and see Father de Brebeuf, in order to continue the good instruction he had begun to receive in the Seminary. And the more to constrain him to keep this good resolution, Father Paul Ragueneau, whom I was sending to the Hurons, went with him in the same canoe. As they departed, both very happy, the one because he was going to sacrifice himself to the cross of Jesus Christ for his glory, the other because he was returning to his own land, lo, they encountered on the way *Taratouan*, a brave Captain who was going down to the [219 i. e., 215] French. He, upon seeing our *Teouatirhon*, his nephew, chided him, saying, " How now, my nephew, are you thus leaving the French, who have treated you so well? " This poor boy had nothing to say, except to assert that he was ready to return whence he had come. "Come, then," responded his uncle, " embark in one of the canoes which are following me, for I wish myself to take you back." He obeyed, without a word; took leave of Father Ragueneau, who continued on his way with the other Hurons who were conducting him, and placed himself in company with *Taratouan*, to return to us. As they were coming slowly into the great lake of St. Pierre, which is not far from our settlement, [page 97] they fell into an ambushade of the Hiroquois, their enemies and ours. *Taratouan*, as he was in the lead, was the first one surrounded. These half-demons emerge, as it were from their hell, and fall with loud cries upon this brave man, who finds himself captured before he is aware of the enemy. As soon as the news was brought to us that *Taratouan* and *Teouatirhon*, our



Seminarist, were prisoners, we all thought that Father Ragouneau was of the band; but a few Hurons, who had escaped this danger, told us how, a little while before, [220 i.e., 216] *Teouatirhon* had left him to come down here with his uncle. I forgot to say that our Fathers who were in the residence of the Conception, at the three Rivers, hearing the reports which I have mentioned above of the massacre of two Frenchmen among the Hurons, and aware that *Teouatirhon's* efforts to get away would ruin the Seminary, addressed themselves to God through the mediation of our Father, St. Ignace, offering a novena of sacrifices in his honor, that he might be pleased to direct this affair to the glory of our sovereign Master. They prayed at the Altar, and this grand Patriarch operated in heaven, but almost against our expectations, for we all thought this Seminarist would never return. At first we supposed he would go to ruin in his country, notwithstanding all his good resolutions, for the temptations there are too importunate. Then, having heard that he had fallen into the hands of the Hiroquois, we thought of course he would be burned and eaten by those devouring wolves. While these thoughts were afflicting our hearts, and an alarming report was smiting our ears, that the enemy formed a body of five hundred men, lo, there appears upon the river **[page 99]** an Hiroquois canoe, in which is seen a single man, [221 i.e., 217] armed only with a long pole. No one knew what to think of it. The day before, another one had been seen, hovering before our eyes as if to brave us, knowing well that we were only a few persons in our fort. So when this canoe was seen approaching, guided by a single man, certain ones said it was some fugitive prisoner; others imagined that it was an Hiroquois who came to divert our attention, while the main body of their men would come and surprise us from within the woods. Some of the Savages went forward to reconnoitre; having perceived that it was a canoe, neither of the Hurons nor of the Montagnez, but of the Hiroquois, they fled as rapidly as they could, crying, " Hiroquois, Hiroquois, Hiroquois! the enemy, the enemy! " The Cannoneer, seeing this man within cannon-range, wished to fire, but Monsieur the Governor stopped him. We were all upon a platform, watching this poor boy, who, having landed, turned toward us. Then we saw plainly that it was some poor Huron escaped from the claws of those tigers. " Would to our Lord," (we said) " that this were our poor Seminarist *Teouatirhon*. " Scarcely had [222 i.e., 218] we uttered the words when Monsieur our Governor exclaimed, " It is he indeed; I know him by his walk and his figure." It was really he, coming to throw himself again into our arms as into a port of safety. He was as naked as one's hand, except for a ragged clout which covered what the eyes cannot behold without shame. When he reached us, he related how, having seen his uncle *Taratouan* attacked by a strong force, he and his companions had striven to escape by strong thrusts of the paddles. " We were **[page 101]** pursued," said he, "by several Hiroquois canoes; but, having a little start of them, we were the first to land on the Southern shore; and, abandoning our canoe and all our baggage, even our robes, so as to be less encumbered, we rushed into the woods, each taking a different direction. The enemy followed us on the run; night concealed us and gave us our lives; for when these robbers lost sight of us, they also lost hope of capturing us. Having remained in hiding one day, I stealthily crossed over towards the great river in the direction of the three Rivers. As I approached its banks I perceived an Hiroquois canoe; I stood there horrified, imagining that I had again fallen into the clutches of those ferocious beasts. I listened, to hear [223 i.e., 219] some noise. At last, perceiving that all was silent, I approached noiselessly; I looked all around, and, seeing no one, I took a pole and sprang into the canoe, to escape to the place I had abandoned." We received him gladly, as a poor wandering sheep. Father Daniel asked him if he had not commended himself to God in his calamity. " Ah, " said he, " how heartily I prayed to him. " This adventure of this poor young Huron was considered so remarkable that some, seeing that he had escaped, believed that he had become a spy, and that the Hiroquois had saved his life that he might come and betray us, or rather the people of his nation. But ah, the poor boy made the contrary very apparent by wishing to go posthaste to Kebec, to get there some rest and to have a wound attended to that he had received in his flight, for the nettles and thickets had lacerated his flesh while running through the woods.

When Father Daniel expressed to him his regret **[page 103]** for the loss of his uncle *Taratouan*, who had not yet been instructed, he replied that he had imparted to him the chief articles of our belief as it had been taught to him at the Seminary. Besides, some days later, a fugitive Huron [224 i.e., 220] related that he had lain concealed in the rushes, motionless, whence he heard these butchers tormenting his poor captive comrades. " I heard," said he, " *Taratouan* singing as loudly and as gayly as if he were among his friends. As I was lying naked in the mud, hidden only by the rushes, and in a very cramped position, this poor Captain gave me so much courage, by his steadfastness and by the firmness of his voice, that more than thrice I was tempted to rise and become his companion in his torments." This is truly a strange adventure; the young Seminarist will be severely chastised if he does not recognize the hand of God in this guidance. It is not the first time that his goodness has delivered him from the hands and teeth of his enemies. As he is already tall and daring, he desired to follow some Montagnez who were going to war this Spring; we forbade him, representing to him that he ought to be obedient, since even in his own country they did not think much of a young man who did not obey his Captain. If he had gone with them, it would have been to lose his life, as did the others, who were surprised, and part of whom were killed. Enough; let us speak of the two others, his companions.

[225 i.e., 221] I have said that the second of our Seminarists was called *Andehoua*. This one has a good disposition. When I took him up to the three Rivers, he was much surprised to see that *Trouatichon* [*Teouatirhon*?], one of his comrades, wished to go **[page 105]** away. " He will be ruined," said he, " as soon as he reaches his country; and, when he saw him about to depart, he said, Thou knowest well, my dear comrade, how we have always lived on good terms; let us continue in this friendship; remember that, before we knew God, we lived like beasts; let us not return to our early ignorance; be careful of thyself, do not forget what has been taught us. " He said this with great gentleness, and finally offered him a little present that we had given him, in token of the love he bore him. He did other things that were greatly to our edification. Some canoes having arrived from his country, seeing that they carried some sick people, he went to visit them, and, though hardly a catechumen, he acted as Preacher. " It is no wonder," said he to them, " that we are so. seldom healed, and so often die; we do not know the Master of life, we do not pray to him; on the contrary, we are continually displeasing him." His countrymen [226 i.e., 222] asking him in what they could have offended him, he explained to them the Commandments of God, and then said to them, " We lead a life exactly contrary to these words." " But, after all" (they replied to him) "do the French never steal, are they never unchaste? " " The good ones," he answered, " never commit these sins; the others, who are guilty of them, repent and ask God's pardon for them, and he is merciful to them; but, as for us, we plunge into our offenses without ever correcting them." These poor folk looked at each other with astonishment, at seeing a young Barbarian of their nation become a Preacher of the law of the great God. As they often came into our house and cast their eyes upon some paper pictures, this young **[page 107]** Catechumen explained to them what these meant. He preached to them Jesus Christ crucified, at the sight of his cross, not forgetting his glory, after having spoken of his humiliation. In a word, it caused us great joy to see with our own eyes, the truth of those words, *Pauperes Evangelizantur*. Now although this good young man seems to us very promising, yet he was born in barbarism, that is to say, in inconstancy; therefore he has great need of being succored by the [227 i.e., 223] prayers of Your Reverence and of all those who cherish this Mission, to the end that he who gives force to the winds may establish him in the good which he himself has begun.

The name of our third Seminarist, who was the youngest of them all, was *Aandac*. At first, we regarded him as a little Benjamin; and in fact he behaved very well, showing himself remarkably obedient. But as he was less removed than all the others from the breast (so to speak), so he desired the more ardently to go back and see his mother and nurse. He embarked with Father Pierre Pijart, promising to go and see him often while at home, indeed, even to stay a year with Echon, if agreeable to him, and finally to return

to us the following year with some of his comrades, whom he would bring, he said, to the Seminary. Whether he will do so, I cannot say; may God preserve him, and give him good counsel. Such, then, was the behavior of our Seminarists at the coming of their countrymen. If they consoled us on the one hand, the epidemic which afflicted these peoples saddened us on the other, for it snatched from us the young people who were intended for us. *Teouatirhon*, seeing one [page 109] of his comrades who, like himself, had escaped from the fire arrive after him, brought him with [228 i.e., 224] him to the Seminary, to be his companion in great blessings, as he had been in misfortunes. These three departed in company with Father Daniel, who took them back to Kebec, where we have established the Seminary. As they were embarking in a canoe, Monsieur de Chateau-fort, cheerfully imitating the friendliness of Monsieur our Governor, who had gone in pursuit of the Hiroquois, had a cannon salute fired for them, to prove to these young Savages and, to all their countrymen that our Captains cherish and honor all those who are willing to range themselves under the standard of our faith.

A few days after their departure, a band of Hurons took up their tents and pavilions from the neighborhood of our settlement, to return to their own country, taking with them, as I have said, Father Pijart. Now they were not yet half a league away from us when lo, a boy appeared who had left his countrymen there, to come, he said, to live in our Seminary. An hour later, still another came to ask from us the same favor. I do not know whether the honor that Monsieur our Governor had just shown to the Father who [229 i.e., 225] was leaving us escorting him as far as his canoe, and propitiating the Savages by presents, as a token of the esteem he had for us had incited them to this act, whether they had learned from our Seminarists the good usage we had bestowed upon them, or, rather, whether it was because God had deeply touched them; be this as it may, they came to throw themselves into our arms without asking us whether we would receive them. I thanked God from the bottom of my heart when I [page 111] learned, from some of our men who had been among the Hurons, that at least one of these lads had an excellent disposition, and that, up yonder in his own country, he was a frequent visitor at our house or cabin. For although we are very glad to get Seminarists, yet, as we cannot keep a great many of them, it is expedient not to take any of bad temper. This is what caused us to refuse one who presented himself very willingly; but, as *Teouatirhon* warned us secretly that he was at times possessed by some demon, or a sort of black melancholy, we dismissed him, lest he might have a bad influence on the others.

Besides these young plants, came two others from the village of Teanosteael. But alas! the poor children were captured on the way, [230 i.e., 226] with their parents, by their cruel enemies, the Hiroquois. When I saw them pictured among the number of captives, as I shall relate in the journal, it made my heart bleed.

At the time when I write this we are expecting three others from Ossosandu [Ossossan], and five or six from various other places, all of whom have given their word to our Fathers. Indeed, even the Chief of Khionda<sup>sahan</sup>, seeing that the boys from various places were preparing to come and live with the French, told Father Pierre Pijart that he wished to participate in this movement, and that he would send us boys from his village. An old proverb says that " misfortune is good for something; " the Epidemic and the mortality itself and perhaps even the report of war, which will, perchance, prevent these people from coming down and from bringing their children to the Seminary will be a benefit [page 113] to us. For a greater number would inconvenience us; the expenses that must be incurred in clothing and feeding these boys are greater than one would imagine. They come as naked as worms, they return well clothed; they must be provided with a house, good furniture, mattresses and blankets, good clothes, quantities of cloth and linen, a great deal of food, [231 i.e., 227] and persons to instruct and wait on them, even if it be only to help them get firewood during the Winter.

This is not all, for presents must be made to their parents and friends. Thus it is that Barbarous people are won, at the start. Before all these costly comforts have traveled thousands of miles to find us, there are many useless expenses and a great deal of waste. But all this does not confound us, for God's coffers are large; if his Majesty wishes to enter, in his own way, the souls of these poor Savages, he will find means to do so. May all the Angels in heaven render him honor and praise.

It is consolation enough for us, after so many vexations, to see these lads living in harmony, fully determined to give ear to our belief, and to live no longer as barbarians and Savages, but as good Christians.

Let us say a few words more before concluding this chapter. Father Brebeuf sent me some instructions, which I have all our Fathers read whom I send to the Hurons. I thought it would be wise to place them here, so that those who should be appointed to this mission [232 i.e., 228] might see from France the trials with which they will have to contend. I know very well that the greater these trials are made, the more ardor we see in our Fathers, who [page 115] even go so far as to wish for them too eagerly. It is better, in my opinion, while one is still in France, not to think either of the Hurons, or of the Algonquins, or of the Montagnez, or of Kebec, or of Miskou, or even of converting the Savages, but to take up the Cross wherever Jesus Christ shall offer it to us. Let us come to the point.

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FATHERS OF OUR SOCIETY WHO SHALL BE SENT TO THE HURONS.

HE Fathers and Brethren whom God shall call to the Holy Mission of the Hurons ought to exercise careful foresight in regard to all the hardships, annoyances, and perils that must be encountered in making this journey, in order to be prepared betimes for all emergencies that may arise.

You must have sincere affection for the Savages, looking upon them as ransomed by the blood of the son of God, and as our brethren, with whom we are to pass the rest of our lives.

To conciliate the Savages, you must be careful never to make them wait for you in embarking.

You must provide yourself with a tinder box or with a [233 i.e., 229] burning mirror, or with both, to furnish them fire in the daytime to light their pipes, and in the evening when they have to encamp; these little services win their hearts.

You should try to cat their sagamit or salmagundi in the way they prepare it, although it may be dirty, half-cooked, and very tasteless. As to the other numerous things which may be unpleasant, they must be endured for the love of God, without saying anything or appearing to notice them. [page 117]

It is well at first to take everything they offer, although you may not be able to eat it all; for, when one becomes somewhat accustomed

to it, there is not too much.

You must try and eat at daybreak unless you can take your meal with you in the canoe; for the day is very long, if you have to pass it without eating. The Barbarians eat only at Sunrise and Sunset, when they are on their journeys.

You must be prompt in embarking and disembarking; and tuck up your gowns so that they will not get wet, and so that you will not carry either water or sand into the canoe. To be properly dressed, you must have your feet and legs bare; while crossing the rapids, you can [234 i.e., 230] wear your shoes, and, in the long portages, even your leggings.

You must so conduct yourself as not to be at all troublesome to even one of these Barbarians.

It is not well to ask many questions, nor should you yield to your desire to learn the language and to make observations on the way; this may be carried too far. You must relieve those in your canoe of this annoyance, especially as you cannot profit much by it during the work. Silence is a good equipment at such a time.

You must bear with their imperfections without saying a word, yes, even without seeming to notice them. Even if it be necessary to criticise anything, it must be done modestly, and with words and signs which evince love and not aversion. In short, you must try to be, and to appear, always cheerful.

Each one should be provided with half a gross of awls, two or three dozen little knives called jambettes [pocket-knives], a hundred fishhooks, with some beads [**page 119**] of plain and colored glass, with which to buy fish or other articles when the tribes meet each other, so as to feast the Savages; and it would be [235 i.e., 231] well to say to them in the beginning, " Here is something with which to buy fish." Each one will try, at the portages, to carry some little thing, according to his strength; however little one carries, it greatly pleases the Savages, if it be only a kettle.

You must not be ceremonious with the Savages, but accept the comforts they offer you, such as a good place in the cabin. The greatest conveniences are attended with very great inconvenience, and these ceremonies offend them.

Be careful not to annoy any one in the canoe with your hat; it would be better to take your nightcap. There is no impropriety among the Savages.

Do not undertake anything unless you desire to continue it; for example, do not begin to paddle unless you are inclined to continue paddling. Take from the start the place in the canoe that you wish to keep; do not lend them your garments, unless you are willing to surrender them during the whole journey. It is easier to refuse at first than to ask them back, to change, or to desist afterwards.

Finally, understand that the Savages [236 i.e., 232] will retain the same opinion of you in their own country that they will have formed on the way; and one who has passed for an irritable and troublesome person will have considerable difficulty afterwards in removing this opinion. You have to do not only with those of your own canoe, but also (if it must be so stated) with all those of the country; you meet some to-day and others to-morrow, who do not fail to inquire, from those who brought you, what sort of [**page 121**] man you are. It is almost incredible, how they observe and remember even to the slightest fault. When you meet Savages on the way, as you cannot yet greet them with kind words, at least show them a cheerful face, and thus prove that you endure gayly the fatigues of the voyage. You will thus have put to good use the hardships of the way, and have already advanced considerably in gaining the affection of the Savages.

This is a lesson which is easy enough to learn, but very difficult to put into practice; for, leaving a highly civilized community, you fall into the hands of barbarous people who care but little for your Philosophy or your Theology. All the fine qualities which might make you loved and respected in France [237 i.e., 233] are like pearls trampled under the feet of swine, or rather of mules, which utterly despise you when they see that you are not as good pack animals as they are. If you could go naked, and carry the load of a horse upon your back, as they do, then you would be wise according to their doctrine, and would be recognized as a great man, otherwise not. Jesus Christ is our true greatness; it is he alone and his cross that should be sought in running after these people, for, if you strive for anything else, you will find naught but bodily and spiritual affliction. But having found Jesus Christ in his cross, you have found the roses in the thorns, sweetness in bitterness, all in nothing. [**page 123**]

## CHAPTER XV.

### A JOURNAL CONTAINING DIVERS THINGS WHICH COULD NOT BE PLACED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

HERE always remains something to be said, which leisure or the subject does not permit to be inserted in the chapters of the Relation. Hence I place at the end this journal, which usually continues to increase up to the departure of the ships. We will begin it with the 29th of August of last year. On that day Monsieur the [238 i.e., 234] Commandant weighed anchor in the port of Kebec. I have written that he took with him three little Savage girls. As I was afraid that they might object to going on board, I intended to resort to stratagem to induce them to enter the bark; but no such device was needed. They were more inclined to see France than to remain in their own country, ♦so much so that, as only two of them were to go, the third, who is baptized, began to weep so hard when she saw her companions leaving her, that she had to be sent with them.

On the 4th of September Father Buteux sent us word that Father Davost had arrived from the Hurons a few days before, and that there had also come down from that country some bands of Savages, who, in a council or assembly that they held at the Conception, at the three Rivers, said that Monsieur de Champlain had promised them the year before that the French and Hurons would no longer be other [**page 125**] than one people. Hence they asked for some of our Fathers and of our Frenchmen, to take them back to their country. " We have," said they, " spoken of this matter with Echon " (the name they have given Father Brebeuf). " Our countrymen approve this communication. We will give you some Hurons and [239 i.e., 235] you shall give us some Frenchmen." To all this nothing else could be said in reply except that they had arrived very late, that the French had left to return to France, and that even the interpreter had departed for Kebec.



At the same time I received two letters, one from Father Garnier, the other from Father Chastelain, who went farther up into these countries. This is the way Father Chastelain speaks: "God be eternally blessed, who, through a special providence, procured for us so favorable an opportunity to make a most difficult journey. I can say truly, *Propter verba labiorum tuorum ego custodivi vias duras*. Yes, my Reverend Father, you who take the place of God to me in this mission, your words have involved me in very rough ways. Yet it is quite true that I have never been better than I am now. In the many discomforts that it was God's will for us to experience, I have not felt the least indisposition. I confess to you frankly that heretofore I had never remained one hour seated upon the ground without injuring my health. Here I have passed the coldest nights without other mattress than a little heap of the branches of trees, in a matchless repose. I say nothing of the [240 i.e., 236] Sun and of the food. As to the state of the soul, ♦ in the greatest lack of bodily comforts, and even of some spiritual ones, God has always showed me the grace to make known to me that he [page 127] was doing me a favor, which I shall never fully acknowledge except in heaven, and which a thousand lives could not fully repay. How utterly unworthy I was; yet how he delighted in loading me down under the weight of his benefactions, the more unfit I was for them! The consolations he has given me have been more divine than material, and such that I might have still given up a thousand times more than I did for a God so great in love and goodness toward me. I pray Your Reverence to thank him for me, and to beg him not to be displeased by my coldness and ingratitude. "

Father Garnier wrote in these terms. " God be forever blessed. We have been, since yesterday, here among the Nipissiriniens, ♦ so happy and in so good health that I am quite ashamed of it. For, if I had had enough heart and courage, I do not doubt that our Lord would have given me one end of his cross to bear, as he did to our Fathers who journeyed before us. If he had done me this favor, I would be a little more cast down than I am; may he be blessed by all the Angels. He has treated the child as a child; I did not paddle, I only carried [241 i.e., 237] my own baggage, except that during three days I have carried, at the portages, a little package that some one offered me, because one of our Savages fell ill. Is not that being treated like a child? The trouble is that he who complains of not suffering much receives with a great deal of cowardice the sufferings that our Lord presents to him; but what is there for me to do in this, except to cast my poor, weak, wretched heart into the arms of my good master, and to pray you to bless this Lord with all your strength, because *Humilia de c ♦ lo respicit* and because [page 129] he gives me hope of one day being entirely his. We arrived at the Island on the eve of St. Ignace; our peas having given out, we bought some Indian corn. This corn lasted us until we reached here, our Savages having none stored in any place, ♦ at least they found only one cache of it. Up to the present, we have found but little fish. We are expecting Father Davost here to-day. Adieu, my Reverend Father; make me, through your holy Sacrifices, such as I ought to be in the place where you send me in the name of God. From the lake of the Nipisiriniens, this 8th of August."

If the hardships that one suffers in these frightful journeys, in which the only hostelries are the sky and the earth, are great, God is still greater. It can be seen through these letters that his [242 i.e., 238] goodness does not suffer itself to be vanquished. May honor and glory be rendered to him forever, in time and in eternity.

On the 13th of the same month Monsieur our Governor, wishing to see the residence of the Conception at the three Rivers, and the country above there, took me with him. We reached the three Rivers on the 16th, and on the 18th we crossed lake St. Pierre. The great river saint Lawrence grows narrower opposite Kebec, broadening again farther up; but a league or two above the three Rivers it enlarges so much that it forms a pond or lake, so wide that a good eye looking from the middle can scarcely see the farther shores. In the upper part of this great lake, which abounds in fish, a number of very pleasant Islands are found. In going, we followed the Southern shore, and in returning, the Northern. We visited the river of the Hiroquois (so called, because [page 131] it comes from their country); Monsieur de Montmagny gave the large Island which lies at the mouth of this river the name "saint Ignace. " Lake saint Pierre begins to close at this place, as the river grows narrower ♦ not that it is not still fully a quarter of a league or thereabout in width, as far as sault saint Louys, or as the river des Prairies; here it forms, as it were, another lake by the [243 i.e., 239] meeting of three rivers, whose waters being united form another little sea dotted with Islands. The land in this region is high; hence these three rivers make three rapids, as we call them here, ♦ that is to say, encountering a sloping and uneven bottom or bed, they flow with great force and rapidity. Barks can approach these rapids, but they cannot pass over them, ♦ not even shallops. Of all the Islands we saw there, there were only two or three worthy of notice, the rest being small, ♦ and, in my opinion, are flooded in the Spring. This is the way these Islands are divided: the great river St. Lawrence bathes the lands of one of our Gentlemen on the South; passing to the North, it makes two Islands, ♦ one, perhaps, a league and a half long, but very narrow; the other the great Island called Mont-Real. This Island appears to be divided in the midst by a double mountain which seems to cross it. In the vicinity of these mountains is the sault saint Louys, in the saint Lawrence river. I learn that the Savages of the Island in earlier times cleared the land, and had a settlement near this mountain; [244 i.e., 240] but they abandoned it, as they were too often molested by their enemies. They still call this place " the Island where there was a village." On the Northern shore of the Island of Mont Real flows the River des Prairies, [page 133] which is bordered by another Island, large and beautiful, called the Island of Montmagny. Beyond this Island is the River St. Jean, which touches the mainland on its North side. At or near the middle of this Island, there are two rapids or waterfalls, corresponding to the sault St. Louys, ♦ one being in the River des Prairies, the other in the River St. Jean. By the way, I will mention the origin of the names of these rivers. The River St. Jean takes its name from sieur Jean Nicolet, interpreter and clerk of the store at the three Rivers, who often passed through all these regions. The River des Prairies was so called because a certain man named des Prairies, steering a Bark, and arriving at this junction or meeting-place of these three rivers, lost his way among the Islands which are found there, and entered this river which has ever since borne his name, instead of ascending the St. Lawrence river, where he was expected. As for the great river, I do not know for what reason the name "St. Lawrence" was given to it, ♦ perhaps because it was discovered on that day.

[245 i.e., 241] We disembarked at these three islands and found them very fine and agreeable. I celebrated the first Sacrifice of the Mass which had ever been offered, as I was told, on the island of Montmagny, which is to the North of the Island of Montreal. After having viewed the beauties of the country, we set sail for the three Rivers.

On the 4th of October we left the three Rivers. We were hardly 4 or 5 leagues distant thence, when we perceived an Elk moving along the edge of the woods. We were sailing gently down the middle of the great river, in the beauty of a golden day. When [page 135] Monsieur the Governor saw this large animal, he immediately had the sails lowered, and all the men keep silence; while two or three of our Frenchmen went away quietly in a little canoe to force the great beast towards the water, or to kill it with shots from the arquebus if it turned into the woods. Hearing the noise, it leaped into the water. Immediately Monsieur had a shallop manned, which was vigorously rowed thither. The poor beast knew not which way to turn; it saw the arquebuses on land, and on the water a shallop hastening towards it. It was finally killed and brought upon our [246 i.e., 242] deck. If all journeys which are made in new France were to pass off as pleasantly as this one, they would prove too attractive, and perhaps the body would gain more than the soul. Small game, the flesh of Elk, and at times of Beaver, and fish, did not fail us in their turn. God be praised by all his Angels for the blessings

he confers upon men. In conclusion, we returned to Kebec on the 7th day of October.

On the 17th of the same month, Monsieur the Governor, wishing to go to Beauport, otherwise cap de tourmente, to get some knowledge of the country, said to me that as one of the Fathers of our society ought to go there to administer the Sacraments of the Church to our French people who live in that quarter, he considered it fitting that I should go. I obeyed him willingly. At the same time, Father Masse and Father du Marché embarked to go to the three Rivers. The weather, however, was so rough and stormy that their bark put into port; and the winds kept us for 13 days in a place where we had expected to remain only three or four at the most. Truly, it is with good reason that the country around [page 137] Cap de tourmente has been named Beauport; for the meadows there are beautiful and large, and very level. It is a locality [247 i.e., 243] well suited for maintaining herds of cattle.

On the 26th of November we began to teach the catechism to the little Savages. When Monsieur the Governor heard of this, he told us that he wished to entertain them, and to reward those who should remember well what had been taught them, which he did not fail to do. We continued this exercise for a long time.

On the 5th of December, the weather having already become very cold, the River St. Charles, upon which is situated the house of nostre Dame des Anges, froze over, and made a bridge which did not break until the middle of April.

On the 21st Of the same month, which was Sunday, a band of little Savages, boys and girls, came and rapped at our door, saying that they had come to Mass. They understand very well now when the bell is rung for it, indeed, they even use the right word, having learned it from our French. We told them they could not attend Mass, because they were not baptized; " Baptize us then," said they, " for we wish to be present there. " They were admitted only during the preaching, that they might see how attentive the French are to the instruction given them; and when they were dismissed they [248 i.e., 244] were told to return in the afternoon, when they should pray to God. They did not fail to come to vespers.

I will observe in this place that the Savages already know so well that we cherish and care for the sick, that they believe all they have to do to alleviate [page 139] any of their ills is to obtain something from us. You will see them coming to ask us for prunes, because they have a sore foot or hand.

On Christmas, towards evening, as Father de Quen and I were accompanying home our Fathers of nostre Dame des Anges, who had come to help us hear the confessions of our French people, passing along where the Savages were, we found *Makheabichtichiou* making a public announcement among the cabins. He shouted with so loud a voice and in so violent a tone, that at first I thought he was intoxicated. He was indignant because some young Savages had entered one of the houses of the French, and had taken some bread and a few ears of Indian corn which they had happened to find there. So he cried in loud tones, " You children who go to be instructed every day, you steal; and yet you are taught that he who has made all [249 i.e., 245] forbids this, is it thus you obey? You have no sense; are you not afraid the French will hang you? It is not the old people who commit these acts; it is the young people who have no sense." He spoke with so much warmth that I was astonished.

On the 26th of the same, a Savage woman asked me if women could not go to Heaven as well as men and children. When I told her they could, " Why then, " she replied, " dost thou not instruct the women, instead of calling together only the men and children? " I told her that she was right, and that we would have them come in their turn, which we did; but we soon had to dismiss them, for they brought their little children, who made a great deal of noise.

On the 10th of January *Makheabichtickiou* asked me [page 141] many questions about the phenomena of nature, such as, " whence arose the Eclipse of the moon? " When I told him that it was caused by the interposition of the earth between it and the Sun, he replied that he could hardly believe that, " Because," said he, " if this darkening of the moon were caused by the passage of the earth between it and the Sun, since [250 i.e., 246] this passage often occurs, one would see the moon [often] Eclipsed, which does not happen." I represented to him that, the Sky being so large as it is, and the earth being so small, this interposition did not happen as frequently as he imagined; upon seeing it represented by moving a candle around a ball, he was very well satisfied. He asked me how it was that the Sky appeared to be sometimes red, sometimes another color. I replied that the light, passing into the vapors or clouds, caused this diversity of color according to the different qualities of the clouds in which it happened to be, and thereupon I showed him a prism. " Thou dost not see," I said to him, " any color in this glass; place it before thine eyes, and thou wilt see it full of beautiful colors which will come from the light." Having held it up to his eyes and seeing a great variety of colors, he exclaimed, " You are Manitous, you Frenchmen; you know the Sky and the earth."

On the 26th of February the Savages, who were encamped only a quarter of a league from us, drew very near Kebec. One of their sorcerers had seen seven fires in his sleep, which were so many Hiroquois cabins; they were already this side of the three Rivers, in his opinion. Fear had taken so powerful a hold upon them [251 i.e., 247] that they encamped within a stone's throw of our house, asking me why we did [page 143] not keep arms with us, to resist in case their enemies should appear. They saw Frenchmen encamped on all sides, and yet continued panic-stricken and terrified. *Fugit impius nemine persequente*. These are the devil's doings, who disquiets them by bringing before their minds the horrible torments which their enemies make them suffer when they capture them.

On the first day of March, Father de Nou told me that, when he went to the cabins of some Savages who had withdrawn seven or eight leagues into the woods, he was very highly edified by two Hurons from the seminary who followed him. These good children, as I have already said above, made their examination of conscience on their 'knees, as modestly as if they had been instructed from their youth. The Father, having arrived at the cabins, was very well received by the Savages. As he lighted a little piece of candle to recite his hours, a Savage said to him, " I see that thou art going to pray to God; withdraw into yonder little corner, it will be more convenient for thee, I also will pray to him," and thereupon he began to say his prayers very seriously. His brother corrected him [252 i.e., 248] when he did not say them aright. " I am not very well instructed yet," he said, "but I shall be, in time." The Father returned very much consoled, and told us, among other things, that he had a little girl at catechism who took a peculiar pleasure in waiting upon and carrying to the Frenchmen what they needed, doing this so earnestly and cheerfully that they were surprised.

The same day, toward evening, a troop of little Savages, boys and girls, came rushing into our house to spend the night there; these poor children trembled [page 145] from fear of their enemies, the Hiroquois. We told them that we would receive the boys, but that girls did not sleep in our houses; these poor little Savage girls were loth to depart, so we finally decided to ask Monsieur Gand to receive them, which he did willingly, having them sleep near a good fire. They did the same thing at other times; and we always took

the boys, and the girls withdrew to Monsieur Gand's room. In the morning we had them offer prayers to God, and sent them away well satisfied.

On the 2nd day of March, Monsieur the Governor went to visit a lake about four [253 i.e., 249] leagues from Kebec. He found no other hotel there than the snow. Monsieur Gand and others accompanied him. As the cold was intense, we were afraid they might injure their health during the night, for they were compelled to pass it between the fire and the snow, under the great roof or mighty vault of Heaven; but they returned without other ill than excessive fatigue. It is hard work to make one's way over the snow, especially if one is not accustomed to it. If this lake gave us trouble in seeking it, it was a blessing when found, and will be a still greater one. Monsieur the Governor had some fishing done there under the ice during lent, when some carp and salmon trout were caught, of which he made presents to various persons, for he cares for nothing for himself.

On the 9th of the month of April a Savage, admired by his people as a great eater, meeting Father de Quen and me among the cabins, tried to boast of the prowess of his jaws. " At one feast," he said to us, " I have eaten a quantity of Bear's grease two brasses long and more than four finger-lengths wide. " **[page 147]** He imagined that we would admire him; but he was much astonished when we answered that he was boasting of having become a wolf, ♦ it is the [2 54 i. e., 2 50] boast of a wolf, and not of a man, we told him, to eat a great deal. " If thou hadst said that thou hadst skillfully fashioned a canoe, a wolf would not dispute with thee this praise; but, if thou gloriest in eating, thou art less than a wolf or a dog." All the others began to laugh, and my poor man was much embarrassed.

On the 16th of the same month of April, many Savages, having returned from the interior, assembled, according to their custom, upon the banks of the great river. *Makheabichtichiou* brought six or seven of their principal men to us, to hear our doctrine explained. After being seated and having smoked their pipes, for it is thus they begin and end the greater part of their operations, I spoke to them regarding three points: One, their chimerical belief, refuting their vague notions; another, the reality of a God; and the third, his justice, which I tried to prove by natural reasons. The most prominent one among them, having heard me very attentively, replied that, as to their doctrine, they did not have so much certainty about it, nor were they greatly attached to it. In fact, when one propounds to them some argument that overthrows their belief, they are the first to laugh at the simplicity of their forefathers for having believed such absurdities and childish notions.

[255 i.e., 251] As to the other points, the unity of a God, and his justice, he replied that their minds could not attain to such knowledge, that they had not enough judgment to discern what happened after **[page 149]** death. Thereupon *Makeabichtichiou* began to talk about what we had taught the Savages who had passed the winter near us.

He explained the creation of man, the inundation of the world caused by men's sins, how the universe was repopled by Noah and his children, how all men would die and be again brought to life. He said that Heaven kept very great blessings for the good, and that there were horrible punishments prepared for the wicked; that God forbade polygamy, that if a man left his wife he could not take another; that we must neither kill nor desire any one's death; that no importance should be attached to dreams; that those drums and all the other uproar, which amounted to nothing, must be given up, that eat-all feasts must not be given, that those who believe in God are protected against sorcerers. They approved the greater part of all these points; but, in regard to women, they replied that the young men [256 i.e., 252] would not readily agree to this doctrine. Finally they concluded, as did the Athenians, " We will hear thee again, another time, discourse upon this subject."

On the 17th of the same month, two Savages being on the other side of the great river, and wishing to cross over to Kebec, were so entirely surrounded by blocks of ice, which the tides cause to drift up and down sometimes in great masses, that their canoe was shattered, and they sank to the bottom and were drowned. One of them was a very peaceable man, and was greatly attached to the French. Towards the end of the month of May, one of these two bodies was found floating upon the river. The same day that these poor wretches perished, sieur Nicolet and some of our Frenchmen, who were coming down from the **[page 151]** three Rivers, came near experiencing the same disaster. They found the great river still frozen or clogged by ice in front of them, and behind them it appeared in so great quantities that they were compelled to leave their canoe and leap upon the ice. God willed that they should find some of it firm enough to save themselves upon, but with a great deal of hardship and effort.

On the 24th, as a Captain from Tadoussac was passing through Kebec on his way to war, he went to salute [257 i.e., 253] Monsieur the Governor, who gave him a few presents, and then sent him to us to learn something about our holy faith. This good man, already old, found our maxims very reasonable, and promised that he would come back and see us. Two days later. he came to tell us that he was about to depart, and begged us to take him to the fort to take leave of his friend, ♦ thus he called Monsieur the Governor. Father de Quen and I accompanied him; having entered, he began immediately to sound his own praises, saying that when he was present all was peaceful at Tadoussac. He enumerated at length the peoples in that country, and in conclusion protested that there were none of them so quiet and steady as he and his tribe. Taking a pencil in his hand, he sketched the country of the Hiroquois where he was going, " Here," said he, " is the river which is to take us into a great lake; from this lake we pass into the land of our enemies; in this place are their villages. " When this Captain had left the fort, I said to him, "*Nikanis*, I have not a good opinion of your war; I fear some misfortune will happen to you. Why so? " he asked. " You are taking with you a wicked man, a sorcerer, who has mocked **[page 153]** at him who made all. [258 i.e., 254] I fell into conversation with him yesterday, and he blasphemed, saying that God could not prevent the success of your war; this is enough to ruin you. If you are killed, the blame must be laid at his door; if thou dost believe me, thou wilt send him back to Tadoussac." This poor man, who does not understand the judgments of God, answered, " He has no sense, I shall tell him that he is doing wrong." "That is not enough," I replied; " if he were French, he would be put to death; for, if we protected the enemies of God, he would get angry at us." This did not make much Impression upon his mind, and he went off with some Algonquins to find some poor wretch alone; but God chastised them. Seeing an Hiroquois, they pursued him so far that, in disorder, they penetrated into the enemy's country. That region was all on fire, and the smoke hid from view those who were, according to their custom, setting the fires with which the fields were smoking. At the noise made by this man who fled, the others rushed forward and, seeing their enemies, seized their weapons, surrounded part of these poor wretches, and killed them with their arrows; they captured some, who will be made to suffer extraordinary cruelties. The others saved themselves by flight. One of them, having returned, [259 i.e., 255] told me that in escaping he had been five days without eating or sleeping, that he was as naked as a worm, and that he was paddling night and day. Another, not being able to retrace his steps, as the Hiroquois closed the way, advanced farther into their country; night coming on, he stole quietly back past their village, where he heard their cries and shouts of joy while they were burning his **[page 155]** companions; this so greatly increased his terror that he leaped into a river, swam across it, and fled as fast as he could. To be lighter, he had thrown away his robe, so he was entirely naked. At the end of nine days he reached the three Rivers, where he told his people that he had eaten nothing during all that time, and that at night he only took a little sleep upon a pile of last year's dry leaves, with which he covered himself, having no other clothes. He took a piece of bark which he shaped in the form



of a canoe, and floated upon it, with more fear of his enemies than of shipwreck. Finding himself in the great lake of Champlain, and the wind preventing his progress, he landed and continued his way through the thickets and brambles of the woods, so that his legs were covered with blood, and lacerated as if they had been gashed with [260 i.e., 256] knives. I myself saw him afterwards at Kebec, where he related all this to me. At the same time that these poor stragglers were returning to Kebec, I encountered among the cabins the blasphemous sorcerer, who had not taken the foremost place in the fight, but had been one of the first to retreat. I told him publicly before all his people that he had been the cause of their defeat, that he had caused the death of his countrymen; that I had urged him to ask God's pardon for his blasphemy, and he had not been willing to believe me. " Thy Captain, not having wished to banish thee from his company, has died in thy place, it is thou who hast slain him; be very careful to talk no more as thou hast done; the love I bear thee caused me to give thee good advice, but thou hast not been willing to follow it." This poor wretch did not say a word; but some one else, beginning to speak, excused him, **[page 157]** saying, " He will never do that again; he does not know him who made all." Father du march wrote at this time to Father Lallemant, from the three Rivers, that the return of those poor warriors was a very mournful sight. This is the way he speaks: " They returned yesterday from their war, not singing as they did last year, but so cast down with mourning and sadness [261 i.e., 257] that they had not the spirit to draw their canoes out of the water, nor did their wives, who made the shores resound with their sad and mournful lamentations. The two Captains who led them were both killed in the battle. Both are to be regretted, but especially he of the Algonquin nation, who loved us, and who seemed inclined to receive instruction. He had passed the winter near us, and had permitted us to baptize his wife, and to bury her after her death, in our cemetery, with the ceremonies of the Church. She is blest, as we believe, and he is very miserable." This is what the Father wrote about them.

I have learned that the Captain of Tadoussac bore himself very bravely; for, when he saw that they were unequal in number and strength to the enemy, he said to his people, " Retreat and save your lives, while I bear the brunt of the fight, dying for you." He was immediately obeyed by the most cowardly; having received an arrow in his thigh, he fell to the ground; but getting upon his knees, he defended himself a long time with his javelin; yet at last he had to lose his life.

Father Buteux adds some particulars: " I send you no account, " he says, " of the [262 i.e., 258] death of the warriors; those who are coming to see you will describe how the affair took place. It is pitiful **[page 159]** to see them in their cabins; they did not return in a body, as they did last year, but the canoes came down one after the other, all in confusion. One of them came ahead of the others to announce the disaster, who cried out in a mournful voice, very much like those who commend the departed in France, mentioning by name all those who were dead, or captured by the enemy. They had killed some animals on the way, and their canoes were filled with meat; but they were so dejected that this food remained there without being removed by any one. Having entered their cabins, they remained for some time in a mournful silence; then one of them, beginning to speak, described the whole Catastrophe. They said that the Hiroquois were only four days' journey from the three Rivers, and that a troop of one hundred and fifty of them had come this Winter to within about two days' journey of the French settlement; they had learned this from the little sticks which they fasten to a tree to make known to those who shall pass that way how many of them there were.

On the 27th, a Captain of the Montagnez [263 i.e., 259] came with *Makeabictichiou* to see me, requesting that I go with them to see Monsieur the Governor, to speak with him about their affairs; I accompanied them. The latter opened the conversation, saying that they had learned from their dead Captain that, in an assembly which had been held by their nation with the French some years before, Monsieur de Champlain had promised to help them enclose a village at the three Rivers, to clear the land, and to build some houses; that they had often thought about it, and that they had resolved, at least a part of them, to locate there, and to live in peace with the **[page 161]** French. " We have, " said he, " two powerful enemies who are destroying us, one is ignorance of God, which is killing our souls; the other is the Hiroquois, who are slaughtering our bodies; they force us to be wanderers. We are like seeds which are sown in divers places, or rather like grains of dust scattered by the wind, some are buried in one place, some in another. The country is failing us; there is now scarcely any more game in the neighborhood of the French. Unless we reap something from the earth, we are going to ruin. Consider, you people," said he, "whether you wish to help us, according to the [264 i.e., 260] promise made to us by the late Monsieur de Champlain. "

Thereupon Monsieur the Governor asked sieur Olivier and sieur Nicolet, who were present, if it were true that Monsieur de Champlain had made this promise. They answered that, in fact, Monsieur de Champlain had told them that, as soon as the settlement at the three Rivers was founded, they would be assisted. Now, as I was present at that assembly, I begged Monsieur the Governor to let me answer the Savages; this being granted to me, I told them that they were forgetting part of what had been decided at that meeting. They replied that they had not the use of the pen, as we had, to preserve upon paper the remembrance of what was discussed among them. Then I told them that the help which they mentioned had been promised to them, provided they would become sedentary, and would give their children to be instructed and reared in the Christian faith. When Monsieur the Governor heard this, he assured them that he was ready to abide by these conditions on his side, provided they would carry out **[page 163]** those which concerned them. They expressed their satisfaction with this, [265 i.e., 261] but said they would have been very glad to have had their children instructed at the three Rivers. They were told that a house would be built there; but that, in the meantime, they should leave the children at Kebec, and that as soon as the Seminary was ready at the three Rivers, they would be sent there. *Makheabietichiou* said that, as for him, he would readily grant what we desired, but they must find out the feeling of the others upon this subject, and that they would speak of it among them. " As for me," he said, " I again declare publicly that I wish to believe in God; some of my countrymen often tell me that Father le Jenne is trying to ruin us, that he is beginning to command among us, that he already dictates the number of wives we are to have. To all this I reply that I am very well pleased with his information, that we ourselves are being ruined, that no more harm could happen to us than is happening every day, for we are dying every moment. Since I have been preaching among them that a man should have only one wife I have not been well received by the women; for, since they are more numerous than the men, if a man can only marry one of them, the others will have to suffer. Therefore this doctrine is not according [266 i.e., 262] to their liking." Oh how hard it is for flesh and blood to enjoy God!

To return to my subject. When this Captain and *Makheabihitchiou* returned to their cabins, they explained all that had taken place in the presence of Monsieur the Governor. The old men all decided that they ought to begin to clear the land and avail themselves of the help of the French, yet they must **[page 165]** wait until *Tchimioiriniou*, one of their Chiefs, arrived. When they declared that they must place their children among us, there were different opinions about it, some were satisfied to do so, others were not. Some of the Algonquins said that those who united with us died. Thereupon an old Montagnez spoke in these terms: " Before the black robes came to this country, many of the French died; but since these came they do not die, and, on the contrary, we die; it must be that they know something which preserves their nation." Another drew therefrom a good conclusion; " If, since they have been with the French, the French die no more, it is to be supposed that, if they had our children, they would prevent them also from dying, for we see that they love children." In short, one [267 i.e., 263] of them decided to bring us two of his boys. If at that time we could have furnished them with men to help them, and had had food to nourish their children, we might, perhaps, have made them pliant to our wishes. But as we

were short of food and men, the country not yet being in a condition (as I have already said) to incur this expense for their sakes, we did not urge them very sorry, nevertheless, to let go so fine an opportunity. It is a pitiable thing, I cannot repeat it too often, that the spiritual welfare of these poor barbarians should be retarded by the lack of temporal resources.

On the 1st of May, Monsieur the Governor had a long pole erected in front of the Church, ornamented with a triple crown, below which there were three large circles, one above another, adorned with festoons, and bearing these three beautiful names written as upon an Escutcheon, *Jesus, Maria, Joseph*. It [page 167] is the first May day on which new France has honored the Church. It was saluted by a squad of arquebusiers, who came and surrounded it. The soldiers erected another in front of the fort, bearing a crown, under which they placed the arms of the King, of Monsieur the Cardinal, [268 i.e., 264] and of Monsieur our Governor.

On the 3rd of the same month, some Savages who came to see us said they had been told that a European of Acadia had asserted that word would be sent to the French who are in this country, that they should bewitch all the rivers and the waters of these regions, in order to kill off all the original Savages. " In fact," said they, " we already perceive that the waters taste bitter. " They entreated me earnestly, if the ships brought such a message, to prevent this misfortune, and to warn them of it. These poor people do not know to what cause to attribute the mortality among them. The devil worries and frightens them, every year causing evil reports to be circulated among them. I told them that, if a Frenchman used sorcery, he would be put to death; and that they ought to do the same with their sorcerers. One of them replied very aptly, " You Frenchmen, you obey one chief; if he had some wicked man killed, the rest of the French, his relatives, would not dare to talk about it; but if we killed a man of our nation, however wicked he were, both his parents and his friends would kill us, and thus we would all be destroyed. " Alas! if some one could stop the wanderings of the Savages, and [269 i.e., 265] give authority to one of them to rule the others, we would see them converted and civilized in a short time.

On the 18th of the same month, I received a letter [page 169] from the three Rivers, dated the 16th, which spoke of the Savages in these words: " Last Thursday a panic spread among our Savages, caused by their apprehension of the coming of the Hiroquois. They begged that their wives and children might be taken into the fort, to be in a place of safety. They were told that the next morning some stakes would be loaned them, with which to enclose a sort of village under the shelter of the fort. The Sun had scarcely risen when they came, small and great, to carry off these stakes; they worked with so much ardor, some carrying these heavy pieces of wood, others making ready the place where they were to be set in, and others putting them up, that in less than four hours they found themselves barricaded. Would to God that they might adhere to their resolution to settle down; there would be excellent opportunity to instruct them. "

On the 27th of the same, Father Buteux sent me the following information: " As the Savages were gathering here, we judged it fitting to give them a feast, to gain still more their affection. We invited about twenty of them, [270 i.e., 266] half of whom were of the nation of the Attikamegues. Seeing them all seated, I said to them that as the French were entertaining them, they must, therefore, pray to God before eating, as the French did. Then *Makheabichtichiou*, who was one of the guests, began to speak, and said to his countrymen, ' You who have not yet been instructed, you do not yet know the French custom; I will teach it to you.' Thereupon he explained to them the meaning of the 'benedicite,' and asked my permission to say it before any one should eat. I said it in Latin, and he in the Savage tongue. [page 171] While they were eating, as I was trying to expound to them some of the points of our belief, ' Let me speak,' said the Savage. Thereupon he told about the creation of the world, and the deluge, and several other articles of our faith, with so much fluency that I was completely carried away, and envious of his ability to say so much. Oh, what a difference between a man who talks and a child who only stutters! I do not doubt that, if we knew the language perfectly, we might obtain much from these people. While I cannot judge the intentions of this man, yet I can assert that he spoke well, and that he understood what he said; I do not know whether be approved of it. [271 i.e., 267] These barbarians have doubled their palisade, by erecting a second one, distant a foot and a half or thereabout from the first, intending to fill in this space with branches and mud. It looks as if they were trying to fortify themselves in earnest. They have made a regulation that no one shall throw any filth within their fort. This morning all the women went to the River to wash their kettles, and their plates or dishes of bark. Only two families have begun to clear the land, those of *Etinechka* and *Nenaskoumat*. The latter has already more than half an arpent planted; he declares that he will make a great field next year, if he can get some help; he has several children, and fine-looking ones; if they have the same determination [as good appearance], they will succeed. I have promised him every assistance, in proportion to our limited means; and I have given them both in advance a present of some shelled Indian corn, which they have planted. May God give them steadfastness. Since your occupations do not permit you to [page 173] come soon, I must make up my mind to teach the Catechism, but I am afraid my pupils will not understand me; the discontinuance of my studies and of the visits of the Savages are a great detriment to me, and have taught me that my memory forgets as readily as it learns easily."

[272 i.e., 268] On the 6th day of June, the Savages sent for me to visit little Ignace, who was dying. After we had stayed there a short time, Father de Quen and I, and had offered some prayers, we withdrew, leaving word with the Savages that we would return soon. Scarcely had we departed when this poor little one passed away. A poor Savage woman, when she saw this, said to sieur Olivier that I should have been present at his death, inasmuch as, through my prayers to God, I might have prevented the soul from being turned aside on its way to heaven, where we said it was to go. " Perhaps," added the woman, " this poor soul will wander from its path for lack of having been rightly directed at its departure." This simplicity shows some sort of belief. Sieur Olivier related to me another instance of like simplicity. A Savage being with him and some of our other Frenchmen in a Chapel, the masses of ice placing them in danger of death, sieur Olivier asked him afterwards what his thoughts were in this time of danger. " I remembered having heard, " answered he, " that the French go after death to a place full of joy. Hence I said to myself, 'It is [273 i.e., 269] well that I die with them; for I will not leave them, I shall be very careful to take the same route that they do, after my death.'"

On the 12th, some bands of Savages having returned from the interior, they asked me if I would [page 175] not begin to instruct them again. I replied that I had nothing with which to make them a feast. They answered that that did not matter, they would come and listen to me, even if we did not give them anything to eat. Wishing to put them to the proof, we went to their cabins and invited them; they did not fail to come, so many of them that one day I noticed Savages from seven or eight nations listening to me, the Chapel being full from one end to the other; but the coming of the ships caused me to give up this exercise.

On the 18th of the same month Monsieur de saint Jean came down from the three Rivers. He related to us a pretty story, showing the fear the Savages have of their enemies. He said that when he was in a bark on the River des Prairies, they perceived a canoe prowling around the Islands on the lookout for some Hiroquois; they immediately fired [274 i.e., 270] several shots from the arquebuses, to summon it to them. The Savage who was in it, seeing the bark, brought his canoe alongside. After he had ' been questioned about various things, he was asked if he would not like to go down to the three Rivers, as Monsieur de St. Jean and sieur Hertel desired to go

there. He replied that, indeed, he greatly wished to go there, but that the Hiroquois would be sure to kill him on the way. Sieur Nicolet rejoined that he ought to fear nothing when these two young men, both of them courageous and children of brave Captains, were with him; that they were armed with good arquebuses, and that no misfortune could befall him in their company. He insisted that his death would be inevitable if he went on this journey; but at last, being strongly urged, he agreed **[page 177]** to embark these two young men, but on condition that at the first sight of an Hiroquois canoe on the river he would set them down upon the bank and flee into the woods, having no desire to die so soon. They accepted this condition, explaining that if they had a firm foothold upon the land they did not fear the approach of the Hiroquois. My Savage, thinking to intimidate our Frenchmen by this threat of leaving them, was quite taken aback [275 i.e., 271] when he saw them so determined. This put his heart in his stomach (as the saying is), and led him to utter these words: " Let us go; I will take you and, what is more, I will not leave you; I will die with you;" then, turning to sieur Nicolet, he said to him, " If thou hearest news of my death, tell those of my nation, I pray thee, that I died bravely, in the company of two valiant French Captains. " Even this poor barbarian desired to have glory, and an occasion for vanity, in his death. Accordingly, he embarked our two Frenchmen, and took them to the three Rivers, encountering nothing else than water and woods.

On the 20th, I received letters bearing the news that, a Savage having tried to kill a Frenchman at the three Rivers, *Makheabichtichiou* did not conduct himself in the matter as he should have done. " This man " (writes Father Buteux) " has great power over his people, but very little over himself; he makes mistakes, and then he acknowledges them; he sees that what we teach is best, but he says so to every one, yet meanwhile he does not give up his three wives. At the Procession of the holy Sacrament, he had all his people turn out to adore our [276 i.e., 272] Lord. He was present at the Procession, then at Vespers, **[page 179]** and at the Sermon, with *Ekhineckkaouat*, a Montagnez Captain."

On the 25th, as we were instructing some sick Savages, one of them told us that we did wrong to find fault with their customs. Thereupon he related to us that last Winter, a little child being very sick, one of their jugglers entered his tent and summoned the soul of this poor little one; he had some trouble in catching it, but at last he took it in his hand, placed it upon the child's head, and by dint of blowing made it reenter the body, and thus the child began to revive. I told him this juggler ought to call into his tent the souls of the many sick people seen among them, and put them back in their bodies so that they might recover; but he replied that souls could not be caught at will. These are very strange errors. Such ideas appear so ridiculous to us in France that it seems as if the first word ought to dispel them. But the malice of devils and the cunning of charlatans color these impostures so skillfully, that they pass for truths, to which these Barbarians are attached by habits very difficult to eradicate.

[277 i.e., 273] On the 27th, I was informed of a battle between the Savages of the Iroquet nation and the Hiroquois. Meeting each other in their canoes, they fought a fierce and stubborn battle upon the water. As the Algonquin canoes are lighter than those of the Hiroquois, and as besides they exceeded them in numbers, they carried off the victory, bringing back with them thirteen prisoners alive, whom they caused to suffer horrible tortures. They sent one of these prisoners to the three Rivers. Oh God! what cruelty was not exercised upon this poor wretch, by the wives of those who a little while before **[page 181]** had been killed in the country of the Hiroquois. Father Buteux has written me the whole tragic story, describing the barbarity of these tigers. Their fury seemed to me so horrible that I have not been able to set it down on paper; what saddens me is that they give vent to this madness in the presence and in the sight of our French people. I hope, however, that in the future they will keep away from our settlements, if they wish to indulge in this mania. Monsieur our Governor had sent word to the three Rivers that they should be prevented from it, or that they should be sent away from the neighborhood of the French, but the letters arrived too late. On the last day of June, a shallop arrived [278 i. e., 274] in which was Father Paul Ragueneau, who brought us news of the ships, which we had already expected for several days. As they sometimes reach Tadoussac in May, we begin to doubt their coming, if no news is heard of them by the end of June. Now although we have worked hard this year at clearing the land, and although the crops are very fine, still, as the country is not yet rich enough to furnish food for all the people who come over every year, the failure of the ships would cause suffering.

On the first day of July, a Captain of the petite nation of the Algonquins brought me letters stating that this Captain was coming down to Kebec to see the Captain of the French. " He is considered," said this Savage, " a grand personage in our country; they say he is a great friend of the Sun, and that he gives letters which prevent one from dying, at least soon. I am going to ask him for some of them," said he. I made Monsieur de Montmagny, our Governor, laugh heartily when I communicated **[page 183]** the contents of this letter to him. In fact, this poor Barbarian did come to see him, and asked him why they were becoming visibly depopulated, and we, on the contrary, lived so long. " It Must [279 i.e., 275] be," said he, " that thou knowest some secret for preserving thy people, and that thou hast an intimate acquaintance with the Manitou. " Monsieur the Governor, having conversed with him for some time, and having given him answers suitable to his understanding, sent him to us with some of his own people as an escort, telling him that if they did what I should teach them, they would learn the secret of preserving their nation, and of diminishing the number of deaths. Sieur Olivier brought them to me, and explained the object of their visit. Thereupon I made them a little speech on the greatness of God, on his power and goodness, but saying that it was he who maintained us, that he wished to preserve all the nations of the earth; and that, if they were willing to believe in him and obey him, he would love them as he loves us; that he forbade murder, theft, and lewdness, but in short, that he hated all that is bad, and loved all that is good. One of them began to speak, and said in Algonquin all that I had said in Montagnez. He even added some other points about our belief which he had heard from those whom we have instructed. " These people here," said he to his countrymen, in conclusion, " have not two ways of talking, they have but one single doctrine; [280 i.e., 276] they are consistent in what they teach us. I am convinced that there is something in what they say. They forbid us to kill; if the Europeans who are with the Hiroquois taught them as these men teach us, we should live in safety." In short, they **[page 185]** approved the word of Jesus Christ, and answered that they would gladly be near us, to be able to hear it more frequently.

On the 5th of the same month, the bark that had been sent to Tadoussac, to meet the ships, brought us some new settlers.

On the 9th, a Montagnez Captain came to see me, and asked me to go with him to see Monsieur the Governor, as he wished to speak to him. Father Lallemant was there. The subject of his speech was that, the Abenakiois having come to Kebec, he had forbidden them to go up to the three Rivers, and they had paid no attention to his command. " If Monsieur the Governor, " said he, " will lend me aid, I will close all the rivers through which they can return to their country." As our Savages occasionally go to the land of the Abenakiois, those also wish to come and visit them at Kebec and further up. But it is not for the good of Messieurs the Associates; for those barbarians come to carry off the Beavers of these countries, [281 i.e., 277] to take them elsewhere. Hence Monsieur the Governor, in view of this disorder, summoned the Captain of the Montagnez and the Abenakiois to notify them that he was displeased that these peddlers should come trafficking in the footsteps of the French, but even threatening the Montagnez that he would prohibit the store from selling them any provisions until the Abenakiois should go away. This Montagnez Captain declared that he did not wish these strangers to go up to the three Rivers, but preferred to have them return to their own country. Those worthy people thereupon re-embarked, pretending to turn homewards; but in fact they went straight to the three **[page 187]** Rivers, to exchange their



porcelain for the Beavers of the Algonquins and other nations, who go ashore in that neighborhood. Monsieur the Governor, upon hearing this, sent a messenger to the three Rivers as soon as possible, to break up this arrangement. He wrote to Monsieur de Chasteau-fort, who brought together the leaders of the Montagnez and the Abnaquiois, who were twelve in number. He asked why they had disobeyed the command of Monsieur the Governor. They replied that they had not come for any trade in peltries, [282 i.e., 278] but to help their allies in their wars. However, as they found themselves hard pressed, they decided to withdraw. Monsieur de Chasteau-fort had their cabins and all their outfit examined; he found no Beavers, but three arquebuses, which he took away from them; they finally tied up their baggage and went away. A Montagnez Captain had presented himself to go and block their passage, according to the way of these nations. These Barbarians have a very remarkable custom. When other nations arrive in their country, they would not dare pass beyond without permission from the Captain of the place; if they did, their canoes would be broken to pieces. This permission to pass on is asked for with presents in hand; if these presents are not accepted by the Chief, not being minded to let them pass, he tells them he has stopped the way, and that they can go no further. At these words they have to turn back, or run the risks of war.

This same Montagnez Captain, who had offered to go and block the way, told me to tell Monsieur the Governor to send a good supply of food and provisions to the settlement of the three Rivers, **[page 189]** "Because," said he, " we shall assemble there in great numbers [283 i.e., 279] this Winter." He invited me to be there also, and to remain during that period, to instruct them; " If thou wishest, " he said to me, " thou shalt return to Kebec toward spring; as for us, the report is we shall pass the Winter there, and, when Summer comes, go down to Kebec. "

On the 10th of the same month, as I had sent a request to the house of nostre Dame des Anges to know if some one had not made some remarks for the Relation, Father Adam wrote me in these words: " I had not the desire to contribute anything concerning myself to swell the Relation that Your Reverence is sending to France; yet some time ago the thought occurred to me that I would diminish the glory of the mother of God if I concealed a favor which I received from her hands. It is that having been ill three months, and daily receiving the Holy Communion in bed, ♡ whence I tried to hear all the Masses which were said in our Chapel, there being only a board between the Altar and me, ♡ it pleased God to inspire me to a novena of Communions in honor of the nine months in which the holy Mother lay in the womb of saint Anne, to the end that I might be able to say Mass on the day of the nativity of our Lady. Having yielded to the inspiration, and the said day having [284 i.e., 280] come, I resolved to urge Your Reverence to allow me to say the holy Mass. Seeing how weak I was, you hesitated about granting me this; yet you allowed yourself to be persuaded, and consented to my wish, on condition that Father de Nou ♡ would assist me as if I had been saying my first Mass. The next day Father Daniel rendered me the same kind service. Since that time I **[page 191]** have not failed a single day to say Mass, although I was very weak.

"I had also said a novena of Masses in honor of the nine choirs of Angels, that I might obtain the grace to be able to make the genuflections before the King of Angels at the Altar. But our Lord still wished that I should be indebted to his holy Mother for this favor, and he did not grant it to me until near the time of the Annunciation, in order that I should be able to render this external honor to the mystery of the holy Incarnation. If Your Reverence judges that this might serve to awaken devotion to our Lady by inserting it in the Relation, you will do with it what you please."

On the 14th, a shallop arrived at Kebec which brought Father Claude Quentin and Father Claude Pijart. The delay of their ships, caused by adverse winds, stimulated our affection, and their presence crowned our joy.

[285 i.e., 281] Finally, on the 16th, a ship appeared and cast anchor opposite Kebec. It was commanded by Monsieur Fournier.

On the 19th, as a bark was going up to the three Rivers, I sent Father Paul Ragueneau to embark in some Huron canoe, if one should appear.

On the 22nd, our Fathers at the three Rivers sent a canoe to Kebec in which I was to embark as soon as possible, in order to meet those tribes, who, it was said, were to arrive in a few days. Going to Monsieur our Governor with this news, he told me that he himself would depart in two days, in order to be there at the coming of those nations, and that we should go together. So we started up the river in his bark, and, favored by a gentle Northeast wind, **[page 193]** towards' evening we came to anchor opposite the river sainte Croix. During the following days we made very little progress, the wind having changed; so that when we were still only opposite Cap ♡ l'arbre a canoe of Savages came alongside of us, which bore urgent letters informing Monsieur the Governor of what had taken place the day before at the three Rivers. A war Captain, who was coming down from the Hurons, having heard through an Algonquin that [286 i.e., 282] since his departure two Frenchmen had been killed by the Hurons, continued his journey down as far as our settlement with the view of taking back our Seminarists. This is what was related in the chapter on the Huron Seminary.

On the 2nd, Monsieur the Governor held a council with some of the other Hurons to induce them to bring a few families down here who would live peaceably near our French. The benefits that would arise from this connection were represented to them; they promised to discuss the matter when they reached home. This same day I gathered some little Savage children, whom I had instructed during the Winter; I questioned them publicly after vespers, in the Chapel of the conception at the three Rivers. They answered very prettily, showing me that they had not forgotten what had been taught them. I had them sing the Apostles' Creed in their language, Father Daniel had it sung in Huron by his Seminarists, and some little children sang it in French; so it was sung in three languages. At the very time we went out from this holy exercise, a canoe appeared, bringing us Father Pierre Pijart from the Hurons. Monsieur [287 i.e., 283] the Governor, having heard of his arrival, came down to the shore; we all hastened **[page 195]** thither, many of our French people and of our Savages being there. The poor father was all wasted away, having suffered greatly from fatigue and sickness on the journey. He was barefooted, and wore upon his head a hat and upon his body a cassock not worth two doubles; yet the house could not furnish him a change of clothing. Monsieur the Governor received him with singular kindness, and took him to the fort; we all proceeded to the Chapel to bless God for having preserved the Father from a thousand dangers.

The Father, having entered our little room, described to us in a few words the condition of the new Church of the Hurons, giving us hope of some day seeing it flourish, but not without suffering and hardships. Then, speaking of his voyage, he told us that the epidemic prevailed in every direction, and that he had almost died, since the disease attacked him as well as the others. Having met a Frenchman at the Island, he had received from him something which relieved him greatly. " Oh, how much good he did me! " he exclaimed. We all thought that this Frenchman must have had with him [288 i.e., 284] some refreshing beverage. We asked him in what way this good young man had so greatly obliged him. " He had with him a key," said he, " ' which he made red-hot, and dipped in some water to remove the crudity therefrom, and then gave it to me to drink; this did me a great deal of good, for I was exhausted. " " Is that, we demanded, " all the great help he gave you?" What else could he have done?" he asked. We began to laugh and to bless

God at the same time, seeing that the great relief that a person can give to a poor sick man in these [page 197] chance encounters consists of a little water impregnated with iron. He had come down in the canoe of the Captain of their village, whose name was A◆nons. This poor man, falling sick upon the way,, arrived at the three Rivers in a very weak condition; we did all we could to succor him. Father Daniel and Father Pierre Pijart instructed him, or rather recalled to his memory the instruction that had already been given him. As he felt that he was nearing death, he summoned the interpreters, offered a present to Monsieur the Governor, and begged him to favor the Hurons. As the Fathers saw him perceptibly weakening, they asked him if he did not wish to die a Christian. " Well, " said he, " I have been requested to come to the French, I am here; [289 i.e., 285] it is well that, since I must die, I die near them. " In short, he was baptized, as I have remarked above; and, dying a few hours after his baptism, we buried him in our cemetery.

On the 6th of the same month of August, two canoes of Hurons took their departure; about ten o'clock in the evening one of them returned crying from afar, " ouai! ouai! ouai! " The Savages lent ear to this cry, which the Hurons generally utter when they are bringing bad news. In the midst of this silence these good people cry out that they have encountered the Hiroquois, and that the canoe which had accompanied them had been captured. Now all the Savages are in a state of alarm, and all the women try to crowd into the fort. Some of the bolder men are commissioned to go and discover the enemy; they return at break of day and fill all the cabins with terror. They report that they heard a great many voices, like those of thieves rejoicing over booty; [page 199] that they even heard some gunshots, and that they imagine there are fully two hundred men in ambush at the entrance to lake St. Pierre. All are in a state of suspense; the women get into their canoes at four o'clock [290 i.e., 286] in the morning, and flee with their children,◆some to Kebec, some to the three Rivers, some to other places; the men present themselves at the fort to be admitted therein. Our French knew not what to think of this panic, for these barbarians are often alarmed without cause. They assured us that the Hiroquois would come and lay siege to us in our redout; but all this made no impression upon our minds, and the greater part of the French gave no credit to the report of the Savages. Finally an Hiroquois canoe appears in the middle of the great river, now turning its bow, now its side, and continue to hover around, as if wishing to brave us as well the Savages; we knew by this that there were many of them. The Montagnez and the Hurons are admitted into the fort, or rather into our redout, in order to reassure them. These poor people take courage; each one seizes some weapon,◆this one a sword, that one a shield, another a hatchet, a fourth a knife, a fifth a pole. They crowd together, all howling like madmen, the Captains yelling rather than haranguing. Armed in their fashion, and some of them decked with feathers, they begin to dance, shouting from their chests songs Of [291 i.e., 287] war. As these barbarians do things only by whims, and as they are governed by passion rather than reason, one side excites the other to combat by songs and violent demonstrations; in which they greatly err, for they are half worn-out and fatigued when they must come to blows. Monsieur our Governor [page 201] proceeded in quite another fashion, for he put his people in order noiselessly and had them armed by squads,◆rather to keep in check the Savages inside, although he had placed them in an enclosure where they could not harm us, than to protect himself against the Hiroquois. Now as this swaggering canoe appeared from time to time,◆to attract some French or Savages into their ambuscades, as we conjectured,◆Monsieur the Governor, seeing that a little wind was rising, orders a bark to weigh anchor and spread its sails, to go and reconnoitre. This command was executed almost as soon as given; the bark turns toward the place where the Hiroquois were, the canoe disappears; the bark advances and discovers the enemy, who were moving about, part upon the river, part upon the edge of the woods. Sieur Nicolet, [292 i.e., 288] who was guiding the bark, reported that there were about five hundred men well armed; he wished to approach them, but, fearing he would run aground, he could not get within musket-range of them. As he saw some crawling into the reeds, he fired a shot from the brass cannon, so skillfully, that the other Savages were seen to pick up the bodies of the wounded or dying, as far as they could judge. They perceived also in a canoe some men, whose heads only were visible. They thought that these were the poor Hurons captured the day before, whom they were holding as prisoners.

You may imagine that we kept up a careful watch; in truth, we blessed God with all our hearts for having led Monsieur the Governor to the three Rivers at this time. He put everything in so good order, among both the French and the Savages, that there was cause to praise our Lord for the method and [page 203] resoluteness existing on all sides. The Savages, awaiting the attack, uttered loud yells or shouts, to notify the enemy that they were on their guard, and that they did not fear them. But Monsieur the Governor sent word to them [293 i.e., 289] to keep still; and had their Captain warned that they should all remain where they had been placed, and in case three, four, or five of his people should be called for, that they might be stationed elsewhere, he should send them, designating them by name, for fear of confusion. There were six Religious of our Society in our redout. I sent Father Pierre Pijart, who had come from the Hurons, in a bark to assist our French in case they were attacked, as I was told they [the Savages] had once attacked a 'Flemish bark, and had sunk it to the bottom. I appointed Father Buteux to guard the Montagnez, and take charge of any who were wounded, and Father Daniel to the Hurons. Father Claude Pijart was to be with the Surgeon to assist our French people; Father du March◆ at the Chapel, to guard it, and to hear the confessions of those who might present themselves. As for me, I had decided to be in all these places, to see how things were going on, and to help those who were so badly wounded on the outposts that they could not be easily brought to the Surgeon. Now either because these barbarians were afraid of our firearms, especially as they saw that they were discovered, or because they chose to go on and meet [294 i.e., 290] some Hurons, in which move there would be less danger for them and greater hopes of booty,◆they were satisfied to look at us from a distance without coming to blows. Meanwhile, a Huron, who was in the canoe which I have said was captured, having [page 205] escaped, came to assure us that these barbarians were on the watch at the entrance to the great lake Saint Pierre, where they would surely capture all those of the upper nations who should come down to the French. This poor man said that he and his companions, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, abandoned their canoe and rushed into the woods, but they were soon closely pursued. His companions were soon captured; he, being fleet-footed, left far behind five stout Hieroquois who were pursuing him. Finally, as the thorns and nettles lacerated his legs and thighs, for he was entirely naked, he took refuge in a hollow tree which he fortunately encountered. His enemies came close to this tree, searching and ferreting all around it,◆so close that in trampling down some thistles they touched his foot; he meanwhile pointed his javelin at them, to kill at least one if he were discovered; [295 i.e., 291] our Lord willed that his life should be saved. As soon as he had arrived, Monsieur the Governor despatched a canoe to Kebec for reinforcements, in order to be able to pursue these barbarians and to save the lives of the Hurons and other tribes whom we were daily expecting. Toward nightfall, a canoe of Hurons appeared, who brought us sad news. " There were ten of our canoes in company," said they; " when we were at the Islands of the great River, *Taratouan*, a brave Captain of the Hurons, followed the Northern shore, taking with him nine canoes; the rest of us kept along the Southern shore. When we reached the opening of the lake, near the French, we were swiftly pursued by the enemy, which makes us think that *Taratouan* and his band are captured, for the body of the Hiroquois are encamped on the North [page 207] shore, by which he passed." They told us also that *Teouatirhon*, our Seminarist had shared the same fate, as I have explained above. Towards midnight another canoe arrived, bringing five Hurons, who assured us that the lake was swarming with the enemy, and that they held all the avenues to the French. [296 i.e., 292] "There were two of our canoes together, " said they; " having reached the entrance of the lake, towards the Islands, we saw two other canoes. The canoe that accompanied us wished to go and reconnoitre them; and they, covering their evil design, pretended to be continuing on their way, until, seeing our companions far distant from us, they rushed upon them. As they captured them, we escaped in the darkness. Approaching the other entrance, we heard a horrible noise; some one cries, " Who goes there? Of what nation are

you?" Immediately taking flight in another direction, we were about to rush into another danger. For, as we were already on the river, quite near the French settlement, we intended to pitch our camp and obtain some rest after our toilsome efforts to escape. Approaching the shore, we discovered an ambuscade; and, trying to turn back, two canoes at once dashed after us so eagerly that they pursued us almost to your settlement. " Such are the stories related to us by these poor barbarians. Monsieur the Governor took it greatly to heart, as did all our Frenchmen, that he could not drive these rovers away from us, [297 i.e., 293] as we had so few men, and as it was not right to leave our redout or palisade without defense. These poor people brought me a brief letter from Father Paul Ragueneau, who writes thus: " This canoe which I found behind the others, bringing up the **[page 209]** rear guard as it were, of a small band of Hurons, has afforded me the means of assuring you that my health is very good. Thank God, I am as strong as on the first day, and behold me already inured to the food of the Savages. Sleep comes to me on their bed, which is the beautiful earth, sooner than upon feathers; even the rain does not waken me, although it has already twice well soaked us, of which I was not aware until I had to arise. I have written you hastily, through *Teouatirhon* , who has taken back with him the little package of our clothing that was entrusted to him. I did not think of it until after his departure. He will tell you how our canoe was split by a rock, and how we were yesterday surprised by a furious tempest. I commend myself, etc."

