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Book 4

LH- CASE
970.4 c.2
Wait, Mary Van Sickle
Story of Count Frontenac and
the Iroquois, 1672-1700

DATE	ISSUED TO

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

THE STORY

of

COUNT FRONTENAC

and the

IROQUOIS

1672--1700

BY MARY VAN SICKLE WAIT

AND WILLIAM HEIDT, JR.

1970

DEWITT

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TOMPKINS COUNTY, INC.

ITHACA, N. Y. 14850

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MARION STARR

HISTORIAN, PHOTOGRAPHER, LECTURER

whose colored slides of Cayuga County have given entertainment and enlightenment to the many who have been privileged to see them.

Contents

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Preface

A few years ago, in mentioning sources for *The Story of the Cayugas,* Book II, Nova Francia, Francis Parkman was credited with excerpts from *The Jesuits in North America,* Books I and II, and *Pioneers in New France.* Though the complete set of the author's works, fifteen volumes in all, had been at shoulder-height in my library for fifty years, I had not had direct contact with them except for an occasional dusting.

They present a very great contrast to the detective stories and outspoken novels of our day, and I turned to them for reading during sleepless nights, partly because the print is comfortably large and the paper mellowed with age so that they reflect no glare. Without undue haste in reading, I came to and finished Volume XV last winter, and was mortified to find that under the deceptive title, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac,* the full history of the Iroquois was given, so beautifully written that there was no need for anyone ever to have made a study of it again! There were, however, few mentions of the Cayugas except in relation to the other four tribes, but it has been made abundantly clear that their representatives were present at all councils where important decisions were to be made with a vote equal to that of the Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks.

Annoyed to find that this perusal between sleeping and waking left me with no clear idea of how each person mentioned fitted into the tapestry of the whole, I started again at Volume I with the aid of a pencil and notebook, and soon discovered a thread of narration that would lend itself to an additional volume in the *Story of the Cayugas.* With Mr. Heidt's encouragement this booklet is the result.

MARY VAN SICKLE WAIT.

Auburn, New York
June 17, 1970

Errata

Page 12, line 20—read "himself" for "hemself."
Page 12, line 39—read "as" for "at."
Page 19, line 27—read "Exaltation" for "Exalation."
Page 21, line 10—read "desperate" for "desparate."

Chapter I

Prologue

PART I

The Cayugas took a less active part in the long-drawn-out war with Canada than did the Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks, who stretched across the center of what is now New York State and was then termed in the fanciful metaphor of the Indians, *The Long House of the Five Iroquois Nations.* This was due in part to their isolation in the middle of the group; in part to more restricted territory, and hence fewer warriors. Their boundaries were never invaded by French armies, though the five villages of the Mohawks were twice marched upon, and the second time, totally destroyed. The Onondagas, too, had two invasions against them, and in the second, led by Count Frontenac, their main village was burnt to the ground by the Indians, themselves, in the path of the oncoming army; and the outlying villages, as well as those of the Oneidas, their neighbors to the east, totally destroyed and corn and stored provisions devastated.

The Senecas, "Keepers of the western gate," were fiercely attacked by Denonville, and great damage done to their towns in the vicinity of Victor, but the Indians, after one ambush that was disastrous to them, slipped away to their confederates to the east who fed them during the winter which ensued. Thus in every case the destruction of growing corn and provisions stored in underground caches, and in this latter instance, the slaughtering of a great many hogs, though it was an inconvenience to be sure, did not result in any great loss to the Iroquois, who could rebuild their towns in a few weeks, and replant their fields in the spring of the following year.

Most of these operations were punitive, for the Canadian towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal suffered greatly from the encroachments of the hated Iroquois, who were credited by the French with being in collusion with the devil. After destroying their crops and castles, the hope was that famine would complete the work against this array of seemingly invincible warriors that the armies of the French never quite accomplished. In the case of the Mohawks, the Dutch at Albany brought corn to the dispossesed Indians, and so the French hope of annihilating them was not realized.

Samuel de Champlain was the first of the Governors at Quebec. He thought to gain favor with the neighboring tribes, the Montagnais, Algonquins and Hurons, by aiding them in their attacks on the Iroquois fiends. To understand how he became involved, we must first tell of his maiden voyage to the new continent, then uninhabited by any of the European countries which claimed title through their early explorers.

It was on May 27, 1603, that Champlain made the promise that was to have a far-reaching effect on the future of Nova Francia, and indeed of the whole North American continent. Anadajibou, the Algonquin chief, told of the triple alliance between the Etchemins, Algonkians, and Montagnais, whose sole enemy at that time was the Iroquois. The celebration which was in progress, and to which Champlain and Pontgrave had been invited, was being held in honor of their having defeated a force of 100 at the mouth of the Richelieu River as it flowed into the St. Lawrence. It is not given in the text which of the Five Nations were thus encountered, but it is assumed that Mohawks and Oneidas were mainly involved. These were the two most eastern tribes of the Iroquois League and used the route through Lakes George and Champlain, the Richelieu River and the St. Lawrence in their periodic forays against their enemies to the north. However, it is a distinct possibility that there were Cayugas in the expedition with them. Without giving the matter much serious consideration, Champlain had promised Anadajibou to join their alliance, thus currying favor for future explorations, for which he would need Indian guides, and permission to pass unmolested through the Huron lands.

PART II

In 1604 Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, petitioned Henry IV for leave to colonize La Cadie, or Acadie, which extended from the 40th to the 46th degree of North Latitude, or from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal. In spite of the opposition of the King's Minister, De Monts received authorization to do so.

The foundation of the enterprise was monopoly of the fur trade, and all past grants were annulled in De Monts's favor. He was made Lieutenant General in Acadia with vice-regal powers. Preserving and enlarging De Chaste's old company, he thus made the chief malcontents at this turn of affairs sharers in his exclusive right and converted them from enemies into partners.

De Monts was not a Catholic, but the church displayed her banner in the van of the enterprise, and he was forced to promise that he would cause the Indians to be instructed in the Roman faith.

Samuel de Champlain, who had already made one successful voyage to the new country under the auspices of Pontgrave, a merchant of St. Malo, formed one of this company, where nobles were incongruously juxtaposed to idlers and vagabonds, Catholic priests and Hugenot ministers. It was to be a voyage of great importance to Champlain, who busied himself tirelessly exploring, sounding, surveying, and making charts of all the principal rivers and harbors along the Atlantic coast.

Though de Monts's participation in this voyage of exploration and attempted settlement did not lead to financial success, and his enemies destroyed his credit at court during his absence, he made a great impression on the Indians, who from that time on called each governor general at Quebec, [of which there were many] "Onontio," which was in their language an approximation of his name, meaning "of the mountains."

Champlain volunteered to stay behind in Port Royal, where their permanent settlement was made, for a second winter in the wilderness, while De Monts and most of his company returned to Paris to thwart the designs of his enemies. Towards spring a small sailing vessel appeared on the horizon, and her

captain was the bearer of disastrous tidings. De Monts's monopoly had been rescinded by the King. There was nothing to do but abandon the precarious foothold at Port Royal and return to France, as it could no longer be supported. De Monts and his company, who had spent 100,000 livres, were allowed but 6,000 in requital, "to be collected, if possible, from the fur-traders in the form of a tax."

In 1608 this same Sieur de Monts outfitted two ships and put Champlain and Pontgrave in charge of them. After his exclusive privilege of trade in Nova Francia was revoked and his Acadian enterprise aborted, the passion of discovery and the noble ambition of founding colonies had become an obsession with him. These, rather than the hope of gain, seem to have been De Monts's controlling motives; yet the profits of the fur trade were vital to his new plans, and he obtained a one-year monopoly from the King.

Champlain's purpose in joining DeMonts's undertaking was four-fold:

1. To make a settlement for the King.
2. To secure the valuable fur trade exclusively for France.
3. To bring the Catholic religion to the savages, who were at that time the sole inhabitants of the American Continent.
4. His fourth and strongest motive was the desire to continue exploring the rivers, forests, lakes and mountains to the west, in the hopes of attaining that will-of-the-wisp known to all early explorers, the finding of a northwest passage to the Indies.

In 1603 he had sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal, where the rapids made further progress impossible. He envisioned the spot as a perfect place for a settlement, central as it was to the Indians of the North and West, and to the French trading ships of the St. Lawrence River. In fact, in due time it became the spot at which the annual fur-fair was held, supplanting Tadoussac which was the favored trading center of the French vessels at this time.

But for now, Quebec became the site of the only permanent settlement of the French in the new world. Champlain has been called the father of this new country, but Parkman shows us that Pontgrave's part in the adventure was to bring life-giving supplies and reinforcements without which Champlain and his

colonists could not have survived. Many of the twenty-eight who had been left at Quebec that first winter did not have the hardihood necessary for survival. Only eight were left after scurvy decimated their ranks in the spring. Upon the return of Pontgrave's ship in June with supplies and reinforcements, this little colony of brave men was strengthened and revivified.

Pontgrave, laden with goods for the Indian trade at Tadoussac, had sailed from Honfleur on April 5, 1608. Champlain, with men and arms and stores for the colony, followed eight days later. On the third of June he reached Tadoussac, where Pontgrave had arrived a few days before. Here Pontgrave transferred to the hold of his ship the rich lading of the Indian canoes which had come as usual at this time of year to the trading post; and Champlain spread his sails and again held his course up the St. Lawrence River. He chose the site for his colony where a high promontory overlooks a narrowing of the mighty river, and built his first fort, storehouse and dwelling on the narrow strand under the high cliffs, naming it Quebec, which signifies in the Indian tongue, "where the river is closed."

"They were pioneers of an advancing host—advancing, it is true, with feeble and uncertain steps; priests, soldiers, peasants, feudal scutcheons, royal insignia; not the Middle Ages, but engendered of it by the stronger life of modern civilization; sharply stamped with a parental likeness, heir to parental weakness."

PART III

CHAMPLAIN'S INVASIONS OF IROQUOIS TERRITORY 1609—1615

When Quebec had been established on its river base, with the cliffs towering above, the Indians, to whom Champlain had given his promise of aid in their campaigns against the Iroquois, called on him to make good his pledge. It was past the middle of June when the war party left Quebec. "Champlain was in a small shallop, carrying, beside himself, eleven men of Pontgrave's party, including his son-in-law Marais, and the pilot La Route. They were armed with the arquebus, a match-

lock or firelock somewhat like the modern carbine, and from its shortness not ill suited for use in the forest. On the twenty-eighth of June they spread their sails and held their course against the current, while around them the river was alive with canoes, and hundreds of naked arms plied the paddle with a steady measured sweep." The Indian allies who accompanied him, Huron, Algonquin, and Montagnais, had assured him that his boat could pass unobstructed throughout the whole journey. But he soon found himself prevented by the rapids and falls, and was forced to send his shallop, with by far the greater part of the men under Marais's direction, back to Quebec, while he and two Frenchmen who offered to follow him, proceeded in the Indian canoes.

Traveling by night so that the element of surprise might be in their favor, they intended to land at the foot of Lake George, future site of Fort William Henry, and carry their canoes overland to the Hudson, sailing down its course until they reached some outlying Mohawk town. They were spared this long journey when they came on collision course with a flotilla of Iroquois canoes, intent on their own journey to attack Indian tribes to the north. There was no particular call for revenge on either side; this was just another episode in the gamesmanship type of war which was the intermittent occupation of all the Indian tribes. Parkman tells us:

"On the morning of the 29th of July, after paddling all night, they hid as usual in the forest on the western shore, apparently between Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The warriors stretched themselves to their slumbers, and Champlain, after walking till nine or ten o'clock through the surrounding woods, returned to take his repose on a pile of spruce boughs. Sleeping, he dreamed a dream wherein he beheld the Iroquois drowning in the lake; and trying to rescue them he was told by his Algonquin friends that they were good for nothing and had better be left to their fate. For some time in the past he had been beset every morning by his superstitious allies, eager to learn about his dreams; and to this moment his unbroken slumbers failed to furnish the prognostics. The announcement of this auspicious vision filled the crowd with joy, and at nightfall they embarked flushed with anticipated victories.

"It was ten o'clock in the evening when, near a projecting point of land which was probably Ticonderoga, they descried dark objects in motion on the lake before them. These were a flotilla of Iroquois canoes, heavier and slower than theirs, for they were made of oak [elm] bark. Each party saw the other, and mingled war cries pealed over the darkened water. The Iroquois, who were near the shore, having no stomach for an aquatic battle, landed, and making the night hideous with their clamor, began to barricade themselves. The allies remained on the lake, a bowshot from the hostile barricade erected by the Iroquois, their canoes made fast together by poles lashed across."

It was agreed on both sides that the fight should be deferred till daybreak. As the day approached Champlain and his followers put on the light armor of the time, a breastplate and backpiece over the doublet and long hose then in vogue; while their thighs were protected by cuirasses of steel, and their heads by plumed casques. Across their shoulders hung the strap of a bandoleer, or ammunition box; at their sides were swords and in their hands, the arquebus.

This description is given in detail as the appearance of Frontenac and his two French soldiers gave rise to panic on the part of the Iroquois, and when they fired the first shot which killed two of the enemy chiefs outright and wounded another, the Indians turned and ran, leaving camp, canoes and provisions, and many weapons discarded in their flight.

"The Iroquois, some two hundred in number, the boldest and fiercest warriors in America, advanced throughout the forest with great steadiness. Three chiefs were among them, conspicuous for the tall plumes they were wearing. Some bore shields of wood and hide, and some were covered with a kind of armor made of tough twigs interlaced with a vegetable fibre which Champlain supposed to be cotton . . . Some of the Iroquois were killed, and more were taken."

Champlain and his allies felt that the victory was complete, but as long as no Iroquois towns were destroyed and fields devastated and no great slaughter took place, by the standard of later French invasions, it was a fiasco. Champlain did, however, make lasting friends of the Hurons, who invited him to

fight with them again, to which he answered in the affirmative. Through their kind offices, he was able to find guides for his western explorations, and permission to pass through Indian lands. There was one other plus value for Champlain, in that the lake through which his expedition made its way toward Mohawk territory was immediately named after him, and so honors his memory to this day.

