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*Foutel's Journal of
La Salle's Last Voyage*

Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage

*A reprint (page for page and line
for line) of the first English trans-
lation, London, 1714; with the
Map of the original French edition
Paris, 1713, in facsimile; and
Notes by Melville B. Anderson*



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AND NINETY - SIX

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A
JOURNAL
Of the LAST
VOYAGE

Perform'd by
Monfr. de la Sale,
TO THE
GULPH of MEXICO,
To find out the
Mouth of the *Mississipi* River;

CONTAINING,

An Account of the Settlements he endeavour'd to
make on the Coast of the aforefaid Bay, his
unfortunate Death, and the Travels of his
Companions for the Space of Eight Hundred
Leagues across that Inland Country of *America*.
now call'd *Louisiana*, (and given by the King of
France to M. *Crozat*,) till they came into *Canada*.

Written in French by Monsieur JOUTEL,
A Commander in that Expedition;
And Translated from the Edition just publish'd at Paris.

With an exact Map of that vast Country, and a Copy of the
Letters Patents granted by the K. of *France* to M. *Crozat*.

L O N D O N, Printed for *A. Bell* at the *Cross-Keys* and
Bible in *Cornhill*, *B. Lintott* at the *Cross Keys* in *Fleet-*
street, and *J. Baker* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1714.



T H E
French B O O K S E L L E R
T O T H E
R E A D E R .

T*HE Manuscript of this Journal hapning to fall into my Hands, and having shewn it to some Persons well vers'd in these Affairs, they were of Opinion it deserv'd to be printed; especially at this Time, when travels are so much in Request, and in regard this is now seasonable, on Account of the Description it gives of the famous River Missisipi and of the Country of Louislana, where it is intended to make great Settlements. Besides, this Relation is uncommon, curious and ingaging, both in Regard to the Honour and Advan-*
A 2 *tage*

tage of the Nation, for as much as it contains the Attempts and the bold and glorious Undertakings of our French Adventurers, who not satisfied, like others, with discovering the Borders and Coasts of unknown Countries, proceed to penetrate into the Inland, through a thousand Dangers and Hazards of their Lives. Is it not very commendable in them, to make us fully acquainted with that great remaining Part of the World, which for so many Ages continued unknown to our Forefathers, till about two hundred Years ago Christopher Columbus discover'd it, and Americus Vesputius going over soon after, gave it his Name, causing it to be call'd America? One of those whom I desired to peruse this Manuscript, has a little polish'd it, pursuant to the Orders I receiv'd; and he having been a considerable Traveller, was a proper Person to judge of and put it into a Dress fit to appear in publick. The Letter he writ to me, being not only instructive, in Relation to the Journal, but of Use as a curious Supplement to it, I thought the inserting of it would be acceptable. It is as follows.

SIR,

other Parts. All the Land-Carriage is reduc'd to walking afoot; being often without any other Shoes but a Piece of a Bullock's Hide wrapp'd about the Feet; carrying a Firelock, a Snapfack, Tools and some Commodities to barter with the Natives. It is true that accidentally and but very rarely a Horse is found to help out a little.

If they must venture upon the Water, there are only some wretched Canoes, made either of the Barks of Trees or of Bullocks Hides, and those they must often carry or drag along the Land, when the Falls of the Rivers obstruct making use of them. All the Bed is lying on the bare Ground, expos'd to the Inclemencies of the Air, to be devour'd by Alligators and bit by Rattle Snakes; without Bread, Wine, Salt and all other Comforts of Life, and this for some Years. The Diet altogether consists in a poor Pap or Hasty-Pudding made of the Meal of *Indian* Corn, Fish half broil'd or ill boil'd, and some Beef or wild Goats Flesh, dry'd in the Air and Smoke. Besides, what a Trouble is it to invent Signs to be understood by so many several Nations, each of which has it's peculiar Language? All this an Adventurer must resolve with himself to go through, who designs to make Discoveries in *Canada*; and it would be hard to believe
this

this, did not all those who write of it exactly agree in this Particular.

However that Country is good and pleasant, at least towards the South, which is what is here spoken of. The Temperature of the Climate is admirable, the Soil excellent for Tillage, and it is extraordinary fertile in all Sorts of Grain and Fruit; which appears by those the Land produces of it self in great Plenty. The Hills and Woods produce Timber for all Uses and Fruit Trees, as well of cold as hot Countries. There are Vines which want but little Improvement; there are Sugar-Canes, large Meadows, and navigable Rivers full of Fish. It is true they are infested with Alligators, but with a little Care they are to be avoided; as may the Rattle-Snakes, which are extraordinary venomous, but never bite unless they are hurt. There are thousands of wild Bulls, larger than ours, their Flesh good, and instead of Hair, they have a Sort of curl'd Wool extraordinary fine. There are Abundance of Deer, wild Goats and all Sorts of wild Fowl, and more especially of Turkeys. As there are Poisons and Venoms, so there are immediate and wonderful Antidotes.

We must not look there for rich and stately Cities, or lofty Structures, or any of those Wonders of Architecture, or the Re-

mains and ancient Monuments of the Vanity of great Men; but we may there admire Nature in its beautiful Simplicity, as it came from the Hands of its Creator; without having been alter'd or depraved by Ambition or Art.

But is so vast and so beautiful a Country only for Beasts, Birds and Fishes! O inconceivable Wonder! There is an infinite Number of People, divided into Nations, living in Cottages made of the Barks of Trees, or cover'd with Reeds or Hides, when they are not abroad at War, or Hunting, or Fishing, almost naked, without any other Bed but a Bullock's Hide, or any Household-Stuff but a Pot or Kettle, an Axe and some Platters made of Bark. They take their Sustenance, as it comes in their Way, and like the Beasts; they have no Care, do not value Wealth, sing, dance, smoke, eat, sleep, hunt, fish; are independent, make War, and when an Opportunity offers, take Revenge of any Injury in the most cruel Manner they are able. Such is the Life of those Savages. Tho' there be some in the Southern Parts, not quite so stupid and brutal as those in the North, yet they are both Savages, who think of Nothing but what is present, love Nothing but what is obvious to the Senses, incapable of comprehending any Thing that is Spiritual; sharp and ingenious in
what

what is for their own Advantage, without any Sense of Honour or Humanity; horribly cruel, perfectly united among themselves to their Nation and their Allies; but revengeful and merciless towards their Enemies. To conclude, their Shape, tho' hideous, shews they are Men; but their Genius and Manners render them like the worst of Beasts.

A modern Author, who has liv'd in *Canada*, and in other Respects has writ well enough, has perhas fancy'd, he might distinguish himself, and be thought more understanding than other Men in discovering the Genius of those People, by assigning more Ingenuity and Penetration to the Savages, than is generally allow'd them. He sometimes makes them to argue too strongly and too subtilely against the Mysteries of Christian Religion, and his Relation has given just Occasion to suspect, that he is himself the Libertine and Talking Savage, to whom he has given the artful Malignity of his Notions and Arguments.

As for the Genius of the Savages, I am of Opinion, we ought to believe the Missioners; for they are not less capable than other Men to discover the Truth, and they have at least as much Probity to make it known. It is likely, that they, who have for an hundred Years past, wholly apply'd them-

*La Hou-
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with a Sa-
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wherein he
renders
himself
ridiculous.*

*The Na-
tives of
Canada
brutal.*

themselves, according to the Duty of their Function, to study those poor Images of Men, should not be acquainted with them? Or would not their Conscience have check'd them, had they told a Lye in that Particular? Now all the Missioners agree, that allowing there are some Barbarians less wicked and brutal than the rest; yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of such Things as are above the Reach of our Senses; and that whatsoever they are, there is no relying on them; there is always cause to suspect them, and in short, before a Savage can be made a Christian, it is requisite to make him a Man; and we look upon those Savages as Men, who have neither King nor Law, and what is most deplorable, no God; for if we rightly examine their Sentiments and their Actions, it does not appear that they have any Sort of Religion, or well form'd Notion of a Deity. If some of them, upon certain Occasions, do sometimes own a First or Sovereign Being, or do pay some Veneration to the Sun. As to the first Article, they deliver themselves in such a confuse Manner, and with so many Contradictions and Extravagancies, that it plainly appears, they neither know nor believe anything of it; and as for the second, it is only a bare Custom, without any serious Reflection on their Part.

A miserable Nation, more void of the Light of Heaven, and even that of Nature, than ſo many other Nations in the *Eaſt Indies* , who, tho' brutal and ſtupid as to the Knowledge of the Deity, yet are not without ſome Sort of Worſhip, and have their Hermits and *Fakirs* who endeavour by the Praſtice of horrid Penances, to gain the Favour of that Godhead, and thereby ſhew they have ſome real Notion of it. Nothing of that Sort is to be found among our *American* Savages, and in Concluſion, it may be ſaid of them in General, that they are a People without a God.

Our *French* , who are born in Canada all of them well ſhap'd, and Men of Senſe and Worth, cannot endure to have their Savages thus run down. They affirm they are like other Men, and only want Education and being improv'd; but beſides that we may believe they ſay ſo to ſave the Honour of their Country, we advance nothing here but what is grounded on the Report of many able and worthy Perſons, who have writ of it, after being well inform'd on the Spot. We are therefore apt to believe, that there is a Diſtinction to be made at preſent between two Sorts of Savages in *Canada* , viz. thoſe who have been converſant among the *Europeans* for ſixty or eighty Years paſt, and the others who are daily diſcover'd; and it is of the latter
that

that we speak here more particularly, and to whom we assign all those odious and wretched Qualities of the Savages of *North America*; for it is well known, that the first Sort of them, as for Instance, the *Hurons*, the *Algonquins*, the *Iroquois*, the *Illinois* and perhaps some others are now pretty well civiliz'd, so that their Reason begins to clear up, and they may become capable of Instruction.

Strong Women.

Amazing and incomprehensible, but at the same Time adorable Disposition of Divine Providence! We see here a vast Tract of the Earth, of an immense Extent, of a wonderful Soil for Tillage and Fertility in all Sorts of Fruit and Grain; of an admirable Temperature as to the Air, which appears by the very numerous Inhabitants being scarce subject to any Diseases, and in that the Sex, which among us is weak, is there Strong and Vigorous, bringing forth their Children with little or no Pain, and suckling them amidst Labour and Fatigues, without any of those Miseries they are liable to in our Countries. Yet that vast and beautiful Country, describ'd in this Journal, so much favour'd with Worldly Blessings, has been for so many Ages destitute of the Heavenly.

The infinite Numbers of People inhabiting it are Men, and have scarce any thing but the Shape; they are God's Creatures,
and

and do not so much as know, much less serve him. Those who have the Courage and Boldness to travell through the Countries of such Savages, and those who read the Relations of such Travellers, ought to take Care how they make any rash Reflections upon this Point, or pry too deeply into it; for they may chance to lose themselves in their Thoughts. The shortest and the safest Course is, in such Cases, to adore the inconceivable Profoundness of the Creator's Wisdom; to give a Check to all our Enquiries and Curiosities, with the Apostle's Exclamation, *O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his Judgments and his Ways past finding out!* And never ceasing to return Thanks to his Goodness, for having so abundantly supply'd us with his Light and Grace, to conjure him to impart the same to those poor distress'd *Americans*, and that he who is Almighty, will of those Stones make Children of *Abraham*. This all Christians are oblig'd incessantly to pray for, because as Brutish and Stupid as those Savages are, they are still our Brethren, since like us descended from *Adam* and *Noah*.

How much are we then oblig'd to those bold Travellers, who undertake new Discoveries, who to the Hazard of their Lives, at their own Expence, and with such extraordinary

traordinary Toils, go to find out for us, not only numerous Objects of our Curiosity and Admiration, which were before unknown to us, but who also discover to us a numerous Kindred, which is not ever the less such, for having been so long unknown to us. What if it be brutal and indocible, it will be the more Meritorious to Labour at Civilizing of and making it capable of receiving the Lights of Reason and of Faith. We can never sufficiently express our Gratitude to those who apply themselves to the making of new Discoveries; the more Difficulties that attend them, the more we are beholding to those who undertake them. Supposing that Avarice, Ambition, a restless Temper, or a desperate Fortune, are very often the Occasions of such Undertakings; yet God, who can draw Good out of Evil, makes all those Passions subservient to his Glory, and the Salvation of his Elect, and if long Travels do not commonly make Saints of the Travellers, it is their own Fault. However, they at least prepare the Way to the Sanctification of so many Barbarians, beating a Road for the Missioners, who go to instruct those People. Thus all the World is beholden to them; the Savages for the Knowledge of God that is procur'd them; and we for finding by their Means an infinite Number of People
before

before unknown, who will join with us in Serving and Glorifying the Creator of the Universe.

Granting that the said Travellers are not sometimes exact, or agree among themselves in their Relations, their Descriptions and their Maps; this must be an unavoidable Fault in Discoverers; but even that is advantageous to the Publick, for as much as their Successors are excited to examine those Points more strictly, to correct, explain and ascertain those Mistakes.

In acknowledgment therefore of the Service done us by those Illustrious Adventurers and to make them some Sort of Amends for their Sufferings, let us transmit their Names to Posterity in our Writings; let us applaud their Actions when we read them, and let us commend their Relations. This here, most certainly deserves to be read and commended, for it is Curious, Extraordinary and Tragical. It is also, as has been said before, ingaging, at this Conjunction, when there is a Design of making Settlements in those Countries, it mentions, the Consequence whereof may be most Honourable and Advantageous to the Nation. The Travel thro' that Country is one of the greatest and most full of Difficulties that has been perform'd; the Relation of it being made by an Eye Witness

Witness, and in a natural, plain and particular Manner, deserves to be credited; but being only a Journal, it is not capable of admitting of Ornaments or Embellishments. The Reader will be pleas'd to excuse the Repetition of the same Words in it, on Account of the Impossibility of doing otherwise, and will think it enough that the Barrenness of the Narration is made Amends for by the Curiosity of the Subjects. I am of Opinion the small Notes I have added will not be displeasing, because they explain some Particulars, which are not very intelligible to such as are not us'd to read many Travels.

After having said the Good and the Bad of this *North America*, mentioning the Beauty and Excellency of its Climate and the Brutality of its People, and recited the infinite Hardships, those who design to travel must resolve to undergo, I am of Opinion it will be proper to say something of the late Monsieur *de la Sale*, who is the principal Person, and as it were, the Hero of this Relation, tho' having been murdered by his own Men, he fell the unfortunate Victim of the Discovery here treated of. It is also convenient to make known what went before that, which is contain'd in this Journal, and the present happy Consequence of that fatal Enterprize.

Here

Here follows what I have of my own particular Knowledge, and by what has been written.

Robert Cavelier, commonly call'd *Monfieur de la Sale*, a Native of *Roan*, of a good Family, having been educated in Piety and Learning, went over very young into *Canada* and took Delight in Trade, but more in Projects of new Discoveries up the Inland of those vast Countries. Intending to settle there and make that his Country, he purchas'd an Habitation in the Island of *Mont-real*, where has been built the second Town of *Canada*, sixty Leagues above *Quebeck*, which is the Capital, being also a Bishoprick, and the Residence of the Governor, the Intendant and the supreme Council. There are but only those two Towns in the Country, besides some Villages. They are both seated on the great River of *St. Laurence*, which coming from the S. W. is form'd or increased by the Waters of five prodigious fresh Water Lakes, running out one into another, and through them it passes to run down to discharge itself in the Ocean, at a very spacious Mouth, making Way for the Ships that design to penetrate into *Canada*.

Many Discoveries had been made to the Northward, before *Monfieur de la Sale's*

Sale's Time; because there being Plenty of very good Furs, the Traders of *Quebeck* and *Mont-real*, by Means of the Adventurers call'd *Wood-Men*, from their traveling thro' the Woods, had penetrated very far up the Country that Way; but none had advanc'd far towards the South or South-West, beyond Fort *Frontenac*, which is on the Lake *Ontario*, the nearest this Way of the five great Lakes. However, upon the Report of the Natives, it was supposed, that great and advantageous Discoveries might be made. There had been much Talk of the rich Mines of *St. Barbara*, in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, and some were tempted to give them a Visit.

His Character.

Something was known of the famous River *Mississipi*, which it was supposed might fall into the South Sea, and open a Way to it. These Conjectures working upon *Monfieur de la Sale*, who being zealous for the Honour of his Nation, designed to signalize the *French* Name, on Account of extraordinary Discoveries, beyond all that went before him; he form'd the Design and resolv'd to put it in Execution. He was certainly very fit for it, and succeeded at the Expence of his Life; for no Man has done so much in that Way as he did for the Space of
twenty

twenty Years he spent in that Employment. He was a Man of a regular Behaviour, of a large Soul, well enough learned, and understanding in the Mathematicks, designing, bold, undaunted, dexterous, insinuating, not to be discourag'd at any Thing, ready at extricating himself out of any Difficulties, no Way apprehensive of the greatest Fatigues, wonderful steady in Adversity, and what was of extraordinary Use, well enough versed in several Savage Languages. M. *de la Sale* having such extraordinary Talents, whereof he had given sufficient Proofs upon several Occasions, gain'd the Esteem of the Governors of *Canada*; and Messieurs *de Courcelles*, *Talon* and *de Frontenac* successively express'd the same, by often employing him in Affairs for the Honour and Advantage of the Colony.

The Government of the Fort of *Frontenac*, which is the Place farthest advanc'd among the Savages, was committed to him, and he going over into *France*, in the Year 1675, the King made him Proprietor of it, upon Condition he should put it into a better Condition than it was, which he did, as soon as return'd to *Canada*. Then came back again to *Paris*, full of the new Informations he had gain'd touching the River *Mississipi*, the Country

*Is made
Proprietor
of Fort
Fronte-
nac.*

runs through, the Mines, especially those of Lead and Copper, the navigable Rivers, and the Trade that might be carried on of Furs and the fine Wooll of those wild Bullocks, whereof there are infinite Numbers in the Forests. Being also furnish'd with better Accounts of that Country, than the Fables that were then publish'd, by the Name of a Voyage of the *Sieur Joliet*, he was well receiv'd at Court, and dispatch'd with the necessary Orders for proceeding on his Discoveries.

*His Reputation
makes Enemies.*

The great Reputation *Monfieur de la Sale* had gain'd, and his mighty Projects, occasion'd a Jealousy in some and Envy in others. His own Countrymen thwarted his Designs; but he surmounted all those Obstacles and return'd into *Canada*, about the Year 1678, with the Chevalier *Tonty*, an *Italian* Gentleman, a Person of Worth and that had serv'd, whom he gain'd to his Enterprize. He also pick'd up in the Country forty or fifty Persons fit for that Expedition, and among them were three *Recolets*, whom he carry'd over to try what might be done as to Christianity among the Savages; he was well acquainted with, and had a just Esteem for the Virtue, the Capacity and the Zeal of those good, religious Men,
who

who alone first undertook the Mission into that new World, and who being seconded by others, have carry'd it on there, with so much Edification.

Monfieur *de la Sale* having spent two Years in going and coming, still thwarted by those who envy'd him in the Country, to such a Degree, that had it not been for an Antidote, he must have dy'd of Poison given him by some Villains, could not order his Affairs and begin his Expedition till the Year 1682. He set out at length, and to the End his Discovery of the *Mississipi* might be compleat, he caus'd Father *Hennepin*, a Recolet, with some others, to travel to the Northward, that they might find out the Source of that River, and they found it, about the 50th Degree of North Latitude. For his own Part, he proceeded to the Westward and found the River of the *Illinois*, which he call'd the River of *Seignelay*, and following its Course, came into the *Mississipi*, where the other discharges it self. He then concluded he had no more to do, but to run down to its Mouth, whether in the South Sea or the Gulph of *Mexico*. All along its Banks he found many Savage Nations, with whom, by Means of his Presents, he enter'd into Alliances, and gave the

Source of
the Missi-
sipi.

Illinois
River.

Country the Name of *Louisiana*, to honour the Name and Memory of our August Monarch, in whose Reign those Discoveries were made. At length, the Course of the *Mississipi* convey'd Monsieur *de la Sale* to its Mouths, as falling into the Gulph of *Mexico* in two Streams, and he arriv'd there in the Month of *April* 1682 or 1683, for the Dates of those who have writ concerning it, make either of those Years. He stay'd there some Days, to take Observations and place some Marks which he might know again, when he return'd. Being satisfied with having found some Part of what he sought, he return'd the same Way he had gone, and came again to *Quebeck* in *Canada*, in order to go over to *France*, and thence to make a Tryal to find that Mouth of the *Mississipi* by the Gulf of *Mexico*, which he had already discover'd by the Way of *Canada*, and to secure it; for he thought it much more advantageous to know it by the Way of the Sea, than to go thither by Land, because the Voyage through *Canada* is much longer and more troublesome, and can be perform'd but once a Year, whereas by the Way of the Bay of *Mexico* it is not longer, but is much more commodious, and may be perform'd
in

in all Seasons, either going or coming. He was also sensible that the said Mouth being once discover'd by Sea, afforded an easier and safer Communication with *Canada*, running up that noble River, the Navigation whereof is not interrupted by Falls, nor Torrents for above sixty Leagues towards its Source.

These Considerations mov'd Monsieur *de la Sale* to take another Voyage into *France*, where his Expedition having been commended and his new Project approv'd of, the King order'd him Vessels to return and carry on his Enterprize, the Particulars whereof are to be found in this Journal. That Affair, so well begun, seem'd to promise very advantageous Consequences; but it miscarried through the Perfidiousness and Villany of that noble Adventurer's own People.

This is what I have judg'd might serve as an Introduction to your Journal, if it shall not be thought to dishonour it, you may place it before the said Journal, and that which follows at the End of it, which will shew how far that great Enterprize of the Discovery of the *Mississipi* has been carried.

*The other
Part here
mention'd
is at the
End of the
Journal.*

T H E

P R E F A C E.

Written by the

Sieur *de* MITCHEL,

Who Methodiz'd this Journal.

N*otwithstanding the late Monsieur de la Sale's Voyage had a most unfortunate End, as to his own Person, yet that will not hinder Posterity, from ever allowing him the Title of a most renowned Traveller.*

The History of his Enterprize will be acceptable to future Ages, for laying before them, the extraordinary Genius, the invincible Courage, and the undaunted Resolution of such a Man, who could contrive and execute

P R E F A C E.

execute the Means for discovering the remaining Part of the World.

And in regard that the Particulars of the Discovery of those large and immense Provinces, will always be the Object of curious and understanding Persons, it is not to be wonder'd, that after what has been writ by Father Hennepin, a Recolet, the Chevalier Tonty and some others, we here now publish an Historical Journal of the last Voyage Monsieur de la Sale undertook into the Gulf of Mexico, to the Country of Louisiana, to finish what he had projected at his former Voyage, had not the Treachery of his own Men cut him off.

This Journal of Monsieur Joutel, whereof Monsieur Tonty makes mention in the Book that has been printed of the last Discoveries in America, Folio 319, has this peculiar, that it exactly contains what hapned to Monsieur de la Sale, Day by Day, in that fatal Voyage, since his Departure from Rochelle to his death, and till the Return of his Brother Monsieur Cavelier the Priest, Monsieur Cavelier his Nephew, the Reverend Father Anastasius, the Recolet, and the said Sieur Joutel, who in Order to return to France, took that long Journey by Land, from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, being a Tract of above 800 Leagues.

Many

P R E F A C E.

Many Adventures of all Sorts, most of which are Tragical, will please the curious Reader; and above all he will admire the Protection of Divine Providence, in Conducting and Preserving that small Company throughout those vast Regions, and among so many barbarous Nations.

We do not here pretend to Criticise upon the Work of Father Hennepin, or that of Monsieur Tonty; but even their own Favourers cannot take it ill, that this Author does not sometimes say as they do; that he plainly delivers what he saw, and that he exposes to publick View all the Truths he was an Eye Witness to, without magnifying or inventing.

It is nevertheless true, that they may be all excus'd as to some Particulars; Father Hennepin and Monsieur Tonty may have seen some Things, that did not come to the Knowledge of Monsieur Joutel; but there is a Faët of great Consequence in the History of Monsieur de la Sale, which must not be pass'd over in Silence.

*It is, that Monsieur Tonty, in his Book affirms, that Monsieur de la Sale at length found the Mouth of the Missisipi, and Monsieur Joutel asserts the contrary, and says, that is so far from being true, that during his last Progress towards the Cenis, when the said Sieur Joutel was with him, and
had*

P R E F A C E.

had never been parted, Monsieur de la Sale's principal Care was to enquire of all the Nations they pass'd through, where the Mississipi was, and could never hear any thing of it; that this is evidently made out, because if Monsieur de la Sale had found the Mouth of that River, he would infallibly have taken another Way, and other Measures, and all the Appearances are on this Side, as may be seen in this Relation.

However, this must be said in Behalf of Monsieur Tonty, that he deliver'd it upon the Report of Monsieur Cavelier the Priest, and Brother to Monsieur de la Sale; which Monsieur Cavelier might have Reasons to give out they had discover'd the Mississipi, upon the same Views as oblig'd him to conceal his Brother's Death.

Now in regard we shall see Monsieur de la Sale, for some time ranging along the Coasts of North America, to find out the Mouth of that River, it will be proper to inform those who have not seen his first Voyage, and shew them how it hapned that his Search prov'd in vain, and he was oblig'd to land in another Place.

After Monsieur de la Sale had discover'd that vast Continent, which is a Part of North America, from Canada, by the Way of Montreal, going up the River of St. Laurence, then through the Country of the Iroquois,

P R E F A C E.

Iroquois, the Illinois and others, all which he call'd Louisiana, his Design was to find a shorter and a safer Way, than that he had Travell'd by Land.

For this Reason it was, that having upon his first Discovery found the great River, call'd by the Barbarians Mississipi or Mechassipi, according to Father Hennepin, and to which he gave the Name of Colbert, guessing by its Course that it fell into the Bay of Mexico, he resolv'd with himself to find out the Mouth of it.

In short, he ran down that River, with more Danger and Toil than can be imagin'd, found it parted into two Streams and follow'd that which was most to the Northward, to the Place where it is lost in the Sea. He took the Latitude that Mouth lay in, and found it was between 28 and 29 Degrees North, as Monsieur Joutel affirms he heard him say. He left Marks there, return'd the same Way to Canada and thence into France, well pleased with his Discovery, which would have been very glorious, had he succeeded in his second Voyage.

But whether he did not take his Measures right, when he made his Observations ashore, or whether that River disgorges it self at a flat Coast, and only leaves some inconsiderable Mark of its Channel for such as come by Sea; it is most certain, that when he
came

P R E F A C E.

came into the Bay of Mexico, he sought for the same Mouth in Vain, during the Space of three Weeks, and was oblig'd to go ashore to the S. W. of the Place, where it really was.

Monsieur Tonty, in his Book, Fol. 192. tells us, that he was present when Monsieur de la Sale took the Latitude of the Mouth of the Missisipi, at his first Voyage, and says it was between twenty two and twenty three Degrees North; but that is a Mistake, which must be assigned either to the Printer, or Transcriber, for in the Map the said Monsieur Tonty has added to his Book, he places the said Mouth in about twenty six Degrees and a Half of North Latitude, and there is Reason to believe he errs in that too.

Monsieur Joutel and some others are of Opinion, that the Mouth of that Branch Monsieur de la Sale went down, is in the Bay of the Holy Ghost, and actually between the twenty eighth and twenty ninth Degrees of North Latitude, as Monsieur de la Sale found it. As for the other Channel, the same Sieur Joutel believes it is farther towards the S. W. and about the Shoals they met with about the 6th of January, 1685, between the twenty seventh and twenty eighth Degrees of North Latitude, when they were sailing

P R E F A C E.

sailing along the Coast of the Bay of Mexico, and that those Shoals were the Marks of a River discharging it self there, which they neglected to inquire into. If that be so, Monsieur de la Sale was very near it, and even pass'd along before both the Mouths, but unfortunately, without perceiving them, which was the main Cause of his Death and the Ruin of his Enterprize.

To conclude, it must be granted, that as the Return of that small Number of Persons, from a Country so remote and through so many Dangers, is a visible Effect of the Divine Protection; so it is also an Effect of Heavenly Justice to have preserv'd those Witnesses, and to have brought them Home into Monsiuer de la Sale's Country, to retrieve his Reputation, which had been sully'd by his Enemies.

Monsieur de la Sale would have been taken for a Dreamer, and even for an Impostor; his Enterprize had been condemn'd, and his Memory blasted; but God would not permit the Honour of a Man of such singular Merit to suffer; it pleas'd him to preserve and bring Home unquestionable Witnesses, who, by Word of Mouth and other undoubted Proofs of the notable Discoveries made by Monsieur de la Sale, have stopp'd the
the

P R E F A C E.

the Mouths of his Enemies, and made out the Truth of what has been asserted at the Beginning of this Discourse, viz. that Monsieur de la Sale only wanted good Fortune to secure him the Title of a great Man and a renowned Traveller.



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AN
HISTORICAL JOURNAL
OF THE
Late Monsieur *de la Sale's*
LAST
VOYAGE
INTO
North America,
To Discover the
River *MISSISSIPPI*.

AT the Time when Monsieur *de la Sale* was preparing for his last Voyage into *North America*, I happen'd to be at *Roan*, the Place where he and I were both born, being return'd from the Army, where I had serv'd sixteen or seventeen Years.

It is Mr. Joutel that speaks in this Journal.

The Reputation gain'd by Monsieur *de la Sale*, the Greatness of his Undertaking, the Natural

B

Curiosity

July 1684



Curiosity which all men are poffefs'd with, and my Acquaintance with his Kindred, and with feveral of the Inhabitants of that City, who were to bear him Company, eafily prevail'd with me to make one of the Number, and I was admitted as a Voluntier.

Our Rendezvous was appointed at *Rochel*, where we were to imbark. *Meffieurs Cavelier*, the one Brother, the other Nephew to *Monfieur de la Sale*, *Meffieurs Chedeville*, *Planteroze*, *Thibault*, *Ory*, fome others and I, repair'd thither in July 1684.

*Departure
from Ro-
chel.*

Monfieur de la Sale having provided all Things neceffary for his Voyage, furmounted all the Difficulties laid in his Way by feveral ill-minded Perfons, and receiv'd his Orders from *Monfieur Arnoult*, the Intendant at *Rochel*, pursuant to thofe he had receiv'd from the King, we fail'd on the 24th of July, 1684, being twenty four Veffels, four of them for our Voyage, and the others for the *Islands* and *Canada*.

*Persons
that went.*

The four Veffels appointed for *Monfieur de la Sale's* Enterprize, had on Board about two hundred and eighty perfons, including the Crews; of which Number there were one hundred Soldiers, with their Officers, one *Talon*, with his *Canada* Family, about thirty Voluntiers, fome young Women, and the reft hired People and Workmen of all Sorts, requifite for making of a Settlement.

Ships.

The firft of the four Veffels was a Man of War, call'd *le Joly*, of about thirty fix or forty Guns, commanded by *Monfieur de Beaujeu*, on which *Monfieur de la Sale*, his Brother the Priest, two *Recolet* Fryars, *Meffieurs Dain-*
maville

July 1684



merville and *Chedeville*, Priests, and I imbark'd. The next was a little Frigate, carrying six Guns, which the King had given to Monsieur *de la Sale*, commanded by two Masters; a Flyboat of about three hundred Tuns Burden, belonging to the Sieur *Massiot*, Merchant at *Rochel*, commanded by the Sieur *Aigron*, and laden with all the Effects Monsieur *de la Sale* had thought necessary for his Settlement, and a small Ketch, on which Monsieur *de la Sale* had imbark'd thirty Tuns of Ammunition, and some Commodities design'd for *Santo Domingo*.

All the Fleet, being under the Command of Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, was order'd to keep together as far as *Cape Finisterre*, whence each was to follow his own Course; but this was prevented by an unexpected Accident. We were come into 45 Degrees 23 Minutes of North Latitude, and about 50 Leagues from *Rochel*, when the Boltspit of our Ship, the *Joly*, on a sudden, broke short, which oblig'd us to strike all our other Sails, and cut all the Riggging the broken Boltspit hung by.

*Boltspit
lost.*

Every man reflected on this Accident according to his Inclination. Some were of Opinion it was a Contrivance; and it was debated in Council, Whether we should proceed to *Portugal*, or return to *Rochel*, or *Rochfort*; but the latter Resolution prevail'd. The other Ships design'd for the Islands and *Canada*, parted from us, and held on their Course. We made back for the River of *Rochfort*, whither the other three Vessels follow'd us, and a Boat was sent in, to acquaint the Intendant with this Accident. The Boat returned some Hours after, towing along a Boltspit, which was soon set in

*Return to
Rochfort.*

Aug. 1684



Cape Finisterre.

Madera.

*Difference
between the
Commanders.*

its Place, and after *Monfieur de la Sale* had confer'd with the Intendant, he left that Place on the first of *August*, 1684.

We fail'd again, steering W. and by S. and on the 8th of the same Month weather'd *Cape Finisterre*, which is in 43 Degrees of North Latitude, without meeting any Thing remarkable. The 12th, we were in the Latitude of *Lisbon*, or about 39 Degrees North. The 16th, we were in 36 Degrees, the Latitude of the *Streights*, and the 20th, discover'd the Island *Madera*, which is in 32 Degrees, and where *Monfieur de Beaujeu* propos'd to *Monsieur de la Sale* to anchor, and take in Water and some Refreshments.

Monfieur de la Sale was not of that Mind, on Account that we had been but twenty one Days from *France*, had sufficient Store of Water, ought to have taken aboard Refreshments enough, and it would be a Loss of eight or ten Days to no Purpose; besides, that our Enterprize requir'd Secrecy, whereas the *Spaniards* might get some Information, by Means of the People of that Island, which was not agreeable to the King's Intention.

This Answer was not acceptable to *Monfieur de Beaujeu*, or the other Officers, nor even to the Ships Crew, who mutter'd at it very much, and it went so far, that a Passenger, call'd *Paget*, a *Hugonet* of *Roche*, had the Insolence to talk to *Monfieur de la Sale* in a very passionate and disrespectful Manner, so that he was fain to make his Complaint to *Monfieur de Beaujeu*, and to ask of him, Whether he had given any Incouragement to such a Fellow to talk to him after that Manner. *Monfieur Beaujeu* made

Aug. 1684



made him no Satisfaction. These Misunderstandings, with some others which happen'd before, being no Way advantageous to his Majesty's Service, laid the Foundation of those tragical Events, which afterwards put an unhappy End to Monsieur *de la Sale's* Life and Undertaking, and occasion'd our Ruin.

However, it was resolv'd not to come to an Anchor at that Island, whereupon Monsieur *de Beaujeu* said, That since it was so, we should put in no where but at the Island of *Santo Domingo*. We held on our Course, weather'd the Island of *Madera*, and began to see those little flying Fishes, which to escape the *Dorados*, or Gilt-Heads, that pursue them, leap out of the Water, take a little Flight of about a Pistol Shot, and then fall again into the Sea, but very often into Ships, as they are sailing by. That Fish is about as big as a Herring, and very good to eat.

Flying Fish.

On the 24th, we came into the Trade Wind, which continually blows from East to West, and is therefore call'd by some Authors *Ventus subsolanus*, because it follows the Motion of the Sun. The 28th, we were in 27 Degrees 44 Minutes of North Latitude, and in 344 of Longitude. The 30th, we had a Storm, which continu'd violent for two Days, but being right astern of us, we only lost Sight of the Ketch, for want of good Steering, but she join'd us again a few Days after.

Trade Wind.

The 6th of *September*, we were under the Tropic of *Cancer*, in 23 Degrees 30 Minutes of North Latitude and 319 of Longitude. There Mons. *de la Sale's* Obstructing the Ceremony the Sailors call Ducking, gave them Occasion to mutter again, and render'd himself privately odious. So

Ducking.

