



Narrative of the Mission of Sault St. Louis, 1667-1685

by Claude Chauchetiere S.J.

Introduction by David Blanchard



Kanienkehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center
Historic Kahnawake Series 3

**Narrative of the Mission of Sault St. Louis,
1667-1685**

Kanienkehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center

Historic Kahnawake Series

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Forward

"Kanienkehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center was established at Kahnawake in 1978. One of the Cultural Center's aims is to facilitate among our own people an awareness of the background and development of Kahnawake from its inception in the mid-1600's to the present day.

We at the Cultural Center believe that we cannot survive as a people, as an indentifiable community (Kahnawake), and as a part of a nation (The Mohawk) unless we can articulate the events of our history that significantly demonstrate our spiritual, social, and political development. We cannot know where we are going in the 1980's and beyond, nor can we determine our future, unless we know where we have been."

A. Brian Deer

This monograph is a re-print of the original Jesuit Relation, (Thwaites edition, Vol. 63) recounting the history of the first nineteen years of the Kahnawake settlement from its foundation at La Prairie until its migration to Kahnawake at the Lachine Rapids. The text's author is Claude Chauchetiere, a witness to the events surrounding Kahnawake's foundation. While it is true that Chauchetiere wrote from the singular point of view of a Jesuit mystic and missionary, a point of view that colors his interpretations a great deal, he nevertheless provides us with an important chronicle of life in early Kahnawake.

Chauchetiere's text was originally published in the Jesuit Relations of the seventeenth century. It was translated and reprinted in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* edited by Rueben Thwaites in 1900. It is reprinted in the Historic Kahnawake Series for reconsideration and as a part of a general re-interpretation of the events shaping this community's past.

The ten drawings that accompany the introduction to this text were made available to Kanienkehaka Raotitiohkwa by Father Henri Bechard. Working with the Rev. Maxime le Grelle of Brouage, France, Father Bechard located these drawings in the Archives of the department of the Gironde. The drawings first appeared in Father Bechard's book, *The Original Caughnawaga Indians*.

Kahnawake
May, 1981

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Introduction

Claude Chauchetiere, author of the *Annual Narrative of the Mission of the Sault, From Its Foundation Until the Year 1686*, was born at Saint-Porchaire-de-Poitiers in Aquitaine, on September 7, 1645. Chauchetiere's *Narrative* is the first written history of the Mohawk settlement of Kahnawake. In order to better understand Chauchetiere's history, it is important to underscore a few points about his life and training as a Jesuit. Claude Chauchetiere entered the Jesuit novitiate at Bordeaux when he was eighteen years of age. When the settlement of Kentake (precursor to Kahnawake) was founded in 1667, Chauchetiere was still studying philosophy in France. In December of 1672, while teaching at a Jesuit school at Saintes, Chauchetiere met Father Louis Mercier, a missionary recently returned to France from the Huron Missions. Father Mercier taught Chauchetiere how to say the rosary in Huron, and instilled in the young cleric a desire to serve in the Canadian missions.

The seventeenth century was an exciting time for France and the French Church. Like many of his contemporaries, Claude Chauchetiere was caught up in the feverous project to spread French Catholic culture to the rest of the world. These men knew that such a mission was a dangerous one, and a task that required tremendous sacrifice, but they were unafraid in the knowledge that to die for the cause of the Church was to secure eternal happiness as a martyr.

Chauchetiere came to North America in the year 1677. He spent his first year as a missionary amongst the Huron settled near Quebec City. The following year he was transferred to the mission of St. François Xavier, or Kahnawake. Chauchetiere's arrival at Kahnawake coincided with the arrival at the village of Kateri Tekakwitha. Chauchetiere was to remain a close associate of Kateri's until her death in 1680. Chauchetiere served as superior of the Jesuit mission at Kahnawake until 1688. He remained at La Prairie de la Magdeleine until 1694. Then, after sixteen years of service to the missions, he was transferred to Montreal to teach in a Jesuit school. Claude Chauchetiere died at Quebec on April 17, 1709.

Chauchetiere was an artist, mathemetician, botanist, as well as a physical scientist. He was also a mystic. As such he was strongly attracted to the spiritual exercises practiced by Kateri Tekakwitha and her colleagues at Sault St. Louis. The zealous display of piety practiced by this band of Iroquois women came as a surprise to Chauchetiere, and as his writings show, he did not quite know how to deal with it. On the one hand he was supportive to "Kateri's band", but felt compelled at the same time to counsel moderation. Chauchetiere's own mysticism comes through in his history, and tinges the objectivity of his reporting on the events of Kahnawake's past in the years of his *Narrative*, 1667-1685.

We know for example that these were years of social and political turmoil, yet little of this is mentioned in his writings. Two years prior to Chauchetiere's arrival at Kahnawake (1676) the community moved from Kentake to Kahnawake. This is a feat which by his own admission "was not accomplished without a great deal of trouble"¹. Yet the *Narration* only discusses the construction of a new church at Kahnawake. The detail that characterizes Chauchetiere's other writings is sorely missing here.

Chauchetiere was fluent in Huron when he arrived at Kahnawake. He soon learned Mohawk, but there his preparation ended. Unlike Father Lafitau who was to follow Chauchetiere in thirty years, little effort was made to understand traditional Iroquois ways, or recent Mohawk history. This becomes significant upon reading Chauchetiere's *Narrative* because he tends to assume that the Iroquois had no history prior to the arrival of the French in North America. All events, including the actual establishment of the settlement at Kentake, are interpreted by Chauchetiere exclusively in light of the recent conversion of some of the founders to the Catholic faith. While we cannot deny that the zeal of these converts served as one motivation for establishing Kentake, other concerns must have been evident as well. For example, the seventeenth century Iroquois were desirous of securing a favorable trade position with the French and the English; they were concerned with protecting the boundries of Iroquoia against white encroachment; and how to maintain a strategic military position vis-a-vis their traditional adversaries, the Algonquin. Chauchetiere pays no heed to these concerns.

Throughout his narrative, Chauchetiere refers to the native inhabitants of Kahnawake as "sauvages". While certainly considered insulting and degrading today, to the seventeenth century French Jesuit, *sauvage* was a compliment of sorts. The Jesuits were taken up by the idea of the "noble savage"². This was due partially to the Jesuit concept of natural law; a belief that men were inclined to follow the precepts of nature, and should not be condemned for doing so. Rather, the goodness of nature should be supported, and men led to see that there is a more superior, spiritual order as well. The Jesuit reasoned that the transformation of natural order into human society was relative. One culture was not necessarily superior to another, simply because the two are different.

This position of cultural relativism was articulated time and time again throughout the *Jesuit Relations*. An example is found in the 1646 Relation of Father Paul Ragueneau:

*The Savages are not savage as is supposed in France; and I may say with truth that the intelligence of many yields nothing to ours. I admit that their customs and their natural tendancies are extremely shocking — at least to those who are not accostomed to them, and who reject them too quickly, without sufficiently knowing them... It is true that their manner of expression is different from ours; but since the word of the heart is the same in all men, one cannot doubt that their tongue has also its beauties and its graces, as much as ours. Although they live in the woods, they are none the less men.*³

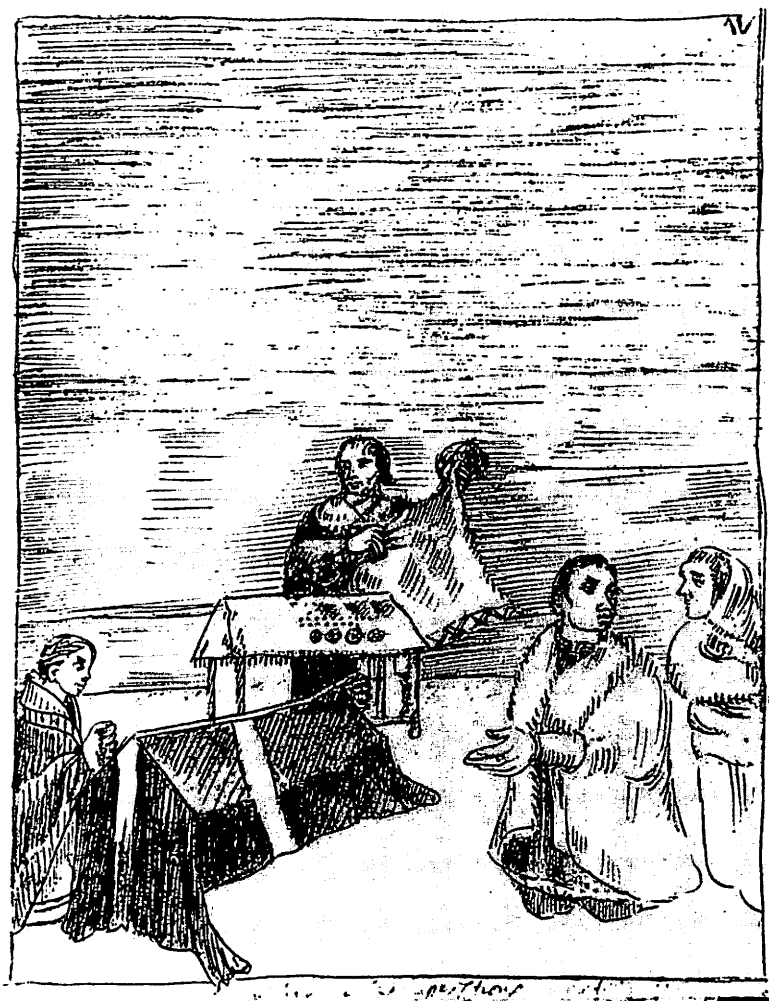
This point of view assumed by the Jesuits inspired them to adjust to native customs and traditions, and to introduce their message as part of the existing culture. As Peter Duignan points out in his essay on "Early Jesuit Missionaries"

*the Jesuit technique was to assume a "thousand masks", being all things to all men, and with holy cunning accepting the limitations imposed by the local situation. Rather than destroy and condemn what they found, they tried to reshape and orient existing practices and beliefs in order to establish a common ground on which to begin conversion.*⁴

The French Jesuits found themselves in conflict with the French civil and military authorities in Quebec because of these beliefs. The Jesuits recognized that the cooperative and communal life of the native was more in line with the teachings of the Christian faith than the competitive and individualistic mores of the French. They wanted to keep the natives away from the French, in order to protect this part of native culture from the contaminating influence of the French bourgeoisie. The civil authorities favored establishing native villages close to Quebec cities and towns where the natives could be watched, their transactions monitored, and where they could be brought into the mainstream of French Canadian culture and society, albeit in roles of servitude and labor. The French civil and military authorities also favored selling brandy to the natives. In this regard they were completely opposed by Jesuit and native alike.

Despite the relativism and support shown for native culture by the early Jesuits, there were two cultural practices of the Iroquois that the Jesuits feared and tried to prevent from taking root in Kahnawake. One of these was the *okiwe*, or feast of the dead. Political condolences were not opposed so much as the eat-all feasts held for ten days and also one year after the date of death.

Secondly, the Jesuits were opposed to the practice of dream divination. Iroquois people believe that dreams are a source of inspiration. The Jesuits were willing to concede this point, but not to the extent that they supported the rituals associated with dream guessing. Traditionally in an Iroquois community, when the meaning of a dream was guessed, the dreamer had the obligation to make sure that the dream was fulfilled. The Jesuits saw this practice as an easy excuse for acts of violence performed while the dreamer was drunk. More fundamentally, the Jesuit Order was an association of intellectuals, committed to the use of Aristotelian logic and reason, within the limits of faith. The life of the mind was the domain of the Jesuit, not the life of the dream. Logic was subject to hard and fast rules; in the dream, all things become possible, there are no rules. This was a realm in which the Jesuit could not survive. It was in the area of dream divination and fundamental spiritualism that the Iroquois and the Jesuit experienced a conflict of world views. It was a conflict at Kahnawake that was to give rise to a



Catholic burial practices in early Kentake.

unique form of spirituality, one practiced by Kateri Tekakwitha and her colleagues.

Despite the naiveté of Chauchetiere, what emerged at Kahnawake was not a pure form of French Jesuit Catholicism. Rather, what developed was a kind of Iroquois Catholicism, one that preserved elements common to both systems of faith, and simply put the irreconcilable elements "on the back burner". Seen in this light, Kahnawake emerges as a precursor to ecumenism; a model of synchronistic culture engineered to a very great extent by the native people themselves. A striking example of this is to be found in the funeral services that emerged in seventeenth century Kahnawake. The dead were remembered with feasts of food, and the time of remembrance was respected, as in the traditional system. However, in accordance with Jesuit wishes, the use of a coffin, crucifix, and other religious paraphernalia of Catholic ritual were in evidence as well. Elements of both faiths are found co-existing in a relatively conflict-free cultural system.

Perhaps the area where Chauchetiere's text is most naive is in his discussion of the reasons for the founding of the settlement of Kentake. This naiveté is understandable considering that Chauchetiere arrived in Canada after the mission was founded and considering that he had no background in Mohawk or Iroquois history prior to the establishment of the Kentake settlement.

Unlike their Algonquin neighbors, the people of the Five Nations were united in a political confederacy that supported each individual nation's sovereignty, while presenting a mechanism for the whole Confederacy to act in unison in affairs that involved outside nations. The Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca people each had a national government and chose members from their various communities to hold national office. The councils of the local communities made local decisions; the national councils made decisions involving more than one community within the nation; and the Grand Council at Onondaga met to consider affairs affecting the entire Five Nations Confederacy.

Each nation had a definable territory that it considered its own. Populations were small, and while the national territory of each nation was not densely populated, it was considered reserved for the exclusive use of the members of the nation. If the land was not used

for occupation and settlement, it was used for hunting and fishing. The territory of the Mohawk spread from the Mohawk River in the south, west to the territory of the Oneida, north to the St. Lawrence River, and east to the Connecticut River and the Green Mountains of Vermont. The Montreal Archipelago was considered the northeast extreme boundary of Kanienkeh, the traditional territory of the Mohawk. Because of its strategic location, Montreal Island has been a meeting place historically of the western Algonquin, Iroquoian and Montagnais peoples. The name that the Iroquois gave to Montreal bears this out. The island was called Kawenote Teiontiakon, or, The Place Where It Divides. By this is meant, the place where people separate into different nations.

Hochelaga was a settlement on Montreal Island that served as a trade nexus in the years before white contact. When Cartier sailed up the Saint Lawrence River in 1546 he visited Hochelaga for a short time and reported on what he saw in his journal of exploration. Years later, when Champlain visited the site of Hochelaga, the village had been abandoned.

According to traditional Mohawk history, the reason that Hochelaga was abandoned was because of the outbreak of war between the Iroquois and the Algonquin. As a frontier outpost, Hochelaga could not be properly defended, and the Mohawk were forced to withdraw into the southern part of their territory along the Mohawk River. Fighting in the year before contact between the Iroquois and the Algonquin was confined mostly to the Champlain Valley and the northern parts of Iroquoia, along the St. Lawrence River.

When Champlain involved himself in this conflict he accomplished two things: he tipped the balance of power in favor of the Algonquin, and he gained the enmity of the Iroquois for the next century. Because of the support given the Algonquin, the Mohawk were not able to quickly resettle the northern part of their territory, and the war was prolonged. In the south, the Dutch entered into a trading relationship with the Mohawk, whom they supplied with guns.

In the meantime, Jesuit Missionaries were active first amongst the Montagnais and then amongst the Iroquoian-speaking Hurons. They met with quick success among the sedentary Huron,

who became close allies of the French. By joining themselves to the French in their expeditions against the Iroquois, however, the Huron condemned themselves to near annihilation. The French were not prepared to give their Huron allies the support they required. In addition to this, from 1634 until 1640 the Hurons suffered a series of severe smallpox attacks. In the 1640's the Huron territory was invaded by the Iroquois and finally in 1648 the main village of Teanaustaye was destroyed. By 1649 the Huron had abandoned much of their traditional territory and fled to the protection of the French.

Not all of the Huron left Huronia to resettle outside of Quebec City. Many were adopted by the Confederacy, along with members of the Erie, Tobacco, Neutral and Wenroe Nations. Many of these adopted people were converts to the Catholic faith.

Although the Great Law of Peace of the Iroquois stresses the value of unity in action, it also supports the ultimate freedom of the individual. Matters of worship, personal spirituality, and religion were considered concerns of individual preference. It is true that Catholic converts were ill-treated in some circumstances, but this was due more to the belief that priests brought smallpox, than as a criticism of the Catholic religion.

Unfortunately, some of the Jesuit missionaries supported this belief that they had the power to bring "the pox" to native communities that resisted hearing the "word of God". Consequently, missionaries like Isaac Jogues were viewed as magicians by the Iroquois. Such manipulation was dangerous, and ultimately it was the Iroquois converts who suffered for it.

After the defeat of their Huron allies, the French focused their attention and resources on the destruction of the Iroquois. The Mohawk were closest to Montreal and Quebec City, and were thus made to feel the first effects of the French attack. In 1663 King Louis XIV appointed the Marquis de Tracy as Lieutenant General of New France. De Tracy was commissioned to bring the war into Kanienkeh, and to kill every man, woman and child that he found. In January of 1666 de Tracy sent Seigneur de Courcelles into Mohawk country with an army of 500 men. The Mohawk surrounded de Courcelles and captured his entire army. He was sent back to Quebec in disgrace. The following September de Tracy sent another

600 French troops into Kanienkeh, along with 100 Algonquin guides and 600 French colonial militia. This army invaded the Mohawk Valley in October.

The Mohawk had advance warning and had abandoned their villages. The French destroyed the villages and the fields, but not a single Mohawk was killed in this action. The French could hear the Mohawk in the surrounding hills and forests, shooting their guns off, and shouting at the French.

By the end of 1666 the war between the French and the Iroquois was at a standstill. The Mohawk had learned of the power of French armies charged with a mandate to destroy. The French learned that they could not hope to pursue and destroy an enemy in the forests, and that while they could burn settlements and fields, they would not be able to assume control over the land.

A lukewarm peace was agreed upon by the French and the Iroquois in 1666. War could not be fought to either's advantage, and realizing this, the two parties set out to establish normal relations. For both the French and the Mohawk, "normal" relations meant trade. The Mohawk wanted the trade goods of the French; the French wanted the furs that the Mohawk controlled as middlemen in the trade with the western nations.

This perspective on French-Mohawk history is one that is lost to Father Chauchetiere, even though the results of the Peace of 1666 must have been obvious to him. It was to the advantage of the Mohawk to establish peace with the French, even a shaky peace like that made in 1666. It was likewise to the interest of the French to encourage Mohawk trade, because without furs the colony of New France lost its principal source of revenue. Once the peace was established, it was possible for the Mohawk to resettle the northern parts of Kanienkeh, close to the traditional meeting place of the nations, Kawenote Teiontiakon.

Narrative of the Mission of Sault St. Louis, 1667-1685

Chauchetiere's narrative begins in the winter after de Tracy's unsuccessful expedition against the Iroquois. A Jesuit missionary to the Oneida who required guides to accompany him back to Montreal enlisted the aid of the Oneida, Tonsohoten and his Erie wife, Gandeakteua. Tonsohoten had an ailing leg that he hoped could be treated at the Hotel Dieu.

Upon arriving in Montreal, Tonsohoten received treatment. He and his wife then travelled on to Quebec City, where Gandeakteua was baptised into the Catholic faith. During this visit Tonsohoten and Gandeakteua stayed with the Huron settled outside of the city. Tonsohoten was eager to return to Oneida, however, and the two set out in the Autumn of 1667 for the west.

Winter descended early that year, however, and Tonsohoten decided to remain in Montreal for the winter. During the winter of 1667-68 Tonsohoten and Gandeakteua became friends with Father Pierre Raffeix, charged with the responsibility of establishing a Jesuit residence and retreat at Kentake. Raffeix showed Tonsohoten and his wife the Kentake site and impressed upon them the fertility of its soil and the proximity of rich game. Evidently both were impressed because they spent much of the winter at Kentake.

In the course of the winter relatives of Gandeakteua passed through Kentake while hunting in the area. By the Spring of 1668 a party of thirty Oneidas showed up at Kentake to settle. The settlement was established as an Iroquois, albeit, Oneida site.

Kentake offered tremendous economic advantages to the Iroquois. It was located on or near the two main water routes connecting the French and English trade centers of Montreal and Albany. The lands around Kentake were rich in game, having been left abandoned during the past sixty years of warfare between the French and the Iroquois. Similarly, the fields around Kentake were fertile and rested, an important concern to the sedentary Iroquois.

One of the ten pictures drawn by Chauchetiere to illustrate this text shows the arrival of the Oneida at Montreal. Father Henri Bechard who first published these pictures has pointed out that this picture by Chauchetiere is probably the first time that Montreal was drawn. As can be seen from this picture on the facing page, the



Oneida are shown using snow-shoes in their travels. The woman and man are using burden straps to help carry their loads. The woman is dressed in leggings, a skirt decorated around the hem with ribbons, a shirt and a fur wrap-around blanket. The man wears leggings, a shirt and a fur blanket as well. Both the man and woman's feet seem to be bound in wrapped leather, and tied directly onto the snow-shoe.

Tonsohoten built the first longhouse at Kentake. During the year 1669 many visitors arrived from the Iroquois settlements in the south. Impressed with the quality of the soil and the corn grown at Kentake, as well as with the moral fiber of the community, many of these visitors chose to remain at Kentake. By the end of 1669 there were four longhouses at Kentake.

The Jesuit Relations discuss the problems among native people caused by the use of rum and brandy. The Iroquois themselves realized the dangers of alcohol, and tried to prohibit its sale and use in the villages to the south. The prohibition of alcohol was a hard rule to enforce, however, when its use was so common and rampant. Kentake began with the hard and fast rule that alcohol would be outlawed. This was in concurrence with Jesuit thinking, and with the wishes of the Iroquois as well. It is no wonder that the community of Kentake would attract the attention from the south that it did.

In 1671 a pole was set up in the village as a symbol of a tree, upon which all who entered the village could hang the vice of alcohol. Chauchetiere discusses this practice in his text, and drew a picture showing the prohibition of alcohol at Kentake. In this picture the Iroquois are shown gathered around the pole while the missionary is depicted emptying a bottle of brandy. Beneath the pole, a devil is shown wrestling with a member of the community.