As to the Indian allies, they obtained a number of prisoners whom they could torture at their leisure. When Champlain was introduced to the methods then in vogue among all the Indians, he was revolted and incensed, and lost face with his allies by trying to intervene. The Hurons gave way and let him shoot one poor captive with his arquebus, after the torture had but begun. But they were resentful at having been deprived of the exciting pleasure of hearing a fellow human being cry out in pain.

With a few French soldiers at the head of a supposed band of 2,500 Hurons and 500 Andastes, Camplain's second expedition against the Iroquois was engaged with great enthusiasm. Remembering the Iroquois panic in 1609 when the apparitions which were strange and terrifying to them appeared before their eyes, and their fearful weapons shot fire that did triple damage to the Mohawk chiefs, the Hurons, no less than the French leader himself thought that the destruction of the fabled Onondaga fort would be a "shoe-in."

In 1610 there had been an Iroquois attack on an island in the St. Lawrence River near the mouth of the Richelieu. "On the 19th of June it was swarming with busy and clamorous savages, Champlain's Montagnais allies, cutting down trees and clearing the ground for a dance and a feast; for they were hourly expecting the Algonquin warriors, and were eager to welcome them with befitting honors."

Soon a canoe was seen far out on the water being urged at top speed. The Indians thus engaged brought news of the urgent need of the Algonquins who were face to face with a hundred warriors of the Iroquois, fighting in the forest within a barricade of trees.

"The Montagnais snatched their weapons—shields, bows,

war clubs, sword blades made fast to poles—and ran headlong to their canoes, screeching to Champlain to follow." Champlain and four of his men were in the canoes that crossed the river, but once on the other side, they could not follow the swift pace of the savages as they slipped through the forest, "bounding like shadows." . . "At length they could hear the yells of the combatants. There was light in the forest before them, and they issued into a partial clearing made by the Iroquois axemen. There were trees piled into a circular breastwork; trunks, boughs and matted foliage forming a strong defense within which the Iroquois stood savagely at bay. Around them flocked the allies, half hidden in the edge of the forest, like hounds around a wild boar— eager, clamorous, yet afraid to rush on. They had attacked, and had met with bloody rebuff. All their hope was now in the French, and when they saw them a yell rose from hundreds of throats that outdid the wilderness voices whence its tones were borrowed—the whoop of the horned owl, the scream of the cougar, the howl of starved wolves on a winter night."

The French men threw themselves into the fray, firing at random through the fence of trees, boughs, and drooping leaves, with which the Iroquois had encircled themselves. To make a long story short, the Iroquois had not yet gotten used to the arquebus, and in the panic that ensued a victory was won by the Montagnais and Algonquins, with Champlain directing the fray. "Drunk with ferocious ecstasy, the conquerors scalped the dead and gathered faggots for the living; while some fur traders, too late to bear a part in the fight, robbed the carcasses of their blood-drenched robes of beaver skins. That night torture fires blazed along the shores. Champlain saved one prisoner from their clutches, but he could not save the rest. One body was quartered and eaten. 'As for the rest of the prisoners,' says Champlain, 'they were kept to be put to death by the women and girls, who in this respect are no less inhuman than the men, and indeed much more so: for by their subtlety they invent more cruel tortures, and take pleasure in it.' "

PART IV

Five years had passed since this second great success of Champlain as owner and wielder of the arquebus. By then the Iroquois had gotten used to it, and to the outlandish costumes of the pale-faced soldiers. No longer panicky at being in proximity to them, these pscychological weapons had ceased to have authority over the foe.

A full description of the 1615 invasion, blow by blow, has been presented in *The Story of the Cayugas, Book II, Nova Francia.* Suffice it here to present in outline the salient facts

The expedition started from the land of the Hurons, whither Champlain and a few Frenchmen had journeyed to join the promised warriors. After an agonizing delay, the French governor set out with but one-fifth of the number of allies promised to him. Traveling along well-used water routes—Lakes Simcoe, Balsam Lake, and the chain of lesser lakes that form the River Trent, and from its mouth issue into Lake Ontario—they crossed its eastern end, landing within the borders of New York at Hungry Bay. [LaFamine of La Barre's expedition, and the present site of Selkirk Shores State Park.] Hiding their canoes in the woods, they marched between woods and shore for about four leagues. They then struck inland and their route has been traced as far as the outlet of Oneida Lake at Brewerton from Champlain's map, drawn from memory many weeks later, while detained for the winter in the camp of the Hurons. For there he had been carried after the disastrous failure of the attack on the Iroquois fort.

Champlain was a career soldier who had fought under Henry IV, and had won recognition and high praise. He carefully laid out the strategy necessary to enter and destroy the fort, and had talked it over with the Huron allies the night before the attack. The whole thoughtful scheme was nullified by impetuous action on the part of some young warriors as soon as the Iroquois fields came into view. Champlain, who had sent his interpreter, Etienne Brule, ahead to the Andastes to show them the way to the place of tryst, could not make himself understood; could not control the holocaust which had been set in motion before the stage was properly set. His position

may be likened to a straw driven before the wind. Wounded by stone-tipped arrows in the knee and in the leg, he was dependent upon his allies to carry him from the fray, withdrawing a short distance into the woods where a rude fortification had been thrown up.

By now completely disenchanted with their former hero, the Hurons refused to wait more than five days for the arrival of the promised alies, the Andastes, and in spite of Champlain's entreaties, left in a body and went home.

"The attack lasted three hours, when the assailants fell back to their fortified camp, with seventeen warriors wounded. Champlain, too, had received an arrow in the knee, and another in the leg, which, for the time, disabled him. He was urgent, however, to renew the attack; while the Hurons, crestfallen and disheartened, refused to move from the camp unless the five hundred allies, for some time expected, should appear. They waited five days in vain, beguiling the interval in frequent skirmishes, in which they were always worsted; then began hastily to retreat, carrying their wounded in the center, while the Iroquois, rallying from their stronghold, showered arrows in their flanks and rear. The wounded, Champlain among them, after being packed in baskets made on the spot, were carried each on the back of a strong warrior, 'bundled in a heap,' says Champlain, 'doubled and strapped together after such fashion that one could move no more than an infant in swaddling clothes The pain is extreme, as I can truly say from experience, having been carried several days in this way.' "

The Hurons had promised Champlain an escort back to Quebec; but after the disappointing fiasco of the attack, they had little stomach for that long detour on their way home. The chiefs had little power, in peace or war, save that of persuasion, and so Champlain was carried far from the colony to which he longed to return, and where he was mourned for dead. In the spring he started his return home, and after some delays, accompanied by the Huron chief, Durantal, who had been his host during the long winter months, following the long circuit of Lake Huron and the Ottawa which Iroquois hostility made the only practicable route, finally reached the infant capital on July 11, 1616.

Champlain remained in Canada for many years at the head of the colony he had founded at Quebec. There were, however, frequent trips back to France, and one enforced stay there for four years, during which Quebec was under English rule.

An expedition under Gervase Kirke obtained permission from the English crown to mount an attack against Quebec. Champlain and his meager forces, weakened by starvation, after the ships from France bearing supplies for a year had been intercepted at Tadoussac, made a bold reply to the demand for surrender, but finally were forced to yield.

"Forgotten alike by friends and foes, Quebec was on the verge of extinction.... The suffering at Quebec increased daily. Somewhat less than a hundred men, women, and children were cooped up in the fort, subsisting on a meagre pittance of pease and Indian corn....Months wore on, and in the spring [1629] the distress had risen to such a pitch that Champlain had well-nigh resolved to leave to the women and children and the sick the little food that remained, and with the able-bodied men invade the Iroquois, seize one of the villages, fortify hemself in it, and sustain his followers on the buried stores of maize with which the strongholds of these provident savages were always furnished."

Champlain at length reached London, as a prisoner of Kirke, and managed to get the ear of the French ambassador, "who at his insistence, gained from the King a promise that in pursuance of the terms of the treaty concluded in the previous April [1629], New France should be restored to the French Crown."

England finally resigned her prize and Caen was despatched to reclaim Quebec from the reluctant hands of Thomas Kirke. ... In the following spring, 1633, on the twenty-third of May, Champlain, commissioned anew by Richlieu, resumed command at Quebec in behalf of the Hudred Asociates. For Champlain, the Superior of the Jesuits, Le Jeune, had praises which are very sincere. Indeed, the Father Superior had the best reason to be pleased with the temporal head of the colony. "In his youth, Champlain had fought on the side of that more liberal and national form of Romanism of which the Jesuits were the most emphatic antagonists. Now, at Le Jeune tells us with

evident contentment, he chose him, the Jesuit, as director of his conscience. In truth, there were none but Jesuits to confess and absolve him; for the Recollects, prevented to their despair from returning to the missions they had founded, were seen no more in Canada, and the followers of Loyola were the sole masters on the field."

Champlain was a man of slight stature, according to the portrait that is generally accepted as his likeness. The fact that he was carried on the back of a Huron ally for many days after being wounded at Onandaga supports this belief. Yet with all the qualities that make a man outstanding, he was generously endowed.

"For twenty-seven years he had labored hard and ceaselessly for the welfare of the colony." He envisioned a new race in Canada, loyal to the interests of France, resulting from intermarriage with the savage inhabitants. He treated the Indians with fairness and affection, and was the only governor except Frontenac who really loved them and was loved by them in return. He sacrificed fortune, repose, and domestic peace to a cause which he embraced with enthusiasm and pursued with intrepid persistency. The courage, the fortitude, the physical stamina he showed as an explorer have never been supassed.

On Christmas Day, 1635, Champlain died in the fort at Quebec. His last cares were for the colony and the succor of its suffering families "One of his last acts was to petition Richelieu for men and munitions for repressing that standing menace to the colony, the Iroquois."

Chapter II

Vive Le Roi!

For New France, a different era began with the inception in 1661 of Louis XIV's long reign. Endowed with every attribute of kingly grace, he was gifted also with a persistent will and a "rare power of labor." Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, the main settlements in the new world, became his obsession, and in bending governors, intendants, soldiers, bishops and priests to his will, he robbed the colony of its initiative, and weakened where he would produce strength. Money was lavishly spent to support her inhabitants and build her walls, and to stimulate industry and commerce. But the people of this new land did not become self-supporting under the king's system, and the investment was not a viable one.

The fur trade with the Indians of the "upper lakes," Huron, Superior and Michigan, was the chief source of income to the Crown, and as it was periodically threatened and disrupted by the English and Dutch traders, who made more generous offers in trade for their beaver skins, Louis' coffers were drained year after year. Much of the time during his long reign, France was at war with England or Spain. During those periods he could not spare the soldiers and arms demanded by his governors for conquest of the troublesome Iroquois. He was always in favor of the attempts that were made to reduce their power, however, and gave every encouragement short of money and men experienced in such a campaign

In 1684 the suggestion was made to the king by Governor de la Barre that he buy the state of New York, and thus become arbiter of the Iroquois behavior. Louis approved of this scheme in principal, but did not find the means at that time to carry the idea to fruition. I think he would have had quite a surprise if, in fact, the scheme was carried into operation! All methods of subduing the Five Nations were easier planned than

ARRIVAL OF LE FEBVRE DE LA BARRE AT QUEBEC.

accomplished, but nevertheless during Louis' reign five of his governors at Quebec mounted military expeditions elaborately planned and courageously conducted. They had varying degrees of success. It is with these expeditions against the Iroquois that this book treats. Though the Cayugas did not play a major part in them, their history was intimately involved.

LOUIS XIV APPOINTS TRACY, TALON, COURCELLE

"In May 1664 the King of France signed the edict creating the Company of the West. He feared, with reason, that the want of enterprise and capital among the merchants of Canada would prevent the broad and immediate results at which he aimed; and to secure these results he established a series of great trading corporations in which the principles of privilege and exclusion were pushed to their utmost limits." The Company of the West was one of the most prominent of these. "As, according to the edict, the glory of God was the chief object in view, the company was required to supply its possessions with a sufficient number of priests, and diligently to exclude the teaching of false doctrine. It was empowered to build forts and warships, cast cannon, wage war, make peace, establish courts, appoint judges, and otherwise to act as sovereign within its own domain. . . . .

"Scarcely was the grand machine set in motion, when its directors betrayed a narrowness and blindness of policy which boded the enterprise no good. Once more, bound hand and foot, the colony was handed over to a selfish league of merchants, resulting in monopoly in trade, monopoly in religion, monopoly in government. . . . The supplies which it brought were insufficient, and the prices which it charged were exorbitant. It was throttling its wretched victim. The Canadian merchants remonstrated. It was clear that if the colony was to live, the system must be changed; and a change was accordingly ordered."

The King had the prosperity of Canada at heart; and he proceeded to show his interest in her after a manner hardly consistent with his late action in handing her over to a mercenary guardian. He had just conferred the right of naming a governor and intendant upon the new company; but he now assumed it himself; the company, with a just sense of its own unfitness,

readily consenting to this suspension of one of its most important privileges.

On March 23, 1664, Daniel de Remy, Sieur de Courcelle, was appointed Governor, and Jean Baptist Talon, Intendant. Before making these appointments for Quebec, the young King had appointed a representative of the Crown for all his American domains. France was a mere patch on the map, compared to the vast domains of the Company of the West. These consisted of Western Africa, from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope; South America between the Amazon and Orinoco; Cayenne; the Antilles and all New France, from Hudson's Bay to Virginia and Florida. Over all these Louis appointed the Marquis de Tracy on Nov. 19, 1663. After speding a year or more in the West Indies, successfully, he at length sailed up the St. Lawrence and anchored in the basin of Quebec June 30, 1665.

In Canada as well as in the West Indies the new Lieutenant showed both vigor and good conduct. He was directed to subdue or destroy the Iroquois as the first order of business.

"The secular motives for the war were in themselves strong enough; for the growth of the colony absolutely demanded the cessation of Iroquois raids, and the French had begun to learn that in the case of hostile Indians, no good can come of attempts to conciliate, unless respect is first imposed by a sufficient castigation."

Tracy was a veteran of sixty-two when he took over his duties in Canada, yet his age and immense bulk in no way influenced his warlike disposition, and he determined to make a vicious attack on the Iroquois stronghold. At the time of his resolution, the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas were comparatively docile, but the Mohawks and Oneidas made continual inroads on the French colony by way of Lake Champlain and the Richlieu River, murdering and scalping as in their war against the Indians, and then melting away into the forests without a trace.