On the 9th of the same month of August *Teouatirhon*, our Seminarist, having escaped from the danger of which I have spoken above, arrived at the [298 i.e., 294] three Rivers. He told us that his uncle, seeing the package of clothes or little necessities that we were sending to our Fathers, took it and placed it in his own canoe, saying that he would take it upon himself to deliver it faithfully. But, as this Captain was made a prisoner, the package was lost, and our poor Fathers who are up yonder will suffer for want of it; but God will know well how to console them with something else.

Towards nightfall of the same day, a great fire appeared on the other bank of the River. Some Hurons and Montagnez went to find out what it meant. They found the two companions of *Teouatirhon*, who had escaped with him, and were asking by the light .of this fire that we should send for them. It is indeed remarkable how these Savages, entirely naked and **[page 211]** having neither tinder box, knife, nor hatchet, find the means of making fire.<sup>8</sup>

On the eleventh of the same month, two shallops, well equipped for war, arrived from Kebec. Monsieur de l'Isle, having received the letters of Monsieur our Governor, immediately armed these two shallops in great haste, sent to the ships for men, selected some from families, and sent us four other well equipped shallops, and afterwards [299 i.e., 295] a good bark, commanded by Captain Raymbaut. The winds interfering with our plans, Monsieur the Governor did not wait for all this help. Having seen the first two shallops in good order, one commanded by Captain Fournier, the other by sieur Des-Dames, he entered his bark, and I with him, according to his desire. We set sail as promptly as possible; the night favored us with a good wind to cross lake saint Pierre, where we heard no noise, as these barbarians had withdrawn to the river that bears their name.<sup>10</sup> A Southwester which arose stopped us among the Islands of the lake; but during the night the weather became quite calm, and we ascended to the river, where we expected to find these barbarians. It was already broad daylight when we approached it. At the mouth we perceived a quantity of smoke, which led us to think that the enemy was not far off. Then every one exerted himself to row with energy, and prepared to rush upon them. But, when we reached the place whence this smoke came, we found the birds had flown thence. One day sooner, and we would have had a battle, [300 i.e., 296] for we all thought they had departed only the day before. We could not make any further efforts; to follow them would have been labor lost, for their **[page 213]** canoes are much lighter than our shallops and barks. Now finding ourselves resting at the moment when we expected to fight, and in peace when on the verge of war, we went ashore. Looking over the places these robbers had just left, we found upon the banks of the river a plank which had served as the crossbar of a cross, which Monsieur the Commandant du Plessis had erected the year before. These barbarians had torn it down and upon this plank had painted the heads of thirty Hurons, whom 'they had captured. We studied it carefully. They had also fastened this picture to a branchless tree, so that passersby could readily see it; the different lines indicated the quality and age of the prisoners, as some Savages who were there explained to us. They had pictured two heads much larger than the others, to represent two Captains whom they had in their clutches, one of whom is the brave Taratouan, of whom I have spoken above. We saw also the heads Of two [301 i.e., 297] children, and of two other young lads who were being taken to the Seminary. They had made stripes in the form of plumes on the heads of the bravest ones. All these heads were scrawled in red, except one, which was painted in black, ◆ a sign that this last one had been killed, and that all the others were victims destined, as it were, for the fire. Some Savages found the body of the one who had been slain, floating in the lake. We knew by these grotesque figures (for the Savages are not acquainted with the art of painting) the havoc wrought by these infidels, who were going away triumphant, bearing a quantity of skins that those poor Hurons were bringing to the storehouse of these Gentlemen. What still more added to our sorrow **[page 215]** was that these rovers had not seen us. I feel very certain that if they had experienced the anger of those who followed them, they would not be likely to return soon. In short, we had to go back the way we came. As we were going down towards the three Rivers, we met in the lake the four shallops which were coming to reinforce us. Sieur Couillart was of the party, as also sieur Giffart and sieur Pinguet, and others who deserve to be praised [302 i.e., 298] for having embarked so promptly to come and cope with the enemy, and to defend, at the peril of their lives, the goods and lands of Messieurs the Associates. When we reached the residence of the Conception at the three Rivers, we found other Hurons who had escaped from the hands and teeth of their enemies. They arrived, one after the other, all worn out, hungrier than hunters, and with no other covering than their own skins.

On the 16th of the same month of August, Father Pierre Pijart, who had come from the Huron country to visit us, to take charge of the Seminary of that nation in the event of the death of Father Daniel, who was very sick, re◆mbarked in a canoe of the Savages to return to those lands. Crosses are rendered sweet by the love of the cross. The way from Kebec to the Hurons, all strewn with horrors, is traveled more cheerfully by souls parched with a thirst for Jesus Christ, than people roll along those streets, where horses draw the carriage, and vanity actuates those who are within it. Monsieur our Governor did not fail to show the Savages in what esteem he holds the preachers of the Gospel. He accompanied the Father to the banks of the great river, commending him, [303 i.e., 299] with presents, to the Hurons who **[page 217]** were to take him. Such marks of affection, displayed in public, catch the eyes of these people; and they listen to us more willingly when they see us cherished by persons of so much merit and influence.

On the 23rd of the same, I received a letter from Father de Quen, informing me of the death of a young Montagnez child that had been given to us. His father had come to me and said: " I have only two children left; one is sick, the other is still in health. I give thee both of them, for thou wilt keep them better than I can. " I replied to him that, as for the sick one, I did not know where to put it, ◆ that he should keep it in his cabin, and that we would go often and visit it, which we did; the poor child was instructed and baptized, and died a child of God. The other one we took with us. Monsieur the Governor had some good clothes made for him in the French way, and gave him all his little outfit, as we do to a Seminarist. Now as he was restless, and as we were often occupied by the coming of the ships, this child found it rather dull and went back with his father, who intended to send him to us again with one of his relatives, as soon as we [304 i.e., 300] should be free. But alas! he could not do it, for a sudden illness seized and carried off this poor little one in



a short time, without baptism. It is quite a serious misfortune. The judgments of God are mysterious; he has taken one of them, and rejected the other.

On the same day I received the fragment of a letter containing these words: " There is reason for great edification in all that has been inserted in the Relation which has been sent. We would ask, however, for some enlightenment as to what we may **[page 219]** hope for the establishment of the Christian Religion, and then communication with the countries contiguous to the Savages, their frontiers and boundaries. " I respond to this that if he who wrote this letter has read the Relation of what is occurring in Paraquais [Paraguay], he has seen that which shall some day be accomplished in new France.

The Christian Religion (through the grace of God) will flourish in this country as it does in that, especially among the Hurons. These peoples where we are, are exactly like those other Americans, called Paraquais, who not long ago were eating each other. Yet grace abounds where sin has so long held sway. Cruelty has changed to [305 i.e., 301] gentleness, and wolves to lambs. We may expect here the same favor from heaven. But, in the name of God, let us have patience. It is just the temper of a Frenchman to desire to finish as soon as he has begun. He sees some little sparks, and already he wishes to warm himself at a great fireplace. Count how many years the Portuguese have held those regions in America, whence we hear of so splendid conversions, ♦our Fathers worked more than forty years to subdue them, and it is more than eighty years since those nations began to hear about our faith. They did not surrender very soon, yet our haste would require that ice take fire like gunpowder. I have often said, and I say it again, that I am surprised at the advancement that God is granting to this infant Church, considering the short time employed, up to the present, in instructing these barbarians. I believe that those who are urging us, urge God still more. It is he who must be earnestly solicited, ♦it is his cause, it is he who will make it succeed. **[page 221]**

As to communication with the neighboring countries, this has been fully answered in the other Relations, and in the books which treat of these [306 i.e., 302] lands. There are numerous sedentary nations who are neighbors of the Hurons; the Gospel should carry its light to them. There are many wandering nations which are less populous; they will not fall into line so soon, but they will come as well as the others; Jesus Christ will be their King, they are his heritage, *Dabo tibi gentes hareditatem tuam*. The wanderers of the South being subdued, it is not impossible to convert those of the North. Enough upon this point.

The same day, the father of that dearly beloved girl who was baptized last year on the 8th of January, came to me and said, " *Nikanis*, let us go into thy room, for I wish to speak to thee." Then, when we were both seated, he asked me why I had made him leave the Chapel that morning, since he had gone in there to pray to God, desiring to believe in him. I answered him that he could not be present at certain prayers we offered in the morning (it was the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass that I was about to offer), but that, if he were baptized, he should be present there, as the French were. Thereupon he made me a long speech. " Hast thou not heard," said he, " of my daughter, whom thy brothers baptized in the Winter, who died in your faith, and was buried in the place where they bury [307 i.e., 303] the French? Hast thou not been told how my wife also believed in God before her death, and how the same favor was granted to her as to my daughter? It is I who induced them to embrace what you teach. I wish to take for myself the advice I gave them; I **[page 223]** wish to die a Christian, and to be buried with your people. Believe me, *Nikanis*, my heart has always said that your doctrine was good, I like to hear it. While thou art here, teach me. Thou art always so busy that one cannot talk to thee; I will come to see thee, I will listen to thee attentively; I am old, it is time I was thinking of myself." The simple man said this to me in a voice that touched my heart. In truth, I sometimes drink a very bitter cup, as I pass among the cabins at the time when the ships are anchored here; for small and great ask me, with reason, " why I do not teach them any more? why I do not come to see them? why I do not call them together? " I put them off from day to day, and meanwhile three long months pass before I am free. As to this good old man, when I was urging him to talk in favor of our Religion in the cabins, he answered me that he was afraid the young people would misconstrue his meaning, ♦[308 i.e., 304] that he feared lest, if he instructed them, his use of the language or of certain words might convey a different meaning to them, and that some misfortune might thence happen. As for me who could speak well, he said, nothing would pass my lips that was not entirely proper. It is one of the fears of these barbarians that they will not speak or pronounce well what has been taught them, placing the whole force of the doctrine in the words. But I explained to him that God looked at the heart and not at the lips; and if the mouth should make a mistake, nothing serious could happen from it, provided the heart was right. He was satisfied with this answer. I told him I had written to a great Captain in France (it is thus we call people of influence), for they have no other title **[page 225]** of rank except that of " Captain." " I have written " (said I to him) " to a great Captain that all your misfortunes come from your being an unsettled and wandering people; that you would become stationary if you could be aided in clearing the land and making dwellings. As this Captain is good, he will give you the workmen whom he has here, to help you; then your people will not be buried, some here, some there, nor will so many of you die as now, for you will not have to suffer so much." "Oh how good that will be! " (said he) " dost thou wish me [309 i.e., 305] to speak of this in our cabins? For I am old, they listen to me, and all the Captains are my young men." I told him I would be glad to have him do so.

On the 27th, four Huron canoes arrived; one of them delivered me a brief letter from Father Pierre Pijart, who wrote me from the long sault, and informed me that the epidemic continued its ravages among the Hurons, and had caused several, who were coming to trade with the French, to turn back; and that he himself was returning very joyfully to the land of suffering. Then he added that a little Seminarist, called *Aiandac* ♦, whom he was taking back with him, edified him greatly. " He prays to God on his knees," said he, " morning and evening; he always asks a blessing before eating, without being ashamed of it before his companions; I pray our Lord to give him perseverance; Amen."

I will note here an incident, which would have been better placed in chapter tenth. As we were on the point of returning to Kebec, hopeless of seeing any more Hurons this year, a Montagnez Savage said to Sieur Olivier, " Do not hasten to go away; the **[page 227]** breast of [310 i.e., 306] one of our soothsayers has throbbed. Tomorrow you will have news; some Hurons will surely come." Sieur Olivier came to report this Prophecy to Monsieur the Governor, with whom I was at the time. We heard it with amusement, and yet we were certainly astonished the next day, at seeing these four canoes, which had not been expected, arrive. This reminds me that, when we were at Kebec, two Savages, seeing that we questioned the coming of the ships, told us not to doubt that they would come; " You will have news of them tomorrow without fail, for our people's breasts have been throbbing very strongly." This proved to be true, for the next day a shallop brought us news of them. All this makes me conjecture that the devil enters into them and causes this throbbing, to more firmly bind them to himself, diverting them with these fine prophecies, which often enough prove false, ♦God thus disposing in order to show that they originate with the author of lies.

On the 28th, as I was visiting the cabins, I saw a sick child. I asked its mother if my brother had not yet baptized it; I had to laugh at the answer this simple woman gave, ♦" Yes, " said she, " he baptized her, but hardly any; baptize her more." In instructing these simple [311 i.e., 307] people on the virtue of the sacred waters of baptism, some imagine that the more there is poured out, the more

efficacious is this Sacrament, they are being disabused of this error.

On the 29th, Monsieur the Governor concluded to return to Kebec to dismiss the fleet, inasmuch as these last four canoes assured us that the French whom we were awaiting in the rear guard of the [page 229] Hurons, having arrived at the petite nation of the Algonquins, had been obliged to turn back on account of the prevalence of sickness in their band. He had me enter his bark with him; I was rather depressed, seeing that, through the non-arrival of the Hurons, who could have carried the little baggage we were sending to our Fathers, the greater part of it remained at the three Rivers. And what made the trouble worse was that we had sent new men up there, and, as the old ones who had completed their term could not come down, our Fathers will find themselves burdened with a greater number of persons, and will not have means for their support, either for clothes, or to buy the food of the country. I am much afraid they will have to use the first robe God made for Adam and his wife, *fecit quoque Dominus Ad◊, et uxori ejus tunicas pelliceas*. [312 i.e., 308] As to their food, he who feeds the birds of the air will not forget them, he will touch the hearts of these barbarians to succor them, since we have not been able to send the commodities that serve them as money.

In truth, enough canoes came down; but, as they were full of sick people, they did not wish to burden themselves with the clothes or packages of other people; and those who did take any, made us pay double and triple freight. This is enough for this year; besides, we are about to land at Kebec. I am writing from the Sainte Marie, a bark which is now conveying us upon the great river. I will not implore the help of those who shall read this Relation, as well as that which has been sent me from the Hurons, both of which go together to be presented to your Reverence. I know well that God is speaking [page 231] to their hearts, and that their hearts are speaking to God. As for us, without having solicited them, we are under the greatest obligations to them, as well as to the sweet charity of all our Fathers, and of all our Brethren of your Province, yea, even of all France, and especially to the love and remembrance your Reverence has for all your children at the Altar and in the Oratory. [3 I 3 i.e., 309] We all greet you with the utmost affection,◊I very particularly, who will sign myself, with your permission, what I am from my heart,

My Reverend Father,

*Your very humble and obedient*

*servant in our Lord,*

*PAUL LE JEUNE.*

On board the sainte Marie, opposite Cap Rouge, in New France, this last of August, 1637.

[page 233]

## [314 i.e., 310] Last Letter of Father Paul le Jeune, to the Reverend Father Provincial.

Y REVEREND FATHER,

Since I closed the Relation, several things have presented themselves which I have judged ought to be written briefly to Your Reverence, but without other order than that in which they may occur to me, for the urgency of affairs does not permit me to digest what I have to say.

I have noted in the Relation that Monsieur the Governor had gone up to meet the Hurons, to communicate with those tribes who every year come to visit our French. As the return of the Fleet was urging his departure, after having sojourned a long time at the three Rivers, he finally, on the 29th of August, went down to Kebec, having lost all hope of seeing any more Hurons this year. I was with him in his bark all the time, by his orders; we arrived at night, on the 31st of the same month. The day after our arrival, a canoe appeared [315 i.e., 311] which came to bring us the news that about one hundred and fifty Hurons had come down, and that it would be well for Monsieur the Governor to go up and see them, as these tribes wished to speak with him. Our Fathers wrote me that it was absolutely necessary that I also should return, for the affairs of our Huron Mission, and for the Seminary. Monsieur the Governor, being busy in finishing his despatches for the fleet, and in sending it away, could [page 235] not leave Kebec. He sent in his place Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle, his Lieutenant, a very honorable Gentleman. I wished to embark in one of the canoes of the Savages, but he made me take a place near him in his shallop. We sailed during the night as well as the day, fighting against contrary winds, until the night of the fifth of September, when we landed at the three Rivers. The Hurons immediately ran to us at the sound of the oars of the two shallops which conveyed us. The thunder of the cannon resounding from the fort at our disembarkment, I saw some throw themselves upon the ground in amazement. When we went to see Monsieur de Chateau-fort 'we found him very ill, so that on the [316 i.e., 312] following day I carried him the holy communion. After this, I opened the letters of our Fathers who are with the Hurons, and learned therefrom that the contagion continued in that country, that calumnies were multiplying, that the demons were making open war against us. These tribes believe that we poison and bewitch them, carrying this so far that some of them no longer use the kettles of the French. They say that we have infected the waters, and that the mists which issue thence kill them; that our houses are fatal to them; that we have with us a dead body, which serves us as black magic; that, to kill their children, some Frenchmen penetrated the horrid depths of the woods, taking with them the picture of a little child which we had pricked with the points of awls, and that therein lay the exact cause of their death. They go even farther,◊they attack our Savior, Jesus Christ; for they publish that there is something, I know not what, in the little Tabernacle of our Chapel, which causes [page 237] them to die miserably. The devils will gain nothing by attacking their master. They hold that there is a famous sorcerer among us, and that, if he were killed, they would recover health. All these persecutions console us in some respects, [317 i.e., 313] for it is upon this foundation that the faith and Religion are established. It is a source of sweet content to see with what joy all our Fathers breathe the breath of life in the country of the dead; and what astonishes me still more is that some young Frenchmen, whom they have with them, seeing themselves involved in the same dangers, will not leave, wishing to run the same risks as our Fathers. If I were not in haste, I would here set down the sentiments full of love and zeal which inflame their hearts. You would say that they desire to emulate each other in being taken for this famous sorcerer, who has been destined to death as a miserable victim. Observe, however, that they do not fail to go on baptizing poor sick people,◊so many, that I can say we have baptized fully three hundred Savages this year. And here is what astonishes me beyond measure,◊notwithstanding all these reports, and all these misrepresentations, we have been offered more

Seminarists than we could accept; in fact, we have refused several, not having anything with which to feed and maintain them. We are satisfied with six in these early stages. This last band of Hurons brought us a goodly number; it makes me raise my eyes [318 i.e., 314] to heaven and say, *Digitus Dei est hic*; it is God who is guiding this affair; may he be blessed forever by Angels and by men, in time and in eternity. These barbarians who had just come down had in their company the first Christian baptized in their [page 239] country in good health, after a long instruction; this man filled our hearts with joy.

Father Pierre Pijart, in going up to the Hurons, met him on the way; see how he writes me about him: " Now I beg you (but I am wrong to beg a thing which is nothing more than the desire of your heart) to show a pleasant face to our first Christian; I confess to you that when I first met him, even before he said that he had letters to give me, which I send to you, I was touched by his gentleness and modesty. There came into my mind what I had once heard of the ancient Christians, converted from Idolatry, and what I read a little while ago about the Japanese; it is, that baptism worthily received, outside the grace which is infallibly attached to it, confers upon the new Christians an external gentleness, in their manners and in their speech. The little that I saw of him in passing made such an impression upon me, that, if I could, I would have thrown myself at his feet to kiss them." These are the Father's words. He [319 i.e., 315] who can change wolves into lambs, has changed a barbarian into a child of God. As the Hurons fell sick on the way, this good Neophyte instructed them, to get them ready for baptism. His nephew being attacked by the contagion, Mathurin (the name of one of our men) said to him, " Pierre " (the name he received at Holy Baptism), " take care of thy nephew. " " I am praying God day and night for him," he answered; " do thou also pray to him for the same object. " " But be careful " (he replied to him) " that he does not die without instruction. " " I have already instructed him, " answered the good man; " he knows all that it is necessary to believe in order to be a Christian, and he believes it; if he [page 241] sinks, I will call thee to baptize him, or thou shalt tell me the words that must be said; if he gets well, I will take him to the Seminary, to the house of the Fathers. " When they reached the three Rivers, Father Claude Pijart went through the cabins, to carry some prunes to the sick, and took him with him; he made him a sign to instruct his countrymen, which he did affectionately, as did also one of our men, named Petit-Pr<sup>◆</sup>, which caused the Father to baptize some of them. But we will speak of them next year. When these tribes come down to see the French, they are accustomed to hold councils [320 i.e., 316] or assemblies. At first, it is they who speak and treat of their own affairs; towards the end, the French call them together, and recommend to them the subjects they wish to be discussed. Now having at their arrival asked to speak to the Captain of the French, Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle, in the absence of Monsieur the Governor, acted for him. In order to show the esteem in which he held those who embraced our holy faith, he had our Neophyte sit near him, who was greatly astonished at seeing himself so highly honored by the French. We were seated on the benches, and the Hurons on the ground, as is their wont. Each one having taken his place, and all being in silence, two Huron Captains showed their presents. One of them, wishing to make a speech, asked first what Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle's name was; then he addressed him, saying: " L'Isle " (it is thus these people call everything, by its name, without other ceremony), " you and your people are *Okhi*, "<sup>◆</sup>that is to say, " you are Demons, or extraordinary beings, and more than common men." "Although our country is ruined, although pestilence [page 243] and war are laying all waste, you attract us to you, making us surmount [321 i.e., 317] all sorts of difficulties to come and see you. " Then, showing us their presents, " These tell but little; but then we are in small numbers, for they are all dying in our villages, and along the way; this does not prevent us from coming to confirm the peace and friendship which exists between us." Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle made reply that he was very glad to see them; that our great Captain, Monsieur the Governor, had come up there to speak with them, that he had waited a long time; that he had sent a bark to meet them, to protect them against the Hiroquois; that, for lack of supplies, the bark had come back, then had gone up a second time,<sup>◆</sup>but finally, seeing that the season was passing, it had been obliged to return. He said that this great Captain, having learned that five hundred Hiroquois held lake St. Pierre, capturing the Hurons as they passed through, had sent to Kebec for aid; that he had been sent a bark and four shallops, full of brave warriors, and that he himself had tried to pursue their enemies; that, furthermore, he was very sorry he could not come up to the three Rivers again,<sup>◆</sup>that there were a large number of ships and a great many [322 i.e., 318] Frenchmen, both at Kebec and at Tadoussac; these he was occupied in dismissing, but that he had delegated him in his place, and that he would gladly come and see them next year. "As for myself," he continued, " I am very glad to see you, but very sorry about your sickness. I will thank you for your presents, which are very acceptable to me; but I have one suggestion which I wish to urge upon you strongly. It is, not to believe these false rumors, like the [page 245]

one that appeared, that Monsieur de Champlain had wished to ruin the whole country by his death." They said that the Algonquins of the Island had circulated these false rumors. Thereupon Monsieur the Chevalier summoned one named *Oumastikoueian*, who is allied to those islanders, and had him asked why the Algonquins sowed discord between the French and the Hurons, saying that Monsieur de Champlain had wished to ruin the country and drag it down to death with him, and that a Captain of the Montagnez Savages himself had borne witness to this ill-will. "Where is this Captain?" he was asked. " Speak, now; make him come in, let him tell us if Monsieur de Champlain ever made such a speech." This poor man began to exclaim against the Hurons, saying that it was they who spread a [323 i.e., 319] report that the French had bewitched a cloak, to cause their death. We asked the Hurons if they had invented these lies; those of one village accused the inhabitants of another of originating these reports, telling them to clear themselves thereof. In short, each denied these calumnies, saying there was no need to speak of it further, and that the cause of their death was being attributed to certain porcelain collars which the Montagnez had collected in order to invite them to go to war. They were earnestly urged not to listen to these impostures. " Ask your countryman here," Monsieur de l'Isle said to them, " if what we believe is bad, if we teach that men should be killed; we love you all; he knows well that what we have taught him is very good." He spoke to our Neophyte, who very modestly expressed his approval of our belief. This council or assembly having ended, these barbarians went to the store to exchange their [page 247] peltries for hatchets, knives, blankets, and other wares that Messieurs the Directors and Associates send them. Having finished their trades (to use the word which is current here) the last council takes place. The holy Virgin presided at it, for this assembly [324 i.e., 320] was held upon the day of her birth. Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle had me sit near him, and next our new Huron Christian. The presents of the French were exposed in the middle of the place, and the leaders and principal men of this nation were seated in a circle before us. Monsieur the Chevalier said to me, " My father, let us begin with the concerns of Christianity, for that is the most important question." In fact, it is always necessary to begin with this subject a council with the French; for when the speech is begun by the announcement of the presents, those who have no interest in the faith rise and go away unceremoniously, as soon as one begins to speak of our belief. But as long as the presents attract their attention, neither their minds nor their bodies are withdrawn very far from the speeches which are made to them. It is the custom of these people to speak through presents, and through feasts; while the pot is boiling, you will find the Savages as attentive as you wish. The feast distributed, the Savages close their ears and open their mouths. They do not keep so many senses occupied all at once. But let us enter the council.

Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle began to speak, and told them that he was greatly pleased with the presents [325 i.e., 321] they had made him; that he honored the steadfastness of their friendship, since neither the capture of their countrymen by their [page 249] enemies, nor the malady which afflicted them on all sides, had prevented them from coming to visit us; that this intercourse was the bond of the peace and good understanding which for a long time had existed between the two nations, French and Huron. He said,



moreover, that we were sometimes afflicted in our country with the same scourges of pestilence by which they are assailed; that then we asked our Fathers, who understand how to pray to God, what must be done to check these maladies; that, if they wished to do the same, they would find it to their advantage; and if at that very moment they would listen to me, I would tell them what they ought to do. They answered that they would be very glad to hear me. Thereupon, I drew forth a beautiful picture of our Savior, Jesus Christ; I uncovered it, and placed it before their eyes. Then beginning to speak, I told them that we were not the masters of life and death; that he whose image they saw was Son of the Almighty, ♦ that he is good, that he loved men, that the demons who do so much harm were only his slaves. [326 i.e., 322] I said that when we offended this great Captain, son of God, either by stealing, or refusing to believe in and obey him, that he permitted the devils to afflict us; but that, when we had recourse to him, asking pardon for our offenses and promising to be faithful to him, he cured us of our ills and bound the hands of the evil spirits, so that they could no longer injure us. That, if they wished to do the same, I would give this beautiful picture to Pierre *Tsiouendaentaha*, our Neophyte, to take it into their country, so they could pray this great Captain to have pity on them. They replied that *Echon* ♦ their name for Father Brebeuf ♦ told [page 251] them the same thing that I had just said; that they would talk over this matter with their old men, and that they would all together do what we had recommended. Thereupon our new Christian took the Picture and began to preach. It is a long time since any preaching has touched me so deeply, although I only heard it through the mouth of Sieur Nicolet, who cheerfully lends his tongue to the Religion of Jesus Christ. " Why," said this good Neophyte, it will you not believe what is taught you; is it bad? Try it, test the truth of the words [327 i.e., 323] that have been said to you; have recourse to him who can do all; that is worth something. As for me, I do not yet know much; I strive hard to listen and learn something." Then chiding them, he reproved them gently because in the assemblies, at which our Fathers were present, the greater part of them went away as soon as we began to speak of the faith. " Have I not asked you sometimes, up yonder, why you leave when they wish to instruct you? " " That is true," said Sieur Nicolet, " I have sometimes seen them all listening very attentively to *Echon*; but, if some one came to invite the assembly to a feast, they left him there, in the middle of his discourse." When the Hurons heard this, they talked among themselves for some time, saying they must heed what was said to them, to profit by it in their own country. Finally our good Christian, displaying the little Picture or *Salvator* that I had given him, exclaimed, " If we have to encounter any enemies on our return, let us raise this standard high and all cast our eyes upon it, and we shall be helped." The eyes can hardly refrain from tears when the ears hear these words coming from the mouth of a barbarian, [page 253] who perhaps has eaten more [328 i.e., 324] than twenty times, of human flesh, and is now sounding the praises of the great God. Having said this, he handed me the Picture, with the request that I should wrap it well, lest it might be injured.

This subject concluded, Monsieur de l'Isle broached another, exhorting these people to bring down some Huron families to live near the French, ♦ assuring them that they would be assisted, that we would give them clothing, and would help them to clear the land and to build a good house. He pointed out to them the reasons which might influence them to embrace this scheme, which they will not carry out very soon; for the women will not readily undertake a journey of from two to three hundred leagues, to come and live with foreigners. One must not cease to strike and strike again upon the same spot; perseverance will prevail; and if ever this is accomplished, it will be an inestimable benefit to Christianity. It is then that, if Seminaries are erected, they will be filled with little Huron girls. But, by the way, we made no mention of the Seminary for boys, because we were afraid they would urge us to take more of them than we could accommodate. Only Monsieur de [329 i.e., 325] l'Isle took with him a pretty little boy, whom they had given us, caressing him in their presence, as an evidence that the Captains cherished those who were confided to us. Behold a strange providence of the great God. We importuned heaven and earth to get these children; everything seemed to point to the overthrow of the Seminary, we were momentarily expecting nothing less than its ruin; and yet we are obliged to be silent for fear of being urged to take some of them. The business relating [page 255] to Christianity being concluded, we came to the presents.

Monsieur the Chevalier had these people told that he presented them a barrel of hatchets and of iron arrow-heads. Part of this was to waft their canoes gently homewards, part to draw them to us next year. The Savages are wont to use such metaphors. Then he had them bring another present consisting of a fine kettle, some hatchets, and some iron arrowheads, which he offered to the inhabitants of *Ossosan* ♦, because they had received our Fathers and our French in their village, having built them a fine cabin. It is rare prudence in these Gentlemen to ascribe to Religion what has been given, up to [330 i.e., 326] the present, almost entirely through policy. It costs nothing to offer with a holy intention that which must be given for another reason, in order to retain the friendship of these peoples. It is one of the fine expedients of Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagni and of Monsieur de l'Isle, his Lieutenant. The presents disposed of, Monsieur de l'Isle turned to our Neophyte and said to him, " My brother, I have given thee nothing; nevertheless, we are but one and the same thing, for thou art a Christian and a child of God, and so am I. Come and see me privately, for I wish to speak with thee." He did not fail to make him a fine present, nor did we on our side, as an evidence of the love that we bear to those who accept our belief. The conclusion of the council was that, as we had caused these good people to wait, and as they were short of food, Monsieur de l'Isle had them given several barrels of peas to supply them on the way, ♦ one being given in consideration of the new Christian. The Captains, one after [page 257] the other, expressed their thanks profusely. One said, " L'Isle, thou doest what ought to be done; it is thus brothers succor each other in their needs." The other asserted that all their country would be filled with the renown of the [331 i.e., 327] Captain of the French, and of his liberality. There was one of them who exclaimed, " L'Isle, I thank thee, I thank the black robes, I thank the Interpreter who speaks to us, I thank all the young men who are thy retinue; all our country thanks you. " And thereupon all the others, as a sign of their approval, shouted their " ho, ho, ho, ho, " and then each one departed. Observe the promptness of these nations in their business. We arrived Saturday night, and, the Tuesday after, all this was decided and finished.

I forgot to say that Monsieur de l'Isle very effectively commended, in these councils, all our French and our Fathers who are in those far distant lands, warning these people to heed them well, and not to undo their own country. He said that all the French Captains esteemed us highly, that it was we who instructed people of the highest rank; and that they themselves knew well we did not go into their country for worldly interests, which they had publicly admitted. In short, I could not have wished more than this gallant Gentleman did for the welfare of this infant Church, and to prove his love for the new Christian who was present among these barbarians. [332 i.e., 328] No one can say that this good Neophyte has enrolled himself under the standard of Jesus Christ out of worldly considerations. Although the Savages are pertinacious beggars, even to the last degree, yet he has never asked, nor showed any inclination to get, anything from us. He came to [page 259] Mass and to Vespers, and frequented our Chapel to pray to God, and would not have set his foot in our house had he not been invited, ♦ quite contrary to the custom of his countrymen, who were always meddling, and asking, now for one thing, now for another. We had neglected him for a long time, not even giving him anything to eat, or paying him much attention; he did not come to see us, remaining quietly and modestly away, in a manner that delighted our hearts. Indeed, he often said to Father Brebeuf, " I became a Christian, not for the body, but for the soul. " He confessed and took communion before departing for his own country, giving our Fathers a singular consolation. I must frankly confess to Your Reverence that I did not expect to see, in all my life, in a Savage, what I think I have seen and experienced in this one. He possesses a certain modesty which emanates from the spirit within; it seems to me that I felt it [333 i.e., 329] in this man when he approached me. I have now

studied the other Savages, to see if I could observe the same dove-like simplicity in them that I saw in this one; I have not found it. I was surprised that he had been admitted to the Communion after his baptism; my astonishment changed to another kind when I had seen and conversed with him. Ten persons such as he would set on fire all the villages of the Hurons, to whom can already be said in advance, *levate capita vestra, appropinquavit enim redemptio vestra*. Amen.

Meanwhile, I have observed that this contagion or Epidemic, which slaughters so many Hurons, has not been communicated to the French at the 3 Rivers, although they have had negotiations and intercourse with these people. I will relate in passing a **[page 261]** rather amusing thing that Father Paul Ragueneau wrote me on his voyage. As he had to observe a perpetual silence with these poor barbarians, not understanding their language, his conversation was usually addressed to Heaven. Now as he was sometimes speaking to the God of Heaven, and uttering from his heart some ejaculatory prayers, these simple people were very anxious to know to whom he was addressing his speech; they set themselves to watch, some on one side, [334 i.e., 330] some on another, to discover who it was, and when they perceived nothing, they redoubled their watchfulness, changing their positions, and looking now here, now there, in amazement. The departure of the ships hurries me, but before finishing I will tell what I have learned recently of the death of Father Charles Turgis.

It is about three years since he was sent with Father du March<sup>❖</sup> to the islands of *Mishcou*, chiefly to minister to the French who were going there to establish a residence, and incidentally to do what they could with the Savages they happened to meet. They lived there together about a year in fairly good health, at the end of which<sup>❖</sup> the affairs of this residence having obliged Father du March<sup>❖</sup> to avail himself of a ship that was going to Kebec, to communicate to me some matters of importance,<sup>❖</sup> Father Turgis remained alone. Afterwards, having been invited, an opportunity being given by other ships, to withdraw thence, as there was little probability of the return of his companion, or the coming of some one in his place,<sup>❖</sup> I had in fact sent one from Kebec, but he could not land at *Mishcou* on account of the contrary winds which prevailed at that time,<sup>❖</sup> and as, **[page 263]** besides, there was good reason to [335 i.e., 331] dread some misfortune from sickness or poverty, or some inroad of the Savages, he yet answered courageously that he could not die in a more favorable place than in that where obedience had placed him, and on the Cross which the paternal goodness and providence of God had chosen for him; besides, charity compelled him not to leave those who, through his departure, would be bereft of all spiritual aid.

It seems that this act made Heaven jealous of earth to possess so courageous a soul, for the disease known as scurvy, common in these new settlements, spread among these new residents; the Father was attacked by it, and was finally stricken down on the second day of March,<sup>❖</sup> dying, after many others, on the fourth of May. He had, in the midst of so great a desolation, this comfort, that he had ministered to almost all those who died, having himself carried to the bedsides of the sick, according to the need they had of him; and that he had prepared the others, sick or well, to suffer patiently all that God should ordain for them. There was only one of them who died after him. This good Father had, besides, the consolation of seeing himself, at least in dying, in some respects like the great Apostle of the Indies [336 i.e., 332] in the last century, saint Fran<sup>❖</sup>ois Xavier,<sup>❖</sup> since he was not able in this emergency to obtain relief and help from any one in spiritual matters, and very little in temporal. He is the first one of our Society to die from disease in these lands. He was equally regretted by the French and by the Savages, who honored him and loved him tenderly.

Although, in the two years or thereabout that this good Father was in this place, he had baptized only **[page 265]** one or two little Savage children, who died immediately after baptism, yet this good deed alone was capable of mitigating all his trials, and will bring him an eternal recompense and consolation for which he would expose a thousand more lives, if he had them to give. God be forever praised for the fidelity and courage that he granted this his servant. I pray Your Reverence and all our Fathers to remember him before God and not to forget our poor Savages. This is the request made to you by the least of your children, who will again sign himself, what he is,

My REVEREND FATHER,

Your very humble and very obedient servant in Our Lord Jesus Christ,

PAUL LE JEUNE.

From Kebec, this 11th of September, 1637.

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# NOTES TO VOL. XII

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

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# VOL. XIII

## The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

Travels and Explorations  
of the Jesuit Missionaries  
in New France

1610❖1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALI-  
IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-  
TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

Reuben Gold Thwaites

Secretary of the State historical Society of Wisconsin

COMPUTERIZED TRANSCRIPTION BY

Thom Mentrak

Historical Interpreter at

Onondaga county parks

Ste. Marie Among The Iroquois Living History Museum

Liverpool, New York

Vol. XIII

Hurons

1637

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PREFACE TO VOL. XIII

Part I. of the *Relation* of 1637 (Document XXIX.) was given in Vols. XI. and XII. of our series. In the present volume, we publish the first installment (about two-thirds) of Part II. of the same *Relation*, being the portion devoted to the Hurons; the remainder of Part II., concluding the entire document, will appear in Vol. XIV.

The Huron section of the *Relation* of 1637 is written by Le Mercier, who closes his report at Ihonatiria, June 21 of that year. He opens his account of the year's work in the Huron country with a " journal " of events transpiring there from July, 1636, to June, 1637. The death is recorded of Soranhes (father of Amantacha, *alias* Louis de Sainte-Foi, the principal native convert of the district), who is suspected of having committed suicide. The arrival at the mission of Fathers Chastellain and Garnier, is, noted, and above all, the harvest of baptisms❖over one hundred during the year.

A long chapter is devoted to the hideous cruelties inflicted by the Hurons upon an Iroquois prisoner,❖whom, however, the missionaries find opportunity to instruct before his death, and for whom they are thus able to open Heaven's gate.

In September, the mission family is afflicted by illness,❖a fever, which successively attacks all [page 1] except Br❖beuf and one of their domestics; but, fortunately, all recover in due time. As soon as they are able, they find it necessary to nurse the sick among the Indians; and their simple remedies❖prunes, raisins, and a little bag of senna, aided by a lancet for. bleeding❖ "produce effects which dazzle the whole country." This success largely aids their spiritual labors; yet many dying persons refuse to receive the faith,❖some from indifference, others from prejudice. Many do not wish to go to the white men's Paradise because their unbaptized relatives will not be there. A characteristic excuse, is this: "I have no desire to go to heaven; I have no acquaintances there, and the French who are there would not give me anything to eat. " A certain shrewd tribesman invents a dream, relating the circumstances of his daughter's journey to heaven, in order to persuade the missionaries to give him a bead bracelet,❖but the Fathers do not care to encourage such ingenuity. Several of their savage converts, however, cause the missionaries great consolation by exhibitions of docility and faith.

The contagious epidemic afflicting the Indians continues to increase, causing many deaths; and even the coming of winter fails to check it. The town of Ossossan❖ is ravaged by the disease, and Br❖beuf and his assistants journey thither several times during the winter, to give both material and spiritual aid to their wretched parishioners. They also go about among other neighboring villages, serving the sick and dying as best they may❖occasionally rewarded by opportunities for administering baptism, and thus "enabling little souls to fly away to heaven." Frequently their services are accepted by this ignorant [page 2] and superstitious people as those of sorcerers and even demons; but despite this reputation for power, they have to contend incessantly with the lies and intrigues of the medicine men of the country.

Before the epidemic, the missionaries had found the natives so friendly and tractable, that they had entertained sanguine expectations of soon converting the entire nation to Christianity; but they are now constrained to admit, with sorrow, that " the greater part show that that belief consists only in fine words, and that in their hearts they have no other God than the belly, and him who will absolutely promise them to restore their health in sickness." A♦nons, one of the converted chiefs, on whom they have stout reliance, himself says to Br♦beuf: " Echon, I must speak to you frankly. The people of Ihonatiria said last year that they believed, in order to get tobacco. "

The missionaries propose to the Indians, on several occasions, to avert the wrath of God, and the pestilence, by agreeing to forsake their barbarous and licentious customs; to believe in God, and to be instructed in the faith; to practice obedience to God's laws, and to pray earnestly together for Divine aid. The natives at several places pretend to acquiesce in this proposition; but " immediately resume their old practices; the day after they had assembled in our cabin, they put on their masks and danced, to drive away the disease." " They are inveterate sinners, who, after their good promises, do not hesitate to resume the way of their past lives. "

In December, at Ossossan♦, the Indians are persuaded to make a public vow to obey God; and, curiously enough, they commission one of the native sorcerers to summon all the people together for this [page 3] purpose. Whereat the writer piously remarks: " What a consolation it was to see God publicly glorified through the mouth of a barbarian and one of Satan's tools! Never had such a thing been seen among the Hurons."

The " sorcerers " cause them much annoyance,♦notably one, who is hunchbacked, and whom Le Mercier styles " a demon incarnate; " even when he is confined to his cabin with a broken leg, his influence among the people prevents the missionaries from reaching many; but his death, soon after, removes this obstacle. Another of these gentry, a blind man, has various interviews with demons, which are recounted at length: these evil spirits had, as they told him, brought the plague into the country, and, now relenting, would show him how it might be removed. In pursuance of these directions all the cabins of Onnentisati and villages near by are decorated with rude effigies of the human figure, in straw. "In these monkeys," says Le Mercier, "they place all their confidence, founded on what a wretched blind man has told them, who says that the devils are afraid of these, and have thus ordered for the good of the country. "

Several medicine men now attempt, in similar fashion, to drive away the demons, but their incantations and tricks are of no avail; and the disease continues its ravages throughout the winter.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., December, 1897.

[page 4]

XXIX (continued)

Le Jeune's Relation, 1637

Rouen: JEAN LE BOULLENGER, 1638

Part 1. (Le Jeune's *Relation* proper, and his *Derni♦re Lettre*) appeared in Volumes XI., XII. In the present volume, we give the greater portion of Part II. (Le Mercier's *Huron Relation*): the document will be completed in Volume XIV.

[page 5]

[i] Relation of what occurred in the mission of the Society Of Jesus, in the land of the Hurons, in the Year 1637.

*Sent to Kebec to the Reverend Father Paul le Jeune, Superior of  
the Missions of the Society of Jesus, in new France.*

CHAP. 1.

A RECITAL OF THE MORE MEMORABLE EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED FROM  
THE MONTH OF JULY TO THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, ARRANGED IN THE  
FORM OF A JOURNAL.

OME one may perhaps find that I am recording here many things of less importance than this title indicates. But I am writing to your Reverence, and, on that account, I call "memorable events" all those which can [2] afford you some consolation, and give you a knowledge of the customs of our Savages.

I will begin with the date of the embarkation for the trading at Kebec, which \*as the 22nd of July, 1636. We had been waiting a long time for this day. This so notable delay, and the rumors of war which had caused many to change the paddle for bow and arrows, gave us some reason to fear that they might content themselves with their old kettles for this year♦which could not be done without seriously affecting the affairs of Christianity, as both spiritual and temporal help come to us here only through the medium and the hands of the Savages. [page 7]

Accordingly, Father Antoine Daniel and two of our domestics embarked, in a fleet of eight or ten canoes. The day was beautiful, the lake very calm; but I cannot deny that this separation was somewhat painful to us, at first; for we judged that henceforth, to work more efficiently for the conversion of these peoples, we should need a new settlement in the heart of the country, and the Father seemed to us [3] to be altogether necessary for this purpose, as he was the only one we had who could, after the Reverend Father Jean de Bréboeuf, our Superior, readily find his way out of the intricacies of the language. But we decided that to begin a Seminary for Huron Youth was a thing so advantageous to the glory of God, that we passed over that consideration, hoping that God would soon unfold to us the language, and that he would not fail to send to us persons who would effectively apply themselves to the study of it, to the full extent of their zeal. We have not been disappointed in our hope, which now gives us a new reason for thanking this infinite goodness which has so special a care for this Mission.

On the 27th, Father Ambroise Davo[s]t embarked. It seemed necessary, in these beginnings, that, in case God should dispose of Father Daniel, some one should be upon the spot to take his place; and, as your Reverence often has to deal with our Savages at the three Rivers, he, being acquainted with the language, will be able to render you good service.

Father Pierre Pijart and I succeeded [4] to the benefice of Father Antoine Daniel in the instruction of the little children of our Village. The Father Superior assigned to each of us a certain number of cabins, [page 9] which we began, from that time on, to visit every day until the epidemic was at its height, when we deemed it proper to desist therefrom, for reasons which I shall mention hereafter in their place. We derived considerable advantage from this little exercise, by improving ourselves in the language. Besides teaching the children, we took occasion to explain some of our mysteries to the fathers and mothers, for which we usually made some preparation; these talks, however, were not very long; one must learn to put one foot before the other, before he can walk. We were greatly consoled to see that we were understood, and that a Savage occasionally took up the conversation and repeated what we had said. just after the embarkation, we did little more than to take possession of our benefice, the quiet, and the calmness of the weather, inviting us to make our retreat, the more so as at this season visits among the villages would be almost useless, the women being occupied all day in their fields, and the [5] men in trading.

On the 6th of August, an event occurred which requires a few lines here, the circumstances thereof being very remarkable. A young Huron was wickedly assassinated by his own brother. This is not the first time that rage and vengeance have caused the claims of natural love to be overlooked, but I do not know whether such a thing ever occurred before under a pretext so black and detestable. This wretch, who was no less thievish than cruel, having one day chosen his time, robbed his father-in-law, and carried his booty to his mother's house in another village. Nevertheless, he could not conceal his game so well [page 11] that suspicion did not rest upon him, with the result that, according to the custom of the country, this father-in-law, using to good advantage his right of reprisal, went and pillaged his cabin, taking all he had and hardly leaving the inmates enough with which to cover themselves. Then, indeed, there were exasperated persons, but especially the one who had dealt the first blow. He planned a second one, to take his revenge for the suspicion with which he had been charged, and to oblige his father-in-law, apparently through the processes of justice, if there can be any among these Barbarians, to restore to him and to pay him double [6] what he claimed had been unjustly carried away. He allows himself to be so blinded by passion that, to satisfy it, he resolves to have the blood of his brother, and to shed it with his own hands. Truly, a very extraordinary and unheard-of course! To execute his design he takes him off by a solitary path towards the Village of Onnentsati, where his father-in-law resided, under the pretext of going to pick mulberries. He especially chooses this place, that, as people were not ignorant of their quarrel, the murder would be more readily imputed to him [the father-in-law] or at least the Village would be charged with it; and thus this particular person, or the public, would be bound to give satisfaction both to him and to the other relatives of the dead man, through the presents given by the custom of the country; for your Reverence already knows that among these tribes this crime never goes unpunished; if the guilty person cannot be found, the Village near which the deed has been committed is responsible for it. In fact, the thing was done as it had been planned; and the crime was no sooner [page 13] made public than the author of it actually had the effrontery to appear and assert that his father-in-law was the murderer; that the ill-will he had for his family was well known; that, not satisfied with [7] having robbed them, he had tried to do them still more harm by taking the life of a person who was so nearly related to them. They assumed so high a tone, he and his relatives, that they closed the mouths of several whose eyes were wide enough open to see the falseness of these calumnies. They followed up the affair so eagerly that, notwithstanding the arguments the accused brought forward for their defense, and which would have been received in a fair court, the village of Onentsati was condemned to give satisfaction. True, the fine was moderate, because the dead person and his relatives were obscure people and of very little account. Meanwhile, a girl of the same Village presents herself and reports that she saw this murder with her own eyes; that the murderer was not of their Village, that it was a blow from the hand of him who was making so great ado about it, and that the blood of this poor wretch cried for vengeance against no one but his own brother. She related the circumstances of the deed. " I was returning " (said she) " from my field, when I heard a noise like that of persons engaged in some quarrel; I quietly drew near, and hid myself in the brushwood near by, where I could hear [8] and see, without being seen, all that was taking place. In fact I saw Sendetsi " (the name of this Barbarian) " and his brother very distinctly; and while I was watching their behavior, and listening to hear what they were saying, I was entirely dumbfounded when Sendetsi seized him by the throat with one hand, and with the other [page 15] struck a blow with his hatchet upon his head. This poor wretch cried out several times, 'Brother, have pity on me; brother, have pity on me;' but these words fell upon pitiless ears. This cowardly and infamous act was no sooner accomplished than I slipped away secretly and fled, fearing the same thing might happen to me. If that wretch had seen me, he would not have been so foolish as to leave a witness of his crime, especially a girl whom he could have killed without resistance."

The Old Men and the more prominent ones of the Village found the story so plausible, as the girl related it, that they tried to use her testimony against Sendetsi and by this means acquit him who was accused, and for whom they were under penalty. But it was in vain, for this black and cunning man told them, without changing countenance, that this was false testimony; that [9] if, nevertheless, they would persist in discharging his father-in-law, he was satisfied, but that he would henceforth hold this girl responsible, that he had good reason to believe that she herself was guilty of this crime, it being not at all probable that one brother would ever make an attempt upon the life of another. These words, uttered with a brazen face and incredible boldness, struck all those present dumb, and the relatives were immediately set free, according to agreement. I leave your Reverence to imagine more than I can tell about this matter. The good news we received immediately afterwards carries me away, and obliges me to pass on.

On the 8th, we received a package of letters from your Reverence through the medium of a Savage, uncle of Louys de Sainte Foy. Premature fruits seem to have a sweetness not possessed by those [page 17] which come in their season; so this news, received before the time, brought us a very special consolation. We were greatly rejoiced to hear news of the fleet, that it was composed of eight fine ships under the command of Monsieur du Plessis Bochart. Our Fathers who have come [10] to see us this year, and above all Father Pierre Chastellain and Father Charles Garnier, who had the honor to come over in his ship, have enjoyed a favor which cannot be



highly enough appreciated in celebrating the Holy Mass almost the whole length of the passage, to the great satisfaction of the ship's company. We learned also through the same medium the number and names of the Fathers whom God was sending us, that is to say, the continuation of the blessings of Heaven upon the Missions of new France. But our joy was dimmed by the assurances your Reverence gave us of the death of the late Monsieur de Champellain, ❖ I say assurances, for rumors of it had been current for a long time, and had even reached us; but there were so many different versions, even as regarded the person, that we had some reason to persuade ourselves that what we feared had not happened. We did not cease, however, thenceforth to fulfill a part of our duties, and recommended the salvation of his soul very particularly to God in our prayers, and especially at the Altar. We redoubled our vows at this time, for we could not do too much for a person of his merit, who had done and [11] suffered so much for new France, for the welfare of which he seemed to have sacrificed all his means, yea, even his own life. Therefore God rewarded him after this life by a death accompanied by so many sentiments of devotion and piety, that his memory will be forever honorable. Our Society **[page 19]** in particular, will be under eternal obligations to him for the kindness that he has always shown it, both during his lifetime and at his death, as he bequeathed a part of what remained to him for the support of the Mission of our Fathers in these lands.

Towards the evening of the 12th, Father Pierre Chastellain arrived. We were at first surprised at the news of his coming, for it was only three weeks since our Savages had departed for Kebec; therefore the journey was an extraordinary one. The Father Superior and Father Pijart went to meet him; as for me, I was still in the retreat. I prepared what we had, to receive him; but what a feast it was! ❖ a handful of small dried fish, with a little flour; I sent for some fresh ears of corn that we had roasted for him after the manner of the country. But it is true that in his heart, according to his story, he never partook of better fare. The joy which [12] is experienced in these reunions seems to be some image of the happiness of the blessed upon their arrival in Heaven, so full is it of sweetness. Also God so arranged it for us that we did not have it all in one day, for Father Charles Garnier did not arrive until a day later, although, up to the last two or three days' journey, he and Father Chastellain had always traveled together. They had had the good fortune to encamp together during the whole length of the journey; and among these frightful rocks and remote solitudes they had all the consolation they could desire, with the exception of the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. From the time of their departure from the three Rivers, they were in the hands of good Savages, who treated them kindly. All this, added to the happy meeting they had with Father Antoine Daniel, and four or five **[page 21]** days later with Father Ambroise Davost, in the country of the Bissiriniens, went far toward mitigating a great part of the fatigues of this voyage. We, also, received them in very good health, and as strong and vigorous as if we had not budged from Paris. We learned from them that Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny had taken the place of the late Monsieur de [13] Champellain, in which we admired the providence of God, who, wishing to dispose of one, had inspired these Gentlemen to secure another for the whole country, who could unite in his government rare principle and experience with an integrity of life altogether exemplary. I

On the 24th, a Savage who was passing our house informed us that Soranhes, father of Louys de Sainte Foy, was sick. He did this so coldly that we did not concern ourselves further about it; but as the Father Superior had a journey to make in that direction, he departed the next day, intending to go and visit him at the same time; but he learned on the way that he was dead. There is, indeed, reason here to adore the just judgments of God. This Savage had often meditated upon his conversion; it was already a great advantage for him to have a son so well instructed in all the mysteries of our Faith. And more than that, last year, in accordance with the desire he and all his family had shown us, to receive Holy Baptism, the Father Superior went and passed eight or ten days with him, and informed him fully of all he deemed fitting to prepare him for true conversion; he so satisfied them, [14] according to what they said, and they were so contented and so full of good will, that they found nothing difficult, and nothing more remained, it seemed, but to begin to practice. **[page 23]** Indeed, although there was meat in the house, he desired all his family to abstain from it on Friday and Saturday. They began at that time, with the intention to continue afterwards, but I am unable to say whether they did so., From time to time he came to visit us, and remained with us several days. The Father Superior continued to instruct him, and we taught him a few little prayers. He urged us strongly to baptize him, but we noticed so little stability in his resolutions, and found him so deeply attached to worldly interests, that we did not deem it wise to go any further. Towards Spring, he importuned us again, not so much for Baptism, as to secure some letters of recommendation from us, ❖ intending, as he said, to go down to Kebec as soon as possible, to pass a few weeks with our Fathers, and afterwards to be solemnly baptized at the arrival of the ships. The Father Superior, seeing there was nothing but vanity in his conduct, and that self-interest prompted him to make this [15] proposition, answered him thereupon that it was a very good thing for him to cherish the wish to be baptized; but the chief point was that he should be well instructed, and should make a firm resolve to give up his bad habits, and henceforth live as a true Christian. He said, moreover, that the place of his baptism was of very little importance, that we would decide upon that later; only that, before embarking, he should come and pass a few days with us, in order to take into more mature consideration the final resolutions upon a subject of such importance. He promised to do this, but he did not keep his word. He embarked immediately afterwards without seeing us; and, instead of going directly to Kebec, he stopped at the Island, where he sojourned **[page 25]** nearly two months, gambling, and leading the usual life. When he reached the three Rivers, he hardly showed himself. It looks as if God had thenceforth abandoned this wretch. On his return,. he had the good fortune to have one of our Fathers in his canoe, ❖ a fine opportunity this should have been for him, to come and see us again afterwards, to be reconciled with us, and to resume his first resolutions. But, when he reached the Bissiriniens, he changed his canoe and embarked with the others, and went thus directly to Teanausteaiae his own village. We did not [16] see anything of him, and the first news we heard of him was that he was sick, and almost at the same time we learned of his death. We were all the more grieved at this, as some persons told us that he had not died a natural death, but that the grief he felt for the loss of his son had so plunged him into despair that he himself had shortened his days. This is the way they say it occurred: One day, when he found himself alone in his cabin with one of his little daughters, he sent her to get a certain root that they call Ondachienroa, which is a quick poison. This child went for it very innocently, supposing that her father intended to make some medicine, as he had shown some slight indisposition. She brought him some, but not enough to suit him, and she returned for it the second time. He ate his fill of it; a high fever attacked him, and carried him off in a little while. But his relatives do not admit that he died in this way; at all events, he died miserably, since he rendered himself unworthy of the grace of Baptism. I wished to touch upon all these circumstances, because I know the interest that your Reverence, [17] and all our Fathers, and so many good people **[page 27]** felt in the conversion of this family. Some time afterwards his little girl died; we merely received news of her death, for which we felt a very special regret, as she was a very bright child, and wonderfully docile; but *Judicia Dei abyssus multa*. In the following we have reason for consolation.

On the 30th, we began a novena in honor of the blessed Virgin. We had made this vow that it might please God to derive glory to himself from the sickness of a woman of our village. What had especially inclined us to this devotion was the good will we had remarked in all those of the cabin towards receiving Holy Baptism, and that we hoped to derive, for the advancement of this object, great advantages from the baptism of this, woman, in whatever way it might please God afterwards to dispose of her, were she to live or to die. Our devotion seemed to be acceptable 'to the blessed Virgin, for that same day, towards evening, when the Father Superior went to see her and found her quite sick, he had no sooner made overtures of Baptism to her, than she replied that she would be very

glad to receive it, and that if she should lose her speech, she would continue to wish for it [18] in her heart; and that she had heard that people did not fail to go beyond on that account. " For," said she, " if it be true, as you have assured me, that our souls go to Heaven after baptism, I wish to be baptized and go to find my brother," a Savage who was baptized and died two years ago. This good disposition, together with the bad condition of her health, which threatened death, induced the Father Superior to instruct her fully, with great satisfaction and consolation on our part. Father Pierre Chastellain baptized her, and, in fulfillment of a vow he had made, **[page 29]** named her Marie. She died a few days later. The cause of her death, according to her parents, was the loss of a red hat. In fact we were urgently requested to give her another one, as if this hat could have restored her to health; and even after her death her father was very anxious to see her borne to the tomb with a red hat on her head . Here is his reason: " How," said he, " do you expect the French to recognize her in Heaven, if she does not wear their livery?" Now is it not altogether pitiful that this old man, after having heard so often about Heaven, had still continued [19] in this ignorance

I will say, also, that this woman at the beginning of her sickness imagined that she had seen a black man enter who had' touched her body, and that she had at the same time found herself all on fire; and, moreover, that this specter, before disappearing, had begun to dance with the rest of the troop. When she related this, all those present concluded that it was, without doubt, the Demon Aoutaerohi who caused her sickness. Many feasts were made for her recovery; and, among others, one day when she was very sick they made a feast of a dog, in consequence of which, according to their story, she felt wonderfully well, ♦and also, because she began to open her eyes while the dog was still half alive on the coals, they thought that this medicine was operating, and that she already felt some effects from it. A medicine man was invited to try to cure her. He took a sweat, to get a knowledge of her disease; he threw some tobacco into the fire, and perceived, he said, five men; then he expressed the opinion that she was bewitched, that she had five charms in her body, ♦that the most dangerous, and the one which was to [20] cause her **[page 31]** death, was in the navel. They had to apply to another one to get them out, for these Gentlemen content themselves with designating the evil. This one had to be entreated. He usually makes three demands when he comes to treat a sick person. The dogs must not howl, for his cures are only made in silence; he only applies his remedies in a place apart, and he will often make you carry a poor patient into the woods; and the Sky must be clear. Nevertheless he did not insist upon all these ceremonies on this occasion, for the patient was not carried out of the cabin, perhaps because the Sky was really cloudy and it rained a part of the day. That same day I accompanied the Reverend Father Superior to this place; the charlatan was still in the cabin; we found the Father, the mother, and nearly all the family at the door. This old man immediately made us a sign, and told us in a low voice that we should return. " Be satisfied," said he, "that she is baptized, only go and pray God that she may recover." This Sorcerer gave her a potion which, he said, must go directly ,down to the navel, where the seat of her disease was. But it went up, they say, to her ears, which immediately became swollen; [21] and shortly afterwards she died. When he was asked why his remedy had not taken effect, it was found that he had not been given all that he demanded, ♦above all, a pipe of red stone and a pouch for his tobacco. This is the way these jugglers delude these poor people. The chief point is that she died a Christian. All these remedies were procured for her by her parents, who looked upon them, as do most of the Savages, with the same eye with which we in France regard our most common remedies. **[page 33]**

I was in duty bound to tell your Reverence that Father Charles Garnier solemnly baptized, on the 27th of this month, a little child, who was named Joseph in pursuance of a vow he had made in honor of this Blessed Patriarch; and the Reverend Father Superior a few days before also baptized two others with the ceremonies of the Church. But I must here impart to you the whole comforting news; for why should I longer defer telling you, that since the last letters you received from us, God has given us the grace to baptize, up to the present time, when I begin to write this letter, two hundred, both adults and little, [22] children, the greater part of whom were not baptized until they were in danger of death. From now on, I shall not particularize much, except .in regard to those in whose conversion we have observed some of the more remarkable effects of God's mercy, and of his providence in the salvation of his elect. We hope that the number will grow still greater before our Savages go down to the trading at Quebec. **[page 35]**

## CHAP. II.

### THE EXCESSIVE CRUELTY OF MEN, AND THE GREAT MERCY OF GOD, UPON THE PERSON OF A PRISONER OF WAR FROM THE IROQUOIS NATION.

N the 2nd of September, we learned that an Iroquois prisoner had been brought to the village of Onnentisati, and that they were preparing to put him to death. This Savage was one of eight captured by them at the lake of the Iroquois, where there were 25 or 30 of them fishing; the rest had saved themselves by flight. Not one, they say, would have escaped if our Hurons had not rushed on so precipitately. They brought back only [23] seven, being content to carry off the head of the eighth one. They were no sooner beyond the reach of the enemy than, according to their custom, the whole troop assembled and held a council, in which it was decided that six should be given to the Atignenonghac and the Arendarrhonons, and the seventh to this place where we are. They disposed of them thus because their band was composed of these three nations. When the prisoners had arrived in the country, the Old Men (to whom the young men on their return from war leave the disposition of their spoils) held another assembly, to take counsel among themselves as to the town where each individual prisoner should be burned and put to death, and the persons on whom they should be bestowed; for it is customary, when some notable **[page 37]** personage has lost one of his relatives in war, to give him a present of some captive taken from the enemy, to dry his tears and partly assuage his grief. Now the one who had been destined for this place was brought by the Captain Enditsacone to the village of Onnentisati, where the war chiefs held a Council and decided that this prisoner should be given to Saouandaouascouay, [24] who is one of the chief men of the country, in consideration of one of his nephews who had been captured by the Iroquois. This decision being made, he was taken to Arontaen, a village about two leagues distant from us. At first, we were horrified at the thought of being present at this spectacle; but, having well considered all, we judged it wise to be there, not despairing of being able to win this soul for God. Charity causes us to overlook many considerations. Accordingly, we departed, the Father Superior, Father Garnier, and I together. We reached Arontaen a little while before the prisoner, and saw this poor wretch coming in the distance, singing in the midst Of 30 or 40 Savages who were escorting him. He was dressed in a beautiful beaver robe and wore a string of porcelain beads around his neck, and another in the form of a crown around his head. A great crowd was present at his arrival. He was made to sit down at the entrance to the village, and there was a struggle as to who should make him sing. I will say here that, up to the hour of his torment, we saw only acts of humanity exercised towards him; but he had already been quite roughly handled since his capture. One of his hands was badly bruised by a stone; and one finger was not [25] cut. off, but violently wrenched away. The thumb and forefinger of the other hand had been **[page 39]** nearly taken off by a blow from the hatchet, and the only plaster he had was some leaves bound with bark. The joints of his arms were badly burned, and in one of them there was a deep cut. We approached to look at him more closely; he raised his eyes and regarded us very attentively, but he did not yet know the happiness that Heaven was preparing for him, in the midst of his enemies, through our instrumentality. The Father Superior was

invited to make him sing; but he explained that it was not that which had brought him there, that he had come only to teach him what he ought to do that he might go to Heaven, and be forever blest after death. He approached him, and told him that we all felt a great deal of compassion for him. Meanwhile, they brought him food, from all sides, some bringing sagamit, some squashes and fruits, and treated him only as a brother and a friend. From time to time he was commanded to sing, which he did with so much vigor and strength of voice, that, considering his age, for he seemed to be more than 50 years old, we wondered how he could be equal to it, [26] especially as he had done hardly anything else day and night since his capture, and especially since his arrival in their country. Meanwhile, a Captain, raising his voice to the same tone used by those who make some proclamation in the public places in France, addressed to him these words: " My nephew, thou hast good reason to sing, for no one is doing thee any harm; behold thyself now among thy kindred and friends." Good God, what a compliment! All those who surrounded him, with their affected kindness and their fine words, were so many butchers who showed him a smiling face only to treat him afterwards with more [page 41] cruelty. In all the places through which he had passed he had been given something with which to make a feast; they did not fail here in this act of courtesy, for a dog was immediately put into the kettle, and, before it was half cooked, he was brought into the cabin where the people were to gather for the banquet. He had some one tell the Father Superior to follow him, and that he was very glad to see him. Doubtless it had touched his heart to find (among barbarians whom cruelty alone rendered affable and humane) persons who had some real feeling for his [27] misery. We began then to have strong hopes of his conversion. So we entered and placed ourselves near him; the Father Superior took occasion to tell him to be of good cheer, that he would in truth be miserable during the little of life that remained to him, but that, if he would listen to him and would believe what he had to tell him, he would assure him of an eternal happiness in Heaven after his death. He spoke to him fully upon the immortality of the soul, on the pleasures enjoyed by the blessed in Paradise, and on the wretched condition of the damned in Hell. Meanwhile Father Garnier and I, in order to contribute something to the conversion of this poor Savage, made a vow to say four Masses in honor of the blessed Virgin, that it might please God to show him mercy and to give him the grace to be baptized. Your Reverence would have felt consolation in seeing with what attention he listened to this discourse. He took so much pleasure in it and understood it so well, that he repeated it in a few words, and showed a great desire to go to Heaven. All those who were beside him conspired, it seemed, with us in the purpose to instruct him, among others, [page 43] a young man, who, though without [28] any obligation to do so, performed the service of interpreter, and repeated to him what the Father Superior had explained. But I ought to have informed your Reverence that this prisoner did not properly belong to the enemy's country, as he was a native of Sonontouan. Yet, inasmuch as a few years before the Sonontouanhrronon had made peace with the Hurons, this man, not having accepted this treaty, had married among the Onontaechronon, in order to be always free to carry arms against them. See how the wise providence of God has led this poor Savage into the ways of Salvation. Perhaps if he had remained at Sonontouan, he might have continued until death in ignorance of his Creator.

But let us return to the feast which was being prepared. As soon as the dog was cooked, they took out a large piece of it, which he was made to eat, for they had to put it even into his mouth, as he was unable to use his hands; he shared it with those who were near him. To see the treatment they accorded him, you might have thought he was the brother and relative of all those who were talking to him. His poor hands caused him great pain, and smarted so severely [29] that he asked to go out of the cabin, to take a little air. His request was immediately granted. His hands were unwrapped, and they brought him some water to refresh them. They were half putrefied, and all swarming with worms, a stench arising from them that was almost insupportable. He begged them to take away these worms, which were gnawing him even to the marrow, and which made him feel (he said) the same pain as if some one had touched him with fire. All was done that could [page 45] be done to relieve him, but in vain; for they would appear, and disappear within as soon as one undertook the task of drawing them out. Meanwhile he did not cease singing at intervals, and they continued to give him something to eat, such as fruits or squashes.

Seeing that the hour of the feast was drawing near, we withdrew into the cabin where we had taken lodgings, for we did not think it best to remain in the cabin of the prisoner, not expecting to find an opportunity to speak further with him until the next day. But God, who intended to show him mercy, brought him to us, and we were greatly astonished and much rejoiced when we were told that he was coming to lodge with [30] us. And still more so afterwards, when (at a time when there was every reason to fear that the confusion, and the insolence of the young men gathered from all the surrounding towns, would interfere with our plans) the Father Superior happened to be there when there was a good opportunity to speak to him, and had all the leisure necessary to instruct him in our mysteries, in a word, to prepare him for Holy Baptism. A goodly band of Savages who were present, not only did not interrupt him, but even listened to him with close attention. Upon this, he took occasion to talk to them about the goodness of God, who loves all men the world over, the Iroquois as well as the Hurons, the captives as well as the free, the poor and the miserable equally with the rich, provided they believe in him and keep his Holy Commandments. What a great advantage it is to have mastered their language, to be loved by these peoples, and to have influence among them! You might have said that all this [page 47] crowd had flocked together, not to while away the time around the prisoner, but to hear the word of God. I do not think that Christian truths have ever been preached in this country on an occasion so favorable, for there were present some from nearly [31] all the nations who speak the Huron tongue. The Father Superior found him so well disposed that he did not consider it advisable to postpone longer his baptism. He was named Joseph. It was very reasonable that the first one of this nation to be baptized should be under the protection of this Holy Patriarch. We had already received from God so many favors through his mediation that we hope he will, some day, and perhaps sooner than we think, obtain for us, from this infinite mercy, admission to these Barbarous nations, that we may boldly preach there the Holy Gospel. This being accomplished, we withdrew from his presence, greatly consoled, to take a little rest. For my part, it was almost impossible for me to close my eyes; and I noticed, as well as I could hear, that during a good part of the night the Old Men of the village, and some Captains who were guarding him, conversed with him about the affairs of his country and about his capture, but with evidences of good will impossible to describe. In the morning, the Father Superior again found means to speak a good word to him, to remind him of the favor he had received from Heaven, and to dispose him [32] to bear his torments patiently. Then he had to leave us to go to *Tondakhra*, which is a league from *Arontaen*. He took the road, well escorted, and singing as usual. Now we took occasion to pay a visit to our home, to say Mass and impart this good news to our Fathers. On the same day we went to *Tondakhra*, where, [page 49] through a special Providence, we unwittingly took lodgings in the cabin that had been assigned to the prisoner. In the evening he made a feast, at which he sang, and danced, according to the manner of the country, during a good part of the night. The Father instructed him more minutely on all that pertains to the duty of a Christian, and especially upon the holy Commandments of God. There was present a goodly company, and all showed that they took a singular pleasure in this conversation. This gave the Father occasion, in discussing the sixth Commandment, to explain to them how highly God esteemed chastity, and that, on this account, we had bound ourselves by a vow to cultivate this virtue inviolably until death. They were greatly astonished to learn that among the [33] Christians there were so many persons of both sexes who voluntarily deprived themselves during their entire lifetime of sensual pleasures, in which these find all their happiness. They even asked many questions. Among others, some one asked why men were ashamed to be seen naked among themselves, and, above all, why we could not endure to have them go without cloths. The Father replied that it was due to the sin of the first man; that before he had transgressed the law of God, and his will had become



disordered, neither he nor Eve, his wife, had been aware of their nakedness; that their disobedience had opened their eyes, and had made them seek something with which to cover themselves. I only allude here, in a few words, to the long and beautiful discourses the Father Superior made to them upon this and similar occasions. Another one asked him how we knew there was a Hell, and whence we obtained all that we told about the condition of the **[page 51]** damned. The Father replied to this that we, had indubitable proofs of it, that we possessed it through divine revelation; that the Holy Ghost himself had dictated these truths to certain persons, and to our [34] Ancestors, who had left them to us in writing, and that we still carefully preserved the books containing them. But our story will prove too long if I do not cut short these discourses.

The next morning, which was the 4th of September, the prisoner again confirmed his wish to die a Christian, and his desire to go to Heaven, and he even promised the Father that he would remember to say, in his torments, "Jesus ta<sup>⁴</sup>tenr," "Jesus, have pity on me." They were still waiting for the Captain Saouandaouascouay, who had gone trading, to fix upon the day and the place of his torment; for this captive was entirely at his disposal. He arrived a little later; and, at their first interview, our Joseph, instead of being disquieted from fear and apprehension of his approaching death, and of such a death, said to him in our presence that the Father had baptized him, "haiatachondi;" he used this expression as showing that he was very glad thereat. The Father consoled him further, saying that the torments he was about to suffer would be of short duration, but that the joys which awaited him in Heaven would have no other limit than Eternity.

Saouandaouascouay looked at him pleasantly and treated him with incredible gentleness. This is a summary of the talk he had with him: " My [35] nephew, thou must know that when I first received news that thou wert at my disposal, I was wonderfully pleased, fancying that he whom I lost in war had been, as it were, brought back to life, and was **[page 53]** returning to his country. At the same time I resolved to give thee thy life; I was already thinking of preparing thee a place in my cabin, and thought that thou wouldst pass the rest of thy days pleasantly with me. But now that I see thee in this condition, thy fingers gone and thy hands half rotten, I change my mind, and I am sure that thou thyself wouldst now regret to live longer. I shall do thee a greater kindness to tell thee that thou must prepare to die; is it not so? It is the Tohontaenras who have treated thee so ill, and who also cause thy death. Come then, my nephew, be of good courage; prepare thyself for this evening, and do not allow thyself to be cast down through fear of the tortures." Thereupon Joseph asked him, with a firm and confident mien, what would be the nature of his torment. To this Saouandaouscouay replied that he would die by fire. " That is well," said Joseph, " that is well." While this Captain was conversing with him, a woman, the sister of the deceased, brought him some food, showing remarkable solicitude for him. [36] You would almost have said that he was her own son, and I do not know that this creature did not represent to her him whom she had lost. Her countenance was very sad, and her eyes seemed all bathed in tears. This Captain often put his own pipe in the prisoner's mouth, wiped with his own hands the sweat that rolled down his face, and cooled him with a feather fan.