Sept. 1684



many have given an Account of the Nature of that Folly, that it would be needless to repeat it here; it may suffice to say, that there are three things to authorize it, 1. Custom. 2. The Oath administer'd to those who are duck'd, which is to this Effect, *That they will not permit any to pass the Tropics or the Line, without obliging them to the same Ceremony.* And 3, which is the most prevailing Argument, the Interest accruing to the Sailors upon that Occasion, by the Refreshments, Liquors or Money given them by the Passengers to be excus'd from that Ceremony.

Monfr. *de la Sale*, being inform'd that all Things were preparing for that Impertinent Ceremony of Ducking, and that a Tub full of Water was ready on the Deck (*the French Duck in a great Cask of Water, the English in the Sea, letting down the Person at the Yard Arm*) sent Word, that he would not allow such as were under his Command to be subject to that Folly, which being told to Monfr. *de Beaujeu*, he forbid putting of it in Execution, to the great Dissatisfaction of the inferior Officers and Sailors, who expected a considerable Sum of Money and Quantity of Refreshments, or Liquors, because there were many Persons to Duck, and all the Blame was laid upon Monfr. *de la Sale*.

Hispani-
ola Island.

On the 11th of *September*, we were in the Latitude of the Island of *Santo Domingo*, or *Hispaniola*, being 20 Degrees North, and the Longitude of 320 Degrees. We steer'd our Course West, but the Wind flatting, the ensuing Calm quite stopp'd our Way. That same Day Monfr. *Dainmaville*, the Priest, went aboard the Bark *la Belle*, to administer the Sacraments to a Gunner, who died a few Days after. Monfr: *de la Sale*

Sale went to see him, and I bore him Company. Sept. 1684

The 21st, the Ketch, which we had before lost Sight of, join'd us again; and some Complaints being made to Monfr. *de la Sale*, by several private Persons that were aboard the Fly-boat, he order'd me to go thither to accommodate those Differences, which were occasion'd only by some Jealousies among them.

The 16th, we sail'd by the Island *Sombrero*, and the 18th had hard blowing Weather, which made us apprehensive of a Huracan. The foul Weather lasted two Days, during which Time, we kept under a main Course and lost Sight of the other Vessels. Sombrero Island.

A Council was call'd aboard our Ship, the *Joly*, to consider whether we should lie by for the others, or hold on our Course, and it was resolv'd, that, considering our Water began to fall short, and there were above five Persons sick aboard, of which Number Monfr. *de la Sale* and the Surgeon were, we should make all the Sail we could, to reach the first Port of the Island *Hispaniola*, being that call'd *Port de Paix*, or Port Peace, which Resolution was accordingly register'd.

The 20th, we discover'd the first Land of *Hispaniola*, being Cape *Samana*, lying in 19 Degrees of North Latitude, and of Longitude 308. Cape Samana.

The 25th we should have put into *Port de Paix*, as had been concerted, and it was not only the most convenient Place for us to get Refreshments, but also the Residence of Monfr. *de Cussy*, Governor of the Island *Tortuga*, who knew that Monfr. *de la Sale* carried particular Orders for him to furnish such Necessaries as he stood in Need of.

Sept. 1684

Tortuga
Island.

Notwithstanding these cogent Reasons, Mr. *de Beaujeu* was positive to pass further on in the Night, weathering the Island *Tortuga*, which is some Leagues distant from *Port de Paix* and the Coast of *Hispaniola*. He also pass'd Cape St. *Nicolas*, and the 26th of the said Month, we put into the Bay of *Jaguana*, coasting the Island *Guanabo*, which is in the Middle of that great Bay or Gulph, and in Conclusion, on the 27th we arriv'd at *Petit Gouave*, having spent 58 Days in our Passage from the Port of *Chef de Bois*, near *Rochel*.

This Change of the Place for our little Squadron to put into, for which no Reason could be given, prov'd very disadvantageous; and it will hereafter appear, as I have before observ'd, that those misunderstanding among the Officers insensibly drew on the Causes from whence our Misfortune proceeded.

As soon as we had dropt Anchor, a *Piragua*, or great Sort of *Canoe*, came out from the Place, with Twenty Men, to know who we were, and hail'd us. Being inform'd that we were *French*, they acquainted us, that Monsieur *de Cussy* was at *Port de Paix* with the Marquis *de St. Laurent*, Lieutenant General of the *American* Islands, and Monsieur *Begon* the Intendant, which very much troubled Monsieur *de la Sale*, as having Affairs of the utmost Consequence to concert with them; but there was no Remedy, and he was oblig'd to bear it with Patience.

The next Day, being the 28th. we sang *Te Deum*, in Thanksgiving for our prosperous Passage. Monsieur *de la Sale* being somewhat recover'd of his Indisposition, went Ashore with several of the Gentlemen of his Retinue, to buy
some



some Refreshments for the Sick, and to find Means to send Notice of his Arrival, to Messieurs *de St. Laurent, de Cussy* and *Begon*, and signify to them, how much he was concern'd that we had not put into *Port de Paix*. He writ particularly to Monsieur *de Cussy*, to desire he would come to him, if possible, that he might be assisting to him, and take the necessary Measures for rendring his Enterprize successful, that it might prove to the King's Honour and Service.

In the mean Time, the Sick suffering very much Aboard the Ships, by Reason of the Heat, and their being too close together, the Soldiers were put Ashore, on a little Island, near *Petit Gouaves*, which is the usual Burial-Place of the People of the pretended Reformed Religion, where they had fresh Provisions, and Bread baked on Purpose, distributed to them. As for the Sick, I was order'd by Monsieur *de la Sale*, to provide a House for them, whither they were carry'd, with the Surgeons, and supply'd with all that was requisite for them.

Some Days after, Monsieur *de la Sale* fell dangerously ill, most of his Family were also sick. A violent Fever, attended with Lightheadedness, brought him almost to Extremity. The Posture of his Affairs, Want of Money, and the Weight of a mighty Enterprize, without knowing whom to trust with the Execution of it, made him still more Sick in Mind, than he was in his Body, and yet his Patience and Resolution surmounted all those Difficulties. He pitch'd upon Monsieur *le Gros* and me to act for him, caus'd some Commodities he had Aboard the Ships to be sold, to raise Money; and through
our

Nov. 1684



Ketch taken by the Spaniards.

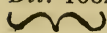
our Care, and the excellent Constitution of his Body, he recover'd Health.

Whilst he was in that Condition, two of our Ships, which had been separated from us on the 18th of *September*, by the stormy Winds, arriv'd at *Petit Gouave* on the 2d of *October*. The Joy conceiv'd on Account of their Arrival, was much allay'd by the News they brought of the Loss of the Ketch, taken by two *Spanish Piraguas*; and that Loss was the more grievous, because that Vessel was laden with Provisions, Ammunition, Utensils and proper Tools for the settling of our new Colonies; a Misfortune which would not have happen'd, had Monsieur *de Beaujeu* put into *Port de Paix*, and Messieurs *de St. Laurent*, *de Cussy*, and *Begon* who arrived at the same Time, to see Monsieur *de la Sale* did not spare to signify as much to him, and to complain of that Miscarriage.

Monsieur *de la Sale* being recover'd, had several Conferences with these Gentlemen, relating to his Voyage. A Consult of Pilots was called to resolve where we should touch before we came upon the Coast of *America*, and it was resolved to steer directly for the Western Point of the Island of *Cuba*, or for *Cape St. Antony*, distant about 300 Leagues from *Hispaniola*, there to expect the proper Season, and a fair Wind to enter the Gulph or Bay, which is but Two hundred Leagues over.

The next Care was to lay in Store of other-Provisions, in the Room of those which were lost, and Monsieur *de la Sale* was the more pressing for us to imbark, because most of his Men deserted, or were debauch'd by the Inhabitants of the Place; and the Vessel call'd *l' Aimable*,
being

Dec. 1684



being the worst Sailer of our little Squadron, it was resolv'd that should carry the Light, and the others to follow it. Monsieur *de la Sale*, Monsieur *Cavelier* his Brother, the Fathers *Zenobrius* and *Anastafius*, both Recolets, Monsieur *Chedeville* and I imbark'd on the said *Aimable* and all sail'd the 25th of *November*.

We met with some Calms, and some violent Winds, which nevertheless carry'd us in Sight of the Island of *Cuba*, on the 30th of the same Month, and it then bore from us *N. W.* There we alter'd our Course and steer'd *W.* and by *N.* The 31st, the Weather being somewhat close, we lost Sight of that Island, then stood *W. N. W.* and the Sky clearing up, made an Observation at Noon, and found we were in 19 Degrees, 45 Minutes of North Latitude; by which we judg'd that the Currents had carry'd us off to Sea from the Island of *Cuba*.

On the first of *December* we discover'd the Island *Cayman*. The 2d we steer'd *N. W.* and by *W.* in order to come up with the Island of *Cuba* in the Northern Latitude of 20 Degrees 32 Minutes. The 3d we discover'd the little Island of *Pines*, lying close to *Cuba*. The 4th, we weather'd a Point of that Island, and the Wind growing scant, were forc'd to ply upon a Bowling, and make several Trips till the 5th at Night, when we anchor'd in a Creek, in 15 Fathom Water, and continued there till the 8th.

During that short Stay, Monsieur *de la Sale* went Ashore with several Gentlemen of his Retinue on the Island of *Pines*, shot an Alligator dead, and returning Aboard, perceiv'd he had lost two of his Voluntiers, who had wander'd
into

Cayman
Island.Island of
Pines.

Dec. 1684



into the Woods, and perhaps lost their Way. We fired several Musquet Shots to call them, which they did not hear, and I was order'd to expect them ashore, with 30 Musquetiers to attend me. They return'd the next Morning with much Trouble.

*Alligator
eaten.*

In the mean Time, our Soldiers, who had good Stomachs, boil'd and eat the Alligator, Monsieur *de la Sale* had kill'd. The Flesh of it was white and had a Taste of Musk, for which Reason I could not eat it. One of our Hunters kill'd a wild Swine, which the Inhabitants of those Islands call *Maron*. There are of them in the Island of *Santo Domingo*, or *Hispaniola*, they are of the Breed of those the *Spaniards* left in the Islands when they first discover'd them, and run wild in the Woods. I sent it to Monsieur *de la Sale*, who presented the one Half to Monsieur *de Beaujeu*.

WildSwine

*Island of
Pines.*

That Island is all over very thick wooded, the Trees being of several Sorts, and some of them bear a Fruit resembling the Acorn, but harder. There are Abundance of Parrots, larger than those at *Petit Gouave*, a great Number of Turtle Doves and other Birds, and a Sort of Creatures resembling a Rat, but as big as a Cat, their Hair reddish. Our Men kill'd many of them and fed heartily on them, as they did on a good Quantity of Fish, wherewith that Coast abounds.

We imbark'd again, as soon as the two Men who had stray'd were return'd, and on the 8th; being the Feast of the *Conception* of the Blessed Virgin, sail'd in the Morning, after having heard Mass, and the Wind shifting were forc'd to steer several Courses. The 9th we discover'd

Cape

Cape *Corrientes*, of the Island of *Cuba*; where we were first becalm'd; and then follow'd a stormy Wind, which carried us away five Leagues to the Eastward. The 10th we spent the Night, making several Trips. The 11th, the Wind coming about, we weather'd Cape *Corrientes*, to make that of *St. Antony*; and at length, after plying a considerable Time, and sounding, we came to an Anchor the 12th, upon good Ground, in fifteen Fathom Water, in the Creek form'd by that Cape, which is in 22 Degrees of North Latitude and 288 Degrees 35 Minutes of Longitude.

We stay'd there only till next Day, being the 13th, when the Wind seem'd to be favourable to enter upon the Bay of *Mexico*. We made ready and sail'd, steering *N. W.* and by *N.* and *N. N. W.* to weather the said Cape and prosecute our Voyage: But by that Time we were five Leagues from the Place of our Departure, we perceiv'd the Wind shifted upon us, and not knowing which Way the Currents set, we stood *E.* and by *N.* and held that Course till the 14th, when Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, who was aboard the *Joly*, join'd us again, and having confer'd with Monsieur *de la Sale* about the Wind's being contrary, propos'd to him to return to Cape *St. Antony*, to which Monsieur *de la Sale* consented, to avoid giving him any Cause to complain, tho' there was no great Occasion for so doing, and accordingly we went and anchor'd in the Place from whence we came.

The next Day, being the 15th, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent some Men ashore, to try whether we could fill some Casks with Water. They brought Word, they had found some in the Wood,

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The Capes
Corrien-
tes and St.
Antony.

Dec. 1684



Wood, which was not much amiss, but that there was no Conveniency for rowling of the Casks; for which Reason Rundlets were sent, and as much Water brought in them, as fill'd six or seven of our Water Casks.

Mistake in
Monsieur
Tonti's
Account of
this Voyage.

The same Men reported, that they had found a glafs Bottle, and in it a little Wine, or some other Liquor, almost dead. This was all the Provision we found in that Place, by which it appears, how much Monsieur Tonti was misinform'd, since in his Book, *Pag.* 242, he says, we found in that Island several Tun of *Spanish* Wine, good Brandy and *Indian* Wheat, which the *Spaniards* had left or abandon'd; and it is a meer Invention without any Thing of Truth.

The 16th, the Weather being still Calm, the Men went ashore again for five or six more Casks of Water. I was to have gone with them, had not an Indisposition, which I first felt in the Island of *Pines*, and afterwards turn'd to a tertian Ague, prevented me. Therefore I can give no Account of that Island, any further than what I could see from the Ships, which was Abundance of that Sort of Palm-Trees, in French call'd *Lataniers*, fit for nothing but making of Brooms, or scarce any other Use. That day we saw some Smoaks, far within the Island, and guess'd they might be a Signal of the Number of our Ships, or else made by some of the Country Hunters, who had lost their Way.

The next Night preceding the 17th, the Wind freshning from the *N. W.* and starting up all on a sudden, drove the Vessel call'd *la Belle* upon her Anchor, so that she came foul of the Boltspit of the *Aimable*, carrying away the
Sprit-

Dec. 1684



Spritsail-Yard and the Spritsail-Top-Sail-Yard, and had not they immediately veer'd out the Cable of the *Aimable*, the Vessel *la Belle* would have been in danger of perishing, but escap'd with the Loss of her Mizzen, which came by the Board, and of about a hundred Fathoms of Cable and an Anchor.

The 18th, the Wind being fresh, we made ready, and sail'd about Ten in the Morning, standing *North* and *N.* and by *W.* and held our Course till Noon; the Point of Cape St. *Anthony* bearing *East* and *West* with us, and so continu'd steering *North-West*, till the 19th at Noon, when we found our selves in the Latitude of 22 Degrees 58 minutes *North*, and in 287 Degrees 54 Minutes Longitude.

Finding the Wind shifting from one Side to another, we directed our Course several Ways, but that which prov'd advantageous to us, was the fair Weather, and that was a great Help, so that scarce a Day pass'd without taking an Observation.

The 20th, we found the Variation of the Needle was 5 Degrees *West*, and we were in 26 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude and 285 Degrees 16 Minutes Longitude. The 23th it grew very cloudy, which threaten'd stormy Weather, and we prepar'd to receive it, but came off only with the Apprehension, the Clouds dispersing several Ways, and we continu'd till the 27th in and about 28 Degrees 14 Minutes, and both by the Latitude and Estimation it was judg'd, that we were not far from Land.

The Bark call'd *la Belle* was sent out to discover and keep before, sounding all the Way; and half an Hour before Sun-set, we saw the
Vessel

Dec. 1684



Vessel *la Belle* put out her Colours and lie by for us. Being come up with her, the Master told us, he had found an Owzy Bottom at thirty two Fathom Water. At eight of the Clock we sound'd also, and found forty Fathom, and at ten, but twenty five. About Midnight, *la Belle* sounding again, found only seventeen, which being a Demonstration of the Nearness of the Land, we lay by for the *Joly*, to know what Monsieur de Beaujeu design'd, who being come up, lay by with us.

The 27th, Monsieur de Beaujeu sent the *Chevalier d' Aire*, his Lieutenant, and two Pilots to Monsieur de la Sale, to conclude upon the Course we were to steer, and it was agreed we should stand West North West till we came into six Fathom Water; that then we should run West, and when we had discover'd the Land, Boats should be sent to view the Country. Matters being thus agreed on, we sail'd again, sounding all the Way for the more Security, and about ten, were in ten or eleven Fathom Water, the Bottom fine greyish Sand and owzy. At Noon, were in 26 Degrees 37 Minutes of North Latitude.

The 28th, being in eight or nine Fathom Water, we perceiv'd the Bark *la Belle*, which kept a Head of us, put out her Colours, which was the Signal of her having discover'd Something. A Sailor was sent up to the Main-Top, who descry'd the Land, to the N. E. not above six Leagues Distance from us, which being told to Monsieur de Beaujeu, he thought fit to come to an Anchor.

There being no Man among us who had any Knowledge of that Bay, where we had been told

told the Currents were strong, and fate swiftly to the *Eastward*, it made us suspect that we were fallen off, and that the Land we saw must be the Bay of *Apalache*, which oblig'd us on the 29th to steer *W. N. W.* still keeping along the Land, and it was agreed that the *Joly* should follow us in six Fathom Water.

Dec. 1684



The 30th, the *Chevalier d' Aire* and the second Pilot of the *Joly* came aboard us to confer and adjust by our Recknings what Place we might be in, and they all agreed, according to Monsieur *de la Sale*'s Opinion, that the Currents had set us to the *Eastward*, for which Reason we held on our Course, as we had done the Day before to the *N. W.* keeping along the Shore till the first of *January* 1685. when we perceiv'd that the Currents forc'd us towards the Land, which oblig'd us to come to an Anchor in six Fathom Water.

Currents.

We had not been there long, before the Bark *la Belle* made a Signal that she had discover'd Land, which we descry'd at about 4 Leagues Distance from us. Notice was given to Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, who drew near to us, and it was resolv'd to send some Person to discover and take an Account of the Land that appear'd to us.

Accordingly a Boat was man'd, and into it went Monsieur *de la Sale*, the *Chevalier de Aire* and several others; another Boat was also put out, aboard which I went with Ten or Twelve of our Gentlemen, to join Monsieur *de la Sale* and the Bark *la Belle* was order'd to follow always keeping along the Shore; to the End that if the Wind shou'd rise, we might get aboard her, to lose no Time.

C

Some

*Jan. 1685**First Land-
ding.*

Some of those who were in *Monsieur de la Sale's* Boat, and the foremost, went ashore and saw a spacious plain Country of much Pasture Ground; but had not the Leisure to make any particular Discovery, because the Wind freshning, they were oblig'd to return to their Boat, to come aboard again; which was the Reason why we did not go quite up to the Shore, but return'd with them to our Ship. All that could be taken Notice of was a great Quantity of Wood along the Coast. We took an Observation and found 29 Degrees 10 Minutes of North Latitude.

The Second, there arose a Fog, which made us lose Sight of the *Joly*. The next Day, the Weather clearing up, we fir'd some Cannon-shot and the *Joly* answer'd, and towards the Evening we perceiv'd her to the Windward of us. We held on our Course, making several Trips till the Fourth in the Evening, when being in Sight and within two Leagues of the Land, we came to an Anchor to expect the *Joly*, for which we were in Pain.

Monsieur Joutel believes here was one of the Mouths of the Mississippi. See the Pref. and what follows.

The Fifth, we set Sail and held on our Course *W. S. W.* keeping along the Shore till about Six in the Evening, when we stood away to the Southward and anchor'd at Night in six Fathom Water. The Sixth, we would have made ready to sail, but the Pilot perceiving, that the Sea broke astern of us, and that there were some Shoals, it was thought proper to continue at Anchor, till the Wind chang'd, and we accordingly staid there the Sixth and all the Seventh. The Eighth the Wind veering about, we stood out a little to Sea, to avoid those Shoals, which are very dangerous, and anchor'd again a League from

Jan. 1685



from thence. Upon Advice, that the Bark *la Belle* had discover'd a small Island, which appear'd between the two Points of a Bay, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent a Man up to the round Top, from whence both the one and the other were plainly to be seen, and according to the Sea Charts we had with us, that was suppos'd to be the Bay of the *Holy Ghost*.

The Ninth, Monsieur *de la Sale*, sent to view those Shoals. Those who went reported there was a sort of Bank, which runs along the Coast; that they had been in one Fathom Water and discover'd the little Island before-mention'd, and as for the Sand Bank there is no such thing mark'd down in the Charts. Monsieur *de la Sale* having examin'd the Recknings, was confirm'd in his Opinion, that we were in the Bay of *Apalache*, and caus'd us to continue the same Course.

The Tenth, he took an Observation and found 29 Degrees 23 Minutes North Latitude. The eleventh, we were becalm'd, and Monsieur *de la Sale* resolv'd to go ashore, to endeavour to discover what he was looking for; but as we were making ready, the Pilot began to mutter because five or six of us were going with Monsieur *de la Sale*, who too lightly alter'd his Design, to avoid giving Offence to brutish People. In that Particular he committed an irretrievable Error; for it is the Opinion of Judicious Men, who, as well as I, saw the rest of that Voyage, that the Mouth of one of the Branches of the *Mississipi* River, and the same whose Latitude Monsieur *de la Sale* had taken, when he travell'd to it from *Canada*, was not far from

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Monsieur
de la Sale's
Mistake.

that Place, and that we must of Necessity be near the Bay of the *Holy Ghost*.

It was Monsieur *de la Sale*'s Design to find that Bay, and having found it, he had resolv'd to have set ashore about thirty Men, who were to have follow'd the Coast on the Right and Left, which would infallibly have discover'd to him that fatal River, and have prevented many Misfortunes; but Heaven refus'd him that Success, and even made him regardless of an Affair of such Consequence, since he was satisfy'd with sending thither the Pilot, with one of the Masters of the Bark *la Belle*, who return'd without having seen any Thing, because a fog happen'd to rise; only the Master of the Bark said he believ'd there was a River opposite to those Shoals, which was very likely, and yet Monsieur *de la Sale* took no Notice of it, nor made any Account of that Report.

The Twelfth, the Wind being come about we weigh'd and directed our Course *S. W.* to get further from the Land. By an Observation found 25 Degrees 50 Minutes North Latitude, and the Wind shifting, and the Currents, which set from the Seaward driving us ashore, it was found convenient to anchor in four or five Fathom Water, where we spent all the Night.

The Thirteenth, we perceiv'd our Water began to fall short, and therefore it was requisite to go ashore to fill some Casks. Monsieur *de la Sale* propos'd it to me to go and see it perform'd, which I accepted of, with six of our Gentlemen who offer'd their Service. We went into the Boat, with our Arms, the Boat belonging to the Bark *la Belle* follow'd ours, with

with five or six Men, and we all made directly for the Land. *Jan. 1685*

We were very near the Shoar, when we discover'd a number of naked Men marching along the Banks, whom we suppos'd to be native Savages. We drew within two Musket Shots of the Land, and the Shore being flat, the Wind setting from the Offing, and the Sea running high, dropt our Anchors, for Fear of flaving our Boats.

When the Savages perceiv'd we had stopp'd, they made Signs to us with Skins, to go to them, shew'd us their Bows, which they laid down upon the Ground, and drew near to the Edge of the Shore; but because we could not get Ashore, and still they continued their Signals, I put my Handkerchief on the End of my Firelock, after the Manner of a Flag, and made Signs to them to come to us. They were some Time considering of it, and at last some of them ran into the Water up to their Shoulders, till perceiving that the Waves overwhelm'd them, they went out again, fetch'd a large Piece of Timber, which they threw into the Sea, plac'd themselves along both Sides of it, holding fast to it with one Arm, and swimming with the other; and in that Manner they drew near to our Boat.

*Savages
came to the
Boat.*

Being in Hopes that Monfr. *de la Sale*, might get some Information from those Savages, we made no Difficulty of taking them into our Boat, one after another, on each Side, to the Number of five, and then made Signs to the rest to go to the other Boat, which they did, and we carry'd them on Board.

*Carried
Aboard.*

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Monsieur *de la Sale* was very well pleas'd to see them; imagining they might give him some Account of the River he sought after; but to no Purpose, for he spoke to them in several of the Languages of the Savages, which he knew, and made many Signs to them, but still they understood not what he meant, or if they did comprehend any thing, they made Signs, that they knew nothing of what he ask'd; so that having made them smoak and eat, we shewed them our Arms and the Ship, and when they saw at one End of it some Sheep, Swine, Hens and Turkeys, and the Hide of a Cow we had kill'd, they made Signs that they had of all those Sorts of Creatures among them.

*Return A-
shore with
Gifts.*

We gave them some Knives and Strings of Beads, after which, they were dismiss'd, and the Waves hindring us from coming too near the Shore, they were oblig'd to leap into the Water, after we had made fast about their Necks, or to the Tuft of Hair they have on the Top of the Head, the Knives and other small Presents Monsieur *de la Sale* had given them.

They went and join'd the others who expected them, and were making Signs to us to go to them; but not being able to make the Shore, we stood off again and return'd to our Ship. It is to be observed, that when we were carrying them back, they made some Signs to us, by which we conceiv'd they would signify to us that there was a great River that Way we were pass'd, and that it occasion'd the Shoals we had seen.

The

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The Wind changing, the same Day, we weigh'd Anchor and stood to the Southward, to get into the Offing, till the 14th in the Morning, when we were becalm'd. At Noon, we were in 28 Degrees 51 Minutes of North Latitude. The Wind freshned, and in the Evening we held on our Course, but only for a short Time, because the Wind setting us towards the Shore, we were obliged to anchor again, whereupon Monsieur *de la Sale* again resolved to send Ashore, and the same Persons imbarc'd in the same Boats to that effect.

We met with the same Obstacles, that had hinder'd us the Day before, that is, the High-Sea, which would not permit us to come near the Shore, and were obliged to drop Anchor in fourteen Foot Water. The Sight of Abundance of Goats and Bullocks, differing in Shape, from ours, and running along the Coast, heighten'd our Earnestness to be Ashore. We therefore founded to see whether we might get to Land by Stripping, and found we were on a Flat, which had four Foot Water, but that beyond it there was a deep Channel. Whilst we were consulting what to do, a Storm arose, which oblig'd Monsieur *de la Sale* to fire a Gun for us to return Aboard, which we did against our Inclination.

Goats and
Bullocks.

Monsieur *de la Sale* was pleas'd with the Report we made him, and by it, several were encouraged to go Ashore to hunt, that we might have some fresh Meat. We spent all that Night, till the next Morning, in Hopes of returning soon to that Place; but the Wind changing, forc'd us to weigh and sail till the Evening, when we drop'd Anchor in six Fathom Water.

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The Land which we never departed from very far, appear'd to us very pleasant, and having lain there till the 16th, that Morning we sail'd *W. S. W.* We weather'd a Point, keeping a large Offing, because of the Sea's beating upon it, and stood to the Southward. At Noon, we were in 28 Degrees 20 Minutes of North Latitude, and consequently found the Latitude declin'd, by which we were sensible, that the Coast tendred to the Southward. At Night we anchor'd in six Fathom Water.

The 17th, the Wind continuing the same, we held on our Course *S. W.* and having about Ten discover'd a Sort of River, Monsieur *de la Sale* caus'd Ten of us to go into a Boat, to take a View of that Coast, and see whether there was not some Place to land. He order'd me, in Case we found any convenient Place, to give him Notice either by Fire or Smoke.

*Second
landing.*

We set out, and found the Shoals obstructed our Descent. One of our Men went naked into the Water to sound that Sand Bank, which lay between us and the Land; and having shewn us a Place where we might Pass, we, with much Difficulty, forc'd our Boat into the Channel, and six or seven of us landed, after ordering the Boat to go up into that which had appeared to us to be a River, to see whether any fresh Water could be found.

As soon as we were landed, I made a Smoke to give Notice to Monsieur *de la Sale*, and then we advanc'd both Ways, without stragling too far, that we might be ready to receive Monsr. *de la Sale*, who was to come, as he did, soon after, but finding the Surges run high, he return'd

turn'd, and our Boat finding no fresh Water, came back and anchor'd to wait for us.

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We walked about every Way, and found a dry Soil, tho' it seem'd to be overflow'd at some Times; great Lakes of salt Water, little Grass, the Track of Goats, on the Sand, and saw Herds of them, but could not come near them, however we kill'd some Ducks and Bustards. In the Evening, as we were returning, we miss'd an English Seaman, fir'd several Shot to give him Notice, searched all about, waited till after Sunset, and at last hearing no Tidings of him, we went into the Boat to return Aboard.

I gave Monsieur *de la Sale* an Account of what we had seen, which would have pleas'd him, had the River we discover'd, afforded fresh Water: He was also uneasy for the lost Man; but about Midnight we saw a Fire Ashore, in the Place we came from, which we supos'd to be made by our Man, and the Boat went for him as soon as it was day on the 18th.

After that, we made several Trips, still steering towards the *S. W.* and then ensued a Calm, which oblig'd us to come to an Anchor. Want of Water made us think of returning towards the River, where we had been the Day before. Monfr. *de la Sale* resolv'd to set a considerable Number of Men Ashore, with sufficient Ammunition, and to go with them himself, to discover and take Cognizance of that Country, and order'd me to follow him. Accordingly we sail'd back, and came to an Anchor in the same Place.

All things necessary for that End being order'd on the 19th, Part of the Men were put into a Boat; but a very thick Fog rising, and taking

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taking away the Sight of Land, the Compass was made use of, and the fog dispersing as we drew near the Land, we perceiv'd a Ship making directly towards us, and that it was the *Joly*, where Monfr. *de Beaujeu* commanded, which rejoic'd us, but our Satisfaction was not lasting, and it will appear by the Sequel, that it were to have been wished, that Monsieur *de Beaujeu* had not joyn'd us again, but that he had rather gone away for *France*, without ever seeing of us.

His Arrival disconcerted the Execution of our Enterprize. Monfr. *de la Sale*, who was already on his Way, and those who were gone before him, return'd Aboard, and some Hours after, Monfr. *de Beaujeu* sent his Lieutenant, Monfr. *de Aire*, attended by several Persons, as well Clergymen as others, among whom was the Sieur *Gabaret*, second Pilot of the *Joly*.

Command-
ers at Va-
riance.

Monsieur *d'Aire* complain'd grievously to Monsieur *de la Sale*, in the Name of Monfr. *de Beaujeu*, for that said he, we had left him designedly; which was not true, for as I have said, the *Joly* lay at Anchor A-head of us, when we were separated from her; we fired a Gun to give her Notice of our Departure, as had been concerted, and Monfr. *de Beaujeu* answer'd it; besides that, if we had intended to separate from him, we should not have always held our Course in Sight of Land, as we had done, and that had Monsieur *de Beaujeu* held the same Course, as had been agreed, he had not been separated from us.

There were afterwards several Disputes between the Captains and the Pilots, as well Aboard Monsieur *de la Sale*, as Aboard Monsieur *de*

de Beaujeu, when those Gentlemen return'd, about settling exactly the Place we were in, and the Course we were to steer; some positively affirming we were farther than we imagin'd, and that the Currents had carry'd us away; and others, that we were near the *Magdalen River*.

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The former of those Notions prevail'd, whence, upon Reflection, *Monsieur de la Sale* concluded, that he must be past his River, which was but too true; for that River emptying it self in the Sea by two Channels, it follow'd that one of the Mouths fell about the Shoals we had observ'd the sixth of the Month; and the rather because those Shoals were very near the Latitude that *Monsieur de la Sale* had observ'd, when he came by the way of *Canada* to discover the Mouth of that River, as he told me several Times.

*They pass
the Mouth
of the Mis-
sissipi.*

This Consideration prevail'd with *Monsieur de la Sale* to propose his Design of returning towards those Shoals. He gave his Reasons for so doing and expos'd his Doubts; but his ill Fortune made him not be regarded. Our Passage had taken up more Time than had been expected, by Reason of the Calms; there was a considerable Number of Men aboard the *Joly*, and Provisions grew short, insomuch that they said it would not hold out to return, if our Departure were delay'd. For this Reason *Monsieur de Beaujeu* demanded Provisions of *Monsieur de la Sale*; but he asking enough for a long Time, *Monsieur de la Sale* answer'd, he could only give him enough for a Fortnight, which was more Time than was requisite to reach the Place he intended to return to; and that besides
he

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he could not give him more Provisions, without rummaging all the Stores to the Bottom of the Hold, which would endanger his being cast away. Thus nothing was concluded, and Monsieur *de Beaujeu* return'd to his own Ship.

*Third
Landing.*

In the mean Time, Want of Water began to pinch us, and Monsieur *de la Sale* resolv'd to send to look for some about the next River. Accordingly he order'd the two Boats that had been made ready the Day before, to go off. He was aboard one of them himself, and directed me to follow him. Monsieur *de Beaujeu* also commanded his Boat to go for Wood. By the Way we met the said Sieur *de Beaujeu* in his Yaul, returning from Land, with the Sieur *Minet*, an Ingenier, who told us, they had been in a Sort of salt Pool, two or three Leagues from the Place where the Ships were at Anchor, we held on our Way and landed.

One of our Boats, which was gone ahead of us, had been a League and a half up the River, without finding any fresh Water in its Channel; but some Men wandering about to the right and left, had met with divers Rivulets of very good Water, wherewith many Casks were fill'd.

We lay ashore, and our Hunters having that Day kill'd good Store of Ducks, Bustards and Teal, and the next Day two Goats, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Monsieur *de Beaujeu* Part. We feasted upon the rest, and that good Sport put several Gentlemen that were then aboard Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, among whom were Monsieur *du Hamel*, the Ensign and the King's Clerk, upon coming ashore to partake of the Diversi-on; but they took much Pains and were not successfull in their Sport. In

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In the mean Time many Casks were fill'd with Water, as well for our Ship as for Monsieur *de Beaujeu*'s. Some Days after Monsieur *d' Aire* the Lieutenant, came ashore to confer with Monsieur *de la Sale*, and to know how he would manage about the Provisions; but both of them persisting in their first Proposals and Monsieur *de la Sale* perceiving that Monsieur *de Beaujeu* would not be satisfied with Provisions for 15 Days, which he thought sufficient to go to the Place where he expected to find one of the Branches of the *Mississipi*, which he with good Reason believ'd to be about the Shoals, I have before spoken of, nothing was concluded as to that Affair. Monsieur *d' Aire* return'd to his Captain, and Monsieur *de la Sale* resolv'd to land his Men; which could not be done for some Days, because of the foul Weather; but in the mean Time we kill'd much Game.

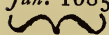
During this little Interval, Monsieur *de la Sale* being impatient to get some Intelligence of what he sought after, resolv'd to go himself upon Discovery, and to seek out some more useful and commodious River than that where they were. To this Purpose he took five or six of us along with him. We set out one Morning in so thick a Fog, that the hindmost could not perceive the Track of the foremost, so that we lost Monsieur *de la Sale* for some Time.

We travel'd till about three in the Afternoon, finding the Country for the most Part Sandy, little Grass, no fresh Water, unless in some Sloughs, the Track of abundance of wild Goats, Lakes full of Ducks, Teals, Water-Hens, and having taken much Pains return'd without Success.

*Account of
the Country*

The

Jan. 1685



The next Morning, Monsieur *de la Sale's Indian*, going about to find wild Goats, came to a Lake, which had a little Ice upon it, the Weather being cold, and Abundance of Fish dying about the Edges of it. He came to inform us, we went to make our Provision of them, there were some of a prodigious Magnitude, and among the rest extraordinary large Trouts, or else they were some Sort of Fish very like them. We caused some of each of a Sort to be boil'd in salt Water, and found them very good. Thus having Plenty of Fish and Flesh, we began to use ourselves to eat them both, without Bread.