Tracy's first step was to build a picket fort below the rapids of Chambly, on the Richelieu. Soon afterwards an officer of this strong detachment built a second fortification at the mouth of the river where the village of Sorel now stands, named in his honor. A third one was built two or three leagues above Cham-

bly. "These forts could not wholly bar the passage against the nimble and wily warriors who might pass them in the night, shouldering their canoes through the woods. A blow, direct and hard was needed, and Tracy prepared to strike it."

Before this could be carried into effect, an embassy from the three upper nations, the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, led by Garacontie, a famous Onondaga chief, whom the Jesuits had converted and who remained ever after faithful to the French, arrived at Quebec on a mission of peace. The French joined hands with him and his companions, but at the same time continued their preparations to make war on the Mohawks. This chapter in Canadian history did not achieve the intended result. Led by the Governor, Courcelle, we shall see owing to what circumstances the expedition failed, and the immediate result.

COURCELLE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MOHAWKS

In 1666, Courcelle, then governor at Quebec, was bent on immediate action against the Mohawks. Subordinate, for the moment, to Tracy, he was, however, not prevented by the latter from bringing to fruition his scheme of marching on their towns and attempting to destroy them in the dead of winter, while frozen streams and rivers would aid their march. With 600 men he started across the well-frozen St. Lawrence early in January, stopping for a blessing at the Jesuit mission at Sillery. Of the six hundred, about seventy were old Indian-fighters from Montreal, versed in woodcraft and seasoned to the climate. It was an unusually cold winter: ears, noses, fingers, hands and knees were frozen. By the time they reached Three Rivers, ninety miles from Quebec, a considerable number were disabled and had to be left behind.

"The Regulars were not yet the tough and experienced woodsmen that they and their descendants afterwards became; and their snowshoes embarrassed them, burdened as they were with heavy loads which all must carry alike, from Courcelle to the lowest private. When night came they bivouacked by squads among the trees, dug away the snow with their snowshoes, piled it in a bank around them, built their fire in the middle, and crouched around it on beds of hemlock or

spruce, while, as they lay close packed for mutual warmth, the winter sky arched above them like a vault of burnished steel, sparkling with the cold, diamond lustre of its myriads of stars. "

Frequent snowstorms were encountered, and by the time they approached the Mohawk towns, the four-foot level of the snow was a serious impediment to their march. Another unfavorable circumstance was the fact that the Algonquin guides were left behind at Fort Sainte Therese in a drunken stupor. Courcelle and his men mistook the path and found themselves on the 20th of February close to the little Dutch hamlet of Corlear, or Schenectady. Here they learned that most of the Mohawks and Oneidas had gone to war with another tribe. Here they learned also that the English had taken over New Netherlands. Three envoys appeared from Albany, demanding to know why they were trespassing on the territories of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York. Their explanation was taken in good part, and they were offered shelter and provisions, which latter enabled them to make a start towards the Mohwak towns. The hospitality Courcelle refused, for he feared if the soldiers once got inside a comfortable home, he could never get them on the move again. But an unfortunate condition of the thaw and soaking rain made retreat advisable, lest the expedition be unable to use the frozen streams and rivers, so essential to their return home.

Courcelle lost a few men in skirmishes with Mohawk stragglers and some were taken prisoners, but his greatest enemy turned out to be famine and cold, by which sixty men perished before they reached the shelter of Fort Therese.

"Unfortunate as this expedition was, it produced a strong effect on the Iroquois, by convincing them that their forest homes were not safe from French attacks. In May the Senecas sent an embassy of peace to Quebec; and the other four nations, including the Mohawks, soon followed. Tracy, on his part, sent the Jesuit, Bechefer, to learn on the spot the real temper of the savages, and ascertain whether peace could safely be made with them. The Jesuit was scarcely gone when news came that a party of officers hunting near the outlet of Lake Champlain had been set upon by Mohawks, and that seven

of them had been captured or killed. On this the Jesuit priest was recalled."

Quebec was full of Iroquois deputies, all bent on peace, or pretending to be. Twenty-four of them were seized and imprisoned; and Sorel, captain in the regiment of Carnigan, was sent with 300 men to "chastise" the perfidious Mohawks. If, as it seems, he was expected to attack their fortified towns, or 'castles,' as the English call them, his force was too small. This time, however, there was no fighting to be done.

Near the journey's end Sorel met the famous Mohawk chief called the Flemish Bastard, bringing back the captives and charged to make full restitution for the death of Tracy's nephew, Chasy. On the last day of August there was a grand council in the garden of the Jesuits. Some days later Tracy invited the Flemish Bastard and a Mohawk chief named Agariata to his table, when allusion was made to the murder of Chasy. On this the Mohawk, stretching out his arm, exclaimed in a braggart tone, "This is the hand that split the head of that young man!" Tracy told his insolent guest that he would never kill anybody else; and he was led out into the courtyard and hanged in the presence of the Bastard. There was no more talk of peace. Tracy prepared to march in person against the Mohawks, with all the force of Canada.

THE MARCH OF TRACY—1667

Parkman tells us that of all the French expedltions against the Iroquois, that of Tracy unquestionably did the most good. "On the Day of Exalation of the Cross, 'for whose glory,' says the chronicler, 'this expedition is undertaken,' Tracy and Courcelle left Quebec with 1,300 men. They crossed Lake Champlain, and launched their boats again on the waters of St. Sacrament, now Lake George. It was the first of the warlike pageants that have made that scene historic." October had begun, and on the mountains that surround the lake the changing colors of the leaves painted a medley of bright hues: crimson, claret, scarlet and amber, gold and pink, with the dark green of fir trees adding the complementary color that touches them all to life. In Iroquois country, this is the most breathtakingingly beautiful time of the year, and in 1667 it was the

setting for a long procession of 300 boats and canoes trailed up the lake and landed at length where Fort William Henry was afterwards built.

"One hundred ten 'Blue Coats' of Montreal led the way under Charles Le Moyne; Repentigny commanded the lines from Quebec. In all there were 600 Canadians, six hundred regulars, and a hundred Indians from the missions, who ranged the woods in front, flank, and rear, like hounds on the scent. Red or white, Canadians or regulars, all were full of zeal. 'It seems to them," writes Mother Mary Jucherau, 'that they are going to Paradise, and win it and enter it, because they are fighting for religion and the faith"

"Their ardor was rudely tried. Officers as well as men carried loads at their backs, whence ensued a large blister on the shoulders of the Chevalier de Chaumont, in no way used to such burdens. Tracy, old, heavy and infirm, was inopportunely seized with the gout. A Swiss soldier tried to carry him on his shoulders across a rapid stream; but midway his strength failed and he was barely able to deposit his ponderous load on a rock. A Huron came to his aid and bore Tracy safely to the opposite bank. Courcelle was attacked with cramps and had to be carried for a while, like his commander. Provisions gave out and men and officers grew faint with hunger.

"The Montreal soldiers had for chaplain a sturdy priest, Dollier de Casson, as large as Tracy and far stronger; for the incredible story is told that when in good condition he could hold two men seated on his two extended hands. Now, however, he was equal to no such exploit, being not only deprived of food, but also of sleep, by the necessity of listening at night to the confessions of his pious flock; and his shoes, too, had failed him, nothing remaining but the upper leather, which gave him little comfort among the sharp stones. He bore up manfully, being by nature brave and light-hearted; and when a servant of the Jesuits fell into the water, he threw off his cassock and leaped in after him. His strength gave out, and the man was drowned, but a grateful Jesuit led him aside and requited his efforts with a morsel of bread. A wood of chestnut trees full of nuts at length stayed the hunger of the famished troops."

As they approached the first of the Mohawk towns, a storm

of wind and rain set in; but, determined to surprise the enemy, they marched all night. In the morning when they emerged from the forest, the palisades of the Indian stronghold lay before them amid its cornfields. "They had two small cannon brought from the lake by relays of men, but did not stop to use them. Their twenty drums beat the charge, and they advanced to seize the place by coup-de-main. Luckily for them, a panic had seized the Indians; not that they were taken by surprise, for they had discovered the approaching French, and two days before had sent away their women and children in preparation for a desparate fight; but the din of the drums, which they took for so many devils in the French service, and the armed men advancing from the rocks and thickets in files that seemed interminable, so wrought on the imagination of the warriors that they fled in terror to their next town, a short distance above."

Tracy did not stop to investigate, but followed at once to the next town which was taken as easily as the first. "So, too, were the third and fourth. The Indians yelled and fled without killing a man; and still the troops pursued, following the broad trail which led from town to town along the valley of the Mohawk. It was late in the afternoon when the fourth town was entered, and Tracy thought that his work was done; but an Algonquin squaw who had followed her husband to the war and who had once been a prisoner of the Mohawks, told him that there was still another town above. The sun was near its setting, and the men were tired with their pitiless marching; but again the order was given to advance.

When they reached the fifth and largest village, called Andaraque by the Iroquois, the drums beat with fury, and the troops prepared to advance, but there were none to oppose them. The scouts sent forward reported that the warriors had fled. The last savage stronghold was in the hands of the French.

The French Religieuses saw the usual miracle in this bloodless victory, comparing it to the ancient days of the Lord's help to His chosen people, "striking terror into our enemies, insomuch that we were victors without single blow."

The French found that Andaraque, the last of the forts to be entered, was of a totally different design from those the

Jesuit, Jogues, had found here twenty years before. The Dutch had helped in its design with their counsel, and European art had taken root in the new country, bringing new methods of defensive warfare "The fort was a quadrangle formed of a triple palisade twenty feet high and flanked by four bastions. Large vessels of bark filled with water were placed on the platforms of the palisades for defense against fire. The dwellings which these fortifications enclosed were in many cases built of wood, though the form and arrangement of the primitive bark lodge of the Iroquois seems to have been preserved. Some of the wooden houses were 120 feet long, with fires for eight or nine families. Here, and in subterranean caches, was stored a prodigious quantity of Indian corn and other provisions, and the dwellings were all supplied with carpenter's tools, domestic utensils, and many other appliances of comfort."

Tracy and his men found the fort deserted except for two old women, a small boy, and a decrepit old man, who had been frightened by the noise of the drums and had hidden under a canoe to get away from it. From the women he learned that the Mohawks from the lower towns had retreated here, and an all-out defense was planned, but abandoned when the size of the approaching army was determined. "The chief was the first to run, crying out, 'Let us save ourselves, brothers! The whole world is coming against us.' "

Tracy planted a cross, and by its side the royal arms, and claimed all the Mohawk territory in the name of King Louis XIV. After the celebration that night with a mighty bonfire, the victors began their backward march, burning everything in their way and, as usual, destroying all corn in the hope that the Indians would yield to famine in the winter ahead, and be heard from no more. When Governor Nichols of New York heard of Tracy's march, he made a half-hearted attempt to rouse the New England colonies into furnishing troops for a counterattack, but the plan did not come into fruition.

Even without interference from English intervention, the return of Tracy was far less fortunate than his advance. The rivers, swollen by autumn rains, were difficut to pass; and in crossing Lake Champlain, two canoes were overset in a storm, and eight men drowned. From St. Anne, a new fort built early

in the summer on the Isle of La Motte near the northern end of the lake, he sent news of his success to Quebec, where there was great rejoicing and a solemn thanksgiving. Early in the following spring the defenders of St. Anne saw a troop of Iroquois approaching, and prepared as well as they could to make fight, but the strangers proved to be ambassadors of peace.

The detruction of the Mohawk towns had produced a deep effect, not on that nation alone, but on the other four members of the league. They were disposed to confirm the promises of peace already made; and Tracy had spurred their good intentions by sending a message that unless they quickly presented themselves at Quebec, he would hang all the chiefs whom he had kept prisoners after discovering their treachery in the preceding summer. The threat had its effect. Deputies of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas presently arrived in a temper of befitting humility. The Mohawks were at first afraid to come; but in April they sent the Flemish Bastard with overtures of peace, and in July a large delegation of their chiefs appeared at Quebec.

They begged, too, for blacksmiths, surgeons, and Jesuits to live among them. The presence of the Jesuits in their towns was in many ways an advantage to them; while to the colony it was of greatest importance. Not only was the conversion to the church considered the best means of attaching the Indians to the French cause and alienating them from the English, but the Jesuits living in the midst of them could influence even those whom they could not convert, soothing rising jealousies, counteracting English intrigues, and keeping the rulers of the colony informed of all that was passing in the Iroquois towns. Thus, half Christian missionaries, half political agents, in 1667 the Jesuits prepared to resume the hazardous missions of the Iroquois. Fremin and Pierron were ordered to the Mohawks' Mission of the Martyrs. Father Bruyas to Oneida; Father Etienne de Carheil was sent to the Mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga, but not until 1668, as there was some trouble with the Jesuit Superior about getting the mission restored; and two of the Fathers remained at Onondaga, Father Claude Dablon and Jean de Lamberville. Father Milet was also at Cayuga at the same time as Father Carheil. Father Fremin stayed but

a short time among the Mohawks, and in the fall took his place among the Senecas.

"The troops had made the peace; the Jesuits were the rivets to hold it fast, and peace ensued without absolute rupture for nearly twenty years."

LOUIS DE BUADE, COMTE DE PALLAU ET FRONTENAC

When Frontenac arrived as Governor of all Nova Francia in 1672, he had been instructed by the King and the Minister, Colbert, to bend every effort towards civilizing the Indians. They were to be taught the French language and become civilized through their association with the colonists. Frontenac entered into this task with a wholehearted effort and enthusiasm, ignorant as yet of the Indian nature and the difficulty of carrying this order into effect.

"He exercised from the first an extraordinary influence over all the Indians with whom he came into contact, and he persuaded the most savage and refractory of these, the Iroquois, to place eight of their children in his hands." . . .

