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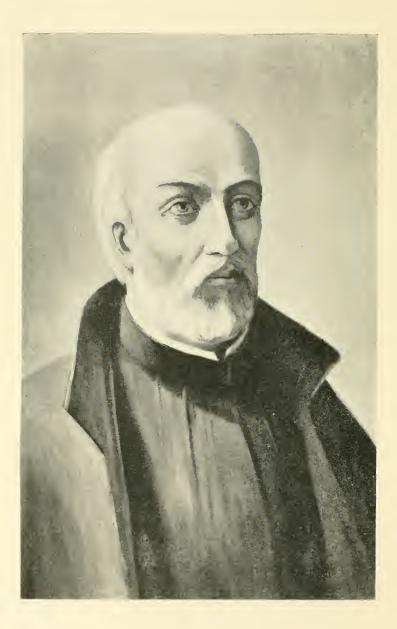


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The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITAL-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

Vol. IV

ACADIA AND QUEBEC: 1616-1629

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CONTENTS OF VOL. IV

| Preface | E TO VOLUME IV | I |
|---------|---|-----|
| Docume | ENTS : | |
| XIV. | Relation de la Novvelle France, de fes Terres, Natvrel dv Païs, & de fes Ha- bitans. [Chapters xxvixxxvii. and Index, completing the document.] <i>Pierre Biard</i> ; Lyons, 1616 | |
| XV. | Lettre au Sievr de Champlain. Charles | / |
| | Lalemant; Kebec, July 28, 1625 . | 170 |
| XVI. | Lettre au R. P. Prouincial des RR. Pères Recollects. <i>Charles Lalemant</i> ; | |
| | Kebec, July 28, 1625. | 172 |
| XVII. | Epistola ad R. P. Mutium Vitelleschi, Præpositum Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romæ. <i>Carolus Lalemant</i> ; Nova Francia, August I, [1626] | |
| XVIII. | Lettre au Pere Hierofme l'Allemant. Charles Lalemant; Kebec, August I, | |
| XIX. | 1626 | |
| BIRLIOG | | |
| | | 247 |
| Notes | | 253 |



ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. IV

| Ι. | Portrait of Jean de Brébeuf, S.J.; photo- | |
|-----|---|--------|
| | engraving from oil portrait by Donald | l |
| | Guthrie McNab Fronti | spicce |
| II. | Photographic facsimile of title-page, Charles | 5 |
| | Lalemant to Jerome | 188 |

PREFACE TO VOL. IV

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

XIV. In the concluding portion (Chapters xxvi.-xxxvii.) of the Relation of 1616, Biard relates how he and Father Quentin were taken to Virginia, where they narrowly escaped death; they then were sent to England, and finally to France, arriving there after a captivity of over nine months, and being subjected to many perils by sea and land. The annalist records what progress the Christian religion has made in New France. The missionaries have now learned the nature of the country, and the character and needs of the people; and the colonists have established friendly relations with the savages. The latter have some general knowledge of religion, and are anxious to be baptized. Several miracles are recounted, in the cure of persons given up as dying. Biard then discusses at length the respective territorial claims of the French and English in the New World, and contends that New France should extend southward at least to 30°. He concludes by urging that more attention should be given in France to both the temporal and religious interests of Canada, especially to the conversion of the savages.

Between the dates of Documents XIV. and XV. in our series, there is a break of nine years. The Jesuit

mission in Acadia had abruptly closed with the attack by Argall, so fully described in the writings of Biard, who, in his *Relation* of 1616, appears for the last time upon our stage. Meantime, the Récollet friars were conducting their missions upon and beyond the St. Lawrence; but,— as related in the Introduction (Volume I. of this series) and in Notes to this Volume, *post*,— finding themselves unequal to the great task, they invited the Jesuits to return to New France and aid them in the conversion of the savages. The first of the "black gowns" to arrive (April, 1625) were Charles Lalemant, Massé, and Brébeuf.

XV. Lalemant, as superior of the mission, writes (July 28, 1625) to the governor, Champlain, announcing the arrival of the Jesuits at Quebec, the hospitality of the Récollets to them, and the death of Nicholas Viel, of the latter order.

XVI. On the same date, Lalemant writes to the provincial of the Récollets, thanking him for the kindness and hospitality shown the Jesuits by himself and others of his order in Canada.

XVII. Lalemant writes (Aug. 1, no year mentioned, but without doubt 1626) to his general, at Rome. He tells what the Jesuit missionaries have accomplished during the past year: they have spent most of the time studying the language of the natives, for which purpose Brébeuf spent the winter among the savages; they had learned all they could of the people and the country; and had preached to and confessed the French colonists. They had established one residence among the Indians. He announces that he sends Noyrot back to France, to look after the interests of their mission.

XVIII. On the same date as the foregoing, Lalemant writes to his brother Jerome, in France, who is also a Jesuit. The missionary gives a short description of the country and the climate; then of the people, their customs, religious belief, clothing, etc.; describes the extent of the Canadian trade with France: and tells of the establishment of a residence for the Jesuits, near that of the Récollets. The difficulties encountered by the missionaries in acquiring the native languages, are mentioned, together with their relations with a certain interpreter, and the help received from him. The writer tells of Brébeuf passing the entire winter among the savages of the vicinity; Lalemant went on a similar trip, and had to return in eleven days, as his improvident hosts had no food. He announces his probable departure for a longer stay among the natives. He sends Noyrot back to France, in the interests of the mission, and Brébeuf and De Noue to the Huron country. The natives are ready to be taught, the writer says, and he sends a little Huron boy to be instructed in France. Champlain and Gaumont have, he says, chosen him as their confessor. He wishes to name their first church, "Our Lady of the Angels," and asks his brother to send him therefor "A fine picture surrounded by angels." The busy superior mentions this as the sixty-eighth letter he has just written to France,--- chiefly to benefactors of the mission, and "those who have written to me."

Lalemant (see *note* 20, *post*, for details) had gone to France for supplies for the colony, in November, 1627; and upon his return in May, 1628, was with others captured by the English Admiral Kirk, to whom, a year later, Quebec capitulated. The Jesuits

3

were sent to England, and thence allowed to return to France. Lalemant, with a party of missionaries, again attempted to return to Canada (June, 1629), but they were shipwrecked on the Canso rocks. Two of the adventurous Jesuits were drowned, another remained in the country, but Lalemant returned to France.

XIX. Lalemant writes (Nov. 22, 1629), from Bordeaux to the superior of the Jesuit college at Paris, describing the shipwreck he had recently experienced, in which Father Noyrot and Brother Louis Malot were drowned; and announcing his own safe arrival at Bordeaux.

July 5, 1632, Émery de Caen, the French fur-trade monopolist, arrived at Quebec, commissioned to reclaim that stronghold from Kirk. With him were the Jesuits Le Jeune and De Noue, who had been sent hither to reopen the mission of their order in New France.

The Editor gratefully acknowledges the receipt of information from the following gentlemen, relative to annotations in this volume: Dr. John G. Bourinot, Dr. Douglas Brymner, Capt. E. Deville, and Mr. L. P. Sylvain, of Ottawa; Mr. William McLennan, Mr. C. H. Gould, and Rev. Arthur E. Jones, of Montreal; and Mgr. T. E. Hamel, Dr. N. E. Dionne, and Mr. E. E. Taché, of Quebec. To the list of persons named in the General Preface to this series, as having furnished valuable suggestions in the prosecution of the work, the Editor takes pleasure in adding the following: Rev. Joseph Le Halle, S. J., president of St. Ignatius College, Cleveland; Rt. Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, R. C. bishop of Cleveland; Rev. E. A.

Higgins, S. J., of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kans.; Rev. A. A. Hartmann, S. J., of Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y.; and Mr. James H. Coyne, of St. Thomas, Ont.

MADISON, WIS., January, 1897.

R. G. T.

XIV (concluded)

Biard's Relation de la Nouvelle France Lyons: LOUIS MUGUET, 1616

Chaps. xxvi.- xxxvii., and Index, completing the document; Chaps. i.- xxv. appeared in Volume III.

[VOL. 4

CHAPITRE XXVIII. [i.e., xxvi.]

LE PILLAGE DE NOSTRE NAUIRE, & DE NOS GENTS, LES ANGOISSES OÙ NOUS ESTIONS.

ANGLOIS victorieux s'en vint à terre, où eftoyent nos tentes, & alogements commencés, & fit rechercher noftre Capitaine de tous tous costés, difant, qu'il vouloit voir nos commissios; que cefte terre leur appartenoit, & que pour cela ils s'eftoyet rués fur nous nous y trouuats, neantmoins que fi nous faisions apparoistre de nostre bonne foy, & que nous fuffions là venus fous l'autorité de [238] noftre Prince, qu'ils y auroyent efgard, ne voulants en rien contreuenir à la bonne confederation de nos deux Rois. Le malheur fut qu'on ne trouua point la Sauffaye, à l'occafion de quoy l'Anglois fin, & fubtil fe faifit de fes coffres, les crocheta industrieusement, & y ayant trouuée nos commiflios, & lettres royaux, les faifit; puis remettant toutes les befongnes en fa place, chafque chofe tout ainfi qu'il l'auoit trouuée, referma lesdits coffres gentiment. Le lendemain la Sauffaye eftant venu, le Capitaine Anglois, qui fçauoit fort bien fa leçon, l'accueillit humainement, & luy fit les premiers interrogats auec belles ceremonies: Puis vint au point: luy demandant fes commiffions, à celle fin qu'il n'y euft aucune doute, quand reellement on verroit, & confidereroit les paroles, & autorité [239] du Roy nostre SIRE. La Sauffaye respondit que fes lettres eftoyent dans fes coffres. On

8

CHAPTER XXVIII. [i.e., xxvi.]

THE PLUNDERING OF OUR SHIP, AND OF OUR PEOPLE, AND THE DISTRESSES WE ENDURED.

THE victorious Englishman came on shore, where we had our tents and our houses just begun, and had our Captain searched for in all directions, saying that they wished to see our commissions; that this land belonged to them, and hence they had fallen upon us when they found us there: nevertheless, if we could show our good faith in the matter, and that we had come there under the authority of [238] our Prince, that they would show some regard for it, wishing in no wise to violate the alliance between our two Kings. But the trouble was, la Saussaye could not be found, and on this account the shrewd and cunning Englishman seized his trunks, skillfully picked the locks, and, having found therein our commissions and royal patents, took possession of them; then, putting everything back in its place, each article just as he had found it, nicely fastened the trunks again. The next day, la Saussaye having returned, the English Captain, who knew his lesson remarkably well, received him kindly and made his first inquiries with a fine show of courtesy; then he came to the point and demanded his commission, so there might be no doubt when the words and authority [239] of the King, our SIRE, were actually seen and considered. La Saussaye answered that the letters were in his trunks. These were brought, and

luy apporta fes coffres, & auant qu'il les ouurift auec fes clefs, on l'aduifa qu'il regardaft bien fi perfonne y auroit touché; car quant à eux ils y alloyent fort fimplement. La Sauffaye recognoiffoit tout eftre en fort bon ordre, mais malheur! il n'y retrouuoit pas fes lettres. Icy le Capitaine Anglois chagea de mine, & de ton, & fe refroignant comm'il falloit, quoy done (dit-il) vous nous impofez icy? Vous donnés à entendre qu'auez commission de vostre Roy, & n'en pouuez produire aucun tefmoignage? Vous eftes des Forbãs & Pirates treftous: vous merités la mort. Et dés lors, il fit la part du butin aux foldats: En quoy il confuma toute l'apres-difnée. Nous de la terre confiderions le guafpillement [240] de tous nos biens: car les Anglois nous laiffoyent à terre, eux fe tenants en mer, & ayãts ioints par enfemble nos vaiffeaux au leur, car nous en auions deux, fçauoir est nostre nauire, & vne barque construicte fur le lieu, & equippée de neuf. Nous eftions reduits en piteux estat: mais ce n'estoit pas la fin. Le iour suiuant on vint à terre, & on nous pilla encores ce qu'y auions: non pas tout du commencement, ains à paffades, & à chafque fois qu'on defcédoit à terre, toufiours quelque detrouffe de nos manteaux, habits, & autres chofes. Vne fois on fit quelques violences, & atrocitez de traictement fur la perfonne de deux de nos gents, ce qui espouuanta tellemet vne partie des autres, qu'ils s'enfuirent par les bois comme pauures beftes efgarées, demy nuds, & fans [241] aucuns viures, ne fçachants ce qu'ils pourroyent deuenir.

Venons aux Iefuites. Ie vous ay dit, que Gilbert du Thet fut outré d'vne mofquetade durant le combat. Les Anglois entrants dans le nauire le mirent

10

before he unlocked them he was advised to look closely to see if they had been tampered with, for, as to them, they were acting with all sincerity. La Saussaye found that all was in good order, but alas! he could not find the letters. Hereupon the English Captain changed his mien and his voice, and, frowning in the most proper manner, "How now (said he), are you imposing on us? You give us to understand that you have a commission from your King, and you cannot produce any evidence of it. You are Outlaws and Pirates, every one of you, and merit death." Then he set his soldiers to plundering, and in this the whole afternoon was consumed. From the shore we looked on at the pillage [240] of our property: for the English had left us on shore while they remained on the water, where they joined our vessels to theirs, for we had two, our ship and a barque constructed at this place and newly equipped. We were reduced to a pitiful state, but this was not the end. The next day they came on shore, and robbed us also of what we had there. Not all at one time, but at intervals, and whenever they came on shore, always appropriating some of our mantles, clothes, and other things. Once they maltreated and abused two of our men, which so frightened part of the others that they fled to the woods like poor hunted beasts, halfnaked and without [241] food, not knowing what would become of them.

Let us speak of the Jesuits. I have told you that Gilbert du Thet was struck down by a musket ball during the fight. When the English boarded our ship, they put him, together with all the other wounded men, into the hands of their Surgeon. This Surgeon was a Catholic, and known as such. He

entre les mains de leur Chirurgien & luy, & tous les autres bleffés. Ce Chirurgien eftoit Catholique, & recognu pour tel; & perfonne fort charitable, & qui nous a faict mille bons offices. Or le P. Biard avant fceu la bleffure de Gilbert du Thet fit demander au Capitaine, que les bleffés fuffent portés à terre, ce qui fut accordé, & par ainfi ledit Gilbert eust le moyen de fe confeffer, & de benir & louër Dieu iufte, & mifericordieux en la Compagnie de fes Freres, mourãt entre leurs mains. Ce qu'il fit auec grande conftance, refignation, & deuotion, [242] vingt & quatre heures apres fa bleffure, il euft fon fouhait, car au defpart de Honfleur, en prefence de tout l'equipage il auoit hauffé les mains, & les yeux vers le Ciel priant Dieu, qu'il ne reuint iamais plus en France, ains qu'il mouruft trauaillat à la conqueste des ames, & au falut des Sauuages. Il fut enterré le mefme iour au pied d'vne grande Croix que nous auions dreffée du commencement.

Les Iefuites n'eftoyent iufques alors recognus des Anglois, finon que pour Preftres. Or le P. Biard & le P. Enemond Maffé s'en alleret au nauire parler au Capitaine Anglois, & luy expliqueret ouuertement comm'ils eftoyet Iefuites, venus en ces quartiers-là pour la couerfio des Sauuages, puis le fupplierent par le fang de celuy, qu'il recognoiffoit pour Sauueur, & [243] par les mifericordes qu'il en attendoit, qu'il luy pleust auoir pitié de ces pauures François, fur lefquels Dieu luy auoit doné puissance, & qu'en leur mifere il recognust combien les affaires de ce monde varient: qu'il luy pleuft leur donner & leur moyenner retour en leur pays de France. Le Capitaine les ouyt fort paifiblement, & leur refpondit auec pareil

was very charitable, and did us a thousand kind services. Now as soon as Father Biard learned about Gilbert du Thet's wound, he sent a request to the Captain to have all the wounded carried on shore; this was granted, and so the said Gilbert had an opportunity to confess, and to bless and praise a just God, full of mercy to the Society of his Brothers; and he died in their arms. He passed away with great steadfastness, resignation, and devotion, [242] twenty-four hours after he was wounded. He had his wish; for when leaving Honfleur, in the presence of the whole crew, he had raised his hands and eyes to Heaven, praying God that he might never again return to France, but that he might die working for the conquest of souls and for the salvation of the Savages. He was buried the same day at the foot of a large Cross which we had erected when we first went there.

Up to this time the Jesuits had not been recognized by the English, except as Priests. Now Father Biard and Father Enemond Massé went to the ship to speak with the English Captain, and explained to him openly that they were Jesuits, who had come to these regions to convert the Savages; then they implored him, by the blood of him whom he acknowledged as his Savior, and [243] by the mercy which he expected from him, that he might be pleased to have pity upon these poor French, over whom God had given him power; and that in their wretched condition he might see how changeable are the affairs of this world, allow them to return to France, their native country, and furnish them means therefor. The Captain listened to them very kindly, and answered them with like courtesy: "But," (said he) dissembling, "I am very

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

honneur: mais (dit-il) diffimulant, ie m'eftonne fort comme vous autres Iefuites, lefquels on tient communement pour gens de confcience, & de Religion, vous vous retrouuiez icy, neantmoins en la compagnie des forbans, & picoreurs, gens fans adueu & fans loy, ny honneur. Le P. Biard refpondit & preuua auec tant d'arguments, que toute leur troupe eftoit de gens de bien, & recommandés par fa Majefté [244] tres-Chreftienne: & refuta fi peremptoirement toutes objections contraires, que le Capitaine Anglois fut contrainct de faire femblant, qu'il s'y accordoit, vaincu par fes raifons. Certes (adioufta-il) il y a bien eu de la faute, à ce que ie voy, d'ainfi perdre vos lettres. Neantmoins ie traicteray de voftre retour auec voftre Capitaine, & dés lors iufques au depart, il fit toufiours manger à fa table lefdits deux Peres, leur moftrant beaucoup de respect & honesteté. Or il auoit vn'efpine au pied, qui le tourmentoit; c'eftoit le Pilote, & les Matelots, qui eftoyent euadés, & defquels il ne pouuoit fçauoir nouuelles. Ce Pilote appellé le Bailleur, de la ville de Roüen, s'en eftant allé pour recognoiftre (ainfi que vous a efté dit) ne peut point retourner à temps au nauire pour le defêdre, [245] & partant il retira fa chaloupe à l'efcart, & la nuit venuë print encores auec foy les autres Matelots, & fe mit en fauueté hors la veuë, & le pouuoir des Anglois. De nuict il nous venoit trouuer pour auifer auecques nous ce qui feroit de faire. Il fit en particulier ce bon office aux Iefuites: car il vint trouuer le P. Biard, & le prenant par la main le coniura de ne fe point meffier de luy, pource qu'il eftoit de la Pretenduë, l'affeurant qu'il ne manqueroit ny à luy, ny a aucun des Peres: & qu'il fupplioit Dieu, que tout

much astonished at you Jesuits, who are generally regarded as conscientious and Religious men, being here, nevertheless, in the company of pirates, marauders, and idle wanderers, who are men without calling, without law, and without honor." Father Biard answered, and proved by many arguments, that their whole company were honest people and were recommended by his most Christian [244] Majesty, and so summarily refuted all opposing arguments, that the English Captain had to seem to agree with him, conquered by his "Certainly (he added) there has been indeed logic. some fault, as far as I can see, in thus losing your letters. Nevertheless, I shall consider the matter of your return with your Captain." And from that time until our departure, he always had the two Fathers eat at his table, showing them great respect and courtesy. Now he had a thorn in his side, which caused him much uneasiness; it was the Pilot and Sailors who had escaped, and of whom he could get no news. This pilot,¹ called "le Bailleur," from the city of Roiien, had gone out to reconnoitre (as has been stated), and could not return to the ship in time to defend it; [245] therefore he turned his boat aside, and when night came took in with him the other Sailors, and withdrew to a place of safety, out of sight of the English and beyond their power. At night he came to see us and to talk over with us what was to be done. He performed this kind act especially for the Jesuits; for he came to Father Biard and taking him by the hand implored him not to mistrust him because he was of the Pretended² Religion, assuring him that he would not fail him, nor any of the Fathers, and that he should pray God not to forsake him also, as he was speaking from

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

ainfi il ne l'abandonnast point, comm'il le disoit de cœur fyncere. Le P. Biard le remercia de bonne affection, & luy promit de fe fouuenir de ceste fi bonne volonté: il luy dit neantmoins qu'il ne vouloit encores penfer à foy, iufques à ce qu'il vit tous les autres en beau [246] chemin. Oue lors il deuiendroit ce qu'à Dieu plairoit, admonnestant ledit Pilote de se garder de tomber és mains des Anglois: parce que le Capitaine buttoit fort à le pouuoir attraper. Ledit Pilote fit fagement fon profit de cest aduertiffement, & de celuv des autres. Car de là à deux ou trois iours, il paffa à la barbe des Anglois, comme fe fauuant, & s'en allant chercher nauire, & leur difant que ce n'eftoit pas pour cefte fois là, qu'il le falloit attedre. Mais il fe retira feulement derriere quelques Isles non loin de là pour y estre aux escoutes & confiderer quelle fortune nous arriveroit. Cela fit à mon aduis, que le Capitaine Anglois fe refolut pluftoft à ne nous pas faire pis, toutesfois il en auoit quelque voloté, ce que ie ne fçay. De vray par les coniectures de ce que nous auons experimété [247] defpuis, il eftoit bien Capitaine fort fage & rufé, mais neãtmoins gentil-homme avãt le courage noble: fes gents auffi n'eftoyet point inhumains, ny cruels contre perfonne de nous.

Or ne fçauroit-on croire les angoiffes aufquelles nous eftions en ce temps, car nous ne fçauions où donner de la tefte. Du cofté des Anglois, nous n'attendions que la mort, ou du moins la feruitude: auffi d'arrefter fur le pays, & viure parmi les Sauuages a leur façon tout vn an entier, & tant de gens, nous fembloit eftre vne mort bien longue & miferable. Ces bons Sauuages ayants ouy noftre defaftre s'en

16

a sincere heart. Father Biard thanked him very affectionately, and on his part promised to remember his good will; he told him, however, that he did not wish to think of himself, until he saw all the others on a safe [246] road, and then, let happen to him what God willed. He admonished the Pilot to be careful not to fall into the hands of the English, for the Captain was trying very hard to catch him. The Pilot wisely profited by this advice, and by that of the others. For, during the next two or three days, he went about in defiance of the English, as if making his escape and going for a ship, seeming to say to them that they need not count upon him this time. But he only withdrew behind some Islands not far off, to be on the lookout and to see what fortune might befall us. I believe this made the English Captain decide not to subject us to any worse treatment, however much he might have wished to do so. in regard to which I know nothing. Certainly, judging from what we experienced [247] afterwards, he was indeed a very shrewd and cunning Captain, but nevertheless a gentleman of truly noble courage; nor were his men inhuman or cruel to any of us.

Now it is impossible to imagine the anxiety we endured at that time, for we knew not which way to turn. From the English, we expected only death or at least slavery; but to remain in this country, and for so many men to live among the Savages in their way for a whole year, looked to us like a long and miserable death. These good Savages, having heard about our misfortune, came and offered to do their best for us, promising to feed us during the Winter, and showing a great deal of sympathy for us. But we could hope for nothing better [248] than they had; vindrent à nous, & nous offroyent leur poffible, promettants de nous alimenter durant l'Hyuer, & monftrants vne grande cõpaffion. Mais nous ne pouuions pas efperer mieux, [248] qu'ils n'ont. Auffi de trouuer autres expedients en vn tel defert: nous n'en voyons point. Voicy en fin comme Dieu nous pourueut.

1616-29]

also we could see no prospect of finding any other expedients in such a desert. Now see how God provided for us.

[VOL. 4

CHAPITRE XXIX. [i.e., xxvii.]

LES EXPEDIENTS TROUUEZ POUR REUENIR EN FRANCE, & COMME TRENTE DE NOS GENS Y ARRIUERENT APRES PLUSIEURS TRAUAUX.

L E Capitaine Anglois appellé Samuel Argal, & fon Lieutenant, dit Guillaume Turnel, commencerent à traicter de noftre retour felon leur promeffe auec noftre Capitaine la Sauffaye. Les Anglois offroyent des conditions bien iniques, mais pour le faire court, la conclusion fut qu'vne [249] chaloupe nous reftant de deux, q nous en auions, ils nous en l'aifferoyent vne, & qu'auec icelle nous allasions où Dieu nous conduiroit. Le Capitaine Anglois, cauteleux qu'il eft; voulut auoir vn efcrit, figné de la main de la Sauffaye, par lequel il tefmoignast, que c'eftoit de fon choix, que ce parti auoit efté prins.

Cefte conclusion ouye, le P. Biard s'en alla trouuer ledit Capitaine, & luy reprefenta, qu'ils reftoyent trente perfonnes, & qu'il eftoit impossible que tant de gens peuffent eftre entaffez dans vn fi petit vaisffeau, tant s'en faut qu'ils peuffent dans iceluy faire cent cinquante lieües, & trauerfer des bayes de dix & douze lieuës, comme il leur conuenoit faire, auant que trouuer aucũ nauire François, auquel ils se peuffent refugier: que cela eftoit manifestement [250] nous ietter à la mort, & au defession. L'Anglois respondit, q̃ la Sauffaye ne le croyoit pas ainfi: mais que fi on vouloit descharger ladicte chaloupe, qu'il en ouuriroit bien vn moyen: qu'il conduiroit à la Virginie les ar-

CHAPTER XXIX. [i.e., xxvii.]

THE MEANS WHICH WERE FOUND TO RETURN TO FRANCE, AND HOW THIRTY OF OUR PEOPLE AR-RIVED THERE AFTER MANY TRIALS.

THE English Captain, whose name was Samuel Argal, and his Lieutenant, William Turnel,³ began, as they had promised, to treat with our Captain la Saussaye about our return. The English offered some very unfair conditions, but to make the story short, the conclusion was that as one [249] boat remained to us of the two we had had, they would leave it for us, and with it we could go where God directed us. The English Captain, crafty as he was, wished to have a written acknowledgement signed by la Saussaye, in which he should testify that it was by his own choice that this course had been taken.

When this decision was heard, Father Biard went to see the Captain, and represented to him that there remained thirty persons, and that it was not possible for so many people to crowd into so small a vessel, and still less possible that they could therein make one hundred and fifty leagues, and cross bays of ten and twelve leagues, which would be necessary before they found any French ship in which they could take refuge: that such a thing was plainly [250] throwing ourselves into the jaws of death and of despair. The Englishman answered that la Saussaye did not think so, but if they wished to lighten the said boat he would find a means of doing so; that he would take tifants qui voudroyent y venir fous promeffe, qu'on ne les forceroit point en leur Religion, & que, apres vn an de feruice, on les feroit repaffer en France. Trois accepterent cefte offre.

Pareillement le fieur de la Mote dés le commencement auoit confenti de s'en aller à la Virginie auec ledit Capitaine Anglois, qui l'honnoroit beaucoup, parce qu'il l'auoit trouué l'efpée au poing, & voyoit en luy plusieurs autres bones qualitez, ce qui profitoit de beaucoup à toute noftre troupe. On luy auoit auffi permis de mener auec foy aucuns, qui de mefme [251] ferovent affeurez fous fa faueur. Le Capitaine Flory fe refolut pareillement de tenter la mefme fortune, parce qu'on luy donnoit efperance qu'il y pourroit recouurer fon nauire. Le P. Biard pria, que quatre qu'ils eftoyent, fçauoir eft deux lefuites, & deux autres fuffent portez au Isles de Pencoit, & que là on les recommandaft aux pefcheurs Anglois, qui y font d'ordinaire, à celle fin que par leur moyen ils peuffent repaffer en France, ce que le Capitaine Anglois luy octroya fort volontiers.

En cefte façon la chaloupe fe trouua conpetemment defchargée, & toute noftre troupe fut diuisée en trois egales bandes: Car quinze eftoyent auec la Pilote: quinze reftoyent auec les Anglois; & quinze entroyent dans la chaloupe accordée. De ces quinze [252] le P. Enemond Mafsé en eftoit l'vn, car le choix ayant efté baillé à la troupe de ceux, qui deuoyent entrer dans la chaloupe à ce qu'ils peuffent effire de tous les trois Iefuites celuy qu'ils aimeroient mieux pour leur faire compagnie; ce fut luy, qu'ils agreerent le plus.

Cefte chaloupe donc fut deliurée entre les mains

to Virginia the workmen who wished to go there, under promise that they would not force them in the matter of Religion, and that, after one year of service, they would send them back to France. Three accepted this offer.

Sieur de la Mote likewise had from the first consented to go to Virginia with the English Captain, who honored him greatly, because he had found him sword in hand, and saw in him many other good qualities, which proved a great advantage to all our company. He was, moreover, permitted to take with him some who were [251] to enjoy the same favor as he did. Captain Flory also decided to try the same fortune, because he was encouraged to hope that he might thus recover his ship. Father Biard begged that four of them, namely two Jesuits and two others, might be taken to the Pencoit Islands and recommended to the English fishermen, who are usually there, that they might, with their help, return to France. This the English Captain granted very willingly.

Thus the boat was sufficiently lightened, and our whole company was arranged in three equal divisions; for fifteen were with the Pilot, fifteen with the English, and fifteen had embarked in the boat left to them. Of this fifteen, [252] Father Enemond Massé was one, for, it having been granted to the company who were to go in that boat to choose the one of the three Jesuits whom they preferred to accompany them, it was he whom they favored the most.

This boat was then given in charge of la Saussaye, and of Father Enemond Massé, Jesuit, whom the English Captain highly honored. He delivered it over to them with a small supply of food, and other provisions. But our poor men were in great trouble

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

de la Sauffaye, & dudit P. Enemond Mafsé, Iefuite, que le Capitaine Anglois honora beaucoup. Il la liura quelque peu amonitionnée de viures, & autres prouifions. Mais nos pauures gens furent bien en peine, quand il la fallut conduire: car ils n'eftovent pour tout, que deux, ou trois mariniers, & iceux n'auoyent ny carte, ny cognoiffance des lieux. En cefte deftreffe Dieu les fecourut fort à poinct : car le Pilote, qui auoit mis fes gens en [253] feurté, desireux de sçauoir en quel estat estoit le reste de la troupe, fe defguifa en Sauuage & s'en vint efpier fur les lieux. L'Ange de Dieu le conduifit par le bon endroit; car il rencontra tout à propos cefte chaloupe, qui s'en alloit, & ne fçauoit comment cefte bonne fortune parut de fi bon augure aux rencontres, qu'ils s'affeurerent dés lors, que Dieu leur vouloit faire mifericorde, mefmes que pour furcroit de grace, ils firent vne fort belle pefche de gros Aumars ou Canchres de mer, & les Sauuages leur donnerent liberalement force oyfeaux, & poiffons, & de tout ce qu'ils auoyent auec grande fignification de compaffion.

En cefte façõ ils fe vindrēt ioindre à la chaloupe des Matelots, & de compagnie gagnerent l'Ifle de Menano. C'eft'Ifle eft à l'emboucheure [254] de la Baye Françoife, & d'icelle iufques à l'Ifle Longue, où falloit qu'ils trauerfaffent dix lieües de pleine mer fort fafcheufes à caufe des grandes marées, qui y courent, & bouillent: & de mal'heur, mauuais temps les retint icy huict, ou neuf iours. Leurs maux & apprehenfions les firent recourir à Dieu par vœus, & prieres, qui furent exaucées, comme il parut par le beau temps qui vint felon leur fouhait: à la faueur duquel

24

when they had to sail their vessel; for in all, there were only two or three sailors, and these had neither map nor knowledge of the country. In this distress God sent them relief in the very nick of time; for the Pilot, who had placed his men in [253] security, anxious to know how the rest of the company were faring, disguised himself as a Savage and went spying about the place. The Angel of God guided him through the right path, for he very opportunely encountered this boat, which was sailing off with no knowledge of navigation. This good luck seemed such a favorable omen to those in the boat, that they were sure from that time on that God would be merciful to them; and, as a superabundance of grace, they had great success in catching large Lobsters or Sea crabs, and the Savages generously gave them quantities of birds and fish and all other things they had, with great exhibitions of sympathy.

Thus they fell in with the boat containing the Sailors, and in their company reached the Island of Menano. This Island is at the entrance [254] to French Bay, and thence they went as far as Long Island; in this passage they had to cross ten leagues of a very angry sea caused by the strong and violent currents which flow between, and unfortunately, bad weather kept them there eight or nine days. Their sorrows and apprehensions made them have recourse to God with vows and prayers, which were heard, as was evident from the beautiful weather which followed, according to their wish, and by means of which they reached Long Island. Here, in order to keep their promise, they planted a Cross, celebrated Holy Mass, and marched in procession. Here also God had prepared a storehouse; for they found in this place a good pile

ils paruindrent à l'Isle Longue, où pour tenir leur promeffe ils planterent vne Croix, celebrerent la Saincte Meffe, & firent vne proceffio. Là auffi Dieu leur auoit preparé vn magafin: car ils y trouuerent vn bon monceau de fel, que le fieur de Biencourt y auoit autrefois delaifsé, & pour l'employer ils firent vne fort bonne, & heureuse pesche. Ainsi prouisionnez [255] ils pafferet au Cap Forchu, auquel lieu ils trouuerent le Sagamo Louys Membertou, qui fit grand accueil au P. Enemond Mafsé, & le vouloit retenir à toute force. Mais ledit Pere s'excufa fur la neceffité de ne point delaiffer fa compagnie. Le Sauuage leur fit à treftous Tabagie d'vn Orignac, ce qui leur fit grand bien, & en doublerent plus ioveusement defpuis le Cap de Sable. Eftants ja proches du Port au Mouton, ils eurent au deuant d'eux quatre chaloupes de Sauuages, qui reuenoyent de la trocque. C'eftoit Roland, & autres Sagamos, qui auffi toft recogneurent ledit P. Enemond, & luy firent leurs liberalitez bien grandes certes : demie Galette de pain à chacun des copagnons, & vne entiere à luy. C'eftoit le monde renuersé, les Sauuages fourniffoyent du pain, aux [256] François gratuitement. Ce pain fembloit de la Manne à nos tribulez: car de trois fepmaines ils n'en auoyent mangé. Et pour le comble de fouhait, les Sauuages leur dirent, que non guieres loin de là y auoit deux nauires Fraçois, l'vn à Sezambre, & l'autre à Paffepec. Ce qui fit diligenter nos Pelerins à ce qu'ils ne les perdiffent.

Ces deux nauires eftoyent Maloüins, l'vn appartenant au Ieune Dupont, duquel nous auons fouuent parlé cy deuant, d'enuiron cinquante tonneaux feulement: le Capitaine Vible Bullot commandoit à l'autre,

26

of salt, which sieur de Biencourt had previously left there, and to find use for it they caught a fine lot of Thus provisioned, [255] they passed on to fish. Cape Forchu, where they found the Sagamore, Louys Membertou, who gave Father Enemond Massé a hearty welcome and tried by all means to keep him there. But the Father excused himself, giving as his reason the necessity of remaining with his company. The Savage made Tabagie for them all with Moose Meat, which was a great blessing to them, and then they doubled Cape Sable more cheerfully. When they were in the neighborhood of Port au Mouton, they saw before them four boats filled with Savages, who were returning from the trading station. Tt. was Roland and other Sagamores, who immediately recognized Father Enemond, and showed him a generosity truly wonderful; namely, by giving half a Sea Biscuit to each of his companions, and a whole one to him. Behold the world turned upside down, the Savages freely furnishing bread to the [256] French. This bread seemed like Manna to our afflicted (Frenchmen), for they had tasted none for three weeks. And to complete the fulfillment of their wish, the Savages told them that not far from there were two French ships, one at Sezambre and the other at Passepec. This caused our Pilgrims to hasten, that they might not fail to see them.

These two ships were from Saint Malo, one belonging to Dupont the Younger, whom we have frequently mentioned before, this ship being only about fifty tons burthen; Captain Vible Bullot commanded the other, of a hundred tons, and (a good augury) called the "Sauveur." Each of these two took its half of the whole band, but those in the smaller vessel suffered

qui eftoit de cent tonneaux, & (de bon augure) s'apelloit le Sauueur. Chacun de ces deux print fa moitié de toute la troupe, mais ceux du petit vaiffeau patirent beaucoup: car tout leur defailloit : place, viures, eau: & furent horriblement agitez de [257] tempeftes & contrarieté de vents: noftre mefchef neantmoins arriua profperemêt pour ce vaiffeau, parce qu'il auoit perdu beaucoup de fes gens, & à peine s'en fut-ils peu reuenir fans ce rencontre, & nouueau renfort de nos desbandez.

Au grand vaiffeau, appellé *le Sauueur*, on fut mieux, mefmes que les Matelots furent fi charitables, que de leur propre gré ils retrancherent leur ordinaire, & quitterent plufieurs bonnes places pour accommoder leurs hoftes. Le P. Enemond Mafsé fut retiré en ceftuy-cy, & le Pilote Alain Yeon luy fit beaucoup de charitez. Ils furent accueillis pareillement de tempeftes, & experimenterent eftre vray, ce qu'on dit du feu S. Elme, où Freres confolants, que quand ils apparoiffent deux à la fois, c'eft bon figne. Car deux apparurêt [258] vn quart d'heure fur leurs Antemnes, & bien toft apres les bourrafques & furies de mer s'accoiferent.

Tous les deux nauires arriuerent en fauueté à S. Malo, quafi en mefme temps quoy que le Sauueur fuft parti douze iours plus tard. La ioye, qu'ils receurent vous la pouuez eftimer, repaffant par la memoire les dangers dont ils fe voyoyent efchappez. Le P. Enemond Mafsé, & toute la troupe fe loüent beaucoup de l'humanité & bon accueil, qu'ils receurent en ladicte ville de Sainct Malo, de mon Seigneur l'Euefque, de Monfieur le Gouuerneur, de MM. les Magiftrats, Marchands, & generalement de tous.

a great deal, being in need of everything, room, food, and water, and being horribly shaken up by [257] tempests and adverse winds; our disaster, however, happened very opportunely for this vessel, because it had lost many of its crew, and could scarcely have returned without this chance meeting and fresh reinforcement afforded by our wanderers.

In the larger vessel, called *the Sauveur*, they fared better, as the Sailors were so kind-hearted that, of their own free will, they stinted themselves of their rations, and left several good places for the accommodation of their guests. Father Enemond Massé had taken refuge in this one; and the Pilot, Alain Yeon, showed him great kindness. They were likewise assailed by tempests, and experienced the truth of the saying about St. Elmo's fire, or the consoling Brothers, that when two appear at once, it is a good omen. For two appeared [258] for a quarter of an hour upon the Lateen Sailyard, and soon after, the fury of the tempest and the sea abated.

Both ships arrived safe at St. Malo almost at the same time, although the "Sauveur" had departed twelve days later. You may imagine their joy in recalling to memory the dangers from which they had escaped. Father Enemond Massé and the whole company greatly praised the kindness and welcome they received in the city of Saint Malo, from my Lord the Bishop, from the Governor, the Magistrates, Merchants, and all the citizens in general.

[Vol. 4

CHAPITRE XXX. [i.e., xxviii.]

[259] LE VOYAGE DE LA VIRGINIE; & LE RETOUR EN LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

DIEV foit beny. Voyla ja les deux tiers de noftre troupe reconduits en France fains & fauues parmi leurs parents, & amis, qui les oyent conter leurs grandes auantures. Ores confequemment vous defirez fçauoir que deuiendra l'autre tiers, qui eft encores demeuré entre les Anglois. Certes bien plus longue, & plus variable fortune les attend, & tous n'en fortiront pas bagues fauues.

Les Anglois auoyent trois vaiffeaux, fçauoir eft le leur, auec lequel ils nous auoyent prins, de cent trente tonneaux. Le noftre, qu'ils auoyent faifi de cent tonneaux, [260] & vne barque de douze tonneaux, laquelle pareillement ils tenoyẽt de nous, & ne la nous auoyent point voulu quitter, pour fournir à noftre retour. Ils remplirent ces trois vaiffeaux de leurs gens, & nous partagerent entre eux. Le fieur de la Mote, le Capitaine Flory, & le refte d'vne moitié faifant en tout huict perfonnes, furent logez en la Capitaneffe, & les autres en nombre de fept, demeurerent dans le nauire captif, duquel le Lieutenant Turnel eftoit faict Capitaine.

Or pour commencement de mal-heur, on ne conduifit point les Iefuites aux Ifles de Peucoit, felon la promeffe, ains on les mena droit à la Virginie auec le refte de la troupe, laquelle on confoloit par belles

CHAPTER XXX. [i.e., xxviii.]

[259] THE VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA; AND THE RETURN TO NEW FRANCE.

G OD be praised. Here were now two-thirds of our company conducted back to France, safe and sound, among their friends and kindred, who listen to them as they relate the stories of their wonderful adventures. Consequently you will wish to know what became of the other third, who remained behind in the hands of the English. In truth, a longer and more varied fate awaits them, and all will not emerge therefrom unharmed.

The English had three vessels; namely, their own, with which they had captured us, of a hundred and thirty tons; ours, which they had seized, of a hundred tons; [260] and a barque of twelve tons, which they had likewise taken from us, and would not give back to be used for our return. They filled these three vessels with their people, and distributed us among them. Sieur de la Mote, Captain Flory, and half of the rest, making in all eight persons, were placed in the "Capitanesse," and the others, seven in number, remained in the captured ship, of which Lieutenant Turnel was made Captain.

Now as the beginning of their ill luck, the Jesuits were not taken to the Peucoit Islands, according to promise, but were taken straight to Virginia with the rest of the crowd, who were consoled with bright hopes, inasmuch as (said they) the Marshal of Virefperances d'autant que (difoit-on) le Marefchal de la Virginie, qui a toute charge, [261] & autorité de iurifdiction, eftoit grand any des François, come ayant obtenu tous les principaux honneurs par la recommandation de feu Henry le Grand, & ayant efté fon foldat, & fon penfionnaire. Cela nous prefchoit on fouuent.

Mais nos prefcheurs ne prenoyent pas leur texte de l'Euangile. Car ce beau Marefchal, qui à leur dire auoit le fil, & la trempe fi Françoife, avant ouy nouuelles de nous, ne parloit que de harts & gibets, & de nous faire pendre treftous. L'espouuante nous en fut donnée, & aucuns en perdirent le repos, ne s'attendants plus qu'à monter ignominieusement par vne efchelle, & deualer miferablement par vne corde. Mais le Capitaine Argal fe mõftra genereux à nous defendre: car il refifta audit Marefchal, oppofant la [262] foy par luy donnée. Et comm'il fe vid trop foible en ceste oppositio; il publia nos commissions, & lettres Royaux, dont ie vous ay parlé cy deuant, qu'il auoit fubtilement enleué des coffres de la Sauffaye. Et c'eft par ce moyen que nous auons fceu qu'il auoit vfé de telle rufe, car autremet nous n'en euffions peu rien defcouurir. Le Marefchal voyant ces autoritez de fa Majesté tres-Chrestienne, & la refolution du Capitaine, n'ofa paffer plus outre, ainfi apres quelques iours & quelques autres apprehenfions, on nous fit fçauoir, que parole nous feroit gardée.

Or comment on nous la garderoit, & quel moyen on nous trouueroit de nous renuoyer en France, c'eftoit vne grande queftion. Le General, le Marefchal & tous les Principaux chefs de la Virginie s'affem-

ginia,⁴ who has full power [261] and authority of jurisdiction, was a great friend of the French, as he had secured all his more important honors through the recommendation of the late Henry the Great, having been his soldier and pensioner. This was preached to us frequently.

But our preachers did not take their text from the Gospels. For this charming Marshal, who had the fibre and character of a Frenchman, as they said, when he heard an account of us, talked about nothing but ropes and gallows, and of having every one of us hanged. We were badly frightened, and some lost their peace of mind, expecting nothing less than to ignominiously walk up a ladder to be let down disgracefully by a rope. But Captain Argal showed great magnanimity in defending us: for he opposed the Marshal, urging the [262] promise given by him. And as he found himself too weak in this opposition, he published our commissions and Royal patents, of which I have spoken before, which he had surreptitiously removed from la Saussaye's trunks. And it was in this way we learned that he had made use of such a trick, for otherwise we should never have found it out. The Marshal, seeing these warrants of his most Christian Majesty, and the determination of the Captain, did not dare go any farther; so, after several days spent in great apprehension, we were informed that their promise would be kept.

Now how they were going to keep it, and what means would be found to send us back to France, was the great question. The General, ⁵ the Marshal, and all the other Important personages of Virginia assembled in Council. [263] The result and conclusion of their consultation was to act still worse



1616-29]

blerent en Confeil. [263] Sur icelle le refultat & conclusion des opinions fut de pis faire que iamais, puis qu'il leur fembloit d'en auoir le moyen. Car il fut ordonné que le Capitaine Argal auec fes trois vaiffeaux retourneroit en la nouuelle France, pilleroit, & raferoit toutes les fortereffes, & habitations des François qu'il trouueroit en toute la cofte jufques à Cap Breton: c'eft à dire iufques au 46 degré, & demy: (parce qu'ils pretendent à tout tat de pays: qu'il feroit pendre la Sauffaye, & tous ceux de fes gens, lefquels il trouueroit eftre demeurez dans ces confins; pilleroit de mefme tous les vaiffeaux, qu'il rencontreroit, trouuant toutesfois moyen aux perfonnes de fe pouuoir retirer en France: en cas qu'ils ne fissent point de refistance; & qu'on nous mettroit nous autres vieux prifonniers en compagnie [264] de ceux à qui en ceste façon lon feroit grace de la vie. Telle fut la deliberation. Mais Dieu eftoit par deffus, & come vous orrés, il en disposa autrement, quant à plufieurs articles.

Selon cefte conclusion, Argal reprint vn'autrefois la route de la nouuelle France, plus fort que deuãt, car il auoit trois vaiffeaux, & auec meilleure efperance: parce que le butin, qu'il auoit faict fur nous luy accroiffoit, & la cupidité, & l'efpoir. Il ne print cependant auec foy la moitié de nos gens, ie ne fcay pourquoy. Dans fon vaiffeau eftoit le Capitaine Flory, & quatre autres; dans celuy du Lieutenant Turnel (qui eftoit le noftre captif) les deux Iefuites, & un garçon.

Le premier lieu où ils tirerent fut S. Sauueur. Car ils s'attendoyẽt d'y trouuer la Sauffaye: & vn nauire [263 i.e., 265] nouuellement venu. Ils furêt trompez,

than ever, since it seemed to them they had the power to do so. For it was decreed that Captain Argal, with his three vessels, should return to new France, plunder and demolish all the fortifications and settlements of the French which he should find along the entire coast as far as Cape Breton: namely, to 46 and one half degrees north latitude, (for they lay claim to all this territory: that he was to have la Saussaye hanged, with all those of his men whom he found remaining within these limits; that he should likewise plunder the ships, which he encountered, finding means, however, to allow their people to return to France, in case they showed no resistance; and that we old prisoners should be placed in company [264] with those whose lives had thus been spared. Such was the decision. But God was on high, and, as you will hear, he decreed otherwise in regard to a number of things.

In accordance with this decision, Argal again started for new France, stronger than before, for he had three vessels, and higher expectations; because the booty he had taken from us strengthened both his cupidity and his hopes. However, he did not take with him the half of our people, I know not why. In his vessel were Captain Flory and four others; in that of Lieutenant Turnel, (which was the one captured from us) the two Jesuits and a boy.

They directed their course first to St. Sauveur, for they expected to find la Saussaye and a newly arrived [263 i.e., 265] ship there. They were mistaken, inasmuch as la Saussaye was in France, as has been said. They burned our fortifications and tore down our Crosses, raising another to show they had taken possession of the country, and were the Masters thereof. d'autant que la Sauffaye eftoit en France, ainfi qu'a efté dit: ils bruflerent nos fortifications, & abbatirent nos Croix, en dreffants vne pour marque, qu'ils fe faififfoyet du pays, comme Seigneurs.

Cefte Croix portoit le nom graué du Roy de la grande Bretaigne. Ils pendirent auffi vn de leurs hommes, pour caufe d'vne confpiration au mefme endroict, où huict iours au parauant ils auoyent abbatu la premiere de nos Croix.

De fainct Sauueur ils addrefferent à S. Croix, ancienne habitation du fieur de Monts, & parce qu'ils auoyent fceu, que le P. Biard y auoit efté, Argal vouloit qu'il les y conduifit, mais ledit Pere ne le voulut point, ce qui le mit entierement en la difgrace dudit [264 i.e., 266] Argal, & en grand danger de fa vie. Ce neantmoins Argal roda tant en haut qu'en bas, & rechercha tant tous leurs endroits, les confrontans auec les cartes, qu'il nous auoit prinfes, qu'en fin il la trouua de foy-mefme; il en enleua vn bon monceau de fel, qu'il y trouua, brufla l'habitation, & deftruifit toutes les marques du nõ & droict de France, ainfi qu'il auoit eu commandement.

1616-29]

This Cross had carved upon it the name of the King of great Britain. Also, on account of a conspiracy, they hanged one of their men in the very place where, eight days before, they had torn down the first of our Crosses.

From saint Sauveur they sailed for Ste. Croix, sieur de Monts's old settlement; and, as they knew that Father Biard had been there, Argal wished him to conduct them thither; but the Father would not consent to do so. This caused him to be in complete disgrace with [264 i.e., 266] Argal, and in great danger of his life. Notwithstanding this, Argal wandered about, up and down, and, by dint of searching all places thoroughly and comparing them with the maps which he had taken from us, he at last found the place himself. He took away a good pile of salt, which he found there, burned the settlement, and destroyed all traces of the name and claims of France, as he had been commanded to do.