Whilst we liv'd thus easy enough, Monsieur *de la Sale* expected with Impatience to know what Resolution Monsieur *de Beaujeu* would take; that he might either go to the Place, where he expected to find the *Mississipi*, or follow some other Course; but at last, perceiving that his Affairs did not advance, he resolv'd to put his own Design in Execution, the Purport whereof was to land one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty Men to go along the Coast and continue it, till they had found some other River, and that at the same Time the Bark *la Belle* should hold the same Course at Sea, still keeping along the Coast, to relieve those Ashore in Time of Need.

He gave me and Monsieur *Moranget*, his Nephew, the Command of that small Company, he furnish'd us with all Sorts of Provisions for eight, or ten Days, as also Arms, Tools and Utensils we might have Occasion for, of which every Man made his Bundle. He also gave us written Instructions of what we were to do, the
Signals

Signals we were to make; and thus we set out on the Fourth of *February*. *Feb. 1685*


We took our Way along the Shore. Our first Day's Journey was not long, we encamp'd on a little rising Ground, heard a Cannon shot, which made us uneasy, made the Signals that had been appointed, and the next Day, being the 5th, we held on our March, Monsieur *Moranget* bringing up the Rear, and I leading the Van. *Men sent
by Land
to disco-
ver.*

I will not spend Time in relating several personal Accidents, inconsiderable in themselves, or of no Consequence, the most considerable of them being the Want of fresh Water; but will proceed to say, that after three Days March we found a great River, where we halted and made the Signals agreed on, encamping on a commodious Spot of Ground till we could hear of the Boat, which was to follow us, or of our Ships.

But our Provisions beginning to fall short, and none of our Ships appearing, being besides apprehensive of some unlucky Accident occasion'd by the Disagreement between Monsieur *de la Sale* and Monfr. *de Beaujeu*, the Chief of our Company came together to know what Resolution we should take. It was agreed, that we should spare our Provisions to endeavour to go on to some Place where we might find Bullocks; but it was requisite to cross the River, and we knew not how, because we were too many of us, and therefore it was decreed to set some Carpenters there were among us at Work to build a little Boat, which took them up the eleventh and twelfth of *February*.

The

Feb. 1685

The 13th, we were put out of our Pain by two Vessels we discover'd at Sea, which we knew to be the *Joly* and *la Belle*, to whom we made our Signals with Smoke. They came not in then, because it was late, but the next Day being the 14th in the Morning, the Boat, with the *Sieur Barbier* and the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle* come up, and both sounded the Mouth of the River.

A fine River.

They found on the Bar, from ten to twelve Foot Water, and within it from five to six Fathom; the Breadth of the River being about half a Quarter of a League. They sounded near the Island, which lies between the two Points of the Bay, and found the same Depth. The Boat of the *Joly* came and sounded on the other Side of the Channel, and particularly along the Shoals, I know not to what Purpose. The same Day, *Monsieur de la Sale*, for whom we were much in Pain, came also, and as soon as he arrived, he caus'd the Boat to be laden with such Provisions as we stood in Need of, but the Wind being contrary, it could not come to us till the next Day, being the 15th.

That same Day, *Monfr. de la Sale* came Ashoar to view the Place and examine the Entrance into the River, which he found to be very good. Having consider'd all Particulars, he resolv'd to send in the Bark *la Belle* and *l' Aimable*, that they might be under Shelter, to which Purpose, he order'd to sound, and to know whether those two Vessels could both come in that same Day. *Monsieur de Beaujeu* caus'd also the Place to be sounded, and lay Ashoar on the other Side of the River, where he took Notice there were Vines which run up the Trees, like
our

Feb. 1685

our Wall Vines, some Woods and the Carcasses of Bullocks, which he supposed to have died with Thirst.

The 16th, the Pilots of the *Joly, l'Aimable* and *la Belle*, went again to sound, they found the Entrance easy, and gave it under their Hands. The 17th, they fix'd Stakes to mark out the Way, that the Vessels might come safe in. All Things seem'd to promise a happy Event.

The 18th, the Chevalier *d'Aire* came ashore, to confer with Monsieur *de la Sale*, who being desirous to have the Fly-boat *l'Aimable* come in that Day, order'd the most weighty Things in her to be unloaded, as the Cannon, the Iron and some other Things. It was my good Fortune that my Chest stood in the Way, and was also unloaded, but that Unlading could not be done till the next Day, being the 19th. That being perform'd, the Captain affirm'd it would go in at 8 Foot Water.

The 20th, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Orders to that Captain to draw near the Bar, and to come in at high Water, of which a Signal should be given him; he also order'd the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle* to go aboard the Flyboat, to be assisting when it came in. The Captain would not receive him aboard, saying, he could carry in his Ship without his Help. All these Precautions prov'd of no Use; Monsieur *de la Sale* could not avert his ill Fate. He having taken Notice of a large Tree on the Bank of the River, which he judg'd fit to make a Canoe, sent 7 or 8 Workmen to hew it down, two of whom return'd some Time after, in a great Fright, and told him, they had narrowly escap'd being

D

taken

Feb. 1685

*A Company
of Savages.*

taken by a Company of Savages, and that they believ'd the others had fallen into their Hands. Monsieur *de la Sale* order'd us immediately to handle our Arms, and to march with Drums beating towards the Savages, who seeing us in that Posture, fac'd about and went off.

*Their
Friendly
Behaviour.*

Monsieur *de la Sale* being desirous to join those Savages, to endeavour to get some Information from them, order'd Ten of us to lay down our Arms and draw near them, making Signs to them, at the same Time, to come to us. When they saw us in that Posture and unarm'd, most of them also laid down their Bows and Arrows and came to meet us, carressing us after their Manner, and stroaking first their own Breasts and then ours, then their own Arms and afterwards ours. By these Signs they gave us to understand that they had a Friendship for us, which they express'd by laying their Hands on their Hearts, and we did the same on our Part.

Six or seven of those Savages went along with us, and the rest kept three of our Men, in the Nature of Hostages. Those who went with us were made much of, but Monsieur *de la Sale* could learn nothing of them, either by Signs or otherwise; all they could make us understand was, that there was good hunting of Bullocks in the Country. We observ'd, that their *Yea* consisted in a Cry, fetch'd from the Bottom of the Throat, not unlike the Call of a Hen to gather her Chickens. Monsieur *de la Sale* gave them some Knives, Hatchets and other Trifles, with which they seem'd well pleased, and went away.

Monsieur

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Monfieur *de la Sale* was glad to be rid of thofe People, becaufe he was willing to be prefent when the Flyboat came in; but his ill Fate would not permit it. He thought fit to go himfelf along with thofe Savages, and we follow'd him, thinking to have found our Men in the fame Place where we left them; but perceiv'd on the Contrary, that the Savages had carried them away to their Camp, which was a League and half from us, and Monfieur *de la Sablonniere*, Lieutenant of Foot, being one of thofe the Savages had taken with them, Monfieur *de la Sale* refolved to go himfelf to fetch him away, an unhappy Thought which coft him dear.

As we were on our Way towards the Camp of the Savages, happening to look towards the Sea, we faw the Flyboat *l'Aimable* under Sail, which the Savages who were with us admir'd, and Monfieur *de la Sale* obferving it narrowly, told us, thofe People fteer'd wrong, and were ftanding towards the Shoals, which made him very uneafy, but ftill we advanc'd. We arriv'd at the Camp of the Savages, which flood upon an Eminence, and confifted of about Fifty Cottages made of rufh Mats, and others of dry'd Skins, and built with long Poles, bow'd round at the Top, like great Ovens, and moft of the Savages fitting about, as if they were upon the Watch.

*Their
Camp.*

We were ftill advancing into the Village, when he heard a Cannon Shot, the Noife whereof ftruck fuch a Dread among the Savages, that they all fell flat upon the Ground; but Monfieur *de la Sale* and we were too fenfible it was a Signal that our Ship was aground, which was confirm'd by feeing them furl their Sails;

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However we were gone too far to return; our Men must be had, and to that Purpose, we must proceed to the Hut of the Commander in Chief.

As soon as we arrived there, Monfr. *de la Sale* was introduc'd; many of the *Indian* Women came in, they were very deform'd and all naked, excepting a Skin girt about them, which hung down to their Knees. They would have led us to their Cottages, but Monfr. *de la Sale* had order'd us not to part, and to observe whether the *Indians* did not draw together, so that we kept together, standing upon our Guard, and I was always with him.

Their Entertainment.

They brought us some Pieces of Beef, both fresh and dry'd in the Air and Smoke, and Pieces of Porpois, which they cut with a Sort of Knife, made of Stone, setting one Foot upon it, and holding with one Hand, whilst they cut with the other. We saw nothing of Iron among them. They had given our Men, that came with them, to eat, and Monfr. *de la Sale* being extraordinary uneasy, we soon took Leave of them to return. At our going out, we observ'd about forty Canoes, some of them like those Monfr. *de la Sale* had seen on the *Mississipi*, which made him conclude he was not far from it.

L' Aimable cast away.

We soon arrived at our Camp, and found the Misfortune, Monfr. *de la Sale* had apprehended, was but too certain. The Ship was stranded on the Shoals. The ill Management of the Captain, or of the Pilot, who had not steer'd by the Stakes placed for that Purpose; the Cries of a Sailor posted on the Main-top, who cry'd amain, *Loof*, which was to steer towards

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towards the Passage marked out, whilst the wicked Captain cry'd, *Come no nearer*, which was to steer the contrary Course; the same Captain's Carelessness in not dropping his Anchor, as soon as the Ship touch'd, which would have prevented her sticking aground; the Folly of lowering his Main-Sheet and hoisting out his Sprit-Sail, the better to fall into the Wind, and secure the Shipwreck; the Captain's refusing to admit the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle*, whom Monsieur *de la Sale* had sent to assist him; the foundering upon the Shoals to no Purpose, and several other Circumstances reported by the Ship's Crew and those who saw the Management, were infallible Tokens and Proofs, that the Mischief had been done designedly and adviseably, which was one of the blackest and most detestable Actions that Man could be guilty of.

This Misfortune was so much the greater, because that Vessel contain'd almost all the Ammunition, Utensils, Tools and other Necessaries for Monsr. *de la Sale's* Enterprize and Settlement. He had need of all his Resolution to bear up against it; but his Intrepidity did not forsake him, and he apply'd himself, without grieving, to Remedy what might be. All the Men were taken out of the Ship; he desir'd Monsieur *de Beaujeu* to lend him his long Boat, to help save as much as might be. We began with Powder and Meal. About thirty Hog-heads of Wine and Brandy were saved, and Fortune being incens'd against us, two Things contributed to the total Loss of all the rest:

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The first was, that our Boat, which hung at the Stern of the Ship run A-ground, was maliciously stav'd in the Night, so that we had none left but *Monfieur de Beaujeu's*. The second, that the Wind blowing in from the Offing, made the Waves run high, which beating violently against the Ship, split her, and all the light Goods were carry'd out at the opening, by the Water. This last Misfortune happen'd also in the Night. Thus every Thing fell out most unhappily, for had that befallen in the Day, Abundance of Things might have been saved.

Whilst we were upon this melancholly Employment, about an hundred, or an hundred and twenty of the Natives came to our Camp, with their Bows and Arrows. *Monfieur de la Sale* order'd us to handle our Arms, and stand upon our Guard. About twenty of those *Indians* mix'd themselves among us, to observe what we had saved of the Shipwreck, upon which, there were several Sentinels, to let none come near the Powder.

The rest of the *Indians* stood in Parcels, or Pelotons. *Monfr. de la Sale*, who was acquainted with their Ways, order'd us to observe their Behaviour, and to take Nothing from them, which nevertheless did not hinder some of our Men from receiving some Pieces of Meat. Some Time after, when the *Indians* were about departing, they made Signs to us to go a Hunting with them; but besides that, there was sufficient Cause to suspect them, we had enough other Business to do. However we ask'd, whether they would barter for any of their Canoes, which they agreed to. The *Sieur Barbier* went along
with

with them, purchas'd two for Hatchets and brought them. Feb. 1685


Some Days after, we perceiv'd a Fire in the Country, which spread it self and burnt the dry Weeds, still drawing towards us; where-upon, Monfr. *de la Sale* made all the Weeds and Herbs that were about us, be pull'd up, and particularly all about the Place where the Powder was. Being desirous to know the Occasion of that Fire, he took about twenty of us along with him, and we march'd that Way, and even beyond the Fire, without seeing any Body. We perceiv'd that it run towards the *W. S. W.* and judg'd it had begun about our first Camp, and at the Village next the Fire.

Having spy'd a Cottage near the Bank of a Lake, we drew towards it, and found an old Woman in it, who fled as soon as she saw us; but having overtaken and given her to understand, that we would do her no Harm, she return'd to her Cottage, where we found some Pitchers of Water, of which we all drank. Some Time after we saw a Canoe coming, in which were two Women and a Boy, who being landed, and perceiving we had done the old Woman no Harm, came and imbraced us in a very particular Manner, blowing upon our Ears and making Signs to give us to understand, that their People were a hunting.

Odd Salutation.

A few Minutes after, seven or eight of the *Indians* appeared, who, it is likely, had hid themselves among the Weeds when they saw us coming. Being come up they saluted us, after the same Manner, as the Women had done, which made us laugh. We staid there some Time with them. Some of our Men barter'd

Feb. 1685



Knives for Goats Skins, after which we return'd to our Camp; Being come thither, Monsieur *de la Sale* made me go aboard the Bark *la Belle*, where he had imbark'd Part of the Powder, with positive Orders not to carry, or permit any Fire to be made there, having sufficient Cause to fear every thing, after what had happened. For this Reason they carry'd me and all that were with me, our Meat every Day.

During this time it was that *l'Aimable* opening in the Night, the next Morning we saw all the light Things that were come out of it floating about, and Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Men every Way, who gather'd up about 30 Casks of Wine and Brandy, and some of Fleth, Meal and Grain.

When we had gather'd all, as well what had been taken out of the Ship-wreck'd Vessel as what could be pick'd up in the Sea, the next Thing was to regulate the Provisions we had left proportionably to the Number of Men we were; and there being no more Bisket, Meal was deliver'd out, and with it we made Hasty Pudding with Water, which was none of the best; some large Beans and *India* Corn, part of which had taken wet; and every thing was distributed very discreetly. We were much incommoded for want of Kettles, but Monsieur *de Beaujeu* gave Monsieur *de la Sale* one, and he order'd another to be brought from the Bark *la Belle*, by which means we were well serv'd.

We were still in want of Canoes. Monsieur *de la Sale* sent to the Camp of the *Indians* to barter for some, and they who went thither observ'd, that those People had made their Advantage of our Ship-wreck, and had some Bales
of

Feb. 1685



of *Normandy* Blankets, and they saw several Women had cut them in two and made Petticoats of them. They also saw Bits of Iron of the Ship that was cast away, and return'd immediately to make their Report to Monsieur *de la Sale*, who said we must endeavour to get some Canoes in Exchange, and resolv'd to send thither again the next Day. Monsieur *du Hamel*, Ensign to Monsr. *de Beaujeu*, offer'd to go up in his Boat, which Monsieur *de la Sale* agreed to, and order'd Messieurs *Moranget*, his Nephew, *Desloges*, *Oris*, *Gayen*, and some others to bear him Company.

No sooner were those Gentlemen, who were more Hot than Wise, landed, but they went up to the Camp of the *Indians*, with their Arms in their Hands, as if they had intended to force them, whereupon several of those People fled. Going into the Cottages, they found others, to whom Monsieur *du Hamel* endeavour'd to signify by Signs, that he would have the Blankets they had found restor'd; but the Misfortune was, that none of them understood one another. The *Indians* thought it their best Way to withdraw, leaving behind them some Blankets and Skins of Beasts, which those Gentlemen took away, and finding some Canoes in their Return they seiz'd two, and got in, to bring them away.

Indiscretion of an Ensign.

But having no Oars, none of them knowing how to manage those Canoes, and having only some pitiful Poles, which they could not tell the right Use of, and the Wind being also against them, they made little Way; which the *Sieur du Hamel*, who was in his Boat perceiving, and that Night drew on, he made the best of his

March
1685



his Way, forsook them and return'd to the Camp.

*The Indians
take
Revenge.*

Thus Night came upon them, which oblig'd those unexperienc'd Canoe Men, being thoroughly tir'd, to go ashore to take some Rest, and the Weather being cold, they lighted a Fire, about which they laid them down and fell asleep; the Sentinel they had appointed doing the same. The *Indians* returning to their Camp, and perceiving our Men had carry'd away two Canoes, some Skins and Blankets, took it for a Declaration of a War, resolv'd to be reveng'd, and discovering an unusual Fire, presently concluded that our men had halted there. A considerable Number of them repair'd to the Place, without making the least Noise, found our careless People fast asleep, wrap'd up in their Blankets, and shot a full Volley of their Arrows upon them all together on a Sudden, having first given their usual Shout before they fall on.

*Sieurs
Oris and
Desloges
kill'd.*

The *Sieur Moranget* awaking with the Noise, and finding himself wounded, started up and fir'd his Piece successfully enough, some others did the like, whereupon the Natives fled. The *Sieur Moranget* came to give us the Alarm, though he was shot through one of his Arms, below the Shoulder, and had another slanting Wound on the Breast. *Monsieur de la Sale* immediately sent some arm'd Men to the Place, who could not find the *Indians*, but when Day appear'd, they found the *Sieurs Oris* and *Desloges* dead upon the Spot, the *Sieur Gayen* much hurt, and the rest all safe and sound.

This



This Disaster, which happen'd the Night of the 5th of *March*, very much afflicted Monsieur *de la Sale*; but he chiefly lamented Monsieur *Desloges* a sprightly Youth, who serv'd well; but in short, it was their own Fault, and contrary to the Charge given them, which was to be watchful and upon their Guard. We were under Apprehensions for Messieurs *Moranget* and *Gayen*, lest the Arrows should be poison'd. It afterwards appear'd they were not, however Monsieur *Moranget's* Cure prov'd difficult, because some small Vessel was cut.

The Consequences of this Misfortune, together with the Concern, most of the best Persons who had follow'd Monsieur *de la Sale* were under, supported the Design of those who were for returning to *France* and forsaking him, of which Number were Monsieur *Dainville*, a Priest of the Seminary of St. *Sulpice*, the Sieur *Minet*, Engineer and some others. The common Discourses of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Enemies tending to discredit his Conduct, and to represent the pretended Rashness of his Enterprize, contributed considerably towards the Desertion; but his Resolution prevailing, he heard and waited all Events with Patience, and always gave his Orders, without appearing the least discompos'd.

He caus'd the Dead to be brought to our Camp, and bury'd them Honourably, the Cannon supplying the Want of Bells, and then consider'd of making some safer Settlement. He caus'd all that had been sav'd from the Shipwreck, to be brought together into one Place, threw up Intrenchments about it, to secure his Effects, and perceiving that the

Water

March

1685



Water of the River, where we were, roul'd down violently into the Sea, he fancy'd that might be one of the Branches of the *Mississipi*, and propos'd to go up it, to see whether he could find any Tokens of it, or of the Marks he had left, when he went down by Land to the Mouth of it.

*Debates
between
the Com-
manders.*

In the mean Time, Monsieur *de Beaujeu* was preparing to depart: The Chevalier *de Aire* had many Conferences with Monsieur *de la Sale* about several things, the latter demanded of Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, particularly the Cannon and Ball which were aboard the *Joly*, and had been design'd for him; which Monsieur *de Beaujeu* refus'd, alledging that all those things lay at the Bottom of the Hold, and that he could not rummage it without evident Danger of perishing; tho', at the same time, he knew we had Eight Pieces of Cannon and not one Bullet.

*Mr. de la
Sale much
wrong'd.*

I know not how that Affair was decided between them; but am sure he suffer'd the Captain of the Fly-boat *l'Aimable* to imbark aboard Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, tho' he deserv'd to be most severely punish'd, had Justice been done him. His Crew follow'd him, contrary to what Monsieur *de Beaujeu* had promis'd, that he would not receive a Man of them. All that Monsieur *de la Sale* could do, tho' so much wrong'd, was to write to *France*, to Monsieur *de Saignelay*, Minister of State, whom he acquainted with all the Particulars, as I was inform'd, when I return'd, and he gave the Packet to Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, who sail'd away for *France*.

*Mr. de
Beaujeu
leaves him*

Having lost the Notes I took at that time, and being forc'd to rely much upon Memory for what I now write, I shall not pretend to be
any

any longer exact in the Dates, for fear of mistaking, and therefore I cannot be positive as to the Day of Monsieur *de Beaujeu*'s Departure, but believe it was the 14th of *March*, 1685.

Mar. 1685



When Monfr. *de Beaujeu* was gone, we fell to Work to make a Fort, of the Wreck of the Ship that had been cast away, and many Pieces of Timber the Sea threw up; and during that Time, several Men deserted, which added to Monsieur *de la Sale*'s Affliction. A *Spaniard* and a *French* Man stole away and fled, and were never more heard of. Four or five others follow'd their Example, but Monsieur *de la Sale* having timely Notice, sent after them, and they were brought back. One of them was condemn'd to Death, and the others to serve the King ten Years in that Country.

A Fort
built.

When our Fort was well advanc'd, Monfr. *de la Sale* resolv'd to clear his Doubts, and to go up the River, where we were, to know whether it was not an Arm of the *Mississipi*, and accordingly order'd fifty Men to attend him, of which Number were Monfr. *Cavelier*, his Brother, and Monfr. *Chedeville*, both Priests, two *Recolet* Fryars, and several *Voluntiers*, who set out in five Canoes we had, with the necessary Provisions. There remain'd in the Fort about an hundred and thirty Persons, and Monfr. *de la Sale* gave me the Command of it, with Orders not to have any Commerce with the Natives, but to fire at them if they appear'd.

Monfr. de
la Sale
goes to dis-
cover up
the River.

Whilst Monfr. *de la Sale* was absent, I caus'd an Oven to be built, which was a great Help to us, and employ'd my self in finishing the Fort, and putting it in a Posture to with-
stand

Mar. 1685



Returns

stand the *Indians*, who came frequently in the Night to range about us, howling like Wolves and Dogs; but two or three Musquet Shots put them to Flight. It happen'd one Night, that having fir'd six or seven Shot, Monsieur *de la Sale* who was not far from us, heard them, and being in Pain about it, he return'd with six or seven Men, and found all Things in a good Posture.

Sets out again.

He told us he had found a good Country, fit to sow and plant all Sorts of Grain, abounding in Beeves and wild Fowl; that he design'd to erect a Fort farther up the River, and accordingly he left me Orders to square out as much Timber as I could get, the Sea casting up much upon the Shore. He had given the same Orders to the Men he had left on the Spot, seven or eight of whom, detach'd from the rest, being busy at that Work, and seeing a Number of the Natives, fled, and unadviseably left their Tools behind them. Monsieur *de la Sale* returning thither, found a Paper made fast to a Reed, which gave him Notice of that Accident, which he was concern'd at, because of the Tools, not so much for the Value of the Loss, as because it was furnishing the Natives with such Things as they might afterwards make Use of against us.

A Spanish Vessel appears.

About the Beginning of *April*, we were alarm'd by a Vessel which appear'd at Sea, near enough to discern the Sails, and we supposed they might be *Spaniards*, who had heard of our Coming and were ranging the Coast to find us out. That made us stand upon our Guard, to keep within the Fort, and see that our Arms were

were fit for Service. We afterwards saw two Men in that Vessel, who instead of coming to us, went towards the other Point, and by that Means pass'd on, without perceiving us.

Having one Day observ'd, that the Water work'd and bubbled up, and afterwards perceiving it was occasion'd by the Fish skipping from Place to Place, I caus'd a Net to be brought, and we took a prodigious Quantity of Fish, among which were many *Dorado's*, or Gilt-Heads, Mulletts and others about as big as a Herring, which afforded us good Food for several Days. This fishery, which I caus'd to be often follow'd, was a great Help towards our Subsistence.

About that Time, and on *Easter-day* that Year, an unfortunate Accident befel Monsieur *le Gros*. After Divine Service he took a Gun to go kill Snipes about the Fort. He shot one, which fell into a Marsh, he took off his Shoes and Stockings to fetch it out, and returning, through Carelessness trod upon a Rattle Snake, so call'd, because it has a Sort of Scale on the Tail, which makes a Noise. The Serpent bit him a little above the Ankle, he was carefully dress'd and look'd after, yet after having endur'd very much, he dy'd at last, as I shall mention in its Place. Another more unlucky Accident befell us, one of our Fishermen swimming about the Net to gather the Fish, was carry'd away by the Current, and could not be help'd by us.

Our Men sometimes went about several little Salt Water Lakes, that were near our Fort, and found on the Banks a Sort of flat Fishes, like Turbots asleep, which they struck with

Apr. 1685

Plenty of
Fish taken.

Rattle
Snake
bites Mr.
le Gros.

May 1685

May 1685

Salt found
in Pools.

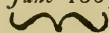
with sharp pointed Sticks, and they were good Food. Providence also shew'd us that there was Salt made by the Sun, upon several little Salt Water Pools there were in divers Places, for having observ'd that there grew on them a Sort of white Substance, like the Cream upon Milk, I took care every Day to send and fetch that Scum off, which prov'd to be a very white and good Salt, whereof I gather'd a Quantity, and it did us good Service.

Indians
come to the
Fort.

Some of our Hunters having seen a Parcel of wild Goats running as if they were frightened, judg'd they were pursued by the *Indians*, and came for Refuge to the Fort, and to give me Notice. Accordingly some Time after, we discover'd a Parcel of Natives, who came and posted themselves on an Eminence, within Cannon Shot, some of them drew off from the rest and approach'd the Fort by the Way of the Downs. I caus'd our Men immediately to handle their Arms, and wet Blankets to be laid on our Huts, to prevent their being burnt by the Fire the Savages sometimes shoot with their Arrows. All this Time those who had separated themselves from the rest, being three in Number, still drew nearer, making Signs for us to go to them; but *Monsieur de la Sale* had forbid me having any Commerce with them; however, since they had neither Bows nor Arrows, we made signs to them to draw near, which they did without hesitating.

We went out to meet them, *Monsieur Moranget* made them sit down, and they gave us to understand by Signs, that their People were hunting near us; being able to make no more of what they said, *Monsieur Moranget* was for knocking

June 1685



knocking out their Brains, to revenge their having murder'd our Companions, but I would not consent to it, since they had come confiding in us. I made Signs to them to be gone, which they did as fast as they could, some small Shot we fir'd into the Air making them run, and a Cannon Shot, I pointed towards the rising Ground, where the rest were, put them all to Flight.

These Accidents made us double our Guards, since we were at open War with that crafty Nation, which let slip no Opportunity to surprize us, and therefore Penalties were appointed for such as should be found asleep upon Sentinel; the Wooden-Horse was set up for them without Remission; and by Means of such Precautions we sav'd our Lives.

Thus we spent the rest of the Month, till the Beginning of *June*. In the mean Time, Monsieur *de la Sale* had begun to make another Settlement, in the Place he before told us of, looking upon it as better, because it was further up the Country. To that Purpose he sent to us the *Sieur de Villeperdry* with two Canoes and Orders for the *Sieur Moranget* to repair to him, if he were recover'd, and that all the Men should march, except 30 of the ablest to make a good Defence, who were to stay with me in the Fort. The rest being seventy Persons, as well Men and Women as Children, set out with the *Sieur Moranget*; and we being but a small Number remaining, I caused the Fort to be brought into a less Compass, to save posting so many Sentinels.

*Second
Settlement*

Our little Company began to take Satisfaction in the Ease of getting and the Nature of our
E Provisions

July 1685

A Conspi-
racy disco-
ver'd.

Provisions, which a greater Number has more Difficulty to be supply'd with, and which we had Plenty of, by Means of Hunting and Fishing, those being our principal Employments, and we liv'd well enough contented, expecting to be remov'd. However there were some Malecontents, who resolv'd to desert; but finding a Difficulty to put it in Execution, for that they could neither get Arms, nor Powder nor Ball, because the *Sieur le Gros* and I kept all lock'd up, and were very vigilant, that none might be lavishly spent, they took the cruel Resolution to rid themselves of us.

That bloody Massacre was to begin by me, when I was asleep, and then to proceed to the *Sieur le Gros*, who lay in the Magazine, or Warehouse, and was in no Condition to defend himself, because his Leg was still swollen, and put him to much Pain. The Execution was to be by stabbing. One of the Conspirators reveal'd this to the *Sieur Davault*, a Hunter, who immediately came and acquainted me. I did not just then take Notice of what I had been told; but in the Evening, when they return'd from hunting, I caus'd one to be secur'd, who presently confess'd all. His Accomplice was also seiz'd, and it was very troublesom to secure them till the Time when we should remove.

About the Middle of *July*, the Bark *la Belle* came and anchor'd near us. An Order was brought me from Monsieur *de la Sale*, directing me to put aboard it all the Effects that were in our Fort, to make a Float of the Timber I had caus'd to be squar'd, if Time would permit, if not to bury it in the Ground. Every Man set his

his Hand to the Work, with all possible Diligence, and our two Prisoners were put aboard, as was also Monsieur *le Gros* and his Surgeon, with all our Effects.

July 1685


The Float was begun with immense Labour; but the Weather proving very Stormy, and holding very long, I was oblig'd to cause what had been done to be taken in Pieces, and to bury the Timber in the Sand, the best we could, that the Natives might not find it.

We then set out towards the Place where the *Indians* had been encamp'd, when Monsieur *de la Sale* went the first time to see them. We found no Creature, and lay there that Night. and so proceeded along the Sea Coast, without any Accident, to the Camp of the *Sieur Hurie*, which was a Post in the Way, where Monsieur *de la Sale* had order'd all our Effects to be laid up. It had no other Inclosure but Chests and Barrels; but there was nothing to fear from the *Europeans*.

*The first
Fort abandon'd.*

We spent the Night at that Post, and two Canoes coming thither the next Morning, I went aboard one of them, with Part of my Company, and join'd Monsieur *de la Sale* the next Day, at the Place where he had resolv'd to make his new Settlement. I gave him an Account of all that had happen'd, and was amaz'd to see Things so ill begun and so little advanc'd. As for the Plantation, the Seed and Grain put into the Ground, was either lost through Drought, or eaten by Birds or Beasts. There were several Dead, and among them the *Sieur de Villeperdry*; many sick, and of that Number Monsieur *Cavalier* the Priest; no Shelter but a little square Place stak'd in, where the

*Ill posture
of the 2d.
Settlement*

July 1685



Powder was and some Casks of Brandy; many other Inconveniencies there were, which made all Things appear in a miserable Condition.

Hard Labour.

It was requisite to think of building a large Lodgment, Monsieur *de la Sale* design'd it, but the Difficulty was to get proper Timber for Building. There was a little Wood, where a good Quantity might be had, but it was a League up the Country, and we had neither Carts nor Horses to carry it; however Monfr. *de la Sale* sent Workmen thither, with others to guard them. The Trees were cut down and squar'd, but the Carpenters were so ignorant, that Monfr. *de la Sale* was forc'd to act the Master Builder, and to mark out the Pieces for the Work he design'd. Some of those Pieces of Timber were dragg'd to the Camp, over the Grass and Weeds the Plain was cover'd with; afterwards the Carriage of a Gun was made use of; but all cost so much Labour, that the ablest Men were quite spent.

Carpenter lost.

This excessive Toil, the poor Sustainance the labouring Men had, and that often retrench'd as a Penalty for having fail'd in doing their Duty; the Uneasiness Monsieur *de la Sale* was under to see nothing succeed as he had imagin'd, and which often made him insult the Men, when there was little Reason for it; All these things together afflicted very many so sensibly, that they visibly declin'd, and above thirty dy'd. The Loss of so many Men was follow'd by that of the Master Carpenter, who was returning one Evening with me; but I happening to step aside to kill some wild Fowl, when I came to our Habitation I found him not, and it was never known what became of him; an Accident

Accident which added to our Vexation, for tho' he had but little Skill at his Trade, yet we stood in Need of him.

Aug. 1685



Notwithstanding all those Disappointments, enough Timber was carry'd or rather dragg'd, to build the House Monsieur *de la Sale* design'd, and he was himself the Architect. He mark'd out the Lengths, the Tenants and Mortises, and made good the Defect of the Workmen and calling to Mind that I had bury'd several Pieces of Timber at our first Habitation, which might be of Use, he order'd me to take two Canoes and 20 men, to go fetch them, in the Bark *la Belle*, which was with us.

Being come to the Place, we found the Natives had discover'd our Timber, and carry'd away some Planks, to pick out the Nails there were in them, which they value very much, to point their Arrows. We labour'd to make a Float, loaded the Bark *la Belle* with the rest of the Planks and other Effects, and set out again. Some of the Natives appear'd whilst we were at Work, but seeing us advance towards them, with our Arms in our Hands, they fled.

We return'd safe to Monsieur *de la Sale*, who was glad to see us, tho' we had lost one of the Canoes, for want of its being well made fast to the Float; but the Timber we brought was a mighty help towards carrying on his Design, and much fitter than that we had hew'd in the Wood, with so much Labour; so that this Timber occasion'd the raising another Structure contiguous to the former. All was cover'd with Planks, and Bullocks Hides over them. The Apartments were divided, and all of them well

Second Settlement.

Sep. 1685



cover'd. The Stores had a Place apart, and that Dwelling had the name of St. *Lewis* given it, as well as the Neighbouring Bay.

Mr. le
Gros dies
and others

The *Sieur le Gros*, who had remain'd aboard the Bark *le Belle*, ever since the first Voyage she made to our former Habitation, was carry'd ashore to the new One, and his Leg still swelling, the Surgeon was apprehensive of a Mortification, and advis'd him to consent to have it cut off. He did so, tho' with Regret, the Operation was made, but a Fever follow'd immediately, and he liv'd but two Days, dying on the Feast of the Decollation of St. *John Baptist*, much lamented by all Men, and particularly by *Monsieur de la Sale*, to whom he was very serviceable, by reason of his general Knowledge, and his particular Fidelity towards him. *Monsieur Carpentier*, Son to the Master of the Works and the *Sieur Thibault*, both of *Roan*, and some others, dy'd about the same time.

Monsieur de la Sale being desirous to take a Progress, to find his fatal *Mississipi* River, and only expecting the Recovery of his Brother *Monsieur Cavalier*, who was to bear him Company, he began to make some Preparations towards it, and in the mean time, took some small Journeys of four or five Leagues about, but could learn nothing further, than that it was a very fine Country, hem'd in on one Side by a small Mountain, which appear'd at about Fifteen or Twenty Leagues distance; beautify'd with very fine Trees, and water'd by many little Rivers, whereof that, on which we had built our Habitation was the least.

River of
Bullocks.

We call'd it *la Riviere aux Bœufs*, that is the River of Bullocks, by reason of the great Number

ber

Sep. 1685



ber of them there was about it. These Bullocks are very like ours, there are Thousands of them, but instead of Hair they have a very long curl'd Sort of Wool.

Monsieur *de la Sale* Studying all Ways to find out the River *Mississipi*, imagin'd it might fall into the adjacent Bay, and resolv'd to go view all the Coasts about it, and to make use of the Bark *la Belle*. Accordingly he order'd me to repair to the said Bark, with five Men and a Canoe, into which he put his Cloaths, and other Effects in several Chests.

That short Voyage was very troublesome to us, by reason of the foul Weather, with contrary Winds and Storms, which had like to have overwhelm'd us, and what was still worse, we did not find the Bark, where we had left her. We went on a League further, to no Purpose, and Provisions beginning to fall short, because we had been six Days on the Way, instead of three, we resolv'd to return to the Place from whence we came.