About noon he made his Astataion, that is, his farewell feast, according to the custom of those who are about to die. No special invitations were given, every one being free to come; the people were there in crowds. Before the feast began, he walked through **[page 55]** the middle of the cabin and said in a loud and confident voice, " My brothers, I am going to die; amuse yourselves boldly around me, <sup>⁴</sup>I fear neither tortures nor death. " He straightway began to sing and dance through the whole length of the cabin; some of the others sang also and danced in their turn. Then food was given those who had plates, and those who had none watched the others eat. We were of the latter, since we were not [37] there to eat. The feast over, he was taken back to Arontaen, to die there. We followed him, in order to assist him and render him all the service we could. Upon our arrival, as soon as he saw the Father Superior he invited him to sit down near him, and asked him when he would prepare him for Heaven, <sup>⁴</sup>thinking, perhaps, that he must be baptized once more; and inasmuch as the Father did not quite understand what he was trying to say, having replied to him that it was not yet time for that, "Enonske, " said he, " do it as soon as possible. " He entreated earnestly and asked him if he would go to Heaven. The Father answered him that he ought not to doubt it, since he was baptized. He repeated to him again that the tortures he was about to suffer would soon be over, and that without the grace of Holy Baptism he would have been tormented forever in eternal flames. He took occasion thereupon to explain to him how God hated sin, and with what severity he punished sinners; that all men were subject to sin; that the mercy of God had, nevertheless, left us a very easy and very efficacious means of returning to grace; and he disposed him to perform an act of contrition.

Those who were present there had [38] very different thoughts. Some looked at us, and were astonished **[page 57]** to see us so strongly attached to him, <sup>⁴</sup>following him everywhere, losing no occasion to speak to him, and to give him some word of consolation. Others, it seemed, thought of nothing else than of doing him some good. Many were arrested by his condition, and contemplated the extremity of his misery. Among others, a woman, <sup>⁴</sup>thinking, it is to be supposed, that this poor victim would be happy and would be spared a great deal of his suffering if he could kill himself, and anticipate the insolence and cruelty of the young men, <sup>⁴</sup>asked the Father if there would be any harm in this act. Thus divine goodness is always affording new opportunities to reveal and explain his holy Law to this barbarous people. The Father instructed them fully upon this point, and showed them that God alone was the master of our lives, and it was for him only to dispose of them; that those who poisoned themselves or made away with themselves by violence, committed a grievous sin; and that Saouandanoncua <sup>⁴</sup>speaking of our Joseph <sup>⁴</sup>would lose the fruit of his baptism, and would never go to Heaven, if he hastened by a single moment [39] the hour of his death.

Meanwhile the Sun, which was fast declining, admonished us to withdraw to the place where this cruel Tragedy was to be enacted. It was in the cabin of one Atsan, who is the great war Captain; therefore it is called "Otinontsiskiaj ondaon," meaning, " the house of cut-off heads." It is there all the Councils of war are held; as to the house where the affairs of the country, and those which relate only to the observance of order, are transacted, it is called " Endionrra ondaon," " house of the Council." We took, then, a place where we could be near the victim, and **[page 59]** say an encouraging word to him when the opportunity occurred. Towards 8 o'clock in the evening eleven fires were lighted along the cabin, about one brass distant from each other. The people gathered immediately, the old men taking places above, upon a sort of platform, which extends, on both sides, the entire length of the cabins. The young men were below, but were so crowded that they were almost piled upon one another, so that there was hardly a passage along the fires. Cries of joy resounded on all sides; each provided himself, one with a firebrand, another with a piece of bark, to burn [40] the victim. Before he was brought in, the Captain A<sup>⁴</sup>nons encouraged all to do their duty, representing to them the importance of this act, which was viewed, he said, by the Sun and by the God of war. He ordered that at first they should burn only his legs, so that he might hold out until daybreak; also for that night they were not to go and amuse themselves in the woods. He had hardly finished when the victim entered. I leave you to imagine the terror that seized him at the sight of these preparations. The cries redoubled at his arrival; he is made to sit down upon a mat, his hands are bound, then he rises and makes a tour of the cabin, singing and dancing; no one burns him this time, but also this is the limit of his rest, <sup>⁴</sup>one can hardly tell what he will endure up to the time when they cut off his head. He had no sooner returned to his place than the war Captain took his robe and said, " Oteiondi " <sup>⁴</sup>speaking of a Captain <sup>⁴</sup>"will despoil

him of the robe which I hold, " and added, " The Ataconchronons will cut off his head, which will be given to Ondessone, with one arm and the liver to make a feast." Behold his **[page 61]** sentence thus pronounced. After this, each one armed himself [41] with a brand, or a piece of burning bark, and he began to walk, or rather to run, around the fires; each one struggled to burn him as he passed. Meanwhile, he shrieked like a lost soul; the whole crowd imitated his cries, or rather smothered them with horrible shouts. One must be there, to see a living picture of Hell. The whole cabin appeared as if on fire; and, athwart the flames and the dense smoke that issued therefrom, these barbarians crowding one upon the other, howling at the top of their voices, with firebrands in their hands, their eyes flashing with rage and fury seemed like so many Demons who would give no respite to this poor wretch. They often stopped him at the other end of the cabin, some of them taking his hands and breaking the bones thereof by sheer force; others pierced his ears with sticks which they left in them; others bound his wrists with cords which they tied roughly, pulling at each end of the cord with all their might. Did he make the round and pause to take a little breath, he was made to repose upon hot ashes and burning coals. It is with horror that I describe all this to your Reverence, but verily we [42] experienced unutterable pain while enduring the sight of it. I do not know what would have become of us had it not been for the consolation we had of considering him, no longer as a common Savage, but as a child of the Church, and as such, of asking God to give him patience, and the privilege of dying in his holy grace. As for me, I was reduced to such a degree that I could hardly nerve myself to look up to see what was going on; and yet I do not know that, if we had not made some effort to withdraw from this **[page 63]** crowd and to go out, these cruelties might have had some delay. But God permitted that on the seventh round of the cabin his strength should fail him. After he had reposed a short time upon the embers, they tried to make him arise as usual, but he did not stir; and one of these butchers having applied a brand to his loins, he was seized with a fainting fit, and would never have risen again if the young men had been permitted to have their way, for they had already begun to stir up the fire about him, as if to burn him. But the Captains prevented them from going any farther, and ordered them to cease tormenting him, saying it was important that he should see the daylight. They had him lifted upon a [43] mat, most of the fires were extinguished, and many of the people went away. Now there was a little respite for our sufferer, and some consolation for us. How we wished that this swoon might last all night! for to moderate these excesses of cruelty in any other way would have been impossible to us. While he was in this condition, their only thought was to make him return to his senses, giving him many drinks composed of pure water only. At the end of an hour he began to revive a little, and to open his eyes; he was forthwith commanded to sing. He did this at first in a broken and, as it were, dying voice; but finally he sang so loud that he could be heard outside the cabin. The youth assemble again; they talk to him, they make him sit up, in a word, they begin to act worse than before. For me to describe in detail all he endured during the rest of the night, would be, almost impossible; we suffered enough in forcing ourselves to see a part of it. Of the rest we judged from their talk; and the smoke issuing from his **[page 65]** roasted flesh revealed to us something of which we could not have borne the sight. One thing, in my opinion, greatly increased [44] his consciousness of suffering that anger and rage did not appear upon the faces of those who were tormenting him, but rather gentleness and humanity, their words expressing only raillery or tokens of friendship and good will. There was no strife as to who should burn him, each one took his turn; thus they gave themselves leisure to meditate some new device to make him feel the fire more keenly. They hardly burned him anywhere except in the legs, but these, to be sure, they reduced to a wretched state, the flesh being all in shreds. Some applied burning brands to them and did not withdraw them until he uttered loud cries; and, as soon as he ceased shrieking, they again began to burn him, repeating it seven or eight times, often reviving the fire, which they held close against the flesh, by blowing upon it. Others bound cords around him and then set them on fire, thus burning him slowly and causing him the keenest agony. There were some who made him put his feet on red-hot hatchets, and then pressed down on them. You could have heard the flesh hiss, and have seen the smoke which issued therefrom rise even to the roof of the cabin. They struck him with clubs [45] upon the head, and passed small sticks through his ears; they broke the rest of his fingers; they stirred up the fire all around his feet. No one spared himself, and each one strove to surpass his companion in cruelty. But, as I have said, what was most calculated in all this to plunge him into despair, was their raillery, and the compliments they paid him when they approached to burn him. This one said to him, " Here, **[page 67]** uncle, I must burn thee, " and afterwards this uncle found himself changed into a canoe. " Come," said he, "let me calk and pitch my canoe, it is a beautiful new canoe which I lately traded for; I must stop all the water holes well, " and meanwhile he was passing the brand all along his legs. Another one asked him, " Come, uncle, where do you prefer that I should burn you? " and this poor sufferer had to indicate some particular place. At this, another one came along and said, " For my part, I do not know anything about burning; it is a trade that I never practiced," and meantime his actions were more cruel than those of the others. In the midst of this heat, there were some who tried to make him believe that he was cold. " Ah, it is not right," said [46] one, " that my uncle should be cold; I must warm thee." Another one added, " Now as my uncle has kindly deigned to come and die among the Hurons, I must make him a present, I must give him a hatchet," and with that he jeeringly applied to his feet a red-hot hatchet. Another one likewise made him a pair of stockings from old rags, which he afterwards set on fire; and often, after having made him utter loud cries, he asked him, " And now, uncle, hast thou had enough? " And when he replied, "onna chouatan, onna," "Yes, nephew, it is enough, it is enough," these barbarians replied, " No, it is not enough," and continued to burn him at intervals, demanding of him every time if it was enough. They did not fail from time to time to give him something to eat, and to pour water into his mouth, to make him endure until morning; and you might have seen, at the same time, green ears of corn roasting at the fire and near them red-hot hatchets; and sometimes, almost at the same moment **[page 69]** that they were giving him the ears to eat, they were putting the hatchets upon his feet. If he refused to eat, " Indeed," said they, " dost thou think thou art master here? " and some added, " For my part, I believe thou wert the only [47] Captain in thy country. But let us see, wert thou not very cruel to prisoners; now just tell us, didst thou not enjoy burning them? Thou didst not think thou wert to be treated in the same way, but perhaps thou didst think thou hadst killed all the Hurons? "

Behold in part how passed the night, which was a most dolorous one to our new Christian, and wonderfully harrowing to us, who compassionated all his sufferings from the depths of our hearts. Yet a soul closely united to God would have here a suitable occasion to meditate upon the adorable mysteries of the Passion of Our Lord, some image of which we had before our eyes. One thing that consoled us was to see the patience with which he bore all this pain. In the midst of their taunts and jeers, not one abusive or impatient word escaped his lips. Let us add this, that God furnished to the Father Superior 3 or 4 excellent opportunities to preach his Holy name to these barbarians, and to explain to them the Christian truths. For when some one asked him if we felt compassion for the prisoner, he affirmed that we did, and that' we greatly longed that he might be soon delivered from his sufferings and go to Heaven, there to be forever blest. This gave him occasion to speak of the joys of Paradise and the grievous afflictions of [48] Hell, and to show them that if they were cruel to this poor wretch, the Devils were still more so to the condemned. He told them that what they made him endure was only a very rough picture of the **[page 71]** torments suffered by lost souls in Hell, whether they considered the multitude of them, or their magnitude and the length of their duration; that our having baptized Sa[o]uandanoncoua was only to deliver him from those punishments, and to enable him to go to Heaven after his death. " How now?" retorted some of them, " he is one of our enemies; and it matters not if he go to Hell and if he be forever burned." The Father replied very appropriately, that God was God of the Iroquois as well as of the Hurons, and of all men who are upon the earth; that he despised no one, even if he be ugly or poor; that what won the heart of God was not the beauty of the body, the graces of the mind, or the abundance of wealth, but, indeed, an exact observance of

his holy Law; that the fires of Hell were lighted and burning only for sinners, whatever their nation might be; that at the moment of death and at the departure of the soul from the body, [49] he who was found with a mortal sin, was condemned for it forever, whether he were Iroquois or Huron; that, as to them, it was all they could do to burn and torment this captive to death; that until then he was at their disposal, that after death he fell into the hands and under the authority of him who alone had the power to send him to Hell or to Paradise. " But thinkest thou, " said another, " that for what thou sayest here, and for what thou doest to this man, the Iroquois will treat thee better if they come some time to ravage our country?" That is not what concerns me, " replied the Father, all I think of now is to do what I ought; we have come here only to teach you the way to Heaven; as to the rest, and as to what, regards our persons, we leave that entirely to the providence of God." **[page 73]** " Why art thou sorry," added some one, " that we tormented him? " " I do not disapprove of your killing him, but of your treating him in that way. " " What then! how do you French people do? Do you not kill men? " " Yes, indeed; we kill them, but not with this cruelty." [50] " What! do you never burn any?" "Not often," said the Father, "and even then fire is only for enormous crimes, and there is only one person to whom this kind of execution belongs by right; and besides, they are not made to linger so long, ♦ often they are first strangled, and generally they are thrown at once into the fire, where they are immediately smothered and consumed. " They asked the Father Superior many other questions, such as, " where was God? " and other similar ones, which gave him occasion to converse with them .about his divine attributes, and reveal to them the mysteries of our faith. These discourses were favorable to our Joseph; for, besides giving him good thoughts and tending to confirm him in the faith, while this conversation lasted no one thought of burning him. All listened very attentively, except some young men, who said once or twice, " Come, we must interrupt him, there is too much talk," and they immediately began to torment the sufferer. He himself also entertained the company for a while, on the state of affairs in his country and the death of some Hurons who had been taken in war. He did this as easily, and with a countenance as [51] composed, as any one there present would have showed. This availed him at least as so much diminution of his sufferings; therefore, he said, they were doing him a great favor by asking him many questions, and that this in some measure diverted him from his troubles. **[page 75]** As soon as day began to dawn, they lighted fires outside the village, to display there the excess of their cruelty to the sight of the Sun. The victim was led thither. The Father Superior went to his side, to console him, and to confirm him in the willingness he had all the time shown to die a Christian. He recalled to his mind a shameful act he had been made to commit during his tortures, ♦ in which, all things rightly considered, there was but little probability of sin, at least not a grave sin, ♦ nevertheless, he had him ask God's pardon for it; and, after having instructed him briefly upon the remission of sins, he gave him conditional absolution, and left him with the hope of soon going to Heaven. Meanwhile, two of them took hold of him and made him mount a scaffold 6 or 7 feet high; 3 or 4 of these barbarians followed him. They tied him to a tree which passed across it, but in such a way that he was free to turn [52] around. There they began to burn him more cruelly than ever, leaving no part of his body to which the fire was not applied at intervals. When one of these butchers began to burn him and to crowd him closely, in trying to escape him, he fell into the hands of another who gave him no better a reception. From time to time they were supplied with new brands, which they thrust, all aflame, down his throat, even forcing them into his fundament. They burned his eyes; they applied red-hot hatchets to his shoulders; they hung some around his neck, which they turned now upon his back, now upon his breast, according to the position he took in order to avoid the weight of this burden. If he attempted to sit or crouch down, some one thrust a brand from under the scaffolding which soon caused him to arise. **[page 77]** Meanwhile, we were there, praying God with all our hearts that he would please to deliver him as soon as possible from this life. They so harassed him upon all sides that they finally put him out of breath; they poured water into his mouth to strengthen his heart, and the Captains called out to him that he should take a little breath. But he remained still, [53] his mouth open, and almost motionless. Therefore, fearing that he would die otherwise than by the knife, one cut off a foot, another a hand, and almost at the same time a third severed the head from the shoulders, throwing it into the crowd, where some one caught it to carry it to the Captain Ondessone, for whom it had been reserved, in order to make a feast therewith. As for the trunk, it remained at Arontaen, where a feast was made of it the same day. We recommended his soul to God, and returned home to say Mass. On the way we encountered a Savage who was carrying upon a skewer one of his half-roasted hands. We would, indeed, have desired to prevent this act of lawlessness; but it is not yet in our power, we are not the masters here; it is not a trifling matter to have a whole country opposed to one, ♦ a barbarous country, too, such as this is. Even if some of them, and a goodly number of the more influential ones, listen to us, and admit that this inhumanity is entirely opposed to reason, the old customs thus far continue to be in vogue, and there is much probability that they will reign until the faith [54] is received and publicly professed. Superstitions and customs grown old, and authorized by the lapse of so many centuries, are not so easy to abolish. It often happens in the best cities of France that when a troop of children get to fighting with their slings, a **[page 79]** whole town with its Magistrates has considerable difficulty in quelling this disorder; and what could two or three strangers, who would like to interfere, accomplish, unless it were to get killed? Yet we are full of hope, and these new residences that we are about to establish in the principal villages of the country, will be, as we trust, so many forts whence, with the assistance of Heaven, we shall completely overthrow the Kingdom of Satan. While this blessed hour is approaching, God does not fail from time to time to stimulate our courage, and to console us with the conversion of many, especially of those whose Baptism seems to be accompanied by very obvious signs of predestination.

The country of the Iroquois is still an inaccessible land to us; we cannot preach the Holy Gospel there and God brings them here into our hands. The thoughts [55] of men are far removed, indeed, from the designs of this wise Providence! While our Hurons were on the watch for opportunities to capture this poor Savage, Heaven was meditating his freedom. Doubtless his relatives and friends will have considered this a very unfortunate fishing party, which caused him to fall into the hands of his enemies, ♦ not knowing that in throwing out his nets, he himself fortunately fell into the toils of St. Peter. All those who saw him taken through these villages looked upon him as a man being led to torture and to death; but the heavenly spirits, and the tutelary Angels of these countries, so disposed some persons here that through their mediation he should be exempted from the pains of Hell, and should enjoy forever a life of bliss. How sorry I am that we have no particulars about his life! Perhaps we would find, **[page 81]** if not perfect integrity in his habits, at least some moral worth, which has incited God to make him a partaker of his mercies through so extraordinary channels. Father Antoine Daniel sent us word last year that, in going down to Kebec, he had also baptized at the Island an Iroquois prisoner of the nation of the [56] Agniehronon. We read the particulars of this with a great deal of consolation, and I would willingly insert them here did I not think that he has fully informed your Reverence of them, and that you have already given them to the public. **[page 83]**

## CHAP. III.

### CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNAL, WHEREIN IS CHIEFLY RELATED THE MALADY WITH WHICH OUR LITTLE HOUSEHOLD HAS BEEN AFFLICTED; AND THE FORTUNATE OUTCOME THEREOF.

EFORE going any farther in that month of September, the season and the beauty of the grain which was then beginning to ripen, invite



me to tell your Reverence that the prophecy of that Sorcerer turned out to be false; he had threatened the country with famine, and had predicted that a white frost would ruin all the harvests. The year, thank God, has been very favorable in every way. If the native grapes were as good as they are beautiful, they would have been useful to us; we gathered enough of them, nevertheless, to use in saying the Mass until Christmas. This will help fill the little [57] kegs that are sent us, which seldom arrive here without considerable leakage.

On the 10th, the Father Superior baptized in our village a very old woman. For a long time she had been wishing and earnestly requesting Baptism, often saying that she did not wish to die as had Ianontassa, her brother-in-law (we wrote last year to your Reverence about the miserable death of this Savage). She died this winter, having very pious sentiments, and a strong hope of going to Heaven. On the preceding day, ♦ having gone to visit one of her grand-daughters whom Father Pijart had baptized some **[page 85]** days before, ♦ while I was instructing her and having her perform some acts of faith and contrition, this good old woman began to talk and said to me, " My grandson, thou doest well; I like to hear what thou sayest. " But I did not think she was so near her death, for she hardly seemed to be sick. Father Pijart went every day to instruct the little children of her cabin. She was the first to ask him to exercise her in prayer to God, doing it with incomparable candor, and exhorting the others to listen carefully to the Father. This woman possessed a natural goodness and gentleness, [58] quite above the generality of Savages.

On the 11th, Father Isaac Jogues arrived, with the little boy who had afforded him excellent opportunities for exercising charity along the way. This child had been sick since the seventh day, and had entirely lost his appetite, which so greatly weakened him that at the end of a few days he had not strength enough to get out of the canoe, much less to walk the length of the rapids. The Savages at first spared him this trouble, carrying him two or three times, but they very soon became weary of this; the Father's charity led him to encumber himself with the child. This burden seemed to him very light, and he would have willingly carried him to the Hurons. But the same charity which had made him undertake what was almost beyond his strength, made him give it up, after having carried him over 4 or five rather long portages, fearing that he might lose him and be lost with him. He then arranged with a Savage to exchange him for a package of hatchets, which were really heavier. There are some passages where a fall would not be less than fatal and the Savages are **[page 87]** more sure-footed than we. With all this, he had difficulty in reaching the Bissiriniens, [59] where he began to feel better. A little nourishment does one good in such cases, and fresh fish usually abounds there at this season. However, he was still rather ill when we received him, and was three weeks or a month in recovering.

As for Father Jogues, God brought him to us in very good health, but it was only for a few days, ♦ which would make me readily believe that if he did not feel the effects of the fatigues of his journey at the time of his arrival, it was partly caused by the joy and satisfaction he experienced at seeing himself in possession of a blessing that he had so long desired, and that had nearly slipped out of his hands. Miscou had almost kept him on the way; and the Fathers Pierre Chastellain and Charles Garnier, who had first arrived, had already directed so many entreaties to Heaven for the Huron Mission, that when he arrived afterwards, the conclusion had been almost reached that he would remain at Kebec. But your Reverence had regard to his holy desires, and, above all, to the request we had made you, to send us, if possible, three or four of our Fathers. At all events, [60] it was a very great consolation to him, ♦ and all the more deeply felt by us that (two days before we had received any news) we had almost given up all 'hope, and were only waiting for the next year. God be infinitely blessed. On the 17th he fell sick, and although at first it was apparently only a slight indisposition, yet at the end of some days the fever appeared each day, and in a somewhat violent form. Truly, of all the countries of the world is it here, perhaps, most desirable for a sick person to be able **[page 89]** to say with truth, " Thank God, in the place and in the condition in which I am, I have no other physician than his paternal providence; and of all the comforts an invalid may desire, I have, properly speaking, none except those which come to me directly from Heaven. " The Father Superior did me the favor to give me the care of Father Jogues. I held this office from the year before, but without having had any practice, as God had preserved us all in good health. Yet, before long, I was not alone in this charge; for our cabin was soon afterwards changed into an infirmary, or rather into a hospital, there being as many nurses as there were well persons, and these were few for the number of patients. [61] On the same day, Mathurin, one of our domestics, arrived, after a great deal of trouble. Five days later, he became our third invalid; it was a relapse which prevented him for a whole month, with all his good will, from rendering us any service. He had been somewhat badly treated on the journey. A fever is a hard load to carry over the rapids. It was fortunate for him that he fell in with rather good-natured Savages, who, as soon as they perceived his indisposition, (rid not urge him to paddle. They even set him on shore many times; and, when they were encamped, they gave him the best treatment that they could. He had hard work to drag himself as far as the Bissiriniens, where he was left; his Savages made him understand by signs, as well as they could, that they considered him too weak to go farther, that there were still four or five rapids to pass, where he might have to remain. That answered very well, thus far; but they made a mistake in leaving him four of our packages, ♦ a great hindrance to a sick **[page 91]** man. He found there as much and more succor and assistance than he could have hoped for in an unknown and barbarous country. Two of them took him [62] and carried him into a cabin, where he remained three days, during which he did not lack for fish; but it was unsuitable for him, therefore he could eat none of it. When Oraouandindo (a Savage who was wont to accommodate the French in their journeys) perceived this, he went through the cabins seeking some meat for him, and succeeded so well that he brought back for him a duck. At the end of three days, the fever having left him, he fortunately found a canoe of Hurons who took him and his packages on board, and brought him here very comfortably.

On the 23rd, Dominique fell sick. Your Reverence will hear only sickness mentioned, from now on. We were henceforward almost without domestics, for Fran ♦ ois Petit-pr ♦ , who alone remained, was usually occupied night and day in hunting; it was from this that we expected all our succor, after God. During the first days, when we had as yet no game, we had almost nothing to give to our invalids but some broth of wild purslane stewed in water, with a dash of native verjuice. Such were our first soups. We had, indeed, one hen; but she did not [63] every day give us an egg, ♦ and, besides, what is one egg for so many sick people? It was very amusing to us to see us who were well, waiting for that egg; and then afterwards we had to consider to whom we should give it, and to see who most needed it. As for our patients, the question among them was who should not eat it.

On the 24th, Father Jogues was in such a condition **[page 93]** that we considered it absolutely necessary to bleed him. For two or three days we could not succeed in checking the blood which was flowing from his nose ♦ so copiously and so persistently that it was only with great difficulty we could make him take anything. This greatly weakened him, and the fever did not abate, which already made us form a somewhat unfavorable opinion about his illness. Hence it was decided that he must be bled, ♦ the great question was, to find a Surgeon. We all were so skillful in this trade, that the patient did not know which should open the vein for him; and every one of us was only waiting for the benediction of the Father Superior, to take the lancet in hand and do the work. However, he [64] resolved to do it himself, ♦ the more so as he had already, on another occasion, bled a Savage very successfully; and it pleased God that this second bleeding should be as favorable as the first, and that what was lacking in skill should be more than supplied by charity. We saw good results from it the same day; his blood ceased to flow, and the next day his fever abated considerably. The same day Father

Pierre Chastellain was taken sick, and was confined to his bed towards evening. Father Charles Garnier, who was making the spiritual exercises, asked the Father Superior at this juncture to interrupt them, that he might aid us in attending to our patients, although just then he began to feel some slight indisposition, which he nevertheless concealed, not judging it such as he should mention in these circumstances, when there was more need of nurses than of patients. However, he had to give up on the 27th, after having said Mass. Now we were reduced to three persons, the Father Superior, Father **[page 95]** Pijart, and myself. The Father Superior was already sufficiently occupied, with the care of the whole house, and Father Pijart went, from time to time, on trips to the surrounding villages; notwithstanding these things, they had to go for wood and for water, do the cooking, and [65] take care of our patients. The same day that Father Pijart was away with one of our domestics, he baptized two little children who were presented to him by their father himself, who declared his earnest wish that they should go to Heaven. One of these little innocents died two or three months afterwards, and this wretched father soon followed him, but he never would listen to the mention of Baptism, and the flames of Hell made no impression upon his mind. We were doubly consoled at their return. We saw plainly the paternal providence of God over this little house, for the game kept on increasing in proportion to the increase in the number of patients. We were without it only one day, and this was intended, doubtless, to give us a good lesson. One of our Savages was raising a bustard in his cabin; we had obliged him on numberless occasions, we asked to buy it of him, but we could only obtain it by offering good securities. A deer skin is precious in this country, yet he was hardly satisfied with it. But what would we not have given, in these circumstances? Had it not been for that, we were upon the point of killing one of our dogs; they have not here an aversion to them [66] as in France, and we would not have scrupled to make broth of it for our invalids. We are under great obligations to divine goodness, which overwhelmed us with consolation during this little domestic affliction. We were never more cheerful, one and all; **[page 97]** the sick were as content to die, as to live, and by their patience, piety, and devotion greatly lightened the little trouble we took for them night and day. As for our Fathers, they enjoyed a blessing which is not a common one in France, that of daily receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the Father Superior, or some one else, carrying it to them during the night. It was from this treasure house that they drew so many holy resolutions, and so many pious sentiments, which made them delight in, and tenderly cherish their condition, and prefer their poverty to all the comforts of France. Father Jogues was no sooner out of danger, than Father Chastellain entered that condition. He was harassed by a burning fever which made him very restless, and which possessed him until the 7th of October. The Father Superior twice bled him very successfully, and once Dominique, who sank so low that we gave him Extreme Unction, his disease [67] was a purple fever. As for Father Garnier, his fever was not so violent, and we did not consider it otherwise dangerous, except that it occasioned him great weakness. The Father Superior tried twice to bleed him, but the blood would not flow; it was thus that God guided his hand, according to necessity. In the midst of all this, they certainly endured a great deal, and we felt much compassion for them, for the relief that we could give them was very little. If a bed of feathers often seems hard to a sick person, I leave your Reverence to imagine if they could rest easily upon a bed which was nothing but a mat of rushes spread over some bark, and at most a blanket or a piece of skin thrown over it. In addition to this, one of the most annoying things, and one which it was almost **[page 99]** impossible to remedy, was the continual noise, both within and without the cabin. For you could not have prevented the visits and the importunities of the Savages, who do not know what it is to speak low, and therefore often thought it strange that we gave them a little word of caution on this point. As I said one day to a Savage, My [68] friend, I pray thee, speak a little lower." Thou hast no sense," he said to me; "there is a bird," speaking of our cock, " that talks louder than I do, and thou sayest nothing to him."

On the 1st day of October, I felt some touches of illness; the fever seized me towards evening, and I had to give up, as well as the others. But I became free from it too cheaply; I had only three attacks, but the second one was so violent that I condemned myself to be bled; my blood was obstinate, however. God reserved for me a more natural remedy, which appeared at the end of the third attack, and rendered me able to say the holy Mass from the next day on. However, I was almost unable for six or seven days to render any service to our Fathers. The Savages wondered at the order we observed in caring for our sick, and the diet that we made them observe. It was a curious thing to them, for they had never yet seen French people ill. I have not told your Reverence that Tonneraouanont, one of the famous Sorcerers of the country, having heard that we were sick, came to see us. To hear him talk, he was a personage of merit and influence, although in appearance he was a very insignificant [69] object. He was a little hunchback, extremely misshapen, a piece of a robe over his shoulders, that is, some old beaver skins, greasy and patched. This is one of the Oracles of the whole **[page 101]** country, who has this Winter made entire villages bend to his decrees. He had come at that time to blow upon some sick people of our village. He said first to the Father Superior that he had almost returned without coming to see us, not doubting that we had remedies that would cure us; but that he visited us only to please Tsiouandaentaha, a Savage who prides himself upon his love and esteem for us, and is one of the most adroit and prudent persons that we know. He added that he did it all the more willingly as he looked upon us as the relatives of his dead brother, who had been baptized the year before. Now in order to make our mouths water, and to sell his Antidote at a better price, " I am not " (said he) I of the common run of men; I am, as it were, a Demon; therefore I have never been sick. In the three or four times that the country has been afflicted with a contagion, I did not trouble myself at all about it; I never feared the disease, for I have remedies to [70] preserve me. Hence, if thou wilt give me something, I undertake in a few days to set all thy invalids upon their feet. " The Father Superior, in order to get all the amusement he could out of it, asked him what he wanted. " Thou wilt give me," said he, " ten glass beads, and one extra for each patient." The Father answered him that, as for the number, he need not trouble himself about it, that it was a matter of no consequence; that the efficacy of his remedies did not depend upon that; furthermore, that he would be always beginning over again, seeing that the number of patients continued to increase from day to day, so that he firmly believed that we would satisfy him. Thereupon he told us that he would show us the roots that must be used; but that, to **[page 103]** expedite matters, he would, if we desired it, go to work himself, that he would pray, and have a special sweat, in a word, perform all his usual charlatanries, and that in three days our sick people would be cured. He made a very plausible speech. The Father satisfied him, or rather instructed him thereupon; he gave the sorcerer to understand that we could not approve this sort of remedy, that the prayer he offered availed nothing, and was only a compact [71] with the devil, considering that he had no knowledge of, or belief in, the true God, to whom alone it is permitted to address vows and prayers; that as far as natural remedies were concerned, we would willingly employ them, and that he would oblige us by teaching us some of them. He did not insist further upon his sweat, and named to us two roots, very efficacious, he said, against fevers, and instructed us in the method of using them. But we hardly took the trouble to observe their effects, we are not accustomed to these remedies, and besides, two or three days later, we saw all our patients nearly out of danger. But your Reverence should, at this point, be thoroughly acquainted with the genealogy of this person, according to the version of it that he himself has given. You will hear of his death at the proper time. Here is what he said about it, as it was reported to us by one Tonkhratacouan. "I am a Demon; I formerly lived under the ground in the house of the Demons, when the fancy seized me to become a man; and this is how it happened. Having heard one day, from this subterranean abode, the voices and cries of some children who were guarding the crops, and chasing the animals and birds away, [72] I resolved to go out. I was no sooner upon the **[page 105]** earth than I encountered a woman; I craftily entered her womb, and there assumed a little body. I had with me a she-devil, who did the same thing. As soon as we were about the size of an ear of corn, this woman wished to be delivered of her fruit, knowing that she had not conceived by human means, and fearing that this ocki might bring her some misfortune. So she found means of hastening her time. Now it seems to me that in the meantime, being ashamed to see

myself followed by a girl, and fearing that she might afterwards be taken for my wife, I beat her so hard that I left her for dead; in fact, she came dead into the world. This woman, being delivered, took us both, wrapped us in a beaver skin, carried us into the woods, placed us in the hollow of a tree, and abandoned us. We remained there until, a Savage passing by, I began to weep and cry out, that he might hear me. He did, indeed, perceive me; he carried the new, to the village; my mother came, she look me again, bore me to her cabin, and brought me up such as thou seest me." This charlatan also related about himself that when he was young, as he was [73] very ill-shapen, the children made war upon him and ridiculed him, and that he had caused several of them to die; that, nevertheless, he had finally decided to endure it henceforth, lest he might ruin the country if he should kill all; that was a fine piece of bluster. Your Reverence will hear still more extravagant stories about him, in the course of time. At all event,,,, behold in him one of the great Physicians of the country; nor did he lack practice. As for us, we could well dispense, thank God, with his remedies. We had recourse to another Physician, who has made us deeply sensible of his **[page 107]** succor and his assistance, as your Reverence can see, and was not contented with restoring us to complete health, but has so disposed this little affliction, that, in whatever manner we look at it, we cannot do otherwise than regard it as a very signal favor. It is a thing altogether desirable, (although there have already been, ere now, numberless occasions for learning to trust in God alone) to have here at one's arrival so clear and so intelligible a lesson on this beautiful virtue. We all knew, indeed, that *non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei*. But we had not yet learned by experience that, in so great [74] a deprivation of human remedies, so many persons could so easily and so gently recover their health by the favor of divine providence alone. That God might not be placed under the necessity of curing us by some sort of miracle, of the eight months during which this contagion lasted, we could not have fallen ill at a more favorable time than in the Autumn, which is the only season of game, it being quite scarce during the rest of the year. We had only François Petit-pr who could assist us in this difficulty; and God preserved him to us in good health all the time, notwithstanding the continual hardships of hunting, besides the usual night watches in the house when he was there. We would all very willingly have given our lives for the preservation of that of the Father Superior, who has so perfect a knowledge of the language; and it pleased this divine goodness to keep him always in strength sufficient to exercise his charity towards us night and day. And still more, God having resolved to derive from us some little services for the consolation and conversion of our Savages, was it not very reasonable **[page 109]** that we should be sick first, in order to be further out of the clutches of the disease, to make them esteem some [75] little remedies with which we were to assist them, and to have an excellent opportunity to make known to them the master of our lives, showing them that we were indebted to him, to the exclusion of all others, for our recovery! But finally, my Reverend Father, we can say that *perieramus nisi, perissemus*, and that perhaps we would be dead now if we had not been sick. It was oftentimes said, during the evil reports that were current about us throughout the country, that if we had not been afflicted as well as the others, they would not have doubted that we were the cause of the disease. Your Reverence knows how they treat poisoners here; we informed you of it last year, and we have lately seen an example of it with our own eyes, the danger going so far as to enable us to say that we might not have come out of it very cheaply. We all considered ourselves happy to die in this cause; but since it pleased this divine mercy to preserve our lives, it places us under fresh obligations to employ them for his glory, and not to spare ourselves in anything which can advance the conversion of our Savages. **[page 111]**

## [76] CHAP. IV.

### THE HELP WE HAVE GIVEN TO THE SICK OF OUR VILLAGE, AND THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN THE CONVERSION OF SOME AND THE ABANDONMENT OF OTHERS.

FROM about the 15th of October, when our patients were entirely out of danger, and began again to take the ordinary food of the country, our principal occupation up to the 17th of November was to assist the sick of our village. Fortunately the hunting season was not yet over, and our men had the charity to take for them part of the same trouble they had taken for us; I say for them, because we were usually satisfied during that time with the food of the country, and, if we dispense with game all the rest of the year, we deprived ourselves of it then all the more willingly since we hoped that through these little offices of charity God would do us the favor to cooperate with us in the salvation of some soul. This is the order that we maintained. [77] We visited them twice a day, morning and evening, and carried them soup and meat, according to the condition and disposition of the patients, always taking occasion to exhort them to have recourse to God, and to gently influence them to Baptism. We ate during our own sickness a few of the raisins and prunes, and some little remedies that your Reverence had sent us, using them only in cases of necessity, so that we still had a good part of them, which **[page 113]** we have made last up to the present. Everything was given by count, two or three prunes, or 5 or 6 raisins to one patient; this was restoring life to him. Our medicines produced effects which dazzled the whole country, and yet I leave you to imagine what sort of medicines they were! A little bag of senna served over 50 persons; they asked us for it on every side; and sometimes the joke of it was that if the patient found himself troubled by a retention of urine, our medicine acted only as a specific for that ailment. Simon Baron rendered us good service at this time; for, having learned before at Chibou, during a period of like necessity, to handle the lancet, he did not fail to exercise it here throughout the winter, and lancets [78] were more deficient with us than was good will with him, and on the part of our Savages the desire to be bled, as they had seen the good effects of it in the recovery of several persons who had been almost given up. If it was only at that time that we began to occupy ourselves entirely in succoring them, it was not because they had not been some time before attacked by the disease, for our cabin was still sound and healthy when there were already sick people in our village and at la Rochelle. On the 29th of September, from which time the disease began to spread, two old men came to see the Father Superior about calling an assembly to offer public prayers to drive away the contagion, and to send it elsewhere, as they expressed it. The Father thereupon instructed them, and granted their request, but it could not be carried out at once, as the greater part of them were away fishing. We assisted them from that time forward, principally in spiritual matters; but, as for the rest, we used some reserve. Children of the **[page 115]** household are to be preferred to strangers; we saw, indeed, the beginning of evil among us, but we had not vision keen enough to see the end thereof.

Now before going farther, your Reverence will permit me, if you please, to retrace [79] my steps, a little, and to gather up what I have omitted for the sake of avoiding confusion. And, at the start, I encounter a subject which has often keenly affected us, and, now that I am ready to write about it, I feel its strong hold upon my heart, and I can hardly keep the tears from falling from my eyes.

On the 2nd day of October, a young child eleven or twelve years old, died in our village, unbaptized. His name was Arakhi, that is to say, " closing day." This name never suited him better than in his last illness, and at the point of death; up to that time he was like a little Sun which arose before the eyes. Your Reverence will be surprised that I speak in these terms of a child, and of a Savage; yet I do not think that I use much exaggeration. He had some natural advantages which not only surpassed those usual to these barbarous



peoples, but even those ordinary in France. His body was well formed, and his mind still better; and if his height and size were beyond his age, the graces of his mind and the strength of his judgment placed him almost upon an equal footing with full-grown men. He was sedate, grave, obliging, and of agreeable conversation. He was polite, and took pride in appearing serious [80] in the midst of the insolence of his companions, especially in our presence. He was wonderfully docile, and, as he had a very happy memory, he learned easily all that was taught him, and showed a great liking for our Holy mysteries. He knew the *Pater*, [page 117] the *Ave*, the *Credo*, the Commandments of God, and some other little prayers, very well. Father Daniel was his master last year, and took unspeakable satisfaction in him. It was not his fault that he was not one of our Seminarists, but his parents' love for him deprived him of this blessing; they now regret it. He was afterwards one of the scholars of Father Pijart, who also experienced a great deal of consolation in instructing him. One day, in the absence of the father, after I had had him say the Commandments of God, " That is truly," said he, " a beautiful discourse. " It was not the first time he had made this observation. He took great pleasure in our company, and often remained a good part of the day in our cabin, and only left us at the coming of night. Some time after the death of the father of Louys de Sainte Foy, as Father Pijart was having him pray to God, he said of his own accord, speaking of this [81] wretch, that he had not gone to heaven, inasmuch as he had died without baptism, and had not taken care to commend himself to God. And on this same occasion, one of his little cousins having hesitated in repeating some little prayers that the Father had taught him, and the child having become mute, " Courage, my cousin," he said to him, " pray earnestly to God, it is he who gives us all we have, ♦the corn, the fruits, and the fish. " A remarkable speech for a child. But here is something that makes us cast down our eyes, and admire in all humility the secret judgments of God. One month before his death, and more than two weeks before he fell sick, he begged earnestly to be baptized, and continued for several days in this request, addressing himself now to Father Pijart, now to the Father Superior. [page 119] We were all ready to grant him what he asked with so much fervor, especially as he was very well instructed, and as we had the consent of his parents. Nevertheless, everything well considered, we judged it wiser to defer it for a time. We had not yet baptized any one who had the use of his reason, unless he were in danger of death. It would have been too greatly to endanger holy Baptism, that he should be the only Christian in his [82] cabin; and although the whole family showed enough good will toward Baptism, nevertheless they deferred the matter until the return of *Satouta*, their relative, and now one of our Seminarists at Quebec. In the meanwhile, he was attacked by the contagion; this child was taken sick first, his grandmother and mother followed him, and in a few days there were 4 or 5 of them upon sick beds. It seemed that there was reason to have strong hope for all of them at this time, and that the danger of death and the fear of eternal torments would prevail over all the considerations they had urged to justify their sluggishness in an affair of such importance; and above all we were rejoiced to see that God offered us a means of satisfying the child and granting his request. But it happened to him quite otherwise. The Father Superior went oftentimes to visit them, but either he found the door closed, or they closed his mouth as soon as he began to make overtures concerning Baptism. They had made a partition in the cabin where this child was, and they were always reluctant to permit the Father to see him, or speak with him; and, when he did, he had scarcely said three words before he was instantly told to go away. We did not think so badly of them until it happened [83] that one day, finding them selves [page 121] hard pressed by the Father, they said once for all, and the mother declared flatly, that neither the child nor any one else would be baptized, since *Akhioca* had not been. This Savage was one of their relatives, who had died on the 23rd of September at la Rochelle. The child said nothing to all this, and meanwhile he became worse from day to day. Our continual occupation with our invalids did not prevent us from seeking every possible way to win these people. We assisted them to the extent of our ability in whatever they might desire, and often anticipated their requests; they nevertheless persisted in their obstinacy. Although parents here have not much control over their children, yet the children show great deference to the sentiments of their fathers and mothers when it comes to a question of Baptism. We know this only too well from experience. I will say also in passing that several of those who opposed the Baptism of others, and especially that of their own children, themselves falling ill afterwards, have either stubbornly resisted Baptism and miserably perished, or have been taken off before we had any knowledge of it. I do not know what will be the end of this wretched [84] mother, who is still in excellent health. At all events, she was partly the cause of her son's misfortune. Father Pijart went to see him the evening before his death, and found means of speaking to him. He first addressed the grandmother, but obtained no satisfaction from her, notwithstanding all the arguments he could bring forward. He turned to the child and asked him how it seemed to him, ♦representing to him that the matter was altogether within his own inclination, that he saw plainly the danger [page 123] in which he was, and that it only depended on himself whether he would go to heaven after his death. He asked him also if he did not believe all that had been taught him; he even repeated to him the principal points of our belief; but to all this the child made no other answer than, *chieske*, " What do I know? " The Father would have proceeded to use further entreaties; but, in addition to the grandmother's persistent and obstinate refusal of anything that concerned Baptism, his mother, who was then in a high fever, picked up a burning brand, and turning towards the Father, made a feint to throw it at him, crying to him to go away. So he withdrew, and this poor child died that night. It was indeed night for him. Ah! how this news afflicted us, and how this death still pierces our hearts when we think of it.

[85] On the eleventh of the same [month], Simon Baron arrived. He was brought by *Endahiaconc*, first Captain of the village of *Teanaostah* ♦, and of the Nation of the *Atignenongach*. This Savage testified his great satisfaction in the treatment accorded to our Seminarists at Quebec, and especially to his own nephew, adding that he had exhorted them to always do their duty, and to give the Fathers no cause for dissatisfaction. As for him, he now esteemed himself as one of our relatives, and in this capacity he laid claim to being one of the masters of the great river.

On the twelfth, Father Pijart made a trip to *Khinonascarant*, three little hamlets two leagues from us. There he encountered a man who apparently was about to die. He took the opportunity to instruct him and speak to him of Baptism, ♦the sick man listening to him willingly at first, and even showing [page 125] that he would be glad to be baptized. But his wife, coming unexpectedly, diverted him from his purpose, representing to him that it would not be proper for him to go to heaven, since none of his relatives were there; and she told the Father that he need not go to any further trouble, especially as the sick man had not his faculties and did not know what he was saying. So, indeed, they remained just as they were; [86] but fortunately for him, his sickness was not fatal. It is a thing altogether worthy of compassion to see how some take the discourses that we give them about heaven. On one occasion, a Savage told the Father Superior that they were not very well pleased when we asked the sick " where they wished to go after death, to heaven or to hell? " " That is not right;" said he, "we people do not ask such questions, for we always hope that they will not die, and that they will recover their health." Another one said, " For my part, I have no desire to go to heaven; I have no acquaintances there, and the French who are there would not care to give me anything to eat." For the most part, they think of nothing but their stomachs, and of means for prolonging this miserable life.

On the 13th, a Savage named *Teientoen*, finding himself very sick, sent of his own accord for the Father Superior and earnestly entreated Baptism, testifying to him that he had always believed all we taught, and that he desired to go to heaven. This simple man spoke from his heart, and when the Father had briefly explained to him the Articles of our belief, and the Commandments of God, he said, " Yes, indeed, I believe all that, and have [87] resolved to observe all that God has said." So he was [page 127] baptized, and

named Joseph. We had loved this Savage on account of the kindly inclination he had always shown to hear about our holy Mysteries, not failing to be present at the Catechisms of the previous Winter, at which he paid remarkable attention. He had himself brought us his little children to be baptized; and when one of his little girls made some objection, he desired us to overlook it, saying that she was only a child, and that it was not done through intention on her part. We had already admired his gentleness, his patience, and his charity in caring for his wife during a sickness of three or four months, although this woman had a rather disagreeable temper. We had had considerable trouble in prevailing upon her to accept Baptism. And after he became a widower, he took very good care Of 3 or 4 little children who were left to him, showing for them the love and tenderness of a good mother. It was a consolation to us to visit and assist him during his illness; we always found him disposed to offer prayers to God and to ask his pardon for his sins. He often anticipated us, and proved to us the care he took, night and day, to commend himself to God. He persevered in these good [88] sentiments until his death, and just before dying he said to his mother, " I am going to Heaven with a great Frenchman who is coming after me;" and, she having answered him that he would be very fortunate, and preparing to have him take something, he peacefully expired. May it please this divine mercy to give us often like consolations. These are the results of the fervent prayers of so many saintly souls who importune heaven night and day for the salvation of these poor abandoned souls. [page 129]

Meanwhile, the Devil was playing his pranks elsewhere, and speaking through the mouth of the Sorcerer *Tonnerauanont*, was turning aside these peoples from applying to God. Some time before, this little hunchback had declared that the whole country was sick; and he had prescribed a remedy, namely, a game of crosse, for its recovery. This order had been published throughout all the villages, the Captains had set about having it executed, and the young people had not spared their arms; but in vain. The disease did not cease to spread, and to gain ground all the time; and on the 15th of October we counted in our little village thirteen or 14 sick people. Nor did our Sorcerer engage at this time to undertake the [89] cure of the whole country; yet he ventured one word as rash as it was presuming, for the village of *Onnentisati*, whence he came. He was not satisfied to give some hope that no one there would be sick, he gave assurances thereof that he made indubitable, by founding them upon the power he claimed to have over the contagion in his character of Demon; he was immediately given something with which to make a feast. This boast spread everywhere, and was accepted as truth; all the people of *Onnentisati* were already considered fortunate and out of danger. This constrained us to exert ourselves with God, and to implore his divine goodness to confound the devil in the person of this wretch, and to obtain glory for himself from this public affliction. And the next day, the 14th, we made a vow to say for this purpose 30 Masses in honor of the glorious Patriarch, saint Joseph. It was not long before we had something with which to close the mouths of those who boasted to us of their prowess, and this Village was hardly [page 131] more spared than the others. There were a great many sick there, several of whom died. Heaven, as we hope, has gained thereby. On the same day, we baptized in our village a Savage named *Onendouerha*, and his [90] wife, both of whom were very ill. Some days before, they had asked for Baptism with a great deal of fervor, and thoroughly satisfied the Father Superior when it became necessary to instruct them more in detail. Yet they both are still in good health. It is a source of grief to us that, as we have not yet any wholly converted Villages, we afterwards get from these new Christians, whom we have baptized only in the last hour, nothing but fine words, the torrent of old customs and common superstitions bearing them away. We are daily expecting that it will please God to put his hand to the work, and we hope soon to be granted this favor from Heaven.

On the 20th, an unfortunate woman named *Khiongnona* died. I say " unfortunate," inasmuch as as it is to be presumed, through pure malice, followed by the manifest abandonment of God she had refused Baptism. The Father Superior had several times urged her, and I often had accompanied him; we had daily carried her soup and a little piece of meat. At first, she had allowed herself to be instructed, to some extent, and had partially consented to Baptism. But later, during the five or six days before her death, we [91] could not get any satisfaction from her, as she sometimes refused to listen, and again herself said that she did not hear; yet, if you spoke of giving her something, she heard you very well. It seemed to me that I could see upon her face the traces of a condemned soul. One day, when the Father Superior was urging her in regard to her conversion, [page 133] "Drive them from me," said she, " make them go away." Those present tried to make us believe that it was not of us that she spoke, but that some dogs that were around her annoyed her. One of her sisters did her a very ill turn on this occasion, for she was partly the cause of her obduracy. Hers was a greatly perverted mind; she had often informed the Father Superior that she did not like his discourses upon Baptism. Among other times one day when he was representing to the sick woman that she had to choose the place whither she desired to go after death, and was urging her strongly to make a final decision, "My brother," said she, "thou hast no sense; it is not yet time, she will decide upon that when she is dead." I do not know what fate God is reserving for her; but her husband and one of her daughters died also without Baptism, some time afterwards. As to the husband, [92] we can only have recourse to the just judgments of this divine Providence, for otherwise he seemed to be a tolerably good Savage. In the beginning of his illness, I had visited him, in the absence of the Father Superior, and had gone away very well satisfied. He testified to me then that he was well content to be baptized, but there had been as yet no probability of it. The Father Superior, having returned, found him in the same mind up to the eve of his death; nevertheless, as there was yet no apparent danger, he judged it wise to defer his Baptism until the next day. But death anticipated us; we were greatly astonished in the morning when we heard the cabin resound with lamentations. As to his daughter, it was, in my opinion, through a righteous chastisement of God that she was deprived of the grace of Baptism. Two [page 135] things contributed very materially to her misfortune. The first was that she was excessively lewd, and, although the Savages show little restraint in the matter of chastity, yet she had made herself conspicuous in this regard, and prostituted herself at every opportunity. The other cause was the inordinate desire that she and her parents felt for her health, so that she was almost incapable of any other thought during her sickness, and [93] her mother talked to us about nothing else than the means of securing her recovery. Therefore God, who often employs the sins of men as instruments to punish them, permitted that, on account of a medicine man blowing upon her and giving her some potion, she should not be effectively urged to accept Baptism. As Father Garnier and I were going to give the usual instruction to the little children, the Father Superior commissioned us to see her and to report to him the state of her health. But the door of her cabin was found closed, as the operations of this sorcerer demanded silence. We made our little rounds through the other cabins, intending to return that way, but we found that he had not yet finished. We gave ourselves no further trouble about it, as up to that time we had not thought her so ill. It is incredible how deceitful this sort of contagion is. In fact, she did not survive the night.

On the 21st, a poor old man named *Anerrat*, father of *Khiongnona*, was brought back from the Fishing grounds, quite ill. This Savage had as much inclination and desire for Baptism as his daughter had had aversion to it. On the 23rd, the Father Superior instructed him and yet did not judge it proper to confer Baptism upon him so hastily. [94] But as [page 137] if this good old man had felt the approaches of death, he entreated the father earnestly not to defer it long, telling him not to fail to come and baptize him the next morning at dawn, testifying to him that he firmly believed all our Mysteries, and that he desired to go to heaven. The Father granted his request, and with so much comfort on both sides as to make it easily seen that it was an act of providence, and a very special mercy on the part of God. In fact, he lost consciousness very soon afterwards, and died the same day. This Savage was an *Algonquin* by Nation, and had been brought up from infancy among the Hurons. What a providence of God! Doubtless this happy end was granted to him by this infinite goodness in consideration of the great diligence he had always shown in listening to the word of

God. The good qualities that I have heretofore praised in some others were much more conspicuous in him. He had a natural gentleness which won all men; he was not a man who was a slave to his stomach, being more abstemious than the Savages usually are. His visits, although rather frequent, were not annoying to us. The others generally have something to ask for; but, as for him, he [95] visited us only through friendship, and you found him always ready to listen to good conversation. In the Catechisms conducted by the Father Superior the winter before, he was always among the first to begin talking and to praise our Mysteries, and had often shown to us his willingness to become a Christian. These are precious stones that God uncovers to us in the midst of these forsaken lands; and we have every reason to believe that they will not be so rare in the future, since we have determined to go and seek them henceforth in the most [page 139] populous and most important villages of the country, where the providence of God will not fail to reveal and cause to shine forth before our eyes a greater number of them.

On the 4th of November, a Savage whom we had baptized some days before begged us to baptize his wife, who was very sick. She at first declared herself very well satisfied with this; but when the Father Superior represented to her that, having been baptized, she must count upon never separating from her husband, she thereupon remained mute; and afterwards, when Baptism was urged upon her, she answered in his presence, *teouastato*, meaning, "I do not wish it," although her husband had already given the Father to understand that, as for him, he [96] was satisfied never to leave her. We could obtain nothing more from her; thank God, she is still living. There you have two fine marriages.

On the 5th, we again had before our eyes an example of the justice of God, in the death of one *Oronton*. He would never hear about Baptism, for all the arguments the Father Superior could place before him. I spoke to him about it again very particularly, a little while before his death, but I could get no other response from him except that he wished to go to the place where his ancestors were. Already, for a long time past, this wicked man had declared himself; he had often shown that he did not believe what we taught, and had even ridiculed it; if he were sometimes present at the Catechism, it was only to get a piece of Tobacco. He was, besides, a Lion and a Tiger in his anger, and took offense at a mere nothing. He had occasionally caused in some of our domestics fears and apprehensions that were [page 141] not too agreeable; he had even shown an evil disposition, and had used threats. Nevertheless, we aided him as far as we could during his illness, to try to win him to God. But we have [97] already often noticed in many of our Savages that contempt for our holy Mysteries is a very bad state of mind for a good conversion at the point of death. I do not remember to have seen a single one of them who died happily; on the contrary I have observed that the greater part of them went forth from this life with manifest signs of being forsaken and rejected by God. [page 143]

## CHAPTER V.

### OSSOSAN AFFLICTED WITH A CONTAGIOUS DISEASE.

#### VARIOUS JOURNEYS THAT WE MADE THERE IN THE

#### MOST DISAGREEABLE WINTER WEATHER. CON-

#### TINUATION OF THE SAME SICKNESS IN OUR

#### VILLAGE, AND THE ASSISTANCE WE REN-

#### DERED TO THE NEIGHBORING PLACES

#### ATTACKED BY THE SAME DISEASE.

E had hoped that, as generally happens in France and elsewhere, the first frosts would arrest the progress of this contagious malady. But just the opposite happened, [98] and the depth of the Winter was also the severest period of the disease, so' that from the 10th or the 12th of November we saw ourselves almost surrounded by it on every side; which made us resolve to divide our cares, and open our hearts to the necessities of these poor people. As for them, they had recourse to their Sorcerers only, and spared no gifts to obtain from them some imaginary remedies. But their good Angels, to whom their souls were precious, held out their arms to us; and God himself, who had designed from all eternity to be merciful to many of them, gave us strong inspirations to go and help them, despising all sorts of human considerations, and abandoning ourselves to the guidance of his loving providence. We needed to lay hold of these holy thoughts, to quicken our steps, for we had, besides, few human motives that could incite us to this undertaking. At [page 145] that time, very injurious rumors about us had been scattered through the country; this little Sorcerer had already boasted loudly that he had seen the malady come from the direction of the great Lake. They talked of nothing but an imaginary cloak, poisoned, it was said, by the French; and Captain *Anons* had already brought a report from an Island Savage, that the late Monsieur de *Champlain* [99] had died with the determination to ruin the whole country. Besides, after having so diligently aided the sick of our Village for the space of a month, and having taken the morsels from our own mouths to give to them, there yet were found some who said that what we carried to them made them die; and others, who saw us daily skimming the grease from the soup that we were preparing for them, which they themselves consider very injurious to the sick, added that there was no cause for them to be under great obligations to us; that if we did give something to the sick, it was only what we would have thrown away, that we always reserved the best of it for ourselves, and that this pot, which was at our fire night and day, was only to accumulate a great deal of grease. Thus they talked. And about this time, having gone to instruct the little children as usual, a Savage gave me a piece of fish, with this compliment, "Look now, how people ought to do when they concern themselves to give; you people, you are misers, when you give meat, it is so little that there is hardly enough of it to taste. And yet his cabin was one of those which had the most reason to be satisfied with our liberality. [100] All these exhibitions of ingratitude Are like so many favors from heaven, [page 147] which place us under the holy necessity, in all our acts, of seeking God alone.

Now, on the 17th of November, the Father Superior, seeing that all was peaceful enough in our Village, and that the remainder of the sick people had begun to improve, departed for *Ossosan*, accompanied by Father Isaac Jogues and Francois Petit-pr. This first journey was not very long; in it nine sick people, three little children, and six adults were baptized. He returned on the 20th, as his presence was necessary here when these evil rumors began; and besides, our Savages had given some intimation that they wished to



address themselves to God in this public affliction, and solemnly to implore his aid; it was necessary to prepare them for this act.

On the 27th, a woman, who had been baptized the day before, died in our Village. The same day her father came to us to relate a very amusing dream that she had had, according to his story, a little while before her death. The sole purpose of this imaginary dream was to get a few strings of beads. So he told us that she had been for some time as if dead, and that, having awaked from this profound lethargy, [101] she had asked for us, and had declared that she did not wish to go where the Hurons went after death, ♦ that she wished to go to the Heaven where the French went; that she had just come from there, where she had seen a vast number of Frenchmen, wonderfully beautiful, and some savages of her acquaintance who had been baptized among others, one of her uncles, and her sister who had died a Christian a few days before. She related that her uncle had said to her, " Well, my niece, so you have come here; " and that her sister had asked her if [page 149] *Echon* (speaking of the Father Superior) had not given her something at her departure, to which she answered " No; " that the other one had replied, " As for me, here is a bead bracelet that he gave me; " and thereupon this one had resolved to return, and come and ask us for the same; that she had come to herself, and that after having related her dream, she immediately lost consciousness, and died. Hence he asked that as many beads be given to her as to her sister, in order to satisfy her. Truly, a man with exalted ideas of heaven and of the state of the blessed.

On the same day, God having given us a piece of deer, we made a feast of it for our Savages, that we might have an opportunity to [102] testify to them our sympathy in their affliction. And, in order to proceed after the manner of the country, we made them a present Of 400 Porcelain beads, a couple of hatchets, and a Moose skin. The Father Superior also took occasion to exhort them to believe in God, to implore his mercy, and to make him a solemn vow in this public necessity. They approved the proposition, and promised to hold a council among themselves, concerning it. After the feast Father Pijart departed to go and sleep at *Arontaen*, where he baptized 3 little children. It was not this that took him thither; he went to visit a poor woman who was very ill. She, however, attached no importance to baptism, and gave the Father the usual answer of the Savages, ♦ that she did not wish to leave her relatives, and that after death she had resolved to go and find them, in whatever part of the world they might be. The father having represented to her that those who died without baptism went to hell, she replied [page 151] that she did not mind going to hell and being burned there forever. The father was obliged to give her up, as he could get nothing else from her. The next day, she was for some time as if dead; and, having thrown off this lethargy, she wished, forsooth, to be regarded as [103] a person who had been raised from the dead. " I was dead, " said she, " and had already passed through the cemetery to go directly to the village of souls, when I came upon one of my dead relatives, who asked where I was going and what I intended to do, ♦ saying that, if I did not change my mind, they would be lost, that there would be no more relatives to prepare food for the souls thereafter; and that is what made me return and resolve to live." These and similar fancies pass among them for veritable resurrections, and serve as a foundation and support for the belief they have regarding the state of souls after death.

On the 28th, Father Pierre Chastellain and I made a trip to a small village a league away from us, where the father baptized a little sick child. We also found an opportunity to instruct some Christians who had been baptized the previous summer. We repeated to them some of our principal mysteries, taught them to ask forgiveness of God when they sinned, and to offer some little prayer morning and evening. Upon our return, I accompanied the Father Superior, who had been entreated by an old man of our village, named *Tandoutsahoronc*, to go and pass the night in his cabin, to minister to his granddaughter, who was at the point of death. There was no great [104] need of this, however, for this child was only seven or eight years old, and had been baptized the year before. But he had made this request on account of his great [page 153] confidence in us, hoping to derive much comfort from our companionship in his affliction, and that we would bring some relief to this little sick girl. We here saw some altogether remarkable evidences of natural love. For seven or eight days this poor old man and his wife underwent incredible hardships, night and day. This child had no other bed than the bosom of her grandfather; now he was compelled to sit down, now to lie down, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, ♦ changing his posture at every moment, for she was restless, and in convulsions which lasted nearly all night. Some little raisins, that we gave her from time to time, served more to satisfy the father than to relieve the child, who died a little while afterwards. This old man has remained very grateful to us, and has shown it since then on many occasions. We esteem as precious the slightest occasions that God presents to us to gain the affection of our Savages.

About this time another old man of our village was sorely troubled; people [105] talked of nothing else than of going to break his head. For a long time he had been suspected of being a Sorcerer and a poisoner, and quite recently one *Oaca* had testified that he believed this Savage was making him die; and some of them said they had seen him at night roaming around the Cabins, and casting flames from his mouth. Here was only too much to make a bad case for him. Indeed, a girl, seeing seven or eight of her relatives carried off in a few days, had actually had the boldness to go to his Cabin with the determination to accuse him of being the cause of their death; and as he was not there, she talked to his wife so freely, and with so much passion, that the son, happening [page 155] to come in, laid down his robe, and, taking a hatchet, went off in a transport of rage to the cabin where these evil suspicions had originated. Sitting down in the middle of the room, he addressed one *Tioncharon*, and said to him with a steadfast countenance and a confident mien: " If thou thinkest it is we who make thee die, take now this hatchet and split open my head; I will not stir." *Tioncharon* replied to him, " We will not kill thee now at thy word, but the first time we shall take thee in the act." The matter remained [106] thus for that time, but they were always regarded with a great deal of ill will. These peoples are extremely suspicious, especially when life is involved; the experiences that they think they have had in this matter, and a thousand instances of people whom they believe to have died through witchcraft or poison, maintain them in this distrust. On the same day that this incident occurred, the Father Superior having gone to visit a sick man, they showed him a sort of charm he had just been made to throw up by means of an emetic; it consisted of some hairs, a tobacco seed, a green leaf, and a little cedar twig. But as ill luck would have it, in their opinion, one of these little charms was broken, the other part having remained in his body, and that had caused his death. You hear nothing else talked about in this country, there being hardly any sick people who do not think they have been poisoned. Only recently, when the Father Superior was passing through the village of *Andiatae*, he was shown a grasshopper's leg twined about with a few hairs, which a sick person had just vomited. If Sorcerers are as common in the country as they are often upon the lips of the Savages, we can truthfully say that we are pre♦minently [page 157] *in medio nationis prav♦*; and yet, with all this, in the opinion of many of them, we are past masters in this art, and have an understanding [107] with the devils. Your Reverence will soon see this calumny exploded, for which may God be forever glorified. We have very plainly perceived his paternal providence in regard to us, and we had the consolation, while they were talking about nothing else than of breaking our heads, of continuing to assist our sick people, and of co♦operating in the conversion of several and of preaching his holy Name as often as ever.

On the 29th, all the chief men of our village assembled in our cabin, firmly resolved to do all that we considered proper to incline God to mercy and to obtain from his goodness some relief in this public calamity. The Father Superior had already represented to them that the true and only means of turning away this scourge of heaven, was to believe in God and to make a firm determination to serve him and keep his Commandments. He told them, furthermore, that God took great pleasure in the vows that we addressed to him in these

or similar necessities; that we had very often in France seen and experienced good effects therefrom; and thus, that if they would promise him, in case it might please him to make this contagion disappear altogether, to build in the Spring a cabin, or a little Chapel in his honor, as he is the master and author of our lives, they would all have reason to hope [108] for his approval of their request. They had already deliberated upon this by themselves, and the decision they had made was the subject of this second assembly, where the Father Superior instructed them still more particularly upon the importance of the action they were [page 159] about to perform, and exhorted them to have great confidence in God if they undertook it in all sincerity, adding that, as for those who were there only through formality, they should be very careful as to what they were about to do, that they had to do with a God who knew the depths of their hearts and would not fail to punish them severely, if they did not conduct themselves towards him with the respect and reverence that his divine Majesty requires. The exhortation finished, the Father made them all prostrate themselves upon their knees before an image of our Lord; and he repeated aloud the formula of a vow, which contained a firm resolution to believe in God and to serve him faithfully, and then a promise to erect in the Spring a little chapel in his honor, in case it should please him to show them mercy, and to deliver them from this contagious malady. We did not have all the gratification we had hoped for in this act, as not all those who had been invited were present; [109] and, among others, the one who passed as Captain, although he carried only the title thereof, had gone out before the Ceremony began, and was amusing himself in playing and laughing with some persons from his Cabin. Also most of them have been punished by a miserable death; God dissembled for the time, as the measure of their sins was not yet full. They had to add horrible blasphemies and most wicked designs upon the lives of those who they had only too much reason to believe were here in their country merely to do them a kindness; I shall speak of this more clearly in its place. There were those present, however, who gave us some consolation, above all, one named *Tsioandaentaha*; although the Father Superior spoke very distinctly, [page 161] nevertheless, as they sometimes found it hard to follow him, and to repeat what he had said, this one served them as instructor, and, besides not losing a single word of the Father's, he repeated them so faithfully and in a voice so clear, that it was easy to believe he spoke from his heart; and several, following his example, tried to show that there was no hypocrisy in what they did. But events give us only too much reason to doubt them. As for this Savage, God has preserved him from the malady, [110] with all those of his cabin, which is one of the most populous of our village, having therein three well-equipped households, and a great number of little children. The matter is all the more remarkable, as, except for another little cabin which has also afforded us a great deal of satisfaction, there is not one which has not had several sick people, and most of them a considerable number of deaths.

On the next day, the 30th, we also made a vow on our part, we and our domestics, both for the welfare of our whole village and for the preservation of our little household. The Father Superior pronounced it at the Mass, in the name of all, holding in his hand the Holy Sacrament of the altar; we bound ourselves to say each three Masses, one in honor of our Lord, another in honor of the blessed Virgin, and a third in honor of St. Joseph, with the determination to renew, for this same purpose, on the day of the immaculate Conception of the same virgin, the vow that we had made last year. As for our domestics, they bound themselves to three special communions, and to say their beads twelve times. For our part, we have now every reason to praise God, who has granted to us all the favor of passing the winter in [page 163] very good health, although the greater part of the time we have been among [111] the sick and the dead, and although we have seen many fall sick and die, merely through the communication that they had with one another. The Savages were astonished at it, and are still astonished every day, saying in reference to us,, " Those people are not men, they are demons. " God will grant them, if it shall please him, grace to recognize some day that *miseriacordi domini, quia non sumus consumpti, quia non defecerunt miserationes eius*. It is through his mercy alone that we are not reduced to dust with the others, and that Heaven ceaselessly pours out upon us the torrents of its favors and its blessings. Our poor village continued to be afflicted until spring, and is almost entirely ruined. We are not surprised at this, for the greater part of them showed that their belief consisted only in fine words, and that in their hearts they have no other God than the belly, and the one who will promise them absolutely to restore them to health in their illnesses.

On the fourth of December, having learned the news from *Ossosan* that the disease was spreading there, and that some of its people had recently died, the Father [112] Superior sent thither Father Charles Garnier and me. We made this journey joyously and with all the more confidence in God as I was convinced of my insufficient knowledge of the language. At our arrival we instructed and baptized a poor man who could not live through the night. We did not make a long sojourn there, as we had orders to be present at the Festival of the Conception of our Lady; had it not been for that, we would not have readily left the sick, who were as many as fifty by actual [page 165] count. We made them all special visits, always giving them some little word of consolation. We were made very welcome, all greeting us with very kindly faces, the journey the Father Superior had made there having inclined to us the hearts and affections of all. Most of them regarded us only as persons from whom they expected some consolation, and likewise something to relieve them in their sickness; a few raisins were very acceptable, and we were careful not to forget these. The few of them that we have are only for the Savages, and your Reverence would not believe how readily they take these little sweets. I will say here in general that they have often given us admission to [113] the sick; and if it happened that, while instructing them, they fell into a stupor, a little sugar or some good preserved fruit in a spoonful of warm water enabled us to make them regain consciousness. I will even add that some little innocents were baptized in their last moments, unknown to, and against the wishes of their relatives, under the pretext of wishing to give them some of these sweets. We baptized 8 during this journey, 4 adults and 4 little children. It was a providence of God for us, who were still new in this profession, to find almost everywhere persons who favored our purpose, and who aided us greatly in obtaining from the patients what we desired. Among others, one of the more influential men of the village served us as interpreter in instructing one of his daughters, doing so of his own accord and with great interest. He did even more than we wished; and when we would have been satisfied to have drawn a simple "yes" or "no" from the patient, he desired her to repeat, word for word, the instruction we gave her. Before departing, [page 167] we saw the Captain Anenkhiondic and some of the old men, to whom we spoke of the vow that those of our village had made in order to stop the [114] progress of the disease. They manifested a great desire to do the same, and charged us to report to the Father Superior that they were quite prepared to do all that he should judge proper on this occasion. Their love of life made them speak in this way; and, indeed, they will make the same promise the others did, and with even more ostentation, and after all, when it comes to the execution of what they have promised, they will prove to be no better than the others.

Meantime, while we were at *Ossosan*, the Father Superior and our Fathers did not remain with folded arms at Ihonatiria. The sick gave them practice enough on the one hand, and, on the other, the inhabitants of Oenrio, (a village one league distant from us) seeing themselves assailed by the malady, manifested some desire to have recourse to God. The Father Superior went to see them, to sound them in this matter; he baptized a little child at his arrival. At the same time, the Captain had the council assemble, and invited the father thither, where at the outset he asked him what they had to do that God might have compassion on them. The Father Superior answered them that the principal thing [115] was to believe in him, and to be firmly resolved to keep his commandments, touching especially upon some of their customs and superstitions which they must renounce if they purposed to serve him. Among other things, he proposed to them that, since they were thus inclined, they should henceforth give up their belief in their dreams; 2nd, that their

marriages should be binding and for life, **[page 169]** and that they should observe conjugal chastity; 3rd, he gave them to understand that God forbade vomiting feasts; 4th, those shameless assemblies of men and women (I would blush to speak more clearly);. 5th, eating human flesh; 6th, those feasts they call Aoutaerohi, which they make, they say, to appease a certain little demon to whom they give this name. These are the points that the father especially recommended to them; and then he spoke to them about the vow our Savages of Ihonatiria had made, to build in the spring a little Chapel wherein to praise and thank God, if it pleased his divine goodness to deliver them from this malady. The Father was listened to by all with close attention; but these conditions astonished them greatly, and *Onaconchiaronk*, whom we call the old Captain, beginning to [116] speak, said, " My nephew, we have been greatly deceived; we thought God was to be satisfied with a Chapel, but according to what I see he asks a great deal more. " And the Captain Añons, going still farther, said, "Echon, I must speak to you frankly. I believe that your proposition is impossible. The people of Ihonatiria said last year that they believed, in order to get tobacco; but all that did not please me. For my part, I cannot dissemble, I express my sentiments frankly; I consider that what you propose will prove to be only a stumbling-block. Besides, we have our own ways of doing things, and you yours, as well as other nations. When you speak to us about obeying and acknowledging as our master him whom you say has made Heaven and earth, I imagine you are talking of overthrowing the country. Your ancestors assembled in earlier times, and held a council, where they resolved to take as their **[page 171]** God him whom you honor, and ordained all the ceremonies that you observe; as for us, we have learned others from our own Fathers."

The Father rejoined that he was altogether mistaken in his opinion, that it was not through a mere choice that we had taken God [117] for our God, that nature herself taught us to acknowledge as God him who has given us being and life: that, as for what concerns our ceremonies, they are not a human invention, but divine; that God himself had prescribed them to us, and that they were strictly observed all over the earth.

As for our ways of doing things, he said that it was quite true they were altogether different from theirs, that we had this in common with all nations; that, in fact, there were as many different customs as there were different peoples upon the earth; that the manner of living, of dressing, and of building houses was entirely different in France from what it was here, and in other countries of the world, and that this was not what we found wrong. But, as to what concerned God, all nations ought to have the same sentiments; that the reality of a God was one, and so clear that it was only necessary to open the eyes to see it written in large characters upon the faces of all creatures. The Father made them a fine and rather long speech upon this subject, from which he drew this conclusion, that to please God it was not enough to build a Chapel in his honor, as they claimed, but that the chief thing was to [118] keep his commandments and give up their superstitions. *Onaconchiaronk* admitted that the father was right, and did his utmost in exhorting the whole company to overcome all these difficulties. But, as each one **[page 173]** hung his head and turned a deaf ear, the matter was deferred until the next day.