"Frontenac continually urged the Jesuits to co-operate with him in the work of civilization, but the results disappointed and exasperated him. He complained that, in the village of the Hurons near Quebec, and under the control of the Jesuits, the French language was scarcely known. 'In fact the fathers content themselves with teaching their converts the doctrines and rites of the Roman Church, while retaining the food, dress and habits of their original barbarism.' Thus writes the Governor. 'The Jesuits,' he continues, 'will not civilize the Indians because they wish to keep them in perpetual wardship. They think more of beaver skins than of souls, and their missions are pure mockeries.' "

This diatribe against the Jesuits, written to the King soon after Frontenac took office, reflected but one of his criticisms against the Holy Fathers. It was a harsh judgment, and one not subscribed to by many of the governors of New France, but during the ten years of Frontenac's first tenure of that office, there was a bitter hatred and distinct distrust on both sides. During the first few years, Frontenac held all the reins of office in his hands, but as he proved fractious and intractable, in

keeping with the pattern of his personality, an Intendant, Duchesnau, was sent to share his conduct of the colony; "not only to manage the details of administration, but also to watch the Governor, keep him, if possible, within prescribed bounds, and report his proceedings to the minister. The change was far from pleasing to Frontenac; nor was he better pleased with the return of the Bishop, Laval, which presently took place. Three preceding governors had quarreled with that uncompromising prelate, and there was little hope that Frontenac and he would keep the peace." Nor did they.

But Frontenac's quarrels with Duchesneau were of a far more serious nature, and finally led to his recall from the colony and return to France. This in spite of the fact that in respect to the Indians, Frontenac "had shown a remarkable fitness for his office."

"Few white men," explains Parkman, "have ever equalled or approached him in the art of dealing with Indians. There seems to have been a sympathetic relationship between him and them. He conformed to their ways, borrowed their rhetoric, flattered them on occasion with great address, and yet constantly maintained toward them an attitude of paternal superiority. Where they were concerned, his native haughtiness always took a form which commanded respect without exciting anger. He would not address them as 'brothers,' but only as 'children.' And even the Iroquois, arrogant as they were, accepted the new relation. In their eyes, Frontenac was by far the greatest of all 'Onontios,' or Governors of Canada.

"They admired the prompt and fiery soldier who played with their children and gave beads and trinkets to their wives; who read their secret thoughts, and never feared them; but smiled on them when their hearts were true, or frowned and threatened them when they did amiss. The other tribes, allies of the French, were of the same mind; and their respect for their Great Father seems not to have been permanently impaired by his occasional practice of bullying them for sake of extortion.

"When he sailed for France in 1682 it was a day of rejoicing to more than half the merchants, and excepting the Recollects, the priests; but he left behind him an impression, very general among the people, that if danger threatened the Colony, Count Frontenac was the man for the hour."

When he was succeeded in 1682 by LeFevbre la Barre, the friendly relations with the Iroquois that Frontenac had carefully nurtured for ten years deterioriated rapidly, and we shall see that within two years the new governor had made a determined effort to "subdue or crush" the Iroquois.

Seven years after Frontenac's recall, he was again sent by the King to Canada charged with bettering relations with the Iroquois, but by then Governor Dongan at Albany had established the Covenant Chain and promised support if the Indians would make war on the French. They had already discovered that the English gave twice as much in trade goods in exchange for their furs, and had come to like the English rum as well as the French brandy, or even better. Frontenac discovered that his old authority over his "children" no longer sufficed to hold them in the interest of the French, and even he was forced to consider an invasion of their lands and forests and lakes "to humble them and teach them a lesson."

We shall see later that his expedition that left on July 4, 1696, and headed for Onondaga, was victorious, but that its desired result was not accomplished then or for many years to come.

LA FEVBRE DA LA BARRE

Both Frontenac and his Intendant, Duchesneau, were recalled from Canada in 1682 at the royal request. This was as a result of their bitter complaints of each other in frequent letters to the king, and mutual accusations of dishonesty and incompetence. La Fevbre de la Barre was sent to Canada to replace the count, and when he and his intendant, Meules, arrived in Canada, it was the morning after a disastrous fire in which fifty-five buildigs were destroyed. As many of them were storehouses, filled with goods, the property consumed was more in value than all that remained in Canada.

La Barre was an army officer who had "achieved notable exploits against the English in the West Indies." Much of his sixty years had been spent as a lawyer, and as intendant of French colonies. Though he was only half a general, as if to compensate for this lack he preferred to be spoken to as Mon-

sieur le General, rather than M. le Gouverneur. This lack of military experience was to cost the Colony dear in the ensuing months, for the Iroquois, having fought the Andastes and defeated them, were free to turn their thoughts to new fields of conquest. The desire to control the fur trade was at the root of their next warlike foray, and the Illinois were the first objects of their attack. As these were French allies, Canada should have been involved.

Those who had a virtual monopoly of the beaver skins, brought down from the upper lakes each year to Montreal to the annual trading-fair, were the Indians most likely to become rich and powerful. The Iroquois sought such conquests of the northern and western tribes as would make them sole middlemen in this vast commerce. Hence, the vicious attack in 1683 on the Illinois nation, which they succeeded in bringing to ruin. The Illinois, who were France's allies, had every right to expect LaBarre's help against this attack, but other considerations were involved in the situation, which deterred him. The fact is that he had invested in trade goods, and sent them to Michilimackinac where a small French force held the fort. While abstaining from rushing to the aid of the beleaguered Illinois, La Barre continued in friendly relations with the Iroquois, figuring that there would be at least a year of profitable trade before some other emergency arose.

"The Iroquois owed their triumph as much to their sagacity and craft as to their extraordinary boldness and ferocity." So says Francis Parkman on whose testimony this treatise is based. It had always been their policy to attack their enemies one at a time, and while destroying one, to cajole the rest. La Barre counted on this in making his determination to desert the Illinois. When news reached him in a letter from Lamberville, the only Jesuit priest still conducting a mission in the Iroquois territory, that the Senecas were readying an attack on the Hurons and Ottawas of the upper lakes as well, he was beside himself with worry and rage.

Just prior to this, a band of Seneca and Cayuga chiefs had intercepted in Illinois territory a flotilla of seven canoes, fourteen men, and goods to the value of 16,000 livres, sent to trade with the Mississippi tribe. It is believed that they mistook the

men for followers of La Salle, who was at Fort St. Louis at the time, and whom La Barre despised. In fact, in the latter's placating talks with the Iroquois, he had suggested that it would be all right to interfere with La Salle's operations, and to "send him back to Canada." He was enraged when he heard of the backfire of his plans, and trembled for the vast amount of goods he and his fellow speculators had already sent to the lakes. There seemed to him but one recourse, to call out the militia, muster the Indian allies, advance to Lake Ontario and dictate peace to the Senecas at the head of an imposing force; or failing this, to attack and crush them. A small vessel lying at Quebec was dispatched to France with urgent appeals for immediate aid, though there was little hope that it could arrive in time. She bore a long letter to the king, half piteous and half bombastic. Refraining from all mention of the loss to the speculators by this turn of events. La Barre declared in his letter that the extreme necessity and despair of the people had forced him into war, and protested that he should always think it a privilege to lay down his life for His Majesty.

"I cannot refuse to your country of Canada and your faithful subjects to throw myself, with unequal forces, against the foe, while at the same time begging aid for a poor, unhappy people on the point of failure, victims of a nation of barbarians."

In the weeks which followed, though La Barre talked a big war, his conduct was far short of that aim. He was not by nature equal to the task of "tangling" with the ferocious objects of his wrath. The expedition set out from Quebec July 10, (1684). The Intendant, Meules, wrote thus to the Minister, Seignelay, the following day:

"All Quebec was filled with grief to see him embark on an expedition of war tete-a-tete with the man named LeChesnaye. Everybody says the war is a sham; that these two will arrange everything between them; and in a word, do whatever will help their trade. The whole country is in despair to see how matters are managed."

After a long stay in Montreal, La Barre embarked with his little army at La Chine, crossed Lake St. Louis and began the ascent of the upper St. Lawrence. Among the regulars which

formed part of the force was a young subaltern, Baron La Hontan, who has left a lively account of the expedition.

"Some of the men were in flatboats and some in birch canoes. Of the latter was La Hontan, whose craft was paddled by the Canadians. Several times they shouldered it through the forest to escape the turmoil of the rapids. The flaboats could not be so handled, and were dragged or pushed up the shallow water close to the bank by gangs of militiamen, toiling and struggling among the rocks and foam. The regulars, unskilled in such matters, were spared these fatigues, though tormented night and day by swarms of gnats and mosquitoes, the object of La Hontan's bitter invection. At length the last rapid was passed, and they moved serenly on their way, threaded the mazes of the Thousand Islands, entered what its now the harbor of Kingston, and landed under the palisades of Fort Frontenac.

"Here the whole force was soon assembled; regulars in their tents, the Canadian militia and the Indians in huts and under sheds of bark. Of these Red allies there were several hundred: Abenakis and Algonkians from Sillery, Hurons from Loretta, and converted Iroquois from St. Louis, near Montreal. The camp of the French was on a low, damp plain near the fort; and here a malarious fever presently attacked them, killing many and disabling many more. La Hontan says that La Barre, himself, was brought by it to the brink of the grave. If he had ever entertained any other purpose than that of inducing the Senecas to agree to a temporary peace, he now completely abandoned it .He dared not even insist that the offending tribe should meet him in council, but hastened to ask mediation of the Onondagas, which the letters from Lamberville [the Jesuit priest who headed the mission at Onondaga] had assured him they were prepared to offer. He sent Le Moyne to persuade them to meet him on their own side of the lake, and with such of his men as were able to move, crossed to the north of the Salmon River, then called "La Famine."

Thus Parkman describes the beginning of La Barre's ambitious expedition to "humble," or, if that did not succeed, to "crush" the Senecas.

As a result of the unwholesomeness of the French soldiers'

camp, malaria again attacked them. Nor were provisions adequate. This was due to bad management in transportation. The soldiers sickened rapidly, and before Le Moyne had returned with the Onondaga deputies, La Barre had sent the sick men homeward in order to conceal from the enemy his helpless condition. The thirteen deputies who arrived with LeMoyne on August third were told that La Barre had come alone with but a small escort from Fort Frontenac. They were headed by the famous chief, Garangula, [Big Mouth], and in talks that followed, the honor rested with the Iroquois, who were contemptuous of La Barre's pretentions, and insulting in refusing demands for restitution of the pilfered trading goods. Having learned from one of the deputies who understood French of the desperate circumstances of the expedition, Garganula spoke eloquently in rejecting the proffered terms:

"Onontio, when you left Quebec you must have thought the heat of the sun had burned the forests that make our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lake had overflowed them so that we could not escape from our villages. You must have thought so, Onontio. and curiosity to see such a flood must have brought you to this place. Now your eyes are opened, for I and my warriors have come to tell you that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks are all alive....

"Listen, Onontio, I am not asleep. My eyes are open, and by the sun that gives me light, I see a great captain at the head of a band of soldiers, who talks like a man in a dream. He says he came to smoke the pipe of peace with the Onondagas. But I see that he came to knock them in the head if so many of his Frenchmen were not too weak to fight. I see Onontio raving in a camp of sick men whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by smiting them with disease."

He then rejected, one by one, the four ultimatums that La Barre had set forth as a condition of peace, the chief of which was the demand for reparations for the trading goods pilfered in the Illinois country. He countered the French Governor's complaint that English traders had been taken by the Iroquois into the territory of the northern tribes in the following words:

"We are born free; we depend neither on Onontio [the

French] nor on Corlear, [the English]. We have the right to go whithersoever we please, to take with us whomsoever we please, and buy and sell of whomever we please. If your allies are your slaves or your children, treat them like slaves or children, and forbid them to deal with anybody but you Frenchmen. We have knocked the Illinois on the head because they cut down the tree of peace and hunted beaver on our lands. We have done less than the English and the French who have seized upon the lands of many tribes, driven them away, and built towns, villages and forts in their country.

"Listen, Onontio. My voice is the voice of the Five Tribes of the Iroquois. When they buried the hatchet at Cataraqui [Fort Frontenac] in the presence of your predecessor, they planted the tree of peace in the middle of the fort that it might be a post of traders and not of soldiers. Take care that all the soldiers you have brought with you, shut up in so small a fort, do not choke the tree of peace. I assure you in the name of the five tribes that our warriors will dance the dance of calumet [pipe of peace] under its branches; and that they will sit quiet on their mats and never dig up the hatchet till their brothers, Onontio and Corlear, separately or together, make ready to attack the Country that the Great Spirit has given to our Ancestors."

La Barre promised not to attack the Senecas, and Big Mouth, in spite of his former declaration, promised to make restitution for the pillage of the traders. However, he asserted that the Iroquois would continue to fight the Illinois, and La Barre "dared not utter a word in behalf of his allies." He agreed that the council fire should be moved to La Famine in Iroquois territory, and left for home the next morning, his main object of the reparations having been achieved. [Denonville tells us, however, that the promise was never fulfilled.] But in the eyes of his countrymen and Indian allies he was ever thereafter known as a weak and ruined man. There was but one voice of praise among all the detractors: that of the Jesuit Lamberville, the last of the French priests amid the Iroquois cantons.

Lamberville's constant effort during the months leading to La Barre's decision to attack was to prevent a rupture. He

wrote with every opportunity to the governor, warning of the calamity to which such a course would lead; and that it was vain to hope that the Senecas and Cayugas could be attacked while the other three tribes remained neutral. He warned La Barre that if the Senecas were attacked, the whole of the Indian confederacy would unite and fall upon Canada, ravaging, plundering, burning, butchering along the whole range of defenseless citizens.

"You cannot believe, Monsieur, with what joy the Senecas learned that you might possibly resolve on war. When they heard of the preparations at Fort Frontenac, they said that the French had a great mind to be stripped, roasted, and eaten; and that they will see if their flesh, which they suppose to have a salt taste by reason of the salt which we use on our food, be as good as their other enemies."

As the Jesuit was in effect a spy to feel out the temper of the Indians at Onondaga, this valuable piece of information should have given pause to La Barre's determination to seek redress. When, however, he did put the matter to a test, and failed miserably, it was a letter from the Jesuit which comforted him and which he sent to the King to justify his conduct. It follows:

"You deserve the title of Savior of the Country for making peace at so critical a time. In the condition in which your army was, you could not have advanced into the Seneca Country without utter defeat. The Senecas had double palisades, which could not have been forced without great loss. Their plan was to keep 300 men inside and to perpetually harass you with 1,200 others. All the Iroquois were to collect together and fire only at the legs of your people, so as to master them, and burn them at their leisure. And then, after having thinned out their numbers by a hundred ambuscades in the woods and grass, to pursure you in your retreat even to Montreal, and spread desolation around it."