Monsieur *de la Sale* seeing us return at a distance, came to meet us. Our Report troubled him for the Bark, which he stood in need of, so that he resolv'd to go himself to seek her, imbark'd in a Canoe, and sent me another Way, in another. After having wander'd about all that Day, the next Night and the Day following, we at last perceiv'd her, where she lay under Shelter in a little Creek, having been in Danger of Perishing by the foul Weather we had been in, and had lost her Boat, which was not well made fast.

*Boat of
the Bark
lost.*

O^a. 1685

The Bark was also discover'd by Monsieur *de la Sale*, who was on the other side, which made him draw near and land, whence he sent his Canoe to the said Bark, and Monsieur *Moranget* who commanded it, went aboard to meet him. The Loss of the Boat troubled Monsieur *de la Sale*, I sent a Canoe to bring him, but to no Purpose; however the Trunks were put aboard the Bark.

*What
Stores they
had.*

Monsieur *Cavalier* the Priest, being recover'd, Monsieur *de la Sale* prepar'd to set out with all Speed. He was pleas'd to Honour me with the Command, during his Absence, and left me an Inventory of all that was in our Habitation, consisting of Eight Pieces of Cannon, two Hundred Firelocks, as many Cutlases, an Hundred Barrels of Powder, three Thousand Weight of Ball, about three Hundred Weight of other Lead, some Bars of Iron, twenty Packs of Iron to make Nails, some Iron Work and Tools, as Hatchets and the like.

As for Provisions, all that were left me amounted to twenty Casks of Meal, one Cask and a half of Wine, three Quarters of a Cask of Brandy, and for living Creatures some few Swine, a Cock and a Hen; which is very short of what has been Publish'd by the Author of a Book entitled, *The first Establishment in New France*: but the Reason of it is, that he compiled his Work upon the Credit of Relations, which were as false as to the Point of the Ammunition and Provisions, remaining in our Habitation, when Monsieur *de la Sale* set out that Time, as concerning the Fort well condition'd, and the Magazines or Storehouses under Ground, which are all imaginary, there being Nothing but the
House



Houfe I have mention'd, pallifado'd, with some old Stakes.

Monfr. *de la Sale* farther order'd me not to receive any Men of thofe he took along with him, unlefs they brought an Order from him in Writing; nor to hold or admit of any Communication with the Natives, but rather to fire upon them, and fome other Particulars he thought fit to be obferv'd. He had made himfelf a Coat of Mail with fmall Laths, to fecure himfelf againft the Arrows, which he took along with him, he alfo took the Canoes, and promis'd to fend me one back. Five Cannon Shot were the Signal of his Departure.

He took his Way along the lower Part of the River, to march by Land along the neighbouring Bay, which was call'd of St. *Lewis*, the Canoes keeping within Sight. I was left in the Habitation with thirty four Perfons, Men, Women and Children, and of that Number were three *Recolet* Friars, the *Sieur Hurie*, who was to command in my Abfence, one of the *Sieurs Dubaut*, the *Sieurs Thibault* and a Surgeon.

Monfr. de la Sale goes out to discover. St. Lewis's Bay.

Our Provisions being very fmall, and it being requifite to fpare them, for the Sick, we were oblig'd to apply our felves to Fifhing and Shooting. Both of them at firft prov'd very unfuccefsful, efpecially the latter; becaufe we were not yet well vers'd in them, and *Monsieur de la Sale* had taken our Huntsman along with him; but at length, Neceffity made us more expert. We kill'd Beeves, fome of which I caus'd to be dry'd, and they were a confiderable Help to fubfift us.

Some

Nov. 1685



Hunter
dies with
Cold.

Some Days after, the Canoe Monsieur *de la Sale* had promis'd me, arriv'd with three Soldiers, who brought us the News of the Loss of the Huntsman Monsieur *de la Sale* had taken along with him, and who had been found dead with Cold in a Ditch, where he had lain down to rest after hunting, which troubled us all very much. They also inform'd us, that Monfr. *de la Sale* advancing towards some Dwellings the Natives had abandon'd, after a small Resistance, some of whom had been wounded as they fled, they had taken and brought a Girl and a Woman, who was shot thro' the Thigh, of which she dy'd.

Dec. 1685

The Canoe was a great Help to us to carry what we kill'd, which being brought to our Habitation, found Employment for all Persons, some to flea, others to cut up, and others to dry it. At other Times, I set some of our Men to throw up a Trench about our Habitation.

Jan. 1686

Thus we spent our Time, till about the Middle of *January*, 1686, when being all, one Evening, in our Mansion, the Sentinel came in to acquaint me, that he heard a Voice towards the River; some men ran thither immediately, and found a Man in a Canoe, crying, *Dominick*, which was the Name of young *Dubaut*, who was with us. The Sight of that made me apprehensive lest some Disaster was befallen Monfr. *de la Sale*. I drew near, and perceiv'd it was *Dubaut* the Elder, that was return'd.

I ask'd, him whether he had any Letters from Monsieur *de la Sale*, he answer'd, he had not. It gave me some Uneasiness, considering I was forbid admitting any Man without an

Or-

Order in Writing, and I was almost resolv'd to secure him; but the Account he gave me of the Occasion of his returning wholly clear'd him. I admitted him, and he told me the whole Matter as follows.

Jan. 1686



Duhaut
returns
from Mr.
de laSale.

Monfr. *de la Sale*, having staid some Time on the Sea Shore, near the Place where the Bark was at Anchor he resolv'd to try the Anchoring Places of the Coasts round about, to know how near the Bark *le Belle* might come. To that Purpose he sent the Pilot with 5 of the best Men to found.

The Pilot did as he was order'd, he sound'd and observed the proper Places to come near several Coasts. At Night he and his Men being in all likelyhood tir'd, they thought fit to go Ashore and lie upon the Land. They made a Fire, perhaps to dress some Meat; but neglecting to stand upon their Guard, they were surpriz'd, and all six of them kill'd by the Savages; who also broke their Canoe, and thus reveng'd themselves for the Irruption Monfr. *de la Sale* had lately made among them.

Six Men
killed by
Natives.

More Time being elaps'd than Monsieur *de la Sale* had allotted those Men to return, he grew uneasy, and went himself along the Coast, to see if any News could be had of them, and keeping along the Shore, he found the sad Remains of those unfortunate Wretches, whose Carcasses scatter'd about, were torn and almost devour'd by Wolves or Wild Dogs, a Spectacle which went to his Heart.

However this Loss, which afflicted him, and particularly for the Sake of the Pilot, who was an able Man, did not quite cast him down; but exerting himself against his Misfortunes, he
caus'd

Jan. 1686



caus'd Flesh to be dry'd, and with that and the other Provisions he victuall'd the Bark *la Belle*. He caus'd it to advance into the Bay, put a good Number of Men on Board to secure it, among whom were Monsieur *Cbedeville*, the Priest, and *Planterose* of *Roan*, and order'd them not to stir from that Place till they heard from him, and not to go Ashore, unless with a good Guard and necessary Precautions.

Next, he chose out Twenty Men, imbark'd on two Canoes he had left, and being come Ashore, caus'd the Canoes to be sunk in the River, and every Man to take up his Bundle, consisting of Arms, Tools, some Utensils for the Kitchen, a few Goods, to trade with the Natives, if he should find any sociable, and so advanc'd into the Country, to try if any Notice could be had of the *Mississipi*.

La Ma-
ligne Ri-
ver.

After several Days March, they came to a good pleasant River, which they afterwards call'd *la Maligne*. Monsieur *de la Sale* marching at the Head of the Company, and having order'd Monsieur *Moranget* to keep in the Rear; it happen'd that *Dubaut* stopping to mend his Snapfack and his Shoes, which were in a bad Condition; the *Sieur Moranget* coming up, commanded him to March, he desired him to stay a little. *Moranget* would not, but held on his Way; *Dubaut* follow'd some Time after, but having stay'd too long, he could not overtake the Company, and found himself about Night fall in a Plain full of Weeds, where there were several Tracks of the Way Cattle had gone, but knew not which of them to take. He fir'd his Piece several Times, without hear-
ing

ing any thing of his Company, and was oblig'd to pass the Night in that same Place.

Feb. 1686

*Strange
Adventure*

In the Morning he shot again, spent the Day and Night again in that Place, so that not knowing what to do, he return'd the same Way he had gone, and after a Month's March, for he travell'd only by Night, for Fear of meeting with the Savages, living upon what he kill'd with much Difficulty and Danger, having before spent all his own Provisions; at length after most unaccountable Hardships and Sufferings, he arriv'd at the Place where the Canoes had been sunk. He took one of them up, with incredible Labour, and too long to relate, and so came to our Habitation of *St. Lewis*. Thus it pleas'd God that he who was to be one of the Murderers of *Monsieur de la Sale*, should come off safe, and surmount almost infinite Dangers.

This Account, which seem'd to carry the Face of Probability, prevail'd with me to receive the *Sieur Dubaut*, and in Reality I could do no otherwise, and I made it my Business to examine into his Behaviour, but could find Nothing to lay to his Charge. We continued some Time longer as we had been before; during the which, I caus'd another little Wooden Structure to be made, of Timber, I had got together, and in it I lodg'd the Women and Maidens by themselves. Having hitherto said Nothing of the Situation of our Dwelling of *St. Lewis*, nor of the Nature of the Country we were in, I will here venture upon a plain but true Description.

We were in about the 27th Degree of North Latitude, two Leagues up the Country, near
the

Feb. 1686


 Descripti-
 on of the
 Country
 and Dwel-
 ling at St.
 Lewis.
 The Land.

the Bay of St. Lewis and the Bank of the River *aux Bœufs*, on a little Hillock, whence we discover'd vast and beautiful Plains, extending very far to the Westward, all level and full of Greens, which afford Pasture to an infinite Number of Beeves and other Creatures.

Turning from the West to the Southward, there appear'd other Plains adorn'd with several little Woods of several Sorts of Trees. Towards the South and East was the Bay, and the Plains that hem it in from the East; to the Northward, was the River running along by a little Hill, beyond which there were other large Plains, with some little Tufts of Wood at small Distances, terminating in a Border of Wood, which seem'd to us to be very high.

Living
 Creatures.

Between that little Hill and our Dwelling, was a Sort of Marsh, and in it Abundance of wild Fowl, as Curlies, Water-Hens and other Sorts. In the Marsh there were little Pools full of Fish. We had also an infinite Number of Beeves, wild Goats, Rabbits, Turkeys, Bustards, Geese, Swans, Feldifares, Plovers, Teal, Partridges and many other Sorts of Fowl fit to eat, and among them one call'd *le grand Gofier*, or, the great Gullet, because it has a very large one; another as big and Fleshy as a Pullet, which we called the *Spatula*, because it's Beak is shap'd like one, and the Feathers of it being of a pale Red, are very beautiful.

Fish.

As for Fish, we had several Sorts in the River and in the Lakes I have mention'd. The River afforded a Sort of Barbles, differing from ours in Roundness, in their having three Bones sticking out, one on the Back, the others on each Side of the Head, and in the Fleish, which
 is

is like Cod, and without Scales. The River supply'd us with Abundance of other Fishes, whose Names we know not. The Sea afforded us Oysters, Eeles, Trouts, a Sort of red Fishes and others whose long, sharp and hard Beak tore all our Nets.

Feb. 1686



We had Plenty both of Land and Sea Tortoises, whose Eggs serv'd to season our Sauces. The Land Tortoises differ from those of the Sea, as being smaller, round, and their Shell more beautiful. They hide themselves in Holes they find or make in the Earth. It was looking for these Tortoises, that one of our Surgeons, thrust his Arm into a Hole, and was bit by some venomous Creature, which we suppos'd to be a Sort of Toad, having four Feet, the Top of his Back sharp and very hard, with a little Tail. Whether it was this Creature, or a Snake, his Arm swelled very much, however he was cured by such Applications as were made Use of; but it cost him a Finger was cut off.

*Tortoises.**Venomous
Creatures.*

Among the venomous Sorts of Snakes, as Vipers, Asps and others, whereof there are many, those call'd Rattle-Snakes are the most common. They generally lye among the Brambles, where they make a Noise by the Motion of two Scales they have at the End of their Tail, which is heard at a considerable Distance, and therefore they are call'd Rattle-Snakes. Some of our Men had eaten of them and found their Flesh was not amiss, and when we had kill'd any of them, our Swine made a good Meal.

*Rattle-
Snakes.*

There

Feb. 1686

*Alligators.*

There are also many Alligators in the Rivers, some of them of a frightful Magnitude and Bulk. I kill'd one that was between four and five Foot about, and twenty Foot in Length, on which our Swine feasted. This Creature has very short Legs, insomuch that it rather drags along than walks, and it is easy to follow the Tract of it, either among the Weeds or on the Sands, where it has been. It is very ravenous, and attacks either Men or Beasts, when they are within Reach in the River, and comes also ashore to seek for Food. It has this particular Quality, that it flies from such as pursue, and pursues those who fly from it. I have shot many of them dead.

Trees.

The Woods are composed of Trees of several Sorts. There are Oaks, some of them ever green and never without Leaves; others like ours in *Europe*, bearing a Fruit much like our Galls, and lose their Leaves in Winter, and another Sort not unlike ours in *France*, but the Bark of them thicker, these as well as the second Sort bear an Acorn, differing from ours both in Taste and Bigness.

There is a Sort of Tree, which bears small Berries, which, when ripe, are red, and indifferent pleasant. It bears twice a Year, but the second Crop never ripens. There is another Tree, bearing a Fruit not unlike *Cassia*, in Taste and Virtue.

Dangerous Fruit.

There are others of the Sort I had seen in the Islands, whose Leaves are like Rackets, whence the Tree bears the Name. The Blossoms grow out about the Leaves, and of them comes a Fruit somewhat resembling Figs, but the Leaves and the Fruit are full of Prickles, which must be

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be carefully rubb'd and taken off, before it is eaten, else they dangerously inflame the Mouth and the Throat, and may prove mortal, as happen'd to one of our Soldiers, who had eaten of them too greedily, and without that Precaution.

I have seen some Trees resembling the Palm, whose lofty and long Branches spread like that call'd the *Latanier*, bearing a Fruit, said to be indifferent good. Others the same Sort, but whose Leaves are like Gutters, harsh and so sharp pointed, that they will pierce the thickest Stuffs. This Tree has a Sprout on the Top, which shoots out Flowers in the Shape of a Nofegay, of a whitish yellow, and some of them at the Top of that Sprout have sixty or eighty Flowers hanging down, not unlike the Flower de Luce, and after those Flowers follows a Fruit as long as a Man's Finger, and thicker than the Thumb, full of little Seeds, so that there is scarce any Thing but the Rhind fit to eat, the Taste whereof is sweet and delicate.

There are Abundance of creeping Vines and others, that run up the Bodies and to the Tops of Trees, which bear plenty of Grapes, fleshy and sharp, not to compare to the Delicacy of ours in *Europe*; but we made Verjuice of them, which was very good in Sauce. Mulberry Trees are numerous along the Rivers, their Fruit is smaller, but sweeter and more delicious than ours; their Leaves are beautiful and large, which would be of good Use for feeding of Silkworms.

The Plains are strew'd with a Sort of small Sorrel, the Leaf whereof is like Trefoil, and the Taste of it sharp like ours. There are A-

F

bundance

Feb. 1686



bundance of small Onions, no bigger than the Top of a Man's Finger, but very well tasted, and when the Heat has scorch'd up the Plains, that Plant shoots out first, and produces Flowers which look like an agreeable Enamel. Nothing is more beautiful than to behold those vast Plains, when the Blossoms appear; a thousand Sorts of different Colours, whereof many have an agreeable Scent, adorn those Fields, and afford a most charming Object to the Eye. I have observed some that smelt like a Tuberoſe, but the Leaf resembles our Borage. I have seen Primroses, having a Scent like ours, *African* Gilliflowers, and a Sort of purple wind Flowers. The Autumn Flowers are almost all of them yellow, so that the Plains look all of that Colour.

The Climate is mild and temperate, tho' we were in about 27 Degrees of North Latitude, and yet the Seeds I caus'd to be sow'd did not thrive; whether it was because they had been soak'd in the Sea Water, or for any other Reason. Some came up pretty well, as Pumpions, Melons, Parsnips and Endive; but the Beasts and the Insects, left us not much. When we come to the *Cenis* and have travers'd so many Nations as lay between us and them, I shall speak of the Religion, Manners, Cloathing, Houses and Customs of the Natives, wherein they differ but little from one another, tho' of several Countries.

Monfieur *de la Sale* had been now long gone, and we began to be in Pain for him, when about the Middle of *March* 1686, hapning to be on the Top of the House, I spied seven or eight Persons coming towards us. I presently order'd eight arm'd Men to follow me, to
go

go meet them; and as soon as we drew near them, we knew Monsieur *de la Sale*, Monsieur *Cavelier*, his brother, Monsieur *Moranget*, his Nephew and five or six Men with them, the rest being gone another Way to find out the Bark *la Belle*, to give Notice of Monsieur *de la Sale*'s Arrival.

March

1686



They were in a bad Condition, their Cloaths ragged, Monsieur *Cavelier*'s short Cassock hung in Tatters; most of them had not Hats, and their Linen was no better; however the Sight of Monsieur *de la Sale* rejoyc'd us all. The Account he gave us of his Journey reviv'd our Hopes, tho' he had not found the fatal River, and we thought only of making ourselves as merry as we could. Only the Sight of the *Sieur Dubaut* interrupted it for some Time. Monsieur *de la Sale* ask'd me in an angry Manner, why I had receiv'd him, and *Dubaut* having given his Reasons, as I and my Men did, we were all satisfy'd.

Monsieur
de la Sale
returns.

The next Day, the *Sieurs le Barbier, Biborel, le Petit, Cavelier*, the Nephew, the Surgeon and others, whom Monsieur *de la Sale* had sent to find out and carry Advice to the Bark *la Belle*, return'd, and said they could not find her, which was another fresh Cause of Much Uneasiness to Monsieur *de la Sale*. He had been guilty of the Fault of putting aboard her, his Cloaths, his Linen, his Papers and all his best Effects, of all which he was then in the utmost Need. Besides, that Loss broke all the Measures he had concerted during his last Expedition, because he had resolv'd to cause the said Bark to go up one of the Rivers he had discover'd, to advance towards those Nations with whom he had

The Bark
la Belle
lost.

March
1686



contracted some Friendſhip, and to ſend me in the ſame Bark, with his Nephew *Moranget*, to the Iſlands to ſeek for ſome Aſſiſtance, or elſe to return by Sea to look for his River.

All theſe Deſigns being diſappointed, he reſolv'd to ſet out a ſecond Time, and travel by Land, to find out his River. He ſtaid to reſt him a while, and to provide for his Departure, but having neither Linen nor Cloaths, I ſupply'd him with ſome I had; I alſo afforded ſome Linen to *Monſieur Cavelier*, his Brother and *Monſieur Moranget*, his Nephew. All I had was at their Service, and I depriv'd myſelf of all that was fit for them, even to ten or twelve Pounds of Strings of Beads and ſome Knives and Nails, which *Monſieur de la Sale* took.

The *Sieur Dubaut*, having ſeveral Effects, as Linen, Hatchets and other Tools and Commodities, which had been ſav'd from the Shipwreck, *Monſieur de la Sale* took Linen to make Shirts, for ſuch as wanted, as alſo the Tools they ſtood in Need of. The Cloaths belonging to *Meſſieurs Thibault, le Gros* and *Carpentier*, who were dead, were alſo diſtributed. A great Belt I had, ſerv'd to make Shoes for *Monſieur de la Sale* and *Monſieur Cavelier*.

Monſieur
de la Sale
ſets out
upon ano-
ther Expe-
dition.

All Things being thus provided, *Monſieur de la Sale* took twenty Men along with him, among whom were *Monſieur Cavelier* his Brother, *F. Anaſtaſius* a Recolet, *Monſieur Moranget* his Nephew, the *Sieurs Biborel, le Clerk, Hurrier, Dubaut* the younger, *Hiens* his Surgeon, and his Servants. He left behind thoſe, who were not fit to undertake that ſecond Journey, among whom were little *Monſieur Cavelier* his Nephew, the *Sieur Barbier, Canadien* and ſome others.

others. Each of the Travellers made up his Pack, and they set out towards the latter End of *April* 1686, after having given me the necessary Orders, and we parted without Ceremony, Monsieur *de la Sale* desiring it should be so.

Apr. 1686


Some Days after he was gone, I heard a Voice towards the lower Part of the River, crying twice *Qui vive*, or who are you for. I made that Way, and perceiv'd the *Sieur Chedeville* a Priest, the *Sieur de la Sablonniere*, and some others of those who had been put aboard the Bark *la Belle*, and were now in a Canoe. I ask'd abruptly what was become of the Bark, and was inform'd, our continual Misfortunes still pursuing us, that it had run aground on the other Side of the Bay. I caused the Canoe to be unloaded, there being in it, among other Things, Monsieur *de la Sale's* Cloaths, Part of his Papers, some Linen, a small Quantity of Beads and thirty or forty Pound of Meal, which was all they had left.

*What was
 saved of
 the Bark
 la Belle.*

The next Day, Monsieur *de Chedeville* told me the Particulars of that Misfortune, and said, That having been some Time with the Bark, in the Place where Monsieur *de la Sale* had appointed them to wait, their Water falling short, they had thought fit to send the Boat ashore, with four or five Casks to fill; that the *Sieur Planterose* went in it with six of the best Men. That towards the Evening they saw the Boat coming back, but the Wind being contrary and Night coming on, they put out a Light, which going out and the Captain neglecting to put up another, in all Likelyhood the Boat could not see the Bark, and they never heard of it after,

*How the
 Bark was
 lost.*

May 1686



nor of any of thofe in it, who it was probable had all perifh'd.

That neverthelefs, they continued fome Days in the fame Place, during which Time three or four of their Men died; and at laft, having no Water, they eat up their Swine, before they died with Thirft, and resolv'd to weigh Anchor and draw near to the Dwelling; but having few Hands and thofe fpent, and to add to their Misfortune the Wind proving contrary, they were drove to the other Side of the Bay, where they run aground.

That having no Boat, nor Men enough to land their Effects, they had endeavour'd to make a Float with fome Casks and Planks, but that being ill made and join'd together, the firft that went upon it had perifh'd. That having made another Float better faftned together than the firft, they had by that Means faved fome Sails and Rigging, feveral inconfiderable Things, Linen, Cloaths and Papers belonging to *Monfieur de la Sale* and others, and then ftay'd Afhore, expecting to hear fome News, and had found a Canoe, being the fame that was before loft on the Edge of the Bay, which had been drove to the other Side; and that Proviſions at laft beginning to fall ſhort, they went aboard the ſaid Canoe and came to us; fortunate in that they had not been diſcover'd by the Natives, during their Stay Afhore, which was for the Space of three Months, and in finding the Canoe to bring them back.

When *Monfieur de la Sale* went away, the *Sieur Barbier* had taken upon him to go a hunting, as alfo to provide Bark to cover our Houſes, inftead of Hides, becauſe the Sun drying
and

June 1686



and contracting them, Part of the Top of our Buildings was uncover'd. I farther enjoyn'd him to cut Stakes, to make a Palisade about our Dwelling, and the *Sieur Chedeville* having told me they had bury'd several Things they could not bring away, I sent the *Sieur Barbier* with two Canoes and fifteen Men to the Place, where they found some Pedreros, Rigging and Sails. The Natives having discover'd the Concealment, had taken away some Pieces of Linen and Iron Tools, which they very much coveted.

The *Sieur Barbier* after his Return, continuing his Exercise of hunting, happen'd to meet with a Parcel of the Natives, some of whom had Firelocks, which they had taken from our Men, and with which they made some Shots at him, but very weak; and he firing three or four Shot at them they retir'd. He was then in a Canoe on the River, and design'd to have gone upwards; but that Rancounter having oblig'd him to take another Way, and the Savages perceiving it, eight of them swam over the River, hastening to get before the Canoe, hid themselves among the Weeds, near the Way he was to pass, and when he was near enough, let fly their Arrows, which wounded several Men. One Shot the *Sieur Barbier* made, put them all to Flight again; he held on his Way and return'd to our Habitation.

*Encounter
with the
Natives.*

Some Days after, we perceiv'd a Herd of Bullocks flying, and guess'd they were pursu'd by the Savages, which afterwards appear'd to be true. Some of them drew near to our Habitation, but a Cannon Shot, I pointed towards the Gang of them, and a Musket-shot Mon-

June 1686



*The Sieur
Barbier
marries.*

sieur *Barbier* fired at the nearest, made them all fly farther off.

When the Sieur *Barbier* went out a Hunting, I commonly sent with him some Women and Maids, to help the Hunters to dress and dry the Flesh; but being inform'd that he us'd to slip aside from the Company, with a young Maid he had a Kindness for, and which gave Occasion to some well-grounded Railleries; the said *Barbier* being told I was acquainted with that Affair, came and spoke to me in private, desiring Leave to marry that young Woman, I made some Difficulty of it at first, advising him to stay till Monsieur *de la Sale* return'd; but at last, considering they might have anticipated upon Matrimony, I took the Advice of the Recolet Fathers, and of Monsieur *Chedeville* the Priest, and allowed them to marry. Monsieur *le Marquis de la Sabloniere* following this Example, ask'd the same Liberty, being in Love with a young Maid, which I absolutely refus'd, and forbid them seeing one another.

*Accidents
concerning
the Recolets*

Some Time pass'd in which Nothing happen'd to us worth observing; however, I will mention two Things which befell our Recolet Fathers. One was, That Father *Anastafius*, being a hunting Bullocks with me, and coming too near one I had shot, and was fallen, the Beast, as much hurt as he was, started up, attack'd and threw him down; he had much ado to get off, and I to rescue him, because I durst not shoot for Fear of killing him. The Bullock being weak, fell again; the Father was deliver'd, but lay ill some Months. The other was, That Father *Maximus* had writ some Me-
moirs

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moirs concerning Monsieur *de la Sale's* Conduct, condemning him upon several Occasions. I was told of it, found Means to get those Memoirs, threw them into the Fire, and so the Father came off.

About the same Time, most of our Men seeing Monsieur *de la Sale* did not return, began to mutter. The Sieur *Duhaut*, who perhaps had been the first Fomenter of those Discontents, back'd the Complaints of the disgusted Party, promis'd them great Matters under his Conduct, and offer'd to supply them with such Effects as he had in Possession, endeavouring, as I suppose, by those Means, to gain their Affections, for a mischievous Design, which it is likely he had even then conceiv'd.

Duhaut
Endea-
vours to oc-
casion a
Mutiny.

It was not long before, I had Intimation of the whole Affair, and I had done Monsieur *de la Sale* a singular Piece of Service, had I then put to Death the Person, who was to be his Murderer; but I rested satisfy'd with giving him a severe Reprimand, and threat'ning to cause him to be secur'd if he persisted, being able to do no other under my present Circumstances. However, I talk'd to all concern'd, and put them in such Hopes of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Return, and that Things would soon change to their Satisfaction, that they were all pacify'd.

But in Regard, that Idleness often occasions Uneasiness and Impatience, I us'd all possible Means to keep them employ'd, in the most obliging Manner I could, setting some to cut down the Bushes about our Dwelling, others to hew down Trees, that hinder'd the Prospect, others mow'd the Grass, that fresh might grow
up

June 1686



M. de la
Sale's Dis-
coveries.

up for our Cattle, and at Night I made them divert themselves with Dancing and Singing.

Whilst we thus pass'd away the Time the best we could, Monsieur *de la Sale* had penetrated very far up into the Country, inclining towards the Northern Part of *Mexico*. He had travell'd through several Nations, the Inhabitants whereof were, for the most Part, sociable, and had concluded a Sort of Alliance with them, and particularly with the *Cenis* and others whose names I shall mention. He had discover'd charming Countries abounding in all Things that could be wish'd, as well for Sustenance, as for making of easy Settlements, and after he and his Nephew *Moranget* had escap'd two Dangerous Sicknesses, he return'd to our Habitation, with five Horses he had purchas'd, and arriv'd at it in *August* 1686.

His Return

Hearing of his Voice, I was one of the first that ran towards the River: We took our Canoes to bring him, his Luggage and some Provisions over, and the Horses swam. We were extraordinary glad to see our Commander in Chief return safe, tho' his Journey had not advanc'd his Design. Monsieur *de la Sale* had not found out his River, nor been towards the *Illinois* as we had hoped. Only eight Men return'd with him of twenty he carry'd out, and all the visible advantage of that Journey consisted in five Horses, laden with Indian Wheat, Beans and some other Grain, which was put into the Store.

7 Men lost
and 4 de-
sert.

Monfr. *de la Sale* ask'd me, as soon as he came, whether the Sieurs *Clerc*, *Hurie*, *Dubaut* the younger and two others were come, because they

they not being able to endure the Fatigue of the Journey, he had given them Leave to return, and hearing they were not, he concluded the Savages had killed them. We were also inform'd, that the *Sieur Biborel*, had stray'd and was lost, so that there had been no News of him since; that one of *Monfr. de la Sale's* Servants had been dragg'd down to the Bottom of the Water and devour'd by an Alligator, and that four others had deserted and abandon'd *Monsieur de la Sale*, when he was about the Country of the *Cenis*.

This was a very dismal and deplorable Account; but the even Temper of our Chief made all Men easy, and he found, by his great Vivacity of Spirit, Expedients, which reviv'd the lowest Ebb of Hope. He rejoiced at the Return and Sight of *M. Chedeville*, he was pleas'd at the Recovering of his Cloaths and Part of his Papers; and after some Time of Rest, he propos'd to undertake a Journey towards the *Illinois*, and to make it the main Business, by the Way, to find the *Mississipi*; but it was thought proper to let the great Heats pass, before that Enterprize was taken in Hand.

In the mean Time, he gave Orders to stake about a Place to make a New Magazine, or Storehouse. He put to that Use the Timber I had caus'd to be cut, and would have more provided for the same Use. Detachments being sent to work, seven or eight of our Men, who were sent with the *Sieur Barbier*, were discover'd by the Savages, who being superior in Number, made as if they would hem them in; but each of our Men having taken a Tree upon their Shoulders and fir'd their Pieces, which
made

Sept. 1686

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*M. de la Sale resolves upon a third Expedition.*



O<sup>a</sup>. 1686Two Men  
kill'd.

made one of the Natives drop, the others took him up and withdrew. Yet it was not long before they were reveng'd, for they kill'd us two Men, one of them close by our Dwelling, and the other, who had separated from the rest of the Company to gather Purslain, and could not be reliev'd.

There being every Day some Discourse of the Journey to the *Isinois*, Monsieur de la Sale ask'd me one Day, whether I would make one of the Company, and go by the Way of *Canada* to *France* for Succours. I assured him I was entirely devoted to his Will, and would faithfully attend him. Then he began by Degrees to provide what he thought necessary for that Expedition. I had two Pair of Sheets, which he took, to make him Linen. Canvas Cloaths were made of the Sails of the Bark *la Belle*. The Sieur *Dubaut* having Linen, he took some to distribute among several Persons. Thus he hastened on the Execution of his Design, but an Accident put it off.

Nov. 1686

It was occasion'd by a Flux which troubled Monsieur de la Sale, who having told me he could not perform that Journey, as long as he continued in such condition, I offer'd to undertake it for him, if he would allow me his *Indian*, and about fifteen Men; but he answer'd, That his Presence was requisite among the *Isinois*, and that it was requisite his Brother should go to *France*. Thus he refus'd my Offer, and could not shun the ill Fate of that Journey.

Dec. 1686

We spent some Time longer after this Manner, during the which, there arose a Controversy about the Privileges the King grants to the First-born of the *French Colonies* in *America*.

ca.



ca. The *Sieur Barbier's* wife was with Child, and he claim'd the Privilege granted for that Child. The Widow *Talon* had a Child born in the Passage from *France* to *America*, and alledg'd, that her Child, tho' born before our Arrival, ought to be preferr'd; but the *Sieur Barbier's* Wife miscarrying, the Dispute was not decided.

Jan. 1687



Controversy about Privilege.

*Monsieur de la Sale* being recover'd of his Indisposition, Preparations were again made for his Journey; but we first kept the *Christmas* Holy-Days. The Midnight Mass was solemnly sung, and on *Twelve-Day*, we cry'd, *The King drinks*, (according to the Custom of *France*) tho' we had only Water: When that was over we began to think of setting out. *Monsieur de la Sale* gave the Command of the Settlement to the *Sieur Barbier*, directing him what he was to do and observe in his Absence.

There remain'd in that Habitation, the Fathers *Maximus* and *Zenobius*, Recolets, *Monsieur Chedeville*, the Priest, the Marquis *de la Sablonniere*, the *Sieur Barbier*, Commander, his Wife, a Surgeon and others, to the Number of twenty, among whom were seven Women, or Maids, and only the *Sieur Barbier* marry'd; which is much short of the Number some have given out remain'd in the Dwelling, without any Ground; for the Truth is, there were no more, and particularly no Natives, *Monsieur de la Sale* having absolutely forbid holding any Communication with them. As for Beasts, they amounted to seventy, or seventy five Swine, great and small, which was a good Stock; for Fowl, eighteen or twenty Hens; some Casks of Meal, which

Who were left in the Settlement when *M. de la Sale* departed.

was

*Jan. 1687**Persons  
that set out  
with M. de  
la Sale.*

was kept for the Sick; Powder, Ball, and eight Pieces of Cannon, without any Bullets.

We set out the 12th of *January*, in the Year 1687, being seventeen in Number, viz. Monsieur *de la Sale*, Monsieur *Cavelier*, the Priest, his Brother, Father *Anastasi*, the Recolet, Messieurs *Moranget* and *Cavelier*, Nephews to Monsieur *de la Sale*, the Sieurs *Dubaut*, the Elder, *l'Arcleveque*, *Hiens*, *Liotot*, Surgeon, young *Talon*, an *Indian*, and a Footman belonging to Monsieur *de la Sale*, &c. We carried along with us Part of the best Things every Man had, and what was thought would be of Use, wherewith the five Horses were loaded, and we took our Leaves with so much Tenderness and Sorrow, as if we had all presaged, that we should never see each other more. Father *Zenobius* was the Person who express'd it to me most significantly, saying, He had never been so sensibly touch'd at parting with any Body.

*The Way  
they tra-  
vell'd.*

We went that Day to the Place we call'd *le Boucon*, because there, we had often dry'd Flesh, (*which the French call Boucanner from the Indian Word*) This Place was not far from our Habitation. The 13th, we cross'd a Plain, about two Leagues over, where we saw several Herds of Beeves and Flocks of Goats, Turkeys, Bustards, and other Sorts of Wild Fowl. We met with Marshy Lands, which tired our Horses, and came to a Wood that terminates the Plain, across which, runs a Branch of a River, full of Reeds, by Monsieur *de la Sale* call'd the *Princess's* River. That Branch joins the other, and they both fell together into the Bay of *St. Lewis*.

We

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We kill'd five Beeves at the Entrance into the Wood, forded the River, and incamp'd Half a League beyond it, whence Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Men with the Horses, to bring the Flesh of the Bullocks we had kill'd; the Hides of them, which serv'd to cover us, being very useful against a violent Shower of Rain that fell.

The 14th, the Rain ceasing, we travell'd over another spacious Plain, where there is a Multitude of Beeves and Wild Fowl. We saw several Tracks, leading every Way, made by the Bullocks, of which we saw several Herds, some moving on hastily, and others running out-right, which made us suppose they were drove by the Natives. In short, having halted to help up one of our Horses that was fallen, we saw an *Indian* following them very close. Monsieur *de la Sale* caus'd a Horse to be immediately unloaded, which a Man mounting, rode after, overtook and brought the *Indian*.

