THE STORY

of the

CAYUGAS

1609–1809

Book II–Nova Francia

By MARY VAN SICKLE WAIT

1966

DeWitt Historical Society of
Tompkins County, Inc.
Ithaca, New York

DEDICATED

to

MORRIS BISHOP

and the Pioneers of New France
Who Were His Inspiration
And Became Mine

Foreword

In 1815, when Joha Keats discovered the to him incomparable delights of Chapman's *Homer*, he wrote a sonnet which immortalized all three—Homer, Chapman and Keats. A hundred and fiifty years later, when the author of this pamphlet "first looked into" Bishop's *Champlain*, she experienced a similar delight, which grew with each perusal that followed. For the first time the Iroquois League became peopled for her with three-dimensional Indians. It occurred to her that someone ought to write an "enemy-eye-view" of them and make it available to a larger number of people than those who have access to the book. Published in 1948, when Morris Bishop held the Chair of Romance Literature at Cornell University, the book is now out of print in this country. It has, however, been republished as a paperback by McClelland & Stewart of Toronto.

At the time Mrs. Wait was too deeply involved with the two previous booklets of her authorship (following up contacts resulting from the publication of the former and reading proofs of the latter) to feel personally involved. So the idea was relegated to the subconcious, but didn't quite get there, apparently, for the title, *Iroquoia, 'Tis of Thee!* kept recurring at odd moments to her conscious mind. After the Christmas holidays, the thought of enlarging it into a comprehensive history of the Cayuga Indians, to be a companion piece to the two other short histories of Cayuga County, appeared feasible to her, and when she consulted us, she was assured of our interest and desire to help.

Four months later Mrs. Wait arrived with a manuscript out of all proportion to our intentions and the limits of our press, and was advised that she had tried to make her study too compre-

hensive. It was suggested that the information which follows in this book be withheld. We are again indebted to Morris Bishop, in whose *Treasury of British Humor* appears a quotation from Logan Pearsall Smith's *Trivia:* "Every author, however modest, keeps a most outrageous vanity chained like a madman in the padded cell of his breast." The only way to appease our author's vanity was to make a separate publication of this part of her *Story of the Cayugas*, giving Morris Bishop full credit for his picture of the League of the Iroquois under assault, and for his great generosity in allowing it to appear in this book.

WILLIAM HEIDT, JR.

DeWitt Historical Museum, Ithaca, N. Y.
November 20, 1966.

Contents

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Though it cannot be categorically stated that members of the Cayuga nation took part in the defense of the Iroquois fort, still it cannot be categorically denied. For we are told by the historians that the men of the Cayugas, when not engaged in hunting or warfare, were frequently on the move. The distance between the Cayuga villages and the Onondaga Council House was a scant thirty miles—an easy day's trek for the Indian. The palisaded village may have been six miles farther north.

The Onondagas gave free asylum to all members of the Five Nations and their hospitality extended equally to Europeans on diplomatic missions, and to traders from the Dutch settlements two hundred miles to the east.

By October 11, the date of the attack, the hunters would not yet have left their villages for the long winter chase. They might easily have been at the neighboring village, just passing the time of day. At any rate, the attempt of Champlain's party had far-reaching results for the Cayugas, as well as for the other four nations of the Iroquois League.

November 16, 1966. MARY VAN SICKLE WAIT.

> "Who can define the Jesuits? The story of their Missions is marvelous as a tale of chivalry, or legends of the lives of the Saints. For many years it was the history of New France and of the wild communities of her desert empire."—*Pioneers of France in the New World by Francis Parkman.*

Champlain

The Cayuga Indians, as members of the Iroquois League, were buffeted on two sides by representative of European nations at the time our story begins. The French were their neighbors to the north, soon to have settlements at three places along the St. Lawrence River: Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. As Samuel Champlain, founder of Quebec, was directly responsible for the terrible French and Indian Wars, lasting a hundred and fifty years, and giving direction for the English domination of New York, it is well here to examine his part in settlement of New France.

"It was May 27, 1603," Morris Bishop tells us, "that Champlain first set foot on the land that was to be his home, the land whose history he was to shape. There were signs of great activity on shore, many fires and many birch-bark canoes drawn up along the beach. Pontgravé took Champlain and his two Indians in a ship's boat to shore, making signs of amity.

"Champlain had his first impression of the Canadian natives. Their bodies, naked save for breechclouts, were the color of French beggars, half roasted by the sun. Their faces, immobile under plastered paint, were both terrifying and comic. Some were bright red with blue noses and black eyebrows. Some were striped with red, black and blue from ears to mouth; some bore a single wide black stripe from ear to ear, around the eyes, with three stripes on each cheek. The thought of devils occurred to every pious mind.

"'As soon as we landed we went to the lodge of their great Sagamore, named Anadabijou, where we found him and some eighty of his companions making *tabagie* (that is to say, a feast.)

He received us very well after the fashion of the country, and made us sit down beside him, while all the savages ranged themselves one next to the other on both sides of the lodge. One of the savages whom we had brought, (Montaignais Indians Pont-gravé had picked up at Tadoussac on a previous voyage, and had brought to France to train as interpreters and ambassadors of good will—commercial good will to be sure. They had been royally entertained, in the strict sense of the word; they had gone to court and had been exhibited to the King of France himself) began to make his oration of the good reception that the King had given them and of the good entertainment they had received in France, and that they might feel assured His Majesty wished them well, and desired to people their country, and to make peace with their enemies (who are the Iroquois) or to send forces to vanish them. He also told of the fine castles, palaces, houses, and people they had seen, and of our manner of living. He was heard with the greatest possible silence.'"

"'Now when he had ended his oration the said Grand Sagamore, Anadabijou, who had listened to him attentively began to smoke tobacco and to pass his pipe to Monsieur du Pont-Gravé of St. Malo, and to me, and to certain other Sagamores who were near him. After smoking some time, he began to address the whole gathering, speaking with gravity, pausing sometimes a little, and then resuming his speech, saying to them in truth that they ought to be very glad to have his majesty for their great friend.'"

"After his speech, a great feast began in which they were celebrating a victory over the Iroquois, of whom they had slain about a hundred, whose scalps they had cut off and had with them for the ceremony."

"'Three nations had taken part in the war, the Etchemins, Algonquins, and Mantagnais, to the number of a thousand; and these went on the warpath against the Iroquois, whom they en-

countered at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois, (the Richelieu), which flows north from Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence, and slew a hundred of them. The mode of warfare which they practice is altogether by surprises; for otherwise they would be afraid, and too much in dread of said Iroquois, who are in greater number than the said Montagnais, Etchemins, and Algonquins.'"

"This passage is of more than casual interest. Champlain listened bemused to the Algonquin speech, most musical of Indian tongues, with its rich vowels and soft, whispered syllables. He understood, of course, nothing. The substance of the discourses was reconstructed by the interpreters after the fact, no doubt with care. According to instructions, they reported to the Indians that King Henry IV wished to people the country; in other words, to establish permanent French colonies on the St. Lawrence. The Indians, unwitting the future, were politely pleased. They were unfeignedly delighted at the other statement of the French policy—that the King would support in peace and war the alliance of the Montagnais (Algonquins of the lower St. Lawrence), Etchemins (Penobscott Algonquins of Maine), and the Algonquins proper, whose head-quarters was the Ottawa River. The alliance was formed against one enemy only, the Iroquois Confederacy of upper New York State."

The quoted material in the above passage is from Morris Bishop's "Champlain, the Life of Fortitude," and the double quotes are ascribed by him to the translation by H. H. Langton in the Champlain Society edition of the "Works of Champlain." (Toronto, 1922-1936).

Champlain Honors the Pledge

The alliance made at Tadoussac by Champlain and Pontgrave lasted for a century and a half and determined the character of the French penetration of America. The die was cast on this May 27, 1603. Already, on his first landing in Canada, he found the Iroquois the dread enemy, and throughout his life they became more terrible and more dreaded.

"The two Indians with the French reported to their kinsmen that King Henry had promised to support the Algonquin alliance against the Iroquois. One can hardly suppose the king would have made such a statement of policy without giving some instructions to his own representatives. The policy was evidently authorized in Paris. Champlain setting it down in his report for publication, implicitly approves it. And since he was still ignorant of Indian affairs, he must have favored the alliance on the advice of Pontgravé.

"As it turned out, their support of the alliance was of far-reaching and long-lasting importance. Champlain—and France—had a choice of two courses. The first was a policy of strict neutrality, of aloofness from Indian wars. Such a policy has been approved, in retrospect, by historians. It would have enabled the French to establish a dominating military force in America, to judge and arbitrate native quarrels, to impose peace, as the British imposed peace in India. It would have given the French access to the Iroquois country, and hence control of the whole American hinterland.

"The trouble is that such a course was practically impossible. French colonial policy was still unformed; not for half a century

were the royal ministries to send more than a handful of armed men to Canada. Never during Champlain's lifetime were there a hundred French residents in all of Canada. In the circumstance, any effort on the part of the French to impose peace by force would have been simply grotesque.

"What the French wanted of America was furs and fish. Pontgravé and Champlain took the only course possible, if they wished to continue their explorations and obtain furs."

It was not, however, until 1609 that the military aid promised in this first contact with the natives of Canada was given in a raid upon the Iroquois. Champlain had founded his "Habitation" at Quebec in the summer of the preceding year, and had been reminded then of his promised support. Twice in the decade to follow Champlain and a few of his compatriots went "on the warpath" with the Hurons and Algonquin allies, the first time with remarkable success.

"On July 13, a party paddled cautiously up the broad Richelieu River....Champlain and his two companions were the first known white men to set foot on the soil of New York State."

"At ten o'clock on the evening of July 29 the invaders came to a cape on the westward shore (of L. Champlain). Here they met a war party of Mohawk Iroquois, heading north in their heavy, clumsy, elm-bark canoes.... The three Frenchmen with their arquebuses were carefully hidden from the enemy's view. ...'Our Indians began to call to me with loud cries; and to make way for me they divided into two groups, and put me ahead some twenty yards, and I marched until I was within some thirty yards of the enemy, who as soon as they caught sight of me halted and gazed at me and I at them. When I saw them make a move to draw their bows upon us, I took aim with my arquebus and shot straight at one of the three chiefs, and with this shot two fell to the ground, and one of their companions was wounded, who died thereof a little later. I had put four bullets into my

arquebus. As soon as our people saw a shot so favorable for them, they began to shout so loudly that one could not have heard it thunder, and meanwhile the arrows flew thick on both sides. The Iroquois were much astonished that two men should have been killed so quickly, although they were provided with shields made of cotton thread woven together and wood, which were proof against their arrows. This frightened them greatly. As I was reloading my arquebus one of my companions fired a shot from within the woods, which astonished them again so much that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage and took to flight.'

"So, at Ticonderoga, on the green shore of Champlain's lake, was fired the first musket shot in a war that was to continue, in effect, for two hundred years. The battle was won, we are told, by the New Weapon. This new weapon was to transform completely the wars of red men and white, and red men and red. The Battle of Ticonderoga was fought by two massed groups in close order. We shall not see such another. The Indians soon threw away their useless shields, revised their tactics, and resorted to a strategy of raids and surprises.

"What we have seen was a Stone Age battle, half war, half sport. It was a noble dance of death, a bloody ballet, performed according to accepted rules. Champlain, with his new weapon, violated the rules."

"The resentment of the Iroquois was bitter. Champlain's arquebus inspired among the Iroquois a tradition of French treachery never to be forgotten. And Champlain's arquebus has, of course, been blamed by modern writers. A policy of neutrality, they say, would have been loftier, worthier, than this disloyal warfare. Had Champlain come as an unpolitical explorer, not as a partisan, he might have passed through the Iroquois country and down the Hudson; and Henry Hudson (who was due in New York on September 3 of this year) would have found the lilies of France waving on Manhattan Island."

It was from this new European neighbor, the Dutch at New Amsterdam and Albany, that the Iroquois Indians received in trade for their furs the weapons that changed forever the nature of war for the Cayugas.

"In the early days of this country's history it was the hunter and the trapper who explored the unknown regions. To obtain the furs that represented one of the great sources of wealth in the new country, they journeyed into the most distant and inaccesible parts of the land.... The Canadian provinces owed practically all their primary prosperity to their fur trade... The French pioneers who first made it their home soon discovered that the native Indians were so ignorant of the value of the pelts which they gathered that they were willing to dispose of them upon terms that permitted an enormous profit to the successful trader in such articles."

TRADE ALLOWANCES FOR INDIANS AT FORT CHARTRES

4 raccoons	equal to 1 beaver	2 foxes or 2 cats	equal to 1 beaver
1 dressed buckskin	" "	2 dressed doeskins	" "
1 otter	" "	2 middle-sized bearskins	" "
1 large bearskin	" "	1 fisher, very good	" "

8 minks are equal to 1 beaver

PRICES OF PELTRY TO DEAL WITH THE FRENCH

Beaver	at 40 shillings per pound
Dressed leather	at 20 shillings per pound
Otter, per skin	at 60 shillings per pound
Red or short-haired buckskins	at 20 shillings per pound
Fox or cat	at 15 shillings per pound
Large bear	at 40 shillings per pound
Muskrats	at 2 shillings per pound
Fishers	at 30 shillings per pound
Minks	at 10 shillings per pound
Wolves or panthers	at 20 shillings per pound
Martins	at 20 shillings per pound
Raccoons	at 15 shillings per pound

Great Champlain Controversy of 1615

"It is thus satisfactorily shown that the Iroquois fort was on the shore of Onondaga Lake; and, it is highly probable, that it was on the ground subsequently occupied by Sieur Dupuis in 1665, and also by Count Frontenac in his expedition against the Onondagas, 1696, and by Col. Van Schaick, in 1779. The locality was always described by the Fathers, as being destitute of trees, and as a place of surpassing beauty."

The above passage, copied from Clark's "Onondaga," will serve as a good introduction to one of the great controversies of the "Indianists." Where was the Iroquois fort at which Champlain and his French and Indian allies met such a decisive defeat in 1615?

In the course of our study of the Iroquois, an interesting picture of this fort, from the drawing by Champlain, illustrating his great history, published in seven volumes under the title, "Samuel de Champlain's Works," was found in the works of two eminent historians. In Morris Bishop's "Champlain" it appears over the caption, "The Battle on Onondaga Lake, 1615." In the "History of New York State," edited by Dr. Sullivan, the same replica of the original drawing, which is owned by the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, appears under the heading, "Battle of Oneida Lake, 1615."

Since reading of the controversy, the writer has visited both spots designated as the location of the Battle of 1615, and observation supports inclination in believing that my first informmant, Morris Bishop, has done the best deducing in this controversial area. We will, therefore, present his theorizing, and let

the reader draw his own conclusions therefrom. The facts of the battle are agreed upon as follows:

After his successful campaign against the Iroquois, mentioned in the preceding chapter, in parting with his Indian allies, Champlain was invited to come and live with the Huron Indians and help them in all their battles. This he assented to, with his tongue in his cheek, having no idea of living anywhere except Quebec, but wishing to keep open friendly relations with that tribe in order to pass through their difficult territory on further expeditions, and find the great Northwest Passage to the Indies with, if possible, a party of these savages as guides. Between his first easy victory and his second undertaking on their behalf, a year had been spent in France, persuading the king of the necessity for more money, and more men for the settlement of Quebec. In an offhand manner, he told of the promise to aid the Hurons in their wars against the Iroquois, and asked for a few armed men to help in the task, minimizing the risk because of his easy victory in the first encounter. That had taken place on the warpath, you may remember, when their group had met a small number of Mohawks likewise engaged, and without fortification except what had been hastily erected during the night. The element of surprise had been a large factor in Champlain's success with the arquebus, and the Iroquois had fled without hesitation, believing the French soldiers to be Evil Spirits, against whom they could not strive.