This testimony of faith, written Oct. 9, 1684, was counteracted by a letter to the King the next day from the Intendant, Meules. He had sought every means for two years to disqualify his superior for the high post of Governor-General of Canada.

Parkman writes thus: "The Intendant also informs the Min-

ister that La Barre's excuses are a mere pretense; that everyone is astonished and digusted with him; that the sickness of the troops was his own fault because he kept them encamped on wet ground for an unaccountable length of time; that Big Mouth shamefully befooled and bullied him; that after the council at La Famine he lost his wits and went off in a fright; that since the return of his troops the officers have openly expressed their contempt for him; and that the people would have risen against him if he, Meules, had not taken measures to quiet them."

The next ship from France brought to the Governor a letter from his monarch:

"Monsieur La Barre, having been informed that your years do not permit you to support the fatigues inseparable from your office of Governor and Lieutenant General in Canada, I send you this letter to acquaint you with the fact that I have selected M. Denonville to serve in your place, and my intention is that, on his arrival, after resigning to him the command with all instructions concerning it, you embark for your return to France." It is signed, "Louis," and the date, October, 1684.

LE MARQUIS DE DENONVILLE

Denonville arrived in Canada in the summer of 1685 with his wife and a part of his family. In the same ship were Saint-Vallier, the destined Bishop, and five hundred soldiers. Like Frontenac, he was a man of both the army and the court, and had had thirty years' experience as a soldier. He had a high reputation for honor and loyalty to his sovereign, and was deeply religious; in complete harmony with the Jesuits.

"Much was expected of Denonville. He was to repair the mischief wrought by his predecessor, and restore the colony to peace, strength and security. The King had stigmatized La Barre's treaty with the Iroquois as disgraceful, and expressed indignation at this abandonment of the Illinois allies. All this was now to be changed. But it was easier to give the order at Versailles than to execute it in Canada.

"Denonville's difficulties were great; and his means of overcoming them were small. What he needed was more troops

and more money. The Senecas, insolent and defiant, were still attacking the Illinois; the tribes of the northwest were angry, contemptuous, and disaffected. The English of New York were urging claims to the whole country south of the Great Lakes, and to a controlling share of the western fur trade; while the English of Hudson's Bay were competing for the traffic of the northern tribes, and the English of New England were seizing upon the fisheries of Acadia, and now and then making piratical descents upon its coast. The great question lay between New York and Canada. Which of these two should gain mastery of the west?"

"Intrigues were on foot between the Senecas and the tribes of the lakes, which threatened to render an appeal to arms a necessity to the French. Some of the Hurons of Michilimackinac were bent on allying themselves wth the English. 'They like the manners of the French,' wrote Denonville, 'but they like the cheap goods of the English better.'

"The Senecas, in collusion with several Huron chiefs, had captured a considerable number of that tribe and of the Ottawas. The scheme was that these prisoners should be released on condition that the lake tribes should join the Senecas and repudiate their alliance with the French. The governor of New York favored this intrigue to the utmost. Denonville was quick to see that the peril of his colony rose, not from the Iroquois alone, but from the English of New York who prompted them."

By 1688, the state of Canada was deplorable. In the previous summer Denonville had led an apparently successful invasion of Seneca territory. Before his united armies the Senecas had fled, abandoning all forts and villages in their territory. Denonville's men had burned everything that would ignite, destroyed the standing crops, and slaughtered a number of animals, but had not followed their quarry who had slipped away to their confederates to the east. Because of this the campaign was only partially successful. It had, indeed, prevented the defection of the western Indians, and in some slight measure retored their respect for the French, of whom, nevertheless, one of them was heard to say that they were "good for nothing but to make war on hogs and corn."

"As for the Senecas," writes Parkman, "they were more en-

raged than hurt. They could rebuild their houses in a few weeks; and though they had lost their harvest, their confederates would not let them starve. A converted Iroquois had told the governor before he left that, if he overset a wasp's nest, he must crush the wasps, or they would sting him." Denonville left the wasps alive, and in the following year he learned to his regret what a mistake that had been.

One of the consequences of this campaign was to stir Governor Dongan at Albany into feverish action to attach the Iroquois more firmly to the English cause. He summoned their chiefs to a council at Albany where he scolded them for taking any counsel with the French without consulting the representative of their monarch, James II, who was himself. The Iroquois chiefs replied to this that they would make neither peace nor truce with the French until Fort Niagara was demolished and all the prisoners restored. This applied particularly to a group of neutral Iroquois living on the north shore of the lake, forming a colony at Quinte and Ganeyout, where the Sulpitians of Montreal had established a mission. At Denonville's order they had been overpowered without warning and sent to France to row in the king's galleys. The Iroquois had been enraged at this bit of treachery, and had been demanding the prisoners' return. The occasion was all the more deplorable, as the French intendant, Champigny, had urged them to visit Fort Frontenac on a friendly basis. But the king had ordered prisoners for his galley slaves, and Denonville, knowing how hard it was to get close enough to an Iroquois to capture him, had seized this opportunity to fulfill his monarch's command.

Governor Donegan was well pleased with his talk with the Iroquois chiefs.' He commended them and assured them that "King James, who is the greatest man the sun shines on, and never told a ly in his life, has given his word to protect you." This battle between the French and English monarchs through their respective governors had been going on ever since Denonville's appointment in 1685. At first their correspondence was courteous on both sides, but it soon grew pungent and at last acrid. It is completely preserved in the Documental History of New York State, and makes very amusing reading.

The main bone of contention was the land dispute. Another topic discussed in full was the Iroquois allegiance to James II, which was not nearly so binding in the minds of the Indians as the English imagined. Dongan did his best to seduce the western allies of the French to join the Iroquois and the English in an alliance to make war upon Onontio and drive his soldiers and colonists from the continent. The Indians wavered from time to time in their loyalty, and listened to first one and then the other of the European hosts.

During the many weeks when the French governor was preparing for the Seneca attack, dissembling his motives even from his own subordinates and friends, and declaring his purpose was merely to meet the Iroquois in conference at Fort Frontenac, Dongan was among the group who did not divine his true purpose. Lamberville was another, for Denonville had convinced himself that to warn the Jesuit of his purpose in time for him to withdraw to safety would be to alert the Onondagas, and rob the invaders of the surprise value of his plan. "This unpardonable reticence," writes Parkman, "placed the Jesuit in extreme peril, for the moment the Iroquois discovered the intended treachery, they would probably burn him as its instrument." In this instance, the Indians did not live up to their reputation as savages, for they had such trust in the Jesuit and such appreciation of his many hours of devotions in their interest that he was sent by a roundabout route to join the advancing French forces, accompanied by an Indian guide.

On a windy day in spring, when the grass was green and the trees had begun to bud, the writer drove north from Auburn to Wolcott. A few miles west on Route 194 took us to Sodus where a sharp right turn led to Lake Ontario. Following Route 18 along the shore, we arrived at Irondequoit Bay a little before noon. A very strong east wind helped us on our way. The lake, frequently glimpsed from shore, seemed to be stirred to its depths, and capped by enormous white crests which gave an illusion of skimming along the surface with the wind.

I had read the night before of Denonville's surprise attack upon the Senecas, and longed to stand under similar circumstances of weather on the narrow neck of land between the lake and bay where Denonville landed and made his camp.

Let Parkman beguile you with his description as he did me:

"White and red, Denonville now had nearly three thousand men under his command. All were gathered on the low point of land that separates Irondequoit Bay from Lake Ontario. 'Never,' says an eyewitness, 'had Canada seen such a sight; and never, perhaps, will she see such a sight again. Here was the camp of the regulars from France with the General's headquarters; the camp of the four battalions of Canadian militia, commanded by the 'Noblesse' of the country; the camp of the Canadian Indians; and farther on, a swarm of savages of every nation. Their features were different, and so were their manners, their weapons, their decorations, and their dances. They sang and danced and whooped and harrangued in every accent and tongue. Most of them wore nothing but horns on their heads, and tails of beasts behind their backs. Their faces were painted red or green, with black or white spots; their ears and noses were hung with ornaments of iron; and their naked bodies were daubed with figures of various sorts of animals."

"On the twelfth, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Denonville began his march, leaving four hundred men in a hastily built fort to guard the bateaux and canoes. Troops, officers and Indians, all carried their provisions on their backs. Some of the Christian Mohawks guided them; but guides were scarcely necessary, for a broad Indian trail led from the bay to the great Seneca town, twenty-two miles southward. They marched three leagues through the open forests of oak, and encamped for the night. In the morning the heat was intense. The men gasped in the tense and sultry air of the woods, or grew faint in the pitiless sun, as they waded waist-deep through the rank grass of the narrow intervales. They passed safely through two dangerous defiles, and, about two in the afternoon, began to enter a third. Dense forests covered the hills on either hand. La Durantaye, with Tonty and his cousin, De Lhut, led the advance, nor could all Canada have supplied three men better for the work. Each led his band of 'coureurs de bois,' white Indians, without discipline, and scarcely capable of it, but brave and accustomed to the woods. On their left were the Iroquois converts from the missions of Saut St. Louis and the Mountain of Montreal, fighting under the influence of their ghostly

prompters against their own countrymen. On the right were the pagan Indians from the west. The woods were full of these painted specters, grotesquely horrible in horns and tail; and among them flitted the black robe of Father Engelran, the Jesuit of Michilimackinac. Nicolas Perrot and two other bush-ranging Frenchmen were assigned to command them, but in fact they obeyed no man.

"These formed the vanguard, eight or nine hundred in all, under an excellent officer, Calliere, governor of Montreal. Behind came the main army under Denonville, each of the four battalions of regulars alternating with a battalion of Canadians. Some of the regulars wore light armor, while the Canadians were in plain attire of coarse cloth or buckskin. Denonville, oppressed by the heat, marched in his shirt. 'It is a rough life,' wrote the marquis, 'to tramp afoot through the woods, carrying a haversack, devoured by mosquitoes, and faring no better than a mere soldier.'

"With him was the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who had just arrived from France in command of the 800 men left to guard the colony, and who, eager to take part in the campaign, had pushed forward alone to join the army.... A guard of rangers and Indians brought up the rear."

When I read this passage in the middle of the night, it had seemed a very simple matter to follow the "broad Indian trail from the bay to the great Seneca town, twenty-two miles southward." In actuality, it was too complicated, three hundred years and more after the event, for the city of Rochester has swallowed up all traces of Denonville's route. There is a small State education marker at the site of the fort, and two meager indicators that the route followed the road just east of the bay, but before the third intervale was reached, where the Senecas in ambush engaged the French forces, and were so outnumbered by them that they gave up the battle without further resistance, a maze of streets and counterstreets threw me completely off the trail. We were helped in this aberration by a gas station attendant who gave us wrong directions, never having heard of Denonville and his long-ago march toward the "famous Babylon of the Senecas, where so many crimes have been committed, so much blood spilled, and so many burned."

On today's map this ambuscade took place in the vicinity of the village of Victor, and their chief town, called Gannagaro by Denonville, was on the top of Boughton's Hill, about a mile and a quarter distant. As Denonville kept a journal of the expedition, the whole pasage of time spent in fighting and destroyink the Seneca fort and towns is accounted for. At the end of ten days of laying waste to the towns and crops and slaughtering animals, he returned to the camp by the lake, and from there proceeded to Fort Niagara, where he proposed to rebuild on the site of La Salle's fort, ruined nine years before.

When Parkman says, "The Senecas, laden with such of their possessions as they could carry off, had fled to their confederates to the east; and Denonville did not venture to pursue them ... He had learned the dangers of this blind warfare of the wood; and he feared that the Senecas would waylay him again in the labyrinth of bushes that lay all about," it is with no disappprobation of his conduct.

"The amount of corn destroyed was prodigious. Denonville reckons it as the absurdly exaggerated amount of twelve hundred thousand bushels. His men, feasting without stint on green corn and fresh pork, were sickening rapidly, and his Indian allies were deserting. 'You cannot believe,' he wrote, 'what trouble I had to keep them until the corn was cut.' "

When in the middle of the afternoon we found ourselves still many miles away from Victor, in the southwest suburbs of Rochester, it seemed best to return to our starting point via Thruway, and leave the Seneca Babylon till another day. How much more I had hoped for from the trip!

Again to quote from Parkman: "On the fourth of July he had embarked at Fort Frontenac with four hundred bateaux and canoes, crossed the foot of Lake Ontario, and moved westward along the southern shore. The weather was rough, and six days passed before he descried the the low headlands of Irondequoit Bay. Far off on the glimmering water, he saw a multitude of canoes advancing to meet him. It was the flotilla of La Durantaye. Good management and good luck had so disposed it that the allied bands concentering from points more than a thousand miles distant, reached the rendezvous on the same day. This was not all. The Ottawas from Michilimacknac,

who refused to follow La Durantaye, had changed their minds the next morning, embarked in a body, paddled up the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, crossed to Toronto, and joined the allies at Niagara."

I had in mind standing, like Denonville, on the little neck of land where preparations were already under way for the rude fort in which to leave four hundred men to guard the bateaux and canoes; expecting to feel some psychic transference, however slight. But alas for romantic ideas! A high railway trestle, or something of the sort, hides the lake from the site of the fort, and no glimpse of the water was to be seen.

But on another day, when the promise of spring had been fufilled, I stood alone on Boughton's Hill. Before me stretched rolling hills and fertile fields, bordered by tufts of forest lands in as pleasing an array as I have ever seen. The sun blessed the land, and a soft breeze stirred the leaves. It seemed incredible that so much tragedy had been connected with this benign tract. For a while I felt the psychic transference I sought. Through whose eyes did I see this mellow, sunlit land? Was it an Indian squaw? A Huron slave? A French prisoner, torn from home and family, who had here found a new husband among the Seneca warriors, and forgetting her cultural upbringing, become one with the traditions of the Iroquois? Or Fremin, the gentle soldier of the Cross, who looked out upon this scene with love of God no greater than his love of humanity? It was a moment of great serenity

The immediate result of Denonville's attack on the Senecas was to stir up a veritable hornet's nest of Iroquois attacks on the colony. For two years the inhabitants of Montreal did not dare to carry on any action outside their forts. Fur trading was abandoned, and the inhabitants of Quebec, having no other means of livelihood, suffered great privation.

Finally in 1689, on the night between the fourth and fifth of August, 1,500 Iroquois warriors landed at La Chine, just above Montreal on the St. Lawrence River, and began there the most frightful massacre in Canadian history.