When the Savage saw himself among us, he concluded he was a lost Man, he quak'd for Fear, and not without Reason, for most of our Men had resolv'd to kill him; Monsieur *de la Sale* oppos'd it, alledging, that we were but a small Number, that very few were left behind at the Habitation, and therefore we ought not to render our selves odious to the Natives, but to use them kindly, that we might have Peace; an infallible Maxim, the Practice of which might have been fortunate to him, had he follow'd it sooner.

He

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He therefore caus'd a Fire to be made, gave him to Eat and Smoke, and afterwards a Bit of Roll-Tabacco, and some other Trifles. *Monsieur de la Sale* gave him to understand, that he came not to hurt any Man, but to settle Peace in all Places, and so dismiss'd him. The *Indian* recover'd himself a little of his Fright; but being still dubious, what his Fate might be, he at first walk'd away gently, still looking about him, and when at a good Distance, made off as fast as he could. We held on our Way, and soon after saw another *Indian* running after the Bullocks. *Monsieur de la Sale* caus'd him to be taken, brought to us, and treated as the first had been.

We had not gone far before we spy'd a Company of Natives coming towards us, on our left, but we held on our Way, till they were over against us, when *Monsieur de la Sale* caus'd us to halt. The Savages seeing us halt, stood still also, which *Monsieur de la Sale* perceiving, he laid his Firelock on the Ground, and advanc'd towards them, making signs to him that Commanded them, who was a handsome Man, to draw near. That *Indian* came forward, and was follow'd by the rest, all of them Carefing us after their Manner, which we return'd the best we were able, and then made them Smoak.

*Natives  
entertain'd*

Next *Monsieur de la Sale* gave them to understand, that we were going towards the *Cenis*, that we desir'd to be at Peace with them all, and that we would return to our own Country, whence we would bring them all they had Occasion for. Then we distributed among them some Bits of Roll-Tabacco, some Strings of  
Beads

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Beads and Knives, which they seem'd to be pleas'd with, and all this was done by Signs. Then every Man went his own Way: We advanc'd half a League farther, to get into a Wood, where Monsieur *de la Sale* had encamp'd when he went that Way before; we cut down Trees to secure our Post, and lay there that Night.

Before our Intrenchment was finish'd, we discover'd, first one *Indian*, then two, and afterwards three, coming one after another; which giving Monsieur *de la Sale* some Jealousy, he caus'd us to handle our Arms, with Orders to stand upon our Guard, for fear of being surpriz'd, and went towards them. They signify'd to him, that their People had told them, we did not hurt any Body, which was very well, and that they were come to see us. They were entertain'd as the others had been, and then Signs were made them to withdraw, because Night drew on, and having observ'd, that they took Notice of our fortifying our selves, we kept a good Guard all the Night, without any Disturbance.

The Fifteenth, we march'd on, intending to find out a Ford, in the River call'd of the *Princess*, where Monsieur *de la Sale* had pass'd before; but missing of it, and the River being swollen, we were oblig'd to go up higher, sometimes crossing curious Meadows, and sometimes Woods of tall Trees of several Sorts, but all Young of the same Thickness and strait, looking as if they had been planted by a Line. The River running through the midst of those curious shady Groves, which were also water'd by

*A fine  
Country.*

G

several



*Jan. 1687**Thick  
Woods.*

several little Brooks of very clear and good Water, afforded a most delightful Landskip.

We also met with some Woods so thick, that that it was requisite to hew a Passage for the Horfes. Towards the Evening we kill'd a Bullock, and went to incamp in a little Cop-pice, with our usual Precautions.

*Wild Fowl.*

The 16th, we continued our Journey, still following the River upwards, and from Time to Time meeting the same Sort of Pasture Grounds and the Obstacles of Woods, where we were fain to cut our Way through, which fatigued us very much; but the Plenty of wild Fowl, and particularly of Turkeys, whereof we killed many, was an Ease to our Sufferings, and Help to bear our Toil with more Satisfaction.

*An Indian  
Village a-  
bandon'd.*

The 17th, was a very toilsome Day's Journey, by Reason of the Woods and Rivulets we were to cross; after which we came to a little Hill, on which there were 2 or 300 Cottages of the Natives. Those Huts were like large Ovens, consisting of long Poles stuck in the Earth in a Circle, and joyning above to make the Dome or round Top. They had been a Dwelling of the Natives, who being gone, had carry'd away the Hides that cover'd them, and the Mats which are us'd to hang the Insides, and to make their beds of.

After a March of some Hours, our *Indian* having found a Herd of Beeves, we kill'd seven or eight, took the best of the Meat, and held on our Way across a Wood. We ford'd a Branch of the River, and proceeded to the Bank of another, the Bottom whereof being foul, we incamp'd on the Edge of it, and the Rain falling  
at



at Night and continuing all the next Day, were oblig'd to stay there. *Jan. 1687*

The 19th, the Rain ceasing, we proceeded through a thick Fog, and over Places where the Water was often up to our Knees, and sometimes higher; which, together with our being forc'd to cut the Way athwart the Bushes, with our Hatchets, gave us inexpressible Trouble, and it had been much greater, had we not resolv'd to follow the Ways beaten by the Bullocks, whom a natural Instinct always leads to those Parts which are easiest to pass.

We were not free from another Inconvenience in those Tracks, which was their being full of Water and very rugged, a Thing no Way agreeable to our Shoes, which were no other than a Piece of Bullocks Hide or Goats Skin quite green, whereof we made a sort of Buskins, to serve instead of Shoes, but when those wretch'd Boots were dry'd by the Heat, upon our Feet, they hurt us very much, and we were often oblig'd to set our Feet in the Water to soften those Buskins. However, we march'd all the Day, notwithstanding all those Inconveniences, without finding a proper Place to incamp, and at last came to a River, whose high Bank afforded us a Spot to rest on.

The 20th, a small Rain did not obstruct our March, and having cross'd a Wood, half a League athwart, and a Marsh of the same Extent, we came into a large Plain, cut across by great Tracks of Bullocks, which went towards the River, and made us suppose there might be a Ford. We follow'd that Way, but found the River so swollen, and its Stream so rapid, that it was impossible to cross it, but were o-

*Buskins of  
raw Hides  
instead of  
Shoes.*

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blig'd to halt upon its Bank, whence we went to hunt Bullocks, whereof we had no want, nor of Turkeys and other wild Fowl.

The 21th, we proceeded up that River, and found a narrow deep Place, near which we hew'd down a Tree, making it fall so as to reach from the one Bank to the other, in the Nature of a Plank, and handed our Baggage from one to another over it. The Horses swam over and we incamp'd on the other Side, near a very beautiful Plain.

✓ Hebaha-  
mo, Indi-  
an Nation.

Whilst we were hewing down some little Wood to intrench ourselves, we heard a Voice, whereupon handling our Arms and going to the Place where we heard it, we saw a Company of fifteen Savages, who were coming towards us, and made Signs to us to go to them, laying down their Bows, in Token of Peace. We also made our Sign to them to draw near, they did so and caress'd us after their Manner. We made them sit down and smoke, after which, Monsr. de la Sale began to converse with them by Signs, and by Help of some Words of the Language of the *Cenis*, which he was skilful in, he understood, that these were their Neighbours and Allies; that their Village was not far off, and that their Nation was call'd *Hebahamo*. Some small Presents were given them, and they withdrew, promising to return the next Day.

The 22th, our Horses being spent and hurt, and we much tir'd, the Day was given to Rest, and the Natives did not fail to come, being twenty five in Number, some of whom had Bucklers or Targets made of the strongest Part of the Bullocks Hides. They gave us to understand, that they were engag'd in War towards the *NW*.  
and

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and told us, they had seen Men like us, who were but ten Days Journey from that Place. Other Tokens they gave, made us suppose it was *New Spain* that they talk'd of.

Monfr. *de la Sale* took several Words of their Language, which is very different from that of the *Cenis*, and more difficult. As for their Customs, they are much alike. In fine, having shewn us, that towards the *N. W.* we should meet with Plains, where the Way would be easier, and we should shun the Woods, we gave them to eat, and some Presents, and they took Leave of us. A Rain falling and holding all the Night, we did not march the 24th. The 25th, we travell'd not far, by Reason of the Rains continuing, and that there were several Rivers in the Way much swollen.

The 16th, we proceeded on our Journey, and came to the River call'd *la Sabloniere*, from the many Sand Banks there are in it. The 27th, departing from it, we came to another little narrow River, but very deep; going up higher we found a Ford, and went to incamp beyond it, in a little Wood, where we had a very bad Night, because of the Rain which fell again, and the overflowing of the River, which oblig'd us to make a little Sort of Scaffold, to lay our Powder and Cloaths on, that they might not be wet. The next Day being the 28th, observing that the Water was still rising, we decamp'd to go a League farther, to a higher Ground, where we made a great Fire to warm and dry us.

We took Notice the Country was very good, the Plains extending as far as the Eye could reach, and adorn'd with many little Coppices, affording a very agreeable Prospect. We march'd over Part of them the 29th and 30th, after 3 Hours

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*Village inhabited.*

Travel, found a Way full of Water, which oblig'd us to incamp on the Bank of a River; pass'd it the 31th, and incamp'd in a Wood close by.

The next Day, being the First of *February* 1687, Monsieur *de la Sale* left me to guard the Camp, and took along with him, Monsieur *Cavelier* his Brother and seven Men, to go see whether he could find any Body in several Cottages our Hunters had discover'd. He found twenty four or twenty five of them, built round like those I have before mention'd, standing on a rising Ground, almost encompass'd by the River, in each of which there were four or five Men, and several Women and Children.

The Savages were somewhat surpriz'd at Monsieur *de la Sale's* coming; however they receiv'd him in friendly Manner, and conducted him to their Commander's Hut, which was immediately fill'd with People, who came to see him. The Elders came together there, Bullocks Hides were laid upon the Ground, on which they made Monsieur *de la Sale* and his Company sit. They gave them hung Beef to eat, and then signify'd to them that some of their Allies had given them Notice of our being in the Country, and that we were going to the *Cenis*, and they had imagin'd that we would pass thro' their Country.

Monsieur *de la Sale* present'd them with some Knives and Bits of Tabacco, and they gave him Bullocks Hides, very well dress'd with the Hair, they gave one for a Knife, and would have given many more, but that we told to them, that we had no Conveniency to carry them and that if they had any Horses, he would give them Axes in Exchange. They answer'd, they had but two, which they could not part with.

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It being late when Monsieur *de la Sale* return'd, we staid there the rest of the Day, and several *Indians* came to see us, in Hopes of receiving some Present, offering us *Bullocks Hides* dressed, which we would not burden our selves with.

The Second, we set out again, and halted some Time in that Village, where by the Way we barter'd for some Collars, or a Sort of Knots made of *Bullocks Hides* well dress'd, which the Natives make Use of to carry their Burdens, whether of Wood, Utensils, or the Meat they kill. They prov'd of Use both to us and our Horses, because the Thongs of those Collars serv'd to make fast our Burdens.

We proceeded on our Journey, through a Country pleasant enough, but Sandy, and having cross'd a large Plain, came to the Bank of a fine River, call'd *la Maligne*, or the Mischievous, because in Monsieur *de la Sale's* former Journey, an Alligator devour'd one of his Servants, who was swimming over it. This River is as wide as the *Seine* at *Roan*, seems to be very navigable and has a very pleasant Country about it. We incamp'd in a little Wood adjoining to it, and bark'd the *Aspen Trees* to hut.

*la Maligne River.*

Our Hunters kill'd Beeves, wild Goats, Turkeys and other Wild-Fowl, and among the rest some Creatures as big as an indifferent Cat, very like a Rat, having a Bag under their Throat, in which they carry their Young. They feed upon Nuts and Acorns, are very fat, and their Flesh is much like Pig.

*Indian Rats.*

Hard by there, we found a Place where Monsieur *de la Sale*, in his former Journey had hid some Parcels of Strings of Beads in the Trunks of Trees, and we rested there till the Eighth of the Month. During that Time, no



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Day pass'd without seeing some of the Natives, who sometimes spent the whole Day with us, and said they were of several Nations. We made them smoke, and always gave them some small Presents. They admir'd that after we had writ down some Words they spoke to us, we repeated them, looking on the Paper.

Portable  
Canoe.

Whilst we staid, Monsieur *de la Sale* set Men at Work to make a portable Canoe, of long Poles, hew'd and joyn'd and then cover'd with Bullocks Hides sew'd together, having pull'd off the Hair or Wooll, as it may be call'd there. That Canoe was of great Use to us, to cross Rivers as well for our selves as for our Baggage, but the Horses swam over.

The Ninth, we put our Canoe into the Water, and pass'd the River in it, and incamp'd half a League from thence, on Account of the Grass, which our Horses stood in Need of to recover themselves a little. The Tenth, we held on our Journey, crossing several spacious Plains, the Grass whereof was burnt, whence Monsieur *de la Sale* concluded, that there were many Natives thereabouts. He thought it convenient to provide Store of dry'd Flesh, for Fear we should not find Game in the Country we were going to enter upon, and accordingly caused several Beeves to be kill'd for that Purpose.

For that Reason, we continued there till the 12th, when we went and incamped on the Bank of a River, which Monsieur *de la Sale* had in his former Journey call'd *d'Eure*. At Night there arose a storm, follow'd by Thunder and Rain, which swell'd the Streams, and obliged us to stay there. The 13th and 14th we cross'd four or five large Rivulets, and then a fine  
curious-



curious Country, diversify'd with several little Woods, Hills and small Brooks, affording a delightful Prospect. That pleasant Country was terminated by a Wood, which we were to cross, and were favour'd in it by a Way beaten by the Bullocks, and at Night we incamped there.

The 15th, we travel'd along a fine Meadow, then over Plains that had been burnt, and at Night went to take our Rest on the Bank of a small Rivulet, about which we saw several Footsteps of Natives, which made us conclude we were not far from them; and therefore we doubled our Guard, to prevent being surpriz'd.

The 16th, Monsieur *de la Sale* left me at the Guard of the Camp, and took Monsieur *Cavelier* his Brother, and seven Men with him, to go find out the *Indians*. They had not gone half a League before they spied Horses and a Number of Cottages, without being themselves seen by the Savages. That Village stood on the Side of a Hill, and contain'd about forty Huts, standing together, besides several others straggling.

When Monsieur *de la Sale* enter'd the Village, the Savages seeing him, came to meet and conduct him to the Cottage of their Chief, where he and his Company were seated on Bullocks Hides. The Elders being come, he signify'd to them the Occasion of his Coming, as he had done to the other Nations, with which they seem'd to rest satisfy'd. Some Presents were made them, according to Custom, and they offer'd him a Quantity of Hides, which he refus'd, telling them, that when he return'd from the *Cenis* he would trade with, and furnish them with all they had Occasion for. They confirm'd  
what

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*A Village.*

*Monsieur  
de la Sale  
well re-  
ceiv'd by  
the Na-  
tives.*

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what the others had told us, concerning a Nation, where some of them had been, the Men whereof were like us, meaning the *Spaniards*. He nam'd to them the Nations we had pass'd through from our Dwelling of St *Lewis*, to the River *Maligne*, which we had lately pass'd. The Names of those Nations are as follows.

Names of  
Nations  
or Tribes.

The *Spicbeats*, *Kabayes*, *Thecamons*, *Theauremets*, *Kiaboba*, *Choumenes*, *Kouans*, *Arban*, *Enepiabe*, *Abonerhopiheim*, *Korenkake*, *Korkone*, *Omeaoffe*, *Keremen*, *Abeboen*, *Magbai*, *Thecamenes*, *Otenmarhem*, *Kavagan* and *Meracouman*. These are the Nations that lay on our Road; those on the West and North West of the said River were the *Kannebonan*, *Tobaka*, *Pehir*, *Coyabegux*, *Onapien*, *Pichar*, *Toban*, *Kiaffes*, *Chanzes*, *Tsera*, *Bocrettes*, *Tsepeboen*, *Fercouteba*, *Panego*, *Petao*, *Petzares*, *Peifacho*, *Peiboum* and *Orcampion*.

Those we were with then, were call'd *Teao*, whom we had not before hear'd nam'd. They talk'd of a great Nation call'd *Ayona* and *Cano-batino*, who were at War with the *Spaniards*, from whom they stole Horses, and told us, that one hundred *Spaniards* were to have come to join the *Cenis*, to carry on that War, but that having heard of our March, they went back. Monsieur de la Sale gave them to understand, that we were at War with the *Spaniards*, and that we fear'd them not; and that he was sent on their Account by the great Captain of the World, who had charg'd him to do them all Good, and to assist them in their Wars against such Nations as were their Enemies.

Those Savages gave Monsieur de la Sale Notice, that he would find three of our Men among the *Cenis*, which put him in Hopes they were

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were those he had given Leave to depart at his former Journey, and of whom he had never since heard. He propos'd to them to barter for Horses; but they had caus'd them to be convey'd out of the Way, for Fear we should take them away, excepting only one Bay, which Monsieur *de la Sale* agreed for and return'd to us.

The 17th, we pass'd a small River, with some Difficulty, and incamp'd beyond it. The 18th, one of our Horses going along the Edge of an upright Bank, fell into the Water, and came off with only a Hurt on the Shoulder; but we were fain to unload him, and distribute his Burden among us, every one making a Pack; and thus we cross'd a curious Plain, diversify'd with Woods, Hills, Rivulets, and delightful Meadows.

The 19th, we travell'd along the Tops of those Hills, to avoid the Bottoms, and found a Difficulty to get down, by Reason of the Rocks we met with at the End of them, and a River we were to cross. Whilst we were passing that River, we heard Dogs hunting the Bulls, two of which coming near us, one of them was shot dead. The Natives who were hunting spying us, sent out two of their Number, who creeping from Tree to Tree, drew near, and then stood still, without daring to proceed any farther. We made Signs to them to come, which they did, and we made them smoke, till Monsieur *de la Sale* return'd, being gone a little Way to observe the Body of those People.

When come, he told them, he would entertain Peace with them, that we were going to  
the

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the *Cenis*, and he believ'd, that these very Men were of their Nation, because they had their Accent and some of their Words. They told him their Village was near that Place, and bore us Company to our Camp, where after some small Presents given them, they were dismissed.

Account  
given by a  
Native.

The 20th, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Monsieur *Moranget* and some others to the Village of those Natives, to try whether they could barter with them for some Horses. In the mean Time two Savages came to us, one of them being the same that was with us the Night before, and they express'd much Friendship for us. That particular *Indian* told us, his name was *Palaquechaune*, that they were Allies to the *Cenis*, that their Chief had been among the *Choumans*, with the *Spaniards*; that the *Choumans* were Friends to the *Spaniards*, from whom they got Horses, and added some farther Particulars, which the others had before signify'd to us; so that we had good Reason to judge we were not far from *North Mexico*.

He also told us, that the *Choumans* had given their Chief some Presents, to persuade him to conduct us to them; that most of the said Nation had flat Heads; that they had *Indian* Corn, which gave Monsieur *de la Sale* Ground to believe, that those People were some of the same he had seen upon his first Discovery. That same Native had a very fine Goat's Skin, which I purchas'd of him for four Needles, after I had shewn him how to use them, and that Skin was of good Use to make us Shoes instead of raw Bullocks Hides.

Some

Some Time after, Monsieur *Moranget* return'd, gave Monsieur *de la Sale* an Account of his short Journey, and said, That one of the Natives, who saw us the Night before, came to meet and conduct him to the Chief's Cottage, where forty Ancient *Indians* were, by whom he had been kindly receiv'd. That the Chief had in his Hand a Reed, at the end whereof was made fast a Leaf of a *French Book*, which he had an extraordinary Respect for. That they had been made to sit on *Bullocks Hides*, and treated with dry'd Beef.

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*M. Moranget's  
Account.*

That after these first Ceremonies, the Chief had given them to understand, that some of their People had been conducted by a Man like us, to our Habitation, and that the said Man had promis'd to bring them to talk with us, in order to treat of Peace; but that on the Contrary, we had fired on them and kill'd one of their Men, which had oblig'd them to kill the Man that led them, and that then they return'd. It is not improper here to put the Reader in Mind, that I have before mention'd this Accident, when the *Sieur Barbier* crossing the River in a Canoe, was call'd upon by some Person, who was among the Natives on the Bank of the River, who had made two Shots, as it had been only the Priming of a Piece, which the *Sieur Barbier* had look'd upon as an Insult, and therefore he had also fir'd, with all the other Particulars, as mention'd before; an Accident that happen'd for want of understanding one another; which, together with *Monfr. de la Sale's* forbidding us to have any Communication with the Natives, was very prejudicial to us afterwards.

After



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After much other Discourse, Monsieur Moranget having given them some small Presents, they made their return in Bullocks Hides, and Goats Skins well drefs'd. He ask'd them for some Horses to barter; they answer'd, they had no more than what they stood in Need of. We immediately proceeded on our Journey, and that day being the 21st, went to incamp at the Edge of a Wood.

The 22d, we went up to an Eminence terminated by a Rock, at the Foot whereof ran a little River, the bottom whereof was all of flat Rocks, fit for Building. Thence we descry'd two Natives driving of Bullocks, which made us stand upon our Guard, and it appear'd to be our *Indian*, who had met another, with whom he had been acquainted among the *Cenis*, and whom he had brought along with him.

Three lost  
French  
Men heard  
of.

Monsieur de la Sale was very glad to see him, and remember'd he was one of those of whom he had purchas'd a Horse. He ask'd several Questions of him, and among the rest, whether he had not seen the four Men who deserted in his former Journey, or heard any Talk of the others, to whom he had given Leave to return to our Dwelling. He answer'd, he had seen one among the *Cenis*, and two others among the *Ajjonis*; but that he had not heard of any more, and that they must needs be dead; as also the *Sieur Biborel*, who was likewise mention'd to him.

He further told us, that there were four or five Cottages thereabouts, in which about Fifteen Men resided. At Night he went away. Our *Indian* had kill'd a Cow at a great Distance and shot her quite through, at which the other, who



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who had been an Eye Witnels to it, stood a long Time amaz'd, without speaking one Word, admiring the Effect of our Pieces. That Cow was sent for, and the Flesh brought to our Camp.

The 23d, we pass'd by the Cottages we had been told of, where the Natives were with their Wives and Children. Monfr. *de la Sale* caus'd us to halt in the Village. We were well receiv'd, they presented us with dry'd Beef, and we return'd it in some Knives. We saw two Horses, one of them a little grey, indifferent handsome. They told us they would soon depart that Place, to go join their Companions, who were in War with their Enemies. The rest of our Men being come up, we went on to incamp a League from thence, on the Bank of a Rivulet, and at the Foot of one of the highest Mountains in the Country.

Unloading our Horses, we perceiv'd there wanted a large Axe, which serv'd us for hewing down of Trees. Monsieur *de la Sale* sent his *Indian* to demand it, at the Village we came from last, the Savages said they had not seen it, and it was lost. He brought back Word, that the Savages had told him, that if we would stay for them, they would go along with, and shew us the Way.

However, we went on the 24th, and incamp'd on the Edge of a Marsh. The 25th, the Rain hinder'd us from Marching. The 26th, Monsieur *de la Sale* perceiving how difficult and dangerous it was to cross that Marsh, sent his *Indian* to the others, to know whether they really design'd to go with us. They answer'd, we must return thither to join them.

The

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The 27th. we decamp'd, in order to it; but took another Way to go meet the *Indians*. The 28th. we saw them marching at a Distance. One of them was detach'd to come tell us, that he would shew us the Way to cross the Marsh, and we went on and incamp'd at the Foot of the high Mountain I have spoken of.

The first of *March*, we join'd the *Indians*, on the Edge of the Marsh, which we had just cross'd, where the Rains kept us till the Fifth, during which Time we went to find out where we might pass a rapid Torrent, that discharges it self into the River call'd of *Canoes*, which we pass'd the 6th, in the Canoe we had made, and which did us good Service, to pass other Rivers we met with the 7th and the 8th on our Way.

*River of  
Canoes.*

The 9th, we did not stir, because of the Rain. The 10th, incamp'd on the Bank of a small River, which we cross'd the 11th, and the same Day another River, and incamp'd on the Bank of it, and found it adorn'd with very fine Mulberry Trees. The 12th we cross'd another River, and incamp'd near it. The 13th, came again to the River of *Canoes*, so call'd by Monsieur de la Sale, because he the first Time put Canoes into it, at his former Journey. We pass'd it the 14th, and incamp'd on the other Side where we again join'd the *Indians*.

*Provisions  
bid, spoilt.*

The 15th, we held on our Journey with them, and found a pleasanter Country than that we had pass'd thro'; and Monsieur de la Sale having in his former Journey hid some Indian Wheat and Beans, two or three Leagues from that Place, and our Provisions beginning to fall short, it was thought fit to go to that Place. Accordingly he order'd the Sieurs *Dubaut*, *Hiens*, *Lio-*

*tot*

tot the Surgeon, his own *Indian*, and his Footman, whose Name was *Saget*, who were followed by some Natives, to go to the Place he described to them, where they found all rotten and quite spoilt.

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The 16, in their Return, they met with two Bullocks, which *Monfieur de la Sale's Indian* kill'd, whereupon they sent back his Footman, to give him Notice of what they had kill'd, that if he would have the Flesh dry'd, he might send Horfes for it. The 17th, *Monfieur de la Sale* had the Horfes taken up, and order'd the *Sieurs Moranget* and *de Male* and his Footman, to go for that Meat, and send back a Horse Load immediately, till the rest was dry'd.

*Monfieur Moranget*, when he came thither, found they had smoak'd both the Beeves, tho' they were not dry enough; and the said *Sieurs Liotot, Hiens, Dubaut* and the rest had laid aside the Marrow-Bones and others to roast them, and eat the flesh that remain'd on them, as was usual to do. The *Sieur Moranget* found fault with it, he in a Passion seiz'd not only the Flesh that was smoak'd and dry'd, but also the Bones, without giving them any Thing; but on the contrary, threatning they should not eat so much of it, as they had imagin'd, and that he would manage that Flesh after another Manner.

*Discontent  
occasion'd  
by Monfr.  
Moran-  
get.*

This passionate Behaviour, so much out of Season, and contrary to Reason and Custom, touch'd the Surgeon *Liotot, Heins* and *Dubaut* to the Quick, they having other Causes of Complaint against *Moranget*. They withdrew, and resolv'd together upon a bloody Revenge; they agreed upon the Manner of it, and concluded they would murder the *Sieur Moranget*, Mon-

*Conspiracy  
to murder  
Monfr. de  
la Sale.*

H

sieur

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*sieur de la Sale's* Footman and his *Indian*, because he was very faithful to him.

*Bloody  
Murderers.*

They waited till Night, when those unfortunate Creatures had supp'd and were asleep. *Liotot* the Surgeon was the inhuman Executioner, he took an Ax, began by the *Sieur Moranget*, giving him many Strokes on the Head; the same he did by the Footman and the *Indian*, killing them on the Spot, whilst his Fellow Villains, viz. *Dubaut*, *Hiens*, *Teissier* and *Larcheveque* stood upon their Guard, with their Arms, to fire upon such as should make any Resistance. The *Indian* and the Footman never stir'd, but the *Sieur Moranget* had so much Vigour as to sit up, but without being able to speak one Word, and the Assassins obliged the *Sieur de Marle* to make an End of him, tho' he was not in the Conspiracy.

*Consult  
to murder  
Monfr. de  
la Sale.*

This Slaughter had yet satisfy'd but one Part of the Revenge of those Murderers. To finish it and secure themselves it was requisite to destroy the Commander in Chief. They consulted about the safest Method to effect it, and resolve to go together to *Monsieur de la Sale*, to knock out the Brains of the most resolute immediately, and then it would be easier to overcome the rest. But the River, which was between them and us, being much swollen, the Difficulty of passing it made them put it off the 18th and 19th. On the other Hand *Monsieur de la Sale* was very uneasy, on Account of their long Stay. His Impatience made him resolve to go himself to find out his People and to know the Cause of it.

This was not done without many previous Tokens of Concern, and Apprehension. He seem'd

seem'd to have some Prefage of his Misfortune, enquiring of some, whether the *Sieur Liotot*, *Hiens* and *Dubaut* had not express'd some Discontent; and not hearing any Thing of it, he could not forbear setting out the 20th, with Father *Anastafius* and an *Indian*, leaving me the Command in his Absence, and charging me from Time to Time to go the Rounds about our Camp, to prevent being surpriz'd, and to make a Smoke for him to direct his Way in Case of Need. When he came near the Dwelling of the Murderers, looking out sharp to discover something, he observed Eagles fluttering about a Spot, not far from them, which made him believe they had found some Carrion about the Mansion, and he fired a Shot, which was the Signal of his Death and forwarded it.

The Conspirators hearing the Shot, concluded it was *Monsieur de la Sale*, who was come to seek them. They made ready their Arms and provided to surprize him. *Dubaut* passed the River, with *Larcheveque*. The first of them spying *Monsieur de la Sale* at a Distance, as he was coming towards them, advanc'd and hid himself among the high Weeds, to wait his passing by, so that *Monsieur de la Sale* suspecting nothing, and having not so much as charg'd his Piece again, saw the aforefaid *Larcheveque* at a good Distance from him, and immediately ask'd for his Nephew *Moranget*, to which *Larcheveque* answer'd, That he was along the River. At the same Time the Traitor *Duhaut* fired his Piece and shot *Monfr. de la Sale* thro' the Head, so that he dropp'd down dead on the Spot, without speaking one Word.

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*He goes to  
seek them.*

*Is mur-  
der'd.*



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Father *Anastafius*, who was then by his Side, stood stock still in a Fright, expecting the same Fate, and not knowing whether he should go forwards or backwards; but the Murderer *Dubaut* put him out of that Dread, bidding him not to fear, for no Hurt was intended him; that it was Despair that had prevail'd with him to do what he saw; that he had long desir'd to be revenged on *Moranget*, because he had design'd to ruin him, and that he was partly the Occasion of his Uncle's Death. This is the exact Relation of that Murder, as it was presently after told me by F. *Anastafius*.

*His Character.*

Such was the unfortunate End of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Life, at a Time when he might entertain the greatest Hopes, as the Reward of his Labours. He had a Capacity and Talent to make his Enterprize successful; his Constancy and Courage and his extraordinary Knowledge in Arts and Sciences, which render'd him fit for any Thing, together with an indefatigable Body, which made him surmount all Difficulties, would have procur'd a glorious Issue to his Undertaking, had not all those excellent Qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a Behaviour, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a Rigidity towards those that were under his Command, which at last drew on him an implacable Hatred, and was the Occasion of his Death.

*Barbarity towards the dead Body.*

The Shot which had kill'd Monsieur *de la Sale*, was also a Signal of the Murder to the Assassins for them to draw near. They all repair'd to the Place where the wretched dead Corps lay, which they barbarously strip'd to the Shirt, and vented their Malice in vile and opprobrious Language.



Language. The Surgeon *Liotot* said several Times in Scorn and Derision, *There thou liest, Great Bassa, there thou liest.* In Conclusion, they dragged it naked among the Bushes, and left it exposed to the ravenous Wild Beasts. So far was it from what a certain Author writes, of their having bury'd him and set up a Cross on his Grave.

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When those Murderers had satiated their Rage, they set out to come to us at our Camp, with the dry'd Flesh, which they had caut'd to be brought over the River by the *Indians*, who had been Spectators of the Murder and of all the inhuman Actions that had been committed, with Amazement and Contempt of us. When they were come to the Camp, they found Messieurs *Cavelier*, the one Brother, the other Nephew to the murder'd Commander, whom Father *Anastafius* acquainted with the dismal End of our Chief, and enjoyn'd them Silence, which it is easy to imagine was very hard upon them; but it was absolutely necessary.

*Murderers  
return to  
the Camp.*

However, Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, could not forbear telling them, that if they would do the same by him, he would forgive them his Murder, and only desir'd them to give him a Quarter of an Hour to prepare himself: They answer'd, They had Nothing to say to him; that what they had done was the Effect of Despair, to be reveng'd for the ill Usage they had receiv'd.

I was absent at that Time; he they call'd *Larcheveque*, who, as I have said, was one of the Conspirators, had some Kindness for me, and knowing they design'd to make me away too, if

*Mar. 1687**The Author  
sav'd by a  
Friend.*

I stood upon my Defence, he parted from them, to give me Notice of their mischievous Resolution. He found me on a little rising Ground, where I was looking upon our Horses as they graz'd in a little adjacent Bottom. His Intelligence struck me to the Heart, not knowing whether I should fly or stay; but at length, having neither Powder nor Shot, nor Arms, and the said *Larcheveque* giving me Assurances of my Life, provided I was quiet and said Nothing, I committed my self to God's Protection, and went to them, without taking any Notice of what had been done.

*Dehaut,  
the Murderer,  
usurps the  
Command.*

*Dehaut*, puff'd up with his new gotten Authority, procur'd him by his Villany, as soon as he saw me, cry'd out, Every Man ought to command in his Turn; to which I made no Answer; and we were all of us oblig'd to stifle our Resentment, that it might not appear, for our Lives depended on it. However, it was easy to judge with what Eyes Father *Anastasi*, Messieurs *Cavelier* and I beheld these Murderers, to whom we expected every Moment to fall Sacrifices. It is true, we dissembled so well, that they were not very suspicious of us, and that the Temptation we were under of making them away in Revenge for those they had murder'd, would have easily prevail'd and been put in Execution, had not Monsieur *Cavelier*, the Priest, always positively oppos'd it, alledging, that we ought to leave Vengeance to God.

*March  
continued.*

However the Murderers seiz'd upon all the Effects, without any Opposition, and then we began to talk of proceeding on our Journey.

We

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We decamp'd the 21st, with our *Indians*, and march'd with such a heavy Rain, that we were oblig'd to halt on the Bank of a great Stream, where one of the Natives that had left us, arriv'd with his Wife. We went on the 22d and 23d, and pass'd the River, where Father *Anastafius*, Monsieur *Cavelier* and I, who could not swim, had been drown'n, but that the Natives assist-ed and sav'd us. The 24th, we went on thro' a marshy Country, never quitting a small Path which led to the Village of the *Cenis*, till the 28th, when we rested on the Bank of a River of the same Name, tho' about ten Leagues distant from the Village.

Cenis Ri-  
ver.

We had hop'd to ford that River, as Monsieur *de la Sale* had done, when he return'd from that Country; but it was so swollen, that there was no doing it, and we were forced to make a Canoe of Bullocks Hides. Whilst we were employ'd at that Work, the *Indians* swam over and went to give Notice to the *Cenis* of our Arrival.

We found the Country pleasant enough about that River, tho' the Land did not seem to be any of the best; but still it was delightful to the Eye, well planted with fine Trees of several Sorts, among which, is one that Monsieur *de la Sale* had nam'd *Copal*, being very beautiful, the Leaves of it between those of the Maple and the Lime Trees in Resemblance, and from it comes a Gum, of a very agreeable Scent. In the same Place we saw a great Tree, on which the late Monsieur *de la Sale* had caus'd Crosses and the Arms of *France* to be carv'd.

Copal  
Tree.

*Mar. 1687**The Author  
sent to the  
Cenis for  
Provisions.*

The Hunting of Bullocks had fail'd us, and we had seen none from the Place where our late Leader had been murder'd. Thus our Provisions began to fall short, and it was resolv'd on the 29th, to send some Men before, to the Village of the *Cenis*, to know, whether they had any *Indian* Corn, and were willing to barter for it. I was appointed, with the Surgeon *Liotot*, the *Tessieers*, and *Hiens*, who was a *Buccanier*, *Monsieur de la Sale* had taken up at *Petit Gouave*, to go with him upon this Expedition. I was very unwilling to undertake that Journey, with a Murderer and two of his Companions, of whom I was suspicious; but it was very requisite to obey, and *Dubaut* having all the Effects in his Possession, alledging, that a great part of them belong'd to him, he gave us some Axes and Knives to barter for *Indian* Corn, as also for Horses, if any were to be had, and accordingly we pass'd the River.