The 1615 expedition came to an enemy behind strongly fortified walls, and the news of the weapon which had so terrified the Mohawks had spread to the other tribes, so the allies had lost the advantage of that first terrified dispersion. Let Bishop tell of the unfortunate result of the expedition, undertaken with so much optimism:

"He (Champlain) found his Indian friends expecting him and demonstratively pleased at his return. In the intervals of

trading they exposed the situation. Iroquois raiders were becoming increasingly active and bold as the Huron trade developed. The Huron losses in men and goods were becoming more and more serious. The Dutch on the Hudson encouraged the Iroquois warriors, paying well for captured furs from the cold north. It was high time that the Hurons and Algonquins should strike the enemy in his own country. They earnestly prayed that Champlain would fulfill his oft-repeated promise to give them substantial aid.

"Champlain consulted with Pontgravé. 'We came to the conclusion that it was very necessary to assist them, both to engage them more to love us, and also to provide means of furthering my explorations which apparently could only be carried out with their help, and also because this would be to them a kind of pathway and preparation for embracing Christianity. For which reason I resolved to go and examine their territory, and to help them in their wars, in order to induce them to let me see what they so often had promised me.'"

"Champlain announced his decision at a general assembly. The chiefs were overjoyed. They promised to raise an army of 2,500 warriors, 'who would do wonders.' Champlain proposed to bring as many men as he possibly could. 'I explained to them the means we must employ in fighting, wherein they took especial pleasure.'"

"Champlain was now obliged to revisit Quebec to make arrangements for the governing of the colony during his absence on the warpath. He was held in Quebec only a fortnight; but meanwhile the Indians left the rapids for their home countries, much aggrieved because he had not more promptly returned. They thought he must be dead or captured by the Iroquois."

"On July 9 he set off from the St. Louis Rapids on the long journey to the Huron land. He had with him Etienne Brulé and 'his own man,' probably Thomas Godefroy, the interpreter of

Algonquin. He had ten Indians, but he had only two canoes. That means they could carry only the arquebuses, a too scanty supply of powder, match, and shot, some trade goods, a minimum of clothing, the barest provision of food. It means too the grossest discomfort for the travelers. Poor Brother Sagard, in similar case, had to crouch with bent head for hundreds of miles, to avoid being rhythmically prodded by the paddle."

"So on July 26, seventeen days out from the St. Louis Rapids, Champlain set down his canoe on the shore of Lake Nipissing. Here he was cordially greeted by the Nipissing Indians, the Sorcerers, of Algonquin stock.... After two days' rest and canoe repairing, he was again on the move. The Indians bent furiously to their paddles, covering 175 miles in less than three days. They were hungry for home. A Jesuit who came later reports that on the last day, on Lake Huron, his Indians paddled from 1 A.M. to midnight.

"Champlain and his men made a journey of 700 miles from the St. Louis Rapids, half of it up the tumultuous Ottawa, in twenty-two paddling days, making an average of thirty-two miles a day.

"Champlain waited impatiently for the Indian war party to assemble. The season was passing; if they were to invade the Iroquois country, it was high time to be gone.

"On August 17 he arrived at the chief village, Cahiague. Here was held a council of the chiefs, and here the great campaign of 1615 was planned."

"The chiefs smoked and nodded. 'The time is propitious,' they said. 'We have received word from our brothers, the Carantouans, that they wish to swear friendship with us, to make an alliance, and to contribute 500 good men for a common war on the Iroquois.'"

"These potential allies were, in fact, the Andastes, or Susquehannas, an Iroquoian tribe established on the upper Susquehanna

and Chemung Rivers. Their headquarters was a large village on Spanish Hill, in South Waverly, Pennsylvania, just across the New York State line. Champlain was delighted to hear of these allies, so strategically placed. 'We must immediately send envoys to them, with instructions as to the time and place where they shall meet us.' "

One of Champlain's great disappointments in this campaign was that the Andastes did not arrive in time to help the hapless besiegers of the Iroquois fort. Another was that after an infuriating wait of a week during which the warriors feasted and danced, in accordance with their customs before setting out on the warpath, he found that they numbered only 500, instead of the 2,500 who had been promised. When the war party, consisting of twelve Frenchmen who had gone to Huronia ahead of Champlain with Father Joseph Le Caron, and the Indians returning from the trade, in addition to the 500 Hurons assembled at Cahiague, finally reached the Iroquois fort; it was October 9.

They had come a long way through rivers and lakes, making long carries over rocky gorges, falls and rapids, and across the watershed dividing the basin of Lake Huron from that of Lake Ontario. "It was a rich and cheery country," says Champlain. He notes the vines, the walnut trees, the abundant fish. All this lovely region was completely uninhabited, for the Indian population had abandoned it in fear of the Iroquois raiders.

Somewhere in this region the Hurons were joined by a detachment of Algonquins. Their chief, Iroquet, had fought with Champlain in the successful raid six years before. They were "old and excellent friends."

"Now the expedition was in the placid reach of the Bay of Quinte, zigzagging fifty miles to the open water of Lake Ontario.... The party emerged from the inner channels, left the willowed, pebbled shore typical of the Great Lakes, and headed south to the False Duck Islands. Here they turned east, across

thirty miles of open water, guided by the stepping stones of Duck Island, Galloo Island, Stony Island, and landed on the New York shore under the high bluff of Stony Point. They were now in enemy territory and it behooved them to proceed cautiously. Hiding their canoes in the woods near the water, they marched directly south along the lake shore, on sandy spits beside reedy lagoons." They turned inland at the mouth of Salmon River, at the location of the present Selkirk Shores State Park. They marched silently, cautiously, in single file. "It took them four days to cover fifty miles, if Champlain's reckoning is correct."

"At Brewerton the scouts brought in eleven prisoners: three men, four women, three boys, and a girl. They were Onondagas from the stronghold, who had come to fish these well-populated waters. Chief Iroquet, preluding, catlike, the tortures to come, amused himself by cutting a finger off one of one of the women's hands. Champlain was outraged. 'This is not the deed of a warrior,' he said, 'to behave cruelly to women, who have no other defense but tears.' Iroquet stared open-mouthed. 'Our enemies treat us the same way,' he grumbled, 'but since our ways displease you, I won't do anything further to the women. Just to the men.' The Indians were sulky at Champlain's interference.

"Champlain and the chiefs now made their battle plan. They would creep up on the enemy fort, ten miles distant, post themselves in the woods for the night, and attack at dawn.

"The next day the army slipped warily through the forest. They came close to the fortified village about three in the afternoon. It stood (I think) within the present city of Syracuse, where sluggish Onondaga Creek flowed into Onondaga Lake. But the site of the stronghold is bitterly disputed.

"As the attackers drew near the fort some of them were surprised by Onondaga braves. The others, bursting with ardor and disregarding all their orders, ran to the rescue of their comrades. The battle was on, plan of attack forgotten. Champlain and the

Frenchmen came up and let fly with their arquebuses. The Onondagas, unlike the Mohawks at Ticonderoga, knew an arequbus when they heard one. They quickly gathered up their dead and wounded and retreated to the imposing shelter of their stronghold.

"Champlain made a quick reconnaissance of the fort. It was large enough to contain a village of long houses; it was protected on one side by open water, on two sides by running streams. It was walled with stout palisades thirty feet high, says Champlain, but I suspect his memory has added a few feet. The palisades 'were interlaced together with not more than half a foot between them, and supported galleries like a parapet which they had fitted with double timbers, proof against our shots.'

"His illustration shows the general construction, and other Iroquois forts give us supporting information. It would seem there were two palisades. The builders constructed them by driving a double row of tree trunks into the ground, inclining each pair so that they would cross, perhaps fifteen feet from the ground. The space between was filled with logs. The upright tree trunks were bound together at their crossing and projected upward, making a series of V-shaped pockets. Horizontal logs were laid along this series of V's to make a precarious runway, which was screened with bark on the outer side. Rough ladders, mere notched poles, along the inner face, gave archers, stone throwers, and fire fighters access to the gallery."

Champlain, the experienced warrior, saw that a movable tower must be contrived upon which the arquebusiers, behind protective shields on the enemy's side, might send their death-dealing fire over the walls and into the fort.

The allied chiefs protested that it would be better to wait for the promised reinforcements from the Andastes, but Champlain, noting that the autumn was well advanced and knowing that the help from the Andastes was at best conjectural, persuaded them to his mode of attack.

"At dawn on October 11, the Hurons set to work to make their cavalier. They chopped down tall, slim trees, high enough to overtop the thirty-foot walls of the fort. They were fixed in position by crosspieces. Other long trees were lashed to the base to serve as carrying poles. At the top a rude platform for sharpshooters was fitted with heavy breastworks on the enemy's side."

"'We advanced to attack this village,' he says, 'having our cavalier carried by two hundred of the strongest men, who planted it about a pike's length in front of the village, and I ordered three of the arquebusiers to mount upon it, where they were well protected from the arrows and stones which might be shot or thrown at them.'"

To make a long story short, the attack upon the fort was an unqualified failure; Champlain received two arrow wounds—one in the leg and one through the knee, which greatly incapacitated him; the Hurons did not understand his shouted commands, nor did they heed the plan of battle agreed upon; fire was set to the palisades, but the mantelets, so carefully constructed for the purpose of shielding the attackers and giving them protective cover behind which to set fires to the palisades, were never brought up; the fires set were in the wrong places and too little, and failed to ignite the fort. The Indians withdrew at the end of three hours, and all Champlain's urging could not alter their determination to leave the scene, and not wait for reinforcements from the South for an indefinite length of time. After four days, the return journey was commenced, and the fact that two of the Huron chiefs were wounded, and many others besides, made progress very slow. Champlain had plenty of time to brood upon his failure as he was carried on the back on one of the Huron Indians, doubled up and in great pain from the wound in his knee. "This contrivance was like the carrying frame for Papooses. A frame of hickory or elm rested against the carrier's back; at right angles to the frame, a seat projected. This was

held in place by straps of hide, or of the plaited inner bark of the elm. The frame and its burden were supported by a tumpline over the carrier's brow. The wounded man sat on the precarious seat, his back to the bearer's back. His legs were hunched under his chin and tightly bound in this intolerable position."

"'It was impossible to move any more than a little child in its swaddling clothes,' says Champlain, 'and this causes the wounded great and extreme pain. I can say this indeed from my own case, having been carried for several days because I was unable to stand, chiefly on account of the arrow-wound I had received in my knee, for never did I find myself in such a hell as during this time; for the pain I suffered from the wound in my knee was nothing in comparison with what I endured tied and bound on the back of one of our savages. This made me lose patience, and as soon as I gained strength to stand, I got out of that prison, or rather hell.'" I find traces of ingratitude in this outburst of Champlain, and one begins to understand why the Indian warriors were apt to dispose of one of their wounded companions, rather than bear the burden of his weight added to their own pack.

"'Moreover, the chiefs have absolutely no control over their men, who follow their own wishes and act as their fancy suggests, which is the cause of their confusion, and spoils all their enterprises. For having decided upon something with their leaders, it requires only some good-for-nothing fool, should the fancy seize him, to make them give up their resolve and decide upon a new plan.'" Thus Champlain's thoughts must have run on his journey piggy-back, and thus he wrote in his journal many months later.

"Remember that Champlain was forty-eight years old, and at his age the muscles and the spirit have lost some of their resilience.... The party retraced its course northward in all haste, covering sixty miles in two days. When they reached Stony

Point, they found, to their relief, that their canoes were still intact."

Champlain had been promised in advance that the Hurons would return him and his men to the Habitation at Quebec, after the victory. But here was a different case altogether. "The Hurons had been confident of a miracle, and the miracle had not taken place. The Hurous blamed the French. And if these Hurons were like all other soldiers, they whispered of sabotage, of treachery. They whispered that Champlain had lost the battle because he wanted to lose it. They were a fickle people, anyway; remember that in 1611, they were ready to believe the wild tale that Champlain was plotting with the Iroquois against them. And now that he proposed to leave his allies and undertake a journey through country controlled by the enemy, the Indians muttered that he was planning to join the enemy. Champlain protested in vain.... The failure of his expedition, far from ending the threat of raids on Huron fur traders, had encouraged the Iroquois to attack. It gave the Iroquois a moral justification, a battle cry. It helped to change the character of the war from one of gallant but pointless raids for scalps to a grim commercial war of extermination."

However great the failure from Champlain's standpoint, this famous battle enabled future historians to know in intimate detail the method of fortification and defense practiced in 1615 by the members of the Five Nations. Champlain's journal, brought up-to-date many months later (for he was forced to spend the winter with the Hurons and was not given the means of returning to Quebec until May 20 of the following spring), gives us our first description of the life of an Iroquois people.

As to the controversy which has raged ever since over the location of the Iroquois fort, let Morris Bishop tell us how his conclusions were reached.

Location of the Onondaga Fort

"The determination of the site of the fort attacked by Champlain and his Hurons in 1615 is a pretty exercise in the use of evidence."

"Parkman, Lavardiere, and others located the fort on Canandaigua Lake. Their arguments were unsound and need not be here detailed. Parkman in later editions of his 'Pioneers of of France,' abandoned the Canandaigua Lake location in favor of Nichols Pond."

"An examination of the lakes and ponds of central New York reveals only two sites that fit the specifications at all nearly. These are Onondaga Lake, on which stands the city of Syracuse; and Nichols Pond, three miles from Perryville, in the township of Fenner, Madison County.

"The Nichols Pond site has gained general acceptance in recent books and studies. Markers, bearing the authority of the State Education Department, point the tourist thither.

"For the study of the question, we have three pieces of documentary evidence:

"1. Champlain's text, as printed in 1619 and reprinted without material change in 1632.

"Is this text to be taken as an accurate record? Not necessarily. It was Champlain's habit to carry 'tablettes,' for making maps, sketches, and notes, and for sending messages. He refers to them in the account of the 1613 journey. But after the battle of 1615 he was carried on an Indian's back from the fort to the boats, a distance of sixty miles. Would the Indians have transported his paper and inkhorn? Possibly not. Did Champlain

have a chance to write up his notes during the long winter retreat across Canada? Possibly not.

"In any case, his reckonings of time and distance are highly suspect, to say the least. In his record of the 1615 expedition he gives seven reckonings that can be checked on the maps. By reducing his leagues to miles, we find that his estimate of a league ran anywhere from one and a half to three miles; the average is about two miles. The normal French league of his time was almost exactly two and one half miles. However specific his reckonings may be, they are to be treated warily.

"What we can accept without question are those facts which would have impressed themselves indelibly on his memory, and would reappear when he came to recreate the story: the layout and structure of the fort, the incidents of the battle, the high wind, the snow flurries. The rest can be brought in as supporting evidence, not as irrefragable proof.

"2. The illustration accompanying the text. This has a high probative value. Champlain refers to it in his text as to a satisfactory representation of the fort and the battle. There can hardly be any question as to the origin of the illustration. Champlain made one of his watercolor sketches, like those now preserved in the John Carter Brown Library; he gave his sketch to the engraver, who 'improved' some of the details, representing the cavalier, for instance, as a structure of neatly squared timbers; Champlain, little concerned by such details, passed it for publication.

"3. The map that appeared in the edition of 1632. The segment showing the area of our concern is very puzzling. It agrees ill with Champlain's text and with the geographical facts. Some students (Lavardiere, Harisse, Margray, Marshall) conclude that the map is by some publisher's hireling. This seems most improbable. Champlain was in Paris when the book was published; cartography was his first trade; he would not conceivably have

turned over the making of his map to some hack. Still, the section of his map dealing with the area under discussion is too unreliable to be alleged as final proof. It can, however, be adduced in support and corroboration.