In the years 1670-1671 the community grew to such a size that it became necessary to institute a form of government. This was not a problem in itself, as the Iroquois were ardent followers of the Great Law of Peace, a code used to govern local communities as well as the affairs of the nation and the Confederacy. Chauchetiere reflects that in 1670 the need for government was recognized, and that in 1671 "elections were held". "It was necessary to elect captains who should have jurisdiction over the village, and



dogiques, who should be qualified to hold prayers and take charge of the affairs of God".⁵

The fact that these elections were held has been misinterpreted by some as evidence that Kahnawake was from this time forward separate from the Five Nations Confederacy. The 1671 elections are sometimes presented as evidence that the present "elective system" at Kahnawake and Akwesasne has roots extending back to the seventeenth century. Nothing could be further from the truth. Chauchetiere reflects in his *Narration* that the "Iroquois have their government like all the rest of the peoples of the earth... it took from the new village, in the matter of government, only what vice had spoiled in the old Iroquois villages".⁶ From Chauchetiere's remarks, and his overriding concern about alcohol, we may conclude that the form of government instituted at Kentake was a model of the Great Law of Peace, untainted by the presence of alcohol in the community. We can also conclude that this socio-political system was compatible with the practice of the Catholic religion.

The 1671 *Narration* also describes the fondness of the Iroquois for ritual processions associated with the Blessed Sacrament. One of Chauchetiere's drawings shows a procession in honor of the Blessed Sacrament, in which a number of native women are shown participating. As in the other pictures, these women are shown wearing wrap around leggings, and shawls over their heads.

By 1672 the Mohawk constituted the largest single group living at Kentake. This is understandable in light of the fact that Kentake lay within the national territory of the Mohawk. By the year 1673 there were allegedly more Mohawk at Kentake than living along the Mohawk River. This was a situation that the English and Dutch traders at Albany found disturbing.

One inevitable problem for the community of Kentake emerged in 1673, as a direct result of the growing Mohawk character of the village. The settlement was a Mohawk settlement. The decision making process employed by the Mohawk was one that assumed clan membership for each member of the community. More specifically, members of the community were required to have an Iroquoian clan. The Huron and Algonquin in residence at Kentake



were thus without a voice in the village council, by virtue of the fact that they were without the same clan affiliations as the Iroquois of the Five Nations.

According to Chauchetiere, when an important decision came before the people of Kentake, the Mohawk and Onondagas were able to reach a rapid decision, a decision that ultimately bound the community to a course of action. As if to protest their lack of a franchise, the Huron opted to leave Kentake. They resettled across the river, and many eventually moved to Lorette.

It is important to point out, as does Chauchetiere, that the old enmity between the Huron and the Five Nations was gone by this time. In fact, in 1677 the Huron sent a belt of peace to Kahnawake; a symbol of the friendship between the two people.

In 1676 Bishop Laval visited Kentake to administer the sacrament of Confirmation. This event is the subject of one of Chauchetiere's drawings. The recipients are shown wearing capes made from blankets or trade cloth and decorated with ribbon designs.

The year 1676 was significant for other reasons. During the summer of 1676 the Mohawk moved from Kentake, one league and a quarter upriver to Kahnawake. It should be noted that Kentake was originally settled by the French, and the mission was founded as a Jesuit retreat. In a sense, the Iroquois were "visitors" at Kentake, although visitors in their own land. The village was primarily Mohawk, although French families were in residence as well. Amongst these French were traders who did not mind breaking the law to sell brandy to the natives. Furthermore, the land at Kentake was wet and not suited for the cultivation of native corn, the staple food of the community. The new settlement was called Kahnawake, By the Rapids, the same name of one of the villages destroyed earlier by the French.

Three of Chauchetier's drawings are of interest in light of this discussion. One shows women working in the fields. In this picture a Mohawk woman is shown wearing leggings, moccasins, and a shirt decorated with ribbon. She is also shown wearing a shirt and a kind of overcoat, covering both the leggings and the skirt, and worn open in the front. Her companion, similarly dressed, is shown climbing a tree in search of bird's eggs. The woman working the



fields is depicted using a tool that at first glance looks much like a hockey stick. Upon closer examination we can see a wire tied across the tip, and attached to the pole. With this scythe, the woman can cut stocks of grain.

The next picture shows the Mohawk using canoes and poles to transport in the river. One of the canoeists is depicted as a Frenchman who seems to be falling down.

The third picture worth mentioning here shows the construction of the first chapel at Kahnawake. In this drawing some of Chauchetiere's humor comes through. The foreground is occupied by what appears to be two engineers and a Jesuit missionary. Another Frenchman is shown on top of the Chapel roof. Three Iroquois women are seen in the background, over-looking a bluff; a Mohawk man is shown fishing by the river, and another native is seen taking a nap by the riverbank.

It is evident that there was a great deal of travel between the southern Iroquois villages and Kahnawake, much to the dismay of the French and English civil authorities. Chauchetiere points out that the village of Kahnawake was visited by as many as four hundred Iroquois, who he claims, were fed by Kahnawake and permitted to carry off a great deal of grain for their own use. In 1678 many of the northern Mohawk went south, in Chauchetiere's words, "to make open war upon vice in their own country".⁷ They did so by encouraging their countrymen to prohibit alcohol from their communities, and by welcoming them to visit Kahnawake in the north.

In 1680 Kateri Tekakwitha, a zealous Christian of the Kahnawake community, died. Chauchetiere describes her life, and the lives of some of her colleagues in his Narration. One of Chauchetiere's drawings depicts the band of women at Kahnawake who dedicated themselves to the Church. The Jesuits were concerned about some of the excesses of these women, and encouraged them to moderation in the practice of culpa and other rituals of penance.

In 1680 the chapel at Kahnawake was struck by lightning. Again in 1683 a gale struck the church, causing considerable damage. Chauchetiere reports that the whole community committed itself to the effort of rebuilding the church; cutting the logs,



in the middle of the hill





squaring them off, and carting them to the construction site. He mentions that one of the Mohawk became a master craftsman after working on this project.

The work of rebuilding the chapel continued into 1684. In that year work also commenced on the pallisades around the village of Kahnawake. Such pallisades were integral to the defense of any Iroquoian settlement, and particularly to one such as Kahnawake, close to the Algonquin and French frontier. In the latter part of 1684 a Grand Council was held near Onondaga. The Mohawk of Kahnawake were in attendance at this meeting, but left in order to return to their own settlement to finish construction of the pallisades. For this action they were condemned by the Onondaga, whose spokesman chastised the Kahnawake Mohawk as the "children of Onontio", the Iroquois name for the French governor.

While it is true that leaving a council in session was considered a serious breach of protocol by the Confederacy, the Mohawk of Kahnawake had just cause to take the course of action that they did. What lies at the heart of this dispute is not Kahnawake's relationship to the rest of the Confederacy, but rather the economic competition between the Mohawk and the other nations for the best trade position. The Mohawk enjoyed this position both in the south along the Mohawk River, and in the north close to Montreal.

Both the French and the English favored the separation of Kahnawake from the rest of the Confederacy. Some of the Jesuit chroniclers, and other writers such as Sir William Johnson, treat this separation as fact. The documents of history suggest a completely different interpretation. Despite the occurrence of disputes, such as in 1684, Kahnawake remained an active part of the Mohawk Nation and the Five Nations Confederacy throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chauchetiere's Narrative ends in the midst of his report on events that occurred in 1685. Part of the 1685 Narrative is missing, as is the complete report on events that took place in 1686.





Conclusion

In the introduction to his Narrative, Chauchetiere writes that "the drawings which are traced therein are to acquaint the Indians with the rest of their history". That purpose coincides with the purpose of the *Historic Kahnawake Series* published by Kanienkehaka Raotitiohkwa Press. Chauchetiere was a seventeenth century mystic, Jesuit and author. He was a man caught up in the history that he recorded; his objectivity is no less than what ours would be today, recording the events that we live. Nevertheless, the information that he provides us with, when considered in the context of information provided by his contemporaries, native and non native alike, French and English, helps us to understand better and makes us more suitably equipped to interpret accurately the events of Kahnawake's past.

Three conclusions must be drawn from such an interpretation: First, the early settlers at Kahnawake were able to integrate their practice of Christianity with their participation as Mohawk nationals in the Great League of Peace. Secondly, while it is true that the people of early Kahnawake were zealous Catholics, it is none the less true that they practiced a unique, Iroquoian form of Catholicism. This form was compatible with Catholic belief and the structure of traditional Iroquois world view. Finally, the community of Kahnawake was one in control of its own destiny, and not under the absolute control of the Jesuits who administered to the spiritual needs of its members. Thus, the Iroquois were not brought to Sault St. Louis by the Jesuits; rather, they chose to settle at Kahnawake for their own reasons: spiritual, economic, political, and military. The Jesuits realized the nature and limits of their authority, and respected the autonomy of the natives. This was a relationship that was to serve both the Mohawk and the Jesuits well.

Chauchetiere's Narrative is a soliloquy delivered from the stage of human history. Chauchetiere was himself an actor on that stage caught up in the drama and conflict of culture-contact. In this drama, both the Jesuits and the Iroquois were conscious and willing actors, creatively adjusting to each other, and attempting to make a better world for themselves, and those who would follow.

Narration annuelle de La Mifsion du Sault depuis La fondation iusques a lan 1686

AVANT PROPOS

C'ELUY qui a fait ces annales a pafsé plus de trois ans a ramafser ce qu'il a pu apprendre de la bouche des Sauvages qui ont baty les premieres cabanes a la prairie, ce qu'il a trouvé imprimé dans la derniere Relation de 1670-1671 et dans la manuscrite depuis 1671 iusques a 1679. Il a entendu dire les choses de la bouche des françois qui sont a la prairie habitans lesquels luy disoient des choses de tres grande edification de quelques Sauvages et sauvageses decedes tres chrestienement. Lecrivain s'est appuyé sur tous ces temoignages iusques a l'an 1677. Mais depuis ce temps la il a eu lui-mefme en personne la connoifsance et l'experience des merveilles que Dieu a opere en divers temps dans cette mifsion du Sault. Une des plus graves raisons qui l'ont poufsé a ecrire est la conduite que Dieu a tenu depuis l'establissement de la mifsion laquelle a cru comme le palme sous le poids des persecutions. Sil y a plusieurs choses autres qui meritent cependant destre comptes [escriptes — *Rochemonteix*], sil y a des contretemps ou quelque chose de broüillé, enfin sil a fait trop attendre le monde cest la faute de ceux quil vouloit laifser pafser devant qui sachant mieux les choses que luy devoient donner un jour au public la consolation qu'ils avoient receu de Dieu. Mais enfin

Annual Narrative of The Mission of the Sault,
from Its foundation until the year 1686.

PREFACE.

THE person who has composed these annals has spent more than three years in collecting what he has been able to learn from the mouths of the Savages who built the first cabins at la prairie,—besides what he has found printed in the last Relation, that of 1670—1671, and in the manuscript Relation from 1671 to 1679. He has heard the accounts of the french habitans at la prairie, who told him most edifying things about certain Savage men and women who died very christian deaths. The writer has depended upon all these testimonies as far as the year 1677; but, from that time down, he has had personal knowledge and experience of the wonders which God has, at various times, wrought in this mission of the Sault. One of the most weighty reasons that have impelled him to write is the direction which God has exercised over the mission since its establishment; for it has grown, like the palm, beneath the weight of persecutions. If there are many other matters which at the same time deserve to be related; if there are mistakes or obscurity in the style; or if, finally, he has kept his readers waiting too long,—it is the fault of those whom he chose to allow to precede him; they, knowing the circumstances better than he, should at some

me laissant d'attendre apres avoir fait le recit de la vie de la bonne Catherine Tega k8ita par le propre mouvement de cette bonne fille. Je me suis attaché a faire le recit des actions des hommes illustres que Dieu nous a enleué et dont il a bien voulu peupler le ciel. lecrivain en a connu quatre dignes enfans comme leur predecesseurs des pp. qui leur ont donné la foy arrousant leur misison de leur sueurs et de leur sang. Le dernier ouvrage est celuy cy ou il marque année par année tout ce qui c'est passé de remarquable dans cette misison avec un recueil particulier des combats et des victoires que les sauvages ont donné contre l'ivrognerie les estampes qui sont marquées la sont pour faire connoître aux sauvages la suite de leur histoire et les graces quils ont receu de Dieu depuis quils sont chrestiens.

time have given the public the consolation which they had received from God. But, being finally weary of waiting, I have — after having written an account of the good Catherine Tegakwita's life, through an impulse derived from that good girl herself — set myself to tell the story of the deeds of the illustrious men whom God has taken from us, and with whom he has kindly willed to people heaven. The writer has known four of them,—like their predecessors, worthy children of the fathers who gave them the faith—who watered their mission with their sweat and blood. This is his last work, in which he notes year by year everything remarkable that has occurred in this mission, with a detailed account of the combats which the savages have waged, and the victories which they have won, against drunkenness. The drawings which are traced therein are to acquaint the savages with the rest of their history, and the favors which they have received from God since they became christians.

Narration annuelle de la fondation de la Mission du Sault jusqu'a 1685

A PRES cinq annees de delay pafsees en diverses peines d'esprit que j'ay eu comme celles qui pourroint arriver a ceux dont parle S^t. Paul qui veritatem in injustitia detinent ie suis en fin obligé de me rendre et de mettre moins mal que ie pourray sur le papier ce qui sest pafsé depuis cinq ans et ceque la foy a produit dans ce pays: l'oubly dans lequel la pluspart de ces choses pourroint tomber pourroit peut estre mestre imputé un iour et reproché de Dieu: et ie pourrois me priver par ma faute des prieres des premiers apostres du Canada dans lesquels ie me confie beaucoup, pour n'avoir pas voulu contribuer a rendre leur memoire plus eclatante et suivre les touches que iay eu souvent de mettre la main a la plume et de ramasser les thresors quils ont eux mesmes trouvee et dont ils nous ont fait les depositaires. ces pensées qui me semblent si justes me donnerent plus de peine il y a cinq ans: apres que ieus receu certaines lettres de france dans les quelles ont me mandoit q'une de mes lettres avoit esté leue publiquement quoyque i eusse prié celuy a qui ie l'ecrivois qui est un de mes freres de la lire en secret et de l'envoyer a son adrefse on me fit trouver bon cequi c'estoit pafsé adioutant que je ne faisais pas bien de cacher les choses d edification semblables a celles que iavois escrit lesquelles estant comparées

Narrative for each year from the foundation of
the Mission of the Sault until 1685.

AFTER five years of delay, spent in various mental difficulties, like those which might happen to the persons of whom St. Paul says, *qui veritatem in injustitia detinent*,—I am at last obliged to yield, and to put on paper, as best as I can, what has occurred within five years, and what the faith has produced in this country. The oblivion into which most of these things would probably fall might perhaps be imputed to me some day, and reproved by God; and I might by my own fault deprive myself of the prayers of the first apostles of Canada, wherein I greatly trust, for not having been willing to contribute toward rendering their memory more illustrious, and to follow the impulses that I have often felt for putting my hand to the pen and collecting the treasures which they themselves found, and whereof they have made us the custodians. These thoughts, which seem to me so just, gave me more pain five years ago, when I received certain letters from France, in which I was informed that one of my letters had been publicly read,—although I had begged the one to whom I wrote it, who is one of my brothers, to read it in secret and send it to its address. They made me see the importance of these occurrences, adding that I did not do well to conceal things of edification, like those which I had written,—which, being compared with what

avec ce qu'on lisoit a lors des missions de la chine eurent plus d'agrement et toucherent davantage ceux qui les lisoient, j'avois menacé ceux a qui j'ecrivais alors de ne leur écrire jamais s'ils ne me gardoient le secret enfin le secret a esté rompu on ma reproché aussy en Canada d'estre trop paresseux a faire des relations. L'obeissance ma obligé ensuite a le faire. tout cela a emporté mon esprit qui estoit resolu premierement de ne rien dire que je neusse vu ou entendu. secondement ayant écrit quelque chose je me resols de cesser et de vivre dans le lieu ou Dieu ma mis en ce monde, et de profiter en mon particulier des exemples de vertu que je vois tous les jours dans nos nouveaux chrestiens. enfin la crainte que j'ay destre opigniastre en effect comme quelqu'un me là reproché me contraint de donner quelque forme a quelqu'espece d'annales que j'ay fait et a d'autres remarques qui n'estoient faites que pour ma consolation particuliere attendant ce qui en arrivera

Je me retranche aux seules missions iroquoises auxquelles Dieu m'a appliqué et surtout a la mission du Sault qui est ma fin ainsy on verra icy la naissance et le progres de cette nouvelle eglise. J'attache que j'ay a cette mission est aussy entienne que la mission mesme, car comme il y a dixneuf ans passé cet hyver que les missions iroquoises ont commencé, il y a aussy dixneufans que Dieu qui m'avoit desia fait connoistre Sa Volonté me disposa aux missions etrangeres et me toucha plus particulièrement pour m'attirer a luy par une abondance de sa misericorde qu'il versa sur moy la nuit De Noël qui est aussy l'attrait particulier par

people were then reading about the missions in china, had more charm, and more profoundly touched those who read them. I had threatened those to whom I was then writing that I would never write to them again, unless they kept my secret; but at last the secret has been revealed. I have also been reproached in Canada as being too indolent to compose relations; but obedience then obliged me to do so. All this has carried away my mind, which had first resolved to say nothing but what I had seen or heard. Secondly, having written something, I resolved to stop; to live in the place where God has put me in this world; and to profit in my own person by the examples of virtue which I see every day among our new christians. Finally, the fear that I have of being really obstinate—as some one has reproached me with being—constrains me to give some form to a sort of annals that I have compiled; and to other observations which were made only for my private consolation, awaiting future events.

I limit myself to the iroquois missions alone, to which God has appointed me,—and especially to the mission of the Sault, which is my special purpose; thus the reader will here see the birth and progress of this new church. My attachment for this mission is as old as the mission itself. As it was nineteen years ago this winter that the iroquois missions began, it is also nineteen years since God, who had already made known to me His Will, inclined me to the foreign missions. At that time he more specially moved me, so as to draw me toward him by an abundance of his mercy, which he poured upon me on a Christmas night—which is also the special attraction by which he has drawn the

lequel il a attiré les sauvages ce fut l'an 1667. Cinq ans apres Dieu me disposa plus particulièrement des la france environ la feste de S. francois Xavier et mattacha aux misions iroquoises mayant donné beaucoup de goust pour la langue hurone qui est celle dont les Iroquois se servent pour prier; le R. P. mercier que ie vis en france a la fin de decembre me donna les preceptes de cette langue, que iappris aussy tost et me rendis capable de reciter le chapelet en huron que ie disois plustost en cette langue qu'en latin a cose de la consolation spirituelle que cette facon deprier Dieu me causoit aussy tost que iarrivé en Canada, on me mit en effect a la mision des Hurons et apres un an on m'envoya au Sault ou iay demeuré iusques a la presente année et l'an 1680 Dieu confirma en moy par les prieres de Catherine qui est assez connue tout cequi seftoit pafsé les années precedentes.

*Catherine
decedée en
odeur de
saintete au
sault l'an
1680 17
avril.*

L'AN 1667.

LE temps des guerres qui ont esté entre les fran-
cois et les Iroquois etant pafsé, on vit la prophesie d'Isaye accomplie a la lettre les ours et les lions habiteront avec les agneaux: on vit les iroquois venir rechercher l'amitié des françois on vit les françois aller en mision au pais des iroquois—le temps couloit quand chacun pensoit a s'habituer sur les terres de la nouvelle france. Le montreal qui estoit le grand theatre de la guerre devient un champ fertile. On pafsa mesme le fleuve de St Laurent et on establit vis avis du montreal la seigneurie de la prairie, lieu choisy de Dieu pour y faire une des plus

savages. This was in the year 1667. Five years later, God gave me more special preparation — while I was still in france, about the feast of St. francis Xavier,—and attached me to the iroquois missions, by giving me much taste for the huron language, which is the one that the Iroquois use for prayer. The Reverend Father mercier, whom I saw in france at the end of december, gave me lessons in that language; I quickly learned it, and rendered myself able to recite the rosary in huron — which I said in that language rather than in latin, because of the spiritual consolation which this manner of praying to God procured for me. As soon as I arrived in Canada, I was actually appointed to the mission of the Hurons; and after a year I was sent to the Sault, where I have remained until the present year. Moreover, in the year 1680 God confirmed in me, through the prayers of Catherine, who is sufficiently well known, all that had come to pass in the preceding years.

*Catherine
expired in
the odor of
sanctity, at
the sault, in
the year
1680, april
17.*

THE YEAR 1667.

THE time of the wars between the french and the Iroquois being past, we saw the prophecy of Isaias literally fulfilled: “The bears and the lions shall dwell with the lambs.” We saw the iroquois come to seek the friendship of the french; we saw the french go on missions to the country of the iroquois. That was the time when every one thought of making himself a home on the lands of new france. Montreal, which was the great theater of the war, became a fertile field. People even crossed the St. Lawrence river, and established opposite montreal the seigniory of la prairie—a place chosen by God for forming there one of the

belles missions qu'on ait vu en Canada. Les françois disposerent le lieu sy estant transportés pour y faire un village lequel commenca l'an 1667.