*The Country de-  
scrib'd.*

We found the Country made up of several little Hills, of an indifferent Height, on which there are Abundance of Walnut-Trees and Oaks, not so large as what we had seen before, but very agreeable. The Weeds which had been some Time before burnt by the Natives, began to spring up again, and discover'd large green Fields very pleasing to the Sight.

When we had travell'd some Time, we discover'd three Men a Horseback, coming towards us from the Village, and being come near them, saw one dress'd after the *Spanish* Fashion, with a little Doublet, the Body whereof was of blue, and the Sleeves of white Fustian,

Fustian, as it were imbroider'd, with very streight Breeches, white worsted Stockings, Woollen-Garters, a broad-brim'd, flat-crown'd Hat, and long Hair. We presently concluded he was a *Spaniard*, and the rather because we had been told, that some of them were to come to join in League with the *Cenis*, against an Enemy nation, and we were at a Nonplus; for if we fell into their Hands, we must never expect to get away, but be condemn'd to serve either in the Mines, or in the Quarries, in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, for which Reason we provided to give the pretended *Spaniard* an unkind Reception, and then to make the best of our Way back.

Being come up to him, I spoke some Words of *Spanish* and *Italian*, to which he return'd no Answer; but on the contrary, made use of the Word *Couffica*, which in the Language of the *Cenis*, signifies, *I do not understand you*; which Answer of his remov'd our Apprehensions. The two others were quite naked, one of them being mounted on a fine grey Mare, and on her were besides two Panniers, handsomly made of Reeds, full of very fine Meal parch'd, or roasted. After several Questions, to which we had no very satisfactory Answers, we lighted Fire to make them smoke, and then they presented us with the two Panniers full of Meal, giving us to understand, that their Chief expected us in the Village, and having signify'd, that they were sent to meet us, we gave them some Knives and Strings of Beads.

We

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A Man  
clad like a  
*Spaniard*.



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We ask'd them, whether they had any Men among them like him that was a Horseback in the *Spanish* Habit, they answer'd, there were two in a Neighboring Nation, call'd *Affony*, and that he who was clad, had been in their Country, and brought thence the Cloaths we saw him wear. That Man then shew'd us a *Spanish* printed Paper, containing the Indulgences granted to the Missioners of *New Mexico*. After this they left us to go on, to our People, for which Reason I writ a Note, giving an Account of our having met them.

We alighted to eat, and let our Horses graze on the Bank of a Rivulet; but it was not long before the same Natives, who had been with us before, appear'd again hard by us. We made Signs to them to draw near and eat with us; which they did, and then went along with us towards the Village, which we would not go into, because it was Night. The *Indian* that was clad, stay'd all Night with us, and the two others went away.

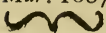
The Cenis  
meet the  
French in  
solemn  
Manner.

When it was Day, we held on our Way to the Village; the *Indian* that was with us conducting us to their Chief's Cottage. By the Way, we saw many other Cottages, and the Elders coming to meet us in their Formalities, which consisted in some Goats Skins dress'd and painted of several Colours, which they wore on their Shoulders like Belts, and Plumes of Feathers of several Colours, on their Heads, like Coronets. Six or seven of them had square Sword Blades, like the *Spanish*, on the Hilt whereof they had fasten'd great Plumes of Feathers, and several Hawks Bells; some of them had Clubs, which they call Head-breakers, some only



only their Bows and Arrows; others, Bits of white Linen, reaching from Shoulder to Shoulder. All their Faces were daub'd with black or red, There were twelve Elders, who walk'd in the Middle, and the Youth and Warriors in Ranks, on the Sides of those old Men.

Being come up to us in that Manner, he that conducted us, made a Sign for us to halt, which when we had done, all the old Men lifted up their Right Hands above their Heads, crying out in a most ridiculous Manner; but it behov'd us to have a Care of laughing. That done, they came and imbrac'd us, using all Sorts of Endearments. Then they made us smoke, and brought to us a French Man of *Provence*, who was one of those that had forsaken the late *Monsieur de la Sale*, at his first Journey.

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*A French  
Man a-  
mong the  
Indians.*

The whole Company conducted us after the same Manner, to their Chief's Cottage; and after we had staid there a short Time, they led us to a larger Cottage, a Quarter of a League from thence, being the Hut in which they have their publick Rejoycings, and the great Assemblies. We found it furnish'd with Mats for us to sit on. The Elders seated themselves round about us, and they brought us to eat, some *Sagamite*, which is their Pottage, little Beans, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and another Sort they make with boil'd Flower, and at last they made us smoke.

*Indian En-  
ertain-  
ment.*

During our Repast, they entertain'd us with the Discourse of their Design to make War on a Nation, who were their Enemies, and whom they call'd *Cannokantimo*. When it was over, we presented them, according to Custom, with some Knives and Strings of Beads for their

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their Wives. We desir'd them to afford us some *Indian* Corn, in Exchange for other Things, which they promis'd, and the French Man who was with them, having told us, that there was a District, which afforded more Corn, than that where we were, and where his Cottage was, we resolv'd to go thither. We propos'd it to the Elders, who would needs go along with us, attended by a great Number of Youth, and having got ready our Horses, we set out for that Place.

By the Way, we saw several Cottages at certain Distances, stragling up and down, as the Ground happens to be fit for Tillage. The Field lies about the Cottage, and at other Distances there are other large Huts, not inhabited, but only serving for publick Assemblies, either upon Occasion of Rejoycings, or to consult about Peace and War.

*Huts and  
Families  
in them.*

The Cottages that are inhabited, are not each of them for a private Family, for in some of them there are fifteen or twenty, each of which has its Nook or Corner, Bed and other Utensils to its self; but without any Partition to separate it from the rest: However, they have Nothing in Common besides the Fire, which is in the Midst of the Hut, and never goes out. It is made of great Trees, the Ends whereof are laid together, so that when once lighted, it lasts a long Time, and the first Comer takes Care to keep it up.

*Manner of  
Building.*

The Cottages are round at the Top, after the Manner of a Bee-Hive, or a Reek of Hay. Some of them are sixty Foot Diameter. In Order to build them, they plant Trees as thick as a Man's Thigh, tall and strait, and placing them

them in a Circle, and joyning the Tops together, from the Dome, or round Top, then they lash and cover them with Weeds. When they remove their Dwellings, they generally burn the Cottages they leave, and build new on the Ground they design to inhabit.

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Their Moveables are some Bullocks Hides and Goats Skins well cur'd, some Mats close wove, wherewith they adorn their Huts, and some Earthen Vessels, which they are very skilful at making, and wherein they boil their Flesh or Roots, or *Sagamise*, which, as has been said, is their Pottage. They have also some small Baskets made of Canes, serving to put in their Fruit and other Provisions. Their Beds are made of Canes, rais'd two or three Foot above the Ground, handsomly fitted with Mats and Bullocks Hides, or Goats Skins well cur'd, which serve them for Feather Beds, or Quilts and Blankets; and those Beds are parted one from another by Mats hung up.

*Their moveables.**Beds.*

When they design to Till the Ground, they give one another Notice, and very often above an Hundred of each Sex meet together. When they have till'd that Piece of Land, after their Manner, and spent part of the Day, those the Land belongs to, give the others to Eat, and then they spend the rest of the Day in Dancing and Merry Making. This same is practis'd from Canton to Canton, and so they till Land all together.

*Tillage.*

This Tillage consists in breaking up just the Surface of the Earth with a Sort of Wooden Instrument, like a little Pick-axe, which they make by splitting the End of a thick Piece of Wood, that serves for a Handle, and putting another

*Instrument for Tilling.*

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*Women sow.*

Indians  
disfigure  
themselves.

*Women.*

another Piece of Wood sharp Pointed at one End into the Slit. This Instrument serves them instead of a Hoe, or Spade, for they have no Iron Tools. When the Land has been thus till'd or broke up, the Women Sow and Plant the *Indian* Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water Melons, and other Grain and Garden Ware, which is for their Sustenance.

The *Indians* are generally Handsom, but disfigure themselves by making Scores, or Streaks on their Faces, from the Top of the Forehead down the Nose to the Tip of the Chin; which is done by pricking the Skin with Needles, or other sharp Instruments, till it bleeds, whereon they strew fine Powder of Charcoal, and that sinks in and mixes with the Blood within the Skin. They also make after the same Manner, the Figures of living Creatures, of Leaves and Flowers on their Shoulders, Thighs, and other Parts of their Bodies, and Paint themselves, as has been said before, with Black or Red, and sometimes both together.

The Women are generally well Shap'd, and would not be disagreeable, did they adhere to Nature; but they Disguise themselves as ridiculoussly as the Men, not only with the Streak they have like them down their Face, but by other Figures they make on it, at the Corners of their Eyes, and on the other Parts of their Bodies; whereof they make more particular Show on their Bosom, and those who have the most, are reckoned the handsomest; tho' that pricking in that Part be extremely painful to them.

It

It is they that do all the Work in the Cottage, either in Pounding the *Indian* Corn and Baking the Meal, or making the Pottage of the said Meal, by them call'd *Sagamite*, or in dressing their other Provisions, or drying or parching, or smoaking their Flesh, fetching the Wood they have Occasion for, or the Flesh of *Bullocks*, or other Beasts kill'd by their Husbands in the Woods, which are often at a great Distance, and afterwards Dressing them as has been said. They Sow and Plant, when the Land has been broke up, and in short, do almost all that is requisite for the Support of Life.

I did not observe that those Women were naturally given to Lewdness; but their Virtue is not Proof against some of our Toys, when presented them, as Needles, Knives, and more particularly Strings of Beads, whereof they make Necklaces and Bracelets, and that Temptation is rarely resisted by them, and the less because they have no Religion or Law to prohibit that vile Practice. It is true their Husbands, when they take them in the Fact, sometimes do punish them, either by Separation or otherwise; but that is rare.

The Country of those *Indians* being generally subject to no Cold, almost all of them go naked; unless when the *North* Wind blows, then they cover themselves with a *Bullock's* Hide, or *Goat's* Skin cur'd. The Women wear nothing but a Skin, Mat, or Clout, hanging round them like a Petticoat, and reaching down half way their Legs, which hides their Nakedness before and behind. On their Heads they have nothing

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They do the Work at Home.

Their Behaviour.

Habits.



Mar. 1687 thing but their Hair platted and knotted behind.

*Manners.* As for their Manners, it may be said of these as of all other *Indians* of that great Continent, that they are not Mischievous, unless wrong'd or attack'd; in which Case they are all Fierce and Revengeful. They Watch all Opportunities to be Reveng'd, and never let any slip, when offer'd, which is the Cause of their being continually at War with their Neighbours, and of that Martial Humour, so Predominant among them.

*Religion.* As to the Knowledge of a God, they did not seem to us to have any fix'd Notion of Him; it is true, we met with some on our Way, who as far as we could judge, believ'd, there was some Superior Being, which was above all Things, and this they testify'd by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, yet without any Manner of Concern, as believing that the said exalted Being does not regard at all, what is done here below. However none of them having any Places of Worship, Ceremonies, or Prayers, to denote the divine Homage, it may be said of them all, that they have no Religion, at least those that we saw.

*Ceremonies.* However, they observe some Ceremonies; but whether they have any Regard to a real or pretended Superior Being, or whether they are only popular, and proceeding from Custom, is what we were not able to discover. Those Ceremonies are as follows. When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain Quantity in a Maund or Basket, which is placed on a Sort of Seat or Stool, dedicated to that Use, and serving only upon those misterious Occasions, which they have a great Veneration for. The



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The Basket with the Corn being placed on that honour'd Stool, one of the Elders holds out his Hands over it, and talks a long Time; after which, the said old Man distributes the Corn among the Women, and no Person is allow'd to eat of the new Corn, till eight Days after that Ceremony. This seems to be in the Nature of Offering up or Blessing the first Fruits of their Harvest.

At their Assemblies, when the *Sagamite*, or Pottage, which is the most essential Part of their meal, is boil'd in a great Pot, they place that Pot on the Stool of Ceremony above mention'd, and one of the Elders stretches out his Hands over it, muttering some Words between his Teeth for a considerable Time, after which, they fall to eat.

When the young Folks are grown up to be fit to go to the Wars, and take upon them to be Soldiers, their Garment, consisting of some Skin, or Clout, together with their Bow, Quiver and Arrows, is placed on the aforesaid Stool, an old Man stretches out his Hands over them, mutters the Words as above, and then the Garments, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows are given to the Persons they belong to. This may be compar'd to Something of a Ceremony of Knighting among them. The same Ceremonies are us'd by them in the cultivating of their Grain and Product, but particularly of the *Tabacco*, whereof they have a Sort, which has smaller Leaves than Ours; it is almost ever green and they use it in Leaves.

*Tabacco.*

This is what we observ'd among the *Cenis*, whose Customs and Manners differ very little from those of other Nations, which we had seen

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before and saw afterwards. As to the Point of Religion, it is not to be infer'd from what I have said above, that there is none throughout that vast Continent: The Account I have given only regards those Nations we saw; there may be others that have some Worship, and I remember I have heard Monsieur *de la Sale* say, that the Nation call'd *Takenfa*, neighbouring on the *Illinois*, ador'd the Fire, and that they had Cottages which they made use of, as Temples.

*Nation,  
what is  
meant  
here by it.*

Before I conclude this short Account of the Religion, Customs and Manners of the *Cenis*, which belong'd properly to this Place, it is fit here also to observe, that the Word Nation, is not to be understood, among those *Indians*, to denote a People possessing a whole Province, or vast Extent of Land. Those Nations are no other than a Parcel of Villages, dispers'd for the Space of twenty or thirty Leagues at most, which compose a distinct People or Nation; and they differ from one another rather in Language than in Manners, wherein they are all much alike, or at least they vary but little, as has been mention'd above. As for the Names of them, here follow those of such as we travel'd through, or were near the Way we held from our leaving our Habitation near the Bay of the Holy Ghost, till we came among the *Cenis*.

*Names of  
Nations.*

The *Spicbeats*, *Kabayes*, *Thecamons*, *Thearemetes*, *Kiababa*, *Chaumenes*, *Kouans*, *Arbau*, *Enepiake*, *Abonerbopibeim*, *Koienkabe*, *Konkone*, *Omeaosse*, *Keremen*, *Abekouen*, *Megbty*, *Tetamenes*, *Otenmarben*, *Kouayon* and *Meracouman*. All these Nations are on the North of the River called *la Maligne*.

*Maligne.* Those that follow, are on the West and North-West of the same River. *Mar. 1687*  


The *Kannebouan*, *Tobaba*, *Pibir*, *Cagabegux*, *Onapien*, *Pickar*, *Tokau*, *Kuaffes*, *Chancres*, *Teserabocretes*, *Tsepebouen*, *Fercouteba*, *Panego*, *Petao*, *Petzare*, *Peisacho*, *Peiboun*, *Orcan* and *Piou*. This last Nation borders upon the *Cenis*, at the Entrance into whose first Village I left my Reader, to give an Account of the Inhabitants, and thither I return, to proceed with my Relation and our Journey to the Village, the *French Man* who liv'd among the Natives was to conduct us to.

We arriv'd there at Night, and found other Elders coming out to meet us, much after the same Manner as the others mention'd before. They led us to their Cottage, made us sit down on Mats and smoke, but not with so much Ceremony as the others. That done, it was Time for us to take our Rest, having given them to understand that we were weary.

The *French Provencal* would needs have us go to his Cottage, that is to the Hut where he had his Dwelling; for, as I have said, there are several Families in one of them, and that was one of the greatest in the Canton, having been the Habitation of one of their Chief's, lately deceased.

*French  
Entertain-  
ed by the  
Natives.*

They allotted us a Place there, for our Goods and Packs, the Women immediately made *Sagamite* or Pottage, and gave it us. Having eaten, we ask'd the *French Man* whether we were safe, and he answering we were, we lay down, but yet could not sleep sound.

The next Day, being the first of *April*, the Elders came to receive and conducted us to the Cottage where we had been the Day before.

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A Horse  
sold for an  
Ax.

After the usual Ceremonies, we traded with them for Corn, Meal and Beans, giving in Exchange for the same, Needles, Knives, Rings and other Toys. We also purchased a very fine Stone Horse, that would have been worth twenty Pistoles in *France*, for an Ax.

The Day was spent in driving our small Bargains and gathering Provisions, which the Women brought. When that was done, it was agreed, that I should remain there, to lay up more Store, and that the others should return to our Company, which we had left near the River, to carry the Provisions and satisfy them they might come safely.

Tho' I thought my self not over secure among the *Indians*, and besides had the Dissatisfaction of understanding none of their Language; yet was I not unwilling to stay, that I might have an Opportunity of seeing the two other *French* Men, who had forsaken the late Monsieur de la Sale, when he first travell'd into that Country, that I might enquire of them, whether they had heard no talk of the *Mississipi* River, for I still held my Resolution of parting from our wicked Murderers.

As soon as they were gone, I gave a young *Indian* a Knife, to go bid those two other *French* Men come to me, and whilst he was going I drove on my little Trade for Provisions, and had frequent Visits from the Elders, who entertain'd me by Signs, with an Account of their intended War; to which I still answer'd, nodding my Head, tho' very often I knew not what they meant. It was some Difficulty to me to secure my small Merchandize, especially at Night, for the Natives were covetous of them.

This

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This Care, which kept me from Sleeping sound, was the Occasion, that one Night I heard some Body moving near my Bed, and opening my Eyes, by the Light of the Fire, which never goes out in those Cottages, perceiv'd a Man stark naked, with a Bow and two Arrows in his Hand, who came and sat down by me, without saying any Thing. I view'd him for some Time, I spoke to him, he made me no Answer, and not knowing what to think of it, I laid hold of my two Pistols and my Firelock, which the Man perceiving, he went and sat by the Fire. I follow'd, and looking steadfastly on him, he knew and spoke to me, throwing his Arms about and embracing me, and then made himself known to be one of the French Men I had sent for.

*The Author  
meets ano-  
ther French  
Man among  
the Indians.*

We fell into Discourse, I ask'd him for his Comrade, he told me, he durst not come, for Fear of Monsieur *de la Sale*. They were both Sailors, this Man, who was of *Britany*, was call'd *Buter*; the other, of *Rochelle*, *Grollet*. They had, in that short Space of Time, so perfectly enur'd themselves to the Customs of the Natives, that they were become meer Savages. They were naked, their Faces and Bodies with Figures wrought on them, like the rest. They had taken several Wives, been at the Wars and kill'd their Enemies with their Firelocks, which had gain'd them Reputation; but having no more Powder nor Ball, their Arms were grown useless, and they had been forc'd to learn to shoot with Bows and Arrows. As for Religion, they were not troubled with much of it, and that Libertine Life they led, was pleasing to them.

*French  
turn'd sa-  
vage.*



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I acquainted this Man with the unfortunate Death of Monfr. *de la Sale*, his Nephew and the rest, at which, he was surpris'd and concern'd, at least in outward Appearance. I ask'd him, whether he had not heard talk of the *Mississipi*; he told me he had not; but only that there was a great River forty Leagues from thence towards the *N. W.* where the Natives said there were many Nations along its Banks. That made me believe, it was the very River we were in Search of, or at least that it must be the Way to come at it. I gave him to eat, and we went to Rest.

The next and the following Days, I continu'd trading, and the Elders their Visits, and their Discourse by Signs, concerning their intended War. Some of them gave me to understand, that they had been among the *Spaniards*, who are nevertheless about two hundred Leagues from them. They spoke some Words of broken *Spanish*, as *Capita*, instead of *Capitan*, a Captain, and *Cohavillo* instead of *Cavallo*, a Horse, and so of some others. Buter, the *French* Man return'd to his Dwelling, I gave him some Strings of Beads for his Wives, and desir'd him to send the other *French* Man to me.

Indian  
Maid  
brought to  
the Author.

In the mean Time my being alone, as to any Person I could converse with, grew very irksome to me, and I know not whether an old Man did not perceive it; for he thought it would be proper to bring a Companion, to divert me, and at Night I was surpris'd to see a young Maid come sit down by me, and to hear the old Man tell me, he had brought her to be my Wife, and gave her to me; but I had far different Thoughts to disturb me. I spoke not  
one



one Word to that poor Maid; she stay'd some Time expecting I would take notice of her, and perceiving I did not stir, or speak one Word, she withdrew.

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Thus I continu'd, without hearing any News, till the Sixth of *April*, when the two *French Men*, I have spoken of, came both, in the *Indian Drefs*, each of them having only a Clout about him, some Turkey Feathers on their Shoulders, their Heads and Feet bare. The latter of them whose Name was *Grollet*, had not consented to have his Face mark'd like the other, nor to cut his Hair after the *Indian Manner*; for those People cut off all theirs, except a small Lock on the Crown of the Head, like the Turks, only some of them have small Treffes on the Temples.

French  
Men like  
Indians.

I repeated to them the Narrative of *Monsieur de la Sale's* unfortunate Story. They confirm'd what I had been told before, that the Natives had talk'd to them of the great River, which was forty Leagues off, towards the N. E. and that there were People like us, that dwelt on the Banks of it. This confirm'd me in the Opinion, that it was the River so much sought after, and that we must go that Way to return to *Canada* or towards *New England*. They told me, they would willingly go with us. I desired them to keep it secret, which they did not, for being inform'd that *Monsieur Cavelier* and the others were coming, they went to meet them, and I was again left alone.

The 8th, three Men came to me, one of which was the *French Man of Provence*, with each of them a Horse, sent by our People to carry away all the Provisions I had got together,

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*The Murderers resolve to return to the Habitation of St. Lewis.*

having taken a Resolution, as those Persons they had sent told us, to return to the Dwelling of St. *Lewis*, about the Bay of the same Name, from whence we came; designing, as they pretended, to build a Boat there, to carry them over to the Islands of *America*; an impracticable Notion, for all our Carpenters were dead, and tho' they had been alive, they were so ignorant, that none of them would have known which Way to go about that Work; besides that, we were destitute of all Necessaries for that Effect. However we must obey, and set out with our Provisions. The Rain having detain'd us the 9th on the Way, we could not come up to them till the next Day, being the Tenth.

Father *Anastafius* gave me the Confirmation of that Design, and farther told me how roughly they had been treated by those Murderers since my Departure. I know not what it was that mov'd them to it, but they had resolved to seperate themselves from those Villains, and that we should eat apart, viz. Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, F. *Anastafius*, young *Cavelier* and I, which was very agreeable to us, because at least we could talk freely, which we durst not do before; but at the same Time they allow'd us no more Provisions than would suffice to keep us from starving, without giving us Share of any Flesh, tho' they often kill'd.

Our Tyrants still holding their Resolution to return to their former Habitation, thought they had not Horses enough, and therefore deputed four of their Number, one of which was the French Man half turn'd *Indian*, to return to the Village of the *Cenis* and endeavour to barter for some

*The Author and others resolve to part from the Murderers.*

some. At the same Time we agreed together to let those Gentlemen know, that we were too much fatigued to return with them to the said Habitation, and were resolved to remain in the Village of the *Cenis*. Monsieur *Cavelier* undertook to be our Speaker, and to desire *Dubaut*, who was Master of all, to give us some Axes, Knives and Strings of Beads, Powder and Shot, offering to give him a Note of his Hand for the same.

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To conclude, Monsieur *Cavelier* made the Proposal to *Dubaut*, disguis'd it the best he was able, and *Dubaut* took till the next Day to return his answer. He consulted with his Companions, and acquainted us, that they would deal handsomely by us, and give us half the Effects and all the Axes, intending to make the most Speed they could, to get to our former Dwelling, and to put in Execution what they had before design'd, as to the Building of a Bark. But in Case they could not succeed, for want of Necessaries, they would immediately return to us and bring F. *Zenobius* along with them, who would be serviceable to us, because, having been with Monsieur *de la Sale* upon his first Discovery, he understood the Language of the Nations about the *Mississipi* River. That whilst they were upon that Journey, we should take Care to gather a Stock of Provisions, and that if they succeeded in building the Bark, they would send us Word, that we might repair to them. Monsieur *Cavelier* approv'd of all they said, tho' we had other Designs. However it prov'd we were all Mistaken, for Providence had order'd Affairs otherwise.

*Design of  
the Mur-  
derers.*

We

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We stay'd there some Time, expecting those who were gone to the *Cenis*, they staying longer than was requisite for that Journey. The overflowing of the River was their Pretence, but the true Reason was the Women, who as I have said, are not so forward as to offer themselves, but on the other Hand will not be over difficult in complying for some little Present, and those who were sent did not grudge their Time. In the mean while the Posture of our Affairs changed, as follows.

Murderers  
change  
their Mind.

One of our half Savage *French* Men, whom I had acquainted with our Design to go find the *Mississipi*, communicated it to *Hautot*, telling him all the particulars he had before acquainted me with; whereupon *Dubaut* chang'd his Mind, as to the Design of going to the Habitation of *St. Lewis*, resolving to follow our intended Way and execute our Project. He imparted his Thoughts to his Companions, who were of the same Opinion, and all of them acquainted us, that they were ready to put in Execution the Enterprize we had form'd.

This Change troubled us very much, there being nothing we coveted more than to part with those Miscreants, from whom we could at a long Run expect no better Usage than they had afforded our Commander and his Friends. However, it was still requisite to dissemble, there being no other Remedy at that Time: But God's Justice provided for and rescued us. We continued in that Camp all the remaining Part of *April*, expecting the Persons that had been sent to the *Cenis*, and *Dubaut* intending to begin to put in Execution his Design of going to find out the *Mississipi*, with us, made

us

us advance towards the River that was near, in order to pass it as soon as fallen, and repair to the Village of the *Cenis*.

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We staid three Days longer in that Post, at the End whereof, he we call'd *Larcheveque*, one of those that had been sent out, cross'd the River. He was *Dubaut's* Creature, and an Accomplice in the Murder of *Monfieur de la Sale*. He inform'd *Dubaut*, that one they call'd *Hiens*, who was also one of our Messengers, and had staid on the other Side of the River, had heard of *Dubaut* and the rest altering their Resolution, and that he was not of their Mind. *Hiens* was a *Buccanier*, and by Birth a *German*. *Monfieur de la Sale* had brought him from *Petit Gouave*, and he was also accessary to the late Murders.

*Murderers  
differ in  
Opinion.*

After we had been some Days longer in the same Place, *Hiens* arriv'd with the two half Savage *French* Men and about twenty Natives. He went immediately to *Dubaut*, and after some Discourse, told him, he was not for going towards the *Mississipi*, because it would be of dangerous Consequence for them, and therefore demanded his Share of the Effects he had seiz'd upon. *Dubaut* refusing to comply, and affirming, that all the Axes were his own; *Hiens*, who it is likely had laid the Design before to kill him, immediately drew his Pistol, and fired it upon *Dubaut*, who stagger'd about four Paces from the Place and fell down dead. At the same Time *Ruter*, who had been with *Hiens*, fired his Piece upon *Liotot*, the Surgeon, and shot him thro' with three Balls.

*Hiens  
kills Du-  
haut, and  
Ruter  
Liotot.*

These Murders committed before us, put me into a terrible Consternation; for believing the  
same



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fame was design'd for me, I laid hold of my Fire-Lock to defend my self; but *Hiens* cry'd out to me, to fear nothing, to lay down my Arms, and assur'd me he had no Design against me; but that he had reveng'd his Master's Death. He also satisfy'd Monsieur *Cavelier* and Father *Anastafius*, who were as much frighted as my self, declaring he meant them no Harm, and that tho' he had been in the Conspiracy, yet had he been present at the Time when Monsieur *de la Sale* was kill'd, he would not have consented, but rather have obstructed it.

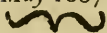
*Liotot* liv'd some Hours after, and had the good Fortune to make his Confession; after which, the same *Ruter*, put him out of his Pain, with a Pistol-Shot. We dug a Hole in the Earth, and bury'd him in it with *Dubaut*, doing them more Honour than they had done to Monsieur *de la Sale* and his Nephew *Moranget*, whom they left to be devour'd by wild Beasts. Thus those Murderers met with what they had deserv'd, dying the same Death they had put others to.

The Natives, *Hiens* had brought with him, having been Spectators of that Murder, were in a Consternation, and that Affair was of dangerous Consequence to us, who stood in Need of them. It was therefore requisite to make the best of it, giving them to understand, that there had been Reason for so punishing those dead Persons, because they had all the Powder and Ball, and would not give any to the rest. They remain'd satisfy'd with that Excuse, and he who was call'd *Larcheveque*, and who was entirely devoted to *Dubaut*, being Abroad a hunting since the Morning, and not knowing what Misfortune

*More Mis-  
chief pre-  
vented.*



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tune had hapned his Protector, and *Hiens* being resolv'd to make away with him, Father *Anastafius* and Monsieur *Cavelier* took so much Pains, that they dissuaded him from it, and I went out and met *Larcheveque*, to give him Notice of that Disaster, and to inform him, how he was to behave himself. Thus I requited him for having come to give me Notice of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Death. I brought him to *Hiens*, who declar'd he design'd him no Harm, and *Larcheveque* gave him the same Assurances on his Part. Thus all Things are again compos'd, and nothing remain'd, but for us to set out, but first to know what we were to do, and which Way to direct our Course.

Hereupon, *Hiens* took upon him to speak, and said, he had promis'd the Natives to go to the War with them, and design'd to be as good as his Word; that if we would expect his Return, we might by that Time consider which Way he would move, and that in the mean Time we might stay in the Village among the *Cenis*. This was resolv'd on; we loaded all our Effects on our Horses, and repair'd to the same Place and the same Cottage, where we had been before, the Chief of it assigning us the one Half to lodge and lay up our Baggage.

When the Day for setting out for the War was come, *Hiens* departed with the Natives, four of our Comrades and the two half Savage *French* Men going along with him; so that there were six of them, and each took a Horse. *Hiens* left us all the Effects, and desir'd we would stay for him, which we promis'd, not knowing how to avoid it, considering, that the *Indians* might have

*Six French  
Men go to  
the Wars  
with the  
Natives.*

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have done us Harm, and even have obstructed our Departure. Thus we resign'd ourselves to Providence, and remain'd six of us together, viz. Father *Anastafius*, Monsieur *Cavalier*, his Nephew young *Cavelier*, young *Talon*, another Youth of *Paris*, and I. There also remain'd some old Men, who could not go to the War, and the Women. We were also join'd by two other *French* Men, who had been left on the other Side the River, being the *Provençal* and one *Teissier*.

*Bewailing  
the Memo-  
ry of Men  
kill'd.*

During our Stay, and our Warriors being abroad upon that Expedition, the old Men often visited us, and told us News from the Army by Signs, which we understood nothing of. We were from Time to Time alarm'd, seeing the Women weep, without any visible Cause. The late Monsieur *de la Sale* had often told us, that the Women bewail'd those that were to be kill'd; but we were inform'd, that they did so, when they call'd to Mind some who had been slain in the former Wars; which dispell'd our Apprehensions. However we were uneasy, because those old Men and Women examined us every Morning and Evening when we perform'd our Devotions.

We laid hold of that Opportunity to give them to understand, that we paid our Duty to one God, the only Supreme Sovereign of all Things, pointing to Heaven, and endeavouring in the best Manner we were able, to signify to them that he was Almighty, that he had made all Things, that he caus'd the Earth to produce it's Fruits to prosper, and the Growth of it, which maintain'd them to thrive; but this being only by Signs, they did not understand us, and we labour'd in vain.

The

The 18th, we were surpriz'd to see several Women come into our Cottage, their Faces all besmear'd with Earth, and they set up their Throats, singing several Songs as loud as they were able, whereof we understood not one Word. That done, they fell a Dancing in a Ring, and we could not tell, what to think of that Rejoicing, which lasted full three Hours; after which we were inform'd, they had receiv'd Advice of the Victory obtain'd by their Warriors over their Enemies. The Dance concluded, those in the Cottage gave some Bits of Tobacco to those without.

The same Day, about Noon, we saw him that had brought the News, who affirm'd they had kill'd at least Forty of their Enemies. After the Rejoicing, all the Women apply'd themselves to make ready their Provisions, some to pound *Indian* Corn, others to boil Meal, which they call *Grouller*, and others to bake Bread, to carry to the Warriors. They all set out the 19th to meet them, and we thought it in Policy convenient to send Meat to our Men which was done by the *French* Man of *Provence*, who went with the Women.

That same Day, at Night, the Victorious Army returned, and we were informed, that their Enemies whom they call *Cannobatinno*, had expected them boldly, but that having heard the Noise, and felt the Effects of our Mens Fire Arms, they all fled, so that the *Cenis* had either kill'd or taken Forty Eight Men and Women. They had slain several of the latter, who fled to the Tops of Trees, for want of Time to make their Escape otherwise; so that

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Women rejoice at  
Victory.

Account  
of the Battle fought  
by the Cenis.

May 1687 that many more Women had perish'd than Men.

*Barbarity  
of the Men  
towards a  
Woman  
taken.*

They brought Home two of those Women alive, one of whom had her Head flead for the Sake of her Hair and Skin. They gave that wretched Creature a Charge of Powder and a Ball, and sent Her home, bidding her carry that Present to her Nation, and to assure them, they should be again treated after the same Manner, that is, kill'd with Fire Arms.

*Of the Wo-  
men.*

The other Woman was kept to fall a Sacrifice to the Rage and Vengeance of the Women and Maids; who having arm'd themselves with thick Stakes, sharp Pointed at the End, Conducted that Wretch to a By-Place, where each of those Furies began to torment her, sometimes with the Point of their Staff, and sometimes laying on her with all their Might. One tore off her Hair, another cut off her Finger, and every one of those outrageous Women endeavour'd to put her to some exquisite Torture, to revenge the Death of their Husbands and Kinsmen, who had been kill'd in the former Wars; so that the unfortunate Creature expected her Death Stroke, as Mercy.

*Inhumani-  
ty.*

At last, one of them gave her a Stroke with a heavy Club on the Head, and another run her Stake several Times into her Body, with which she fell down Dead on the Spot. Then they cut that miserable Victim into Morfels, and oblig'd some Slaves of that Nation, they had been long possess'd of to eat them.

*Cruel Tro-  
phies.*

Thus our Warriors return'd Triumphant from that Expedition. They spar'd none of the Prisoners they had taken, except two little Boys, and brought Home all the Skins of their Heads

Heads, with the Hair, to be kept as Trophies and glorious Memorials of their Victory.

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The next Day all those Savages met in their Chief's Cottage, whether all the abovemention'd Heads of Hair were carry'd in State. Then they made extraordinary Rejoicings in that Cottage, whence they went to the Huts of the other Prime Men, to perform the same Ceremony. This Rejoicing lasted three Days, our *French* Companions, who had been the Cause of their Victory, being call'd to it, and highly entertain'd, after their Manner. It will not be disagreeable to the Reader, that I here particularly describe that Ceremony, which after having been perform'd in the Cottages of the Chief Men, was repeated in ours.

In the first Place, the Cottage was made very clean, adorn'd, and abundant of Mats laid on the Floor, on which the Elders, and the most considerable Persons sat; after which, one of them, who is in the Nature of an Orator, or Master of the Ceremonies stood up and made a Speech, of which we understood not a Word. Soon after that Discourse was ended, the Warriors arriv'd, who had slain any in Battle, marching in their proper Order, each of them carrying a Bow and two Arrows, and before every one of them went his Wife, carrying the Enemies Head of Hair. Two little Boys, whose Lives they had spar'd, as has been said before, one of them who was wounded being a Horseback, clos'd the procession; at the Head whereof, was a Woman carrying a large Reed, or Cane in her Hand.