"Now we are ready for the problem.

"Who were these Indians whom Champlain was attacking?

"He calls them 'Entouhonorons.' He was approximating, evidently the Huron word for 'Onondagas,' which was 'Onontaerrhonons.' It was understood from the beginning that the expedition's purpose was to wipe out the Entouhonoron stronghold. Hence we should look for a fort in the Onondaga country. Yes, but Champlain seems to divide all the Five Nations into two; the Mohawks, whom he calls the Iroquois, and the four other nations, whom he seems to regard as the Entouhonorons. Hence a fort in Oneida or Cayuga country should not be excluded. But the Onondaga hypothesis is the likely one. Champlain misunderstood the application of the word, 'Entouhonoron.' The Hurons shouting 'Kill the Entouhonorons!' were referring to the Onondagas.

"According to the text, the last fixed point is the outlet of Oneida Lake, at Brewerton. On this everyone agrees.

"'On the 9th of October our savages when out scouting met with eleven savages whom they took prisoner, to wit, four women, three boys, one girl and three men, who were going to catch fish some four leagues from the enemy fort.'"

"The south end of Onondaga Lake is eleven miles from Brewerton, almost exactly four leagues. This fits.

"Nichols Pond is twenty-five miles by airline from Brewerton. Wide Cicero Swamp bars the way thither. It would be at least thirty miles by trail. It seems unlikely that a flshing party from Nichols Pond, including four children, would come so far. The Nichols Pond advocates suppose, therefore, that the Hurons turned east, following the southern shore of Oneida Lake, and

found the fishing party at the mouth of Chittenango Creek, eighteen miles by airline from Nichols Pond. That is still a long round trip for children, even Indian children. The Onondaga Lake hypothesis is much better.

"'On the following day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the enemy's fort.' Either location would fit this.

"The fort itself, according to the text, was strongly palisaded. 'They were near a pond where there was no lack of water.'"

"What does Champlain mean by a pond, 'un estang?' The 'Dictionnaire de l'Academie' of 1694 defines the word thus: 'Grand amas d'eau soustenu par une chaussée, et dans lequel on nourrit du poisson.' Champlain uses the word for the lagoons on the east shore of Lake Ontario, including North Pond, three and one half miles by two miles in area. In Canada he calls Coldingham Lake, two miles long, an 'estang,' and calls Olmsted Lake four miles long, 'un estang qui pouvait contenir une lieue de long.'

"Onondaga Lake is four miles long and one mile broad. It would fit the definition of an 'estang.' Nichols Pond is hardly more than an alder swamp, an acre in extent, with standing water a foot or two deep, occupied by rank growth. It often dries up entirely. It is not now an 'estang.' But of course it may have been larger in 1615; vegetation may have since encroached upon it.

"Let us look at the illustration for corroboration. This depicts a large village with an open body of water beyond. It looks much more like Onondaga than Nichols Pond. It shows, further, two streams moating the fort and flowing into the open water. A sluggish rivulet a yard across flows into the marsh surrounding Nichols Pond; another sluggish brook at the opposite end is its outlet. At Onondoga Lake, Onondaga Creek, a considerable stream, empties into the lake after passing through a mile of flat land. Mud Creek flows from the east through marshy lowlands,

reaching the lake near the outlet of Onondaga Creek. This fits much better than the Nichols Pond layout.

"The topography has changed in the Onondaga Lake region. Mr. Mansfield S. French, historian and antiquarian of Syracuse, writes me: 'Onondaga Creek and Mud Creek united, in the early days at the original shore line of the lake. There was a marshy area along the shore when salt operations were first undertaken, and when the State Ditch was dug to give direct drainage into the Seneca River, a row of "Reclaimed Lots" entirely surrounded the lake. The earliest salt operations were undoubtedly begun near the confluence of the two creeks, as Reclaimed Lot No. 1 is at this point. The land slopes quite abruptly to what was the early business center of the village of Salina.'

"This fits even better with the inclination of Champlain's illustration.

"Now let us see if we can get any help from Champlain's map. It is really pretty bad. A dotted line shows the presumed course of the expedition. According to the map, it crossed the east end of Lake Ontario along a string of islands ranging from the northeast to the southwest. In fact these islands range from west directly east. I conclude that Champlain remembers the islands, but he has lost his notes and observations, and has forgotten the compass directions. We recognize the lagoons along the east shore (which he makes the southeast shore) of Lake Ontario. He turns inland, past a chain of lakes, and crosses the outlet of one of them. But there is only one lake, Oneida Lake, in this region. I suppose that where his dotted line crosses the outlet of the southeastern lake he is at the outlet of Oneida Lake, though he has the orientation all wrong. He has forgotten; he has lost his notes. And the other lakes? Perhaps—this is the merest supposition—he half understood his Hurons talking of the chain of Finger Lakes; he had lost his Huron intepreter, Brulé (who had volunteered to go as messenger to the Andastes, leaving Cham-

plain's war party and paddling south across Lake Simcoe. Upon reaching the south shore of Lake Ontario, they took a circuitous route in order to bypass the Iroquois settlements). He was bewildered. He could not remember later, exactly whether he saw those lakes or not; he had passed so many lakes!

"Beyond the outlet of Oneida Lake the dotted line turns southwest (but we can't take the directions too seriously) to a palisaded village beside a lake. The proportions are of course all wrong. But the lake is represented as the general size of Oneida Lake; it is not a mere puddle. Its outlet flows west and north into Lake Ontario. This could be Onondaga Lake; it could not be Nichols Pond.

"What would be likely to remain in his mind? The relation and the proportion of the fort to the water. Also, I think, the general orientation. For remember that a high wind blew for two days, followed by snow flurries. This can only be our northwest wind. Champlain, in his anxiety to burn the village, would naturally keep the general layout in mind, and he would call upon his memory for all recoverable details when he came to make his map. His layout fits Onondaga exactly; it fits Nichols Pond not at all.

"How about Indian remains? Onondaga Lake was by way of being holy ground, where Hiawatha, himself, had founded his League of Nations. But at the crucial point, the southeast end of the lake, between the two streams, there is no record or memory of a palisaded fort, only of a fishing village. However, the absence of remains proves nothing. Iroquois villages were migratory; in a dozen or fifteen years the surrounded cultivated land would be exhausted, and the village become so foul that the inhabitants would gladly move. If there was a fortified town on this site in 1615, it would naturally have left no relics. Mr. French writes me: 'The early salt boilers probably used all the timbers from the fort to build the block-house and then used the

same timbers for fuel, when the block-house was not needed.'

"At Nichols Pond there was certainly an important Indian village, of which many relics have been discovered. But it was an Oneida village, not an Onondaga. While Champlain might have lumped the Oneidas with the Onondagas, it is more likely that he did not.

"In short, it seems to me that the weight of evidence tips the balance definitely in favor of the southeast rim of Onondaga Lake, where, in the past, Onondaga Creek and Mud Creek met at the lake shore.

"It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the courses of the two creeks through the lowlands of 1615. Mr. French's patient efforts do not enable him to point to a site for Champlain's fort with absolute exactness. However, his evidence would show that it stood near the junction of North Salina Street and Hiawatha Boulevard.

"I fear that this conclusion may evoke angry rejoinders and accusations of corruption from the Madison County Historical Society. I can only suggest that the Madison County Historical Society fight it out with the Onondaga County Historical Society; perhaps with bows and arrows."

Etienne Brule, First European to Pass Through Cayuga Territory, 1615

From the same chapter of Morris Bishop's "Champlain," we trace the first faint footprints of the white man through our native land. While en route to the country of the Andastes, in search of "five hundred good men for a common war on the Iroquois," Champlain's interpreter, Etienne Brulé, volunteered to accompany the twelve Indians selected as an embassy to the supposed ally. Champlain accepted his offer, thinking that by this means Brulé would see the country of the Iroquois, through which he must pass, and "observe the tribes which inhabited it." They were instructed to bid the Andastes to come on a fixed day to the Iroquois stronghold and there to join in a common assault. We have seen in the foregoing pages that the Andastes reached the scene of the battle agreed upon, but two days after the allies had retreated, smarting from their unexpected defeat. The map which accompanies Bishop's volume indicates the probable line of their stealthy trip through enemy country as passing through Elmira, Ithaca and Auburn on their way to the Onondaga fort. However indefinite Champlain's journal and map may seem to the present-day historian, he certainly made his intentions clear to the scouting party, for they returned to the ranks of the attackers of the fort designated in advance. Although Champlain did not see Brulé again for four years, he then learned the basic facts of the tardy expedition, as follows:

Etienne Brulé and his twelve Huron companions had left Champlain's party on Lake Simcoe on September 8. "Champlain's

map of 1632 marks their journey with a dotted line, but not much may be deduced from it, save that the mission went well south to avoid the Senecas, and then east to the Andastes village of Waverly, near Elmira.... Says Champlain: 'They had to pass through the country and territory of their enemies, and to avoid any evil plot, they sought a more secure path by traversing woods, forests, and dense and difficult thickets, and by marshy swamps, frightful and unfrequented places and wastes, all to avoid the danger of an encounter with their enemies. In spite of this great caution, Brulé and his companions, in traversing a plain, met with some hostile savages returning to their village, who were surprised and defeated by our savages, four of the enemy being killed at once and two taken prisoner, whom Brule and his companions brought along to the town of the Carantouan, where they were received by the inhabitants of that place very affectionately and with gladness and good cheer.'"

"The Andastes met in council, heard the ambassadors, and decided to send their 500 warriors to the Onondaga fort, three short days' journey distant. They were, however, very slow in their preparations. Nothing could persuade them to abridge the ritual feasts and dances. They set forth at length for the rendezvous, dodging the Iroquois villages on the way. Their route we do not know, but a glance at the map will show that they might easily have passed through Ithaca, Auburn, Cortland. Brule, first in so many places, was probably the first white man to look on the Finger Lakes."

"When the Andastes arrived at the Onondaga fort, they read in messages on the trees that the Hurons had left two days before. At this the Andastes returned homeward."

In undertaking this fruitless invasion of Iroquois territory, "Champlain recognized that the real, the eventual enemy was the Dutchman in Fort Nassau and New Amsterdan. Naturally he says nothing so impolitic in his book, which the Dutch am-

bassador might read. (He says only that he was anxious to make contact with the Andastes, since they were only seven days' journey from the Dutch headquarters.) But I think it is pretty obvious that he regarded this expedition into enemy country as a reconnaissance of the Dutchman's protectorate. Sooner or later the French of Quebec would have to fight it out with the occupiers of Fort Nassau and the Hudson."

"Champlain's espousal of the Huron causes helped to transform the war from the supreme form of a sport to a struggle for commercial advantage. By allying himself with the Hurons he automatically made the French the enemies of the Iroquois. But by putting the war on a commercial basis he altered its nature, its ideology. A change in commercial interest could change the line-up of combatants, transform hostility to alliance. In fact, the Iroquois resentment was not insuperable. Nine years later Champlain made a peace between the Hurons and Iroquois and enforced it for several years. The peace could not last because the commercial interests of the two parties were directly opposite and irreconcilable."

Champlain's Unique Place in Affection of the Canadian Savages

As an honest man, Champlain had some reason to reproach himself for the failure of his expedition against the Iroquois. It had lowered the prestige of the French with both friend and enemy. But it did not affect his position, unique among European discoverers and settlers, of being held in trust and affection by the Indian allies. "It was the aim of Champlain, as of his successors, to persuade the threatened and endangered hordes to live at peace with each other, and to form against the common foe a virtual league, of which the French colony would be the heart and the head, and which would continually widen with the widening area of discovery. With French soldiers to fight their battles, French priests to baptize them, and French traders to supply their increasing wants, their dependence would be complete. They would become assured tributaries to the growth of New France. It was a triple alliance of soldier, priest, and trader. ... The scheme of English colonization made no account of the Indian tribes. [Nor did that of the Spanish in Mexico]. In the scheme of French colonization they were all in all." So it is summed up by Parkman in "Pioneers of France in the New World."

The Indians with whom Champlain had to deal in his efforts to settle and establish a lasting citadel at Quebec intuited his affection for them and the high regard in which he held them. He yearned to make them perfect by giving them the Catholic faith. Though not himself a devout Catholic, over the years be-

tween the first "Habitation" in 1608 and his death there in 1635, so great was his desire to help them with this gift that it influenced his own beliefs. The Indians trusted him for he had never betrayed his word nor made any move that was contrary to their best welfare. He had for them a father's concern and affection, and held to the belief that a strong new race, commingling the blood of the French and the Indians and resulting in a strain composed of the best part of both, would some day people the North American continent.

The Jesuits in North America

"Few passages in history are more striking than those which record the efforts of the earlier French Jesuits to convert the Indians. Full as they are of dramatic and philosophical interest, bearing strongly on the political destinies of America, and closely involved with the history of its native population, it is wonderful that they have been left so long in obscurity.

"The sources of information concerning the early Jesuits of New France are very copious. During a period of forty years, the Superior of the Mission sent, every summer, long and detailed reports, embodying or accompanied by reports of his subordinates, to the Provincial of the Order at Paris, where they were annually published, in duodecimo volumes, forming the remarkable series known as the Jesuit 'Relations.' Though the productions of men of scholastic training, they are simple and often crude in style, as might be expected of narratives hastily written in Indian lodges or rude mission houses in the forest, amid annoyances and interruptions of all kinds."

"With regard to the condition and character of the primitive Indians of North America, it is impossible to exaggerate their value as an authority."

In this preface to "The Jesuits in North America," published in 1867, Francis Parkman introduces to the reader the remarkable religious order whose missionaries among the Iroquois constitute the second source of information about their habits, their manners and morals, and their particularly tough resistance to being converted to Christianity!

All Jesuit missionaries arrived first at the parent mission in Can-

ada and, after varying periods of time, were distributed among the Five Nations in an elastic system of interchange among the tribes. According to the list of Jesuits which is attached herein, Rene Menard, who "arrived in Canada July 8, 1640, was a missionary with Le Mercier at Onondaga from 1656 to 1658, and afterwards among the Cayugas," was our first Jesuit in point of time. His name is familiar to all who take Routes 5 and 20 west of Auburn, for the bridge over the Seneca River, outlet of Cayuga Lake, bears the name, "Rene Menard Memorial Bridge." Etienne de Carheil, second in point of time, "arrived in Canada 6 Aug, 1666; sent to Cayuga 1668—absent in 1671, 2; returned and remained until 1684. He is said to have spoken the Iroquois better than his own language." Pierre Rafeix "Arrived in Canada 22 Sept. 1663; sent to Cayuga in 1671. Thence, on Carheil's return, to Seneca." Jacques de Lamberville, "among the Mohawks in 1675-8; subsequently at Onondaga which place he left in 1686. He was in Cayuga in 1709 whence he fled on the breaking out of war."

Missionaries in Canada dated back to Champlain's eighth voyage. Four members of the Recollects preceded the Jesuits, reaching the Habitation of Quebec in 1615. "After nine devoted years, the Recollects in Canada were forced to recognize that the results of their missionary work were pitiably small. They had performed only a few baptisms, mostly of dying children, who could be assured of heaven only if assured of death. The 'ignorance, light-mindedness and venality of the Indians made every conversion suspect; they would be baptized ten times a day for a glass of brandy,' says Father Leclercq. The Recollects were too few and too poor to do the good work properly. It could be accomplished only by a strong, wealthy, numerous order. The Recollects decided to invite the Jesuits to share the task.

"Their invitation came to the Jesuits literally as an answer to prayer. The Jesuits, who had gone out to Acadia and Maine in

1610, and whose efforts had ended in disaster, longed to re-enter the great missionary field of Canada," So says Morris Bishop in "Champlain: the Life of Fortitude."