[Vol. 4

CHAPITRE XXXII. [i.e., xxix.]

LA PRINSE, & INCENDIE DE PORT ROYAL, DEUX GRANDS DANGERS DU P. BIARD.

E Capitaine Argal ayant ruiné faincte Croix; ne fçauoit comment addreffer, & faire voile à Port Royal felon la commiffion qu'il en auoit, d'autant qu'il [265 i.e., 267] doutoit de s'aller engouffrer en fi dangereufe plage fans conducteur bien cognoiffant des lieux, & par l'exemple frais, qu'il auoit du P. Biard, il n'ofoit attendre qu'aucun François l'y voulust coduire, ou l'y confeiller fincerement. cefte caufe il fe mit en quefte de quelque Sauuage, & fit tant par fes courfes, embufches, enqueftes, & industries, qu'il furprint le Sagamo, homme tres-experimenté, & entendant au faict du pays; à la conduicte d'iceluy il vint à Port Royal. Or il y euft eu là fans doute du mal-heur pour le regard des François, parce que l'Anglois entrant à la Lune, dans le Port comm'il fit, & venãt anchrer à la veuë de l'habitation à plus de deux lieuës loin, fi les Fraçois euffent veillé, ils auoyét beau moyen ou de fe preparer au combat, ou de fe defbagager: car à [266 i.e., 268] caufe de la marée, l'Anglois ne fut deuant l'habitation qu'à dix, ou onze heures du iour fuiuant. Ie ne fçay ce qu'on fit. Tant y a que l'Anglois mettant pied à terre ne trouua perfonne dans le fort, & vit des fouliers & des hardes efparfes. Par ainfi il euft double iove en ceste prinse: l'vne qu'il ne trouua aucune re-

CHAPTER XXXII. [i.e., xxix.]

THE TAKING AND BURNING OF PORT ROYAL; FATHER BIARD TWICE IN GREAT DANGER.

APTAIN Argal, having destroyed sainte Croix, did not know in what direction to sail to reach Port Royal, according to his commission, and hesitated all the more as he [265 i.e., 267] was afraid of being stranded upon such a dangerous coast without a guide who was very familiar with the locality; and, judging from the recent example of Father Biard, he did not dare expect that any Frenchman would consent to guide him, or give him sincere advice in the matter. For this reason, he began to look for a Savage, and by dint of much running about, lying in ambush, inquiring, and skillful maneuvering, he caught the Sagamore, a very experienced man, and well acquainted with the country; under his guidance, he reached Port Royal. Now there was certainly bad luck for the French, as the English entered the Port by Moonlight, and dropped anchor in sight of the settlement, at a distance of more than two leagues; so, if the French had been on their guard, they would have had an excellent opportunity to prepare for a fight, or to run away, for on [266 i.e., 268] account of the tide, the English were not in front of the settlement until ten or eleven o'clock the next day. I do not know what they were doing. At all events, when the English landed, they found no one in the fort, and saw shoes

fiftance, ce que iamais il n'euft penfé; l'autre qu'il rencontra vn affez bon butin, à quoy il ne s'attendoit pas.

Ce rencontre de butin non attendu, penfa coufter la vie au P. Biard: voicy comment. Les Anglois avant ja perdu beaucoup de temps à chercher faincte Croix: & defpuis à attraper vn Sauuage, qui fuft leur conducteur, le Lieutenãt Turnel eftoit d'aduis de laiffer le voyage de Port Royal, & s'en retourner au pluftoft à la Virginie, alleguant pour raifons, que le lieu [267 i.e., 269] eftoit tres-dangereux, & la faifon par trop auancée (car c'eftoit la fin d'Octobre,) & qu'au bout de tant de peines, ils n'y auroit point de profit, parce qu'on n'y trouueroit rien, finon mifere, & la haine des François, qu'ils s'acquerroyent bien meritoirement par le bruslement qu'ils y alloyent faire, fans recompenfe d'aucun emolument. Le Lieutenãt Turnel auoit ouy ces raifons du P. Biard, auec lequel il prenoit fouuet plaisir de deuiser, & les estimoit fort valides. Or le Capitaine Argal avant eu le bõheur d'vne facile entrée, & defpuis dans Port Royal (ainfi qu'à efté dit) vn affez bon butin, en viures, hardes, & vtenfiles dans l'habitation; il reprochoit à fon dit Lieutenant, fon confeil, & la croyance qu'il auoit eu au Iefuite: & mefmes pour cefte caufe luy faifoit moindre part de la proye. [268 i.e., 270] Le Lieutenant en eftoit en grande cholere, & d'autant plus qu'on l'auoit toufiours en reputation d'homme d'efprit, & de bon confeil, de quoy il fe voyoit deçeu à l'occafion comm'il penfoit, du Iefuite.

Or il y auoit vn Puritain Anglois, maiftre du grand nauire plus malin que tous les autres, diffimulé neantmoins, car ils faifoit les plus beaux femblants du

and clothing all scattered about; so they were doubly pleased by this capture, first, because contrary to all their expectations, they met no resistance; and second, because they found a fair supply of booty, which they were not anticipating.

This unlooked-for capture of booty nearly cost Father Biard his life, in this way. As the English had already lost a great deal of time looking for sainte Croix, and afterward in finding a Savage who might act as their guide, Lieutenant Turnel was of the opinion that it would be better to abandon the voyage to Port Royal, and return as soon as possible to Virginia; giving as his reasons that the place [267 i.e., 269] was very dangerous and the season too far advanced (for it was the end of October); that, after so much trouble, there would be no profit in the end, because they would find nothing there but misery and French hatred, which they would very deservedly draw down upon them by the conflagration they were going to kindle there, without being requited for it by any reward. Lieutenant Turnel had heard these arguments from Father Biard, with whom he often took pleasure in conversing, and considered them very good. Now when Captain Argal had such an easy entry, and afterwards at the settlement of Port Royal (as we have said) found such a quantity of booty in food, clothes and utensils, he reproached his Lieutenant for his advice, and for his confidence in the Jesuits: and on that account gave him a smaller part of the plunder. [268 i.e., 270] The Lieutenant was very angry, and so much the more so, as he had always had the reputation of being a man of intelligence and good judgment, which he had now forfeited, as he thought, on account of the Jesuit.

monde: mais les autres Anglois nous aduertiffoiet de ne no⁹ point fier en luy, d'autant qu'il eftoit malignement enuenimé contre nous. Ceftuy-cy donc voyant fon coup, perfuadoit au Capitaine, & au Lieutenant, lefquels il voyoit efmeus, d'abandonner à terre le Iesuite, difant, qu'il estoit estoit indigne que les Anglois, luy donnaffent des viures, puis qu'il les auoit voulu empefcher d'e auoir, [269 i.e., 271] & mille autres raifons qu'il alleguoit. Ie ne fçay qui fecouruft tant à propos le Iefuite en ce danger, que fa fimplicité. Car tout de mesme, que s'il eust esté bien fauorifé, & qu'il eust peu beaucoup enuers ledit Anglois, il fe mit à genoux deuãt le Capitaine par deux diuerfes fois, & à deux diuerfes occafions, à celle fin de le flechir à mifericorde enuers les François dudit Port Royal efgarés par les bois, & pour luy perfuader de leur laiffer quelques viures, leur chaloupe, & quelqu'autre moyen de paffer l'Hyuer. Et voyez combien differentes petitions on faifoit audit Capitaine: car au mefme temps, que le P. Biard le fupplioit ainfi pour les François, vn François crioit de loin auec outrages, & iniures tres indignes à haute voix, qu'il le falloit maffacrer. Or Argal (qui eft d'vn cœur [270 i.e., 272] noble,) voyant cefte tant fyncere affection du Iefuite, & de l'autre cofté cefte tant beftiale & enragée inhumanité de ce François, laquelle ne recognoiffoit ny fa propre nation, ny biens-faicts, ny Religion, ny eftoit domtée par l'affliction "& verges de Dieu, eftima que ce luy feroit toufiours reproche, & impropere, fi fans iugement, & fans auoir ouy parties, il venoit à delaiffer pour vne accufation fubtile, celuy à qui il auoit donné fa parole. Et par ainfi reietta tout enfemble, & la fuafion de l'Anglois, & la forcenerie du Fran-

Now there was an English Puritan, master of the larger vessel, more malicious than all the others, yet hypocritical, for he made the finest pretensions in the world: but the other Englishmen advised us not to trust him, as he was wickedly prejudiced against us. So this man, seeing his opportunity, persuaded the Captain and Lieutenant, who he saw were aroused, to leave the Jesuit on shore, saying he did not deserve that the English should give him food since he had tried to prevent them from obtaining it, [269 i.e., 271] and offering a thousand other arguments. I know not what rescued the Jesuit so opportunely from this danger, unless it were his simplicity. For just as if he had been highly favored, and had great influence with these English, he dropped upon his knees before the Captain, two different times and upon two different occasions, to move him to pity towards the French of Port Royal who were wandering about through the woods, and to persuade him to leave them some food, their boat, and other means of passing the Winter. And see now what different requests were being made to this Captain: for at the same time that Father Biard was thus petitioning him in behalf of the French, a Frenchman was shouting out from afar, with most scandalous insults and abuse, that he ought to be slain. Now Argal (who has a noble [270 i.e., 272] heart), seeing the so sincere affection of the lesuit, and, on the other hand, the so brutal and infuriated inhumanity of this Frenchman, who remembered neither his own country, nor kindnesses, nor Religion, nor was crushed by God's afflicting rod, considered that it would always be a reproach and disgrace to him, if, without trial and hearing from both sides, he should cast off, on account of a sly and

43

çois, d'autant plus appaifé enuers le Iefuifte, que plus il le voyoit attaqué fans qu'il remarquaft en luy changement, ou alteration.

Or ledit Capitaine ayant enleué de Port Royal tout ce qui luy fembla commode, iufques aux [271 i.e., 273] ais, verroils, ferrures, & cloux; il y mit le feu. Chofe certes bien pitoyable, car dans vn'heure ou deux on vit reduit en cendres le trauail & defpenfe de plusieurs années & perfonnes de merite. Et plaife à noftre Seigneur que ce mefme feu ave tellement destruit tous les pechés, qui peuuent auoir efté commis en cefte place, que iamais ils ne refufcitent plus en aucune part, ny ne prouoquent la iuste & redoutable vengeance de nostre Dieu. L'Anglois (comme i'ay dit autre part) effaçoit par tout, tous monuments, & indices de la puiffance Francoife : ce qu'il n'oublia pas icy infques à faire vfer du pic, & cifeau fur vne groffe & maffiue pierre, en laquelle estovent entaillés les nos du fieur de Monts, & autres Capitaines auec les fleurs de lys. Ce faict, il leua l'anchre pour s'en aller; mais [272 i.e., 274] il fut retenu par le mauuais temps à l'emboucheure du Port trois, ou quatre iours.

Tandis qu'il feiournoit icy à l'Anchre, vn François de ceux dudit Port demanda de parlementer: ce qui luy fut accordé. Or entre les bõs affaires, que ce beau parlementateur vint traicter, fut de dire au Capitaine Anglois, qu'il s'efmerueilloit bien fort, comment il n'auoit pieça deliuré le monde du pernicieux Iefuite, qui eftoit en fes nauires, Si ce n'eftoit, peuteftre que le mal-heur l'y conferuaft pour reuancher les François par quelque trahifon mefchante, que ledit Iefuite ioüeroit à fon coup, & occafion. Car

cunning accusation, him to whom he had given his word. And so he rejected both the persuasions of the Englishman, and the rage of the Frenchman, looking upon the Jesuit all the more favorably as he saw that, however much he was attacked, there was no change or deterioration in his conduct.

Now this Captain, having taken away from Port Royal everything that seemed convenient to him, even to the [271 i.e., 273] boards, bolts, locks, and nails, set the place on fire. A truly pitiable thing, for in an hour or two the work of several worthy people, during a number of years, was reduced to ashes. And may our Lord grant that this same fire has so completely destroyed all sins, which may have been committed in this place, that they may never again arise in any other place, nor ever provoke the just and dreadful vengeance of our God. The English (as I have stated elsewhere) destroyed, everywhere, all monuments and evidences of the dominion of the French; and this they did not forget to do here, even to making use of pick and chisel upon a large and massive stone, on which were cut the names of sieur de Monts and other Captains, with the fleurs-de-lys. This done, they weighed anchor to sail away, but [272 i.e., 274] bad weather detained them three or four days at the mouth of the Harbor.

While they remained anchored here, a Frenchman from among those at the Port asked to confer with them; his request was granted. Now among the nice things which this fine parliamentarian did, was to say to the English Captain that he was very much surprised indeed that he had not already rid the world of the pernicious Jesuit, who was in one of his ships. If he were not despatched, perhaps some ill luck might

1616-29]

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

c'eftoit (difoit-il) vn vray, & naturel Efpagnol, qui avant commis plusieurs forfaicts en France, à cause defquels il en eftoit fuitif, leur auoit encores donné beaucoup [273 i.e., 275] de fcandales à Port Royal, & qu'il ne falloit aucunement douter, qu'encores ne fit-il pis aux Anglois. Argal oyant dire, que le P. Biard eftoit naturel Efpagnol, ne le pouuoit croire; mais on luy donna ceft'accufation par efcrit, & foubfigné de cinq ou fix: & le preffoit-on fort à ce qu'il iettaft en terre à l'abandon ledit P. Biard. Mais tant plus qu'on l'en preffoit, tant moins l'Anglois y confentoit, parce que y confentant il ne pouuoit fuir le deshonneur d'auoir manqué de foy, & de iuftice; là où le gardant pour la Virginie, il s'attendoit de l'y faire mourir en acquerant loüange de fidelité à fon office, & de patience à fupporter. Car en communiquant au Mareschal cefte deposition des François, & adiouftant par deffus comme ledit Pere n'auoit voulu monstrer l'Isle S. [274 i.e., 276] Croix, & auoit tafché de diuertir les Anglois d'aller à Port Royal; il n'auoit garde deschapper des mains du Mareschal, defquelles à peine l'auoit-on peu arracher, lors mefme. qu'on n'auoit aucune prinfe fur luy. Ainfi Dieu le voulut fauuer pour lors, & encores pl9 merueilleufement despuis, comme vous orrez. Cependant vous remarquerez fagement iufques à quelle rage le malin esprit agite ceux, qui se vendent à luy, & combien il faut eftre referué à croire les delations & detractios, puis que le P. Biard auoit vescu dans Port Royal, & auoit toufiours efté notoirement recogneu pour ce qu'il eft, c'eft à dire bon François naturel, & qui iamais ne fut en Efpagne ny luy, ny fon pere, ou mere, ou aucun de ses parens. Or que

keep him there to take revenge for the French upon the English by some wicked treason, which the Jesuit would be guilty of, in his way and at his opportunity. For he was (said he) a true and native Spaniard, who, having committed several crimes in France, on account of which he was a fugitive from justice, had also been the cause of a great deal [273 i.e., 275] of scandal at Port Royal, and there could not be the slightest doubt that he would do something still worse to the English. Argal, when he heard it said that Father Biard was a native Spaniard, could not believe it; but this charge, made in writing and signed by five or six persons, was handed to him; and they urged him strongly to put on shore and desert Father Biard. But the more they urged him, the less the Englishman would yield to them, because in giving his consent, he could not escape the dishonor of having broken faith and failed in doing justice; whereas, if he kept him until he got to Virginia, he could count upon having him executed there, at the same time receiving praise for his fidelity to his word, and for his patience in bearing with him. For when he would communicate to the Marshal this statement of the French, and add to it that the Father would not consent to guide them to the Island of Ste. [274 i.e., 276] Croix, and had tried to keep the English from going to Port Royal, there would be no danger of his escaping from the hands of the Marshal, from which they had hardly rescued him before, although then they had no claim upon him. Thus God willed that he should be saved that time, and still more wonderfully since then, as you will hear. Meanwhile, you will wisely observe to what madness the evil spirit incites those who sell themselves to him, and how ce neantmoins vn François fe foit trouué fi poffedé par l'efprit [275 i.e., 277] fanguinaire, que pour le faire mourir il foit venu à impofturer fi furieufement, & receuant le chaftiment de Dieu n'en aye faict autre profit, que de fe proftituer fi defefperement à Sathan, & à calomnie, cela furpaffe toute apprehenfion commune de malice, & à peine peut-on conceuoir, qu'vn homme puiffe deuenir fi vendu, & fi defefperement afferui à peché.

necessary it is to be cautious in believing slanders and detractions; for Father Biard had lived in Port Royal, and had always been universally recognized for what he is; namely, a good, native-born Frenchman, who had never even been in Spain, neither he, nor his father, nor his mother, nor any of his kin-Now notwithstanding all this, a Frenchman dred. was found so possessed with the spirit of [275 i.e., 277] bloodshed, that to have him killed he was led to commit such a monstrous act of imposition, and while under the chastisement of God, derived no other advantage therefrom than to sell himself so hopelessly to Satan and to calumny. This exceeds all ordinary conceptions of wickedness, and it is difficult to conceive how a man can be so desperately given up to and enslaved by sin.

[Vol. 4

CHAPITRE XXXI. [i.e., xxx.]

LE DEPART DE PORT ROYAL, LES DIUERSES AUEN-TURES DES NAUIRES; & COMME NOUS FUSMES CONTRAINTS DE RELASCHER AUX AÇORES.

E neufuiefme de Nouembre de cefte année 1613. les Anglois departiret de Port Royal en intention de s'aller rendre à [276 i.e., 278] leur Virginie, & y iouïr du butin l'hyuer fuiuant. Or dés ce temps le Lieutenant Turnel, ne regardoit plus le P. Biard, que comme vn pendard abominable: il le deteftoit encores d'auantage, quand il repenfoit au pafsé: car par le paísé, il auoit faict eftat de le prifer, & l'aymer pour fa naïfue fimplicité, & ouuerte candeur. Mais ayant veu le tefmoignage par efcrit de tant de François, qui l'affeuroyent eftre naturel Efpagnol, & mefchant homme, il aimoit mieux croire, que le Iefuite fust menteur, que non pas tant d'autres, qui l'accufoyent. Par ainfi il haiffoit d'autant plus irreconciliablement cefte fi profonde & impenetrable diffimulation (comme il penfoit) d'vn Efpagnol, contrefaifant le François, laquelle luy, homme reputé pour accort, & bien aduisé, n'auoit fceu defcouurir [277 i.e., 279] en tant de temps; ains à laquelle il s'eftoit laifsé furprendre iufques à vne familiarité, & amitié grande. Telle eftoit la cholere du Capitaine Turnel, lequel d'ores en auant i'appelleray abfoluement Capitaine & non plus Lieutenant, parce que nous allons nous feparer: efcoutez comment.

Le fecond iour apres noftre depart, veille de S.

CHAPTER XXXI. [i. e., xxx.]

THE DEPARTURE FROM PORT ROYAL; VARIOUS AD-VENTURES OF THE SHIPS; AND HOW WE WERE COMPELLED TO STOP AT THE AÇORES.

N the ninth of November of this year, 1613, the English left Port Royal, intending to go back to [276 i.e., 278] Virginia, and there to enjoy their booty during the following winter. Now from this time on, Lieutenant Turnel only looked upon Father Biard as an abominable rascal: he hated him still more when he thought of the past, for then he had openly shown his esteem and love for him on account of his naïve simplicity and open candor. But having seen the testimony in writing of so many Frenchmen, who assured him that he was a native Spaniard, and a wicked man, he preferred to believe that the Jesuit was a liar, rather than to disbelieve so many others who accused him. Therefore his hatred was all the more irreconcilable against the deep and impenetrable hypocrisy (as he thought) of a Spaniard, pretending to be a Frenchman, which he, reputed to be a man of sagacity and wisdom, had not been able to discover [277 i.e., 279] in so long a time, but had allowed himself to be drawn by it into great familiarity and friendship. Such was the wrath of Captain Turnel, whom I shall hereafter call simply Captain and no longer Lieutenant, because we are going to be separated [from the other ships]; hear in what way.

On the second day after our departure, on the eve

Martin, vn fi grand orage s'efleua, qu'il efcarta nos trois vaiffeaux en telle façon, que defpuis ils ne fe font point reueus enfemble; ains ont tiré treftous bien diuerfes routes.

La barque n'a point comparu defpuis, & nouuelles aucunes n'en ayant efté ouyes aucuns fe doutent qu'elle foit perie, auec les fix Anglois, qui eftoyent dedans.

La Nau Capitaneffe, où commendoit Argal, nonobftät le contrafte, vint à port heureufement [278 i.e., 280] à la Virginie dãs trois fepmaines, ou enuiron. Le Marefchal (duquel nous vous auons parlé cy deuant) ouyt fort volontiers du Capitaine Argal, tout ce qui s'eftoit pafsé, & attendoit en bonne deuotion le P. Biard pour luy toft accourcir les voyages, luy faifant trouuer au milieu d'vne efchelle le bout du monde; mais Dieu, maiftre de la vie, & des puiffances difpofe à fon bon plaifir de fes creatures, & non à la fantafie du bras humain; prenant plaifir au tiltre, que luy donne fon Pfalmifte, d'eftre le Seigneur, *qui deliure le pauure des mains des plus forts, & le deftitué, de la puiffance de ceux, qui le pillent*, comme ie m'en vais vous monftrer, qu'il a faict.

Les deux lefuites, & vn garçon François eftoyent dans le nauire captif, fur lequel auoit efté commis le Capitaine Turnel; ce nauire [279 i.e., 281] feparé d'auec Argal par la tépefte en fut tant inceffamment pourfuiuy feize iours durant, que le Capitaine perdant efperace de pouuoir aborder la Virginie, appella tous fes gents, & mit en deliberation, qu'eft-ce qu'il faudroit faire pour fauuer leurs vies. Car de combattre les orages plus long temps pour ne fe pas efloigner de ladicte Virginie, il n'y auoit point d'ap-

52

of St. Martin, so terrible a storm arose that our three vessels were scattered so effectually that they never came together afterwards, but all sailed away in different directions.

The barque was never seen again, and, no news of it having been heard, no one doubts that it was lost with the six Englishmen who were on board.

The Ship "Capitanesse," which Argal commanded, notwithstanding its hindrances, safely reached port [278 i.e., 280] in Virginia, after three weeks or thereabout. The Marshal (of whom we have spoken above) listened very willingly to Captain Argal as he related all that had taken place, and in a proper spirit of devotion awaited Father Biard, to shorten for him his voyages and to make him find the end of the world from the middle of a ladder; but God, master of life and all-powerful, disposes of his creatures according to his own good pleasure, and not according to the whims of human authority; taking pleasure in the title given him by the Psalmist, of being the Lord, Who delivers the poor from the hands of the strong, and the destitute from the power of those who strip him, as I am going on to show you he did.

The two Jesuits and a French boy were in the captured ship which had been committed to the care of Captain Turnel; this ship, [279 i.e., 281] separated from Argal by the tempest, was so incessantly followed by it for sixteen days, that the Captain, losing hope of being able to reach Virginia, called together all his people, and took counsel with them upon the best way to save their lives. For there seemed to be no probability that they would longer be able to combat the storms so as to keep near Virginia, because they had in the ships the horses taken from Port Royal,

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

parence, parce que on auoit dans le nauire des cheuaux prins à Port Royal, qui les ruinoyent d'eau tant ils en beuuoyent, les tourbillons rompoyét tant de voiles, aufuents, & cordages, qu'il n'y auoit plus de quoy les refaire, & les viures eftoyent bien bas, hors la mouluë feulement, de laquelle y auoit affez; mais de pain on n'en auoit eu, par l'efpace de trois mois, que deux onces chafque iour pour tefte, [280 i.e., 282] bien rarement trois: & fi il en reftoit fort peu. En cefte deliberation les mariniers furêt d'aduis qu'il falloit fouftenir encores quelques iours pour leur hõneur. Et (approbation de leur confeil) le bon temps leur arriua au iour fuiuant, & les conduifit fi auant qu'ils ne s'eftimoyent pas eftre à plus de vingt & cing lieuës de leur port.

Pour en confeffer la franche verité, les Iefuites ne prioyent point pour ce bon temps, car ils fçauoyent affez où c'eft qu'il les conuoyoit. Or Dieu, croy-ie, ayãt pitié d'eux, fufcita vn gaillard, & fougueux furoüeft, qui vint donner droict en face à nos Anglois, & les contraignift de mettre le nauire en cappe (comme l'on dit) de plier toutes les voiles, & de penfer à leur confcience.

Le Capitaine voyant cefte rage [281 i.e., 283] de vents, & de vagues ne voulut plus s'opiniaftrer, ains conclud, qu'il falloit relafcher aux Açores à 7. cents lieuës de là, pour s'y pouruoir de leurs neceffitez, & attendre le bon temps. Il fit tourner le cap pour adreffer là, & auffi toft apres on tua les cheuaux qui nous auoyent gafté & confumé noftr'eau, de maniere qu'elle eftoit toute infecte, & puante, & encores la donnoit on en bien petite mefure. Mais la chair de cheual eftoit fort bonne, au gouft des Iefuites.

Or durant ces furieufes, & horrib[1]es tempeftes,

54

and these spoiled as much of the water as they drank; the winds had so torn their sails and broken their gunwales and ropes, that they had nothing left with which to repair them; the stock of food was low, except the codfish, of which they had enough; but as to bread, they had had, during three months, only two ounces a day to each person, [280 i.e., 282] very rarely three; and so there remained but little of it. In this consultation, the sailors were of the opinion that their honor demanded them to hold out some days longer. And (in approval of their decision) fair weather came the next day, and bore them so far ahead that they judged they were no more than twenty-five leagues from their port.

To tell the honest truth, the Jesuits did not pray for this fair weather, knowing very well to what fate it was carrying them. Now God, taking pity on them, as I believe, aroused a lively and vigorous southwester, which blew right in the Englishmen's teeth, and forced them to lie to (as the saying is), to reef the sails, and to examine their consciences.

The Captain, seeing this fury [281 i.e., 283] of the winds and waves, thought it well not to persist in his course, but decided to make for the Açores, 7 hundred leagues from there, to provide for their necessities and to wait for good weather. He turned the prow in that direction, and immediately thereafter they killed the horses which had been spoiling and drinking the water, so that it was all infected and had a bad smell; and even this was measured out to us in small quantities. But the horseflesh was very good, according to the taste of the Jesuits.

Now during these furious and horrible tempests, when all had good reason to look into their con-

1616-29]

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

comme tous auoyent bien occafion de penfer à leur confcience, Dieu particulierement difpofoit le Capitaine. De maniere, qu'vne fois bien repentant, il appella le P. Biard, & luy tint ces difcours, que je vais inferer quafi de mot à mot: car ce [282 i.e., 284] Capitaine parloit bon François, & beaucoup d'autres lagues vulgaires, outre le Latin & le Grec, qu'il entendoit bien, homme de grand efprit, & qui a bien eftudié: P. Biard, (difoit-il) Dieu eft courroucé contre nous, ie le voy biẽ; il est courroucé contre nous, di-je, mais non pas contre vous; contre nous, parce que nous vous sõmes allés faire la guerre, fans la vous premierement denõcer, ce qu'est contre le droict des gens. Mais ie proteste, que ç'a esté contre mon aduis, & mon gré. Ie n'euffe fceu qu'y faire, il me falloit fuiure, i'eftois feruiteur. Ainfi ie vous dy, que ie voy bie que Dieu est courroucé contre nous, mais non pas contre vous, ains à l'occafion de vous: car vous ne faictes que patir. Le Capitaine s'arreftat icy, vo9 pouués eftimer fi le Iefuite manqua de refpõdre à propos. Le Capitaine, [283 i.e., 285] le prit d'vn autre endroit, mais, P. Biard (dit-il) c'eft chofe eftrange, que vos François de Port Royal vous accufent ainfi. Le Pere refpondit, Mais mofieur, m'aués-vous iamais ouy mefdire d'eux? Nenny, dit-il; ains i'ay fort bien remarqué que quand on mefdifoit d'eux, & deuant le Capitaine Argal, & deuant moy, toufiours vous les aués defendus, i'en fuis bon tefmoin. Monfieur (dit le Pere) prenez argument de là, & iugés, qui a Dieu, & la verité de fon costé; ou les mefdifants, ou bien les charitables. Ie l'entends bien, dit le Capitaine: mais, Pere Biard, la charité ne vous a elle point fait mentir, quãd vous me difiez, que

56

sciences, God especially inclined the Captain to do so, in such a manner, that once, when he was feeling very repentant, he called Father Biard and held with him the following conversation, which I here insert almost word for word: for this [282 i.e., 284] Captain spoke good French, and many other common languages, besides Latin and Greek, which he understood very well; he was a man of great intelligence and a thorough student. "Father Biard" (said he) "God is angry at us, I see it clearly; he is angry at us, I say, but not at you; angry at us, because we went to make war upon you without first giving you notice, which is contrary to the rights of nations. But I protest that it was contrary to my advice, and my inclination. I did not know what to do, I had to follow, I was merely a servant. But I tell you I see very clearly that God's wrath is kindled against us, but not against you, although on your account: for you do nothing but suffer." The Captain pausing here, you may judge whether or not the Jesuit failed to make a suitable answer. The Captain [283 i.e., 285] took up another phase of the question. "But, Father Biard" (says he) "it is strange that your countrymen from Port Royal should accuse you thus." The Father answers, "But, Sir, have you ever heard me slander them?" "By no means," he says, "but I have clearly observed that when evil things are said of them, both before Captain Argal and before me, you have always defended them, of which I am a good witness." "Sir" (the Father says) "draw your own conclusions from that, and judge which have God and truth on their side, whether the slanderers, or the charitable." "I know that very well," says the Captain, "but, Father Biard, did not charity make you

57

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

nous ne trouuerions que mifere à Port Royal? Le Pere repartit, Pardonnez moy, monfieur, vous priant de vous fouuenir, que ie ne vous ay dit [284 i.e., 286] finon que moy eftant là, ie n'y auois veu, & trouué que mifere. Cela feroit bon, dit le Capitaine, fi vous n'eftiés Efpagnol, comme l'on dit que vous eftes, car l'eftat, ce que vous defirés tant de bien aux Fraçois n'eft pas pour amour que vous leur portés, ains pour haine des Anglois. A cecy le Pere Biard refpondit fort au long: mais il ne luy peut iamais defraciner ceft'opinion, difant, qu'il n'eftoit point croyable, que cinq, ou fix François conftitués en affliction euffent voulu figner vne fauffe accufation contre vn leur concitoyen Preftre: n'y ayants autre profit que de le faire perdre, & par ce moyen fatis-faire à leur maudite paffion.

Ie vous ay faict ce recit à fin que la fuaue difpolition de la diuine prouidence foit recogneuë, & que vous entendiez, côme Dieu [285 i.e., 287] alloit preparant peu à peu le cœur du Capitaine. Car il fe trouua biê perplex, & luy & fes gens, quand ils fe virent pres des Açores. La caufe en eftoit, parce que ces Ifles font habitées des Portugais Catholiques; par ainfi les Anglois confideroyent, que venants à y anchrer, il faudroit fouffrir la vifite du nauire. Que fi en la vifite on defcouuroit les Iefuites que c'eftoit faict d'eux, parce qu'on deliureroit lefdits Iefuites, comme Catholiques: & qu'eux feroyent pendus, ou pour le moins mis à la cadene comme voleurs de Preftres.

Le remede à ce mal eftoit facile, faifant faire aufdits Iefuites vn faut dans la mer. Neantmoins comme ie vous ay monftré, la crainte de Dieu s'ef-

58

lie, when you told me we should find nothing but misery at Port Royal?" " Pardon me," answers the Father, "I beg you to remember that I told you only [284 i.e., 286] that when I was there, I saw and found nothing but misery." "That would be all right," says the Captain, "if you were not a Spaniard, as they say you are; for, being one, the great good which you desire for the French is not on account of the love you bear them, but on account of your hatred of the English." Upon this Father Biard entered into a long explanation; but he could never eradicate this opinion from the Captain's mind, who said it was not credible that five or six Frenchmen, surrounded by afflictions, would have consented to sign a false accusation against a Priest, one of their own fellow-citizens, deriving no other profit therefrom than to destroy him, and in this way to satisfy their evil passions.

I have narrated this to you that the kindly dispositions of providence may be recognized, and that you may understand how God [285 i.e., 287] proceeded, little by little, to prepare the heart of the Captain. For both he and his crew were greatly perplexed, when they found themselves near the Açores. The reason for this was, that these Islands are inhabited by Catholic Portuguese, so the English judged that, in anchoring there, they would have to allow the ship to be visited; and if in this visit the priests were discovered, it would be all over with them, for the Jesuits, as Catholics, would be liberated, and they [the English] would be hanged, or at least condemned to the chain and ball, as robbers of Priests.

The remedy for this evil was an easy one; namely, to make the Jesuits take a leap into the sea. Never-

toit refueillée, qui combattoit pour eux. Noftre Seigneur en fin, qui les [286 i.e., 288] protegeoit aux prieres de fa glorieufe Mere, fit que le Capitaine fe refolut de les cacher au fonds du nauire, efperant que cela fuffiroit pour feurté: comme il fuffit auffi, mais la bone foy des Iefuites y aydant, ainfi que vous entendrés tout à ceft'heure.

theless, as I have shown you, the fear of God was awakened, and this contended for them. Our Lord indeed who [286 i.e., 288] protected them through the prayers of his glorious Mother, caused the Captain to decide to conceal them in the hold of the ship, hoping this would suffice for their security, as it did; but the good faith of the Jesuits assisted therein, as you will soon hear.

CHAPITRE XXXII. [i.e., xxxi.]

COMME LE NAUIRE FUT VISITÉ AUX AÇORES, & LA BONNE FOY, QUE LES IESUITES GAR-DERENT AUX ANGLOIS.

L A main de Dieu eftoit euidemment fur les Iefuites pour les proteger, ainfi que vous auez peu apperceuoir par cy deuant: Et fut manifefte en vn autre danger, qu'ils pafferent; que nous ne racontons pas icy, pour n'eftre longs, auquel neantmoins [287 i.e., 289] ils confeffent d'auoir eu plus de peur, qu'en beaucoup d'autres, & non fans caufe. Cefte protection diuine fe monftra encores clairement en ce quell'ofta l'apprehenfion du peril au Capitaine. Car s'il euft preueu les grands dangers qu'il courut puis apres, ie ne fcay s'il euft efté affez confcientieux, ou fes gens pour ne fe point refoudre au meurtre, auant que de tomber aux perplexités, aufquelles ils furent reduits, en cefte façon.

Ils arriuerent à l'Iſle de Faeal, qui eft vne des Açores, & ne fe penfoyent à leur arriuée, que d'anchrer aupres de la ville, d'enuoyer leur batteau pour fe charger d'eau, de laquelle ils auoyent principalement befoin, & achepter quelque peu de bifcuit, & autres neceffitez plus preffantes. En cefte façon il eftoit fort facile [288 i.e., 290] de cacher les Iefuites, parce qu'on ne vifite gueres, que fort legerement ceux qui font loin de terre, & puis la vifite paffee: tout le peril eft paffé. Cefte confideration fit refoudre tant facilemet le Capitaine à ne pas vfer de

CHAPTER XXXII. [i.e., xxxi.]

HOW THE SHIP WAS VISITED AT THE AÇORES, AND HOW THE JESUITS KEPT THEIR PROMISE TO THE ENGLISH.

G OD'S hand was evidently stretched over the Jesuits for their protection, as you have been able to see heretofore. It was also manifest in another danger through which they passed, and which we do not relate here, lest we be tedious, in which, nevertheless, [287 i.e., 289] they confess to have felt more fear than in many others, and not without cause. This divine protection was even more evident in removing all apprehensions of danger from the Captain. For if he had foreseen the great risks which he ran afterwards, I am not sure that he or his crew would have been so conscientious as not to have resolved upon murder, before falling into the perplexities to which they were in this way reduced.

They came to the Island of Faeal, one of the Açores, where, upon their arrival, they intended only to anchor near the town, to send their boat for a supply of water, which they needed most, and to buy a few biscuit and other very necessary articles. In this way it was quite easy [288 i.e., 290] to conceal the Jesuits; for those vessels which are some distance from the land are only slightly visited, and, this visit over, all danger is past. This was the reason why the Captain so readily resolved not to use cruelty. But fate found other ways and means, which he had not con-

[VOL. 4

cruauté. Mais la fortune trouua bien autres tours, & deftours qu'il ne péfoit: car il luy falluft entrer dans le haure, & fe tenir à la veuë de la ville, & des autres nauires. Là de sinistre accident, nostre nauire s'alla heurter contre vne carauelle Efpagnolle, chargée de fuccre, & luy rompit fon beau-pré; l'Efpagnol penfa que ce fut vn guet à pens, à celle fin de furprendre fon vaiffeau, & le voler: tout ainfi qu'auoit faict vn François dans le mefme port, cinq femaines au parauat, & partant fe print à crier au courfaire, faifant armer fes gens, & peu s'en fallut que lon [289 i.e., 291] ne vinft aux mains. Grand bruit & grande efmeute dans la ville, & par tous les nauires qui eftoyent là, grand alarme. Il falluft que le Capitaine allaft à terre, & y demeuraft pour gages, & affeurance: encores ne pouuoit-on croire, qu'il fut autre que Pirate. on vint visiter & reuisiter le nauire, & les Iefuites iouoyent comme l'on dit a efconfailles, de trou en cachot, & de cachot en fonds, toufiours en quelque nouuelle musse. Or fur le vif, & le chaud des foupçons, & grabuge, les Efpagnols venants vifiter les pauures Peres & le garcon Francois eftoyent derriere vne chaloupe fe tenant coys & fans fouffler, car si feulement ils eussent foufflé vn peu gros, ou remué la main ou le pied, ils euffent efté defcouuerts. La chofe eftoit fi hazardeufe, que nos Anglois en transiffoyent de [290 i.e., 292] male-peur. Mais les Iefuites leur voulurent conftamment garder la foy pour plusieurs raisõs, & entre autres, pour faire voir par effect aux calomniateurs de l'Eglife Catholique, qu'à tort, & contre verité ils luy impofent d'enfeigner, qu'il ne faut point garder la foy aux heretiques. Ce qu'est totalement faux, & contre fa doc-

64

sidered; for he was obliged to enter the harbor and remain in full view of the town, and of other ships. There, by an unlucky accident, our ship ran foul of a Spanish caravel, loaded with sugar, and broke its bowsprit; the Spaniards thought this was a ruse by means of which to surprise their vessel and rob it, just as a French ship had done in the same port five weeks before; and so they began to cry "pirates!" at the same time arming their crew; just a [289 i.e., 201] little more and they would have come to blows. There was great commotion and noise in the town, and considerable alarm throughout all the ships in the harbor. The Captain had to go on shore, and remain there as a hostage and security; and even then, no one could believe that he was other than a Pirate. They came to visit and revisit the ship, and the Jesuits played, as the saying is, at hide and seek, from top to bottom, from dungeon to hold, always finding some new hiding place. Now during the liveliest and fiercest suspicions, and disputes, the Spaniards came to visit the ship, and the poor Fathers and the French boy were huddled behind a boat, still and breathless; for if they had even breathed a little loud, or moved hand or foot, they would have been discovered. The thing was so dangerous that our English were seized with a [290 i.e., 292] panic. But the Jesuits wished to continue to keep faith with them for several reasons, and among others to make the slanderers of the Catholic Church really see that they ascribed to it wrongfully and untruthfully the doctrine that it is not necessary to keep faith with heretics; which is totally false and contrary to its belief. But let us return to the Spaniards. They never discovered the said fathers in their visit, and went away with a very high

trine. Mais reuenons aux Efpagnols, ils n'apperceurent iamais lefdits peres en leur vifite, & s'en allerent en fort bonne opinion des Anglois, qui les voyants dehors, & reuenants à foy de la grande apprehenfion en laquelle ils auoyent efté, fe prindrent à faire tant de careffes aux Peres, & tant de fefte en recognoiffance de leur fincerité, qu'en pourroyẽt faire vne troupe de bons parents & amys s'entre rencontrants en paix apres vne abfence, & feparation [291 i.e., 293] de bien long temps. Les mefmes Anglois ont fouuent depuis loüangé lefdicts Peres en la prefence de leurs Miniftres en Angleterre de cefte leur fidelité, & les Miniftres en demonftroiẽt grands fignes d'eftonnement & admiration. opinion of the English. The latter, when they saw them outside, recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown, began to embrace the Fathers as effusively, and to make as great a celebration in acknowledgment of their sincerity, as a company of kind kindred and friends would make at a peaceful reunion after a very long [291 i.e., 293] absence and separation. These same English have often since then praised the Fathers for this their fidelity, in the presence of their Ministers in England; and the Ministers have thereupon made great demonstrations of astonishment and admiration.

CHAPITRE XXXII.

LA VENUË EN ANGLETERRE: & LA DELIURANCE DES IESUITES.

ES Anglois demeurerent trois fepmaines entieres engagez en cefte Ifle, que nous difons de Fæal, pendant lequel téps les pauures Iefuites ne peurent point voir le Soleil. Or parce que lefdicts Anglois auoyent faute d'argent, ils ne peurét guieres s'y remplumer, ce qui les fit du tout [292 i.e., 294] refoudre à ne plus retenter la Virginie, ains s'en reuenir en Angleterre, attendu mefmemét que ja ils fe voyoient dans la prefente année 1614. qui eftoit le terme de leur feruice.

Or eftants en la courfe & voye d'Angleterre, la tempefte nous ietta hors la marche (qu'on appelle) c'eft à dire, hors le Canal qui eft entre France & Angleterre, & nous fallut refugier au Port de Milfier, en la Prouince de Galles. Là vne autre fois toutes prouifiõs nous defaillirent, ce qui contraignit noftre Capitaine d'aller à Pembroch, ville principale de ceft endroit, & Viceadmirauté, mais à Pembroch il fut arrefté prifonnier, fur le foupcon qu'on auoit qu'il ne fuft Pirate. Le foupçon naiffoit de ce que luy, & fes gens eftoient Anglois, & leur nauire toutesfois eftoit faiét à la [293 i.e., 295] Frãçoife, ce qui faifoit prefumer, qu'il venoit du Port de Gryp aux Ifles de l'Arcin, pardeçà le Cap Efcumant. Le Capitaine fe iuftifia du mieux qu'il peuft, difant la verité: mais on

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND; AND THE DELIVERANCE OF THE JESUITS.

THE English were occupied three entire weeks at this Island, which we call Fæal, and during this time the poor Jesuits were not able to see the Sun. Now as these English were in need of money, they could not fit themselves out there, and this made them firmly [292 i.e., 294] decide to make no further attempt to return to Virginia, but to go back to England, especially as they now found themselves in the present year, 1614, which was the term of their service.

Now on our way to England the tempest cast us out of la ma[n]che⁶ (as it is called); that is, out of the Channel between France and England, and we were obliged to take refuge in the Harbor of Milfier [Milford], in the Province of Wales. There again all provisions failed us, which compelled our Captain to go to Pembroch [Pembroke], the principal city of this place, and a Vice-admiralty. But at Pembroke he was taken prisoner, as they suspected him of being a Pirate. The suspicion arose from the fact that he and his crew were English, yet their ship was made after French [293 i.e., 295] models, which made them think he came from Port de Gryp on the Arcin Islands, this side of Cape Escumant. The Captain justified himself as well as he could, by telling the truth; but they did not believe him, inasmuch as ne luy croyoit pas, d'autant qu'il n'auoit point de Commiffions: & n'en pouuoit auoir, parce que n'eftant que Lieutenant, il fuiuoit fon Capitaine, & ne s'eftoit feparé d'auec luy que par accident de tempefte, ainfi qu'auez ouy. A cefte caufe il fut contrainct de produire pour tefmoins de fa preud'homie les deux Iefuites, qu'il auoit dans fon nauire, gens irreprochables, ce difoit-il, & difoit vray.

Auffi toft par commandement du Magiftrat lefdits Iefuites furët appellés à terre; & interrogés en Iuftice, auec grand refpect. Eux conterent la verité du faict, & à leur deposition le Capitaine fut [294 i.e., 296] tenu gentil-homme d'honneur, & de bien; fauf à demession differents touchant la nouuelle Frace par deuat le Roy. Neantmoins il fallut feiourner vn grand long temps audit Pembroch attendat response de Londres, car il fut neceffaire d'y enuoyer tant pour auoir de l'argent, que pour aduertir de cest affaire le grand Admiral, & la compagnie des Marchands, qui ont charge de la Virginie.

Et ceft icy, où l'admiration arrefte, & mon haleine, & mon pas; pour m'efcrier auec le Sage, Que les difpofitions de la Diuine prouidence font veritablement dreffées au compas, articulées au nombre, & mefurées au poids, & trebuchet, iufques à vn demy grain. Car ceft appel des Iefuites fut fans doute, vne induftrie de cefte paternelle prouidêce, qui les affiftoit par tout: d'autant que [295 i.e., 297] s'ils fuffent demeurés dans le nauire, comm'ils y eftoyent, deftitués de tout, au cœur de l'hyuer (car c'eftoit en Feurier) & ce, quatre fepmaines durant, il eft vrayfemblable qu'ils fuffent morts de froid, & de mifere: mais au moyen de ceft appel, ils furent cogneus par le Iuge, lequel

70

he had no Commission, and could not have had, because being nothing but a Lieutenant he followed his Captain, from whom he was accidentally separated by the storm, as you have heard. For this reason he was obliged to produce, as witnesses of his honesty, the two Jesuits whom he had in his ship, irreproachable men, as he said, and said truly.

Immediately, by command of the Magistrate, the Jesuits were summoned to come on shore, where they were very respectfully interrogated in a Court of Justice. They stated the real facts of the case, and upon their testimony the Captain was [294 i.e., 296] acknowledged to be a gentleman of honor and of worth; as to the disentanglement of our difficulties about new France, these were to be reserved for the King. Nevertheless, we had to make a very long sojourn at Pembroke, awaiting an answer from London, for it was necessary to send there, partly to obtain money, partly to make known the affair to the high Admiral, and the company of Merchants who have charge of Virginia.

And here admiration makes me pause and hold my breath, to cry out with the Wise Man, *That the dispensations of Divine providence are truly arranged by compass, joined harmoniously, and measured by weight and balance even to the half of a grain.* For this call of the Jesuits was without doubt a contrivance of this paternal providence, which everywhere assisted them; inasmuch as, [295 i.e., 297] if they had remained in the ship, as they were doing, in want of everything, in the depths of winter (for it was February), and had continued to do this during four weeks, it is probable that they would have died of cold and starvation; but, by means of this summons, they became known fort honefte & graue perfonnage qu'il eft, ayant entendu combien ils eftoyent mal dans le nauire, les fit loger chez le Maire de la ville, & paya pour eux, difant, que s'ils auoyent dequoy, ils le luy rendroyent: finon que cela feroit donné pour Dieu: car autrement ce nous feroit trop de honte, (difoit-il) fi gens tant honneftes, & fçauants ne trouuoyet de la courtoifie parmy nous. Ce bon Seigneur s'appelle Nicolas Adams, Vice-admiral dudit Pembroch.

OR pendant ce fejour toute [296 i.e., 298] forte de gens les alloient voir, & de bien loin, par curiofité de voir des Iefuites en leur habit, ainfi qu'ils eftoient, & ont toufiours efté iufques à leur retour en Frace. Ministres, Iusticiers, Gentilshommes, & autres venoyent conferer auec eux; Vn Milord mefmes du grãd Confeil voulut auoir le plaifir de les accarer en difpute rangée auec quatre Ministres. Ie dy Ministres pour m'accommoder à l'intelligence Françoife: car en Angleterre ils les appellent Preftres: Et le Chef de la difpute eftoit vn Archidiacre, parce que les Anglois retiennent encores beaucoup de l'Eglife Catholique, comme l'Ordre de la Hierarchie Ecclefiaftique, Archeuefques, Euefques, Preftres, Archipreftres, Archidiacres, Curez, Chanoines, &c. L'impofition Epifcopale des mains en la creation des Preftres, [297 i.e., 299] & moindres Ordres, & en la confirmatio des enfans, Le Crefme, & les ceremonies, le figne de la Croix, & l'Image d'icelle, & d'autres: La Pfalmodie, & culte ordinaire, les festes ordonnées des Saincts, & Sainctes, les Vigiles, les Ieufnes, le Carefme, l'Abftinence des viandes au Vendredy, & Samedy, les habits Sacerdotaux, & vaiffeaux facrez: Et ceux qui condamnent toutes ces chofes, comme font les

72

to the Judge, honorable and grave personage as he is, and he, having heard how badly off they were in the ship, had them lodged in the house of the Mayor of the city, and paid for them himself, saying they might pay it back if they had the means, otherwise it would be given to God. "For" (said he), "it would be a great disgrace to us if such honorable and learned men were not received among us with courtesy." This kind Gentleman's name is Nicolas Adams, Vice admiral of Pembroke.

Now during this sojourn [296 i.e., 298] all kinds of people went to see them, and some from a great distance, through curiosity to see Jesuits dressed in their robes, as they were then and always have been until their return to France. Ministers, Justices, Gentlemen, and others came to confer with them; even a Lord of the great Council wished to have the pleasure of pitting four Ministers against them in debate. I say Ministers, to make myself intelligible to the French, for in England they call them Priests. And the Chief one in the debate was an Archdeacon, for the English still have a great many things in common with the Catholic Church, as the Order of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Archpriests, Archdeacons, Curates, Canons, etc.; the Episcopal laying on of hands in the ordination of Priests, [297 i.e., 299] and lesser Orders, and in the confirmation of children; the Chrism and its ceremonies, the sign of the Cross, the Image of this and of other things; the Psalmody and usual form of worship, the prescribed Saints' days, the Vigils, Fasts, Lent, Abstinence from meat on Friday and Saturday; Priestly robes, and consecrated vessels. And those who condemn all these things, as the Cal-

1616-29]

Caluiniftes de France & d'Efcoffe, & les appellent fuperfitions damnables, & inuentions de l'Antechrift, font nommez des Anglois, Puritains, & les deteftent comme peftes execrables.