*Boquet
descendoit
envoyé par
le p. fremin
pour donner
avis a
quebec de ce
qu'on peut
dire en fr.
sur ce pays*

Tandis que le R. P. Rafeix est occupé a faire defricher les terres a la prairie et invitoit de nouveaux habitants a l'y suivre Dieu invitoit des sauvages a y venir: cette invitation se fit, lorsqu'il voulut que tonsahoten avec quelques autres s'offrit a descendre d'onneixt pour venir conduire au montreal un des missionnaires qui devoit revenir sur les glaces sept personnes onnei8ts jetterent les fondements de toute la mission de St. françois Xavier Le nommé tonsahoten fut contraint de descendre pour chercher des remedes qu'il ne trouvoit point en son pais il estoit chrestien avoit nom pierre allant en guerre il dit a sa femme quelle eust soing du p. Bruias qui ne faisoit quarriver et quelle appris sa priere L'illustre gandeakteua femme de celuy que iay nommé Tonsahoten estoit de la nation des chats destruite par les iroquois elle estoit esclave mais elle avoit un naturel tres bon et très propre pour le christianisme elle servit de guide aux six personnes qui venoient a montreal. elle faisoit ses prieres quoy-qu'elle ne fust pas encore baptisée. elle avoit fait deslors des choses si grandes pour Dieu qu'on a fait le recit de ses grandes actions en particulier dans les relations on lecrira ailleurs cette petite troupe arriva a montreal sur les glaces ou le P. Rafeix les rencontra quelque temps apres leur arrivée et les invita a aller sur ses terres, ces pauvres barbares qui ne scavoient ce que c'estoit que de pretres d'eglise et de ceremonie estant entrés dans leglise du montreal

fairest missions that has been seen in Canada. The french prepared the place, repairing thither to build a village, which began in the year 1667.

While the Reverend Father Rafeix was occupied in having the lands cleared at la prairie, and was inviting new settlers to follow him thither, God was inviting some savages to come to this place. This invitation took place when he willed that tonsahoten, with some others, should offer to come down from onneiout to conduct over the ice to montreal one of the missionaries who was to come back. Seven persons, onneiouts, laid the foundations of the whole mission of St. francois Xavier. This tonsahoten was constrained to come down, in order to get some remedies which he did not find in his own country. He was a christian, and was named pierre. On going to war, he told his wife that she should take care of father Bruias, who had just arrived, and that she should learn his prayer. The illustrious gan-deakteua, wife of the one whom I have called Tonsahoten, was from the chat nation, destroyed by the iroquois. She was a slave; but she had a very good disposition, and one well adapted to the christian faith. She served as guide to the six persons who came to montreal. She said her prayers, although she was not yet baptized. She had, from that time, done such great things for God's sake that the story of her noble deeds was set forth in detail in the relations. It will be written elsewhere. This little band arrived at montreal, over the ice. There Father Rafeix met them, some time after their arrival, and invited them to go upon his lands. These poor barbarians, who knew not the meaning of priests, church, and ceremonies, having entered the church

*Boquet, sent
by father
fremin,
came down
to quebec
to give
information
concerning
what can be
told in
france
about this
country.*

furent tellement ravis et surtout Gandeakteüa qu'ils ne penserent plus aux iroquois d'ou ils venoient. Gandeakteüa prit aussy tost resolution de gagner son mary pour le faire demeurer, et elle s'attacha pour tout le reste deses jours avec les françois. ces S^{tes} pensées crurent tout le reste de lhyver et en attendant une parfaite instruction des mysteres de nostre sainte foy et la grace du baptesme. elle passa avec les cinq autres lhyver a la prairie vivant sous le mesme toict que les françois, qui nestoit q'un simple hangar de planches droittes et appuyées lune contre lautre en dos d'asne. Comme on scavoit que estoit en paix plusieurs venoient chafser du costé de montreal et s'arrester en divers endroits de l'isle sans avoir aucun dessein ils le faisoient ainsy tous les ans 4 ans durant. ils estoient ainsy disperses dans les bois tandis que la terre se preparoit a les recevoir a la prairie ou lesprit de Dieu les conduisit tous ou estant rassembles on vit renouveler ce qui estoit arrivé en Jerusalem quand leglise se forma de toutes les nations rassemblées. on eut en ce petit nombre de sauvages des hommes de differentes langues lun estoit de la nation des chats lautre des hurons quelques uns francs iroquois, d'autres Gandastogues et maintenant la mision est de plus de dix ou douse nations quy parlent toutes iroquois.

1668

On admirera durant les années suivantes les differentes manieres de vocation dont Dieu sen servy pour ramasser les nations qui composent cette mision, et parceque la vocation exterieure est ce qui

at montreal, were so greatly delighted—and especially Gandeakteua—that they no longer thought of the iroquois whence they came. Gandeakteua at once resolved to induce her husband to remain; and she attached herself to the french for all the rest of her days. These Holy thoughts of hers grew during all the rest of the winter; and, while awaiting a thorough instruction in the mysteries of our holy faith, and the grace of baptism, she spent the winter with the five others at la prairie, living under the same roof as the french. This was but a simple shed of boards, upright and leaning one against the other in a ridge like an ass's back. As they knew that it was a time of peace, many came to hunt in the region of montreal, and halted at various places on the island, without any special object. They did so every year, during 4 years. They were thus dispersed in the woods while the land was preparing to receive them at la prairie, whither the spirit of God was guiding them all. There, when they again met, one saw anew what had happened at Jerusalem when the church was formed out of all the assembled nations. In this little company of savages there were men of different languages: one was of the chat nation, another was a huron; some were free iroquois, others Gandastogues; and now the mission is made up of over ten or twelve nations, who all speak iroquois.

1668.

People will admire, during the years to come, the different kinds of vocation which God has used in order to gather up the nations who compose this mission; and because the external calling—rather than the light of the faith and the affections which God diffuses in the hearts of men—is what most

tombe plus sous les sens et ce qui fait connoistre Dieu au peuple plustost que la lumiere de la foy et les affections que Dieu repand dans le cœur des hommes; il sera bon de parler aillieurs de quelques vocations particulieres.

Ce fut donc l'année mil six cent soixante huit que tous ces sauvages descendirent a quebek apres qu'on en eut donné la nouvelle a Monseigneur levesque pendant qu'on portoit cette nouvelle au petit printemps de la fonte des neiges d'autres onneiſts parents des six premiers se rendirent des environs ou ils chafsoient l'hyver a la prairie ainsy de six sauvages qui avoient passé l'hyver a la prairie le nombre monta jusqu'a dix ou douze: lesquels descendirent tous ensemble à quebek sur la fin de l'été. Le R. P. Rafeix les presenta le R. P. Chomonot les instruisit ou plustost acheva de les instruire car ils avoient desia commence l'exercice de la priere a la prairie. ainsy la troupe fut bientost capable de recevoir le baptême. ce fut monseigneur qui leur conféra ce sacrement et qui posa ainsy la premiere pierre a cet edifice spirituel dont la structure est admirable. Le chef de cette bande sainte l'appella françois Xavier du nom de toute la mission et sa femme fut nommée Catherine: nom qui a esté remarquable dans cette cy et qui est vénérable dans une autre Catherine qui est morte depuis peu dans la mission en odeur de sainteté. La ceremonie estant finie on voulut arreter franc. Xavier a la mission des hurons: mais Dieu quia ses desseins osta la pensee a cet homme la d'y demeurer; sa femme eut volontiers accepté l'offre si Dieu ne l'eust pas choisie pour venir fonder la sainte famille a la prairie Nos nouveaux baptises sen

strikes the senses and makes God known to the people, it will be well to speak elsewhere of some special vocations.

It was in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight that all the savages landed at quebek, after news thereof had been given to Monseigneur the bishop. While they were bearing this news,—in the early spring, at the melting of the snows,—other onneiouts, relatives of the six who had first come, betook themselves from the surrounding country, where they hunted during the winter, to la prairie. Thus, from six savages who had spent the winter at la prairie the number rose to ten or twelve, who all together came down to quebek about the end of the summer. The Reverend Father Rafeix introduced them; the Reverend Father Chomonot instructed them,—or rather finished instructing them, for they had already begun the practice of prayer at la prairie. Thus the band was soon qualified to receive baptism. Monseigneur was the one who conferred this sacrament upon them, and who thus laid the first stone of that spiritual building whose structure is so admirable. The chief of this pious band was called francois Xavier, from the name of the whole mission; and his wife was named Catherine—a name which has become remarkable in her and is venerable in another Catherine who died in the mission recently, in the odor of sanctity. The ceremony being finished, they wished to detain francois Xavier in the mission of the hurons; but God, who has his own designs, took away from that man the intention of dwelling there. His wife would gladly have accepted the offer, if God had not chosen her to come to found the holy family

*le p.
Rafeix.*

retournerent l'automne et sen furent débarquez a la prairie ou a succession de temps avec plusieurs autres ils ont fait un beau village ils passerent le reste de l'an dans la mesme cabane que les françois avoient faite pour eux: ils partirent ensuite pour aller a la chafse au commencement de l'hyver; ils nalloint pas loing sans trouver des bêtes cependant pour le peu de temps quils demeuroint dans le bois; car ils se rendoint au village a toutes les grandes fetes et surtout a noel, ils emportoient avec eux un petit calandrier ou les fetes et les dimanches estoient marquees de la main du pere qui les instruisoit: ainsy ils estoient tous remplis de la grace du baptesme quils conservoint dans le bois mesme estant exacte a faire la priere les matins et les soirs; cet hyvernement fut la reigle de tous les autres qui ont suivy et qui ont sanctifié depuis plusieurs sauvages dans le bois ou quelques uns sont morts en predestines ou d'autres ont vescu en anges des six mois durant ou d'autres se sont exposés pour la foy et ont fait les apostres preschants tout l'hyuer a ceux qui nestoint pas encore chrestiens.

1669

Tandis que nos sauvages estoient ainsy ala chafse Le p. Rafeix faisoit preparer de la terre et ses bons chrestiens estant de retour il leur marqua leur champ apres la semence faite. françois Xavier batit une cabane qui devoit a lavenir estre le modele de toutes les autres, cabane si heureuse quelle est comme la mere de soixante autres au milieu desquelles elle se trouve et que celuy qui la batie est devenu comme le pere des croyants qui sont a present en tres grand

[confraternity] at la prairie. Our newly-baptized people returned in autumn, and landed at la prairie, where in the course of time they and many others have built a fine village. They spent the rest of the year in the same cabin which the french had built for them. At the beginning of winter, They set out to go hunting; they did not go far, and found no beasts, because of the short time that they spent in the woods,—for they betook themselves to the village on all the great feast-days, and especially at christmas. They carried with them a little calendar, in which feasts and sundays were marked by the hand of the father who instructed them. Thus they were all filled with the grace of baptism, which they preserved even in the woods—being punctual in saying prayers, both morning and evening. This wintering became the rule of all the others who have followed, and who have since sanctified many savages in the woods. Some have died there as predestined souls; others have lived there like angels for a period of six months; others have exposed themselves there for the faith, and have acted as apostles, preaching all winter to those who were not yet christians.

*Father
Rafeix.*

1669.

While our savages were thus hunting, father Rafeix caused the land to be prepared; and, his good christians having returned, he marked out their field for them, after the planting was done. François Xavier built a cabin, which in future was to be the pattern for all the others—a cabin so blessed that it is the mother, as it were, of sixty others, in the midst of which it stands; and that the one who built

nombre, il n'y avoit encore que deux familles tout au plus dans cette cabane il n'y avoit pas un qui ne fust baptisé depuis peu: cependant la bonne odeur de ces nouveaux chrestiens remplit tellement les bois dicy autour que plusieurs les vinrent visiter. Leur reputation fut mesme jusque au païs des iroquois; laquelle y fut la source de mille benedictions que Dieu versoit sur les infidelles amesme temps quilz entendoient parler dela nouvelle misfion il y avoit beaucoup de sauvages qui vivoient sur les bordages du fleuve de S^t Laurent en montant du costé des outaïak, la curiosité les attira a la prairie quelques uns y venoient comme suppute du demon pour debaucher les autres et cependant ils se trouverent tous pris par les filets de levangile peu a peu cabane a cabane et homme a homme; cest ainsy que les commencements de la misfion ont esté semblables au grain de moutarde. ces visiteurs voyant les bleds tres beaux eurent la pensee dy demeurer et debatis leur cabanes la premiere cabane ne demeura pas longtemps seule en moins dun an il y en eut quatre: entre autres on y vit celle dun onnatague lequel a esté baptisé en france et aqui le Roy donna son nom et une belle medaille d'argent quil a toujours pendue a son col.

1670

P. Rafeiv
P. Pierson

On connut cette année plus clairement le defsein que Dieu avoit sur les iroquois. les cinq cabanes toutes remplies de gens baptises commencerent a prendre les exercices réglés d'une misfion, lesquels navoient esté a peu pres iusque a ce temps la que comme on les fait dans les bois, tandis quon est a la

it has become the father, as it were, of the believers, of whom there are now a very great number. There were as yet only two families, at most, in this cabin; there was not one who was not recently baptized; yet the good name of these new christians so filled the woods round about here that many people came to visit them. Their reputation went even to the country of the iroquois, and was the source there of a thousand blessings which God poured upon the infidels. At the same time when mention of the new mission was heard, there were many savages who lived on the banks of the St. Lawrence, up the river, in the direction of the outawak. Curiosity drew these to prayer. Some came to it as agents of the demon, to corrupt the others; and yet they all found themselves caught by the nets of the gospel — little by little, cabin by cabin, and man by man. Thus it is that the beginnings of the mission have been like the grain of mustard seed. These visitors, seeing the corn very fine, resolved to remain there and build their cabins. The first cabin did not stay long alone; in less than a year there were four. Among others, we saw there that of an onnatague who was baptized in france,—to whom the King gave his name, with a handsome silver medal, which he constantly wears suspended to his neck.

1670.

This year we recognized more clearly the design which God had regarding the iroquois. The five cabins, all filled with baptized people, began to adopt the regular practices of a mission. Until that time, these had been little more than those which are observed in the woods while the hunt is going

*Father
Rafeix.
Father,
Pierson.*

chafse, cest a dire que une personne faisoit les prieres et les autres suivoient, les apprenants a force de les repeter tous les jours, on difoit la messe dans la petite cabane de planches qui estoit comme une pour les françois et pour les sauvages quoyque le nombre fut petit on ne laissoit pas de faire les prieres soir et matin. L'affection que les sauvages tesmoignoient avoir pour la foy obligea d'y tenir deux missionnaires selon le tesmoignage quen rend la relation imprimée de 1670 et 1671: on commença a y faire des batimens tels qu'on les voit encore pour y faire une eglise a la facon dupais. Le pere pierre Rafeix y mit la premiere main: il estoit infatigable dans le soing quil prenoit des Sauvages et des françois. les sauvages faisoient dit la relation 20 familles: le R. pere Dablon descendant des outaouaks a quebek pour y aller prendre la superiorité passa a la p[r]airie et ayant vu ensuite la mission entienne des hurons dit que la nouvelle avoit les memes exercices de piété que l'entienne nous verrons les progres que la nouvelle va faire dans la foy. dans la devotion, et dans la pratique de toutes les plus eminentes vertus, qui reluisent dans ces commencements de mission: mais que Dieu a tenu caches dans l'enceinte de la prairie il ny avoit encore ny capitaine ny dogue a proprement parler et les missionnaires prenoient tous les soins sans les partager. mais le nombre estant plus grand il fallut creer des capitaines qui eussent intendence sur le village et des dogues qui fussent propres pour faire les prieres et qui eussent le soing des affaires de Dieu le tout fut accompli l'année suivante

on—that is, one person said the prayers and the others followed, learning them by dint of repeating them every day. Mass was said in the little board cabin, which was common for the french and the savages. Although the number was small, they nevertheless held prayers evening and morning. The affection which the savages showed for the faith obliged us to keep two missionaries there, according to the statement made in the printed relation of 1670 and 1671. They began to erect buildings there, such as one still sees, intending to build a church there in the manner of the country. Father pierre Rafeix began the enterprise. He was indefatigable in the care that he took of the Savages and of the french. The savages, says the relation, comprised 20 families. Reverend father Dablon, coming down from the outaouaks to quebek in order to go thither and assume the duties of superior, stopped at la prairie; and, having thereafter seen the old mission of the hurons, said that the new one had the same pious exercises as the old one. We shall see the progress that the new one will make in the faith, in devotion, and in the practice of all the most eminent virtues, which shine forth in these missionary beginnings, but which God has kept concealed within the enclosure of la prairie. There was not as yet either captain or dogique, properly speaking, and the missionaries took all the cares without dividing them; but when the number was greater, it was necessary to elect captains who should have jurisdiction over the village, and dogiques, who should be qualified to hold prayers and take charge of the affairs of God. All that was accomplished in the year following.

P. Rafeix
P. Fremin
P. Pierson

Les iroquois ont leur police comme tout le reste des peuples de la terre La difference quil y a: cest que la leur peut estre appellée de pure nature ou plusieurs choses manquent. mais la foy de nos nouveaux chrestiens fit bien voir quil ny auroit rien de plus beau que le monde si levangile y estoit gardé. Elle nota du nouveau village en fait de police que ce que levice avoit gatté dans les entiens villages des iroquois. Etants donc convenus ensemble leté de l'année presente de prendre pour iamais lhabitation dela prairie ils se résolurent de créer deux chrestiens pour la police et la guerre lautre pour avoir loeil a lexercice du christianisme et de la religion ils recommanderent l'affaire a Dieu quils Jugerent estre de la derniere importance, ils entendirent la messe a cette intention, puis sestants assembles ils choisirent tous d un commun accord les deux qui en effect ont le plus de merite et de capacité pour lexercice de ces deux charges. cette election se fit a la pluralité des voix, comme les autres affaires se font chez les iroquois ou les chefs parlent a la verité, mais ils prennent leur langue des entiens de leur village: on a obei depuis a nos deux capitaines; lesquels comme on a vu par experience une fois perdent leur credit quand ils ne sont pas bons chrestiens, on leur obeit exactement surtout pour observer cequi estoit réglé pour les bonnes mours. Admirons icy la puissance divine laquelle bannit autrefois de Rome toutes les abominations queles romains avoient apportées dans leur pantheon tirees des depouilles de tant de peuples quils avoient soumis a leur empire.

1671.

The iroquois have their government like all the rest of the peoples of the earth. The difference between them is, that theirs may be called that of pure nature, wherein many things are wanting; but the faith of our new christians plainly showed that there would be nothing more beautiful than this world, if the gospel were observed in it. It took from the new village, in the matter of government, only what vice had spoiled in the old iroquois villages. Having then agreed together, in the summer of the current year, to accept forever the settlement of la prairie, they resolved to elect two christians — one for government and war, the other to watch over the observance of christianity and religion. They recommended the matter to God, Judging it of the utmost importance, and with this intention heard mass. Then having assembled, they all with one consent chose the two who in fact have most merit and capacity for the exercise of these two offices. This election took place by majority of votes, as other transactions are settled among the iroquois — among whom the chiefs indeed speak, but they take the word from the elders of their village. Since then, our two captains have been obeyed, but, as was once seen by experience, lose their influence if they are not good christians. They are strictly obeyed, especially in the observance of their regulations for good morals. Let us admire here the divine power, which formerly banished from Rome all the abominations which the romans had introduced into their pantheon, derived from the spoils of so many peoples whom they had subjected to their sway. To-day, it purges our little flock

*Father
Rafeix.
Father
Fremin.
Father
Pierson.*

aujourdhuy elle purge notre petit troupeau de toutes les brutalites que nos iroquois avoient prises chez seize nations quilz ont destruit par leur vaillance et par leur industrie ainsy tant de mauvaises coutumes ont este quittees tout d'un coup pour prendre toutes les coutumes de l'eglise: ce qui est dautant plus admirable que les Sauvages nont coutume que de se conduire par imagination, quilz sont entourés de superstitions quilz voyent souvent au pais: et cependant personne nen parle icy on en fait aucun estat et on saccuse dy avoir seulement pensé. nostre eglise naissante prenoit ainsy Sa forme et son estat ces barbares ramassés de plusieurs nations ne faisoit q'un la charité les unifisoit jusques a n'avoir rien de propre, cequi revenoit plus au genie iroquois chez lesquels la société les visites l'hospitalité les festins les dons mutuels sont fort en usage. on a demeuré longtemps sans y voir mesme l'ombre du vice ce qui charmoit ceux qui les venoient visiter. le p. fremin missionnaire en chef de ce temps la ne manquoit pas de les disposer ala reception des sacrements encore in connus a ces nations barbares la confession et la communion il y avoit des prædestines en qui la grace croissoit tous les iours a qui il ne fallut pas beaucoup detemps pour se disposer; ainsy donc on commença avoir communier des sauvages a la prairie aussy devotement et plus que les françois; aussy tost que le feu du S^t Sacrement eut animé nos nouveaux chrestiens il ne se put contenir en eux mesme: les pp. missionnaires entendoient tous les iours de leurs enfants les sentiments de leur cœur pleins du S^t Esprit. Le p. Pierson mesme ietta les semences de

from all the brutalities which our iroquois had borrowed among the sixteen nations whom they destroyed by their valor and adroitness. Thus they have suddenly forsaken so many evil customs, in order to adopt all the customs of the church,—which is all the more admirable because the Savages are wont to guide themselves only through the imagination, and are surrounded with superstitions, which they often see in their country. And yet no one speaks of these here; they have no esteem for them, and accuse themselves for even having thought of them. Our infant church thus took form and organization. These barbarians, gathered from several nations, made but one; charity united them even to the extent that they possessed nothing individually — which best suited the iroquois nature, among whom sociability, visits, hospitality, feasts, and mutual gifts are much in vogue. It was a long time before even the shadow of vice was seen there,—which charmed those who came to visit them. Father fremin, their chief missionary at that time, did not fail to prepare them to receive the sacraments of confession and communion, as yet unknown to these barbarous nations. There were some predestined ones, in whom grace increased every day, who did not require much time for preparation. Thus, then, the fathers began to have savages receive communion at la prairie, which they did even more devoutly than did the french. As soon as the fire of the Blessed Sacrament had animated our new christians, it could not be confined to themselves; the missionary fathers heard every day from their children the sentiments of their hearts, filled with the Holy Ghost. Father Pierson even sowed the seeds of the Holy family,

la S^{te} famille en donnant quelques chapelets aux plus entiens chrestiens et chrestiennes. les Sauvages allant par les bois faisoient presque autant de chrestiens quils trouvoient d'autres sauvages dans les quartiers de leur chafse par l'exactitude quils avoient a la priere et par leurs bons discours.