"Montreal was wild with terror. It had been fortified with palisades since the beginning of the war; but though there were troops in town under the governor himself, the people

were in mortal dread..... The Iroquois held undisputed possession of the open country, burning all the houses and barns over an extent of nine miles, and roamed in small scalping parties, pillaging and scalping, over more than twenty miles. Charlevoix says that the invaders remained in the neighborhood over twenty months; but this seems incredible, since troops and militia enough to drive them all into the St Lawrence might easily have been collected in less than a week.... Troops and inhabitants seem to have been paralyzed with fear. While some of the invaders went home to celebrate their triumph, others roamed in small parties through all the upper parts of the colony, spreading universal terror."

Canada lay bewildered and benumbed under the shock of this calamity, and more discouragement resulted when war was declared between England and France.

"The Iroquois alone had brought the colony to the brink of ruin, and now they would be supported by the neighboring British colonies, rich, strong and prosperous compared with impoverished Canada"

While Denonville still had 1,400 regulars in his army, three or four hundred Indian converts, plus the militia of the colony, some of which he had stationed at Montreal under Vaudreuil, he conceived another attack on the Iroquois—a double strike. One army was to assail the Onondagas and Cayugas; another the Mohawks and Oneidas. He implored the King for four thousand soldiers with this in mind. His good friend the Bishop [Saint Vallier] wrote the King endorsing the scheme:

"The Iroquois are the only tribe who oppose the progress of the gospel," he wrote. "They hold the French in the deepest contempt; and unless they are completely humbled within two years, His Majesty will have no colony left in Canada.

The Minister, Marquis de Seignelay, Colbert's son and successor, wrote back that no troops could be spared, and suggested that the inhabitants be called on for defense in case of another attack.

Denonville's hour had struck. A letter of recall was sent in May, and by October his successor had arrived. Who should it turn out to be but Count Frontenac! Louis had forgotten the

just complaints that led to his recall, and remembered now his wonderful rapport with the Indian allies.

In summing up Denonville's character, an especial point is made of his instinctive antipathy for Indians, Coureurs de Bois, and other lawless classes of the Canadian population. Their license and insurbordination distressed him, and he continually complained about this to the King.

"He was a good soldier in a regular war and a subordinate command. . . . He had some of the qualities of a good governor, while lacking others quite as essential. As regards illegal trade, which had colored the governing of those who had preceded him in office, his hands were undoubtedly clean. For the church and its hierarchy his devotion was a very great. While other governors complained of too many priests. Denonville wrote for more. When he left Canada, the only mourner besides the churchmen was his Intendant, Champigny; for the two chiefs of the colony, joined in a common union with the Jesuits, lived together in unexampled accord."

FIGURE OF COMTE DE FRONTENAC.

Chapter III

Return of Count Frontenac

Frontenac's return as Governor-General of Canada did not have the effect that Louis XIV had anticipated. Had he been allowed to continue at the helm during the seven years that had elapsed since his recall in 1682, the Indians might never have attained the insolence and self-assurance with which he had to contend in 1689. La Barre and Denonville, both aiming to subdue the Iroquois or crush them, had "but scotched the snake, not killed it."

But for one victory of a reconnoitering party sent up the Ottawa by Denonville just before Frontenac's arrival, all efforts to intimidate or destroy them had been in vain. On this occasion twenty-eight Coureurs de Bois under Du Lhut and Mantet had decimated a party of twenty-two Iroquois in two large canoes, who bore down on them yelling furiously. "The French received their fire, having manoeuvred so well that the rising sun blazed in the eyes of the enemy and spoiled their aim. With one man wounded, they then closed with the warriors when their guns were empty, and gave them a volley which killed and wounded eighteen of their number. One swam ashore. The remaining three were captured and given to the Indians to be burned." This engagement was the one bright spot in the last two years of Denonville's governing. It was small but decisive; an "earnest of greater things to come."

One of the first of many disappointments for Frontenac was the discovery that Denonville, shortly before his arrival, had ordered the destruction of Fort Frontenac after an Iroquois envoy demanded it. Still hoping to be in time to halt the destruction, Frontenac "battled against dejection, insubordination, and fear, and in a few days despatched a convoy of three

hundred men to relieve the place and stop the execution of Denonville's orders." Too late to intercept Valrenne, who had charge of the destroying expedition, they learned that he had "set fire to everything in the fort that would burn, sunk the three vessels belonging to the fort, thrown the cannon into the lake, mined the walls and bastions, and left matches burning in the powder magazines."

The Iroquois took possession of this abandoned fort, which had been only partially destroyed by the explosives, and found in it a large quantity of stores and ammunition left behind by the garrison in their too hasty retreat.

Frontenac was greatly disturbed by this loss. Relying on his old popularity with the Indians, he strove to regain his power over them and sue for peace. All of the prisoners who had been sent by Denonville to the King's galleys were returned by the same ship that bore Frontenac back to New France. Among them was a famous warchief of the Cayugas, Ourehaoue by name. The governor made overtures and gained his goodwill on the voyage, hoping to prevail upon the Iroquois, through him, to talk of peace. He was not one of the neutrals who had been seized at Fort Frontenac, but had been captured on the river at about the same time.

Frontenac placed three of the captives at the Cayuga's disposal, who sent them to Onondaga with a concillatory message:

"The great Onontio, whom you all know, has come back again. He does not blame you for what you have done; for he looks upon you as foolish children, and blames only the English who are the cause of your folly and have made you forget your obedience to a father who has always loved and never deceived you. He will permit me, Ourehaoue, to return to you as soon as you will come to ask for me—not as you have spoken of late, but like children speaking to a father."

The Onondaga magnates did not act on the chief's message at once, but sent for all the Iroquois to meet at council to which were also invited representatives of the English and Dutch at Albany, who sent in their stead a government interpreter from the Mohawk tribe. Though Frontenac was not immediately apprised of the chief business which transpired, he learned

eventually that his personal magnetism could no longer be counted upon to hold the Indians of the west faithful to the French. An alliance was here made between the Five tribes of the Iroquois, the English at Fort Albany, and the western Indians. Denonville's repudiation of French obligations to help them fight the Iroquois had turned the trick in favor of their enemies. "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em," had just made its initial appearance as a slogan in the history of war and politics!

The council at Onondaga, which met on Jan. 22, 1689, spelled ruin for the French cause in Canada. The following message was returned to Ourehaoue and Frontenac:

"Ourehaoue, the whole council is glad that you have come back. Onontio, you have told us that you have come back again and brought with you thirteen of our people who were carried off prisoners to France. We are glad of it. You wish to speak to us at Cataraqui [Fort Frontenac]. Don't you know that your council fire there is put out? It is quenched in blood. You must first send home the prisoners. When our brother, Ourehaoue, is returned to us, then we will talk with you of peace. You must send him and the others home this very winter. We will let you know that we have made peace with the tribes of Michilimackinac. You are not to think, because we return you an answer, that we have laid down the tomahawk. Our warriors will continue the war until you send our countrymen back to us."

It took some time for Frontenac to learn that his condscending paternalism would no longer prevail with the Iroquois, but when he received a second rebuff in the same tenor, he was convinced. Canada needed desparately a boost in morale, and he conceived the idea of three attacks on the British colonies, as he now clearly saw where the source of the trouble lay. Most of the French governors of Quebec were soldiers of high rank, and to them the way out of a desperate situation was to fight, on the theory that the best defense is a strong offense.

"The energy and fire of the undauted veteran had shot new life into the dejected population. He resolved . . . to take the offensive—not against the Iroquois, who seemed invulnerable as ghosts, but against the English; and by striking a few sharp and rapid blows to teach both friends and foes that Onontio

was still alive." He formed three parties of picked men—one at Montreal, one at Three Rivers, and one at Quebec. That of Montreal was ready first; it consisted of 210 men, of whom 96 were Indian converts chiefly from the two mission colonies of Saut St. Louis and Mission of Montreal. They were Christian Iroquois whom the priests had persuaded to leave their homes and settle in Canada, to the great indignation of their heathern countrymen. When Denonville attacked the Senecas, they joined him; but of late they had shown reluctance to fight their heathen kinsmen, with whom the French even suspected them of collusion. Against the English, however, they willingly took up the hatchet.

It was in the dead of winter when the expedition set out with Albany its objective. Adverse weather conditions slowed their progress, and Schenectady offered a nearer and easier approach. It was therefore decided to surround and raid that most western English post, and so successful was the attack, that almost the whole garrison and colony were butchered in the short space of two hours. A few survivors managed to reach Albany, fifteen miles away, and the Mohawk villages to the west; and news of the massacre brought all together to condole and plan for the future. Men from the nearby settlements and their Mohawk friends formed a posse to chase the intruders, who felt themselves safe as they were nearing Montreal. But there a few stragglers were overtaken and slain.

Peter Schuyler was the mayor of Albany. After learning of the French plan to attack that city in the spring, he wrote the authorities of Massachusetts for help:

"Dear neighbors and friends, we must acquaint you that niver poor people in the world was in a worse Condition than we are at Present—no Governor nor Command, no money to forward any expedition, and scarce men enough to maintain the City. We have here plainly laid the case before you and doubt not that you will take it so much to heart, and make all readiness in the Spring to invade Canada by water." [Feb. 15, 1690].

"The Mohawks were of the same mind. Their elders came down to Albany to condole with their Dutch and English friends; 'We are come,' said their orator, 'with tears in our

eyes, to lament the murders committeed by the perfidious French. Onontio comes to our country to speak of peace, but war is at his heart. He has broken into our house at both ends —once among the Senecas, and once more here; but we hope to be revenged. Brethren, our covenant with you is a silver chain that cannot rust or break. We are of the race of the bear; and the bear does not yield as long as there is a drop of blood in his body. Let us all be bears. We will go together with an army to ruin the country of the French. Therefore, send in all haste to New England. Let them be ready with ships and great guns to attack by water, while we attack by land.' " [Feb. 25, 1690.]

The two other war parties obtained results that were commesurate, so that Frontenac was well pleased with the success of his scheme. After the capture of Schenectady, he wrote: "You cannot believe, Monseigneur, the joy this slight success has caused, and how much it contributes to raise people from their dejection and terror."

Another result was the determination among all the English colonies to retaliate for these three bold strokes. Parkman explains:

"While Massachusetts was making ready to conquer Quebec by sea, the militia of the land expedition against Montreal had mustered at Albany. The rest, decimated by dysentry and smallpox, began their march to Lake Champlain, with bands of Mohawk, Oneida, and Mohegan allies. The western Iroquois were to join them at the lake, and the combined force was then to attack the head of the colony, while Phipps struck at its heart."

The fleet, with Sir William Phips in command, sailed from Nantasket on the 9th of August after a long delay in Boston, waiting to receive aid from the king of England, to whom the commander had written for a supply of arms and ammunition of which they were in great need.

The colony's credit was stretched to the limit, but while waiting for a reply, the colonial authorities urged on their preparations in the hope that the plunder of Quebec would pay the expenses of its conquest. "Humility was not among the New England virtues, and it was thought a sin to doubt that

God would give his chosen people the victory over papists and idolators, yet no pain was spared to insure divine favor. As Mather expresses it: 'The wheel of prayer was kept in continual motion' "

"In the eyes of the Indian converts, the war was a crusade against the enemies of God. They made their vows to the Virgin before the fight; and the squaws, in their distant villages on the Penebscot, told unceasing beads, and offered unceasing prayers for victory." This refers to the converted Abenaki, who were assured by the Jesuits that they were fighting a Holy War.

Obviously, the Deity could not satisfy both petitioners, and events proved that he favored the French.

For Commander Phipps who entered the basin at Quebec and anchored a short distance below the town, the weather now proved a deterrent to his plans. It was mid-October before he reached the long journey's end, and he had lost the advantage that a surprise attack would have given him. At it was, Frontenac had been warned through the offices of an Abenaki Indian of the approach of the English fleet, then harbored at Tadoussac. Here Phips delayed unnecessarily, and by the time he reached Quebec, the governor had caused fortifications and barricades to be erected on the two sides of the town for which the high cliffs did not serve for natural barriers to an ap.-proach. Earlier in the year [1690] Phipps had effected the surrender of Port Royal, simply by asking for it. So he felt confident that with his great show of seapower, a similar capitulation would result at this chief colony of New France. He accordingly sent ashore a subaltern officer, bearing a flag of truce, who was escorted blindfolded by a tortuous route into the presence of the Governor-General at the chateau. Here the blindfold was removed, and he beheld a tableau of elegance that surprised and confused him.

"The Governor stood before him, haughty and stern, surrounded by French and Canadian officers—Maricourt, Sainte-Helene, Longueuil, Villebon, Valrenne, Bienville, and many more,—bedecked with gold lace and silver lace, perukes and powder, plumes and ribbons, and all the martial frippery in which they took delight. After a moment he recovered his com-

posure, saluted Frontenac, and expressing a wish that the duty assigned him had been of a more agreeable nature, handed him the letter of Phips. Frontenac gave it to an interpreter who read it aloud that all might hear." The letter follows:

"Sir William Phips, Knight, General, and Commander-in-Chief in and over their Majesties' Forces of New England, by Sea and Land, to Count Frontenac, Lieutenant General and Governor for the French King at Canada; or, in his absence, to his Deputy, or him or them in chief command at Quebec:

"The war between the crown of England and France doth not only sufficiently warrant, but the destruction made by the French and Indians, under your command and encouragement, upon the persons and estates of their Majesties' subjects of New England, without provocation on their part, had put them under the necessity of this expedition for their own security and satisfaction. And although the cruelties used against them by the French and Indians might, upon the present opportunity, prompt us unto a severe revenge, yet, being desirous to avoid all inhumane and unchristianlike actions, and to prevent shedding of blood as much as may be,—

"I, the aforesaid Wiliam Phips, Knight, do hereby, in the name and in the behalf of their most excellent Majesties, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by order of their said Majesties' government of the Massachusetts-colony in New England, demand a present surrender of your forts and castles undemolished, and the King's and other stores, unimbezzled, with a seasonable delivery of all captives; together with a surrender of all your persons and estates to my dispose; upon the doing whereof, you may expect mercy from me, as a Christian, according to what shall be found for their Majesties' service and subjects' security. Which if you refuse forthwith to do, I am come provided, and am resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by force of arms to revenge all wrongs and injuries offered, and bring you under subjection to the Crown of England, and, when too late, make you wish you had accepted the favour tendered.