On the morning of the 6th, they again assembled; and *Onaconchiaronk* declared that he had passed almost the whole night without sleep, thinking of the points the father had proposed; for his part, he considered them very reasonable, but indeed he saw clearly that the young people would find great difficulties therein; however, all things well considered, he concluded that it was better to take a little trouble, and live, than to die miserably like those who had been already carried off by the disease. He spoke in so excellent fashion, and urged them so strongly, that no one dared to contradict him, and all agreed to what the father had required, adding that they also bound themselves to build a beautiful Chapel in the spring. This decision made, the Father returned to Ihonattiria, much consoled to have left them in this favorable state of mind. He already contemplated going to catechize them from [119] time to time; but, besides that God gave us employment elsewhere, they immediately resumed their old customs. To be sure, those of our village had been the first to begin, and, the day after they had assembled in our cabin, they donned their masks and danced, to drive away the disease. With all that, they did not hesitate to tell us that they were the best Christians in the world, and were all ready to be baptized. Having gone directly afterwards to instruct the little children, I encountered the very one who had been, as it were, the master of these follies. He addressed me, and acting the hypocrite, said, " Well, my brother, when shall we assemble to pray to God? " He gave me a good chance to wash his head; but it **[page 175]** is a great pity not to be able to say all that one would like to. I contented myself with saying to him, "Thou hast no sense; dost thou not know what thou hast just been doing? thou art jesting." But this is nothing; Your Reverence will soon see them become complete turncoats, addressing their vows and making their offerings to all the sorcerers of the country, however many there be. They will even have recourse to demons, and will do things [120] so extravagant, that one will have reason to say that their love of life has turned their heads.

On the 7th, we returned from Ossossan, Father Garnier and I; and the next day, the festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, we all together renewed the vow we had made last year on the same day, to supplicate more earnestly than ever this mother of mercy to intercede with her son for the conversion of these peoples, whose misery pierces our hearts. Towards evening the Father Superior called together the old men of our village, and addressed to them a short exhortation in order to encourage them, recalling to their memories the promise they had made, inspiring them to have confidence in God alone, and to observe his holy law, which they themselves had considered so reasonable. He recommended to them also very particularly the points he had proposed to the inhabitants of Oenrio, in which they all acquiesced, as usual, promising to observe them. They are inveterate sinners, who, after their good promises, do not hesitate to resume the way of their past lives. The Father, upon this occasion, [121] having spoken to them of Heaven and of the great rewards that God reserves for his faithful servants, an old man named *Tendoutsahoronc* told him **[page 177]** that they were rather sorry we had baptized that Hiroquois prisoner, inasmuch as he would be ready to drive them from Paradise if they should undertake to enter there. The father having replied to him that Paradise was a place of peace, "How?" said he, "we people think that the dead make war among themselves as well as the living." These poor peoples have all the trouble in the world to form ideas of Heaven. You find some of them who renounce Heaven when you tell them there are no fields and no grain there; that people do not go trading, nor fishing there; and that they do not marry. Another one told us one day that he thought it was wrong that they should not work in Heaven, that it was not well to be idle; and for this reason he had no desire to go there. We hear an infinite number of similar stories, which give us reason, a hundred times a day, to thank this infinite mercy for having beforehand given us so freely of his grace, and illumined our minds with his eternal truths. This favor [122] is not felt by us in the middle of France as it is among these barbarians. In France, the knowledge of these things seems to be a part of our nature. We imbibe them with our milk, the holy name of God is one of the first words we lisp, and these rude impressions of infancy continue to develop almost insensibly, according to our growth, through the instruction, good example, and piety of our parents; so that these advantages very often blind our eyes, and many find themselves at the point of death who have never, perhaps, once in their lives thanked God heartily for this so special favor. A holy personage has said that the wise providence of God had ordained that the sick poor should lie ill in the streets and public places, not only to **[page 179]** provide exercise for the charity of good people, but also to reveal to us the obligations we are under to him for having preserved our health; that all the plagues we see are so many favors that he does us, and so many tongues which speak to us and invite us to render to him a million thanksgivings. So the ignorance and blindness of our Savages [123] make us



appreciate the blessing that we possess in knowing the eternal truths; and, however many of them we see, they are like so many voices which cry out to us, *Beati qui vident quod, vos videtis, vobis autem datum est nosse mysteria regni Dei.*

On the 9th, the Father Superior returned to Ossosan with Father Pierre Chastellain and Simon Baron. I say nothing here to your Reverence about the difficulties of the way; you know well enough what they can be at this season. I will merely say that it was only a question of four leagues, and yet the day was hardly too long to reach the end of them.

This trip lasted eight days; the Fathers baptized fifty persons, fourteen adults, and the rest all little children, both well and sick. Simon Baron also bled more than two hundred, and in a single day as many as fifty. They emulated each other in holding out their arms to him, the well ones having themselves bled as a precaution, and the sick considering themselves half cured when they saw their blood flowing. Among others, was an old man who was half blind; as soon as he was bled, [124] "Ah, my nephew, " said he, " thou hast restored my sight; now I see." Be that as it may, he found himself on the instant wonderfully relieved. But what consoled us particularly was to see so many little innocents and so many souls reconciled to God. I shall only mention three [page 181] quite remarkable cases, one of which is replete with devotion, another is worthy of a mind which acts through reason, the third is altogether ingenuous. While the Father Superior was instructing three sick people in the cabin of one Ochiotta, this good man often took part in the conversation, and aided them with great fervor to perform the act of contrition; and afterwards, although the epidemic had carried off a great part of his family, the majority of whom had been baptized, he did not act like most of the Savages, who often look upon us with ill will, and are unwilling to hear about baptism as soon as any one of those whom we have baptized dies in their cabin. As for him, he always gave us the best possible welcome, and always showed that he held in high esteem what we taught. But what I mean to tell your Reverence is that his wife received [125] baptism with so much devotion, that tears fell from the eyes of some of those present. After having already given great satisfaction to the father in regard to her instruction, when he began to pour the water upon her head, and to pronounce the Sacramental words, she cried out of her own accord, " Oh my God, how I have offended you, how I have offended you! I am very sorry for it; my God, I will offend you no more." This good woman died the same night. The Father asked another if she believed firmly all that he taught her; "Yes indeed," said she, " I believe it, I would not listen to thee if I did not believe. " Another asserted that she was well content to be baptized; " But I pray thee," said she to the father, " oblige me; do not give me a new name, it annoys me to change my name."

On the 10th, the Father Superior made overtures [page 183] to the Captain *Anenkhiondic*, regarding the promise that he himself had given us some days before, to make some vow to God in this public necessity; and the next day the council assembled, in which the father instructed them upon the reality of a God, who was the master [126] of our lives, summarizing for them the principal mysteries of our belief, explaining to them the commandments of God, and the points he had proposed to the others. The affliction in which they were plunged (for every day some of them died) placed the affair beyond discussion, and all concluded that they would henceforth recognize God as their God, and that they would believe in him, in a word, that they had decided to give up all their customs that they knew would displease him, and that they would very willingly make a vow to him to erect in the spring a cabin in his honor. The fickleness of the others gave us sufficient reason to mistrust the good will of these; nevertheless, all things well considered, the Father Superior judged that it would be, perhaps, opposing the designs of Heaven, not to second this good intention. They were partly inclined to this by an impulse of their own, manifesting to us a very peculiar interest. The grace that God bestowed upon several of them, at the time of their conversion, caused us to believe that he looked upon this village with special favor, and was preparing for it great blessings. Besides, [127] it is the approach to the whole country; and from that time on we were strongly inclined to settle down there as soon as possible. However, the Father did not judge it wise to be hasty in the matter, and the final decision was postponed until the next day. Meanwhile, as there were some present from all the [page 185] cabins, each one had abundant leisure to confer about it with those of his family, and to propose to them the points upon which depended the good success of the whole affair.

On the 12th, the vow was entirely ratified; the only thing calling for discussion was in what way to make it public, so that every one would hear it. They proposed two ways, the first, to climb to the top of a cabin, the other to proclaim it through the streets of the village. The latter was considered the better, and the commission was given to a certain Okhiarenta, who is one of their Arendioan, that is, one of the sorcerers of the country. He went about crying in a loud voice that the inhabitants of Ossosan took God as their Lord and their master; that they renounces all their errors, that henceforth they would no longer pay attention to their dreams, that they would make no more feasts to the demon *Aoutaero*hi, that their marriages should be binding, that they would not eat [128] human flesh, and that they bound themselves to build in the spring a cabin in his honor, in case it pleased him to stop the progress of the disease. What a consolation it was to see God publicly glorified through the mouth of a barbarian and one of the tools of satan! Never had such a thing been seen among the Hurons.

While all this was taking place at Ossosan, God in his goodness gave us also from time to time opportunities to practice charity and to preach his holy name.

On the 14th, a sick man of our village was so low that we were almost in despair of being able to obtain anything from him in regard to baptism. Nevertheless, consciousness having returned to him [page 187] towards evening, Father Pierre Pijart instructed him, and he was baptized at the same time.

Father Charles Garnier and I went to pass the night at Anonatea, which is only one league away from us. We have heard it said that there were some sick people there whose condition was quite dangerous. Upon our arrival we were invited to a feast which was made in the very cabin where we had the most to do, and where there was a poor girl at the point of death; [129] we went there to take occasion to speak with and instruct her. This feast was an *Aoutaero*hi, where we saw a real sabbat. The women sang and danced while the men struck violently against pieces of bark; never have I heard such a din, or shouts so disagreeable. They took, to keep time, as it were, burning embers and red-hot cinders in their bare hands, then passed their hands over the stomach of the patient, who, as a part of the ceremony or for some other reason, tossed about like a maniac, incessantly shaking her head. The feast ended, she became very quiet. We spoke to her about baptism; at first, she showed us that she was well pleased with it; but, having made her understand that she was not to take baptism as a medicine for the body, and that it served merely to open the way to heaven after death, she would hear no more about it; so that, this evening, we could accomplish nothing further, which made us resolve to sleep in the cabin. From time to time we gave her some raisins; these little comforts, her relatives said, made her survive the night. In fact, she was very sick, and God willed that she should be a little better towards morning. We [130] again spoke to her of baptism, and having made her understand what we desired, we found her favorably [page 189] disposed to listen to us. I instructed her rather briefly, and baptized her; she died two hours afterwards. Thence we made a trip to the Bissiriniens, who had come to pass the winter an eighth of a league from there. We found a number of sick people among them, to whom we gave some raisins, this being all we could do. A person who

understood the Algonquin tongue would, perhaps, have made some headway with them; many of them died. Upon our return, we learned that one of our Savages, named *Sononresk*, was very ill; I went to see him and found him greatly prostrated. I made overtures of baptism to him, and he answered me that he would be well pleased therewith; but when I began to instruct him, he begged me to postpone it until noon, inasmuch as his mind was not clear enough, he said, to listen to me. Accordingly, we returned towards noon, Father Jogues and I; as soon as he saw us he told us that our coming was well timed, and that he found himself a little better. We instructed him fully, receiving valuable assistance in this [131] from one *Tehondeguan*, who afterwards died in a very Christian manner. This old man repeated and impressed upon him what I was teaching him, with an affectionate interest altogether remarkable; we were very well satisfied, and Father Jogues baptized him. I went to see him again some time afterwards and found him sitting up; he told me that he thought he was cured, that the water of baptism had entered his head and had gone down to his throat, that he no longer felt there any pain at all. He was nearer his end than he thought, for he died the next day. His wife assured us that during the night she had frequently heard him say *Rihouiosta*, "I believe." On [page 191] this same day Father Pierre Pijart had instructed and baptized a girl who had afforded him great consolation. She had, of her own accord, asked for baptism, and immediately afterwards had cried out, "ho, ho, ho, I thank you, my God, that you have granted me the favor of being baptized." Towards evening, a council was held at the Captain's; I happened to be in his cabin. As the company passed out, his father called me and told me that they had [132] talked much about the malady, and that his son had said that they need not be surprised that it had not abated, since they were not believing in earnest. I do not know how true this was, I doubt very much whether he spoke so frankly; but most of them said, quite rightly, that this might indeed be the cause of their misfortune.

On the 17th, the Father Superior departed from *Ossossan*, and came to lodge at *Anonatea*, where he found one *Isonnaat*, father of the girl whom we had baptized there, very sick. Nevertheless, he could not make up his mind to baptize him; for, although he showed a sort of desire for it, he did not find him well enough prepared. This poor Savage was strongly bent upon going to find one of his half-sisters, who was dead, and who, according to his story, had been changed into a serpent.

On the 19th, the Father Superior again sent us, Father Charles Garnier and me, to *Ossossan*, with a commission to stop on the way at *Anonatea*, to again see *Isonnaat*; but he was already dead. We went to lodge with one *Chiateandaoua*, having learned that he was very sick; we had some trouble getting in, as there was a feast there. It is a crime, on these [133] occasions, to set one's foot in a cabin; nevertheless, [page 193] we went in, towards the close. There were only two or three persons remaining, to each of whom the sick man had caused to be given food enough for four. They worked at it a very long time, encouraging one another. Finally they had to disgorge, doing so at intervals, and not ceasing on this account to continue emptying their plates. Meanwhile *Chiateandaoua* thanked them, assuring them that they were doing well, and that he was under great obligations to them. You would have said, to hear him and to see their actions, that his recovery depended upon this gluttonous excess. This was a very poor state of mind for baptism, and we did not mention it to him, as he was only in the first stages of his disease.

On the 20th, we went to *Onnentisati*, where we learned that there were three sick persons. We found two poor women very low, the one neither speaking nor hearing, and the other in almost continual convulsions, so that we could not make her understand our purpose, and unfortunately [134] there was no one else in the cabin but some children. We contented ourselves with giving her a little preserved fruit and 4 or 5 raisins, intending to return thither before departing; we were very sorry to see them in this state, and not be able to help them in what concerned their souls. In this extremity, God inspired us to vow to him some Masses in honor of St. Joseph. Meanwhile, we withdrew to the house of our host, where we baptized a little child. We had not been there half an hour, when a Savage came for us to go to the woman whom we had visited first, earnestly requesting us to take her a little more preserved fruit, adding that what we had already given her had made her recover her senses, and that she heard very [page 195] well. Behold us now greatly consoled! In fact, we found her so well disposed that, after having instructed her, we baptized her, to the great satisfaction of those present, who listened to us with close attention. After this, we went to see the other one, where we also were greatly comforted, doubtless through the merits of the glorious Patriarch St. Joseph. She was a little quieter, [135] and God provided us with an interpreter, a woman of considerable intelligence, who showed great affection for us. She exhorted the sick woman to listen to us, and made her understand our purpose. When I saw how clearly she explained to her what I meant, I resolved to think of instructing her rather than the patient. But, as we were continuing thus, the sick woman began to speak and said, "It is enough, if only he speaks, I understand him very well; only let him hasten, in a few words." So I proceeded, and she answered everything very distinctly. We baptized her, and we learned, upon our return, that she had died the same day. Behold without doubt strong indications of a predestined soul.

Towards evening, we arrived at *Ossossan*, where the malady was continuing to make great ravages. We made inquiries as to the condition of some of those whose names had been given us by the Father Superior, among others, about a woman, who died in the night. We were told that she was a little better, which turned us aside from visiting her, as we had to see the more urgent cases. We directed our steps to the house of one *Aonchiare*, who was in truth very ill; we instructed and baptized him. He is still alive and [136] well. It was already very late, but hearing that the Captain *Anenichiendis*, who had been [page 197] reported to us, on the way, as partially recovered, was at the point of death, we ran thither. It was time, for he could hardly speak, and had still more trouble to understand. I spoke to him about baptism and its importance; he answered me what he had often told us, that he was very glad to be baptized. His wife helped us to instruct him; this was not done without difficulty, for, besides that she was of a strange nation, and spoke a language that I did not understand so well, often this old man seemed to become drowsy; and, when I asked him at times if he heard me, occasionally he did not answer me the first time. This caused us to baptize him only conditionally. He died the next morning at dawn.

On the 21st, we baptized a woman who checked us at two points: First, having spoken to her of Paradise, and having made her understand that without baptism it was not possible ever to go there, and that those who died without baptism went to hell, she said to me frankly that, for her part, she did not wish to go elsewhere than there, where her dead relatives were; nevertheless, [I 3 71] she soon changed her mind when she heard about the wretched condition of the damned, and that they received no consolation from one another. I explained to her the rest of our mysteries, as far as the Commandments of God; there she stopped me again, and, when I was exhorting her to be sorry for having offended God, and telling her that without doing so her sins would not be pardoned her, she answered me that she could not do it, that she had not offended God, and that she did not know what sin was. Those who were present, and who had been very willing to have her baptized, almost spoiled the whole affair by saying that indeed she [page 199] had always lived correctly; and she herself, as well as I could understand, was dwelling largely upon her own praises, protesting that she did not know what libertinage and the ordinary life of the country was. I told her that I was very glad of it, but also that she should not think she was without sin, and that all men were subject to sin. However, as she persisted in declaring her own innocence, I represented to her that, if that were so, I could not baptize her; and that, even if I should baptize her, baptism would avail her nothing.

I added that I was not asking her to [138] give me an enumeration of all her sins, but merely that she should testify to me her deep regret for having committed them. We considered this point for a good quarter of an hour; from time to time she asked me for baptism, but I answered her that it was not possible for me to baptize her as long as she used this language to me; that I had no other desire, that this was what brought me here, but that she herself bound my hands and prevented me from doing her this favor. I threatened her with hell, and spoke to her about it more in detail than I had done at first, telling her that hell was full of people who had not recognized themselves as sinners. Finally, it pleased the mercy of God to touch her heart; she confessed to me that she had sinned, that she was very sorry for it, and that she would sin no more. We baptized her and she died a few days afterwards.

On this same journey, a young man caused us the same difficulty. He was very sick, and we had instructed him with as much comfort and satisfaction as possible; his relatives also took great pleasure in listening to our holy mysteries. Everything proceeded in the most satisfactory manner, but he would not [139] **[page 201]** listen to talk about repentance for his sins; now having used all the means with which God inspired me to make him take this step, I decided to tell him that, for my own part, I had oftentimes offended God, but that I had asked his pardon for it with all my heart, and had firmly resolved to die rather than ever offend him again. He yielded at last, and so thoroughly satisfied us upon this point that we did not judge it wise to defer longer his baptism. We hope that he is now happy in heaven.

On this same day the sorcerer *Tonneraouanont*, who was beginning to play his pranks in this village, and had undertaken to cure the sick, came towards evening to have a sweat in our cabin, to get some knowledge of this disease. They crossed four or five poles in a ring, making a sort of little arbor, which they surrounded with the bark of a tree. They crowded within this, twelve or thirteen of them, almost upon one another. In the middle there were five or six large red-hot stones. As soon as they had entered, they covered themselves, as usual, with robes and skins in order to retain the heat. The little sorcerer began to sing, and the others sang after him; there was a Savage outside, who was there [140] merely to serve him with whatever he might desire. After much singing, he asked for some tobacco which he threw upon these red-hot stones, while addressing the devil in these words, *Io sechongnac*.

The others from time to time urged him to do his best; these orgies lasted a good half hour, after which they began to eat. I drew near to listen to what was said; whoever well understood the whole discourse of this sorcerer would oblige a curious person by communicating it to him and by setting it **[page 203]** down here word for word; I do not undertake to do that. I may remark, however, that his conversation was only a series of boasts and extravagances; he did not declare the source of the evil, for he has often since admitted that he knew nothing about it, but he made great pretensions of remedying it if they would execute his orders. He boasted falsely of having already cured many in our village and elsewhere; that, for his own part, he was beyond any fear of taking the disease, ♦in fine, to hear him talk, he had little more than to command, and all the sick would immediately be upon their feet. He demanded some gifts with which to make a feast, and ordered some dances. The whole company listened to him with unparalleled manifestations of approval; and our host, who was one of the chief men, [141] said to him, " Courage, my nephew, assist us." These words sank deep into my heart; it was no time since they had publicly renounced the devil, and all those who were in league with him, and that they had protested they would have recourse to God alone, upon whom, they had admitted, depended their being and life; and see how they forthwith place all their confidence in the false promises of a charlatan and an impostor. I could not refrain from also speaking, in my turn, but what could I say? To be short of words with which to explain oneself upon so important an occasion is a matter for keen regret. This is all the lecture I gave them: " You are very wrong to do what you are doing, you show plainly that you do not believe what *Echon* has taught you; that man " (speaking of the sorcerer) ".has not the ♦power that you think; it is only he who has made heaven and earth who is the master of our lives. I do not **[page 205]** condemn natural remedies, but these sweats, these dances, and these feasts are worth nothing, and are altogether useless, as far as health is concerned." They listened to me very patiently, and made no answer, ♦either because they did not attach much importance to this reprimand, or because they were embarrassed, not doubting that I would report to the Father [142] what I had seen, and he would not fail to speak to them of it in forcible terms, when he had opportunity. At all events, we gained at least this, that every evening, when all were asleep, our host offered a prayer aloud in the name of the whole family, using these words: " Listen, you who have made heaven and earth; take all this cabin under your protection; you are the master of our lives." It is a pity he did not say this from his heart. We left there on the twenty-third, and, passing through *Anonatea*, we baptized a very sick Savage, who made the fifteenth of those whom God granted us the favor to baptize on this journey. Upon our return we were greatly consoled to hear that Father Pijart had baptized eight little children at *Ouenrio*, and the Father Superior two at the same place, besides a woman in our village. But we felt great regret at finding that the mother of one of our Christians had died without baptism; we had always hoped, up to that time, that this woman would never die other than a Christian. She seemed very docile, and had declared herself to be well satisfied with the baptism of those children. We had visited her very often [143] and only recently we had come from healing a wound that she had inflicted upon her leg, always taking occasion to exhort her to commend herself to God; so she had often heard the greater part of our holy mysteries. **[page 207]** Nevertheless the Father Superior could never induce her to consent to baptism in this extremity, ♦alleging as her sole reason that she desired only to go where one of her little sons was, who had died without baptism. I will say to your Reverence here, before passing on, that the rumors were continually increasing, and that we were spoken of in very bad terms, especially in four or five villages around here, ♦for, as to *Ossossan* ♦, we have always been welcome there. On this same twenty-third, one *Entaraha* said to the Father Superior that that porcelain collar they had accepted the year before, at a general council held on the occasion of the feast of the dead, was now the cause of their death, and that this was the belief of all the people, ♦inasmuch as the Father had told them that this present was not for the dead, and that it was not his intention that they should [144] place it in their grave, but that he desired to open to the living the way to heaven, and to encourage them thereby to surmount all difficulties which prevented them from taking that route.

On the 25th, an old man of our village, named *No ♦I Tehondecouan*, died, and went, as we hope, to celebrate in heaven the feast of the glorious Nativity of our Lord. I will repeat here in regard to this Savage what I have already said of another, ♦that he was one of those who were the most assiduous in attending instructions in the Catechism, and had shown the greatest approval of the doctrine that we taught. It was he who had been among the first to bring word to the Father Superior to offer some public prayer in this last time of need; and quite recently he had aided me greatly in instructing a Savage of his cabin. God granted him much grace in his **[page 209]** baptism, which took place on Christmas eve. He stopped the Father a little while upon the act of contrition. " It would be useless " (he said to him) " for me to repent. of having sinned, seeing that I never have sinned." Nevertheless, after having been fully instructed upon this point he acquitted himself admirably therein, and, holding a crucifix in his hand, he asked pardon of our Lord with a great deal Of [145] feeling, and promised him to keep his holy commandments all his life. Among them a man is not counted a sinner who does not kill, rob, bewitch some one, or do some extraordinary thing. He also begged the Father to leave him the cross, in order to protect him from the spirits which, according to his story, tormented him at night, ♦adding that when he saw them he cast his eyes upon this adorable sign of our redemption, and prayed our Lord to defend him.



On the 27th, the Father Superior returned to *Ossossan* with Father Isaac Jogues and Simon Baron. He passed through *Anonatea*, where he visited the Bissiriniens to assure them of the sympathy we felt for them in their affliction, for they already counted as many as 30 or 40 dead. The Father proposed Holy baptism to some of them, but without effect; our Holy mysteries in the Huron language are like night to them, and, besides, they are still more attached to their superstition than are our Savages. He learned there what they thought of the disease. It was brought upon them, they said, as well as upon the Hurons, by *Andesson*, Captain of the Island, in revenge, because they had not consented to join their forces with the latter to make war upon the Hiroquois. But, in passing through *Onnentsati*, he heard [146] a very different piece of news, which was [page 211] that *Tonneraouanon*, who was at *Ossossan* and was selling his antidote there, accused us of being the cause of this epidemic, adding that this was the sentiment of those of our village, who even said that, when they were getting better, we gave them I know not what, that made them die. Nevertheless, he denied all this afterwards when speaking to the father, claiming to have merely said that in the Autumn he had seen the sickness come from the direction of the lake, in the form of a powerful demon; that, however, he did not know the cause of it. The father having reproved him for his proceedings, he answered him in the usual fashion of the Savages,

You have your ways of doing and we have ours, *Oniondechanonkhron*," that is to say, " our countries are different. " Simon Baron again bled a great many upon this trip; and, the Father Superior having given a little medicine to the Captain *Endahiach*, one of his relatives had a sweat to make it operate, during which he addressed himself for this purpose to a certain demon. This same Captain one day, when he felt very sick asked what kind of weather it was; he was told that it was snowing. " I shall not die, then, to-day, " he said, " for I am not to depart from this life except in fine weather." Nine sick people had [147] the good fortune to receive holy baptism.

*Tonneraouanont* did not succeed in his cures any more than in his prophecies. He had predicted that no more than five of them would die, and that the sickness would cease at the end of 9 days; and yet before the Father's departure there were ten dead, and since then more than 50; and on the 4th of January, when the Father went away, there were nearly as [page 213] many sick people as usual, and yet it was the 13th day after this fine Prophecy. Therefore he lost a great deal of his credit, and his whole practice was reduced to a single cabin, in which he himself was sick. He was beset by all sorts of misfortunes, or, to express it better, God began to chastise this haughty spirit. Some days before, he had fallen so hard upon the ice at the entrance to a cabin that he had broken his leg, and this wound caused his death at the end of three weeks.

The Father Superior returned then to Ihonatiria on the 4th of January. In his absence we had seen with our own eyes some effects of the righteous vengeance of God upon the family of one *Taretand*. This Savage was Captain of our village, and had cast fire and flame at us in open feast. He had said that without doubt [148] we were the cause of the malady, and that if any one of those of his cabin should die, he would split the head of the first Frenchman whom he should find. He was not the only one who had spoken to our disadvantage. Not one of the company, at least of the more influential ones, had spared us; and one *Achioantaet*, who makes a show of loving us, had gone so far as to say that if he were the *Aondechio*, that is, the master of the country, it would soon be all over with us, and we would already have been put in a condition wherein we could do no more harm. Thereupon the Captain *A*ons began to speak, at least, by his own account, and represented to them that they were speaking of a very dangerous matter, namely, of the destruction and ruin of the country; that, if they should remain two years without going down to Kebec to trade, they would find themselves reduced to such extremities [page 215] that they might consider themselves fortunate to join with the Algonquins and to embark in their canoes. Relating this to the Father Superior, he added that after all that we should have no fear; and that if we would settle down in his village, we should always be very welcome there. *Taretand* was not satisfied with having spoken so badly of us on this occasion; he and *Sononkhiaconc*, his brother, came to have a quarrel with us [149] in our cabin, and to reproach us with being sorcerers, saying that it was we who caused their death. They added that they had resolved to get rid of us, and that it had been decided at least to re-embark every one of us in the spring, and send us back to Kebec. The matter went farther than our village, and the chief men of five or six villages in this vicinity have since admitted to us that they were on the point of doing an evil act. Ah, that would have been a very great happiness for us! These reports were so common that even the children spoke of us only as persons who were soon to have their heads split. One Sunday, when they heard us, towards evening, chanting the Litanies of our Lady, they believed, as they themselves told us afterwards, that we were weeping in expectation of the hour when they were to come and cut all our throats, or burn us in our cabin. Yet we are all still alive and well, thank God. Almost at the same time, the scourge fell upon that wretched family that had said the most against us. This chastisement had been for a long time due them on account of the contempt they had always shown [150] for our holy mysteries. Frequently, during the past year, we went to instruct the little ones only with much repugnance, and finally we had to desist altogether. *Taretand* [page 217] and his brothers were not usually present at the Catechisms, except to get a piece of tobacco, or to laugh among themselves afterwards at what they had heard there. Besides, they had often admitted to us that they took us for liars, and did not believe in the least what we taught; and that what we said was not at all probable, that there was no likelihood that they and we had the same God, Creator of their earth as well as of ours, and that we had all descended from the same father. " Indeed," said *Sononkhiaconc* one day, " who would have brought us to this country, how would we have crossed so many seas in little bark canoes? The least wind would have engulfed us, or we would at least have died of hunger at the end Of 4 or 5 days. And then, if that were so, we would know how to make knives and clothes as well as you people." I would waste too much paper if I were to undertake to set down here all their extravagances. But the justice that God exercised towards them is altogether remarkable. They had [151] seen the greater part of the other cabins infected with the disease without feeling any anxiety for their own lives; they had shown open contempt for the means we gave them to obtain from heaven deliverance from this malady; they walked with their heads high in the midst of so many corpses, as if they were made of different material from the others, and beyond the reach of death, when the hand of God fell heavily upon them; three of them fell sick almost at the same time. The mother was the first; she was a renegade Christian, who, having been baptized two years before, had oftentimes afterwards recanted her baptism. We had never been able to teach her any of our mysteries; and even when we spoke to her [page 219] sometimes about making the sign of the cross, or saying the Pater, she stopped us at the first word and began to quarrel with us. Your Reverence already knows that there is nothing capable of arousing to anger a Huron who has lost his father or mother, except to say to him, " Thy father is dead; thy mother is dead; " the mere word " father " or " mother " puts them into a passion. I will say here, since the occasion presents itself, that from the month of December we were obliged for this reason to desist from going through the cabins to instruct [152] the little children, and to assemble them at our house every Sunday, to have them pray to God, seeing that only recently a great many of their relations had died; and then those who remained alive have been so busily occupied all the Winter searching for remedies for the health of the sick, and have shown so little interest in our holy mysteries, that we decided that this exercise might rather injure than advance the affairs of Christianity. But to return to this wretched renegade; we visited her several times during her sickness, and, among others, a little while before she died. We went there, Father Pierre Chastelain and I, with the determination to do all we could to dispose her to penitence in this extremity. But she stopped us at the first step; for, when we asked her if she was not very glad to have been baptized, she answered " no." And also one of her children about 15 or 16 years old, who was then very sick,

being solicited several times in regard to baptism, and having left the matter to her decision, this hard-hearted mother answered, that up to her death, she did not wish him to be baptized. The Reverend Father Superior likewise urged the same thing very earnestly [page 221] [153] upon *Sononkhiacon*[c], brother of the Captain, who was also at the point of death; but this was without effect. This young man was 25 or 30 years old, and could easily of himself, independently of his mother's wish, have consented to baptism, but a spirit of pride which possessed him, and the many blasphemies he had uttered, will deprive him of this so signal favor. These three wretches did not survive the 7th day of January. The Captain *Taretand* ♦, followed them very closely, and was carried off in 4 or 5 days. On the day of his death, I went to see him in the morning, carrying him some little remedy; I found him sitting up, in the usual fashion of the Savages, and the thought did not occur to me that he was to die so soon; we did nothing, Father Garnier and I, but visit some sick people at *Anonatea*, yet on our return we found him in the agonies of death, and he expired towards evening. Behold a cabin desolate indeed! On the same day, the 7th of January, the Father Superior sent us back to *Ossossan* ♦, Father Garnier and me, where we remained until the 15th. We baptized twelve sick people, ♦four little children, and the rest adults. Upon our arrival, we instructed and baptized a woman in the house of our host, who died at the end of two or three days; we aided her with the prayers of the Church up to her last breath. The next day we [154] visited a great many of the cabins of the village. When we found a cabin without sick people, our usual conversation was to rejoice with them that they were still in good health, to speak to them of God, to exhort them to address themselves to him for the preservation of their family, and to teach them some little prayer for that purpose. We saw the little sorcerer, who was greatly [page 223] humiliated with his broken leg, ♦seeing himself, as it were, nailed to a mat; if he was motionless, he made enough commotion among the others, by making them dance and sing night and day for his recovery. He was somewhat embarrassed at finding himself in this condition, but his talk was characterized by ostentation and pride. We had hardly entered the cabin where he was, before he told us that we should not consider his illness as the common disease of the others, ♦that a fall had caused him to be confined to his bed for several days. I showed him some ointments that we had, telling him that these were what we were accustomed to use in similar cases; but he disdained the offer that we made him of our little services. It is wonderful that, while this demon incarnate was in the cabin, we could gain almost nothing from the sick people; we tried to propose [155] baptism to a young man of whom people had a very bad opinion. He answered us very impertinently; and one of his relatives, breaking into the conversation, began to abuse us, reproaching us with all the rumors that were current about us through the country; and the sorcerer commanded us very peremptorily to leave. The evening before our departure we instructed a young girl, deferring her baptism, however, until the next day; this was not without some change in her intention, for she dreamed during the night that she ought not to be baptized; if she did, she would die, ♦the credence she gave this dream, and her dread of dying, causing her to persist altogether in the negative and to refuse baptism. But after having represented to her that the devil was the author of this dream, and that he desired nothing else than to see her forever miserable in the flames [page 225] of hell, ♦and that, on the contrary, God, who wished ♦nothing so much as to see her blest in heaven through all eternity, was inviting her to receive Holy Baptism, ♦she gave us her consent. We baptized her immediately; it pleased the divine goodness to restore to her health of body with that of the soul. We are glad to have such experiences, to shake and overthrow their belief in dreams.

[156] Meanwhile, another sorcerer, almost blind, named *Sondacouan* ♦, brought himself into much repute in the village of *Onnentisati*, and deluded the surrounding villages with his fancies. On the ninth of this month, when the Father Superior went to *Ouenrio*, with Father Chastellain, to baptize two little children, he learned some particulars about him which are not to be omitted. Accordingly, the story or tale declares that this blind man, having dreamed that it was necessary for him to fast six days, resolved to fast seven; and, with this in view, he had an apartment partitioned off in one end of the cabin, whither he retired alone, ♦contenting himself with drinking, from time to time, a little tepid water, in order, it was said, to warm his stomach. At the end of a few days the demons began to appear to him, merely passing around the fireplace without doing anything else, until the sixth day, when they spoke to him and said, "*Tsondacouan* ♦, we come here to associate thee with us; we are demons, it is we who have ruined the country through the contagion." And thereupon one of them named all the others by name; " That one, " said he, " is called "*Atechiategnon*," that is to say, " he who changes and disguises himself," " and is the demon of *Tandehouaronnon* " (a mountain near the village of *Onnentisati*). After [page 227] having told him the names of the five [157] or six who were there, he said to him, " But thou must know that the most evil of all is he of *Ondichaouan* " (a large Island which we can see from here); " this demon is like a fire. It is he who feeds upon the corpses of those who are drowned in the great lake, and excites storms and tempests, in the darkness of which he engulfs canoes. But now we wish to take pity upon the country, and to associate thee with us, in order to stop the epidemic which prevails." *Tsondacouan* ♦ having replied to this that he was well content to do so, they taught him some remedies which he should use for the cure of the sick. Among other things, they recommended to him strongly the feasts of *Aouta* ♦*rohi*, adding that they feared nothing so much as those. It was said also that they pretended to try to carry him away, but that he resisted them so well that they left him to make a feast of a dog, ♦threatening to come and get him the next day, in case he failed to do this. These demons having disappeared, *Tsondacouan* ♦ related the whole affair to the Captain *Enditsaconc*; the latter having reported the matter in open council, a dog was immediately found, with which he made a feast on the same day. All the people having assembled, this sorcerer began to cry out that the devils were coming [158] to carry him away, but that he did not fear them, only that all should sing a certain song. While they were singing, " There! two of them are approaching," said he, "and what I say is not imagination, but the truth." A little while afterwards, he said to those who were preparing the feast, " Withdraw; here they are, quite near; " and at the same time they began to speak, and to reproach him for his failure to do [page 229] several things that he had been ordered, and to say they had come to carry him off. In a word, at the end of the feast, when he was about to go out he encountered those demons, who said to him, "*Tsondacouan* ♦, thou art now safe; we can do nothing more to thee; thou art associated with us, thou must live hereafter as we do; and we must reveal to thee our food, which is nothing more than clear soup with strawberries." There was much probability of their finding strawberries in the month of January! But our Savages keep dried ones, and they vied with one another in eating them, in order not to be sick. Also they ordered that those who would be delivered entirely from this disease should hang at their doorways large masks, and above their cabins figures of men similar to those scarecrows that in France are placed [159] in the orchards, to frighten away the birds. This was soon executed, and in less than 48 hours all the cabins of *Onnentisati* and the places around were almost covered with images, ♦a certain man having 4 or 6 of these straw archers hung to the poles of his fireside; these were their idols and their tutelary gods. It was in these grotesque figures that they put all their trust, relying upon the assertion of a wretched blind man that the devils were afraid of these, and they had given this order for the good of the country. An old man of our village, named *Tendoutsaharon* ♦, exhorted us to do the same, on account of the affection he had for our house, so much credence did he give to this sorcerer's fancies. The Father Superior replied to him that they were deceiving themselves in thinking to make these demons afraid, and to drive away the disease with some wisps of straw; that, if he [page 231] what we had so often taught them, he would know very well that all this was useless for what they wished to accomplish; that, if there was anything in the world capable of inspiring the demons with terror, it was the cross; that we already had one before our door, but that in these circumstances we would raise another over our cabin, so that all who should see it should understand that it is [160] in the cross that we put all our trust, and that in virtue of this sign we had no fear of demons, and hoped that God would preserve our little house from this contagious malady. Moreover, this

sorcerer, although half blind, saw into his affairs a little more clearly, it seems, than the other, the little hunchback, who had promised that in eight days *Ossossan* would be without sick people; this one only promised perfect and complete recovery at the end of the January Moon. Yet he said that if the people of the village of *Arent*, and the sorcerers or Bissiriniens, did not make him a present of a net, it was all over with them. I do not know what they did, or whether they granted his request; but certainly the poor *Bissiriniens* were very badly treated, as many as seventy of them having died. As for them, they said that one of the causes of this so great mortality was that they had no kettle large enough to make a feast.

On the 16th, the chief men of our village assembled, and had the Father Superior invited to the council. Here the Captain *A* answered made a long speech, to entreat us in the name of every one of them, to think no more of what had passed, and not to reveal the evil designs that they had had [161] upon our lives. The Father gave them a satisfactory answer to this, and took occasion to reprove them gently for having [page 233] failed in fidelity to God, and for not taking care to resort to his infinite goodness during their affliction, minding rather the foolish fancies of a man of no account, who was deluding them and who sought only his own interests. To this *A* answered nothing but *Onanonharaton*, I What wilt thou have? our brains are disordered. " And, a little while before, an old man had said to him, " My nephew, we do not know what we are about; there is nothing we would not do to preserve our lives; and if it be necessary to dance night and day to drive away the disease, all decrepit as I am, I will begin first, in order to save the lives of my children." They heard that another sorcerer, named *Tehorenyaegnon*, of the village of *Andiatae*, was promising wonders, provided they made him some present. They had a dog killed immediately, which was brought to him with elaborate ceremonies, but without effect.

On the 17th, the epidemic, continuing to rage at *Ossossan*, obliged the Father Superior to continue also the help that we had rendered to the sick up to that time. He took with him Father Isaac Jogues and Mathurin, who also performed [162] some very successful bleedings. The Father in passing through *Ouenrio* found a number of sick persons there; but not one of them would hear about baptism, and a Savage of *Arent* confessed to him what had been reported, that he had said that there we had no occasion to visit them for the sake of baptizing them, that they did not attach any importance to baptism. This wretch died some time afterwards, and was deprived of this boon; we learned of his sickness and of his death at the same time. We have not ceased since then to go and visit them in their need, there to [page 235] preach our holy mysteries, to baptize some of the sick, above all, some little children, who are now in heaven; and at the very hour that I write this, Fathers Garnier and Isaac Jogues are setting out to go there to visit some of them. The Father Superior continued his journey thence and stopped at *Angoutenc*, where he baptized two little children. The next day, the 28th, he arrived at *Ossossan*, where he found the demons let loose, and a poor people in deeper affliction than ever, giving their attention to the follies of a certain *Tehorenyaegnon*, who boasted of having a secret remedy for this kind of malady, which he had learned from the demons themselves, after a fast of 12 or 13 days in a little cabin which he had made for this purpose on the shore of the lake. Accordingly, the inhabitants of *Ossossan*, hearing [163] of what he could do, and seeing that presents were offered to him on all sides in order to gain his good will, and to get from him some relief, sent to him some of their chief men to entreat him very humbly to have pity upon their misery, and to proceed to their village to see the sick and to give them some remedies. *Tehorenyaegnon* evinced a willingness to comply with their request; and not being able, or rather not deigning to go thither in person, sent one of his associates, named *Saossarinon*, to whom he communicated all his power, in proof of which he gave him his bow and arrows, which would represent his person. As soon as he had arrived, one of the Captains proclaimed in a loud voice, throughout the village, that all the sick should take courage, that *Tehorenyaegnon* promised to drive the disease away very soon; that, not being able to come in person, *Saossarinon* had been sent by him, with power to give [page 237] them all manner of satisfaction; that he ordained that for three consecutive days three feasts should be made, promising that all those who should be present there, and should observe all the ceremonies, should be protected from disease. Towards evening, the people assembled in the very cabin of our host, which is one of the largest [164] in the village. Our Fathers stayed there, in order to see all that might happen. The company was composed only of men, the women were to have their turn afterwards; there were some present from all the families. Before beginning the ceremony, one of the Captains climbed to the top of the cabin and cried aloud in this manner: " Come now, see us here assembled. Listen, you demons whom *Tehorenyaegnon* invokes, behold us about to make a feast and have a dance in your honor. Come, let the contagion cease and leave this town; but, if you still have a desire to eat human flesh, repair to the country of our enemies; we now associate ourselves with you, to carry the sickness to them and to ruin them. " This harangue ended, they begin to sing. Meanwhile, *Saossarinon* goes to visit the sick and makes the round of all the cabins. But the feast did not take place until daybreak; the entire night was passed in a continual uproar; now they sang, and at the same time beat violently, keeping time, upon pieces of bark; now they arose and began to dance; each one strove to do well, as if supposing that his life depended upon it. The substitute of *Tehorenyaegnon*, after having seen the sick, was to have put in an appearance at this [165] cabin, but he found so much practice that daylight overtook him in his progress. Meanwhile, he was awaited with great impatience; and as they were [page 239] singing, one after another, there was one of them who began in these words, " Come, great *Arendiouane*, come, behold the day beginning to dawn. " Not to keep them waiting longer, he passed by some of the remaining cabins. At his arrival a profound silence prevailed; a Captain marched before him holding in one hand the bow of *Tehorenyaegnon* as a sign of the power possessed by this substitute, and in the other a kettle filled with a mysterious water with which he sprinkled the sick. As for him, he carried a Turkey's wing, with which he fanned them gravely and at a distance, after having given them something to drink. He performed the same ceremonies for the sick of this cabin; then, having inspired the whole company with courage and strong hope, he withdrew. The feast took place, and afterwards the men left the place to the women, who also came singing and dancing in their turn; as for a feast, they had none.

On this 20th, *Saossarinon* himself made the second feast. There the aid of the demons was invoked in the same words as upon the preceding day, and, [166] after having eaten, some one said that the Physician had already cured twelve of them. This news caused great rejoicing among the company; the Captain *Andahiach* thanked him and his master *Tehorenyaegnon*, with all the Captains of the village of *Andiata*, declaring that the whole village would be under obligation to them, and begged them to continue their favors. The 3rd feast did not take place for lack of fish.

On the 21st, *Saossarinon* returned to *Andiata*, at his departure taking into partnership with himself and *Tekorenyaegnon* one *Khioutenstia* and one *Iandatassa*, [page 241] to whom he taught the secrets of his art and communicated his power, as a token of which he left them each a Turkey's wing, adding that henceforth their dreams would prove true. He also commissioned them to send, after a few days, some one to report to them the success of their remedies. 4 or 5 days afterwards, all the cabins were visited to ascertain with certainty the number of those who were cured and of the sick, in order to inform *Tehorenyaegnon* thereof. According to their count, they found 25 cured and 25 sick; some one went straightway to *Andiata* to bear report thereof to this personage, who sent *Saossarnon* the next day to strive to cure the rest, but it was to his own confusion. He would not [167] take the trouble to go and visit the sick, but gave orders that they should drag themselves, or that they should be carried to him, in the cabin of one *Oonchiarr*, where there were already a great many sick people. But this plan resulted very badly for him, and this second time no good effects



were seen from their remedies, for some would not go there because they felt too weak. The same night a woman of the cabin died, and the next morning another one, who had been carried there; as to the latter, the Father Superior instructed and baptized her with a great deal of satisfaction. Moreover, he did so well that those gentlemen, the substitutes of *Tehorenyaegnon*, were obliged to throw aside their Turkey wings and renounce their office.

On the 25th, *Tonneraouanont*, the little sorcerer whom I mentioned above, died in the village of *Onnentisati*; he was still at *Ossossan* on the 23rd, but, finding himself extremely ill, and seeing that there was no more help for him, he had himself carried to *Onnentisati*, [page 243] asserting that he wished to die in the place of his birth. He also ordered that they should put him in the ground, in order that, as he was a demon, he might return to the place whence he had come. During his sickness he complained, according to report, of a certain she-devil whom he called his sister, inasmuch as she had been [168] incarnated, at the same time as he, in the womb of his mother. It was she, according to his story, who was the cause of his death, and who had broken his leg, inasmuch as, against her will, he had tried to treat other patients than those of the cabin of *Tondaaiondi*.

The Father Superior baptized fifteen persons, on this journey. The Providence of God appeared particularly in the conversion of two, to one of whom, after she had resisted baptism for several days, always in manifest danger of death, and in such a condition that there was little probability of her living through the day, God preserved her life until her husband appeared, who, having been baptized by the father previously, in a similar extremity, exhorted her so well and so effectively that she allowed herself to be subdued, and at last evinced great willingness to receive baptism. The other was a young man, who showed himself favorably enough inclined towards baptism; but his father-in-law and mother-in-law opposed him in this so strongly that it was impossible to resist them. Meanwhile, the danger of death was increasing. The father went there 3 or 4 times a day, without being able to find opportunity for speaking to him, there being always some hindrance; now they were making a feast, now the Medicine man was there, and very [169] rarely did the father-in-law or mother-in-law leave him. God [page 245] finally willed that, the father-in-law being absent, the mother-in-law was invited to a feast in another cabin, so that the Father Superior very fortunately found himself alone with the sick man. As he had already given him instruction, several days before, the affair was soon completed, and he baptized him forthwith, with much consolation on both sides. The father had only finished, when the mother-in-law entered; she had just started on her way to this banquet, and had suddenly given up her intention. The divine goodness had prepared this moment for an act of mercy to this poor young man, doubtless through the merits of St. Joseph, who was invoked very specially on this occasion, as well as on the preceding one. He is our usual refuge in such necessities, and generally with so much success that we have reason to bless God forever, who reveals to us in this barbarism the influence of this Holy Patriarch with his infinite mercy.

On the 28th, the Father Superior returned to *Ihonattiria*. During his absence we made some visits to *Ouenrio* and to *Anonatea*, where there were a great many sick people. On the 21st, Father Pierre Pijart had baptized two women, one at *Anonatea*, whom we had seen and instructed, Father Chastellain [172 i.e., 170] and I, two days before; the other at *Ouenrio*, who died immediately afterwards with marked indications of predestination. It was a providence of God that the Father should make this little journey on the 20th, for if he had waited until the next day, as he had planned, he would have found her incapable of baptism; but he felt himself inwardly inspired to go and lodge there the day before her death. Upon his arrival, before going to her cabin, [page 247] he had visited some others, who had bluntly refused baptism; and he even passed the evening instructing a woman who was very near her, who appeared quite sick and very earnestly requested baptism; as to the other one, for whom God was preparing heaven, the father hardly gave her a thought, nor did he judge it necessary to speak to her again on the subject of her salvation, not perceiving the danger in which she was, yet she was hardly able to live through the night. The next morning, the Father returned to visit them, for he had withdrawn to another cabin. His chief purpose was to baptize her whom he had instructed, and God led him straight to the other one; in short, he instructed and baptized her, and she died at the end of an hour or two; while the one who had so eagerly requested baptism the evening before, would not hear of it in [171] anyway whatever. *Unus assumetur, alter relinquetur*. We again visited these two villages some days afterwards, Father Pierre Chastellain and I; but we found there no inclination towards baptism, some having lost consciousness, and others lacking the good will.

On the 30th, our great lake was entirely covered with ice. It had been frozen for a long time, up to certain Islands; but beyond these the almost continual winds had always broken the ice. It does not freeze everywhere except in very calm weather. It is a convenience to these peoples; for, as soon as the ice is strong enough, they take corn to the Algonquins, and bring back quantities of fish. We have had a long Winter this year; it began on the 10th or 12th of October, and has greatly encroached upon the Spring; there is little appearance of a favorable year, if the goodness of God is not interposed. Here [page 249] we are at the 30th of May, and the corn has hardly begun to grow, and this only in some places; many have not yet planted seed, and others complain that their seed is rotting in the ground; we have had almost continual rain for 15 days.

On the 1st of February, we departed to go to *Ossossan*, Father Pierre Pijart and I; [172] we remained there until the 13th, and baptized five persons; we instructed several others, but, finding them not yet in danger, we did not consider it wise to hasten their baptism. We found a great change in the cabin of one *Tondaaiondi*; while the little sorcerer *Tonneraouanont* was there, we had always been very badly received, especially upon the subject of baptism. We had been loaded with insults there; and but recently the Father Superior had done his best to win a poor sick woman. But, besides that she had listened very coldly when he talked to her about Paradise and hell, her father had not shown any inclination to have her baptized, and had given the father to understand that they did not attach much importance to what we taught them, that, as for them, they had, as well as we, a certain place where the souls of their dead relatives went, *Ahahabreti onaskenonteta*, "We have," said he, "a certain road that our souls take after death." Since the death of this little sorcerer, God had (it seems) changed their hearts. We had scarcely any hope of finding this patient still alive, whom her relatives had abandoned, as it were, after the departure of the Father Superior. In [173] fact, we found that her leggings and moccasins had already been put on, according to the custom of the country, and her mind was so far gone that we judged her thereafter incapable of baptism. [page 251]

On the 3rd, consciousness having returned to her, God granted us the grace to baptize her. She herself of her own free will gave her father to understand that she desired to be baptized; he replied that he was very glad of it, and after her baptism rejoiced with her over her good fortune in being fitted to go to heaven, representing to her that already several of her relatives who had died Christians were there, and that he himself also desired to be baptized. On that same day, we met a young man who held with us a conversation that will console Your Reverence. We had already had a very agreeable encounter with him in one of our first journeys, when I was instructing a sick man, and he had taken great pleasure in hearing the commandments of God, begging me then to repeat them to him once more; and in this second meeting, speaking to me of a widow whom I had baptized and who had recovered, he asked me what she should do in order to go to heaven. Having answered him that she must keep the commandments of God, and having given him a summary of them, "As for me," he said, "I have been keeping them since I learned them, and have resolved [174] to keep them all

my life." He repeated to me the points that the Father Superior had especially recommended to them, and added that when he happened to dream at night, the next morning he addressed God and said to him, " My God, I have dreamed; but, since you do not wish us to depend upon our dreams, I shall not trouble myself about them." He said, moreover, that he was careful to pray to God every day; and, as for that young woman, that she probably would marry again, but that this marriage would be permanent. Thereupon he put to me a question, **[page 253]** asking me what a woman ought to do whose husband was not faithful to her, and if she might not also lead the same life, on her part. I answered him "no," that she would commit a grievous sin, and would act contrary to the Commandments of God. In conclusion, I asked him to continue in the good purpose that he had to serve God, promising him that we would some day instruct him more particularly. This young man has a good mind, and appears very honest for a Savage.

On the 4th, God sent us something with which to benefit our sick and to rejoice our host, who was short of fish. Robert, whom we had taken with us, killed two Bustards. Very fortunately, there were only 4 or 5 persons very sick, so that we [175] could easily oblige them without causing the others to complain; and game is so rare among the Savages that, although there were 20 or 25 in our cabin, and although our host had sent some to his friends, still they considered that they had fared very well, and the whole cabin resounded with " ho, ho, ho. " Among others, an old woman, the wife of our host, addressing herself to our hunter, thanked him in these words, "ho, ho, ho, *Echiongnix et sagon achitec*," "Ah, my nephew, I thank thee; be of good heart for the morrow." In fact he killed 4 or 5 more of them, so that we had something with which to make soup for two sick people in our cabin, and carried some to certain others who were most in need of it. But our host did not approve of this, and we contented ourselves afterwards with carrying them some pieces of Bustard, entirely raw, teaching them to make soup therefrom. At this time we had an amusing encounter; upon carrying some broth to a sick **[page 255]** woman, we found the Physician there. He is one of the most dignified and serious Savages that I have seen. He took the broth, looked at it, and then drew out a certain powder that he had in his bag; he put some of it in his mouth, spit it out upon the broth, and then, choosing the best of it, made the patient eat it.

[176] On the 5th, we baptized an old woman in the house of our host. I had instructed her some days before, with great satisfaction; after her baptism, especially, we heard her from the other side of the cabin in which we were, commending herself to God morning and evening, and offering some little prayer that we had taught her. She felt a great deal of pain, and yet we found her always disposed to have recourse to God. The Captain *Andakiach*, her brother, begged us very earnestly to give her some remedy for the pain in her head, of which she complained, telling us that the Father Superior and Simon Baron had given one to some of them, who had been thereby benefited. I could not imagine what this might be, unless he spoke of some ointments which had been used for certain swellings of the cheeks that had broken out on the outside. I showed him a little box in which there were several kinds of these, and it proved that they were exactly what he wanted. I told him from the first that I did not think these were good for this woman's trouble; nevertheless, as he persisted, and urged me to give her some of them, I asked him which color he wished, for I had 5 or 6 different 'kinds; having shown me the red, the [177] white, and the green, I made her a large plaster of these, which I applied to her forehead. How powerful is the imagination, here as well as in France! The next day she found herself greatly **[page 257]** relieved, and *Andahiach* begged me not to share this remedy with the others, and to reserve it for their cabin alone. I replied to him that he should not trouble himself, and that as long as we had any they should not want for it. If I had consented to follow her advice, I would also have made her a plaster to cover her stomach, where all her pain was. She died, however, two or three days afterwards.

On the same 5th day of February, the council assembled at the house of the Captain *Andahiach*, where the sorcerer *Tsendacouane*, of the village of *Onnentisati*, presided, for sieur *Tehorenhachnen* and his substitutes were no longer in good standing. This latter one spoke with authority and as a Prophet, saying that, if they did not do what he should order, the sickness would last until the month of July; if, on the contrary, they obeyed him, and if they granted what he should ask, he gave his word that in ten days the town should be entirely secured against it. Accordingly, he ordered, first, that they should henceforth put the dead in the ground, and that in the spring they should take them out [178] to place them in bark tombs raised upon four posts, as usual. Secondly, that they should give them no more mats, at least no new ones. Thirdly, that they should give him a present of the 5 cakes of tobacco. His request was immediately granted, one of the sons-in-law of our host furnishing this contribution. They reassembled towards evening outside the village. I was twice invited to this council. One of the Captains warned the children in a loud voice not to make any noise; a great fire was lighted, and the sorcerer after having represented to those present the importance of the affair threw therein the 5 cakes of tobacco that **[page 259]** had been given him, while addressing his prayer to the Sun, to the Demons, and to the Pest, conjuring them to leave their country, and to repair as soon as possible to the country of the Hiroquois.

On the 8th, our host, who had been recently enjoying good fare and had acquired a taste for bustards, seeing that our hunter was in need of powder, offered to go himself in quest of some. We gave our consent to this more willingly that we might have something that would benefit our patients, especially as we were at the end of the little sweetmeats that we had brought with us. [179] It was a good lesson to us to see an old man more than 60 years of age undertake a journey Of 4 long leagues, in the most trying season of the year, in the hope of getting a piece of meat to eat. There was everywhere three feet of snow; and no paths had yet been made, as it had been snowing all the preceding day, and, if I am not mistaken, part of the night.

Towards evening, the Captain *Andahiach* went through the cabins to publish a new order of the sorcerer *Tsendacouan*. This personage was at *Onnentisati*, and was not to return until the next day. He was carrying on his preparations, that is to say, certain sweatings and feasts, in order to invoke the assistance of the demons, and to render his remedies more efficacious. This prescription consisted in taking the bark of the ash, the spruce, the hemlock, and the wild cherry, boiling them together well in a great kettle, and washing the whole body therewith. He added that his remedies were not for women who were in their courses, and that care should be taken not to go out of their cabins barefooted, in the evening.

On the 9th, our host returned, and brought us **[page 261]** some powder. But unfortunately for [180] him, hunting was no longer successful; for the mild weather had ceased, and it was not the season for game. Before going to sleep, he threw some tobacco upon the fire and prayed the demons to take care of his cabin. How our hearts ached, that we could not prevent these infamous Sacrifices!

On the 10th, they performed a dance for the recovery of a patient. He had dreamed about it two days before, and since then they had been making their preparations. All the dancers were disguised as hunchbacks, with wooden masks which were altogether ridiculous, and each had a stick in his hand. An excellent medicine, forsooth! At the end of the dance, at the command of the sorcerer *Tsondacouane* all these masks were hung on the end of poles, and placed over every cabin, with the straw men at the doors, to frighten the malady and to inspire with terror the demons who made them die.

On this same day, the sorcerer, who had come the day before, returned, and demanded 8 cakes of tobacco and three fish of different species, namely, an Atsihiendo, a fish they decoy from the edge of the water, and an eel. Of the cakes of tobacco, he carried away 4,

and the other 4 served to make a Sacrifice to the devils, as had been done two [181] days before; our host made his also. We told them our opinion of this, at the time, but without effect; their heads seemed to be disordered, and it was almost words lost to speak to them about it. Also we observed that God visibly abandoned them; for, notwithstanding the diligence we used in visiting the cabins, two or 3 died without baptism. One had been partly instructed, but he had been reported to [page 263] us as a person who was on the way to recovery; the others had been carried off unexpectedly, at the beginning of their sickness.

On the eleventh, we visited a very sick woman, hoping that God had perhaps changed her heart, for up to that time we had been able to gain nothing from her. But we found her as obstinate as ever; and, to all that we could say to her about hell, she answered nothing except that she would by no means be baptized; she died towards evening. The Captain *Andahiach* made a round of all the cabins, and in a loud voice exhorted the women to take courage and not to allow themselves to be cast down with sorrow on account of the death of their relatives; and that, when the young men should come [182] to bring them some hemp to Spin, they should willingly render them this little service; that it was their intention to make weapons to go to war in the Spring against the Hiroquois, and to place them in security and in a position to be able to work peaceably in their fields. However, these weapons [shields] are not proof against muskets, as Your Reverence knows, and it is quite enough if the arrow cannot indent them.

On the 12th, early in the morning, our host addressed his prayer to the demons, throwing some tobacco in the fire for the preservation of his family. Towards evening they publicly made a 3rd sacrifice Of 4 cakes of tobacco, which was followed by a din and clatter which arose from all the cabins and lasted a good quarter of an hour. They beat so hard upon the pieces of bark that it was not possible to hear oneself. Their purpose was, according to what they told us afterwards, to frighten the disease and put it to flight; and in order that nothing be wanting [page 265] to this ceremony, as those wooden masks and straw men had been hung over the cabins merely to terrify the disease and the demons, our host conjured them to keep a good watch; and, to render them more favorable, he threw a piece of tobacco into [183] the fire, in their honor. What extremes for reasonable men! All this made us resolve the next day to think seriously about our return, seeing that among all these lawless acts our Holy mysteries could not be received and treated with the respect and reverence they deserved; and that we were often obliged to suffer many things, as much because we were powerless to prevent them, as that we were not yet capable of properly expressing our sentiments in regard to them. We made this decision all the more readily because there were at that time very few sick people.

We departed, therefore, on the 13th, and reached home very late at night, after considerable trouble, for the paths were only about half a foot wide where the snow would sustain one, and if you turned ever so little to the right or to the left you were in it half way up your thighs.

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# VOL. XIV

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents  
Travels and Explorations  
of the Jesuit Missionaries  
in New France



1610-1791

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

EDITED BY

Reuben Gold Thwaites

Secretary of the State historical Society of Wisconsin

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Thom Mentrak

Historical Interpreter at

Onondaga county parks

Ste. Marie Among The Iroquois Living History Museum

Liverpool. New York

Vol. XIV

Hurons, Quebec

1637-1638

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PREFACE TO VOL. XIV

The greater part of Le Mercier's (Huron) contribution to the Relation of 1637 (Document XXIX.) was presented in our Vol. XIII. We now give the remainder of the Huron report, which thus closes the entire document.

Le Mercier continues his record of missionary labors among the plague-stricken Hurons, nursing the sick, consoling the afflicted, and baptizing dying children and those adults who at the point of death turned to this rite as a protection from the fires of hell. In the intervals of these labors, the Fathers learn what they can of the native language, " all the secret of which, " says the author, " consists in the conjugations of verbs." In this they are greatly aided by " some catechisms prepared for them last year by Louis de Sainte-Foy, upon the mysteries of the life, death, and passion of Our Lord."

In March, the missionaries submit to some of the clans certain questions whether they are ready to believe in and accept the faith; whether they are willing that some of the Frenchmen should become allied to them by marriage; and if there is any probability of the reunion of the natives hereabout to those of the Bear clan, from whom they had become estranged. The second of these queries is readily answered in the affirmative; but they hesitate as to the others. [page 1]

In April, Garnier and some of the domestics spend a fortnight in a trip to the neighboring Tobacco Nation, during which they baptize fifteen sick persons.

May 3, a fire occurs not far from the mission house, in a cabin occupied by some orphans, whose relatives had been carried off by the pestilence; not only the villagers, but the missionaries, contribute to a fund for the relief of these children, who thus find themselves in better circumstances than before. In this month of May, a new mission house is established at Ossossan, under the charge of Pierre Pijart, and here Garnier soon joins him.

In the final chapter of this report to Le Jenne, Le Mercier relates at length " the happy conversion of Tsiouendaentaha, the first adult savage baptized in good health in the Huron country, " which event fills the souls of the Fathers with gladness.

XXX. The Relation for 1638 consists of two parts: Part I., on the missions of New France in general, by the superior, Le Jeune, and closed at Three Rivers, August 25, 1638. Part II., the annual report to Le Jenne, from the Huron missions, by Le Mercier, dated at Ossossan, June 9, 1638. In the present volume, we publish Part I., reserving Part II. for Vol. XV.

Le Jeune begins his Relation by naming " the four batteries that shall destroy the empire of Satan," which the missionaries are now ranging against as many defenses of that empire—superstition, error, barbarism, sin. These engines of war are: the study of the native languages, the establishment of a hospital, seminaries for Indian children, and the substitution among the savages of a sedentary for a nomadic mode of life. [page 2]

The writer then recounts minutely the conversions and baptisms of the past year. Notable among these are: an Algonkin who, lying for months at the point of death, is restored to health through the prayers of the Fathers—not only is he baptized, and made a catechumen, but his wife, sister, and three children; two young men, pupils in the Huron seminary; the wife and children of Pigarouich, the " sorcerer" with whom the missionaries had so many encounters the previous year. Pigarouich burned all the utensils of his art, and since then has steadily refused to practice it, though many times tempted by valuable gifts to do so. The religious experiences of a young Algonkin catechumen, and the proofs of sincerity shown by him, are also rehearsed.

A notable event now occurs, the establishment of the residence of St. Joseph de Sillery, four miles above Quebec, through the munificence of Noel de Sillery, a Knight of Malta, who, having become a priest, dedicated his fortune to pious works. At this

residence are established two Algonkin families, comprising about twenty persons, who consent to settle there and till the soil for their living, ♦ the beginning of an Indian village, where the native converts can be withdrawn from their savage associations, and kept under French and Christian influences. Sillery has by this time become a center for gathering the vagrant savages of that region, and giving them religious instruction.

Progress is also reported from the station at Three Rivers; the savages eagerly bring their children for baptism; " these sacred waters, having many times saved the lives of entire families, are now in great esteem among them." The medicine men are losing **[page 3]** their influence; the " eat-all " feasts and consultation of demons are no longer practiced.

After its early trials, the seminary for the Hurons is now prospering. One of its pupils, converted to the faith, returns to the Huron country with one of the Fathers, to allay the excitement and discontent of the people, who have been threatening the missionaries sent there ♦ accusing them as sorcerers, who have brought thither the pestilence for the ruin and death of the natives. Besides the seminary for the Hurons, others have been begun near Quebec, for the Algonkins and Montagnais; the mission has now in charge fifteen of these Indian children, who must be supported and educated.

Jerome Lalemant, Simon le Moyne, and Fran ♦ ois du Peron arrive in the spring of 1638, and are forthwith sent to the Huron country; on the way thither, they meet with various annoyances and losses.

In addition to gentlemen already named, the following have recently rendered material assistance to the editor: P ♦ re Colombier, S.J., librarian of l' ♦ cole de Sainte-Genevi ♦ ve, and M. Girard de Rialle, director of the Archives au Minist ♦ re des Affaires ♦ trang ♦ res, Paris; Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, superintendent of MS. department, Library of Congress, Washington; Rev. W. O Raymond, president of New Brunswick Historical Society, St. John, N. B.; Rev. Oswald Mueller, S. J., of the College of the Sacred Heart, Prairie du Chien, Wis.; Dr. G. Devron, New Orleans; Dr. J. N. B. Hewitt, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington; and Dr. John G. Henderson, Chicago.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., January, 1898.

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XXIX (concluded)

Le Jeune's Relation, 1637

Rouen: JEAN LE BOULLENGER, 1638



Part 1. (Le Jeune's *Relation* proper, and his *Derni ♦ re Lettre*) appeared in Volumes XI., XII. Part II. (Le Mercier's Huron *Relation*) was commenced in Volume XIII., and is completed in the present volume.

**[page 5]**

[183] During our sojourn at Ossosan ♦, the Father Superior and Father Charles Garnier made a little trip which is not to be overlooked. On the 5th of this month, they baptized 2 sick persons at Anonnateau; and the next day, the 6th, with the Bissiriniens (who were wintering a quarter of a league from there), a little newborn child. By a very special providence of God, they had gone as far as this place the day before, and had visited all the cabins, but, finding nothing sufficient to detain them there [184] longer, they had departed, intending to return in the evening to their home. At a quarter of a league from there, they perceived that a dog which was following them had disappeared. A dog is no small thing in this country, and this one performed an important part in this case. However, they did not trouble themselves any further about it, knowing well that this was not the first time that it had returned all alone. Being near Aneatea [Anonateau], the snow began to fall so thickly that they had considerable difficulty in finding their way, so that, contrary to their intention, they were obliged to pass the night in that village. The next morning, through a special providence of God, the dog not being found, they resolved to go in quest of it as far as the Bissiriniens. They were hardly in the village before they were informed that a woman had been delivered of a child during the night, but that her child was dead. This was enough to cause them to give no more heed to the matter; but God, who intended to save this little soul, inspired them to go and see the mother. They found this woman very sick, and the child still barely alive. Father Garnier baptized it without the knowledge of its parents, ♦ having, for this purpose, **[page 7]** had the foresight to dip his handkerchief in water [185] before entering the cabin. Perhaps if the mother had been consulted thereupon, she would not have been favorable to it; the Algonquins are as yet hardly fit for holy baptism. Shortly afterwards, this little Angel flew away to Heaven.

On the 20th, we learned from Anons [A ♦ nons] a new opinion concerning the malady, ♦ that a report was current that it had come from the Agniehenon, who had brought it from the *Andastoerhonon*, a nation in the direction of Virginia. These tribes, it is said, had been infected therewith by Ataentsic, whom they hold to be the mother of him who made the earth; that she had passed through all the cabins of two villages, and that at the second they had asked her, Now, after all, why is it that thou makest us die? and that she had made this answer, " Because my grandson, Iouskeha, is angry at men, ♦ they do nothing but make war and kill one another; he has now resolved, as a punishment for this inhumanity, to make them all die. " Your Reverence will permit me, if you please, to shorten, from now on, stories of this kind, ♦ especially as they crowd me upon all sides, and warn me every clay that they are going to launch the canoes immediately. I shall go as far as I can, and shall write [186] up to the day of the embarkation. If I do not reach the end, some one else, if you please, will acquaint you with the rest next year.

From about the 20th of February up to Passion week, our chief occupation was the study of the language. The Father Superior had already composed some discourses for us, which had accustomed us, in great measure, to the instruction of the Savages; **[page 9]** and during Lent he explained to us some Catechisms that Louys de Ste. Foy had translated for us last year upon the mystery of the life, death, and passion of Our Lord, which also greatly aided us, especially in this respect. We had intended to work this year upon the Dictionary, but God has placed us under the necessity of contenting ourselves with what we had. We have not failed, through his holy



grace, to make great progress in the language, so that now, if there is a question of making little trips to visit and instruct some Savage, the Father Superior finds persons all ready to go; and there is not one of us who does not consider himself happy to go and cooperate in the salvation of some soul. We have good reason to thank this infinite goodness which gives us so great a liking for this barbarous language. After our devotional exercises, we have no [187] greater consolation than to devote ourselves to this study; it is our most common subject of conversation, and we gather up all the words from the mouths of the Savages as so many precious stones, that we may use them afterwards to display before their eyes the beauty of our holy mysteries. Within a short time, the Father Superior has discovered excellent methods of distinguishing the conjugations of the verbs, in which the whole secret of the language lies; for the greater part of the words are conjugated. However far we advance, we shall still continue to discover new lands.

On the 2nd day of March, an old woman died in our village, whom the Father Superior had baptized a few days before. The next day, he baptized at Annonateea a young child between 9 and 10 years old. The disease still continued there, and has not yet departed thence. [page 11]

On the 7th, a young man was found quite dead, stretched out upon the snow, within musket-range of our cabin. The Father Superior and Francois Petitpré, going that morning to Ouenrio, had heard his voice, as of a dying person, and resolved to go and seek him if he had called once more; but as his strength failed him, and as some of the Savages said it was a soul complaining, and others that it was a dog, they had continued on their way without giving themselves any further concern about it. [188] Our Savages dwelt at length upon the death of this poor young man, several attributing the cause of his death, among other things, to a theft he had committed among the Algonquins, in which they happened to catch him. What made them talk in this way was not the knowledge they possess that God forbids and punishes theft, that was something for which they cared little; but they based their opinion upon the word of the sorcerer *Tsondacouane*, who had said some time before that whoever stole the Algonquins' lines, or the baits from their hooks, would, without fail, be immediately attacked by the disease.

On the 9th, the Father Superior and Father Charles Garnier went to visit some sick people in the town of Onnentsati, where they baptized a little child.

On the 12th, Father Garnier and I baptized a woman in a little village that we call Arendaonatia, doing so with a very special feeling of consolation. In fact, God having since restored her health, she has conceived a very high opinion of holy baptism, and has evinced much good will in keeping the commandments of God and even in aiding to instruct some of the other Savages.

[189] On the 15th, I accompanied the Father Superior to *Anonateea*, where he baptized a very sick woman; thence we went to visit the Algonquins, where, we had learned, there were also a number of sick people. We saw among others one *Oraouandindo*, who died two or three days afterwards. We were under a special obligation to this Savage. The Father Superior did all in his power to fit him for our mysteries and for baptism; in fact, he seemed at first willing to lend an ear; but afterwards, seeing himself pressed to answer definitely, he made a pretext that he did not fully understand. They summoned a Savage of his own nation who, in fact, understands and speaks Huron extremely well, and who very faithfully repeated to him, in his own tongue, all that the father said. After all that, we could draw nothing else from him except that he did not feel any inclination to go to Heaven, seeing that he had no acquaintances there; and to all the father could say to him, he never made any other answer. We always had this solace, that the Captain, and several who were there, were upon this occasion fully informed of what we are aiming at in this country, and who we are; for they confessed to us [190] ingenuously that until then they had taken us not for men engendered in the fashion common to others, but for real incarnate demons, telling us that the people of the island had led them into this opinion. According to them, I mean the Hurons and the Algonquins, those gentlemen often render us similar kindnesses.