Ce fut alors qu'on mit a l'entree du village deux arbres memorables a l'un desquels on attacha livrognerie a l'autre l'impurete toutes deux subjuguées par la foy; on fit un proverbe aux iroquois de ce mot ie men vais a la prairie cest a dire ie quitte la boisson et la pluralité des femmes parceque quand quelqu'un parloit de demeurer a la prairie on luy proposoit d'abord ces deux articles quil falloit passer sans restriction et sans limite. autrement on n'estoit pas receu. le village de la prairie avec toutes ces qualitez devient un argument de credibilité a tous les iroquois qui y passoient tous les printemps dont la pluspart ne croyoient pas ce que on leur en avoit dit au pais. ils venoient le voir eux memes et ayant vu admiroient les merveilles quils avoient desja entendu plusieurs qui nestoient pas iroquois naturalises penserent a se derobier pour venir a la prairie il en defila beaucoup durant toutes les annees suivantes.

1672.

Ceux qui estoient desja baptises au pais aimerent mieux perdre alors tout cequils avoient au pais que de perdre la foy quils ny pouvoient conserver, ils venoient a la prairie en cachette tant de leur propre mouvement que de celui des prædicateurs de l'evangile; nous scavons par autant de bouches quil y a icy de

by giving some rosaries to the eldest christian men and women. The Savages going through the woods made, by means of their exactness in prayer and their pious utterances, almost as many christians as they found other savages in the regions where they hunted.

Then it was that two memorable trees were placed at the entrance to the village; to one they attached drunkenness, to the other, impurity—both subjugated by the faith. Among the iroquois, this saying became a proverb, “I am off to la prairie,”—that is to say, “I give up drink and polygamy.” This was because, when any one spoke of living at la prairie, there were first set before him these two clauses, which must be accepted without restriction and without limit; otherwise, he was not received. The village of la prairie, with all these qualities, became an argument for belief to all the iroquois who went by there every spring,—most of whom did not believe what had been said of it to them in their own country. They themselves came to see it, and, having seen, admired the wonders of which they had already heard. Many who were not naturalized iroquois resolved to steal away and come to la prairie; many thus slipped away during all the following years.

1672.

Those who were already baptized in their own country then preferred to lose everything that they had at home rather than the faith, which they could not there preserve. They came to la prairie in secret, as much from their own impulse as from the instigation of the preachers of the gospel. We know, by as many mouths as there are christians here, that one cannot, without some sort of miracle, —

chrestiens qu'on ne peut estre sans quelqu'espece de miracle ou bon chrestien ou perséverer en chrestien chez les iroquois: la prairie a donc este de tout temps l'azile de ceux qui vouloint de bon cœur prier Dieu et estre chrestien: ces saints fugitifs firent quon commença avoir dans les bois d'ycy autour des chemins de chafse fort battus; car la chafse estoit le prétexte quon prenoit alors pour venir demeurer a la prairie. Les chrestiens qui partoint de la prairie allant a la chafse des betes alloint aufsy a la chafse des hommes; les chafseurs emmenoint tousiours quelques uns de leur parens ou de leur connoissance le printemps par forme de visite ou Dieu leur touchant le cœur ils se faisoient instruire et devenoient chrestiens. Tous ceux qui estoient venus des iroquois sestoient ainsy comme derobes a la fureur des ivrognes et des ennemis de la priere ce qui ietta en defiance les entiens qui ne declamoint autre chose dans leurs conseils que la destruction de leur terre par les françois et par les misfionnaires. plus ils crioint plus on eut envie devenir voir ce qui se pafsoit et il restoit toujours quelqun de ces curieux lesquels peu a peu prenans party quoyquon s'en deffiait et quon ne les baptisast quapres de longues epreuves sattachoint enfin pour tousiours a la prairie. Les onnei8ts ont ete les premiers dela misfion et leurs vertus estants comme des vertus meres engendrerent plusieurs enfants qui donnerent ainsy naissance a plusieurs anniers qui sont a present en plus grand nombre parmy celuy des croyans et parmy les gens de la nation d'agnié ceux du village de Ganda8age ont pris le premier rang comme du au sang des martirs qui a

either be a good christian, or persevere as a christian, among the iroquois. La prairie has, then, always been the asylum of those who wished sincerely to pray to God and be christians. These holy fugitives began to make, in the woods round about here, well-beaten hunting paths; for the chase was the pretext which they then adopted, in order to come to live at la prairie. The christians, who left la prairie, in going to hunt beasts, went also to hunt men; the hunters always brought back some of their kinsmen or acquaintances in the spring, in the guise of a visit,—wherein, God touching their hearts, they had themselves instructed and became christians. All those who had come from the iroquois had thus eluded, as it were, the fury of the drunkards and the enemies of prayer. This made the elders distrustful; in their councils, their declamations all concerned the destruction of their land by the french and by the missionaries. The more they complained, the more people were desirous of coming to see what was going on; and among these curious ones some always remained. These, gradually enlisting in our ranks,—although they were distrusted, and were not baptized save after long probations,—finally attached themselves forever to la prairie. The onneiouts were the first of the mission, and their virtues—being, as it were, mother-virtues—engendered numerous children, giving birth to many anniers, who are at present most numerous. In the number of the believers, among the people of the nation of agnié, those of the village of Gandawage have taken the first rank, as if this were due to the blood of the martyrs, which was first shed in the death of father Jogue, who

esté premierement repandu en la mort du p Iogue qui y eut la teste cassee le sang du R P. Brebeuf qui a esté repandu par les aniés: cest ausy gandaage qui a receu le 1^r les prædicateurs de levangile en la personne des RR. pp. fremin Bruyas et pierron qui apres la paix faite furent envoyies plénipotentiaires dans ces pais la, cest en ce village qu'on a baty la 1^{re} chapelle cest ce village qui a donne un thresor a nostre misison en la personne d'une sauvagesse decedee depuis six ans en odeur de sainteté.

Lonnontagué par ses intrigues ordinaires entreprit de destruire nostre petite eglise par ses fourberies sous pretexte d'embafsade et ils deviendront les ministres denfer en semant de faux bruits; ils dirent bien du mal de la foy: ils exageroient le sort malheureux disoint-ils de nos chrestiens qui furent deslors a lepreuve et qui netant pas venus par entereft ne se rendirent point a toutes ces raisons apparentes pour venir aux exemples particuliers i'en rapporte un cité dans la relation de 1671 et 1672 une femme onnontagué avoit un mary qui nestoit pas si fervent quelle et deux enfans une fille et un garçon. Le malheureux se laifsa aller aux beaux discours de ces embafsadeurs du diable, qui le prirent par son foible, cest a dire par la guerre ou il a esté depuis et par la boifson qui luy a fait perdre le nez; ce sont les deux demons qui posèdent les sauvages. nostre femme forte par lordre du p. misisonnaire sen fut avec luy pour tascher de conserver son mary; mais ce malheureux ausy tost quil fut au pais il la traitta si mal que les parens infidelles de cette femme chrestienne en eurent compafsion et crurent quils estoient

there had his head crushed; and to the blood of the Reverend Father Brebeuf, which was shed by the aniés. It was also gandawage which 1st received the preachers of the gospel, in the persons of the Reverend fathers fremin, Bruyas, and pierron—who, after the conclusion of peace, were sent as plenipotentiaries to those countries. It was in that village that the 1st chapel was built; and that village has given a treasure to our mission, in the person of a savage woman who died, six years ago, in the odor of sanctity.

The onnontagué, with his usual plots, undertook to destroy our little church through his treacheries, under pretext of an embassy; and these men became ministers of hell by sowing false reports. They said much evil of the faith. They exaggerated the unhappy lot, as they said, of our christians, who were then on probation; but these, not having come for self-interest, did not surrender to all these apparent reasons. To come down to particular instances, I will report one that was mentioned in the relation of 1671 and 1672. An onnontagué woman had a husband who was not so fervent as she; and two children, a daughter and a son. The unhappy man allowed himself to be carried away by the fine speeches of those ambassadors of the devil; they took him on his weak side,—that is, by the war, where he has since been, and by drink, which has cost him the loss of his nose; these are the two demons who possess the savages. Our brave woman, by order of the missionary father, went away with her husband for the sake of trying to save him. But that wretched man, as soon as he was in their own country, treated her so ill that this christian woman's infidel kinsmen took compassion on her,

deshonores dans la personne de leur parente: ils menacerent cet ivrogne de mort: ce qui l'obligea a ne traiter pas sa femme si mal quil avoit fait; la pauvre femme qui apprehendoit de perdre sa foy plustost que la vie son mary la voulant la contraindre a renoncer a son baptesme, elle se resolut de labandonner, ce quelle fit lorsquil fut en guerre son petit garçon fut le premier a dire a sa mere: allons nous en retournons a la prairie; cest la aufsny ou ils ont vecu en paix: cette paix dela conscience a tousiours soutenu cette genereuse femme et ses enfans qui ont servy dexemple de sagefse a toutes les cabanes du village et ce qui est remarquable cest que la foy a tousiours emporté sur les regrets quilz pouvoient avoir davoir beaucoup quitte au pais nayant pas trouvé les memes avantages temporels parmy le françois, quoyque quelques uns eussent esté racheptés et tires du feu par les gens de la cabane de cette femme qui est une des principales donnontague.

On peut voir par les registres et les papiers de baptesme que le diable se trompoit lui mesme parceque par ces commencements de persecution il ne faisoit quallumer le flambeau de la foy dans nos chrestiens, en les obligeant de seclaircir de plusieurs choses; et lamour de la charité en les unifiant de plus en plus à Dieu, dont ils sentoient avoir besoin. cest pour cela que des lors on vit des sauvages faire honte dans leglise a la messe aux prieres aux plus entiens chrestiens: ils venoient deslors debien loing lhyver pour asister aux ceremonies de la messe de minuit ou de vendredy saint; quelquefois on les a vu faire mesme l'adoration de la croix dans les bois

and believed that they were dishonored in the person of their kinswoman. They threatened this drunkard with death, which obliged him not to treat his wife so ill as he had done. The poor woman,—who dreaded more to lose her faith than her life,—as her husband tried to constrain her to renounce her baptism, resolved to forsake him, and did so while he was at war. Her little son was the first to say to his mother: “Let us go away; let us return to la prairie.” There, accordingly, they have lived in peace; that peace of conscience has ever sustained this noble woman and her children, who have served as examples of right living to all the cabins of the village. And what is remarkable is, that the faith has always gained the day over the regrets which they might feel for having given up much in their own country, for they have not found the same temporal advantages among the french,—although some of these had been ransomed and drawn out of the fire by the people of this woman’s cabin, which was one of the principal ones at onnontague.

One may see by the registers and baptismal records that the devil was himself deceived—because, through these beginnings of persecution, he only kindled the torch of the faith in our christians, by obliging them to become enlightened in various matters, and the love of charity, by uniting them more and more to God, of whom they felt they had need. That is why, from that time, we saw savages—in the church, at mass, and at prayers—cause shame to the oldest christians; they came from a great distance, in winter, to attend the ceremonies of midnight mass or of good friday. Sometimes they have even been seen to make the adoration of the cross in

comme on le sçait par le rapport des françois qui l'ont vu et y ont afsisté. l'eglise estoit divisee en deux appartemens, l'un pour les françois et l'autre pour les sauvages quoyque tout ne fust q'un des françois et des sauvages; comme on le voyoit dans les refouïfsances publiques les visites et les petits services quils se rendoit les uns aux autres.

Ce mélange donna pourtant occasion au demon de tenter les sauvages il se servit des françois qui traittoit avec les sauvages et voulut etablir cabaret a la prairie le monde y estant desia afsez nombreux; mais la divine providence se servit de lauctorite supreme laquelle se dementit ensuite, pour destruire ce demon, monsieur le comte de frontenak sceut bon gré au p. fremin de ce qu'il avoit fourny des farines pour le fort de Catarakxi etant ensuite venu a la prairie lesté il fit une ordonnance et deffense expresse de traiter des boïssons en y vrantes a la prairie; ainsy le demon fut etouffé dans son berceau.

1673

La misfion crut notablement et a cru a proportion les annees suivantes cette multitude fut occasion a de plus grands maux comme nous verrons cy apres. Les sauvages s'estants instruits lesté au village alloint prescher nostre foy dans les bois lhyver faisant leur chafse, les iroquois infidelles venant par hazard en chassant aux cabanages de nos nouveaux Chrestiens, admiroint le changement qui s'estoit fait en ces nouveaux apostres. Les femmes qui de tout temps sont appellées le sexe devot avoint plustost appris les prieres que les hommes et c'estoint elles

the woods, as we know by the report of the french who have seen and taken part in it. The church was divided into two apartments, one for the french, and the other for the savages—although the french and savages all acted as one body, as was seen in the public rejoicings, and in the visits and the little services that they rendered one another.

This mingling, however, gave occasion to the demon to tempt the savages; he employed the french who traded with them, and he sought to establish a tavern at la prairie, as the inhabitants were already quite numerous. But divine providence used the supreme authority—which afterward contradicted itself—to destroy this demon. Monsieur the count de frontenak was grateful to father fremin because he had furnished flour for the fort of Catarakwi. Subsequently coming to la prairie in the summer, he made an ordinance expressly prohibiting the trade in intoxicating drinks at la prairie; Thus the demon was stifled in the cradle.

1673.

The mission notably grew, and has grown proportionately in the years following. This multitude was the occasion for greater evils, as we shall see hereafter. The savages, having become instructed in summer at the village, went to preach our faith in the woods in winter, while pursuing their hunting. The infidel iroquois, coming by chance, while hunting about the cabins of our new Christians, admired the change which had occurred in these new apostles. The women, who from all time have been called the devout sex, had learned the prayers sooner than the men; and they were the ones who

qui les faisoit a haute voix dans le bois. une de celles la qui les fait encore a présent a leglise du sault les faisoit dans le bois durant lhyver ou son mary lavoit menee a la chafse du costé de chambly, un fameux guerrier celebre chez les Anies, parcequil a défait la nation des loups, tomba heureusement dans la cabane de celle dont nous parlons: laquelle ne tomba alors dans linconvenient dans lequel tombent souvent les Sauvages; cest a dire le respect humain nayant egard a la bonne ou mauvaise disposition de leur hofte elle faisoit tousiours les prieres: cet homme de guerre les ecouta et y prit plaisir en admirant le sens et les paroles: il y prit goust et les apprit par cœur en les entendant répeter, il disoit quelquefois: celuy qui vous enseigne a bien de lesprit; cela est bien trouve. mais on luy dit que ces prieres la etoint faites avant que les pp. misfionnaires fussent au monde. ce discours luy en donna encore plus destime; il les apprit fort bien et ne quitta point ceux qui les luy avoint apprises. le primpemps suivant il vient au village de la prairie avec eux, il y fit comme eux, cest a dire que selon la louable coutume qui est icy et qui commença deslors, il fut a l'eglise ou avant d'entrer dans la cabane ou aussy tost apres avoir laifse son paquet. il recite ses prieres avec ses guides: cequi obligea le p. fremin a demander qui etoit cet homme la et dou il venoit et qui luy avoit appris les prieres; on luy depeint la qualité du personnage, ses sentimens et comme il avoit pafsé lhyver. le pere iugeant de lesprit ne trouva en luy q'un deffault; cest a dire quil n'estoit pas marié et il ny avoit pas encore de

said them aloud in the woods. One of those women who still says them now in the church of the sault, said them during the winter in the woods,—whither her husband had taken her while hunting, in the direction of chambly. A famous warrior—celebrated among the Anies, because he defeated the nation of the loups—luckily happened to enter the cabin of her of whom we speak. She did not fall into the embarrassment into which the Savages often fall—that of human respect. Having no regard for the good or evil disposition of their guest, she always said her prayers. This warrior listened to them, and took pleasure therein, admiring their meaning and words. He had a relish for them, and learned them by heart, through hearing them repeated. He sometimes said: “The one who teaches you has much sense; that is well put.” But they told him that those prayers were made before the missionary fathers were in the world. This remark still more increased his esteem for them; he learned them very well, and did not leave those who had taught them to him. In the following spring he came with that family to the village of la prairie. He did there like them,—that is, according to the praiseworthy custom which prevails here, and which began at that time, he went to church either before entering the cabin, or immediately after laying down his bundle. He recited his prayers with his guides; that obliged father fremin to ask who that man was, and whence he came, and who had taught him the prayers. They described to him the rank of this person, his thoughts, and how he had spent the winter. The father, judging of his intelligence, found in him only one failing; he was not married,

*le pere
Boniface*

filles a luy presenter, il luy dit donc en partie pour sonder cet esprit d'aller au pais et de mener son camarade ausy, d'y choisir celle qui leur plairoit davantage et de revenir et quil seroit baptisé, cette proposition ne deplut pas a nostre homme: lequel adioute quil retourneroit et quil feroit voix sil avoit du credit. il sen retourne il parle en secret a plusieurs il choisit une femme: ayant gaigne beaucoup de personnes il arrete le iour de départ general; le soir venu il fait eclatter laffaire et il dit adieu a haute voix en plein village; et ordonne a ses gens defaire leur paquet un pere mesme se joint avec eux pour les emmener; la qualite le zele et lesprit de Dieu quil posseidoit ferma la bouche a tous les entiens qui enragoint dans leur cœur voyant une telle hardiesse et ne sachant a qui sen prendre; ils eussent fait ausy tost cafer la teste a un autre qui auroit eu moins d'authorité cet adieu acheve, on voit partir une quarantaine de personnes hommes femmes et enfans, qui quittent leur patrie pour venir se faire chrestiens a montreal ce premier afsault donne a l'infidelité a de peuple le pais d'anié car il reussit si bien que depuis ce temps la, on est descendu des iroquois pour venir demeurer a la prairie en grandes troupes et en moins de Sept ans, les guerriers d'Anié sont devenus plus nombreux a montreal quil ne sont au pais, cela fait enrager et les entiens des villages et les flammants de manate et d'orange 200 personnes furent ainsy en peu de temps adioustees au nombre des chrestiens de la prairie en moins dun an ou deux cela resiouit fort les françois qui commencerent a sadonner tout de bon a la traite et se servants

and there were as yet no maids to offer him. He then told him, partly to sound this mind, that he should go to his own country, taking his comrade also, and there choose her who should please him most, and come back; and that he would be baptized. This proposition did not displease our man, who added that he would return, and would show whether he had any influence. He goes back; he speaks to many in secret, and chooses a wife. Having gained many persons, he sets the day for the general departure. When evening comes, he divulges the matter, and in a loud voice bids farewell in the midst of the village, and orders his people to pack their bundles. A father even joins them to lead them away. The rank, the zeal, and the spirit of God which this man possessed shut the mouths of all the elders, who were in their hearts enraged at seeing such boldness and not knowing whom to blame. They would at once have broken the head of another man, who had less authority. This farewell being finished, about forty persons are seen to depart,—men, women, and children,—leaving their fatherland to come to make themselves christians at montreal. This first shock given to infidelity has depopulated the country of anié; for it succeeded so well that, from that time, people have come down from the iroquois in great bands, in order to live at la prairie; and in less than Seven years the warriors of Anié have become more numerous at montreal than they are in their own country. That enrages both the elders of the villages and the flemings of manate and orange. In a short time, less than a year or two, 200 persons were thus added to the number of the christians of

*Father
Boniface.*

de la mauvaise volonte de monsieur le compte de frontenak qui avoit changé depuis lan pafsé ils introduisirent la boifson a la derobée a la prairie un surtout plus hardy que les autres mit le bouchon dans le village mesme; mais l'adresse du p. fremin et la fermeté desprit accompagnée de son zele arreta le cours de ce malheureux commerce et sauva son troupeau des flots de la mer rouge qui lalloit engloutir; ce fut en cette occasion que les capitaines firent voir ce quils estoient en combattant le vice de l'yvrognerie quils avoient abandonne au pais pour ceux qui en faisoient leur Dieu.

Ce monstre abbatu fut suivy d'un autre il y avoit dans ce grand nombre de Sauvages trois differentes nations bien nombreuses agniers hurons et onontagues; on crut quil falloit donner a chacune son chef on sassembla donc pour cela; mais la disension se mit dans une partie les hurons furent longtemps en deliberation les agniers et les onnontagues eurent aufsy tost fait leur choix enfin les hurons piqués au ieu se separerent et furent faire une nouvelle misfion au dela dela rivière, cette separation fut rude et na pas laifse durant quelque temps de tenir les esprits en desunion mais enfin trouvant partout la mesme foy et le mesme evangile et surtout lunion qui est entre tous les misfionnaires du canada a rompu les efforts du demon encore une secondefois.

Dieu affligea luy mesme cette misfion en luy enlevant son appuy dans la personne de Catherine Gandeacteuva illustre en vertu dont la memoire est encore en benediction a la prairie 12 [ans] apres sa mort cestoit vrayment une grande affliction, parceque les

la prairie. That greatly rejoiced the french, who began to apply themselves in good earnest to the trade; and—availing themselves of the ill will of monsieur the count de frontenak, whose feelings had altered during the past year—by stealth they introduced drink at la prairie. One especially, bolder than the others, located a tavern in the village itself. But the adroitness and the firmness of character of father fremin, together with his zeal, checked the progress of this wretched traffic, and saved his flock from the waves of the red sea which were likely to swallow it up. It was on this occasion that the captains showed what they were by combating the vice of drunkenness,—which they had abandoned in their own country to those who made of it their God.

This monster, being felled, was followed by another. In this great number of Savages, there were three different nations, very numerous—agniers, hurons, and onontagues; and we regarded it as necessary to give to each one its own chief. They then assembled for that purpose, but dissension arose in one faction. The hurons were long in consultation; the agniers and the onnontagues had immediately made their choice. Finally the hurons, being piqued in the contest, separated themselves, and went to start a new mission beyond the river. This separation was painful, and did not fail to keep their minds at variance for some time; but finally, their finding everywhere the same faith and the same gospel, and especially the union which prevails among all the missionaries in canada, for a second time thwarted the efforts of the demon.

God himself afflicted this mission by taking from it its support in the person of Catherine Gandeac-

pauvres perdirent alors leur mere les chrestiens leur exemple les françois et les sauvages leur bien aimée; on fera un recit de ses vertus qui font dire a tout le monde que celle la est au ciel elle a laïse la chapelle heritiere des ornemens de sa ieunefse qui sont devenus pretieux par la consecration quelle en afait de son vivant et par la multitude d'autres presens qu'on voit attachés aux poutres de la chapelle et au devant d'autel qu'ils ont attire les annees suivantes.