Or en fin, refponfe venant de Londres, on fceut, que Monfieur l'Ambaffadeur de France auoit efté aduerty de l'arriuée de ce nauire, & en pourfuiuoit la reddition, [298 i.e., 300] & particulierement des Iefuites, ayant eu commandement de ce faire de fa Majefté tres-Chreftienne. Ce fut vn autre effect de la Prouidence diuine, lors qu'elle moyenna ce noftre arreft, en la Prouince de Galles, à celle fin qu'il fuft cogneu de tous: car nous auons de grands indices: & vous en verrez tantoft aucuns, que fi les Marchands, qui ont furintendance de la Virginie, en pouuoient faire à leur gré, pas vn eftranger, qui auroit efté en ladicte Virginie, ne reuiendroit iamais en fon pays.

Pour toft finir noftre difcours, notez que les Iefuites furent conduits par vn long circuit au Port de Sanduicts; & de là ramenez à Douure par le commandement du Roy, & de Douure à Calais, où ils rendirent graces à Dieu pour tant de fignalez benefices, [299 i.e., 301] & prouidence fienne, & en auoyent bien occafion, ayants demeuré neuf mois & demy entre les mains des Anglois. Le fieur d'Arquien, Gouuerneur dudit Calais, & Monfieur la Baulaye, Doyen, leur firent de leur grace fort bon accueil, & leur aumofnerent affez pour fe conduire iufques à leur College d'Amiens. vinists of France and of Scotland do, and call them damnable superstitions, and inventions of the Antichrist, are by the English called Puritans, and are detested by them as abominable plagues.

When at last an answer came from London, it was learned that the Ambassador of France⁷ had heard about the arrival of this ship, and was negotiating its surrender, [298 i.e., 300] especially the surrender of the Jesuits, having had orders to do so from his most Christian Majesty. This was another effect of divine Providence, since it caused this our arrest in the Province of Wales to the end that it might be known to all; for we have strong proofs, and you will soon see some of them, that if the Merchants in whose hands lay the administration of Virginia, had been able to have their own way, not one foreigner who was to be found in Virginia, would ever have returned to his own country.

To finish our story as quickly as possible, note that the Jesuits were taken by a long roundabout way to the Harbor of Sanduicts [Sandwich], and from there sent to Dover by order of the King, and from Dover to Calais, where they rendered thanks to God for such signal blessings [299 i.e., 301] and providences, for which they had good cause, having been nine months and a half in the hands of the English. Sieur d'Arquien, Governor of Calais, and Monsieur la Baulaye, Dean, gave them a very warm reception and provided them with means to return to their College at Amiens.

1616-29]

[VOL. 4

CHAPITRE XXXIV. [i.e., xxxiii.]

LE RETOUR DU SIEUR DE LA MOTE, DU CAPITAINE FLORY, & DE QUELQUES AUTRES. ET LA REDDITION DU NAUIRE.

PEV apres cefte deliurance des Iefuites, Dieu recueillit encores par fa mifericorde, quafi tout le refte du naufrage en cefte façon.

Le garçon qui eftoit auec les Iefuites, appellé Guillaume Crito, [300 i.e., 302] fut conduit à Londres, & de là renuoyé à fon Pere à Honfleur.

Sur ce mefme temps le fieur de la Mote reuint auffi en Angleterre dans vn vaiffeau de la Bermude, qui auoit paffé par la Virginie.

Le Capitaine Argal combatit genereufement contre le Marefchal Thomas Deel (que vous auez ouy eftre fort afpre en fes humeurs) à fin d'obtenir de luy permiffion du retour, pour ledit fieur de la Mote, & l'obtint en fin.

Or ledict fieur la Mote fut fort eftonné, que fubitement eftant arriué en Angleterre, perfonne ne luy parloit plus, perfonne ne le voyoit, il eftoit delaiffé de tous; & le pis eft, que fur ce il tomba malade dans le nauire. Il fe foupçonna incontinent du danger où il eftoit, & d'où il venoit: fçauoir eft, des marchands de la Virginie, [301 i.e., 303] qui euffent defiré fe deffaire de luy, & ne fçauoyent comment. Il tafcha donc par fubtilité, & en trouua le moyen, de faire fçauoir de fes nouuelles à Monfieur de Biffeaux, digne Ambaffadeur de fa Majefté tres-Chreftienne, qui auffi

CHAPTER XXXIV. [i.e., xxxiii.]

THE RETURN OF SIEUR DE LA MOTE, OF CAPTAIN FLORY AND OTHERS, AND THE SUR-RENDER OF THE SHIP.

S HORTLY after this liberation of the Jesuits, God in his mercy rescued nearly all the others who had been shipwrecked, and in the following way.

The boy who was with the Jesuits, called Guillaume Crito, [300 i.e., 302] was taken to London and thence sent to his Father at Honfleur.

At the same time sieur de la Mote also returned to England in a vessel from the Bermudas, which had stopped at Virginia.

Captain Argal generously contended with Marshal Thomas Deel⁴ (of whose great asperity of temper you have heard us speak) to obtain from him permission for sieur de la Mote to return, and at last it was granted.

Now this sieur la Mote was very much astonished when suddenly, on arriving in England, no one spoke to him any more, nor looked at him, and he found himself forsaken by all; and the worst of it was that he was taken sick on board the ship. He immediately suspected the nature of the danger which threatened him, and whence it came; namely, from the Virginia merchants, [301 i.e., 303] who would have liked to get rid of him, and did not know how. Therefore he tried by secret means, and finally suc-

[Vol. 4

toft luy manda deux Gentilshommes, & le fit deliurer, & bien traicter, ainfi qu'il meritoit pour fon courage, & valeur.

En ce mefme temps auffi Madame la Marquife de Guercheuille enuoya la Sauffaye à Londres, à celle fin de folliciter la reddition du nauire, & la reparation des torts receus par vn vol tant inique. Le nauire a efté rendu, mais on n'a rien obtenu d'auantage iufques à maintenant.

Or ainfi que noftre nauire ayãt mainleuée prenoit ja le vol en France, païs de fon origine: voicy, que le Capitaine Flory fon Maiftre [302 i.e., 304] arriua comme à poinct nommé, pour entrer dedans, & y commander.

Le Capitaine Argal s'en reuenant en Angleterre l'auoit encores arraché des mains du Marefchal, & luy, & deux autres François. Certes ledit Argal s'eft monftré tel, que nous auons occafion de luy fouhaitter, qu'il ferue d'ores-en-auant vne meilleure caufe, & où fa nobleffe de cœur puiffe paroiftre, non à la perte, ains à la manutention des gens de bien.

De tout noftre nombre, trois font morts à la Virginie, & quatre y reftêt encores, à la deliurance defquels on trauaille autant que faire fe peut. Dieu par fa mifericorde leur donne patience, & tire de noftre affliction le bien que fa prouidence, & bonté aggreent. Ainfi foit-il. ceeded in having his story made known to Monsieur de Bisseaux, worthy Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, who immediately sent to him two Gentlemen who had him liberated and well treated, as he deserved to be for his courage and his valor.

At the same time also Madame la Marquise de Guercheville sent la Saussaye to London, to request the surrender of the ship, and reparation for the wrongs involved in this iniquitous robbery. The ship has been given up, but, up to the present, nothing else has been obtained.

And now, just as our ship, having been set free, was about to wing her way to France, her native land, behold, Captain Flory, her Master, [302 i.e., 304] as if by appointment, arrives upon the scene to step in and take command of her.

Captain Argal, about to return to England, had rescued him and two other Frenchmen from the hands of the Marshal. Certainly this Argal has shown himself such a person that we have reason to wish for him that, from now on, he may serve a better cause and one in which his nobility of heart may appear, not in the ruin, but in the preservation of honest men.

Of all our number, three died in Virginia, and four still remain there, for whose liberation everything possible is being done. May God in his mercy give them patience, and may he derive from our affliction whatever good is acceptable to his providence and mercy. Amen.

CHAPITRE XXXV. [i.e., xxxiv.]

[303 i.e., 305] QUEL PROFIT A ESTÉ FAICT QUANT À LA RELIGION CHRESTIENNE EN LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

MAINTENANT quelqu'vn ayant ouy tout noftre recit à bon droict nous dira: Or fus, voila beaucoup de trauaux, que vous nous auez conté, plufieurs entreprinfes loüables, & diuers accidents bien fauuages; Mais quoy? Eft-ce là tout le profit quant à l'auancement du culte de Dieu? N'auez-vous couru que pour ainfi vous laffer? defpendu que pour confumer, paty finon pour encores par deffus en eftre diffamez en France? Car fi Canada ne rend point autre reuenu, nous vous dirons, qu'aucun, s'il n'eft fol, ne trauaille pour feulement patir; [304 i.e., 306] & ne defpend pour feulement patir; car fi canada tres-bié dit le fainct Apoftre, Que, qui laboure, c'eft en efperance de recueillir du fruict. Quel fruict doncques nous apportez-vous de vos trauaux.

A ce'a ie refponds que par tout, & auffi bien en France, qu'en Canada, il faut femer auant que moyffonner, & planter auant que recueillir, & ne point tant eftre ou auare, ou impatient, qu'on vueille, comme les vfuriers, auffi toft le profit que le preft. Combié que certes au feruice de Dieu il n'y auroit que defpenfes, & trauaux, elles ont de foy-mefme affez grand emolument, & falaire; non ja pour eftre defpenfes & trauaux, ains pour eftre preuues, & exercices de noftre deuoir, & pieufe volonté enuers noftre

CHAPTER XXXV. [i.e., xxxiv.]

[303 i.e., 305] WHAT PROGRESS THE CHRISTIAN RE-LIGION HAS MADE IN NEW FRANCE.

N OW some one, having heard all our story, with good reason will say: "Come now, here is a great deal of labor you have told us about, several laudable enterprises, and various rough and violent accidents, but is this all the profit there is in the advancement of the worship of God? Have you run, only to thus weary yourselves? expended, only for the sake of consuming? endured suffering, only to be abused for it in France? For if Canada does not furnish any other revenue, we can tell you that no one, unless he be a fool, works simply for the sake of suffering, [304 i.e., 306] or expends only to exhaust himself. But very truly says the holy Apostle, *That he who planteth hopeth to gather fruit*. What fruit then do you bring us from your labors?"

To this I answer, that everywhere, in France as well as in Canada, it is necessary to sow before reaping, and to plant before gathering, and not to be so avaricious or impatient as to wish, like usurers, the profit at the same time as the loan. How true it is that, in the service of God, there should be nothing but expense and labor, these of themselves being a great enough reward and salary; not because they are expenses and labors, but because they are proofs and exercises of our duty and pious willingness towards the liberal donor of all gifts, our all-powerful liberal donateur de toutes chofes noftre Dieu toutpuiffant. Car il [305 i.e., 307] ne poife pas, ny n'eftime nos confeils, & deffeins à la balance & au poids des euenements, qui font en fa main, & ordonnance; ains à la folidité de noftre vouloir, à la maffiueté de l'entreprinfe, à l'integrité de la deuotion, & deliberation.

Il difpofe les euenements comme il luy plaift, les rendant fouuent plus heureux, & plus fructueux, que moins on les recognoit pour tels. Car celuy, qui plante n'eft rien, ny celui qui arroufe; ains celui, qui donne accroiffement; lequel accroiffement fe fait premierement foubs terre, & hors la veüe des hommes.

Quant à moy, i'eftime vn tres-grand profit en ce que nous auõs toufiours mieux, & mieux defcouuert le naturel de ces terres, & païs: la difpofition des habitans: le moyen de les pouuoir ayder: [306 i.e., 308] les contrarietez, qui peuuent furuenir au progrez de l'œuure: & les fecours, qu'il faut oppofer à l'ennemy. L'architecte qui fait, & deffaict fes plans & modeles iusques à la cinq, & fixiesme fois, ne se pense pas pour cela n'auoir rien faict en fon premier, & fecond effay, lesquels il aura deffaits pour s'arrefter, au fixiesme; Parce que, dira-il, ce dernier n'a fa perfectio, que de l'imperfectio des premiers. De mefme en eft-il de l'orateur, qui efface & raye deux, & trois fois ce qu'il auoit eferit de premiere ardeur, parce que la beauté, & force des concepts, & paroles, qu'il fubftituë pour la quatriesme fois, luy naift de la rejection, & du defplaifir des precedentes. Auffi de vray, ce n'eft pas autrement, que Dieu nous donne pour l'ordinaire la prudence, & l'ameliorement des chofes; finon [307 i.e., 309] par diuerfes experiences, & pour la plufpart

82

God. For he [305 i.e., 307] does not weigh nor judge our counsels and designs in the balance and by the weight of the results, which are in his hand and ordinance; but by the firmness of our desire, the greatness of the enterprise, and the honesty of our devotion and purpose.

He arranges events as it pleases him, often rendering them the more happy and the more fruitful, the less one recognizes them as such. For he that planteth is nothing, nor he that watereth; but he who giveth the increase; and this increase is first made under the ground, and out of the sight of men.

For my part, I consider it a great advantage that we have learned more and more about the nature of these territories and lands, the character of the inhabitants, the means of helping them, [306 i.e., 308] the obstacles which are liable to arise against the progress of the work, and the help that must be given to oppose the enemy. The architect who makes and unmakes his plans and models even to the fifth and sixth time, does not think, for all that, that he has not accomplished anything in his first and second trials, which he has destroyed to stop at the sixth; for he will say that the perfection of the last, lies only in the imperfections of the first. It is thus also with the orator, who erases and scratches out twice and three times what he has written in his first enthusiasm, because the beauty and force of the ideas and words, which he substitutes for the fourth time, come to him from his rejection of, and dissatisfaction with, the preceding ones. So, in truth, it is not otherwise that God usually gives us prudence and the better management of things, only [307 i.e., 309] through various experiences, and for the most part through our own faults

1616-29]

de nos fautes & de celles d'autruy. Nous auons donc vne partie de nos pretenfions, nous auons experimenté: nous fçauõs ce qu'il faut, & ce qui nuit: & où gift le poinct principal de l'affaire. Les moyens, qu'on a employé n'ont point efté fi grands, ne fi proportionnez à plus haute fin, qu'il faille nous beaucoup mefcõtenter de ce que Dieu nous dõne.

Mais encores d'autre cofté c'eft vn grand fruict, que la confiance & amitié que les Sauuages ont prinfe auecques les François, par la grande familiarité, & hantife, qu'ils ont eu auec eux. Car toufiours faut-il mettre cefte bafe auant que d'esleuer le chapiteau; fçauoir eft, de les nous rendre ou citoyens, ou bons hoftes, & amis auant que de les auoir pour freres. Or ceste confiance, & ceste [308 i.e., 310] priuauté eft ja fi grande, que nous viuons entr'eux auec moins de crainte, que nous ne ferions dans Paris. Car dans Paris nous n'oferions dormir, que la porte bien verrouïllée; mais là nous ne la fermons que contre le vent, & fi n'en dormons pas pour cela moins affeurez. Au commencement ils nous fuyoiet, & craignoyent: ores ils nous defiret. A noftre premiere defcente, & vifite de S. Sauueur, nous fifmes femblant, que la place ne nous agreoyt pas, & que voulions aller autrepart, ces bonnes gents du lieu en pleuroyent, & lamentoyent. Au contraire, le Sagamo de Kadefquit, appellé Betfabes, s'en vint pour nous y attirer auec mille promeffes, ayant ouy que nous pretendiõs de nous y aller loger. Eft-ce peu que d'auoir ce si bon fondement de Iustice en nos peuplades, & ce tant [309 i.e., 311] affeuré gage de bon fuccez? Et ne faut point eftimer que les autres Nations avent porté cefte amitié auffi bien que nous.

84

and those of others. We have done, then, a part of what we intended to do; we have experimented, we know what is necessary and what is harmful, and wherein lies the principal part of the work. The means which have been employed have not been so great, nor so proportioned to a higher purpose, that we should be greatly dissatisfied with what God gives us.

But yet, on the other hand, it is a great result that the French have won the confidence and friendliness of the Savages, through the great familiarity and frequent intercourse which they have had with them. For the foundation must always be laid before raising the capital; that is, we must make them citizens, or good hosts and friends, before making them brothers. Now this confidence and this [308 i.e., 310] intimacy is already so great that we live among them with less fear than we would in Paris. For in Paris we can not sleep without having the doors well bolted; but there we close them against the wind only, and sleep no less securely for keeping them open. At first they fled from us, and feared us; now they wish When we first disembarked and us with them. visited St. Sauveur, and pretended that we did not like the place, and that we thought of going elsewhere, these simple natives wept and lamented. On the other hand, the Sagamore of Kadesquit, called "Betsabes," came to persuade us, with a thousand promises, to go to his place, having heard that we had some intention of making a settlement there. Is it a small thing to have such a foundation of Justice in our colonies, and this so [309 i.e., 311] sure pledge of great success? And we must not conclude that other nations have borne this

Car nous fommes tefmoins oculaires, comme lefdicts Sauuages ayants rencontré vn auantage (à leur aduis) contre les Anglois, fe ruerent fur eux furieufement, penfants comme ie croy tirer quelque reuenche de l'iniure, qui nous auoit efté faicte: mais le bon-heur ne les feconda pas en leur attaque. Pareillement, fur la fin de l'an 1611. les Holandois voulans feulement defcendre au Cap de la Heue, pour y faire aiguade, nos Sauuages les affaillirent brufquement. & en defirent fix, entre lefquels eftoit le Capitaine du nauire. Il me femble, que nous ferons indignes de cefte bienvueillance, fi nous ne faifons, qu'elle leur profite à aymer celuy, de qui nous [310 i.e., 312] receuons tous nos biens.

Outre plus, quoy que les Iefuites n'ayent pas baptifé communement les adultes pour les raifons cydeuant deduites: fi les ont-ils catechifé tant qu'ils ont peu, & par les yeux, & par les oreilles. Par les yeux, dy-ie, leur faifant voir nos vs & ceremonies, & les y accouftumants. En nos Proceffions nous faifiõs aller les petits enfans au deuãt de la Croix, & faire quelque feruice, comme de porter les luminaires, ou autres chofes: & tant eux que leurs peres y prenoyent du plaifir, comme s'ils euffent efté vrayement Chreftiens. Dieu mercy cela eft ja communement gaigné, qu'ils ne veulent point mourir fans baptefme, fe croyans eftre miferables à iamais, s'ils trefpaffent fans iceluy, ou du moins, fans vne forte volonté d'iceluy, & fans douleur de leurs pechez.

[311 i.e., 313] Le Patriarche Flesche (comme a efté dit) en auoit baptisé peut estre quatre vingts, les les les seulement vne vingtaine, & iceux petits enfans, hormis trois, qui ont esté baptisés en extreme necessité

86

friendship as well as we, for we are evewitnesses to the fact that these Savages, having (as they supposed,) some advantage over the English, threw themselves upon them with fury, thinking, I believe, to get revenge for the injury that had been done us; but they were not successful in their attack. Likewise, towards the end of the year 1611, the Hollanders merely wishing to land at Cap de la Heve to take in some fresh water, our Savages assailed them fiercely, and made away with six of them, among whom was the Captain of the ship. It seems to me that we will be unworthy of this friendliness, if we do not so act that it may avail them in learning to love him, from whom we [310 i.e., 312] receive all our blessings.

Furthermore, although the Jesuits have not usually baptized adults, for the reasons heretofore stated, yet they have catechized them as well as they could, both through the eyes and the ears. Through the eyes, I say, making them see our usages and ceremonies and accustoming them thereto. In our Processions we had the little children march before the Cross, and perform some service, such as carrying the lights, or other things; and both they and their fathers take pleasure in this, as if they were really Christians. Thank God this much has already been accomplished, that they do not wish to die without baptism, believing that they will be forever miserable, if they pass away without it, or at least a strong desire for it, and without sorrow for their sins.

[311 i.e., 313] The Patriarch Flesche (as has been said) baptized perhaps eighty of them, the Jesuits only about twenty, and these were little children, except three, who were baptized in the last extremity of sickde maladie, & font allés iouïr de la vie bien-heureufe, apres auoir efté regenerés à icelle, comme auffi aucũs des petits enfans. Nous auions compofé noftre Catechifme en Sauuageois, & commencions aucunement à pouuoir iargonner auec nos Catechumenes. Nous dreffions vne nouuelle peuplade fort commode: c'eftoit noftre Automne, noftre temps des fruiets: & voila que fur ce poinct l'enuieux de tout bien, & fpecialement, du falut humain eft venu de malice à mettre le feu à nos trauaux, & nous emporter hors du champ. Le victorieux Iefus de fa puiffante main: & inuincible [312 i.e., 314] fapience le confonde. Ainfi foit-il.

88

ness, and thence have gone to enjoy a life of bliss, after having been born again in this life; as have also some of the little children. We had composed our Catechism in the Savage language, and had begun to be able to talk some kind of a jargon with our Catechumens. We were founding a new and very pleasant colony, it was our Autumn, our time of harvest. And lo, at this moment, the one who is jealous of all good, and particularly of human salvation, came and, wickedly setting fire to all our work, bore us away from the field. May the victorious Jesus, with his powerful hand, and invincible [312 i.e., 314] wisdom, confound him. Amen.

[Vol. 4

CHAPITRE XXXVI. [i.e., xxxv.]

AUCUNES MERUEILLES, QUE DIEU A OPERÉ EN LA GUERISON DES SAUUAGES.

MAIS comme Dieu appelle cefte nation de Sauuages par fa mifericorde, & douceur conuenablement à leur portee, & neceffités, ainfi luy a-il pleu fe monftrer à eux benin & fecourable. Ie vous remarqueray icy trois de ces marques bien euidentes, & certaines, faictes en la guerifon des maladies corporelles.

La premiere foit cefte-cy. Le P. Biard eftant allé à la riuiere de l'Eplan (ainfi qu'a efté dit cy-deffus,) on luy dit, qu'à deux lieües [313 i.e., 315] de là en la Baye S. Marie y auoit vne femme proche de la mort, laquelle defiroit fort de le voir, & luy parler. Le Pere pria vn certain nommé la Pierre, de l'y conduire: ce qu'il fit. Ils treuuerent cefte femme felon la couftume de leurs malades, eftenduë au long du feu, & trauaillée de mal defpuis trois fepmaines. Le Pere la Catechife du mieux qu'il peut, & l'encourage, faifant quelques prieres, puis s'en reuint, luy laiffant vne croix penduë au col, par ce qu'il ne l'eftima point eftre fi bas, qu'il la falluft baptifer, feulement il aduertit les affiftants, que fi elle continuoit en maladie trois ou quatre iours, ou qu'elle empiraft, qu'õ le vint appeller. Il n'en fut pas de befoin: car le iour fuiuant laditte femme fe leua faine, & gaillarde, & s'en alla trouuer fon mary chargée d'vn pefant fac, & fa

CHAPTER XXXVI. [i.e., xxxv.]

SOME MIRACLES WHICH GOD PERFORMED IN THE CURE OF THE SAVAGES.

B^{UT} as God, being merciful and gentle, calls this nation of Savages according to their capacity and needs, so he has been pleased to show himself kind and helpful to them. I shall call to your attention here three proofs of this, very evident and sure, which were shown in the cure of bodily ills.

Let the first be this one. Father Biard having gone to the river of Smelts⁹ (as has been said before), was told, that two leagues [313 i.e., 315] from there at the Baye Ste. Marie, there was a woman very near death, who had a strong desire to see and speak with him. The Father begged a certain man named Pierre to accompany him thither, which he did. They found this woman, who had been afflicted by disease for three weeks, stretched out by the fire, according to the custom of their sick people. The Father Catechized her as well as he could, and encouraged her, offering some prayers; then he returned, leaving a cross hanging around her neck, for he did not consider her so low that it was necessary to baptize her; he only advised those present that if she continued ill three or four days, or if she became worse, they should summon him. There was no need, for the next day this woman arose healthy and happy, and, laden with a heavy bag, went to find her husband four leagues away, with her cross

croix au [314 i.e., 316] col; iufques à quatre lieües de là. Celuy qui premier la vit fut vn huguenot de Dieppe, appellé Ieã Bachelard, qui en vint porter les nouuelles au fufdit Iefuite.

La feconde fut à Pentegoet: le Pere Biard y eftant en la compagnie du Sieur de Biencourt, & felon fa couftume visitant les malades du lieu, & recitant sur eux les faincts Euangiles, on luy en monstra vn, duquel on n'attendoit plus vie, malade defpuis trois mois. Il eftoit pour lors en vn fort accez, ne parlant qu'à grande peine, & fuant d'vne fuëur froide, prefage de la mort. Le lefuite luy fit baifer par plufieurs fois vne croix, qu'il luy attacha au col, luy annonçant le mieux qu'il pouuoit les bonnes nouuelles du falut acquis en icelle; il y auoit bonne compagnie de Sauuages, qui efcoutovent, & à leur contenance monstroyent [315 i.e., 317] grand contentement en ce qui fe difoit : le Pere les laiffa ainfi bien affectionnés, & s'en reuint à la barque. Or ce que Dieu fit en fon abfence apparoit, de ce que nous vifmes vn iour apres. Car le Sieur de Biencourt faifant la trocque en fa barque, ce Sauuage y vint auec les autres, fain, & gaillard portant fa croix en parade, & fit recognoiffance au Pere Biard deuant tous auec grande iove.

La tierce eft bien fignalée, & partant ie la deduiray au long. Comme nous auons raconté cy-deuant le Sieur de la Mote, Simon l'interprete, & le Pere Biard eftoyent allés vifiter le lieu de S. Sauueur, pour recognoiftre s'il feroit bon pour leur demeure. Or reuenants de cefte vifite, & retournants aux Cabannes des Sauuages, ils ouyrent de bien loin, deux ou trois fois vn grand, & [316 i.e., 318] lamentable hurlement,

hanging around her [314 i.e., 316] neck. The one who first saw her was a huguenot of Dieppe, called Jean Bachelard, who came to bring the news to the Jesuit.

The second was at Pentegoet; Father Biard being there in company with Sieur de Biencourt, and, according to his custom, visiting the sick people of the place, and reciting over them passages from the holy Gospels, they showed him a certain one who was not expected to live, having been sick for three months. He was then having a violent attack, speaking only with great difficulty, and bathed in a cold perspiration, the forerunner of death. The Jesuit had him kiss a cross several times, which he attached to his neck, announcing as well as he could the good tidings of the salvation acquired thereby; there were a number of Savages present, who listened, and, by their countenances, showed [315 i.e., 317] great satisfaction in what was being said. The Father left them thus kindly disposed, and returned to the barque. Now what God did in his absence was apparent from what we saw a day later. For when Sieur de Biencourt was trading in his barque, this Savage, with several others, came there healthy and happy, parading his cross, and, with great demonstrations of joy, expressed his gratitude to Father Biard before them all.

The third is very remarkable, and therefore I shall tell it at length. As we have related above, Sieur de la Mote, Simon the interpreter, and Father Biard had gone to visit the place called St. Sauveur, to find out whether it would be suitable for a settlement. Now coming back from this visit, and returning to the Cabins of the Savages, they heard two or three times & demandans au Sauuage, qui les conduifoit, qu'eft-ce que cela pourroit eftre: le Sauuage leur refpondit: que quelqu'vn eftoit mort: & que c'en eftoit les plaintes, qui fut caufe, que nous ne nous en mifmes point en efmoy. Or comme nous eftions ja fort à la portee de la voix, voicy que ce mugiffement s'entend de nouueau; & de fortune vn ieune garçon Sauuage fe rencontrant fur le chemin, la curiofité pouffa le P. Biard à luy demander, qui eftoit ce mort, que l'on lamentoit? Le garçon refpondit, que ce n'eftoit pas vn mort, ains vn mourant: & adioufte de foy-mefme: court vifte, à laduenture le pourras-tu baptifer auant qu'il meure tout à faict ; lors comme fi Dieu l'euft dit de fa bouche, nous nous mifmes à courir de tout nostre possible. Arriués, nous [317 i.e., 319] trouuafmes tous les Sauuages hors de leurs Cabannes rangés en haye comme des foldarts en vne perte de ville, au milieu fe promenoit vn miferable Pere tenant fon enfant, qui fe mouroit entre fes bras. Or quand l'enfant venoit à ietter des fanglots croyant qu'il vouloit rendre l'Ame, le Pere fe prenoit à hurler pitoyablement, & toute la compagnie le fuiuoit de mefme ton; car telle eft leur couftume. Doncques le P. Biard voyant ce fpectacle, s'adreffa au defconforté Pere, & luy demanda s'il luy plairoit bien, qu'il baptifaft fon fils: le bon homme, qui eftoit prefque hors de foy, ne luy refpondit rien de parole; mais en effect il luy mit fon enfant entre les bras. Le P. cria que toft lon apportaft de l'eau, ce qu'on fit, & remettant l'enfant entre les mains du Sieur de la Mote (qui de grand [318 i.e., 320] zele defiroit d'en eftre parrain, le baptifa, l'appellant Nicolas, du nom dudict Sieur. Les Sauuages attendants quelque grand effect, fe

cries and [316 i.e., 318] lamentations in the distance, and, asking the Savage who guided them what this might mean, he answered that some one was dead and this was the mourning; hence we did not hasten our footsteps. Now as we were already within easy hearing distance of the voice, lo, this howling begins anew; and, by chance, a young Savage boy being met upon the way, curiosity impelled Father Biard to ask him who this dead person was that was being mourned. The boy answered that no one was dead, but that some one was dying, and added, of his own accord, "Run fast, perhaps you can baptize him before he really dies;" then, as if God had said this with his own lips, we began to run with all our When we arrived we [317 i.e., 319] found all might. the Savages outside their Huts, drawn up in line like soldiers on the surrender of a city; in front of them walked an unhappy Father holding his child, who was dving, in his arms. Now when the child happened to sob, the Father, supposing that its Life was departing, began to groan pitifully; and the whole company followed him in the same tone, for such is their custom.¹⁰ Accordingly, when Father Biard saw this spectacle, he addressed the disconsolate Father, and asked him if he would be glad to have his son baptized; the poor simple fellow, who was almost beside himself, answered him not a word, but put the child in his arms. The Father cried that they should bring him some water immediately, which was done, and putting the child in the arms of Sieur de la Mote (who was very [318 i.e., 320] zealous to be its godfather, baptized him, calling him Nicolas, the name of the said Sieur. The Savages, expecting some great results, crowded round to see what would

[VOL. 4

prefferent pour voir ce qu'en aduiendroit. Or le P. Biard apres auoir recité quelques oraifons à ce qu'il pleuft à Dieu d'illuminer ces pauures Payens, print le baptifé des mains du Sieur de la Mote, & le donna à fa mere, qui eftoit là, qui comme Mere, prefenta incontinent le tetin à fon fils, lequel teta de bon appetit. Quand les Sauuages virent ainfi cet enfant pendu aux mamelles de fa mere; fi la terre eust fondu dessous leurs pieds, ie ne fçay s'ils euffent efté plus eftonnés. Ils demeuroyent là fixes, & immobiles, fans fonner mot comme des Engelés. Le Pere leur dit quelques paroles d'edification, puis leur fignifia de fe retirer en leurs Cabanes. Et sçauez [319 i.e., 321] vous s'il Ces bonnes gens le regardoient lors fut obev? comme s'il euft efté plus qu'homme, tremblants deuant luy, auec demonstration d'eftre grandement touchez de Dieu. Ceft enfant eftoit encores fain & difpos vn mois apres cefte fienne guerifon, peu auant noftre prinfe par les Anglois: car fa mere l'apporta à nos tentes, & fut veu de la pluspart de nos gens. Voyla comme Dieu ne laiffe point fa loy fans authentique tefmoignage; ny fa bonté fans admirables effects.

happen. Now Father Biard, after having recited some prayers to the effect that God might be pleased to enlighten these poor Heathen, took the baptized child from the hands of Sieur de la Mote, and gave him to his mother, who was there; she, as Mother, immediately offered the child the breast, and he received nourishment with great eagerness. When the Savages saw this child thus hanging upon the mother's breasts, if the earth had sunk beneath their feet, I do not think they could have been more astonished. They remained there, fixed and immovable, without saying a word, and as if Frozen. The Father uttered a few words of instruction to them and then motioned to them to return to their Cabins. Do you [319 i.e., 321] know whether he was obeyed or not? These good people looked upon him as though he were more than man, trembling before him, and seeming to have been strongly touched by God. This child was still healthy and active a month after this, its recovery, a little while before we were taken by the English; for the mother brought him to our tents, and was seen by the greater part of our people. See now that God does not leave his law without authentic testimonies, nor his goodness without admirable results.

[Vol. 4

CHAPITRE XXXVII. [i.e., xxxvi.]

LES RAISONS DES FRANÇOIS, PAR LESQUELLES ILS S'APPROPRIENT À BON DROICT LES TERRES DE LA NOUUELLE FRANCE, CONTRE LA PRE-TENSION DES ANGLOIS.

M AINTENANT, que i'ay fatisfaict aux deux premieres [320 i.e., 322] parties de ma promeffe, fçauoir eft, que i'ay faict ma Relation du naturel des terres & des habitans de la nouuelle France: & vous ay raconté les comportemes des Iefuites, & les accidents, qui leur y font furuenus; Refte la tierce, d'expofer en quoy confifte la difpute, qui eft ores furuenuë entre les François, & Anglois, touchant ces contrées, & les raifons de l'vn & de l'autre party. Car le curieux Lecteur, à mon aduis, fera bien aife, d'entendre en quoy gift ce poinct cotentieux: & les raifons qu'on apporte de part & d'autre; mefmes que cela appartient à l'honneur des François, de faire cognoiftre à toutes nations à combien iuftes tiltres, pertinentes raifons, & fyncere confcience, nos Roys fe font faits Maiftres, & ont poffedé ces terres iufques à ce temps.

[321 i.e., 323] Il faut doncques fçauoir tout premierement, que les Anglois ne nous difputent point toute la nouuelle France; Car ils n'ofent nous denier, ce que tout le monde nous accorde; ains feulement ils conteftent des confins. Ils nous accordent doncques vne nouuelle France, mais limitée par les bords

CHAPTER XXXVII. [i.e., xxxvi.]

THE REASONS WHY THE FRENCH HAVE APPROPRIATED BY GOOD RIGHT THE LANDS OF NEW FRANCE, AGAINST THE PRETENSIONS OF THE ENGLISH.

OW as I have fulfilled the first two [320 i.e., 322] parts of my promise, that is, I have given an Account of the character of the lands and the inhabitants of new France, and have described to you the conduct of the Jesuits, and the adventures that befell them; there remains then the third topic: the explanation of the dispute that has now arisen between the French and English in regard to these countries, and the arguments for and against both sides. For the curious Reader, I believe, will be glad to learn just what the point of contention is, and the arguments which are advanced by both parties; it is even due to the honor of the French people, to make known to all nations how just are the titles, how suitable the reasons, and in what sincerity of conscience our Kings have made themselves Masters, and have taken possession of these lands up to the present.

[321 i.e., 323] Accordingly it must be understood that the English do not dispute with us all of new France. For they dare not refuse what everybody grants us, but they only contest some of the boundaries. They grant us then a new France, but bound du Golfe, & grande riuiere de faince Laurens, & nous reftreignent dans les 47. 48. & 49. degrés d'eleuatiõ polaire. Du moins ils ne nous permettent pas de defcendre plus bas vers le midy, que du quarantefixiefme degré; s'attribuans tout ce qui eft dés la Floride, & le 33. degré iufques à Campfeau, & les Isles de Cap Breton.

Les fondements de cefte leur pretension sont parce que enuiron l'an 1694. il y a vingt deux ans, eftants entrez dans ce grand fein [322 i.e., 324] de la mer Americane, que les Anciens appelloyent de Mocofa, & y ayants trouué vne riuiere, & païs, qui leur agrea: ils commencerent à le vouloir habiter, luy impofants le nom de Virginie: mais avants efté contrariez par les naturels, & autres accidents leur eftoyent arriuez, ils furet en fin contraints de le quitter entierement, n'y ayants pas demeuré plus de deux, ou trois ans. Neantmoins defpuis le Sereniffime Roy Iacques à prefent regnant, venu à la couronne, ils ont prins refolution de le reconquester, & cultiuer. A quoy ledit Roy fauorifant, a baillé des grands Priuileges à ceux, qui entreprenoyent ceste peuplade, & entre autres a eftendu le droict de leur tenuë dés le 33. degré d'eleuation iufques au 45. leur donnat puiffance de courir fus à tous estrangers, qu'ils trouueroyet dans [323 i.e., 325] ce destroict de terre, & cinquante mille auant dedans la mer. Ces lettres du Roy on efté expediees l'an quatriesme de son regne, & de grace 1607. le 10. d'Auril, il y a fept ans: car ie defery cecy l'an 1614.

Voyla ce que i'en ay peu apprendre de toutes les parchartes & enfeignements, que nos contendants apportent pour fe maintenir en droict, & caufe; & nous

100

it by the shores of the Gulf and great river saint Lawrence, and restrict us within the 47th, 48th, and 49th degrees of north latitude. At least they do not allow us to go farther south than the forty-sixth degree, claiming all that country from Florida and the 33rd degree up to Campseau and the Islands of Cape Breton.

The reasons for these their pretensions are, that about the year 1694 [sic], twenty-two years ago, having entered that great gulf [322 i.e., 324] of the American sea which was formerly called Mocosa, and there having found a river and country which pleased them, they made attempts at settlement, giving it the name of Virginia; but, having been opposed by the natives, and other accidents having overtaken them, they were at last obliged to give it up entirely, not having lived there more than two or three years. Nevertheless since the Most Serene King James, now reigning, came to the throne, they resolved to reconquer and cultivate it. The King, favoring this project, granted some important Privileges to those who undertook this colony, and, among other things, extended their right of occupation from the 33rd degree of north latitude up to the 45th, giving them power to attack all foreigners whom they might find within [323 i.e., 325] these limits, and fifty miles out into the sea. These patents of the King were drawn up during the fourth year of his reign, and in the year of grace 1607 on the 10th of April, seven years ago, for I am writing this in 1614.11

So that is what I have been able to learn from all the charters and instructions which our contestants bring forth to support them in their rights and claims; and, while we are being confined within the confiner dans le deftroict de la vieille Canada, eux fe tenants au large, & à franches coudées, nous faifants la part à leur bon plaifir. Voicy ce que nous leur repartiffons legalement.

1. En premier lieu, que par vne prouidence admirable de Dieu leurs propres lettres Royaux fur lefquelles ils fe fondent, les defdifent de leur pretention: Parce qu'il eft dit expreffement dans [324 i.e., 326] icelles auec exception fpecifique: Nous leur donnons toutes les terres iufques au 45. degré, lefquelles ne font point acluellement poffedées par aucun Prince Chreftien. Or eft-il, que lors de la datte de ces lettres, le Roy de France actuellement & reellement poffedoit pour le moins iufques au 39. degré defdictes terres. Tout le monde le fçait par les voyages de Champlain: car il confte par iceux, que l'an 1607. le fieur de Mõts eftoit à port Royal, & par fes gens, & authorité gouuernoit tout iufques au 39. degré, comme Lieutenant de fa Majefté tres-Chreftienne.

2. En apres, fi les Anglois veulét dire, qu'ils n'ont pas commencé de poffeder leur Virginie dés l'an feulement 1607, ains dés l'an 1594. qu'ils la trouuerent (comme nous auons dit:) Nous refpondõs, que la riuiere, laquelle ils commencerent [325 i.e., 327] lors à poffeder eft au 36. degré, & que cefte leur allegation à l'auenture pourroit valoir, s'il n'eftoit queftion, que de retenir cefte dicte riuiere, & fept ou huict lieües de l'vn, & l'autre cofté d'icelle: car autant loin fe peut porter noftre veuë pour l'ordinaire; mais que fubitement vn vaiffeau pour entrer dans vn fleuue enjambe par dominatiõ trente fois plus loin, qu'il ne peut eftendre fa veuë; c'eft vouloir auoir les bras, ou pluftoft la conuoitife bien monftrueufe, mais pofons que cela fe puiffe faire.

102

limits of old Canada, they are holding themselves at large with plenty of elbow room, giving us our share at their good pleasure. Now this is how we would answer them according to law:

I. In the first place, as by an admirable providence of God, their own Royal patents, upon which they found their claims, contradict them in their pretensions. Because it is said expressly in these, [324 i.e., 326] with specific exception: We give them all the lands up to the 45th degree, which do not actually belong to any Christian Prince. Now it happens that at the time of the date of these letters, the King of France actually and really possessed the said lands at least up to the 39th degree. Every one knows this through the voyages of Champlain, for he relates in these that, in the year 1607, sieur de Monts was at port Royal, and, through his people and authority, ruled all the country to the 39th degree as Lieutenant of his most Christian Majesty.

2. Again, if the English wish to say that they did not begin to take possession of their Virginia from the year 1607 only, but from the year 1594, when they discovered it (as we have said), we answer that the river, which they began [325 i.e., 327] then to possess [the James river], is in latitude 36 degrees, and that this their claim might perchance be of some value, if it were only a question of retaining this said river, and seven or eight leagues on either side of it, for our eyes can generally reach as far as that; but that a ship, merely because it had entered a river, should claim dominion thirty times farther than the eye can reach — this is wishing to have arms, or rather greediness, indeed monstrous. But let us suppose it could be done. Il s'enfuiura donc, que Ribaud & Laudoniere eftans allez à la Floride en tres-bel arroy, par authorité du Roy Charles IX. l'an 1564. 1565. & 1566. pour cultiuer le païs; & y ayant edifié la Caroline au 30. degré d'eleuation: ils prindrent poffeffion iufques au 38. & [326 i.e., 328] 39. degré, & par ainfi voila les Anglois hors de leur Virginie, fuiuat leurs propres maximes.

3. Quoy que, fi pour eftre en vn lieu, lon poffede auffi toft (felon la prefuppofition des Anglois) huict ou neuf degrez plus auant; Pourquoy eft-ce, qu'eux eftants au 36. auanceront pluftoft iufques au 45. que nous (comme ils confeffent) eftans ja au 46. ne defcendrons iufques au 37. Quel droict y ont-ils plus que nous? Voila donc ce que nous refpondons aux Anglois.

4. Mais pour mieux declarer le fonds de noître iuftice; il faut fe reffouuenir de ce que nous auons monftré cy-deuant; fçauoir eft, que fa Majefté tres-Chreftienne a prins poffeffion de ces terres, auant tout autre Prince Chreftië, par droict d'inuention premiere. Car il eft affeuré, & confeffé de [327 i.e., 329] tous, que les Bretons & Normãds trouuerent premierement le grãd Banq, & les Terres Neufues, rangeants la coîte iufques au Cap de Sable, qui eft au 43. degré, iufques où le grand Banq s'eftend. Cefte inuention fut faicte l'an 1504. il y ja cent & dix ans.

5. D'auantage tous confeffent, que par le commandement du grãd Roy François Iean Verazan print poffeffion de cefdictes terres au nom de la France; commençant dés le 33. degré d'eleuation iufques au

It will follow, then, that Ribaud and Laudoniere,¹²—having gone to Florida in fine array by the authority of King Charles IX., in the years 1564, 1565, and 1566, to cultivate the land, and there having extended Carolina to the 30th parallel of north latitude,—took possession as far as the 38th and [326 i.e., 328] 39th parallels; and so behold the English out of their Virginia according to their own maxims.

3. Yet if being in a place gives possession (as the English presuppose) of eight or nine degrees farther on, why is it that they, being at the 36th, can advance to the 45th, better than we (as they acknowledge) being at the 46th, can go down to the 37th? What greater rights have they than we? So thus we answer the English.

4. But to better declare the justice of our cause, what we have explained above must be recalled; namely, that his most Christian Majesty took possession of these lands before any other Christian Prince, by right of first discovery. For it is true, and is acknowledged by [327 i.e., 329] all, that the Bretons and Normans first discovered the great Bank, and Newfoundland, sailing along the coast to Cape Sable, which is in the 43rd degree, up to where the great Bank extends. This discovery was made in the year 1504, one hundred and ten years ago.

5. Furthermore, all acknowledge that, by the command of the great King Francis, Jean Verazan took possession of these countries in the name of France, beginning at the 33rd degree of north latitude up to the 47th. This was done in two voyages, the last of which was made in the year 1523, ninety years ago.

6. In addition to this, Jacques Cartier¹³ first entered the great river in two voyages that he made, 47. Ce fut par deux voyages defquels le dernier fut faict l'an 1523. il y a quatre vingts & dix ans.

6. Outre plus, Iacques Cartier entra premier dans la grande riuiere par deux voyages, qu'il y fut, & defcouurit les terres de Canada. Son dernier voyage fut l'an 1534. Donc c'eft merueille [328 i.e., 330] que les Anglois nous accordent les terres de la defcouuerture de Iacques Cartier, nous voulants ofter le 45. degré: car il eft affeuré, que cefte defcouuerture eft de beaucoup pofterieure aux autres cy-deuant dictes des parties plus meridionales. Et la grande riuiere eft tellement fituee, que la poffeffion de fes terres eft prefque inutile à qui ne tiet du moins iufques au 40. degré. Qu'on regarde la charte.

7. Auffi eft-ce merueille comme lefdicts Anglois difent nous accorder les Terres Neufues, & cependant ils y font allez habiter defpuis quatre ans, enuiron le 48. ou 49. degré.

8. Or est-ce le commun consentement de toute l'Europe, que de depeindre la nouuelle France, l'eftendant au moins iufques au 38. ou 39. degré, ainfi qu'il appert [329 i.e., 331] par les mappemondes, imprimées en Efpagne, Italie, Holande, Allemagne, & Angleterre mefme. Ce font auffi les François, qui en ont faict description, ont imposé les noms, ont appriuoifez les Sauuages, ont trocqué, & toufiours conuerfé auec eux dés la premiere inuention iufques à ce temps, & non point autres. Et ce fut au quarante troifiefme degré, que le Marquis de la Roche s'alla loger, dreffant fa peuplade l'an 1598. Et defpuis l'an 1603. le fieur de Mõts receut en don toutes ces terres dés le 40. degré iufques au 46. de feu d'heureufe memoire Henry le Grand, lequel auffi declara par lettres expresses, que rien de ce qu'on apportoit de là, ou

and discovered the lands of Canada. His last voyage was in the year 1534. Now it is a wonder [328 i.e., 330] that the English grant us the lands of Jacques Cartier's discovery, wishing as they do to deprive us of the 45th degree; for it is very certain that this discovery dates back much farther than the others heretofore cited of the more southern parts. And the great river is so situated that the possession of these lands is almost useless to any one who does not possess at least as far as the 40th degree. Look at the map.

7. Also it is wonderful how these English say they have granted us Newfoundland, and nevertheless went there to live four years ago, near the 48th or 40th degree.¹⁴

8. Now, by the common consent of all Europe, new France is represented as extending at least as far as the 38th or 30th degree, as it appears [329 i.e., 331] on the maps of the world printed in Spain, Italy, Holland, Germany, and England itself.¹⁵ Also, it is the French, and not others, who have made a description of it, have given it its names, have tamed the Savages, have traded and always had communication with them from the first discovery up to the present time. And it was in the forty-third degree that the Marquis de la Roche went to settle, establishing his colony in the year 1598.¹³ And, since the year 1603, sieur de Monts received as a gift all the lands from the 40th degree to the 46th degree, from the late Henry the Great, of happy memory, who also declared by express letters, that nothing which was brought away from there, or taken there, was liable to foreign custom duty, as that country was a just part and legitimate outgrowth of this Kingdom, and in no wise a foreign one.

qu'on y emportoit ne deuoit traicte foraine, comme eftant ce païs vne partie iufte, & legitime accreüe à ce Royaume, & nullemét efträgere.

[330 i.e., 332] 9 Et certes, outre les raifons apportées, l'equité naturelle fauorife à cefte declaration; parce que ces terres là font paralleles à noftre France, & non point à l'Angleterre. Elles font dy-ie tout d'vne tenuë auecques nous: de maniere, qu'ayant efté trouuées vaquâtes par nous au delà de noftre riuage; elles accroiffent à noftre heritage, ainfi que la loy des Alluuions en determine. *ff. acq. rer. domin. l.* 29. *inter multos. & l.* 30. *Ergo.*

10. En effect, feu Monfieur le Comte de Soyffons fut pourueu du gouuernement defdites contrées, & en a porté le tiltre de fon viuant; & auiourd'huy Monfieur le Prince met cefte là au rang de fes autres prerogatiues, & principaux honneurs.

[330 i.e., 332] 9. And surely, in addition to the reasons here given, common justice favors this declaration; for those lands are parallel to our France, and not to England. They are, I say, contiguous with us, so that having been found unoccupied by us and beyond our shores they accrue to our inheritance, as the law of Alluvions determines. *f. acq. rer. domin. l.* 29. *inter* multos. & l. 30. Ergo.¹⁶

10. Finally the late Comte de Soyssons was invested with the government of the said countries,¹⁷ and bore the title to it in his lifetime; and to-day the Prince places this in the rank of his other prerogatives and principal honors.¹⁸

CHAPITRE XXXVIII. [i.e., xxxvii.]

[331 i.e., 333] RAISONS POUR LESQUELLES ON DEUROIT ENTREPRENDRE À BON ESCIENT LE CULTI-UAGE DE LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

I CY deuant que finir, ie fuis contrainct de cotter aucunes raifons qui m'efmeuuent l'ame, quand ie confidere comme nous delaiffons cefte pauure nouuelle Frãce en frifche, & quant au temporel, & quant au fpirituel, en barbarie, & paganifme. Ie fçay prou, que ie profite bië plus de les alleguer aux oreilles de noftre Seigneur par feruente priere; que de les marquer aux yeux des hommes par efcriture morte. Neantmoins tant plus ardamment ie m'efcrie deuãt Dieu en les pefant, tant plus ie me fens [332 i.e., 334] preffé à les fpecifier aux hommes, les efcriuant.