On the 17th, I again accompanied the Father Superior to Iahenhouton, where resides the chief of the council of this place. The object of this journey was to make them 3 propositions: 1st, whether they had [page 15] not at last resolved to believe what we taught, and to embrace the faith; 2nd, whether it would be acceptable to them that some of our Frenchmen should marry in their country as soon as possible; 3rd, whether there was any probability of a reunion between them and the people of Ossosan and some of the surrounding villages. Your Reverence knows the cause of their division; we wrote to you about it fully last year, on the occasion of their feast of the Dead. As regards the first proposition, we did not gain all the satisfaction possible; this Captain is not one of the most intelligent men in the world, at least outside the little perplexities of their affairs; as for [191] the second and third, they approved of them heartily, and assured us that they were under a great obligation to us for this so close alliance that we wished to make with them, and for our great interest in the welfare of the country. Upon this occasion they confessed to us the evil designs they had had this winter upon our lives, having learned from a reliable source, as they thought, that the uncle of the late Estienne Bruslé, in revenge for the death of his nephew, for which no satisfaction had been obtained, had undertaken the ruin of the whole country, and had caused this contagious disease. And thereupon, as the Father declared that he greatly desired to have these matters proposed in a general assembly, he replied that the thing was not impossible, that they would confer about it among themselves and give us their opinion afterward; however, concerning the marriages, it was not necessary to go through so many ceremonies, that those Frenchmen who had resolved to marry were free to take wives where it seemed good to them; that those [page 17] who had married in the past had not demanded a general council for that purpose, [192] but that they had taken them in whatever way they had desired. The Father replied to this that it was very true that the Frenchmen who had hitherto married in the country had not made such a stir about it, but also that their intentions were far removed from ours, that their purpose had been to become barbarians, and to render themselves exactly like them. He said that we, on the contrary, aimed by this alliance to make them like us, to give them the knowledge of the true God, and to teach them to keep his holy commandments, and that the marriages of which we were speaking were to be stable and perpetual; and he laid before them all the other advantages they would derive therefrom. These brutal minds gave but little heed to the spiritual considerations; the temporal were more to their taste, and of these they wished to have very definite assurances. Some days later, this Captain came to see us in the absence of the Father Superior, assuring us that they had conferred among themselves touching the three propositions that had been made; that the old men were very favorable to them, and that he had come in order to be enlightened concerning certain doubts they had about marriage. And first, he told us, they would be very glad to know what a husband [193] would give to his wife; that among the Hurons the custom was to give a great deal besides, that is to say, a beaver robe, and perhaps a porcelain collar. 2nd, whether the wife would have everything at her disposal. 3rd, if the husband should desire to return to France, whether he would take his wife with him; and, in case she remained, what he would leave her [page 19] on his departure. 4th, if the wife failed in her duty and the husband drove her away, what she could take away with her and the same if, of her own free will, the fancy seized her to return to her relatives. All these questions show that they had thought over the matter. We did what we could to satisfy them thereupon, assuring him besides that when he should confer with the Father Superior, who would explain it clearly, they would all have good reason to be fully satisfied with our proceedings in the matter. This is the situation in regard to these marriages.

Some of our Frenchmen had thought seriously of going farther, and of carrying out this plan, and the thing seems indeed to be advantageous to Christianity; but some obstacles were thrown in the way. The matter certainly deserves mature deliberation; many things are to be considered before [194] engaging themselves in marriage, ♦ above all, among barbarous peoples like these.

As regards the reunion of this whole nation of the Bear, it is a matter still undecided. The Father Superior has made several journeys with this in view, in the hope they had given us of a general council; he had even given them his word that, if it were only a question of a present, we were resolved to spare nothing to this end. And very recently, being at *Ossossan* ♦, where some of the old men regarded the matter as already accomplished, he had sent word to us to send him twelve hundred porcelain beads to present to the two parties which were to assemble at *Andiata* ♦. In fact, the majority of the Captains of the villages in that quarter started to go thither; but the one who was the author and chief of this division having refused to be present, the matter has remained **[page 21]** hanging on the hook. Nevertheless, it is not yet regarded as hopeless.

On the 21st, we went to Onenrio, Father Garnier and I, where we baptized the very aged wife of the Captain. Her husband seemed to be rather pleased at this; nevertheless, fearing that baptism might cause her death, [195] he said to me, showing me three of his fingers, " My nephew, look; three days are of importance," ♦ giving me to understand that it was important that she should not die on the third day, otherwise that they would believe we were the cause of her death; he urged me to tell him if she would recover. I answered that no one but God could tell that with certainty, ♦ that he alone was the master of our lives, and disposed of them at will; but that I would certainly assure him of one thing, that baptism would not shorten her days, ♦ on the contrary, that God, who has a special care over all those who are baptized, might indeed even restore her to health. In fact, at the end of a few days she had entirely recovered, and since then has helped us a great deal in baptizing some others. On the 26th, Father Pijart and Father Garnier baptized two little children at *Onnentisati*.

On the twenty ♦ ninth, we assembled the chief men of our village, to know, first, if they had determined to pass the Winter here again; secondly, if the intention they had had of reuniting with the people of *Ouenrio* [196] was altogether relinquished; formerly this was all one village. Thirdly, if they would not at last lend ear to the propositions that had so often been made to them touching their salvation. To this last point they answered that some among them believed what we taught; as for the others, **[page 23]** they could not answer for them. Moreover, they were not yet inclined for this year to change the place of their residence; and that next year it would not be their fault if they did not meet in the same village with the people of Ouenrio. Be that as it may, we are resolved for our part to establish other residences elsewhere.

On this same 29th, the Father Superior set out to go to *Teanaostaia* ♦ with Father Garnier, in order that he might upon the spot testify to the relatives of Louys de Ste. Foy the sympathy we felt for the affliction of their family, and by means of some little presents wipe away the rest of their tears. This journey was not unprofitable for several persons, of whom some received Holy baptism, and others had the blessing to be informed of our holy mysteries. How much greater will henceforth be our facilities for preaching to them, now that we are [197] settled at Ossossan ♦, which is, as it were, the heart of the country. At the village of *Scanonaenrat*, the Father Superior having made some remarks about our belief to our host, some other inmates of the cabin approached and listened very attentively, without diverting the conversation to other subjects according to the custom of the Savages, but asking him several very pertinent questions. Among others, how we knew that it was so pleasant in Heaven ? "What must be done, in order to go there?" "How were the commandments of God that the Father proposed to them to be understood?" They enjoyed and approved them greatly.

On the 30th, they arrived at *Teanaostaia* ♦, where they met a great many of the relatives of Louys de Ste. Foy; and at this first interview they renewed **[page 25]** their expressions of sympathy for the loss they had sustained. The Father assured them, at the outset, that since the month of October he had intended to go and console them at the earliest opportunity; but that the sickness of our household, the occupations of the whole winter, and the evil reports that were current through the country, had caused him to defer this voyage until a time when, the sickness having greatly abated, they would have less reason to take umbrage at us, and to fear [198] that we might bring them the disease. Then he consoled them, and as, according to the custom of the country, a person who is in affliction hardly considers himself comforted if you give him nothing but words, the Father made them a present Of 400 porcelain beads and 2 little hatchets. One of the uncles of Louys de sainte Foy had tried to make us believe that Louys was not dead; more than two months before he had told us, secretly, that he had learned on good authority that he was still alive and well. Nevertheless, his mother told them on this occasion that she did not believe this at all; she has changed her mind since then, as I shall relate in the proper place.

On the 31st, on their way back from Teanaostaia ♦, the Fathers slept at *Ekhiondaltsaan*, a tolerably fine and populous village. Our host asked the Father Superior a question that none of our Savages had ever proposed to us; he asked him what was the use of a vase full of water at the entrance to our Chapel at Kebec. The Father told him that, among other uses, this water served to drive away the devils; they asked if this water would serve the same purpose for them. The Father Superior said " yes," provided they would believe [199] in God; and he **[page 27]** took occasion therefrom to instruct them upon the belief in one God, and upon the end of man. They ordered the withdrawal of all the youth, who had collected in a crowd to see the Fathers, and assembled the chief men of the village to confer together upon this subject. All decided that they must have some holy water; but, finding some obstacles in what the Father said, that God forbids us to resort to *Arendioouan* ♦, or sorcerers, in our sicknesses, they proposed to assemble again the next morning, before our departure. But the Father, having made them understand that God did not forbid the use of natural remedies which the *Arendioouan* ♦ might prescribe, they were entirely satisfied, and concluded it was not necessary to assemble the next day, but only to come and get some holy water as soon as possible. We are waiting for them yet; it is quite probable that they do not concern themselves much further about it, now that they are no longer in apprehension of the disease, their village having been preserved up to the present.

On the 1st day of April, having arrived at *Andiata* ♦, they visited some sick people, among others [200] a child of 13 years. Your Reverence will have the consolation of hearing some particulars of his baptism, which we have every reason to attribute to the merits of St. Joseph. The Fathers found him in such a condition that his relatives were only waiting for the hour of his death; all they could do then was to make him swallow a little sweetened water, and to ask his soul of God; they made a vow to God of some Masses in honor of St. Joseph. There were still some other sick people in the village; the Father Superior went to see them and left Father **[page 29]** Garnier beside this child, in order that, if he recovered consciousness, he might be immediately advised thereof. Meanwhile Father Garnier did not fail to say a few good words to the relatives, and to tell them of Paradise and of Hell. They seemed at first somewhat inclined to have this child go after death to the place where his dead relatives were; nevertheless, the Father Superior having returned towards evening, and having asked them their opinion, they said they desired their son to go where it would be best for him; and, having answered them that it would be best for him in heaven, they said that they wished him then to go there. Now for fear of losing

the opportunity [201] of placing the soul of this poor sick boy in Heaven, the Father Superior left Father Garnier to sleep beside him. He conversed during a part of the night with the relatives, and especially with a famous sorcerer, upon the truth of the one God, and some other good subjects. The patient passed the night very quietly, and nature itself made some efforts, so that consciousness returned to him, to the great satisfaction of his father and mother, who, when this happened, told wonders of a little sugar that had been given him. Father Garnier lost no time, but as soon as he saw him even slightly revived, he began to instruct him, in order to baptize him; yet he did not finish, seeing that there was every probability that, if he went to notify the Father Superior, they would find the boy still entirely conscious. The Father comes, instructs him, and, in short, has him baptized by Father Garnier. He was named Joseph in acknowledgment of the favor they had received from this Holy Patriarch, who is always showing us that it is with [page 31] good reason we have taken him for our patron and our Father.

On the 2nd day of April, they also found at *Ossossan* a young woman on the verge of death; she had still enough understanding, but it was not possible to persuade her to accept baptism, [202] notwithstanding all the arguments that could be presented to her about Paradise and hell. She died miserably, several days later.

On the 5th, a Captain of *Ossossan*, sent to invite the Father Superior to a general council to be held there; he departed on the 6th, I accompanying him. In passing through *Ouenrio*, he had the old men assemble to treat of their reunion with the people of our village; but they came to no conclusion, only promising to confer about it, more in detail, among themselves. Having arrived at *Ossossan*, we waited two days for the council, and after that we were obliged to return as we had come, the absence of the Captain of the village Angouteus, being the cause of this. However, the Captain of *Ossossan* greatly praised our plan of bringing them all together, saying that this would be a new occasion for endearing ourselves, and rendering ourselves influential in the country; that, if this affair were successful, it would be mentioned forever in all the solemn assemblies, and at the Feasts of the dead. While we were awaiting this council, a son-in-law of our host returned from Bear hunting; but, according to his story, what they [203] had captured did not recompense them for the loss they had sustained. We enjoyed this narrative; he described the death of a dog, which he believed had been devoured by a Bear, so pathetically, that you would almost have [page 33] believed that he was relating the death of one of the brave Captains of the country. He praised his courage in pursuing the Bear, and in opposing him; he added that, having lost sight of him, and having a long time followed his tracks as far as a little river, he had at last stopped, and had said, sticking his hatchet into the ground, How now, *Ouatit* " (this was the name of the dog) art thou dead? There is my hatchet that I risk with thee." The owner of the dog listened to this speech with so heavy a heart that he would have deceived those who might not know the cause of his grief. "Ah! it is true " (said he,) " that I dearly loved *Ouatit*; I had resolved to keep him with me all his life; there was no dream that could have influenced me to make a feast of him, I would not have given him for anything in the world; and yet it would be some consolation to me now if they had brought me a little Bear, which could take his place and carry his name. " But here is a more serious subject, and one in every way full of consolation.

[204] On the 13th, when some of our domestics were going on a visit to the Tobacco nation, which is a two days' journey from us, Father Garnier asked the Father Superior's permission to accompany them, simply to visit the sick there, who were (according to what we had been told) quite numerous. This journey lasted 14 days, and the father baptized 15 sick persons, one child at *Arent*, two others at *Ossossan*, who died a few days afterward; the rest in the Tobacco nation, namely, two very old women and ten little children, two of whom died the day of their baptism. This was a very special providence of God, especially for a little boy of ten years; he had [page 35] been lingering for three years, and was waiting only for baptism, it seems, to die.

On the 15th, we learned that a young man had poisoned himself at *Ossossan*; and in reference to this some Savages told us that one of the principal reasons why they showed so much indulgence towards their children, was that when the children saw themselves treated by their parents with some severity, they usually resorted to extreme measures and hanged themselves, or ate [205] of a certain root that they call *Andachienrra*, which is a very quick poison.

On the 19th, the *Bissiriniens*, seeing the ice broken and the lake open, embarked to return to their own country, and carried away in seven canoes seventy bodies of those who had died while they wintered among the Hurons. We availed ourselves of this opportunity to send news of ourselves to your Reverence, especially as a Savage named *Outaet* intended going direct to Kebec.

On the 20th, a woman was put to death as a sorceress at *Ossossan*. Among these barbarians less than half proof in this matter suffices to have one's head split. The affair occurred thus: The one who thought he had been bewitched by her sent for her under the pretext of inviting her to a feast; she had no sooner arrived than her sentence was pronounced, without other form of trial. This poor wretch, seeing there was no appeal, named him who was to give her the hatchet stroke; at the same time she was dragged outside the cabin, her face and part of her body were burned with pieces of lighted bark, [206] and finally the one she had taken for godfather split her head. The next day her body was burned and [page 37] reduced to ashes, in the middle of the village. Some say that she confessed the deed, and even that she named some of her accomplices; others affirm that she spoke only in a general way, saying that they had all agreed not to expose one another, in case any one were taken in the act. *Aondaenchri*, one of the Captains, seeing that she was captured, was of the opinion that she should be promptly despatched, saying that the old men were too lenient, and that, if she were kept until morning, her life would probably be spared.

On the 21st, it was reported to us that a Savage, lately come from *Sonontouan*, had warned our Hurons to remain boldly upon the watch, that the enemy was raising an army, either to pounce upon the country while they were away trading, or to await them at the passage when they were going down to Kebec. Every year at this season similar rumors are sure to circulate, which are so much the less credible that they are so common, and all the more to be feared since our Savages give themselves [207] little concern thereat. It is said that the old men and those most influential in the country are often the authors of these false alarms, in order to keep always in the villages a good part of the young men and of those capable of bearing arms, and to prevent them from going away, all at the same time, to do their trading.

On the 23rd, the Father Superior sent us, Father Isaac Jogues and me, to visit the sick of two or three little villages. We baptized four little children; two died the next day, and the third a few days afterward. What a favor from heaven for these little Angels! And what a consolation for us to see that [page 39] this divine goodness deigns to use us to wrest from the hands of the devil so many souls created in his image, and to apply to them the merits of the blood of his son! How much reason have we to say upon these so happy occasions, *Quis sum ego et quæ est domus patris mei, quia me deduxisti usque huc!*

On the 1st day of May, the Father Superior departed with Father Charles Garnier, to go to *Ossossan*. The reason of this journey was



the hope that had been given us of a general assembly that would be held [208] at the village of *Andiata*. But heaven had other designs. This council was postponed, and the Fathers had the good fortune to baptize in various places four sick persons, one, a woman who died immediately afterward; her husband was on the verge of death, but he obstinately refused baptism.

On the 3rd, Father Pierre Pijart baptized at *Anonatea* an infant two months old, in manifest danger of death, without its parents being aware that he did so; not having succeeded in obtaining their permission, he employed the following device: Our sugar does wonders here; he made a feint of wishing to give it a little sugared water to drink, and at the same time dipped his finger in the water; and seeing that its father showed some distrust, and urgently requested him not to baptize the child, he put the spoon into the hands of a woman who was standing by, and said to her, "Give it to him thyself." She drew near and found that the child was asleep; and at the same time the Father, under pretext of seeing if it really slept, applied his wet finger to its face and baptized it; at the end of forty-eight hours, it went to heaven. A few days before, he had [page 41] practiced [209] very nearly the same ingenuity, in order to baptize a little boy six or seven years old. His father was very sick, and had several times refused baptism; the Father asked him if he would not be glad to have his son baptized, and he having answered "no," to this, "At least," said the Father, "thou wilt not disapprove of my giving him some sugar." "Certainly not, but do not baptize him." Accordingly, the Father had him take it once and again; and at the third spoonful, before putting the sugar in it, he let some water fall upon the child while pronouncing the Sacramental words. At the same time a little girl who was looking at him began to cry out, "My father, he is baptizing him." The father was troubled, but Father Pijart said to him, "Hast thou not seen plainly that I have given him sugar?" The child did not survive long. As for his father, God did him a great favor, for he is still in excellent health.

On this same 3rd of May, towards eleven o'clock in the evening, a cabin of our village, only about a musket-shot distant from ours, took fire. There were within only four or five poor children, seven or eight of their relatives having died from the contagion during the winter. They ran out entirely naked, and even then had [210] considerable trouble to save themselves. The fire spread so rapidly that in less than no time the cabin was all in flames. We ran to help them, but it was only to look on and show that we had compassion for them. The wind, a Northwester, proved, thanks to God, very favorable both to the rest of the cabins of the Savages, and to ours; otherwise an entire village is soon despatched and reduced to ashes, the cedar bark, with which [page 43] the greater number of the cabins are covered, taking fire almost as easily as saltpeter.

On the 4th, the old men assembled, in order to agree together upon some contribution to assist these poor orphans. Each cabin bound itself to furnish three sacks of corn, for they had not been able to save a single grain. In a word, every one aided them with whatever he could, one giving them a plate, another a chest, some even giving them Beaver robes. We also assisted them very liberally, and there was hardly any of our domestics who did not also show them some act of kindness; so that these poor children found themselves richer, at least in robes and clothing, than they had been before.

On the 5th, Father Chastellain went with [211] Father Pijart to visit some sick people at *Anendaonactia*; he baptized a young man who was at the point of death.

On the 10th, Father Pijart departed to go in search of some young children to take to Quebec. If all those from whom he has some promise resolve to remain there, the seminary will not be badly supplied for a beginning. If we may believe the reports that have been current here since winter, two of those of last year are dead; but perhaps these are only rumors. Would to God that those which have been circulated about the death of Louys de sainte Foy had as little certainty; and that, on the contrary, what is now being said of him were as true as we consider the other ones without foundation. His mother, who could not listen to these rumors before, now thinks she has infallible proofs that he is among the *Agnietironons*; she has even been told the name of the one who has adopted him for his [page 45] son. If this be true, we have some hope that God will restore him to us in some way, whatever it may be. I know very well that if he remain in this captivity, it will not be for lack of having here and in France persons who importune Heaven with vows and fervent prayers for his deliverance.

[212] On the 12th, Father Charles Garnier and Father Isaac Jogues baptized at *Anonatea* 3 very sick persons, among others, a poor woman who died the next day. And because one of these had been baptized conditionally, for the reason that he appeared hardly in his right mind, Father Chastellain returned to him a little while afterwards, and, having found him somewhat more rational, instructed him again, and baptized him with the requisite conditions.

On the 19th, we had a real winter day; nearly half a foot of snow fell and the following night it froze very hard. *Sondacouane* lost a little of his repute on this occasion. Two or 3 days before, they had tired themselves to death playing crosse in all the villages around here, because this sorcerer had affirmed that the weather depended only upon a game of crosse; and now our Savages openly declared that he is only a charlatan and an impostor. It is worthy of note, however, that these experiences render them but little wiser.

On the 28th, Father Charles Garnier and Father Jogues went to visit a very sick old man at *Arontaen*. We had been given to understand that the people of that village had some aversion to baptism; nevertheless, this [213] good man, at the first proposal that was made to him, expressed quite opposite sentiments; and after having been sufficiently instructed, [page 47] and having received holy Baptism, he thanked our fathers therefor with much affection.

On the first day of June, Father Charles Garnier and Father Chastellain were sent to *Ouenrio*, on account of a woman who had been represented to us as very sick. What a providence of God! this woman was found to be out of danger, and was partly the cause Of 3 other sick people, who died shortly afterwards, receiving baptism; the last of these died yesterday, the fourth of this month. See how this came to pass. The Fathers, being at *Ouenrio*, learned that a little child was dying; they hastened and baptized it, and it died the day before yesterday. Thence they went to *Onnentisati* to visit one *Onendich*, one of the chief tools of the Sorcerer *Sondacouan*. He spoke to them like a man who was convalescent, and who, besides, was not greatly disposed to receive advice touching his salvation. But doubtless some Angel from heaven guided their footsteps; they were instructed to repair to a little cabin standing by itself in the [214] field, and that there was a sick woman there who would be very glad to see them; a young man even presented himself, very willingly, and conducted them thither. But the sick woman they had gone to see was already on her feet. They were upon the point of returning, when they heard a plaintive voice, which made them ask if there was any other sick person; they were answered "yes," that there was a woman outside whose end was drawing near; in fact, they found her lying upon some leaves and exposed to the heat of the sun. This poor woman had just been delivered, prematurely, of a dead child; it seemed as if she was only waiting for baptism, as she died the next day. On [page 49] their return they passed through *Anonatea*, according to an order they had received from the Father Superior to visit another sick Woman, but she had died on the day of Pentecost. They found themselves there very opportunely to instruct and baptize a poor old man, that we did not know was sick; we had cared for him three or four months while

he had some ulcers upon his feet, from which he was beginning to recover. He was taken off in a few days, the Fathers baptizing him with much consolation. When [215] the Fathers asked him if he would not be very glad to go to heaven, " Alas! " said he, "it is very far away, and I have very bad legs; how shall I be able to go there?" We received the news of his death yesterday. Your Reverence sees that our poor Savages are not yet free from sickness; if God does not mercifully interpose his hand, the great heat which prevails here at this season is not likely to dissipate this malaria. There are two villages which are especially afflicted, *Andiata* and *Onnentisati*, where reside the two greatest sorcerers of the country, namely, *Sondacouan*, and *Tehorenhægnon*. During the winter they had already lost a great deal of their credit with the sick of other villages; and now they are more than ever discomfited, seeing that their sweats, feasts, potions, and ordinances are of no avail with their countrymen. Within a short time *Sacondouane* [*sc. Sondacouan*] has taken it into his head to forbid to the sick the "French snow," thus they call sugar, and has persuaded some that it is a species of poison. It is easy to see that he is the chief author of this prohibition. The devil knows well enough how much these little sweets have already [216] aided us in wresting from his hands [page 51] so many souls that he held captive. He has made every effort this winter to close our mouths, and to prevent us from preaching to these barbarous people the grandeur and infinite mercy of the master whom we serve; but his designs not having succeeded (for God has granted us the favor of baptizing two hundred and thirty or forty persons), he has recently stirred up new tempests against us. They are still saying, almost as much as ever, that we are the cause of the malady. These reports are partly founded upon the fact that it is in this season much more fatal than it was during the severe cold of the winter, and consequently the greater part of those we baptize, die. Besides this, very recently a certain Algonquin captain has given our Hurons to understand that they were mistaken in thinking that the devils caused them to die,-that they should blame only the French for this; and that he had seen, as it were, a French woman who was infecting the whole country with her breath and her exhalations. Our Savages imagine that it is the sister of the late Estienne Brusl, who is avenging her brother's death. This Sorcerer added that we, even we ourselves, meddle with sorcery; [217] that for this purpose we employ the images of our saints,-that, when we show them, certain tainted influences issue therefrom which steal down into the chests of those who look at them, and therefore they need not be astonished if they afterwards find themselves assailed by the disease. The prominent and chief men of the country show us quite plainly that they do not share this belief, but nevertheless intimate that they fear some heedless fellow will commit some foul deed that will cause them to blush. We are in [page 53] God's hands, and all these dangers do not make us forfeit a moment of our joy. It would be too great an honor for us to lose our lives while employed in saving some poor soul; as for all these reports and all these threats, we have resolved, in prudence and discretion, not to abate a whit from our usual functions and occupations. If we did otherwise, we would think we were doing wrong to the grace that God has shown us, and falling below our estate; and this would be, without doubt, to ignore the fact that the Apostles never planted the cross of the son of God save in the midst of persecutions, and finally at the expense of their lives.

On the 4th of this month, I received a letter from Father [218] Pierre Pijart, who is now at the village of *Ossosan*, where he has oversight of those who are building our cabin. Since the embarkation of our Savages is again deferred for several days, I shall certainly refrain from cutting off with a few words what can only afford Your Reverence great consolation. [page 55]

## CHAPTER VI.

### OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE CONCEPTION OF NOSTRE DAME, AT THE HAMLET OF OSSOSAN.

T last, behold our desires accomplished! I shall now express no longer mere hopes to Your Reverence, for they are working in earnest to erect for us our cabin at *Ossosan*, and we expect that you will send us, if you please, some workmen to build there a chapel in honor of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady.

[219] On the 17th of May, the Father Superior broached the subject of our decision to the Captain, in order to have the work begun as soon as possible. The Captain summoned the Council to assemble, where the proposition was received with much satisfaction. They bound themselves to make us a Cabin of about twelve brasses, begging us, if they did not make it larger, to consider that the malady had carried off a part of the young men, and that the rest were nearly all gone trading or fishing; and giving us their word to make it as long and as wide as we should wish, the following year. The Council over, each one took his hatchet, and they all went away in a crowd to prepare the site.

On the 21st, Father Pierre Pijart departed with two of our domestics, to set the laborers to work. There he had exercise of all kinds; the sick gave him occasion to exercise charity, and those who were working upon our cabin an excellent opportunity to [page 57] practice patience. He wrote me thus about it, on the fourth of June:

"I find myself here in the midst of extraordinary confusion, on one hand, I have to keep them at work upon our cabin; and, on the other, I have the Sick to [220] Visit; the former only do a part of what they attempt, and I encounter near the latter more sorcerers and *Areindioouan* than occasions to speak to them of God and of the matter of their salvation. I thank my Savior for the patience he gives me, and that, among so many causes for distraction, he does not leave me without internal consolation; otherwise it would be for me a little hell to find myself in this condition, and to be deprived, as I am, of the use of the Sacraments. I console myself with the thought I have that we are not building here a simple cabin, but a house for our Lady, or rather many beautiful chapels in the principal villages of the country, since it is here that we hope, with the aid of Heaven, to cast the seeds for a beautiful and plenteous harvest of souls. Since I have been here God has granted me the favor to baptize three sick persons, a little child, our host, and his daughter. As regards the latter, if they do not recover, it will not be from having spared the native remedies. This good man has always been ready to dance, sing, and perform the *Aoutaerohi* for the others; and on this occasion they have not failed to render him like service. They have oftentimes related things to us that were almost incredible, [221] concerning these feasts that they call *Aoutaerohi*. Here is what I have seen of them with my own eyes:

"On the 24th of May, one of these feasts was made for his health and that of his daughter. They [page 59] danced and howled like demons a good part of the night, but what astonished us the most was that a certain man named *Oscouta* took in his mouth a great red-hot coal, and carried it to the patients, who were at some distance from him, making many grimaces, and growling in their ears like a bear; nevertheless, the performance did not result as he desired. The coal was not hard enough, and broke within his mouth, which prevented the operation of the remedy. Hence it was ordained that they should begin again the next day, and that they should use red-hot stones instead of coals. Meanwhile, I was troubled about the sick man, who was growing worse, and I was almost upon the point

of proposing Baptism to him, nevertheless, having recommended the matter to God, I thought it better to wait until he reached the end of all his fancies, ♦ hoping that, after he had recognized by experience the little relief to be obtained in such extremities from these imaginary remedies, [222] I would find him more disposed to listen to me, and to put his confidence only in God. Accordingly, the next day they prepared for a second *Aoutaero*hi feast. A number of stones were brought; and, to make them red-hot, a fire was prepared hot enough to burn down the cabin. I had had some intention of retiring elsewhere for the night when this witches' sabbath was to take place; but I judged it wise to be present there to see if all I had heard about it were really true. 24 persons were chosen to sing and to perform all the ceremonies; but what songs, and what tones of voice! For my part, I believe that if the demons and the damned were to sing in hell, it would be about after this fashion; I never heard anything more lugubrious and more frightful. [page 61] I was waiting all the time to see what they would do with those stones that they were heating and making red-hot with so much care. You may believe me, since I speak of a thing that I saw with my own eyes, ♦ they separated the brands, drew them from the midst of the fire, and, holding their hands behind their backs, took these between their teeth, carried them to the patients and remained some time without losing their hold, blowing upon them and growling in their ears. I am keeping one of the stones expressly [223] to show you. You will be astonished that a man can have so wide a mouth; the stone is about the size of a goose egg. Yet I saw a savage put it in his mouth so that there was more of it inside than out; he carried it some distance, and, after that, it was still so hot, that when he threw it to the ground sparks of fire issued from it. I forgot to tell you that, after the first *Aoutaero*hi feast, one of our Frenchmen had the curiosity to see if, in reality, all this was done without any one being burned. He spoke to this *Oscouta* who had filled his mouth with live coals; he had him open his mouth and found it unhurt and whole, without any appearance of having been burned; and not only those persons, but even the sick people were not burned. They let their bodies be rubbed with glowing cinders, without showing any evidences of pain, and without their skin appearing in the least affected. This feast ended, they did not reach the end of their sufferings; on the contrary, there was more appearance of danger. Therefore two other sorcerers were summoned, who played a thousand apish tricks around these poor patients. But all these were nothing in comparison with [224] what I have just [page 63] told you. Here is something quite remarkable: Towards evening of the 26th, they prepared a sweat, which was followed by a feast. I never saw anything like it in my life; 20 men entered, and almost piled themselves upon one another. Even the sick man dragged himself thither, though with considerable difficulty, and was one of the troop; he also sang for quite a long time, and in the midst of the heat of this sweat he asked for water with which to refresh himself, ♦ a part of which he drank, and the rest he threw over his body. An excellent remedy, forsooth, for a sick man on the verge of death! So the next day I found him in a fine condition; indeed it was a fine condition for him, since God then gave to him the grace to conceive the importance of the concerns of his salvation, and to me to put into my mouth the words to explain to him our principal mysteries. When I told him that Baptism was not a remedy for the health of the body, 'We know that well,' replied to me both he, and an old man who was present when I was instructing him, 'we know that well enough.' It is a great advantage to us that in this town they are fully informed of what we mean by Baptism. The daughter soon followed the example of her father, who himself exhorted her to ask for Baptism, [225] at the time of the death of their children, who had been baptized. The father died on the day of Pentecost; as for the daughter, she seems to be a little better. I was under great obligation to this good old man for having brought me into this country; and I rejoice now that it has pleased God to employ me to lead him to heaven. This Savage had some qualities which rendered him very lovable; I had never imagined that I could find [page 65] in a barbarian so much gentleness and amiability; during my journey he treated me like his own son."

On the same day that I received this letter, the Father Superior and Father Chastellain returned from *Ossosan* ♦, whither they had gone the day before to console the relatives of our host with a present. The kindness we had received from them during the whole winter demanded from us this evidence of the sympathy we felt for their affliction. They also took this occasion to assure themselves of the reports which were current in these quarters, that, on account of the death of this Savage, the work of building our cabin had been altogether abandoned, to be no more resumed. [226] But, in going thither, they passed through *Arent* ♦, where they found the people's minds somewhat embittered and prejudiced against Baptism, on account of the death of a young child, baptized in its last moments two days before; so that when they entered a cabin to see a little girl five years old who was in similar danger, ♦ and who had before shown, by her tears and sobs, the aversion she had for Baptism, at the first overtures they made of this Sacrament, ♦ they were begged to speak of it no more. Nevertheless, the condition of this little patient made them decide that it was better to disregard the refusal of the relatives, who were present there in great numbers. Hence Father Pierre Chastellain requested the Father Superior to talk a little about the fever and the disease, in order that he might have an opportunity to act the physician, and to feel the child's pulse; meanwhile, he wet a handkerchief as secretly as he could in a pail of water which stood there, and made a feint to wipe her face; then approaching, with one hand he felt the [page 67] pulse, and with the other, under pretext of seeing if her head were unusually hot, he baptized her without any of those present perceiving it, although they all had kept their eyes open to [227] what he was doing.

Having arrived at *Ossosan* ♦, they learned that the reports that had been circulated were false, and that only the absence of the Captain had caused the interruption of the work. The Fathers had an opportunity of learning from the lips of the Captain himself what there was in it. He assured them of quite opposite sentiments, and even gave them to understand that the chiefs and head men of the frontier villages of the country, with whom they had just held a Council, had evinced to him great satisfaction because we were coming nearer to them, seeing that they would hereafter find it easier to come and visit us, and adding that they would have to give us all manner of satisfaction and build us a fine cabin. The Father Superior gave his presents to the relatives of our deceased host, thanks being returned to him therefor at the time, and afterwards in open feast.

On their return, they had already gotten beyond the village of *Angouteus*, through which they had passed, when they encountered a woman who was going to her field, and who, among other things, mentioned to them one of her little girls, whom she represented as very sick, begging the [228] Father to go and baptize her, which obliged them to retrace their steps. As they were upon the point of baptizing this child, the grandmother, seeing that the children were crowding in to see them, said, " How now, have you never seen Frenchmen? Do you not know that when our sorcerers come to visit the sick [page 69] they do not wish any one to see them and interrupt them? " It was not necessary to say any more. While this was going on, some one came to inform the Father that a woman was extremely ill. In fact, he found her in such a condition that he deemed it advisable to instruct her; she was very glad to be baptized, but when she was told that it was necessary to make a firm resolve to change her manner of life, and to sin no more, she exclaimed, " Is it possible for me to sin no more? It is not possible;" and at the same time she covered her face with her robe, giving us to understand that, this being so, she would have nothing to do with baptism. The Father represented to her that she ought not to refuse it on that account; that it was very true we were all liable to sin, and therefore he did not demand absolutely [229] that she should sin no more, ♦ only that she should make a good resolution not to return to her past life. Besides, if, after baptism, she should happen to sin, she need not think all was lost on that account; that he would teach her still another means by which sins were blotted out. One of her relatives thereupon began to speak: " Take courage, since sins are blotted out," she said to her, "and do not lose so fine an opportunity to be baptized; thou hast now the advantage of having the Frenchmen here; consider that they are going away, and that perhaps we shall not see them again for a long time. " She preached to her so well that she resolved to take this step, promising to do



her best not to sin any more; and therefore the Father baptized her.

On the seventh, I received a second letter from Father Pierre Pijart, who wrote me in these terms: [page 71]

"I will send you further information of the state of our new Residence since my last letter. On the fifth of this month, I said the first Mass in our house of la Conception de nostre Dame, offering this most holy Sacrifice, through a votive Mass of the most holy Trinity, to these [230] same divine persons for the preparation of the hearts of these poor Savages, and for auspicious results to the labors of those who shall be employed here. The next day, I said the Mass of the Immaculate Conception, invoking it as a special patron of this new settlement. You can imagine with what consolation of soul I did this; and it was such a relief from the petty cares, and the importunities of the Savages, that I had endured through the preceding days, that I imagined I was in another life. I found myself so full of courage that it seemed to me the past had been a very trifling thing in comparison with the trials I desired to endure, ♦ I already pictured them before my eyes; and, although I have always consecrated myself to this work, I nevertheless dedicate myself to it now from a more peculiar and affectionate desire to follow him who has endured so much for us.

"On the fourth of this month, I baptized a little child, by a special providence of God. The day before, I had been in the same cabin and had not seen it, ♦ indeed, it was not there at the time. One of our Frenchmen having gone thither afterwards, to see a little fawn [231] which they wished to sell him, found the child lying upon its back, abandoned by its mother, who was only awaiting the hour of its death; he came promptly for me, and I baptized it. I have just learned that there are some sick people at *Angoutenc*, but I cannot leave this village. I [page 73] baptized this morning a woman who was at the point of death; I had instructed her last evening; may God have mercy on her and may he be forever blessed! At the time I am writing this, there remain only ten pieces of bark to finish the cabin; they have gone to get them, and this evening it will be completed. Pray God that he may make me all his own; and, being perfectly converted to him, believe that you will never find any one who is more entirely yours in Jesus. From the Residence of la Conception de Nostre Dame, this seventh of June." [page 75]

## [232] CHAPTER VII.

### THE HAPPY CONVERSION OF TSIYOUENDAENTAHA, THE FIRST ADULT SAVAGE BAPTIZED, WHILE IN HEALTH, IN THE COUNTRY OF THE HURONS.

T the very time when the Devil seems to have the upper hand, ♦ when holy Baptism is decried in two or three villages around here on account of the death of some of those baptized, when the Sorcerers (whose words are received as oracles) are prohibiting the sick from using a few sweetmeats which give us access to them, when some old men who pride themselves on being our friends are trying to persuade us to return to France, and when the cry is raised on all sides that our presence is unendurable, and [233] that our heads must be split, ♦ a Savage about fifty years old, a man of intelligence and one of the most discreet and influential persons in the country, after having given the subject mature consideration for three years, while he has been attending the explanations of the Christian doctrine, and having been very carefully instructed, earnestly requested baptism a few months ago; and, on the day of the most holy Trinity, he was baptized publicly, and with the ceremonies of the Church, in the presence of the chief persons of this village, some of whom regarded this act with astonishment, and others with a desire to imitate it.

France has had the honor and the glory to open [page 77] the door of the Church to the first man of these barbarous peoples, and was expecting that he would become one of the Apostles of the country. But God having, through the secret workings of his divine providence, permitted him to fall into the hands of the enemy, where he is either dead or a captive, it has pleased this infinite goodness to restore us to-day another one in his place, which gives us reason to hope that he will be followed by many more. That young man certainly had some qualities which rendered him commendable; [234] as he was of a very docile disposition, and had a tolerably good mind and a sufficient knowledge of our language, he was able, no doubt, to render good service to God, and to aid us greatly in preaching the Holy Gospel. But I find in this man something more, at least something firmer and more substantial. It was an event full of consolation to see a Savage taken from his country in the flower of his youth, baptized, and clothed in the robe of innocence, in one of the most celebrated cities and assemblies of all France. Yet I judge that many will be, in some respects, more consoled to hear that a full-grown man, of good family, having the reputation of a man of intelligence and judgment, ♦ in a barbarous country, among his still infidel kindred, at a time when Baptism is despised, and the Preachers of the Gospel regarded as sorcerers and poisoners, ♦ has evinced to-day a firm resolution to live as a Christian for the rest of his life, and has renounced publicly and forever all his superstitions. For a long time he had been showing us some disposition to take this step, but the [235] meager effects we saw of his fine words, and the knowledge we have that this nation is perhaps one of the most deceitful upon the [page 79] earth, caused us not to be in great haste about inviting him to Baptism. He had shown us some traits that had caused us to distrust him, and to fear that there was considerable self-interest in his conduct. I do not know whether we informed your Reverence of it last year, among other things, but one of his acts was quite ridiculous. After having attended some of the Catechisms, where the Father Superior had spoken at length against their Superstitions, and where he himself had applauded all that was said, he fell sick, though not seriously; and for two or three consecutive days the game of dish" was played in his cabin, ♦ probably by order of the doctor, or in consequence of some dream. This is one of the excellent remedies they have. At the end of seven or eight days, when he had entirely recovered his health, it seemed that he was rather ashamed to show himself. Nevertheless, having encountered the Father Superior, he told him he had something to communicate to him, and that he would like to come and pass the night with us. He [236] had no sooner entered than he told us that he had sinned. Behold us very glad to see him at least recognize his fault; and at once we supposed that he was about to accuse himself of having violated what the Father had taught them. But when he came to explain himself, it was found that this sin was that some one had stolen his cap; it is very probable that the motive of this confession was his hope that, for a penance, he would be given another one. The Father addressed him, saying that the thief had sinned, and not he; and that, as for him, if he had sinned, it was in having the dish game played for his recovery. To this he did not lack an answer, ♦ asserting that what he had [page 81] done was not done because he believed that it would restore his health, but merely to divert himself.

This year he has shown more sincerity in his words, and God has doubtless touched his heart. This winter, when our Savages assembled in our cabin to offer ,a public prayer on account of the malady, it was he who showed the most faith and confidence in God; therefore [237] it is yet for him and all his family to feel the effects of this epidemic, which has spared hardly any one.

On Ash Wednesday, he came to see the Father Superior, and urgently asked him for Baptism; the Father answered him that he was very glad to see him so well disposed, but that, nevertheless, the matter was so important that it well merited his giving it serious

thought for a few months more; during that time, he took care to instruct him more minutely than before in all that concerns our holy mysteries. During the greater part of Lent, he came to see us early every morning, and the Father instructed him and narrated the Gospels for each day; he took great pleasure therein, and the knowledge of these things made him then conceive a high opinion of our Lord. One day when the Father asked him if he firmly believed all that had been taught him, " Yes indeed! " said he, " I believe it; I still have only some little doubt about the information thou gavest me one day that the Sky turns around the earth, seeing [238] that I have noticed that the Star *Theandihar* does not change its place " (he was speaking of the one we call " the Polar "); the Father satisfied him by showing him that the apparent fixedness of this star was not contrary to the movements of the Heavens.

But of all our mysteries, the one which has always [page 83] pleased him most, and which has made the most impression on his mind, was the mystery of the glorious Resurrection of our Lord. " For I do not find more infallible tokens of the divinity of him whom they preach to us," he often said, and sometimes even to the Savages, " than his resurrection; how could he have been resurrected if he were not God?" But what pleases us most in this Savage is the freedom with which he speaks, before the others, of our holy mysteries, and of the resolve he has made to live hereafter as a Christian. At the beginning of Spring, the malady having altogether ceased in our village, the Father Superior assembled the principal ones of those who had escaped, to make known to them that they [239] were not obliged to fulfill the promise they had made to God to build him a little chapel, because, having addressed themselves to sorcerers and even to demons, and having put all their confidence in their usual superstitions, God had judged them unworthy of experiencing the effects of his mercy. And, when he was exhorting them to acknowledge God as their master, and to have recourse to him alone, and was complaining because there were so few of them who believed what we taught, " As for me, " said *Tsiouendaentaha*, " I believe all that you people believe, and am glad to be present in your cabin when you pray to God. But, *Echon*, thou shouldst not be astonished if some do not believe, and even ridicule what thou teachest; thou knowest well that all men did not believe in the son of God while he lived upon the earth, that many despised his doctrine, persecuted him, and put him to death." Meanwhile, a certain man named *Ihongouaha* having risen from his place to go out, he continued, " Now [page 85] then, *Echon*, have I not told thee that *Ihongouaha* did not believe, and took no pleasure in thy discourses? as soon as [240] thou hast opened thy mouth to speak of God, he has risen. " Then, addressing the man himself, he said: " *Ihongouaha*, speak, and express thy sentiments frankly; if thou dost not like these discourses, do not come here." Father Garnier, on his journey from the Tobacco nation, met this man, and having taken time to say his rosary with him, the man came next day to ask that he would exercise him in saying it; and the Father having conversed with him about some good topics, especially the Apparition of our Lord to the Pilgrims of Emmaus, he afterwards told the story himself to some other Savages. With all this good disposition, we were somewhat astonished that he did not urge his baptism with more insistence; however, the constancy he manifested, in coming to see us every day for instruction, gave us reason to believe that he was acting in this regard with much sincerity. In fact, the Father Superior having asked him what he thought of it, and if he would not be very glad to be baptized, " Yes, indeed, my nephew," said he; " but wait a little longer, I pray thee. " His reason was that he did not yet know enough. As the father often related stories to him from both the old and the new [241] testaments, he imagined that he must know all before being baptized, and often complained of his memory. " I think I have sense enough, " said he, " and yet I cannot remember well; and, if I do not know any more, how shall I be able to talk with myself all alone, as the rest of you do?" He was generally present at our house when we were offering our prayers. But the Father having finally made him understand that [page 87] it was enough to know well the articles of our belief, and that the principal thing was to have a firm determination to keep the commandments of God, he chose for the time of his baptism the day of the most holy Trinity. 15 days before, the Father instructed him upon the principal mysteries of our faith, and the ceremonies and obligations of baptism. During that time, Father Garnier tried to teach him the *Pater* and the *Ave*, and some little prayers. I say "tried," for he has not yet succeeded; this has not been for lack of diligence on the part of both. It was a pleasure to see him, sometimes, studying his lesson; he would repeat the same thing three or four times, holding his head between his hands and closing his eyes. Moreover he was always ready to pray to God; often he anticipated the Father, and came to seek him for this purpose. Sometimes [242] he offered his prayers on his knees before the holy Sacrament, sometimes in the fields, and (what pleased us more) in the presence of the Savages, he himself asking, of his own accord, to pray to God. One day, when Father Garnier showed him a Crucifix, he took it in his own hands, and began to preach in the presence of those of his cabin, upon the mystery of our redemption; and another time, when the Father showed him a very finely wrought image of our Lord, he began to apostrophize it in these terms: " Ah, give us thy benediction; keep us, have pity on us; thou art the master of our lives, thou hast redeemed us! " I saw him do exactly the same thing, of his own accord, on a similar occasion. All this pleased us greatly, yet we could not neglect to sound him upon his willingness to renounce all his superstitions and to live like a Christian the rest of his life; in [page 89] this matter he always showed a great deal of courage, saying that, as far as the superstitions were concerned, he did not regret giving them up, since they were only sins; and that, as for women, his day had passed, and that would not give him trouble. When the Father Superior explained to him on this occasion, how [243] we could offend God in our thoughts, he said: " As for me, I do not know what it is to have bad thoughts; our usual thoughts are, ' That is where I shall go,' and ' Now that we are going to trade, I sometimes think that they would do me a great favor when I go down to Kebec, by giving me a fine large kettle for a robe that I have.'" God will grant him the grace some day, if it please him, to see more clearly into his own heart. The time of his baptism approaching, we wished, for his greater benefit, and for his and our consolation, that he should publicly make a declaration of his purpose, in order that he might afterwards have more liberty to change his life and to do as we do. He agreed to this very willingly, and proposed to make a feast, in order to bring together more conveniently all those of our village. We were present, the Father Superior and I, with one of our domestics. Here, he did not close his mouth, but frankly announced the resolution he had taken; the majority rejoiced with him, but not one spoke as yet for himself. During the feast he entertained the company upon our holy mysteries, explaining to them that of the Annunciation of our Lady, some of the miracles of Our Lord, his death, and Passion. Finally the Father Superior invited the [244] company to his baptism the next morning, the day of the most holy Trinity. This was perhaps one of the most beautiful days we have, [page 91] ever had in this country. Early in the morning, the Father Superior baptized an old man, very ill, who; died two or three days afterward. Thence we went to see our catechumen, but he was at our house. The Father instructed him again before the ceremony, especially upon the communion. Our Chapel was remarkably well decorated; it occupied half of our cabin, so we did not make any fire there that day. We had arranged a portico, entwined with leaves mingled with tinsel; in fact we had displayed everything beautiful that your Reverence has sent us. Nothing so magnificent had ever been seen in this country. But the rarest piece was our proselyte, so the eyes of all those present were fixed upon him. True, they had seen many little children baptized in our cabin; but that a man of his age, and in good health, should present himself to receive baptism, this was something they had not seen before. At the beginning of the ceremony, he appeared rather bashful, and trembled all over; and when the Father Superior questioned him, he was confused, and said to him in a low tone, " *Echon*, I [245] do not know what to answer." However, when it was only a question of " yes" or " no," he spoke so loudly and so distinctly as to remove all one's reasons to doubt the sincerity of his heart; and even this modesty which appeared upon his brow showed us unveiled, as it were, the integrity of his intentions in an affair of so much importance. Meanwhile, there was an old man named *Tendoutsahorin*, who could not refrain from talking, and from saying aloud that it was much better to be baptized like that than in sickness, which often deprives us of judgment and understanding; and he exhorted the whole assembly to imitate [page 93] *Tsiouendaentaha*, and to be baptized like him, as soon as possible. Apart from this,

we had reasonable quiet, the little extra decoration serving materially to this end. Simon Baron was his godfather, and named him Pierre. We hope that he will serve as a foundation stone to Christianity in this country, that God will employ him for the conversion of many; and that this Holy Apostle, whose name he bears, will take these peoples under his protection, and will open to them the gate of heaven. After his Baptism the Father Superior said Mass, to which he listened with considerable devotion for a Savage. From time to time I said a few words to him, having him now perform an act of faith, now [246] ask God's pardon for his sins; again, I told him to reflect inwardly upon the great obligations that we are under to our Lord. At the close of the Mass, he received communion very modestly, and the Father Superior helped him afterwards to offer his thanksgiving. An hour or two later, we made a feast for all the people of our village, that we might rejoice together at the grace that God had just shown to our Christian. It is well known that all the ordinary feasts consist of two or three smoked fish, cooked with the native corn. Several profitable discourses were given, regarding baptism and our holy mysteries. We left our Chapel in the same condition during the whole day, ♦ thus giving the Savages something to admire, and ourselves a good subject upon which to instruct them. An old man, looking at our Crucifix, asked me who that was who was fastened to it. Having told him, he began to speak to our Lord in these words, *Etsagon ihouaten etsagon taouacaratat*, "Courage, nephew, courage, take care of us! " It is thus [page 95] the old men address the young men. I made him understand that he was the father of us all, and that from him we obtain being and life; his simplicity rendered him excusable. Our images and our pictures are in great demand in some places, especially in [247] *Arent* ♦. It so happened that a woman of that village came to visit us that day. She was wonderfully surprised at the entrance of our cabin; she remained there for some time, without daring to advance and cross the threshold. It was amusing to see her in this struggle, for, on the one hand, she felt herself powerfully attracted by the novelty of this object; and, on the other, her fear, lest, in approaching nearer our pictures, she would be immediately attacked by the disease, made her draw back. Nevertheless, after a hard struggle, curiosity got the better of her. " There is no help for it, *Iariscon* " (she said); " I must venture, I must see, even though it cost me my life." This act affected many of them, and I hope (by means of the continuation of the fervent prayers of so many saintly souls, who exert themselves so continually in God's presence for the good of these tribes) that we shall next year inform you of some good results therefrom. This example gave *Enditsaconc*, Captain of *Onnentsisati*, much to reflect upon. He is a man of great intelligence, and is wonderfully curious to hear about our ways of doing things in France. Once, when we showed him a representation of the judgment, he inquired very particularly of the Father Superior, who those were who were going into hell, and what must be done to go to heaven. The Father instructed him fully. [248] Two days later, another family of our village came to ask baptism from us, with great earnestness; [page 97] the Father Superior is now engaged in instructing them. It is a great advantage that some one has made a beginning, and that, too, a person of influence, as is Pierre *Tsiouendaentaha*; he does not fail to come every day to pray to God, and to hear Mass on Feast days and Sundays. We hope that all his family will soon follow his example. God be infinitely blessed! It is a great consolation for us to have such a Christian as he is, to make a public profession of our holy faith at a time when its most adorable mysteries are looked upon with suspicion, and those who preach them are regarded, more than ever, as so many poisoners and sorcerers.

It is not only in this country that we have this reputation, for these false reports have been carried even to strange nations, who consider us as the masters and arbiters of life and death. Not long ago, an Algonquin tribe that we call " men of the raised Hair" sent a special embassy to us with presents, to beg us to spare them in this general calamity, and to regard [249] the affection that they bore us. We explained to them that we could not receive these offerings, that it was not to us they should address themselves; that there was only one sovereign Lord of life and of death, and that it was to him they should have recourse; that this was the only remedy we had used in our sickness, and we had found it very efficacious. They returned very well satisfied, with the determination to follow our advice. Nevertheless, the providence of God has, since then, permitted them to be afflicted like the others, so that in their village they count as many as seventy dead, which gives them much to reflect upon. However, after having investigated everything that they [page 99] imagined might be the cause of their misfortune, they at last fixed upon something which only the light that the author of nature has impressed upon the brow of all men, could reveal to them. Some remembered that they had once robbed the deceased Estienne Brusl ♦ of a collar Of 2400 porcelain beads. They accused themselves before the old men, who at this news immediately assembled; and, having well considered the whole matter, they decided that they had found the source of their malady, and thus the only means of remedying it [250] was to make restitution therefor as soon as possible; and for the better success of the affair they resolved to come in person to see the French, and to satisfy them for the wrong done to them. This decision was no sooner made than they started on the journey. I leave your Reverence to imagine how much we were astonished at the cause of this second embassy, which these old men made known in terms worthy of compassion. They spread out upon a mat the two thousand four hundred porcelain beads, which they had collected by a contribution made by the survivors in their village. They conjured us very earnestly, and at different times, to receive this collar in satisfaction for the theft committed against a Frenchman, to have pity on them, and to preserve the few whom the disease had spared up to that time. The Father Superior rejoined that it was very well-advised on their part to wish to make this restitution, ♦ that it was an act of justice, and very right not to keep the property of others; that, nevertheless, we could not accept this collar, since it had not been stolen from us, and he from whom it had been taken was dead, and there was no one in the country who could [page 101] receive it in his name. More than this, [251] he said that it was too dangerous a thing for us, especially at this time, to receive presents from strange nations; that the people of this country, who would soon get wind of this affair, would not consider it as a simple restitution, but rather as some secret understanding to their disadvantage; in fine, that they should content themselves with having undertaken to restore what they considered did not belong to them, ♦ that in doing so they had sufficiently discharged their obligations, and that our acceptance of it would be altogether useless to them, and might be extremely injurious to us, if from that time they began to recover; that if, on the contrary, the sickness continued, they would be certain to regard us as impostors for not having fulfilled their expectations. They were satisfied with these arguments, and returned with their porcelain and even with a little present. But this thing is never ended; they had no sooner departed than others came, who caused us to search for new expedients to satisfy their imagination. On the day of the baptism of Pierre *Tsiouendaentaha*, we had exhibited an excellent representation of the judgment, [252] where the damned are depicted, ♦ some with serpents and dragons tearing out their entrails, and the greater part with some kind of instrument of their punishment. Many obtained some benefit from this spectacle; but some persuaded themselves that this multitude of men, desperate, and heaped one upon the other, were all those we had caused to die during this Winter; that these flames represented the heats of this pestilential fever, and these dragons and serpents, the venomous beasts that we made use of in order to poison them. [page 103] This was said in open feast at *Ouenrio*, according to the report of Captain *Enditsacon*. Another one afterward asked us if it were really true that we were raising the malady in our house as if it were a domestic animal, saying that this was quite a common opinion in the country. And very recently, when I was returning from *Ossossan* ♦, a woman who was coming from her field caught a grasshopper and brought it to me, begging me earnestly to teach her some contrivance for killing these little creatures that eat the corn, adding that she had been told that we were past masters in this art.

On the 9th, our cabin at *Ossossan* ♦ being entirely finished, forty or fifty Savages, [253] both men and women, came here to *Ihonattiria* to get part of our corn and a few little articles of furniture, the Captains being in the crowd. These are services that they render you gratuitously on these occasions.



On the 16th, a young girl, related to our new Christian and belonging to his cabin, fell sick of the contagion. The wise providence of God has designs that we do not see. All the Winter they had been occupied solely in comforting the others; and now they are the only ones in our village who are afflicted. This shock is indeed rather violent for a new plant, and for us a reason for adoring submissively the secret judgments of God. She is now in the fifth day of her fever, with very manifest signs of danger. Therefore we have already prepared her for Holy Baptism, to which she and her relatives have given us their consent, with evidences of great faith and resignation to the will of God. It is also a consolation to us to see nothing in the cabin, up to the present, contrary to the first promises and resolutions of [page 105] baptism. As for him, he continues steadfast since his baptism in the duties of a Christian; he has changed his teacher, as Father [254] Garnier is at *Ossossan* ♦, now, Father Chastellain is careful to have him pray to God evening and morning. There are not lacking persons already who persecute him, but he comports himself with courage. May God grant him the gift of perseverance, and keep his whole family in the inclination they now have to receive the faith! Blessed be God; we have just now availed ourselves of the good disposition we had found in that cabin, for Father Chastelain has just baptized this poor sick girl, and we have again exhorted her relatives to conform to the good pleasure of God. This girl was the 50th over and above the two hundred whom we have baptized this year in this region. Some of them are still alive, and it is well for us that they are not all in heaven, for this would cause us to fear that they might close the doors to many others; some have already only too much aversion to Holy Baptism. Nevertheless, it is a very sensible consolation to us to have seen in this barbarism so many Savages die with so evident signs of predestination. And if we only had assurance of the eternal happiness of thirty or 40 little children, who have been carried off by this contagious malady after having received baptism, we would consider that we had already received [255] the reward for a thousand times more hardships than we could suffer in seeking so many poor wandering sheep, and in the conquest of this new world. It is a part of the heritage of Jesus Christ, which has been righteously acquired by him. *Postula a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam*. These are so many [page 107] advocates for us, for the whole country, and for all those who interest themselves in the salvation of these peoples, ♦ and a most powerful motive to operate in the conversion of the parents, who have nothing so much at heart as to follow their children after death.

Now I can finish the present letter when I please, since I cannot leave your Reverence with a reason for consolation which can be more acceptable to you; moreover, the embarkation is urgent; one of our domestics departed two days ago. I am going to our new Residence to take the place of Father Pijart, who is coming here to prepare for the voyage. The Father Superior sends him to Kebec that he may confer with your Reverence, by word of mouth, on all that concerns the welfare of this mission. The great zeal that we know you have for the salvation of these poor souls makes us wish to see you here in person; at least, it fills us with hope [256] that you will always send us valiant workers, and that you will aid us with good counsel to begin this new Church auspiciously, after the establishment of which we are going to work with more courage than ever. So many adults escaped from death after baptism constrain us to do this; the war that the powers of darkness have openly declared against us does not permit us to remain without our weapons at hand; and so many good sentiments that God inspires in us, and in thousands and thousands of persons in France, would accuse us of unfaithfulness if we should behave slothfully in the midst of so many excellent opportunities; and above all, the assurances we have of aid from the holy prayers and holy sacrifices of your [page 109] Reverence, in which we all put our trust, and particularly I, who am,

My Reverend Father,

From the Residence of St. Joseph at Ihonattiria,

in the country of the Hurons, this 21st of

June, day of the blessed Gonzague, 1637.

Your very humble and very obedient

servant in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Fran ♦ ois Joseph le Mercier.

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XXX

Le Jeune's Relation, 1638

Paris: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1638



Source: We reprint from the original of the first issue (H. 69), in Lenox Library.

The document consists of two parts: Part I., by Le Jeune, as superior, is given in the present volume; Part II., by Le Mercier, touching on the Huron missions, will appear in Volume XV.

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# RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED

IN  
NEW FRANCE  
IN THE YEAR 1638.

Sent to the  
REVEREND FATHER PROVINCIAL  
of the Society Of Jesus in  
the Province of France.'

By Father Paule le Jeune *of the same So-*  
*ciety, Superior of the Residence of Kébec.*

PARIS,  
Sebastian Cramoisy,Printer in ordinary  
to the King, rue saint Jacques,  
at the Sign of the Storks.



M. D C. XXXVIII.  
*BY ROYAL LICENSE.*

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[I] Relation of what occurred in New France, in the year 1638.

Y REVEREND FATHER,

Since we can have no truce in the Relation of what takes place in this new world, and as the tribute must be paid again this year, I shall behave toward those who desire it as one does toward stomachs already sated, to which one offers only a few things, but very delicate ones, for fear of ruining them. People are already so full of the customs of our Savages, and of our little labors for them, that I fear disgust; hence I shall say little of many things❖ omitting whole chapters, lest I be accused of tediousness.

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[2] CHAPTER I.  
OF THE MEANS WE EMPLOY TO PUBLISH AND SPREAD THE FAITH AMONG THE SAVAGES.

UPERSTITION, error, barbarism, and consequently, sin, are as if in their empire here. We employ four great contrivances to overthrow them. First, we make expeditions to go and attack the enemy upon their own ground, with their own weapons,❖ that is to say, by a knowledge of the Montagnais, Algonquin, and Huron tongues. When the doors shall be opened to us in nations still more remote, we will enter there if God lend us his help. Now I will say upon this point, in passing, that many did not expect anything from the old Savage stocks, all hope being placed only in the young; but experience teaches us that there is no wood so dry that God cannot make it become green again, when it pleases him. We begin to see in the Huron country, and among the Montagnais and Algonquins, a few families publicly professing the Faith and frequenting the Sacraments, with a devotion and modesty which have nothing of the Savage except the dress. This low opinion that people had of our poor wandering Savages must be changed into thanksgivings and blessings, as we shall see hereafter.

Secondly, as these peoples are attacked [3] by serious diseases, we are obtaining for them the erection of a hospital. The men are now hard at work thereon, so far as the conditions of the country allow. [page 125] Madame the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, who laid the foundations of this great work, can after this year enjoy the fruits of her liberality. For the men who are working here to carry out her plan, having given assistance this winter to some poor forlorn Savages, God so touched them that in truth I would desire a death similar to that which he has granted to two of these Barbarians, who became children of God in the blood of Jesus Christ.

In the third place, we are endeavoring to begin Huron, Algonquin, and Montagnais Seminaries. We have them now at Kebec, of these three kinds; I will say a few words about them, hereafter.



In the fourth place, we are trying to fix the wandering Savages. I confess that golden chains are needed for this purpose; but their souls are more precious than gold and pearls, and it is an advantageous exchange to win them by this allurements. A person of great virtue has begun to lay this snare for them, having hired some men to aid these poor Barbarians to build for themselves, and to cultivate the land. At the first setting of this divine trap, he caught two families, composed of about twenty persons. I am mistaken, he caught more; for although only these two families have yet been lodged, there are many others that have been gained by this miracle of charity. It is a blessing to see these poor Savages become children of God, some, indeed, by means of holy Baptism, [4] the others through desire and good will; we will speak of these more fully, in the proper place.

Behold the four batteries which shall destroy the empire of Satan, and shall unfurl the banner of Jesus Christ in these regions. It is the hands and the [page 127] hearts of a few persons, cherished by God, that put these engines in motion by their benefactions and their prayers. The following Chapters will give them reason to believe that their prayers are acceptable to God, since he is pleased to hearken to them; and hence I conjure them to continue to us this great help. I frankly confess my faintheartedness; I did not expect during the remainder of my days to see so powerful effects of grace in these so barbarous souls. Until now, some of the Savages approved Baptism in their children and in their sick people; now those who are in health, and who remain a part of the year near our settlements, honor it, and eagerly and gladly seek it for themselves. This change has been so sudden and so evident, that those who expected almost nothing from these wandering tribes have been obliged to confess that the God of Heaven was as truly the God of the Barbarians as the God of the French. I am not speaking of the Savages of Tadoussac, they show the least inclination of all, but of those who usually withdraw to Kebec or to the three Rivers. We have baptized more than a hundred and fifty of these, this year, without counting those who have become Christians among the Hurons. I will not report all the remarkable incidents of these Baptisms, I will say little of them; and this little, all together, will approach nearer to tediousness, perhaps, than I would desire. Let us begin the relation. [page 129]

## [5] CHAPTER II.

### OF THE BAPTISM OF A SAVAGE, AND OF SOME OF HIS FAMILY.

WROTE last year about the conversations we had with a band of Montagnais and Algonquins who had encamped near us during the winter. Because the seed of the Gospel did not germinate as soon as some expected, this made them say that it was labor lost to preach to the Savages, seeing that even the one who played the Captain among them, named Makheabichtichiou, had not corresponded to the hopes that had been entertained of him. How strange it is that some should require, in a moment, the introduction of Christianity into infidelity, refinement into Barbarism, when centuries have been needed to establish our belief in Europe, among sedentary and civilized nations! Now I can say that this sacred seed that was cast that winter into their hearts, has yielded a hundredfold.

First, this Captain Makheabichtichiou's salvation is not hopeless. I believe that he has faith; be that as it may, in charity, there is a great deal of difference between believing and obeying God. Having come to see us this Spring, he did not dare to enter our house; I chided him vigorously; he listened to me patiently, and then replied: " If thou knewest the regret that gnaws my heart, thou wouldst have compassion, instead of chiding me. I thought thou wouldst question me upon the belief thou hast [6] [page 131] taught me. I could have given thee a good account of it, for I have prayed to God all this winter; and instead of showing me a pleasant face, thou receivest me with reproaches. Thou tellest me that I continue to keep several wives; dost thou think that a person can so readily give up his old habits? Perhaps you people had as much trouble as we to quit your old customs when the Faith was first announced to you. Tell me which one of my wives thou desirest me to retain, and I will drive away the others." In a word, his inclinations are good; I will speak no more of him, however, except incidentally, until I see him a Christian, if God grant him that grace.

In the second place, the sorcerer named Pigarouich, with whom we had some disputes, as I wrote in the preceding Relation, has burned all the utensils of his art, and has never again consented to tamper with it since then, although he has been often secretly solicited to do so, and with valuable presents. Having been fully instructed, he has done wonders for the Faith; but because he has tarnished this bright record by some hasty actions, that we could not suffer in a Catechumen, I will say no more about him, even although he came to us a little while ago, and expressed his regret to us, even to tears. If he continue to knock loudly, the doors of the Church will open to him.

In the third place, the malady having attacked these poor peoples, all those who had been present at the instructions we gave them, being seized by this epidemic, have had themselves more fully catechized; and not one of them died [7] without Baptism, if he could have access to one of our Fathers. But, finally, the one of whom I am about to speak [page 133] was of this company. He was deeply touched from that time on, although he gave no evidence thereof until this year. This fire that burned his soul giving him no rest, he came to see us, and told us that at the first instructions we gave to the Savages his heart had believed all that we said of the greatness of God, and that therefore he sent his children to the Catechism, recommending them to listen attentively to what was taught them. " I did not dare address you, " said he, " nor did I know how to declare to you the thoughts of my soul; I was wishing that you would summon me. At last, when Negabamat" (the name of a Savage, his friend) " spoke to me of your intention to help us to become sedentary, I told him that I would like to take part in this, not so much for the temporal aid you promised, as to hear you talk about the salvation of our souls. It seems to me, " he said, " that I have had from my youth some little knowledge of the things you teach; I was wont to think thus when I was alone, 'There is one who has made all, upon whom we depend, who gave us our life, and causes us to find something with which to sustain it; and that one hates evil-doers.' I had a desire to know him, hence I was greatly rejoiced when I heard you speak of him. " Finally, he promised to come and spend the winter near us, that he might be more thoroughly instructed. Scarcely had he become a Catechumen, when God put him to a severe test. He had an interesting and large family; the [8] disease invaded it, and delivered a good part of it over to death. An old woman, a relative, who managed his household, was taken off in a few days; his own wife and two of his children died before his eyes; some of his kindred and relations who were [page 135] living with him were carried off at the same time. He consoled himself with their Baptism, for there was not one of them who did not experience at his death a new birth in Jesus Christ. After having buried nearly all these with his own hands, he himself was stricken, behold him seized with the same contagion as the others; and, to increase his afflictions, his eldest son, believing him dead, married against his will. It was enough to crush the spirit of a Giant, and to revive the ideas that many of the Savages had entertained, that to intend to become a Christian was to consent to depart from this world. But God, who maintains peace at the bottom of the Ocean during the fury of the winds, calmed his heart in the midst of these tempests. This poor man threw himself into our arms, which were only too wide open for him. Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, seeing the goodness of this Savage, spared

nothing of whatever might give him some relief. He sent him both partridges and poultry, and other birds that were kept for his table, or rather for the sick; he spared neither the sweetmeats, nor the services, nor the store of his Physician and Surgeon together. Truly, this great heart is worthy of praise for having nothing of his own, except the hearts and the love of all those who are under his government; there is not a French family which does not experience his kindness in time of affliction. To finish this story, our Catechumen grew continually weaker, [9] so that, beholding himself within two finger-lengths of death, he summoned the rest of his children and said to them, " My children, believe in God; imitate your Father in this respect. I believe in, him with as much certainty as if I saw him with **[page 137]** my eyes; do not offend him, and he will help you. I am already dead; when my body is in the earth, remain near the Fathers, and obey them." It would take too long to report all he said to them; he drew tears from the eyes of those who heard him. Having directed them to withdraw, he urged us to grant him Holy Baptism. " Hasten," he said to us; " I am dying, I am in haste to go to Heaven." Sometimes thinking himself alone, we heard him from a place near by offering his prayers to God, with a tenderness and devotion showing the utmost confidence. Finally, on the feast day of our glorious Saint François Xavier, Monsieur the Governor, Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle, and Monsieur Gand being present, we made him a Christian. Monsieur de l'Isle named him François Xavier. He displayed so much feeling, and so much satisfaction for this favor, that those Gentlemen returned greatly comforted. A week afterwards, Monsieur the Governor and Monsieur de l'Isle having come to take me to visit him, in a little Cabin where he had retired to die in peace and quietness, he declared to us, with altogether naive simplicity, a great communication he had had with God. " Yesterday, towards evening," he said to me, " while thinking of God, I saw myself surrounded by a great light; I saw the beauties of Heaven, of which thou tellest us; I saw the house of that great Captain who has made all. I was in a state of delight which [10] can not be expressed. This suddenly disappearing, I lowered my eyes toward the earth, and saw a frightful gulf which paralyzed me with fear. It seemed to me some one was saying to me, 'Do not go there!' I had no wish to approach it, for I was trembling like the leaf upon the **[page 139]** tree shaken by the wind. This feeling of horror vanished, as well as the beauty and light which had surrounded me. I was left quite distracted with a desire to believe and to obey God all my life; assure our Captain of this, that I believe from the bottom of my heart." Now I can assure Your Reverence that we did all we could to discover whether this were an imposture or a dream. We had sounded him several times and on different occasions, until, believing that he had his soul upon his lips, we reminded him of this vision, threatening him with severe punishment if he lied in a matter of so much importance. This poor frightened man, trying to raise himself to a sitting posture, said to us with a steadfast eye, " I assure you in all truth that the thing is as I have described it to you. I have not lied to you in life; I will not lie to you at my death." Regarding this, what can one say except that the God of Paradise bestows his blessings upon the Barbarians as well as upon the Greeks. Monsieur the Governor and Monsieur de l'Isle again returning to see him with sieur Marsolet, who understands the language of the Savages very well, were so pleased, that sieur Marsolet assured me afterwards that he had almost drawn tears from their eyes; when he asked him if he, needed anything that might be in his power to give, [11] " No," he replied, " unless thou pray God for me every day and every morning." How many times, addressing God, did he say to him, " You are my Lord and my master; order my life and my death; I wish for death, that I may see you, and I would gladly live for the good of my children." His family mourning for him, he said, " Though all the world forsake me, I will not forsake you." To be born a. **[page 141]** Barbarian, and to speak in these terms, is to publish the goodness of the God of the Scythians and of the, Christians.

His sickness was long and tedious, for he was ill more than three months, sometimes showing a little life, and again almost in the grave. He called those of his family who survived, and gave them admirable advice. Finally, so many prayers were offered for him, our Fathers addressing themselves to God through vows and mortifications, that at the very time when he had been abandoned, and all that he desired had been given him, as to a dead man, God sent him back his health. Behold him emerged from the tomb, to the astonishment of the French and of the Savages. He went into the woods, in quest of his provision of Elk meat; he departed in March after all the other Savages, and returned in April, and yet he brought back more of it than six others together. On his return, he was assailed amidst the ice by a tempest; he had recourse to God, made his family pray, and emerged from the peril that was about to engulf him, and which sunk one of his canoes loaded with meat. When he saw that some of his people were not praying from their hearts, he said to them, " See, we are drawing near the house of the French, where they have promised to [2 i.e., 12] lodge me. I do not wish any one with me who does not believe in God. If any one of you has not a steadfast heart, let him take his share of our provisions, and let him retire elsewhere." He had two wives before his baptism; the strongest and youngest of them died a Christian. The other one, who had but little intelligence, showed herself cold towards the faith. It was to this one and to her **[page 143]** sister that he was speaking indirectly. The latter answered aloud that she already believed in her heart; in fact, she was baptized a few days afterward. As for his wife, seeing that she gave way a little, he did not wish to repudiate her, although she gives him little comfort in his household. Our new Christian, openly professing the faith, and proclaiming everywhere that God had restored to him health of body and of soul, desired to approach the Holy Table. He prepared himself for this with great purity, made a good Confession after his Baptism, and fasted on the eve of the Holy Sacrament, the day appointed for his first communion. Monsieur our Governor suggested to us that we give him one of the poles of the Canopy under which the Holy Sacrament was borne, he himself taking one, through a truly noble humility. It was a spectacle agreeable both to Heaven and to earth, to see this Neophyte clad, under a beautiful Savage robe, with truly Christian modesty-bearing the canopy in the procession, with the chief person in the land. The Muskets and cannons beginning to roar and thunder, and the beautiful decorations of the Altars and resting places, caused an indescribable spirit of devotion, which our new soldier enjoyed with an incredible delight. [13] Finally, he received him who came to honor him publicly, and could not bless him profusely enough. He said afterwards to one of our Fathers, " I do not care any more for the things of earth; it matters little whether I am poor or rich, well or sick, since Heaven is opened to me, and my true Captain has come to visit me. If you were to drive me away, if your Governor were to reject me, if you were all to leave our country, I would never give up God." **[page 145]** What a change! This man, who has many times eaten the flesh of his enemies, now receives Jesus Christ with a heart full of devotion, and confesses him with a candor altogether naive! In short, he is practicing Religion, conducting himself as a true Christian. May God give him the grace to persevere until his death. Let us say a few words of his children. He had three boys and three girls; God took one of his boys during the contagion, and one of his girls, who was endowed with a grace not common to the Savages. As an evidence of the faith that was within her heart, seeing one of the Fathers of our Society who was visiting her in her dying moments, she exclaimed in her delirium, for she was in a violent fever, " Ah, my Father! I am going into the fires; I am damned! " That showed that fear was in her soul. Upon the Father speaking to her of God, she recovered her senses, reassured herself, and died in the innocence of her Baptism.