Cette mort donna occasion a une louable coutume qui regne dans la misfion a present on ne doute pas que les sauvages n'ayent en du temps de leur infidelité plusieurs superstitions dans leurs enterremens; comme dans toute autre chose, le royaume de Dieu sestablissant a la prairie nostre seigneur donna la pensée au mary de la deffuncte Catherine de faire une proposition: ce pauvre affligé voyant sa femme desesperée fit un festin a ses amis et leur tient ce discours, autrefois avant que nous fusfions chrestiens nous [nous] servions de superstitions pour guerir nos malades et les malades nous iettoint dans la derniere affliction, maintenant que nous prions nous invoquons le nom de Jesus pour leur guerison. s'ils meurent nous nous consolans dans l'esperance deles voir au ciel disons donc nostre chapelet pour lagonisante avant que de manger.

Le mesme apres la mort de sa femme se comporta en parfait chrestien La coutume des Sauvages est de donner tous les biens du deffunct a leurs parens et a leurs amis pour pleurer leur mort et d'enterrer avec eux une partie de ce qu'ils ont eu durant leur

teua, illustrious in virtue, whose memory is still blessed at la prairie, 12 years after her death. It was truly a great affliction, because the poor then lost their mother, the christians their example, the french and the savages their well-beloved. A narrative is to be made of her virtues, which cause every one to say that she is in heaven. She has left the chapel heir to the ornaments of her youth, which have become precious through the consecration that she made of them during her lifetime, and through the multitude of other presents — which one sees attached to the beams of the chapel and to the frontal — which they have attracted in the years following.

This death gave occasion to a praiseworthy custom which now prevails in the mission. There is no doubt that the savages, in the time of their infidelity, had many superstitions in their burials, as in everything else. The kingdom of God becoming established at la prairie, our lord inspired the husband of the deceased Catherine to make a proposition. This poor afflicted man, seeing his wife despaired of, made a feast to his friends, and addressed them as follows: "Formerly, before we were christians, we employed superstitions to cure our sick, and sicknesses cast us into the utmost affliction. Now that we pray, we invoke the name of Jesus for their cure. If they die, we console ourselves in the hope of seeing them in heaven. Let us then say our rosary for the dying woman before we eat."

The same man, after his wife's death, behaved like a perfect christian. It is the custom of the Savages to give all the goods of the deceased to their relatives and friends, in order to bewail their death, and to bury with them a portion of what they owned

vie et de dreser des tombeaux et peindre des bêtes et des oiseaux qu'ils appellent genies ou maîtres de la vie; mais le mary de nostre deffuncte en qualite de premier capitaine assembla le conseil des entiens et leur dit qu'il ne falloit plus garder leurs premieres coutumes, qui ne profitoient de rien a leurs morts que pour luy sa pensee estoit de parer le corps de la deffuncte de ce quelle avoit de plus pretieux, puis quelle devoit resusciter un iour, et d'employer le reste de ce qui luy avoit appartenu a faire l'aumosne aux pauvres, cette pensee fut suivie d'un chacun et elle est devenue, comme une loy qu'ils ont observée depuis exactement l'ayant mesme blasmé d'avoir couvert le corps de sa femme ils ne l'ont pas imité en cela, mais donnent aux pauvres les habits les plus pretieux et couvrent le corps de leurs habits ordinaires disant que les deffuncts aimeront mieux qu'on fasse prier Dieu pour eux de leur propres richesses; en l'occasion dont nous parlons on distribuait aux pauvres en tout trois cents livres et en faisant cette louable distribution on disoit priez pour la deffuncte.

1674

*Nota quæ
succesſion
de temps ces
sortes de
mariages
ont eſté pris
par les
ſauvages
comme
concubinage
car un mary*

Cette année fut heureuse pour la mission; parcequ'on y établit solidement les mariages de la manière qu'ils se font dans toute l'église, quelques uns qui estoient mariés de la manière que les Sauvages se marient, n'ont point d'autres ceremonies que celle du baptême dans lesquels ils dirent qu'ils ne quitteroient jamais leurs femmes on [n']avoit pas encore établi les ceremonies du mariage mais les Sauvages

during their life; and to set up tombs, and paint thereon beasts and birds which they call spirits or masters of life. But the husband of our deceased woman, in his capacity of first captain, assembled the council of the elders and told them that their former customs must no longer be observed, as these were of no profit to their dead. He said that, as for him, his purpose was to adorn the dead woman's body with her most precious goods, since she was to rise again some day; and to employ the rest of what had belonged to her in giving alms to the poor. This opinion was seconded by each one; and it has become a sort of law, which they have since scrupulously observed. They even blamed him for covering his wife's body. They have not imitated him in that, but give the most precious clothes to the poor, and cover the body with their ordinary clothes,—saying that the deceased will prefer to have prayers said for them out of their own riches. On the occasion of which we speak, they distributed to the poor three hundred livres, in all; and, while making this praiseworthy distribution, they said, "Pray for the dead woman."

1674.

This year was a blessed one for the mission, because marriages in it were securely established, in the manner in which they are solemnized throughout the church. Some who had been married in the Savage fashion had no other ceremonies than that of baptism, at which they said that they would never leave their wives. The marriage ceremonies had not yet been established; but the Savages on becoming more instructed and better trained, were

*Nota that,
in the course
of time,
marriages
of this sort
were
esteemed as
concubinage
by the
savages;
for, a*

*et une
femme ne
pouvant
s'accorder
une
sauvagesse
aagee leur
dit qu'ils
estoient
ensemble
comme des
gens qui
pechent
parce qu'on
ne leur
avoit ietté
de leau
beniste en
les mariant*

estants plus instruits et plus accoutumes, nont plus esté maries quen face d'eglise; et Dieu a donné une si grande benediction que jusques icy ça esté une chose bien rare que le divorce et celuy qui la fait est en abomination il y a bien ving ans que la misison est fondee et on ne trouveroit pas ving personnes qui ayent quitté leurs femmes, et ceux qui les ont quittées sont tousiours retournés apres quelques annees mourir au village on n apporte pour raison de cet estat ou sont les sauvages que la puisance de Dieu qui peut affermir des esprits plus legers que le vent et la plume: cest a dire esprits de sauvages quoy que les annees pafsées on ayt fait plusieurs mariages les papiers de mariages en marquent davantage cette annee; que si Dieu a permis que quelques uns ayent faulse leur parole, ce n'a esté que pour nous faire voir de ieunes femmes vivre seules comme des anges et faciliter a plusieurs par la le chemin a la virginite perpetuelle comme il est arrivé a deux qui l'ont portée depuis peu dans le ciel comme il est marque les annees suivantes.

1675

Cet accroissement de la foy et de la vertu des sauvages faisoit croire qu'ils estoient aufsy propres pour le christianisme que les autres peuples de la terre on avoit ietté il y a quatre ans les semences d'une devotion qui est grande en ce pais qu'on appelle la sainte famille. Le p. pierçon avoit donne des chapelets de la S^{te} famille a quelques personnes d'elite, la premiere fut catherine Gandeakteia mais il n'en avoit pas fait l'explication, ce qui donna occasion aux sauvages de la demander dautant plus

married only according to the rites of the church. And God has given so great a blessing that divorce has thus far been a very infrequent occurrence, and the one who has effected it is held in abomination. It is fully twenty years since the mission was founded, and one would not find twenty husbands who have left their wives; and those who have left them have always returned, after some years, to die in the village. For this condition in which the savages are, no reason is adduced save the power of God, who can strengthen minds lighter than wind and down—for such are the minds of savages. Although many marriages have occurred in past years, the marriage records indicate still more this year. But if God has allowed some to break their word, it has been only to show us young women living alone like angels, and thereby facilitating for many the way to perpetual virginity. This has happened in the case of two who have lately carried it to heaven—as is noted in the following years.

*husband
and a wife
being
unable to
agree, an
old savage
woman told
them that
they lived
together
like people
who sin,
because no
holy water
had been
sprinkled on
them at
their
marriage.*

1675.

This increase of faith and virtue among the savages led to the belief that they were just as fit for christianity as are the other peoples of the earth. There had been sown, four years ago, the seeds of a devotion which is great in this country; they call it "the holy family." Father pierçon had given rosaries of the Holy family to some chosen persons—the first was catherine Gandeakteua; but he had not made the explanation thereof. This gave occasion to the savages to ask for it the more urgently, because they knew that it had been taught to the savages of Lorette. Father fremin, judging

instamment qu'ils sçavoient qu'on lavoit enseigne aux sauvages de Lorette. Le p. fremin iugeant que si on faisoit un choix de gens des plus fervents la multitude ne nuiroit pas a la misison; etablit la S^{te} famille laquelle commença a avoir quelque eclat cette année parceque les années precedentes cestoit une petite assemblee mais le nombre de ces personnes choisies augmenta avec le nombre des chrestiens et de la misison. Cette année fut la dernière d'un jeune homme nommé martin Skandegorthaksen aagé de ving decede en predestine dans les bois: on fera un recit de cette mort.

1676

Cest une merveille de voir lestat de la misison etant si nouvelle que les sauvages navoient point encore entendu parler de la confirmation que seront ils donc quand le s esprit sera descendu sur eux, comme il le fera cette année monseigneur l'evesque de quebek qui avoit conféré dans son eglise cathedrale le baptesme aux six premiers personnes de la misison vient achever son ouvrage au mois de may: La narration est bien aulong dans la relation de 1672. Lestime queles Sauvages faisoit dela personne qui touche de plus pres nostre Seigneur parmy celles de tous les prestres marquoit le fonds de leur ame; lorsqu'ils scurent que M^{sr} arrivoit a la prairie ils firent sur leau un echafaut pour débarquer commodement; ils avoient bordé le chemin de branchages et lallée se terminoit a un throsne pratiqué avec du gason et de la verdure ou M^{sr} ayant pris place il reçut les complimens que les capitaines luy firent le landemain dela pentecoste qui se celebroit alors fut un temps

that, if a selection were made of the most fervent people, the multitude would not be injurious to the mission, established the Holy family. This association began only this year to have some luster, because in the preceding years it was but a small assembly; but the number of these chosen persons increased with the number of the christians and with the mission. This year was the last for a young man named martin Skandegorthaksen, aged twenty years; he died in the woods as one predestined. An account of this death will be given.

1676.

It is a wonder to see the state of the mission when it was so new that the savages had not yet heard confirmation mentioned; what will they then be when the holy ghost shall have descended upon them, as will be the case this year! Monseigneur the bishop of quebek, who in his cathedral church had conferred baptism on the first six persons of the mission, came to complete his work in the month of may. The account of it is given at length in the relation of 1672.¹² The esteem in which the Savages held the person who, among all the priests, most nearly approaches our Lord, marked the depth of their feelings. When they knew that Monseigneur was coming to la prairie, they made a staging at the water's edge, that he might conveniently land. They had lined the way with branches of trees, and the avenue ended at a throne constructed of sod and verdure. Monseigneur, having taken his place thereon, received the compliments offered him by the captains. The day after pentecost, which was then being celebrated, was a favorable time for bestowing

favorable pour donner la confirmation quil conféra a plus de quatre ving sauvages et dans lespace de trois annees il en confirma plus de deux cens. ce sacrement a produit merveilleusement son effect: le demon redoubla ses efforts pour ruiner la misfion sattaquant tant aux particuliers quau public. Le dogique fut attaque le premier par une perte quil fit d'un de ses enfans nomme Alexis lexemple de tous les enfans de cette misfion il estoit aage de six ans aimé et carefse de tout le monde d'un naturel riche et porté à la devotion. cette perte ietta ses parens dans une affliction mortelle, ils se consolerent pourtant offrant leur enfant a Dieu.

La pauvreté est non pas un fleau de la misfion; mais une annexe qui la châtie de temps en temps elle estoit si grande l'année pafsé et cette annee elle a continué de telle sorte quelle a obligé la misfion a quitter la terre de la prairie pour en aller chercher une a cinq quarts de lieue plus haut nommee le sault St Louis ou de St Xavier du tiltre de la misfion. Nostre Seigneur veut afseurement honnorer sa pauvrete dans celle des Sauvages; car cest une compaignie qui les suit partout ils ne demandent pas aussy d'en estre delivres comme des autres tentations de la vie parcequelle augmente leur merite, quoyquil en soit cest la raison qui obligea la misfion de faire transmigration laquelle se fit il y a neuf ans au mois de juillet, cela ne sest pas fait sans beaucoup de peine, les misfionnaires navoint pourtout logement quun mechant logis et pour chapelle une cabane decorce dans laquelle le superieur de la misfion logeoit dans un coing pratique pour cela; mais Dieu recompensoit et les p.p. et les enfans des graces abondantes quil

elles font comme les dames de la misericorde de france et ont pour office les œuvres de charite du prochain surtout elles ont soing des pauvres et des malades auxquels elles portent du bois en cachette et les soir et senfuyent aufsy tost de peur destre apperceües elles vont veiller les malades et leur font l'aumosne d autres choses qui leur font besoing: elles ont pour moyen la mortification et les loignement des plaisirs dela chair quelles traittent comme l'ap-pas du demon et disent dans leurs excès que les p. p. qui veulent leur faire quitter la ceinture et la discipline sont pleins de misericorde, mais qu'ils ne scavent pas combien ils ont esté chargés de peches avant qu'on leur eust enseigné a bien vivre, ainsy on les voit touffours occupées a porter du bois ou faire des colliers a semer piler coudre faire des sacs et autres ouvrages.

La petite verole parcourut nostre village au commencement de l'automne on setonna pourtant apres du peu d'enterrements qu'on avoit fait et cette benediction de Dieu fit que les iroquois ne dirent plus que la foy et le baptesme faisoit mourir; au lieu qu'aux iroquois ils meurent a centaines quand la petite verole les prend. La confiance qu'on inspiroit aux Sauvages dans la maladie produisit son effet non seulement sur les malades qui furent tous gueris et sur les personnes qui ne furent point attaquées du mal, mais mesme on vit que Dieu benit iusques aux terres; une isle prochaine du village avoit esté desertée depuis peu, elle estoit remplie de vers qui mangerent trois fois de suite toute la semence, enfin les sauvages qui avoient semé vinrent prier le pere

savages. This monster, however, upheld by excess in drinks, has ruined everything in the country of the iroquois in these recent years, and has endeavored to ruin everything in this mission through separations of husbands and wives, and through the infirmity of nature—which is greater in the savage youth than in any other class of men. This monster did not succeed, and has been combated and vanquished by many. We have known of girls bravely refusing clothes, money, and other things of value, which were offered them if they would consent to do wrong. Some have been seen dragged into warehouses, where they were put to a choice, but resisting and threatening to cry out if the men did not desist. Some are known who have during whole years resisted indecent pursuits. Some have been seen striking blows upon the nose, and covering with shame and blood the faces of the incarnate demons who came to tempt them. Some have been known to disfigure themselves by cutting off their hair, which is the principal ornament of the savage girls; and they have been known to carry back to the missionary the presents which had been offered them with evil designs. It is amid such conflicts that those who had sinned before their baptism have purified their souls, and that those who have been born in the village have sucked modesty with their christian mothers' milk. There are already several who have carried their virginity to heaven, who were but thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or twenty years old. Several are still living who, having often refused good offers in marriage, pass the marriageable age, and give to God their bodies and their souls in great poverty, and clothe themselves by alms. This

dans cette mission par les separations des marys et des femmes et par l'infirmité de nature qui est plus grande dans la jeunefse sauvage que dans toute autre espece d'hommes. il na pas reussy ce monstre et il a este combattu et vaincu par plusieurs: on a vu des filles refuser genereusement des hardes de l'argent et autres choses de prix qu'on leur offroit pour consentir un mal: on en a vu quelques unes trainees dans des magasins ou on les mettoit a choix resister et menacer de secrier si on ne desistoit on en connoist qui ont resisté des années entieres a des poursuites deshonnètes, on en a vu donner des coups de point par le nez et couvrir de honte et de sang le visage des demons incarnés qui les venoient tenter, on en a vu qui se sont defigurées en se coupant les cheveux qui est le principal ornement des sauvages; on en a vu rapporter au missionnaire les presens qu'on leur avoit fait a mauvais dessein; et cest parmy ces contradictions que celles qui avoient peché avant leur baptesme ont purifié leur ame et que celles qui sont nées dans le village ont succé la pudeur avec le lait de leur mere chrestienne. Il y en a desia plusieurs qui ont portés leur virginité dans le ciel qui n'estoit que de treize quatorse quinze ou ving ans plusieurs vivent encore qui ayant souvent refusé de bons partis pour le mariage passent l'age nubile et donnent a Dieu leur corps et leur ame dans une grande pauvreté et shabillent d'aumosne. cet esprit a reuiny cette année toutes ces personnes qui sont au nombre de treize, elles ont pour fin la plus haute perfection. elles s'assemblent et une fait une petite exhortation ou bien elles se disent leur fautes;

four years ago, taverns and the liquor which these men desired to barter with the savages. This appeal gave the demon a part of what he asked, because permission was granted to keep a tavern at la prairie; but, in fact, trade in liquor with the Savages of the Sault was forbidden,—which regulation has always continued, until troops were there. Several battles have occurred, from time to time, and various assaults against drink; and the chiefs of the mission have always aided the missionaries and have taken the good side. This conflicting state of affairs has caused very enlightened persons to say that the temptations which the new christians of america suffered corresponded to the persecutions of the primitive Church. Our church has in that respect had its martyrs and its renegades, in some proportion, as will be seen in the pamphlet entitled “drunkenness confounded.”

Impurity is not so pernicious, because, when drink is removed from among the iroquois, one removes a thousand sins of impurity of which they had no knowledge before the introduction of liquor. They observe among themselves the degrees of affinity between relatives; no wrong-doing occurs between them; or, if any does occur, the delinquents are held in abomination. We have even seen maidens observing virginity,—at least, they were neither married nor tainted with the vice of the flesh; One even died without having desired to marry, and it was held that she had never done wrong, and had died in that state without baptism. However this may be, there is at least among the iroquois nothing comparable to the brutalities of the flesh which prevail among the outawaks and other

ans revolus les cabarets et la boifson quon vouloit traiter aux sauvages. cet appel donna au demon une partie de cequil demandoit parcequil fut permis de tenir cabaret a la prairie; mais en faict il fut deffendu de traiter dela boifson aux Sauvages du Sault cequi a toufiours continué iusques a quil y ait eu des troupes; il sest donné de temps en temps plusieurs batailles et plusieurs afsaults contre la boifson et les chefs de la mifson ont toufiours seconde les mifsiionnaires et ont tenu le bon party: cette contradiction a fait dire a des personnes bien eclairees que les tentations que les nouveaux chrestiens de lamerique souffroint correspondoient aux persecutions dela primitive Eglise: nostre eglise a eu en cela ses martyrs et ses renegats avec quelque proportion commeon le verra dans lecrit de livrognerie confondüe.

L'impurete n'est pas si pernitieuse parcequ'oste la boifson de chez les iroquois on oste mille peches dimpureté dont ils navoint point connaissances avant l'establissement des boifsons: ils gardent entreeux les degres d'affinite entre parents il ne se fait pas de mal chez eux, ou sil s'en fait les delinquants sont en abomination; on a mesme vu des filles garder virginité pour le moins elles nestoient ny mariées ny tachées du vice de la chair et une est morte sans avoir voulu se marier et on tenoit quelle navoit iamais fait mal et est morte en cet etat sans baptesme quoyquil en soit il y a dumoins chez les iroquois comparés aux brutalités de la chair qui regnent chez les outa8aks et autres sauvages. ce monstre pourtant appuyé de lexcès des boifsons a tout perdu au pais des iroquois dans ces derniers temps et a taché de tout perdre

is to have acquired for us a treasure which we keep precious in our church—the body of a virtuous maiden, who died here in the odor of sanctity, as we shall tell. This year, during the summer, three of our savages, whom we have just mentioned, put it on board their canoe.¹⁴ Her life is very fully described. All the noise which hell made by the mouths of the elders,—who perpetually declaimed in their councils against the mission of the Sault,—and all the noise which the gospel made by the mouths of the preachers,—namely, of our christian savages,—produced in those who thus heard utterances on both sides the desire to see for themselves what was being done at the Sault; and having seen it, they began to take pleasure therein. Thus God was sowing in them the graces of his calling. Some at once settled down, others afterward returned, and hell was every year losing its former conquests.

The powers of hell pushed their madness farther—they undertook to undermine the mission in its foundations. It was established only for the sake of overcoming intemperance; it has maintained itself only through the destruction of that vice; it has continued only by fighting liquor. Several frenchmen, supported by the authority of monsieur de frontenak, undertook to keep a tavern at la prairie, the former abode of the savages,—now a parish a league and a quarter from the sault. Four or five private persons being eager for the tavern, about fifty parishioners sent in a petition. The petition having been ill received by Monsieur de frontenak, and the petitioners condemned to a fine, they appealed from Monsieur de frontenak to Monsieur de frontenak himself,—who had forbidden, by his ordinance of

cherement dans nostre eglise scavoir le corps d'une vertueuse fille qui est morte icy en odeur de sainteté comme nous dirons. Cet année durant lesté trois de nos sauvages que nous venons denommer lemarquerent dans leur canot. Sa vie est escrite assez amplement tout le bruit que lenfer faisoit par la bouche des entiens qui declamoint perpetuellement dans leurs conseils contre la misison du Sault, et tout le bruit que levangile faisoit parla bouche des prædicateurs je veux dire de nos sauvages chrestiens produisoit dans lesprit de ceux qui ecoutoint ainsy parler depart et dautres le desir de voir eux mesmes ce qu'on faisoit au Sault et layant veu ils commençoient a s'y plaire ainsy Dieu semoit en eux les graces defa vocation; quelques uns s'arrestoient d'abord dautres retournoient ensuite et l'enfer perdoit toutes les anneés ses entiennes conquestes.