*Ceremony  
of Rejoicing*

As they came up to the Orator, the Warrior took the Head of Hair his Wife had

K

brought



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 brought, and presented it to him, which the said Orator receiv'd with both his Hands, and after having held it out towards the four Quarters of the World, he laid it down on the Ground, and then took the next, performing the same Ceremony, till he had gone over them all.

When the Ceremony was ended, they serv'd up the *Sagamite*, in the Nature of Hasty Pudding, which those Women had provided, and before any one touch'd it, the Master of the Ceremonies took some in a Vessel, which he carry'd as an Offering to those Heads of Hair. Then he lighted a Pipe of Tabacco, and blow'd the Smoke upon them. That being perform'd, they all fell to the Meat, *Bits of the Woman that had been sacrific'd, were serv'd up to the two Boys of her Nation.* They also serv'd up dry'd Tongues of their Enemies, and the whole concluded with Dancing and Singing after their Manner: After which, they went to other Cottages to repeat the same Ceremony.

There was no talk of our Design till those Rejoycings were over, and I begn to conceive good Hopes of our Success. The two Murderers, *Teiffier* and *Larcheveque*, who had both a Hand in the Death of Monfr. *de la Sale*, had promis'd to go along with us, provided Monfr. *Cavelier* would pardon them, and he had given them his Word so to do. In this Expectation we continu'd till the 25th, when our French Men, who had been at the War, repair'd to our Cottage, and we consulted about our Business.

*Hiens*



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*Hiens* and others of his Gang, disapproving of our Design, represented to us such Difficulties as they look'd upon to be unsurmountable, under which we must inevitably perish, or at least be oblig'd to return to the same Place.

*Hiens* told us, that for his own Part, he would not hazard his Life to return into *France*, only to have his Head chopp'd off, and perceiving we answer'd Nothing to that, but that we persisted in our Resolution. *It is requisite then*, said he, *to divide what Effects remain.*

Accordingly he laid aside, for *F. Anastasius*, Messieurs *Cavelier*, the Uncle and the Nephew, thirty Axes, four or five Dozens of Knives, about thirty Pounds of Powder and the like Quantity of Ball. He gave each of the others two Axes, two Knives, two or three Pounds of Powder, with as much Ball, and kept the rest. As for the Horses, he kept the best and left us the three least. Monsieur *Cavelier* ask'd him for some Strings of Beads, which he granted, and seiz'd upon all the late Monfr. *de la Sale's* Cloaths, Baggage and other Effects, besides above a thousand Livres in Money, which belong'd to the late Monfr. *le Gros*, who dy'd at our Dwelling of *St. Lewis*. Before our Departure, it was a sensible Affliction to us, to see that Villain walk about, in a scarlet Coat, with gold Galons, which had belong'd to the late Monfr. *de la Sale*, and which, as I have said, he had seiz'd.

*Hiens gives the others what he pleases, and seizes the rest of the Effects.*

After that, *Hiens* and his Companions withdrew to their own Cottage, and we resolv'd not to put off our Departure any longer. Accordingly, we made ready our Horses, which much alarm'd the Natives, and especially the

*Mr. Cavelier and his Company part from the others.*

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Chief of them, who said and did all he could to obstruct our Journey, promising us Wives, Plenty of Provisions, representing to us the immense Dangers, as well from Enemies, who surrounded them, as from the bad and impassable Ways and the many Woods and Rivers we were to pass. However, we were not to be moved, and only ask'd one Kindness of him, in obtaining of which, there were many Difficulties, and it was, that he would give us Guides to conduct us to *Cappa*; but at length, after much Trouble and many Promises of a good Reward, one was granted, and two others went along with him.

All Things being thus order'd for our Departure, we took Leave of our Hosts, pass'd by *Heins's* Cottage and embrac'd him and his Companions. We ask'd him for another Horse, which he granted. He desired an Attestation in *Latin* of Monsieur *Cavelier*, that he had not been concern'd in the Murder of Monsieur *de la Sale*, which was given him, because there was no refusing of it; and we set forward without *Larcheveque* and *Meunier*, who did not keep their Word with us, but remain'd among those Barbarians, being infatuated with that Course of Libertinism they had run themselves into. Thus there were only seven of us that stuck together to return to *Canada*, viz. Father *Anastafius*, Messieurs *Cavelier* the Uncle and the Nephew, the *Sieur de Marle*, one *Teiffier*, a young Man born at *Paris*, whose Name was *Bartholomew* and I, with six horses and the three *Indians*, who were to be our Guides; a very small Number for so great an Enterprize, but we put ourselves entirely into the Hands of Divine Providence,

con-

French  
Men stay  
with the  
Indians.

Only seven  
set out for  
Canada.

confiding in God's Mercy, which did not forsake us.

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After the first Day's Journey we incamp'd on the Bank of the River, we had left not long before, lay there that Night, and the next Day, cut down Trees to make a Sort of Bridge or Planks to pass over it; handing over our Goods from one to another, and swimming over our Horses; which Work we were frequently oblig'd to repeat, and as often as we had afterwards Occasion to pass Rivers on our Way, which we held on till the 29th, every Day meeting with some Cottage, and at last, a Hamlet or Village, into which we went, and the *Indian* Inhabitants told us, they were call'd *Nahordikbe*, and that they were Allies to the *Cenis*.

We barter'd with them for some Provisions, and their Chief offer'd to go with us as far as the *Affonys*, who were not farther off than about three Leagues, which he accordingly did; but it happening to rain when we came thither, and the *Affonys* having had no Notice before hand, we found but indifferent Reception.

Nahor-  
dikhes and  
Affony

However, we were conducted to the Chief's Cottage; the Elders had Notice given them, they resorted thither, and when our Horses were unloaded, and our Goods plac'd in a Corner of the Cottage, which the Chief had allotted us, we gave them to understand, that our Intention was to go farther, to fetch Commodities to trade with them, at which they were pleas'd. They gave us to eat, and the Elders stay'd some Part of the Evening with us, which made us somewhat Uneasy, and oblig'd us

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to be upon our Guard; however the Night pass'd without any Disturbance.

The next Morning the Elders came to us again. They had provided Mats without the Cottage, and made Signs to us to go thither and sit down upon them, as we did, leaving two of our Company to guard the Baggage. We repeated to them what we had said the Night before, and made them some Presents of Axes, Knives, Strings of Beads and Rings. They signify'd they were sorry we would go away, and endeavour'd the best they could, to make us sensible of the same Obstacles the others had signify'd to us; but it was all in Vain; however, we stay'd till the first of *June*, all the while bartering and gathering the best stock of Provisions we could.

*Good Entertainment*

The Second, we remov'd from that Cottage, where we had some Jealousy, and went to another, a Quarter of a League from it, where the Chief of it gave us a very good Reception, An old Woman, who was either his Mother, or Governess of the Cottage, took particular Care of us: We were first serv'd at eating, and to keep her in that good Mind, we now and then made her some little Presents, whilst she, by her Care and Kindness, spar'd our Provisions, which were necessary for our Journey.

A continual Rain oblig'd us to stay there till the 13th. During our Stay, the Natives made several Feasts, to which we were always invited; and at length the Rain ceasing, we resolv'd to set out, notwithstanding all Monsieur *Cavelier* and the Priest's Apprehensions, which we surmounted, and directed our Course

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Course towards the *N. E.* with two *Indians*, who were to conduct us only a small Way, and who accordingly soon left us, whatsoever Promises we could make them. They departed to return Home, promising they would come to us again. We encamp'd that Night on the Bank of a Rivulet.

The 14th and 15th, we held on our Way, frequently meeting with Sloughs, which very much fatigued us, because we were oblig'd to unload our Horses for them to pass, and prevent their sticking in the Mire and fat Soil, whence we could not have drawn them out, and consequently we were fain to carry all our Luggage on our own Backs. *Bad Ways.*

Whilst we halted about Noon, that our Horses might graze, as was usually done by us, we discover'd our two *Affony Indians* returning towards us, at which we were much rejoiced, because they had a better Notion than ourselves of the Way we were to go. We made them eat and smoke, and then set out again.

The 16th, we came to a great River, which we pass'd as we had done the first, and after that, met with very bad Ways.

The 17th, one of our Company being indispos'd, we could not set out till Noon, and held on till the 21st, crossing several Sloughs and Rivers, and then one of our *Indians* being out of Order, it oblig'd us to stay on the Bank of a River we had pass'd. The other *Indian* seeing his comrade sick, went a Hunting, and brought a wild Goat; for there are many in that Country. The *Indians* have the Art of dressing the Heads of those Creatures, which they put upon



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Art to Kill  
Goats and  
Wild Fowl.

their own, and imitate them so exactly, that they can come very near to them, and then seldom fail of killing. The same Method they use for Turkeys and other wild Fowl, and so draw them close to themselves.

The 22d, our *Indian* being somewhat recover'd we decamp'd and proceeded along a better Way and pleasanter Country, than that we had left behind, and as we enquir'd the best we could of those our *Indians*, concerning the Neighbouring Nations and those we were going towards, among others they nam'd to us, that they call'd *Cappa*. M. *Cavelier* told us, he remember'd he had heard his late Brother Monsieur de la Sale name that Nation, and say he had seen it as he went from *Canada* towards the *Mississipi*. This put us in Hopes, that we should succeed in our Discovery.

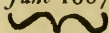
Fine Meadows.

The 23d, being near a Village, we had been in Search of, one of our *Indians* went before, to give Notice of our Arrival. In the mean Time we cross'd most lovely Plains and Meadows, border'd with fine Groves of beautiful Trees, where the Grass was so high, that it hinder'd our Horses going, and we were oblig'd to clear the Passage for them.

When we were within Half a League of the Village, we saw an *Indian*, mounted on a large grey Mare, coming along with our Native, to meet us, and were told, that Horseman was the Chief of the Village, attended by some others of the same Place. As soon as that Chief came up to us, he express'd very much Kindness and Affection; we gave him to understand, that we did no Body any Harm, unless we were first attack'd. Then we made him smoke, and when that



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that was done, he made Signs to us to follow him, which we did, till we came to the Bank of a River, where he again desir'd us to stay, whilst he went to give Notice to the Elders.

Soon after, a Number of them came, and having join'd us, signify'd, that they were come to carry us to their Village. Our *Indians* made Signs, that it was the Custom of the Country, and we must submit, and let them do as they thought fit. Tho' we were much out of Countenance at that Ceremony, seven of the prime Men among them would have us mount on their Backs or Shoulders. Monsieur *Cavelier* being our Chief, mounted first, and then the rest did the same.

M. Cavelier and the rest carry'd on the Backs of *Indians*.

As for my own Part, being of a pretty large Size and loaded with Cloaths, a Firelock, a Case of Pistols, Powder and Ball, a Kettle and other Implements, there is no Doubt but I made a sufficient Burden for him that carry'd me, and because I was taller than he and my Feet would have hung upon the Ground, two other *Indians* held them up for me; so that I had three to carry me. Other *Indians* took hold of our Horses to lead them, and in that ridiculous Equipage we arriv'd at the Village. Our Carriers, who had gone a long Quarter of a League, had need enough to rest, and we to be set down, that we might laugh in private, for it behov'd us to take Care not to do it before them.

As soon as we were come to the Chief's Cottage, where we found above two hundred Persons, who were come to see us, and that our Horses were unloaded, the Elders gave us to understand, that it was their Custom to wash

*Ceremonies at their Reception.*

Strangers

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*Speeches  
made to  
them.*

Strangers at their first Coming; but that we being clad, they would only wash our Faces; which one of those elders did, with fair Water they had in a Sort of Earthen Vessel, and he only wash'd our Forehead.

After this second Ceremony, the Chief made Signs to us, to sit down on a Sort of little Scaffold, rais'd about 4 Foot above the Ground, and made of Wood and Canes, where when we were plac'd, the Chiefs of the Villages being four in Number, came and made Speeches to us, one after another. We listened to them with Patience, tho' we understood not one Word of what they said to us; being tir'd with the Length of their Harangues, and much more with the violent Heat of the Sun, which was just over our Heads.

When the Speeches were ended, the Purport whereof, as near as we could guess, was only to assure us, that we were very welcome; we gave them to understand, that we were going into our own Country, designing to return speedily, to bring them several Sorts of Commodities and such Things as they should stand in need of.

Next, we made them the usual Presents of Axes, Knives, Strings of Beads, Needles and Pins, for their Wives, telling them, that when we return'd we would give them more.

*Their Entertainment.*

We farther signify'd to them, that if they would afford us some Corn or Meal, we would give them other Things in Exchange, which they agreed to. After this they made us eat *Sagamite*, or Hasty-pudding, Bread, Beans, Pom-pions and other Things, which we had sufficient  
Need

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Need of. Most of us having scarce eaten any Thing all that Day, some for Want, and others out of Devotion, as Monfr. *Cavelier*, who would observe the Fast of St. *John Baptist's* Eve, whose Name he bore. It is to be observ'd, that the Pompions are incomparably better there, than with us.

The 24th, the Elders met again in our Cottage. We gave them to understand, they would oblige us, in furnishing Guides to conduct us to the Village of *Cappa*, which was in our Way; but instead of granting it, they earnestly intreated us, to stay with them and go to the Wars against their Enemies, having been told Wonders of our Firelocks, which we promis'd to do when we return'd, and that it should be shortly, and they seem'd to rest satisfy'd.

Thus our Hopes increas'd, but the Joy it occasion'd was allay'd by a dismal Accident that befell us. Monsieur *de Marle*, one of the prime Men of our Company, having Breakfasted, would needs go Bath himself in the River we had pass'd the Day before, and not knowing how to swim, he went too far and step'd into a Hole, whence he could not recover himself, but was unfortunately drowned. Young Monsieur *Cavelier*, having been told that Monsieur *de Marle* was going to Bath himself, ran after him, and coming to the River, saw he was drowning, he ran back to acquaint us: We hasten'd thither with a Number of *Indians*, who were there before us; but all too late, some of them div'd, and brought him up dead from the Bottom of the Water.

Mr. de  
Marle  
drown'd.

We

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 His Fun-  
eral.

We carry'd him to the Cottage, shedding many Tears, the *Indians* bore Part in our Sorrow, and we paid him the last Duties, offering up the usual Prayers; after which he was bury'd in a small Field, behind the Cottage; and whereas, during that doleful Ceremony, we pray'd, reading in our Books, particularly *Monsieur Cavelier*, the Priest and Father *Anastafius*, the *Indians* gaz'd on us with Amazement, because we talk'd, looking upon the Leaves, and we endeavour'd to give them to understand, that we pray'd to God for the dead Man, pointing up to Heaven.

 Humanity  
of the In-  
dians.

We must do this Right to those good People, as to declare, that they express'd singular Humanity upon that doleful Accident, as appear'd by the sensible Testimony of their Actions, and all the Methods they us'd to let us understand how great a Share they bore in our Sorrow; which we should not have found in several Parts of *Europe*.

 Indian Ce-  
remony to  
the Dead.

During our short Stay in that Place, we observ'd a Ceremony that was perform'd by the Chief's Wife, viz. that every Morning she went to *Monsieur de Marle's* Grave, and carry'd a little Basket of parch'd Ears of Corn to lay on it, the meaning whereof we could not understand. Before our Departure, we were inform'd, that the Villages belonging to our Hosts, being four in Number, all ally'd together were call'd, *Affony*, *Nathosos*, *Nachitos* and *Cadodaquio*.

 Indian  
Nations.

On the 27th, having been inform'd by the Natives, that we should find Canoes, to pass a River that was on our Way. Father *Anastafius* and I went to see whether, what they told us

was

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was true. We found that River was a Branch of the same we had already pass'd, the Channel of it being pleasant and navigable, and saw some Canoes, in one of which the *Indians* carry'd us over to the other Side, whether we went to see what convenient Place there was for our Horses to come ashore. We found a very proper Place, and returning, made our Report to Monsieur *Cavelier*, who being then much out of Order with Pains in his Feet, we were oblig'd to stay there, till the 30th.

During that Time, we were frequently visited by the *Indians*, both Old and Young, and of both Sexes, and even the Chiefs of the Nation, call'd *Janiquo*, came to see us, and with them we often convers'd in dumb Show, and every Evening the Women, attended by the Warriors, with their Bows and Arrows, resorted to our Cottage, to sing a doleful Sort of Song, shedding Tears at the same Time. This would have given us some Uneasiness, had we not before seen the same Ceremony, and been inform'd, that those Women repair in that Manner to the Chief's Cottage, to intreat him, singing and weeping, to take Revenge on those, who have kill'd their Husbands, or Relations, in former Wars, as I have observ'd before. In all other Respects, the Manners and Customs of this Nation, being much the same as those of the *Cenis*, I shall add no more concerning them.

*Janiquo*  
*Nation.*

*Doleful*  
*Entertainment.*

The 29th, at Night, we gave Notice to the Chief, that we would set out the next Day, we made him some Presents in particular, and the like to his Wife, because she had taken special Care of us, and departed on the 30th. The Chief,



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Chief, attended by many other *Indians*, whom we found in the Cottages on our Way, went to Conduct us as far as the River, which we cross'd in Canoes, and swam over our Horses. There we took Leave of our Conductors, to whom we gave some Strings of Beads for their Wives, and their Chief would needs Conduct us to the next Village.

Cadoda-  
quio Vil-  
lage.

By the Way we came to a Cottage, where our Guide made us halt, and there they gave us to eat. Then we held on our Journey to a Village call'd *Cadodaquio*, and were conducted to the Chief's Cottage, who receiv'd us courteously, being a Friend to him that went with us. It was requisite to unload our Horses to lie there, and we signified to the Chief, that we stood in Need of Provisions. He spoke to the Women, who brought us some Meal, which we purchased with Strings of Beads, and the Chief, who conducted us thither, took his Leave.

Having no Design to stay there any Time, we had desired the Chief to appoint some Person to guide us to the Village call'd *Cabainiboua*, which was in our Way. It happen'd by good Fortune, that there were then in that Place some Men and Women of the said Village, who were come to fetch some Wood, fit to make Bows, there being Plenty of that Sort of Trees they make them of, about the Village we were in. We signify'd our Design to them and they gave us to understand they would be glad to bear us Company. In the Conversation we had with them, they made us comprehend, that they had seen People like us, who had Firelocks and a House, and that they were acquainted with the *Cappa's*, which was very pleasing to us.

Because



Because they were not to depart till two Days after, we resolv'd to stay for them.

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We observ'd, that there was a Difference between the Language of those People and the Inhabitants of the Village we were in, from that of the *Cenis*, and that they had some peculiar Ceremonies, one whereof is, that when the Women have their Terms, they leave the Company of their Husbands and withdraw into other Cottages appointed for that Purpose, which no Person is to come near, upon Pain of being reputed unclean.

*Peculiar  
Custom.*

Those Women have their Faces still more disfigur'd, than the others we had seen before; for they make several Streaks, or Scores on them, whereas the others had but one. They adorn themselves with little Locks of fine red Hair; which they make fast to their Ears, in the Nature of Pendants. In other Respects they are not disagreeable, and neither Women nor Maids are so ill-natur'd as to make their Lovers pine for them. They are not difficult of Access, and they soon make a Return for a small Present.

*Ornaments  
of Women.*

The Men wear their Hair short, like our *Capucins*, they anoint it with a sort of Oyl, or Grease, and curl it like snails, after which they strew on it a Sort of Down, or Lint, died red, as we do Powder, which is done when they design to be very fine, in order to appear in their Assemblies. They are very fond of their Children, and all the Way of chastising them they use, is to throw Water at them, without ever beating or giving them ill Words.

*The Men.*

The

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The *Indians* that were of the Village of *Cobainiboua* and to conduct us thither, not being ready to set out on *Wednesday* the 2d of *July*, as they had promis'd, a young *Indian* offer'd himself, saying, he would conduct us safe thither, and we set out with him, still directing our Course towards the *N. E.* We kept close along the same River we had cross'd, and found it very pleasant and navigable, the Banks of it cover'd with fine Trees of several Sorts.

We had not travell'd above a League, before our Guide gave us to understand, that he had forgot a Piece of hard dry'd Skin he had to make him Shoes, which he would go fetch and return to us, pointing to us with his Hand, which Way we were to go, and telling us we should soon come to a River.

This sudden Change in the *Indian* was somewhat surprizing and very much perplex'd us; however we held on our Way, and soon came to the River he had mention'd to us, which was very pleasant and deep. We cross'd it the next Day, on a Sort of Float, which we made with much Toil and Labour, and our Horses swam over. Some Time after we were passed, we saw the *Indians* coming, who had promised to bear us Company, and were glad to find our Float, to cross the same River, as they did, and proceeded on our Journey all together.

The 4th, 5th and 6th, we did the same, crossing a very fine Country, but water'd by many Brooks, Streams and Rivers. We found Abundance of wild Goats, Turkeys and other wild Fowl, whereof our *Indians* kill'd many.

On the 6th, whilst we halted on the Bank of a River to eat, we heard the Tingling of some small

Plenty of  
Game.

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small Bells; which making us look about, we spy'd an *Indian* with a naked Sword-Blade in his Hand, adorned with Feathers of several Colours, and two large Hawks Bells, that occasion'd the Noise we had heard.

He made Signs for us to come to him, and gave us to understand, that he was sent by the Elders of the Village, whither we were going, to meet us, caressing us after an extraordinary Manner. I observ'd that it was a Spanish Blade he had, and that he took Pleasure in ringing the Hawks Bells.

Having travell'd about half a League with him, we discover'd a Dozen of other *Indians* coming towards us, who made very much of and conducted us the Village, to the Chief's Cottage, where we found dry'd Bear-Skins laid on the Ground, and they made us sit on them, where we were treated with Eatables, as were the Elders after us, and a Throng of Women came to see us.

*Kind Reception.*

The 7th, the Elders came to give us a Visit, bringing us two Bullocks Hides, four Otters Skins, one white Wild-Goat's Skin, all of them well dry'd, and 4 Bows, in Return for the Present we had before made them. The Chief and another came again some Time after, bringing two Loaves, the finest and the best we had yet seen. They look'd as if they had been bak'd in an Oven, and yet we had not observ'd, that there were Ovens among any of them. That Chief stay'd with us some Hours, he seem'd to be very ingenious and discreet, and easily understood our Signs, which were most of the Language we had. Having order'd a little Boy to bring us all we had Occasion for, he withdrew.

*Presents.*

L

Towards

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The Cere-  
mony of  
the Pipe.

Towards the Evening, we were entertain'd with a Ceremony we had not seen before. A Company of Elders, attended by some young Men and Women came to our Cottage in a Body, singing as loud as they could roar. The foremost of them had a *Calumet*, so they call a very long Sort of Tabacco Pipe, adorn'd with several Sorts of Feathers. When they had sung a while, before our Cottage, they enter'd it, still singing on, for about a Quarter of an Hour. After that, they took Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, as being our Chief, led him in solemn Manner out of the Cottage, supporting him under the Arms. When they were come to a Place they had prepared, one of them laid a great Handful of Grass on his feet, two others brought fair Water in an Earthen Dish, with which they wash'd his Face, and then made him sit down on a Skin, provided for that Purpose.

When Monsieur *Cavelier* was seated, the Elders took their Places, sitting round about him, and the Master of the Ceremonies fix'd in the Ground two little wooden Forks, and having laid a Stick across them, all being painted red, he placed on them a Bullock's Hide, dried, a Goat's Skin over that, and then laid the Pipe thereon.

The Song was begun again, the Women mixing in the Chorus, and the Concert was heightned by great hollow Calabashes or Gourds, in which there were large Gravel Stones, to make a Noise, the *Indians* striking on them by Measure, to answer the Tone of the Choir; and the pleasantest of all was, that one of the *Indians* plac'd himself behind Monsieur *Cavelier* to hold him

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him up, whilst at the same Time he shook and dandled him from Side to Side, the Motion answering to the Musick.

That Concert was scarce ended, when the Master of the Ceremonies brought two Maids, the one having in her Hand a Sort of Collar, and the other an Otter's Skin, which they plac'd on the wooden Forks abovemention'd, at the Ends of the Pipe. Then he made them sit down, on each Side of Monsieur *Cavelier*, in such a Posture, that they look'd one upon the other, their Legs extended and intermix'd, on which the same Master of the Ceremonies laid Monsieur *Cavelier's* Legs, in such Manner, that they lay uppermost and across those of the two Maids.

Whilst this Action was performing, one of the Elders made fast a dy'd Feather to the back Part of Monsieur *Cavelier's* Head, tying it to his Hair. The Singing still continu'd all that Time, so that Monsieur *Cavelier* grown weary of its Tedioufness, and asham'd to see himself in that Posture between two Maids, without knowing to what Purpose, made Signs to us to signify the same to the Chief, and having given him to understand, that he was not well, two of the *Indians* immediately took hold of him under the Arms, conducted him back to the Cottage and made Signs to him to take his Rest. This was about Nine in the Evening, and the *Indians* spent all the Night in Singing, insomuch that some of them could hold out no longer.

In the Morning they return'd to Monsieur *Cavelier*, conducted him again out of the Cottage, with the same Ceremony and made him sit down, still singing on. Then the Master of the Ceremonies took the Pipe, which he fill'd



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with Tabacco, lighted and offered it to Monsieur *Cavelier*, but drawing back and advancing six Times before he gave it him. Having at last put it into his Hands, Monsieur *Cavelier* made as if he had smok'd and return'd it to them. Then they made us all smoke round, and every one of them whiff'd in his Turn, the Musick still continuing.

About Nine in the Morning, the Sun growing very hot, and Monsieur *Cavelier* being bare Headed, made Signs that it did him Harm. Then at last they gave over singing, and conducted him back into the Cottage, took the Pipe, put it into a Case, made of a Wild-Goat's Skin, with the two wooden Forks and the red Stick that lay across them, all which one of the Elders offer'd to Monsieur *Cavelier*, assuring him that he might pass thro' all the Nations that were ally'd to them by Virtue of that Token of Peace, and should be every where well receiv'd. This was the first Place where we saw the *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace, having no Knowledge of it before, as some have writ. This Nation is call'd *Cabaynokoua*.

Cahayno-  
houa Na-  
tion.

Indians  
expect Pre-  
sents.

This Sort of Ceremonies being never perform'd among the *Indians* without the Expectation of receiving some Present, and we having besides observ'd, that some of them had withdrawn themselves, with Tokens of Dissatisfaction, perhaps because we had interrupted their Ceremony, we thought it convenient to give them something more, and I was appointed to carry them an Ax, four Knives and some Strings of Beads, with which they were satisfied.

We



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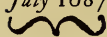
We afterwards shew'd them an Experiment of our Arms, the Noise and Fire whereof frighted them. They earnestly press'd us to stay with them, offering us Wives and whatsoever else we should want. To be the better quit of them, we promis'd to return, saying we were going to fetch Commodities, Arms and Tools, which we stood in Need of, that we might afterwards stay with them.

The 9th and 10th were spent in Visits, and we were inform'd by one of the *Indians* that we were not far from a great River, which he describ'd with a Stick on the Sand, and shew'd it had two Branches, at the same Time pronouncing the word *Cappa*, which, as I have said, is a Nation near the *Mississipi*. We then made no longer Question, that we were near what we had been so long looking after. We entreated the Elders to appoint some men to conduct us, promising to reward them well, which they granted, and we set out the 11th, to the great Sorrow of those good People, who had entertain'd us so courteously.

*The Journey prosecuted.*

We travell'd several different Ways, which we could never have found, had we wanted Guides, and so proceeded till on the 12th, one of our Guides pretended to be sick, and made Signs that he would go back; but observing, that we seem'd to be no Way concern'd, which we did on Purpose, he consulted with his Companion, and then came to tell us, he was recover'd. We made him eat and smoke, and continued our Journey the 13th, finding the Way very bad and difficult.

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The 14th, our *Indians*, having seen the Track of Bullocks, signify'd they would go kill some, to eat the Flesh, which made us halt for two or three Hours. Whilst we stay'd for our Hunters, we prepar'd some *Sagamite*, or their Sort of Hasty-Pudding. They return'd loaded with Flesh, Part whereof we dress'd, and eat it with very good Stomachs. Then we proceeded on our Journey till the 18th, and by the Way kill'd three Bullocks and two Cows, which oblig'd us to halt, that we might make use of our Flesh, drying it.

The Night between the 19th and the 20th, one of our Horses breaking loose, was either taken away by the Natives, or lost in the Woods. That did not obstruct our Departure, tho' the Loss was grievous to us, and we held on our Way till the 24th, when we met a Company of *Indians*, with Axes, going to fetch Barks of Trees, to cover their Cottages. They were surpriz'd to see us, but having made Signs to them to draw near, they came, caress'd and presented us with some Water Melons they had. They put off their Design of going to fetch Bark till another Time, and went along with us, and one off our Guides having gone before in the Morning to give Notice of our coming at the next Village, met with other Parcels of *Indians*, who were coming to meet us, and exprefs'd extraordinary Kindness.

We halted in one of their Cottages, which they call *Desert*, because they are in the Midst of their Fields and Gardens. There we found several Women who had brought Bread, Gourds, Beans and Water Melons, a Sort of Fruit proper

*Indians  
with  
Axes.*

per to quench Thirst, the Pulp of it being no better than Water.

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We set out again to come to the Village, and by the Way, met with very pleasant Woods, in which, there were Abundance of stately Cedars. Being come to a River, that was between us and the Village, and looking over to the further Side, we discover'd a great Cross, and at a small Distance from it, a House, built after the *French* Fashion.

*A Cross by  
a River  
and a  
French  
built House.*

It is easy to imagine what inward Joy we conceiv'd at the Sight of that Emblem of our Salvation. We knelt down, lifting up our Hands and Eyes to Heaven, to return Thanks to the Divine Goodness, for having conducted us so happily; for we made no Question of finding *French* on the other Side of the River, and of their being Catholicks, since they had Crosses.

In short, having halted some Time on the Bank of that River, we spy'd several Canoes making towards us, and two Men cloath'd, coming out of the House we had discover'd, who, the Moment they saw us, fir'd each of them a Shot to salute us. An *Indian* being Chief of the Village, who was with them, had done so before, and we were not backward in returning their Salute, by discharging all our Pieces.

When we had pass'd the River, and were all come together, we soon knew each other to be *French* Men. Those we found were the *Sieurs Couture Charpantier* and *de Launay*, both of them of *Roan*, whom *Monsieur de Tonty*, Governor of Fort St. *Lewis* among the *Istinois*, had left at that Post, when he went down the *Missipi*

*Dwelling  
of French.*

July 1687 *Mississipi* to look after Monfr. *de la Sale*; and the Nation we were then with, was call'd *Acancea*.

*The Travel-  
lers come  
to the  
French Ha-  
bitation.*

It is hard to exprefs the Joy conceiv'd on both Sides; ours was unspeakable, for having at last found, what we had so earnestly desired, and that the Hopes of returning to our dear Country, was in some Measure assured by that happy Discovery. The others were pleased to see such Persons as might bring them News of that Commander, from whom they expected the Performance of what he had promis'd them; but the Account we gave them of Monfr. *de la Sale*'s unfortunate Death, was so afflicting, that it drew Tears from them, and the dismal History of his Troubles and Disasters render'd them almost inconsolable.

We were conducted to the House, whither all our Baggage was honestly carry'd by the *Indians*. There was a very great Throng of those People, both Men and Women, which being over, we came to the Relation of the particular Circumstances of our Stories. Ours was deliver'd by Monsieur *Cavelier*, whom we honour'd as our Chief, for being Brother to him, who had been so.

*Who the  
Frenchmen  
were.*

We were inform'd by them, that they had been Six, sent by Monfr. *Tonty*, when he return'd from the Voyage he had made down the *Colbert* or *Mississipi* River, pursuant to the Orders sent him by the late Monfr. *de la Sale*, at his Departure from *France*, and that the said *Sieur Tonty* had commanded them to build the aforesaid House. That having never since receiv'd any News from the said Monfr. *de la Sale*

*Sale*, Four of them were gone back to Monfr. *Tonty*, at the Fort of the *Illinois*.

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In Conclusion, it was agreed among us, to go away as soon as possible, towards the *Illinois*, and conceal from the *Indians*, the Death of Monsieur *de la Sale*, to keep them still in Awe and under Submission, whilst we went away with the first Ships that should happen to sail from *Canada* for *France*, to give an Account at Court of what had happen'd, and to procure Succours. In the mean Time, the Chief of the *Indians* came to invite us to eat. We found Mats laid on the Ground for us to sit on, and all the Village met to see us.

We gave them to understand, that we came from Monsieur *de la Sale*, who had made a Settlement on the Bay of *Mexico*; that we had pass'd thro' many Nations, which we nam'd, and that we were going to *Canada* for Commodities, and would return down the River; that we would bring Men to defend them against their Enemies and then settle among them; that the Nations we had pass'd through had appointed Men to guide us, and we desired the same Favour of them, with some Canoes and Provisions, and that we would reward our Guides and pay for what they furnish'd us.

Kind In-  
dians.

The Conveniency of an Interpreter, we then had, gave us the Opportunity of making ourselves be easily understood, and the Chief answer'd to our Proposals, that he would send Men to the other Villages to acquaint them with our Demands, and to consult with them what was to be done in that Case; that as for the rest, they were amaz'd at our having pass'd

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pass'd thro' so many Nations, without having been detain'd, or kill'd, considering what a small Number we were.

When the Discourse was ended, that Chief caus'd Meat to be set before us, as dry'd Flesh, Bread made of *Indian* Corn of several Sorts, and Water Melons; after which he made us smoke, and then we return'd to our House, where being eas'd of all those Impediments, we gave each other an Account of our Affairs, at Leisure, and were inform'd, that those People impatiently expected the Return of *Monsieur de la Sale*, which confirm'd us in the Resolution of concealing his Death. We observ'd the Situation of that Post, and were made acquainted with the Nature of the Country and the Manners of those People, of which I shall give the following Remarks.

French  
House a-  
mong the  
Accon-  
cea's de-  
scrib'd.

The House we were then in, was built of Pieces of Cedar laid one upon another, and rounded away at the Corners. It is seated on a small Eminency, half a Musket-shot from the Village, in a Country abounding in all Things. The Plains lying on one Side of it, are stor'd with Beeves, wild Goats, Deer, Turkeys, Bustards, Swans, Ducks, Teal and other Game.

Product of  
the Coun-  
try.

The Trees produce plenty of Fruit, and very good, as Peaches, Plumbs, Mulberries, Grapes, and Wallnuts. They have a Sort of Fruit they call *Piaguimina*, not unlike our Medlars, but much better and more delicious. Such as live near the Rivers, as that House is, do not want for Fish of all Sorts, and they have *Indian* Wheat, whereof they make good Bread. There are also fine Plains diversify'd with several Sorts of Trees, as I have said before.

The



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*Nation of  
the Accan-  
cea's.*

The Nation of the *Accancea's* consists of four Villages. The first is call'd *Otsotchove*, near which we were; the second *Toriman*, both of them seated on the River; the third *Tonginga*; and the fourth *Cappa*, on the Bank of the *Mississipi*. These Villages are built after a different Manner from the others we had seen before, in this Point, that the Cottages, which are alike as to their Materials and Rounding at the Top, are long, and cover'd with the Bark of Trees, and so very large, that several of them can hold two hundred Persons, belonging to several Families.

The people are not so neat as the *Cenis*, or the *Affonis* in their Houses, for some of them lie on the Ground, without any Thing under them but some Mats, or a dress'd Hide. However, some of them have more Conveniencies, but the Generality has not. All their Moveables consist in some Earthen Vessels and oval wooden Platters, which are neatly made, and with which they drive a Trade.

*Houfbold  
Stuff.*

They are generally very well shap'd and active; the Women are handsome, or at least have a much better Presence than those of the other Villages we pass'd thro' before. They make Canoes all of one Piece, which are well wrought. As for themselves they are very faithful, good natur'd, and Warriors like the rest.