"In New France, after some abortive attempts beginning in 1611, the French Jesuits established themselves in 1625 at Quebec. For more than a century and a half they labored for the conversion of the natives, enduring hardships that are almost unbelievable. The Church has recognized Sts. Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brebeuf, and six others as martyrs, but many more died heroically in the name of Christ."

Champlain tells of the trials Father Joseph Le Caron encountered on his way to Huronia, quoting the latter from a letter written home:

"I can hardly tell you the fatigue I suffered. I had to keep my paddle in hand all day long, and row with all my strength with the Indians. More than a hundred times I walked in the rivers over the sharp rocks, which cut my feet, in the mud, in the woods, where I carried the canoe and my small baggage, in order to avoid the rapids and the frightful waterfalls. And the hunger! We had only a little sagamite, which was dealt out to us morning and evening. Yet I must avow that amid my pains I felt much consolation. For alas! when we see such a great number of infidels, and nothing but a drop of water is needed to make them children of God, one feels an ardor which I cannot express to labor for their conversion and to sacrifice for it one's repose and lifel"

Morris Bishop continues the tale: "He had suffered not only because of his European softness. His Franciscan garb, gray undyed wool, bound with a knotted cord, his flat-soled, open-toed sandals, were ill adapted to forest and stream. His gown soaked up water like a sponge, and when he stepped into a canoe, it sprinkled water and sand, to the Indians' fury. His bare feet, puffed with mosquito bites and thorn scratches, were tortured

by the sandal thongs, wet or dried stiff. He had all the burden of the Mass vessels, crucifixes, communion wine, breviary. He had no time for his daily religious duties. And he must endure the strange agony of uncomprehending silence, for, alone with the sweating paddlers, he had no words to express his simplest needs or desires."

"A few years later the Jesuits printed a little set of rules for the behaviour of missionaries bound for the Huron country. They are very illuminating, suggestive of a hundred woeful errors. Here are some examples: 'You must have sincere affection for the savages.... To conciliate the savages, you must be careful never to make them wait for you in embarking. You must provide yourself with a tinder-box or with a burning mirror, or with both, to furnish them fire in the daytime to light their pipes, and in the evening when they have to encamp. These little services win their hearts. You should try to eat their sagamite or salamagundi in the way they prepare it, although it may be dirty, half cooked, and very tasteless. As to the other numererous things which may be unpleasant, they must be endured for the love of God, without saying anything or appearing to notice them.... You must be prompt in embarking and disembarking; and tuck up your gowns so they will not get wet, and so that you will not carry either water or sand into the canoe.... It is not well to ask many questions, nor should you yield to your desire to learn the language and to make observations on the way.... You must try to be, and to appear, always cheerful. Each one should be provided with a half gross of awls, two or three dozen little knives, a hundred fish-hooks, with some beads of plain and colored glass, with which to buy fish or other articles when the tribes meet; and it would by well to say to them in the beginning: "Here is something with which to buy fish." Be careful not to annoy anyone in the canoe with your hat; it would be better to take your night-cap. There is no impropriety

among the savages. Do not undertake anything unless you desire to continue it; for example, do not begin to paddle unless you are inclined to continue paddling.... Finally understand that the Savages will retain the same opinion of you in their own country that they will have formed on the way; and one who has passed for an irritable and troublesome person will have considerable difficulty afterwards in removing this opinion of him. When you meet savages on the way, as you cannot greet them with kind words, at least show them a cheerful face, and thus prove that you endure gayly the fatigues of the voyage. This is a lesson that is easy enough to learn, but very difficult to put into practice; for, leaving a highly civilized community, you fall into the hands of barbarous people who care but little for your philosophy or for you theology.

"All these fine qualities which might make you loved and respected in France are like pearls trampled under the feet of swine, or rather of mules, which utterly despise you when they see you are not as good pack animals as they are. If you could go naked and carry the load of a horse on your back, as they do, then you would be wise according to their doctrine, and would be recognized as a great man, otherwise not. Jesus Christ is our true greatness; it is he alone and his cross that should be sought in running after these people, for, if you strive for anything else, you will find naught but bodily and spiritul affiiction."

The Jesuits who came among the Cayuga Indians had spent some time in Huronia before being consigned to this locality, and though the hardships of a long canoe trip were not personal to their mission here, yet they must have been familiar with this pamphlet and the hardships in represented. How great, then, their urge to redeem the savages, and share with them their certainty of the glory of salvation and the love of Christ.

The scattered passages which follow are quoted from "Cayuga County Historical Society Collections, Number Three."

(1884). They consist of translations from sundry Jesuit "Relations," and are self-explanatory.

"There I told them through the interpreter that I had come in the name of the French, to form an alliance and friendship with them, and to invite them to come to the trade; that I also begged them to permit me to remain in their country, in order to be able to instruct them in the law of our God, which is the only means of going to Heaven. They accepted all my offers, and assured me they were very pleasing to them, consoled by which, I made them a present of the little I had, as little knives and other trifles, which they esteem at a high price, for in these countries you never treat of anything with the Indians without making them presents of something or other, and in return they begot me (as they say), that is, they declared me a citizen and a child of the country, and gave me in charge (a mark of great distinction) to Souharrissen, who was my father and my host, for according to age, they are accustomed to call us cousin, brother, son, uncle or nephew, &c. This one is the chief of the greatest credit and authority, who has ever been in all the nations, for he is chief not of his village only, but of all those in his nation, to the number of twenty-eight, including towns, cities, and villages, built like those of the Huron country, as well as of several little hamlets of seven or eight cabins, built in many places, convenient for fishing, hunting, or cultivating the ground.

"This is without example among the other nations to have so absolute a chief. He acquired this honor and power by his courage, and for having several times gone to war against the seventeen nations who are their enemies and brought back heads, or brought back prisoners from all.

"Those who are valiant in this style are highly esteemed among them. And though they have only the war club and the bow, yet they are very war like, and dexterous in these arms. After all this friendly welcome, our Frenchmen having returned,

I remained the happiest man in the world, hoping to advance something there for God's glory or at least to discover the means, which would be no small thing, and to endeavor to learn the mouth of the river of the Iroquois, in order to conduct them to the trade.

"I have also done my best to learn their customs and mode of life, and during my stay I visited them in their cabins, to know and instruct them, and I found them suffciently tractable and I often made the little children, who are very bright, stark naked and disheveled, make the sign of the Holy Cross, and I remarked that in all these countries I never saw any humpbacked, one-eyed or misshapen."

"Not having a sufficient number of laborers to cultivate the whole of this extensive field, we confine ourselves to preaching the good tidings to them, having exchanged with them presents of ceremony and alliance. For as soon as Father Chaumonot, on our arrival in the (Iroquois) country, had adopted the Cayugas as children of Onontio, he went to Seneca to adopt that people as brothers indeed, after the manner of the Faith to which we would dispose them."

A footnote tells us that Onontio was the name by which the French governor was known to the Iroquois.

"On his return to Onondaga, Chamonot was immediately sent with Father Menard, the founder of the Cayuga Mission, to the Oneidas to open friendly relations with that most obstinate of Iroquois tribes. While on their way, and the first night they spent in the woods, a chief in the company thus addressed the Fathers: 'Ah, my brothers, you are weary. What trouble you have to walk in the snow, on ice and in the water! But courage! Let us not complain of the toil since we undertake it for so noble a purpose. Ye demons who inhabit the woods, beware of injuring any of those who compose this embassy. And you trees laden with years, whom old age must soon level to the earth, suspend

your fall; envelop not in your ruin those who go to prevent the ruin of provinces and nations." (This is similar both in sentiment and imagery, to the opening sentences of the preliminary ceremony of the Iroquois "Condoling Council," which was convened to mourn a deceased councilor of the League, and install his successor.)

"On his way back to Onondaga, Chaumonot had an excellent opportunity to ridicule a superstition of the infidels, his guide having presented a bit of wood to cast upon two round stones which they encountered on the journey, surrounded with the symbols of a superstition of this people who in passing throw a small stick upon these stones in token of their homage, adding the words 'Koue! askennon eskatongot,' that is to say: "Hold! this is to pay my passage in order that I may proceed with safety!"

"I cannot omit the death of David Le Moyne which should seem precious in the eyes of good men, as we believe it to have been in the sight of God. He was a young man from Dieppe, aged about thirty years, whose zeal led him to follow the Father in this mission, being disposed by a general confession. A hemorrhage which weakened his body for some time, did not interrupt for a moment his enthusiasm; and he died on the banks of Lake Tiohero (Cayuga) with the gentleness and resignation of the elect, blessing God for this, that he was permitted to die in the land of the Iroquois, and in the work of spreading the faith. Is not such a death an ample recompense for a life devoted to the salvation of souls, and a fitting illustration of the protection of the Blessed Virgin toward whom this young man manifesed a devotion that was most remarkable?"

The following year the mission at Onondaga was broken up, due to hostilities between the French and Iroquois which lasted two years. "Negotiations for peace were concluded at Montreal (1659), accompanied by the request of the Iroquois that the sev-

eral missions might be re-established. For this purpose, and not without misgivings on the part of the French for his personal safety, Father Simon Le Moyne, who, when on a visit to Onondaga in 1653, opened the way for the first missions, returned with the embassy, and arrived at the Iroquois capital (Onondaga) the 12th of August, 1660. He made a brief visit to the Mohawks who had taken no part in the overtures for peace and maintained an implacable hostility to the French, but without success, and barely escaped with his life from the scene of his early labors. He spent the autumn and winter in missionary work, largely among the Onondagas. A notice of it occurs in the "Relation" of 1662, as follows:

"'Behold here a mission of blood and fire, of labors and of tears, of captives and of barbarians. It is a country where the earth is still red with the blood of the French, where the stakes yet stand covered with their ashes; where those who have survived their cruelty, bear its fatal marks on their feet and hands, their toes cut off and their finger nails torn out, and where in fine Father Simon Le Moyne has been for a year to soothe the sighs of this affiicted church, and to take part like a good pastor in all the misfortunes of his dear flock.'

"He was chiefly occupied during the winter with three churches, one French, one Huron and one Iroquois. He preserved the piety among the French captives, and became the sole depository of all their afflictions; he re-established the Huron church, formerly so flourishimg in their own country; he laid the foundation of the Iroquois church, going from place to place to baptize the children and the dying, and to instruct those who, in the midst of barbarism, were not far from the kingdom of God.

"A little chapel formed of branches and bark was the sancuary where God received every day the adoration of those who composed these three churches. Here the French assembled each morning, half an hour before daylight, to assist at the august

sacrifice of the mass; and every evening to recite in common the rosary; and often, too, during the day to seek the consolation from God in their misfortunes. Joining their mangled hands and lifting them to Heaven, they prayed for those who had thus humiliated them!"

"Owing to the continued hostilities of the Mohawks, it was not until 1668 that the missions were renewed, when all the cantons once more welcomed the missionary Fathers."

"Owing to the unusually abundant harvest of walnuts this year, the joy of the people is so great, that one sees scarcely anything but games, dances, and feasts, which they carry even to debauch, although they have no other seasoning than the oil." A note is here inserted in the text: "They parch their nuts and acorns over the fire to take away their rank oiliness, which afterwards pressed, yields a milky liquor, and the acorns an amber colored oil. In these mingled together they dip their cakes at great entertainments, and so serve them up to their guests as an extraordinary dainty."

"The conclusion of Father Fremin's narrative discloses some of more serious obstacles encountered by the missionaries in their work, and at the same time gives a vivid picture of Iroquois life and manners more then two centuries ago. The brief mention of the Cayuga Mission recalls the labors of the devoted and gentle Menard, its founder in 1657, who, four years after, lost his life among the forests which border Lake Superior, while on his way to plant the cross among the savage tribes of that distant region, as he was among the first to do on the banks of our own Cayuga."

A note here gives the full story of Father Menard's life:

"Father Rene Menard, who was born in 1604, had been in France confessor to Madame Daillebout, one of the founders of Montreal; but of his previous history we know nothing. He came to Canada in the Esperance, which sailed from Dieppe on

the 26th of March, 1640, and after being compelled to put back by storms, reached Quebec in July. After being director of the Ursulines, he was sent to the Huron country and succeeded Raymbaut as missionary of the Algonquins, Nipissings, and Atontratas. On the fall of the Hurons (1649) he was stationed at Three Rivers until May, 1656, when he accompanied the French expedition to Onondaga, and from thence accompanied Chaumonot to the Cayugas in August of the same year. He remained for two months, when he was recalled to Onondaga, but soon after returned and remained until the missions were broken up up in 1657; after which he returned to Three Rivers, and remained there until he was chosen in August, 1660, to succeed Garreau in an attempt to begin missions among the West Algonquin tribes. He set out with a flotilla of Indians and after great suffering reached Lake Superior and founded the mission of St. Teresa among the Ottawas at Keeneenaw Bay, Oct. 15.

"He labored here during the winter and was planning a misson among the Dakotas, when his services were urgently solicited by a band of Hurons then at the source of the Black River, a branch of the Mississippi. He set out for their village in July, 1661, and perished of famine or by an Indian hand, near the source of the Wisconsin in Lake View Desert, in the early part of August, 1661. For the place of his death, which has been much debated, we adopt the theory of Rev. E. Jacker, who to a close study of the data, adds a personal knowledge of Indian life, and their trails in Wisconsin and Michigan."

Iroquois Make Overtures to French

"The Hurons, a compact and numerous nation on the western border of the French possessions in Canada, whose alliance to the crown of France had been secured [largely through Champlain's policy of fair trade and support against their enemies], had been driven from their country by the Iroquois, and reduced to a wretched remnant, a part of whom sought refuge near Quebec." We read also of countless captives living in the villages of the five nations. "Others were scattered among their western neighbors. The overthrow of the Hurons (1649) was quickly followed by the destruction of the Neuter Nation, occupying the territory on both sides of the Niagara, and now the Eries, the only remaining barrier to Iroquois ambition on the west, had in turn become the object of the same relentless spirit of conquest.

"This was in 1653. Besides this bloody work with neighboring tribes, the Iroquois had made frequent incursions upon the Canadian settlements, consisting of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. But now they were ready for peace with the French, at least while they had on their hands this war with the Eries. Accordingly, in the summer of this year, sixty Onondagas, representing also the Cayugas and Senecas, appeared in sight of the fort at Montreal, shouting from their canoes that they came for peace. An Oneida delegation soon followed. The French at first suspected treachery and were slow to accept assurances of friendship so suddenly tendered, especially as bands of Mohawks were infesting Montreal and Three Rivers at the time. But arrange-

ments were made for a council at Quebec; and in February of the following year (1654), the embassy arrived prepared to conclude the desired peace. The council was convened, when the Onondaga chief, who headed the deputation, presented six large belts of wampum, indicating the principal points of his speech.

"The first was to calm the spirit of the French, and prepare their minds to receive without misunderstanding or offence what he had to say."

"The second was in token that his heart was upon his tongue, and his tongue in his heart; i.e., that all he was about to say was from a sincere desire for friendship and peace.

"The third represented a tree, he said, planted in the midst of the great river St. Lawrence, opposite the fort of Quebec and the house of Onontio, whose top reaches above the clouds, to the end that all the nations of the earth could see it, and repose in peace under its shadow.

"The fourth opened a wide and deep abyss in which should be buried all past differences, and all persons who should attempt to disturb, or in any way to violate the peace about to be concluded.

"The fifth was to take away the clouds which had so long obscured the sun, referring to the false speeches of the Algonquins and Montagnais, which like clouds had prevented the sweet light of day on them and the French, and made darkness everywhere.

"Finally, in the sixth present, they promised to bury deep in the earth the war kettle in which they had been accustomed to boil the flesh of captives taken in battle, since all the old hatreds were now changed into love.