Les puisances de l'enfer poufserent la rage plus loing; elles entreprirent de sapper la misison dans ses fondemens; elle ne fut etablie que pour vaincre la boifson: elle ne sest soutenue que par la destruction de la boifson; elle ne continue qu'en combattant la boifson: plusieurs françois appuyes de l'autorité de monsieur de frontenak entreprirent de tenir cabaret a la prairie qui est l'entienne demeure des sauvages qui est a present une paroisse a cinq quarts de lieue du sault: quatre ou cinq particuliers estant echauffez pour le cabaret, une cinquantaine de paroissiens firent une requête; la requete ayant esté mal recue de M^r de frontenak les requerants condamnés a l'amande on appelle de M^r de frontenak a M^r. de frontenak mesme lequel avoit deffendu par son ordonnance de quatre

to go to make open war upon vice in their own country, after the example of the young skandegorthaksen, who three years before had gone to the anies expressly to rescue his comrade from drunkenness; for the one whom they call "the great Anie"¹⁸ had broken down for them the dike which the elders were opposing to the establishment which was being formed at the Sault. But I may say that the most celebrated journey was that of la poudre chaude ["hot powder"], captain of the onneiouts who live at the Sault, and of his two comrades. This captain, recently baptized, wishing to go to onneiout, passed through the aniés. When he arrived there, all the elders went to greet him. This new convert told them no other tidings than those of the faith. This greatly surprised the assembly, which allowed him to speak. The elders withdrew; many people of the village remained, however, and heard what this man had to say. And after all, having preached everywhere on his way, he received nothing but insults. He nevertheless stirred up many people, because he has a very agreeable natural eloquence. It has been chiefly since that time that many persons have been seen to come down expressly to remain at the sault. These new apostles have succeeded so well that one may see, by the records of baptisms, the number of persons whom they have gained to God. Before any savage had thus taken the liberty to preach the gospel, they used to baptize at the Sault seventeen persons, at most, in a year; but since the savages themselves go to their country to convert the others, the baptisms are yearly reckoned by sixties—and these are baptisms of adults. But the greatest effect which this preaching has produced

nouveaux chrestiens daller faire une guerre ouverte aux vices dans leur propre pais a lexemple du jeune skandegorthaksen lequel il ya trois ans fut aux anies expres pour tirer de l'ivrognerie son camarade; celui qu'on appelle le grand Anie leur ayant rompu la digue que les entiens opposoient a letablissement qui se faisoit au Sault. mais ie puis dire que le plus celebre voyage fut celui dela poudre chaude capitaine des onneiouts qui demeurent au Sault et de ses deux camarades; ce capitaine baptisé depuis peu voulant aller a onneiſt pafsa par les aniés ou estant arrivé tous les entiens le furent saluer. Ce nouveau fidelle ne leur dit d autres nouvelles que celles dela foy. cequi surprit fort l'afsemblee qui le laissa discourir les entiens se retirerent plusieurs du village resterent pourtant et entendirent ce que cet homme avoit a dire, et apres tout ayant presché partout enson chemin, il ne receut que des iniures; il ne laifsa pas d'en ebranler plusieurs; parce quil a une eloquence naturelle fort agreable; cest principalement depuis ce temps la qu'on a vu descendre plusieurs personnes expres pour rester au sault, ces nouveaux apostres ont si bien reufsy quon peut voir par les papiers des baptesmes le nombre des personnes quil ont gaigné a Dieu avant qu'aucun sauvage eust pris ainsy la liberté de prescher levangile, on baptisoit au Sault pour le plus dissept personnes paran; mais depuis que les sauvages sont alles eux mesmes au pais pour convertir les autres on compte par an les baptesmes a soixantaines qui sont les baptesmes d'adultes mais le plus grand effect qua produit cette prædication est denous avoir acquit un thresor que nous gardons

which is above the top of the altar, so that the people might always behold it and hear that voice.

The demon, who had been able to gain nothing over the minds of the savages by attacking them openly, used pernicious intrigues to make them yield. Monsieur the count de frontenak, urged by certain malignant natures, resolved to prevent the building of a chapel, but did not succeed therein. He resolved to prevent an extension of the savages' fields, and actually prevented any land from being given to them above the sault. He often used threats of imprisonment, and other menaces; in a word, he would have been glad if there had been no mission. The iroquois also did all that they could to starve out the village of the Sault, going thither in a troop after their hunt; and, after having eaten much corn, they carried off a great deal for their provision—which showed that the soil there yielded much. But the number of transient dwellers, who in summer amounted to three or four hundred persons, left the village destitute in winter and at planting time. The result which was expected from all that was not such as was desired; for we actually see that the village has greatly increased,—poverty and famine being only a trial which renders a part of the savages more economical, and the christianity of the sault independent of all these various events. The fervor which they showed in their dearth has won and drawn hither many persons among their kinsmen.

1678.

The forces of hell being thus unchained against the mission, God inspired several of our new christians

quon le regardast toufours et qu'on econtast cette voix.

Le demon qui navoit pu rien gagner sur lesprit des sauvages en les attaquant ouvertement usa de pernitieuses intrigues pour la faire succomber Monsieur le comte de frontenak sollicite pour des esprits envenimes prit resolution d'empescher de bastir une chapelle et ny reufsit pas. il se resolut dempescher qu'on aggrandist les champs des sauvages, et il empescha en effect quon ne leur donnast dela terre audefsus du sault, il usa sovent de menaces demprisonnement et autres en un mot il eust voulu quil ny eust pas eu de misfion. Les iroquois firent aufsy tout ce quils purent pour affamer le village du Sault y pafsant en troupe apres leur chafse et apres avoir mangé bien du bled en emportoient beaucoup pour leur provision ce qui faisoit voir que la terre en produisoit beaucoup. mais le nombre des pafsans qui alloit par esté a trois ou quatre cents personnes laifsoit le village depourveu l hyver et au temps des semances: le succes qu'on se promettoit de tout cela ne fut pas tel quon l'eust souhaitté car nous voyons en effect que le village a beaucoup augmenté: la pauvreté et la famine n'estant qu'une épreuve qui rend une partie des sauvages plus menages, et le christianisme du sault independant de tous ces differens evenemens: la ferveur quils ont eu dans leur disette a gagné et attiré icy plusieurs personnes de leurs parens.

1678.

Les forces de l'enfer estant ainsy dechaisnées contre la misfion Dieu inspira a plusieurs de nos

which he poured upon them both. In the summer, they began to build a chapel sixty feet long, which was finished in the following autumn. This chapel was solemnly blessed, and is becoming illustrious through the favors which God has poured upon those who went to pray to God therein.

1677.

It began to be apparent that place and persons did not contribute to the fervor of the savages, who, although alone and separated from the french, were not less christian—aye, were even more so—at the Sault than they had been at la prairie. The relation which has been composed, which speaks of them as late as 1679, shows that matters adjusted themselves without interference, each one having a desire to comply fully with the regulations for that time as regards prayers for working-days and feast-days, for both adults and children; the hymns, processions, and benedictions; observance of the sacraments; marriages, the different states of marriage, widowhood, and virginity; and everything else,—wherein the mission was ordered like the finest parish of france. The law against liquor was also observed in it, as may be seen in the special account of it.

This year will be remarkable for a celebrated present which was sent from lorette to the Sault. It was a hortatory collar which conveyed the voice of the Lorette people to those of the Sault, encouraging them to accept the faith in good earnest, and to build a chapel as soon as possible; and it also exhorted them to combat the various demons who conspired for the ruin of both missions. This collar was at once attached to one of the beams of the chapel,

versoit sur les uns et sur les autres, on commença lesté a batir une chapelle de soixante pieds qui fut achevée l'automne d'apres. Cette chapelle fut benite avec ceremonie et devient illustre par les graces que Dieu a versé sur ceux qui alloint prier Dieu dedans.

1677

on commenca a cognoistre que le lieu et les personnes ne contribuoint point a la ferveur des sauvages lesquels estants seuls separez des françois ne furent pas moins chrestiens et mesme le furent davantage au Sault qu'ils n'avoient esté a la prairie. La relation qu'on a fait et qui en parle iusques a 1679 fait voir que les choses se reglerent d'elle mesme chacun ayant desir de bien faire, les reglamens de ce temps la [sont] pour les prieres des iours ouvriers et des iours de festes tant celles des grands que des enfans les chants les procesions les saluts la pratique des sacre-mens les mariages les divers états des mariés des veuves et des vierges et tout le reste en quoy la mission s'est reglee comme la plus belle paroisse de france; la loy contre la boisson s'y gardoit ausy comme on le pourra voir dans son traite particulier.

Cette annee sera remarquable par un celebre present qui fut envoyé de lorette au Sault, cestoit un collier exhortatif qui adressoit la voix des Loretains a ceux du Sault, pour leur faire prendre la foy tout de bon, pour leur faire batir une chapelle au plustost: et il les exhortoit ausy a combattre les differens demons qui coniueroient la ruine de l'une et l'autre mission ce collier fut ausy tost attaché a une des poutres de la chapelle qui repond audeffus de l'autel affin

confirmation, which he conferred on more than eighty savages; and in the space of three years he confirmed more than two hundred. This sacrament exerted its effect wonderfully. The demon increased his efforts to ruin the mission, attacking both individuals and the public. The dogique was the first one attacked, in the loss of one of his children, named Alexis—a pattern to all the children of that mission. He was six years old, beloved and caressed by all the people, of a generous nature, and given to devotion. This loss threw his parents into a mortal affliction; they consoled themselves, however, by offering their child to God.

Poverty is not a scourge of the mission, but an adjunct which chastens it from time to time. It was so great last year, and has continued in such a way this year, that it obliged the mission to leave the land of la prairie for the purpose of seeking one a league and a quarter higher up, named the sault St. Louis, or that of St. Xavier, from the appellation of the mission. Our Lord assuredly wishes to honor his poverty in that of the Savages; for it is a companion which follows them everywhere. Neither do they ask to be delivered from it, as from the other temptations of life, because it increases their merit. Be this as it may, it is the reason which obliged the mission to change its abode,—which occurred nine years ago, in the month of july. This was not accomplished without a great deal of trouble. The missionaries had no other accommodation than a sorry lodge, and for chapel a cabin of bark, in which the superior of the mission dwelt in a corner arranged for the purpose. But God rewarded both the fathers and the children with the abundant favors

spirit has this year united all those persons, who number thirteen; they have for their object the highest state of perfection. They assemble, and one makes a brief exhortation; or else they tell their faults to one another. They act like the daughters of mercy in france, and have for their office works of charity to their neighbors; they especially take care of the poor and the sick, to whom they carry wood in secret and at evening, and immediately vanish for fear of being perceived. They go to watch the sick, and give them as alms other things which they need. To attain their end, they use mortification and are averse to carnal pleasures, which they treat as the bait of the demon; and they say, in their excess, that the fathers who wish to make them give up the cingulum [penitential girdle] and discipline are full of mercy, but that they know not how much these women were laden with sins before they had been taught to live aright. Accordingly, they are always seen occupied in carrying wood, or making collars; in planting, spinning, sewing, and making pouches; and in other labors.

Smallpox went the round of our village at the beginning of autumn. There was, nevertheless, some astonishment, afterward, at the few burials which had taken place; and this blessing of God brought it about that the iroquois no longer said that the faith and baptism occasioned death, for among the iroquois they die by hundreds when smallpox attacks them. The confidence which was inspired in the Savages during the disease produced its effect not only upon the sick, who were all cured, and upon the persons who were not attacked by the malady, but it was even seen that God blessed the

d'y aller pour y ietter de leau beniste. Le missionnaire y fut et voyant la foy de ces pauvres gens qui estoient tous a genoux autour de luy, il fit les prieres de leglise plein de foy et de charité l'automne suivante la recolte fut si abondante dans cette isle qu'on en fut surpris ny ayant point de champ ou il y eust tant de treffes de bled au sault que celuy qui estoit dans l'isle quoyque les semances eussent este plustost faite ailleurs que la et que le bled n'eust pas esté mangé par les vers comme il arriva tout le printemps dans l'isle. Les sauvages y firent les premiers reflexion apres la recolte admirans et remercians la bonté de Dieu, ils ont fait cette reflexion les annees suivantes surtout en 1685 tandis que le prestre beniffoit une femme emmalsa en un instant sa pleine main de vers et l'automne la recolte y fut merveilleuse. Le village brulant en 1686 ils remarquerent qu'aussy tost qu'on sonna la cloche on surmonta le feu qui avoit surmonté iusques alors toutes les diligence des travailleurs.

1679

La malice des hommes porta cette annee les choses si haut qu'on estoit menacé de toutes parts de mauvais incidens qui devoit arriver a la mission tantost on disoit qu'on alloit etablir une maison au defsus de ce village pour faire la traitte et les decharges de ce qu'on menoit et rapportoit pour le fort de Catarakxi et la france avoit prononcé arrest la defsus, tantost on disoit qu'on alloit mettre en prison a montreal le capitaine de nostre village l'accusant de brouiller les affaires et le voulant faire responsable de ce que les

very lands. An island near the village had been lately cleared; it was full of worms, which ate the whole planting three times in succession. Finally the savages who had planted came to beg the father to go thither to sprinkle holy water thereon. The missionary went and, seeing the faith of these poor people, who were all kneeling about him, said, full of faith and charity, the prayers of the church. In the following autumn the crop was so abundant on that island that people were surprised at it, there being no field at the sault in which there were so many sheaves of corn as in the one which was on the island,—although the plantings had elsewhere been made sooner than there; and although the corn had not been eaten by the worms, as was the case throughout the spring on the island. The savages were the first to reflect thereon after the harvest, admiring and thanking the goodness of God. They have made the same reflection in the following years, especially in 1685; while the priest was blessing, a woman gathered up in an instant her hand full of worms, and in autumn the crop was wonderful. The village burning in 1686, they remarked that as soon as the bell was rung, the fire was overcome,—which had, until then, prevailed against all the efforts of the workmen.

1679.

The malice of men carried things so high this year that we were on all sides menaced with mis-haps which were likely to befall the mission. At one time, it was said that some one was about to establish a house above this village for carrying on trade, and transferring what was brought back and forth for the fort of Catarakwi, and that France had

iroquois infidèles faisoient; tantost on disoit qu'on alloit introduire les boifsons dans le village ce qui estoit certain, parceq'un françois y faisoit desia plusieurs voyages durant l'esté avec espérance d'obtenir la permission de tout ce qu'il voudroit faire se rendant necefsaire aux Sauvages parcequil est armurier deson metier. Dans ces perplexités et ces contradictions les pauvres misionnaires affligés n'avoient recours qu'a Dieu qui leur fut favorable disposant toutes choses pour un voyage que le pere fremin fit en france sur la fin de cette année, voyage heureux qui a fait triompher la mision de tous ses ennemis d'une facon si surprenante quil meriteroit un récit particulier

Il est vray que la mision croissoit comme la palme sous le poids des afflictions et que le service de Dieu n'y a iamais esté si exact et si splendide quil fut alors; il n'y avoit que trois ans que les sauvages estoient séparés, ils faisoient devant, ou plustost ne faisoient qu'afsister a la messe et a vepres qui estoient chantées par les françois, mais a present ils font tout eux memes dans leur chapelle ils lavoint desia fait mais leglise estoit trop incommode n'estant qu'une chapelle decorce; l'entienne chapelle estant achevée l'interieur de la mision fut tout autre; ils firent ce qu'ils pûrent pour bien orner la chapelle qui n'estoit qu'achevée, ils avoient donné abondamment dequoy la batir les agnies se signalerent en cette libéralité; cette affection que les sauvages avoient pour cette chapelle leur facilita le moyen d'apprendre les chants de l'eglise comme les hymnes du S^t Sacrement les hymnes de la Vierge et quelques autres des

pronounced a decree therein. At another time, it was said that they were going to put in prison at montreal the captain of our village, accusing him of complicating affairs and seeking to make him responsible for what the infidel iroquois were doing. Again, it was said that they were about to introduce liquor into the village; this was certain, because a frenchman was already making various trips thither during the summer in the hope of obtaining permission for all that he might wish to do, through rendering himself necessary to the Savages, being a gunsmith by trade. In these perplexities and conflicts, the poor afflicted missionaries had recourse only to God, who was favorable to them. He disposed all things for a journey which father fremin made to france about the end of this year—a successful voyage, which enabled the mission to triumph over all its enemies, in a manner so surprising that it should merit a special account.

It is true that the mission was growing, like the palm, beneath the weight of afflictions; and that the service of God has never been so punctual and so solemn there as it was then. It was only three years since the savages had been separated. They formerly held mass, or rather were merely present at mass and at vespers, which were sung by the french; but now they do everything themselves in their chapel. They had already done so, but the church was too inconvenient, being only a chapel of bark. The old chapel being finished, the interior of the mission was quite different. They did what they could to adorn handsomely the chapel, which was just completed. They had given abundantly wherewith to build it; the agnies distinguished themselves

confesseurs des martyrs linviolata le veni creator les psaumes et plus detrente differentes sortes tant pour la messe que pour les vêpres et pour les saluts: sans obmettre les ceremonies des chandelles dela purification des cendres des rameaux du vendredy saint les processions du S^t sacrement quon vient voir par rareté et celle de la assumption; la foy leur ayant donné beaucoup d'affection pour ces choses la; ils les ont ausy tost apprises en quoy les femmes excellent qui chantent fort bien et fort devotement tous ceux qui les entendent prennent plaisir, les enfans qui ont appris a servir la messe et qui sempresent beaucoup pour la servir sont habilez dans toutes ces ceremonies comme de petits clergeons et scavent si bien leur office quil n'y arrive aucun de perdre; on s'estonne tous les iours et avec raisons que des sauvages ayent si tost appris tout cela: eux qu'on nentend hurler dans les bois quand ils chantent à leur maniere et qui ont une education si contraire aux facons policées des autres nations.

On navoit pas encore veu les Sauvages s'instruire les uns les autres avec un si grand succes comme nous lavons vu icy; les misfionnaires commençoient desja a avoir trop de monde a enseigner qui le trouvoient si neufs au commencement quil falloit leur faire faire iusques aux plus petites reverances quon fait entrans ou sortants de leglise avant ou apres avoir prit leau beniste se lever a levangile sagenouiller dans leglise. Dieu suscita cette annee plusieurs personnes qui prenoient elles mesmes ce soing et mesme qui faisoient le cathechisme aux enfans et aux nouveaux venus en quoy ils valent bien des misfionnaires

in this liberality. This affection which the savages had for that chapel facilitated for them the means for learning the chants of the church—as, the hymns of the Blessed Sacrament, the hymns of the Virgin, and some others of the confessors and of the martyrs, the *inviolata*, the *veni creator*, the psalms, and more than thirty different hymns, alike for mass and for vespers and benedictions. Nor must I omit mention of the ceremonies of the candles at purification, ash wednesday, palm sunday, good friday, and the processions of the Blessed sacrament,—which they come to see through curiosity,—and that of the assumption, faith having given them much affection for those things. They learned them immediately; and in them the women excel, who sing very well and very devoutly. All those who hear them are pleased. The boys, who have learned to serve at mass, and who are very eager to serve, are vested at all these ceremonies as little acolytes, and know their office so well that no one loses his place. People are every day astonished, and with reason, that savages have so soon learned all that—they whom one hears yelling in the woods when they sing in their own fashion, and who have an education so contrary to the civilized manners of other nations.

The Savages had not yet been known to instruct one another with so great success as we have seen here. The missionaries were already beginning to have too many people to teach,—who, it happened, were so new at the start that it was necessary to teach them to perform even the slightest reverences that one observes on entering or leaving the church, and before or after taking holy water; and to rise at the gospel, and kneel in the church. This year,

parceque ayant bien conceu nos mysteres ils leur donnent le tour dans leur langue et avec une onction admirable ce qui fait que les ignorans les ont aussy tost conçeus et en sont touchés quand on scait que les nouveaux venus sont logés dans certaines cabanes. les misfionnaires vivent en repos pour linstruction de ceux la car on pafse volontiers les nuits entieres a les instruire.

Durant le long voyage que le R. P. fremin fit en france le diable redoubla ses efforts pretendant profiter de laffliction dans laquelle il avoit [laissé] ses bons enfans il partit lautomne de l annee presante et ausy tost apres son depart on entendit dire que les iroquois avoint tué le capitaine des loups et que le coup avoit esté fait vers le fort de chambly. on accusa tout ausy tost les iroquois de la misfion du Sault sans faire reflexion que la mesme annee un sauvage chrestien de cette misfion nommé Iaque avoit tiré un loup des feux des iroquois le loup estoit des considerables de sa nation et l iroquois risqua sa vie pour luy le delia lemmena dans une cabane; luy seul se mit a la porte de la cabane le captif estant afsis paisiblement dedans, et l iroquois dit qu'on n'entreroit pas pour prendre le captif quon ne l'eust premierement tué; quil mourroit pour la deffense de la paix faite entre les françois et les iroquois que la mort du loup pourroit finir. La calomnie quon iettoit sur la misfion du Sault fut bientost disfipée Dieu prenant en main la cause des innocents, celui quon appelle le grand Anié estant venu expres du lieu de la chafse quil quitta pour aller descouvrir la verité et pour accommoder les affaires en cas quil y eust de

God raised up several persons who themselves assumed this care, and who even taught the catechism to the children and to the new-comers, wherein they do as well as the missionaries,—because, having well understood our mysteries, they give to these the right turn in their own language, and do so with an admirable unction. As a result, the ignorant readily understand them, and are touched by them. When it is known that the new-comers are lodged in certain cabins, the missionaries are free from anxiety as regards the instruction of those people, for whole nights are gladly spent in instructing them.

During the long voyage which the Reverend Father fremin made to france, the devil increased his efforts, intending to profit by the affliction in which the father had now left his good children. He went away in the autumn of the present year; and, immediately after his departure, we heard it said that the iroquois had killed the captain of the louns, and that the blow had been dealt near the fort of chambly. Some forthwith accused the iroquois of the Sault mission, without reflecting that, in the same year, a christian savage of this mission, named Jaque, had delivered a loup from the fires of the iroquois. The loup was among the notables of his nation; and the iroquois risked his life for him, unbound him, and led him away to a cabin. He himself stood at the door of the cabin, the captive being seated quietly within; and this iroquois said that they should not come in to seize the captive unless they first killed him; that he would die for the defense of the peace concluded between the french and the iroquois, which the loup's death might end. The calumny that was cast upon the mission of the

la faute de quelqu'un du sault, ayant recommande l'affaire à Dieu et ayant demandé aux françois leurs prieres a la grandmefse, il fut sur les lieux; ou il decouvrit la verité et remit la tranquillité dans toutes les habitations.