Et premierement, fi lon confidere le temporel, c'eft vne autre France en influence, & condition du ciel, & des elements: en eftenduë de pays dix ou douze fois plus grande, fi nous voulons: en qualité, auffi bonne, fi elle eft cultiuée, du moins, il n'y a point d'apparence qu'elle doiue eftre pire; en fituation; à l'autre bord de noftre riuage, pour nous donner la fcience, & la feigneurie de la mer, & nauigage; ie dy mille biens, & vtilitez. En vn mot, quãd ie dy vne autre France, & vne autre Efpagne à cultiuer.

2. En apres, les tentatiues, que nous auons ja faict tant de fois dés cent, & dix ans, nous obligent à con-

CHAPTER XXXVIII. [i.e., xxxvii.]

[331 i.e., 333] REASONS WHY THE CULTIVATION OF NEW FRANCE OUGHT TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN EARNEST.

H ERE, before finishing, I am obliged to set down some reasons which agitate my soul, when I consider how we are letting this poor new France lie fallow, both as to the temporal and the spiritual, in savagery and paganism. I know well that I may accomplish much more by advancing these reasons to the ear of our Lord in earnest prayer, than by presenting them to the eyes of men in cold letters. Nevertheless, the more ardently I cry to God in considering them, so much the more I feel myself [332 i.e., 334] urged to specify them to men in writing.

And first, if the temporal is considered, this country is another France in the influences and conditions of the heavens and of the elements; in extent of country, ten or twelve times larger, if you wish; in quality, as good if it be cultivated, at least there is no reason why it should be worse; in situation, upon the shore opposite to ours, to give us the knowledge and mastery of the sea, and of navigation; I say there are a thousand blessings and advantages. In a word, as it were, another France and another Spain to be cultivated.

2. Next, the attempts which we have already made so many times for a hundred and ten years, oblige us

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

ftance; fi nous ne voulons auec la mocquerie des eftrangers perdre encores le fruict de [333 i.e., 335] tant de temps confumé, & des pertes de tant & d'hommes, & de biens, qu'il a conuenu faire pour acquerir la cognoiffance de ces terres, Coftes, Golfes, & diuers endroits, laquelle (Dieu mercy) nous auons acquis auec la bienvueillance, & familiarité du peuple. Peuple debonnaire, qui nous tend les mains auec vn defir incroyable, & vne douleur bien grande de nous y voir maftinés; non pour autre raifon, finon que les entreprinfes, qui ont efté faictes iufques à maintenant, ayant efté quafi fouftenuës par des particuliers; il n'eft pas de merueille s'ils ont fuccombé au faix, & aux frais, qu'vne telle œuure requiert.

3. Que fi nous nous laffons, ou languiffons, nous auons deuant les yeux prou d'autres, qui nous ont monftré d'auoir courage. Et certes en cas que nous n'y faifions [334 i.e., 336] noftre deuoir, il n'y a point de raifon d'empefcher autruy. Confiderons donc fi cela nous eft fort aduantageux de perdre le profit, que rapportent de ces contrées to⁹ les ans plus de cinq ces de nos nauires, qui y vont, foit à la pefche des baleines, foit à celle des moluës & autres poiffons, foit à la traicte, de la pelleterie des Caftors, Elans, Martres, Loups marins, Loutres, &c. Car il ne faut pas attendre d'y auoir part, fi d'autres faififfent le domaine, ainfi qu'a bien declaré ces annees la difpute arriuée à Spitsbergen, & autrepart.

4. Voila pour le temporel: mais pour le fpirituel, auquel l'indicible, grace de Dieu nous furhauffe iufques au furnom & gloire de tres-Chreftiens. Calculons & fupputons les benefices qui nous accompaignent & obligent [335 i.e., 337] inceffamment en

to continue, unless we wish, to the scorn of strangers, to yet lose the fruit of [333 i.e., 335] so much time consumed, and to suffer the loss both of so many men and so much wealth, as has been necessary in acquiring a knowledge of these lands, Coasts, Gulfs and different places, which (thank God) we have obtained, as well as the good will and intimacy of the people, a gentle people, who extend to us their hands with an incredible longing, and with a profound grief to see us defeated,— for no other reason than that the enterprises which have been undertaken up to the present, having been almost entirely sustained by private individuals, have sunk— and it is not to be wondered at — under the burden and the expenses, which such a work requires.

3. If we give up or become indifferent, we have before our eyes many others, who have shown us that they have courage. And certainly, in case we did not do [334 i.e., 336] our duty, there is nothing to prevent others from doing theirs. Now let us consider whether it is very advantageous to lose the profit, which is brought from these countries every year by more than five hundred of our ships, which go there, either on whaling expeditions, or for cod and other fish, or for trade in furs of the Beaver, Elk, Marten, Seal, Otter, etc.¹⁹ For we must not expect to have any share in this, if others seize the property, as has been very clearly shown during these years by the disputes which occurred at Spitsbergen and elsewhere.

4. So much for the temporal; but as to the spiritual, in which the inexpressible grace of God raises us to the surname and glory of "most Christian," let us calculate and sum up the benefits which accom-

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

fuite de ce premier la vocation à l'Eglife Saincte & cognoiffance de noftre Sauueur Iefus-Christ; & lors nous pourrons fommer combien grande feroit l'ingratitude, & combié horrible chaftiment elle porteroit encroupe, fi nous ne tafchions de faire prifer cefte grace, la communiquant à nos proches à la proportion de nos moyens, & redeuances. Tel chaftiment a efté fagement remarqué par le venerable Bede. Car quelque peu auant fon aage, les Efcoffois furent illustrés de diuine lumiere, à ce qu'ils fe recogneuffent eftre tombés en herefie par illufion, & mefgarde: là où les Bretons, ou ceux de la Prouince de Galles, furent precipités en l'abyfme, & tenebres des faux-bourgs d'Enfer, les herefies, defquels deux effects fi contraires, & fi oppofés ce grand Sainct, [336 i.e., 338] & cognoiffant veritable des œuures de la prouidence, & Iuftice Eternelle; en rapporte les caufes à deux difpofitions diuerfes de l'vn, & l'autre peuple. Parce, dit-il, que les Efcoffois auoyent aumofné aux Anglois auparauant par grande charité, & deuotion ce qu'ils auoyent receu de la verité Euangelique; & partant Dieu leur volut faire mifericorde à mefure comble, & entaffee, leur ouurant les yeux, pour y fe voir deceus, & trompés. Là où les Bretons, foit par negligence, foit par autre intemperie d'ame, ne s'eftoient guieres fouciez de voir lefdicts Anglois perir miferablement en leur infidelité; Et partant meriterent come feruiteurs ingrats de perdre le talent de la foy Catholique, lequel ils n'auoyent daigné mettre à profit, & d'autruy, & d'eux mefmes. O que [337 i.e., 339] de chofes nous aurions à penfer, & dire fur ce fujet.

Mais foit affez d'auoir au deuant de nos yeux que ces pauures peuples, ces images de noftre Dieu comme

pany and favor us [335 i.e., 337] continually after this first one, which is our calling to the Holy Church and knowledge of our Savior, Jesus Christ; and then we shall be able to estimate how great would be our ingratitude, and how horrible the chastisement it would bring with it, if we do not try to enhance the value of this grace by communicating it to our fellow-men in proportion to our means and opportunities. Such chastisement has been wisely commented upon by the venerable Bede. For, shortly before his age, the Scotch were illuminated by a divine light, so that they saw themselves fallen into heterodoxy by delusions and inadvertence; while the Bretons, or those people of the Province of Wales, were cast into the abyss and shadows of the outskirts of Hell, the heresies: of these two so contrary and opposite effects this great and Saintly Man, [336 i.e., 338] so truly acquainted with the works of providence and Eternal Justice, attributes the causes to the two different dispositions of the two nations. "For," says he, "the Scotch had previously given to the English, through great charity and devotion, what they had received of Evangelical truth; and therefore God wished to show them mercy in a full and overflowing measure, opening their eyes that they might see themselves deceived and mistaken. While the Bretons, either through negligence or other lack of spiritual moderation, were quite indifferent when they saw the English perishing miserably in their infidelity; therefore they deserved, as ungrateful servants, to lose the talent of the Catholic faith, which they had not deigned to profit by, either for others or for themselves." Oh, what [337 i.e., 339] food there is for reflection and discourse upon this subject!

[Vol. 4

nous, & capables de fa iouyffance, ces conforts de noftre espece, & presque de mesme qualité auec nous, font fur le bord de l'horrible gouffre des feux infernaux, voire plufieurs centaines d'iceux precipitez chaque iour dans les peines eternelles, & abyfmes de damnation, fans efpoir de deliurance. O Dieu! nous nous eftonnons de ces iugements efpouuentables; comme il y a bien dequoy s'eftonner; mais nous n'auons pas le fens pour apperceuoir, ny l'entendemet pour recognoiftre, que le fang de cefte fi cruelle exequution eft deffus nos mains, qui ne nous euertuons pas de l'empefcher: deffus nos [338 i.e., 340] pieds, qui ne nous remuons point pour y remedier; deffus nos maifons, qui les bastiffons tant superbement, fans nous foucier de l'eternelle demeure de nos freres; deffus nos bourfes, nos poffeffios, nos moyens, & noftre cœur qui fommes fi peu efmeus de tels fpectacles & contribuons fi peu, là où le Fils de Dieu, nostre Sauueur, n'a point espargné fa vie. Plaife luy nous faire misericorde, & receuoir de nous, & de toute creature loüange, & benediction, à tous les fiecles des fiecles. Ainfi foit-il.

FIN.

But let it be enough to keep before our eyes the vision of these poor natives, these images of our God as we are, and as capable of enjoying him, these companions of our own species, and almost of the same quality as we, who are upon the edge of the horrible gulf of the fires of hell, many of them even precipitated every day into eternal torments, and profound depths of everlasting punishment, without hope of deliverance. O God! we are amazed at these frightful judgments, as there is much in them to cause our amazement; but we have not the sense to perceive, nor the understanding to appreciate, that the blood of this so cruel execution is upon our hands, who do not exert ourselves to prevent it; upon our [338 i.e., 340] feet, which do not move to remedy it; upon our houses, which we build so magnificently without caring for the eternal dwellings of our brothers; upon our purses, our possessions, our wealth, and our hearts, which are so little moved by such spectacles and contribute so little to that for which the Son of God, our Savior, did not spare even his life. May it please him to grant us mercy, and to receive from us and from all his creatures, praises and blessings forever and ever. Amen.

END.

Table des Choses Plvs Remarquables.

| A BSENCE du P. Biard oceafione les Françoi. | S | |
|--|----|---------|
| A de ne s'expofer au danger de fe perdre. | | 178. |
| Acadie, pays des Souriquois, proche de | | • |
| Canada | | 4. |
| Açores, Isles de la couronne d'Espaigne. | p. | |
| Aguigueou, Aflicou, Betfabes Capitaines Canadoi. | | |
| offrent aux François prins par l'Anglois, de le. | | |
| retirer & entretenir. | | 25 |
| Alain Ycon Pilote de S. Malo charitable enuers le. | | 33. |
| François de S. Sauneur. | | 257 |
| Ambaffadeur de France en Angleterre, follicite la | | 2 3 / • |
| liberté des le fuites de Canada captifs. | | 206. |
| Anglois auancent quatre vingts lieuës fur la nou | | 290. |
| | | 228. |
| Anglois desfaict par l'Armouchiquois, & pourquoy. | 4 | |
| Anglois habitués en la Virginie à deux cens cinquant | | - / 9. |
| lienës des François de S. Sanueur. | | 227. |
| Anglois conduiets à S. Sauneur par mefgarde des | - | ,. |
| Canadins, qui les croyoyent estre François. | | 220. |
| Anglois enuabiffent le nauire des François de S. | | |
| Sauucur, pillent l'habitation, captiuent les | | |
| François | | 235. |
| Anglois defrobe finement aux François leurs lettres | - | 00 |
| Royaux, pour les priuer de iuste defense en leur | | |
| | | 238. |
| Anglois pouuant ictter en mer les lefuites captifs, | | 0 |
| pour ne fe perdre à leur occasion, fe contente | | |
| de les cacher. | | 286. |

Index of the Most Important Subjects.

| A BSENCE of Father Biard causes the French | | |
|---|----|-----|
| A not to expose themselves to danger of ruin. | p. | 178 |
| Acadia, country of the Souriquois, near | | |
| Canada | p. | 4 |
| Canada | p. | 281 |
| Aguigueou, Asticou, Betsabes, Canadian Captains, | | |
| offer to the French, captured by the Euglish, | | |
| to take them away and maintain them. | p. | 35 |
| Alain Yeon, Pilot of St. Malo, charitable towards | | |
| the French of St. Sauveur | p. | 257 |
| Ambassador of France in England, solicits the | | |
| liberation of the captive Jesuits of Canada. | p. | 296 |
| Advancement of the English eighty leagues into | | |
| new France | p. | 228 |
| English defeated by the Armouchiquois, and why. | p. | 179 |
| English settled in Virginia, two hundred leagues | | |
| from the French of St. Sauveur. | p. | 227 |
| English guided to St. Sauveur through a misunder- | | |
| standing of the Cauadians, who supposed them | | |
| to be French | p. | 229 |
| English invade the ship of the French of St. Sauveur, | | |
| plunder the settlement, and capture the French. | p. | 235 |
| English cunningly rob the French of their Royal | | |
| patents, to prevent their making an honest de- | | |
| fense in their captivity | p. | 238 |
| English, having power to throw the captive Jesuits | | |
| into the sea, not to ruin themselves on their ac- | | |
| count, content themselves with hiding them. | p. | 286 |

| Anglois contraints d'aborder aux Açores, font ga rentis par la charité des lefuites leurs prifor | | |
|---|------------|------|
| niers | p. | 289. |
| Anglois recognoissans du bon office receu des les fuites | . p. | 290. |
| Anglois tenant captifs les Iesuites, soupçonné d'estr | e | |
| pirate par les fiens mesmes. | pag | . 29 |
| Anglois foupçonné d'estre pirate, se iustifie par | | |
| tefmoignage des Iesuites ses prisonniers. | | 293. |
| Anglois apprehendent d'aborder aux terres de l'E | ſ- | |
| pagnol, auce des Iesuites captifs. | | 285. |
| Anglois n'ont que pretendre en la nouuelle France | . p. | 320. |
| | | 47. |
| Arbres fruictiers fort rarcs en Canada | p. | |
| | p. | 32. |
| Arcs & pauois fur la tombe des hommes. | | |
| Ardoife en Canada | | 32. |
| Argal Capitaine Anglois se saifit secrettement d | es | |
| commiffions des François de S. Sauueur. | | 238. |
| Argal Capitaine Anglois veut renuoyer en Fran | - | |
| tous les François dans vne chaloupe, auce eu | | |
| dent danger de leur perte, | | 251. |
| Argal Capitaine Anglois s'oppose fort au Mare | | - |
| chal de la Virginie, à ce que ses prisonniers l | | |
| François ne soyent pendus | | 262. |
| Argal Capitaine Anglois equitable. | | |
| Armes des Canadois, l'arc & la targue. | | 55- |
| Armoiries de Madame de Guerche-ville pofées a | 211 | |
| Cap de la Heue, en signe de possession. | | 21б. |
| Armouchiquois baillent grand soupcon aux Franço | | |
| de les vouloir piller sous pretexte de trocque. | | 178. |
| Armouchiquois affés disposés au Christianisme. | <i>p</i> . | 180. |
| Affis. Estre affis, figne de reuerence entre l | | |
| Canadois | p. | 91. |

1616-29]

| English, compelled to land at the Açores, are ren- | | |
|---|------------|-------|
| dered safe through the charity of the Jesuits, | | |
| their captives | p. | 289 |
| English acknowledge this kind service of the Jesuits. | p. | 290 |
| English, holding the Jesuits captive, themselves sus- | | |
| pected of being pirates by their own countrymen. | pag | r. 29 |
| English, suspected of being pirates, are acquitted | - | - |
| on the evidence of the Jesuits, their prisoners. | p. | 293 |
| English are afraid to land upon Spanish territory, | - | |
| with their Jesuit prisoners | p. | 285 |
| English mercly pretenders to new France | p. | 320 |
| Eel-fishing in the middle of September. | p. | 47 |
| Fruit trees very rare in Canada | p. | 31 |
| Forest trees of Canada | p. | 32 |
| Bows and shields upon the men's graves | p. | 92 |
| Slate in Canada | p. | 32 |
| Argal, an English Captain, secretly seizes the com- | | |
| missions of the French of St. Sauveur. | p. | 238 |
| Argal, an English Captain, wishes to send all the | | |
| French to France in a small boat, with evident | | |
| danger of their being lost | <i>p</i> . | 25 I |
| Argal, an English Captain, strongly opposes the | | |
| Marshal of Virginia, so that his French pris- | | |
| oners should not be hanged | p. | 262 |
| Argal, an English Captain, a just man | <i>p</i> . | 270 |
| Arms of the Canadians, the bow and the shield. | p. | 55 |
| Armorial Bearings of Madame de Guerche-ville | | |
| placed at Cap de la Heve, as a sign of posses- | | |
| sion | p. | 216 |
| Armouchiquois strongly suspected by the French of in- | | |
| tending to plunder them, under pretext of trade. | ₽. | 178 |
| Armouchiquois disposed favorably to Christianity. | - | 180 |
| Seated. To be seated, a sign of reverence among | | |
| the Canadians | p. | 91 |

| Affociation de la Marquife de Guercheville auce | le | |
|--|------------|------|
| seur de Potrincourt au faict de Canada. | p. | 188. |
| Afticou Sagamo en la coste d'Acadie. | p. | 222. |
| Aumars, ou Cancres de mer, furent peschés par la | <i>es</i> | |
| François de S. Sauueur en leur grande difette | . p. | 253. |
| Auoir chien & fac, en Canada, est iouyr du droit | Et 🛛 | |
| de proprieté | <i>p</i> . | 51. |
| Autmoins font les Prestres des Canadois, . | p. | 54. |
| Autmoins, Medecins & Sorciers engeollent les fin | 2- | |
| ples Canadois | p. | 79. |
| Autmoins se font donner force presents pour l | 'a | |
| cure des malades | p. | 87. |
| Autmoins inuocans Dicu par le nom du Soleil, e | 11 | |
| cas de necessité | p. | 96. |

| | 2 | 1 |) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | L |) |) | • |

| Baie de Chinictou en Canada, estendue en belles | |
|--|------|
| prairies p. | 27. |
| Baie Françoise entre Port Royal, & la riviere S. | |
| Jean p. | 165. |
| Baie des mines à vingt & deux lieuës de Port Royal. p. | 203. |
| Baye de Genes, ainsi appellée par Châplain. p. | 204. |
| Baye des mines large de huict licuës p. | 205. |
| Baptesme trop facilement conferé au Mexique, auce | |
| notable dommage des baptifés p. | 10б. |
| Baptesme conferé aux Canadois non instruits au | |
| deuoir de Christianisme, & le mal qui en | |
| reussit p. | 111. |
| Baptefme des perfonnes aagées, non bien instruites, | |
| differé auec grande confideration p. | 115. |
| Baptefme desiré des Canadins auat la mort. p. | 310. |
| Baptesme guerit vn enfant Canadin malade à la | |
| mort p. | 318. |
| Baptifés en Canada sans precedente instruction, | |
| ne scauovent rien du Chrestien, non pas mes- | |

| Association of the Marquise de Guercheville with | | |
|--|----|-----|
| sicur de Potrincourt in Canadian affairs. | ₽. | 188 |
| Asticou, a Sagamore on the coast of Acadia. | p. | 222 |
| Lobsters, or sea Crabs, were caught by the French of | | |
| St. Sauveur in their great poverty | p. | 253 |
| To have a dog and a bag, in Canada, is to enjoy | | • |
| the rights of property | p. | 5 I |
| Autmoins are the Priests of the Canadians. | p. | 54 |
| Autmoins, Medicine men and Sorcerers dupe the | | |
| simple Canadians | p. | 79 |
| Autmoins require many presents for the cure of | | |
| the sick | p. | 87 |
| Autmoins invoke God by the name of the Sun, when | | |
| they are in need | p. | 96 |

В.

| Bay of Chinictou in Canada, surrounded by beauti | - | |
|---|----|-----|
| ful meadows | p. | 27 |
| French Bay, between Port Royal and the river St | • | |
| John | p. | 165 |
| Bay of mines, twenty-two leagues from Port Royal | | 203 |
| Baye de Genes, thus called by Champlain. | p. | 204 |
| Bay of mines eight leagues wide | p. | 205 |
| Baptism too easily administered in Mexico, with | h | |
| notable detriment to those baptized. | p. | тоб |
| Baptism administered to the Canadians not ye | t | |
| instructed in the dutics of Christianity, and | d | |
| the evils which result therefrom. | p. | III |
| Baptism of aged persons, not well instructed, de | - | |
| ferred with great consideration. | p. | 115 |
| Baptism desired by Canadians before dying. | p. | 310 |
| Baptism cures a Canadian child sick unto death. | p. | 318 |
| Those baptized in Canada without previous instruc | - | |
| tion, know nothing of Christianity, not ever | 12 | |

| mes leur nom de Baptesme | p. | 109. |
|--|------|-------|
| Basques ont alienés les Excomminquois en Canad | a | |
| de nos François | p. | 33. |
| Biencourt & Robin en faueur des Caluinistes, con | 2- | |
| sentent que les Iesuites n'entrent dans leu | r | |
| nauire | p. | 134. |
| Biencourt par le moyen des Iesuites fait voile e | 'n | |
| Canada, beaucoup plustost qu'il ne pouno | it | |
| autrement | p. | 138. |
| Biencourt soupçonne que Madame de Guerche-vil. | le | |
| le veut despoüiller des droitts de Canada. | p. | 197. |
| Bretons ont descouuert la France nouuelle. | | |
| Bretons fouuent malades en Canada. | | 15. |
| Cabanes d'Hyuer des Canadois, d'un clos rond a | le | |
| perches fermées en poincte par le haut, cou | l - | |
| uertes de peaux, nattes, ou escorces. p. | . 40 | . 41. |
| Cabanes des Canadois toufiours en bel aspect, o | G | |
| prés des bonnes eaux | p. | 41. |
| Cabanes d'Esté des Canadois, larges & longues, o | G | |
| connertes de nattes, ou escorces. | p. | 42. |
| Calais. Le Gouuerneur, & Doyen de Calais accuci | 7- | |
| lent, & secourent charitablement les lesuit | es | |
| de Canada renuoyés d'Angleterre, . | | 299. |
| Caluinistes ne peuvent trouver bon que les Icsuite | | |
| paffent en Canada, ouy biĉ tous autres Ecclef | ĩ- | |
| astiques | | 133. |
| Canada n'est qu'une partie de la France nouuelle | | |
| fçauoir cft, la coste du long de la grand | | |
| riuicre Canadas | | 3.4. |
| Canada, Prouince de la France nouuelle premier | | |
| ment de sconuerte par Iaques Cartier l'an 1524 | - | 4. |
| Canada parallele à la France, en mesme climat, | | |
| elevation de Pole | p. | 9. |
| Canada plus froide que nostre France, & pourquoy | - | 10. |
| Canada suicese an Sourbot, on maladie de la terre | . D. | 14. |

Digitized by Microsoft®

124

1616-29]

| their Baptismal names. | | • | р. | 109 |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|----|------|
| Basques have alienated the | Excomming | uois in | | |
| Canada from our French. | | • | p. | 33 |
| Biencourt and Robin, out of re | gard for the | Calvin- | | |
| ists, agree that the Jesuits | must not en | er their | | |
| ship | | • | p. | 134 |
| Biencourt by means of the Jesu | its sails for (| Canada, | | |
| much sooner than he could | d have done | without | 4 | |
| them | | | p. | 138 |
| Biencourt suspects that Mada | ame de Guer | che-ville | ? | |
| wishes to rob him of his r | ights in Can | ada. | p. | 197 |
| Bretons discovered new France | • • | | p. | 2 |
| Bretons often sick in Canada. | | | p. | I 5 |
| Winter Cabins of the Canadia | ns; a circle | of pole. | 5 | |
| closed at the top and cover | ed with skin | s, mats | , | |
| or pieces of bark. | | . p. | 40 | , 41 |
| Cabins of the Canadians alway | vs in a beauti | ful loca | - | |
| tion, and near good water | · | | p. | 4 I |
| Summer Cabins of the Canad | ians long an | d wide | , | |
| and covered with mats or | | | p. | 42 |
| Calais. The Governor and Dec | an of Calais | welcom | 2 | |
| and kindly assist the Jes | uits of Can | ada sen | t | |
| back from England | | | p. | 299 |
| Calvinists are not satisfied to | have the Jesu | its go to | , | |
| Canada, but are willing | to take all o | ther Ec | - | |
| clesiastics | | | p. | 133 |
| Canada is only a part of new | France, nam | nely, the | ? | |
| land along the great river | r Canadas. | | p. | 3,4 |
| Canada, a Province of new Fr | | scovered | ł | |
| by Jaques Cartier, in the | year 1524. | • | p. | 4 |
| Canada parallel to France, a | in the same | climat | ę | |
| and Polar elevation | | | р. | 9 |
| Canada colder than our Franc | ce, and why. | | p. | 10 |
| Canada subject to Scurvy or la | nd disease. | | p. | 14 |

125

| LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Voi | . 4 |
|---------------------------------|-----|
|---------------------------------|-----|

126

| Canada apporte maladie aux oifeux. | p. | 1б. |
|---|------------|-------|
| Canada germe aussitost au Printemps que nostr | е | |
| France | p. | 18. |
| Canada és endroits les plus froids rend les bled | s | |
| meurs en fon temps | p. | 19. |
| Canada n'a point de hautes montagnes. | p. | 20. |
| Canada fort entrecoupée de riuieres, & bras de mer | , | |
| en cst renduë plus froide | p. | 23. |
| Canada à cause des continuelles sorests est moin | S | |
| efchauffée du Soleil, & pource plus froide qu | С | |
| les campagnes ounertes | p. | 24. |
| Canada pour n'estre labourée est couuerte d'vne dur | С | |
| crouste, quasi impenetrable an Soleil, & partan | t | |
| beaucoup plus froide | p, | 24. |
| Canada produict la vigne faunage en beaucon | Þ | |
| d'endroits, qui mcurit en son temps. | p. | 31. |
| Canada és terres cogneües des François, n'a qu | e | |
| dix mille habitans | p. | 73. |
| Canada, horfmis Port Royal, donné à Madame d | e | |
| Guercheuille | p. | 190. |
| Canada du Gouuernement du Prince de Soiffons. | <i>p</i> . | 330. |
| Canada pourquoy doit cstre cultiuée des François. | p. | 331. |
| Canadois fideles au François cõtre l'Anglois. | p. | 34. |
| Canadois charitables enucrs les François captifs d | e | |
| l'Anglois p. | 35 | . 36. |
| Canadois ont honne memoire des chofes fenfibles. | p. | 36. |
| Canadois comprennent, & ingent bien les chofe | S | |
| fensibles | p. | 36. |
| Canadoifes ceintes desfus, & desfous le ventre. | p, | 37. |
| Canadois quasi tous sans barbe, horsmis les bie | п | |
| robustes | p. | 37. |
| Canadois ne peuuent retenir la memoire d'une fuitt | е | |
| de paroles | p. | 27. |

1616-29]

| Canada brings sickness to those who are idle. | p. | 16 |
|---|------------|------|
| Canada shows vegetation as early in Spring as our | | |
| France | p. | 18 |
| Canada in the coldest places yields the wheat crop | | |
| in its season | p. | 19 |
| Canada has no high mountains | p. | 20 |
| Canada, very much intersected by rivers and arms | | |
| of the sea, is thereby rendered colder. | p. | 23 |
| Canada, on account of the continuous forests, is less | | |
| heated by the Sun, and therefore colder than | | |
| the open countries | <i>p</i> . | 24 |
| Canada, not being cultivated, is covered with a | | |
| hard crust, almost impenetrable to the Sun, | | |
| and therefore much colder | p. | 24 |
| Canada produces the wild grape in many places, | | |
| which ripens in its season | p. | 31 |
| Canada, in the lands known to the French, has | | |
| only ten thousand inhabitants. | p. | 73 |
| Canada, with the exception of Port Royal, given to | | |
| Madame de Guercheville | p. | 190 |
| Canada under Authority of the Prince de Soissons. | p. | 330 |
| Canada, why the French should cultivate it. | p. | 331 |
| Canadians faithful to French against English. | p. | 34 |
| Canadians kind to French made prisoners by Eng- | | |
| lish | 35 | , 36 |
| Canadians have a good memory for visible and | 7 | |
| material things | p. | 36 |
| Canadians comprehend and estimate well the things | | |
| known through the senses | p. | 36 |
| Canadian women wear belts above and below the | | |
| stomach | p. | 37 |
| Canadians nearly all beardless, except the more | | |
| robust | p. | 37 |
| Canadians have no memory for a consecutive ar- | | |
| rangement of words | p. | 27 |

127

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

| Canadois mocqueurs des personnes contresaites. p. | 37. |
|--|------|
| Canadois n'ont point le corps contrefaict, ny de- | |
| fectucux p. | 37. |
| Canadois vestus de peaux conroyées auec le poil, & | |
| bigarrées de couleurs p. | 39. |
| Canadois paoureux, & grands vanteurs p. | 55. |
| Canadois forts, & addroicts à la lutte, & non à | |
| autre combat p. | 55. |
| Canadois liberaux & recognoissans. p. | |
| Canadois prattiquët la Polygamie plus pour le prou- | |
| fit, que pour l'incontinence. p. | 62. |
| Canadois maladifs depuis la hatife des Fraçois, à | |
| caufe de leurs excés à manger viandes non | |
| accoustumées p. | 69. |
| Canadois ne se soucient du lendemain, viuãs du | - |
| iour à la iournée p. | 70. |
| Canadois oincits d'huile de loup marin sentent mal. p. | 77. |
| Canadois Se font Chrestiens, Seulement pour marque | |
| d'amitié aucc les François p. | 109. |
| Canadois se plaignent fort qu'on ne les ait aduerty | |
| des deuoirs du Christianisme auat leur bap- | |
| tesme, ausquels ils ne se fussent obligés, s'ils | |
| les eussent cogneus p. | 111. |
| Canadins baptisés à la poursuitte du sieur de Po- | |
| trincourt p. | 12б. |
| Canadois ne peuuêt exprimer par parole que les | |
| choses fort sensibles, & materielles p. | 151. |
| Canadins sujects d'Asticou inuitent les Iesuites à | |
| prendre logis en leur terre p. | 222. |
| Canadins careffent les Anglois, les croyans estre | |
| François, & par ignorance les menent à S. | |
| Sauueur, où ils pillent & captiuent les Fran- | |
| çois p. | 229. |

| Canadians scoffers at ill-shapen people | p. | 37 |
|--|----|-----|
| Canadians' bodies are not ill-shapen or defective. | p. | 37 |
| Canadians dressed in skins which have been curried | , | |
| and decorated in various colors. | p. | 39 |
| Canadians cowardly and great boasters | p. | 55 |
| Canadians strong and skillful in wrestling, and | | |
| not in any other kind of combat. | p. | 55 |
| Canadians generous and grateful. | р. | 58 |
| Canadians practice Polygamy more for profit than | - | - |
| for incontinence | p. | б2 |
| Canadians sickly since their intercourse with the | - | |
| French, on account of their excesses in eating | | |
| food to which they are not accustomed. | p. | 69 |
| Canadians not anxious about to-morrow, only liv- | - | - |
| ing from day to day. | p. | 70 |
| Canadians, when they rub themselves with seal oil, | - | · |
| have a bad smell. | p. | 77 |
| Canadians embrace Christianity only as a sign of | • | |
| friendship with the French | | 109 |
| Canadians complain greatly that they were not ad- | - | - |
| vised of the duties of Christianity before their | | |
| baptism, to which they would not have bound | , | |
| themselves if they had known them | p. | III |
| Canadians baptized through the instrumentality of | - | |
| sieur de Potrincourt | p. | 126 |
| Canadians can express in words only the more vis- | Î | |
| ible and material things. | p. | 151 |
| Canadian subjects of Asticou invite the Jesuits to | - | - |
| locate in their territory. | p. | 222 |
| Canadians embrace the English, believing them to | Î | |
| be French, and through ignorance guide them | | |
| to St. Sauveur, where they plunder and cap- | | |
| ture the French. | Þ. | 229 |
| | 4 | / |

129

| Canadin s'attriste fort, ayant recognen que pa | r | |
|--|--------|------|
| mesgarde il auoit mis les François de Sainé | 7 | |
| Sauncur entre les mains de l'Anglois. | p. | 231. |
| Canadins portent grande compassion aux Françoi | _ | |
| captifs de l'Anglois, & leur offrent toute ami | - | |
| tié | | 246. |
| Canadins donnent largement de leur proye au. | _ | |
| | | 253. |
| Canadins bien recogneus pennent estre cy apre | | 50 |
| | | 306 |
| Canadins ayans grande confiance aux François | - | Ũ |
| peuuent estre mieux aidez par cux, que pa | | |
| autres en leur conuerfion | p. | 307. |
| Canadins grandement fideles aux François. | | 308. |
| Canadins ennemis de l'Anglois, & Holandois. | | 309. |
| Canadins affectionnes au Baptesme. | | 310. |
| Canadine malade à la mort, guerie par le Cate | | |
| chisme, & vnc Croix penduë au col | p. | 313. |
| Canadois ne portent point de hants de chausses. | | 39. |
| Canadois portent greues, & fouliers de peaux d'ef | | |
| lan | p. | 39. |
| Canadois plantet nouuelles cabanes à chaque change | - | |
| ment de lieu, & de residence. | p. | 40. |
| Canadois se cabanent en bel aspect, & prés de | S | |
| bonnes caux | p. | 4I. |
| Canadois se conchent à l'entour du foyer, sur de | S | |
| peaux de loups marins, la teste sur vn sac. | p. | 4I. |
| Canadois à chacune des treize luncs annuelles on | t | |
| nonuelle chaffe, ou pefche | p. | 42. |
| Canadois ne viuent que de chasse, & de pesche. | p. | 42. |
| Canadois meurent de faim quand la chasse, & | , ד | |
| pcsche ne reüsst | p. | 43. |
| Canadois sont fort incômodés de pluye, & de nege | , | |
| quand elle ne gele pas | p. | 44. |

| Canadians very sorrowful when they recognized | | |
|---|------------|----------|
| that through inadvertence they had delivered | | |
| the French of Saint Sauveur into the hands of | • | |
| the English | p. | 231 |
| Canadians show great sympathy for the French | - | Ĩ |
| taken prisoners by the English, and offer them | | |
| many favors | p. | 246 |
| Canadians give generously of their game to the | - | |
| needy French of St. Sauveur. | p. | 253 |
| Canadians, well understood, can afterwards be bet- | - | |
| ter assisted in the salvation of their souls. | p. | 306 |
| Canadians, having great confidence in the French, | - | - |
| can be better aided by them, than by others, in | | |
| their conversion | p. | 307 |
| Canadians very faithful to the French. | | 308 |
| Canadians enemics of the English and Dutch. | | 309 |
| Canadians fond of Baptism | | 310 |
| Canadian woman sick unto death, cured by the | | |
| Catechism and a Cross hung around her neck. | p. | 313 |
| Canadians do not wear trousers | p. | 39 |
| Canadians wear leggings and shoes of elk skin. | p. | 39 |
| Canadians erect new houses at every change of place | | |
| and residence | р. | 40 |
| Canadians camp in pleasant localities and near good | | |
| water | р. | 4 I |
| Canadians lie around the fire, upon seal skins, their | | |
| heads upon bags | p. | 4 I |
| Canadians have new game or fish for every one of | | |
| their thirteen moons | | 40 |
| | <i>p</i> . | 42 |
| Canadians live only upon game and fish. | р. р. | 42 42 |
| | - | • |
| Canadians live only upon game and fish | - | • |
| Canadians live only upon game and fish. Canadians die of starvation when hunting and fish- | p. | 42 |

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

132

| Canadois portent des raquettes au pied sur la nege | |
|---|------|
| molle, pour chasser p. | 44. |
| Canadois riches en gibier d'eau, non de terre. p. | 46. |
| Canadois en my-Septembre de la mer vont à la | |
| pesche des rivieres p. | 47. |
| Canadois ne possedent rien en proprieté auant leur | |
| mariage p. | 51. |
| Canadois ont des quereles sur le resus des droies | |
| les vns enuers les autres. , . p. | 52. |
| Canadin guery par la Croix, & Catechisme. p. | 315. |
| Canadins hurlent horriblement aupres de leurs | |
| malades mourans p. | 317. |
| Campseau coste de mer loin de six vingts lieuës de | |
| Port Royal p. | 139. |
| Cap de la Heue en la coste de l'Acadie pag. | 216. |
| Cap de fable p. | 255. |
| Cap Brcton p. | 263. |
| Cap Forchu p. | 255. |
| Caribous, moitié asne, moitié cerf, bons à manger. p. | 43. |
| Castors & Estans ont leur seconde chasse en Octobre, | |
| & Nouembrc p. | 47. |
| Castors se prennent en Feurier & Mars, pour la | |
| premiere chasse p. | 43. |
| Catechisme exactement practiqué est tres-necessaire | |
| aux Canadins à cause de leur façon de viure | |
| vagabonde p. 102. 103, | 104. |
| Catechifme & Croix penduë au col d'vne Canadine | |
| la guerit de maladie mortelle p. | 313. |
| Catechisme guerit vn Canadin malade pag. | 215. |
| Cauots, efquifs des Canadois, faicts, d'efcorce de | |
| boulcau, fort legers, capables de toute vne | |
| famille, & vtenfiles necessaires . p. | 48 |
| Cauot fort commode pour la pefche, & voiture. p. | 48. |
| Cauot faict quarante lieuës en vn iour pag. | 49. |
| Champlain fonde l'habitation de Kebec p. | 121. |

1616-29]

| Canadians wear snowshoes upon the feet when the | he | |
|---|------------|-----|
| snow is soft, for hunting | p. | 44 |
| Canadians rich in marine, not in forest game. | p. | 46 |
| Canadians, in the middle of September, come fro | m | |
| the sea to fish in the rivers. | p. | 47 |
| Canadians possess no property before marriage. | p. | 51 |
| Canadians quarrel when some refuse dues to othe | h- | - |
| ers | p. | 52 |
| Canadian cured by the Cross and Catechism. | <i>p</i> . | 315 |
| Canadians howl terribly around their dying friend | 's. p. | 317 |
| Campseau seacoast distant one hundred and twent | ty^{-} | |
| leagues from Port Royal | <i>p</i> . | 139 |
| Cap de la Heve on the coast of Acadia. | pag. | 216 |
| Cape sable. | p. | 255 |
| Cape Breton | p. | 263 |
| Cape Forchu | p. | 255 |
| Caribou, half ass, half deer, good to eat | p. | 43 |
| Chase, the second time for the Beaver and Elk a | in | |
| October and November | p. | 47 |
| Capture of the beaver in the first hunt, in Februar | ry - | |
| and March | p. | 43 |
| Catechism exactly attended to is very necessary . | to | |
| the Canadians, on account of their wandering | ıg | |
| mode of life p. 102, | 103, | 104 |
| Catechism and Cross, hung from the neck of a Cana | <i>a-</i> | |
| dian woman, cure her of a mortal illness. | p. | 313 |
| Catechism cures a sick Canadian | pag. | 215 |
| Canoes, the skiffs of the Canadians, made of birch | h- | |
| bark, very light, capable of holding an entit | re | |
| family and their necessary utensils | p. | 48 |
| Canoe very convenient for fishing and conveyance | . p. | 48 |
| Canoe makes forty leagues in one day. | pag. | 49 |
| Champlain establishes the settlement of Kebec. | p. | 121 |

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

| Champlain defcouure la coste de la riviere S. L | .au- | |
|---|------------|------------|
| rens | | 121. |
| Champlain Lieutenant du ficur de Monts. | <i>p</i> . | 121. |
| Champlain allant à Kebec passe à trauers | des | |
| glaçons de mer enormément gros & affreux | | 139. |
| Charbon de terre en Canada | p. | 32. |
| Chair boucanée, ou fechée à la fumée, mife | en en | |
| referue | p. | 70. |
| Charmes, Chefnes, Hestres, & Peupliers en | Ca- | |
| nada | p. | 32. |
| Chaffe & pesche sont tout le reuenu des Canado | vis. p. | 42. |
| Chaffe premiere des Castors en Feurier, & Mai | rs. p. | 43. |
| Chaffe seconde des Castors, & Eslans en Octobr | e & | |
| Nouembre | <i>p</i> . | 47. |
| Cheuille plantée en terre par l'Autmoin faign | ant | |
| | 82.83 | . 84. |
| Chiens du malade mangés en Tabagie. | pag. | 89. |
| Chinictou est vne Baye en Canada fort belle | | |
| prairies | | 27. |
| Chinictou pays de Canada fertile & aggreable. | - | 204. |
| Chiquebi racine à guise de truffes, dont les Iesu | ites | |
| viuoyent en temps de famine | - | 213. |
| Chirurgien Anglois Catholique, charitable ent | | |
| les François de S. Sauueur blessez. | - | 241. |
| Coquilles, & poissons de toute sorte foisonnent | | |
| la mer de Canada durant cinq mois. | - | 45. |
| Coste de la riviere Sainct Ican en Canada, au | | |
| dante en vigne fauuage, & noyers. | - | 31. |
| Coste de S. Sauncur fort aggreable, . | - | 225. |
| Croix penduë au col d'vn Canadin le guerit d' | | |
| longue maladie | | 315. |
| Croix plantée au Cap de la Heue | | 216. |
| Croix plantée au Port S. Sauneur | - | 226. |
| Coudriers font frequents en Canada Counibas pays inhabitable à caufe du froid. | - | 31. 21. |
| | | |

134

1616-29]

| Champlain explores the shores of the ri | ver St. | | |
|---|----------|------------|-------|
| Lawrence | | p. | I 2 I |
| Champlain, Lieutenant of sicur de Monts. | | p. | I 2 I |
| Champlain, going to Kebec, passes throug | h enor- | | |
| mous and frightful masses of ice. | • | p. | 139 |
| Coal in Canada | | p. | 32 |
| Smoked meat, or meat dried in smoke, store | ed away | p. | 70 |
| Elm, Oak, Beech, and Poplar in Canada. | | <i>p</i> . | 32 |
| Hunting and fishing are the only resources | of the | | |
| Canadians | | p. | 42 |
| First hunt for Beavers in February and M. | arch. | p. | 43 |
| Second hunt for Beavers and Elk in Octo | ber and | | |
| November | | p. | 47 |
| Stick planted in the ground by the Autmoin | , feign- | | |
| ing to chase away the Devil | p. 82, | 83 | , 84 |
| Dogs of the sick man caten in the Tabagie. | p | ıg. | 89 |
| Chinictou is a Bay in Canada surrounded by | beauti- | | |
| ful meadows | | p. | 27 |
| Chinictou a country of Canada fertile and p | leasant. | p. | 204 |
| Chiquebi, a root something like truffles, upo | n which | | |
| the Jesuits lived in time of famine. | • | p. | 213 |
| English Surgeon, a Catholic, charitable | towards | | |
| the wounded French of St. Sauvcur. | • | ₽. | 24I |
| Shellfish, and fish of all kinds, swarm | in the | | |
| Canadian sea during five months. | | p. | 45 |
| Banks of the river Saint John in Canada | abound- | | |
| ing in wild grapes and nuts | • | p. | 31 |
| Coast of St. Sauveur very agreeable. | • | p. | 225 |
| Cross hung from the neck of a Canadian cu | res him | | |
| of a long illness | • | - | 315 |
| Cross planted at Cap de la Heve. | • | - | 216 |
| Cross planted at the Port of St. Sauveur. | | - | 22б |
| Hazel trees very abundant in Canada. | • | ₽. | 31 |
| Counibas country uninhabitable on account | t of the | | |
| cold. | | D. | 21 |

D

| Defunct enfeuely auec fon fac, fes peaux, fleches, | |
|--|------|
| & autres meubles siens, & presents de ses amis. p. | 92. |
| Diable familier à Membertou encores Payen. p. | 95. |
| Diable trauaillant les Canadois auant la venuë des | |
| François | 95. |
| Dieu entre les Canadois est nommé du nom du Soleil. p. | 96. |
| Dix mille perfonnes seulement en toutes les terres | - |
| de Canada p. | 73. |
| Droist de proprieté en Canada se practique par la | |
| possession du chien, & du sac. p. | 51. |
| Dueil à la mort des parens & amis, est de se broü- | - |
| iller la face de noir p. | 90. |
| Du Pont le ieune reconcilié au fieur de Potrincourt | - |
| à la requeste du P. Biard pag. | 147. |
| Du Pont le ieune reconcilié au fieur de Potrincourt | |
| se confesse, & faict ses Pasques au bord de la | |
| mer, auec grande edification des a si fans. p. | 148. |
| Du Pont perd son nauire, & le recouure à la requeste | |
| du P. Biard p. | 148. |
| Du Pont le ieune employé pour traduire le Cate- | |
| chisme en langue Canadine p. | 175. |
| Du Pont le ieune retire en son nauire vne partie des | |
| François de S. Sanneur. | 256. |

E

| Enfans en grand | l nom | bre sont i | la forci | e des Sagi | rmos | |
|-------------------|--------|------------|----------|------------|-------|------|
| Canadois. | | | | | p. | 62. |
| Enfant Canadin | mal | ade à la | mort | guery po | ar le | |
| Baptesme. | | . • | • | | p. | 318. |
| Eplan de Canado | a se p | rend en 1 | Mars. | • | p. | 45. |
| Eplan, petit poil | Ton co | mme Sar | dine. | | p. | 213. |

136

D

| Dead men buried with their bags, skins, a | arrows | , | |
|---|---------|--------|-----|
| and other possessions, and presents fro | m their | r | |
| friends | | p. | 92 |
| Devil familiar to Membertou while yet a Pa | agan. | p. | 95 |
| Devil tormenting the Canadians before the | coming | - 7 | |
| of the French | | p. | 95 |
| God, among the Canadians, is known by th | he sam | e | |
| name as the Sun | | p. | 96 |
| Ten thousand people only in all the la | ands o | f | - |
| Canada | | p. | 73 |
| Right of property in Canada evidenced by | the pos | - | |
| session of the dog and of the bag. | | p. | 5 I |
| Dead kindred or friends mourned by smean | ring th | e | |
| face with black. | | p. | 90 |
| Du Pont the younger reconciled to sieur de | Potrin | - | |
| court at the request of Father Biard. | | | 147 |
| Du Pont the younger, reconciled to sieur de | | | |
| court, confesses, and receives the East | | | |
| rament on the seashore, to the great | | | |
| tion of those present | • | p. | 148 |
| Du Pont loses his ship and recovers it at | the re | - | |
| quest of Father Biard. | | p. | 148 |
| Du Pont the younger employed to translate the | he Cate | - | |
| chism into the Canadian language. | | p. | 175 |
| Du Pont the younger takes into his ship par | t of th | е | |
| French of St. Sauveur. | | | 256 |

E

Large families the strength of Canadian Sagamores. p. 62 Canadian child sick unto death cured by Baptism. p. 318 Canadian smelts taken in March. p. 45 Smelt, a little fish like a Sardine. p. 213 LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

| Eslans, & Castors ont leu | r secon | de chasse | en Otto | bre, | |
|---------------------------|----------|------------|---------|-------|-----|
| & Nouembre. | | | | p. | 47. |
| Eslans se prennent pour l | la Secor | nde chasse | en Oet | obrc | |
| & Nouembre. | | | | p. | 47. |
| Espoux Canadois donne d | | | | | |
| rien de luy | | | | p. | бı. |
| Estunes frictions, sucurs | v fitée | s en Cano | ıda pou | er la | |
| fanté | | | | p. | 77. |
| Estourgeon se pesche en | Auril. | | | p. | 45. |
| Eteminquois, Montague | ts, So | uriquois | alliez | aux | |
| François en Canada | γ. | | | p. | 34. |
| Excomminquois ennemis | s des l | François d | en Cano | ada, | |
| à l'occafion des Baf | ques. | | | p. | 33. |

138

F

| Fæal l'vne des Isles des Açores | p. | 287. |
|--|---------------|------|
| Femmes Canadoises portent le fais du mesnage, | \mathcal{E} | |
| font de pire condition, que chambrieres. | p. | 62. |
| Femmes Canadoises pudiques | p. | 66. |
| Femmes Canadoises durement traiétées de leu | irs | |
| maris | p. | 65. |
| Femmes Candoises peu secondes à cause de leu | | |
| trauaux continucls | p. | 72. |
| Fleurs de lis rafées en Canada par l'Anglois. | p. | 271. |
| Foin de Canada haut de la longueur d'un homme | e. p. | 26. |
| François de S. Sauneur accusés d'estre bannis | \mathcal{E} | |
| pirates, pour ne pounoir produire leur con | 172 - | |
| mission surprinse par l'Anglois. | p. | 239. |
| France nounclle est propre des François prinatio | 10- | |
| ment aux Anglois | p. | 320. |
| François ont enscigné l'vsage du poison, & autr | res | |
| mal-heurs aux Canadois | p. | 68. |
| François doivent entreprendre la culture | de | |

| Second chase for Elk and Beaver in | October a | nd | |
|--|-------------|-----|----|
| November | • | p. | 47 |
| Elk are captured in the second chase | in Octob | ber | |
| and November | | p. | 47 |
| Canadian husband gives to his father | r-in-law, | in- | |
| stead of receiving from him. | | p. | бі |
| Rubbing and vapor-baths used in Can | ada for i | the | |
| hcalth | | p. | 77 |
| Sturgeon are caught in April. | | p. | 45 |
| Eteminquois, Montaguets, Souriquois, a | allies of a | the | |
| French in Canada | | p. | 34 |
| Excomminquois, enemies of the French | | | |
| on account of the Basques. | | p. | 33 |