"Everything seemed to make for peace; as if, indeed, the cloud was to be lifted which hung so darkly over the French settlements. 'Yesterday,' wrote Father Le Mercier, of the overtures of the summer previous, 'all was dejection and gloom; to-day all is

smiles and gaiety. On Wednesday, massace, burning, pillage. On Thursday, gifts and visits as among friends. If the Iroquois have their hidden designs, so, too, has God.' 'There was nothing but joy and opening of the heart,' he writes to the council, 'and the sun has no rays more benign than shone in the faces of these ambassadors. But a dark night follows a bright day.'

"It appears the Onondaga orator, who had made this fine speech in the council, had approached several of the Huron chiefs with a proposition that the following spring a colony of Huron families, under pretext of a desire to be nearer Montreal, should remove to a point between that place and Three Rivers, where a party of Iroquois, to the number of five or six hundred would meet them, when the plan would be more fully disclosed, and all under pledge of inviolable secrecy. A similar project for a colony had come from the Mohawks.

"The Hurons at once suspected treachery, and one of their chiefs disclosed the secret to the Governor General, while the council was still in progress, and sought advice as to the answer they should give to this proposal, which had greatly disturbed them. 'It is for thee now, Onontio, and not for us to speak,' said the Huron. 'We have been dead for four years, since our country was desolated. Death follows us everywhere. It is ever before our eyes. We live only in thee. We see only through thine eyes. We breathe only in thy person. Our thoughts are without reason only as thou givest it to us. It is then for thee, Onontio, to draw us from these perils and tell us what to do.'

"It was concluded that the French authorities should appear to concur in the enterprise, with the undestanding that it should be postponed for at least a year; and the Huron chief, thus instructed, replied to the ambassador in a private conference, that the project would doubtless succeed beyond their present hopes; that the French themselves were disposed to form a colony on the great Lake of the Iroquois; and for this reason it would be

better in all frankness to communicate the design to them, and not attempt to conceal so important a movement.

"The Iroquois assented, and it was arranged by the Hurons that the enterprise should be deferred for a year at least, and in the meantime a residence should be provided for the Jesuit Fathers somewhere in Iroquois territory, and that then they would go willingly with their wives and children.

"The Governor General gave his assent in a speech accompanied by six presents, the purport of which was that the Hurons must be left to act with entire freedom, and go to whichever of the Iroquois cantons they desired, or back to their ancient country, or still further, to remain with the French if they preferred. He suggested that the tree of peace, which the Onondaga orator had fixed opposite Quebec, be transplanted to Montreal, on the frontier, where it could be more readily seen by neighboring nations. He also urged harmony among the Iroquois themselves, that they might maintain peace with others, and skillfully used their own project of a Huron colony to excite the hope of each of the cantons that it might obtain the desired acquisition."

"In response to these overtures of peace, but as a precautionry step, it was concluded to send Father Simon Le Moyne, a veteran Huron missionary, as a special envoy to Onondaga to confirm these friendly proposals, before venturing either a mission or a colony in their country. Le Moyne left Quebec July 2, 1654. He was joined at Montreal by a young Frenchman, noted for both courage and piety, and taking two or three Indians as guides, started on his adventurous journey by way of the St. Lawrence, in a single canoe. Thirteen days were consumed in making their way up the river, struggling with the rapids and encountering heavy winds, which greatly retarded their progress. At night they would seek shelter in the woods, or, if more convenient, under their inverted canoe, and sometimes in the bark hut they would build for the emergency. Game was plenty, and the large

herds of elk they met seemed little disturbed by their presence. They reached Lake Ontario July 30, but such was the violence of the wind that they were compelled to take to the islands in the vicinity, and traverse them on foot, carrying their luggage, provisions, and canoes on their shoulders. They soon fell in with a party of Iroquois fishermen, who proved friendly and conducted Le Moyne and his companions to their village, where the good Father was met by several of his old Huron Christians, who recognized him with expressions of delight, and to whom he, in turn, gave the consolations of religion. From this point they took the usual course through the woods, reaching Onondaga on the fifth of August, after a journey of three weeks from Montreal.

Le Moyne was received at the Iroquois capital with every mark of respect and enthusiasm. They overwhelmed him with kind attentions, tempting him with the choicest luxuries of the season, such as roasting ears of the young corn, with a bread made of its pulp, than which they knew nothing more delicious.

"One would call him 'brother,' another 'uncle,' another 'cousin,' while every face beamed a welcome. Familiar as the missionary was with barbarous life and customs, he writes, 'I never saw the like among Indians before.' Deputies from the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas soon arrived; and on the tenth of August the council convened by criers passing through the town proclaiming its purpose and summoning all to come to the cabin of Ondessonk (Huron name given Le Moyne), and listen to his words. After invoking the blessing of Heaven in solemn prayer, the sagacious Father, who was well versed in the arts of Indian diplomacy, displayed his presents and began his speech, which he tells us lasted two full hours, and in which he imitiated the tone and manner of their own chiefs on such occasions. He caught the spirit of metaphor characteristics of their oratory, and addressed each of the nations represented in council, as if he

had always known their history and been familiar with the deeds of their noted sachems and warriors, all of which drew from the dusky councillors repeated ejaculations of approval. In the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh presents he gave to the four nations 'each a hatchet for the war in which they were engaged with the Eries.'

"The reply of the orator, who spoke in behalf of the council, was all that could be desired. He was specially importunate that the French should select a spot for their colony 'on the shores of the Great Lake, where they could dwell securely in the midst of the country of the Iroquois as they already dwelt in their hearts.' Le Moyne added two presents to confirm this proposal; and with this favorable termination of his mission, returned to Montreal, where he arrived on the seventh of September, having been absent nearly nine weeks."

The next year (1655) a second delegation of the Jesuits consisting of Father Joseph Chaumonot, also an experienced Huron missionary, and a recent recruit from France, Father Claude Dablon, arrived at Onondaga on the fifth of November.

"The fifteenth of the same month was appointed for convening a general council and delivering the customary presents. At ten o'clock in the morning of that day, the preparations having been completed, and while prayers were being recited amid the stillness of the vast assembly, news came that the embassy from Cayuga had entered the village. The announcement put an end to this part of the ceremony, in order that the deputation might be received with the formalities due to their rank."

The customary presents were given and received, with flowery speeches on both sides. "As the assembly broke up, the chief of the Cayugas (Saonchiogwa) assured the Father of his desire to take him as a brother, which was accepted as a mark of the highest confidence."

The next day, after several songs were sung and the customary

exchange of presents, the chief of the Cayugas arose and made a speech of thanks, for a good half hour, characterized by remarkable eloquence and sagacity. "He said that both himself and his nation held themselves under great obligations to Onontio for the honor he had done them in their adoption; and that never should they act unworthily of this honorable relationship, nor degrade so illustrious a distinction. In token of his gratification at this great honor, he stuck up a song as pleasing as it was novel. All his companions sang in harmony with him, keeping time while striking their mats, while he danced in the midst of them with violent movement, after the Indian fashion.

"Giving play to every part of his body, he gestured with his feet, his hands, his head, eyes, and mouth, as he sang. 'A, a, ha, Gaiandere, gaiandere,' equivalent, says the Father, to 'Io, io, triumphe,' in the Latin tongue. He explained the word 'Gaiandere,' to signify what they deemed most excellent; and added that what others called the Faith should be named among them 'Gaiandere,' in proof of which he made the first present of beads."

"Dablon returned to Quebec early in November, leaving Chaumonot to remain at Onondaga for the winter. He was impressed with the good disposition of the Iroquois, and favored compliance with their demand for a mission and French settlement, to be establised among them the following spring.

"The whole subject was one of anxious deliberation in Quebec, with alternate hopes and fears. With the fate of their great Huron Mission still fresh in their minds, Father Le Mercier, Superior of the Missions, writes thus of the projected movement among the Iroquois:

"'It is their fury that has desolated the country of the Algonquins and Hurons (1649) while they were fast becoming a Christian people. They cruelly burned both pastors and the flock. But while the blood of the martyrs is making itself heard in Heaven, we find ourselves called to renew our efforts to spread the Faith,

by these cruel barbarians themselves, who would seem to exist in the world for the sole purpose of opposing it. In a word the Iroquois have pressed us to come and instruct them, demanding with equal urgency that a colony should be planted on their Lake (Ontario) which should be to them for an asylum and between them and us a lasting bond of Peace.'"

"'The promise having been made to them for the next spring, their heart has not been able to contain itself for joy. Their countenance has been more expressive than their tongue, and God has caused us to hope that in some way He will secure his glory and our good in the event.'

"About this time, a Huron prisoner who had escaped from Onondaga, brought the report that the whole project was an Iroquois plot to allure the French with the Hurons into their country, to be followed by a general massacre, when once in their power. The Huron chiefs took the alarm, and though expecting to accompany the mission in accordance with the pledge made to the Onondagas, as already related, not only refused to furnish a colony of their own people, but implored the French for the love they bore them not to expose themselves to such manifest perils. In the meanwhile the Mohawks, jealousy of the preference shown to the Onondagas in the location of the settlement, gave indications of their displeasure, which boded nothing but evil."

"After a review of the whole ground and in the light of these fresh disclosures, it was considered too late to retreat, notwithstanding the dangers visible on all sides, as a refusal now to carry out the negotiations already under way would bring upon the French settlements the combined fury of the Iroquois nations, while at the worst the result of the present enterprise would be the sacrfice of the few instead of the many. It was, moreover, the only door opened to them to maintain peaceful relations begun with these savages and for the spread of the Faith; and on the

17th of May, 1656, the entire company embarked at Quebec in two large shallops, with a number of canoes, for Onondaga. It was composed of the Missionary Fathers René Menard, Claude Dablon, James Fremin, and Francis Le Mercier, the Father Superior, and Brothers Ambrose Broas and Joseph Boursier; ten soldiers, with between thirty and forty French colonists under command of M. DuPuys. Hurons, Onondagas, and Senecas completed the party.

"They had a long and perilous journey. On reaching Lake Ontario they had exhausted their provisions, and the fishing being poor, they were without food for six days except for a small berry found in the woods, and were saved from starvation only by a bountiful supply of Indian corn and salmon despatched from Onondaga whither they had sent a courier for relief. This was while at or near the point still called Famine Bay, from whence the whole flotilla proceeded by way of the Oswego River and entered Lake Ganentaa [Onondaga Lake; also written Ga-nuntaha] the eleventh of July; to the delight and astonishment of the crowds of savages along its banks.

"A grand council was soon assembled to confirm the alliance, and Father Chaumonot, who had been on the ground through the previous winter, was the spokesman for his missionary brethren and their companions. His speech for the occasion is described as one of remarkable eloquence, in which he disclosed, with entire frankness and characteristic earnestness, the design of their coming. 'It is not trade,' he said 'that brings us here. Our purpose is a more lofty one. Do you think that your beaver skins can pay us for all the toils and dangers of a long and weary voyage? Keep them, if you like, for the Hollanders; and if any fall into our hands, we shall use them only for your service. We seek not the things that perish. It is for the Faith that we have left our country; it is for the Faith that we have forsaken our parents and friends; it is for the Faith that we have crossed the

ocean and left the great ships of France to embark in your little canoes. It is for the Faith that we have left our comfortable houses to live in your hovels of bark. It is for the Faith that we have denied ourselves the food that is natural to us, for that which the beasts of our country would scarcely touch.'

"And here, displaying a large and beautiful belt most artistically designed, he continued: 'It is for the Faith that I take in my hands this rich present and open my mouth to remind you of the pledges you gave at the time you came to Quebec, to conduct us into your country. You with great solemnity promised to give ear to the words of the great God. They are in my mouth. Listen to them. I am only His voice. We are messengers whom He has sent to tell you that His Son became man, for the love of you; that this man, the Son of God, is the Prince and Master of men; that He has prepared in Heaven eternal joy for those who obey Him, and kindled the fires of hell for those who will not receive His word.... If you reject it, whoever you are, Onondaga, Seneca, Mohawk, Cayuga, or Oneida, know that Jesus Christ who inspires my heart and voice will plunge you one day into Hell. Avert this crime! Be not the author of your own destruction. Accept the truth! Listen to the voice of the Omnipotent!' "

"Early in August an aged chief from Cayuga, an intelligent man and still engaged in public affairs, presented a request on behalf of his nation, that one of the Fathers might be sent to instruct them in the Faith with the assurance that a chapel would be provided, and that this was the desire of the whole people. Father Menard was accordingly sent, with two Frenchmen, and became the guest of Saonchiogwa, the chief of the canton, and the same that responded to Chaumonot and Dablon in the coucil of the previous year."

Jesuits Found Mission at Goiogouen

"The first mission founded among the Cayugas was in 1656, and soon after the establishment of the Onondaga Mission from which missionaries were delegated to labor among the Cayugas and Senecas. The Cayugas had been represented at the first missoinary council at Onondaga, when they were received with much formality. Saonchiogwa, the head chief of the Cayugas, was very cordial to the 'Black Robes,' as the priests were called, and assured them of his desire to receive them as brothers. A representative Cayugan in his nation asked that one of the fathers might be sent to them, assuring them that a chapel would be built for their use. The request was granted, and Father Menard was sent to the Cayugas, arriving in August, 1656.

"He found, however, a great antipathy not only to the Faith, but to his own person. This dislike had come to the Cayugas through the Hurons, who insisted that the missionaries brought them sickness and misfortunes. But the principal men of the Cayugas, from motives of policy, did not break with the missionary, and set their Huron slaves to work to build a chapel, which at the end of two days was completed and ready for occupancy. Father Menard spread the floor with 'beautiful mats,' and arranged two images in the chapel, one of our Lord and the other of our Lady. 'The effect,' Menard relates, 'so greatly surprised our barbarians that they came in crowds to consider it and gaze upon the countenance and movements of the two images.' Many converts were made, not only of the Hurons and slaves, but also from the natives of the country."

"But Menard met the difficulties common to all the early

French missionaries. He said: 'Our Faith is accused of being the murderer of all who profess it, and the cause of all the evils both public and private with which they are afflicted; that the children died two years after baptism, and that those who had adopted the Christian Faith either broke a leg, or pierced their foot with a thorn, or became emaciated, or vomited up the soul with the blood, or were attacked with some other signal malady.' These superstitious notions of the Indians often put the lives of the missionaries in jeopardy. Some of the more suspicious desired to remove Menard, but were restrained by others."

From the "Relation" for 1657, a significant paragraph or two telling of his experiences among the Cayugas gives a further picture of Father Menard:

"Many brought their children to me for Baptism; and aided me in teaching them the prayers, by repeating them after me; and in a short time grace wrought such marvelous changes, that the little children, who at first made me the constant object of their ridicule and sport, now rendered me the offices of good angels, conducting me into their cabins, attending me wherever I visited, and giving me the names of those I baptized, as well as the names of their parents; which these barbarians are accustomed to conceal from us, believing that we record their names that we may send them to France, and there procure their death by magic.

"The providence of God gave me three excellent teachers for acquiring the language. They are brothers, natives of the country, and of good natural dispositions. Their kindness in inviting me to their houses, and the patience and assiduity with which they have instructed me, very soon qualified me to instruct them, and by means of the pictures, which greatly excited their curiosity, lead them to apprehend our mysteries.

"The first adult person that I judged capable of baptism was an old man eighty years of age, who, having been touched of

God on hearing me instruct a Christian, desired me, two days after, to visit him, being to all appearances nigh unto death. I had no hesitation in according to him baptism, finding in him all the dispositions of a soul chosen for Heaven, in the way to which he has had opportunity to prepare himself.