Her twin sister, born on the same day, and with almost the same natural perfections, presented herself for the holy Ceremonies of Baptism. When Monsieur our Governor saw how amiable she was, he wished to be her godfather; and having learned that our [14] great Queen sometimes raised her eyes toward Heaven for the salvation of our poor Barbarians, and that she had even wished some young Savage girl to be brought up in the Faith on her account, he had her take her name, calling her Anne. This new plant grows daily in the faith, frequenting the Sacraments in imitation of her father. It happened one day that when the one who was to hear her confession was instructing her beforehand, and recommending sincerity to her, she looked at him as if in **[page 147]** astonishment,

and said: " Have you not taught me that it is God to whom one declares one's sins in the presence of the Priest? How then can I lie to him, and conceal anything from him, since he knows all?"

Of these three baptized children, one of the Fathers whom Your Reverence has sent us this year, at the very time of his landing, received into the Church of God the youngest son of our Neophyte. There still remains to be baptized his eldest son and another younger daughter, whom God will bless, if it please him, in his own time.

The woman who takes care of his family, while preparing herself for Baptism, saw an animal as large as a Bear enter her little Cabin, during the night. Believing this to be a demon, she had recourse to God, and the beast or phantom disappeared. The next day she was received into the Church militant, and a little while afterward into the Church triumphant. **[page 149]**

## [15] CHAPTER III. OF SOME OTHER BAPTIZED SAVAGES.

YOUNG Savage, finding himself sick, urgently asked for Baptism; but, when he was kept on probation, he said to us, " Do you not see that they are taking me to my death? For my relations dragging me after them into the woods will be sure to free themselves from the. trouble I shall give them, by killing me, or abandoning me in these great forests. " Yes, but if thou recover," was said to him, wilt thou persevere in the faith that thou dost now profess? " As he is of a violent and rather haughty disposition, we feared Apostasy for him. " Do not speak to me of recovery," he replied; " I ask you for Baptism as a man who is going to his death." Thereupon he raised himself to a sitting posture and begged to be made a Christian. His request fulfilled, they wished him to lie down again, for he was very weak. " Wait," said he, " until I have thanked God a little for the great gift I have just received." After his Baptism he was dragged to a thousand places; he was not killed, but was made to endure great suffering. He was sometimes left all alone in a corner of the woods, with a little food placed near him. I have never seen a man endure so much, ♦ I do not think that job was any more wretched; for this man had nothing more [16] than the skin adhering to his bones, and a wretched piece of bark which served him as bed, blanket, and house. **[page 151]** He sometimes cried out, " I hate my body, I do not fear death; " then, pinching his skin, all black and frightful to look upon, " It is not this rottenness that I love; its is Heaven, whither my soul is going." The Savages, wishing to get rid of him, spread a report that he had become a man wolf, and that he would eat all those who came near him. When we had learned all this fine news, we had him brought to us, and succored him so effectually that this carcass again became a body, this corpse was resuscitated; and this poor mute tongue was so loosened that it is a pleasure now to hear him bless God. He preaches to his own people, reproaching them for their vices and their ingratitude with a freedom that consoles us; and the best of it is that he first accuses himself, publicly, of having formerly committed the sins that he reproves in them. He has so good a conception of our mysteries that I do not think many old Christians proceed to the Sacrament of Penance more sincerely and more frankly than this Neophyte.

Another one, younger than he, was also deserted in his sickness. The Savage who abandoned him came to one of our Fathers, and said to him, " Go and find a young boy that I have left in such and such a place, because I am going to the woods to hunt, and I cannot drag him after me." So saying, my man went away without further ceremony. We took this poor child, who had been already made a Christian by Baptism. We rendered him all the assistance possible, during the space of more than three months that he was in [17] our little house. God wished to call him to himself; he confessed, and received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Shortly before his death, he asked us who those were whom **[page 153]** he had heard singing all night, very melodiously, affording him the utmost delight; he thought that we had heard them. As he told this, he assumed a startled look, and said to us, " Do you not see those frightful people there, looking at me with evil eyes? " We immediately reassured him. On the evening of the night he died, he called loudly for one of our Fathers, who immediately ran to him; but he could not understand what the boy intended to say, as he only exclaimed, " The Father will know it, the Father will know it. " Some time afterward, he rendered up his blessed soul to our Lord.

I have spoken in preceding Relations of a certain man surnamed by the French, " big Olivier," who two years ago had his daughter baptized, and afterwards his wife, fully resolving that he would die a Christian, as well as the others. This good fortune did not happen to him without a special favor of God; for he was very superstitious, and did not lack the ability to justify those foolish notions; he took part in divination. Now either because the devil communicated with him by means of their throbbings of the breast, or because he chanced to meet him sometimes, I have known him to assert that certain news which was expected would arrive the next morning, which proved to be true. Having fallen sick, he had us summoned; three of us went to him, This good man, already convinced of his superstitions, said to us, " Ah! my dear friends, [18] you are doing me a favor. I have no longer the power to speak, except what is necessary to testify to you that I believe in God, that I renounce our absurdities to embrace the Faith that you have taught me. " Thereupon he tried to get on his knees, but he had not **[page 155]** enough strength. The first Sacrament of grace was conferred upon him, and almost at the same time he passed into glory.

We shall see examples even more remarkable than this I am about to describe, showing that the goodness of God must not be despaired of, notwithstanding the barbarism of the Savages. One of our Fathers approaching a young sick girl to persuade her to Baptism, this poor creature perceiving him, said, " Go away from here; I do not wish to see thee." The Father, pretending not to hear her, said, " My daughter, I would like very much to know where thy greatest pain is, to bring thee some remedy for it." The patient, incited by the evil spirit, turned angrily to the other side; her sister, who was taking care of her, seeing this, said to the Father, " Dost thou not hear her tell thee to go away, ♦ that thou art turning her brain? " The two Fathers who were there, recognizing the temptation of the devil, had recourse to God, and the demon fled. " My daughter," said one of these Fathers, "we wish to give thee good counsel, and thou despisest it; how now, shall we go away without thy speaking to us? At these words she turned her face and exclaimed, Ah, my Father, I am dying! I can do no more, it is a question of my life!" "No, my daughter, you will not entirely perish, " the Father said to her, " if you believe in God, for your soul will enjoy eternal pleasure." " I believe, " replied she, [19] " I believe, I am sorry to have offended him." She was questioned upon the principal articles of our belief; as she had attended the Catechism, she answered very well. She was asked if she truly desired to receive Holy Baptism; she answered not by words, but by actions; for **[page 157]** although she was on the verge of death, she gently raised herself and put a bark plate under her head, making a sign that these sanctifying waters should be poured over her to cure the wounds of her soul; she was obeyed; she was made a Christian, and at the same time a citizen of Paradise, ♦ for, in lowering her body towards the ground, her soul flew away to Heaven. It is a holy exercise of the mind to meditate at times upon the wonder and holy terror, so to speak, that the soul of a Savage experiences in passing, in one moment, from the extreme of barbarism and degradation into the bosom of glory. What thanksgivings does it not offer for those who have procured it



this greatness; what Heavenly blessings does it not ask from God for those who have not spared their earthly goods that they might apply to it the blood of Jesus Christ? Let us pass on; I fear this will be too long. [page 159]

## [20] CHAPTER IV.

### OF OTHER ADULT PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN SOLEMNLY BAPTIZED.

THE seminary for the Hurons has given us this year two young men, as steadfast in the Faith as their nation is unsteady and changeable. I have no knowledge of the future, but I know well that the sojourn they made among us has caused them to be considered very well prepared to receive the stamp of Christian. Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny named one of them Armand jean, the name of Monseigneur the Cardinal, deeming it appropriate that a Prince of the Church, who favors this rising Church, should gather the first fruits thereof. His companion is the one who escaped last year from the hands of the Hiroquois by a sort of miracle. Monsieur Gand and Mademoiselle de Repentigny, his godfather and godmother, called him Joseph, in the name of the Gentlemen of New France. The Chapter on the Seminary for the Hurons will show us the good inclinations and virtues of these two young men, truly touched by God. I have spoken in the preceding Relations of a young girl given to a French family for two years, on condition that when this time expired she should be allowed to go back to her parents, if she wished to do so. As the time drew near, her father strongly urged her to follow him; [21] she turned a deaf ear. He sent a young man to speak to her about marriage, who, in order to more [page 161] effectually gain her friendship and estrange her from the French, made her a present of bracelets and earrings, and a necklace of porcelain, ♦ these are the pearls and diamonds of the country. This good Catechumen, between 12 and 14 years old, answered by fleeing, leaving there his presents, and him who offered them, without saying to him a single word. Having now recognized her constancy, we prepared her for Baptism. The devil tried to oppose this, for she was seized by a sort of obsession, so violent that she instantly turned her head around, with horrible distortion, and her stomach grew enormously swollen. We saw that she was utterly terrified, and unable to utter a word, except, " I am afraid, I am afraid." This happened to her three times, and always at a time when none of us could be called to see her in this condition. There were urgent requests to have her take some medicine, to clear her brain, they said. We were willing to do this, but negligence suddenly seized us. Baptism was destined to cure her; for, since the sacred waters have made her a child of God, the devil has never caused her this fright. She was called Magdelaine of St. Joseph. I hope that some soul dear to God will find in her a wife.



The sorcerer Pigarouch, with whom we had so many disputes last year, as I have already said, instructed and had his wife and three of his children baptized at death. One of his brothers becoming obstinate, and ridiculing the fires of Hell, he urged him [22] so strongly that he convinced him. " What! " said he to him, " dost thou think thy soul will have no consciousness after death? Is it thou who hast created it, that thou shouldst speak of it with this obstinacy? Thou placest all thy dependence upon [page 163] thy apprehensions, full of errors as they are; and I who believe in God, I lean upon his word; it is he who has drawn souls from nothing, and consequently can speak of them with all truth. Reason teaches thee that he who has given thee being demands some acknowledgment thereof, on pain of punishment." He argued so well that this good man yielded, and was named Chrysostome.

Having baptized a good woman in a serious illness, so that she responded with perfect intelligence to all the questions put to her, without once appearing to wander, it happened that she returned to health, and we asked her if she remembered clearly the name that had been given to her. " No," said she, " I do not even know whether I have been baptized." " But dost thou not remember, " we said to her, " the answers that thou didst make to us concerning our belief ? " " No," she answered, " I do not know what you asked me, nor what I answered you; but I remember very well that it seemed to me, when you addressed me, that the Devil tried to kill me, and that I said in my heart, 'It is no wonder that he attacks me, since I believe in God; but he cannot succeed.' I afterwards felt myself delivered from this danger; it was no doubt through this Baptism. " This poor woman behaves well now, and is very glad that she was sick, that she might [23] receive a favor that would not have been granted to her so soon. I cannot refrain from saying that those who despair of the conversion of the Savages, offer an insult to the goodness of God. We have this winter succored a young man, with great patience, for his sickness lasted more than five months. After all the kindness that had been shown him, and the instruction that had [page 165] been given him, the devil almost turned his head. This poor wretch, being in a fury, blasphemed God, and protested that he no longer believed in him. " All the winter," said he, " I have prayed to him, and was expecting that he would cure me; and here I am, worse than ever! Let him damn me if he will, I do not care! " Those who hear these blasphemies immediately conclude that the Savages believe only through self-interest. Strange, how evil is better received than good! Every one believes, at the first recital, all the simplicities that we write about these peoples; but if we note some trait of intellect or good sense, ♦ in a word, some boon of nature or of grace, ♦ this is, as it were, called in question. Who would ever have believed that our blasphemer was to sing the praises of God? We had him carried into the Cabin of some of his Savage relatives; and at the very time that we were giving him no more assistance, except to remonstrate gently with him about his sin, he was so contrite that he drew tears from our eyes. He asked for Baptism, protesting that he was sorry to have offended his Lord; and offered him his life, without praying him to prolong it for a moment. He said aloud that he believed, and that he would [24] forever believe in him who had touched his heart. He is baptized while in this fervor. The Devil unexpectedly comes across his path; one of his brothers dreams that if a stick resembling a serpent be put near him, he will recover. One is immediately made, and placed near his head. Having been notified of this superstitious act, we went to visit him; when we asked him whether this stick had made his body, since it was placed near him in order to restore him, he took it and gave it to us. " Take [page 167] it away," he said, " in order that I may hear no more about it; they placed it near me without my having any belief in it." I send it to Your Reverence, although it is rare in no other respect except that it will make a long journey. Having survived some time after his baptism, he confessed and received extreme Unction, with such sentiments of devotion that his face was all aglow. We asked him if he did not fear death. " No; I no longer fear it since my baptism; on the contrary, I greatly desire to go and see my Father and my God." We recalled to his memory some offenses that he might have committed since he had become a Christian, so that he might ask God's pardon for them. He thought within himself a little; then he said to us, " No, I have not fallen into those sins, for, when I presented myself for Baptism, I considered that, being a child of God, I ought no more to offend him; and then it seems to me that those who are baptized do not fall into those offenses. " His death astonished those who had despaired of his conversion. [page 169]


## [25] CHAPTER V.

### OF THE CONVERSION AND BAPTISM OF A YOUNG MAN, AND OF SOME

## OTHER SAVAGES.

*ON est abbreviate manus Domini ut salvare nequeat: neque aggravate est auris ejus ut non exaudiat.* God's hands are no weaker, nor his ears more shut, than they were a thousand years ago. These words will serve us as a guarantee against those who would regard as exaggerations the favors that his goodness is beginning to bestow upon the Savages. We shall see in this young man a triumph of the providence and mercy of the great God. It is almost two years since Monsieur Gand, a man who is very charitable to the poor Savages, rescued this poor wretch, half dead from hunger, cold, and sickness, although he was very well connected among his own people; he clothed him, lodged him, procured him food, and put him in our hands to be instructed. Different arguments were urged upon him; he was made to pray to God morning and evening, he knew the greater part of our mysteries; but he believed only in appearance. In a word, he sought the life of the body, and not that of the soul. The winter past, the cold continued in his heart, perceiving which, we drove him away as a person who followed us, as a dog would, to get some bread. He passed the Summer with his countrymen, always speaking of us with respect. Toward Autumn, a misfortune happened to him; when he was taking a sweat, he **[page 171]** fell [26] upon the burning stones which heat these baths, and scorched and burned a great part of his body; it was something frightful to see. Behold him, then, as near death as in the winter; for he knew very well that he would never survive it if he were not vigorously assisted; this he did not expect from his own people, who no more know what charity is than they understand surgery. He cast many glances at us, and spoke to us about returning to us; but we had no longer ears for him, believing that he had none for God. At this very time we received letters from our Fathers at the Three rivers, who asked us for some young Savage to pass the winter with them, so that in giving him instruction they might continue to improve their knowledge of their language. We hardly gave a thought to this poor badly roasted body; but finally, after having found others, who failed to keep their word with us, we were constrained to send them this poor wretch, who had no more than half of his body. Oh my God, what a providence! They had him cared for, they treated him with every evidence of love and affection; having recovered, this man of stone still remained cold as ice. Finally our Fathers, unable to endure this apathy, had recourse to God, made vows to him through the intercession of the glorious Apostle St. Paul, and offered the holy Sacrifice of the Mass on the day of his conversion, for the conversion of this insensible statue. Strange to say! behold him changed in a moment; his heart is full of regret for having so long resisted God; he urges them to baptize him, that he may be relieved from the burden of his sins; he fasts of [27] his own accord, pretending to eat, but dexterously putting to one side the **[page 173]** food that was given to him; he passes whole hours in the Chapel, in the rigor of winter, attracted thither by a secret virtue which he adores without recognizing it. His mind, which until then had seemed dull, and heavy as lead, becomes so alert that he conceives without any difficulty all that is taught him of our mysteries. Our Fathers showing surprise at this, he said, " It is a favor from my good Angel, of whom I ask help every time you summon me to be instructed. " When they came to tell him of the presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament, he made a gesture as of a man full of joy. " I am no longer astonished," said he, " that I took so much pleasure in approaching the Altar when I offered my prayers in the Chapel; the nearer I approached, the more contentment I felt in my soul, without being able to comprehend whence it proceeded."

His relatives having brought back an abundance of fresh meat from their hunting during Lent, he was told that he might eat of it, since he was not yet baptized. He rejoined, " You abstain from it for some good, I desire to obtain this good for myself." To try him, he was made to understand that Baptism would perhaps be the occasion of his death, God punishing the hypocrisy of his heart through this affliction. He answered in these words: " If Baptism is only going to cause my death on account of hypocrisy, I need not fear it; but if it should absolutely kill my body, I would ask it that I might cause my poor soul to live again. God is admirable in [28] his methods. At the same time that the Sacrament of light is promised to this poor Catechumen, he takes away from him the eyes of his body; an inflammation suddenly attacks his eyesight, and he becomes **[page 175]** blind, or nearly so, for he does not see well enough to guide himself. This stroke did not appal him, he continued steadfast in his resolution; the devil had not power to reawaken in his soul the error of the Savages, who not long ago imagined that they could only procure the, life of their souls in destroying that of their bodies. As he was seen to be firm in this temptation, and in this trial which God made of him, he was placed among the number of the children of God; he was named Paul, in accordance with the promise made to this great Apostle.

Some time after his Baptism, our Fathers of the Three Rivers sent him to us at Kebec, with a brief letter, of which this is the tenor: " The small amount of food that we have, and the great number of Savages who need our help, have made us decide to send you this new soldier of Jesus Christ; perhaps, also, may be found down there some remedy for his eyes. It may be added that he is really touched; he has a truly Christian humility, and great resignation to the will of God. We have often asked him if the loss of his eyes did not afflict him; he has always replied that, not being master of himself, he must leave it to God to act, who, being our Father, knew well what was best for us. 'Just as,' said he, 'if my body had not been burned this Autumn, my soul might have fallen this winter into the fires, for I might have [29] followed the Savages, and lost my life with them in the state of weakness in which I was; so, perhaps, I would have lost the sight of Heaven, if God had not taken away the sight of earth.' Faith has caused him to lose the shame he felt in speaking ,of God before his countrymen. I trust that he will give you consolation." **[page 177]**

As soon as he arrived, he confessed and took communion; and that very day he fell sick, but so unexpectedly and seriously, that I was summoned in haste to see him die. Being with him, we asked him in the presence of the Savages if he feared death. He smiled gently, although he was extremely low. "I am baptized," he replied; "I no longer fear death, or the devil. If I did not believe in God I would be afraid, but God being with me, I no longer fear anything except offending him." "Are you not sad to die so soon?" we asked him. "Ask me, rather, if I am not very glad to go to Heaven; let those who have no hope in God be sad at the thought of death; as for me, I believe in his word, I hope in his goodness; this is why I am not sad." These words affected us all the more as they were profitable to his own people, who wondered at this great change in a young man of their nation. They were still more astonished when a few days afterwards they saw him in good health, contrary to their expectations. He now frequents the Sacraments; yea, more, he even enjoys God in Prayer. Behold how far grace can bear a Savage! May God give him perseverance; for, if the stars fall from Heaven, no one lives in certainty.

[30] We will add to the conversion of this young man, that of a family, happier as to Heaven than it was fortunate upon earth. A tall, well-built man, and of excellent repute among the Savages, after having listened to us for some time, approached us, to make known the sentiments of his heart. He said to us, on his return from burying one of his children, " My soul is filled with sadness, not for the death of my son, but because he died without baptism." Now **[page 179]** when he had learned that his child, having died in infancy, did not feel the pains of hell, not having committed any actual sin, he thanked us heartily for having taught him a doctrine so favorable, he said. Then he added, " A report prevails up yonder that you have written to a great Captain of France that he should aid us to settle in the French way, and to clear the land; is that true?" Having told him that it was, " Remember, " said he, " that I am one of the first who wishes to place himself under your flags; I shall not be alone, I shall bring several with me. But one point," said he, " makes me hesitate. If this Captain to whom you have written sends you a bad paper, will you stop teaching us?" " God forbid," we

replied;" we shall never forsake you." "There," said he, " that is the best of your speeches; for I do not wish to stay near you for anything except the salvation of my soul." Meanwhile, as he was preparing to make a journey to Tadoussac, he said to us several times, " Visit my family often; if any of them die without baptism, you will answer for it, for we all wish to believe in God. Another of my sons is [31] sick; make him a Christian as soon as possible, for fear of being taken unawares." The judgments of God are unfathomable. This good man, who caused us to rejoice from the bottom of our hearts, not only for his own conversion, but for the hope we had that many would imitate his example, fell sick, the day on which he was to embark; and within four days afterward, he was baptized and borne to the grave. Three days later, his wife was seized by the same malady; feeling that she was stricken with death, she summoned us and said: " The love that you bear me makes me believe that I cannot do better [page 181] than to leave my two little sons in your hands; since you have cherished the father, cherish the children. I give them to you, rear them in your belief; and baptize me, for I am dead." As they were being carried away, this poor mother, looking at them, said in a mournful voice, " Farewell, my children; this is the last time I shall see you here below on earth." This said, she was made a Christian, and from Baptism was carried to the grave. Her two children are two little germs of a Seminary. Meanwhile her sister arrived, very sick; she was one of the wicked women of the country, taking part in their sorcery, in which she succeeded better than the men. Affliction opens the eyes of the understanding; this wretched creature demands Baptism, cries to God for mercy, protests that she believes; she astonishes us by a sudden change; we grant her what could not be refused to her without impiety. Scarcely is she purged from her transgressions than she is put in the ground. Her husband, finding himself burdened with her still very young child, gives him to us, to be placed with his cousins. [32] The death of these two poor creatures does not prevent their third sister from now having herself instructed, that she may live in Jesus Christ. At the same time, a young man, well instructed, stricken by the same contagion, seeking the salvation of his soul in the waters of Baptism, found therein also that of his body; for he recovered at the same time that he became a Christian. This very sudden recovery surprised us, inasmuch as he was almost dead when baptized. Upon his recovery, he gave us his little brother to be cast into the port of safety, both for the body and for the soul. A Father passing near a cabin without entering, a Savage [page 183] woman said to him complainingly, " I believe that thou dost not love us any more, since thou passest without visiting us." The Father smiled at this complaint, entered the cabin, and found there a poor woman very sick, who said to him, " Sit thou near me a little while, for I am dying." Then showing him her little son, she asked, with tears in her eyes, if he would not act as father to the poor little child she was about to leave. The Father soon consoled her; he had this little innocent taken away, to be brought up with the others; then, as this woman had been baptized, he asked if she would not like to confess the sins that she might have committed since her baptism. She did this with so much preparation, and so much candor, that the Father remained bewildered, as it were, for several days, seeing how deeply the Faith was becoming rooted in the souls of these poor Barbarians.

Some time afterward, a Captain having fallen sick, and having received holy Baptism, [33] gave us his own daughter, about three or four years old. We are having her reared in a French family. The mother of this child could hardly give her up; but this good Neophyte urged her so strongly that she herself brought her to us, knowing very well that she would be better off in our French houses than in one of their cabins. I omit a great many baptisms, in order not to go beyond the limits I have set for myself, although one can observe something remarkable in them, if it be only a very special providence of God. For example, one of us enters a cabin by mere chance, sees a slight movement under an Elk skin, finds a dying child, baptizes it, and sends it to Heaven at the same time. [page 185]

A Savage comes to seek one of our Fathers to go and baptize a sick person in his cabin; the Father follows him; both cross over the frozen river. Scarcely have they reached the other bank, when the ice cracks and floats away with the current; if they had waited a little longer they would have been killed. Entering the cabin, the Father finds a little child who has only enough life left to receive Holy Baptism. Having been made a child of God, it flies away to Heaven; and the Father, retracing his footsteps, finds the bridge upon which he had crossed broken to pieces. There still remained an immense cake of ice, stranded upon the shores of the great river; he climbs upon this, calls as loudly as he can, so that they may come after him in a canoe. He is perceived, they hasten thither, embark him, and the ice which bore him floats away as soon as he has left it, and goes off in the current of the river. You might have said that it was waiting for nothing else but [34] for the Father to be in a place of safety. All these occurrences are marvels of the providence of God.

A Father, going down to Kebec, arrives at the same time as those who were going to visit the Savages who were sick. Now he himself goes into their cabins, baptizes three or four of them at the point of death, returns to the place whence he had come, almost without any one being able to recognize what might have called him to the place where God led him for the salvation of these souls. When his majesty wishes to save a soul, all the demons cannot cause it to be lost. Another time, the Savages again came to request one of us to go and visit their sick, at several leagues from our dwellings. The Father embarks with them; the devil, foreseeing the good [page 187] he is about to do, masses so much ice around their canoe, that they are obliged to disembark upon an island, overflowed, and covered only with ice. The Savages found a contrivance for making a fire upon this hearth without melting it. They cut a large tree of green wood, which hardly burns in the fire; they make a hearth of it, and light a fire thereon; and, for house and bed all together, take pieces of wood upon which they and the Father lie down, and thus pass the night. In the morning, they re-embark; the ice again encompasses them, they call for help. The Savages of the place whither they were going, hearing them, hasten thither, hold out to them long poles, and draw them from the gates of death. The Father, having thanked God for this favor, instructs the well and the sick, and baptizes some of them, among others, a child who immediately gave up its life. This done, he returns with ease, admiring in his soul the ways that God takes to save his elect. [page 189]

## [351] CHAPTER VI.

### OF THE EXCELLENT INCLINATIONS OF AN ALGONQUIN CATECHUMEN.

AM not pleased with those who have believed that in the mind of the Savages one did not observe any little ray of light or knowledge touching the Divinity. I have previously written against this error; behold two examples which oppose it. A woman told us not long ago that, being sick, the thought occurred to her that there must be some one who could cure her; she invokes him, she recovers her health. " Some time after that," said she, " I went down to Kebec; I heard you speak of God and of his Omnipotence; I immediately began to say in my heart, 'This is he to whom I have prayed, and who has cured me.' I did not know his name, I did not understand him; I must listen to what is said of him, in order to believe in him."

This young man of whom I am about to speak, having been delivered from a sickness that had taken off many others, philosophized in this way: II There must certainly be in the Universe some powerful spirit which has preserved me; for I have done nothing for my recovery more than the others, and yet my body is not made of a different material. I would gladly know this benefactor."



Another time, being alone and contemplating his hand, he said: " It is not I who have formed this hand, or who stretched out these fingers; nor can **[page 191]** this be [36] also attributed to my father or mother, for, besides that they did not know when my hand was formed, they cannot give any motion to their work; they cannot make a paddle, or a canoe, or any other piece of work which opens and closes itself by a secret impulse, as my fingers do. Without doubt there is some great workman who performs these wonders; if it be so, would that some one would give me a knowledge of him! " I beg Your Reverence to believe that I add nothing to the ideas of this Savage. We deserve to be reproached for having lost many others like these, because we did not note them down on paper.

This good young man, being in this state of mind, came down, by mere chance, to our dwellings; for he belongs to the Island Savages, a nation far distant from the French. Having heard us speak of the great Architect of the Universe, his heart takes fire, he comes to see us immediately in private; lo, he is touched. The more we talk to him of God, the more he wishes to hear about him; he drinks in long draughts this sacred water, which produces thirst in quenching it; he becomes importunate, but with an importunity that was very agreeable to us. Twice a day, he was taught; and after a long hour of instruction he asked permission to go to the Chapel, to ask God for the grace to retain what had been taught him. On leaving there, he usually retired to a lonely place in the woods, in order to meditate by himself upon what he had learned; returning to his cabin, he communicated it to his people with glowing enthusiasm, accompanied by a quaint modesty.

When he felt himself fortified in the Faith, he made a [37] feast to all the Savages who were in the **[page 193]** neighboring cabins, that he might unburden his heart to them. Being assembled, he said to them: II My dear countrymen, I have summoned you to declare to you publicly that from this moment I give up all the foolish customs of our nation; and, as a proof of what I say, I will sing no more, I will engage no more in those cries and noises that we make at our banquets, but I will pray to God and will bless him because he has given us what I freely present to you to eat; see if you wish to pray to him with me." At these words, behold them indeed astonished! They lower their eyes, and follow him word for word in the prayers he offered to God.

Here is another proof of his faith: Once when we gave him a present, to more completely gain his friendship, he refused it, saying that he did not believe in order to derive some benefit from the French. II All your possessions will not save my soul; it is the Faith alone that I expect from you; if I took anything else, the people of my nation would imagine that I did not believe in God, but in you people. I could desire only one favor; and that is that I might be aided to become sedentary, that I might dwell near you to hear the word of God. They are saying here that a house has already been built near Kebec for this purpose. Send word, if you please, to the Father who has charge of it, to do me the favor to grant me the same courtesy that he intends to show the others; but make him understand clearly that, although he refuse me, I will not cease to believe in God. It is not he who created my soul, and who must pardon my sins; if there were no longer any of you people in the country, I could not [38] abandon God." He even went so far as to say to us, " If all **[page 195]** the French were to treat me harshly, even striking me and tearing me to pieces, I would not give up the Faith; for it is not in them I believe, but in God." This faith is accompanied by great zeal for the salvation of his countrymen; he is continually urging them by keen arguments, and brings them to us to hear the doctrine of Jesus Christ. As some of them paid no attention, he said one day to the Father who was teaching them, I I Come, my Father, let us leave these ,obstinate people; let us go and speak of God to more ,distant nations. I am sure if they heard what you teach us down here, they would receive the Faith with open arms, while we show ourselves stubborn." His confidence in God is so much the more worthy of admiration as it began when he was still only a Catechumen. Having gone far into the woods on a hunting trip, a woman of his party fell sick; this incommoded them greatly in their hunting, but to abandon this poor creature was something which he could no longer approve. He addresses himself to her husband, and says to him, I I Thou hast learned what they teach us of the goodness and power of God; he is master of our life, ♦ he gave it to us, he can restore it to us when we might have lost it; let us pray him to restore thy wife to health, but let us do it heartily, and let us trust in him. " This good man and all the cabin having agreed to this, he makes all kneel down; he invokes the goodness of God, and all the others pray after him, word for word. This is not all; desiring to be listened to favorably, he passes a part of the night alone in prayer. Our Lord be forever blessed! [39] Before the following day was over, this woman was working as cheerfully and was in as good health as any of the others. **[page 197]**

He experienced the help of God in his hunting. Every morning and evening he had all his people pray to God; and he himself addressed to him these words: II It is you, O God, who have made me, and consequently I am yours; you can dispose of me as I dispose of the little utensils I have made. Look upon me, then, as a thing that belongs to you; as the use of a paddle that I have made belongs to me, so must the use of my body and my soul, and of all my powers that you have created, belong to you. I offer you all, ♦ both body and soul, and all my actions; I depend upon you in my hunting, remembering that you are my Father." He went away in this confidence, and accomplished wonders; never did he say, "I have captured, I have killed," but, "God has given me such a thing." Returning one day from hunting, he was meditating apart upon the prayers that had been taught him. Meanwhile, he perceives a Bear, pursues and kills it; it being dead, he stops short; "This animal does not belong to me," he says, "for God made me kill it, not through my own merits, but in virtue of the prayers made by the French; so it is to them it belongs, and not to me. " He brings it, and presents it to us to distribute, he says, to those who faithfully offer their prayers.

I do not know whether he has charity, but I do know that he shows strong indications of it. Hearing one of our Fathers speak of God, one day, he devoured him with his eyes, and at the conclusion said to him, II Why am I not always with thee?" Indeed, this Catechumen [40] never grows weary of such discourses. Having passed three whole hours there once, when he was sent away lest he become tired of it, you would have said that the morsel was **[page 199]** being taken from the mouth of a famished person. I Do not fear to weary me, " said he, "I feel great regret at having passed my life without knowing God. The greatest pleasure I have in the world is to hear about him. " Indeed, he went so far in this excess that, having consumed all his provisions, he refrained from going fishing or hunting, lest he might be deprived of coming to see us that he might talk about God and our belief ♦ sometimes passing almost two days without eating. Becoming aware of this, we reproved him for this immoderate ardor, succoring him as well as we could. I know very well that I shall hardly be believed, but I cannot conceal the wonders of God.

Not long ago, looking at a very aged Huron, he said to us: "Ah, how good God is, how good he is! For perhaps seventy years he has nourished and preserved this old man, and I am sure he has never rendered him a word of thanksgiving! If I had given a man food ten times without his making any acknowledgment, I would not wish to see him again. We depend upon God in all our acts, and we think so little about him! "

He never undertook a journey without coming to ask help of Our Lord in the Chapel, and commend himself to our prayers. " How fortunate you are," he sometimes said, " to have known God from your youth, and to know how to pray to him. As for me, since I have a knowledge of him, I think of him continually." It is a very wonderful thing [41] that the Savages, when strongly moved, are usually devoted to their good Angels. In reading over again the memoirs of our Fathers, scattered in different regions, I have been

astonished in seeing how the [page 201] holy Ghost gives always the same sentiments to these Neophytes. For, without having any communication with one another, they ask light from their good Angel when they come to be instructed; they feel the same astonishment at the greatness and goodness of God, although they express it differently; our Catechumen has some very tender sentiments on this subject. " Yes," some one will say, " but why still retain among the number of Catechumens a man so well disposed? " I answer that there must not be too much haste in matters of importance. The activity occasioned by the ships makes us defer his baptism until after their departure; before they have cast Anchor in your harbors, this good Catechumen will be a Christian. [page 203]

## CHAPTER VII.

### OF SOME WANDERING SAVAGES WHO HAVE BECOME SEDENTARY.

HIS Chapter will give consolation to Your Reverence and to all persons who take pleasure in seeing Jesus Christ reign in our great forests, for it inspires us with great hope for the conversion of the Savages, so greatly can they be aided in the way I am about to describe.

One of the most efficient means we can use to bring them to Jesus Christ [42] is to organize them into a sort of Village, ♦ in a word, to help them clear and cultivate the land, and to build homes for themselves. When we were continually seeking some help to accomplish this enterprise, it happened that a virtuous person of your France, well known in Heaven and upon earth, and whose name cannot go forth from my pen without displeasing him, informed me of a plan he had for serving Our Lord in these countries. He hired for this purpose some artisans and laborers, to begin a building and to clear some lands, ♦ assuring me in his letters that he had no other object in this work than the greater glory of God. We located his workmen in a beautiful place, at present called the Residence of St. Joseph, a good league above Kebec, upon the great river.<sup>12</sup> Monsieur Gand had taken this place for himself, but he willingly consecrated it to so good an object. Affairs being in this condition, we sent word to this good Seigneur that he [page 205] would make a great sacrifice to God if he would apply. the work of his men to succoring the Savages. We must wait a year for an answer. Meanwhile, it happened that, upon asking a Savage for his children to place them in the Seminary, he answered us: " It is too little to give you my children; take the father and mother, and the whole family, and lodge us near your dwelling, that we may hear your doctrine and believe in him who has made all." We asked him if he was speaking sincerely. " I am speaking to you frankly," said he, " according to the thoughts of [43] my heart." This made us resolve to offer him at once the house that was being erected at the residence of St. Joseph, ♦ on condition, however, that if he to whom we had written were not satisfied with this, he should go out of it. This good Savage, named by his own people Negabamat, told us that he would come to see us to talk over this matter, and that he would bring with him one of his friends, of the same mind. He associated with himself a certain Nenaskoumat, our Fran ♦ ois Xavier of whom I have spoken above. They both came to see us one evening, and said to us that important affairs would far better be transacted in the silence of the night than in the noise of the day; and, consequently, that we should give them shelter, that they might treat with us regarding the matter which we had mentioned to them.

The Sun having set, and every one having gone to rest, Negabamat made me the following speech: ",Father le Jenne, thou art already old, and therefore it is no longer permitted to thee to lie. Come now, take courage, and boldly speak the truth. Is it not true that thou hast promised me to lodge us in [page 207] this house they are building, and to help us, me and another family, to clear the land? Here is Nenaskoumat, with whom I am associated; he is a peaceable man, ♦ thou knowest him well. We come to see if thou art firm in thy promises; all the Savages to whom we have spoken of this plan admire it, but they do not believe thou wilt ever put it into execution; take care what thou doest. If thou art going to lie, lie soon, before getting us into a house only to make us leave it. We have some influence among [44] those of our nation; if they saw us deceived by you people, they would ridicule us, and this would anger us' " This harangue, so ingenuous, made us smile. I replied to them that this house did not belong to us, and that the men who were building it were not hired by us; but that I had written to France to him who had undertaken this enterprise, to use it for the good of their nation, and that, as they were the first to present themselves to be helped, they would also be the first to receive assistance if we had a favorable answer; that, moreover, I was promising myself thus much from the goodness of this man of God, that he would readily grant them this great and especial favor.

Thereupon they asked us a thousand questions. This great man to whom thou hast written, is he not as good as the rest of you?" " Much better," we replied. " That is very well," they rejoined, " for since you wish to benefit us, and as you have already done so, if this Captain is better than you, he will do still more for us. But is he very old?" " He is, indeed," we answered them. " Will he not die very soon?" " We know nothing about that." Does he often pray to God? " "Very often." It is [page 209] done," said they, " we shall be aided; for if he prays frequently to God, God will love him; if God loves him, he will preserve him; and, if he lives a long time, he will help us, since he is good." You can imagine how much this so artless method of reasoning consoled us. " There is still another point of importance," said they, continuing their talk; " as we are already getting old, if we happen to die, will you not drive our children from this house, ♦ [45] will you not refuse them the help that you will have given us?" Having explained to them how, among us, the property of the parents belongs to the children after their death, they cried out, " Ho, Ho, what good things thou tellest us, if thou art not lying; but why shouldst thou lie, being no longer a child?"

Behold, then, my men, the happiest in the world. They go to see the house that is being built, they cannot look at it enough; they ask to lodge there in the Spring as soon as it shall be completed and furnished. " Meanwhile," said Negabamat, " we will go and do our hunting during the winter." Nenaskoumat, who was thinking as much of the blessings of Heaven as of worldly assistance, said to us in an undertone, " For my part, I will come and pass the winter near you, to be instructed."

So they are separated, ♦ the one crossing the great river to go in search of Beavers, the other coming to encamp very near Kebec. The affairs of God are established only in the midst of difficulties. They both fall very sick at the same time. Who would not have thought that all this project would be overthrown? Nenaskoumat found the life of the soul in the sickness of the body; he was made a Christian, and named Fran ♦ ois Xavier, as I have already [page 211] remarked. As for Negabamat, we could not give him any help, as he was too far away from us.

The goodness of God, which began this work, and which will bring it to completion, as we hope, restored to us our two proselytes in good health, ♦ not without fear, and many [46] vows and mortifications being offered to him. When Spring came, my people presented themselves at the house which was awaiting them; they were received with open arms. Their hearts were filled with joy, the other

Savages with astonishment, and we with consolation, at seeing the first foundations of a village laid, and after that of a Church which is already producing flowers and fruits most acceptable in the sight of Angels and of men. These two families are composed of about twenty persons, the greater part of whom are already baptized, and the rest will be soon, if it please God. At the time I am writing this, they have already been several months together in one rather small room; and still I can/ say with truth that I have yet to notice the least quarrel or the least dispute among them.

The other Savages of the neighborhood came to Encamp around this house, asking the same favor, but they see clearly that they cannot be assisted so soon; our houses are not built in two hours, as their Cabins are.

The report of this assistance that we intended to give the Savages spread immediately in all the surrounding nations; it has touched them so deeply that, if we had the power to give them the same help, they would all be subdued in a very short time. And notice, if you please, a great blessing in this matter; not one of them hopes to be lodged and assisted who does not resolve to be an honest man, and to become **[page 213]** a Christian, so much so that it is the same thing in [47] a Savage to wish to become sedentary, and to wish to believe in God.

In these common and public rejoicings, one point kept our two proselytes in suspense, their continual uncertainty whether that kind man who had this house built at his expense, would send us good paper, as they termed it, that is to say, would look favorably upon their plan; they ardently longed for the coming of the ships. Having at last had news of them, they came to see us, and asked us if the paper that had come from France was good. They had great fear that a written word would cause them to leave their home, to which they were greatly attached. We answered them that the Fathers who were bringing this paper were on the way, between Tadoussac and Kebec, in a bark which was conveying them hither. As they saw that the wind might delay them, they asked me for a written message, that they might go and bring them in their canoe; I gave it to them at once, and they embarked still more quickly. They went like the wind, came alongside the bark, took the two Fathers out of it, and brought them to us. Our joy was twofold, that we saw our Fathers in good health, and that we learned the holy wishes of this man, truly a man of God, who granted this help to the poor Savages with a heart so disinterested and full of love that we stood amazed at it. As soon as I opened my lips to mention it to our two settlers, they exulted with joy; they performed a thousand acts of thanksgiving, after their fashion, and told me a hundred times that I was not a liar, that this kind man was truly a Captain; [48] that they fully recognized that I was now of their nation, **[page 215]** and that they were going to tell everywhere that they were also of ours; and that I should not fail to write a good paper to France to tell this good Captain that they would never belie their promises to serve Jesus Christ all their lives. Negabamat made this speech. As for Francois, already a Christian, he told me that his great joy was to be near us, so that he could better learn to pray to God.

In going thence, they published everywhere that we were truthful; that we were their fathers, that we wished to revive their nation, which was rapidly dying out. It is wonderful what potent effects the charity of this good man has upon these Barbarians. They are crowding around us now, but we cannot supply the wants of all, the difficulty of building in this country, on account of the length of the Winter and the expenses that must be incurred, being extreme. If they ever see a hospital erected, and their sick well lodged and cared for, that will be another wonder which will delight them all. The poverty of the country relieves but little, or not at all, the great expenses that must be incurred for these truly heroic enterprises. But would to God that those who are able to favor these enterprises might see, at least once, the devotional exercises that are daily practiced in the house of these new settlers. Were I not afraid of being tedious, I would relate here the great desire they have to know God, their ingenuousness, their natural goodness, their pleasing questions, and the satisfaction [49] they experience in finding themselves not only lodged in the French way, but also instructed in the Faith. May it please our Lord to keep them under his holy protection. Amen. **[page 217]**

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SAVAGES, TOUCHING THE FAITH.

O give Your Reverence some idea of the state of mind in which God has placed our Savages, I will tell you what occurred at the disembarking of the four Fathers whom you sent us as reinforcements, all of whom, by the grace of Our Lord, arrived in good health. Upon stepping ashore, they all baptized some Savages. But they were more deeply moved when we took them at various times to the residence of St. Joseph, where reside those two families of whom I have just spoken, and where also a considerable number of our Savages have withdrawn. We had them assist at the prayers and instruction we give to these poor wandering sheep, who ask for nothing but that the door of the fold be opened to them; the signal given for them to assemble, they all come, men, women, and children, except a very few, who are mostly ill, or guarding their Cabins. They often leave their supper, their games, or other occupations, whatever they may be, to come to prayers. Entering the Chapel, [So] they salute the Altar, then withdraw to the benches which have been placed there for them. When they have assembled, the Father who instructs them kneels down, offers the prayers suitable to the morning or the evening, for they meet twice a day; all follow the Father word for word, kneeling on the ground **[page 219]** with him, and clasping their hands; after the prayers, they sit down, and the Father explains to them some point of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, or refutes some of their superstitions, they showing close attention and occasionally asking some question for better enlightenment. After this discourse, they all sing, either the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments of God, or some other hymn in their language, in very agreeable harmony; then they kneel down again, ask God for the grace to retain what has been taught them, make a reverence to the Altar, and return to their Cabins. The newly-arrived Fathers, being in the Chapel, and witnessing this agreeable spectacle, spoke with their hearts, their eyes, and their lips, and said to us: " In France, they do not believe what we see here. Although you wrote about it to us when we were still at Tadoussac, we had to use our own eyes in order to see so great a blessing. We now see clearly that the miracle necessary to convert these poor peoples is to aid them to settle down and live together; and that, in making them draw their sustenance from the earth, you will make them enjoy the good things of Heaven."

Now it is not only at the residence of St. Joseph that the Savages are made to pray, and are [51] instructed; the same thing is done at the three Rivers, where they show themselves equally interested in our belief. *Hec est mutatio dexter excelsi*; it is a very sudden change, and of God, for last year they were not thus disposed. Here is an example which illustrates the respect they have for our prayers. A woman, being attacked by delirium in the violence of a fever, upset everything in the Cabin; a Father coming **[page 221]** there to have them pray to God, this poor frenzied creature kneeled beside the Father without showing any indications of madness; as often as they went there to offer prayers, so often did she appear to be in her senses; but at other times she was insane. I do not know any Savage now who has lived for some time near our settlements who dares publicly to resist our Faith. I do not say that all of them follow it, or are inclined to do so; but Jesus Christ is now so recognized among them that not one would dare speak ill of him before



us. There are no longer any, save those who have not yet heard us, who object to offering us their children and their sick for Baptism. These sacred waters, having sometimes saved the lives of whole families, are now in great repute among them.

If some do not ask for Baptism, it is because they deem themselves unworthy; others, not willing to give up their vices, approve our belief, but consider it inconvenient and difficult. It is a sign that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Church; since no sooner has a Savage a desire to enter it than he wishes to become a virtuous man. They imagine that those who have been baptized must give up their [52] sins and their vices, that they may lead a new life, which is true.

The Sorcerers and jugglers have lost so much of their credit that they no longer blow upon any sick person, nor beat their drums, except perhaps at night, or in isolated places, but no longer in our presence. No more eat-all feasts are seen, no more consultations of demons: all these things are banished from our sight. The other superstitions will be suppressed, little by little. When any one of them does [page 223] practice these, he does all that he can to prevent our being informed of it, for fear of being reproved. If all the Savages were settled, like those two sedentary families of whom I have spoken above, we would not hesitate to baptize them quickly; for you will hear them asking God's grace to believe in him, to obey him, and never more to offend him. In a word, it is entirely in earnest that many of these poor Savages are thinking of their salvation. There are none of them, even to the very children, who do not take pleasure in being instructed. One day, when one of the Fathers was teaching the Catechism in the open air, it began to rain; and five or six little boys took hold of a large piece of bark, which they tried to raise over the Father's head to shelter him. This act, so full of innocence, shows that our Lord still takes pleasure in having children brought to him. Some Savages of the Attikamegues, of the Porcupine nation, and of the Island, have asked for the same help that was given to the others, and especially for instruction. Ah, if the country were such as more easily to ensure success, or if many hands would open to these poor Barbarians, what a glorious [53] Church could be formed! What that great man of whom I have spoken above is doing at the residence of St. Joseph, near Kebec, ought to be done also at the three Rivers, at the river des prairies, and in the nations higher up; this would be the means of leading souls to Jesus Christ. Perhaps we shall send one of our Fathers, this Spring, to the Island, whither it is said the petite nation of the Algonquins has retired. Such is, in general, the condition of this infant Church. The chastisements that have overtaken some unbelievers, and the favors granted to [page 225] those who have had recourse to God, have not succeeded in bringing some back to their duty. One wretched Savage, while mocking at our belief, became insane in the midst of his jeers. As he was foul and shameless in his madness, the Savages, in order to get rid of him, fastened a rope to his neck and his foot, which they drew up against his thigh, so that, when he came to stretch himself and to tighten the cord, he strangled himself. Thereupon, they made his grave, and said that he was dead. Our Fathers, coming just then, saw him move under one end of the covering; and, having uncovered him, they quickly cut the cord he had around his neck, but too late, he was already strangled; he died immediately afterwards. Another one, publicly opposing the Faith, gave a kick to one of our Fathers who was baptizing a child in his cabin; some time after that, he was carried off by a disease as grievous as it was strange. The Savages have even recognized that, in the case of some, God denied them at death the baptism they had ridiculed during life. Let us end this sad account; [54] here is something better.

Two young Savages having embarked this winter in a canoe, to carry provisions to some of their people beyond the great river, were so assailed by the ice that in one moment their canoe and all within it was crushed and broken to pieces. They leaped upon a great cake of ice, that was swept impetuously along by the current of the tide. They were expecting every moment that this ice would break up, or overturn in striking against the other pieces, and they would go to the bottom. As to succor, they could not hope for it; for, besides that it was night, the river was so charged with ice that no human being [page 227] would have dared to venture upon it. Now seeing themselves carried more than a good league away, nearer to death than to life, one of the two said to his companion, who participated in their sorceries or their juggleries, " Use now thy art to save our lives. " The other one answered, " This is no time to think of that, but of what the Fathers teach us. They say that we have a Father in Heaven who can do all and who sees all; what dost thou think, would it not be a good thing for us to pray to him? " His comrade assenting to this, he offered a prayer in a loud voice; and at the same instant the ice, which was bearing them to the middle of the great river, floated towards the shore through many other pieces, and with one great leap they left this floating bridge. They were hardly on shore ere this ice, which had brought them to a port of safety, drifted away and was broken among a thousand other pieces, at a place which might have served them as a sepulchre. These poor creatures, greatly astonished, afterwards proclaimed how they had been saved. One of them is already baptized, as well as his wife and child. The sorcerer has given up [55] all his tricks, and has promised us that he will be instructed.

In the great epidemic which has slain nearly all these peoples, without getting any hold upon the French, some who had recourse to God in earnest were recovered from the gates of death. Baptism saved the lives of many, for in truth there was no hope of recovery for them in anything else, according to all human considerations. All this, added to the assistance given to these poor Savages, has made a breach in their hearts. I omit an infinite number of good sentiments that God is giving them, in order to get to the end of this Chapter. [page 229]

## CHAPTER IX.

### OF THE SEMINARY FOR THE HURONS.


It has always been rightly thought that the powers of Hell would unite all their forces against the project of this Seminary, and of similar ones; and that if it were to succeed, as we have good reason to hope it will, it would only be after having sustained many battles and undergone abundant misfortunes. We saw last year how it was nearly smothered in its cradle. Behold the continuation of the efforts of those unhappy spirits who are constantly watching for the ruin of men.

The young Huron Savages who had before passed a year with us, at the Seminary of Nostre-Dame des Anges, had said so many favorable things about it to their countrymen, who had come down the following year to trade, that they inspired many with a desire to present themselves for admission thereto. But it was impossible to satisfy all; [56] we contented ourselves with six, one of whom was soon enticed away by one of his relatives, who took him back to their country; so only five were left, the two from the year before, and three new ones. But, as the two seniors measured the happiness of their life in this place more by their spiritual success and profit, than by the charms it had for corrupt nature; and these newcomers, on the contrary, aimed at nothing but the enjoyment of their pleasures and the gratification of their senses, the results in the two cases were [page 231] altogether different. For these new guests, giving themselves up, according to their custom, to thieving, gormandizing, gaming, idleness, lying, and similar irregularities, could not endure the paternal admonitions given them to change their mode of life, and above all the tacit reproofs conveyed by the example of their companions, who showed as much restraint as they did lawlessness and immoderation. It was then that the evil spirit seized

his opportunity, and finally caused them to decide to run away. For this they needed a canoe-load of provisions, and the means of obtaining them on the way. They accomplished so much through their thefts, their deceits, and their dissimulations that they found themselves very well equipped; and one fine morning they stole away, taking with them everything they could, and nothing has been heard of them since.

Behold our Seminary again reduced to a small scale, and to two inmates, which happened not without a special providence of God. For on the one hand, as the Savages of the country were suffering unusually from sickness, we had the means to assist them more than we would have had, and of [57] saving the bodies and souls of many who were reduced to extreme necessity. On the other hand, the old Seminarists, being alone, experienced no change in their good dispositions through the bad example and evil talk of the others. This was almost necessary to establish them in the state of mind which, finally, by the grace of God, they made evident after their Baptism, to the edification and satisfaction of all, every one acknowledging that no greater piety, gentleness, and reserve could be desired in those who **[page 233]** were Christians by birth. Observe what their instructor writes about them:

"Armand Jean, who was baptized first, has a good mind and vigorous judgment. I have not seen him waver since he has conceived the true idea of our belief; he is inclined to conquer his somewhat hasty disposition, but has not been able to succeed.

"One day, in speaking with his companion upon the indissolubility of marriage, when he observed the great difficulties in regard to this among the people of his nation, he showed himself much concerned thereat. 'For we shall either marry, or we shall not,' said he. 'If we take a wife, at the first whim that seizes her, she will at once leave us; and then we are reduced to a wretched life, seeing that it is the women in our country who sow, plant, and cultivate the land, and prepare food for their husbands. To forego marriage among the Hurons is something which requires a chastity our country has never known. What shall we do then? As for me,' said this worthy young man, 'I will never take a Huron woman, if I do not see in her extraordinary constancy; [58] I will try to find a French woman. If I am refused, I am resolved to live and die in chastity.' Observe that he was not yet baptized. During the winter he really had the courage to inflict suffering upon himself, impelled thereto by a truly Christian fortitude,  either holding his hands in ice-cold water, or going into it sometimes up to his waist, under pretext of some necessity which presented itself, or working bareheaded in the rain, even when all the others had placed themselves under shelter. This is not the mood of the Savages who do not know Jesus Christ.

" He sets an excellent example to our workmen, **[page 235]** for he will never put his hand to the work before he has raised his heart and his hands to God to dedicate to him his action. Moreover, he applies himself so thoroughly to all that he is commanded to do, that there is no work in which he does not succeed passably well.

"Since his baptism, he confesses and communes every week with a devotion and modesty which makes us recognize in him the presence of grace. Above all, he has a great aversion to sin, especially to impurity. It is only necessary to imagine the lewdness of a dissolute Savage, to admire what I am about to say. One night, feeling himself assailed in a dream by some unseemly thought, he started up out of his sleep, knelt down, and prayed to God until the clock struck four for the rising hour. Then he came to see me with so much confusion and humility that it was easy for me to perceive that the Prince of the haughty had given up his post. He accused himself, as if guilty, of a great act of virtue he had performed. He was very desirous of fasting [59] on the Fridays and Saturdays of the year, impelled by the evident devotion that God communicates to him at the passion of the Son and the sorrows of the Mother;, but we satisfied him by assurances that our Lord would have regard to his good will in his work. Here is an example of his noble resignation: One of his legs was frozen, and his companion, wishing to go hunting, and not knowing that he was disabled, urges him to go with him; he, for fear of displeasing him, rises early in the morning, and makes preparations as if he were to depart with him. During Mass he prays God to inspire his instructor according to his, will, being all ready to depart if it were considered **[page 237]** proper. God arranged the matter, for by a happy chance I stopped him, having noticed the bad condition of his leg.

"His companion seems a little duller. He is the poor fugitive whom Saint Ignace brought back to us last year, after a vow that we had offered for his return. Armand's alteration and steadfastness are of great service to him. Since he sees him a Christian, he participates of his own accord in the fasts of the Church; he has shown an extraordinary desire for Baptism, and listens willingly when he is admonished of his shortcomings; he is of an affable and compliant disposition. As yet only a Catechumen, he abstained from eating Elk meat that he had taken in the chase, during Lent, notwithstanding the fatigues of his expeditions.

"He prepared himself for holy Baptism, 1st, by an extraordinary fast; 2nd, by diminishing the pleasures of the chase, to which he is strongly inclined; 3rd, by inward reflection, meditating for several weeks [60] upon the Commandments of God.

"Since he has been made a child of the Church, there has been observed in him quite a new docility, a modesty, and outward refinement which emanate from internal purity of soul, together with a submission of his will to the guidance of the holy Ghost, and to the direction of his superiors."

I close this Chapter with a few words on the union and harmony that exists between these two young Savages; so perfect is it, that they have never been seen to quarrel with each other. I know very well that nature, the same language, and the same occupations naturally unite their hearts; but also grace can be clearly perceived working within them, so, **[page 239]** that they are prepossessed toward each other from motives of true charity. The following Chapter will show how well they have succeeded in their own country. **[page 241]**

## CHAPTER X.

### CONTINUATION OF THE SEMINARY.

FTER the departure of the fleet last year, the A news we received from the Hurons continued going from bad to worse; so that we expected nothing but a general massacre of our Fathers and our French people in that country, or some extraordinary effect of the gentle providence of the great God in their behalf. We have passed the winter in these fears and hopes, soliciting Heaven to bestow its blessings upon those [61] who were loading us with a thousand maledictions. Finally, when spring came, Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, a truly wise and prudent man, wishing to preserve Religion in these countries, and the commerce of these peoples with our French, decided to send thither some of his men to ascertain the condition of affairs. But as they feared that a small number of Frenchmen might be massacred by the Hurons, in case they had declared war against us, our Seminarists presented themselves to render this service to God, to Monsieur our Governor, and to all those Gentlemen of New France. They were Promptly

equipped, together with a very courageous young Frenchman; and, in order to preserve these two young Neophytes, we sent with them the Father who had instructed them at the Seminary, to bring them back to us, in case all our Fathers and our Frenchmen should be put to death in a general conspiracy **[page 243]** of the whole country. But, if this murder were only the work of individuals, they had orders to assure the innocent ones of the friendship of the French. Behold them, then, embarked with some Algonquins, who went like the wind in spite of the current of the river, which is enormously swollen and rapid in the Spring, on account of the vast quantity of melted snow that is precipitated into the great rivers. It would take too long if I tried to report all the details of this voyage; I will content myself with touching upon some of them in passing.

As we had had our Savages at Kebec, at the three Rivers, and at the River des prairies offer public prayers to God, the report of [62] this good action having been spread abroad, the Algonquins wished to participate in it; they begged the Father to instruct them. But, as he did not know the language, he took some Litanies that we had arranged, on the attributes of God, and had them sing these every morning and evening, repeating this in all the nations they encountered, ♦ these peoples willingly publishing, in their own language, the greatness of the master whom they did not yet know. They had not advanced far in their voyage, when the one of our two Seminarists named Armand suffered a misfortune. In doubling a point, the surging of the water, as of a heavy tide, dashed against his canoe, and overturned it with all that was in it, so that they thought that all was lost. The young Algonquin, who had nothing but his own body in the canoe, thought only of saving himself; he was soon on shore, out of danger. But Armand, wishing to save a Chapel that the Father was carrying in order to say the holy Mass, and a quantity of porcelain and other baggage, **[page 245]** enclosed in a chest, went down so far that he was lost to sight. Behold the chest, the chalice, the alb, and the chasuble, and all his outfit engulfed on the one hand, and he on the other. The Father, seeing him no more on land or on water, sought him in Heaven, kneeling down in the corner of a wood. This poor young Christian, having struggled with death until his hands were all skinned and his body all bruised, found himself at the bottom of the river, upon a rock; he made of it a more favorable Chapel than the one he had just lost. I mean to say that he addressed himself to God from the bottom of the abyss, ♦ not from his mouth, which he [63] kept tightly closed, but from his heart, which he opened to his goodness. "You are the Master of life," he said to him; " mine no longer belongs to me, for I do not know how to preserve it; you can do all; let me die, or cause me to live, you are my God. " Hardly had his soul uttered these affectionate sentiments, when his body felt itself lifted to the surface of the water, where he encountered some bushes, which he grasped in such a way that he found at least something with which to draw himself to the edge of the current, in spite of its rapidity. His companions having seen him disappear, looked to see if the waves would not cast up a dead body. When they saw a living one, they cried out with joy, and the Father ran to meet his poor resuscitated foster child. This young man's loss of the Ecclesiastical ornaments embarrassed him, and caused him to begin making excuses; when the Father, embracing him, said, " It is enough, my son, it is enough that you are living; do not let us speak of our loss, but let us bless God for rescuing you from death." **[page 247]**

Hardly had this young man been extricated from this danger than the Father fell into another. The canoes being separated, the one which carried the Father was the last; when they had gone to within one day's journey of the island, they had to walk, and the poor Father almost died on the way; thus he wrote me about it: " We departed early in the morning, without eating or drinking; we journeyed with long strides over a very bad road, and in extreme heat; I was burdened with my little baggage; I supposed my people would stop about Noon to eat something, but they left me behind, continuing to advance. My weakness increasing with [64] the heat of the day, I stopped there, almost fainting, and threw myself upon the ground, able to do no more. Then having taken a little rest, I found three or four gooseberries, which did not help me much, ♦ for, attempting to resume my way, I was compelled to lie down again, as my head ached severely and I felt a great weakness throughout my body. I well remembered poor Hagar and the Prophet Elias, whom God had helped in their necessity, but my sins forbade me to hope for this temporal favor; nevertheless, my soul was comforted in seeing itself depart from this world through obedience, in case they should not come to succor me. I remained an hour or two in this condition, when my people, having noticed that I delayed too long, came to look for me. I asked them for a little food, but they answered that they had nothing; they took my little baggage, and urged me to take heart; we found a brook that refreshed me, and gave me strength enough to get to the island towards evening, where I found my Seminarists and our Frenchman in great anxiety, for they had **[page 249]** been expecting me for two days. I met some Hurons, relatives of our Armand, with whom I retired to rest. In the evening, the Algonquins sent for me to exercise them in prayer to God, and to sing the Litanies in their own language, in their cabins. My weakness could not prevent me from giving them this satisfaction, which was more agreeable to me than to them. At last we learned here that our Fathers and our Frenchmen were Prospering among the Hurons, and that they would recount to us on our arrival the dangers that they [65] had incurred during the winter. After having refreshed ourselves for some time at this island, we embarked with the Hurons, leaving the Algonquins in their own country. Two days after this, we found the friends and allies of Joseph Thewathiron, who were going down to the French. I deemed it advisable for him to join them, to pass one more winter at K ♦ bec, that he might further strengthen himself in the Faith. In short, continuing our journey, we arrived at the Huron country on the 9th of July, having departed from the River des prairies on the 11th of June, the feast of St. Barnabas. "These are some of the things that the Father wrote me. God knows what satisfaction our Fathers experienced at this meeting; they all solaced themselves as people who had been rescued from the grave, although in different ways. I will not recount the persecutions they had suffered during the whole winter; the Relation they have sent me, and which I forward to Your Reverence, reports all that. I will only say that they were greatly astonished to see the behavior of our Seminarist. This young man, having withdrawn to his own village, becomes a Preacher. He praises our faith, says a **[page 251]** thousand good things of the liberality of the French, and proclaims everywhere that we are the Fathers of all these peoples, that we come to announce to them the words of life; he cannot endure to have them suspect us of having caused their sickness. The timidity natural to the young Savages, before the old men, is banished from his heart, ♦ the faith makes him as bold as a lion; his people listen to him, admire his speeches, and give up, little by little, the black thoughts they had conceived of us. The virtue and chastity of this new Preacher [66] delight them. One of our Fathers thus writes us about him: " Pray God for our poor Armand; he is doing wonderfully well, but he is in the midst of perils. He sleeps in the cabins of his Huron relatives, where the girls boast of seeking the young men. He has fought some great battles, and has won some signal victories. He openly proclaims that he is a Christian, and that he wishes to conduct himself as such in all his actions. Every Sunday he comes to the village where we are, a good league distant from his own, to confess and take communion. We were so decried in that village that several persons died this winter without Baptism, because we did not dare approach them; even the children regarded us as sorcerers and poisoners, ♦ so much so that, a Father happening to be with this Neophyte, a little child, seeing that the Father was well treated, asked its parents if the French no longer made the Hurons die. Oh that Heaven may forever give its blessings to those who have sustained and who are sustaining the Seminaries for the Savages! " Tell me, I pray you, can all the great expenses that have been incurred up to the present to establish and to preserve **[page 253]** this Seminary, and the others, be compared with the fruit that this young man has begun to produce? In truth, we are in the midst of wonders and of the blessings of God, seeing what we did not dare expect from a plant sprouted in the midst of Barbarism, and so lately grafted upon the Church of God.

Our Huron Fathers, seeing the results of [67] this young man's work, ♦ and as, this coming winter, perhaps two of our Fathers will go



and live with him in his village, ♦ wrote to us that we should send them Joseph Thewathiron as soon as possible, to have another Preacher in his very flourishing and populous town, or village, conjuring us to put forth all our efforts to stop as many young Hurons as we could, who would like to remain at the Seminary, since they had not dared to ask for them through the country in those troublous times, and because of the dangers upon the river which was to bear them. We will strive to do so. Some have already been given us; but as, these peoples are descending this year in straggling parties, I do not know how many we shall be able to get. Enough adults present themselves, and very old men, but we are afraid they will take the younger ones. Among those whom we have rejected is a man more than 40 years old, who insisted upon remaining with us. Seeing that we closed our ears to him, he went and begged our French people to receive him among them, applying now to one, now to another. " If you fear that I will steal," he said, " here, take my baggage, which I will not send back home; I cannot commit any theft that will be equal to this in value. Thewathiron, whom I met on the way " (this is our Seminarist, Joseph), " told me so much that was good about the French and [page 255] their belief, that I wish to believe in God, and to remain with them to be instructed." He drew out a Rosary, in our presence, that this young Seminarist had given him, as a sign that he wished to be a Christian. Nevertheless, as these peoples are rather [68] deceitful, we have left him at the three Rivers for further trial. This poor man aroused our compassion, for tears came to his eyes. If his countrymen, who are yet to come down, do not unsettle him, we will receive him. We have only too much feeling for him; but, as he is old, and consequently more attached to his desires than young men are, we are afraid that he may engage in some debauch.

Besides, I see plainly that if God gives us many of them, we shall be overwhelmed; for, instead of one Seminary, behold three of them started in a short time, ♦ one for the Algonquins, another for the Montagnais, and the third for the Hurons. Seven little children, both Montagnais and Algonquins, have been given to me, and they must be provided for; 4 or 5 others have been presented to me to put in the Seminary, and they have promised to bring me more in the Spring. I do not know how to meet all this; I am mistaken, the hand of God is strong, his heart is greater than ours; every year it seems to me that we shall lack means, and every year I see them increase in proportion as the opportunities for exercising charity present themselves. *Confide in Domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui.* We ask him for the salvation of these poor Savages, of whom we have fifteen on our hands, who must be more carefully fed and assisted than the others, and to whom we must give alms from time to time, until they shall be in a condition to draw their sustenance from the earth. [page 257] Besides these, two children have been given to Monsieur Gand, one of whom ascended to Heaven after his Baptism; the [69] other one he is having brought up with great and loving care. He gives a great deal of other help to these poor peoples. Sieur Olivier also has two little Savage girls, and a little boy. As he is a Clerk here in the Store of the Gentlemen of New France, I do not doubt that these Gentlemen use his right hand in the charities they practice toward these young plants of the Church of God. [page 259]

## CHAPTER XI.

### A COLLECTION OF VARIOUS MATTERS.

N St. Barnabas's day, we had an earthquake in some places; and it was so perceptible that the Savages were greatly surprised to see their bark plates collide with each other, and the water spill out of their kettles. This drew from them a loud cry of astonishment.

This is a fine way to end a lawsuit. A Savage having absented himself from home, for I know not what reason, his wife, being wooed in his absence, married another. A few months after these second nuptials, the first husband returned and wished to have her back again; the other one not consenting to give her up, a lawsuit results; the father of the woman decides the contention without appeal. He takes a stick, carries it a short distance away, and sticks it in the ground; then, addressing the litigants, he says, " He who shall first bring back that stick shall have my daughter, " and tells them to run. The woman was assigned to him who had the better legs, and the suit was so entirely [70] settled, that it was nevermore spoken of except as a joke. This performance is as amusing as their inconstancy in marriage is cause for sadness. The bond, so strong, which holds man and wife under the same yoke, will be very hard to fasten upon the Savages. The Gentlemen of New France seem to me to have made some beginning towards correcting this evil; they are truly [page 261] praiseworthy for the interest they take in the salvation of these poor peoples. I learn that they have this year given four arpents of cleared land to two young Savage girls who would marry Christians, without detriment to the help they may give to others in the future. I thank them with all my heart for this charity, in the name of the two Neophytes to whom this alms is already assigned. They are two young baptized girls, whose good Angels will not be ungrateful to these Gentlemen. A worthy Lady, of whose name I have not been informed, has made a present of a goodly sum of money, also to provide for the marriage of some baptized Savage girl. All this has already been thus employed. God, who provides for the little birds of Heaven, will bless these chosen souls, since they take up the interests of Jesus Christ, his Son, in the persons of these new children. This is the very best means to render the marriages of the Savages permanent and indissoluble. For a husband will not so readily leave a wife who brings him a respectable dowry; and a woman, having her possessions near our French settlements, will not readily leave them, any more than her husband. Add to this that having given their word at our Altar, the fear of the law [7 II will hold them to their duty. The good that is being done and procured for these poor Neophytes gives a powerful influence over them to those who govern them, and strong authority to the Christian faith in making them render obedience to its laws. Here is an example of this:

Four cabins afflicted with sickness, finding themselves somewhat relieved through our agency, assembled in council, where those who were still in [page 263] health concluded that they must believe in God and have recourse to his goodness. This was the first assembly they have held among themselves purely for the Faith, and all the more remarkable as at the same time Monsieur our Governor was talking with us about aiding them vigorously, as regarded both the faith and their sickness; so that they and we, without knowing anything about each other's movements, had assembled for the same purpose. Since that time they have not failed, whenever they have been near our dwellings, to come to the Chapel every evening and morning, in order to pray to God and to be instructed in his doctrine. I learn that Makheabichtichiou was the first to speak in this council, saying, " My countrymen, I have been listening for a long time to the Fathers; what they have taught me is very good. I promised them to believe in God; I have failed to keep my word, but I am sorry for it; it is at this time that they shall prove my constancy. Come, let us range ourselves under the protection of him who has made all; let us not lose courage; if any of you promise to believe in him, keep your word, and do not imitate my inconstancy." In consequence of these good resolutions, the Savages of these four cabins were all present in [72] our house on the day of the glorious Assumption of the Virgin, ♦ in order to take part in the procession that we made, to acknowledge this great Princess as Superior and protectress of both old and new France, according to the holy desires of our good King; and, besides, to bless God that it has pleased his goodness to give her a child of miracle and of blessing. Monsieur our Governor overlooked nothing of all the magnificence that could be displayed, to do honor to [page 265] this procession. It was a beautiful sight to see a company of Savages marching behind the French, in their painted and figured robes, two by two, and very modestly. The lines of soldiers in different places saluting them

with musket-shots, and the cannons which were upon land and water being fired in excellent order, caused an indescribable rejoicing, accompanied by a holy devotion, which all offered to God for the accomplishment of the designs of our great King, and for the salvation of these peoples. At the same time three jugglers or sorcerers brought us five drums, which they had used in their Orgies, protesting by this act that they abandoned the party of Belial to follow Jesus Christ. As this Chapter is only a collection of various matters that have no relation, it will contain articles on very different subjects. Here is a rather unpleasant piece of news:

Father Hierosme Lalemant, having left us to go to the Hurons, encountered on the way four cabins of the Algonquins of the Island. The Hurons who were conveying them, having gone ashore, entered one of these cabins, and the Father [73] withdrew to one side to pray to God. But they soon called him, and motioned him to take his place near a certain evil-looking Savage. This man, perceiving the Father, fell into a rage, and complained that a Frenchman who had passed that way a few days before had bled one of his sick people, and death had followed. " Thereupon, becoming angry and enraged, he showed me a halter and a hatchet " (says the Father, who wrote to me all about this tragic comedy), "making me a sign that I must die! Finally, he arranged this cord with a running knot; and with a furious and violent gesture he seized my head with **[page 267]** both his hands to compel me to pass it into this noose. I stopped him with my hand, explaining to him my innocence as best I could. He ridiculed all this, became still more enraged, and raising his hatchet, gave me to understand that if I did not perish by the one I would by the other. Seeing that the collar of my gown prevented him from strangling me, he tried to unhook it. During this struggle, our Hurons smoked without uttering a word; two of our Frenchmen who were outside the cabin hastened to arm themselves, but I stopped them for fear of a greater misfortune, ♦advising them rather to negotiate with the Hurons, who had taken us under their protection and safe guidance. Finally, this barbarian made our Hurons leave his cabin; and, holding me by one foot,, kept me a prisoner, with the intention of despatching me. From time to time, the Hurons came and looked into the cabin to see what was going on, saying that they would remain there all night to consider what was to be done, holding themselves responsible for my [74] person, in case he consented to release me; this caused the barbarian to let me go. I returned to say my breviary; and our Hurons went into council, where they decided to make presents to this madman, ♦sending for him to come into their cabin, to give him hatchets and a javelin-blade. The oldest of our Hurons, raising these hatchets one after the other, said with each one, 'This is to free the Frenchmen who are with us.' This barbarian, having looked at all these hatchets, said, 'The idea of killing the Frenchmen is beginning to go out of my mind; but that I may be satisfied, and that it may go out altogether, I must have a kettle besides.' There being none forthcoming, he asked for a shirt **[page 269]** instead; one was given to him, and he declared that he was perfectly satisfied; then, causing a bark dish full of water to be brought to him, he washed his face and eyes, and, swallowing the rest, 'This,' said he, 'is to wash away my tears and to change my countenance; this is to swallow all the bitterness and gall of my anger; I am no longer angry.' Thereupon he went away, taking with him his presents. Having returned to his cabin, he sent the flesh of a Beaver to our people as an evidence of reconciliation. Our Hurons urged me strongly to relate this story to Monsieur the Governor. The anger they felt at what had taken place so irritated one of them that he almost killed this barbarian, the next morning, with a blow of his hatchet. It is impossible to write any more, as the Mosquitoes or gnats are attacking me by the thousands, not allowing me to write a single syllable without pain. So for this time you must pardon me [75] if I write badly, and excuse me to Monsieur our Governor, whose charity, while I have had the honor of being with him, I cannot describe to you. He is invariable, ♦always himself, and always incomparable. May God bless him forever. " All this is taken from the Father's letters. I promise myself that Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny will not fail to curb the pride of this Islander.