F

| Fæal, one of the Islands of the Açores. | p. | 287 |
|--|----|-----|
| Canadian women bear the burdens of the household, | , | |
| and are in a worse condition than chamber. | - | |
| maids | p. | 62 |
| Canadian women modest | p. | 66 |
| Canadian women badly treated by their husbands. | p. | 65 |
| Canadian women not fruitful on account of their | r | |
| continual hardships | p. | 72 |
| Fleurs-de-lis erased in Canada by the English. | p. | 271 |
| Hay in Canada as high as a man. | p. | 26 |
| French of St. Sauveur accused of being outlaws and | l | |
| pirates, because they could not produce their | - | |
| commission, which had been seized by the Eng- | | |
| lish | p. | 239 |
| New France is owned by the French exclusive of | | |
| the English | p. | 320 |
| French have taught the use of poison and other | | |
| evils to the Canadians | p. | 68 |
| French ought to undertake the cultivation of | F | |

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

| Canada | | 331. |
|--|----|------|
| François en danger de se perdre parmy les Armou- | | |
| chiquois, par vn soupçon sondé en apparence. s | • | 178. |
| François pretendent instement desboutter l'Anglois | | |
| de la nouuelle France p | | 320. |
| France nounelle cst vne forest perpetuelle . | ۰. | 4 |
| France nouuelle, partie Occidentale de l'Amerique. | | Ι. |
| France nouuelle descouuerte l'an 1504. par les Bre- | | |
| tons | | 2. |
| François Bretons ont les premiers descouuert la | | |
| nouuelle France 1 | • | 2. |
| France nouuelle pourquoy doit estre cultiuée par les | | |
| François 1 | • | 331. |

G

| Glaçons | c str | ange | ment gro | os, cha | rriez cen | it lieux d | lans | |
|---------|-------|-------|-----------|---------|-----------|------------|---------|------|
| la v | mer | par l | les riuie | res. | • | | p. | 139. |
| Garçons | , 011 | поп | encores | mari | ez n'acq | uierent | rien | |
| à e | ux-1 | nesm | es, ains | à leur | r Sagam | 0 | p. | 51. |
| Gilbert | du | Thet | Iesuite | tué p | bar les 1 | Anglois d | ì S. | |
| Sai | uueu | r. | • | | | | p. | 241. |
| Greues, | &] | oulie | rs des C | anado | is | | p. | 39. |
| Guerres | des | Cana | dois se | pratti | quent pa | r surpri | res. p. | 55. |

Η

| Habitans des terres de Canada dix mille en tout. | p. | 73. |
|--|----|------|
| Habitans de S. Malo fort charitables enuers la | es | |
| François reuenans de Canada | p. | 258. |
| Habits de peaux veluës des Canadois. | p. | 39. |
| Harenc se pesche en Auril | p. | 45. |
| Hauts de chausses ne sont en vsage en Canada. | p. | 29. |
| Henry IIII. se fasche que le sieur de Potrincous | rt | |
| ne se haste pour Canada | p. | 125. |

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| Car | ıada. | | | | | p. | 331 |
|---------|--------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|------------|-----|
| | in danger | | | | | | |
| quo | is, on accor | unt of a | a suspic | ion base | d upon a | <i>p</i> - | |
| pear | rances. | | • | | | p. | 178 |
| | justly assu | | | | | he | · · |
| Eng | lish in ne | w Fran | ice. | | | p. | 320 |
| New Fre | ance is an | interm | inable j | forest. | | p. | 4 |
| New Fra | nce, Weste | rn par | t of An | nerica. | • | p. | I |
| New Fra | ance discou | vered i | n the | year 15 | 04, by th | he | |
| | tons. | | | | | p. | 2 |
| | Bretons the | | | | | г. р. | 2 |
| | ance, why | - | | - | | - | |
| | a a la | - | | | | 4 | 331 |

G

| Masses of ice, wonderfully large, drifted a hundred | , | |
|---|------------|-----|
| leagues into the sca through the rivers. | p. | 139 |
| Boys, or those not yet married, can acquire nothing | | |
| for themselves, but for their Sagamore. | p. | 51 |
| Gilbert du Thet, Jesuit, killed by the English at | | |
| St. Sauveur. | | 241 |
| Leggings and shoes of the Canadians. | <i>p</i> . | 39 |
| Wars of the Canadians are carried on by strategy. | D. | 55 |

Η

| Inh | abitants | f of t | he lands | of Ca | nada, te | n thousa | nd | |
|------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------|----|-----|
| | in all. | | | • | | | p. | 73 |
| Inh | abitants | of S | St. Malo | vcry | charital | ble towar | ds | |
| | the Fr | ench r | returning | from | Canada | | p. | 258 |
| Cloi | thes of t | he Ca | nadians | made | of hairy | skins. | p. | 39 |
| Her | ring fis | hing a | in April. | | | • | p. | 45 |
| Tro | users an | re not | used in | Canaa | la | • | p. | 29 |
| Hen | ıry IIII | is an | ngry beca | ause s | ieur de . | Potrincou | rt | |
| | does no | ot has | ten to Co | inada. | | | p. | 125 |

| Henry IIII. Roy de France, de | fine les | Iesuites | |
|------------------------------------|------------|--------------|------|
| en Canada | | . p. | 123. |
| Henry Membertou malade meur | t à Port | Royal, | |
| fort Chrestiennement. | | . p. | 162. |
| Herbes potageres fort grandes, & | | | |
| nada | • | . p. | 27. |
| Huguenot de Dieppe remarque v | ne gueris | on mer- | |
| ueilleuse d'vne Canadine. | | . p. | 314. |
| Huile de graisse de loup marin, se | ausse anni | ielle des | |
| Canadois | | . <i>p</i> . | 43. |

Ι

| Iaques Cartier descouure Canada en la France | |
|--|-----|
| nouuelle l'an 1524. & 1534 p. | 4. |
| Iean Denys de Honfleur, va en la France nouuelle | |
| l'an 1506 p. | 3. |
| Iean Verazan prend possession de la France nouuelle | |
| au nom de François I. Roy de France. p. | 3. |
| Iefuites captifs en Angleterre visitez honorablement | |
| par les habitans du lieu p. 20 | 96. |
| Iefuites exhortent les Canadois baptifez auant leur | |
| venuë en Canada, de reietter la Polygamie, & | |
| ce qu'on leur respond p. 11 | Ι. |
| Iefuites ne veulent baptiser les adultes qu'apres | |
| auoir esté deuëment instruicts, dont ils sont | |
| calomniez à tord p. 110. 111. 11 | 2. |
| Iesuites taschent à tourner en Canadois les principes | |
| de la Foy, mais les mots ne se trouuent suffi- | |
| fans pour ce faire p. 11 | 2. |
| Iesuites ne baptisent point les personnes aagées sans | |
| estre deuëment catechisées, & à fort bonne | |
| raifon p. 11 | 4. |
| Iefuites destinez en Canada par le Roy Henry IIII. p. 12 | |
| Iefuites exclus de l'entrée d'un nauire, en faueur | |

142

| Henry IIII., King of France, appoints the Jesuits | 5 | |
|--|----|-----|
| to Canada | p. | 123 |
| Henry Membertou, being sick, dies at Port Roya | l | |
| in a very Christian Manner. | p. | 162 |
| Pot herbs very large and good in Canada. | p. | 27 |
| Huguenot of Dieppe notices the marvelous cure of a | ł | |
| Canadian Woman | p. | 314 |
| Seal oil the Canadian sauce the year round. | D. | 43 |

Ι

| Jaques Cartier explores Canada in new France in | |
|--|-------|
| the years 1524 and 1534 p | 4 |
| Jean Denys, of Honfleur, goes to new France in | |
| the year 1506 p | 3 |
| Jean Verazan takes possession of new France in | |
| the name of Francis I., King of France. p | 3 |
| Jesuit prisoners in England receive honorable visits | |
| from the inhabitants of the place p. | 296 |
| Jesuits exhort the Canadians, baptized before they | |
| came to Canada, to discard Polygamy, and | |
| what they answer thereto p. | III |
| Jesuits do not wish to baptize the adults until they | |
| have been properly instructed, for which they | |
| are unjustly slandered. p. 110, 111, | I I 2 |
| Jesuits try to change into the Canadian tongue the | |
| principles of the Faith, but suitable words for | |
| this purpose cannot be found p. | I I 2 |
| Jesuits do not baptize aged persons unless they are | |
| properly catechized, and with very good reason. p. | |
| Jesuits appointed to Canada by King Henry IIII. p. | 123 |
| Jesuits excluded from entering a ship, out of regard | |
| for the Calvinists p. | I 34 |
| Jesuits sail for Canada in January, 1611. p. | 138 |

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

des Caluinistes. p. 134. Ie suites de smarent pour Canada en Ianuier. 1611. p. 138. Iefuites arrivez à Port Royal en Iuin 1611. p. 149. Iesuites defendus de calomnie par le tesmoignage mesme des Caluinistes. p. 142 . . Iefuites s'estudient à la langue Canadine, mais les Canadins ne les y seruent fidelement. p. 151. 152. Ie fuites sont empeschez de proufiter en la langue Canadine, par ceux mesmes, qui les deuoyent aider. p. 154. Iesuites ne veulent consentir que Membertou soit enterré auec ses predecesseurs infideles. *p*. 161. Ie suites bastiffent de leurs mains vne chaloupe pour aller à la queste des viures en temps de famine. p. 210. Iesuites cueillent le Chiquebi racine, & peschent l'Eplan, & le Harenc en temps de famine. p. 213. Iesuites & autres François de S. Sauueur sont menes à la Virginie. p. 260. Ie fuites garentiffent l'Anglois qui les tenoit captifs, . . de la main de l'Espagnol. p. 289. Iesuites des Isles Açores sont portez en Galles Prouince d'Angleterre. . p. 292. Iesuites mettent és mains du sieur de Biencourt en sa necessité toutes leurs prouisions pour le soulager, & les siens. . . . p. 209. Iefuites sont retirez de Port Royal, & transportez prés de l'Isle de Pemetiq pour dresser nouvelle habitation. . p. 219. Iefuites produits tefmoins en Angleterre, pour la iustification du Capitaine qui les tient captifs, le deliurent de soupçon. p. 293. Iesuites captifs defrayez en Galles par le Inge du lieu fort charitablement. p. 295. Iefuites de Canada captifs en Angleterre, renuoyez libres à Calais. p. 298.

144

| Jesuits arrive at Port Royal in June, 1611. | p. | 149 |
|---|-----|-----|
| Jesuits acquitted of slander by the evidence of Cal- | | - |
| vinists themselves | p. | 142 |
| Jesuits study the Canadian language, but the Cana- | | |
| dians do not serve them faithfully. p. 1 | ;I, | 152 |
| Jesuits are prevented from making progress in the | | |
| Canadian language by the very ones who | | |
| ought to aid them | p. | 154 |
| Jesuits do not wish to consent that Membertou be | | |
| buried with his infidel ancestors. | p. | 161 |
| Jesuits build with their own hands a boat, to go in | | |
| search of food in time of famine. | p. | 210 |
| Jesuits gather the Chiquebi root, and fish for Smelts | | |
| and Herring, in time of famine. | p. | 213 |
| Jesuits and other French of St. Sauveur are taken | | |
| to Virginia | p. | 260 |
| Jesuits save the English, who hold them prisoners, | | |
| from the hands of the Spaniards. | p. | 289 |
| Jesuits are carried from the Açores Islands to | | |
| Wales, a Province of England. | p. | 292 |
| Jesuits place in the hands of sieur de Biencourt, in | | |
| his need, all their provisions, to nourish him | | |
| and his people | p. | 209 |
| Jesuits are withdrawn from Port Royal, and taken | | |
| to the Island of Pemetiq, to establish a new | | |
| settlement | p. | 219 |
| Jesuits, produced as witnesses in England, for the | | |
| justification of the Captain who holds them | | |
| prisoners, deliver him from suspicion. | p. | 293 |
| Jesuit prisoners' expenses in Wales very kindly paid | | |
| by the Judge of the place | p. | 295 |
| Jesuits of Canada, prisoners in England, liberated | | |
| and sent to Calais | p. | 298 |

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

Ingrés, c'est à dire Anglois, hays des Canadois.p. 35.Iste longue à dix lieües de Baye Francoisep. 254

Κ

| Kadefquit, p | borí d'Acadi | e destiné | au nonue | eau logis | · | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|----|------|
| des Frai | nçois. | | | | p. | 22 I |
| Kebec habita | ation fondée | par Cha | mplain. | | p. | 121 |
| Kinibequi, rit | niere proche a | les Arma | ouchiquois | , à <i>foix</i> - | | |
| ante & a | lix lieües de | port Roj | val. | | p. | 176 |

Ĺ

| La Marquise de Guerchenille impetre en don Ca- | | |
|--|----|-----|
| nada, horfmis port Royal. | p. | 190 |
| Langage Canadois fort manque à exprimer une in- | | |
| finité de chose fort ordinaires. | p. | 151 |
| La Marquife entre en affociation pour le fait de | | |
| port Royal auec le fienr de Potrincourt. | p. | 188 |
| La Motte, Lientenant de la Sauffaye. | p. | 223 |
| Le sieur de Potrincourt va en Canada, & faiet bap- | | |
| tifer au plustost des Saunages. | p. | 126 |
| La Motte Gentilhomme François, captif auce les | | |
| lesuites de Canada, mis en liberte. | p. | 301 |
| Langues differentes entre les peuples de Canada. | p. | 54 |
| Lapins, & leuraux affez rares en Canada. | p. | 46 |
| La Royne donne aux Icfuites cinq cens efcus pour | | |
| le voyage de Canada | • | 130 |
| Legumes croissent fort grands, & bons en Canada. | | 27 |
| Le ficur de Potrincourt emprunte des prouisions de | | |
| bouche des François ses voifins, & leur fait | | |
| recognoistre son fils pour Vice-admiral. | • | 146 |
| Le sieur de Potrincourt retourne de Canada en | | |
| France vn mois apres qu'il y estoit arriué pour | | |
| enuitailler port Royal | • | 149 |

146

К

| Kadesquit, a port of Acadia, intended as a new resi- | | |
|--|----|------|
| dence for the French | p. | 22 I |
| Kebec settlement, founded by Champlain. | p. | I2I |
| Kinibequi, a river near the Armouchiquois, seventy | | |
| leagues from port Royal | p. | 176 |

L

| The Marquise de Guercheville given the grant of | | |
|--|------------|-----|
| Canada, with the exception of port Royal. | p. | 190 |
| Canadian Language very weak in expressing an in- | | |
| finite number of very ordinary things. | p. | 151 |
| The Marquise enters into partnership in the affairs | | |
| of port Royal with sieur de Potrincourt. | p. | 188 |
| La Motte, Lieutenant of la Saussaye. | <i>p</i> . | 223 |
| Sieur de Potrincourt goes to Canada and has a | | |
| number of the Savages baptized as quickly as | | |
| possible | p. | 126 |
| La Motte, a French Gentleman, prisoner with the | | |
| Jesuits of Canada, set at liberty. | p. | 301 |
| Different languages among the tribes of Canada. | p. | 54 |
| Rabbits and hares rather scarce in Canada. | p. | 46 |
| The Queen gives to the Jesuits five hundred deus for | | |
| the Canadian voyage | | 130 |
| Vegetables grow very large and are good in Canada. | | 27 |
| Sieur de Potrincourt borrows some provisions from | | |
| his French neighbors, and makes them recognize | | |
| his son as Vice-admiral | | 146 |
| Sieur de Potrincourt returns from Canada to | | |
| France a month after he had come to repro- | | |
| vision port Royal. | | 140 |

| Louys Membertou Sagamo faict Tabagie à quinze | |
|--|-----|
| François de sainct Sauneur retournans en | |
| France | 255 |
| Loups marins se prennent à foison en lanuier. | 42 |
| Loup marin, poisson fraye sur terre és Isles de | |
| Canada | 43 |
| Loutres ont leur chasse principale en Feurier, & | |
| Mars | 43 |
| Lugubres hurlements à la mort des Canadois. | 90 |
| Lunes. Par Lunes les Canadois sont assortis de | - |
| nounclle chaffe, ou pefche. | 42 |

M

| Madame la Marquise de Guercheuille zelée en | |
|--|-----|
| l'affaire de Canada | 127 |
| Madame de Guercheuille defraye les lefuites au | |
| chemin de Canada | 130 |
| Madame de Guercheuille troune l'expedient d'ex- | |
| clure les Caluinistes du nauire où ils ne vou- | |
| loyent admettre les Iefuites | 135 |
| Madame de Guercheuille trouue le fonds d'une rente | |
| perpetuelle en Canada, pour y entretenir les | |
| Iefuites | 137 |
| Madame de Sourdis fournit aux Icfuites le linge | |
| pour Canada | 130 |
| Madame la Marquife de Vernueil fournit aux Ie- | |
| fuites les habits d'Eglise, & autres vtensiles | |
| pour Canada | 130 |
| Magafins des Canadois, font quelques facs de pro- | |
| uision pendus en vn arbre | 71 |
| Magiciens frequents en Canada | 94 |
| Magistrats de la Virginie prennent resolution de | |
| ruiner toutes les places des Francois en Canada, | |
| piller tous les nauires, & renuover les personnes | |

| Louys Membertou, Sage | amore, | makes T | abagie j | for | |
|---------------------------|----------|------------|----------|-----|-----|
| fifteen Frenchmen o | of saint | Sauveur | returni | ing | |
| to France. | • | | | | 255 |
| Scals are caught in abui | ndance | in Janua | ry. | | 42 |
| Seal, fish which breeds a | pon th | e Islands | in Cana | da. | 43 |
| Otters are hunted c | hic fly | in Febr | uary a | nd | |
| March. | | | | | 43 |
| Doleful horvls at the dea | th of C | anadians | | | 90 |
| Moons. The Canadians | arran | ge their h | unting a | nd | |
| fishing by Moons. | • | • | • | | 42 |

M

| Madame la Marquise de Guercheville zealous in | |
|---|-----|
| the affairs of Canada | 127 |
| Madame de Guercheville defrays the expenses of the | |
| Jesuits on their journey to Canada. | 130 |
| Madame de Guercheville devises an expedient to ex- | |
| clude the Calvinists from the ship in which they | |
| did not wish to admit the Jesuits. | 135 |
| Madame de Guercheville raises a fund for a con- | |
| tinual income in Canada, to maintain the | |
| Jesuits there | 137 |
| Madame de Sourdis furnishes the Jesuits with the | |
| linen for Canada | 130 |
| Madame la Marquise de Vernueil furnishes the | |
| Jesuits with the Ecclesiastical robes and other | |
| utensils, for Canada | 130 |
| Magazines of the Canadians are bags of provisions | - |
| hung to a tree | 71 |
| Magicians very common in Canada. | 94 |
| Magistrates of Virginia decide to ruin all the places | |
| of the French in Canada, to plunder their ships, | |
| and to send the people back to France. | 264 |

LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES [Vol. 4

| en France. | 264 |
|---|-------|
| Malades cruellement traittez en Canada. | |
| Malade tardant à mourir cflouffé à force d'eau | |
| froide qu'on luy verse sur le ventre. | 85 |
| Malade ayant testé sans rien donner, reçoit des | 5 |
| prefents | 89 |
| Mareschal de la Virginie veut faire pendre les | - |
| François de fainct Saunenr. | 261 |
| Mariages come se traittet entre Canadois. | бі |
| Matachias, chaines, & parures des femmes Cana- | |
| doifcs. | 37 |
| Matachias, ioyaux, cueilliées fur la fosse des fem- | • • • |
| mcs | 92 |
| Medecines ordinaires des Canadois, estunes & fric- | - |
| tions | 77 |
| Memberton, Sagamo, & Autmoin tout enfemble. | 54 |
| Membertou n'a iamais eu qu'une femme à la fois, | |
| mefmes eftant Payen, ingeant la Polygamie in- | |
| fame & incommode | 65 |
| Membertou, & son fils retires des mains de l'Aut- | |
| moin, qui les auoit condamnez de maladie mor- | |
| <i>telle.</i> | 87 |
| Membertou appellé le Capitaine, apres sa mort. | 93 |
| Memberton feul d'entre les Canadies baptifez auoit | |
| fait profit du baptcfmc | 109 |
| Memberton premier baptisé des Sagamos. | 158 |
| Membertou logé & ferui par les Iefuites dans leur | |
| cabanc iufques à fa mort | 158 |
| Membertou demande d'estre enterré auce ses ma- | |
| jeurs, les lefuites luy remonstrent que cela re- | |
| pugne an Christianisme : il persiste quelque | |
| temps, puis en fin acquiefce 160. | 162 |
| Membertou desire d'estre bien instruiet, pour se | |
| rendre Predicateur de l'Euangile | 163 |

150

| Sick people cruelly treated in Canada. | |
|---|-----|
| Sick people who are slow to die, smothered by pour- | |
| ing a quantity of cold water upon their | |
| stomachs. | 85 |
| Sick person having made his will without giving | 2 |
| anything, himself receives gifts. | 89 |
| Marshal of Virginia wishes to have the French of | |
| saint Sauveur hanged. | 261 |
| Marriages, how arranged among Canadians. | 61 |
| Matachias, chains, and adornments of Canadian | |
| women. | 37 |
| Matachias, jewels, collected upon the graves of the | 57 |
| women | 92 |
| Medicines in use among the Canadians, vapor-baths | |
| and rubbing. | 77 |
| Memberton, both Sagamore and Autmoin. | 54 |
| Membertou had only one wife at a time, even when | 51 |
| a Pagan, considering Polygamy both wicked and | |
| inconvenient. | 65 |
| Membertou and his son withdrawn from the hands | 2 |
| of the Autmoin, who had pronounced their ill- | |
| nesses fatal. | 87 |
| Memberton called "the Captain" after his death. | 93 |
| Memberton, of all the Canadians who were bap- | 20 |
| tized, profited by his baptism. | 109 |
| Membertou the first Sagamore to be baptized. | 158 |
| Memberton lodged and cared for by the Jesuits in | |
| their cabin up to the time of his death. | 158 |
| Memberton asks to be buried with his fathers; the | |
| Jesuits urge that this would be contrary to | |
| Christianity; he insists for some time, then | |
| finally yields 160, | 162 |
| Membertou wishes to be well instructed, to make | |
| himself a Preacher of the Gospel. | 163 |

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| Memberton conseille au P. Enemond malade d'es- | |
|---|-----|
| crire à Biencourt qu'on ne l'a point tué, mais | |
| qu'il est mort de maladie. | 202 |
| Memoires de France effacées en Canada, par les | |
| Anglois 265. | 271 |
| Merueille, Capitaine natif de S. Malo, estant pri- | |
| sonnier, fait tout deuoir de bon Chrestien. | 173 |
| Meuano, Ifle à l'emboucheure de la Baye Françoife. | 254 |
| Mine d'argent en la Baye fainéte Marie, en Canada. | |
| Mine de fer à la riuicre S. Ican | 32 |
| Mines de cuyure à port Royal, & à la Baye des | |
| mines | 32 |
| Mocofa terre ferme, où cst située la Virginie des | |
| Anglois | 227 |
| Mois. Chaque mois de l'année les Canadois ont | |
| pesche, ou chasse abondante, ou tous les deux. | |
| Montaguets, Souriquois, Etcchemins alliez aux | |
| François en Canada | 34 |
| Monts descrts, Isle, appellée Pemetiq | 219 |
| Morts enterrez assis, les genoux contre le ventre, la | |
| teste sur les genoux | 91 |
| Moulues foisonnent en la coste de mer dés le com- | |
| mencement de May iusques à la my-Septembre. | 45 |

N

| Nattes de rozeau, fort menues, & bien tiffues, | |
|---|-----|
| deffendent les cabanes de la pluye | 42 |
| Nauire arriue à propos à ceux de port Royal en leur | |
| grande difette | 186 |
| Nauire captif des François de S. Sauneur com- | |
| mandé par Turnel Anglois est porté par le vent | |
| aux Açores Isles de la coronne d'Espagne. | 281 |
| Nauire de la Sauffaye arriue en Canada. | 216 |

152

| Membertou advises Father Enemond, who is sick, to | |
|--|------|
| write to Biencourt, that they did not kill him, | |
| but that he died of illness | 202 |
| Mementos of France effaced in Canada, by Eng- | |
| <i>lish.</i> | ,27I |
| Merveille, Captain, a native of St. Malo, being | |
| a prisoner, performs all the duties of a good | |
| Christian | 173 |
| Meuano, Island at the mouth of French Bay. | 254 |
| Mine of silver at Baye sainte Marie, in Canada. | |
| Mine of iron at the river St. John | 32 |
| Mines of copper at port Royal and Bay of mines. | 32 |
| Mocosa, the mainland in which the Virginia of the | |
| English is situated. | 227 |
| Months. Every month of the year in Canada has | |
| an abundance of fish or game, or both. | |
| Montaguets, Souriquois, Etechemins, allies of the | |
| French in Canada. | 34 |
| Mount desert, Island, called Pemetiq | 219 |
| Dead people buried in a sitting posture, the knees | - |
| against the stomach, the head upon the knees. | 91 |
| Codfish abound near the seacoast from the begin- | - |
| ning of May until the middle of September. | . 45 |
| | , , |
| N | |
| Mats of reeds, well woven, and very fine, protect | |
| the cabins from rain | 42 |
| Ship arrives very opportunely for those at port | |
| Royal in their great need | 186 |
| Ship captured from the French of St. Sauveur, | |
| commanded by Turnel, an Englishman, is car- | |
| | |

| Nicolas Adams Iuge de Pembroch en Angleterre, | |
|--|-----|
| charitable enuers les Iefuites captifs. | 295 |
| Noyers frequents en la coste de la riviere sainet | |
| Iean | 31 |
| Noms changez aux trefpaffez apres qu'ils font en- | |
| terrez | 9 |
| Nopces des Canadois aucc folemnelle Tabagie, chants, | |
| & danfes | б2 |
| Norembegue, terre de Canada aussi bonne que nostre | |
| France | 26 |
| Norembegue, & Acadie païs de la France nouuelle. | 4 |
| Normans font alles en la France nouuelle, l'an | |
| 1500. deux ans apres les Bretons. | 3 |
| Nouuelle France separée de la Guienne de huiet | |
| cens, ou mille licües par mer | |
| Nouuelle France, partie occidentale de l'Amerique. | I |

| Oeufs d'oy feaux de proye d'eau abondent en Canada. | 45 |
|---|----|
| Oyes blanches, & grifes, passageres en Canada. | 46 |
| Oyfeaux de proye de mer couurent les Isles de | |
| Canada de leurs œufs | 45 |
| Oy feaux originaircs, & paffagers rares en Canada ; | |
| ceux de proye font frequents | 46 |
| Onction d'huyle de Loup marin vsitée en Canada | |
| contre le chaud, & le froid | 77 |
| Orignacs font de faifon en Feurier & Mars. | 43 |
| Ours bons à manger en Canada aux mois de Feu- | |
| rier & Mars | 43 |
| Outardes, ou Canes faunages se prennent en Auril. | 45 |
| Outardes pallageres en Canada | 16 |

P

Pembroch, ville principale de Galles en Angleterre. 292

| Nicolas Adams, Judge, of Pembroch in England, | |
|---|-----|
| kind to the captive Jesuits | 295 |
| Nuts abundant upon the banks of the river saint | |
| John | 31 |
| Names of the dead changed after they are buried. | 9 |
| Nuptials of the Canadians with solemn Tabagie, | |
| songs, and dances | 62 |
| Norembegua, country of Canada, as good as France. | 26 |
| Norembegua and Acadia, countries of new France. | 4 |
| Normans went to new France in the year 1500, two | |
| years after the Bretons | 3 |
| New France separated from Guienne by eight hun- | |
| dred or one thousand leagues of the sea. | |
| New France, the western part of America. | I |

| Eggs of marine birds of prey abundant in Canada | <i>a</i> . 45 |
|--|---------------|
| White and grey geese, birds of passage in Canada. | 46 |
| Marine birds of prey cover the Islands of Canada | 5 |
| with their eggs. | • 45 |
| Native birds and birds of passage rare in Canada ; | |
| birds of prcy common | . 46 |
| Anointing with Scal oil used in Canada against | |
| heat and cold | . 77 |
| The season for moose is in February and March. | 43 |
| Bears good to cat in Canada in the months of Feb- | |
| ruary and March | • 43 |
| | . 45 |
| Bustards, birds of passage in Canada. | . 46 |
| | |

P

| Pembroke, | the j | princ | ipa | l city o | f Wale: | s in | ı Englar | nd. | 292 |
|-----------|-------|-------|-----|----------|---------|------|----------|-----|-----|
| Pentegoët | river | has | a S | Sagami | along | its | banks. | | 53 |

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LES RELATIONS DES JÉSUITES

[Vol. 4

| Pentegoët rinicre, a vne Sagamie du long de so. | 11 | |
|--|-------|-------|
| riuage | | 53 |
| Pencoït, Isles à vingteinq lieües de sainct Sauueur | ·. | 228 |
| Perdrix grises à grad queüe en Canada. | | 46 |
| Pere Enemond Massé se loge anec Membertou pou | r | |
| apprendre la langue Canadine. | | 200 |
| Pere Enemond Maffé, luy quinziesme renuoyé pa | r | |
| l'Anglois en France dans une chaloupe. | | 252 |
| P. Biard tient auce foy vn Canadin, pour apprendr | °C | |
| la langue faunage | | 201 |
| Perc Biard, & P. Enemond Maffé destines pou | ir | |
| Canada | | 129 |
| Pere Biard ne veut enscigner aux Anglois le log | is | |
| de faincle Croix, dont il court peril de sa vie | | 264 |
| P. Biard court fortune d'estre ictté en terre desert | | |
| ou en mer par les soupçous de l'Anglois. | | 268 |
| Pere Biard preuue efficacement au Capitaine Any | g | |
| lois, que les François de S. Sauneur font bie | | |
| aduoüés du Roy de France | | 244. |
| Pefche abondante depuis May, infques à my-Se | p- | |
| tembre. | | 45. |
| Pefche fuccessine de diners poissons des la my-Ma | rs | |
| iufques en Octobre p. 44 | | . 46. |
| Petun, & fumée d'iceluy practiquée par les Can | | |
| dois, contre le maunais temps, la faim, | | |
| autres maux. | p. | 78. |
| Peuples de Canada trois en tout alliés des François | s. p. | 34. |
| Pierre du Gas, ficur de Monts Lieutenant du R | | |
| Henry IIII. en la France nounelle. | p. | 5. |
| Pilotois, Medecin forcier. | p. | 80. |
| Pilote François Caluiniste offre toute amitié au | ux. | |
| | | 245. |
| Plastrier recognois le sienr de Biencourt. | | 157. |
| | | |

| Pencoït, Islands twenty-five leagues from saint | ¢ | |
|---|------------|------|
| Sauveur | | 228 |
| Gray partridges with large tails, in Canada. | | 46 |
| Father Enemond Massé goes to live with Member- | | |
| tou to learn the Canadian language. | | 200 |
| Father Enemond Massé, one of fifteen sent by the | , | |
| English to France in a shallop. | | 252 |
| Father Biard keeps with him a Canadian, to learn | | |
| from him the language of the savages. | | 201 |
| Father Biard and Father Enemond Massé ap- | | |
| pointed to Canada | | 129 |
| Father Biard refuses to disclose to the English the | • | |
| position of sainte Croix, for which he is in | | |
| danger of losing his life | | 264 |
| Father Biard runs the risk of being cast upon a | | |
| desert land, or into the sea, through the sus- | | |
| picions of the English | | 268 |
| Father Biard proves satisfactorily to the English | | |
| Captain, that the French of St. Sauveur are | | |
| under the protection of the King of France. | p. | 244 |
| Fish abundant from May to the middle of Septem- | | |
| ber | <i>p</i> . | 45 |
| Continuous fishing for different kinds of fish from | | |
| the middle of March until October. p. 44, | | , 46 |
| Tobacco used among the Canadians as a protection | | |
| against bad weather, famine, and other evils. | ~ | 78 |
| Tribes of Canada, only three are allies of the | | |
| French | p. | 34 |
| Pierre du Gas, sieur de Monts, Lieutenant of King | | |
| Henry IIII. in new France. | p. | 5 |
| Pilotois, Medicine man and sorcerer | p. | 80 |
| French Pilot, a Calvinist, shows great friendliness | | |
| to the Jesuit prisoners of the English. | p. | 245 |
| Plastrier acknowledges sieur de Biencourt. | | 157 |

| Plaifant difcours de Louys Ma | emberto | u auec le | · P. | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|------|------|
| Enemond Massé malade. | | | | 202. |
| Ponamo poisson de Canada fray | e fous | la glace | сп | |
| Decembre | | | p. | 47. |
| Port Royal & Saincte Croix, de | ux logis | bastis . | par | |
| le fieur de Monts en la Fra | nce nou | uelle. | p. | 8. |
| Port Royal a forme de Peninsul | 'c. | | p. | 24. |
| Puritain procure tout le mal qu | 'il peut | ' aux Iej | ใน1- | |
| <i>tcs</i> | | | p. | 268. |
| Port Royal mal cnnitaillé fur l' | Hyuer, | pour gr | and | |
| nombre de personnes. | | • | p. | I44. |
| Port aux Coquilles à vingt & | vne lie | uës de F | Port | |
| Royal | | | • | 155. |
| Port au Mouton | | | | 255. |
| Port Royal bruflé par l'Anglois. | | | | 271. |
| Port Royal à quelles conditions | s cedé a | u sicur | dc | |
| Potrincourt par le ficur de | Monts. | | | I22. |
| Port Royal fans aucunc defêfe p | oerdu po | <i>ur les</i> F | rã- | |
| çois, & pillé & brusté par l' | Anglois | | | 266 |
| Port de S. Sauneur nouncilemen. | t appelle | é de ce no | om, | |
| & destiné à nounelle habitai | tiõ de F | rançois. | | 220. |
| Port de S. Sauueur fort capable, | & à l'a | bry du vi | ent. | 225. |
| Prefage mauuais d'un signe pare | oissant d | u ciel. | | 167. |
| Proprieté de Canadois est en la | poffeffic | on du chi | ien, | |
| & du fac | | | | 51. |
| Prouision pour Port Royal mal | mcfnage | 'e à Dief | spc, | |
| & dans le nauire. | | | · • | 194. |
| Pyramides de perches sur les ton | ubeaux a | des noble. | s de | |
| Canada | | | | 92. |
| | | | | |

R.

| Racine Chique | ebi à gi | uise de tri | ıffcs. | | 213. |
|-----------------|----------|-------------|------------|---------|------|
| Raifons obliged | ãtes le | François | à cultiucr | Canada. | 331. |

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1616-29]

BIARD'S RELATION, 1616

| Amusing talk of Louys Membertou with Father | |
|---|--------------|
| Enemond Massé, when he was ill | 202 |
| Ponamo, a fish of Canada, spawns under the ice in | |
| December | . 47 |
| Port Royal and Sainte Croix, two stations estab- | |
| lished by sieur de Monts, in new France. |) . 8 |
| Port Royal in the form of a Peninsula. | . 24 |
| Puritan makes all the trouble he can for the Jesuits. p | . 268 |
| Port Royal badly provisioned for the Winter, on | |
| account of the great number of persons. | . 144 |
| Port aux Coquilles, twenty-one leagues from Port | |
| <i>Royal.</i> | I 5 5 |
| Port au Mouton | 255 |
| Port Royal burned by the English. | 271 |
| Port Royal, on what conditions ceded to sicur de | |
| Potrincourt by sieur de Monts | 122 |
| Port Royal, defenseless, is lost to the French, and | |
| pillaged and burned by the English | 266 |
| Port of St. Sauveur newly called by this name, and | |
| intended as a new habitation for the French. | 220 |
| Port of St. Sauveur very spacious, and protected | |
| from the wind | 225 |
| Presage of evil in a phenomenon appearing in the | |
| heavens | 167 |
| Property of the Canadians lies in the possession of | |
| a dog and a bag | 51 |
| Provisions for Port Royal badly managed at Dicppe | |
| and in the ship | 194 |
| Pyramids of poles upon the tombs of the grandees | |
| of Canada | 92 |
| | |

R.

| Root, Chiquebi, | resembles truffles. | | 213 |
|-----------------|---------------------------|---------|-----|
| Reasons why the | French ought to cultivate | Canada. | 331 |

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| Religion des Canadois, pure forcelerie | 93. |
|---|------|
| Riuieres & bras de mer fort frequens, rendent | |
| Canada beaucoup plus froid | 24. |
| Robe facrée, & preticuse des Autmoins | 96. |
| Roland Sagamo, & autres donnent du pain aux | |
| François de S. Sauneur | 255. |

S.

| Sac, fleches, peaux, chiens, & autres meubles du | |
|--|--------|
| defunct enseuelis auec luy | 92. |
| Sagamie au riuage de Saincte Croix | 53. |
| Sagamie au bord de la riuiere S. Ican | 53. |
| Sagamochin, petit Sagamo | 52. |
| Sagamo, est le chef, & Capitaine de quelque | |
| puissante famille | 51. |
| Sagamos recogneus de leurs sujects en payant le | |
| droitt de chasse, & de pesche | 51. |
| Sagamies diuisées selon la portée des Bayes & | |
| Costes de rivieres | 53. |
| Sagamos tiennent les Estats en Esté | 53. |
| Sagamos & Autmoins seuls ont voix és assemblées | |
| publiques 5 | 3. 54. |
| Sagamos Armouchiquois retirent bien à propos leurs | |
| gens du nauire François, pour euiter querelle. | 179 |
| Sainet Ican, riviere en Canada | 31 |
| Sainct Ican, riviere fort perilleuse en son embou- | |
| cheure | 165 |
| Sainet Laurens, riviere charrie des glaces enormes | |
| bien auant en haute mer | 139 |
| Sainct Sauueur, habitation des François en Canada, | |
| en la terre de la Norembegue | 19 |
| Saint Sauucur, port ainsi nommé de nouueau en la | |
| | |
| coste d'Acadic, destiné à vne habitation nou- | |

| Religion of the Canadians, pure sorcery | 93 |
|--|--------|
| Rivers, and many arms of the sea, make Canada | |
| much colder | 24 |
| Robe of the Autmoins, sacred and precious. | 96 |
| Roland, a Sagamore, and others give bread to the | |
| French of St. Sauveur | 255 |
| S. | |
| Sack, arrows, skins, dogs, and other property of the | |
| deceased buried with him | 92 |
| Sagamie on the banks of Sainte Croix | 53 |
| Sagamie on the banks of the river St. John. | 53 |
| Sagamochin, little Sagamore | . 52 |
| Sagamore is the chief and Captain of some power- | |
| ful family | 51 |
| Sagamores acknowledged by their subjects by paying | |
| a tax of game and of fish | 5 1 |
| Sagamies divided according to the extent of the Bays | |
| and river Banks | 53 |
| Sagamores hold State Councils in Summer. | 53 |
| Sagamores and Autmoins alone have a voice in the | |
| public assemblics | 53, 54 |
| Sagamores of the Armouchiquois very opportuncly | |
| withdraw their people from the French ship to | |
| avoid a quarrel | 179 |
| Saint John, a river of Canada | 31 |
| Saint John, a river which is very dangerous at its | |
| mouth | 165 |
| Saint Lawrence, a river whose drift ice extends far | |
| out into the open sea | 139 |
| Saint Sauveur, a settlement of the French in Can- | |
| ada, in the land of Norembegua. | 19 |

BIARD'S RELATION, 1616

161

1616-29]

Saint Sauveur, a port so named recently, on the coast of Acadia, intended for a new settlement. 229

| Sainet Sauueur, prins & pillé par les Anglois, . | 237 |
|---|------|
| S. Sauncur bruflé par les Anglois | 265 |
| Saincle Croix est au païs des Eteminquois. | 7 |
| Saincle Croix, Ifle en la France nouuelle, premiere | |
| demeure du sieur de Monts, Lieutenant pour le | |
| <i>Roy</i> | 7 |
| Saincle Croix, Ifle de riuiere à fix lieües de port | |
| aux Coquilles | 156 |
| Sauffaye arriue en Canada pour dreffer nouuelle | |
| habitation, & separer les lesuites de port | |
| Royal | 215 |
| Sauffaye Capitaine s' amufe trop à cultiner la terre, | |
| & neglige le bastiment, cause de de la perte de | |
| S. Sauucur | 226. |
| Sauffaye Capitaine de S. Sauueur ne peut produire | |
| fes lettres de Commission, luy ayans esté | |
| fecrettement enleuées par l'Anglois | 239. |
| Sauffaye Capitaine renuoyé en France par l'Anglois, | |
| auec quatorze François | 252. |
| Schoudon Sagamo, nominé le Pere apres fa mort | 93. |
| Scurbot, ou maladie de la terre, coustumier en | |
| Canada | 14. |
| Sepulcres des Canadois vontés auce des bastons, & | |
| de la terre deffus | 92. |
| Soiffons. Le Prince de Soiffons Gouuerneur de | |
| Canada | 330. |
| Souliers, & greues des Canadois. | 39. |
| Souriquois, Montaguets & Etechemins alliés | |
| des François en Canada | 34. |
| Tabagic, banquet des Canadois. | 46. |
| Tabagie des pronisions du malade ayant testé. | 89. |
| Testament des Canadois anant la mort | 88. |
| Thomas Aubert, Normand va en la France nonuelle | |

1616-29]

| Saint Sauveur, taken and pillaged by the English. | 237 |
|--|-----|
| St. Sauveur burned by the English. | 265 |
| Sainte Croix is in the country of the Etcminquois. | 7 |
| Sainte Croix, an Island in new France, first resi- | |
| dence of sieur de Monts, Lieutenant for the | |
| King | 7 |
| Sainte Croix, an Island of the river, six leagues | |
| from port aux Coquilles | 156 |
| Saussaye arrives in Canada to establish a new set- | |
| tlement, and take the Jesuits from port Royal. | 215 |
| Saussaye, Captain, in amusing himself too much | |
| with the cultivation of the land, neglects the | |
| construction of buildings, and causes the loss | |
| of St. Sauveur | 22б |
| Saussaye, Captain of St. Sauveur, cannot produce | |
| the letters containing his Commission, these | |
| having been secretly appropriated by the Eng- | |
| <i>lish.</i> | 239 |
| Saussaye, Captain, sent back to France by the Eng- | |
| lish with fourtcen Frenchmen | 252 |
| Schoudon, Sagamore, called "the Father" after his | |
| death | 93 |
| Scurvy, or land discase, common in Canada. | 14 |
| Sepulchres of the Canadians arched over with | |
| sticks, with carth on top | 92 |
| Soissons. The Prince de Soissons, Governor of Can- | |
| ada | 330 |
| Shoes and leggings of the Canadians | 39 |
| Souriquois, Montaguets, and Etechemins, allies | |
| of the French in Canada | 34 |
| Tabagic, a Canadian banquet | 46 |
| Tabagie from the provisions of a sick man who has | |
| made his will | 89 |
| Testament of the Canadians before death. | 88 |

| l'an 1508 | | | 2 |
|--|----------|---------|-------|
| Thomas Decl, Marcfchal d' Angleterre à | la Virg | inic, | |
| homme fort afpre enuers les Franços | is capti | fs. 261 | . 300 |
| Thomas Robin affocié du fieur de Potr | rincour | t au | |
| negoce de Canada | | | 127 |
| Tortues abondent en Decembre | | | 47 |
| Trocque des peaux de Castors, Eslants | | | |
| loups marins en Esté. | • | | 33 |
| Trois peuples alliés aux François en Can | | | 34 |
| Turnel, Capitaine Anglois tourne fon | amou | r en | |
| haine contre le P. Biard, & pourqu | oy. | | 276 |
| Turnel Lieutenant Anglois soupçonné de | fon C | Capi- | |
| taine pour auoir conferé auce le P. | Biard. | | 267 |
| Turnel Capitaine Anglois porté cotre so | n grć | анх | |
| terres d'Espagne, se reconcilie au | x Iefu | ites, | |
| pour y auoir leur faucur. | | | 282. |

V.

| Vessies d'orignac à garder l'huile du loup marin. | 43 |
|--|-----|
| Vible Bullot reçoit en son nauire une partie des | |
| François de S. Sauneur | 256 |
| Virginic. Fort des Anglois en la terre ferme de | |
| Mocofa à 250. lieuës de S. Sauueur. | 227 |
| Vigne fauuage en plusieurs endroits de Canada, qui | |
| meurit en fa faifon | 31. |

FIN.

1616-29]

| Thomas Aubert, Norman, goes to new France in | |
|---|--------|
| the year 1508 | 2 |
| Thomas Decl, English Marshal in Virginia, a man | |
| very severe to the French captives 261 | 1, 300 |
| Thomas Robin associated with sieur de Potrincourt | |
| in the affairs of Canada | 127 |
| Turtles abundant in December | 47 |
| Trade in the skins of Beavers, Elks, Martens, | |
| and scals, in Summer. | 33 |
| Three tribes allied with the French in Canada. | 34 |
| Turnel, English Captain, has his love for Father | |
| Biard changed into hate, and why | 276 |
| Turnel, English Licutenant, suspected by his Cap- | |
| tain, for having conferred with Father Biard. | 267 |
| Turnel, English Captain, carried against his will | |
| to the lands of Spain, becomes reconciled to the | |
| lesuits, in order to have their favor. | 282 |

V.

| Bladders of moose skin in which to keep the seal oil. | 43 |
|---|-----|
| Vible Bullot receives in his ship a part of the | |
| French of St. Sauveur | 256 |
| Virginia. A fort of the English on the mainland | |
| of Mocosa, 250 leagues from St. Sauveur. | 227 |
| Vine, wild, in many places in Canada, which ripens | |
| in its season | 31 |

END.

Privilege.

M ICHEL COYSSARD, Vice-[pro]uincial de la Compagnie de IESVS, en la Prouince de Lyon, permet, (fuiuant le Priuilege doné par les Roys tres-Chreftiens à la mefme Compagnie) à Lovvs MVGVET de faire imprimer, & vendre la Relation de la nouuelle France en Canada, & ce pour le terme de quatre ans. Faict à Lyon, ce 23. Ianuier 1616. M. COYSSARD.

License.

M ICHEL COYSSARD, Vice-provincial of the Society of JESUS, in the Province of Lyons, permits, (according to the License granted by the most Christian Kings to the same Society) to LOUYS MUGUET to have printed, and to sell, the Relation of new France in Canada, and this for the term of four years. Done at Lyons, this 23rd of January, 1616.

M. COYSSARD.

XV—XVII

THREE LETTERS BY CHARLES LALEMANT

XV.— Au Sievr de Champlain; Kebec, Juillet 28, 1625

- XVI.— Au R. P. Prouincial des RR. Pères Recollects ; Kebec, Juillet 28, 1625
- XVII.— Epistola ad Præpositum Generalem; Nova Francia, Augustus 1, [1626]

SOURCE: Documents XV. and XVI., are reprinted from Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636), pp. 868-870. In Document XVII., we follow Father Felix Martin's apograph (now in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal) of the original Latin MS. in the Archives of the Gesù, Rome.

[Vol. 4

Lettre du R. P. Charles Lallemant Superievr des Miffions en Canada au Sievr de Champlain.

[868] MONSIEVR, Nous voicy graces à Dieu dans le refort de vostre Licutenance où nous sommes heu-

reusement arrivez, aprés auoir eu vne des belles trauerses [869] qu'on aye encor experimenté. Monficur le General aprés nous auoir declaré qu'il luy estoit impossible de nous loger ou dans l'habitation où dans le fort, & qu'il faudroit ou, repaffer en France, ou nous retirer chez les Peres Recollects, nous a contrainct d'accepter ce dernier offre. Les Peres nous ont receus auce tant de charité qu'il nous ont obligez pour un iamais. Nostre Scigncur fera leur recompence. Vn de nos Peres estoit allé à la traite en intention de pasfer aux Hurons ou aux Hiroquois, auce le Pere Recollect qui est venu de Frace, selon qu'ils aduiseroient auec le Pere Nicolas, qui se deuoit treuuer à la traiete & conferer auec eux, mais il est arriué que le pauure Pere Nicolas au dernier faut s'est nové, ce qui a esté cause qu'ils sont retournez, n'ayans ny cognoissance, ny langue, ny information : nous attendons done vostre venuë, pour resoudre ce qui sera à propos de faire. Vous seaures tout ce que vous pourres defirer de ce pays du P. Iofeph, c'est pourquoy ie me contente de vous affeurer que ie fuis,

Voftre tres-affectionné seruiteur, Monheur, Charles Lalemant.

De Kebec ce 28. Iuillet 1625.

Letter from the Reverend Father Charles Lallemant,²⁰ Superior of the Missions in Canada, to Sieur de Champlain.