"Your answer positive in an hour returned by your own trumpet, with the return of mine, is required upon the peril that will ensue."

The French were properly indignant at this epistle, and Frontenac bristled as he replied to the subaltern: "Tell your general that I do not recognize King William; and that the Prince of Orange, who so styles himself, is a usurper who has violated the most sacred laws of blood in attempting to dethrone his father-in-law. I know no King of England but King James. Your general ought not to be surprised at the hostilities which he says the French have carried on in the colony of Massachusetts; for, as the King my master has taken the King of England under his protection, and is about to replace him on his throne by force of arms, he might have expected that his Majesty would order me to make war on a people who have rebelled agains their lawful prince." Then, turning with a smile to the officers about him: "Even if your general offered me conditions a little more gracious, and if I had a mind to accept them, does he suppose that these brave gentlemen would give their consent, and advise me to trust a man who broke his agreement with the governor of Port Royal, or a rebel who has failed in duty to his King, and forgotten all the favors he had received from him, to follow a prince who pretends to be the liberator of England and the defender of the faith, and yet destroys the laws and privileges of the kingdom and overthrows its religion? The divine justice which your general invokes in his letter will not fail to punish such acts severely."

The astonished messenger asked Frontenac to give him his answer in writing. "No," replied Frontenac, "I will answer your general only by the mouths of my cannon, that he may learn that a man like me is not to be summoned after this fashion. Let him do his best, and I will do mine"

In reading this peppery reply, my mind sought the memory of General MacAuliffe's answer in the Battle of the Bulge at Bastogne, when invited by Von Luettwitz to surredner his men: *"Nuts!"* Discounting several generation gaps, it seems to have the same tone.

Let us follow briefly the advance of the English from Fort Albany with their Iroquois allies. They were destined to attack Montreal, but the expedition bogged down at the entrance to Lake Champlain. There were disputes between the men of the Connecticut party and that of New York, as well as quarrels

in the New York militia itself. There was a lack of provision, a want of canoes, and an epidemic of smallpox. All had conspired to ruin the enterprise which had been mishandled from the start. There was no birch bark to make good the lack of canoes, and owing to the lateness of the season, the bark of the elm would not peel.

"Such of the Iroquois as had joined them were cold and sullen. When the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas heard of the smallpox, they refused to move." It was impossible to advance, and Winthrop, the commander, gave orders to return to Albany, leaving Phips to conquer Canada alone.

Before returning home, Winthrop permitted one of his captains to take a band of volunteers into enemy territory, so that the expedition might not be without any rewards at all. In a surprise attack on La Prairie they killed, captured and burned.

"The English had little to boast in this affair, the paltry termination of an enterprise from which great things had been expected. Nor was it for their honor to adopt the savage and cowardly warfare in which their enemies had led the way. The blow that had been struck was less an injury than an insult; but as such, it galled Frontenac excessively, and he made no mention of it in his dispatch home."

A few more Iroquois attacks and a few more murders kept Montreal in alarm until October 10, when the messenger arrived with the news that Phips and his flotilla were anchored in the harbor of Tadoussac. After the successful defense of Quebec, six years passed before Frontenac's all-out attempt to wipe out the Iroquois. In the meantime, "Spring came each year at length, and brought with it the swallows, the bluebirds, and the Iroquois."

Chapter IV

Colonization vs. Warfare

In reading Parkman's account of the attack which ensued, the idea is definitely discerned that it lay within Phip's power to effect the conquest of Quebec.

Over a period of fifty years, during which our author envisioned, researched, planned, and carried out his project of writing the history of the colonization of New England and New France, he studied every source of information available to him—not only the books and published manuscripts, the historical papers and letters in museums on both sides of the Atlantic—but private letters held for generations by the descendants of the actors on this crowded stage. Here warfare vied with colonization, and royal intrigue as well as colonial manipulation of the fur trade set the tone of the action. Charges and counter-charges between governors and intendants were sent to the royal personage in France, and missives returned from the King and his Minister, perhaps delayed a whole year in transit. These varied in tone from mild criticism to outright condemnation. Fully involved in every controversy were the Jesuit fathers and priests, whose preoccupation with saving the souls of the colonists as well as of the Indians, left so much time on their hands that a very great volume of historical facts lie at hand in the archives of France, as well as in Canada and New York State. The *Relations,* as they were called, were yearly reports to the head of the Jesuit Order in France. They were widely published at the time and excited great interest in the minds of the inhabitants of that country, and great zeal in the hearts of some of the more selfless men and women who were inspired by these accounts to join the number already living lives of unstinted devotion in the faraway Cana-

dian wilderness. These letters are available now to the serious historian, but Parkman had far larger sources to draw on as well. In some cases, where the reporting of such long-ago events conflicts, his great powers of intellect have been put to the task of sifting all the known or reported facts and determining their value in relation to credibility. Every source is labeled and commented on in notes at the bottom of his page.

This careful historian's contention is that Phips sacrificed the value of surprise, deliberated when he should have taken immediate action, lost valuable time waiting for favorable winds, and became overconfident when caution would have best served his course. Had he advanced at once on Quebec when Frontenac's message was relayed to him, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the hastily assembled reinforcements who had marched all day from Montreal under their governor, Calliere, would not have reached Quebec in time.

The Bishop, and Jesuit fathers and priests at Quebec, as well as the host of earnest nuns and nurses at the convent and hospital, prayed earnestly for victory in the clash, and certain it is that vagaries of wind and weather favored the Canadians and played a large part in determining the result of the week-long siege. Too, by them the ineffectiveness of the English fire was attributed to Divine intervention. Parkman says of this:

"The practice of the English gunners was so bad that many of their shot struck harmlessly against the face of the cliff. Their guns, too, were very light and appear to have been charged with a view to the most rigid economy of gunpowder; for the balls failed to pierce the stone walls of the buildings, and did so little damage that, as the French boasted, twenty crowns would have repaired it all."

Mother Jucherau adds this picture to confirm the inefficiency of the English fire: "On the day when the firing was the heaviest, twenty-six balls fell into our yard and garden [at the hospital of Hotel Dieu], and were sent to the gunners at the batteries who returned them to their English owners"

I do not find it unreasonable to support their theory that the defenders were favored by Divine Intervention. Especially when it is learned that Phips was told by one of the French prisoners of the ravine a mile or so above the town leading up

the high cliffs which had been considered impregnable. It was this approach by which the armies of Wolfe were to make their successful assault in 1759.

"But Phips chose to abide by the original plan."

There was great rejoicing in Quebec when the English fleet withdrew. It had consisted of thirty-four vessels under sail. Four were large ships and several others of considerable size, and the rest were brigs, schooners, and fishing craft, all thronged with men. There was great fear that on the way down the St. Lawrence the fleet would intercept ships that were expected momently from France with large sums of money and the yearly supplies for the colony. "Messengers had been sent down the river, who passed the British in the dark, found the ships at St. Paul's Bay and warned them of the danger. They turned back and hid themselves within the mouth of the Saguenay, but not soon enough to prevent Phips from learning of their retreat. He tried to follow them; but thick fogs arose, with a persistent tempest of snow, which completely baffled him, and after waiting five days, he gave over the attempt. When he was gone, the three ships emerged from their hiding place, and sailed again for Quebec. Their deliverance was ascribed to Saint Ann, the mother of the virgin, and also to Saint Francis Xavier, whose name one of the ships bore."

A time of thanksgiving, rejoicing and dedication ensued. Frontenac was acclaimed a hero, and the day closed with a great bonfire in his honor. In France, also, he was acclaimed, and a medal was struck off to commemorate the unsuccessful efforts of the English to take the citadel of Quebec. A more tangible result appeared with the medal in the form of a gift of money with the commendation of the King.

As no Iroquois warriors were involved, the complete tabulation of events during the siege will not be found here, but the effect on the Indian mentality was great. Respect for "Onontio" again burgeoned, and a corresponding disillusionmen with the English forces took place. Their allegiance began to shift in the former's favor. But there were still many battles to be fought against them, and Frontenac was the power behind the conflicts.

"The river Ottawa was the main artery of Canada, and to stop it was to stop the flow of her lifeblood. The Iroquois knew this and their constant effort was to close it so completely that the annual supply of beaver skins would be prevented from passing, and the colony be compelled to live on credit. It was their habit to spend the winter in hunting among the forests between the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, and then, when the ice broke up, to move in large bands to the banks of the former stream, and lie in ambush at Chaudiere, the Long Saut, or other favorable points, to waylay the passing canoes.

"On the other hand it was the constant effort of Frontenac to drive them off, an almost impossible task. Many conflicts, great and small, took place with various results; but in spite of every effort, the Iroquois blockade was maintained more than two years."

When it was finally broken, the sudden appearance on Lake St. Louis of one hundred canoes, loaded to the gunwales with the precious beaver skins, portended the return of happy days for the French colony. At first report, it was thought that the huge flotilla was the forerunner of another Iroquois attack, and a repetition of the terrible massacre at La Chine two years before.

"Cannon were fired to call in the troops from the detached posts; when alarm was suddenly turned to joy by the arrival of other messengers to announce that the newcomers were not enemies, but friends. They were the Indians of the upper lakes descending from Michilimackinac to trade in Montreal.

"On the next day they all came down the rapids and landed near the town. There were fully five hundred of them—Hurons, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Pottawotamies, Crees, and Nippissings, with a hundred and ten canoes laden with beaver skins to the value of nearly 100,000 crowns. Nor was this all, for a few days after, La Durantaye, late commander at Fort Michilimackinac, arrived with fifty-five more canoes, manned by French traders and filled with valuable furs. The stream of wealth dammed back so long was flowing upon the colony when it was most needed. Never had Canada known a more

prosperous trade than now in the midst of her danger and tribulation. It was a triumph for Frontenac. If his policy had failed with the Iroquois, it had found a crowning success among the tribes of the lakes."

Frontenac had long had in mind an attack on the Iroquois at Onondaga. He had delayed for two reasons. One: for troops to reinforce those already at his disposal; two: until Fort Frontenac, which Denonville had abandoned, could be reactivated.

"A party in the colony vehemently opposed the measure, on the grounds that the fort would be used by the friends of Frontenac for the purpose of trade. [as it had been in La Salle's heyday]. It was nevertheless very important, if not essential, for holding the Iroquois in check. They themselves felt it to be so; and when they heard that the French intended to occupy it again, they appealed to the governor of New York, who told them that if the plan were carried into effect, he would march to their aid with all the power of his government." Fletcher, however, could get no men-at-arms from his own or neighboring settlements.

"In the question of Fort Frontenac, as in everything else, the opposition to the Governor, always busy and vehement, found its chief opponent in the intendant, Champigny, who wrote the minister that the policy of Frontenac was all wrong; that public good was not its object; that he disobeyed or evaded the orders of the King; and that he had suffered the Iroquois to delude him by false overtures of peace."

Letters from the intendant to Louis XIV so upset him that he had his minister write Frontenac that the plan, so close to his heart, "Must absolutely be abandoned." Frontenac had already anticipated this rejection of his idea, and sent 700 men to Lake Ontario to repair the fort. When the letter from Pontchartrain arrived, Champigny demanded their recall. Frontenac refused. The fort was repaired, garrisoned, and victualled for a year.

"A successful campaign was now necessary to the governor, for by this alone could he hope to avert the consequences of his audacity. He waited no longer, but mustered troops, militia, and Indians, and marched to attack the Iroquois."

On July 4, 1696, nine years to the day after the start of

Denonville's partially successful invasion of Seneca territory, Frontenac left Montreal at the head of about 2,200 men. On the nineteenth he reached Fort Frontenac, and on the 20th he crossed to the southern shore of Lake Ontario

A swarm of Indian canoes led the way; next followed two battalions of regulars in bateaux commanded by Callieres, then governor of Montreal, and following Frontenac's demise in 1698, Governor-General of Canada. Then more bateaux, laden with cannon, mortars, and rockets; then Frontenac himself, surrounded by the canoes of his staff and his guard; then 800 Canadians, under Ramesay; while more regulars and more Indians, all commanded by Vaudreuil, brought up the rear. In two days they reached the mouth of the Oswego. Strong scouting parties were sent out to scour the forests in front, while the expedition slowly and painfully worked its way up the stream.

"Most of the Canadians marched through the matted woods along the banks, while the bateaux and canoes were rowed, paddled, or dragged forward against the current. On the evening of the thirtieth they reached the falls, where the river plunged over ledges of rock which completely stopped the way. The work of carrying was begun at once. The Indians and Canadians carried the canoes to the navigable water above, and gangs of men dragged the bateaux up the portage path on rollers. Night soon came, but the work was continued by torchlight until ten o'clock. Frontenac would have passed on foot like the rest, but the Indians would not have it so. They lifted him in his canoe upon their shoulders, and bore him in triumph, singing and yelling, through the forest and along the margin of the rapids. The blaze of torches lighted the strange procession, where plumes of officers and uniforms of the governor's guard mingled with the feathers and scalp locks of the savages."

The troops reached Onondaga Lake ["Gannentaa" of the Iroquois], and stopped almost half a league from the salt springs of Salina. There building a fort to protect the canoes, bateaux and stores, they saw in the evening of the next day, a "ruddy glow above the southern forest," which told them that the town of Onondaga was on fire. It was, at this time, just south of Jamesville on Route 91.

"At sunrise on the next day, the army moved forward in order of battle. It was formed in two lines: regulars at right and left and Canadians in the center. Callieres commanded the first line and Vaudreuil the second. Frontenac was between them, surrounded by his staff officers and his guard, and followed by the artillery which relays of Canadians dragged and lifted forward with inconceivable labor. The Governor, enfeebled by age, was carried in an armchair; while Callieres, disabled by gout, was mounted on a horse, brought for the purpose on one of the bateaux. To Subercase fell the hard task of directing the march among the dense calm of the primeval forest by hill and hollow, over rocks and fallen trees; through swamps, brooks and gullies; among thickets, brambles and vines. It was but eight miles to Onondaga, but they were all day reaching it, and evening was near when they emerged from the shadows of the forest into the broad light of the Indian clearing."