"The second adult that I baptized was a cripple whose face was covered with a cancer, which rendered him horrible to the sight. This poor afflicted one received me with a joy, equalled only by the fervor of desire he had evinced that I should visit him, and applied himself so faithfully to retain the prayers and instructions, that I soon conferred upon him baptism in our chapel. Perhaps these graces, which God has wrought in him, are the fruits of the charity that he manifested for Fathers Brebeuf and Lalement some time before. He told me that he was a witness of their death, and having by his valor acquitted himself with credit among his fellow warriors on that same day in which he had slain with his own hand eight Hurons and taken five others prisoners, he had pity on these two captive Fathers, and had bought them of the Mohawks for two beautiful wampum belts, with the design of returning them to us in safety; but that soon their captors gave back to him these pledges, reclaimed their prisoners and burned them with all imaginable fury.

"This poor Lazarus, as I have named him in baptism, is much esteemed in the canton; and he is the first support that it pleased God to give this little Church, which He augments continually in attracting others to the Faith, through the zeal of his discourse and his example."

"This is what the Father has informed us during the two months he has had charge of the mission, having been obliged to leave there and return and join his labors with those of the two other fathers at Onondaga, where they have established the foundation and the seminary of all the other missions among the Iroquois.

"Since then, however, at that same place, the Father having returned there accompanied by five or six French and the more prominent of the village, who had come here to beg him to return, he has been received with all the eclat imaginable. Having found the chapel in the same condition in which he left it, he resumed prayers on the day of his arrival; and so great was the zeal manifested by the converts and the catchumens, that the Father writes that his church is not less promising than that of Onondaga."

"In addition to this account of the labors of Menard at Cayuga, during the year he was there, and the dangers to which he was exposed, we find in Chap. VIII of the 'Relation 1662-3,' written after his death, this passage alluding to his connection with the mission: 'His courage was equal to his zeal. He had seen without fear the Iroquois rushing upon him knife in hand to cut his throat, while laboring for their conversion in the village of Cayuga. Others in the same place had lifted their hatchets to cleave his skull, but he preserved his calmness. He met, with a benign countenance, the insults of the little children who hooted at him in the streets, as if he were a lunatic. But this generous Father gloried with the apostle in being counted a fool for Jesus' sake, that in the very pangs of persecution, he might give birth to this Iroquois church founded by him, and which, in a short time, grew to the number of four hundred Christians, with the hopeful prospect of converting the entire 'bourg,' had he not been arrested in the midst of his work. This was when we were obliged to abandon the Iroquois missions in consequence of the fresh murders committed by these treacherous savages, on our frontier settlements. Thus he was forced to abandon this bountiful harvest, the first fruits of which he had offered to heaven, in the death of many little ones and also of adults, whom he had baptized. It was like taking his heart from his body, or tearing a loving mother from her children.'"

The Jesuits Withdraw

"The first missions among the Iroquois were of short duration. The settlement of the French with the Onondagas, instead of on the banks of Lake Ontario, as at first proposed, and on ground common to the several nations, had provoked anew the hatred of the Mohawks, while the murder of three of the colonists by the Oneidas had led to acts of retaliation on the part of the French. Moreover, the war being waged for the extermina- of the Eries was at its height; and the prisoners, including women and children, were brought in numbers to Onondaga and other Iroquois villages, and after the customary tortures, consigned to the flames. In the midst of the general turmoil, a conspiracy was organized for the slaughter of the colony, including the missionaries. The plot was disclosed by a dying Onondaga who had recently been baptized. Messengers were sent in haste to call in the missionary Fathers from the several cantons, who together with the colonists, fifty-three in number, were speedily gathered in their fortified house on Lake Ganentaa (Onondaga) M. DuPuys, the officer in command, immediately entered upon preparations for their escape from the country. Every movement had to be conducted with the utmost secrecy, as the slightest suspicion of their intentions would be the signal for a general massacre. Moreover, the savages were on the watch day and night as they lounged before the gate of the mission house or stealthily crept about the palisade that enclosed the premises. The French, finding that they had only canoes for half of their number, built in the garret of the Jesuits' house, unsuspected by the Indians, two batteaux of light draft, and capable of holding

fifteen persons each, which were kept concealed until everything should be in readiness for the departure.

"Resort was now had to strategem. Among the French was a young man who had been adopted into the family of an Onondaga chief and had acquired great influence with the tribe. He gravely told his foster father that he had dreamed the previous night that he was at a feast at which the guests ate everything set before them, and asked permission to make a similar feast for the whole tribe.

"A day was named for the banquet; the stores of the settlement were freely committed to swell the bounty and give zest to the festivites, which took place on the evening of the 20th of March (1657), in a large enclosure outside the palisade that protected the mission house. Here, amid the glare of blazing fires, Frenchmen and Iroquois joined in the dance; the musicians, in the meanwhile, with drums, trumpets and cymbals keeping up a continuous uproar, in the midst of which those in charge of the boats were making the necessary preparations for the embarcation. The feast lasted until midnight, when, gorged to repletion and under the soothing notes of the guitar played by the young Frenchman, the guests fell into a profound slumber. He then silently withdrew and joined his companions who lay upon their oars anxiously awaiting his coming; and before morning the fugitives were far on their way to Oswego. Late in the next day, the Indians stood wondering at the silence that reigned in the mission house; yet, as the afternoon wore away, their patience was exhausted, and scaling the palisade, they burst open the doors to find to their amazement, every Frenchman gone."

"Gazing at each other in silence, they fled from the house. No trace betrayed the flight of the French. 'They have become invisble,' cried the savages, 'and flown or walked upon the waters, for canoes they had not.' The party reached Montreal, after a a perilous journey on the 3d of April, with loss of a single canoe and three of their number, drowned in the St. Lawrence."

War and Its Aftermath

"The same year (1657), a ferocious war between the French and Iroquois raged all along the Canadian Frontier. It lasted some two years, during which the missionary Fathers had a steadfast friend in Garacontie, the renowned chief of the Onondagas, who left no means untried to bring about a peace for the sake of their return." We continue the story of Jesuit Missions in Goi-o-gouen, written by Charles Hawley, D.D., the first and foremost president of the Cayuga County Historical Society. The narrative is here interrupted by a note to this effect: "It was not until after the flight of the French that Garacontie became the avowed protector of Christians and the advocate of peace. Indeed, he fitted up in his own cabin a chapel, and maintained, so far as he was able, the emblems and associations of the Faith. He succeeded in rescuing a number of French captives brought to the different cantons, and these he would assemble at Onondaga, morning and evening, with the Hurons to prayer, at the sound of the mission bell, which he had carefully preserved, and which was only allowed to be used on the gravest public occasions."

"It was through Garacontie's influence that an embassy under charge of Saonchiogwa, the head sachem of the Cayugas, was sent to Montreal to secure this object. The negotiations were attended by many difficulties, and required adroit management on the part of the Cayuga orator. The French had learned to view with distrust such overtures, if they had not lost all confidence in the Iroquois sincerity. 'They cry peace,' writes Father LeJeune, in his account of this embassy, 'and murder in

the same breath. Peace is made at Montreal and war is waged at Quebec and Three Rivers. While we receive them at our homes, they kill us in the forests, and our people are murdered by those who protest that they are our best friends.'

"In giving the account of the embassy we follow the narrative of LeJeune: 'It was in the month of July (1660) amid such disasters, that there appeared above Montreal two canoes of the Iroquois, who, on displaying a white flag, came boldly under that standard and put themselves into our hands as if their own were not red with our blood. It is true they had with them a passport that put them above all fear of harm from us, go where they would, in four French captives whom they came to return as a pledge of their sincerity. They asked for a conference, saying that they were deputed by the Cayugas and Onondagas, from whom they had brought messages of importance Indeed, the head of the embassy was the celebrated Captain of the Cayuga nation, who was friendly to us when we were among the Iroquois, and the host of our Fathers in their labors to found the first church among his people.

"'We appointed a day for the conference, and received him as if innocent of any participation in the murders which had been committed throughout our settlements. The day arrived when he displayed twenty belts of wampum, which spoke more eloquently than his speech, marked though it was from beginning to end with much native grace, and presenting with great adroitness all the points to be secured by his mission. He had come, and this was the important part of the embassy, to obtain the release of eight Cayugas, his countrymen, kept at Montreal since the previous year. In order to induce us to liberate these prisoners, he broke the bonds of the four Frenchmen he had brought with him, promising at the same time the liberty of twenty others who were held at Onondaga; and finally he assured us of the good will of his nation, notwithstanding the acts

of hostility committed during the past two years. His speech was clothed in excellent terms and was attended with much ceremony.

"First of all he offered a present to Heaven 'to bring back,' he said, 'the Sun which had been in eclipse during these wars, the evils of which that luminary had refused to look upon. It had been,' he said, 'forced to retire so as not to shine upon the inhumanities that attend such conflicts among men.'

"Having thus propitiated Heaven, he next sought to restore the earth, convulsed as it had been by the tumult of war. This he did by a present which was intended at the same time to calm the rivers, clear out all the rocks, smooth down the rapids and thus establish free and safe intercourse between us. Another present covered all the blood that had been shed and brought back to life all that had been slain in these wars. Another gave us back the comfort and peace we had lost in the troubles we had suffered. Another was to restore the voice, clear the throat and organs of speech, that none but the pleasant words of peace might pass between us; and in order to show with what sincerity he desired to be bound to us, he said, in presenting a magnificent belt: 'This is to draw the Frenchman to us, that he may return to his mat which we still preserve at Ganentaa; where the house is yet standing that he had when he dwelt among us. The fire has not been extinguished since his departure, and the fields, which we have tilled, await but his hand to gather the harvest; he will make peace flourish again in the midst of us by his stay, as he had banished all the evils of war. And to cement this alliance, and bind us together so firmly that the demons, jealous of our happiness, shall never be able to cross our good designs, we ask that the holy sisters should come and see us, as well to take care of the sick as to instruct the children; (he intended to speak of the Hospital nuns and the Ursulines) we will erect roomy cabins, furnished with the most beautiful mats the country

affords; and they need have no fear of the water-falls or the rapids for we have so united the rivers that they may put their own hands to the oar without trouble or fear.'

"Finally, he made a full recital of the comforts these good nuns would fiud in his country, not forgetting to mention the abundance of Indian corn, strawberries and other fruits of this, sort, which he set forth in his discourse as the strongest inducements to attract them on this expedition. His whole manner, both of gesture and posture, in arranging the two presents given with this object, indicated that he was moved in their bestowal by gallantry, rather than by any expectation that the request would be granted. The final word he spoke was in a tone of stern resolve, as raising the last belt he exclaimed, 'A Black-gown must come with me, otherwise, no peace; and on his coming depend the lives of twenty Frenchmen at Onondaga.' In saying this he produced a leaf from some book, on the margin of which these twenty Frenchmen had written their names."

Mission of St. Joseph at Cayuga

"Cayuga was among the last of the cantons to have its mission restored. In 1664, four years after the embassy narrated in the preceding pages, Saonchiogwa headed a delegation of Cayugas to solicit missionaries, but failed. Two years afterward he renewed the request; and Father James Fremin and Peter Raffeix were chosen to accompany him to his canton; but again his hopes were baffled. Fremin went on to the Mohawks and Raffeix remained at Montreal to carry out a plan for a settlement at Laprairie. Father Garnier was already at Onondaga, and no sooner was the mission there inaugurated by the building of a chapel, than Garacontie with several French prisoners set out for Quebec to secure an additional missionary for his own people, and one for the Cayugas who had been so sorely dissappointed the year before. He made his appeal directly to the Governor, and Fathers Peter Milet and Stephen de Carheil were selected to accompany him to Onondaga. Milet remained there; and de Carheil proceeded to Cayuga with Garnier to conduct the ceremony of his introduction to the village."

Rev. Mr. Hawley's history of the Cayuga missions is interrupted here for a biographical sketch of the newly arrived missionary.

"Father Stephen de Carheil was born at Vienne, November 20, 1633. He entered the Society of Jesus August 30, 1652, and arrived in Canada, August 6, 1666. He was sent to the Cayuga Mission in 1668, where he remained until 1684 at the breaking up of the Iroquois Mission, when he was driven from the canton by Orehaoue and Saranoa, the two principal chiefs of the tribe.

He then became connected with the Ottawa Mission, where he labored until early in the next century. Charlevoix, who saw him in 1721, at the age of 88, describes him as then 'full of vigor and vivacity.' He had sacrificed the greatest talents which can do honor to a man of his profession, and in hopes of a fate like that of many of his brethren, who had bedewed Canada with their blood, he had employed a kind of violence with his superiors to obtain a mission whose obscurity sheltered him from all ambition, and offered him only crosses. There he labored untiringly for more than sixty years. He spoke Huron and Iroquois with as much ease and eloquence as his native tongue, and wrote treatises in both these languages. French and Indians concurred in regarding him as a saint of the highest order. Father de Carheil died at Quebec in July, 1756, at the advanced age of 93."

The above biographical sketch and those that follow are credited by Hawley to Dr. John Gilmary Shea. The appear in "Early Chapters of Seneca History."

"Father James Fremin arrived in Canada in 1655. He accompanied Dablon to Onondaga in 1656, and remained there until the breaking up of the missions in March, 1657; was then for two years at Miscou; next year at Three Rivers and Cape de la Madelaine. In 1666 he was assigned to the Cayuga Mission, but did not serve, and next year was sent to the Mohawks. Near the close of 1668 he visited the Senecas and resided at Sonnontouan and remained there until the arrival of Father Garnier in the following year, when he changed his residence to Gandagarae, the south-eastern of the Seneca villages, laboring in that village and Gandagaro until 1670, when he was recalled and assigned to the mission of St. Francis Xavier, then located at Laprairie. The mission was removed to Sault St. Louis in 1676, and in 1679 he visited France in its behalf. He was again in Canada in 1682, and died in Quebec on the 20th of July, 1692."

Father Fremin writes to the Superior at Quebec in 1670:

"The 10th of August, 1669, I had the happiness to embrace Father de Carheil at Goiogouen (Cayuga), from whence I wrote to others of our fathers, who are among the Iroquois, to assemble at Onondaga the last of the month, where we would meet them. I had the leisure, in the meanwhile, to tarry some days at this mission, where I was witness of the faith and courage of the earlier Christians whom the late Father Menard had, himself, baptized; many even of the infidels themselves had not forgotten the prayers he had taught them. Ineed, all in this recent church (St. Joseph's), gave me great consolation and strong hope of the conversion of the entire country.

"Father de Carheil is greatly beloved. No one opposes the Faith. Many of the sachems come to pray to God in his little chapel. He has undertaken another which is to be much larger and more commodious, and which will be completed in a couple of months. I think that then they will come in great numbers to worship God. It is Rene, his associate, who is both architect and builder. It will in no respect resemble the cabins of the savages, except in its covering of bark. In all other particulars at will resemble a house such as they build in France. Behind the altar he has contrived to make a small room. Everyone in the whole town speaks of the skill of Rene. He dispenses various medicines which he prepares, himself, on the spot; he dresses all kinds of wounds and heals them; he treats all the sick. Many Cayugas said to me, that but for him they would have died. One cannot believe to what extent he is loved by these savages. Would that it might please God that each of our missions had a man like him!"

To resume Father Fremin's narrative: "The 20th of August, Father de Carheil and myself arrived at Onondaga, where in waiting for Father Bruyas who is at Oneida, and Father Pierron who is at Mohawk, I had time to consider the affairs of our early mission; and all appeared to be in the same state as when we left

it, in the year 1658, except that the Onondagas were greatly humiliated shortly after by the Ganastogue, as nearly all their braves had been slain in war. They spoke to us with great gentleness, and in all respects were more tractable than before. There is a church of early Christians which numbers about forty who live becomingly. Many present themselves for instruction. Garacontie is our true friend. That Prince and Orator visited me with all the courtesy imaginable and did for us many kindnesses.