Father Le Moine, whom we are also sending to the Hurons, met with another adventure, not less dangerous. His people having wasted the food that had been given them, and having even sold some of it to the Algonquins, put on shore the Father, and two Frenchmen who were with him. Other Frenchmen, who were going down from the Hurons, **[page 271]** happened to be present on this fortunate occasion; and when they chided these barbarians for not having kept their provisions, the latter replied that they were courageous, that they could easily pass a week without eating. These Frenchmen made them give the Father a little corn and Indian meal to live upon, in the great desert where he had been abandoned, while waiting until one of the canoes that was going down should take him on its way back. The poor Father wrote me about his misfortune in a few words:

"I do not know whether it is my sins that close to me the gate of the country I have so greatly desired; but at all events here I am, stripped and forsaken, on a point of sand beyond the petite nation of the Algonquins, with no other house than the great world. Only three days ago, the canoe that carried our little baggage upset in the water, and our packages were carried away by the current; we fished up [76] one of them with a great deal of trouble, but the other was lost. God be blessed for all."

I have already told how the Father who was taking back the Huron Seminarists also lost his baggage, traveling over the same route. If the Savages laugh at their own losses, we should not weep over ours, since God can fully retrieve them.

Father du Perron, who is also going up there, will perhaps be more successful than his three predecessors. His cheerfulness at his departure, and the honor shown by Monsieur our Governor to him as well as to the others, put the Savages into so good a humor that it promised us good results. The one who took him said to us, in, embarking, " I am Captain; no harm can happen to the Father in my presence." They promised us that they would take up, **[page 273]** on the way, Father le Moine and the Frenchmen who were with him.

Here is part of a letter from the Father whom I left at the residence of St. Joseph, where the Savages are forming a settlement: " Learning that a bark was going up to the three Rivers, I said to the Savages, 'What do you wish me to write to Father le Jenne, to send by the bark that is going up there?' 'Thou wilt send him word,' they all answered, 'that we all desire to believe in God, that we all wish to be baptized, and that we pray him to come down here again as soon as possible, to give us Baptism.' Having received this response, I withdrew, greatly comforted; had I not good reason to be? " These are the very words of the Father. As soon as I went down to K♦bec, these good Savages came to see me; the Christians confessed [77] and took communion, and those who were not yet baptized urged me to give them Baptism. The same Father wrote me another time in these words: " Makheabichtichiou, Pigarouich, Oucheskouetou, and several other Savages have arrived at St. Joseph. As soon as they stepped on shore, they came directly to my room for me, to take them to the Chapel, in order to thank God that he had preserved them in their voyages; not finding me, they entreated another of our Fathers who was here; but, as he excused himself upon the plea of knowing so little about the language, they took Paul, the good blind boy, led him to the Chapel, and made him pray to God. This good Neophyte had them offer the prayers that he says evening and morning. What more can you expect from Savages? It was thought that these poor wanderers would be the last to fall in line, and they present themselves first. **[page 275]** Help them cultivate the land, and give them a place to lodge, and you will have them all."

Father Charles Lalemant, who is going to France to look after our little affairs instead of Father Quentin, who has been sent to Miskou, will relate verbally what I cannot record upon paper without tediousness.

It is time to draw to a close. I do not think I have infringed upon the resolution I made to be brief, since I omit many things lest I be tedious. I shall have this consolation this year, that, in saying little, few faults will slip under the roller of the press.

The Relation of last year is full of them; I must mention one of them, in order to induce the Printer to take some pride in his work. In [78] Chapter 8, on page 145, where some quarrel I had with a sorcerer is in question, the Printer makes me, in place of employing exorcisms against the devil, use a sword. This is what I wrote in the original: " In fact I intended to employ a sort of exorcism;" the Printer made it: " In fact, I intended to use a sword hereafter. " I must confess that this pretty witticism made me laugh. When one speaks from so great a distance, his thoughts are not so well understood. Writing is a mute language, which is so easily changed that it is easy to take one Character for another; a child is made to say whatever one wishes, when its father is absent. This is enough for this time.

Meanwhile, we shall ask God for his great blessing upon those elect souls, who with their hands and their vows draw our poor Savages to Jesus Christ. We all conjure Your Reverence, and all our Fathers and Brethren of your Province, to join your prayers with ours, that our acknowledgments to God may draw down mercies and favors from Heaven, upon [page 277] our Colony, upon our Neophytes, upon these poor tribes, and upon your children, who all profess themselves in general, and I in particular, what I am with all my heart,

Your Reverence's

Most humble and greatly obliged servant

in God, Paul le Jeune.

*From the three Rivers, at the Residence of  
la Conception, this 25th of August, 1638.*

[page 279]

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. XIV

## XXIX

For particulars of this document, see Vol. XI.

## XXX

The *Relation* of 1638 (Paris, 1638), is a composite, although for convenience classed by bibliographers as Le Jeune's. His *Relation* proper, as superior of the Jesuit missions in New France, occupies Part I. of the document. It is addressed to the provincial at Paris, and signed at Three Rivers, August 25, 1638. Part II. consists of the usual Huron *Relation*, rendered by Le Mercier to Le Jeune, and is dated at Ossossan, June 9, 1638.

For the text of this document we have had recourse to the original printed *Relation* (first edition), at Lenox Library, which is there designated as 11 H. 69," because described in Harrisse's *Notes*, no. 69.

*Collation* (H. 69). Part I.: Title, with verso blank, i 1.; "Table des Chapitres," pp. (2); text of Le Jeune (ii chaps.), pp. 1-78. Part II. (separately paged): Half-title, with verso blank, i 1.; text of Le Mercier (Huron *Relation*, 10 chaps.), pp. 1-67 (misnumbered 76); "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy" (dated Paris, Dec. 14, 1638), and "Permifsion du P. Prouincial" (dated Paris, March 26, 1638), on verso of p. 67. Page 12 of Le Jeune is mispaged 2. Harrisse's line-title of this edition is incorrect.

There is a second edition of this *Relation*, known as "H. 70," and it collates as[page 281] follows:

Relation | de ce qvi s'est passé | en la | Novvelle France | en l'année 1638. | Enuoyé au | R. Pere Provincial | de la Compagnie de Iesvs | en la Prouince de France. | Par le P. Pavl le Ievne de la mesme Compagnie, | Superieur de la Residence de Kébec. | [Cut, with storks] | A Paris, | Chez Sebastien Cramoisy Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, rue saint Iacques, | aux Cicognes. | M. DC. XXXVIII. | Avec privilege dv roy. | Title, with verso blank, i 1.; "Table des Chapitres," pp. (2); text of Le Jeune, pp. 1-78; half-title, with verso blank, i 1.; text of Huron Relation, by Le Mercier, pp. 1-67, with Privilege and Permission on the verso of p. 67. In Le Jeune's Relation, pp. 23 and 35 are misnumbered 2 and 3, respectively.

That the second edition is an entire reset, is evidenced by variations on every page, in the head-lines, line-endings, spelling, contractions, and typographical arrangement. The following particulars will be sufficient to enable collectors to distinguish between the, two editions. In the first edition, the fifth line of the title-page is in larger type than in the second edition, and while in the former the eighth line ends with "en," in the latter it ends with "IESVS." Le Jeune's baptismal name is spelled "Pavle" in the first edition, but "Pavl" in the second. Other differences, mainly of punctuation, may upon comparison be noticed in the title-pages. The head ornament to the "Table des Chapitres" consists of seventeen parts in the first edition, and of eighteen parts, equally divided, in the second edition. The initial *R* is much larger in the first edition than in the other. In the Permission (which bears an earlier date than either of the Relations), the signature, [page 282] misprinted "Bstienne Einet" in the first edition, is corrected to "Estienne Binet" in the second edition. We have noticed many more differences or corrections, as, *eg.*, "de ceste persecutions" changed to "de ceste persecution," and "tousjour" to "tous jours."

Harrisse's *Notes*, p. 62, mentions a Latin version "dans le recueil du P. Trigaut" (Cologne,1653). He doubtless here refers to the following Latin work, in 12mo, 60 pp.:

Progressvs Fidei | Catholicae | in Novo Orbe. | I. | Jn Canada, Sive | Noua Francia. | II. | Jn Cochín China. | III. | In magno Chinensi | Regno: | De quo R. P. Nicolaus Trigautius | Societ. Iesv libris V. copiosè & accuratè | scripsit. | . . . | Coloniè Agrippinè, | Apud



As the name of Trigaut appears so prominently upon the title, the authorship of the entire work has, in several catalogues, been attributed to him. A close examination of the phraseology, however (note the colon in the eleventh line), reveals that he is actually accredited only with Part III. The book is merely a compilation: Part I. is a rather free translation into Latin, in condensed form, of the New France *Relation* of 1648❖49, by Ragueneau, which had originally been published in Paris, in 1650. On p. 3 of the work it is called "Excerpta ex Relatione." Doubtless both Parts II. and III. are by Trigaut, who was a Jesuit missionary to China, and in his later years an author of several publications relating to that field; he died in 1628, twenty-five years before this Cologne compilation. In making the above [page 283] reference, Harrisse appears, curiously, to have confounded the *Relation* of 1638 with that of 1648❖49; it is evident, also, from the style of his citation on p. 96 of the *Notes*, that he had not examined the *Progressus Fidei*, but had taken his title at second-hand. It is a very rare book, the only copy known to us being in the Brown Library.

Copies of the *Relation* of 1638 are in Brown (first edition), Harvard College (second edition), Lenox (both editions), and New York State libraries; in Laval University, Quebec (second edition), and in the British Museum (first edition).

For further references, see Harrisse, nos. 69, 70, 99, and p. 62; Sabin, vol. x., nos. 39954, 39955, and vol. xvi., p. 538. Also, the following sales catalogues: Dufoss❖'s *Libraire Am❖ricaine*, n.s., xxi<sup>e</sup> ann❖e, no. 2898, copy offered for 300 fr. (he has also offered copies of late years at 170 to 225 fr.); Dodd, Mead & Co., April, 1896, no. 42, copy of second edition (a Lenox duplicate) offered for \$50; O'Callaghan, no. 1217, second edition, but called there "first issue," sold for \$45; Harrassowitz (1882), no. 25, priced at 125 marks. [page 284]

## NOTES TO VOL. XIV

(Figures in Parentheses, following number of note, refer to Pages of English text.)



# VOL. XV

## The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

Travels and Explorations

of the Jesuit Missionaries

in New France

1610❖1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALI-

IAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLA-

TIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY  
PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY

Reuben Gold Thwaites

Secretary of the State historical Society of Wisconsin

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Thom Mentrak

Historical Interpreter at

Onondaga county parks

Ste. Marie Among The Iroquois Living History Museum

Liverpool. New York

Vol. ?

*{PLACE}*

*{YEAR}*

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PREFACE TO VOL. XV

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

XXX. The first section of the *Relation* of 1638, by Le Jeune, was given in Vol. XIV.; Le Mercier's report upon the Hurons, concluding the document, is given in the present volume. Le Mercier recounts the persecutions suffered by the missionaries in 1637. The plague that had ravaged some Huron villages increased. with the coming of summer, until it swept over the entire nation. The ignorant savages ascribe their sufferings to the machinations of the missionaries❖regarding the pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, used in the religious ceremonies, as the source of some wicked spell cast upon the people. Some of the baptized natives die from the epidemic, which again arouses the old fear that baptism causes death. The cabin doors are closed upon the priests; and one war chief, seeing them at his door, " threatened to split their heads if they went any farther."

According to savage custom, a general council is held at Angoutenc to consider the state of the country, and its relations to the missionaries, who are expected to be present thereat. The presiding chief invites " his nephews, the French," to speak; they do so, explaining the reasons for their entering the Huron country, stating that they visit the sick only [page 1] to help and, when possible, to save them - which, for the time, favorably impresses the Indians. At this point, the council comes to an abrupt end; for some one enters, inviting all present to a feast.

Complaints and slanders soon revive: the missionaries are accused of practicing charms to kill the natives❖among these, that "they had killed a little child in the woods, by pricking it with a bodkin. " The savages suspect the purpose of a weather vane which the Fathers had mounted on a tree; the Jesuits' clock is regarded as " the demon of death," and must be put out of sight; the litanies sung at vespers are thought to be evil incantations.

August 4, a general council of the Hurons is held, at which the missionaries are bitterly attacked as the authors of all the miseries that afflict the nation. Br❖beuf defends the Jesuits as best he can, before the enraged multitude, who finally defer their decision until the return of the fleet from Quebec. This temporary deliverance is ascribed, after the Divine Goodness, to a novena of masses in honor of the Immaculate Conception (for which their residence at Ossossan❖ is named). The Hurons who had gone down to Three Rivers for the annual trade, return with greatly mollified feelings toward the French, which for a time relieves the missionaries from their persecutions.

Suddenly, they are summoned to another council, with threats of death; and only their resolute bearing and courage save them therefrom. In this emergency, the missionaries draw up " a form of will, to leave in the hands of some faithful Christians who had offered to take it to Quebec." This is a letter to their superior, Le Jenne, informing him of their [page 2] great danger, resigning



themselves to death, and mentioning the arrangements made " in case any of them survive." Br  beuf says: "I have deemed it advisable for our Fathers and our domestics to withdraw to the houses of those whom they regard as their best friends; I have charged them to carry to the house of Pierre, our first Christian, all that belongs to the Sacristy,  above all, to be especially careful to put our Dictionary, and all that we have of the language, in a place of safety." The Fathers then begin a novena in honor of St. Joseph; and they invite the Hurons to an " Atsataion,"  that is, the farewell feast of those who are about to die. This astonishes and mollifies the savages, who for some time give them peace.

Le Mercier then recounts the baptisms for the year, which have been numerous at Ossossan  , the chief mission residence. A long account is given of the conversion and Christian behavior of Joseph Chiwatenhwa, who " has nothing of the savage, except his birth, and who will compare favorably with the most zealous Catholic of France." This man and all his family are not only converted, but cured of the prevalent disease. Joseph then makes a great feast for his relatives and friends, at which he announces that his wife now desires baptism, which rite is administered to her in the presence of the whole assembly. After this, Joseph and his wife (now named Marie Annetta) are remarried according to the rites of the church; and, after receiving communion, the new converts and some of their friends are entertained by the Fathers with " a little feast of smoked fish, seasoned with eloquent discourse by the Father Superior." [page 3]

Our author proceeds to relate the methods of work, the occupations, and the plans of the missionaries during the winter. Their prospects are now much brighter, and Joseph proves a great aid to them among his countrymen. The Fathers are now it struggling to overcome the obstacles raised by the devil in their dreams, dances, sweats, and feasts." The affairs of the old residence at Ihonatiria, where Br  beuf and Chastellain are in charge, are discussed; they are, on the whole, satisfactory.

Le Mercier records their "harvest and vintage for the holy Altar  about half a bushel of good wheat, and a small keg of wine." The missionaries are about to erect a new chapel. An eclipse of the moon, which they had early predicted, gives them much credit with the natives. They are soon to move the residence of St. Joseph to another village.

XXXI. This document, dated at Ossossan  , April 27, 1639, is a letter by Fran  ois du Peron to his brother Joseph (also a Jesuit), regarding the labors of the narrator among the Hurons. He thanks God for being sent to Canada, and especially for his assignment to this special field, " because here God alone is our all, and because there is a greater harvest than in any other part of Canada. " He sketches the long and toilsome journey thither; the general appearance of the Huron country, the nature of the people, the peculiarities of the language, the condition and progress of the mission, the daily life and work of the Fathers, and their trips to neighboring villages, with the conversions and baptisms resulting therefrom. Notable among these is that of the Iroquois prisoner mentioned in Vol. XIII. The new [page 4] chapel at Ossossan   is mentioned, also the eclipse of the moon, December 20.

The writer then gives some account of the witchcraft and tricks practiced by the medicine men, which is prefaced by this remark: " On March 2nd, and other days following the carnival, the devil was unchained here as well as in France. There was only devilry and masquerading at that time, throughout the Huron country; two or three of our Christians were debauched therein, and many others, who were inclined to baptism, have become cold."

Another squad of prisoners is brought to Ossossan  , twelve in number; and the missionaries succeed in baptizing all but one of them  "a Judas," who refuses baptism. Du Peron closes by an itemized statement of the Huron baptisms for the past year, 300 in all.

XXXII. Simon le Moyne, another of the missionaries at Ossossan  , writes to his cousin a short letter, under date of May 25, 1639, in which he mentions with much enthusiasm the zeal and piety of their Huron converts.

XXXIII. Chaumonot, in this short letter to the general at Rome, dated Quebec, August 7, 1639, informs the latter of his arrival at that place, and describes the perilous ocean voyage. He announces his near departure, with other Fathers, to the Huron mission.

XXXIV. This document, although known as Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1639, is the work of two writers: Part I. is the report of the superior, Le Jenne, to the provincial at Paris, and chiefly refers to the work on the St. Lawrence; it is dated at Sillery, September 4, [page 5] 1639. Part II. is the Huron report, made by Jerome Lalemant to Le Jenne, and dated at Ossossan  , June 7, 1639. In the present volume, we give Chapter i. of Part I.; the remainder of the document will appear in Volumes XVI. and XVII. In his opening chapter, Le Jenne describes the demonstrations of rejoicing, at Quebec, over the birth of a son to Louis XIII.  cannon salutes, fireworks, and illuminations; also a brilliant procession, in which French and Indians walk together. Six of the latter are clad in bravery of satin, velvet, and cloth of gold  truly royal habits, now worn for the first time, but presented by Louis the year before to an Indian who was sent to Paris by his countrymen to convey their homage to the king of France. This procession marches to the new hospital, where religious ceremonies are observed, the aborigines taking prominent part in the chants and prayers; thence to the Ursuline convent and the Jesuit church. Montmagny then gives a feast to the savages; at its close, the latter hold a council, with the customary protracted speechmaking on both sides. Then the envoy above-mentioned relates wonderful tales of what he had seen in Paris  the great multitudes of people; the " rolling cabins drawn by moose," as he styles the coaches and their teams; and, most wonderful of all, the king walking with his guards, which sight so impressed the tribesman that, according to the Father who accompanied him, " he did not speak during the rest of the day." In acknowledgment of the king's gifts, these Indians send him a little dress, such as their own children wear, " as a *metawagan*, or small toy, to amuse his little son." Le Jenne, however, is hesitating to send [page 6] it, lest it convey to " so sacred a personage " even " the slightest contagion " from the deadly smallpox, which had so raged in Canada the past year.

R. G. T.

Madison, Wis., January, 1898.

XXX (concluded)

## Le Jeune's Relation, 1638

Paris: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1638



Part 1. appeared in Volume XIV. ; we herewith present Part II., thus completing the document.

[page 9]

Relation of what occurred in the  
country of the Hurons  
in the years 1637  
and 1638.

[page 11]

[1] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of  
the Society of Jesus in the Country of  
the Hurons, in the year 1637 and 38.

*Sent to K<sup>ébec</sup> to the Reverend Father Paul le Jeune, Superior of  
the Missions of the Society of Jesus in new France.*

Y REVEREND FATHER,

*Pax Christi.*

Your Reverence greatly comforted us, in your last letters, by telling us that you felt towards us more envy than compassion, seeing us besieged on all sides by horrible slanders, and hearing that we are in almost continual danger of death. [2] What you learned thereof last year was only the precursor of what has occurred since, <sup>that</sup> that was only the somewhat confused rumors that were current in the country; and those speeches which were made so often throughout the winter, in the feasts and the councils of the Savages, were merely the words and threats of people of but little importance. But, after the departure of the canoes for the trading at K<sup>ébec</sup>, <sup>the</sup> the malady, which had heretofore assailed only a few villages, becoming everywhere prevalent, <sup>all</sup> all these Nations declared themselves openly in general assemblies held for this purpose. We appeared there in person; we heard there the depositions made against us from the lips of the chiefs of the country. Our Friends did not conceal from us their opinion of the dangers in which we stood; they even asked us [page 13] for confidential letters, so that afterwards they could go down to K<sup>ébec</sup> in all security and carry thither the news of our death. We had already made our testament, and set down our last message, in order to make known that we considered ourselves too happy to die as children of the Society, and to shed our blood for the conversion of these poor peoples.

The Devil saw himself closely pressed; he could not endure the solemn Baptism of some of the more notable Savages. But God has finally bound his arms, that he may give scope to his mercies, and reveal to us another Joseph in this Egypt, who is already so far in God's good [3] graces, that he seems to have placed in this man's hands the disposition of his treasures, that he may open them to his brethren, rescue them from their misery, and give them admission to the court of the King of heaven and of earth. His example has already touched several of them, among the more noble spirits, who bid fair to imitate him. It will be consoling to see that these tribes have not only capacity for our Holy mysteries, but even for an unusual virtue.

I am going to gather up what is most noteworthy under a few Chapters, which I shall extend according to the time that God shall give me. [page 15]

## CHAPTER FIRST.

### OF THE PERSECUTIONS THAT WE SUFFERED IN THE YEAR 1637.

SAID a word, last year, about our new Residence in the village which is almost the heart of the country. Our cabin was not yet half finished when it attracted these peoples from all directions to come and see us; the crowd there was so great that it was a more than sufficient occupation to keep watch upon their hands, in addition to the great number of sick persons who continually needed our visits.

Our Fathers had erected a sort of Altar, where they had placed some little pictures, in order thus to secure opportunity to explain to them what was the principal motive that brought us here and had attracted us to their village. [4] The whole Cabin resounded with expressions of admiration at the sight of these extraordinary objects; above all, they could not weary of gazing at two pictures—one of Our Lord, and the other of Our Lady. We had some difficulty in making them believe that these were only flat paintings, especially as these pictures were of life size for the small figure make but little impression upon their minds. We had to leave them exposed all day, in order to satisfy all the people.

This first view cost us very dear; for, without speaking of the annoyance that inquisitive persons have since caused us, that is to say, all the people who arrive from other villages, if we derived thence **[page 17]** some advantage for speaking to them of our Holy mysteries and disposing them to the knowledge of the true God, some of them took occasion to spread new reports and to authorize the previous calumnies, namely, that we were causing the death of these peoples by our Images.

In a few days the country was completely imbued with this opinion, that we were, without any doubt, the authors of this so universal contagion. It is very probable that those who invented these slanders did not believe them at all; yet they spoke in so positive terms that the majority no longer doubted them. The women and children looked upon us as persons who brought them misfortune. God be forever blessed, who willed that for the space of three or four months, while these persecutions were at their height, [5] we should be deprived of nearly all human consolation. The people of our village seemed to spare us more than the others, yet these evil reports were so persistent and were such a common subject of conversation in their assemblies that suspicion began to take hold upon them, and the most prominent ones, who had loved us and had been accustomed to speak in our favor, became entirely mute, and when they were constrained to speak, they had recourse to excuses, and justified themselves as well as they could for having built us a cabin.

On the 26th of June, the niece of Pierre, our first Christian, died, notwithstanding the vows and prayers we had offered for her recovery. This was the first blow to this family, which was followed some time afterward by the death of his wife; and after his return from the trade the malady carried off one of his daughters, and his brother-in-law. Several **[page 19]** slanderous tongues, which were already of themselves fruitful enough in impostures and calumnies, thought they had a new opportunity to throw the cat .at our legs, alleging as their motive that affliction had not fallen upon this cabin until after the solemn Baptism of Pierre. In fact, they had passed the winter very comfortably, the majority of the other cabins having been very badly treated by the disease.

This idea so deeply entered the minds of some of them that one entire village, according to the report made to us, decided no longer to use French kettles, imagining [6] that everything which came in any way from us was capable of communicating the disease to them.

There came another piece of news from the Tobacco Nation (for these reports continued to increase, even in the surrounding Nations). It was asserted that a Savage, stricken with this pestilential disease, had vomited up in some blood a leaden pellet, whence they concluded that a Frenchman had bewitched him. We were obliged every day to answer the bearers of similar news; and there were very few of them capable of understanding the arguments we brought forward to show them how disinclined we were to these evil thoughts. Their usual answer was that " this was being constantly said everywhere; and that, besides, all the inhabitants of the Island where these peoples live had their brains upset, that the death of so many of their relatives had unsettled their minds; and so one need not be surprised if, like madmen, they should inconsiderately lay the blame on whatever was at hand. " For our own part, we consider ourselves too highly honored to wear the livery of Our Lord; one thing alone afflicted us—to **[page 21]** see Hell triumphing for a time, and carrying away so many Souls, whose danger we realized without being able to stretch out our hands and place them in the way of salvation. However, we never ceased making our usual trips until at the very worst, when we saw that our holy Mysteries were not received with the respect that they merited, and we judged that these visits might be [7] prejudicial to the progress of the Holy Gospel.

The mortality prevailed everywhere, but especially in the village of Angoutenc, which was only three-quarters of a league from us. We made two visits there, but without effect; we returned thither on the 3rd of July. We found a considerable number of sick people, but they wrapped themselves in their robes and covered their faces, for fear of speaking to us; others, upon seeing us, hastened to close the doors of their cabins; we already had our feet upon the threshold of two others, when we were driven away, the reason given being that there were sick persons there. Ah! this was precisely what we sought, nor did we lose courage thereat; and the more the devil played his tricks, the more we felt ourselves inspired not to abandon this poor village. All things considered, we judged that this hostile aspect arose only from the fact that they were not yet well informed as to our purpose in these visits, for they are not accustomed to visit one another in this way during their illnesses, unless they are near relatives; so it was a great novelty to them to see persons who sought out only the sick, and, moreover, the most wretched and most forsaken. Hence we returned there on the 8th of the same [month], not so much in behalf of the sick as to see some old men **[page 23]** and those who had the management of affairs, that we might try to make them understand our purpose. We very fortunately encountered a Captain [8] of great intelligence. He was made to understand how precious our visits ought to be to them. He listened to us willingly, giving us his word that he would communicate with the Old Men, saying that, as for himself, he already assured us that he would always look upon us kindly. We went immediately to see those who were most ill, but we were no better received than on the former visit. A certain war Captain no sooner saw us at the door of his cabin than he threatened to split our heads if we went any further.

Towards afternoon, Ondesson, one of the first war captains of the whole country, came to see us with another notable of Angoutenc. In regard to our visits, they admitted to us that many were afraid of us, and that to remove these fears it would be very desirable to hold a council thereupon, where we should be present in person. We desired nothing else.

Moreover, one of the head men of our village came and drew us aside, " My nephews " (he said to us), " I have something important to tell you. It is that Antoine " (he was speaking of Father Daniel) " let slip an inconsiderate word which is giving people a great deal to talk about. Last Summer, a young man who was entreated to remain in K<sup>é</sup>bec was about to set foot in the canoe, when he said to him, 'What art thou going to do? Thou art going to thy death; the pestilence is about to ruin thy country, believe me; pass the winter with us, if thou wouldst escape this danger.' That is what I have just learned at Onnentsati, where you people are spoken of in very **[page 25]** bad terms; they are altogether certain that you are the cause of our [9] misfortunes." To all our arguments he had nothing else to answer except that such things were being told, which always left a deep impression upon their minds.



Having returned to Angoutenc for the council, we found all the Captains there (for there are several of them in the same village, according to the diversity of affairs), who gave us a sufficiently kind reception. The most influential one invited the others to the assembly, crying in a loud voice through the village. The Old Men, the women, the young people, and the children hastened thither at our solicitation. The council was opened by our presenting to them a cake of Tobacco in a dish, in the manner of the country; one of the Captains broke it, in order to distribute it to the more prominent members of the company. They never speak of business, nor come to any conclusion, except with the pipe in the mouth; this smoke, which mounts to their brains, gives them, they say,, enlightenment amid the difficulties that present themselves. When this was over, the President raised his voice to a tone nearly like that used by our public criers in frequented streets in France, giving them to understand that his Nephews, the French, were about to speak, that they should listen to them attentively, and that they should not be annoyed by the length of their speeches, ♦ that the matter was one of importance, and deserved to be well understood. We explained to them what had brought us into their country, and especially what our purpose was in visiting their sick. They listened to us with fair attention, but when we were about to conclude some one came to invite these Gentlemen to a feast; and, **[page 27]** as [10] the time was short, we were obliged to break off, for there is no affair so important that they would not leave it for a feast. Now when we had finished, they looked at one another for some time, by way of deference, to see who would speak. Finally, he who presided took the floor, hurriedly repeated the chief points of our speech, and dwelt particularly upon the assertion that we loved them, and that it was only through affection that we went about to visit them, with the intention of living and dying in their country. One of the older ones added that it would be well to have this word resound throughout the earth; that, furthermore, we were placing them under great obligations by consoling them in their tears; that our persons were dear to them; that the young men should be very careful not to strike a blow for which the whole country might groan. All finally concluded with expressions of the utmost good will, inviting us to visit them from that time on. Such is the character of this country; as for words, there are as many of them as you desire. Nevertheless, we judged that we had, for the time, every reason for satisfaction.

Afterwards, in our visits, we encountered a very sick old man. " My Nephews" (he said to us at first), " be welcome." He soon reversed the compliment when he learned what brought us there, for he said, the angry blood mounting to his face, " It is you people who are making me die; since you set foot in this house, six days ago, I have eaten nothing; and I have seen you in a dream as persons who are bringing us misfortune; it is you who are making me die." Observe that among these peoples nothing more need be said for a man to have his head **[page 29]** split. In [11] fact, notwithstanding the fine promises that I have just mentioned, we noticed afterwards so much coldness on all sides, and so great distrust of us, that we judged it wise to desist entirely from our visits; more than this, upon the advice that Our Father Superior sent us, we remained for some time at anchor, during the tempest. He wrote to us also that, at the close of the feast which had interrupted our council, they had again assembled, and had resolved to kill some Frenchman, whoever he might be.

They still continued, however, to console us by their visits. It seems as if God sent the Chiefs to us, one after another, to be informed of our proceedings. Even that last one who had so rudely driven us from his cabin did not hesitate to tell us in our house that he really believed us to be the authors of their sickness. Another complained to us that one of his relatives had expired immediately after our visit.

If we were engaged in a struggle in this settlement of la Conception, our other Fathers were not less so at that of St. Joseph, for that locality became colder and colder towards us, on account of the slanders that certain evil minds were forging from day to day. There were, indeed, other rumors. Four barks, it was said, belonging to those who are not our relatives (they meant the English) ascended, in spite of all the French, as far as the river des prairies, and those who commanded them maintained that the [12] black robes were the cause of all the sickness. It was in vain that we remonstrated with them, forcibly arguing how incredible the thing seemed; they persevered in their own notions.

Our first Christian informed us of another report, similar to that of which we wrote last year, which **[page 31]** certainly has had great vogue ♦ namely, that we had brought a corpse from France, and that there was, without doubt, something in our tabernacle that made them die. These poor peoples lay the blame on a charm which they seek everywhere. Possibly this good man, or one of our Neophytes, may have spoken too freely of this precious deposit, since, for ourselves, we never speak to them about it until after a long proof of their faith.

This report was not yet smothered, when another one arose. Our crime was, they said, that we had established ourselves in the heart of the country that we might more easily procure its total ruin; to accomplish this, we had killed a little child in the woods by stabbing it with a bodkin, which had caused the death of a great many children. The devil was perhaps enraged because we had placed many of these little innocents in heaven. In short, we were rebuffed on all sides, so that, one day, when we strove to gain the good will of one of their sick people, who is among the most influential persons here, both he and his relatives began to abuse us. They took umbrage at our slightest act, some of them complaining that we kept our door closed in the morning. possibly, they said, for some sorcery; others suspected us of some sinister design when [13] in the early evening we sang our Litanies. In a word, they all agreed upon this point ♦ that to put an end to their miseries they must make away with us as soon as possible, or else send us back to France. There was nothing, even to a weather vane that we had had placed on the top of a fir tree, which did not give them something to talk about. " For where are your wits," said one of the chief men, "you Nephews of mine? What does that piece of cloth mean, that I see placed so **[page 33]** high up there? " But this complaint terminated pleasantly, when, after having learned that we placed it there to see from what quarter the wind blew, he reproached us for not having used a larger piece, that it might be seen from a greater distance.

Our clock was no longer visible, for they believed it to be the Demon of death, and our illuminated pictures represented to them nothing more than what was happening to their sick people. Merely seeing us walking about, they thought we were engaged in some witchcraft.

Here is the news that frightened us the most, ♦ there was a report that Our Father Superior had been murdered. It was first brought to us by a terrified Savage, and two Captains of note related its details to others of our Fathers, even naming to them the murderer. Behold us, finally, miserable outcasts, as it were; for from that time on every one deserted us, and we were regarded only with dread. This reported assassination spread throughout the Country, when the Father, to console us, hastened to come and relieve us from our anxiety. He went, at the outset, to visit our Captain, who welcomed him as a [14] man risen from the grave. The Old Men of the village came to welcome him, one after another. We could not impart the news of the Father's safety to the settlement of saint Joseph until a week afterward, for lack of a messenger; the letters that they wrote us show plainly that the rumor passed for the truth among those of their village. In fact, both the little value that these peoples place upon the life of a man, and the reputation of being sorcerers, which infallibly drags death after it, render very palpable to us the evident obligations we are under to him who is the Master of our lives. **[page 35]**

# CHAPTER II.

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY, WHERE OUR DEATH IS UNDER DELIBERATION.

T pleased God to hearken to us, in So far as finally to create an occasion for a general assembly, that we might inform the Chiefs of the country of

our purposes among them.

It was a question of some war, that was to be taken into mature consideration, the Old Men of each village having previously come to a mutual agreement upon it in their special councils. Being invited to this assembly, we made them a present of three or four hundred porcelain beads, (these are the pistoles of the country) in order to give them some proof of how much we shared in the public interests. Now we were well aware that they were to speak [15] of us in this general assembly. The Father Superior endeavored to clear us, in private, with various persons, from the slanders, that had been loaded upon us; but they were already so bitter that the Captains most favorable to us told him plainly that the greatest favor we could hope for was to be driven from the country and sent back to K<sup>é</sup>bec.

Finally, the opening of the great assembly took place towards evening on the 4th of August, where, after the usual compliments, they discussed for that time only the subject of peace with their allies, upon which they consulted nearly all night, with a prudence that can hardly be imagined. [page 37]

It was well that, toward the end of the council, Our Father Superior, taking occasion to reply, now to one, now to another of these Councilors upon unimportant questions about the Sky, the Sun, and the Stars, fell imperceptibly upon the points of our faith, and powerfully affected these minds, otherwise rather indifferent, by the contemplation of the eternal fires.

The other assembly opened about eight o'clock in the evening. This council was composed of three Nations, namely, of that one called the Bear, <sup>é</sup>our first hosts, who comprise, in all, fourteen villages, large and small; they occupied one side of the cabin, and we were placed in the middle of the same side. Opposite were the two other Nations, each numbering four very populous villages. It was here that they were to deal with the affair of the black robes, who were everywhere believed to be [16] the cause of all the misfortunes of the country. They all yielded the dignity of President to a certain old blind man, one of the most commendable of our village, and the oldest of the company, respected among his people for the reputation he had acquired as a man of intelligence and executive ability. Here is an account of it, nearly as all occurred.

The foremost of the Captains puts in the mouth, as it were, of Ontitarac (the blind President) the terms he should use in opening the council. Then this old man, in a trembling, yet tolerably strong voice, saluted these Nations in general, and each of the Chiefs in particular, rejoicing with them that they had auspiciously assembled to deliberate upon a matter which was the most important in the country. Then he exhorted all those present to proceed seriously upon this occasion, when their preservation was at stake; [page 39] for it was a question of discovering the authors of the common malady, and of remedying the evil. "Speak, then, frankly," said he, "and let no one conceal what he knows to be the truth." Thereupon the Master of the solemn feast of the Dead, who is the chief of council for the whole country, began to speak, and exaggerated the deplorable condition of his nation. He concluded his discourse by taxing us with being persons who for a long time had had some knowledge of it. He spoke so indistinctly that we lost many of his words; hence, after Our Father Superior had represented that, since the matter concerned us, it was fitting that we should correctly understand all that was said, that we might be able to answer it, [17] we went farther up, and took our places next to those who had the most bloody weapons to produce against us.

I do not know that I have ever seen anything more lugubrious than this assembly. In the beginning, they looked at one another like corpses, or rather like men who already feel the terrors of death; they spoke only in sighs, each one undertaking the enumeration of the dead and sick of his family. All that was only to incite them to vomit more bitterly upon us the venom which they concealed within. There was no one present who openly undertook our defense, and certain ones thought they were doing us a great favor by remaining altogether silent. They were all like so many accusers who keenly urged on the Decree for our condemnation, doing all they could by their words and their repetitions to take the Father unawares in some of his utterances. Two old men especially attacked us, for the others did nothing but eagerly repeat over and over what [page 41] these had said. One of them spoke about in these terms:

" My Brothers, you know well that I hardly ever speak except in our war councils, and that I concern myself only with affairs of arms; but I am obliged to speak here, since all the other Captains are dead. Now before I follow them to the grave I must free my mind; and perhaps it will be for the good of the country, which is going to ruin. Every day it is worse than before; this cruel malady has now overrun all the cabins of our village, and has made such ravages in our own family [18] that, lo, we are reduced to two persons, and I do not yet know whether we shall escape the fury of this Demon. I have seen maladies in the country before, but never have I seen anything like this; two or three Moons sufficed for us to see the end of those, and in a few years, our families being restored, we almost lost the memory of them. But now we already count a Year since we began to be afflicted, and we see as yet no probability of soon beholding the end of our misery. What has caused us the most uneasiness, up to the present, is that we cannot at all understand this disease, and that we have not yet been able to discover its origin. I will tell you what I have learned about it within a few days; but first you must know that I am speaking without passion, and that I intend to tell only the plain truth. I neither hate nor love the French; I have never had anything to do with them, and we see each other for the first time to-day. I do not intend to do them any wrong; I shall only report faithfully the speech of one of our nation recently returned from the trade at K<sup>é</sup>bec."

It would take too long to report here the chief [page 43] points of his accusation, which consisted in I know not what pretended sorceries of which we had knowledge. Moreover, he embellished it all with so many fine words, and argued it so passionately, that the whole company received these falsehoods as truths. Note that this malicious spirit, to give more color to his stories, was reluctant to accept the testimony of [19] those who he knew were in disrepute on account of their falsehoods; but if he rejected one of these, he mentioned fifty others who were ready, he stated, to confirm his statements.

Our Father Superior, intending to speak, let this Captain discharge his rage for some time; then, having asked a hearing, he closed his mouth in a few words, with arguments for which he had no answer. The confusion of this accuser did not prevent another old man

from taking us to task, with as much cunning as the objections he offered were far from the truth. After all this, the Councilors importunately urged the Father to produce I know not what piece of bewitched cloth that he was keeping to the ruin of the country, ♦ assuring him that his life would be spared, in case he would admit that it was at our house. The Father persisting in denying this, " That does not signify," said the President; " only let fall the word, my Nephew; do not fear, it will do thee no harm." Finally, the Father, finding himself importuned and urged so obstinately, said to them, " If you do not believe me, send to our house and let every part of it be searched; and if you are afraid of being imposed upon, as we have different kinds of clothes and stuffs, throw them all into the lake." " There! that is just the way guilty people and sorcerers talk," replied he. " How dost thou wish me **[page 45]** to talk, then? " said the Father. " But if thou wilt only tell us what makes us die, " said another. " That is what I do not know, and what I cannot tell you; but, since you urge me so strongly, I must speak.

" I have often told you, my Brothers, that [20] we know nothing about this disease, and truly I do not think you could discover its origin, ♦ that is hidden from you. But I am going to reveal to you some infallible truths." After having spoken to them boldly of the greatness of our good God, of his rewards for the good and punishments for the wicked, he came to the subject of the contagion, the causes of which he had some trouble in explaining on account of the interruptions of these Barbarians. The worst of it was that the President entirely broke up his speech; " For, " said he, " we desire to discover the authors of our sickness, " and as if the Father had not yet said anything, he began to urge him more than ever to show this bewitched article; but seeing that nothing was gained in that direction, some of them fell asleep, others, growing weary, departed without reaching any conclusion. One old man, among others, upon leaving, saluted the Father thus, " If they split thy head for thee, we will not say a word. " The principal men remained, although it was already after midnight. In short, they postponed the conclusion of the whole matter to the return of the Hurons who had gone down to K ♦ bec. This was an act of the most gentle providence of God in our behalf, considering the good news the latter were to bring back from the French. Some, having listened more attentively to the Father's talk, begged him to instruct them as to what means they should employ to appease God. The Father was still endeavoring **[page 47]** to give them a satisfactory answer to this, when suddenly the Captain of our village (who until then had kept silent [21] for reasons of state) cried out, " Hey! what kind of people are these! they are always saying the same thing, they are sure to make us the very same speech a hundred times. They are forever talking about their Oki, ♦ that is, the great Spirit they worship, ♦ of what he has commanded, of what he forbids, of Hell, and of Paradise."

Such was the outcome of this wretched council. May it please divine Goodness to make it profitable to some, whom he may possibly have touched by his blessed Word. If the results were not more fatal, as they had been planned to be, we are indebted for it after God to the most holy Virgin, our usual refuge; for we had made a vow, in this emergency, of a novena of Masses in honor of her immaculate Conception.

The war Captain who seemed to be the most incensed at us, finding himself greatly disappointed in his expectations, did not hesitate to say that he was sorry he had not kept that one of Ours who arrived last, and put him to the torture, " to draw from him, " he said, " the whole truth that his brothers conceal from us. I would doubtless have ruined him, and caught him in some of his words." But what could he have gained from a man who could not yet know nor understand what was demanded of him?

Notwithstanding all this, one of these Gentlemen, our judges, was very glad to come and pass the rest of the night at our house, where we gave him the same accommodations as ourselves; and most of them came to ask us, some for one thing, some for another. **[page 49]** But there is nothing so common among the Savages as [22] ingratitude. Through out the country, people had held a very bad opinion of this assembly, and many were expecting to hear news of our death; some circulated a report that one of Chiefs of the council had raised his hatchet against the Father.

The evil reports increased yet more after this council. A certain man of the nation of the Arendahronons, it was reported, having a little while before returned to life, stated that he had encountered in the other world two women, who said they were from England, and who warned him that he should not yet go into the land of Souls; but that, having returned to life, he had to burn his robe in order to cure the disease; that, furthermore, the black robes who lived with them had evil designs, having resolved not to return to France until they had killed every one in the country.

Lately, some Savage, I do not know who, almost strangled a young French boy near our cabin, but, seeing me hasten at hearing the noise, the cruel wretch escaped by running. Some other young hot-heads have been hatching evil designs against Ours. All this teaches us to unite ourselves closely to him who calls himself " the Life indeed." **[page 51]**

## [23] CHAPTER III.

### SPECIAL ASSISTANCE OF GOD TO US IN OUR PERSECUTION.

LTHOUGH this Council, of which I have just spoken, decided nothing hostile to Us, yet it caused great changes in their ideas, so that those who had hitherto listened rather indifferently to the reports that were current about us, began to entertain great mistrust of our ways of doing things. A short time afterward, one of the Uncles of Louys de sainte Foy came to see us, and, having drawn us aside, informed us that several of the Captains who had been present at the council, and had spoken against us, had fallen sick; that he came in their behalf, to know our opinions on the subject and what they should do to recover their health. This was a fine opportunity for us to instruct him. He added that the Old Men no longer had any influence, but that the young men really managed everything. " Witness," said he, " the two sorcerers they put to death not long ago." We saw clearly what he was aiming at; but he who fears only God, fears nothing else.

On the 3rd of October, our cabin took fire. We had reason to think it probable that this was a blow from some evil-minded person, as for a long time they had threatened to burn us all when we least expected it. About this, time our bark fleet, [24] I mean the Hurons who had gone down to the French, **[page 53]** arrived. They all were the most contented men in the world. They greatly consoled us when they related to us how so many persons, noted for their virtue and merit, are employing themselves with so much ardor and zeal for the salvation of these poor forsaken peoples. We saw admirable results from the reception given them at the council that you held at the three Rivers. They no longer believe, they say, that we caused their death, since they neither saw nor heard anything down there which did not mainly alienate them from their sinister suspicions.

It is certainly an act of God which almost amounts to a miracle, that you told them, in regard to their sickness, not only the substance of the things that we told them here, but also in the same order and in the same connection that we inculcated them, so that they



recognized clearly what we often have upon our lips, that truth is the same everywhere. It was without doubt the holy Ghost that inspired you to speak with so much profit of our holy Images, which many of them had previously taken for so many Demons. That image of the Savior which you caused to be raised on high, that they might all see it, made them believe that an object which so many people publicly honored could not be used for any black and secret magic. We bless God that, without having had any communication with us, this was done, than which nothing could have been more opportune, in the necessities wherein we then were.

[25] However, affliction and despair had so greatly troubled the minds of these Barbarians, that if, unfortunately, those who returned from the three Rivers had spoken of us in terms less favorable, we would have been a prey to their fury. But you had so **[page 55]** thoroughly satisfied them that they closed the mouths of those who did not love us, causing the public persecution to cease for some time, ♦ I say public, for a few individuals never failed to give us exercise; and one of the relatives of Captain A ♦ nons, who had died at the three Rivers, almost dealt a fatal blow at the person of one of Ours who had made the voyage in his canoe. Here is a summary of what this good Father wrote us about the matter: " Some Savages," said he, " came to our house with rather evil intentions, it seemed to me; the youngest of them holding his bow bent, made pretense of discharging it at me, saying to his companions, 'It is that man.' Meanwhile, another one, to make me more conspicuous, called me by my name, assuring him that it was I; at the same time one of the crowd, looking at our Images, showed them to the others contemptuously; and then a low, dull noise was heard among them, as if they were inciting one another to some wicked action. I do not know what deterred him from discharging that fortunate arrow at me. " Thus far the Father; but there are many other attacks.

We had considerable difficulty in getting rid of certain Savages who came expressly from the Tobacco Nation, and who, after having seen and admired our Chapel, offered us a beaver robe, [26] " in order that" (said these poor people) " we should make the sickness cease that was causing so great ravages in their country." This was a very fortunate opportunity to speak to them of our holy Faith.

A little while afterwards, one of our Friends came to us, all out of breath, and said, " My Nephews, you are dead men; the Attiguenongnahac are coming to split your heads, while the people of the village are **[page 57]** away fishing; I have learned it from the Captain." We thought it wise, however, not to disregard this information, seeing that there was some probability of its truth. Accordingly, we prepared our domestics to be ready to conform in any event to the holy will of God; in truth they prepared themselves reverently, but with the determination, nevertheless, they said, not to die with their arms folded, unwilling to let themselves be murdered without making some defense. As for ourselves, we were resolved calmly to await death before the holy Altar.

I immediately departed from our Residence of la Conception to inform our Father Superior, who was at the Residence of saint Joseph, of all that was taking place. Upon the evening of my departure, one of our best friends came in haste to seek the Fathers whom I had just left, in order that they should appear before those who could not endure, without regret, that we should live. He spoke to us in these terms: " Come quickly, and answer to the council; you are dead men! " They found all the Old Men assembled with the Captain who had treated us so badly in the other councils. At first, this man spoke to them sharply on the subject of the contagion, the cause of which he attributed to the black robes, ♦ saying, above [27] all, that when Echon came up to the country again, fully four years ago, he had said that this visit would be only for five years, and, lo, the appointed time had almost expired; that this wicked man had already profited too much by their ruin, and that therefore a general council was demanded, in order to hear him thereupon, and to end the matter. Our Fathers, without showing any astonishment, told them that it was well, and they should hold another **[page 59]** council when they pleased; that, for their own part, they would willingly be present thereat. And certainly God assisted them indeed, in this crisis; for if they had changed countenance, or wavered in their answers, their case would have been settled upon the spot, as these barbarians have since informed us. In fact, we have learned that it had been decided to put us all to death.

Our Father Superior hastened to appear in person in this new assembly, having been informed by some of our best Friends that without doubt it would go ill with both him and us in this multitude of enemies. At his arrival, he went to greet the prominent men of the village, who merely bowed their heads, indicating by this gesture that it was all over with us. In short, God willed that the only Captain of our Friends to whom we could have had recourse was at that time absent from the village, perhaps that all our hope might rest in him who desires us to be entirely his. Accordingly, the Father chose this occasion to draw up a form of testament that he could leave in the hands of some faithful Christians, in accordance with the offer they had made him, of their own accord, to carry it at the proper time to K ♦ bec. Here are its terms: [28]

Y REVEREND FATHER,

*Pax Christi.*

We are, perhaps, upon the point of shedding our blood and of sacrificing our lives to the service of our good Master, Jesus Christ. It seems that his goodness consents to accept this sacrifice from me for the expiation of my great and innumerable sins, and to crown, from this time on, the past services **[page 61]** and the great and ardent desires of all our Fathers who are here.

What makes me think that this will not happen is, on the one hand, the excess of my past wickedness, which renders me utterly unworthy of so signal a favor; and, on the other, that I do not believe his Goodness will permit his workmen to be put to death, since through his grace there are still some good souls who eagerly receive the seed of the Gospel, notwithstanding the evil speech and persecutions of all men against us. And yet I fear that divine justice, seeing the obstinacy of the majority of these Barbarians in their follies, may very justly permit them to come and take away the life of the body from those who with all their hearts desire and procure the life of their souls.

Be this as it may, I will tell you that all our Fathers await the outcome of this affair with great calmness and contentment of mind. And, for myself, I can say to Your Reverence with all sincerity that I have not yet had the least apprehension of death for such a cause. But we are [29] all sorry for this ♦ that these poor Barbarians, through their own malice, are closing the door to the Gospel and to grace. Whatever conclusion they reach, and whatever treatment they give us, we will try, by the grace of Our Lord, to endure it patiently for his service. It is a singular favor that his Goodness extends to us, to make us endure something for his sake. It is now that we consider ourselves truly to belong to his Society. May he be forever blessed for having appointed us to this country, among many others better than we, to aid him in bearing his Cross. In all things, may his holy will be done! If he will that at this hour we should die, oh, fortunate hour for us! If **[page 63]** he will to reserve us for other labors, may he be blessed! If you hear that God has crowned our insignificant labors, or rather our desires, bless him; for it is for him that we desire to live and to die, and it is he who gives us grace therefor. For the rest, if any survive, I have given orders as to all they are to do. I have deemed it advisable for our Fathers and our domestics to withdraw to the houses of those whom they regard as their best friends; I have charged them to carry to the house of

Pierre, our first Christian, all that belongs to the Sacristy, above all, to be especially careful to put our Dictionary, and all that we have of the language, in a place of safety. As for myself, if God grant me the grace to go to Heaven, I will pray him for them, for the poor Hurons, and I will not forget Your Reverence.

And finally, we supplicate Your Reverence and all our [30] Fathers not to forget us in your holy Sacrifices and prayers, to the end that, in life and after death, he may grant us mercy. We are all, in life and in Eternity,

YOUR REVERENCE'S

*Very humble and very affectionate  
servants in Our Lord,*

In the Residence	Jean de Brébeuf.
of la Conception	François Joseph
at Ossossané, this	le Mercier.
28th of October.	Pierre Chastellain.
	Charles Garnier.
	Paul Ragueneau.

I have left Fathers Pierre Pijart and Isaac Jogues in the Residence of saint Joseph, with the same sentiments. [page 65]

HESE are the thoughts that God inspired in us at that time. Now, in this desperate state of affairs, we had recourse to the great saint Joseph, all making a vow to God to say the holy Mass in his honor for nine consecutive days; we began this on the day of Saints Simon and Jude. Furthermore, as it was important that this people should know the interest we felt in their welfare, and the little value we placed upon this miserable life, the Father thought it well to invite them to his Atsataion, that is to say, his Farewell feast, such as they are accustomed to give when they are nearing [31] death. Our cabin overflowed with people. It was a good occasion to speak to them of the other life. The mournful silence of these good people saddened us more than our own danger.

Meanwhile, one, two, and three days slipped away, to the astonishment of our entire village, without any more threats of death from those Gentlemen in their assembly. I do not know whether the devil had stirred up these Barbarians against us; but I can say that we had not yet finished our novena before all these storms were allayed, so that they even wondered at it among themselves, and with reason. May we not hope that this great Patron of our Unbelievers will some day cause to appear still more admirable results in the change of their hearts? At all events, since the 6th of November, when we finished our votive Masses in his honor, we have enjoyed an incredible peace, at which we ourselves wonder from day to day, when we consider in what condition our affairs were only one week ago. [page 67]

## CHAPTER IV.

### OF THE HURONS BAPTIZED THIS YEAR, 1638.

F we found the doors closed in other villages, where two or three hundred died, alas! without assistance, God has inclined to us some minds and ears in this village, that have very willingly received his blessed word. We have [32] baptized more than one hundred persons, both adults and little children, forty-four of whom are now, as we believe, in Heaven; at least we are quite sure of twenty-two little innocent Souls that death took from the cradle, and the grace of Holy Baptism placed among the number of the blessed. The greatest of our difficulties was to find out those who were sick, so distasteful to them was this search. " You care for only the sick and the dead," they said to us; and, indeed, we made the rounds of the cabins incessantly, for often some one was taken sick and carried away in less than two days. The most ordinary of our occupations was that of Physician, with the object of discrediting, more and more, their sorcerers, with their imaginary treatments; although for all medicine we had nothing to give them save a little piece of lemon peel,-or French squash, as they call it,-or a few raisins in a little warm water, with a pinch of sugar. All this, however, with the blessing of God added thereto, accomplished wonders, and, according to them, restored health to many. Finding that we had exhausted the small quantity of preserved fruit [page 69] we had had for three or four years, we were obliged, to satisfy these poor invalids, to wet and squeeze out in a little water the paper which had been used as a wrapper for it; this water tasted more of paper and ink than of sugar, and yet it is incredible how much these poor people liked it. God bless those charitable hearts who two years ago sent us some ointments; they will be greatly comforted to hear [33] that what was intended only for the body has served to heal many abandoned souls. I do not know how it happens, but here one has no horror of what would make the heart quail in France. Indeed, our greatest grief is that, after all this assistance for the body, the majority of these forsaken souls are displeased at the first mention of our holy belief, so hard it is to lead a poor Savage back to his Creator. It is pitiful to see here the sway the Devil continues to exercise over an infidel mind! For example, if you speak to them of Hell, they will answer you coldly that they do not wish to go elsewhere than with their Relatives, who are already there. Oh, how these difficulties reveal to us the little that we can do! This is why our usual refuge, after God, is in the blessed Virgin, his holy Mother, and in her most glorious Spouse, saint Joseph. Our hearts tell us that it is through these sacred channels that God will cause to flow, upon us and our Savages, the torrents of his mercies.

I will give the more noteworthy incidents in some of the Baptisms. One of Ours had just baptized a girl who was only awaiting death,

when some of her relatives entered, among whom a woman held a little child about two months old. He learned that it was a poor orphan who could hardly take the breast[**page 71**] any longer; he baptized it, to the satisfaction of her who carried it. The next day, the sick girl died; and this little innocent, being seized with the contagion, soon departed to take its place among its fellows.

[34] Our Father Superior, during his last visit to the council, was informed that a poor woman, of a rather good disposition, wished to speak to him. He had no sooner entered the cabin than this poor sick woman said to him quite loudly, " Oh, Echon, what :a beautiful dream I had last night! It seemed to me that I saw a young man clothed in a robe as white as snow, and as beautiful as a Frenchman, who was going about baptizing all our village; I took great delight in looking at him; and now I pray thee to baptize me." The Father instructed her as to the nature of dreams, and explained to her the Catechism, with much consolation on the part of both. The knowledge she had of the pains of Hell, and of the joys of Paradise, made her desire and ask for Holy Baptism with more insistence. There was nothing urgent as far as the symptoms of her disease were concerned, but the Father, feeling himself strongly inspired, granted her request. Two days did not pass ere she went to receive in Heaven the recompense of her Faith.

In the same month God attracted to himself a young child of four or five years, through a very special favor. We were visiting among the cabins when a girl, all in tears, came toward us; " Alas," said she, " the poor child has just died." We re-entered (for we had just come out), and found the poor little fellow drawing near his end; we baptized him, with the consent of his Grandfather, and two hours afterward he was in Heaven. He had been brought back[**page 73**] the same day from the shores of the river where his relatives were fishing, and had fallen sick only the day before.

[35] A little innocent of two months looked as if he would not long survive. While the girl who, according to their custom, carried him upon her back, was amusing herself with the Rosary of one of the Fathers, the other one adroitly baptized him. The poor little creature was only awaiting this favor from Heaven to fly away thither. [**page 75**]

## CHAPTER V.

### THE CONVERSION OF JOSEPH CHIWATENHWA, A NATIVE OF THIS VILLAGE OF OSSOSSAN.

OME of our Frenchmen must here correct the notion they have had of our Savages, imagining them as ferocious beasts having nothing human about them save the exterior Formation of the body. There is one Neophyte, among others, whose heart God has touched, who is in no respect inferior to the most zealous Catholic of France.

This Savage, surnamed Chiwatenhwa, being in danger of death, on the 16th of August received the name Joseph in holy Baptism. Even then he gave promise of being no ordinary convert; but since then his faith has been so tried by persecution, and continues day after day responding to the favors of God with so much fidelity that, if this infinite mercy, which has so advantageously acquainted him with its blessings, give him the grace to persevere, he, is going to serve as a model to all the believers of this new Church. I readily persuade myself that so many saintly souls, who, through the help that they [36] are continually rendering to these Missions, and who, through their fervent prayers, have veritably engendered in Our Lord these first Christians, will be very glad to know that their spiritual children are already beginning to lisp.

This brave Neophyte is thirty-five years old, or thereabout, and has almost nothing of the Savage, [**page 77**] except his birth. Now, although he is not one of the most prosperous men of this village, he belongs, nevertheless, to one of the most notable families, being the nephew of the captain of this Nation. He is a man of superior mind, not only as compared with his countrymen, but even, in our judgment, he would pass as such in France. As for his memory, we have often wondered at it, for he forgets nothing of what we teach him, and it is a satisfaction to hear him discourse upon our Holy Mysteries. He has been married since his youth, and has never had more than one wife, contrary to the ordinary practice of the Savages, who are accustomed at that age to change wives at almost every season of the year. He does not gamble, not even knowing how to handle the straws, which are the cards of the country. He does not use Tobacco, which is, as it were, the wine and the intoxication of the country. If he annually makes a small garden near his cabin, it is only for pastime, he says, or to give to his friends, or to buy some little conveniences for his family. He has never made use of a charm to be successful, as they think, in gaming, fishing, etc., which is the sole ambition of these poor Barbarians. And, although his Father left him one at his death, which, it was said, he had used very successfully [37] for many years, and although he could have taken it as his own, he gave himself no concern about it, contenting himself with his little fortune. He never indulged in the diabolical feasts. Add to all this a fine disposition, wonderfully docile, and, contrary to the humor of the country, anxious

to learn.

The first act of grace that moved him was the first discourse the Father Superior ever delivered in one [**page 79**] of their councils, on the occasion of their feast of the dead; for he remained from that time on so deeply interested in us and in our Holy Mysteries, that, not long afterwards, he presented one of his little sons to the Father Superior " to be baptized, and consequently, " as he said, " to go to Heaven." Almost at the same time, when the Father was consoling the people of his village during the malady, which was increasing from day to day, and was revealing to them the most efficacious means for appeasing God, this good Savage was so touched that he thenceforth surrendered to reason and to the Holy Ghost. Then he began to pray to God of his own accord; to revolve in thought his Holy Commandments, which he considered so reasonable; and to ridicule his dreams. In short, he already passed for a Christian among his own people. *Beatus quem tu erudieris Domine, et de lege tua docueris eum.*

After our establishment in his village, he came frequently to visit us, with very great consolation on both sides. His usual conversation was only of God and of his law; and, what is indeed rare among our Savages, he never asked us for anything, although he was not ignorant of the affection that we had for him. He procured holy Baptism for little children, [38] and God procured it for him through the danger of a pestilential fever which, it seemed, was going to destroy him. He no sooner felt himself stricken with it than, completely agitated as he was, he ran to our house and begged us to instruct him as to how he should act during his sickness, in case it pleased God, he said, to afflict him like the others, and what kind of remedies he was permitted to use. It was a great comfort to us to hear the noble acts of resignation [**page 81**] which this good Proselyte offered in our Chapel. The next day we found him quite ill. Oh, how God had touched his heart! Doubtful as to whether a certain remedy was permitted, he sent through the cabins in search of us. " My brothers," said he, " if you tell me that this medicine displeases God, I renounce it from this moment, and would not use it for

anything in the world." He obeyed us very exactly in everything, not only as to the guidance of his soul, but even as to the care of his health. It happened that, having covered him while his fever was high, he remained so all day, with considerable discomfort, until our return; and then he made us blush, asking us with 'his natural frankness if he might give himself a little more air. Finally, concluding that the illness was becoming serious, we spoke to him about his Baptism. " It is not for me to speak of that," he said, "no, it is not for me." But the sincerity of his heart was soon made evident when he immediately added, " I have often testified to you that I believed , I have asked you a hundred times for Baptism; and during the time of my [39] sickness you have never come to see me when I have not said to myself, 'Ah, ,why do they not baptize me? It is for them to arrange that, for they know too well that I shall accept it gladly.' His Baptism, then, and the name Joseph, filled his heart with consolation, seeing himself prepared as he thought, to go to Heaven. He continued in his loving Resignation to the holy will of God, for life or for death. And it is in this beautiful pathway that God has continued to lead him ever since his conversion, desiring nothing in this world save the good, pleasure of his Creator.

What heart was not melted at seeing a Savage on **[page 83]** his deathbed speaking not only as a true Christian, but even as a good Religious. This spectacle alone effaced the little resentment we might have felt at all that was then being plotted against us. One of our wishes was that certain persons in France could have the good fortune to see what we could not look upon without tears of devotion. In the worst of his delirium, we no sooner spoke to him of our good God, than he came to himself, with acts of virtue capable of touching the most hardened. He did not know how to thank us for the little services we had rendered him according to our limited power.

We attributed his recovery to his Patron saint, for he seemed to be out of danger two days after we had supplicated the latter with all our hearts. " No doubt God has had regard to my submission," said he; " and now, since it has pleased him to restore me to health, I am resolved to be very faithful to him [40] all my life; I will so act that the others will know it." Since then, we have daily admired in this Savage the effects of the grace of God; it is enough to say that the pupil continues to surpass the hopes of his Masters. The feast of rejoicing that he held, according to their custom, was truly one of the finest Audiences one could see; this new Preacher did wonders there, beginning with the *Benedicite* of the Christians, which he said aloud in his own language, ♦the laws of the banquet, which imply that the Master of the feast shall please himself in entertaining his guests, contributing not a little to this. All admired him, and said among themselves that he had a great mind; and they wondered to see him resolved to live as a Christian. **[page 85]**

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE GUIDANCE OF GOD RESPECTING OUR NEW CHRISTIAN.

S soon as our Joseph had recovered his strength, he came to our little Chapel to thank God for the health he had received from him, promising him to live better hereafter, and to make a public profession of his service. The life he has since led has in no way overthrown this holy and generous resolution. One word about his most conspicuous virtues.

He, is so well grounded in the Faith that he is exceedingly scrupulous about doing anything, whatever it may be, before [41] having offered to God his action, even going so far that he complained to us one day of having sometimes visited his relatives without considering whether God was pleased with his visits. During his fishing or hunting, he addressed himself to God, saying earnestly, " You who have made all, you are the Master of animals; if you make some fall into my traps, may you be blessed; if not, I wish only what you wish." He does not fail to come and pray to God in our Chapel, morning and evening, where he stays a good quarter of an hour, every time. He performs many acts of Adoration, which he finishes by an act of contrition; he is not ashamed to kneel and pray to God in the presence of others, without interrupting his prayer for those who enter and leave his cabin. **[page 87]**

In less than a month, his cabin and that of his Brother were filled with sick people; he lost a great many of his relatives, and, above all, the last of his children, who was the heart of his heart. These domestic afflictions did not trouble him at all, he did not waver in the hope that he had in him who was trying him; he taught all his sick people the practice of entirely resigning themselves into the hands of so good a Father. Never would he permit any Sorcerer (these are the Physicians here) to set foot within his cabin. His sole recourse was to God, whom he besought ardently for their recovery. He had considerable trouble in withstanding the reproaches of his relatives, who remonstrated with him upon the manifest danger of death, together with the experience that they thought they had with their own remedies or sorceries. His courage even stimulated his brother-in-law [42] to stop the mouth of his invalid wife, who had dreamed about some sort of feast. " It does not matter if thou diest, " this good man said to her, " provided that God be obeyed." His first care for the sick was to have them baptized, without awaiting their last hours. We baptized his eldest son, six or seven years old, believing he would not escape; he received the name of our holy Founder. The one who gave us the greatest satisfaction was one of his nephews, nineteen or twenty years old, whom we called Pierre; he is, thank God, following the example of his good Uncle, There was a pleasure in speaking of God to the sick, in this great cabin of five families. Three of his little nieces ♦the eldest ten or twelve years old, and the other two, five or six, all intelligent girls ♦were of this number the received in Baptism the names of Saints **[page 89]** Agatha, Cecilia, and Theresa. He had the name Anne given to his sister-in-law, who, thank God, was restored to health, with a little baby at her breast, which survived, to the great surprise of all. Behold many sick people in one cabin; but behold also great favors from Heaven in a short time! Now to return to our Head of the family; he made all our hearts ache, in the heroic offering of his Benjamin that he repeatedly made. For, in order to conquer the natural feeling that the danger of this dear child inspired in him, he offered him a hundred times a day to God, in terms of a truly Christian confidence. Sometimes he took him in his arms and spoke to the little one as if he had the gift of reason: " Thomas, [43] my dear child," said this good Father to him, "we are not the Masters of thy life; if God wish thee to go to Heaven, we cannot keep thee upon earth. " Finally concluding that the child was about to die, he said to us, " You taught me what I ought to say to God for his recovery; tell me now how I shall address him when my son is dead." Oh, how this request affected us! This little Angel having flown away to Heaven, we judged it wise to wait a little, and let the first tears flow; but he himself came to bring us the news. We conducted him to the holy Sacrament, where he spoke like a real Abraham. We went to console the poor Mother, and to attend the funeral. The time has not yet come for us to obtain from these peoples a special cemetery for ourselves.

His love for God is so sincere that we are charmed when we sometimes hear him speaking to God in his prayers (for we still have him pray aloud). He offers them with sentiments that he can have learned only **[page 91]** from the holy Ghost. He does not know exactly what expressions to use, in order to offer his thanks to him for having given him the faith. He prays every day for all his Nation, with so abundant grace that one must be of bronze not to be moved thereat. From day to day he himself finds new motives for performing acts of contrition, usually concluding thus, " Yes, my good God, I will honor you all my life, and will love you with all my heart! " He



assured us one day that the thoughts of Heaven and of the goodness of God touched his [44] heart more than those of Hell gave him fear. At another time, he was very much taken aback, when he had failed to attend Mass one Sunday; he said to us very distractedly, "How now! have I really committed a grievous sin? I do not think so, for you have not yet told me of this sin; " and we answered him, "Then it is only thy ignorance that excuses thee." When we went to see him towards evening, we found him quite thoughtful. " Ah, my Brothers," said he, " I made a mistake this morning, but I am asking God's pardon for it with all my heart. " In the explanation of the holy Sacrament of Penance, he was greatly consoled by the goodness of God, which has left us so easy and so efficacious a means of returning to his grace. He had formed a party to go some leagues from here, to assist one of his nephews in some work, where he was going all the more willingly (as he said) since Our Lord had commanded us to love one another; but having learned that the next day was the true day (it is thus we express Sunday in their language), he decided to defer it until another day. " It is quite enough," said he, " to have committed the first fault, without being guilty of a [page 93] second one. If any one asks me the reason for my delay, I am very willing that he should know that I love God, and that I esteem his holy Ordinances." In a word, his sole recreation is to converse about the things of God, which enables us to make great progress in the language, for he pronounces distinctly and uses good words.

It would take too long if I were to recount in detail all the other circumstances illustrating his [45] virtues. I will content myself with saying what cannot often enough be said:

1. That he has an extreme horror of sin, hardly ever speaking to us that he does not propose some question of conscience, his being very sensitive.
2. That he preaches Jesus Christ boldly and on all occasions, both by example and by words; he made this conspicuous in the councils which I have mentioned above. He is especially admirable in the continual instruction of those in his cabin, inculcating on them at every opportunity the Holy Commandments of God.
3. That he has special communication with God, begging him every day, with tears in his eyes, that it may please him to look with pity upon his poor country, ♦so that it is one of ,our greatest consolations to be near him when he is offering his prayers, above all, his thanksgiving after the Communion.
4. Before and after the instructions that are given him, it is a pleasure to see him on his knees asking grace of the divine Spirit; even going so far as to force himself to learn to write, this winter, that he may remember and repeat what was said to him; but, above all, to indicate more clearly, he said, the number of his sins.
5. He makes habitual an incredible purity of conscience, often throwing himself at our feet to confess, exhibiting [page 95] scruples at the least thing.
6. He will sometimes continue in prayer for three-quarters of an hour, all the time on his knees, which is a very difficult position for a Savage.
7. Finally, it is wonderful how much strength God gives him to combat at every turn the great difficulties that the Devil continues to raise for him through the people of his Nation, ♦some by inviting him [46] to their infamous and superstitious feasts, others by openly ridiculing him.

He said to us one day with his usual simplicity, " Yes, my Brothers, I am so determined to maintain even unto death the fidelity I have vowed to my God, that if any one wished to make me return to my former follies, he should sooner take away my life. " In short, his devotion may be summarized as a holy tenderness of heart that God gives him, for the great and loving respect that he shows to the holy Sacrament, for the honor he renders to his guardian Angel and his great Patron, and for commending to the holy Virgin his country and the souls of the faithful Departed.

At the beginning, only one thing caused him perplexity ♦that was our assertion that God was accustomed to try his most faithful servants through sufferings and tribulations. In fact, he said to us but recently, in speaking of the story of job, that he had often said to God, " My God, I pray you, do not make a trial of my faith; you know my most secret thoughts, you know that it is in earnest I believe in you; alas! do not afflict me. " But that infinite goodness which from day to day overwhelms him with new graces, caused him, only a little later, to change his sentiments and his language.

I will finish this Chapter by saying that his constancy in goodness has made him and all his family [page 97] remarkable, not only to the people of the village, but also to the whole country, so that they talk about him very differently. The most reasonable have admired him, and are admiring him still more every day; others [47] ridicule him, and call his family, in derision, "the family of Believers." There were many who reproached him for the danger in which he placed himself and his relatives by not consenting to use the remedies of the whole country. In short, the report was almost universal that these good Christians were possibly associated with us to ruin their ,entire nation by the disease. The occasion upon which God most severely tried him, ♦as far as malicious tongues were concerned, ♦was, in my opinion, on a journey he made to hunt the bear. For although those who have the best dreams here, and believe what they dream, pass, through some diabolical trick, for superior hunters, yet our Christian, who scoffs at all dreams, returned empty-handed, ♦with contempt for our holy Faith, it seemed to him, in the minds of his companions, who, attributing to their dreams the success of their hunting, gave him considerable occasion for patience by indulging in cutting sneers about his belief. He held firm, however, always entrenching himself in his complete and unwavering resignation to the holy will of God. [page 99]

## CHAPTER VII.

### DAY OF ST. JOSEPH A SOLEMN ONE AMONG THE HURONS, ON ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.

HEN we saw our good Joseph in the course of a true Christian, we desired the same grace for his wife, [48] for the good of his whole family; for although she believed in God, she did not so soon put away all that was contrary to the law of God. Now it pleased, as we believe, the great St. Joseph, Patron of this family and of all the country, to touch her heart in such a way that we deemed it fitting to arrange her Baptism for the day of his feast. On the eve of that auspicious day, her husband made a solemn feast to his relatives and friends, the most prominent people of the town, at which we were present. He began it with the benediction of the Church; and, while the kettle was being emptied, he entertained them nobly. This is what he said: " My Brothers, I am pleased to have you know that my wife is entirely resolved to believe in God and to serve him, and that from now on she abandons forever all the superstitions of the country, in order to be baptized. As for myself and the rest of my family, we all were baptized during our sickness. Echon will only finish a certain thing that remains to be done." He ended the whole ceremony with the Christian thanksgiving, which he uttered in a

loud voice.

The news was no sooner spread through the village [**page 101**] that we were going to open the Feast, than our cabin was filled, not only with the more prominent Savages, but also with a great many young people; so that, if it had been large enough, I do not know whether there would have been any person left in the town. The cabin was adorned quite respectably, considering our poverty; what pleased us above all was an extraordinary silence which prevailed throughout the ceremony, either because the display we made therein [49] suited their fancy, or because the Holy Ghost touched their hearts for the time. What delighted us most was our Neophytes, the good Joseph; Marie, his wife; Pierre, his nephew; and two of his little nieces, baptized when in danger of death. His brother might have been of the party, lacking neither faith nor good will in this matter; but as it was difficult for him to give up a diabolical trade, in which he is a past master, we had put him off until another time, when we could supply the ceremonies of baptism that we had been obliged to omit in that of his wife and his two children. But this woman (who had come intending only to look on), touched, as it is to be believed, by the Holy Ghost, broke through the crowd with her little boy at her breast, and a little girl of five or six years, asking for the same favor that was to be conferred upon the others, an event which largely increased the joy of this great day.

We began the celebration with a prayer that we chanted in their language, and that we had composed expressly in favor of this happy family. I say nothing of the devotion of this Father of a family, which redoubled in this solemn act. After the ceremonies of baptism, Our Superior, addressing the whole [**page 103**] assembly, spoke to them boldly of the sanctity of Marriage among Christians; then questioning on this subject Joseph and Marie his wife, who answered him very satisfactorily, he proceeded to the ceremonies of the Church for their marriage, in which it is to be believed they received the grace which the fidelity they had kept up to that time seemed to merit. The [50] crowd having dispersed, our married pair and their nephew Pierre approached the Holy Table, this favor being withheld from the others until they should be qualified therefor. We welcomed them, together with six of the more notable persons, with a little feast of some smoked fish; they showed by their repeated " Ho, ho, ho," the satisfaction they felt, possibly on account of the eloquent discourse with which Our Superior seasoned this little treat that we had kept since Autumn.