The town was burned to the ground, and only the maize fields stretching for miles around them told of the Indian village that had been the capital of the Iroquois tribes. Onondaga, formerly an open town, had been fortified by the English, who had enclosed it with a double range of strong palisades forming a rectangle, flanked by bastions at the four corners, and surrounded by an outer fence of tall poles. The place was not defendable against cannon and mortars, and the 400 warriors belonging to it had been but slightly reinforced from the other tribes of the confederacy, each of which feared that the French attack might be directed against itself. At the approach of an enemy five times their number, they had burned their town, and retreated into the distant forest.

It took two days for the troops to destroy all growing corn, and the caches of food buried nearby. The Oneidas sent an envoy to beg peace, and Frontenac made harsh terms with them, stating that they must all migrate to Canada and settle there. Vaudreuil, with 700 men sent to enforce the demand, completely demolished the Oneida villages and corn, and returned at the end of three days with a number of the chiefs as hostages for Frontenac's demands.

"There was some thought of marching on Cayuga, but the

governor judged it to be inexpedient; and as it would be useless to chase the fugitive Onondaga, nothing remained but to return home."

While Frontenac was on the march, Governor Fletcher got news of this expedition, but did not send the promised aid to the Onondagas and Oneidas, judging it to be inexpedient. He did, however, send them corn to see them through the winter, and thus prevented the famine which the French hoped would cause their extinction.

"What Frontenac had feared had come to pass. The enemy had saved themselves by flight; and his expedition, like that of Denonville, was but half successful. He took care, however, to announce it to the king as a triumph."

Eighty-one years had elapsed between Champlain's ill-fated expedition to aid the Hurons against the Iroquois and this march of Frontenac. Though there has always been great controversy among historians as to the location of the Onondaga fort where Champlain met such a humliating defeat, the choice of this same route by Frontenac and his hordes seem to argue against the Nichols Pond site.

As to Frontenac's decision not to molest the Cayugas, I wonder how much he was influenced by his strong friendship for Ourehaoue, the captured Cayuga war-chief who was being sent back to Canada on Frontenac's ship? The Governor-General had fostered the relationship before he learned that the Iroquois in 1689 were far less inclined to listen to reason than during his former governorship. He had hoped to use Ourehaoue as a go-between in returning the prisoners, as we have seen. Was the friendship thus formed an enduring one?

I have found no mention of Frontenac's ever having been among the Cayugas, and wondered at the naming of the island just off Union Springs on the east side of Cayuga Lake after him. . . . Did Ourehaoue, returning to Gewauga [the site of the present village named above] thus honor out of respect and friendship the greatest of the "Onontios" in New France?

Chapter V

Calliere Appointed

The year 1698 brought peace between the crowns of England and France, but on the new continent there was still controversy between their respective governors, the Earl of Bellomont and Count Frontenac. Much correspondence had passed back and forth in the matter of Iroquois sincerity in suing for peace, and also in regards to their failure to make good on their promise to return French and Indian prisoners.

Frontenac's last official act took place at the celebration of the *Te Deum,* as ordered by the king, and Bellomont's messenger, Captain John Schuyler, who had come for a parley with him, was present at the time of this important occasion. The letter which he presented to the Governor provoked this remark:

"My Lord of Bellomont threatens me. Does he think that I am afraid of him? He claims the Iroquois, but they are none of his. They call me 'father,' and they call him 'brother'; and shall not a father chasten his children when he sees fit?"

Parkman gives us this picture of the events in the celebration of the peace:

"The Sunday following Schuyler's arrival was the day appointed for the *Te Deum* by the King; and all the dignitaries of the colony, with a crowd of lesser note, filled the cathedral. There was a dinner of ceremony at the Chateau, to which Schuyler was invited; and he found the table of the Governor thronged with officers. Frontenac called on his guests to drink to the health of King William. Schuyler replied by a toast in honor of King Louis; and the Governor next gave the health of the Earl of Bellomont. The peace was then solemnly proclaimed, amid the firing of cannon from the battlements and

ships; and the day closed with a bonfire and a general illumination. On the next evening, Frontenac gave Schuyler a letter in answer to the threats of the earl. He had written with shaking hand, but unshaken will and unbending pride:

" 'I am determined to pursue my course without flinching; and I request you not to try to thwart me by efforts which will prove useless. All the protection and all the aid you tell me you have given and will continue to give the Iroquois, against the terms of the treaty, will not cause me much alarm, nor make me change my plans; but rather, on the contrary, engage me to pursue them still more.' "

"As the old soldier traced these lines, the shadow of death was upon him. Toils and years, passions and cares, had wasted his strength at last, and his fiery soul could bear him up no longer."

Within a few weeks Frontenac lay on his deathbed, in perfect composure and in full possession of his faculties. He lingered long enough for a complete conciliation to take place with his intendant, Champigny, who had been the source of so much trouble in his later years, and who had written villifying accounts of his governing to the King and Minister, Pontchartrain. Death came November 28, 1668. He was in his 78th year.

Of the immensity of his service to the colony there can be no doubt. He found it, under Denonville, in humiliation and terror; and he left it in honor, and almost in triumph. Calliere was appointed interim governor, and immediately assumed great powers, implacably alieniating the Intendant Champigny. The court sustained Calliere, and ordered him to enjoy the privileges he had assumed, and in due time he received the formal appointment as Governor-General of all New France.

We have met Calliere three times in his capacity of soldier, as well as wise governor of Montreal. In all instances he proved to be valiant and courageous—in 1687 supporting Denonville in the expedition against the Senecas; shepherding the panicky residents of Montreal during the disastrous Iroquois invasion of 1689, and the two years of terror that followed; marching at the head of his troops all day in order to reach Quebec in time to reinforce Frontenac's forces against Sir William Phips' attempt to capture the city; and again, in Frontenac's expedi-

tion to "erase" the Iroquois in the summer of 1696. He was cited for bravery by Frontenac, and sent by the King the cross of the Military Order of St. Louis. It was up to him to carry on the work that Frontenac had begun; and this he did, but in a manner far less resolute. The Iroquois, in fact, recognized that he was not the stern father-master that Frontenac had been, and took advantage of his vacillation when the treaty was finaly agreed upon that put an end to their war against Canada.

The story of this treaty, signed in 1700, follows in part in Parkman's words:

"Every obstacle being at length removed or smoothed over, the fourth of August was named for the grand council. A vast oblong space was marked out on a plain near the town, and enclosed with a fence of branches. At one end was a canopy of boughs and leaves, under which were seats for the spectators. Troops were drawn up in line along the sides; the seats under the canopy were filled by ladies, officials, and the chief inhabitants of Montreal; Calliere sat in front, surrounded by interpreters; and the Indians were seated on the grass around the open spaces. There were more than thirteen hundred of them, gathered from a distance of full two thousand miles—Hurons and Ottawas from Michilimackinac; Ojibways from Lake Superior; Crees from the remote north; Pottawatamies from Lake Michigan; Macoutins, Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes and Menominies from Wisconsin; Miamis from St. Joseph; Illinois from the River Illinois; Abenakis from Acadia; and many allied hordes of less account—each savage painted with divers hues and patterns, and each in his dress of ceremony; leathern shirts fringed with scalp locks; colored robes or blankets of bison skin; bristling crests of hair or long, lank tresses; eagle feathers or horns of beasts. Pre-eminent among them all sat their valiant and terrible foes, the warriors of the confederacy. 'Strange,' exclaims La Potherie, 'that four or five thousand should make a whole new world tremble. New England is but too happy to gain their good graces; New France is often wasted by their wars, and our allies dread them over an extent of more than fifteen hundred leagues.' It was more of a marvel than he knew, for he greatly overrates their number.

"Calliere opened the council with a speech, in which he told the assembly that, since but few tribes were represented at the treaty the year before, he had sent for them all to ratify it; that he now threw their hatchets and his own into a pit, so deep that nobody could find them; that henceforth they must live like brethren; and if, by chance, one should strike another, the injured brother must not revenge the blow, but come to him for redress, Onontio, their common father. Nicolas Perrot and the Jesuits who acted as interpreters repeated the speech in five different languages; and to confirm it, thirty-one wampum belts were given to the thiry-one tribes present."

Then each tribe answered in turn. First came Hassaki, chief of an Ottawa band known as Cut Tails. He approached with a majestic air, his long robe of beaver skins trailing on the grass behind him. Four Iroquois captives followed, with eyes bent on the ground; and when he stopped before the governor, they seated themselves at his feet.

"You asked us for our prisoners," he said, "and here they are. I set them free because you wish it, and I regard them as my brothers." Then turning to the Iroquois deputies: "Know that if I pleased I might have eaten them; but I have not done as you would have done. Remember this when we meet, and let us be friends." The Iroquois ejaculated their approval.

Next came a Huron chief, followed by eight Iroquois prisoners, who, as he declared, had been bought at great cost, in kettles, guns, and blankets, from the families who had adopted them. "We thought that the Iroquois would have done by us as we have done by them; and we were astonished to see that they had not brought us our prisoners. Listen to me, my father, and you, Iroquois, listen! I am not sorry to make peace, since my father wishes it, and I will live in peace with him and you."

Thus in turn came the spokesmen of all the tribes, delivering their prisoners and making speeches. The Miami orator said: "I am very angry with the Iroquois, who burned my son some years ago; but today I forget all that. My father's will is mine. I will not be like the Iroquois, who have disobeyed his voice."

The orator of the Mississagas came forward, crowned with the head and horns of a young bison bull, and, presenting his

prisoners, said: "I place them in your hands. Do with them as you like. I am only too proud that you count me among your allies."

The chief of the Foxes now rose from his seat at the farther end of the enclosure, and walked sedately across the whole open space towards the stand of spectators. His face was painted red, and he wore an old French wig, with its abundant curls in a state of complete entanglement. When he reached the chair of the governor, he bowed, and lifted the wig like a hat, to show that he was perfect in French politeness. There was a burst of laughter from the spectators; but Calliere, with ceremonious gravity, begged him to put it on again, which he did, and proceeded with his speech, the pith of which was briefly as follows:

" 'The darkness is gone, the sun shines again, and now the Iroquois is my brother.'

"Then came a young Algonquin war chief, dressed like a Canadian, but adorned with a drooping red feather and a tall ridge of hair like the crest of a cock. It was he who slew Black Kettle, that redoubted Iroquois whose loss filled the confederacy with mourning, and who exclaimed as he fell, 'Must I, who have made the whole earth tremble, now die by the hand of a child!' The young chief spoke concisely and to the purpose: 'I am not a man of counsel: it is for me to listen to your words. Peace has come, and now let us forget the past.'

"When he and all the rest had ended, the orator of the Iroquois strode to the front, and in brief words gave their adhesion to the treaty: 'Onontio, we are pleased with all you have done, and we have listened to all you have said. We assure you by these four belts of wampum that we will stand fast in our obedience. As for the prisoners whom we have not brought you, we place them at your disposal, and you will send and fetch them.' "

The calumet was lighted. Calliere, Champigny and Vaudreuil drew the first smoke, then the Iroquois deputies, and then all the tribes in turn. The treaty was duly signed, the representatives of each affixing his mark, in the shape of some bird, beast, fish, reptile, insect, plant, or nondescript object.

" 'Thus,' says La Potherie, 'the labors of the late Count

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Frontenac were brought to a happy consummation.' The work of Frontenac was indeed finished, though not as he would have finished it. Calliere had told the Iroquois that till they surrendered their Indian prisoners he would keep in his own hands the Iroquois prisoners surrendered by the allied tribes. To this the spokesman of the confederacy coolly replied: 'Such a proposal was never made since the world began. Keep them, if you like. We will go home, and think no more about them; but if you gave them to us without making trouble, we should have no reason to doubt your sincerity, and should all be glad to send you back the prisoners we took from your allies.'

"Calliere yielded, persuaded the allies to agree to the conditions, gave up the prisoners, and took an empty promise in return. It was a triumph for the Iroquois who meant to keep their Indian captives, and did, in fact, keep nearly all of them."

According to an official estimate made by the English at the end of the war, the Iroquois numbered 2,550 warriors in 1689, and only 1,230 in 1698. In other words, their strength was reduced at least one half. They afterwards partially recovered it by the adoption of prisoners, and still more by the adoption of an entire kindred tribe, the Tuscaroras. In 1720 the English reckoned them at 2,000 warriors. One reason for their apparent reluctance to return Indian prisoners was this great need to replace their own warriors slain in battle. Of their English and French prisoners, many of them, when freedom was offered, preferred to remain with the Indian families which had adopted them, and to whose uncivilized ways they had become adjusted.

"The chief objects of Frontenac were gained. The power of the Iroquois was so far broken that they were never again very formidable to the French. Canada had confirmed her Indian alliance, and rebutted the English claim to sovereignty over the five tribes, with all the consequences that hung upon it. By the treaty of Ryswick, the great questions at issue in America were left to the arbitrament of future wars; and meanwhile, as time went on, the policy of Frontenac developed and ripened. Detroit was occupied by the French, and the passes of the west were guarded by forts, another New France grew up at the mouth of the Mississippi, and lines of military

communications joined the Gulf of Mexico with the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while the colonies of England lay passive between the Alleghanies and the sea, till roused by the trumpet that sounded with wavering notes on many a bloody field to peal at last in triumph from the Heights of Abraham."

Acknowledgments

The text of this book is taken entirely from the following works of Francis Parkman:

Pioneers of France in the New World—Vols. I and II.

The Old Regime in Canada—Vols. I and II.

A Half Century of Conflict—Vols. I and II.

La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West.

Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.

The Jesuits in North America—Vols. I and II.

Qutotations in this work are from Champlain, La Hontan, La Potherie, Cotton Mather.

Letters quoted by Parkman are from the folowing:

Louis XIV, Colbert, Frontenac, Duchesneau, La Barre, Meules, Dongan, Denonville, Saint Valier, Champigny, Pontchartrain, Seignelay, Mother Jucherau, Phips, Peter Schuyler, Lord Bellomont, Le Jeune, Lamberville, Laval

Direct quotes from the Indians: Orehaoue, Agariata, Garangula, Black Kettle, The Flemish Bastard, Hasaki, and representatives of the Huron chiefs, Miamis, Messagas, Foxes, Algonquins and Iroquois.

Credits are given in notes at the bottom of the pages.