"The 26th of August, Fathers Bruyas and Pierron arrived, and we had the consolation of seeing our entire number (six) together to deliberate on all matters, during the six days we were engaged in concerting measures needful to the success of our missions, and for overcoming the obstacles which hinder the progress of the Faith in the country of the Iroquois."

A note here indicates that Fathers Garnier and Milet at Onondaga, whose names are not given in the text, comprised the other two members of the sextet.

Father de Carheil's Report

"This people, making a fourth of the Iroquois nation, are located about one hundred and sixty-five leagues from Quebec and twenty from Onondaga, going always between west and south. Father Stephen de Carheil arrived at Cayuga on the 6th of November, 1668, and there presented to Heaven, as the first fruits of his labors, a female slave of the Andastes. They had come in company from Onondaga, and this journey which they made together was the means of enabling her to proceed on her way joyfully towards paradise; for having been instructed and baptized during their journey of two days, as soon as she had arrived at Cayuga, she was roasted and eaten by these barbarians on the 6th of November.

"Father Garnier, who accompanied Father de Caheil, on arriving at the village, made the customary presents to secure the building of a chapel and prepare the way for the reception of the Christian faith. These were responded to by similar presents on their part, in which they promised to embrace the faith and erect a chapel. The chapel was completed on the 9th of November, two days after his arrival, and dedicated to St. Joseph by Father de Carheil.

"It so happened, at first, that but few of their warriors were able to come for instruction, as the greater part were engaged in hunting or fishing. But the rumor of a war party of the Andastes in the vicinity, soon gathered them together and gave the Father an opportunity to preach the gospel to a large number.

"This widespread report that the enemy, to the number of three hundred, were on their way to attack Cayuga, proved false;

but it served as an occasion for the Father to show the Iroquois that he loved them, and to raise him in their esteem by his contempt for death, in remaining night after night with those who acted as sentinels. Thus they were disabused of the idea, that in the general panic, he would manifest the same alarm which had seized others; and the warriors themselves, the chiefs with the old men, gave him a testimonial of the honor in which they held him, in a public feast."

Father de Carheil made the most of this occasion of emotional disturbance, going from cabin to cabin, exhorting them to note his own bravery in the face of danger, and preaching his customary sermon of punishment if the lesson of Christianity were not heeded.

"These warriors listened with marked pleasure to this discourse, and although it grew out of a false alarm, common among the savages, yet it exerted an influence as favorable for the faith as if the enemy had really been at the gates."

"'This church begins already to grow. It numbers among its converts not only women and children, but also warriors, two of whom are among the more noted—one because he bears the name of the "bourg" of Cayuga, which he maintains with honor, and the other in consequence of his riches and valor. Prayer is not despised at Cayuga as in other places. If some are opposed to it, they are very few; nevertheless, we are not in haste to give baptism to this people, for fear of making apostates instead of Christians.'"

"The Father employed in the beginning of his teachings exclusively the Huron language, readily understood by the Iroquois when it is well spoken. He has since prepared a formula of baptism in the Cayuga dialect, and in composing it has used only the simple roots of the language; and is assured from his familiarity with the Iroquois tongue, acquired in his travels, and from his past experince, that if in the use of roots and of various dis-

courses, he can gather a sfficient number of words to express different actions, he will have mastered the language.

"Besides the town of Cayuga, which is the seat of the mission, there are two others under his charge—one four leagues from there, and the other nearly six leagues. The last two are situated upon a river, which coming from the region of the Andastogue, descends at four leagues distant from Onondaga, on its way to empty into Lake Ontario. The great quantity of rushes on the border of this river (Seneca) has given thc name of Thiohero to the village nearest Cayuga. The people that compose the body of these three large villages are partly Cayugas, and partly Hurons and Andastes—the two latter being captives of war. It is there that the Father exercises his zeal and asks companions in his apostolic labors."

A note here by Dr. John Gilmary Shea elaborates:

"Tiohero, or St. Stephen, was located at the northern extremity of Cayuga Lake, on the east side of the river, on the farm now owned by John La Rowe (1879). This was the crossing place of the great trail, at which was afterward the bridge of the Northern Turnpike. The Salt Springs mentioned by Father Raffeix in 1672 were a mile and a half northwest on the opposite side of the river, and about a half mile north of the Seneca River railroad bridge. Both of these places are mentioned by the Jesuit Fathers as being four leagues, or ten miles, distant from Goiogouen, then located on Great Gully Brook, three and a half miles south of Union Springs. At the time of Sullivan's campaign in 1779, a small village was found there, named Choharo in some of the journals."

The narrative of Father de Carheil continues: "While he takes occasions to praise the docility of the Cayugas, he is nevertheless not without his trials. His host, (Saonchiogwa), who is chief of the nation and who has taken him under his protection, has for some time past ill-treated him; for, desiring as the mis-

sionary of his people a certain other Father, whom he had brought with him to his home and whom it was his indisputable right to retain, [the reference here is to Father Fremin] he had allowed Father de Carheil, against his own wishes, to be given to Cayuga by Garacontie, the famous chief. He says in a haughty way that he does not belong to them, but to Onondaga, or perhaps to Oneida, where he insists he ought to go. On the other hand, Garacontie would have preferred Father de Carheil, as having been placed in his hands at Quebec, for Onondaga, where he is chief. But the necessity of affairs at present has compelled the arrangement as it is."

"The second letter of Father de Carheil from Cayuga bears the date June 1670, and is prefaced with the statement that the canton has three principal towns, viz., Cayuga, which bears the name of St. Joseph, Kiohero, otherwise known as St. Stephen, and Onontare, or St. René."

A note here, initialed by the surveyor, General John Clark, gives further information of these towns:

"The site of Onontare was near Savannah, in Wayne Co., N.Y. It was about five miles north of Thiohero, located at the foot of Cayuga Lake, and fifteen miles from Goi-o-gouen, (Cayuga) on Great Gully Brook, three and a half miles south of Union Springs. It appears on Charlevoix's map as Onnontatacet, and is mentioned in 1688 as 'Onnontatae, a village of the Cayugas where there are several cabins, and being on the way from the Bay of the Cayugas (Great Sodus) to Goi-o-gouen.' All these names convey the idea of 'mountain;' and a site known locally as Fort Hill, southeast of Savannah, on a high elevation, was probably one of the very early locations of this town. Other sites on lower lands nearby would naturally retain the name after the great hill had been abandoned."

"I have baptized since last autumn twenty-five children and twelve adults, a good portion of whom Heaven has claimed,

and among them nine children, whose salvation is thus secured. The loving providence of God has appeared to me so manifest in reference to some for whom I had almost no hope, that I have been taught by experience, a missionary ought never to despair of the conversion of any soul, whatever resistance it may offer to divine grace."

"I declare in all sincerty that it is to me a great consolation to see myself surrounded by so many sepulchres of saints in a place, where, on my arrival, my eyes rested only on the graves of the heathen; and as it was this spectacle of the dead which struck me so painfully on my first coming here, so it is now, the thought that gives me the greatest joy."

The above paragraph is the only indication that a cemetery with marked graves neighbored the little knoll on which the mission of St. Joseph was erected. A monument in the form of a cross, bearing a bronze tablet with the names of the four Fathers who took part in the Cayuga Mission—René Menard, Stephen de Carheil, Peter Raffeix and Joseph Chaumonot—erected in 1913 by the Knights of Columbus, gives the location of this important mission a few rods to the east of the Union Springs-Aurora road, at the point where it crosses the Great Gully Brook. Another monument, erected a few feet away by the State of New York, commemorates Sullivan's expedition against the Cayugas, and the destruction of Cayuga Castle, the main village of the tribe at that time (1779). The level fields between the present road and the lake, through which the rapid stream runs, form a part of the farm of Harris McIntosh, a native of Cayuga Village, and descendant of a common ancestor with John Harris, first white settler among the Indians (1788). Harris made his log-cabin home on the bank of the lake half a mile above the present village of Cayuga, and started a ferry there at a narrow place across the lake where the Indians already for many years had a canoe ferry of their own. This fact is attested by a State Eduction

marker on the opposite shore of the lake. This Indian ferry is also mentioned in a description of the gathering of the Indians and the whites for the purpose of making a treaty in 1795.

Father de Carheil's letter of June, 1670, continues with the enumeration of converts, most of whom, as in the previous year, were children on the point of death. There were others among the Cayugas and their captives who gave in at the last moment and asked for a safe passage into the Heavenly realm, which the Father willingly gave.

"We have passed the last winter quite peaceably, and without the alarm into which, ordinarily, the incursions of the Andastogues, who have long been enemies of this nation, have occasioned us. But last Autum they sent a messenger with three wampum belts to treat of peace. He had been until the month of March awaiting a reply in order to return home. But the Onondagas, having made war with the Andastogues this last winter, and having taken from them eight or nine prisoners, presented two of them to the inhabitants of Cayuga with forty belts of wampum, to induce them to continue the war against the common enemy. Immediately after this, they broke the head of the unfortunate messengers whom they had detained for six months, and who believed himself to be on the eve of his departure. His body was buried after his death, and a nephew of his, who had accompained him, shared the same fate at the hands of these savages who care but little for the laws of nations, and who keep faith no further than it serves their own interests. We can truly say that we are among them as perpetual victims, since there is no day in which we are not in danger of being massacred. But this is also our greatest joy and the spring of our purest consolation.'"

The year 1671 was a memorable one in the history of the Cayuga canton. Their great chief, Saonchiogwa, who had been of the embassy to sue for the Cayugas a Jesuit missionary after the war withFrance had come to a temporary ending, and who had

welcomed Father René Menard to his canton when the missions had been first started among them in 1656, now embraced the Faith. He did not, however, give Father de Carheil the satisfaction of this conversion, but when in Canada on a mission for the Seneca Indians, in returning several Pottawatamies, "whom the braves of that nation had captured by a surprise and in violation of good faith toward the French," had an earnest conference with Father Chaumonot, then in charge of the Huron mission at Quebec. Convincing him of the suppliant's sincerity and knowledge of the Faith through the offices of both Father Menard and Father de Carheil, Saonchiogwa attained his desire.

"He opened his heart to Father Chaumonot, declaring in such satisfactory terms his resolution to become a Christian, and to renounce forever all the customs of his country not in conformity with the holy precepts of the Gospel, that the Father was fully persuaded that he spoke from his heart. So that his Lordship, the Bishop, thoroughly informed of the whole case, deemed it unnecessary to withhold any longer the grace of baptism. He was pleased, therefore, to confer with his own hand this sacrament; and M. Talon, the Intendant, gave him the name of Louis."

We have seen that this same Saonchiogwa had made life difficult for Father de Carheil at the Cayuga canton, as he had wished for Father Fremin instead. What part this rebuff of his pride played in the nervous breakdown of Father de Carheil, which occurred in the same year, is not to the reader to these "Relations" made clear. It is a matter of history, however, that "when he had been three years among the Cayugas, he was obliged, from broken health, to relinquish his labors for a year, during which his place was supplied by Father Peter Raffeix."

We have been given a picture of Father de Carheil by John Gilmary Shea, author of "History of Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the U.S." "A man of high intellectual attain-

ments, towering above the average French Religeux, he had chosen to efface himself in the work among the Indians, whose habits and cruelties were no doubt abhorrent to his sensitive nature." To see in the same year the senseless murder of the messenger of the Andastogues, suing for peace, and to feel the slight of Saonchiogwa's conversion away from the Cayuga canton, following three years of open hostility to his presence at the mission of St. Joseph, may have broken de Carheil's spirit, which physical danger and hardship had not been able to conquer.

Father Dablon writes, in "Relations Inedities," Vol. II, page 11, "Farther on we find the town of Oiogouin, where Father de Carheil resides. This holy man is of an apostolic zeal which does not find that the Indians correspond to his care: but I think that he asks them too much virtue for beginnings. If he does not sanctify as many of them as he would, it is certain that be sanctifies himself in a good degree, as do Fathers Garnier and Raffeix in the towns of the Sonnontouans." (Senecas.)

"Father de Carheil, after a year's respite, returned to the mission with restored health. The record is that, 'finding human skill unavailing, he made a pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. Anne and obtained deliverance from the nervous disorder which afflicted him.'"

The Clouds Gather

Father de Carheil introduces, little by little, the knowledge of the true God, and teaches the Cayugas His commandments, which they appear to find most reasonable. "But alas! these fair beginnings are unhappily reversed. All the powers of hell are arrayed in opposition. Superstition has taken a new lease of life; and the Father has discovered that in a heathen and barbarous country a missionary is compelled to carry his life in his hands. The Father had gone to Tiohero and there been invited to a feast, at which everything was to be eaten, for the healing of a sick person, whom he went to visit with the design of baptizing her, after imparting the necessary instruction. Observing that he did not eat all this they had prepared for him, they insisted that it was essential that he should eat it all in order to heal the sick one.

"'I do not see, my brothers,' he replied, 'that I can heal her in making myself sick by over-eating, and by a remedy which the Master of our lives forbids; since it would make two persons sick instead of one—the first one remaining sick, and he who over-eats becoming so.'"

"All were taken by surprise with this reply. The sick person, above all, approved of what had been said. After that she permitted no remedy which the missionary deemed superstitious, and after baptism, she was taken from Tiohero to Cayuga, where she made confession of sins committed since she had received the grace of baptism. At length he died.... Her death, however joined with the widespread impression that baptism caused the death of individuals, confirmed the delusion with which the

Evil One has blinded these people to prevent their salvation.

"Since this occurrence, the Father writes us that he has often been repulsed and even driven from the cabins whither he has gone to visit the sick. But to understand fully the situation in which he soon found himself, and the danger of losing one's life, to which the missionary in this heathen country is continually exposed, it is necessary to give, in his own words, the evil treatment he has received, more particularily on one or two occasions:

"'I had entered a cabin' he says, 'to instruct and baptize a young woman, the daughter of a Huron captive; and though the time for baptism was pressing she would not listen to me as she did at the commencement of her sickness, when her father answered, saying, "Thou speakest as formerly spoke Father Brebeuf in our country. Thou teachest what he taught; and as he caused men to die by pouring water on their heads, thou wilt cause them to die in the same manner." I well knew from that moment there was nothing to hope for. Immediately after this, I observed one to enter who is a medicine man of our cabin; nevertheless he is much attached to me, and is in the habit of praying to God, and even knows the prayers by heart. He remained for sometime without disclosing his purpose, but seeing that I did not retire, he commenced, in my presence, first to apply some remedies in which I saw no harm; and then not wishing my presence during the application he was about to make of certain other remedies, he insisted that I should leave the cabin.... After this, I left and sought out a neighboring field to pour out my complaint to God, still beseeching the salvation of this person. But there was no more time; for a few moments after they had driven me out, and in my person the mercy of God, this unhappy soul was taken from the body by divine justice, and banished eternally from heaven.

"'I felt, through the evening, my heart fiilled with the bitter-

ness of grief, which took away all disposition to sleep, ever keeping before my eyes the loss of this soul that I loved and desired to save. Whilst engaged in these thoughts I was astonished at the appearance of my host, who approached me with a frightened countenance and whispered in my ear, that I must not go abroad on the morrow, nor even for three days, on the side of the town in which is the cabin of the woman who had just died. My first thought was that they had formed the design to tomahawk me. Then all the bitterness of my heart was dissipated and changed into extreme joy, at seeing myself in danger of death for the salvation of souls.' "

"The first affront that he received was only a trial of his courage to prepare him for a similar one given by a young warrior who chased him from his cabin because the Father would not allow him to say that, in roasting an ear of Indian corn in the ashes he was roasting the master of his life. These are the only instances of ill-treatment that he has received in the town of Cayuga, composed of more than two thousand souls, and in which they count more than three hundred warriors."