$[868] S^{IR,}$

Thanks to God, here we are in the district of your Lieutenancy, where we arrived after having one of the most successful voyages [869] ever yet experienced. Monsicur the General,²¹ after having told us that it was impossible to give us lodging either in the settlement or in the fort, and that we must either return to France, or withdraw to the Recollect Fathers' 22 obliged us to accept the latter offer. The Fathers received us with so much charity, that we feel forever under obligations to them. Our Lord will be their reward. One of our Fathers, together with the Recollect Father who came from France,23 went to the trading station 24 with the intention of going to the Hurons or to the Hiroquois, as they should think best after consulting Father Nicolas, who was to be at this station to confer with them. But it happened that poor Father Nicolas was drowned in the last of the rapids,25 for which reason they returned, as they knew no one there, and had no knowledge of the language or of the country. We are therefore awaiting your arrival, to determine what it will be well to do. You will hear all you wish to know of this country from Father Joseph,26 therefore I am content to assure you that I am.

Sir, Your very affectionate servant, Charles Lalemant.

Kebec, this 28th of July, 1625.

[VOL. 4

Lettre du R. P. Charles Lallemant Superievr des Miffions en Canada au R. P. Prouincial des RR. Pères Recollects.

MON REUEREND PERE, Pax Christi.

Cc scroit estre par trop mescognoissant de ne point eferire à vostre Reuerence, pour la remercier, tant des lettres qui furent dernierement escrites en nostre faucur aux Peres qui sont icy en [870] la nouuelle France, comme de la charité que nous auons receues desdits Peres, qui nous ont obligez pour un iamais, ic supplie nostre bon Dieu qu'il soit la grande recompence & des uns & des autres, pour mon particulier i'escris à nos Superieurs, que i'en ay un tel reffentiment que l'occasion ne se presentera point que ic ne le fasse paroistre. & les supplie quoy que d'ailleurs bien affectionnes de tesmoigner à tout vostre fainct Ordre le mesme ressentiment. Le P. Ioseph dira à vostre Renerence le suiet de son voyage pour le bon succes duquel, nous ne cefferons d'offrir & pricres & facrifices à Dicu, il faut ceste fois aduancer à bon escient les affaires de nostre Maistre, & ne rien obmettre de ce qu'on pourra s'aduiser eftre necessaire, i'en ay eserit à tous ceux que i'ay creu y pounoir contribuer que ie m'affeurc s'y emploieront si les affaires de France le permettent, ie ne doute point que vostre Reuerence ne s'y porte auce affection, & ainsi virtus vnita, fera beaucoup d'effet, en attendant le

Letter from the Reverend Father Charles Lallemant, Superior of the Missions of Canada, to the Reverend Father Provincial of the Reverend Recollect Fathers.

Y REVEREND FATHER: The peace of Christ be with you. It would be altogether too ungrateful not to write to your Reverence to thank you, both for the letters which were recently written in our behalf to the Fathers who are here in [870] new France, and for the kindness which we have received from these Fathers, who have placed us under everlasting obligations to them. I pray our good Lord that he may be an ample recompense for both. As to me, I write to our Superiors that I am so grateful for this that I shall lose no opportunity to show my appreciation of it; and I implore them, although they are already very much attached to your Fathers, to express the same gratitude to all your holy Order. Father Joseph will tell your Reverence the purpose of his voyage,27 for the success of which we shall not cease to offer prayers and sacrifices to God. The affairs of our Master must be advanced in earnest this time, and nothing must be omitted which may be deemed necessary. I have written to all of those who, I thought, could contribute to this enterprise, and who, I believe, will occupy themselves with it, the affairs of France permitting. I do not doubt that your Reverence will take an interest in the work, and thus virtus unita will achieve good results. In awaiting our success, I comfuccez ie me recommande aux fainels Sacrifices de vostre Reuerence, de laquelle ie suis.

De Kebec ce 28. Iuillet

1625.

Tres-humble feruiteur Charles Lalemant.

A mon Reuerend Pere le P. Prouincial des RR. Peres Recollects.

mend myself to the holy Sacrifices of your Reverence, of whom I am,

Kebec, this 28th of July,

1625.

The very humble servant, Charles Lalemant.

To my Reverend Father, the Father Provincial of the Reverend Recollect Fathers.

1

Epistola Patris Caroli Lalemant Superioris Missionis Canadensis ad Reverendissimum Patrem Mutium Vitelleschi, Præpositum Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romæ.

(Transcripsit Pater Felix Martinus ex codice Latino qui in Archivis Jesu, Romæ, conservatur).

A DMODUM REVERENDE IN CHRISTO PATER. Pax Christi.

Non miretur Paternitas vestra si nullas a postremis, hoc est ab anno litteras habuerit a nobis, adeo enim remoti sumus a littore maris, ut semel duntaxat singulis annis visitemur a Gallis et quidem ab iis tantum quibus libera est ad nos navigatio, nam cæteris est interdicta; quo fit ut si casu aliquo perirent naves illæ onerariæ vel certe a prædonibus caperentur, ab una Dei providentia expectanda essent alimenta quibus vitam sustentare possemus; a barbaris enim hominibus vix necessaria ad vitam habentibus nihil sperandum, sed qui hactenus providit Gallis, hic jam tot annis commorantibus et nihil nisi lucrum temporale quærentibus non deerit suis uni Dei gloriæ et animarum saluti invigilantibus. Hoc igitur anno toti pene fuimus in perdiscendo barbaro idiomate, uno aut altero mense excepto quibus terram coluimus unde tenuem nobis victum comparare utcumque possemus. Pater Joannes Brebeuf vir et pius et prudens et cor-

Letter from Father Charles Lalemant, Superior of the Missions of Canada, to the Very Reverend Father Mutio Vitelleschi,²⁸ General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

(Transcribed by Father Felix Martin from the original Latin MS., preserved in the Archives of the Gesù, Rome.)

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST: The peace of Christ be with you.

Your Paternity need not be surprised to have received no letters from us during the year since our last; for we are so remote from the seacoast that we are visited only once a year by French vessels, and then only by those to whom navigation hither is allowed, for to others it is interdicted; so that, if by any mischance those merchant ships should be wrecked, or be taken by pirates,²⁹ we could look to Divine providence alone for our daily bread. For from the savages, who have scarcely the necessaries of life for themselves, nothing is to be hoped; but he who has hitherto provided for the needs of the French, who have dwelt here so many years only with a view to temporal gain, will not abandon his faithful ones who seek only the glory of God and the salvation of souls. During the past year we have devoted ourselves almost entirely to learning the dialect of the savages, excepting a month or two spent in cultivating the soil, in order to obtain such slight means of subsistence as we could. Father Jean Brebeuf,³⁰ a pious and prudent man, and of a robust conpore robustus acerbum hyemis tempus cum barbaris transegit, unde maximam peregrinæ linguæ cognitionem hausit; nos interim ab interpretibus licet maxime alienis a communicando barbaro hoc idiomate obtinuimus, præter spem et expectationem omnium, quod sperare poteramus. Sed hæc sunt tantum gemini idiomatis rudimenta, multo plura supersunt. Ad multiplicationem quippe nationum multiplicantur idiomata; ac terram hanc longe lateque diffusam incolunt quinquaginta ut minimum nationes, ingens sane campus in quo nostra excurrat industria; messis multa operarii pauci qui tamen eo sunt animo, per Dei gratiam, ut nullis terreantur difficultatibus, quamvis fructus spes magna nondum affulgeat, adeo rudes sunt incolæ et proxime at bestias accedentes. Certe hoc unum solatur nos quod Deus optimus, maximus, in repetenda mercede, fructus non tam sit habiturus rationem quam voluntatis nostræ et laboris impensi, modo grata sit ipsi hæc nostra qualiscumque voluntas, non est quod male locatam operam nostram existimemus: nullus ergo alius hoc anno fructus quam loci, personarum et idiomatis duarum nationum cognitio, si barbarorum ratio habeatur, nam Gallis nostris qui tres hic tantum supra quadraginta numerantur præsto fuimus, quorum generales totius vitæ confessiones audivimus, habita prius exhortatione de ejus confessionis necessitate, singulis præterea mensibus geminam ad eos concionem habuimus; his majora dabit sequens annus Deo bene juvante et to-

178

stitution, passed the sharp winter season among the savages, acquiring a very considerable knowledge of this strange tongue. We, meantime, learning from interpreters who were very unwilling to communicate their knowledge, made as much progress as we could hope, contrary to the expectation of all. But these are only the rudiments of two languages; many more remain. For the languages are multiplied with the number of the tribes; and this land, extending so far in every direction, is inhabited by at least fifty different tribes, truly an immense field for our zeal. The harvest is great, the laborers are few; but they have, by God's grace, a courage undaunted by any obstacles, although the promise of success is not yet very great, so rude and almost brutish are the natives. We have, truly, this one consolation, that God in his goodness and power, in the distribution of his rewards will not so much consider our success as our good will and our efforts. Provided only that our desires, such as they may be, be pleasing in his sight, we shall have no reason for deeming our efforts misspent. Our labors this year have had no further fruit than a knowledge of the country, of the natives, and of the dialects of two tribes, if the savages alone be considered. As regards the French, whose number does not exceed forty-three, we have not been negligent. We have heard their general confessions, relating to their whole past life, after first holding an exhortation on the necessity of this confession. Each month, moreover, we have preached two sermons to them. To these efforts the following year will add still greater ones, if God help and promote our enterprise as he has done hitherto

tum hoc negotium ut hactenus fecit promovente.

Valent nostri omnes, per Dei gratiam. . . Vix unus utitur linteis cum decumbit. Quod superest nobis temporis a propria et proximorum salute id totum in excolenda terra insumitur. Longe alia fuissent virtutum incrementa, si alium Nostri non desiderassent superiorem. Facile est Paternitati Vestræ remedium adhibere, longe melius obsequentis quam imperantis personam sustineo. Dabit hoc mihi ut bene spero Paternitas Vestra a qua id, qua possum animi demissione, peto, nec hujus remedii defectu remorabitur diutius alacritatem nostrorum in augendis virtutibus. E Gallia missi sunt ad nos hoc anno operarii primum hic domicilium Societatis erecturi quod omnino necessarium indicavimus propter Gallos nostros hic commorantes et nusquam alibi. Erigentur postea in aliis nationibus in quibus major speratur fructus. Certas enim et statas sedes habent, ad eas brevi missuri sumus unum e nostris vel duos potius, nimirum Patrem Joannem de Brebeuf et Patrem Annam de Noue, quorum missio si succedat lætissimus aperitur Evangelio campus; barbarorum opera eo deducendi sunt, neque enim aliis vectoribus uti possunt. Cum bona superiorum venia redit in Galliam Pater Philibertus Noyrot, hoc totum negotium ut hactenus fecit promoturus. Indiget Paternitatis Vestræ auctoritate ut libere possit agere cum iis qui res nostras curant. Facessunt ipsi aliquid negotii Lutetiæ Patres nostri, nescio quam ob rem, nonnihil videntur

We are, God be thanked, all well, Hardly one of us uses bed-linen when he sleeps. All our time that is not devoted to seeking the salvation of our fellow-men and of ourselves is occupied in tilling the soil. Far greater would be our growth in virtue, if another of Our Brothers were not more desirable as superior. This it is easy for Your Paternity to remedy, as I feel myself far better fitted for obedience than for command. I truly hope that Your Paternity, from whom I ask it with all possible submission, will grant me this, and will not longer hinder, for lack of this remedy, the eagerness of our brethren to increase their virtues. Some workmen have been sent to us this year from France, to construct the first dwelling of the Society here, which we considered as quite indispensable on account of our French, who settle here and nowhere else. Others will be built later among other tribes from whom we expect greater results. To those that have fixed settlements we shall in a short time send one of our number or rather two; Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Anne de Noue.³¹ If their mission is successful, a most promising field will be opened for the Gospel. They must be taken there by the savages, for they can not use any other boatmen. With consent of his superiors, Father Philibert Novrot³² returns to France to promote as hitherto the interests of our enterprise. He stands in need of the influence of Your Paternity in order to negotiate freely with those who have charge of our affairs. Our own Fathers at Paris, for some reason, put difficulties in our way, and seem rather unfriendly to our mission; so that, but for the favor of Father Cotton,33 of blessed memory, our affairs would have fallen to the ground. . .

alieni ab hac missione, cui nisi favisset bonæ memoriæ Pater Cottonus omnino jacuissent res nostræ. . . Verum quia rediturus est ineunte vere Pater Noyrot, omnino alius e nostris erit necessarius Lutetiæ vel Rothomagi qui in ipsius locum sufficiatur et rerum nostrarum curam suscipiat, necessaria singulis annis mittat et litteras nostras accipiat; si tamen ita judicaverit Paternitas Vestra. Septem ergo hic residui erimus. Patres quatuor: P. Enemundus Masse, admonitor et confessarius, P. Joannes de Brebeuf, P. Annas de Noue et ego. Coadjutores vero tres: Gilbertus Burel, Joannes Goffestre et Franciscus Charreton, parati omnes ad quosvis labores pro Dei gloria suscipiendos. Sanctissimis Paternitatis Vestræ Sacrificiis commendant se omnes.

P. V. filius humillimus

Carolus Lalemant.

E Nova Francia Cal. Aug.

182

As Father Noyrot is to return at the beginning of spring, another of our members will be absolutely necessary at Paris, or at Rouen, to fill his place and to look after our interests, sending us yearly what supplies we need, and receiving our letters, if Your Paternity so decide. There thus remain seven of us here; four priests, Father Enemond Masse,³⁴ as admonitor and confessor, Father Jean de Brebeuf, Father Anne de Noue, and myself; and three lay brothers, Gilbert Burel, Jean Goffestre, and François Charreton, all of us ready to undertake any labors whàtsoever for the glory of God. We all commend ourselves to the Most Holy Sacrifices of Your Paternity.

Your Paternity's most humble son

Charles Lalemant.

New France, August 1st.

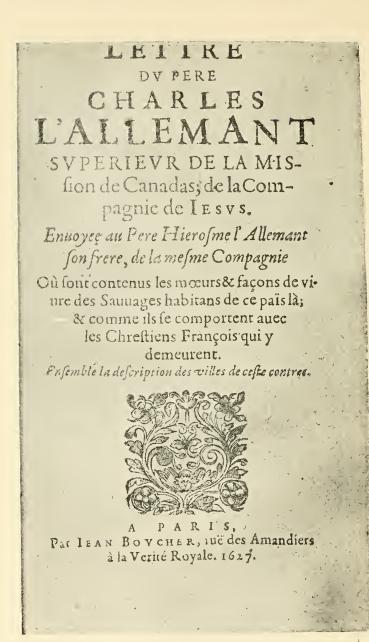
XVIII

CHARLES LALEMANT'S

Lettre au Hierosme l'Allemant Kebec, Aouft 1, 1626

PARIS: JEAN BOUCHER, 1627

SOURCE: Title-page and text reprinted from original in Lenox Library.



LETTER FROM FATHER CHARLES L'ALLEMANT SUPERIOR OF THE MISsion of the Canadas; of the Society of JESUS. Sent to Father Jerome l' Allemant, his brother, of the same Society In which are contained the manners and customs of the Savages inhabiting that country; and on what terms they live with the French Christians who reside there.

Together with the description of the towns of that country.

PARIS, JEAN BOUCHER, ruë des Amandiers Verité Royale. 1627.

[1 i.e., 3] Lettre dv Pere Charles L'Allemant Superieur de la Miffion de Canadas, de la Compagnie de IESVS. Au Pere Hierofme l'Allemant fon frere.

Pax Chrifti.

>ESCRIVIS l'an paffé à Voftre Reuerence (enuiron la my-Iuillet) le fuccés de noftre voyage; depuis ce temps ie n'ay peu vous efcrire, à caufe que les vaiffeaux n'abordent icy qu'vne fois l'an. C'eft pourquoy il ne faut attendre des nouuelles de nous que d'annee en annee: Et fi ces vaisseaux venoient vne fois à manquer, ce feroit bien merueille fi vous en receuiez deuant deux ans; outre qu'il nous faudroit cefte annee attendre de l'vnique prouidence de Dieu les chofes neceffaires à l'entretien de cefte vie. Donc depuis mes dernieres, voicy ce que i'ay peu recognoiftre de ce païs, & ce qui s'eft paffé: Ce païs eft d'vne grande eftenduë, ayant bien mille ou douze cens lieuës de longueur; fa largeur, enuiron le 40. degrez vers l'Orient; il est borné de la mer Oceane, & vers l'Occident, de la mer de la Chine. Plusieurs Nations l'habitent: lon m'en a nommé 38. ou 40. fans celles que lon ne cognoist pas, que les Sauages neantmoins affeurent. Le lieu où les François fe font habituez appellé Kebec, eft par les 46. degrez & demy, fur le bord d'vn des plus beaux fleuues du monde, appellé par les François, la riuiere de fainct Laurens, efloigné pres de deux cens

[1 i.e., 3] Letter³⁵ from Father Charles L'Allemant, Superior of the Mission of Canadas, of the Society of JESUS. To Father Jerome l'Allemant, his brother.³⁶

The peace of Christ be with you. AST year (about the middle of July) I wrote to AST year (about the line and to the success of our Your Reverence in regard to the success of our voyage. I have not been able to communicate with you since then, because the ships touch here only once a year; and therefore news can be expected from us only from year to year. And if these ships failed once, it would not be surprising if you did not receive news before two years; besides, during the intervening year we should be obliged to look entirely to the providence of God for the necessaries of life. Now, since my last letters, the following is what I have been able to learn about this country, and what has been done here. This country is of vast extent, being easily a thousand or twelve hundred leagues long, and in width extending about 40 degrees toward the Orient. It is bounded by the Ocean sea, and towards the West by the sea of China. Many Tribes inhabit it, about 38 or 40 having been named to me, besides those which are unknown; of the existence of which, however, the Savages assure us. The place inhabited by the French, called Kebec, is in 46 and one-half degrees, upon the shore of one of the most beautiful rivers in the world, called by the French the river saint Lawrence.

lieuës de l'emboucheure du dit fleuue, & cepédat le flot monte encore 35. ou 40. lieuës au deffus de nous. [4] L'endroit le plus eftroit de cefte riuiere eft vis à vis de l'habitation, & toutesfois fa largeur y eft plus d'vn quart de lieuë. Or quoy que le païs où nous fommes foit par les 46 degrez & demy plus Sud que Paris de pres de deux degrez, fi eft-ce que l'Hyuer, pour l'ordinaire, y est de 5. mois & demy; les neiges de 3. ou 4. pieds de hauteur; mais fi obstinees qu'elles ne fondent point pour l'ordinaire que vers la my-Auril, & commencent toufiours au mois de Nouembre, pendant tout ce temps on ne void point la terre; voire mefme nos François m'ont dit, qu'ils auoient traifné le may fur la nege, au premier iour de May: L'annee mefme que nous arriuafmes, & ce auec des raguettes; car c'eft la couftume en ce païs de marcher fur des raguettes pendãt l'Hyuer, de peur d'enfoncer dans la neige, à l'imitation des Sauuages, qui ne vont point autremet à la chaffe de l'orignac. Le plus doux Hyuer qu'on ait veu, est celuy que nous y auons paffé (difent les Anciens habitans) & cependant les neiges commencerent le 16. Nouembre, & vers la fin de Mars commencerent à fondre, la longueur & continuation des neiges eft caufe que lon pourroit douter fi le froment & le feigle reuffiroit bien en ce païs; i'en ay veu neãtmoins d'auffi beau qu'en voftre France, & mefme le noftre que nous y auons femé, ne luy cede en rien; pour plus grande affeurance il faudroit y femer du bled mefteil; l'orge & l'auoine y viennent le mieux du monde, plus grainuës beaucoup qu'en France. C'eft merueille de voir nos pois tant ils font beaux. Ainfi la terre n'eft pas ingrate (comme voftre Reuerence peut voir.) Plus on va montant la riuiere, & plus on f'appercoit de la

Kebec is about two hundred leagues from the mouth of this river, and yet the tide ascends 35 or 40 leagues above us. [4] The narrowest part of this river is opposite the settlement, and yet its width here is more than one-fourth of a league. Now although the country where we are, being in latitude about 46 and one-half degrees, is farther South than Paris by nearly two degrees, yet the Winter generally lasts here 5 months and a half; the snow is 3 or 4 feet deep, but it is so firm that it does not usually melt until near the middle of April, and it always begins in the month of November. During all this time the earth is never seen: indeed our Frenchmen have even told me that they dragged their maypole over the snow on the first day of May, in the very year of our arrival, and that with snowshoes; for it is the custom in this country to walk on snowshoes during the winter, for fear of sinking into the snow, in imitation of the Savages; who never go otherwise to hunt the moose. The mildest Winter that has been seen is the one that we have passed here (say the Old inhabitants), and yet the snow began to fall on the 16th of November and to melt towards the end of March. The long duration of the snow might cause one to somewhat doubt whether wheat and rye would grow well in this country. But I have seen some as beautiful as that produced in your France, and even that which we have planted here yields to it in nothing. To better provide against scarcity, it would be well to plant some meslin;³⁷ rye and oats grow here the best in the world, the grains being larger and more abundant than in France. Our peas are so beautiful; it is wonderful to see them. So the earth is not ungrateful (as your Reverence may see.) The farther up the

bonté d'icelle. Les vents qui regnent en ce païs, font, le Nor-d'Eft, le Nor-Oueft, & le Sur-Oueft. Le Nor-d'Eft ameine les neges en Hyuer, & les pluyes en autre faifon Le Nor-Oueft eft fi froid qu'il penetre iufques aux moüelles des os; le Ciel eft fort ferein quand il fouffle. Depuis l'emboucheure de ceste Riuiere iusques icy, il n'y a point de terre defrichee, ce ne font que bois. Cefte Nation icy ne f'occupe point à cultiuer la tetre [terre], il n'y a que 3. ou 4. familles qui en ont defriché 2. ou 3. arpens où ils fement du bled d'Indes; & ce depuis peu de temps. On m'a dit que c'eftoit les RR. PP. Recolects qui leurs auoient perfuadé. Ce qui a efté cultiué en ce lieu par les François eft peu de chofe, f'il y a 18. ou 20. arpens de terre [5] c'eft tout le bout du monde. A deux cens lieuës d'icy en montant la Riuiere, il fe trouue des Nations plus stables que celles cy, qui bastiffent de grands villages, lesquels ils fortifient contre leurs ennemis, & trauaillent à bon efcient à la terre; d'où vient qu'elles ont quantité de bled d'Inde. & ne meuret pas de faim comme celles cy, fi fontelles plus fauuages en leurs mœurs, commettans fans fe cacher, & fans honte aucune, toute fortes d'impudences. Or quoy que ceste Riuiere nous conduise à ces Nations là, fi est-ce pourtant qu'il y a bien de la difficulté à y aller, à cause des faults qui se trouuet sur la Riuiere (qui font de certains precipices d'eau, qui empeschet tout à fait qu'on ne puisse nauiger.) C'est pourquoy lors que les Sauuages arriuent à ces faults là, il faut qu'ils portent leurs batteaux fur leurs efpaules, auec tout leur bagage, & qu'ils f'en aillent par terre quelquesfois 2. 3. 4. & 8 lieuës, & ainfi que paffent les François lors qu'ils y vont. Les RR. PP. Recolects y font allez quelquesfois, & y ont porté

194

river we go, the more we see of the fertility of the soil. The prevailing winds in this country are the Northeast, Northwest, and Southwest. The Northeast brings the snows in Winter, and the rains in other seasons. The Northwest is so cold that it penetrates even to the marrow of the bones; yet the Sky is very serene when it blows. From the mouth of the River to this place, none of the land is cleared, there being nothing but forests. This Tribe does not occupy itself in tilling the soil; there are only 3 or 4 families who have cleared 2 or 3 acres, where they sow Indian corn, and they have been doing this for only a short time. I have been told that it was the Reverend Recolect Fathers who persuaded them to do it. That cultivated by the French in this place is of small area, only 18 or 20 acres [5] at the most.³⁸ Two hundred leagues from here, ascending the River, Tribes are found which are more sedentary than those which are here; they build large villages which they fortify against their enemies, and cultivate the land in earnest. It thus happens that they have stores of Indian corn, and do not die of starvation like those here. Yet they are more savage in their customs, and commit all kinds of shameless acts, without disgrace or any attempt at concealment. Now, although this River takes us to these Tribes, yet truly the difficulty in getting there is very great, on account of the rapids which are found in the River: (these are certain falls of water which entirely prevent navigation.) Therefore, when the Savages reach these rapids, they are compelled to carry their boats upon their shoulders with all their baggage, and to go overland, sometimes 2, 3, 4, or 8 leagues; and the French have to do the same when they go there. The Reverend Recolect Fathers made tous leurs viures pour vn an, ou dequoy en acheter; car d'attendre que les Sauuages vous en donnêt c'eft folie, fi ce n'eft qu'ils vous ayent pris fous leur protection, & que vous vouliez demeurer dans leurs villages & cabanes; car alors il vous nourriront pour rien; Mais qui f'y pourroit refoudre! les yeux religieux ne peuuent fupporter tant d'impudicitez qui f'y commettent à descouuert: c'est pourquoy les RR. PP. Recolects ont efté contraints de baftir des Cabanes à part: mais auffi falloit il qu'ils achetaffent leurs viures. En ces Nations il n'y a eu cefte annee aucun Religieux; quand nous arriuafmes icy l'an paffé il y auoit vn P. Recolet qui f'en venoit auec les Sauuages, au lieu de la traitte 35. lieuës au deffus de ceste habitation; mais au dernier fault qu'il paffa fon canal fe renuerfa & fe noya: En defcendant les Sauuages ne mettent pied à terre pour les fauls; mais feulemet en montant. Ainfi ces faults font que ces Nations font de difficile abord. Or bien qu'il n'y ait point eu de Religieux en ces Nations, les marchands n'ont pas laiffé d'y enuoyer des François pour entretenir les Sauuages, & les amener tous les ans à la traitte Ces François par confequent n'ont oüy la Meffe toute l'annee, ne fe font ny confeffez, ny communiez à Pafques, & viuent dans des occafions tres-grandes de pecher. Quæritur, f'ils peuuent en cofcience y aller de la forte; Vostre [6] Reuerece me fera plaisir de confulter quelqu'vn de nos Peres pour en fçauoir la refolution & me l'efcrire.

Quant aux façons de faire des Sauuages, c'eft affez de dire qu'elles font tout à fait fauuages. Depuis le matin iufques au foir, ils n'ont autre foucy que de remplir leur ventre Ils ne viennent point nous voir fi ce n'eft pour demander à manger, & fi

196

this journey occasionally and carried all their food for a year, or the means of buying it; for to expect the Savages to give it to you is folly, unless they have taken you under their protection, and you wish to live in their villages and cabins; then they would feed you for nothing. But who could make up his mind to do this? Religious eyes could not support the sight of so much lewdness, carried on openly. Therefore, the Reverend Recolect Fathers were compelled to build their cabins apart; but they also, on that account, had to buy their food. There has been no Religious among these Tribes this year. When we arrived here last year, there was one Recolet Father who came with the Savages to the trading station, 35 leagues above this settlement; but when coming down the last of the rapids, his canoe upset and he was drowned.²⁵ In descending the river, the Savages do not land on reaching the rapids, but only in going up. Thus the rapids make these Tribes difficult of access. Although there have been no Religious among these Tribes, the merchants have not failed to send Frenchmen there to gain the good will of the Savages, and to induce them to come yearly to the trading station. As a consequence, these Frenchmen have not heard Mass during the entire year, have not confessed nor taken the Easter Sacrament, and their surroundings are such that there are frequent opportunities for sin. Quæritur: can they conscientiously go thither under these circumstances? Your [6] Reverence will do me the favor to consult some one of our Fathers, to know his decision and to write to me about it.

As to the customs of the Savages, it is enough to say that they are altogether savage. From morning

[Vol. 4

vous ne leur en donnez ils tefmoignent du mefcontentement. Ils font de vrais gueux f'il en fut iamais, & neantmoins fuperbes au poffible. Ils eftiment que les François n'ont point d'esprit au prix d'eux; les vices de la chair font fort frequêts chez eux; tel qui y efpoufera plufieurs femmes qu'il quittera quand bon luy femblera & en prendra d'autres. Il y en a icy vn qui a espousé sa propre fille: mais tous les autres Sauuages s'en font trouuez indignez; de netteté chez eux il ne s'en parle point, ils font fort fales en leur manger & dans leurs cabanes, ont force vermine qu'ils mangent quand ils l'ont prife La couftume de cefte Nation eft de tuër leurs peres & meres lors qu'ils font fi vieux qu'ils ne peuuet plus marcher, penfans en cela leur rendre de bons feruices; car autrement ils feroient contraints de mourir de faim, ne pouuans plus fuiure les autres lors qu'ils changent de lieu; & comme ie fis dire vn iour à vn qu'on luy en feroit autant lors qu'il feroit deuenu vieil; il me refpondit qu'il f'y attendoit bien La façon de faire la guerre auec leurs ennemis c'eft pour l'ordinaire par trahifon, les allans efpier lors qu'ils font à l'efcart; & s'ils ne font affez forts pour emmener prifonniers ceux ou celuy qu'ils rencontreut, ils tirent des fleches deffus, puis leur couppet la tefte, qu'ils emportent pour monstrer à leurs gens, que s'ils les peuuent emmener prifonniers iufques en leurs cabanes ils leur font endurer des cruautez nompareilles, les faifant mourir à petit feu : & chofe etrange! pendant tous ces tourmens, le patient chante toufiours, refputans à defhonneur f'ils crient & s'ils fe plaignent Apres que le patiét est mort, ils le mangent, & n'y a fi petit qui n'en ait fa part, ils font des feftins aufquels ils fe conuient les vns les autres, & mesme ils

198

until night they have no other thought than to fill their stomachs. They come to see us only to ask for something to eat; and if you do not give it to them they show their dissatisfaction. They are real beggars, if there ever were any, and yet proud as they can be. They consider the French less intelligent than they. Vices of the flesh are very common among them. One of them will marry several women, and will leave them when he pleases, and take others. There is one here who married his own daughter, but all the other Savages were indignant at him for it. As to cleanliness among them, that never enters into the question; they are very dirty about their eating, and in their cabins they are covered with vermin, which they eat when they catch them. It is a custom of this Tribe to kill their fathers and mothers when they are so old that they can walk no longer, thinking that they are thus doing them a good service; for otherwise they would be compelled to die of hunger, as they have become unable to follow the others when they change their location. When I had it explained to one of them one day that the same thing would be done for him when he became old, he answered that he certainly expected it. Their method of making war against their enemies is generally through treachery, watching to find them alone; and, if they are not strong enough to make prisoners of those whom they encounter, they shoot them with their arrows, then cut off their heads, which they bring back to show their people. But, if they can take them to their cabins as prisoners, they subject them to unparalleled cruelties, killing them by inches; and, strange to say, during all of these tortures, the victim sings constantly, considering it a

[VOL. 4

conuient quelques François de leur cognoiffance, & en ces fefti[n]s ils donnent à chacun fa part dans des plats ou efcuelles d'efcorce & lors que ce font feftins à tout manger, il ne faut rien laiffer, autremement vous eftes obligez à payer quelque chofe, & perdriez la reputation de braue [7] homme. Aux feftins qu'ils font pour la mort de quelqu'vn ils font la part au defunt auffi bien qu'aux autres, laquelle ils iettent dans le feu, & fe donnent bien garde que les chiens ne participét à ce feftin; & pource ramaffent tous les os & les iettent dans le feu. Ils enterrent les morts & auec eux tout ce qu'ils auoient, comme chandeliers, peaux, coufteaux, &c Et comme ie demãday vn iour à vn vieillard pourquoy ils mettoient tout ce bagage dans les foffes, il me respondit qu'ils le mettoient afin que le mort s'en feruift dans l'autre monde : & comme ie luy repartis que toutes les fois que lon regardoit dãs les foffes on y trouuoit toufiours le bagage, qui eftoit vn temoignage que le mort ne s'en feruoit pas; il me refpõdit, qu'à la verité le corps des chaudieres, peaux, coufteaux, &c. demeuroit; mais que l'ame des chaudieres, coufteaux, &c. s'en alloit dans l'autre monde auec le mort, & que là il s'en feruoit. Ainfi ils croyent, (comme V.R. void) l'immortalité de nos Ames; & de fait ils affeurent qu'apres la mort, ils vont au Ciel où elles mangent des champignons, & fe communiquent les vnes auec les autres. Ils appellent le Soleil IESVS; & lon tient en ce païs que ce font les Bafques qui y ont cy-deuant habité, qui font Autheurs de ceste denomination. De là vient que quand nous faisons nos Prieres, il leur femble que comme eux nous addreffous nos Prieres au Soleil. A ce propos du Soleil, ces Sauuages icy croyent que la terre est percee de part en part, & que lors qu'il fe couche, il eft caché en vn

200

dishonor if he cries out or complains. After the victim is dead, they eat him, and no one is so insignificant that he does not get his share. They have feasts to which they invite each other, and even some of their French acquaintances; at these feasts they give to each one his part on a dish or plate of bark; and when they are "eat-all" feasts, nothing must be left, otherwise you would be compelled to pay something, and would lose your reputation as a brave [7] man. At the feasts which are given in honor of the death of some one, they set aside a part for the deceased as well as for the others, which they throw into the fire; they are very careful that the dogs shall not share in this feast, and to this end, they gather up all the bones and throw them into the fire. They bury the dead, and with them all their belongings, such as candlesticks, furs, knives, etc. When I asked an old man one day why they placed all this baggage in the grave, he replied that they did so in order that the deceased might use it in the other world; and when I answered him that when any one looked into the grave all the baggage was seen there, which was a proof that the deceased did not use it, he replied, that in truth the body of the kettles, furs, knives, etc., remained, but that the soul of the kettles, knives, etc., went off to the other world with the deceased, and that he made use of them there. Thus they believe (as Your Reverence sees) in the immortality of our Souls; and, in fact, they assure you that after death they go to Heaven, where they eat mushrooms and hold intercourse with each other. They call the Sun JESUS;³⁹ and it is believed that the Basques,⁴⁰ who formerly frequented these places, Introduced this name. It thus happens that when we

[VOL. 4

trou de la terre, & fort le lendemain par l'autre. Ils n'ont aucun culte diuin, ny aucunes fortes de Prieres Ils croyent neantmoins qu'il y en a Vn qui a tout fait; mais pourtant ils ne luy rendent aucun honneur. Entr'eux ils ont quelques perfonnes qui font eftat de parler au Diable; ceux là font auffi les Medecins, & guariffent de toute maladie. Les Sauuages craignent grandement ces gens-là, & les carefset de peur qu'ils n'en reçoiuent du mal. Nous apprendrons peu à peu ce qui est des autres Nations, lesquelles font plus ftables en leurs demeures; Car pour cellescy où nous fommes maintenant auec les François, elle eft feulement vagabonde fix mois l'annee, qui font les fix mois d'Hyuer, errans çà & là felon la chaffe qu'ils trouuent, & ne fe cabanent que deux ou trois familles enfemble en vn endroit, deux ou trois en l'autre, & les autres de mefme. Ez autres [8] fix mois de l'annee, vingt ou trente s'affemblent fur le bord de la Riuiere pres de nostre habitation, autant à Thadouffac, & autant à quarante lieuës au deffus de nous, & là ils viuent de la chaffe qu'ils ont faicte l'Hyuer, c'eft à dire, de viande d'orignac, boucanee, & de viures qu'ils ont traité auec les François. Ie croy auoir efcrit l'an paffé ce qui est de leurs veftemens, & comme ils font toufiours nud tefte, leurs corps font feulemet couuerts d'vne peau, ou d'orignac, ou d'vne robbe de Caftor, qui font 5. ou 6. Caftors coufus enfemble, & vestent ces peaux, comme fans comparaifon, les Ecclefiaftiques les Chappes, n'eftans attachez par deuant que d'vne courroye: quelquefois ils fe ceignent d'vne ceinture, quelquefois ils n'en ont point du tout, & neantmoins pour lors on ne void rien de deshonneste, cachans fort decemment les parties que l'honnesteté veut estre couuertes. En Hyuer

202

1616-29]

offer Prayers, it seems to them that we address our Prayers to the Sun, as they do. While on the subject of the Sun, the Savages here believe that the earth is pierced through and through; and that, when the sun sets, it hides in one hole in the earth, and comes out next morning through the other. They have no form of divine worship, nor any kind of Pravers. They believe, however, that there is One who made all, but they do not render him any homage. Among them there are persons who make a profession of talking to the Devil; these are also the Physicians, and cure all kinds of diseases. The Savages have great fear of these people, and humor them lest they do them some injury. Little by little we shall learn more of the other Tribes, who are more sedentary in their habits; but, as to these where we now are with the French, they are wanderers only during six months of the year, which are the six Winter months, - roving here and there, according as they may find game, only two or three families erecting their cabins together in one place, two or three in another, and so on. The other [8] six months of the year, twenty or thirty come together upon the shore of the River near our settlement, part at Thadoussac, and the same number forty leagues above us; and there they live upon the game which they have captured during the Winter; that is to say, on smoked moose meat, and food for which they have traded with the French. I believe I wrote something about their clothing last year, and how they always go bareheaded; they wear no other clothes than a moose skin or a Beaver robe, which consists of 5 or 6 Beaver Skins sewed together; and they wear these skins as, without making any comparison, the Ecclesiastics wear their

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203

ils ont des chauffes & des fouliers faits de peau d'orignac; mais les fouliers, tant deffus que deffous font fouples comme vn gand. Ils ont la plus part du temps leurs vifages peints de rouge ou de gris brun & ce en diuerfes façons, felon la fantaifie des femmes, qui peignent leurs maris & leurs enfans, desquels ils graiffent auffi les cheueux de graiffe d'ours, ou d'orignac. Les hommes n'ont non plus de barbe que les femmes, ils fe l'arrachent afin de plaire dauantage aux femmes. Ie n'en ay veu que trois ou quatre qui ne fe la font point arrachee depuis peu de temps à l'imitation des François; mais pourtant ils n'en font pas fournis. La couleur de leur chair tire fort fur le noir; on n'en void pas vn qui aye la charnure blanche, neantmoins il n'y a rien de fi blanc que leurs dents. Ils vot fur les riuieres dans de petits canaux d'escorce de bouleau, fort proprement faits: dans les moindres il y peut tenir 4 ou 5. perfonnes, encore y mettent-ils leurs petits bagages. Les auirons font proportionnez aux canaux 1'vn deuant l'autre derriere, c'eft d'ordinaire la femme qui tient celuy de derriere, & par confequent qui gouuerne. Ces pauures femmes font de vrais mulets de charge, portant toute la fatigue; font-elles accouchees, deux heures apres elles s'en vont aux bois pour fournir au feu de la cabane. En Hyuer lors qu'ils decabanent elles trainent les meilleurs pacquets fur la neige; bref les hommes ne femblent auoir pour partage que la chaffe, la guerre, & la traitte. A propos de la [9] traitte, ie n'en ay encores rien dit, auffi eft-ce l'vnique chofe qui me refte touchant les Sauuages. Toutes leurs richeffes font les peaux de diuers animaux; mais principalement de Caftors. Auparauant l'affociation de ces Meffieurs aufquels le Roy a donné cefte traitte pour

204

Capes, attached in front only by a leather strap. Sometimes they wear a belt, sometimes none at all, and nevertheless nothing improper is noticed on that account, as they very modestly cover the parts which decency demands should be covered. In Winter they have leggings and shoes made of moose skin, but the shoes, the uppers as well as the soles, are as pliable as a glove. Their faces are usually painted red or grayish brown, and this is done in different styles, according to the fancy of the women, who paint their husbands and children, whose hair they also oil with bear or moose grease. The men are no more bearded than the women; they pull their beards out in order to be more agreeable to the women. I have seen only three or four who had not done so, and this but recently in imitation of the French; yet they did not have beards. The color of their skin is strongly inclined to black; not one is seen whose skin is white, and yet nothing is so white as their teeth. They go upon the rivers in light birch-bark canoes, very neatly made; the smallest of them can hold 4 or 5 persons and leave room for their little baggage. The oars are proportioned to the canoes, one at the bow and one at the stern; ordinarily, the woman holds the one at the stern, and consequently steers. These poor women are real pack mules, enduring all hardships. When delivered of a child, they go to the woods two hours later to replenish the fire of the cabin.⁴¹ In the Winter, when they break camp, the women drag the heaviest loads over the snow; in short, the men seem to have as their share only hunting, war, and trading. Apropos of [9] trading, I have as yet said nothing, and it is also the last thing which remains to be said in regard to the Savages.

certain temps, moïennant quelques conditions portees par les Articles, les Sauuages eftoient vifitez de plufieurs perfonnes, iufques là qu'vn des Ancies m'a dit qu'il a veu iufques à vingt nauires dans le port de Tadouffac; mais maintenant que ceste traitte a esté accordee à l'affociation qui eft auiourd'huy prinatiuement à tous autres, lon ne void plus icy que deux nauires qui appartiennent à l'Affociation, & ce, vne fois l'an feulement, enuiron le commencement du mois de Iuin. Ces deux nauires apportent toutes les marchandifes que ces Meffieurs traictent auec les Sauuages, c'eft à fçauoir des capaux, des couuertures, bonnets de nuict, chapeaux, chemifes, draps, haches, fers de fleches, aleines, espees, des tranches pour rompre la glace en Hyuer, des coutteaux, des chaudieres, pruneaux, raifins, du bled d'Inde, des pois, du bifcuit, ou de la galette, & du petun; & outre ce qui est necessaire pour le viure des François, qui demeuret en ce païs là, en efchange ils emportent des peaux d'orignac, de loup ceruier, de regnard, de loutre, & quelquefois il f'en rencontre de noires, de mattre, de blaireau, & de rat mufqué; mais principalement de Caftor, qui eft le plus grand de leur gain: On m'a dit que pour vne annee ils en auoient remporté iufques à 22000. L'ordinaire de chaque annee est de 15000. ou 12000. à vne piftole la piece, ce n'eft pas mal allé; il eft bien vray que les frais qu'ils font font affez grands, ayant icy quarante perfonnes & plus qui font gagez & nourris; outre les frais de tout l'equipage de deux nauires, où il fe retrouue bien 150. hõmes qui recoiuent des gages & fe nourriffent. Ces gages ne font pas tous d'vne facon: L'ordinaire eft de 106. liures, il y en a qui ont cent efcus. Ie cognois vn Truchement qui a cent piftoles, & quelque nombre

206

All of their wealth consists in the furs of different animals, but principally of the Beaver. Before the time of the association of those Gentlemen to whom the King gave this trade for a certain time in consideration of certain conditions mentioned in the Articles,²¹ the Savages were visited by many people, to such an extent that an Old Man told me he had seen as many as twenty ships in the port of Tadoussac. But now since this business has been granted to the association, which to-day has a monopoly over all others, we see here not more than two ships which belong to it, and that only once a year, about the beginning of the month of June. These two ships bring all the merchandise which these Gentlemen use in trading with the Savages; that is to say, the cloaks, blankets, nightcaps, hats, shirts, sheets, hatchets, iron arrowheads, bodkins, swords, picks to break the ice in Winter, knives, kettles, prunes, raisins, Indian corn, peas, crackers or sea biscuits, and tobacco; and what is necessary for the sustenance of the French in this country be-In exchange for these they carry back hides of sides. the moose, lynx, fox, otter, black ones being encountered occasionally, martens, badgers, and muskrats; but they deal principally in Beavers, in which they find their greatest profit. I was told that during one year they carried back as many as 22,000. The usual number for one year is 15,000 or 12,000, at one pistole each, which is not doing badly.¹⁹ It is true their expenses are very heavy, as they keep here forty persons and more, who are paid and maintained; this in addition to the expense of the crews of two ships, which consist of at least 150 men, who receive their wages and food. These wages are not all the same. They are generally

de peaux qu'il luy est permis d'emporter chaque annee. Il est vray qu'il les traicte de fa marchadife. Voftre Reuerence le verra cefte annee, c'eft vn de ceux qui nous ont grandement aidé. Voftre Reuerence lui fera, f'il luy plaift, bon raqueil; il eft pour retourner & rendre icy de grands feruices à N. Seigneur. Refte maintenant [10] à mander à voftre Reuerence ce que nous auons fait depuis noftre arriuee en ce païs, qui fut à la fin de Iuin. Le mois de Iuillet & d'Aouft fe pafferent, partie à efcrire des lettres, partie à nous recognoiftre vn peu dans le païs, & à chercher quelque lieu propre pour y eftablir noftre demeure: Afin de tefmoigner aux RR. PP. Recolects, que nous defirios les deliurer au pluftoft de l'incomodité que nous leur apportions. Apres auoir bien confideré tous les endroits, & apres auoir pris langue des François, & principalement des Reuerends Peres Recolects le 1. iour de Septembre nous plantafmes la faincte Croix, au lieu que nous auions choifi, auec toute la folemnité qui nous fut poffible. Les Reuerends Peres Recolects y affifterent auec les plus apparens des François, qui apres le difner fe mirent tous à trauailler. Nous auons depuis toufiours continué, nous cinq, à defraciner ler [les] arbres, & à befcher la terre tant que le teps nous a permis. Les neiges venantes nous fufmes contraints de furfoir iufques au Prin-temps pendant le trauail nous ne laiffions pas de penfer comment nous viendrions à bout du langage du païs; car des Truchemens, difoit-on il ne faut rien attendre; fi eft-ce neantmoins qu'apres auoir recommandé l'affaire à Dieu, i'ay pris refolution de m'addreffer au Truchement de cefte Nation, quitte, difie en moy-mesme pour estre refusé aussi bien que les autres. Donc apres m'eftre efforcé par des ex-

208

106 livres, but some receive a hundred écus. T know an Interpreter who receives one hundred pistoles, and a certain number of hides which he is permitted to carry away each year.42 It is true that he trades them off as his own merchandise. Your Reverence will see him this year; he is one of those who have very effectively assisted us. Your Reverence will, if you please, give him a kind greeting; for he is going to return, and do great service here for Our Lord. It remains now [10] to tell your Reverence what we have done since our arrival in this country, which was the last of June. The months of July and August passed by, partly in writing letters, partly in getting a little acquainted with the country, and in seeking a proper place for our settlement, that we might show the Reverend Recolect Fathers that we desired to relieve them as soon as possible of the inconvenience which we caused them. After having carefully considered all the places, and after having consulted with the French people, and especially with the Reverend Recolect Fathers, we planted the holy Cross on the 1st day of September, with all possible solemnity, upon the place which we had chosen. The Reverend Recolect Fathers took part in the ceremony with the most prominent of the French, and after dinner all of them went to work. We have continued this work ever since, we five, uprooting trees and breaking the ground whenever we had time. The snow intervened, and we were compelled to give up our work until Spring. During the work, the thought of acquiring a knowledge of the language of this country was constantly in our minds; for it was said that we could expect nothing from the Interpreters. Nevertheless, after having commended the mathortations que ie faifois & par noftre conuerfation, de donner d'autres impressions de nostre Compagnie, qu'on n'auoit en ce païs, Vostre Reuerence croiroit-elle bien que nous y auos trouué l'Anti-Coton, que lon faifoit courir de chambre en chambre, & qu'enfin lon a bruflé quatre mois apres nostre arriuee; ayant, difie, tafché de donner d'autres impressions. Ie m'adreffay donc au Truchement de cefte Nation, & le priay de nous donner cognoiffance du langage. Chofe estrage, il me promist fur l'heure, qu'il me donneroit pendant l'hyuer tout le cotentement que ie pourrois defirer de luy. Or c'eft icy où il faut admirer vne particuliere prouidence de Dieu: car il faut remarquer, que le General eftoit chargé de fes affociez de repaffer en France, ou bien de luy diminuer fes gages & luy preffoit fi fort de retourner la mefme annee que nous arriuafmes qu'il fallut que le General vfast de commandement abfolu auec affeurance que fes gages ne luy feroient [11] point diminuees, pour le faire demeurer cette annee; & de fait il eft demeuré à noftre grand contentement. Secundo notandum; Que ce Truchement n'auoit iamais voulu communiquer a perfonne la cognoiffance qu'il auoit de ce langage, non pas mefme aux RR. PP. Recolects, qui depuis dix ans n'auoient ceffé de l'en importuner; & cependant à la premiere priere que ie luy fis, me promift ce que ie vous ay dit, & f'eft acquité fidelement de sa promesse pendant cet Hyuer. Or neantmoins parce que nous n'eftions pas affeurez qu'il deuft eftre fidele en fa promesse, craignans que l'Hyuer fe paffaft fans rien auancer en la cognoiffance de la langue. Ie confultay auec nos Peres, f'il ne feroit point à propos que deux de nous allassent paffer l'Hyuer auec les Sauuages, bien auant dans les

210

ter to God, I made up my mind to speak to the Interpreter of this Tribe, saying to myself that at the worst, I could only be refused as the others had been. So, after having striven by my exhortations and our conversation to correct the impressions concerning our Society that exist in this country, can Your Reverence believe that we have found here the "Anti-Coton," 43 which was circulated from chamber to chamber, and which was finally burned, about four months after our arrival? Having, I say, tried to give other impressions, I applied then to the Interpreter of this Tribe and begged him to teach us the language. Strange to say, he at once promised me that, during the winter, he would give me all the help that I could ask of him. Now in this a special providence of God must be admired, because it must be observed that the General²¹ was ordered by his associates to send him back to France, or else to reduce his wages; and he [the interpreter] begged him so earnestly to return the same year that we arrived, that the General was compelled to use imperative authority, and to tell him that his wages would [11] not be reduced, to make him stay this year; and, in fact, he remained, to our great satisfaction. Secundo notandum; This Interpreter had never wanted to communicate his knowledge of the language to any one, not even to the Reverend Recolect Fathers, who had constantly importuned him for ten years; and yet he promised me what I have told you, the first time I urged him to do so, and he kept his promise faithfully during that Winter. However, as we did not feel certain that he would keep his word, and fearing the Winter would pass and we would make no progress in the language, I consulted

bois, afin que leur hantife nous donnaft la cognoiffance que nous cherchions; nos Peres furet d'auis que ce feroit affez qu'vn y allast, & que l'autre demeureroit pour fatisfaire à la deuotion des François. Ainfi ce fut le P. Brebeuf qui eut ce bonheur; il partit le 20. d'Octobre, & retourna le 27. de Mars, ayant toufiours efté efloigné de nous de 20. ou 25. lieux. Pendant fon abfence ie fommay le Truchement de fa promeffe à laquelle il ne manqua point; A peine eufie tiré de luy ce que ie defirois, que ie me refolus d'aller paffer le refte de l'Hyuer auec le premier Sauuage qui nous viendroit voir; Ie m'y en allay donc le 8. de Ianuier; mais ie fus contraint de retourner 11. iours apres; car ne trouuans pas dequoy viure eux-mefme, ils furent contraints de retourner voir les François. A mon retour, fans perdre temps, ie follicitay le Truchement d'vne autre Nation de me communiquer ce qu'il sçauoit; dont ie m'estonne comme il le fit si franchement, avant esté par le paffé fi referué a l'endroit des Reuerends Peres Re-Il nous donna tout ce que nous luy decolets. mandafmes; il eft bien vray que nous ne luy demandafmes pas tout ce qu'euffions bien defiré; car comme nous recogneufmes en luy vn efprit affez groffier, ce n'eust pas esté nostre aduantage de le preffer par de la fa portee, nous fufmes neantmoins tres contens de ce qu'il nous donna: & ce qui eft à remarquer afin de recognoistre d'auantage la prouidence de Dieu en ce fait, cedit Truchement s'en deuoit retourner en France la mefme annee que nous ariuafmes, & ce par l'entremife des Peres Recolets, & de nous qui le iugiõs neceffaire pour [12] le bien de fon ame, & de fait nous l'emportafmes pardeffus le General de la flotte, qui a toute force le vouloit

 $\mathbf{212}$

with our Fathers as to the propriety of two of us going to spend the Winter with the Savages, far into the depths of the forest, in order that, by constant association with them, we might gain the knowledge we sought. Our Fathers were of the opinion that it would be sufficient for one to go, and that the other ought to remain to attend to the spiritual needs of the French. So this good fortune fell to the lot of Father Brebeuf.³⁰ He left on the 20th of October and returned on the 27th of March, having been distant from us 20 or 25 leagues all the time. During his absence I reminded the Interpreter of his promise, which he did not fail to keep. I had hardly learned from him what I desired, when I determined to go and spend the remainder of the Winter with the first Savage who should come to see us. So I went off with one on the 8th of January, but I was compelled to return 11 days later; for, as they could not find enough for themselves to eat, they were compelled to come back to the French. As soon as I returned. I lost no time in urging the Interpreter of another Tribe to teach me what he knew; and I was astonished that he should do it so freely, as in the past he had been so reserved in regard to the Reverend Recolet Fathers. He gave us all that we asked for; it is quite true that we did not ask all that we would have wished; as we noticed in him a mind somewhat coarse, it would not have been to our advantage to have urged him beyond his depth. We were, however, highly pleased with what he gave us; and what is noteworthy, in order to better recognize the providence of God in this matter, this very Interpreter was to return to France the same year that we arrived, and this was to be done through the interrenuoyer en la Nation de laquelle il est Truchement, le voila donc arriué icy où nous fommes auec des François qui reuenoient de la traitte, en refolution de f'en retourner en France, les vaiffeaux font fur le point de partir: la veille du depart il vint nous voir chez les Reuerends Peres Recolets pour nous dire Adieu. Ce grand Dieu fit ioüer tout à propos vn reffort de fa Prouidence, comme il eftoit chez nous voila vne forte pleuresie qui le prend & le voilà couché au lict, fi bien & fi beau qu'il fallut que les vaiffeaux s'en retournaffent fans luy; & par ce moyen le voilà qui nous demeure, hors des dangers neantmoins de fe perdre, ce qui nous auoit fait folliter fon retour. Ie vous laiffe à penfer fi pendant fa maladie nous oubliafmes de luy rendre tout deuoir de charité; il fuffit de dire qu'auparauant qu'il fust releué de ceste maladie, pour laquelle il n'attendoit que la mort; il nous affeura qu'il eftoit entierement à noftre deuotion, & que s'il plaifoit à Dieu luy rendre la fanté, l'Hyuer ne ce pafferoit iamais fans nous donner tout contentement, dequoy il s'eft fort bien acquitté, graces à Dieu.