God somewhat tempered this joy, for Anne, the sister-in-law of Joseph (she who presented herself of her own free will, with her two children, to join the others in their baptism), was taken the same evening with a fever, so malignant that she was in the grave in less than 48 hours. It was in vain that we consoled ourselves that she had died after performing the duties of a good Christian; for, on the one hand, the sudden affliction of this good family, and on the other, the universal amazement of all the cabins, gave us much where on to reflect, and to commend to God as his affair. In fact, there were some who coldly asked one of our domestics what present we had made to satisfy the relatives of the dead woman, whom we had so quickly killed by baptizing her. It was an act of Providence that this death was not more generally known, which no doubt [**page 105**] would have resulted in more direful consequences; as it was, few persons spoke of it, and the Christian family lost none of the confidence they had in us. Nothing so engrossed the mind of the good Joseph, her brother-in-law, as the fear, on the one hand, that this [51] so sudden death might be the source of a new persecution; and, on the other, that his little nephew, for lack of a Nurse (they are not to be found here, as in France), might soon follow her. When he came to see us towards evening, he offered his accustomed prayers, which he accompanied with many heroic acts of resignation. " My good God, I am only troubled about my little nephew " (said this Christian); " preserve him, my God, for your service. If you grant him the grace to attain to the use of reason, I bind myself henceforth to instruct him; for my sole desire is to see him some day capable of knowing you, that he may honor and love you for all that you have given him."

Now one word about Marie Aonnetta, his wife. She is only too fortunate in having encountered so good a Father in so faithful a husband. She confesses often; what makes us hope that she will persevere is that she goes on frankly and heartily; moreover, she has never lived in the libertinage to which the girls and women here abandon themselves. It is an, inexpressible consolation to us that the virtuous actions of these new Christians finally constrain these peoples to admit what they could not believe, that the Hurons as well as the French can keep the law of God. They no longer dare to tell us that our countries are different, and that, as their land cannot furnish them the fruits that grow in France, they are not (they say) as capable as we are of the virtues [**page 107**] of Christianity. There is nothing more to hold them back, then, but their own weakness and want of courage, which is lacking [52] to many European Christians as well as to the barbarians of this new world, from renouncing their own evil propensities. Accordingly we are now changing our tactics, resolving to attack especially the adults; for, if the chief of a family is for God, the remaining members will not offer us much resistance. [**page 109**]

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OUR OCCUPATIONS DURING THE ENTIRE WINTER, WHEN THESE TRIBES ARE MORE SEDENTARY.

HERE have been seven of Ours this year among these Peoples, in two Residences, the Reverend Father Jean de Br beuf, our Superior, Fathers Charles Garnier, Paul Ragueneau, and myself, in this new residence in the village of Ossossan, under the title of the immaculate Conception: Fathers Pierre Pijart, Pierre Chastellain, and Isaac Jogues, in saint Joseph at Ihonatiria.

The little time remaining to us, after instruction and the help we render to the sick here, has been spent in sounding some good minds, that we consider the most docile and the most capable of giving authority to the doctrine that we preach. Among others, Joseph's family has occupied' a good part of our attention, God having made us a present of them since our arrival in this village. The esteem in which he holds us inspired in him a strong desire to learn to read and write, as he saw us do; he immediately found most willing Masters. He passed a good part of [53] the winter in this study, with a patience and assiduity worthy of his courage, moreover, with such purity of motive that he recently asked us if there would be any sin in wishing to know how to write, so that he could set down in writing not only what concerned the progress of his soul, but also the affairs of the country. This labor has not been in [**page 111**] vain; as for the writing, it will be very easy for him, but the reading will cost him a little more effort. The difficulty we had in explaining to him the secret has somewhat delayed him; nevertheless, we hope that in a short time he will succeed. You will be comforted by receiving one of his letters; I give you my word, at the outset, that it is all written by his own hand. In exchange for this, we have profited greatly, for, in serving him as Instructors in reading, we have made for ourselves a good Master in the language. When we ask him the initial or final letters of the words, which are sometimes hardly distinguishable, he utters them for us very distinctly; so he will be of great service to us, with the help of God, in the conjugations. He has even dictated to us several excellent speeches upon our Holy Mysteries, in a very logical sequence; but he speaks so distinctly that you do not lose a syllable.

On the 8th of December, our Savages having returned from their fishing, we decided to teach them publicly. Now, since feasts serve as the great bells of the country, we made one of these, to which we invited the Chiefs of each cabin. The company numbered about one hundred and fifty persons. They approved our plan, and, to hear them, they were bound to come to our house at the least intimation. But their fishing having [54] been very successful, they were so occupied in continual feasting night and day that we could not call them together before the 9th of January. On that day, then, the foremost Captain, seconding our plan, made a feast at his house, at the end of which he detained the company. My Nephews," said this good old man to them, remain here; we are going to hold a council; I am **[page 113]** going to invite to it the principal men who are not here. " No sooner were all assembled than this good man raised his voice and said, " It is Echon who assembles here this Council; now although I do not know his purpose, I judge, nevertheless, that the matter about which he is to treat with us is important; hence let all listen attentively. "

The Father had a fine opportunity, and he made good use of it, touching them so deeply that one of the Old Men seemed to reproach him for having too long deferred speaking to them about a matter of so much importance as is the life that awaits us after our death, expressing this with an eloquence that showed nothing of the Savage. But as he was defending a wrong cause, it was explained to him kindly that he was wrong in complaining of our silence. What the assembly admired most was the answer of our Joseph, who served us here as Advocate; for this brave Christian courageously reproved one of his cousins, who maliciously complained that not one of the French had died during the contagion. " The remedy which they use," said he, " is to believe in him who has made all; it only depends upon thee to avail thyself of this. We are under too great obligations to them for coming from so great a distance to give us the knowledge of this so salutary remedy, which, thank God, they have taught me; it [55] is for me a great glory to believe the same as the French do. " The rest of his discourse proceeded in the same way, in favor of our Faith. This generosity was praised by the wiser ones. The outcome of this first council or assembly was that what had been brought out touching Hell and Paradise had greatly stirred up their consciences, each one drawing therefrom **[page 115]** the conclusions that his own inclinations furnished. One old man, among others,-a man of intelligence, and respected on account of his age and prudence,-declared, at leaving, that he earnestly wished that we would oftener call them together thus.

However, if we had trouble in assembling this first ,one, the second cost us no less. We had to wait two weeks in obedience to the dream of a rich old man, for whose health this village was having daily feasts. At last, the Father gained over the most influential one of all the Old Men, and strongly interested him in our plan,- which was that he had something new to tell them about Hell; and, above all, that these are not fables, as the majority of them had imagined. Accordingly, on the 1st of February, behold a larger audience than before, all disposed to lend ear to our Preacher. He took as the subject of his discourse this thought, -that if, to escape the hands of the Iroquois, their enemies, they spared no ingenuity, with how much more reason should they keep upon their guard not to fall some day into the hands of a cruel enemy, who will torment them forever. It is my great regret that I cannot here reproduce the simplicity of the language, which the Father possesses perfectly; I considered this discourse without doubt capable of conquering the hardest heart. But [56] what was, in my opinion, the most persuasive was the discourse of that good Captain,- who, in order to enhance what the Father had held forth, praised our 'Joseph very highly, and exhorted the people of this village to receive instruction. To all this, they redoubled their " Ho, Ho, Ho," which they utter when they accept the conclusion of a Captain. Then they **[page 117]** remained in profound silence, until another old man, addressing the Father, admonished him to express his joy in open council, considering that he had obtained what he had solicited. We then chanted the Hymn *Veni Creator*, which we considered the most suitable to this occasion. The prayers finished, they all conversed for a considerable time upon the subject of the council. Now if I did not fear to be tedious, I would set down here the various opinions of these Barbarians; they all aimed at this point, that they must, after all, believe us and believe in God! Finally, they added, by common consent, that thenceforward they would recognize the Father Superior as one of the Captains of the village, and that consequently he could assemble the council in our cabin at any and all times he might choose.


After this Sermon, we noticed a remarkable change in all the cabins; every family talked about nothing except the resolution they had made to Believe. There were even some who made feasts expressly to announce that all their family desired to embrace our faith. Even some strangers, upon learning all that had taken place, promised to do likewise. But alas! *Non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine Domine, intrabit in regnum c*~~o~~*lorum*; nearly all are like their good Captain [57] of whom I have just spoken; this man really enjoys the eternal truths of our holy belief, but he is not inclined to resolve in a moment to give up a life that he has led for so many years. I commend -him and all his subjects to those saintly Souls in France, for this-that it may please the sovereign Master of hearts finally to look with pity upon this good old man; for he is disposed to favor this infant Church by his example, inasmuch as he daily gives **[page 119]** it his support in the assemblies, where he speaks highly of our Faith. Alas! if it is difficult in Europe to convert a great Sinner, it is still harder here to cause a change of heart in an Unbeliever; it is like beating the air to speak to him about the unity of God, and all the motives for belief that we adduce, in regard to the coming of the Son of God upon earth, are to him like darkness at noonday.

Here is an outline of what inclines them to the Truth that we preach to them.

1. The art of inscribing upon paper matters that are beyond sight.
2. The strict conformity to reason that is found in all our maxims.
3. The unity of our doctrine; for they are astonished that the same things are told them at K~~e~~bec as we preach here.
4. Our own certainty in upholding what we teach.
5. The contempt that they see us show for death and for all the dangers we have to incur.
6. The aversion among the French, which they admire, to all kinds of sensuality, to which they abandon themselves through a propensity that is a part of their natures.
7. The opinion they now have that we are not people to deceive ourselves in a matter of so much importance.
8. That Christian confidence in the goodness [58] of God that we have shown them in the adversities we have suffered.
9. This principle: That man did not create himself, and consequently must go back to his origin, which can only be an independent Being.
10. The vanity they are continually discovering in their usual notions.

Since the successful issue of this council, the curiosity to see our Images and to hear our songs attract these peoples to our cabin on Sundays and Feast days, where we appear in our surplices to offer public prayers. **[page 121]** This is the order we observe: Our Superior begins with a Prayer in their language, which he pronounces in the tone generally used in the Councils; it is somewhat slow, being employed for their instruction, as well as to commend them to God. With the same object, we afterwards sing the Apostles' creed in the native rhymes. All this is only to prepare them for the Catechism, in which we need to have as much variety as in France, for they have universally good understanding. Here, our Joseph does wonders; for acting sometimes as objector, sometimes as ignoramus, and anon the Doctor, he gives opportunity to Our Catechist to explain by Dialogue, and with more clearness, what

otherwise would be only half understood. It is hardly credible how much these questions and answers please them, and hold their attention. There follows some Church Hymn, and then all is ended with a prayer, intoned to some tune resembling their own songs, of which they are very fond. These Catechisms please them greatly, and they seldom go away from them without their exclamation of pleasure and approbation, " Ho, Ho. " What is [59] most creditable to the country is, that neither adults nor children have any other attraction to this exercise than the desire to hear, and the curiosity to see, as our poverty would not be equal either to presents or to feasts. A certain blind man, about a hundred years old, tried in his turn, to offer his objections to the Catechism, and brought up against it the greater part of his theories; but our Joseph answered him with so much modesty and prudence that he won the admiration of all. Never had he so good an opportunity; and it was with real regret that I cut short his admirable discourse. **[page 123]**

The one on whom we build the strongest hopes, after Joseph, is one of the most reputable Captains. He speaks of our holy Faith with respect, exhorting the young people to receive it. He ridicules his dreams and takes great delight in praying to God, so much so that he recently invited us to one of his feasts, offering as a powerful inducement for us to come, that we should there give the benediction of the Christians, and utter the thanksgiving of the Church. But as we excused ourselves from doing this, we were obliged to give him one of our domestics, who could supply in our stead the Benedicite and the thanks that he asked. It was there that this good old man took occasion to speak honorably of our good God and of his holy Law, attributing to our prayers the success of his fishing this Autumn. Those among them who are most interested often address this prayer to Heaven: " Oh you who have made Heaven and earth, help me; I wish to free myself from all that you have forbidden; help me in this and in that which still causes me trouble." May God be pleased to bless these fine seedlings, which promise us good fruit.

In short, some young men have placed themselves on [60] our side, ever since Winter, and their instruction has occupied much of our time; they offered themselves to us of their own accord, with many evidences of good will. However, we shall not hasten their baptism, because this would render it almost impossible for them to find wives, since there are, as yet, no good young Christian girls here. Until we have a village that is entirely devoted to God, the marriages of our new Christians will occasion us difficulty. We affectionately commend to **[page 125]** Your Reverence, and to all our Fathers and Brethren, these good old men, who, although they are not Christians, nevertheless lend their influence to our holy Faith.

What we are contending for now is to overcome the obstacles that the devil causes to rise before them, at times, concerning their dreams, their dances, sweats, and feasts. The argument that satisfies them best is that which we advance to them concerning our own experience with many idolaters and infidels, such as those recently in Paraquay, who have finally opened their eyes to the truth of the Gospel. However this may be, the greatest fruit we hope from this country will be, God helping, in conversations with individuals, to persuade those whom we shall consider it possible to win over to God; which is not the affair of a day. If we had had the number we desired at the beginning of our work, I have no doubt that the salvation of these peoples would have been much farther advanced. **[page 127]**

## [61] CHAPTER IX.

### THE RESIDENCE OF ST. JOSEPH AT IHONATIRIA.

UR Father Superior and Father Chastellain, who have passed the entire Summer here, have baptized eleven persons, both adults and little children. The Baptism of some of them is noteworthy. They were searching for a poor sick woman, who at first was represented to them as dead; however, these simple people, being won over by some gratuity, brought two little children for the Fathers to baptize, which they did, considering the deplorable condition of the whole village. Thereupon, one of them perceived that the face of the supposed dead woman was unusually flushed; they discovered that she had not yet passed away, but that she had entirely lost her speech and the use of her senses. Their strong desire to baptize her caused them to make a vow of three Masses in honor of St. Joseph. In a word, she came to herself sufficiently to be instructed; and, being asked if she was content to receive Baptism, not being able to speak, she signified her willingness by placing her hand upon her head; they granted it to her, and she died soon afterward.

A Savage came to inform them that a poor woman was dying, who had just arrived from a place ten leagues away; by a happy chance for her, they hastened thither, and instructed her as well as the time would permit; she died immediately after Baptism. **[page 129]** They owed this other favor, they said, to Our Lady and her glorious Spouse.

One of Ours, having prepared a little girl of eight years to die a Christian, without [62] baptizing her, however, as he saw nothing urgent about her illness,- was summoned by her parents to complete this favor for her, when they saw a few hours afterward that she was exceedingly ill. She soon parted with the life of the body to go and enjoy in Heaven that of the soul. Almost the same thing happened to another woman, who, after her instruction, seemed to waver in her request, out of reverence for the Sacrament; but the next day sufficient time remained to her to prepare herself for Holy Baptism, and then she went to see her Patron, St. Elizabeth.

Now for a few comforting words. Atsan, the foremost war Captain in the whole country, came to see us and earnestly requested Baptism. Having received the reply that this was not a trifling matter, and that he must first be well instructed, " I know that very well," said he; " it is certainly my intention to see you more than once about this matter; but I am very glad to have you know my thoughts and inclinations. " In fact, he already derides all their superstitions and cannot endure what he believes to be displeasing to God.

Pierre, our first Christian, being stricken with the disease, behaved always like a good Christian; for he did not have recourse to the foolish tricks of the country, any more than he had done during the affliction of his family, always showing that he put all his confidence in God. Therefore we did not fail him in his needs, spiritual as well as temporal, according to **[page 131]** our blessed poverty. Recently, when one of us went to see him, he did, of his own accord, what had not been expected from him in the last hour; for, having drawn out his Rosary, he devoutly kissed the Image of Our Lord [63] and Our Lady, which was on the medal; then making the sign of the Cross, he began to pass the beads between his fingers,- saying at the large ones, " Jesus, have pity on me;" and at the little ones, " Mary, have pity on me," often interrupting his prayer by some act of Resignation. " Lord, you are the sole Master of our lives; dispose of mine according to your holy will. Holy Mary, keep me this night." His prayers were answered, for he had a favorable crisis that was the beginning of his recovery.

In our visits we encountered an old man, who was so affected by what we preached that he even complained because, he said, this matter was not taken more to heart, as it deserved to be. He added that he was resolved to give up his dreams, dances, and



superstitious feasts. Since then he has often come to see us, determined to become a Christian with all his family, who number as many as thirteen persons. We have always noticed tendencies to goodness in this family; trials will show what they have in their hearts. [page 133]

## CHAPTER X.

### BRIEF JOURNAL OF THE THINGS WHICH COULD NOT BE ENTERED IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

YOU have heard of the risk that the Father ran who reached here the first of September, and how he almost fell into the hands of the Iroquois. Good God, how delightful are these meetings!

The Father who returned here this year remarks, with reason, that our Hurons are praiseworthy for their humanity, as compared with the Algonquins; for instead of abandoning, as the latter usually do, [64] one another in their illnesses, the Hurons, on the contrary, inconvenience themselves to assist a person who is sick unto death. He says that he has seen them make litters and carry their languishing bodies past the Rapids, so that, if it happened that one of them died, they might enshroud and bury him with as much care as if they had been at home; whereas the Algonquins often leave their dead without burial.

He had prepared a poor sick man of another canoe, who was baptized before dying by a young Frenchman, who gave him the name of St. Bartholomew on the occasion of that Saint's feast. He baptized another man, whom he had considerable difficulty in instructing because the other Savages opposed it; he died soon afterwards, to bear in Heaven the name of Augustin.

Passing to the Bissiriniens, he found this poor [page 135] Nation sorely afflicted by the disease; and, among others of the more influential Arendiwan, one who complained to the others that the profession of Sorcerer was, as he said, no longer of any use, since the Manitou was mocking them, causing them as well as the others to die.

Ahiendas, one of the young men who had been trained in Our Seminary, going down to the three Rivers with his father to return to Kébec, became dangerously ill, and was baptized by one of our domestics, with very evident signs of his predestination; for a little while afterwards his Father, alas! was captured on the way and slain by the Iroquois. This young man had a very good disposition, and nothing was lacking to him except the favor that God granted him at the end of his life. What heavenly blessings this little Seminary has already attracted!

[65] Observe that not one of our domestics who has come up here this year has failed to gain some soul to God on the way. It will be a very great blessing for this mission if it please God always to give us domestics who are disposed to cooperate with us, for they can do a great deal for the conversion of these peoples. You cannot believe how much benefit has resulted from the good example of those whom we have had during the last 4 years. Our Savages speak of them with admiration; and when they see persons who do not wear our costume, practicing, nevertheless, so exactly what we teach, they place a higher value upon our faith; this may some day be a motive for them to embrace it.

We gathered our little harvest and our vintage for the holy Altar, in the month of September. The harvest was about a half bushel of good wheat, which [page 137] was large for the little that we had sowed; and a small keg of wine, which kept very well during the entire winter, and is still passably good. Three Priests have been using it for nearly six months.

We are now about to erect our new Chapel. It will be 30 feet long, sixteen wide, and 24 high. If God grant us the favor to see this work finished, it will not be one of the largest, but one of the prettiest which has yet appeared in New France.

An eclipse of the Moon, which happened on the morning of the last day of December, and lasted until Sunrise, which was 4 minutes after 7 o'clock, gave us great repute here, securing approval of what [66] we believe. " For " (we said to them) " you have seen how the Moon was eclipsed on the same day and at the same moment that we predicted. Yet we would not have been willing to die, in order to prove this truth to you, as we are ready to do to prove to you that God will burn you eternally if you do not believe in him. II

I cannot report here without blushing the fine eulogies that certain Captains pass upon us in their war councils, where they are accustomed to summon us. We hope for very good results from these. Already the chiefs of the country glory in Christianity, and wish to have us in their villages, already recognizing the wrong they did us by persecuting us with so little reason. They have retracted publicly what they had invented against Father Antoine Daniel, and this honorable reparation was very acceptable to the whole assembly. To be brief, our new Christians continue in their first sentiments; they confess and take communion with the devotion that we would [page 139] desire; they redoubled their piety on the holy days of Pentecost and of Corpus Christi.

We are finally going to remove the residence of saint Joseph, which is still at Ihonattiria, to another village, larger and finer. It is, as it were, the capital of a nation which is closely allied to that of the Bear, our best friends. We have sent the Reverend Pierre Pijart to you, who will inform you more in detail of all this, as well as of all that concerns us. *Qu circa nos sunt, quid agamus, omnia vobis nota faciet fidelis* [76 i.e., 67] *minister in Domino; quem mittimus ad vos in hoc ipsum, ut cognoscatis qu circa nos sunt, et consoletur corda vestra.* We all commend ourselves very humbly to the Holy sacrifices and prayers of Your Reverence and of all our Reverend Fathers and Brethren, and I, above all.

*From the Residence of la Conception in the country of the Hurons, at*

*the village of Ossosane, this 9th of June,*

1638.

Your very humble and

very obedient servant in Our Lord,

[page 141]

## Extract from the Royal License.

Y the Grace and Prerogative of the King, permission is granted to Sebastien Cramoisy, Bookseller under Oath in the University of Paris, and Printer in ordinary to the King, Citizen of Paris, to print or to have printed a Book entitled, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1638. Envoyé au R. P. Provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Province de France. Par le P. Paul le Jeune de la mesme Compagnie, Superieur de la Residence de Kebec*; during the time and space of ten consecutive years. Prohibiting all Booksellers and Printers from printing, or having printed, the said Book, under pretext of disguise or change that they may make therein, under penalty of confiscation and the fine provided by the said License. Given at Paris on the 4th of December, 1638.

By the King in Council.

Demonceaux.

[page 143]

## Permission of the Father Provincial.

E, Estienne Binet, Provincial of the Society Of Jesus in the Province of France, have for the future accorded to sieur Sebastien Cramoisy, Bookseller, and Printer in ordinary to the King, the printing of the Relations of New France. Done at Paris, this 26th of March, 1638.

Estienne Binet.

[page 145]

XXXI

## Lettre du P. François du Peron au P. Joseph- Imbert du Peron

Ossossan, Avril 27, 1639

SOURCE: Reprinted from Carayon's *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada*, pp. 167-192.

[page 147]

[167 Letter of Father François du Peron of the Society of Jesus, to Father Joseph Imbert du Peron, his Brother, Religious of the same Society.

*(Copied from the autograph preserved in MSS. Soc. Jesu.)*

t the village of la Conception de Nostre Dame,

this 27th of April, 1639

y Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

I wrote last year to Your Reverence concerning the events of my journey from the time of my departure from France until my arrival in Canada. I beg you to inform me whether you have received the four letters that I wrote you; I shall not have answers to those of last year until after I have sent this one. I told you of my employment; God gave me a different one; he sent me to the Huron country. I appreciate my position so highly that I consider myself under great obligations to God; 1st, for having brought me to Canada; 2nd, for having sent me to the Huron country; and I value this second privilege more than the first, because here God alone is our all, and because there is a greater harvest here than in any part of Canada. [168] Accordingly, I shall henceforth only send you news of the Hurons; for as for the Montagnais and Algonquins, we receive news of them only through the printed Relation sent to us from France from year to year. You can [page 149] answer my letters; as for myself, I must leave one year between two letters, because the Hurons go down from here to Three Rivers at the same time that the ships arrive there from France. This letter will be shared by my two brothers and the Fathers of my acquaintance, all of whom I greet *ex animo*.

I left Three Rivers on the 4th of September, and reached the Huron country on the day of saint Michel, at twelve o'clock at night. The journey is one Of 300 leagues by water, through many very long and dangerous rapids, some two or three leagues in length;

consequently no others except savages can undertake the journey. They have bark canoes which merely skim over the water, and one man can carry one of them upon his shoulders. I fortunately embarked with a Huron captain, who showed me every courtesy along the way. Reverend Father Lallemant, our superior, and Father Lemoyne, who departed before I did, did not fare so well. The former was almost strangled by one of the island savages (this is an Algonquin nation that is encountered upon the way), who tried several [169] times to put a bowstring around his neck, ♦ "to avenge," he said, " the death of one of his little children," who had been bled by one of our men who had gone up a day or two before the Father. I encountered this same savage near the island, who, when he first saw me, said he must do the same to me, and for a long time tried to persuade our Hurons that they ought not to bring Frenchmen into their country, that it was we who made them all die; my captain pacified him as well as he could. Notwithstanding all this talk, one of his comrades came to see me morning and evening, to have me help him pray to God in his Algonquin language; I did so. **[page 151]**

As for Father Lemoyne, he was obliged to part from his savages, as he had no longer any provisions. Accordingly, they left him on the bank of the river with one of our men, whose hunting, which was very successful, furnished him with food for two weeks. Then he embarked in one of the canoes of our band. The master of this canoe, two days later, wished to leave him upon a rock, and I had to give him my blanket to satisfy him.

Our food on the way was only a little Indian corn, crushed between two stones and boiled in water; our lodging, *sub dio*. Nevertheless, I was always very well, thank God. Along the way we passed three wandering Algonquin tribes; [170] 1st, the petite nation; 2nd, the people of the island; 3rd, the sorcerers; for the rest, forests and bare rocks, rapids, and precipices; I am surprised that the savages dare to undertake such a journey. As for the Huron country, it is tolerably level, with many prairies, many lakes, many villages; of the two where we are, one contains 80 cabins, the other 40. In each cabin there are five fireplaces, and two families at each.<sup>4</sup> Their cabins are made of large sheets of bark in the shape of an arbor, long, wide, and high in proportion; some of them are 70 feet long. Their land produces nothing but Indian corn, beans, and squashes. These are the delicacies of the country, which has nothing in common with our France, as to things to be enjoyed, except the four elements. One sees here, nevertheless, birds, fish, and forest animals, almost the same kinds as in France. The land, as they do not cultivate it, produces for only ten or twelve years at most; and when the ten years have expired, they are obliged to remove their village to another place. **[page 153]** If they cultivated it, it would yield as well as that of France. So much for the cultivation of the land, which is the occupation and employment of the Huron women; that of the men is fishing, hunting, trading with the French and other neighboring tribes, such as the tobacco nation, the Neutral nation, that of the Sault, that of the " raised hair," that of the " stinking people," etc. They are robust, and all [171] are much taller than the French. Their only covering is a beaver skin, which they wear upon their shoulders in the form of a mantle; shoes and leggings in winter, a tobacco pouch behind the back, a pipe in the hand; around their necks and arms bead necklaces and bracelets of porcelain; they also suspend these from their ears, and around their locks of hair. They grease their hair and faces; they also streak their faces with black and red paint. Their recreations are the games of straw, of dish, and of crosse, in which they will lose to the value of two or three hundred ♦cus.

The nature of the Savage is patient, liberal, hospitable; but importunate, visionary, childish, thievish, lying, deceitful, licentious, proud, lazy; they have among them many fools, or rather lunatics and insane people. Their language is a regular one, as much as it can be, full of constructions like the Greek, differing from the latter in that the changes of mode and person come at the beginning, the terminations being nearly always the same; an accent changes the meaning of a word. It is not as barbarous as is imagined; the nouns are conjugated as well as the verbs; as to syntax, I cannot see that it is very different from that of the French language, especially as they do not know what case is; they have little **[page 155]** particles of elegance; they do not [172] use the following letters, b, f, l, m, P, q, x, y; they make much use of the letters h, and k, ♦ these are the two letters which they find difficult to pronounce. They nearly all show more intelligence in their business, speeches, courtesies, intercourse, tricks, and subtleties, than do the shrewdest citizens and merchants in France. They regulate the seasons of the year by the wild beasts, the fish, the birds, and the vegetation; they count the years, days, and months by the moon. They have no government at all; such power as the captains have is little more than that of criers and trumpets; they make their announcements in loud voices in the public places. The tone they use in their speeches is precisely the tone of the prisoners in the petit Chastelet at Paris. The young people are impudent to the last degree, one being as much the grand master as the other. Marriages are free. They have only one method of justice for injuries, which is that the whole village must make amends by presents. The Indian corn sometimes yields onehundred grains for one. The famine this year is rather serious; but it is worse in the Neutral nation, where the children are sold like slaves in order to procure corn.

There are ten of Ours here in two Residences, one at la Conception de Notre Dame, the other at saint Joseph; these are distant from each other five or six leagues. *Messis quidem multa*; [173] *operarii autem pauci*; we hope for reinforcements the coming year. We expect soon to establish a third Residence in the tobacco nation, without detriment to the itinerant missions. We have with us twelve Frenchmen, who are hired by us; as to others of these, there **[page 157]** are none. We are lodged and fed in the manner of the savages; we have no land of our own, except a little borrowed field, where French grain is raised just to make the host for the holy mass; we leave the rest to divine Providence, which sends us more corn than if we had broad lands; one person will bring us three ears of corn, another six, some one else a squash; one will give us some fish, another some bread baked under the ashes. In this manner, we live happily and contentedly. As their presents, we give them little glass beads, rings, awls, small pocket knives, and colored beads; this is all our money. As for the delicacies of France, we have none of them here; the usual sauce with the food is pure water, juice of corn or of squashes. The fresh food that comes from France does not go farther up than Three Rivers; all they can send is some church ornaments, some wine for the mass (only four or five drops of it is put into the chalice), and some clothes, some prunes, and raisins for the sick of the [174]village;itallrunsgreatrisksontheway. We lost this year two of our packages. Our plates, although of wood, cost us more than yours; for they are valued at one beaver robe, which is a hundred francs.

The kingdom of God is being greatly advanced in these countries. We have here a nation from without, taking refuge with us both on account of the Hiroquois, their enemies, and of the epidemic, which is still causing great mortality among them; nearly all of them are baptized before death. I have baptized some of them, and it is no small task for our Fathers, morning and evening, to instruct and visit these poor sick people, who seem to have escaped **[page 159]** cruel death from their enemies only to die the glorious death of the elect. I leave you to imagine whether this is not full of consolation to those who contribute both their prayers and their labors to the conversion of these poor souls, whom God will save here, unless we, on our part, put some obstacle in the way. To this end, I ask and implore the help of the prayers of Your Reverence, and that of all those of my acquaintance; I greet them heartily and affectionately, believing that they will not deny these to me.

Here is a sort of little journal I have kept since my arrival: Having safely landed on Huron soil, ♦ after a voyage of twenty-six days in a [175] canoe, or, rather cradle, made of the bark of a tree called birch, ♦ on the 29th of September, at one o'clock in the morning, I started so as to arrive at one of our Residences in time to celebrate the holy mass that day. But the rain, and the exhaustion from the

day before, when we remained upon the water from one o'clock in the morning until twelve and after at night, without being able to take any rest; and also the expectation of being able to say the holy mass having constrained me not to eat anything at my landing, the rain, then, and my exhaustion, as well as the distance of five or six leagues, and my ignorance of the way, constrained me to stop at the first village, and take some little nourishment. Accordingly, I entered the cabin of a captain of the village; the salutation they offered me was a chay in their language, this is the usual greeting, and means " good day. " Then they immediately spread a mat upon the ground for me to rest upon, and afterward brought four ears of corn which they roasted [page 161] and presented to me, as well as two squashes cooked under the ashes, and a dish of sagamit; I assure Your Reverence that this food was delicious to me. The little children and others ran wonderingly into the cabin, to see me. My ignorance of the language rendered me mute; and their custom, which is to say not a word except chay, to one who arrives, [176] made them silent also; they merely surveyed me from head to foot, and all wished to try on my shoes and my hat, each one putting the hat on his head ,and the shoes on his feet. After having expressed my thanks by giving a knife, an awl, and a needle to my host for the good reception and treatment he had shown me, I begged him to give me a savage to carry my bag and guide me to one of our Residences; he did so, and I reached the house of our Fathers at six o'clock in the evening. They received me with every evidence of kindness and good will, although their entertainment was no better than that of the savages, for the comforts of life with us are the same as those of the Savages, that is, a porridge made of the meal of Indian corn and water, morning and evening, and for a drink a flagon of water. Sometimes the savages put in pieces of cinders, to season the sagamit, at other times a handful of little waterflies, which are like the gnats of Provence; they esteem these highly, and make feasts of them. The more prudent keep some fish after the fishing season, to break into the sagamit during the year; about half of a large carp is put in for fourteen persons, and the more tainted the fish is, the better. As for ,drinks, they do not know what they are, the sagamit serving as meat and drink; when not on their journeys, they will go six months without drinking. [page 163]

[177] The importunity of the savages, who are continually about us in our cabin, and who sometimes break down a door, throw stones at our cabin, and wound our people, this importunity, I say, does not prevent our observance of our hours, as well regulated as in one of our colleges in France. At four o'clock the rising-bell rings; then follows the orison, at the end of which the masses begin and continue until eight o'clock; during this period each one keeps silent, reads his spiritual book, and says his lesser hours. At eight o'clock, the door is left open to the savages, until four in the evening; it is permitted to talk with the savages at this time, as much to instruct them as to learn their language. In this time, also, our Fathers visit the cabins of the town, to baptize the sick and to instruct the well; as for me, my employment is the study of the language, watching the cabin, helping the Christians and catechumens pray to God, and keeping school for their children from noon until two o'clock, when the bell rings for examination of conscience. Then follows the dinner, during which is read some chapter from the Bible; and at supper Reverend Father du Barry's Philagie of Jesus is read; the benedicite and grace is said in Huron, on account of the savages who are present. We dine around the fire, seated on a log, with our plates on the ground. At noon I open the school for the children who happen to be there [178] up to two o'clock; sometimes I only have one, two, or three pupils. On Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, school closes at one o'clock, when instruction is given to the most prominent people of the village, whether Christians or not; on Thursdays, to Christians and catechumens only; on Sunday morning, to [page 165] Christians only. During the parochial mass, the sermon is preached; before the mass, the water is blessed while they are singing; and at the offertory the bread, which the savages present in turn, is blessed. On great holy days, high mass is celebrated. After dinner on Sundays, at one o'clock, vespers are sung; then follows the instruction of Christians and catechumens; at five o'clock complines are sung, and on Saturday evening the *Salve*, with the litanies of the Virgin. On this same day, at the close of school, a short catechetical instruction is given to the children; and once a month a public catechism is given to the whole village besides the daily instruction given them in their cabins. At four o'clock in the evening, the savages who are not Christians are sent away, and we quietly say, all together, our matins and lauds, at the end of which we hold mutual consultation for three-quarters of an hour about the advancement of and the hindrances to the faith in these countries; afterwards we confer together about the language until supper, which is at half-past six; at eight o'clock, the litanies, examination of conscience, and then we [179] retire to sleep. One does not have undisturbed rest here, as in France; all our Fathers and domestics, except one or two, I being of the number, rise four or five times every night..... ; the food here causes this, as also the manner of sleeping, which is flat on the ground, upon a mat, and entirely dressed. Since I left France I have not taken off my gown, except to change my linen. Thank God, I have suffered no discomfort, and I am learning here every day that nature is satisfied with little, and I believe that more envy is felt towards us than pity. For our part, we envy the condition of no [page 167] one in our France; *melior est una dies in atriis tuis super millia*. Truly, we see in reality what you only see painted, how great is the gift of faith. We have to do with a nation which has been completely enslaved by Satan ever since the deluge; I shall speak of this at the proper time and place.

On the 11th of November, we baptized two Huron families with the solemnities of the Church; these are the first members of the infant Church in these countries. True, last year God gave us a Christian, named Joseph, with his family; he had been baptized in sickness; we admire from day to day his courage, and the spirit of God in him; he speaks boldly in the councils about our mysteries, which he understands very well; the Relation will speak of him and of others [180] very accurately. I assure Your Reverence, and you may believe me, that there is nothing in this Relation which is not very correct and worthy of credence.

On the 13th of November, the Reverend Father superior left here with one of our Fathers, to begin the itinerant missions. The devil seemed to try to oppose their plan; the snow fell so abundantly as to .cover all the paths. Our Fathers, having arrived at the mission called St. Michel at 4 o'clock in the evening, and having baptized two little sick children, started on their way to advise with our Fathers of St. Joseph, distant thence about a league. They went astray, so that they did not reach the latter place until four o'clock the next morning, after having suffered a great deal in their wanderings. A little while afterwards, several children, who had also lost their way in the night, were found dead in the snow. [page 169]

During the two months that our Fathers remained there, they baptized twenty persons, six or seven of these with solemnity, who made profession of the faith. During that time, a wonderful thing happened; one of our first seminarists, who returned here this year from Kébec, where the seminary for the Hurons is located, seeing that his brother-in-law rejected the advice which he gave him in his sickness, not to summon the sorcerer to [181] visit him and perform over him his deviltries, when the sorcerer had come and was making his incantations, the seminarist, on the other hand, began to pray to God, his rosary in his hand, and to conjure him to confound the sorcerer. His prayer was answered; for the sorcerer replied that the devil refused to reveal anything to him, and that some one by his rosary prevented him from doing so. This resulted in the sick man being instructed and baptized, with all his family. All this occurred in the village called St. Michel. The other seminarist, having gone to war, had an encounter with the enemy, thirteen of whom werer taken, who were distributed in different villages to be cruelly put to death. On his part, he captured two;, and when one of them was about to be put to death, he exhorted him to believe in God and to consent to be baptized; as he no longer remembered the form of baptism, he repeated the *Pater* while baptizing him. God favored the prisoner baptized in this way; he permitted some dispute



to arise which deferred the execution of his death sentence, and he was taken to another village near one of our Residences; so, that two of our Fathers, having heard the news of this, repaired thither immediately, and instructed and baptized him, without knowing what this brave **[page 171]** seminarist had done. A little while before my arrival, they had baptized seventeen in different villages. On the 4th or 5th of December, besides the above-mentioned prisoners, four [182] others had the same blessing of baptism; three of these were burned at the village of St. Michel. Our Fathers had considerable trouble in baptizing them, the Hurons trying to prevent this from being done, saying that baptism made them happier in death. They exercise unparalleled cruelties upon these captives; they cut off their fingers, they have them walk seven times over various glowing fires, which are lighted in the largest cabin of the village, where all the inhabitants are gathered to torment them; every one torments the prisoner as he chooses; while he is walking over the fires, each one has a firebrand in his hand to apply to, some part of his body. They use everything they can think of to torture him; they heat hatchets, arrows, and pothooks till they are red, which they apply to the victim; in all these torments they exhort him to have courage, and the victim is obliged continually to sing. One of these had scars upon his hands and feet. The night having been passed in these cruelties, they took him outside the village, to a platform, where they bound him to a stake, and there burned him alive by inches with their lighted torches; if he fell into a swoon, he was restored to consciousness by a drink. Sometimes they ferociously bit off pieces of his ears and made him eat them. When the fire suffocated him, they put him [183] in large kettles to cook, and then ate him.

On the 8th of December, we solemnly baptized here five families of savages, all of different nations. I had the consolation of saying the mass for them, of **[page 173]** administering the communion, and of blessing their marriage rings. During the absence of the Reverend Father superior, I was the regular chaplain of the savages. During the mass, the Pater and Ave are sung in the Huron language.

On the 12th of December, Sunday of the octave of the Conception, I had the good fortune to say the first mass in the first chapel built among the Hurons, and erected in honor of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady. The chapel is very neatly built of timberwork, ♦ almost similar, in style and size, to our chapel of St. Julien.

On the 19th of December, three families of savages were baptized here. The devil tried, that day, to disturb our solemn exercises and to show that he was master of the country; for, upon leaving the chapel we found in our cabin a captain who, in the presence of the new Christians, began to *spit forth abuse* against God and against us, and to act with insolence. We were obliged to drive him out of the cabin. In the afternoon he sent his brother and others to interrupt the public catechism, which was being given [184] about the tyranny and dominion that satan exercises over our Savages; they did not hesitate to interrupt it with their sacrilegious talk.

On the 20th of December, at about nine o'clock in the evening, we had an eclipse of the moon; it was total, and lasted about two or three hours. You had it in France, perhaps, at two o'clock in the morning of the 21st of December. It is by these eclipses that we know that the sun rises here about four hours later than it does in France; our latitude is about 45 degrees and a half.

On the 2nd of January, a head of a family was **[page 175]** baptized; on the 9th, a family; on the 16th, two families, ♦ and all very solemnly.

On the 13th of February, a girl of ten or twelve ,years was baptized with the ceremonies of the church.

On the 2nd of March, and other days following the carnival, the devil was unchained here as well as in France. There was only devilry and masquerading at that time throughout the Huron country; two or three of our Christians were debauched therein, and many others, who were inclined to baptism, have become cold. We had recourse to God through the holy sacrifice of the mass and through the forty hours, during which we exposed the Blessed Sacrament. The Relation will give a faithful account of the rest. I assure Your Reverence that it is very accurate; hence I will content myself with touching [185] incidentally upon the deviltries of these peoples. You will be able to judge from what follows that it is no little task for us to rear and keep in order in the midst of a perverse nation, these new plants of Christianity that God has committed to us; we can say with saint Paul, *Filioli quos iterum parturio*, etc. We and they have much need of the prayers of Your Reverence; I commend them to your charity.

1. All their actions are dictated to them directly by the devil, who speaks to them, now in the form of a crow or some similar bird, now in the form of a flame or a ghost, and all this in dreams, to which they show great deference, ♦ so great that, if they are asked to express their sentiments upon any subject, they say, " Wait until we have consulted the dream." For better results, they fast beforehand. They consider the dream as the master of their lives,. it is the God of the country; it is this which dictates **[page 177]** to them their feasts, their hunting, their fishing, their war, their trade with the French, their remedies, their dances, their games, their songs; to see them in these actions, you would think they were lost souls. They have only one harmless game, it is the game of crosse; they play it in memory of some excellent crosse-player who is dead.
2. To cure a sick person, they summon the sorcerer, who, without acquainting himself with the disease of the patient, [186] sings, and shakes his tortoise shell; he gazes into the water and sometimes into the fire, to discover the nature of the disease. Having learned it, he says that the soul of the patient desires, for his recovery, to be given a present of such or such a thing, ♦ of a canoe, for example, of a new robe, a porcelain collar, a fire-feast, a dance, etc., and the whole village straightway sets to work to carry out to the letter all the sorcerer may have ordered. At other times, to cure the sick, the old men of the village go to see the sick man, and ask him what his soul desires. He answers according to his dream, which will sometimes be extravagant and abominable. He will ask as many as twenty-five important presents, which are immediately furnished him by the village; if they failed in a single one, they would consider this the cause of the patient's death. Hence, ♦ since we cry out against these deviltries and refuse to contribute anything of ours to them, ♦ the devil, because he would like either to exact from us some homage, or to direct upon us all their envy, is sure to make the patient dream for something that we alone possess, or to make the sorcerer specify it. As I was writing this, on the 13th of April, about noon, a Savage, greatly excited, came **[page 179]** from a neighboring village, and begged us to give him a piece of red stuff, because the sorcerer had said that one of his sons, who was sick, [187] desired for his recovery this bit of stuff. It was not given to him; but one of our Fathers immediately repaired to the place, *quasi aliud agenda*, and baptized the little patient. These continual refusals cause them often to threaten to split our heads, attributing to us the cause of their diseases, saying that, since they believe, they have sickness among them. Each family has certain maladies, and consequently certain abominable remedies. Each also has its distinct armorial bearing, one having a deer, another a serpent, another a crow, another the thunder, which they consider a bird; and like objects.
3. Nearly all the Savages have charms, to which they speak and make feasts, in order to obtain from them what they desire.
4. The devil has his religious; those who serve him must be deprived of all their possessions, they must abstain from women,

they must obey perfectly all that the devil suggests to them. The sorcerer of this village came to see us on the 26th of March, and told us all these things.

5. Pregnant women among them cause, they say, many misfortunes; for they cause the husband not to take anything in the hunt; if one of them enters a cabin where there is a sick person, he grows worse; if she looks at the animal that is being pursued, it can no longer be captured; if people [188] eat with her, those who eat thus fall sick. A pregnant woman, by her presence and the application of a certain root, extracts an arrow from a man's body. Moreover, they rejoice more in the birth of a daughter **[page 181]** than of a son, for the sake of the multiplication of the country's inhabitants. The women here are mistresses and servants.
6. They believe that souls enter other bodies after death.

On the 19th of March, Ash Wednesday, we gave ashes to such of the Savages as presented themselves. There are some who observed Lent as regards the abstinence from meat, and who, being present at feasts of venison, refused to taste it. Not that we oblige them to do so, for the present; they abstain of their own accord, knowing that in France Lent is observed in this way. It is to be observed that it is at this lenten time that the hunters return from the chase, and, as game is very rare and very difficult to get, they are exceedingly greedy for meat. They will go two or three hundred leagues into the woods to find game, such as bears, deer, or cows; of the little that they bring back, they make a feast. As a token of great affection, a father will give his son a bone to gnaw which has been given him at the feast. The majority of them, not only during Lent, but all through the year, [189] I mean those who are rarely at feasts, have only two meals a day, one at nine o'clock in the morning, the other at five in the evening. If the Lent of the Savages is continual, ours is no less so; Easter and Good Friday are very often the same to us, as far as food is concerned. True, the Savages will sometimes bring us, in trade, a quarter of a bear or deer, at most, once during the entire year; sometimes also, but rarely, our Frenchmen will kill some bustards or cranes, of which a feast is made for the savages, some is given to the sick, and occasionally some are put in our sagamit☞. **[page 183]**

On the 23rd of April, Holy Saturday, we baptized one of our catechumens in our chapel, with the ceremonies of the Church; the others were put off, for certain reasons, until the eve of Pentecost, according to the order of the Church.

On the 24th of April, Easter day, two of our Fathers left here on their itinerant missions through the country. On the 28th of the same month, I began the exercises, with the same object. At the end of this preparation, since the present letter, dated the 4th of May, I departed to go on an itinerant mission. While on these missions, we are prevented from celebrating the holy mass (remember to make it up for us). On Saturday we return to the nearest Residence, [190] in order to celebrate there the holy mass the next day, after which we return to our mission. Since Easter, we have baptized about twenty persons.

On the 27th of May, we returned to the Residence of la Conception, to be present at the coming of twelve prisoners, and to prepare them for baptism. Truly, what I have told you before about the cruelties that our barbarians exercise upon prisoners, is nothing, as I knew of them only through the report of the Fathers who were present. I myself was present at the preliminary tortures of these prisoners; the rage of the demons against the damned cannot be better represented than by that which these peoples exercise upon these poor captives. Imagine at their arrival the whole village, or rather the whole country, going to meet them at five hundred paces from the village, and to welcome them, but in a .strange way; every one is armed-one with a club,☞another with a handful of thorns, another with a **[page 185]** knife and a firebrand; they form in lines on both sides, and mercilessly strike the prisoners until they have reached the platform prepared for the exhibition of their cruelty. They walk one after the other, each one having behind him a savage, who holds his arms bound by a cord; their feet are bound also, so that they can only walk slowly; they are naked, and each has a collar [191] of porcelain around his head to designate him as a victim. Now when they arrived at the stage, they were made to dance and sing, one after the other; and all the time they were singing, at intervals, various persons cut them ☞one cut off one finger, another three; another crushed their fingers with a blow from his club; others gashed them to the bone with knives in the fleshy part of the leg and the arm, most of them in both arms and both legs. When this was over, they were taken to a cabin to rest, so that they might afterwards be tormented more cruelly by fire during the night. The next morning, one was driven upon the platform, that they might finish burning him with firebrands. They renewed all the tortures of the preceding night, and, when he finally succumbed, they cut off his head. I was present at these cruelties; they are far more horrible than one can imagine. Of those twelve, we have already baptized nine here; three remain, who are going to other villages. I leave presently, with one of our Fathers, to go to them, and try to baptize them.

I have just returned. Of the three prisoners who remained to be baptized, we have baptized two, the third refusing baptism. Among the twelve prisoners there was one Judas. The number of those baptized this year (1639) reaches fully 300 souls; in this village **[page 187]** of la Conception, there have been baptized [192] in sickness, both children and others, one hundred and twenty-two persons, a part of whom have gone to heaven. Besides the sick, fifty persons in health were solemnly baptized, who made profession as Christians. In the village of St. Joseph, one hundred and twenty-six, of whom fifty were baptized solemnly and professed christianity; in the itinerant mission of St. Michel, twenty, six or seven of whom were baptized with the ceremonies of the Church. I speak only of this country of the Hurons; as concerns K☞bec and the three rivers, you have the Relation of those before we do.

I commend myself to your Holy Sacrifices, and to the prayers of all our Fathers and Brethren. I greet them all *nominatim*, and conjure them to aid, by their pious ardor, in the conversion of our poor Savages; it is the work of God alone, who will hearken to your prayers in France as well as to ours.

I am with all my heart,

My Reverend Father,

your very humble and very affectionate brother in Our Lord,

Fran☞ois du PERON, surnamed in Huron ANONCHIARA, S.J.

**[page 189]**

Lettre du P. Simon le Moyne, ? M. le Cur?

de St-Martin, A Beauvais

Résidence de la Conception, aux Hurons

[Ossossan?], Mai 25, 1639

Source: We follow the original MS., in the possession of The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

[page 191]

Letter from Father Simon le Moyne, to Monsieur  
the Cur? of St. Martin, at Beauvais.

The Peace and Love of the great Jesus.

ONSIEUR AND DEAREST COUSIN:

Marvelous! that this scrap of paper should reach you after shooting so many Rapids, and encountering, as it must, so many dangers. Is it not because my spirit had opened the way for it to you not once, but a thousand times and more? Oh, if you could see me here in this end of the world, blessing the water, singing at the aspersion, and saying holy mass for the Parishioners of our district,- for, after eight or nine months, we count in this barbaric region two or three Churches or Gatherings of Neophytes. But what consolation it is to a sympathetic heart, to see here every day in our cabins how our good Jesus is adored by a People to whom he is as yet only partially known. I say every day; for, although they do not come to hear the mass, except at the solemn feasts and on Sundays, yet they come to our bark chapel every morning, and often every evening, to offer their prayers. Do you know how? We have translated into their language the sign of the cross, a suitable Act of contrition, of 12 or 13 lines, the Pater, the Ave, and several prayers of that sort, which these faithful Neophytes-most of them adults and aged men-recite after me, on all sides, with much feeling. God from the beginning must indeed have made good their defects of understanding, [page 193] since they themselves so discreetly feign not to notice our blunders in the pronounciation of their language. Until such time as you have the satisfaction of reading our Relation of this year, which will be published, I think, at Paris, I send to my Brother the Jesuit what will serve to whet rather than to satiate your curiosity. I hope that my mother will show it to you; I recommend her to you, and myself in your Holy Sacrifices and Prayers; for I am, from this other world, to you cordially the same as ever, that is,

Sir and dearest cousin,

Your very humble and obliged Servant and cousin,

Simon le moyne, of the Society of Jesus.

From our Residence of la conception,

among the Hurons, this 25th of May,

1639.

[Addressed: ?Monsieur the cur? of St. Martin, at Beauvais.]

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XXXIII

Lettre du P. Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, au

T. R. P. Mutio Vitelleschi

Kébec, Ao?t 7, 1639

Source : Reprinted from Carayon's *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada*, pp. 193, 194.

[page 197]

[193] Letter from Father Joseph Marie Chaumonot, to the Very Reverend Father Mutio Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

(Translated from the Italian orginal preserved at Rome.)

y Very Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

I arrived in New France, on the first of August, with Fathers Vimont and Poncet and one of our lay Brothers, after a voyage of three months, which was very difficult on account of the fogs which surrounded us for three weeks, with the danger of being wrecked against the enormous masses of ice that float upon these seas. The ship of the commandant of the fleet was about to strike against one of these blocks of ice, on the day of the Holy Trinity, while mass was being said; when one of the sailors, walking upon the bridge, perceived, in spite of the thickness of the fog, the glitter of the ice, which was no more than two brasses away, and cried, " Mercy, mercy! we are all lost! " Father Vimont made a vow to say two masses, one in honor of the blessed Virgin, the other [194] in honor of saint Joseph, if they preserved us from this peril. And lo! at that very moment, the wind suddenly changed direction and caused us to avoid, as if by a miracle, this imminent danger. The most skillful pilots agree that this could naturally not have been done with so much [page 199] rapidity; and that, if this sudden tack had not taken place at that precise moment, we would have been irretrievably lost.

I cannot as yet write Your Paternity anything regarding the country, which I have not had time to study; but I count certainly upon making amends for this forced silence, next year.

Four of us will go into the Huron country, Fathers Pijart, le Mercier, Poncet, and myself. Those who return from among these savages assure us of their disposition to receive the faith. May it please God to make of his servant an instrument capable of bringing to good so difficult an enterprise!

I conjure Your Paternity to grant me the help of your prayers and holy sacrifices.

I am Your Paternity's unworthy servant in Our Lord,

Joseph Marie CHAUMONOT.

Kébec, the 7th of August, 1639.

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XXXIV.

Le Jeune's Relation, 1639

Paris: SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, 1640



Source: Title-page and text reprinted from the copy of the first edition (H. 74), in Lenox Library.

The preliminary matter and chap. i. of Part 1. are given in the present volume; the remainder of the document will appear in Volumes XVI. and XVII.

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RELATION  
OF WHAT OCCURRED  
IN  
NEW FRANCE  
in the Year 1639.

Sent to the

REVEREND FATHER PROVINCIAL  
of the Society of Jesus  
in the Province of France.



PARIS,

Sesbastien Cramoisy, Printer in ordinary

to the King, rue St. Jacques,

at the Sign of the Storks.



M. DC. XL.

BY ROYAL LICENSE.

[page 207]

## Extract from the Royal License.

Y the Grace and Prerogative of the King, permission is granted to Sebastien Cramoisy, Sworn Bookseller, Printer in ordinary to the King, and a Burgess of Paris, to print or to have printed a book entitled: Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1639. Envoyé au R. P. Provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Province de France, Par le P. Paul le Jeune de la mesme Compagnie, Superieur de la Residence de Kébec; and this to remain valid for the period and space of ten consecutive years. All Booksellers and Printers are prohibited from printing or causing to be printed the said Book, under pretext of any alteration or change they may make in the same, under penalty of confiscation and of the fine enacted by the said License. Given at Paris on the 14th day of December, 1639.

By the King in Council.

Ceberet.

[page 209]

## Permission of the Father Provincial.

E, Jacques Dinet, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of France, have granted for the future to sieur Sebastien Cramoisy, Bookseller, Printer in ordinary to the King, the, printing of the Relations of New France. Done at Paris, the 20th of December, 1639,.

Jacques Dinet.

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END.

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### [1] Relation of what occurred in New France in the Year 1639.

Y REVEREND FATHER,

The birth of a Dauphin; the affection and gifts of our great King for our Savages; the solicitude of Monseigneur the Cardinal for these countries, and his donations for the Huron Mission; the offerings of the Gentlemen of New France for our Neophytes or new Christians; the continuation of Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny in his government; the coming of the Nuns; the aid Your Reverence has been pleased to send us; the assistance of many persons of merit and condition; the [2] wishes and prayers of pious souls; the holy Associations that are being formed to call down the blessings of Heaven on these nations—all these were the subjects of our conversations on board the ship, not only when speaking publicly with men, but also in secret before God. All these pleasures have affected me the more sensibly, since I have tasted them with the sweet liberty that I enjoyed long ago; and since at last Your Reverence has granted me that the Reverend Father Vimont should be sent to us, whose virtues will make amends for any errors I may have committed in the discharge of the office I have handed over to him. He has given me to understand that Your Reverence desired that I should write the Relation again this year. Let us commence. [page 217]

## CHAPTER FIRST.

OF THE JOY FELT BY NEW FRANCE AT THE BIRTH OF MONSEIGNEUR THE

# DAUPHIN, AND OF A COUNCIL HELD BY THE SAVAGES.

HE most extraordinary delay in the arrival of the fleet this year had made us [3] very uneasy, when a ship, appearing forty leagues below Kebec, sent a short letter to Monseigneur our Governor. Every one hastened to learn the news; but, as the paper contained not a word about the birth of Monseigneur the Dauphin, it checked the course of our joy. We had heard the year before that the Queen was enceinte, and we hoped for a child whose birth would be at once a blessing and a miracle; we all thought that God's gifts would be perfected, and that we would have a Prince. This ship, which should have brought us the first news, said not a word of it. It merely informed us that other vessels were coming, from which it had been separated at sea in a heavy fog. Finally, the winds becoming favorable to our wishes, we learned that Heaven had given us a Dauphin. Hardly had this word "Dauphin" escaped the lips of the Messengers, than joy entered into our hearts and thanksgiving into our souls. The news soon spread everywhere; the *Te Deum laudamus* was chanted, and bonfires and fireworks were prepared with every device possible in these countries. The Gentlemen of New France recommended these [4] manifestations of joy, but all their recommendations [page 219] served only to prove their love for this new Prince; for, even before their letters appeared, joy had taken possession of our hearts, and all the necessary orders had been given by Monsieur our Governor to manifest it before God and before men. Fireworks were shot up towards Heaven, falling in golden showers, and glittering with stars; fiery serpents ran everywhere; a fine night was illuminated by lighted torches; while the heavy thunder of the Cannon resounded in the Echoes of our great forests. The Hurons who were present placed their hands on their mouths, in token of admiration and astonishment. These poor Savages, having never seen anything of the kind, thought that the dominion of the French extended even over the Realms of fire, and that we could do what we liked with that Element. After these wonders, they were informed that Monseigneur the Cardinal contributed greatly to the maintenance of the Gospel Laborers who were sent to their country; this astonished them beyond measure, and, had they not been Christians, [5] they never would have believed that on earth men could be found willing to incur expense to assist them at the extremity of the world, without other object than the welfare of their souls and the glory of our Lord, for whom these barbarians cared but little before the faith had opened their eyes.

The fireworks were not sufficient for the expression of our joy; some time afterwards, we formed a procession which would have delighted all France if it had appeared in Paris. Before I speak of it, I must say a few words with reference to his Majesty's presents, which made their appearance in this very holy act of devotion which we offered to God in [page 221] thanksgiving for his Dauphin, and as a token that New France, with its King, acknowledged the Blessed Virgin as the Lady and Protectress of his Crown and of all his Estates. Last year, a Canadian Savage, the son of one *Iwanchou*, a Savage Captain well known to the French, went to France and was very well received by his Majesty, at whose feet he laid his Crown of Porcelain beads, as a sign that he recognized that great Prince, in the name of all these nations, as their true and lawful Monarch. [6] The King and Queen, full of ardor for the salvation of these needy peoples, showed him their Dauphin; and, after many tokens of their kindness, they made him a present of six suits of clothing truly royal. They were entirely of cloth of gold, velvet, satin, silk plush, scarlet, and everything else in keeping. When this young Savage returned to his own country, he came up to Kebec with a party of his Countrymen, and went to see monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, to whom these gifts were brought. There happened to be present, at the time, Huron, Algonquin, and Montagnais Savages, who all admired the goodness of our Prince, whom they called their King. Now, when these packages were opened, it was deemed advisable in order to extend the King's honor among these nations, and to avoid any jealousy that might arise among these barbarians, if one nation were the sole recipient of these favors to distribute them to several; especially as this Savage had gone to do homage to the King, not only in the name of his father and of his nation, but likewise in the name of the other nations of this country. Therefore, three splendid suits were given to this young [7] Savage one for himself, another for his son, and [page 223] a third for his Father. While they were considering to whom the three other suits should be given, Monsieur our Governor said that three Christian Savages should be chosen from three nations; that his Majesty would approve this plan, since he himself had asked this Savage if he were not baptized and if he were not sedentary, by this question showing the affection he bears to the new Christians who have settled near us to profess our faith. When I announced to three of our Christians the presents which the King had sent them, and exhorted them to pray for his Majesty and for his Dauphin, they were quite astonished; then, addressing me, they made an answer I did not expect from the mouth of a Savage. "Nikanis, tell our Captain to write to our King" (thus they spoke), "that we thank him and admire him. Even if he had sent us nothing, we would still love him. However, keep these clothes thyself, for we do not wish to wear them except when we shall walk, praying to God for him, and for his son, and for his wife." [8] (He meant that they would wear them only when there should be a Procession for the King, for the Queen, and for Monseigneur the Dauphin.) "And when we are dead, if thou or thy brothers have prayers said to God for the King, make our children wear these clothes, so that those who shall come after us may know the love our King had for us." We now come to the first procession in which these magnificent garments were worn.

The day dedicated to the glorious and triumphant Assumption of the blessed Virgin was chosen. At early morn, our Christian Neophytes came to hear holy Mass, to confess, and to receive communion. All the other Savages who were then in the neighborhood [page 225] of Kebec assembled, and we placed them in the order they were to observe. When the procession commenced its march, the Cross and the banner were carried in front. Monsieur Gand came next, walking at the head of the Savage men, the first six of whom were clad in these royal garments. They went two by two, most sedately, with becoming modesty. After the men walked the foundress of the Ursulines, having beside her three or [9] four Savage girls, clothed in the french fashion; then followed all the daughters and wives of the Savages in their own costume, keeping their ranks perfectly. The Clergy came next; and after them walked monsieur our Governor, and our Frenchmen, then our French women, without any other order than that suggested by humility.

As soon as the Procession commenced its march, the Cannons thundered forth, inspiring these poor Savages with a holy awe. We walked to the Hospital, and, when we had reached it, all the Savages knelt down on one side, the French on the other, and the Clergy in the middle. Then the Savages prayed all together for the King, thanking God for having given him a Dauphin. They likewise prayed for the Queen, for all the French, and afterwards for the whole of their own nation; then they chanted the principal articles of our creed. This done, the Clergy, Monsieur the Governor, and the chief among our French and the Savages, entered the Chapel dedicated to the Blood of Jesus Christ, where they prayed for the same objects. On leaving the Hospital, we went straightway to the Ursulines. Passing before the Fort, the [10] Musketeers fired a noble salvo, and the Cannon again poured forth its thunder and flame. [page 227] We observed the same ceremonies; the Nuns sang the *Exaudi*, to the delight of our Savages; and it gave our French great joy to hear two Choirs of Virgins praising the Greatness of God in this new world. On leaving the Ursulines, we went directly to the Church, with the same modest demeanor and in the same order as when we started. We repeated the prayers in the savage tongue, at the door of the Chapel; then reentering the Church, the Procession ended. When it was over, monsieur the Governor gave a feast to about one hundred Savages. We took with us the six who were clad in the royal robes, and gave them to eat in our house. After dinner, they attended Vespers, wearing the same liberal gifts from the King. Some had nothing savage about them but their tanned color; their demeanor and gait were full of dignity and real grace. After Vespers, we thought of sending them away; but one of them told me that

the chief men of the Savages were assembled in our Hall, and were waiting for me to hold a council. I [11] went there to listen to them, and, seeing that they were beginning to make speeches, I sent word to Reverend Father Vimont of what was happening. He brought with him monsieur the Governor and Madame de la Pelterie, who could not sufficiently admire the devotion of these good people. All being seated, a Captain addressed me as follows: "Be wise, Father Le Jenne, keep quiet; let not thy mind wander, that thou mayest not lose a word of what I am about to say." "Ho, ho," I replied, following their custom. "It is not I who speak," said he, "it is all those whom thou seest sitting there, who have charged me to tell thee that we all desire to believe in God, and that we all wish to [page 229] be helped to till the soil, so as to dwell near you. Thou didst lead us to hope that many people would come out to thee, and now thou hast but very few. Well, then, tell our Captain to write to our King and tell him this: All the Savages thank you; they wonder that you should think of them; they say to you: II Take courage; help us, since we love you. We wish to settle down but we cannot build houses like yours unless you [12] help us." Tell thy brother who has come in thy place to write also; write thyself, so that it may be known that we speak the truth." Such is the style of these Savages. This one having finished his harangue, another addressed me as follows: " Father le Jenne, I am not of this country. There is my home, in those Mountains to the South. I had not come to Kebec for a very long time. These men whom thou seest came to visit me in my country, and told me that thou wert causing houses to be built for the Savages, and that thou didst help them to till the soil. They asked me if I would not come to see thee, to dwell near thee with the others. I have come; I have seen that thou hast commenced but that thou hast not done much for so many people as we are. Well, then, take courage, thou sayest good things; do not lie. I am going away again to the coldness of our Mountains, for this Winter. In the Spring, while there will still be snow on the ground, I shall come and see if thou dost tell the truth, and if thou hast men to help us to till the soil; so that we may no longer be like the beasts who seek their living in the woods." At these words all were touched with compassion. Monsieur the [13] Governor promised to do what he could, on his part. Reverend Father Vimont was almost impatient, seeing [page 231] that, through lack of temporal assistance, Satan ever keeps these poor souls under his Dominion. Madame de la Pelterie exclaimed: " Alas! how many souls could be saved in this country with what is spent for a single repast in Paris, or for a single ballet that lasts but two or three hours! I have brought only a few laborers with me but I will do what I can to help these good people. " My Father," she said to me, " assure them that if I could help them with my own arms, I would cheerfully do so. I will try to plant something for them." These good Savages, hearing what she had said, began to laugh, saying that the corn planted by arms so weak would be too late. The conclusion reached was that an effort would be made to help them in the Spring.

I consoled them wonderfully when I told them that the Captain who had commenced the Residence of Saint Joseph, had provided the means wherewith always to keep six workmen for them; and that, even after his death the workmen would not [14] cease to work. They could not understand how this could be done, nor why these workmen could not at once take the money he left for them, nor how a dead man could make living men work; for they know not what it is to have rents and revenues. Would to God that several persons of abundant wealth would imitate the devoutness of that great man! There is no loss in exchanging earth for Heaven.

At the same time Ioanchou, and his son who had been in France, were asked if they would not join the others. They replied that they would go and consult their people, and, if they wished to come up here, they would bring them.

Now, I was glad to speak of the great things to be [page 233] seen in France in the presence of a Savage just returned from there. " Reproach me now with falsehood," I said to them; " ask your Countryman if what I told you of the greatness of our King and of the beauty of our country be not true? And do not any more call [15] in question what I shall hereafter tell you. " This good Savage related marvels, but according to his own range of understanding. Although he had greatly admired many things, among others, the great multitude in Paris; the great number of cookshops; the colossal Saint Christophle of Nostre Dame, which, at first sight, caused him much terror; the Coaches, which he called " rolling cabins drawn by Moose, " he admitted that nothing had so interested him as the King, when he saw him on the first day of the year, walking with his guards. He attentively observed all the soldiers, marching in good order; the Swiss produced a great impression on his eyes, and the sound of their drum on his head. When he went away thence, he did not speak for the remainder of the day so the Father who accompanied him told me doing nothing but reflect upon what he had seen. He related all this to his people, who listened to him with avidity. The King's piety was of powerful assistance to us in doing honor to our faith; for this good Canadian admitted that the first time he saw the King was in the house of prayer, where he prayed to Jesus as he is prayed to here. He also stated publicly [16] that the King had asked him if he had been baptized. This has helped us and will again help us to make these poor peoples understand the esteem in which that great Prince holds the doctrine that we teach them. In fact, as soon as this Savage had seen the King, he said to the [page 235] Father who conducted him: " Let us go away. I have seen all, since I have seen the King."

To conclude this Chapter; our Savages, especially, the Christians, seeing that his Majesty had sent them clothes in the French fashion, determined to send a little dress, such as is worn by Savages, to Monseigneur the Dauphin. When they handed it to me, they had the wit to say: " It is not a present that we make him, for his riches are far greater than ours; but it is a metawagan a small toy to amuse, his little Son, who may perhaps take pleasure in seeing how our children are dressed." We send this little dress to Your Reverence. However, as smallpox greatly prevails among our Savages, I do not know whether it is advisable to present it, for fear that it may carry even the slightest contagion with it. It is [17] true that I had it in my possession before the disease broke out among those who gave it to me; but, when so sacred a personage is concerned, a danger even a thousand leagues distant is to be dreaded. [page 237]

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. XV

## XXX

For particulars of this document, see Vol. XIV.

## XXXI

François du Peron's letter to his brother and fellow-priest, Joseph Imbert du Peron, is dated April 27, 1639, from the Residence of the Conception, or Ossossané, in the Huron country. The original MS. is preserved in the MSS. Soc. Jes. We follow the version in Carayon's *Première Mission*, pp. 167-192.

## XXXII

The original MS. of Simon le Moyne's letter to the Curé of St. Martin at Beauvais, dated at the same place as the preceding letter,



XXXIII

The letter of Joseph-Marie Chaumonot to the general of the order, at Rome, was written in Italian, being dated at Quebec, August 7, 1639. The original MS. is preserved in the *MSS. Soc. Jes.* We follow Father Felix Martin's French version (made in 1858) in Carayon's *Première Mission*, pp. 193, 194.

XXXIV

In reprinting the text of Le Jeune's Relation of [page 239] 1639, we follow a copy of the first edition in the Lenox Library, known there as the Lamoignon copy. It is generally referred to as "H. 74," because described in Harrisse's *Notes*, no. 74. "The Privilege," which is signed "Par le Roy en Confeil. Ceberet," is dated December 14, 1639, and the "Permiffion," with the signature "IACQVES DINET," is dated the 20th of the same month.

*Collation of first edition:* Title, with verso blank, i leaf; "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," p. (i); "Permifsion du P. Prouincial," p. (i); "Table des Chapitres" to the first part, pp. (2); Table to the second part, with heading "Relation de ce qui s'eft paffé dans le Pays des Hurons en l'année 1638. & 1639.," pp. (2); Le Jeune's *Relation*, pp. 1166 (misnumbered 116); Lalemant's Huron *Relation*: Half-title, with verso blank, i leaf; text, pp. 1174, followed by one blank leaf. The signatures are: in four, A<sup>K</sup> in eights, L in four, and a<sup>1</sup> in eights. The pagination is quite erratic; pp. 80, 81, 125, 130, 143, and 166 of the first part are mispaged 50, 71, 225, 30, 145, and 116, respectively; and in some copies the 3 of pp. 43, 53, and 73 is blurred, due, evidently, to "bites" of the frisket. In the second part, pp. 31, 77, and 146 are misnumbered 13, 76, and 148, respectively. The first leaf of sig. G is misprinted C, and Chapter xi. of Part I. is rnisnumbered viii.

There is another, a second, edition of this *Relation* of 1639 in which the line-endings and wording of the title-page agree with those of the first edition; but the entire volume is a reset, and a comparison reveals typographical differences on every page with respect to contractions, line-endings, head-ornaments, mispagination, and otherwise. This edition is [page 240] generally referred to in catalogues as "H. 75," because noted in Harrisse's *Notes*, no. 75. We have discovered two issues of the second edition, which are described below.

*Collation of second edition, first issue:* Title, with verso blank, i leaf; "Table des Chapitres" to the first part, pp. (2); Table to the second part, with heading "Relation," etc., pp. (2); Le Jeune's *Relation*, pp. 1166; Lalemant's Huron *Relation*: Half-title, with verso blank, i leaf; text, pp. 1174; "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," signed " Par le Roy en fon Confeil," p. (i); "Permifsion," p. (i). The signatures are: in three (2 ahaving been cancelled for reasons described below), A<sup>K</sup> in eights, L in four, and.a<sup>1</sup> in eights. Page 21 of the first part, and pp. 23 and 128 of the second part, are mispaged 2, 2, and 218, respectively; and Chapter xi. of Part I. is misnumbered ii.

The second issue agrees very largely with the first; but several signatures in Le Jeune's *Relation* have been reset, and we give a few examples in elucidation.

SECOND EDITION			
FIRST ISSUE.		SECOND ISSUE.	
11111		11111	
Sig. B		Sig. B	
p. 18, l. 3: "honnefte"		p. 18, l. 3: "hnefte"	
p. 23, l. 2: "donner"		p. 23, l. 2: "doer"	
Sig. C		Sig. C	
p. 35, l. 24: "France"		p. 35, l. 24: "Frce"	
p. 42, l. 18: "O <sup>i</sup> "		p. 42, l. 18: "O <sup>y</sup> "	
Sig. D		Sig. D	
p. 49, l. 15: "caufons"		p. 40, l. 15: "cauf <sup>s</sup> "	
Sig. E		Sig. E	
p. 65, l. 15: "loy"		p. 65, l. 15: "Loy"	

[page 241]

Page 21 in Part I. of the second issue is paged correctly the page being part of sig. B which was reset. The Quebec reprint, vol. i. (1858), seems to have followed a copy of the first issue of the second edition.

In the British Museum there is a copy of the second edition (H. 75) which has two different leaves, each with a Permission and Privilege. The first, which follows the title-page, forms sig. 2, and is lacking in most copies. It was cancelled by the printers because the Permission was dated erroneously, March 26, 1638. It is in a different setting of type than the other leaf, which comes at the end of the volume, and which agrees with the Lenox copies in having the Permission dated December 20, 1639. In the Lenox copies the stub of the cancelled leaf (sig. 2) is still visible. The John Carter Brown collection of Providence has also a copy with the cancelled leaf.

Mr. James Lenox had noted a copy of H. 75 in Paris which has "at the beginning a leaf with half-title before the full title, completing the signature there; " but we have not been able to verify this statement.

Copies of the 1639 Relation have been sold or priced as follows: Leclerc (1878), item 780, priced at 160 francs; Harrassowitz (1882), priced at 125 marks; O'Callaghan (1882), no. 1218, sold for \$12.50, and had cost him a like amount; Dufoss<sup>◆</sup>, of Paris, priced (1891<sup>◆</sup>94) at 125 to 150 francs; Dodd, Mead & Co. (1896), a cropped copy offered for \$35.

Copies in libraries: Lenox (first edition, and two issues of second edition); Brown (two editions); British Museum (two editions); Harvard (first **[page 242]** edition); Laval University, Quebec (second edition); Library of Parliament, Ottawa (second edition); and Biblioth<sup>◆</sup>que Nationale, Paris. **[page 243]**

# NOTES TO VOL. XV

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