Cet accident fut suivy dun mal reel et dangereux un françois avoit gaigné lesprit des sauvages s'offrant a racommoder leurs fusils; on luy avoit donne un petit coing dans une cabane ou il avoit attaché un etot. il faisoit un petit magazin et disposa tout pour tenir un iour boutique et traiter de la boifson au milieu du village: il y pafsa un hyver cequi epouvanta fort les deux mifsionnaires qui restoint a la mifsion, mais le secours qu'on leur apporta et la deffense que Monsieur Duchesneau fit a cet homme de rester dans le village davantage, chafsa le demon de son fort avec telle honte quil ny est pas retourné depuis.

1680.

Dieu qui prend plaisir de mesler la vie des hommes de joye et d'afflictions bannit toutes les afflictions cette année de la mifsion. les afsaults quon luy a donné trois ans durant cefserent alors: mais l'absence du p. fremin tenoit tousiours les esprits en balance: on fit aussy une grande perte et un grand profit cette annee. la terre perdit et le ciel gagna: la mifsion donna au paradis un thresor qu'on luy avoit envoyée deux ans devant; scavoir l'ame bienheureuse de *Catherine Tegakðita qui mourut le 17 avril*. l'estime qu'on en faisoit durant sa vie le secours que plusieurs en ont eu apres sa mort les honneurs qu'on a continué

Sault was soon dissipated, God taking in hand the cause of the innocent. The one who is called "the great Anié" came from the hunting-ground, which he left expressly to go to discover the truth, and to settle matters in case any one of the sault should be to blame. Having commended the affair to God and having requested of the french their prayers at high mass, he went to the places in question, where he discovered the truth and restored tranquillity to all the settlements.

This accident was followed by a real and dangerous evil. A frenchman had won the minds of the savages by offering to repair their guns. They had given him a little corner in a cabin, where he had set up a vise. He was preparing a small store, and arranging everything in order some day to keep a shop and deal in liquor in the midst of the village. He spent one winter there, which greatly alarmed the two missionaries who remained at the mission. But the aid which was brought to them, and Monsieur Duchesneau's prohibition to that man to remain longer in the village, drove the demon from his fort in such shame that he has not since returned.

1680.

God, who takes pleasure in mingling joys and sorrows in the life of man banished all sorrows from the mission this year. The assaults which had been made upon it for three years then ceased; but the absence of father fremin continually kept our minds in suspense. A great loss and a great profit was also incurred this year. The earth lost and heaven gained. The mission gave to paradise a treasure which had been sent to it two years before, to wit,

a luy rendre et plusieurs autres ornemens de fa vie l'on faitte afsez cognoistre dans tout ce pais, elle a servy a la mifion par fes bons exemples, mais on peut dire quelle luy a servy davantage apres sa mort car son corps inanimé sert icy dargument de credibilité de la foy pour les sauvages et ses prieres soulagent continuellement cette mifion, on peut dire quelle entre maintenant en participation de tous les biens qui s'y font qui s'y sont faits depuis sa mort : a l'heure de son deces on luy porta le viatique dans sa cabane: cequi ne se pratiquoit pas encore: on portoit les malades en l'eglise sur une ecorce pour leur donner le viatique pour inspirer aux sauvages le respect qu'on doit au S. Sacrement les sauvages ne sestimans pas dignes que N. S. prist luy mesme la peine de les aller chercher quelques malades quil fussent.

Le demon qui vit le glorieux succes de cette mifion usa d'une autre sorte de batterie et se transfigurant en ange de lumiere il poufsa la devotion de quelques personnes qui vouloint imiter Catherine ou faire bonne penitence de leurs pechés il les poufsa jusques dans lexcès pour rendre sans doute le christianisme odieux des les commencements ou pour faire prendre le change aux filles et aux femmes de cette mifion dont la prudence na iamais égalé celle de catherine quelles vouloint imiter, on voyoit des Sauvagefses qui se iettoint sous les glaces en plein hyver une y fit tremper sa fille qui navoit que six ans pour luy apprendre disoit elle de bonne heure la penitence. la mere s'y tenoit a cose de ses peches pafses elle y tenoit sa fille innocente a cose des

the blessed soul of *Catherine Tegakwita, who died on the 17th of april*. The esteem in which she was held during her life, the help which many have had from her since her death, the honors which they have continued to render her, and various other circumstances which adorned her life—have made her very well known throughout this country. She served the mission by her good example; but we can say that she served it more after her death, for her lifeless body serves here as argument to the savages that the faith is worthy of credence, and her prayers continually aid this mission. We may say that she now enters into participation of all the good which is done in it, and which has been done here since her death. At the hour of her decease, the viaticum was carried to her in her cabin. This was not yet customary; the sick people were carried to church on a litter of bark, when giving them the viaticum, in order to inspire the savages with the respect which is due to the Blessed Sacrament. The savages do not account themselves worthy that Our Lord should himself take the trouble of going to seek them, however sick they may be.

The demon, who saw the glorious success of this mission, used another kind of battery. Transfiguring himself as an angel¹ of light, he urged on the devotion of some persons who wished to imitate Catherine, or to do severe penance for their sins. He drove them even into excess,—in order, no doubt, to render christianity hateful even at the start; or in order to impose upon the girls and women of this mission, whose discretion has never equaled that of catherine, whom they tried to imitate. There were Savage women who threw them-

peches avenir que cet enfant commettrait peut estre estant grande: on voyoit des sauvages et des sauvageses qui se mettoient toutes en sang a coups de disciplines de fer de verges des pines d'orties; qui ieunoient rigoureusement sans manger de toute la iournée et ceque les sauvages mangent lamoitié de lannée n'est pas capable de faire vivre un homme: ces ieuneuses travailloient tout le iour de force l'esté a labourer l'hyver a bucher: ces austerités estoient presque continuelles elles mesloient de la cendre dans leur portion de Sagamité elles se mettoient des charbons ardent entre les orteils ou le feu faisoit son trou; elles alloient nues iambes faire une longue procesion dans les neges elles se defiguroient toutes se couppant les cheveux pour n'estre pas recherchées en mariage cela et tout le mal quelles pouvoient faire a leur corps quelles appellent leur plus grand ennemy les mettoit si bas quil n'estoit pas possible que des hommes mal nourris peussent perseverer la plus part de ces choses se passoint dans les bois ou les sauvages se trouvoient a la chafse ou par enthousiasmes exces d'indignations contre soy mesme. mais le S^t Esprit se mesla bien tost de cette affaire et a eclairci toutes ces personnes et a regle leur conduite sans diminuer leur ferveur.

Sur le milieu de leté nostre chapelle fut menacée du feu du ciel lequel apres plusieurs eclairs effroyables en plein midy et plusieurs grands coups de tonnerres tomba a quelque pas dela grand-porte et tomba sur deux chesnes qu'il ecorcha, un homme qui alloit entrer dans la chapelle vit toutes les pierres qui estoient a terre courir autour de luy sans quil eust receu de mal.

selves under the ice, in the midst of winter. One had her daughter dipped into it, who was only six years old,—for the purpose, she said, of teaching her penance in good season. The mother stood there on account of her past sins; she kept her innocent daughter there on account of her sins to come, which this child would perhaps commit when grown up. Savages, both men and women, covered themselves with blood by disciplinary stripes with iron, with rods, with thorns, with nettles; they fasted rigorously, passing the entire day without eating,—and what the savages eat during half the year is not sufficient to keep a man alive. These fasting women toiled strenuously all day—in summer, working in the fields; in winter, cutting wood. These austerities were almost continual. They mingled ashes in their portion of Sagamité; they put glowing coals between their toes, where the fire burned a hole in the flesh; they went bare-legged to make a long procession in the snows; they all disfigured themselves by cutting off their hair, in order not to be sought in marriage. These things, and all the harm that they could do to the body, which they call their greatest enemy, reduced them so low that it was not possible for ill-fed men to persevere further. Most of these things took place in the woods, where the savages were then hunting, or under enthusiastic excess of indignation against themselves. But the Holy Ghost soon intervened in this matter, enlightening all these persons, and regulated their conduct without diminishing their fervor.

About the middle of the summer, our chapel was threatened with fire from heaven,—which, after several frightful lightnings at broad noonday, and several heavy peals of thunder, struck at a few paces

Quelqu'assurance qu'on eust du bon succes du voyage du R. P. fremin qu'on attendroit de jour en iour, les plus fermes ne laisserent pas de douter le pere n etant pas encore arrive a la mi octobre, alors une lettre venue de quebek ecrite de la main du p. fremin mesme difsipa le reste des tempestes qui nous avoint tourmentés le temps pafsé: La nouvelle vint a propos parceque on accusoit les p. p. de celer leurs pensees cequi faisoit tort a leur prædication dans lesprit des sauvages: on fit bien entendre a ces sauvages que les françois ne leurs ressembloint point et nestoint pas si laches queux qui ne tirent leur forces que du mensonge; et que les robes noires qui navoint aucun interest a leur dire des mensonges contre lesquels ils crient et preschent tous les iours, nestoint point trompeurs; ce qui a augmenté beaucoup la confiance que les Sauvages chrestiens ont aux peres qui les enseignent on fit de grandes actions de graces pour cet heureux retour et la ioye fut dautant plus grandes que le succes que Dieu donnoit aux neufvaines et aux devotions que les sauvages avoint fait cette annee il estoit plus evident quon ne pensoit plus qu'a iouir des glorieux travaux du pere fremin qui apporta plusieurs meubles de france propres pour orner la chapelle qui ne contribuerent pas peu a la devotion des sauvages qui est grande en deux temps de lannée surtout a noel et a pâque. l'enfance et la pafsion de nostre Seigneur etant lattrait dont Dieu se sert pour les attirer.

1681.

Qui pourroit dire la Joye que chacun avoit de revoir le R. P. fremin dans sa mifsion, mais un

from the main door, and fell upon two oaks, which it stripped. A man who was about to enter the chapel saw all the stones that were on the ground roll about him, but he received no hurt.

Whatever confidence was felt in the good result of the Reverend Father fremin's journey—who was expected from day to day—even the firmest persons nevertheless doubted. The father had not yet arrived by the middle of october; but at that time a letter came from quebek, written by the hand of father fremin himself, which dissipated the rest of the storms which had harassed us in time past. The news came opportunely, because the fathers were accused of hiding their opinions, which injured their preaching in the minds of the savages. These savages were indeed given to understand that the french did not resemble them, and were not so base as they, who derive their strength only from lying; and that the black gowns, who had no interest in telling them lies,—against which they inveigh and preach every day,—were not deceivers. This greatly increased the confidence which the christian Savages have in the fathers who teach them. Solemn thanksgivings were rendered for this happy return, and the joy was all the greater because of the success which God gave to the novenas and the devotions which the savages had offered this year. It was now more evident that they no longer thought of anything but enjoying the glorious labors of father fremin, who brought from france various furnishings suitable for adorning the chapel. These contributed not a little to the savages' devotion, which is especially great at two seasons in the year, christmas and easter. The childhood and the passion of our Lord are the attractions which God employs to draw them.

prodige extraordinaire qui parut au ciel troubla de nouveau les esprits cest la grand comette qui parut lautomme le bruit de guerre tenoit tout le Canada en attente: cinq iours apres lapparition du comette Dieu benit la misfion: car ce fut alors q'un malade abandonné apres avoir invoqué le nom de Catherine du Sault fut guery le lendemain; ce prodige de la terre ne paroiffoit pas encore afsez pour contrebalancer celui du ciel: on se recommanda alors principalement aux SS. dupais et lon s'adresfoit aussy en ce lieu du Sault a Catherine.

La fin de lannée fut fascheuse a cose du changement qui se fit en la personne du pere fremin en celle du p. Bruyas entien misfionnaire des iroquois; cependant soit quon y perdist ou quon gagnast on vit que les Sauvages avoient peine a changer de pasteur: ils s'accoutumerent peu a peu et mesme plusieurs iroquois furent attires ensuite a la misfion par la reputation du misfionnaire qui est le 3^e que la misfion a vu de puis sa naifsance.

La misfion prenoit ainsy de nouveaux accroifsemens sous l'astre qui luy avoit rendu la iour apres avoir pafsé plusieurs années dans la nuit des afflictions. Les scandales semés comme la zizanie n'y avoient pas encore produits leur mechant fruit, iusques a lan present l'yvrognerie se deschaisna: mais elle fut fulminee en pleine eglise a la feste de l'afsomption de nostre Dame et un yvrogne fieffé fut denoncé et chafsé honteusement; affin que cette honte publique dun seul en corrigeast plusieurs autres cequi reufsit parfaitement le delinquant mesme se convertit et a demeuré plusieurs années sans s'enyvrer.

1681.

Who could relate the Joy which each one felt at seeing the Reverend Father fremin again in his mission? But an extraordinary prodigy which appeared in the sky once more disturbed people's minds. This was the great comet which appeared in autumn. The rumor of war kept all Canada in suspense. Five days after the apparition of the comet, God blessed the mission; for it was then that a sick man who had been given up was cured the next day, after he had invoked the name of Catherine of the Sault. This prodigy of the earth did not yet appear sufficient to outweigh that of the sky. The people then commended themselves chiefly to the Saints of the country; and also, at that place of the Sault, addressed themselves to Catherine.

The end of the year was a sad time, on account of the exchange which took place between father fremin and father Bruyas, former missionary to the iroquois. Whether they lost or gained, it was still to be seen that the Savages were grieved at changing their pastor. They became accustomed, little by little; and even many iroquois were subsequently attracted to the mission by the reputation of the missionary, who is the 3rd whom the mission has seen since its birth.

The mission was thus taking on new growth under the star which had restored to it the day, after it had passed several years in the night of afflictions. The scandals sown like tares had not yet produced their evil fruit there, until, in the present year, drunkenness was unchained. But it was thundered against in open church at the feast of the assumption of our Lady; and an arrant drunkard was denounced and ignominiously expelled, so that this public

Un scandale parut icy en matiere d'impureté trois ieunes friponnes parties des iroquois firent complot de debaucher trois personnes et pour faire plus de tort au public s'engagerent denlever celuy qui faisoit les prieres a leglise et de le faire tomber dans le peche elles firent a defsein plusieurs visites enfin Dieu conserva le dogique, mais il permit q'un ieune homme marié depuis peu succombast avec perte du costé de la misfion, mais Dieu qui scait tirer le bien des maux toucha ce ieune homme, qui estoit allé avec sa dame aux iroquois d'ou il n'estoit pas venu estant élevé dans la misfion il luy fit la grace de bien mourir entre les bras dun misfionnaire. Sa femme qui estoit si ieune qu'on disoit quelle navoit pas laage et qui se trouvoit pourtant mariée en face deglise suivit quelques iours apres son mary en lautre monde; et la pecherefse qui avait enlevé le mary a cette femme fut touchée et a esté baptisée depuis et vit avec la crainte de Dieu dans l'estat du mariage.

Comme un contraire fait cognoistre ordinairement son contraire: l'impureté inveterée des sauvages infidelles qui venoient visiter icy et qui repandoient dans le village la puanteur de leur vice, ne servit qu'a faire paroistre la vertu des chrestiens du Sault. il y avoit desia trois ans qu'on voyoit des personnes hair tellement leur peches pafses, quelle vouloit mesme ne se marier iamais quoyque la loy le permette, et ont mesme voulu faire ce que les personnes relligieuses font pour se vouer a Dieu quelques unes ont perseveré iusques a la mort; quelques unes sont encore vivantes et ont persévéré et pafsé laage dese

disgrace of a single one might correct several others. It succeeded perfectly. The delinquent was even converted, and has remained several years without becoming drunk.

A scandal appeared here in the matter of impurity. Three worthless young women, who had left the iroquois, made a plot to debauch three persons; and in order to do the most injury to the public, they undertook to abduct the one who said the prayers in the church, and to make him fall into sin. They purposely made several visits. Finally God preserved the dogique, but he permitted that a young man lately married should succumb, with loss on the part of the mission. But God, who knows how to derive good from evil, touched this young man, who had gone with his mistress to the iroquois; but he had not come thence, being brought up in the mission. God granted him the grace to die piously in the arms of a missionary. His wife, who was so young that they said that she was not of age, but who nevertheless had been married according to the rites of the church, some days later followed her husband to the other world. The sinful woman who had abducted the husband of that wife was touched, and has since been baptized; and now lives, in the fear of God, in the state of marriage.

As one opposite usually discloses its corresponding opposite, the inveterate impurity of the infidel savages—who came to visit here, and spread through the village the stench of their vice—served only to make manifest the virtue of the christians at the Sault. Even three years before, some persons were known to hate their past sins so greatly that they even desired never to marry, although the law allows it; and even wished to do what religious

marier. Les personnes mariees viennent s'offrir aux autels et vivent comme freres et sœurs et apres avoir perdu leurs enfans quils avoient eu de leur Saint mariage avant d'embraiser l'éte de continence ils nont pas voulu retourner a leur premier etat. le beau miroir de la chastete est si net au Sault qu'on n'y peut souffrir les moindres taches et les sauvages sont delicats en ce point iusques a lexces.

1682.

Comme la plus part des choses qui ont este dites ont este faites par ceux quon appelle de la S^{te}. famille, elles ont rendu cette societé plus recommandable parmy les sauvages; ce corps de gens integres dans le christianisme soutient toute la misfion par les soins quils ont de se perfectionner et par cequils font pour convertir les autres; mais parceque la plus part meritent qu'on fasse un recit deleur vie on nen dit icy d'avantage, L yvrognerie revient encore a la charge cette annee on navoit pas encore vu d'yvrognes entrer au village deux y parurent et y furent punis sur le champ comme on verra ailleurs.

On fit la benediction dela premiere cloche de la misfion au mois de Juin; la S^{te} famille seule lachepta pour la commodité publique parceque celle quon avoit estoit trop petite et les champs trop eloignes du village: cette cloche pese 81ff et fut nommée marie. on commença aussy la methode de faire le catechisme les dimanches avant le salut ou le pere explique la doctrine chrestienne et est ensuite interrogé par les sauvages qui luy proposent des doutes et le pere les interroge aufsy sur ce quil a proposé.

persons do, in order to devote themselves to God. Some have persevered even to death; some are still living and have persevered and passed the age for marriage. Married persons come to offer themselves at the altars, and live like brothers and sisters; and, after losing the children whom they had had from their Holy marriage, before embracing the state of continence, they have not been willing to return to their former state. The fair mirror of chastity is so clean at the Sault that people there cannot endure the least spot on it; and the savages are delicate on this point, even to excess.

1682.

As most of the things which have been related have been done by those who are called by the name of the Holy family, they have rendered this society most commendable among the savages. This body of people, sound in christianity, sustain the whole mission by the pains that they take to perfect themselves, and by what they do to convert the others. But, since most of them deserve that narratives of their lives be composed, we say nothing further of them here. Drunkenness again returns to the charge this year. Drunkards had not yet been seen to enter the village; two appeared there and were immediately punished, as will be seen elsewhere.

The blessing of the first bell of the mission took place in the month of June. The Holy family alone purchased it for the public convenience, because the one which we had was too small, and the fields were too far from the village. This bell weighs 81 livres, and was named marie. They also began the custom of hearing the catechism on sundays before benediction. The father explains the christian

1683.

Enfin tous les mo[n]stres de lenfer nen pouvant plus firent un dernier effort au mois daoust et se melans a minuit avec un tourbillon de vent renverserent la chapelle; cheute remarquable dans toutes ses circonstances tous les meubles sacres furent conservés dans leur entier excepté cinq croix qui furent brisees. la statue de la S^{te} Vierge qui estoit a onze pieds dehauteur fut renversee simplement: il y avoit trois peres Jesuites dans la chapelle un en bas qui sonnoit la cloche deux audefsus de la chapelle tous trois sauvés par un espece de miracle. celui qui estoit en bas fut sauvé et transporté delendroit ou il estoit ou il se fit un grand trou fait par les poutres qui creverent en tombant les madriers sur lesquels il estoit a genoux et luy se trouva en lieu de sureté. sans peur sans blefsure priant Dieu et baisant les reliques quil portoit a son col, un autre des p. p. sauta avec les cheverons en lair qui lui firent comme une cage; lautre des trois p. p. tomba aufsy mais fut bien blefsé il se releva pourtant de defsous les ruines et fut bien tost remis tous trois sans sestre communiqués leur devotions furent prier au tombeau de Catherine le soir avant se coucher et un avoit dit la messe dela S^{te} Trinité pour remercier Dieu des graces qu'il avoit fait a Catherine durant sa vie; les pauvres sauvages furent bien affligés dela perte de leur chapelle disant que Dieu les chafsoit de leglise parcequils ne meritoient pas d'y entrer; mais ils estoient inconsolables, voyant leurs peres blefsés et malades et disant que ces peres souffroient pour les péchés de leurs enfans qui ne vouloient pas les ecouter et vivre en bons chrestiens.

doctrine, and is afterward questioned by the savages, who propound their doubts to him; and the father also questions them about what he has propounded.

1683.