Ie me fuis peut-eftre eftendu plus que de raifon à racõpter cecy; mais ie me plais tant à racompter les traits de la prouidence particuliere de Dieu, qu'il me fe femble que tout le mõde y doit prendre plaifir; & de fait s'il s'en fuft retourné en France cefte annee là, nous eftions pour n'auancer gueres plus que les Reuerends Peres Recolets en 10. ans. Dieu foit loüé de tout, voila donc à quoy fe paffa la meilleure partie de l'hyuer. Outre ces occupatiõs ie n'ay point manqué à mon tour d'aller les feftes & Dimanches dire la Meffe aux François, aufquels i'ay fait exhortation toutes les fois que i'y ay efté: le Pere Brebeuf de fon

vention of the Recolet Fathers and through our influence, as we deemed it necessary for [12] the good of his soul; and in fact we carried the day over the head of the General of the fleet, who was resolved in any event to send him back to the Tribe whose Interpreter he was. So he arrived here where we are, with the French who were returning from the trading station, resolved to go back to France, the ships being on the point of leaving. The evening before his intended departure, he came to see us at the Reverend Recolet Fathers', to bid us Farewell. The great God showed his Providential designs very propitiously then; while he was with us he was taken with a severe attack of pleurisy and was put to bed, so nicely and comfortably, that the ships were obliged to go back without him, and by this means he remained with us, out of all danger of ruining himself; for it was the fear of this which had caused us to urge his return. You will readily understand that during his sickness we performed every act of charity for him. It suffices to say that, before he recovered from this sickness, in which he expected to die, he assured us that he was entirely devoted to us; and that if it pleased God to restore his health, the Winter would never pass by without his giving us assistance, a promise which he kept in every respect, thank God.

I have, perhaps, dwelt longer upon this than was necessary, but I am so pleased to relate the special acts of God's providence, as it seems to me every one must take pleasure in them; and in fact, if he had gone back to France that year, we would have made hardly any more progress than the Reverend Recolet Fathers did in 10 years. May God be praised for all! In this way we passed the greater part of the

cofté en faifoit autant, & auons fi bien auancé par la grace de Dieu, que nous auons gaigné le cœur de tous ceux de l'habitation, auons fait faire des confeffions generales à la plus part, & auons vefcu en tresbonne intelligence auec le Chef. Enuiron le milieu du Carefme ie m'hazarday de prier le Capitaine de nous donner les Charpentiers de l'habitation pour nous aider à dreffer vne petite cabane au lieu que nous auons commencé à défricher, ce qu'il m'accorda auec beaucoup de courtoifie: les charpentiers ne fouhaitoient [13] rien tant que de trauailler pour nous; & de fait ils nous auoient donné le mot auparauant: auffi trauaillerent-ils auec tant d'affection, que nonobftant l'incommodité du temps & de la faifon (car il y auoit encore vn pied & demy de neige) ils eurent acheué nostre cabane le Lundy de la semaine Saincte, & cependant ils cierent plus de 250. aix, tant pour la couuerture, que pour le tour de la cabane; vingt cheurons, & dolerent plus de vingtcinq groffes pieces neceffaires pour l'erection de la cabane. Voila des commencemens affez heureux graces à Dieu, ie ne fçay quel fera le progrés à caufe de la continuation de mes imperfections. Au refte parmy ces Sauuages nos vies ne font pas affeurées. Si quelque François leur a fait quelque déplaifir ils s'en vengent par la mort du premier qu'ils rencontrent, fans auoir efgard à plaifir aucun qu'ils ayent receu de celuy qu'ils attaquent. S'ils ont fongé la nuict qu'il faut qu'ils tuënt quelque François, gar[d]e le premier qu'ils rencontrent à l'efcart. Ils ajouftent grande croyance à leurs fonges. Quelquesvns deux vous diront deux iours auparauant la venuë des vaiffeaux l'heure à laquelle ils arriueront, & ne vous diront autre chofe finon qu'ils l'ont veu en dor-

winter. Besides these occupations, I, in my turn, have not failed to go, on holydays and Sundays, to say Mass for the French, to whom I have made an exhortation every time I have been there. Father Brebeuf did the same on his part; and, by the grace of God, we have made such progress that we have won the hearts of all the people of the settlement, and have induced most of them to make general confessions, and have lived on good terms with the Chief. About the middle of Lent, I ventured to ask the Captain to give us the Carpenters of the settlement to help us erect a little cabin at the place we had begun to clear away, and he very courteously granted my request. The carpenters asked for [13] nothing better than to work for us, and in fact they had previously given us their promise; so they worked with such good will, that, notwithstanding the unfavorableness of the weather and of the season (for there was still a foot and a half of snow), they had finished our cabin by Monday of Holy week; and besides, they had sawed over 250 planks, both for the roof and for the sides of the cabin, twenty rafters, and hewn over twenty-five large pieces necessary for the erection of the cabin. These are very happy beginnings, thank God; but, considering my imperfections still continue, I do not know how much progress will be made. Further, there is no security for our lives among these Savages. If a Frenchman has in some way offended them, they take revenge by killing the first one they meet, without any regard for favors which they may have received from the one whom they attack. If during the night they dream they must kill a Frenchman, woe to the first one whom they meet alone. They attach great faith to their dreams. Some of

mant. Ceux-la font en reputation parmy eux de parler au Diable. Leur conuerfion ne nous donnera pas peu d'affaire. Leur vie libertine & faineante, leur esprit groffier, & qui ne peut guere comprendre, la difette des mots qu'ils ont pour expliquer nos myfteres, n'ayans iamais eu aucun culte diuin, nous exercera à bon efcient. Mais pourtant nous ne perdons pas courage graces à Dieu, appuyez fur cette verité, que Dieu n'aura pas tant efgard au fruict que nous ferons, qu'à la bonne volonté & au trauail que nous prendrons; & puis plus il y aura difficulté en leur conuerfion, & plus y aura-t'il de défiance de nousmesmes; tant y a que nostre esperance est en Dieu. Si ie puis ie me transporteray en d'autres nations; fi cela eft, il ne faut plus attendre de nouuelles, car ie feray fi loin d'eux, qu'à grand peine pourray-ie leur écrire; car au cas que cela arriue ie vous dy adieu & à tout le monde iusques à ce que nous nous reuoyons au Ciel. N'oubliez pas les fuffrages pour nostre ame, & faites les de fois à autres. A tout hazard lors que vous vous fouuiendrez de nous en vos faincts facrifices, dites pour vn tel vif ou mort. Le fecours qui nous eft venu de France eft vn bon commencement pour cette Miffion; mais les affaires [14] ne font pas encore en tel estat que Dieu puisse y estre feruy fidellement. L'heretique y a autant encore d'empire que iamais, c'est pourquoy ie renuoye le Pere Noiroit felon la permiffio que les Superieurs m'en ont faite, afin qu'il paracheue ce qu'il a commencé: il est le mieux entendu en cette affaire. Si nos Peres desirent l'affermissement, & le bon fucces de cette Miffion, il eft du tout expedient qu'ils le laiffent faire. C'eft bien à fon corps defendant qu'il s'en retourne, veu principalement qu'il est tant in-

them will tell you two days before the coming of a ship the hour of its arrival, and will give no other explanation except that they have seen it while asleep. These are reputed among them to have intercourse with the Devil. Their conversion will give us no little trouble. Their licentious and lazy lives, their rude and untutored minds, able to comprehend so little, the scarcity of words they have to explain our mysteries, never having had any form of divine worship, will tax our wits. And yet we do not lose courage, thank God; trusting in this truth, that God will not have so much regard to the fruits that we produce, as to our good will and the trouble we take; and besides, the greater the difficulty in their conversion, and the more distrust we have in ourselves, so much the greater will be our trust in God. If I can, I shall go among some of the other tribes; and, in that event, no further news need be expected from me, because I shall be so far away that it will be very hard to communicate with you; and if that should happen, I say farewell to you and to every one until we meet in Heaven. Do not forget the prayers for our souls, and make them from time to time. In any case when you remember us in your holy sacrifices, offer them up for such and such a one, living or The help which has reached us from France dead. is a good beginning for this Mission, but things [14] are not yet in such a condition that God can be faithfully served here. The heretic holds as complete dominion here as ever, and therefore I send back Father Noiroit, according to the permission that I have received from the Superiors, in order that he may finish what he has begun; he is the most capable one for this affair. If our Fathers wish the strengthcommodé deffus la mer. l'enuoye fon compagnon auec le Pere Brebeuf à 300 lieux d'icy à vne de ces nations qui font stables en leur demeure, ils y feront bien toft s'ils trouuent des Sauuages qui les y vueillent conduire, autrement ils feront contraints de retourner vers nous: i'attends tous les iours de leurs nouuelles. Ie viens d'apprendre tout maintenant qu'ils font partis. Le Diable qui craint la touche a voulu jouër des fiennes, car nos Peres eftans defia embarquez, les Sauuages par deux ou trois fois les voulurent faire desembarquer, alleguans que leurs canaux estoient trop chargez; mais en fin Dieu l'emporta par deffus luy, on gaigna les Sauuages à force de prefents. S'il plaift à Dieu faire reüffir cette miffion, voila vne entrée dans des nations infinies pour ainfi dire, qui font toufiours ftables en leur demeure. l'eusse bien desiré estre de la partie, mais nos Peres ne l'ont pas iugé à propos, iugeans qu'il eftoit neceffaire que ie demeuraffe icy, tant pour l'éstablissement de nostre petit domicille, que pour l'entretien des François. Voftre R. s'eftonnera peutestre de ce que i'ay enuoyé le P. Brebeuf qui auoit defia quelque commencement à la langue de cette nation, mais les talents que Dieu luy a departy m'y ont fait refoudre; le fruict que l'on attend de ces natios là eftant bien autre que celuy que l'on espere de celle cy. S'il plaift à Dieu benir leurs trauaux nous aurons grand befoin d'ouuriers; les difpofitions du cofté des Sauuages font telles, qu'on en peut efperer quelque chose de bon. Le truchement ayant demandé en ma presence à l'vn de leurs Capitaines s'ils feroiet tous contens que quelques-vns des noftres allaffent demeurer en leur pays pour leur apprendre à cognoiftre Dieu, il refpondit qu'il ne falloit de-

ening and the success of this Mission, it is by all means proper that they should allow him to proceed.³² He returns very much against his inclination, principally on account of his sufferings upon the sea. I send his companion³¹ with Father Brebeuf, 300 leagues from here, to one of those tribes which has a permanent location. They will soon be there if they find Savages to conduct them, otherwise they will be obliged to return here; I am expecting news from them daily. I have just learned that they have gone. The Devil, who feared their approach, tried to play some of his tricks on them, for, when our Fathers had embarked, the Savages tried two or three times to make them go ashore, asserting that their canoes were too heavily loaded; but at last God triumphed over him, and the Savages were won by means of presents. If it please God to give success to this mission, it will open a way, so to speak, to an infinite number of tribes which have permanent settlements. I should have been very glad to be one of the party; but our Fathers did not deem it expedient, considering it well that I should remain here, both for the establishment of our little home and for the welfare of the French. Your Reverence will be astonished, perhaps, at my having sent Father Brebeuf, who already had some knowledge of the language of this tribe; but the talents that God has given him influenced me, the fruits which are expected from those tribes being very different from those hoped for here. If it please God to bless their labors, we shall have great need of workers; the disposition on the part of the Savages is such that something good may be looked for. When the interpreter asked one of their Captains in my presence, if they would all

mander cela & qu'ils ne fouhaittoient rien tant, puis avant confideré la maison des Recollets où nous eftions, il adiousta qu'à la verité ils ne pourroient pas nous baftir vne maifon de pierre femblable à celle-là, [15] mais demandés leur, dit-il au truchement, s'ils feroient contans de trouuer à leur arriuee vne cabane faicte femblable aux noftres. Il ne pouuoit nous tefmoigner plus d'affection; De plus il y a eu de la fterilité dans leur pays cette annee, & ils l'attribuent à caufe qu'ils n'y ont point eu de Religieux, tout cela nous fait bien esperer. Pour ceux de cette Nation ie les ay fait fommer de refpondre, s'ils ne vouloient pas fe faire inftruire; & nous donner leurs enfans pour le mesme sujet: ils nous ont tous refpondu qu'ils le defiroient. Ils attendent que nous avons bafty, c'est à nous cependant de mefnager leur affection & apprendre bien leur langue. Au demeurant ie fupplirois volontiers ceux qui ont de l'affection pour ce pays, qu'ils ne se dégoustaffent point s'ils n'entendent promptement des nouuelles du fruict que l'on espere. La conuersion des Sauuages demande du temps. Les premieres fix ou fept annees fembleront steriles à quelques vns. Et si i'adiouftois iufqu'à dix ou douze, poffible ne m'éloigneroisie pas de la verité. Mais eft ce à dire pourtat qu'il faille tout quitter là? Ne faut-il pas des comencemens par tout? Ne faut-il pas des difpositions pour arriuer où on pretend? Quand à moy ie vous confesse que Dieu me fait cette misericorde, qu'encor que ie n'esperasse aucun profit tout le temps qu'il luy plaira me conferuer en vie, pourueu qu'il eust nos trauaux agreables, & qu'il vouluft s'en feruir comme de preparation pour ceux qui viendront apres nous, ie me tiendrois trop heureux d'employer & ma vie & mes

be glad if some one of us should go among them to teach them to know God, he answered that it was not necessary to ask that, that they desired nothing better; then, having examined the house of the Recollets where we were, he added that they indeed could not build us a stone house like that one; [15] "But ask them," said he to the interpreter, "if they will be satisfied upon their arrival to find a cabin made similar to ours." He could not manifest more affection for us than he did. Moreover, there was a drought in their country this year, and they attributed it to the fact that they had no Religious among them; all this gives us strong hopes. As to the people of this Tribe, I had them called together to say whether they wanted to be instructed, and to give us their children for the same purpose. They all answered that they did. They are waiting for us to build; and it is for us, in the meantime, to cultivate their affection and to learn their language. Meanwhile, I would request those who are interested in this country not to be disappointed if they do not promptly receive news of the hoped-for converts. The conversion of the Savages takes time. The first six or seven years will appear sterile to some; and, if I should say ten or twelve, I would possibly not be far from the truth. But is that any reason why all should be abandoned? Are not beginnings necessary everywhere? Are not preparations needed for the attainment of every object? For my part, I confess that, if God shows me mercy, although I expect no fruits as long as it will please him to preserve my life, provided that our labors are acceptable to him, and that he may be pleased to make use of them as a preparation for those who will come after us, I shall hold myself only too happy to employ

forces, & n'épargner rien de ce qui feroit en mon pouuoir, non pas mefme mon fang pour femblable fuiet. Neantmoins fi nos Superieurs ne font point d'aduis qu'on paffe outre, me voicy tout prés de me foufmettre à leur volonté, & fuiure leur iugement. Voicy vn petit Huron qui s'en va vous voir, il est passionné de voir la France. Il nous affectionne grandement & fait paroiftre vn grand defir d eftre inftruict; neantmoins le pere & le Capitaine de la nation, le veulent reuoir l'an prochain, nous affeurant que s'il eft contant il le nous donnera pour quelques annees. Il eft fort important de le bien contenter: car si vne fois cet enfant est bien instruit, voila vne partie ouuerte pour entrer en beaucoup de nations où il feruira grandement. Et tout à propos le truchement de cetre [cette] nation la est retourn[é] en France. Truchement qu'il aime tant, qu'il l'appelle fon pere. Ie prie noftre Seigneur qu'il luy plaife benir le voyage. Au refte ie remercie V. R. du courage [16] qu'elle m'a donné. I'ay leu fes lettres quatre ou cinq fois; mais ie n'ay peu gaigner fur moy que ce n'ait efté la larme à l'œil pour plusieurs raifons, mais specialement fur la fouuenance de mes imperfections (coram Deo loquor) qui m'éloignent grandement, du merite de cette vocation, & me fait viuement apprehender que ie n'aille trauerfer les deffeins de la grace de Dieu, en l'établiffement du Christianisme en ce pays Apres cela ie ne crains rien. Ie vous fupplie en vertu de ce que vous aimez mieux dans le Ciel, de ne vous lasser point de folliciter la diuine bonté, ou qu'il me face la grace de m'en défaire, ou si mon idignité est venue iusques là qu'il m'y faille encore tremper, que ce ne foit au preiudice de nos pauures Sauuages; que ma mifere n'empesche point les effects de sa misericorde, & le

my life and my strength, and to spare nothing in my power, not even my blood, for such a purpose. However, if our Superiors do not think we should go farther, I am ready to submit to their will and to follow their judgment. A little Huron is going to see you; he longs to see France. He is very fond of us and manifests a strong desire to be instructed; nevertheless, his father and the Captain of the nation wishes to see him next year, assuring us that, if he is satisfied, he will give him to us for some years. It is of importance that he should be thoroughly satisfied; for, if this child is once instructed, it will open the way to many tribes where he will be very useful. And the return of the interpreter of that tribe to France is very opportune, — the Interpreter whom he loves so much, that he calls him his father. I pray our Lord to be pleased to bless his voyage. I also thank Your Reverence for the courage [16] you have given me. I have read your letters four or five times, and I have not been able to keep the tears from my eyes for several reasons; but especially in reflecting upon my imperfections (coram Deo loquor) which are far from the merit necessary for this vocation, and inspire me with grave fears that I am opposing the purposes of God's grace in the establishment of Christianity in this country. After that, I fear noth-I beseech you, in the name of all you hold most ing. dear in Heaven, not to become weary in appealing to the divine goodness, either to do me the favor of removing me from here, or, if my unworthiness is so great that I must yet be chastened, let it not be to the disadvantage of our poor Savages; let not my shortcomings prevent the effects of his mercy, nor my weak will be a hindrance to the order that his

defordre de ma volonté fragile, l'ordre que fa bonté veut établir en ce pays. Nous continuons plus que iamais les bonnes intelligences auec le Pere Ioseph, qui eft icy l'vnique Preftre de fon Ordre, l'vn eftant allé auec nos Peres aux Hurons; & l'autre s'en retournant en France; il a deux bons freres auec luy. M^r. Champlain est tousiours fort affectionné en nostre endroit, m'a pris pour directeur de fa confcience, auffi bien que Gaumont, duquel i'auray vn foin particulier felon les recommandations de voftre R. L'aduis que voftre R. me donne touchant la dedicace de noftre premiere Eglife, eft fort conforme à ma deuotion fi les Superieurs m'en laiffent la liberté, elle ne fera iamais appellee autrement que N. Dame des Anges; c'eft pourquoy ie fupplie V. R de nous faire auoir quelque beau Tableau enuironné d'Anges. C'eft vne des grades Feftes des PP. Recolets, qui ont dedié leur Chappelle à S. Charles; & la Riuiere fur laquelle, eux & nous; fommes logez, f'appelle la riuiere S. Charles, ainfi nõmee quelque temps auparauant que nous vin-Pour les lettres ie ne penfe pas auoir obmis fiõs. perfonne, tant de nos bien-faiteurs plus fignalez, que de ceux qui m'ont efcrit. Auffi vous confeffay je que ie fuis vn peu las; voicy la 68 & fi ce n'eft pas la derniere. Plaife à noftre bon Dieu que le tout foit à fa gloire Noftre R. P. Affiftant fe monftre fort affectioné à cefte Miffion; ie luy enuoye vne charte de ce pays, affeurant que ie demeureray toute ma vie, de Voftre Reuerence,

> Seruiteur tres-affectionné en N Seigneur CHARLES L'ALLEMANT.

A Kebec ce 1. d'Aouft 1626.

226

goodness wishes to establish in this country. Our sympathetic relations with Father Joseph²⁶ are stronger than ever. He is the only Priest of his Order here, one having gone with our Fathers to the Hurons, and the other now returning to France; he has two good brothers with him. Mr. Champlain is always very kind to us, and has chosen me as his confessor. Gaumont has done the same, and I shall take special care of him, according to the recommendations of your Reverence. The advice which your Reverence gives me in regard to the dedication of our first Church, is in thorough harmony with my views. If the Superiors leave it to me, it will never be otherwise named than "N. Dame des Anges." Therefore I beg Your Reverence to send us a beautiful Picture surrounded by Angels. It is one of the great Fête days of the Recolet Fathers, who have dedicated their Chapel to St. Charles; the River upon which they and we live is called the river St. Charles, so called some time before our arrival. As to sending letters, I think I have not passed over any one, either of our wellknown benefactors or any of those who have written to me; and I confess to you that I am a little tired; this is the 68th, and it is not the last. May it please our good God that everything may be done here for his glory. Our Reverend Father Assistant manifests a great deal of affection for this Mission; I send him a map of this country. With assurances that I will be, during my life, of Your Reverence,

> The very affectionate servant in Our Lord, CHARLES L'ALLEMANT.

Kebec, this 1st of August, 1626.

XIX

CHARLES LALEMANT'S

Lettre au R. P. Supérieur du Collége des Jésuites à Paris

BORDEAUX: Nouembre 22, 1629

SOURCE: The Title-page and Avant-Propos follow O'Callaghan's Reprint, No. 3; but the Text has been compared with the original publication in Champlain's *Voyages* (Paris, 1632), part ii., pp. 275–279. The bracketed pagination in the Text is that of Champlain.

LETTRE du Reuerend PÈRE L'ALLEMAND,

Supérieur de la Mission des Pères Iésuites,

en la

NOUUELLE FRANCE

Enuoyée de Bordeaux au R. P. Supérieur du Collége des léfuites à PARIS,

et datée du 22 Nouembre, 1629.



Imprimée d'après l'exemplaire que l'on trouve dans les Voyages du Sieur Champlain.

A PARIS,

M. DC. XXXII.

LETTER

from the Reverend FATHER L'ALLEMAND,

Superior of the Mission of Jesuit Fathers,

in

NEW FRANCE

Sent from Bordeaux to the Reverend Father Superior of the Jesuit College at PARIS,

and dated 22nd November, 1629.

Reprinted from the copy to be found in the Voyages of Sieur Champlain.

PARIS,

M. DC. XXXII.

[Vol. 4

Avant-Propos.

E R. Père CHARLES LALLEMANT, qui a écrit la Lettre fuivante, entra à l'âge de vingt ans dans la Compagnie de Féfus. En 1613, il avoit accompagné
M. de la Sauffaye, à Pentagouët. Argal f'étant emparé de cet établiffemement, le P. Lallemant f'en retourna en France, d'où il partit pour le Canada en 1625. C'efloit la première fois que des Pères Féfuites entrerent dans ce Pays. Quelques années aprés, il fût envoyé avec le P. Philibert Noyrot, Procureur de la Miffion, chercher en France du fecours pour la Colonie, et ayant trouvé de quoi fretter un batiment avec des vivres, ils f'y étoient embarqués vers la fin du mois de Fuillet, 1629. Le vaiffeau fit naufrage fur la côte de l'Acadie, et c'eft de cet naufrage et d'autres événements qui fuivirent que traitte la prefente lettre. [O'Callaghan.]

Preface.

HE Reverend Father CHARLES LALLEMANT, who wrote the following Letter, entered the Society of Fesus at the age of twenty years. In 1613, he accompanied M. de la Saussaye to Pentagoüet.44 Argal took possession of this settlement, and Father Lallemant returned to France, whence he departed for Canada in 1625. This was the first time that the Jesuit Fathers had entered that Country. Several years later, he was sent with Father Philibert Noyrot, Agent for the Mission, to France, to seek aid for the Colony; and, having secured the means to load a ship with supplies, they embarked upon it toward the end of July, 1629. The ship was wrecked upon the Acadian coast; and it is this shipwreck and other subsequent events that the present letter describes. [O'Callaghan.]

Lettre du Reuerend P. l'Allemand, au R. P. Supérieur, à Paris.

[275] A^ÃYT fejourné deux iours à Dieppe ie m'acheminay à Rouën, où ie m'arrestay deux autres iours, & appris comme le vaisseu des Reue-

rends Peres l'Allemand & Noyrot s'eftoient perdus vers les Ifles de Canfeau, & me fit-on voir vne lettre dudit Reuerend Pere l'Allemand, Superieur de la Miffion des Peres Iefuites, en la nouuelle France, enuoyée de Bordeaux au R. P. Superieur du College des Iefuites à Paris, & dattée du 22. Nouembre 1629. comme il s'enfuit. [Champlain.]

[276] M ON REVEREND PERE, Pax Chrifti.

Caftigans caftigauit me Dominus & morti non tradidit me, Chastiment qui m'a esté d'autant plus sensible que le naufrage a estè accompagné de la mort du R. P. Noyrot & de nostre frere Louys, deux hômes qui deuoient, ce me semble grandemêt seruir à nostre Seminaire. Or neantmoins puis que Dieu a disposé de la sorte, il nous saut chercher nos contentements dans ses sainctes volontez, hors desquelles il n'y eut iamais esprit solide ny content, & ie m'asseure que l'experience aura fait voir à vostre reuerence que l'amertume de nos ressentiments détrempée dans la douceur du bon plaisir de Dieu, auquel vne ame s'attache inseparablement, perd (ou le tout) ou la meilleure partie de son siel; Si que s'il reste encore quelques sonspirs pour les souffrances, ou passées ou presentes, ce n'est que pour aspirer dauantage vers le Ciel, & perfectionner auec merite

Letter from the Reverend Father l'Allemand to the Reverend Father Superior, at Paris.

[275] A FTER having sojourned two days at Dieppe, I journeyed to Rouën, where I remained two more days, and learned how the ship of the Reverend Fathers l'Allemand and Noyrot had been wrecked upon the Canscau Islands; and I was shown a letter from the Reverend Father l'Allemand, Superior of the Mission of the Jesuit Fathers in new France, sent from Bordeaux to the Reverend Father Superior of the Jesuit College at Paris, and dated November 22nd, 1629, as follows. [Champlain.]

[276] M Y REVEREND FATHER, The peace of Christ be with you. Castigans castigavit me Dominus & morti non tradidit me, a Chastisement all the more keenly felt by me, as the shipwreck was accompanied by the death of the Reverend Father Noyrot and of our brother Louys,²⁰ two men who were destined, it seems to me, to be of great service to our Seminary. But nevertheless, since God has so ordained, we must seek our consolation in his holy will, outside of which there never was a peaceful or contented mind; and I feel sure that experience will have shown your reverence that the bitterness of our grief, tempered with the sweetness of doing the will of God, to whom a soul is inseparably attached, loses (cither all) or the greater part of its sting. And yet, if there still remain some sighs for the sufferings either of the past or of the present, it is only to

ceste conformité dans laquelle l'ame a pris refolution de paffer le reste de fes iours; De quatre des nostres que nous eftions dans la barque, Dieu partageant à l'efgal, en a pris deux, & a laiffé les deux autres. Ces deux bons Religieux tres-bien difpofez & refignez à la mort, feruiront de victime pour appaifer la colere de Dieu iustement iettée contre nous pour nos deffauts, & pour nous rendre deformais fa bonté fauorable au fucceds du deffein entrepris.

Ce qui nous perdit fut un grand coup de vent de Suest, qui s'esteua lors que nous estions à la riue des terres, vent h impetueux que quelque soin & diligence que peust apporter nostre Pilote aucc ses Matelots, Quelques væux & prieres que nous peussions faire pour destourner ce coup, iamais nous ne peusmes faire en sorte que nous n'allassions heurter contre les rochers : ce fut le 26. iour d'apres nostre depart, iour de saince Barthelemy, enuiron sur les neuf heures du foir ; De 24. que nous estions dans la barque, dix seulement eschapperent, les autres furent estouffez dans les eaux. Les deux nepueux du Pere Novrot tindrent compagnie à leur oncle, leurs corps ont esté enterrez, [277] entre autres celuy du P. Noyrot & de nostre frere, des sept autres nous n'en auons eu aucune nounelles, quelque recherche que nous en avons peu faire. De vous dire comment le Pere de Vieuxpont & moy auons eschappé du naufrage, il me seroit bien difficille, & croy que Dieu seul en a cognoissance, qui suiuans les desseins de sa divine prouidèce nous a preservez, car pour mon regard ne ingeant pas dans les apparences humaines qu'il me fust possible d'éuiter ce danger, i'auois pris resolution de me tenir dans la chambre du nauire auce nostre frere Louys, nous disposans tous deux à receuoir le coup de la mort, qui ne pounoit tarder plus de trois Miferere, lors que i'entendis qu'on m'appelloit sur le haut du nauire, ie croyois que c'estoit quelqu'un qui auoit affaire de mon se-

make us aspire more earnestly to Heaven, and to perfect with merit this harmony in which the soul is determined to pass the rest of its days. Of the four of us who were in the barque, God equally divided them, taking two and leaving two. These two good Religious, who were thoroughly prepared and resigned to die, will serve as victims to appease the wrath of God, justly provoked against us for our shortcomings, and to cause him to grant in the future his goodness, that it may be favorable to the success of the project undertaken.

Our wreck was caused by a heavy gust of wind from the Southeast, which arose when we were near the shore, - a wind so strong that in spite of all the diligence of our Pilot and his Sailors, and the vows and prayers which we made to avert the disaster, we could not avoid striking upon the This was on the 26th day after our departure, rocks. saint Barthclemy's day, about nine o'clock in the evening. Of the 24 who were in the barque, ten only escaped, the others being sufficated in the water. The two nephews of Father Noyrot kept company with their uncle, and there the bodies were buried, [277] among others that of Father Novrot and our brother; of the seven others we have no tidings, notwithstanding the search that has been made. It would be difficult for me to tell you how Father de Vieuxpont⁴⁵ and I escaped shipwreck, and I believe it is known only to God, who, in harmony with the purposes of his divine providence, has preserved us ; for in regard to myself, not thinking it within the bounds of human possibility that I could escape this danger, I had resolved to remain in the ship's cabin with our brother Louys. We were preparing ourselves to meet death, which could not be farther away than three Miserere's, when I heard some one call me on the deck of the ship. I thought it might be some

cours, ie montay en haut, & trouuay que c'estoit le P. Noyrot qui me demandoit derechef l'absolution : Apres luy auoir donnée, & chanté tous ensemble le Salue Regina, ie fus contrainct de demcurer en haut ; car de descendre il n'y auoit plus de moyen, la mer estoit si haute, & le vent si furieux, qu'en moins de rien le costé qui panchoit sur le rocher fut mis en pieces, i'estois proche du P. Noirot lors qu'un coup de mer vint si impetueusement donner contre le costé sur lequel nous estions qui rompit tout, & me separa du P. Noyrot, de la bouche duquel i'entendis ces dernieres paroles, In manus tuas Domine, &c. Pour moy de ce coup ie me trouuay engagé entre quatre picces de bois, deux desquelles me donnerent si rudement contre la poietrine, & les deux autres me briserent si fort le dos que ie croyois mourir auparauant que d'estre enueloppé des flots, mais voicy vn autre coup de mer qui me desengageant de ces bois m'enleua, & mon bonnet & mes pantoufles, & mist le reste du nauire tout à plat dans la mer: Ie tombay heureu sement sur vne planche que ie n'abandonnay point, de rencontre elle cftoit liée auec le reste du coste de ce nauire. Nous voilà doncques à la mercy des flots, qui ne nous espargnoient point ; ains s'esleuans ie ne sçay combien de couldées au dessus de nous, tomboient par apres sur nos testes. Apres auoir flotté longtemps de la sorte dans l'obscurité de la nuiet, qui estoit de fia commencée, regardant à l'entour de moy ie m'apperceus que nous estions enfermez d'espines & fur tout enuironnez & prest du costau qui sembloit vne isle, puis regardant vn peu plus attentiuement ie contay fix personnes qui n'estoient pas fort efloignées de moy, deux de squels m'apperceuans m'exciterent à faire tous mes efforts pour m'approcher, ce ne [278] fut pas sans peine, car les coups que i'auois receus dans le debris du vaisseau m'auoient fort affoiblis : Ie fis tant neantmoins, qu'auce mes planches

238

one who was planning my rescue. I went up and found it was Father Noyrot, who asked me to again give him absolution. After having given it to him, and having all sung together the Salve Regina, I was obliged to remain above, for there was no means of descending; the sea being so high and the wind so furious, that, in less than no time, the side which leaned toward the rocks was broken in pieces. I was near Father Novrot, when a wave struck the ship so hard on the side where we were that it broke everything, separating me from Father Noyrot, from whose lips I heard these last words : In manus tuas Domine, &c. I found myself after this blow entangled in four pieces of wood, two of which struck me so hard on the chest and the other two hit me so heavily upon the back, that I thought I should die before being engulfed in the waves ; but then came another sea, which, freeing me from these pieces of wood, carried me off, and my cap and slippers, and scattered the rest of the ship over the sea. Fortunately, I fell upon a plank to which I clung, and which happened to be attached to the rest of the side of the ship. We were then at the mercy of the waves, which did not spare us, but which rose, I know not how many cubits above us, and then fell forward over our heads. After having floated about a long time in this manner, in the darkness of the night, which had already set in, looking around me I saw that we were surrounded on all sides by pine trees, and everywhere environed by, and near the shores of what seemed to be an island ; then examining a little more closely I counted six persons who were not far from me, two of whom noticed me, and motioned for me to try and come near them. This [278] was not without difficulty, for the blows I had received from the debris of the ship had weakened me. I did so well, however, that with the aid of my planks, I

i'arriuay au lieu où ils estoient, & auec leur secours ie me trouuay assis fur le grand mast, qui tenoit encore ferme auec vne partie du vaisseau, ie n'y fus pas long-temps car comme nous approchions plus prés de cette isle, nos Matelots se lancerent bien-tost à terre, & auec leur assistance tous ceux qui estoient sur le costé du nauire y furent bien tost apres. Nous voilà donc sept de compagnie, ie n'auois bonnet ny souliers, ma soutane & habits estoient tous deschirez. & si moulus de coups que ie ne pounois me soustenir, & de faict il fallut qu'on me soustint pour aller insques dans le bois, aussi auois-ie receu deux rudes coups aux deux jambes, mais sur tout à la dextre, dont ie me ressens encore, les mains fenduës auec quelque contufion, la hanche escorchée, la poitrine sur tout fort offencée, nous nous retirafmes donc tous scpt dans le bois, moüillez comme ceux qui venoient d'estre trempez dans la mer : la premiere chose que nous fismes fut de remercier Dieu de ce qu'il nous auoit preseruez, & puis le prier pour ceux qui pourroiet estre morts. Cela faiet pour nous eschauffer nous nous couchasmes les vns proches des autres, la terre & l'herbe qui auoient esté moüillez de la pluye du iour n'estoient encore propre pour nous scicher, nous passasmes ainfi le reste de la nuici, pendant laquelle le P. de Vieuxpont (qui graces à Dieu n'estoit point offencé) dormit fort bien. Le l'endemain si tost qu'il fut iour nous allasmes recognoistre le lieu où nous estions, & trounasmes que c'estoit une iste de laquelle nous pounions paffer à la terre ferme, sur le rinage nous trouuasmes force choses que la mer y auoit ietté, i'y trounay deux pantoufles, vn bonnet, vn chappeau, vne foutanne, & plusieurs autres choses necessaires. Sur tout Dieu nous y enuoya pour viures cinq bariques de vin, quelques dix pieces de lard, de l'huile, du pain des fromages, & vne harquebuse, & de la pouldre tout à propos pour faire du feu. Apres

 $\mathbf{240}$

reached the place where they were, and, with their assistance, I found myself sitting upon the mainmast, which was still firmly fastened to a part of the ship. I did not remain there long, for as we neared the island our Sailors soon leaped to the land; and, with their assistance, all those who were on the side of the ship were soon brought to the shore. There were then seven of us together; I had neither cap nor shoes, my cassock and clothes were all torn, and I was so bruised by blows from the wreck, that I could not stand up; and, in fact, some one had to support me while I was trying to reach the woods; for I had received two hard blows upon both legs, but especially upon the right one, which I still feel; my hands were cut and bruised, the flesh torn from my hips; above all I was badly wounded in the chest. All seven of us withdrew into the woods, as wet as those who have just been soaked in the sea. The first thing we did was to thank God for having preserved us, and then we prayed to him for those who might be dead. This done, we lay down very near to each other to keep warm; the ground and the grass, which had been wet by the rain of the previous day, were not yet in a condition to dry us; thus we spent the rest of the night, during which Father de Vieuxpont (who, thank God, was unharmed) slept well. The next morning, at daybreak, we reconnoitered the place where we were, and discovered that it was an island, from which we could go to the mainland. We found many things upon the shore that had been thrown up by the sea; I found there two slippers, a cap, a hat, a cassock, and several other necessary articles. Best of all, God sent us as food, five barrels of wine, about ten pieces of lard; oil, bread, and cheese; also an arquebuse, powder, and everything necessary to make a fire. After having drawn all these upon the shore, on saint

qu'on cut ainfi tout retiré, le iour de saince Louys tous s'employerent à faire le possible pour bastir une chalouppe du desbris du vaisseau, auce laquelle nous irions rangeant la coste chercher quelque nauire de pescheurs : On se mit doncques à trauailler auec meschans ferremens que l'on trouua, elle choit bien aduancée le quatriesme iour, lors que nous eu smes cognoissance d'une chalouppe qui estoit sous voile venant vers le lieu où nous estions, ils reccurent dedans vn de nos matelots qui alla tout seul plus proche du lieu [279] où elle deuoit paffer, ils le menerent dans leur vaisseau parler au Maistre, auquel il racota nostre disgrace, le maistre tout aussi-tost s'embarqua dans vne chalouppe & nous vint trouuer, nous offrit à tous le passage : Nous voila en asseurance, car le lendemain tous les hommes concherent dans son vaisseau : C'estoit vn vaisseau Basque qui faisoit pesche à vne lieuë & demie du rocher, où nous fismes naufrage, & pour autat qu'il restoit encores bien du temps pour acheuer leur pesche, nous demeurasmes auec eux ce qui restoit du mois d'Aoust, & tout le mois de Septembre. Le premier d'Octobre arriua un Sauuage qui dist au Maistre que s'il ne s'en alloit il y auroit danger que les Anglois ne le surprissent. Cette nouuelle le disposa au depart : Le mesme Sauuage nous dist que le Capitaine Daniel estoit à vingt-cinq lieuës de là qui bastissoit vne maison, & v laissoit des François auec vn de nos Peres : Cela me donna occasion de dire au P. de Vieuxpont qui me pressoit fort que ie luy accordasse de demeurer auec ce Sauuage dans ceste coste, qui estoit bien l'un des meilleurs Sauuages qui se puisse rencontrer, Mon Pere voicy le moyen de contenter vostre reuerence, le Pere Vimond sera bien aise d'auoir un compagnon. Ce Sauuage s'offre de mener vostre Reuerence iusques au lieu où est Monsieur Daniel, si elle veut demeurer là elle y demeurera, si elle veut aller

Louis's day, everybody went to work in earnest to build a boat out of the wreck of the ship, in which we might sail along the coast in search of some fishing boat. So we began to work with the poor tools at our disposal, and considerable progress was made by the fourth day, when we learned of a boat under sail, coming towards the place where we were. They received on board one of our sailors, who went alone to the place [279] near which it was to pass. They took him into their ship to speak with their Captain, to whom he related our misfortune. The captain immediately entered a boat and came in search of us, offering a passage to all of us. Behold us then in safety, for the next night we all slept in his ship. It was a Basque, which was fishing a league and a half from the rock where we were wrecked; and, as they would not finish their fishing for some time, we stayed with them during the remainder of the month of August and the entire month of September. On the first of October a Savage arrived, and told the Master that if he did not leave he would be in danger of being surprised by the English. This news decided his departure. The same Savage told us that Captain Daniel⁴⁶ was twenty-five leagues away, and was building a house, and that he had left the French with one of our Fathers there. This led me to say to Father de Vieuxpont, who urged me earnestly to permit him to remain with this Savage upon this coast, for he was one of the best Savages that could be found; "My Father, here is the way we can satisfy your reverence : Father Vimond 47 will be very happy to have a companion. This Savage offers to conduct your Reverence to the place where Monsieur Daniel is; if you wish to remain there, you may do so; if you wish to go to spend a few months with the Savages to learn their language, you may do so ;

quelque mois auec les Saunages, pour apprendre la langue elle le pourra faire, & ainfi le R. Pere Vimond & vostre Reuerence auront leur contentement : le bon Pere fut extresmement ioyeux de ceste occasion qui se presentoit, ainsi il s'embarque dans la chalouppe du Saunage, ie luy laisfay tout ce que nous auions sauné, horsmis le grand Tableau duquel le matelot Basque s'estoit sais, mais i'auois bien pensé au retour de luy faire rendre, si vne autre disgrace ne nous fut arrivée. Nous partismes donc de la coste le 6. Octobre, & apres auoir enduré de si furieuses tempestes que nous n'auions encores experimétées, le quarantiesme iour de nostre depart entrat das un port proche de S. Sebastie, nous fismes de rechef vn second naufrage, le Nauire rompu en mille piéces, toute la moluë perduë, ce que ie peus faire ce fut de me sauner dans vue chalouppe, dans laquelle ie me iettay auec des pantoufles aux pieds, & vn bonnet de nuict en teste, & en ceste esquippage m'en aller trouner nos Peres à S. Sebastien, d'où ie partis il y a huict iours, & suis arriué à Bourdeuac proche de Bordeaux le 20. de ce mois. Voila le succeds de nostre voyage, par lequel vostre Reuerence peut inger des obligations que i'ay $\hat{a} DIEV.$

and so the Reverend Father Vimond and your Reverence will be satisfied." The good Father was very happy at this opportunity which offered itself, so he embarked in the Savage's boat. I gave him all that we had saved, except the large Painting, which the Basque sailor had taken possession of; but I had intended to make him surrender it upon our return, if another misfortune had not overtaken us. So we left the coast on the 6th of October; and after having suffered the most furious tempests that we had yet experienced, we entered, the fortieth day after our departure, the port near St. Sebastien, where we were wrecked a second time, the Ship being broken into a thousand picces and all the codfish being lost. All I could do was to escape in a shallop into which I threw myself, in my slippers and nightcap, and in this outfit I went to find our Fathers at St. Schastien, whence I departed eight days later, and arrived at Bourdevac, near Bordeaux, the 20th of this month. This is the result of our voyage, from which your Reverence can judge of my obligations to GOD.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. IV

XIV

Chapters xxvi.-xxxvii., completing the document, are given in the present volume. The preceding chapters, with Bibliographical Data, are found in our Volume III.

XV-XVII

Documents XV. and XVI. are letters from Charles Lalemant to Sieur de Champlain and the provincial of the Récollets, respectively, dated at Quebec, July 28, 1625. They are taken from Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636), pp. 868, 869, 870; in the Tross reprint of Sagard (Paris, 1865), they are in vol. iii., pp. 789, 790.⁴⁸

Document XVII. is a letter from Lalemant to his general, at Rome, dated New France, August 1, (presumably 1626). It was written in Latin, the original being preserved in the Archives of the Gesù at Rome. This is one of the letters copied for Carayon, by Father Martin, in 1858, and translated by the latter into French, for the *Première Mission*, where it appears on pp. 117 - 121,— see Bibliographical Data for Document XIII., in our Volume III. We follow the Martin apograph, in Latin (preserved at St. Mary's College, Montreal), and our translation into English is made therefrom.⁴⁹

The above three letters by Lalemant were selected by O'Callaghan from Sagard and Carayon, — the third being, of course, Martin's French translation, — and published at Albany in 1870, with a brief "Avis" giving the sources of the documents. This publication, known in the Lenox Catalogue as "O'Callaghan Reprint No. 2," bears the following title-page:

Copie de Trois | Lettres | efcrittes ès années 1625. et 1626. | Par le P. Charles Lallemant | Superieur des Miffions de la Compagnie | de Iesvs en la | Novvelle France. | A Albanie | De l'Imprimerie de J. Munsell | M.DCCC.LXX.

Collation of O'Callaghan's Reprint. Title, I p.; reverse of title, with inscription : "Edition tirée à vingt cinq exemplaires. O'C.," I p.; "Avis" (by O'Callaghan), I p.; text, pp. 5–14.

For further references, see Brown, vol. ii., no. 316 and p. 166; Harrisse, nos. 426, 427, 429; Sabin, vol. x., no. 38679; O'Callaghan, nos. 1209, 1250; Winsor, p. 301; Lenox, p. 18.

XVIII

We follow the original publication (Paris, 1627), now in the Lenox Library, of Lalemant's letter to his brother, Jerome; it is described in the Lenox Catalogue, p. 4, under "H. 41."

There are extant, four different reprints of this document, as follows:

1. It appears to have first been reprinted in *Mercure François*, tome xiii., pp. 12-34; the portion of the journal wherein this is found, is devoted to the events of the year 1626, but the royal Privilege for the volume was "Donné au camp de la Rochelle le 28. de Septembre, l'an de grace 1628." The original publication appeared without statement of Privilege; it is, therefore, impossible to say when in 1627 permission to print was granted. In the Quebec edition of

the *Relations* (1858), it is inadvertently stated (vol. i.) that this letter commences on p. 1 (instead of p. 12) of tome xiii. of *Mercure*, an error which Sabin, Harrisse, and others have repeated. As will be seen by a comparison of our text with that of issues which follow the *Mercure*, the differences between the original and this first reprint are slight.