"They do not associate death with prayer, as with baptism. Many warriors and numbers of women pray to God. The children even know the prayers by heart. The knowledge of God's commandments has become common in their families; and so eager are they for instruction that they ask to pray to God in the open streets.

"Drunkenness, which has penetrated even to the Cayugas, has made havoc among them and hindered greatly the progress of the gospel. The Father writes us from there, that it is very common for them to drink for the mere sake of intoxication. They avow this loudly beforehand; and one and another is heard to say, 'I am going to lose my head; I am going to drink the water which takes away my wits.'

"The number of persons that have been baptised is twenty-

eight, of whom one-half have already died, with such preparation as leads us to believe that they have gone to Heaven."

A note here tells of the Jesuit missionary's earnest desire for martyrdom. "The desire sometimes rose to a passion, as in the vow of Brebeuf which he renewed each day, exclaiming as he partook of the sacred wafer: 'What shall I render unto thee, Jesus my Lord, for all thy benefits? I will accept thy cup and invoke thy name. I vow, therefore, in the sight of thy Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit; in the sight of thy most Holy Mother, and St. Joseph; before the holy angels, apostles and martyrs, and before my sainted Fathers Ignatius and Francis Xavier, to thee my Jesus I vow, never to decline the opportunity of martyrdom and never to receive the death blow but with joy.'"

This prayer was fully answered in 1649, as we have seen.

Father Peter Raffeix at Cayuga

"Father Peter Reffeix arrived in Canada 22 Sept. 1663; chaplain in de Courcelles' expedition in 1665; sent to Cayuga in 1671, thence, on de Carheil's return, to Seneca where he was in 1679. He was in Quebec in 1702-'03 though in an infirm state of health."

"Raffeix was chaplain of the French Fxpedition against the Mohawks in 1666, and, at the time of his taking the Cayuga Mission, was laboring among the Senecas, with whom he resumed his work on the return of de Carheil, and continued among them until 1680. His familiarity with the several cantons of the Iroquois gives interest to the comparison he here makes between the Cayugas and the other four nations of the confederacy.

"The letter bears the date June 24, 1672. He writes:

"'Cayuga is the most beautiful country I have seen in America. It is situated in Latitude 42.2, and the needle dips scarcely more than ten degrees. It lies between two lakes, and is no more than four leagues wide, with almost continuous plains, bordered by fine forests.

"'Agnie (Mohawk) is a valley very contrasted; for the most part stony, and always covered with fogs; the hills that enclose it appear to be very bad land.

"'Oneida and Onondaga appear too rough and little adapted to the chase, as well as Seneca. More than a thousand deer are killed every year in the neighborhood of Cayuga.

"'Fishing for both the salmon and the eel, and for other sorts of fish, is as abundant as at Onondaga. Four leagues distant from

here, on the brink of the river (Seneca) I have seen within a small space, eigth or ten fine salt fountains. It is there that numbers of nets are spread for pigeons, and from seven to eight hundred are often caught at a single stroke of the net. Lake Tiohero [Cayuga], one of the two adjacent to the village, is full fourteen leagues long by one or two wide. It abounds with swan and geese through the winter; and in spring nothing is seen but continual clouds of all sorts of game. The river Ochoueguen [Oswego] which rises in this lake soon branches into several channels, surrounded by prairies, with here and there fine and attractive bays of sufficient extent for the preservation of hunting.

"'I find the people of Cayuga more tractable and less haughty than the Onondagas and Oneidas; and had God humiliated them, as have been the Mohawks, I think that the Faith would have been more readily established among them than with any other of the nations of the Iroquois. They count more than three hundred warriors and a prodigious swarm of little children.

"'As to the spiritual, and that which appertains to the Mission, I hardly know what to say. God having withdrawn from it, first, Father Menard at the commencement of his successful labors, and since then, nearly a year ago, Father de Carheil, after he had mastered the language and favorably disposed the hearts of these barbarians toward their salvation, I cannot think that the hour of their conversion has yet arrived. In order to remove a prejudice to Christianity, created among our catchumens and neophytes by some slaves, captives from the Neuter Nation, and some renegade Hurons, I have introduced the chant of the Church, with an arrangement of the several prayers and hymns, in their Language, pertaining to the chief mysteries of our faith. It was on the first day of the year that we presented for a New Year's offering to our Lord songs of praise, which we have since continued with profit, and much to the satisfaction of our savages.

"'I am occupied the most of each day in visiting the sick, to

give them the proper instruction, in order that they may not die without receiving baptism. God did not permit me to succed with the first one whom I visited on my arrival here, and who died soon after. I went to see him many times and commenced with the necessary course of instruction. But his mother would not permit it. One day as I remained with the sick person a longer time than suited her mind, she seized a stick to drive me out, and her daughter at the same time threw a large stone, which, however, failed to hit me. I seized every opportunity to make an impression. I spoke in different interviews to this wretched mother, beseeching her to have pity on her son. But she remained inflexible to the last. Thus this poor young man died without baptism, at least the actual administration. It seems as if the curse of God rested upon this cabin—the same in which Father de Carheil had been treated with still greater indignity than myself, and for a like reason.'"

"'I count thirty, both children and adults, to whom God has given the same grace (baptism) since the departure of Father de Carheil. I trust that this troop of little innocents will move God at last, by the prayers they make to him, to hasten the time for the conversion of these barbarians, which as yet does not seem to be near. To believe that an entire nation is to be converted at once, and to expect to make Christians by the hundreds and thousands in this country, is to deceive one's self. Canada is not a land of flowers; to find one, you must walk far among brambles and thorns. Persons of exalted virtue find here enough to call out their zeal. The less worthy, like myself, are happy in finding themselves compelled to suffer much, to be without consolation save in God alone, and to labor incessantly for personal sanctification. I sincerely beg your Reverence, to retain me in this blessed service all my life, and to be assured that this is the greatest favor that can be conferred opon me.'"—*From "Jesuit Missions at Goi-o-gouen," by Charles Hawley, D.D. Published in 1879.*

Mission of St. Joseph, 1672 to 1684

Upon his return from Quebec in 1672, Father de Carheil again entered into his work at the Cayuga mission with all his former zeal and dedication. Few documents are available to us giving details of these last years before the mission was abandoned.

"The Mission at Cayuga, for the remaining brief period of its continuance was unmarked by any striking event, the obstinate and haughty spirit of the people being the same, until about the year 1684, when Father de Carheil, who for sixteen years had labored so faithfully for their good, was plundered of everything and driven from their country by Orehaoue and Sarennoa, the two head chiefs of the Cayuga canton at that time. This was doubtless due to English intrigue. In 1683 Colonel Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, had so far succeeded in destroying the influence of the French with the Iroquois that, though himself a Catholic, he directed all his efforts to expel the Canadian missionaries; and to inspire the Indians with confidence, he promised to send them English Jesuits instead, and to build them churches in their cantons. As a result, the Oneida and Seneca Missions were broken up the year before the expulsion of Father de Carheil from Cayuga.... Father John Lamberville was the last to leave his post, at Onondaga, where his life was put in peril owing to the alleged treachery on the part of the French in seizing a number of Iroquois as prisoners, and taking them to Fort Catarouci."

"All that remains to be gathered from the 'Relations' concerning the Cayuga Mission may be found in the brief notices contained in the present number, and in connection with the

general history of the Iroquois Missions. Thus in "Relation 1676-'7," printed by James Lennox, Esqu., of New York, from the original manuscript, we have the following:

"'The upper Iroquois, that is to say those that are most remote from us, as the Sonnontouans and Oiogouens, are the most haughty and the most insolent, running after the missionaries with axe in hand, chasing and pelting them with stones, throwing down their chapels and their little cabins, and in a thousand other ways treating them with indignity.

"'The Fathers suffer all and are ready for all, knowing well that the Apostles did not plant the Faith in the world otherwise than by persecution and suffering.'"

"In chap. V, sec. VII of 'Relations 1678-'9,' (Shea's edition) Dablon thus sums up the condition of the several missions:

"'By all that we have related, it may be judged that the Iroquois Missions render great glory to God and contribute largely to the salvation of souls. This encourages the missionaries amid the evident danger of death in which they have lived constantly for three years that the Iroquois speak of making war upon us; so that they have not been willing to leave their missions, although they were urged by their friends, who warned them of the evil designs formed against their persons. They accordingly presevere in laboring for the conversion of these peoples, and we learn that God has rewarded their constancy by a little calm which he gives them, and by more than three hundred baptisms which they have conferred this last year, to which I add that the preceding year they had baptized thirty-five in one of the towns of the Sonnonntuoans; Father de Carheil as many at Oiogouen; Father Milet forty-five at Oneiout; Father James de Lamberville more than thirty at one of the towns of Agnie, and Father Bruyas in another, eighty; Father John de Lamberville seventy-two at Onontage, and Father Pierron ninety in Sonnonntouan. It is estimated that they have placed in heaven more than two hundred souls of children and sick adults, all dead after baptism."

Roll of the Jesuits Among the Iroquois

From Vol. IV of the "Documentary History of New York," arranged under the direction of Hon. Christopher Morgan, Secretary of State (1851) we have copied a list entitled "Early Missionaries Among the Iroquois in the Province of New York." (By John M. Shea, S.J.)

PAUL RAGENEAU. Arrivel in Canada 28 June, 1636; Superior from 1650 to 1653; sent to Onondaga 26 July 1657; left 20 March 1658; died at Paris 3 Sept. 1680.

ISAAC JOGUES. Born in France, 1607; arrived in Canada 2d July 1636; prisoner among the Mohawks from Aug. 1642 to Aug. 1643; sent a missionary to the same tribe in 1646 and killed (at Caughnawaga as is supposed), 18 Oct. of same year.

FRS. JOSEPH LE MERCIER. Arrived in Canada between 1636 and 1638; Superior from 1653-1656; sent to Onondaga May 17 of the latter year; remained there until 20 March 1658; died in West Indies.

FRS. DUPERON. Arrived in Canada between 1636 and 1638; returned to France Aug. 23, 1650; came out a second time, was missionary at Onondga from 1657 to 1658, and again returned to France 6 Sept. 1658; arrived for the third time in Canada June 30, 1665, and died at Fort St. Louis, Chambly, the 10 Nov. following.

SIMON LE MOYNE. Arrived in Canada about 1638, when he was sent to Hurons; sent to Onondaga 2 July 1654; arrived at the Mohawks 16 Sept. 1655; remained there until Nov. 9 of the same year; sent thither again in 1656; returned 5 Nov. the same year; went with the Mohawks a third time 26 Aug.

1657, and returned to Quebec Sept. 15, 1662; sent on July 30 to Senecas, but remained at Montreal. Died at Cape de la Magdelaine in Canada 24 Nov. 1665.

FRANCOIS JOSEPH BRESSANI. A native of Rome; arrived in Canada in 1642; prisoner among the Mohawks from Ap'l 30 to 19 Aug. 1644; left for Europe Nov. 2, 1650. Died at Florence 9 Sept, 1672.

PIERRE JOSEPH MARY CHAUMONT. Born near Chatillon sur Seine; entered at Rome in 1632; arrived in Canada 1 Aug. 1639. Sent to Onondaga Sept. 19, 1655; abandoned it March 20, 1658. Founded Lorette, and died at Quebec 21 Feb. 1693.

JOSEPH ANTHONY PONCET. Arrived in Canada 1 Aug. 1639; prisoner among the Iroquois from Aug. 20 to Oct. 3, 1652: started for Onondaga 29 Aug. 1657, but recalled at Montreal; left Canada 18 Sept. 1657; died at Martinique 18 June 1675.

RENE MENARD. Arrived in Canada July 8, 1640; was a missionary with Le Mercier at Onondaga from 1656 to 1658, and afterwards among the Cayugas. Is said to have died in the woods near Lake Superior in Aug. 1661.

JULIEN GARNIER. Was born in 1643; arrived in Canada 27 Oct. 1662; was ordained Ap'l 1666; sent to the Mohawks May 17, 1668; passed to Onondaga, thence to Seneca; on the mission until 1683. He appears to have been one of the missionaries sent to the cantons in 1702. "In sylvis apud Iroquois." (Catal. 1703).

CLAUDE DABLON. Arrived in Canada 1655 when he proceeded to Onondaga, and continued there a few years. He labored afterwards among the tribes of the Upper Lakes, and was Superior from 1670 to 1693. The date of his decease is not known; he was still alive in 1694.

JACQUES FREMIN: Was missionary at Onondaga from 1656 to 1658: sent to Mohawks in July 1667; left there Oct. 10 for Seneca where he remained a few years. He died at Quebec 20 July, 1691.

Pierre Raffeix. Arrived in Canada 22 Sept. 1663; chaplain in Courcelles' expedition in 1665; sent to Cuyaga in 1671; thence, on Carheil's return, to Seneca, where he was in 1679. He was in Quebec in 1702-3 though in an infirm state of health.

Jacques Bruyas. Arrived Aug. 3, 1666. Sent to Mohawks, July 1667, and to the Onondagas in Sept. where he spent 4 years; thence he returned to the Mohawks in 1672, and was at Onondaga in 1679, in 1700, and 1701. He was still alive in 1703 at Fort St. Louis.

Etienne de Carhiel. Arrived in Canada 6 Aug. 1666; sent to Cayuga 1668; absent 1671-2; returned and remained until 1684. Died in Quebec July 1726. He is said to have spoken the Iroquois better than his own language.

Pierre Milet. Was sent with de Carheil to Cayuga; left in 1684; was at Niagara in 1688; taken prisoner at Cataracouy in 1689 and remained in captivity until October 1694. He was alive in 1701 and Charlevoix, who came in 1705, says that he lived several years with him.

Jean Pierron. Arrived in Canada 27 June 1667; sent to the Mohawks the following month; returned to Quebec, and arrived again among the Mohawks 7 Oct. 1668; left in 1670 and was sent to the Senecas after 1672-3 where he still was in 1679.

Jean de Lamberville. Arrived probably in 1668. At Onondaga in 1671-2; left it and was sent to Niagara in 1687; at LaPrairie in 1690 and in France in 1699.

Francois Boniface. Sent to the Mohawks in 1668-9; laboring there after 1673; died at Quebec 17 Dec. 1674.

Frs. Vaillant de Gueslis. Arrived prior to 1674. Succeeded Father Boniface among the Mohawks about 1674; accompanied the expedition against the Senecas in 1687; on the 31 Dec. of that year was sent to New York, and to the Senecas in 1703-4.

JACQUES DE LAMBERVILLE. Among the Mohawds in 1674-8; subquently at Onondaga which place he left in 1686. At Montreal in 1700, again among the Iroquois in 1703, and at Onondaga in Sept. 1708. He was in Cayuga in 1709, whence he fled on the breaking out of war.

PIERRE DE MAREUIL. At Onondaga in June 1709, when he surrendered himself to the English in consequence of war breaking out between the latter and the French, and came to Albany where the government caused every attention to be paid to him, as appears by Journ. Ass. i, 225.

JACQUES D'HEU was a missionary among the Onondagas in 1708; and in 1709 among the Senecas; is said to have been drowned in 1728.

ANTHONY GORDON founded St. Regis in 1769 with a colony from Sault St. Louis.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

"The man named Oreouake of Cayugas told me also that he would go to Montreal to see you, 'Tis he who caused Father de Carheil to withdraw and who treacherously brought the six Tionnontates to Cayuga. He is extremely proud. Sorrenoa and he are the two most considerable Captains of Cayuga. It was this Oreouke that the English of Albany, formerly Orange, made use of to prevent Sieur Penn purchasing the Country of the Andastogues who have been conquered by the Iroquois and the the English of Merilande."—*Father Lamberville to M. de la Barre, Paris Doc. II, February 10, 1684.*