At last, all the monsters of hell, being powerless to do more, made a last effort in the month of august; and, joining at midnight with a whirlwind, blew down the chapel—a fall remarkable in all its circumstances. All the articles of sacred furniture were preserved whole, except five crosses, which were broken. The statue of the Blessed Virgin, which was at an elevation of eleven feet, was simply overturned. There were three Jesuit fathers in the chapel,—one below, who was ringing the bell, and two above the chapel. All three were saved by a sort of miracle. The one who was below was saved, and carried away from the place where he was,—where a great hole was made by the beams, which broke in their fall the joists on which he was kneeling. He found himself in a place of safety,—without fear, without wound, praying and kissing the relics which he wore about his neck. Another of the fathers leaped into the air with the rafters, which formed a sort of cage for him. The last of the three fathers also fell, but was much hurt. He nevertheless extricated himself from beneath the ruins, and soon recovered. All three, without having communicated their devotions to one another, had gone to pray at Catherine's tomb in the evening, before going to bed; and one had said the mass of the Holy Trinity, in order to thank God for the favors that he had granted Catherine during her life. The poor savages were much afflicted at the loss of their chapel, saying that God was driving them from the

On se mit aufsy tost en etat derebatir la chapelle Dieu ayant voulu quil y eust alors un architecte sur les lieux lequel avoit baty cinq autres chapelles tres-bien faites; mais en attendant le capitaine des anies qu'on nomme le grand anié qui avoit fait depuis 15 jours une belle cabane se delogea pour loger nostre seigneur qui recompensa bien son hosté; car premierement il luy fit lhonneur de voir sa cabane convertie en eglise; mais parceque Dieu honora cette chapelle de plusieurs merveilles qui s'y passerent, on y vit venir des personnes en devotion qui faisoient des neufvaines a Catherine du Sault; on fit les mesmes devotions qu'on faisoit dans la belle chapelle de planches avec d'autant plus de ferveur que l'incommodité de ledifice les rigueurs de l hyver les eaux du printemps et les chaleurs de leté estoient plus rudes a souffrir a ceux qui y alloient souvent visiter le S^t. Sacrement.

il y avoit un an qu'on commença a instruire par les peintures ce qui pleût fort aux Sauvages; on a mesme fait venir toute la vie de nostre seigneur dont on a fait de petits livres que les sauvages portent avec eux a la chafse et s'instruisent eux mesmes on leur a mis ainsy par escrit les sacremens les sept pechés capitaux l'enfer le Jugement la mort et quelques devotions comme du rosaire les ceremonies dela messe

On travailla des lautomme au retablissement de la chapelle: quand louverrier commença les sauvages commencerent a travailler de concert les uns par leurs presens les autres par leurs prieres; ils s'employierent de toutes leurs forces a aider les ouvriers; car quand les pieces furent equarries les charrois

church because they did not deserve to enter it. But they were inconsolable at seeing their fathers wounded and sick; and said that these fathers were suffering for the sins of their children, who were not willing to listen to them and live like good christians.

They immediately proceeded to rebuild the chapel, God having willed that there should then be an architect in the village, who had built five other chapels, very well constructed. But meanwhile the captain of the anies, whom they name "the great anié," who had built a fine cabin a fortnight previously, moved out of it in order to lodge our lord, who well recompensed his host. In the first place, he did him the honor to see his cabin converted into a church; but, because God honored this chapel with several wonders which occurred therein, many persons were seen to come to it, by way of devotion, who made novenas to Catherine of the Sault. They performed the same devotions there which were performed in the beautiful timber chapel,—with all the more fervor in proportion as the inconvenience of the building, the severities of winter, the spring rains, and the summer heat, were the harder to endure for those who often went thither to visit the Blessed Sacrament.

It was now a year since we began to instruct by means of paintings, which greatly pleased the Savages. Indeed, the whole life of our lord has been imported; and small books have been made from it, which the savages carry with them to the chase and thus instruct themselves. We have thus put before them in writing the sacraments, the seven capital sins, hell, the Judgment, death, and some devotions — as of the rosary, and the ceremonies of the mass.

From autumn forward, they labored for the restora-

estoint impossibles; mais les sauvages porterent des pieces de soixante pieds de long et grosses a proportion et ramasserent ainsy toutes les pieces ou on devoit tailler ledifice: il ny eut personne qui ne travailast selon ses forces les femmes et les enfans portoint chacun leurs pieces plusieurs y allerent avec tant de ferveur quils se blessèrent et furent longtemps malades; mais le plus admirable de tous cest louvrier qui nayant jamais appris s'est rendu maitre architecte.

Cette année finit par le changement de gouverneur qui se fit et celuy qui arriva ausy dans la misison; car elle fut favorisee des hommes desquels elle avoit esté persecutée. on ressentit a mesme temps les liberalités que le roy luy a fait et surtout pour le retablissement de la chapelle.

1684

On n'a point eu d'année plus perillieuse ny plus honorable pour la misison que celle ci durant laquelle la guerre a broüille tout le Canada comme nous le dirons. Quand le printemps fut venu on commença a lever la chapelle qu'on avoit taillee pendant l'hyver dans le bois; on avoit dessein de la traisner sur les neges et de transporter de cette facon toutes les pieces dans le lieu ou on devoit poser l'edifice; les ouvriers furent trompes, parceque les neges furent plus tost fondues quils ne pensoint; on ne scavoit comment faire et on ne pouvoit se resoudre a laifser le bastiment a l'année suivante; le village est ordinairement desert au mois de mars et au mois d'avril il n'y reste que quelques femmes et quelques enfans; ces femmes la entreprirent de transporter toutes les pieces les poteaux et les poutres sont lourdes et

tion of the chapel. When the workman began, the savages began to work in concert—some by their gifts, others by their prayers; and they exerted themselves with all their might to aid the workmen. When the logs were squared, carting was out of the question; but the savages carried pieces sixty feet long and proportionately thick, and thus accumulated all the timbers where the frame of the building was to be hewn. There was no one who did not work according to his strength. The women and children all carried their pieces of timber; and several went about it with so much fervor that they hurt themselves, and were sick for a long time. But the most admirable of all was the workman who, never having learned, became a master-architect.

This year closed with the change of governors that was made,¹⁵ and the change which also took place regarding the mission; for it became favored by the men by whom it had been persecuted. At the same time, we experienced the liberalities which the king has extended to it, especially as regards the rebuilding of the chapel.

1684.

We have not had a more perilous or a more honorable year for the mission than this one, during which war embroiled all Canada, as we shall relate. When spring had come, we began to erect the chapel, which had been hewn into shape in the woods during the winter. It was our plan to draw the timbers over the snow, and thus to transfer all the pieces to the place where the building was to be erected. The workmen were disappointed, because the snows melted sooner than they expected. We knew not what to do, and could not make up our

pesantes comme on peut l'imaginer que les pieces d'un bastiment de soixante pieds de long et de ving cinq de larges ne sont pas legeres; on leur proposa d'abord a ces porteuses de faire un chemin par terre qui a demie lieüe de distance du lieu d'ou on devoit tirer les pieces a celui ou on devoit bâtir; il falloit abbatre et couper de gros arbres pour faire le passage quand une ou deux iournees eurent esté employees a cela la nege manqua et le travail fut perdu on n'avoit plus q'un seul moyen au reste assez difficile et dangereux qui estoit de ietter les pieces dans leau et les faire venir par un petit ruisseau qui paise au pied de l'endroit ou est a present le village et la chapelle. on se mettoit en danger de se noyer ou de geler cependant les sauuagesses seules animées de lesprit de la devotion et du desir d'avoir une chapelle, firent merveilles en cette occasion; premierement elles aiderent a faire le chemin et a couper des arbres qui estoient tombes dans le ruisseau. il falloit se mettre dans leau jusques a la ceinture et y demeurer tout un iour. quand le chemin fut fait elles sentre-horterent et se diviserent en diverses bandes les petites filles et les vieilles portoint les pieces les plus legeres par terre; les ieunes femmes et celles qui nestoint pas empeschées par leurs grossesses alloint de long du ruisseau avec des perches pour conduire les pieces aux detours et les plus robustes et celles qui sappellent les bonnes chrestiennes en sauvage ou devottes en françois suivoient en leau les pieces ayant choisy ce party le plus rude par esprit de penitence elles en furent fort incommodees et surtout il leur fallut faire de grands efforts pour tirer les pieces hors de leau; mais comme l'entreprise fut faite pour

minds to leave the building until the following year. The village is usually deserted in the months of march and april; there are left in it only some women and children. Those women undertook to transport all the timbers. The posts and beams are clumsy and heavy—for one may imagine that the timbers of a building sixty feet long and twenty-five wide are not light. It was first proposed to these carriers to make a road by land, half a league in length, from the place whence the timbers were to be taken to the one where we were to build. It was necessary to fell and cut great trees, in order to make the passage. When one or two days had been employed at that task, the snow failed, and the labor was lost. They had now but one resort—and one, too, quite difficult and dangerous; this was to throw the timbers into the water, and convey them by means of a little brook which passes at the foot of the place where the village and the chapel now are. They exposed themselves to the danger of drowning or of freezing. However, the savage women alone, animated with the spirit of devotion and with the desire to have a chapel, did wonders on this occasion. To begin with, they helped to make the road and to cut some trees which had fallen into the brook; it was necessary to go into the water up to the waist, and remain there a whole day. When the road was done, they exhorted one another, and divided themselves into various bands. The little girls and the old women carried the lightest pieces by land; the young women, and those who were not hindered by pregnancy, went along the brook with poles, to guide the timbers through the turns; and the most vigorous, and those who in savage tongue are called “the good christians,”—or, in french, “the devout

honorer Dieu et par esprit de christianisme chacun fut content de tout cequi luy pouvoit arriver: on a coutume de remarquer en cette mifion une grande ioye quand il se presente ainsy des travaux publics qui sont pour l'honneur de Dieu ou pour le service des pauvres ou des malades.

On ne peut pas douter que cette maniere de vivre de quelques uns des sauvages nait attiré beaucoup de benedictions de Dieu sur la mifion parmy lesquelles ie compte les morts pretieuses de quelques personnes comme celle dune petite fille de dix ans nommée Catherine Oüannonhøe dont on a ecrit les actions la maniere de laquelle les sauvages meurent dans la mifion est si consolante que personne n'aprehende ny la mort ny la maladie le malade mesme previent ceux qui sont autour de luy et prie souvent quon luy dise lheure de son trepas; ils apprehendent quon ne les flatte et quon ne leur cache une nouvelle qui fait trembler tout le monde; ils sempresent pour recevoir lextreme onction avant quils perdent lusage des sens: Dieu est si merveilleux et si liberal a lendroit de ces nouveaux chrestiens, quil donne aux uns les presentimens de leur mort prochaine et il s'en est trouvé qui ont dit a point nommé l'heure de leur mort. il leur conserve souvent la raison et la parole iusques au dernier soupir: il y en a qui un moment apres avoir recité leur angelus tout haut ont rendu lame en faisant leur adieu comme quand on va faire quelque voyage. Il y en a qui sont morts en priant et a genoux il y en a qui ont expiré en faisant le signe de la croix; ils font en mourant de petites exhortations fort touchantes a ceux ou qui ne sont pas chrestiens ou qui vivent mal ou qui se sont

ones," followed the timbers in the water, having, in a spirit of penance, chosen this severest part of the labor. Their health was much affected thereby; and, above all, they had to make great efforts in order to drag the timbers out of the water. But, as the enterprise was done in order to honor God and in a spirit of christian faith, every one was content with all that might befall her. We are accustomed to note great joy in this mission when public works thus occur which are for the honor of God, or for the service of the poor or the sick.

One cannot doubt that this manner of living on the part of some of the savages has brought many blessings from God upon the mission. Among these I reckon the precious deaths of some persons—as that of a young girl of ten years named Catherine Ouannonhwe, whose deeds have been recorded. The way in which the savages die in the mission is so consoling that no one fears either death or disease. The sick person himself anticipates those who are about him, and often prays to be told the hour of his death; they fear lest one impose upon them, and hide from them this news which makes people in general tremble. They bestir themselves to receive extreme unction before they lose the use of their senses. God is so wonderful and so liberal toward these new christians that he gives to some presentiments of their impending death; and some have been found who foretold the time of their death at a specified moment. God often preserves their reason and speech until even their last breath; there are some who have given up the ghost a moment after reciting the angelus aloud,—saying their last farewell just as when one is about to go on some journey. There are some who died while praying and on their

relachés de leur premier ferveur, ils parlent de leur mort en distribuant eux memes leur petits meubles comme s'ils n'estoient point malades; ils goutent par avance les plaisirs de l'autre vie fondees sur les promesses de nostre seigneur tous ceux qui ont veu icy mourir les personnes en sont toutes consolées comme tesmoins oculaires de ce qui se passe.

Ceux qui regardent de plus pres cette perseverance des sauvages disent que Dieu leur accorde ces graces finales par ce qu'il ny en a aucun en cette mission qui nait tout quitté pour Dieu en quittant son pais pour luy; ainsy on n'en a pas encore vu mourir aucun qui ne soit mort en donnant de grandes marques de prædestination; quoyque le nombre des morts soit desia bien grand et mont iusques a pres de cent quarante les visages des trepassés n'ont rien d'affreux au contraire ils inspirent de la devotion les conferant avec la bonne vie des personnes qui ont vecu icy se peut il faire que des personnes qui frequentent les sacrements qui se confessent souvent qui ne sortent iamais du village pour la chasse sans se confesser qui ne sont pas plustost arrivés qu'ils se preparent a se confesser, qui offrent a toute occupation differante de la iournee leur action à Dieu, qui pratiquent exactement le pardon des injures qui se confessent de quinze en quinze qui font souvent l'examen de conscience; qui s'accusent des moindres distractions et qui vivent comme des anges se peut-il faire que ces personnes ne fassent une bonne fin. La primitive eglise des iroquois est dans cet etat on commença cette annee a faire en l'eglise en public l'examen de conscience que quelques uns pratiquent ensuite comme des religieux.

knees; there are some who have expired while making the sign of the cross. While dying, they make very touching little exhortations to those who are not christians, or who live wrong, or who have relaxed from their first fervor. They speak of their own death while themselves distributing their little belongings, as if they were not sick. They taste in advance the pleasures of the other life, founded upon our lord's promises. All those who have seen persons die here are, as eye-witnesses of what occurs, fully consoled thereby.

Those who most closely survey this perseverance of the savages say that God grants them these final graces because there is no one in this mission who has not given up everything for God, by leaving his country for his sake. Thus not one has yet been seen to die who has not at death given strong evidences of predestination,—although the number of the dead is already very great, and amounts to the number of nearly one hundred and forty. The faces of the deceased have nothing frightful about them; on the contrary, they inspire devotion. On comparing them with the good lives of persons who have dwelt here, can it be that persons who frequent the sacraments and often confess, who never leave the village for the chase without confessing, who have no sooner arrived than they make ready to confess, who in every different occupation of the day offer their work to God, who scrupulously observe the forgiveness of injuries, who confess from fortnight to fortnight, who often make their examination of conscience, who accuse themselves of the slightest distractions, and who live like angels—can it be that such persons do not end life well? The primitive church of the iroquois is in this condition.

On vit tant de personnes se recommander a la deffuncte catherine Tegakxita on vit tant de bons sauvages faire cette devotion on se trouva en telle necefsité cette année de s'adresser a elle, qu'un crut rendre un juste devoir a sa vertu de la transporter du cimetiere ou on lui avoit drefse un an devant un petit monument, dans la nouvelle eglise tous les sentimens furent uniformes sur cela; on fit pourtant ce transport de nuit en presence des plus devots on a vu depuis des sauvages aller prier dans le lieu ou elle est lesquels avoient commencé a l'aller uisiter des le mesme iour quelle fut enterree. on commença cette année a faire quelques petits discours sur la passion de nostre seigneur tous les vendredis de carefme.

On n'entendit tout l'esté en canada que remuemens et bruits de guerre lesquels etants venus aux oreilles des sauvages ne servirent qu'a faire connoistre leur fidelité; qui leust iamais dit que la foy et la religion les eust si bien unis avec les françois que de leur faire prendre Les armes contre les iroquois et leur propre nation ils l'ont pourtant fait comme on lescait et on a cette obligation aux capitaines qui scurent si bien tourner l'affaire que les hommes et les femmes aimèrent mieux perir que de perdre leur foy. On leur proposa en plein conseil l'affaire en trois facons leur donnant le choix on dit premiere-ment qu'ils pouvoient se retirer dans leur pais s'ils vouloient secondement que s'ils demeuroient ils pou-voient garder leur village troisiemement qu'ils pou-voient enfin aller avec les françois, le premier point ne leur pleut point d'utout disans que se retirer d'avec Les françois et perdre le christianisme estoit une

They began this year to make publicly in the church the examination of conscience, which some are since practicing like religious.

So many persons were seen to commend themselves to the deceased catherine Tegakwita; so many good savages were seen to offer this devotion and found themselves in such necessity this year to address themselves to her, that we believed it was but paying a just tribute to her virtue to remove her from the cemetery — where a little monument had been erected to her, a year before — into the new church. All opinions were unanimous upon that. This transfer, however, was accomplished by night, in the presence of the most devout. Some savages have since been seen to go to pray at the place where she lies, who had begun to go to visit her on the very day when she was buried. We began this year to make some brief addresses upon the passion of our lord, every friday in lent.

During the whole summer in canada, one heard nothing but commotions and rumors of war; these, coming to the ears of the savages, served only to make known their fidelity. Who would ever have supposed that the faith and religion had so thoroughly united them with the french as to cause them to take arms against the iroquois and their own nation? They did so, however, as we know; and we owe this obligation to the captains, who knew so well how to direct the matter that men and women preferred to perish rather than lose their faith. The matter was proposed to them in open council, in three ways, giving them the choice. It was said, first, that they might withdraw to their own country if they wished; secondly, that if they remained they might remain in their own village; thirdly, that

mesme chose pour le second point ils dirent que les françois se defieroint trop deux le 3 point leur plut disans que nayant q'une mesme foy avec les françois ils vouloint ausy risquer ensemble et partirent et eurent l'approbation de toute l'armée dans tous leurs deportemens soit qu'on les anvoyast en embafsadeurs chez les iroquois soit qu'on s'addressast a eux pour avoir des vivres de leur chafse soit qu'on leur demandast des moyens comme gens experimentés en guerre et qui l'estoint trouvés aux coups.

Le capitaine des anies a fait luy seul un present a la chapelle de quatre castors cest a dire dela monnoye d'orange 240 livres cest un chandelier a huit branches semblable a celuy qui est dans le presche d'orange. il est de bronze et a este fait en hollande ce capitaine allant en guerre voulut laisser un monument de sa pieté apres avoir abandonné sa cabane un an devant au service de Dieu.

La chapelle estant achevée on y mit les presens que les sauvages y ont fait ou a faire de leur robes de taffetas rayé de la chine que quelques uns y ont laifse un devant d'autel on a garny une poutre qui est sur l'autel de leur colliers quils mettent autour de la teste des guerriers comme une couronne de leurs bracelets de porcelaine decufsons que les femmes portent pour orner leurs cheveux de ceintures qui sont les perles des sauvages; on a dit plusieurs mfses en action de graces que Dieu a fait a catherine du Sault

1685

Ils acheverent au commencement de cette année la pallissade quils font autour du village agifsant

they could, after all, go with the french. The first statement did not please them at all, and they said that to withdraw from The french and lose the christian faith was the same thing. As for the second, they said that the french would distrust them too much. The 3rd proposal pleased them; and they said that, having but one and the same faith with the french, they wished also to run the same risks together. Accordingly, they set out, and had the approbation of the whole army in their entire conduct—whether they were sent as ambassadors among the iroquois, or our people applied to them for provisions from their chase, or advice were asked from them, as from people expert in war and who had been in close conflict.

The captain of the anies has himself made a present to the chapel, worth four beavers,—or 240 livres, in the money of orange,—that is, a candlestick with eight branches, similar to the one which is in the orange meeting-house. It is of bronze, and was made in holland. This captain, going to war, wished to leave a monument of his piety, after having given up his cabin, one year previously, to the service of God.

The chapel being finished, we placed therein the gifts which the savages made for it, or caused to be made—their robes, striped taffeta from china which some have left for it, and an altar-screen. They have decorated a beam which is above the altar with their collars,—which they put about the heads of the warriors, like a crown,—with their porcelain bracelets, with shields which the women wear to adorn their hair, and with belts, which are the savages' pearls. Several masses have been said by way of thanksgiving for the favors which God has vouchsafed to catherine of the Sault.

toufours comme gens qui ne craignent pas de mourir etants afsurés que les iroquois leurs entiens parens ne leur veulent du mal qua cose quils sont chrestiens; ils les avoint renoncés ces iroquois au conseil de guerre qui fut fait a la famine qui est un lieu au de la de Catarakxi ils avoint declamé contre eux ils les avoint hués et enfin ils leur firent plusieurs menaces qui n'aboutirent enfin qua leur faire perdre leur place parcequils la quitterent pour venir achever la palifsade; ce fut un second tesmoignage de leur bonne foy car le bien quils faisoient aux françois estoit grand parcequils alloint incessamment a la decouverte dans les bois ou les iroquois pouvoient passer pour descendre sur nous ce qui fait grand mal au cœur aux iroquois la palifsade qui est pentagofne eut alors cinq bastions dans lun desquels est un gros canon de fer de huit livres de balle ce travail nest pas petit parceque le village est devenu bien grand depuis quelques annees apres quils eurent . . .

[*The rest of the MS. is missing.*]

[Endorsed:

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“Narre Jusq'en 1685 de ce qui sest pafsé a la misfion du Sault depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 1686 (par le P. Claude Chauchetière S.J.) premier cayer. (copié sur l'autographe du P. Chauchetière, 1881.)”]

1685.

At the beginning of this year was finished the palisade which they were making about the village,—always acting as people who do not fear to die, being assured that the iroquois, their former relatives, bear ill will against them only because they are christians. Those iroquois had renounced them at the council of war that was held at la famine, which is a place beyond Catarakwi. They had declaimed against them, had jeered at them, and finally uttered various threats against them, which eventually ended only in causing them to lose their places in the council, because they left it in order to come to finish the palisade. This was a second indication of their good faith, for the benefit which they were rendering to the french was great. They went incessantly to scout in the woods, where the iroquois were likely to pass in order to make a descent upon us; and this greatly vexes the iroquois. The palisade, which is pentagonal, then had five bastions, in one of which was a great iron cannon for eight-pound balls. This task is not small, as the village has become very large during these past few years. After they had¹⁶ . . .

[*The rest of the MS. is missing.*]

[Endorsed:

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“Narrative, Until 1685, of what occurred in the mission of the Sault, from its foundation until 1686 (By Father Claude Chauchetière, S.J.); first book. (Copied after Father Chauchetière's autograph, 1881.)”]

FOOTNOTES

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