2. The next reprint appears in Danjou's Archives Curicuses, 2nd series, tome iii. (Paris, 1838), pp. 405-426). This follows the text of the original, and not that of the Mercure. The following clause in the Lenox Catalogue, p. 19,—the final sentence of note under "7(b)" in list of O'Callaghan's Reprints,—is misleading: "The copy in the Astor Library of that work is printed from the original letter of 1627." The "copy in the Astor" is simply this reprint in Archives Curieuses, of which rare collection the Astor has a set.

3. The third reprint, but the first in separate form, was issued by O'Callaghan at Albany, 1870, and is the one designated in the Lenox Catalogue (p. 19) as "7(b)." The text of the *Mercure* reprint is followed, with a made-up title-page, as follows:

Relation | de ce qvi s'est passé | en la | Novvelle France | en l'annee M.DC.XXVI. | Enuoyée au Père Hierosme L'Allemant | par le P. Charles L'Allemant Superievr de | la Miffion de la Compagnie de Iesvs | en | Canada. | D'après la Copie dans le Mercure François | Tome 13. | A Paris | Chez Eftienne Richer ruë S. Iean de Latran | M.DC.XXIX.

Collation of same. Title, I p.; reverse of title, with inscription: "Edition tirée a vingt-cinq exemplaires, O'C.," I p.; Tables des Matieres, 2 pp.; text, pp. I-5I; Table, pp. 53-59.

249

4. A second separate reprint was issued by O'Callaghan in 1871, and is that referred to in the Lenox Catalogue (p. 19) as "7(a)." This follows the original text, and not that of the *Mercure*; it is set in small type in imitation of the original (Paris, 1627), and comes into the same number of pages. Upon the otherwise blank page facing the last page of the text, is the inscription : "Calqué fur l'exemplaire dans la collection | de Mr. James Lenox, de New York." The title-page is apparently photo-lithographed from the original.

For further references to this document, which has had a curious bibliographical history, see Harrisse, no. 41; Sabin, vol. x., no. 38680 (original), and no. 38682 (reprint); Carayon, nos. 1254, 1255, and p. 1179; Ternaux, no. 496; Winsor, pp. 300, 301; *Historical Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 19; Brown, vol. ii., p. 166; Lenox, p. 4 (H. 41), 19; and the Barlow (no. 1272), Murphy (no. 1480), and O'Callaghan (nos. 1250, 1982) sale catalogues.

Title-page. We give a photographic facsimile of original.

Collation of Original. Title, 1 p.; text, pp. 1-16.

XIX

Charles Lalemant's letter of Nov. 22, 1629, to the superior of the Jesuit College at Paris, originally appeared without title or headlines, in *Les voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (Paris, 1632), 2nd part, pp. 275– 279. O'Callaghan reprinted it in what is known in the Lenox list as "No. 3," of which,— as with others of the O'Callaghan series,— but twenty-five copies were published. He omitted the preliminary editorial note, on p. 275, made up a title-page of his own,

250

and furnished the Avant-Propos. In the present issue, we reproduce the O'Callaghan title-page and Avant-Propos, but in all other respects strictly follow the original publication. See further references in Winsor, p. 301; Sabin, vol. x., no. 38681; Lenox, p. 18.

Title-page. We imitate O'Callaghan's Reprint.

Collation of O'Callaghan's Reprint. Title, 1 p.; reverse of title, with inscription: "Tirée à vingt cinq exemplaires, lefquels ne font | pas à vendre. O'C.," 1 p.; Avant-Propos (by O'Callaghan), 1 p.; blank, 1 p.; text, pp. 5-15; colophon, 1 p.: "Achevé d'Imprimer à Albany, N. Y., par | J. Munfell, çe 14 Juin, 1870."

NOTES TO VOL. IV

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

1 (p. 15).— The pilot : see vol. ii., note 88.

2 (p. 15).- Pretended Religion : see vol. iii., note 31.

3 (p. 21).—On Turnell, see vol. i, note 66.

4 (p. 33).— *The Marshal*: Sir Thomas Dale (spelled Deel, by Biard). See vol. i., *note* 64.

5 (p. 33).— *The General*: this was Sir Thomas Gates, one of the prominent men of his time in both military and civil service. He was of Devonshire, and probably at this time a little over 50 years of age; had been an officer in the Drake-Sidney expedition to America (1585–86), and published an account of it in 1589; later, had military commands in Spain and Holland; was commander of the English expedition to Virginia in 1608, and appointed the first sole and absolute governor to the colony there; returned to England in April, 1614. He lived about six years longer, and took much interest in the affairs of Virginia. Both he and Dale were men of energy and executive ability; to their efforts are mainly ascribed the establishment and continuance of the Jamestown colony.

6 (p. 69).—The French name for the English Channel; given on account of its shape, resembling a sleeve (Fr. *manche*). It gives its name to the maritime department of France in which are situated Cherbourg and St. Lô.

7 (p. 75).— The ambassador: see vol. ii., note 94.

8 (p. 85).—On Betsabes, see vol. iii., note 16.

9 (p. 91).— *River of smelts*: the Liesse River of Lescarbot (see vol. ii., *note* 37).

10 (p. 95).— On this point, cf. Maurault (*Hist. Abenakis*, p. 95, *note* 4): "The Abnakis always exhibited profound grief at the death of a child; the parents were inconsolable. The cause of this great sorrow was the belief of the savages that a child was wretched in the other world, because it was too young and weak to procure for itself the necessities of life there."

II (p. 101).— The letters patent here referred to were those issued to Sir Thomas Gates and others, for the establishment of colonies in Virginia, and constituted the colonial charter. This document,

dated April 10, 1606, granted some 20,000 square miles to the two companies, but claimed for the crown all of North America between 34° and 45° north latitude, presumably amounting to some 2,000,000 square miles, as the width of the continent was then understood. The text is given, with collateral and illustrative papers, in Brown's *Genesis*, pp. 52 *et seq*.

12 (p. 105).— For a graphic account of the colonial enterprises of Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonnière in Florida (1562-65), consult Parkman's *Pioneers*, pp. 33-150. Cf. Laudonnière's own narrative, and Ribaut's journal, as given in Goldsmid's *Hakluyt*. vol. xiii., pp. 407-507; also, Guérin's *Navigateurs Français* (Paris, 1846), pp. 180-204.

13 (p. 105).—Concerning these early discoveries by the French, see vol. ii., *notes* 49, 72; and vol. iii., *notes* 5, 9.

14 (p. 107).—Biard here refers to the colony established in 1610 by John Guy and others at Cupids Harbor (opening into Conception Bay), N. F. Lord Bacon was prominent in this enterprise, and it was his influence that secured the charter and subsidies granted to the Newfoundland Colonization Company, as it was called. The company seems to have existed till at least 1628. For Guy's charter, and letters written by him, with an account of his enterprise and of other early colonies in that region, see Prowse's *Hist. N.F.*, pp. 92-133.

15 (p. 107).— The map of Ortelius (1570) shows New France as extending southward to 40°. Van der Aa's "Canada" (1619, *ca.*), and Blaeu's "Extrema Americæ" (1620), give the Kennebec river as the dividing line between New England and New France; the latter region is extended by Van der Aa to the south of the Great Lakes, and as far as the Mississippi river. Winsor gives (*Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 9), a sketch reduced from a tracing of the alleged map of Denis (1506), mentioned in vol. iii., of the present series, *note* 4.

16 (p. 109).—Reference is here made to the "Pandects," or Corpus Juris Civilis, a collection of the Roman civil law, made in the sixth century by Emperor Justinian. The "law of Alluvions" has two branches,—the law of abandonment, and that of accretion (acquirendo). Biard's reference is to the Corpus Juris Civilis, Digest, book 41 ("De adquirendo rerum dominio"), 29 and 30. The sign ff, used in our text, was employed by early jurisconsults to signify the Digest, and even the Pandects as a whole; it is supposed to be a corruption of the Greek character $\tilde{\pi}$ (or perhaps of θ).—See Hermann Hugo's De Prima Scribendi Origine (Antwerp, 1617), p. 153.

17 (p. 109).- Regarding the Count de Soissons, see vol. ii., note 24.

18 (p. 109) .- Cf. with these arguments of Biard, Champlain's

"Abregé des decovvertvres de la Nouvelle France," in his Voyages (ed. 1632), part 2, pp. 290-296; and Hinsdale's "Right of Discovery," in Ohio Archael. and Hist. Quarterly, Dec., 1888.

19 (p. 113).—Concerning the French fisheries in Newfoundland, which, with the neighboring Banks, furnished the greater part of the Canadian product, see Prowse's *Hist. N.F.*, pp. 49–50; and Dionne's *Nouv. France*, chaps. viii., ix. For a detailed account of the Canadian fisheries at the present time, see Joncas's "Fisheries of Canada," in *Canadian Economics* (Montreal, 1884), pp. 41–73.

Lalemant says (doc. no. xviii., post) that the usual exportation of beaver skins from New France was 12,000 to 15,000 annually; and that it had, in one year, been 22,000. These skins were sold in France at a pistole each, or ten livres. The Company of Merchants is said to have realized an annual dividend of 40 per cent on its investment. Garneau cites De Caen as saying, when Quebec was restored to him by Kirk, in 1632: "But as for our settlement, my people have found it utterly consumed, along with 9,000 beaver skins, valued at 40,000 livres."- Histoire du Canada (4th ed., Montreal, 1882), vol. i., p. 127, note*. See, also, chapter on "New France and the Fur-trade," in H. H. Bancroft's N. W. Coast, vol. i., pp. 378-403; and Dionne's Nouv. France, chap. xiii. Gagnon's Essai de bibliographie canadienne (Quebec, 1895), p. 128, mentions Bruslons's Dictionnaire universel de commerce (Savary's ed., Paris, 1723) as "an immense compilation, containing highly valuable information in regard to Canadian commerce in the seventeenth century."

20 (p. 171) .- Charles Lalemant (also written L'Alemand, L'Almand, Lallemant, and Allemand) was born at Paris Nov. 17, 1587, and became a novice of the Jesuits July 29, 1607, at Rouen. He studied philosophy at La Flèche, 1609-12; during the following three years, he was an instructor in the college of Nevers; four years more he devoted to the study of theology at La Flèche, and one year at Paris. He was a professor in the college at Bourges, 1620-22; and, for three years more, principal of the boarding school of Clermont, Paris. In March, 1625, he was appointed superior of the mission at Quebec, whither he went with his brethren Massé and Brébeuf, and the Récollet missionary Joseph La Roche-Daillon, arriving in June of that year. Here Lalemant remained till November, 1627, when he went to France to procure supplies. Returning in the following May, the ship was captured by Admiral Kirk, the Jesuits being sent to England, and later to France. In June, 1629, Lalemant, with several other Jesuits, made a second attempt to return to Canada; but they were shipwrecked on the rocks near Canso. Noyrot and Malot perished in the waves, Vieuxpont joined Father Vimont at Grand Cibou, and Lalemant was taken back to France by a Basque fishing vessel, arriving at St. Sebastien after still another shipwreck. Quebec having been meanwhile captured by the English, the Canadian missions were interrupted until 1632, when the region was restored to France. Lalemant, upon his return to France, in 1629, was appointed rector of the college at Eu; and, later, of that at Rouen. In April, 1634, his superiors granted his earnest request that he might again go to Canada. He was placed in charge, with Massé and De Nouë, of the chapel "Notre-Dame de Récouvrance" (built by Champlain on his return to New France), and was the latter's friend and spiritual director, attending him at his death. Lalemant returned to France in 1639, and there, during several years, acted as agent for the Canadian missions; he was afterwards successively rector of the colleges at Rouen, La Flèche, and Paris, and at the last place superior of the Maison Professe. There he died, Nov. 18, 1674.

21 (p. 171).— *The General.* This was Emery de Caen, who, with his uncle, Guillaume de Caen, was placed by Montmorency in charge of commercial affairs in New France; both were Huguenots—the latter a merchant, the former a naval captain.

It is necessary, in this connection, to outline the commercial monopolies that successively dominated New France in its infancy. For an account of the first of these, granted to De Monts, see vol. i., *note* 2. His patent was finally canceled in 1609; and in January, 1611, he gave up his claims in America to Madame de Guercheville. Meanwhile, Champlain (see vol. ii., *note* 42) was continued as lieutenant of the King in New France, with personal command over the Quebec colony, which was sustained mainly through his efforts, with the aid of the Rouen merchants who had been associated with De Monts.

Company of Associates .- The Rouen associates withdrew from the enterprise, toward the close of 1611; and, in the following year, Champlain undertook the formation of a new company, to be composed of merchants from Rouen, Havre, St. Malo, and La Rochelle. It was open to all who were willing to share both the profits and the losses, thus avoiding the jealousies that had been aroused against the limited membership of De Monts's company. The Rochelle men finally declined to enter the company, which afterwards lost heavily by the illicit trade in which the former engaged with the savages. Champlain also accuses these merchants of selling arms and ammunition to the natives, and exciting their hostility against the Quebec colonists. - See his Voyages (1632), part 2, pp. 2, 3. The Count de Soissons (vol. ii. of this series, note 24) was appointed governor of New France, with Champlain as his lieutenant. After considerable delay, the Company of Associates was organized (1613-14); among its members were, besides De Monts and Champlain,

Thomas Porée, Lucas Legendre, Mathieu Dusterlo, and Daniel Boyer. Quarrels arose among the associates, caused by commercial and even religious differences of opinion; and some of them tried to eject Champlain from his command. Although this attempt failed, his work was greatly hindered and embarrassed, until the Duke of Montmorency, Condé's successor as viceroy, came to his aid (1620).

Company of De Caen.—Dissensions and complaints still arising, the Company of Associates was summarily dissolved by Montmorency, in November, 1620, and a new company formed. At its head were the De Caens; there were, also, Guillaume Robin, Jacques de Troyes, and François Hervé, merchants; François de Troyes, chief of royal finance at Orléans; Claude Le Ragois, receiver-general of finance at Limoges; Pierre de Verton, counselor and secretary of the King; and others. The old company had resented Montmorency's order of dissolution; but within a year its membership and interests were consolidated with those of the new association. The latter received a monopoly for eleven years, to which the King added eleven more; but it also was dissolved by Richelieu, early in 1627, to make room for his "Company of New France," also known as the "Company of the Hundred Associates."

Company of New France.- This association was personally controlled and managed by Richelieu; and had members in official positions about the court, and in Paris, Rouen, and other cities of France. Among these were Marquis Deffiat, superintendent of finance; Champlain; Claude de Roquemont; the Commander de Razilly: Sebastian Cramoisy, the Parisian publisher; Jean de Lauson, long the president of the company, and intendant of Canada; Louis Houel, secretary of the King, and controller of the salt works at Brouage; and several leading merchants of Paris, Rouen, Dieppe, and Bordeaux. The reasons for the formation of this company, the royal charter granted to it, and its articles of association, are given in Mercure François, vol. xiv. (1628), pp. 232-267. For a complete list of the (107) members, see Creuxius' Hist. Canad.; for a copy of the list, with the company's charter, and other interesting particulars, see Sulte's Histoire des Canadiens-Français (Montreal, 1882-84), vol. ii., pp. 27-33. The company was granted jurisdiction over the territory extending from Florida to the Arctic Circle, and from Newfoundland to the "great fresh lake" (Huron). Only Catholics were permitted to join this association, or to settle in its colonics; and no Huguenot or foreigner might enter Canada. The capture of Quebec by the English (1629) temporarily broke up this monopoly; but it resumed operations when that region was retroceded to France (vol. ii., note 42). The charter of the company obliged it to send 4,000 colonists thither before 1643; to lodge and support them during three years; and then to give them cleared lands for their maintenance. The vast expense attending this undertaking was beyond the ability of the Associates; therefore, in 1645, they transferred to the inhabitants of Quebec their monopoly of the fur trade, with their debts and other obligations,— retaining, however, their seigniorial rights. Finally (Feb. 24, 1663), the Hundred Associates abandoned their charter, and New France again became the property of the crown.

All these monopolies appear to have sought mainly their own financial interests. They sustained the Quebec settlement, but in penurious fashion, and only so far as it aided their trade with the natives; but they did nothing to make it an agricultural community, or to forward Champlain's schemes for the permanent colonization of Canada,—neither of which objects could well be attained under the feudal tenure by which the colonists held land under the companies.

For more extended accounts of these enterprises, see Parkman's *Pioneers*, pp. 364-366, 419-432; his *Jesuits*, pp. 155-157, 194, 195, 331; Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., pp. 161, 162, 167, 185, 189, 197-201, 215, 217, 220, 226, 338-340; Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 128-135, 159, 163, 164, and vol. ii., pp. 65-66; Slafter's "Memoir of Champlain," in *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. i., pp. 110-114, 122, 144-158, 187; Faillon's *Colon. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 132-136, 150, 160-175, 189-232, 268-272, 333-352; Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 130, 131, 167, 168; Garneau's *Canada*, vol. i., pp. 63-75; and Margry's *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1883), vol. i., pp. 62-85.

The losses of the De Caens at the capture of Quebec (referred to *note ante*, 19) were heavy; and, as some compensation therefor, they were granted a monopoly of the fur trade in the Gulf of St. Lawrence for one year. Emery De Caen was therefore appointed provisional governor of Canada for that period, upon the restitution of the province by the English; and on July 13, 1632, he took formal possession of Quebec in the name of his King. Laverdière gives (*Champlain*, close of vol. ii.) numerous "Pièces justificatives;" see pp. 6–31 of these, for documents showing De Caen's losses through Kirk's attack, and his attempts to secure redress from the latter through the English government. L'Abbé H. A. B. Verreau, in *Report on Canadian Archives* (1874), p. 197, mentions that in Paris he found documents granting islands in the West Indies to De Caen, in 1633 and 1640.

22. (p. 171).— Champlain, in thorough accord with the policy then dominant at the court of France, was fully as desirous of establishing the Christian religion among the savages of America as of gain-

ing new possessions for France. He had tried, in 1612, to induce Madame de Guercheville to send the Jesuits to Quebec, and to aid De Monts in establishing a colony there; see his *Voyages* (1632), pt. i., pp. 112, 113. This proposal was rejected, on account of De Monts's Calvinistic faith. But when the Company of Merchants was formed, two years later, Champlain at once made plans for the establishment of missions in New France. Consulting Louis Houel, of Brouage, the latter advised him to apply to the Récollets (vol. ii., of the present series, *note* 41), who had already won renown from their successful missions in Spanish America.

That Order gladly responded to the appeal; and, having secured the consent of the King of France and of the Pope, and assurances of aid from the Company of Merchants, the first Récollet missionaries to Canada departed from France, April 24, 1615.—See Introduction, vol. i., pp. xx., xxi. Other Récollets were sent over, from time to time; and, in 1620-21, they built a convent and chapel (the first in Canada) on St. Charles River, about half a French league from the fort of Quebec. This they named Notre-Dame des Anges; it was situated (according to Laverdière) on the spot where now stands the General Hospital.

By 1624, five Récollet missions had been established—at Tadoussac, Quebec, and Three Rivers; at Carhagouha, in the Huron country; and among the Nipissings. There was another, in Acadia, on St. John River, founded in 1619, conducted by three Récollets from Aquitaine, and supported by certain commercial companies at Bordeaux. This mission was closed in July, 1624; and, immediately thereafter, its priests joined their brethren at Quebec.

Just before their arrival, a conference of the Récollet missionaries was held at Quebec, at which they resolved to ask the coöperation of the Jesuits (also noted for the success of their foreign missions) in the Canadian field, which was far too large and arduous for their limited resources, hoping that the latter order would send some missionaries at its own expense. The Récollets, even more austere than the other Franciscan orders, were forbidden by their rules to own property; hence their missionaries could not look to their own order for aid. The Company of Merchants had agreed with Champlain to support six of the Récollets; but, as many of its members were Protestants, this outlay was probably an unwelcome burden to them. Moreover, the religious dissensions constantly arising between the Huguenots and the Catholics were felt to be a hindrance to the labors of the missionaries, who would have preferred that Protestants should be entirely excluded from the management of affairs. Sagard says (Canada, pp. 860, 861) that he complained to Montmorency of the disorders in Canada, for which he blamed the

Huguenots; and that the Récollet provincial at Paris, with Father Irenæus Piat (envoy from the Canadian missionaries, to negotiate with the Jesuits), made formal charges against them in the council, to the same effect. The viceroy (in Rochemonteix's phrase, "a man of the world, who loved pleasures quite as well as honors") had meanwhile gladly disposed of his troublesome Canadian dignities (January, 1625) to his nephew Henri de Lévis, duke of Ventadour, a pious man who cared not for trade or conquest, but only for the conversion of the savages. De Lévis's spiritual director was a Jesuit; the application of the Récollets for aid from the Society of Jesus came at an opportune time for both orders. It is also probable that the influences of the court, at that time strongly inclined toward the Jesuits, helped to bring about the arrangement. There was, however, considerable opposition to its consummation, especially from the Company of Merchants; but, according to Faillon, the new viceroy asserted his authority over them, and obliged them to yield. In accordance with the agreement, the Jesuit fathers Lalemant, Massé, and Brébeuf, with the coadjutors François Charreton, Jean Goffestre, and Gilbert Burel, were sent to New France in April, 1625. There they pursued their missionary labors until the capture of Quebec by the English, four years later. After that event, Kirk sent all the missionaries back to France, by way of England. When the French returned (1632), they were accompanied solely by Jesuit priests; for Richelieu would not allow the Récollets to resume their Canadian missions.

For accounts of this transaction, from a Récollet standpoint, see Shea's *Le Clercq*, pp. 224–233; and Sagard's *Canada*, pp. 860–865. The Jesuit view is given in Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 137–153. Cf. Faillon's *Colon. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 206–212.

23 (p. 171).—This was Joseph de la Roche-Daillon (written also d'Allion), a Récollet priest of the province of St. Denis, allied to the house of the counts du Lud (or Lude). He accompanied the Jesuit missionaries to Canada, and, after remaining at Quebec for a year, went to the Huron country with Brébeuf and De Nouë. In October, 1626, he visited the Neutral Nation, and spent the winter there. In the summer of 1628, he returned from the Huron mission to Quebec, remaining there until its capture; Champlain mentions his visit to "Father la Roche," just before that event, to ask if the Récollets could supply any grain to the colony. Sagard gives (Canada, pp. 880-892) a letter written to a friend by Daillon, describing his visit to the Neutrals; it is reproduced by Le Clercq (Shea's ed., vol. i., pp. 263-272). Harris (citing Noiseux's Liste chronologique) gives the date of Daillon's death as July 16, 1656.— Early Missions in Western Canada (Toronto, 1893), p. 56, note.

260

24 (p. 171).- The trading station: Three Rivers (see vol. ii., note 52). This point was long a favorite fur-trade rendezvous for the Indians. The Récollet missionaries established a residence here in June, 1615, which was maintained until 1628. The fortified French settlement at Three Rivers was established by Champlain in July, 1634, to protect the Huron and Algonkin fur trade from the incursions of the Iroquois, and to serve as an outpost of defence for Quebec. The first colonist was Jacques Hertel, who in 1633 had obtained a grant of land there. The Jesuit missionaries were also among the proprietors of the new town, having obtained from the Company of New France (see note 21, ante), by a grant dated Feb. 15, 1634, six arpents of land at Three Rivers; but they did not secure possession of this till Montmagny delivered it to them (1637). However, within two months after La Violette, Champlain's lieutenant, had erected his stockade at Three Rivers, two of the Jesuit fathers,- Le Jeune and Buteux,- had established a residence there, which was for many years an important center of missionary work .--See Sulte's Can.-Français, vol. ii., pp. 48-54: he gives a list, containing also much genealogical information, of the early inhabitants of Three Rivers; and the document granting land there to the Society of Jesus, copied from Titres seigneuriaux (Quebec, 1852), p. 70. Cf. Ferland's Cours d'Histoire, vol. i., p. 270; he states that the church registers of Three Rivers are continuous since February, 1635; and that these records are the oldest existing in Canada. The first entry gives the exact date on which the settlement was begun ---July 4, 1634.

Sulte has published, at Montreal, several works concerning this town: *Histoire de la ville des Trois-Rivières* (1870), *Chronique trifluvienne* (1879), and *Album de l'Histoire des Trois-Rivières* (1881).

25 (p. 171).— Father Nicholas Viel, then stationed at Montargis, France, was sent to the Canadian mission of the Récollets, with Brother Gabriel Sagard (see *note* 48, *post*), in 1623. Arriving at Quebec, June 28 of that year, they at once accompanied Father Joseph Le Caron to the Huron country, which they reached in August, and settled at the residence already established at Quieunonascaran. At the end of ten months, Le Caron and Sagard returned to Quebec, leaving Viel in charge of the mission. In the summer of 1625, he went with the Hurons on their annual trading voyage to Quebec, taking with him an Indian lad named Ahautsic, whom he had baptized and confirmed. A storm scattering the fleet, the three Hurons in his canoe viciously threw him and his disciple into the water, at the last rapid above Montreal, which from that time has borne the name of Sault au Récollet. Sagard and Le Clercq give

full accounts of Father Viel's missionary work, and of his tragic death. The latter states that Viel left a dictionary of the Huron language, with other memoirs, in the hands of certain Frenchmen then living in the Huron country, who, later, conveyed the MSS. to Father Le Caron, at Quebec.

26 (p. 171).— Joseph Le Caron was one of the four Récollets who began the mission of that order in Canada (see *note* 22, *ante*). Verbal permission to engage in this work was given them by the papal nuncio at Paris, that their departure might not be delayed by waiting for the usual brief; for some unknown reason the issue of this paper was delayed until March 20, 1618. The original document is now in the departmental archives of France, according to Faillon (*Col. Fr.*, vol. i., p. 146). It is addressed to Father Le Caron and other Récollet brothers and priests: Sagard copies it in his *Canada*, pp. 12–17.

Upon arriving at Tadoussac, May 25, 1615, Jamay (the superior) went with Le Caron to Three Rivers, where they at once proceeded to establish a sedentary mission for the Indians. Leaving this in the care of Jamay (whose headquarters were at Quebec), Le Caron departed for the Huron country, living with the savages at their town of Carhagouha (near Thunder Bay; later known as Toanché). Here he remained until the following May, meanwhile visiting with Champlain the Tobacco Nation and adjoining tribes. By these Indians he was cruelly treated, at the instigation of the medicine men (whom the French missionaries styled "sorcerers").

In July, 1616, the Récollet missionaries held at Quebec a conference with Champlain and other friends of their work, at which it was decided that they needed more missionaries, more French colonists, and a seminary for the education of Indian children. To obtain aid in these directions, Jamay and Le Caron soon afterwards went with Champlain to France, where at first they received but little help or encouragement. Jamay remained to forward the interests of the mission; while Le Caron, now appointed its superior, returned to Canada in the spring of 1617, accompanied by Father Paul Huet. A year later, desiring to work personally among the savages, Le Caron delegated to Father d'Olbeau his authority as superior, and spent a year at Tadoussac, with the Montagnais. During 1619-22, he labored at Quebec, then again wintered with the Montagnais; and in July, 1623, returned to the Huron mission, accompanied by Viel and Sagard (see notes 25, 48). During his year's stay there, he did much to aid Champlain in securing the temporary treaty of peace which, in July, 1624, was concluded between the Iroquois, on one part, and the French and their savage allies on the other.

In August, 1625, Le Caron went to France on the affairs of the mission, and returned the following year with Brother Gervase Mohier and a reinforcement of Jesuit missionaries. He remained at Quebec, as superior of his mission, until 1629, when all the priests were sent back to France by Kirk. As the Récollets expected to resume work on the Canadian mission, Le Caron was appointed its procurator in France; but he died on March 29, 1632,—according to Le Clercq—through grief at the exclusion of his order from Canada.

Upon the invasion of Canada by the English, the Récollet missionaries had been urged by their savage disciples to take refuge with them in their towns, where they would be safe from attack, and could minister to the religious wants of the natives until the French should return. The fathers wished to accept this proposal; but as it was opposed by the council of Quebec, Le Caron felt obliged to decline it, for which he was afterwards blamed by some of his brethren in France.

Full details of his work are given by Le Clercq and Sagard: the former copies a letter written by La Caron to his provincial at Paris, Aug. 7, 1618; also fragments of memoirs sent by him to that officer in 1624.—See Shea's *Le Clercq*, vol. i., pp. 134–137, and 213–224. He is said to have prepared a dictionary of the Huron language (*Ibid.*, p. 249). Other MSS. of his were burned in March, 1631, as a result of sanitary measures then taken against a contagious disease in the convent of St. Margaret, near Gisors, Normandy, of which he was superior.—See "Memorial of the Récollets, 1637," in Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1876–86), vol. i., p. 11.

27 (p. 173).— The purpose of his voyage. Sagard tells us (Canada, p. 871) that this was to improve the condition of Canada, and to ask the King for funds to support the children and new converts in the seminary planned by the Récollets. Le Clercq asserts that it was through Le Caron's influence that Emery de Caen was recalled from Canada, and replaced by a Catholic, Raymond de la Ralde (who had been De Caen's lieutenant); also that the same influence had much to do with the formation of Richelieu's Company of New France.—See Shea's Le Clercq, vol. i., pp. 253-259. Rochemonteix, however, claims (Jésuites, vol. i., p. 165) that Richelieu's determination to replace Montmorency's company by that of the Hundred Associates was due mainly to Father Noyrot's influence, and to his representations of the state of affairs in Canada.

28 (p. 177).— Mutio Vitelleschi was born at Rome, in 1565; on Nov. 15, 1615, he became Aquaviva's successor as general of the Society of Jesus; his death occurred Feb. 9, 1645. Ranke, in *History of the Popes* (Foster's tr., London, 1871), vol. ii., p. 383, says: "Vitelleschi was by nature mild, indulgent, and conciliatory; his intimates called him the angel of peace; and he found consolation on his deathbed from the conviction that he had never injured any one. These were admirable qualities of a most amiable man, but did not suffice to fit him for the government of an order so widely extended, active, and powerful. He was unable to enforce strictness of discipline, even with regard to dress; still less could he oppose an effectual resistance to the demands of determined ambition." Daurignac, in History of the Society of Jesus (Clements's tr., Baltimore, 1878), vol. i., p. 398, says that he was designated "the Angel" by Pope Urban VIII., on account of his docility and humility. It was under his generalship (Feb. 12, 1622) that Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order, and Francis Xavier, were canonized by Gregory XV.; that the first centenary of the society was held (Sept. 25, 1639), when its reports showed that it occupied 36 provinces, and had 800 houses and 15,000 members; and that the great controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits began. Even more important, according to Ranke, was the change which occurred, during this administration, in the government and discipline of the society, by which the "professed" members attained supremacy, and occupied positions in business, administration, and other affairs of the world, which before had belonged mainly to the coadjutors,-those of provincials, rectors, and superiors of colleges. The former ascetic strictness of discipline was relaxed; and the society became less ardent in its devotion to the interests of the Holy See. Vitelleschi and his immediate successors strove, but with little success, to correct these tendencies.—See Ranke, ut supra, pp. 387-393; he obtains most of his information from a MS. in the Corsini library at Rome, entitled Discorso sopra la religione de' padri Gesuiti, e loro modo di governare (1681-86, circa). Cf. Daurignac's account (ut supra, pp. 321-308) of the order under Vitelleschi's administration.

29 (p. 177).— During the seventeenth century, all navigated seas were infested with pirates. Lescarbot mentions (vol. ii. of the present series, p. 131) that Poutrincourt met, in the English Channel, a ship of "Forbans" or pirates; the word "forban" means, literally, one banished, an outlaw, and characterizes most of the European pirates of the time. Sagard (*Canada*, 115, 120, 121), relates that, on his journey to New France, his ship was threatened by a Dutch pirate, in the very harbor of Rochelle. Sulte (*Can.-Français*, vol. ii., p. 20, *note*) cites the case of one of De Caen's vessels, which was captured (September, 1624) while en route from Gaspé to Bordeaux, by Turks, near the coast of Brittany; the Frenchmen were carried away as slaves.

Brown (Cape Breton, p. 110), who says he obtained his informa-

tion from original documents in the Public Record office at London, writes: "The fishermen of Newfoundland were cruelly harassed by pirates. In eight years (1612-20), the damage done by the pirates was estimated at 40,800 l.; besides the loss of 180 pieces of ordnance, and 1,080 fishermen and mechanics carried off by force. On August 8, 1625, the Mayor of Poole wrote to the Privy Council, saying that, unless protection were afforded to the Newfoundland fleet of 250 sail, 'of the Western Ports,' they would be surprised by the Turkish pirates; and, on the 12th of the same month, the Mayor of Plymouth informed the Council that twenty-seven ships and 200 men had been taken by pirates in ten days." Brown also cites Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland (London, 1623), written by one Captain Whitbourne, who was sent out in 1615, to hold a court of admiralty for inquiry into certain abuses; and who says that Peter Easton, a pirate, had ten sail of well-appointed ships, that he was master of the seas, and levied a regular tax on fishing vessels.

As early as 1620, John Mason, then governor of Newfoundland, received a commission from the English admiralty to suppress pirates; and he captured, among others, a Sallee (or Moorish) pirate in the Irish harbor of Crookhaven (1625). Prowse (*Hist. N.F.*, pp. 108, 174, 182), gives the text of this commission; he also states that Placentia was raided five times previous to 1685, by English buccaneers, who plundered the town of all movable property.

30 (p. 177).- Jean de Brébeuf was born March 25, 1593, at Condésur-Vire, Normandy. He belonged to a noble family, from which, according to the Biographie Universelle (Paris, 1843-66), the English family of Arundel had its descent. Entering the Society of Jesus Nov. 8, 1617, at Rouen, he was ordained five years later; and in 1625 was sent to Canada as one of the first Jesuit missionaries (note 22, ante). The first year he spent among the Montagnais; but in 1626 went, with De Nouë, to the Huron country, where they settled at Toanché (known to the Récollets as Carhagouha; see note 26, ante), in the bark cabin which Le Caron had erected eleven years before. Here Brébeuf remained (alone, after the first year) until the capture of Quebec. Returning to Canada with Champlain (1633), he at once resumed work in the Huron country, where he labored until his death (excepting 1641-44, when at Quebec). During the winter of 1640-41, he endeavored (but without success) to establish a mission in the Neutral Nation. He lived successively at Ihonatiria, a new village built not far from the deserted Toanché; Teanaustayé, called by the missionaries St. Joseph, in the present township of Médonte, Simcoe county, Ontario; and St. Ignace and St. Louis, about half-way between the former towns. In March, 1649, a thousand Iroquois attacked and destroyed the two last-named

villages, capturing there Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, both of whom were put to death with cruel tortures,—the former dying March 16, the latter on the day following. Their bodies were rescued by their brethren, and their bones afterwards taken to Quebec,—where, in the Hôtel Dieu, Brébeuf's head is still preserved, inclosed in a silver bust sent from France by his family. A minute account of this martyrdom is given by one of the lay brothers of the Huron mission, Christophe Regnaut (Regnault), in a MS. written at Caen in 1678. A copy of this document, with an English translation, is given by Brymner, in *Canadian Archives*, 1884, pp. lxiii.– lxvii., and will in due course be reproduced in the present series.

Harris (Miss. West. Canada., p. 212, note) states that he has seen in St. Martin's church (Ritualist), Brighton, England, a figured window in memory of Father Brébeuf. A memorial church, in honor of all the Jesuit martyrs in the Huron country, is now (January, 1897) approaching completion at Penetanguishene, Ontario; an illustration thereof will appear in vol. v. of this series.

Brébeuf's *Relations* of the Huron mission will appear in succeeding volumes of our series; that for 1636 contains an elaborate account of the social condition, manners, and customs of that nation, and a treatise on their language—this last being reproduced, in an English translation, by Albert Gallatin in *Transactions of Amer*. *Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii., (Cambridge, 1836), pp. 236–238. At the close of Champlain's *Voyages* (ed. 1632) may be found translations into Montagnais of Ledesma's "*Christian Doctrine*," by Brébeuf; and of the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, etc., by Massé.

31 (p. 181).- Anne de Nouë was born Aug. 7, 1587; his father was the seigneur of Prières and of Villers, near Rheims, France. Anne's early years were spent at court, first as a page, then as an officer of the King's bedchamber; but at the age of twenty-five he devoted himself to a religious life, and entered the Jesuit novitiate (Sept. 20, 1612). He spent ten years in the study of philosophy and theology, at the Jesuit colleges of Paris, La Flèche, and Nevers; then became acting rector at Bourges, where he remained until sent to Canada Accompanying Brébeuf to the Huron country, he came (1626). back to Quebec in the following spring, apparently remaining there until the English invasion. During this time he essayed to spend a winter with the Montagnais, but suffered so greatly from cold and hunger that he was obliged to leave them. Returning to Canada with De Caen (1632), his first care was to repair the convent and other buildings destroyed by the English. Unable, after repeated efforts, either to learn the native languages, or to endure the hardships of life among the savages, he spent the remainder of his life in the French settlements on the St. Lawrence,-ministering to the

266

sick and dying, instructing the colonists, supplying the temporal needs of his brethren, directing workmen who repaired buildings or cultivated the ground,—as Rochemonteix says, "he became, in the mission, the servant of all." His disposition was enthusiastic and impetuous, yet gentle, lovable, and self-sacrificing. On a journey to Fort Richelieu, to administer the sacraments to the garrison there, he was frozen to death on the St. Lawrence river, Feb. 1, 1646.

32 (p. 181) .- Philibert Noyrot was born October, 1592, in the diocese of Autun; he entered the Jesuit order Oct. 16, 1617, and spent four years in study at Paris and Bourges. Four years later, having been ordained as a priest, he was appointed procuror of the latter college, retaining this office until his death. It was by his advice, according to Rochemonteix, that Ventadour (whose confessor he was) bought the viceroyalty of Canada from Montmorency. In 1626, Noyrot went to Quebec, taking with him twenty workmen to build a residence for the Jesuit missionaries there. Lalemant immediately sent him back to France, to report to Richelieu on the affairs of Canada, and to secure the removal of the Huguenots from the direction of the mercantile company. This resulted in the formation of the Company of New France (see note 27, ante). In order to relieve the scarcity at Quebec, Novrot loaded a ship with a year's supply of provisions for the missionaries and their workmen; but, according to Le Clercq, these supplies were stopped at Honfleur by De Caen and La Ralde, from resentment at Novrot's complaints about their conduct. In consequence of this disappointment, the workmen of the mission were taken back to France by Lalemant. Twice again did Noyrot seek to convey supplies to his brethren at Quebec: the first time (July, 1628), he was driven back by Admiral Kirk; the second (June, 1629), he perished by shipwreck near Canso (see note 20, ante).

33 (p. 181).- Regarding Cotton, (Coton) see vol. ii., note 68.

34 (p. 183).— For sketch of Massé, see vol. i., note 39.

35 (p. 191).—Le Clercq, apparently without good reason, mentions this letter as "falsely attributed to Lalemant."—See Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., p. 155, *note*.

36 (p. 191).— A younger brother of Charles Lalemant; a sketch of his life will be given in a later volume.

37 (p. 193).—*Meslin* (or *maslin*; derived from Latin *miscere*): mixed grain, especially a mixture of rye and wheat.

38 (p. 195).— Champlain wished to make Quebec an agricultural colony, but his efforts were thwarted by the narrow and selfish policy of the mercantile companies, who cared only to develop the fur trade. They gave the colonists no means for cultivating the soil, and, according to Champlain, "had not themselves cleared an arpent and a half of land in the 22 years during which they were, according to his Majesty's intention, to have peopled and cultivated the colony of Quebec." Sagard says (*Canada*, p. 168) that the space cleared was not even one arpent. The merchants even oppressed Hébert (vol. ii., note 80),—"the only colonist who supported his family from the produce of his land, making many illegal claims upon him for his yearly harvests, and compelling him to sell only to the company, and that at a specified rate."—Champlain's *Voyages* (1632), part 2, pp. 144, 183, 184. Cf. *Mercure François*, vol. xiv. (1628), p. 234. The Récollet missionaries were cultivators, and, desirous of leading the savages from a nomadic to a seridentary life, even induced a few of the latter to imitate their example. The Jesuits also paid much attention to agriculture.—See Faillon's *Col. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 161–164; Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 154–157; and Sulte's *Can.-Français*, vol. ii., p. 18.

Champlain says (Laverdière's ed., pp. 1144, 1155) that the plow was first used in Canada, April 27, 1628; this was doubtless by Couillard, Hébert's son-in-law.

Arpent: a word of Celtic derivation, according to Columelle and Littré; it occurs as early as the eleventh century (e.g., *Chanson de Roland*). An old French land measure, containing 100 square perches, but varying in different provinces. The linear arpent of Paris was 180 French feet (variously computed at from 191.83 to 192.3 English feet), the common arpent 200, and the standard arpent 220. The first of these was the one used in New France, under the *Coutume de Paris*, and it still remains the legal measure in all the seigniories of Quebec. The Quebec Department of Crown Lands, which we adopt as preferable authority, translates the arpent into 191.85 English feet.

Bourdon's map of the settlements on the St. Lawrence, from Quebec to Cape Tourmente (1641; reproduced at end of Tanguay's *Dict. Généal.*, vol. i.), indicates that each lot had seven arpents of river frontage, and a depth of a French league or more (84 arpents to the league). Giffard's concession at Beauport (the first of the seigniories) was 1½ leagues along the river, and the same in depth.—Sulte's *Can.-Français*, vol. ii., pp. 47-48. Duralde's survey of the Illinois country (1770) assigned to each inhabitant a lot, measuring from one to four arpents wide, and forty arpents deep.— See H. W. Williams's chapter on "St. Louis Land Titles," in Scharf's *History of St. Louis* (Phila., 1883), vol. i., pp. 316-329. Williams, whom Scharf indorses as an authority, computes the arpent at 192 feet 6 inches, English measure.

The assignment of lands throughout New France in long, narrow strips, was obviously made to secure for each settler a frontage on

the river, then the main highway; and to bring the inhabitants of each settlement into close neighborhood, for social and defensive purposes. The same reasons, of course, governed the allotment of lands in Roger Williams's colony at Providence (1640),—an interesting similarity to French Canadian custom. The "home-lots" at Providence had an (estimated) river frontage of 105 to 120 English feet, all running up to a common highway along the crest of the back-lying ridge; each lot contained from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres. For description and plats, see Charles W. Hopkins's *Home Lots of the Early Settlers of Providence Plantations* (Providence, 1886).

39 (p. 201).-Cf. vol. iii., note 22.

40 (p. 201).-See vol. ii., note 21.

41 (p. 205).-Cf. vol. iii., note 19.

42 (p. 209).—For value of écu, see vol. i., *note* 34. The livre was a money of account, in value somewhat less than the modern franc; but in ordinary speech, both terms signified the same value; six livres — one crown. The livre of Tours was worth 20 sous; that of Paris, 25 sous. The pistole was a money of account, equal to ten livres tournois, and worth ten frances of the present currency.

43 (p. 211) *Anti-Coton*: a sarcastic pamphlet, published in September, 1610; it attacked the Jesuits, and especially Father Coton, the confessor of Henry IV., of whose murder the Jesuits had been accused by their enemies. Daurignac says *(Hist. Soc. Jesus, vol. i., p. 295)* that this pamphlet was attributed to Pierre Dumoulin, a Protestant minister of Charenton. This and other like attacks on the Jesuits had been circulated in Canada, and had prejudiced against them even many Catholics.

44 (p. 233).— This mention of Lalemant being at Pentegoët in 1613, has been copied by some later writers; but it is apparently an oversight. Biard would certainly have included Lalemant in his account of the Acadian missions, if the latter had been there.

45 (p. 237).—Alexander Vieuxpont was born Dec. 25, 1599, at Auxeville, Normandy. He became a Jesuit novice Sept. 13, 1620, at Rouen, and for seven years pursued his studies there, at Rennes, and at La Flèche. Thence he was sent to Alençon, and two years later (June, 1629), he went with Noyrot to Canada. Cast ashore near Canso, in the shipwreck wherein the latter perished, Vieuxpont went to Grand Cibou, to join Father Vimont, then laboring among the savages of Cape Breton. In 1630, recalled to France by his superiors, he became a traveling preacher in the rural districts near Rouen; he did not return to Canada.

46 (p. 243).—After the destruction of Port Royal (1613), the English took no immediate steps to secure possession of Acadia. Eight years later, Sir William Alexander (afterwards secretary of state for

Scotland) obtained from James I. a grant of all the lands from the St. Croix River to the St. Lawrence, under the title of "Nova Scotia;" thus were ignored all French rights in that region. In 1625, this grant was renewed by Charles I., with considerable additions. Alexander, not having the necessary funds, was unable to establish any colonies there until 1627; when (having associated with himself Gervase Kirk and his sons, William Berkley, John Love, and others, under the title of "Merchant Adventurers of Canada"), he sent his son, as governor of Nova Scotia, with a few Scotch emigrants, to form a settlement at Port Royal. David Kirk, whose vessel had conveyed them, returned to England for reinforcements; and, in the following year, he seized Miscou, and all the French fishing vessels in the Gulf; threatened Quebec; and captured De Roquemont's squadron, sent by the Hundred Associates with supplies and artillery for Champlain's succor. In 1629, he captured Quebec. Early in that year, Sir James Stewart, who had purchased a tract of land from Alexander, brought a colony to Port Baleines, Cape Breton (near the present Louisburg); he also began to seize the French vessels fishing on that coast. This excited the anger of Captain Charles Daniel (one of the Hundred Associates, and a brother of the Jesuit Antoine Daniel), who had recently come from France; he seized and demolished Stewart's fort, and proceeded to erect another at Grand Cibou. (This name, meaning "the great river," was doubtless applied by the natives to the estuary now known as Great Bras d'Or; but Daniel's colony was planted at St. Anne's Bay, - thus named by him, - just north of the Bras d'Or). Charles Leigh, who made a voyage to Cape Breton in 1597, mentions "the harborow of Cibo;" see Goldsmid's Hakluyt, vol. xiii., p. 69. Here he left a garrison of forty men, with the two Jesuits Vimond and Vieuxpont, and took the English colonists back to their own country (except a few, whom he carried to France as prisoners). Champlain, arriving in Dieppe Dec. 31, 1629, met Daniel there, and obtained from him his "Relation" of the above enterprise, which is given in Champlain's Voyages (1632), part 2, pp. 271-275.

In the following year, Daniel returned to this fort, and settled certain disorders that had arisen during his absence. It is not definitely known how long the garrison was kept here; but, when De Caen took possession of Canada (1632), the Jesuits Davost and Antoine Daniel also came to Cape Breton (probably with Charles, the latter's brother), and carried on the mission begun by Vimont. Denys, a few years later, had an important settlement at St. Anne's.

47 (p. 243).—Vimont remained at Cape Breton but a year, and did not return to Canada until 1639. A sketch of his life will appear hereafter.

270

48 (p. 247).—Gabriel Sagard Theodat, a lay brother, was one of the Récollet missionaries to Canada, where he arrived June 24, 1623, in company with Father Nicholas Viel. He states, in his *Canada*, p. 11, that he desired to go on this mission in 1615, at which time he was in a Récollet convent in Paris; but his superiors would not then consent. Sagard's missionary labors were among the Hurons, with whom he remained nearly one year; returning then to France, he wrote and published two books,—*Grand voyage du pays des Hurons* (Paris, 1632), and *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1636). In these works he minutely describes the customs, social condition, religion, etc., of the Indian tribes; and gives a history of the missionary labors of the Récollets, up to their expulsion in 1629. To the *Grand Voyage* he appends a dictionary of the Huron language. He died in 1650.

There is some confusion among historians in regard to the dates of Sagard's sojourn in New France, which apparently arises from his own inaccuracy of statement, or possibly from a typographical error. In his *Histoire* (Tross ed., 1866), p. 115, he says that he left France in 1623; but, in the *Grand Voyage* (Tross ed., 1865), p. 5, he gives the year as "vingt-quatre;" while, in the former work, p. 759, he gives in full the letter of his provincial recalling him to France, dated March 9, 1625. Champlain, however, says that Sagard arrived at Quebec in June, 1623, and returned from the Huron country in July, 1624.

Sagard's works are rare, and command high prices. Brunet says (in Michaud's *Biog. Univ.*) that five and even eight guineas were paid for a copy at public sales in London; and that, in France, one was valued in 1851 at 210 francs. Chevalier says, in his edition of the *Histoire* (Paris, 1866), p. iii., *note*, that 1,200 francs had in vain been offered for a copy of that work. Gagnon (*Bibliog. Canad.*) states that a copy brought \$38 at the Fraser sale in Quebec, 1860; and that one had been offered by a Paris bookseller, in 1890, for 1,200 francs.

49 (p. 247).— Father Felix Martin was born Oct. 4, 1804, at Auray, in Bretagne, France; in September, 1823, he became a novice in the Jesuit order, entering the convent of Montrouge, at Paris. During nearly twenty years, he was employed in various colleges and missions throughout Western Europe; and, early in 1842, was sent to Canada. There he labored, especially in Montreal, until August, 1851, when he became the first rector of St. Mary's College in that city; he was its founder, and the designer of its building. In this position he remained until 1857, when he became superior of the residence at Quebec. Four years later, he returned to France, where he was, successively, rector of St. Francis Xavier's college at Vannes, and superior at Poitiers and Rouen. He died at Paris, Nov. 25, 1892.

Father Martin published (Montreal, 1852) a French translation of Bressani's *Breve Relatione* (1653), accompanied by explanatory notes and a biographical sketch of Bressani. Later, he wrote the lives of Jogues, Brébeuf, and other early missionaries; and, in 1886, a biography of his sister, Mother St. Stanislas, a French nun. He was also noted as an antiquarian and collector, especially in regard to the Jesuit *Relations* and the history of Canada. Carayon's *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada* (Paris, 1864), described in Bibliographical Data for Doc. xiii., in vol. iii., p. 285, a valuable collection of documents, all of which are embodied in our series, consists of manuscripts collected by Father Martin, chiefly in 1858, while on a visit to Europe.

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