*Shape.*

The 25th, the Elders being assembled, came to see us, and told the *Sieur Couture*, that they design'd to sing and dance the *Calumet*, or Pipe; because the others had sung it, some of them to the late *Monsieur de la Sale*, and the rest to *Monsieur Tonty*, and therefore it was but reasonable they should do the same to get a Firelock,

*The Cere-  
mony of the  
Pipe per-  
form'd to  
M. Cave-  
lier.*

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*Ceremony  
of the Pipe.*

lock, as well as the others. Monsieur *Cavelier* was inform'd of it, and it was requisite to consent to it, to please those *Indians*, because we stood in need of them.

The Ceremony began with Monsieur *Cavelier*, who was led under the Arms and seated on a Hide, without the Cottage. The Forks, the Skins laid on it in Honour of the Pipe, the Singing as loud as they cou'd roar, both by Men and Women, and all the other Ceremonies were observ'd, as I have mention'd them before; so that Monsieur *Cavelier* being weary of them, he caus'd the Chief to be told, that he was out of Order, and desir'd his Nephew might be put in his Place, which was done accordingly, and they spent the whole Night in Singing. In the Morning they perform'd some other Ceremonies, not worth relating.

The Solemnity being ended, by every Man's smoking of the Pipe, the *Indians* took it, with some Bullocks Hides, and Goats and Otters Skins, and a Collar made of Shells, all which they carry'd to our House, and we gave them a Firelock, two Axes, six Knives, one hundred Charges of Powder, as much Ball, and some Strings of Beads for their Wives. The Chief having given Notice of our coming to the other Villages, their Deputies came to see us; we entertain'd them in the House, and propos'd to them our Designs, as had been done to the Chief. They stood considering a While, then held a Sort of Consultation among themselves, which held not long without talking, and then agreed to grant us what we ask'd, which was a Canoe and a Man of each Village to conduct us, upon the promis'd Consideration, and so they  
went

went away to the Cottage of the Chief of the Village.

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The 27th, the Chief and the Elders met again to consult about what we demanded of them; the Length of the Journey made them apprehensive for those, who were to conduct us; but, at Length, we having dispell'd their Fears by our Arguments, and they having again deliberated some Time, agreed to our Request. We again made them a Present, promising a good Reward to our Guides, and so we prepar'd to set forwards. Little *Bartholomew* the *Parisian*, having intimated to us, that he would willingly stay in that House, because he was none of the ablest of Body, we recommended him to the *Sieur Couture*. We desir'd those that remain'd there, to keep the Secret of *Monfr. de la Sale's* Death, promis'd to send them Relief, left them our Horses, which were of great Use to go a Hunting, and gave them fifteen or sixteen Pounds of Powder, eight hundred Balls, three hundred Flints, twenty six Knives, and ten Axes, two or three Pounds Weight of Beads; *Monfr. Cavelier* left them Part of his Linen, hoping we should soon be in a Place where we should get more; and all of them having made their Peace with God, by Means of the Sacrament of Penance, we took Leave of them, excepting the *Sieur Couture*, who went to conduct us Part of the Way.

*The Journey continued.*

We imbark'd on a Canoe belonging to one of the Chiefs, being at least twenty Persons, as well Women as Men, and arriv'd safe, without any Trouble, at a Village call'd *Toriman*, for we were going down the River. We propos'd it to these People, or rather demanded it

*Toriman Village.*

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it of them to confirm what had been granted us by the others, and they referr'd giving us their Answer till the next Day; for they do Nothing without consulting about it, and we having brought a Sack of *Indian* Wheat, from the *French* Mens House, desir'd the Chief to cause Women to pound it, for which we would give 'em Something. Immediately he made a Sign to his Officers to go call them, and they went as readily.

Officers.

There were seven or eight of those Officers always about him, stark naked and besmear'd, some after one Fashion, and others after another. Each of them had three or four Calabashes or Gourds, hanging at a Leather Girdle about their Waistes, in which there were several Pebbles, and behind them hung a Horse's Tail, so that when they ran, the Gourds made a ratling Noise, and the Tail being born up by the Wind, stood out at its full Length, so that Nothing could be seen more ridiculous; but it behooved us to take Heed of shewing the least Smile.

The River  
Missisipi  
found at  
last.

The remaining Part of the Day was spent in going with the *Sieur Couture* to see the fatal River so much sought after by us, called *Colbert*, when first discover'd, and *Missisipi*, or, *Mechassipi* by the Natives that were near us. It is a very fine River and deep, the Breadth of it about a Quarter of a League, and the Stream very rapid. The *Sieur Couture* assur'd us, that it has two Branches or Channels, which parted from each other above us, and that we had pass'd its other Branch, when we came to the first Village of the *Accancea's*, with which Nation we still were.

The

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The 28th, the Chief and the Elders being assembled, they granted our Requests. We were to part, in order to be entertain'd in several Places, where we took Notice of some particular Ceremonies, which we had not seen among the other Nations. One of them is, that they serve up their Meat in two or four large Dishes, which are first set down before the two principal Guests, who are at one End, and when they have eaten a little, those Dishes are shov'd down lower and others are served up in their Place, in the same Manner; so that the first Dishes are serv'd at the upper End and thrust down lower as others come in.

Particular  
Ceremo-  
nies.

He who treats, does not sit down with the Company, nor does he eat, but performs the Part of a Steward, taking Care of the Dressing and of the Placing of the Meat serv'd up; and to the End he may appear the finer, he never fails to besmear himself with Clay, or some red or black Colouring they make use of.

The 29th, we set out from that Village, and embark'd on two Canoes to cross the *Mississipi*. The Chief and about a Score of young Folks bore us Company to the next Village call'd *Tonningua*, seated on the Bank of that River, where we were receiv'd in the Chief's Cottage, as we had been in the others. The Elders treated us in their Turns, and the Descriptions before given will serve for this Place, there being but little Difference between them and their Neighbours.

Tonningua  
Village

The 30th, we set out for *Cappa*, the last Village of the *Accancea's*, eight Leagues distant from the Place we had left. We were obliged to cross the River *Mississipi* several Times in this Way,

Cappa  
Village.



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Way; because it winds very much, and we had some foul Weather, which made it late before we could reach *Cappa*. A great Number of Youth came to meet us, some of them conducted us to the Chief's Cottage, and others took Care of our Baggage, which was restor'd to us very honestly. We found the Elders waiting for us; a great Fire was kindled to dry us, and the Cottage was lighted by several burning Reeds, which they make use of instead of Flambeaus; after which we were serv'd as in other Places.

The 31st, we receiv'd Visits from the Elders. Their Discourse ran upon the War they design'd to make, thinking to ingage us in it, and we return'd the same Answer as we had done to the others, that we would soon return with all Things we stood in Need of. We ask'd a Man of them, which was granted, and the Day ended in Feasting.

*Entertainment given  
by the Indians.*

We would willingly have set out the First of *August*; but the Chief came and told us, it could not be, because the Women had not pounded our Corn, which however was done; but they made use of that Pretence to oblige us to stay, and to have Leisure to give us some Diversion, after their Manner. Accordingly, about Ten in the Morning, the Warriors and Youth came together to Dance. They were dress'd after their best Manner, some of them wearing Plumes of several Colours, wherewith they adorn their Heads, others, instead of Feathers, had two Bullocks Horns, and were all besmear'd with Clay, or Black and Red, so that they really look'd like a Company of Devils or Monsters, and in those Figures they danc'd,  
as



as I have describ'd it, speaking of the other Nations. Aug. 1687



The Second, we made ready to be going. The *Indian* given by the first Village for our Guide, would not go any farther. A Man, said to be an Hermaphrodite, offer'd to supply his Place, saying, he was willing to go to the *Illinois*. We took Leave of the *Sieur Couture*, to whom *Monfr. Cavelier* made an Exhortation, encouraging him to persevere and have Patience, in Hopes of the Relief we wou'd send him, and so we imbark'd on the *Mississipi* in a Canoe, being Nine in Number, that is, five of us, and the four *Indians* that were our Guides. We were oblig'd to cross that River very often, and no less frequently to carry our Canoe and Goods, as well on Account of the Rapidity of the River, and to find it slacker on the one or the other Side of it, which was very troublesome to our Guides, as because of the little islands we met with, which are form'd by the impetuous beating of the Water upon the Banks, that oppose its Course, where the Channels happen not to lie strait; there it washes away the Earth and bears down great Trees, which in Process of Time form little Islands, that divide the Channel. At Night we incamp'd in one of those small Islands, for our greater Safety, for we were then come into an Enemy's Nation, call'd *Machigamea*, which put our *Indians* into great Frights.

*Machigamea Nation.*

It is certain our Toil was very great, for we were oblig'd to row in the Canoe, to help our *Indians* to stem the Current of the River, because we were going up, and it was very strong and rapid; we were often necessitated

M

to

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to land, and sometimes to travel over miry Lands, where we sunk up half way the Leg; other Times over burning Sands, which scorch'd our Feet, having no Shoes, or else over Splinters of Wood, which ran into the Soles of our Feet, and when we were come to the resting Place, we were to provide Fuel to dress our Meat, and provide all Things for our *Indians*, who would not have done so much as go fetch a Cup of Water, tho' we were on the Bank of the River, and yet we were happy enough in having them.

We proceeded on, continually undergoing the same Toil, till the Seventh, when, we saw the first Bullock, we had met on our Way, since our coming among the *Accancea's*. The *Indians*, who had a great Mind to eat Flesh, made a Sign to me, to go kill it. I pursu'd and Shot, but it did not fall, the *Indians* ran after, kill'd, and came to tell us it must be parch'd, or dry'd, which was accordingly done. I must here take Notice of a Ceremony our *Indians* perform'd, when they came near the Bullock, before they flead him.

*Ceremony  
at dressing  
a Bullock.*

In the first Place, they adorn'd his Head with some Swans and Bustards Down, dy'd red, and put some Tabacco into his Nostrils, and between the Clefts of the Hoofs. When they had flead him, they cut out the Tongue, and put a Bit of Tabacco into its Place; then they stuck two Wooden Forks into the Ground, laid a Stick across them, on which they plac'd several Slices of the Flesh, in the Nature of an Offering. The Ceremony being ended, we parch'd or dry'd the best Parts of the Beast and proceeded on our Journey.

The

The 9th, we found the Banks of the River very high, and the Earth of them Yellow, Red and White, and thither the Natives came to furnish themselves with it, to adorn their Bodies, on Festival Days. We held on our Way till the 14th, when we met a Herd of Bulls, whereof we kill'd five, dry'd Part of them, and proceeded till the 18th.

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*Banks of  
 several Co-  
 lours.*

The 19th, we came to the Mouth of the River, call'd *Houabache*, said to come from the Country of the *Iroquois*, towards *New England*. That is a very fine River, its Water extraordinary clear, and the Current of it, gentle. Our *Indians* offer'd up to it, by Way of Sacrifice, some Tabacco and Beef Steaks, which they fix'd on Forks, and left them on the Bank, to be dispos'd of as the River thought fit. We observ'd some other Superstitions among those poor People, one whereof was as follows.

Houaba-  
 che River.

There werè some certain Days, on which they Fasted, and we knew them, when as soon as they awak'd, they besmear'd their Faces and Arms, or other Parts of their Bodies, with a slimy Sort of Earth, or pounded Charcoal; for that Day they did not eat till Ten or Eleven of the Clock at Night, and before they did eat they were to wipe off that Smearing, and had Water brought them for that Purpose. The Occasion of their Fasting was, as they gave us to understand, that they might have good Success in Hunting, and kill Abundance of Bulls.

*Indian  
 Fast.*

We held on our Way till the 25th, when the *Indians* shew'd us a Spring of Salt Water, within a Musket Shot of us, and made us go ashore to view it. We observ'd the Ground

*Salt Water  
 Spring.*

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Wild Fruit.

about it was much beaten by Bullocks Feet, and it is likely they love that Salt Water. The Country about, was full of Hillocks, cover'd with Oaks and Wallnut-Trees, Abundance of Plum-Trees, almost all the Plums red and pretty good, besides great Store of other Sorts of Fruits, whose Names we know not, and among them one shap'd like a midling Pear, with Stones in it as big as large Beans. When ripe it peels like a Peach, the Taste is indifferent good, but rather of the Sweetest.

The 27th, having discover'd a Herd of Beeves, we went ashore to kill some; I shot a Heifer, which was very good Meat, we put a Board the best of it, and held on our Way till the Evening, when we encamp'd on an Island, where we observ'd an Alteration in the Humour and Behaviour of our *Indians*. This put us under some Apprehension, and the more, for that he who was reckon'd an Hermaphrodite, told us, they intended to leave us, which oblig'd us to secure our Arms and double our Watch during the Night, for Fear they should forsake us.

With that Jealousy we proceeded on our Journey the 28th and 29th, coasting along the Foot of an upright Rock, about sixty, or eighty Foot high, round which the River glides. Held on the 30th and 31st, and the first of *September* pass'd by the Mouth of a River call'd *Missouris*, whose Water is always thick, and to which our *Indians* did not forget to offer Sacrifice.

Missouris River.

Figure of a pretended Monster

The 2d, we arriv'd at the Place, where the Figure is of the pretended Monster spoken of by Father *Marquet*. That Monster consists of two  
scurvy

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fcurvy Figures drawn in red, on the flat Side of a Rock, about ten or twelve Foot high, which wants very much of the extraordinary Height that Relation mentions. However our *Indians* paid Homage, by offering Sacrifice to that Stone; tho' we endeavour'd to give them to understand, that the said Rock had no Manner of Virtue, and that we worship'd something above it, pointing up to Heaven; but it was to no Purpose, and they made Signs to us, that they should die if they did not perform that Duty. We proceeded, coasting along a Chain of Mountains, and at length, on the 3d, left the *Mississipi*, to enter the River of the *Illinois*.

*River of  
the Illinois*

We found a great Alteration in that River, as well with Respect to its Course, which is very gentle, as to the Country about it, which is much more agreeable and beautiful than that about the great River, by Reason of the many fine Woods and Variety of Fruit its Banks are adorn'd with. It was a very great comfort to us, to find so much Ease in going up that River, by Reason of its gentle Stream, so that we all stay'd in the Canoe and made much more Way.

Thus we went on till the 8th, without stopping any longer than to kill a Bullock, and one of our *Indians*, who had a craving Stomach, having eaten some of its Suet hot and raw, was taken very ill, and died of it, as I shall mention in its Place.

*Indian  
dies of eat-  
ing raw  
Suet.*

The 9th, we came into a Lake, about half a League over, which we cross'd, and return'd into the Channel of the River, on the Banks whereof we found several Marks of the Natives



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having been incamp'd there, when they came to fish and dry what they caught. The 10th, we crofs'd another Lake, call'd *Primatebouy*, return'd to the River, and the 11th, saw *Indians* before us, incamp'd on the Bank of a River, whereupon we stop'd and made ready our Arms. In the mean Time, one of them came towards us by Land, and we put on our Canoe towards him.

Meeting  
with Illi-  
nois.

When that *Indian* was near, he stood gazing on us, without speaking a Word, and then drawing still nearer, we gave him to understand, that we were sent by *Monfieur de la Sale*, and came from him. Then he made Signs to us, to advance towards his People, whom, he went before to acquaint with what we had said to him, so that when we were come near them they fired Several Shot to salute us, and we answer'd them with our Firelocks.

After that mutual Salutation, they came into our Canoe, to signify, they were glad to hear News of *Monfieur de la Sale*. We ask'd them, What Nation they were of; they answer'd, They were *Illinois*, of a Canton call'd *Cascafquia*. We enquir'd whether *Monfieur Tonty* was at Fort *Lewis*; they gave us to understand, that he was not, but that he was gone to the War against the *Iroquois*. They invited us Ashore, to go with them to eat of such as they had, we thank'd them, and they brought us some Gourds and Water Melons, in Exchange for which, we gave them some parch'd Flefh.

We had not by the Way taken Notice of a Canoe, in which was a Man with two Women, who, being afraid of us, had hid themselves



selves among the Reeds, but that man seeing us stop among his Countrymen, took Heart, came to us, and having told us, that he belong'd to a Village near Fort *Lewis*, we set out together, and one of our *Indians* went into that Canoe, to help them to shove, so they call the Way of pushing on the Canoe with Poles instead of rowing.

On *Sunday*, the 14th of *September*, about two in the Afternoon, we came into the Neighbourhood of Fort *Lewis*. Drawing near, we were met by some *Indians* that were on the Bank, who having view'd us well, and understanding we came from Monfr. *de la Sale*, and that we belong'd to him, ran to the Fort to carry the News, and immediately we saw a *French* Man come out, with a Company of *Indians*, who fir'd a Volley of several Pieces, to salute us. Then the *French* Man drew near, and desir'd us to come Ashore, which we did, leaving only one in the Canoe, to take Care of our Baggage; for the *Illinois* are very sharp at carrying off anything they can lay their Hands on, and consequently, nothing near so honest as the Nations we had pass'd thro'.

We all walk'd together towards the Fort, and found three *French* Men coming to meet us, and among them a Clerk, who had belong'd to the late Monfr. *de la Sale*. They immediately ask'd us, where Monfr. *de la Sale* was, we told them, he had brought us Part of the Way, and left us at a Place about forty Leagues beyond the *Cenis*, and that he was then in good Health. All that was true enough; for Monfr. *Cavelier* and I, who were the Persons, that then spoke, were not present at Monfr. *de la Sale*'s Death;

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Fort Lewis is among the Illinois.

Arrival at Fort Lewis.

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he was in good Health when he left us, and I have told the Reasons we had for concealing his Death, till we came into *France*.

It is no less true, that Father *Anastafius*, and he they call'd *Teisier*, could have given a better Account, the one as an Eye Witness, and the other, as one of the Murderers, and they were both with us; but to avoid lying, they said Nothing. We farther told them, we had Orders to go over into *France*, to give an Account of the Discoveries made by Monsieur *de la Sale*, and to procure the sending of Succours.

Reception.

At length, we enter'd the Fort, where we found and surpriz'd several Persons who did not expect us. All the *French* were under Arms and made several Discharges to welcome us. Monsieur *de Belle Fontaine* Lieutenant to Monfr. *Tonty*, was at the Head of them and complimented us. Then we were conducted to the Chappel, where we return'd Thanks to God, from the Bottom of our Hearts, for having preserv'd and conducted us in Safety; after which we had our Lodgings assigned us, Monfr. *Cavelier* and Father *Anastafius* had one Chamber, and we were put into the Magazine, or Ware-house. All this While, the Natives came by Intervals, to fire their Pieces, to express their Joy for our Return, and for the News we brought of Monsieur *de la Sale*, which refresh'd our Sorrow for his Misfortune; perceiving that his Presence would have settled all Things advantageously.

The Day after our Arrival, one of the *Indians*, who had conducted us, having been sick ever since he eat the raw Beef Suet, I mention'd before, died, and his Companions took away  
and

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and bury'd him privately. We gave them the promis'd Reward, and the Part belonging to the Dead Man, to be deliver'd to his Relations. They stay'd some Time in the Fort, during the which, we took extraordinary Care of them, and at last they return'd to their own Homes.

As far as we could gather by half Words dropp'd there by one or other at the Fort, Something had been done there prejudicial to the Service of Monfr. *de la Sale*, and against his Authority, and therefore some dreaded his Return, but more especially a *Jesuit* was in great Consternation. He was sick, Monsieur *Cavelier*, Father *Anastafius* and I went to visit him. He enquired very particularly of all Points, and could not conceal his Trouble, which we would not seem to take Notice of.

Our Design being to make the best of our way to *Canada*, in Order to set out Aboard the first *French* Ships that should Sail for *France*, we enquired how we were to proceed, and met with several Difficulties. The Navigation on that River was very Dangerous, by Reason of the Falls there are in it, which must be carefully avoided, unless a Man will run an inevitable Hazard of perishing. There were few Persons capable of managing that Affair, and the War with the *Iroquois* made all Men afraid.

*Falls in the  
River.*

However the *Sieur Boifrondet*, Clerk to the late Monfr. *de la Sale*, having told us he had a Canoe, in which he design'd to go down to *Canada*, we prepared to make use of that Opportunity. Care was taken to gather Pro-  
visions

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visions for our Voyage, to get Furs to barter as we pass'd by *Micilimaquinay*. The Visits of two Chiefs of Nations, call'd *Cascaquia Peroueria* and *Cacabouanous* discover'd by the late Monsieur de la Sale, did not interrupt our Affairs, and all things being got ready, we took Leave of those we left in the Fort. Monsieur *Cavelier* writ a Letter for Monsieur *Tonty*, which he left there to be deliver'd to him, and we repair'd to the Lake to embark.

M. Cavelier, &c.  
set out and  
returns  
again.

It would be needless to relate all the Troubles and Hardships we met with, in that Journey, it was painful and fruitless, for having gone to the Bank of the Lake, in very foul Weather, after waiting there five Days, for that foul Weather to cease, and after we had embark'd, notwithstanding the Storm, we were oblig'd to put Ashore again, to return to the Place where we had embark'd, and there to dig a Hole in the Earth, to bury our Baggage and Provisions, to save the Trouble of carrying them back to Fort *Lewis*, whither we return'd and arrived there the 7th of *October*; where they were surpriz'd to see us come back.

Thus were we oblig'd to continue in that Fort all the rest of *Autumn* and Part of the *Winter*, to our great Sorrow, and not so much for our own Disappointment, as for being, by that Means, obstructed from sending of Succours, as soon as we had expected, as well to the said Fort, as to those *French* of our own Company, whom we had left on the Coast of the Bay of *Mexico*,

It



It was then the good Season for shooting. Those Gentlemen at the Fort had secur'd two good *Indian* Sportsmen, who never let us want for Wild Fowl of all Sorts; besides we had good Bread, and as good Fruit, and had there been any Thing to drink besides Water, we had far'd well. The Leisure we had during our Stay there, gave me an Opportunity of making the following Remarks, as well of my own Observation, as what I learn'd of the *French* residing there.

Fort *Lewis* is in the Country of the *Illinois* and seated on a steep Rock, about two hundred Foot high, the River running at the Bottom of it. It is only fortified with Stakes and Palisades, and some Houses advancing to the Edge of the Rock. It has a very spacious Esplanade, or Place of Arms. The Place is naturally strong, and might be made so by Art, with little Expence. Several of the Natives live in it, in their Huts. I cannot give an Account of the Latitude it stands in, for Want of proper Instruments to take an Observation, but Nothing can be pleasanter; and it may be truly affirm'd, that the Country of the *Illinois* enjoys all that can make it accomplish'd, not only as to Ornament, but also for its plentiful Production of all Things requisite for the Support of human Life.

*Description of Fort Lewis and the Country about it.*

The Plain, which is water'd by the River, is beautified by two small Hills, about half a League distant from the Fort, and those Hills are cover'd with Groves of Oaks, Walnut-Trees and other Sorts I have named elsewhere. The Fields are full of Grass, growing up very high. On the Sides of the Hills is found a gravelly

*Lime and Clay for Bricks, &c.*



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gravelly Sort of Stone, very fit to make Lime for Building. There are also many Clay Pits, fit for making of Earthen Ware, Bricks and Tiles, and along the River there are Coal Pits, the Coal whereof has been try'd and found very good.

Mines.

There is no Reason to question, but that there are in this Country, Mines of all Sorts of Metals, and of the richest, the Climate being the same as that of *New Mexico*. We saw several Spots, where it appeared there were Iron Mines, and found some Pieces of it on the Bank of the River, which Nature had cleansed. Travellers who have been at the upper Part of the *Mississipi*, affirm that they have found Mines there, of very good Lead.

Product.

That Country is one of the most temperate in the World, and consequently whatsoever is sow'd there, whether Herbs, Roots, *Indian* and even *European* Corn thrives very well, as has been try'd by the Sieur *Boisfrondet*, who sow'd of all Sorts, and had a plentiful Crop, and we eat of the Bread, which was very good. And whereas we were assured, that there were Vines which run up, whose Grapes are very good and delicious, growing along the River, it is reasonable to believe, that if those Vines were transplanted and prun'd, there might be very good Wine made of them. There is also Plenty of wild Apple and Pear Trees, and of several other Sorts, which would afford excellent Fruit, were they grafted and transplanted.

All other Sorts of Fruit, as Plumbs, Peaches and others, wherewith the Country abounds, would become exquisite, if the same Industry were



were us'd, and other Sorts of Fruit we have in *France* would thrive well, if they were carry'd over. The Earth produces a Sort of Hemp, whereof Cloth might be made and Cordage.

As for the Manners and Customs of the *Isli-nois*, in many Particulars they are the same as those of the other Nations we have seen. They are naturally fierce and revengeful, and among them the Toil of Sowing, Planting, carrying of Burdens, and doing all other Things that belong to the Support of Life, appertains peculiarly to the Women. The Men have no other Business but going to the War and hunting, and the women must fetch the Game when they have kill'd it, which sometimes they are to carry very far to their Dwellings, and there to parch, or dress it any other Way.

When the Corn or other Grain is sow'd, the Women secure it from the Birds till it comes up. Those Birds are a sort of Starlings, like ours in *France*, but larger and fly in great Swarms,

The *Isli-nois* have but few Children, and are extremely fond of them; it is the Custom among them, as well as others I have mentioned, never to chide, or beat them, but only to throw Water at them, by Way of Chastisement.

The Nations we have spoken of before, are not at all, or very little, addicted to Thieving; but it is not so with the *Isli-nois*, and it behoves every Man to watch their Feet as well as their Hands, for they know how to turn any Thing out of the Way most dexterously. They are subject to the general Vice of all the other *Indians*, which is to boast very much of their Warlike

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*Manners  
and Cu-  
stoms of  
the Isli-  
nois.*

*Women do  
all Labour.*

*Children.*

*Thieving.*

*Boasting.*

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Care of the  
Dead.

Warlike Exploits, and that is the main Subject of their Discourse, and they are very great Lyars.

They pay a Respect to their Dead, as appears by their special Care of burying them, and even of putting into lofty Coffins the Bodies of such as are considerable among them, as their Chiefs and others, which is also practised among the *Accancea's*, but they differ in this Particular, that the *Accancea's* weep and make their Complaints for some Days, whereas the *Chabouanous* and other People of the *Isilinois* Nation do just the Contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins made of the Barks of Trees, then sing and dance about them for twenty four Hours. Those Dancers take Care to tie Calabashes, or Gourds about their Bodies, with some *Indian* Wheat in them, to rattle and make a Noise, and some of them have a Drum, made of a great Earthen Pot, on which they extend a wild Goat's Skin, and beat thereon with one Stick, like our Tabors.

Presents to  
the Dead.

During that Rejoicing, they throw their Presents on the Coffin, as Bracelets, Pendants, or Pieces of Earthen Ware, and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that Time, he immediately throws down his Present and falls a singing and dancing like the rest. When that Ceremony is over, they bury the Body, with Part of the Presents, making choice of such as may be most proper for it. They also bury with it, some Store of *Indian* Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, for fear the dead Person should be hungry on his long Journey; and

and they repeat the same Ceremony at the Year's End.

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A good Number of Presents still remaining, they divide them into several Lots, and play at a Game, call'd of the Stick, to give them to the Winner. That Game is play'd, taking a short Stick, very smooth and greas'd, that it may be the Harder to hold it fast. One of the Elders throws that Stick as far as he can, the young Men run after it, snatch it from each other, and at last, he who remains possess'd of it, has the first Lot. The Stick is then thrown again, he who keeps it then has the second Lot, and so on to the End. The Women, whose Husbands have been slain in War, often perform the same Ceremony, and treat the Singers and Dancers whom they have before invited.

*Game of  
the Stick.*

The Marriages of the *Illinois* last no longer, than the Parties agree together; for they freely part after a Hunting Bout, each going which Way they please, without any Ceremony. However, the Men are jealous enough of their Wives, and when they catch them in a Fault, they generally cut off their Noses, and I saw one who had been so serv'd.

*Marriages*

Nevertheless, Adultery is not reckon'd any great Crime among them, and there are Women who make no Secret of having had to do with *French* Men. Yet are they not sufficiently addicted to that Vice to offer themselves, and they never fall, unless they are sued to, when, they are none of the most difficult in the World to be prevail'd on. The rest I leave to those who have liv'd longer there than I.

*Adultery.*

We

O~~c~~. 1687.

*How the  
Travellers  
liv'd.*

We continu'd some Time in Fort *Lewis*, without receiving any News. Our Business was, after having heard Mass, which we had the good Fortune to do every Day, to divert our selves the best we could. The *Indian* Women daily brought in something fresh, we wanted not for Water Melons, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, bak'd in the Embers, and other such Things, and we rewarded them with little Presents in Return.

*M. Tonty  
comes to  
Fort Le-  
wis.*

On the 27th of *October*, of the same Year, Monsieur *Tonty* return'd from the War with the *Iroquois*. Our Embraces and the Relation of our Adventures were again repeated; but still concealing from him, the Death of Monsieur *de la Sale*. He told us all the Particulars of that War, and said, That the *Iroquois* having got Intelligence of the March of the *French* Forces and their Allies, had all come out of their Villages and laid themselves in Ambush by the Way; but that having made a sudden and general Discharge upon our Men, with their usual Cries, yet without much Harm done, they had been repuls'd with Loss, took their Flight, and by the Way burnt all their own Villages. That Monsieur *d' Hennonville*, chief Governor of *New France*, had caus'd the Army to march, to burn the rest of their Villages, set Fire to their Country and Corn, but would not proceed any farther. That afterwards he had made himself Master of several Canoes belonging to the *English*, most of them laden with Brandy, which had been plunder'd; that the *English* had been sent Prisoners to *Montreal*, they being come to make some Attempt upon the *Illinois*.

*War with  
the Iro-  
quois.*

We

Dec. 1687

We continued after this Manner, till the Month of *December*, when two Men arrived, from *Montreal*. They came to give Notice to Monfr. *Tonty*, that three Canoes, laden with Merchandize, Powder, Ball and other Things, were arriv'd at *Chicagon*, that there being two little Water in the River, and what there was being frozen, they could come down no lower; so that it being requisite to send Men to fetch those Things, Monfr. *Tonty* desir'd the Chief of the *Chabouanous* to furnish him with People. That Chief accordingly provided forty, as well Men as Women, who set out with some *French* Men. The Honesty of the *Chabouanous* was the Reason of preferring them before the *Illinois*, who are naturally Knaves.

That Ammunition and the Merchandize were soon brought, and very seasonably, the Fort being then in Want. We stay'd there till the End of *February*, 1688, at which Time we fix'd our Resolution to depart, tho' we had no News from *Canada*, as we expected. We found there were some Canoes ready to undertake that Voyage, and we laid hold of that Opportunity to convoy each other to the *Micilimaquinay*, where we hop'd to meet some News from *Canada*.

Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, had taken Care, before the Death of M. *de la Sale*, his Brother, to get of him a Letter of Credit, to receive either a Sum of Money or Furs in the Country of the *Illinois*. He tender'd that Letter to M. *Tonty*, who believing M. *de la Sale* was still alive, made no Difficulty of giving him to the Value of about 4000 Livres in Furs, Castors and Otter Skins, a Canoe and other Effects, for which, the said

N

Monfr.



Mar. 1688



Monfr. *Cavelier* gave him his Note, and we prepar'd for our Journey.

I have before observed, that there was a *Jesuit*, whose name was *Dalouez* at Fort *Lewis*, and who had been very much surpriz'd to hear that Monfr. *de la Sale* was to come in a short Time, being under great Apprehensions on Account of a Conspiracy intended to have been carry'd on, against Monfr. *de la Sale's* Interest. That Father perceiving our Departure was fix'd, mov'd first, and went away foremost, to return to *Micilimaquinay*; so that they were left without a Priest at Fort *Lewis*, which was a great Trouble to us, because we were the Occasion of it, and therefore those, who were to remain in the Fort, anticipated the Time, and made their *Easter*, taking the Advantage of the Presence of F. *Anastafius* and M. *Cavelier*.

*The Travel  
continued.*

At length, we set out the 21th of *March*, from Fort *Lewis*. The Sieur *Boisfrondet*, who was desirous to return to *France*, join'd us, we embark'd on the River, which was then become navigable, and before we had advanc'd five Leagues, met with a rapid Stream, which oblig'd us to go Ashore, and then again into the Water, to draw along our Canoe. I had the Misfortune to hurt one of my Feet against a Rock that lay under Water, which troubled me very much for a long Time; and we being under a Necessity of going often into the Water, I suffer'd extreamly, and more than I had done since our Departure from the Gulph of *Mexico*.

We arriv'd at *Chicagon* the 29th of *March*, and our first Care was to go seek what we had conceal'd at our former Voyage, having, as was there said, bury'd our Luggage and Provisions.



Mar. 1688



sions. We found it had been open'd, and some Furs and Linen taken away, almost all which belong'd to me. This had been done by a *French* Man, whom M. *Tonty* had sent from the Fort, during the Winter Season, to know whether there were any Canoes at *Chicagon*, and whom he had directed to see whether any Body had medled with what we had conceal'd, and he made Use of that Advice to rob us.

The bad Weather oblig'd us to stay in that Place, till *April*. That Time of Rest was advantageous for the Healing my Foot; and there being but very little Game in that Place, we had Nothing but our Meal or *Indian* Wheat to feed on; yet we discover'd a Kind of *Manna*, which was a great Help to us. It was a Sort of Trees, resembling our *Maple*, in which we made Incisions, whence flow'd a sweet Liquor, and in it we boil'd our *Indian* Wheat, which made it delicious, sweet and of a very agreeable Relish.

*Sweet Water from a Tree.*

There being no Sugar-Canes in that Country, those Trees supply'd that Liquor, which being boil'd up and evaporated, turn'd into a Kind of Sugar somewhat brownish, but very good. In the Woods we found a Sort of Garlick, not so strong as ours, and small Onions very like ours in Taste, and some Charvel of the same Relish as that we have, but different in the Leaf.

The Weather being somewhat mended, we imbark'd again and enter'd upon the Lake on the 5th of *April*, keeping to the North Side to shun the *Iroquois*. We had some Storms also, and saw swelling Waves like those of the Sea; but arriv'd safe the 15th at a River call'd *Quinetonan*, near a Village whence, the Inhabitants depart during the Winter Season, to go a Hunting, and reside there all the Summer.

*Quinetonan River.*

Apr. 1688



The Sport is not there as in those Countries from whence we came; but on the Contrary, very poor, and we found Nothing but some very lean Wild Goats, and even those very rarely, because the Wolves, which are very numerous there, make great Havock of them, taking and devouring great Numbers after this Manner.

How  
Wolves  
catch Goats

When the Wolves have discover'd a Herd of Wild Goats, they rouse and set them a running. The Wild Goats never fail to take to the first Lake they meet with. The hunting Wolves, who are used to that, guard the Banks carefully, moving along the Edges of them. The poor Goats being pierc'd by the Cold of the Lake, grow weary and so get out, or else the River swelling forces them out with its Waves, quite benumm'd, so that they are easily taken by their Enemies, who devour them. We frequently saw those Wolves watching along the Side of the Lake, and kept off to avoid frightening them, to the End the Wild Goats might quit their Sanctuary, that we might catch some of them, as it sometimes fell out.

Poutoua-  
tanni Na-  
tion.

The 28th, we arriv'd among the *Poutouatanis*, which is half Way to *Micilimaquinay*, where we purchas'd some *Indian* Corn for the rest of our Voyage. We found no News there from *Montreal*, and were forc'd to stay some Time to wait an Opportunity to go down the River. No Man daring to venture, because of the War with the *Iroquois*.

Hurons  
and Outa-  
houacs  
Nations.

There are some *French* Men in that Place, and four *Jesuits*, who have a House well built with Timber, inclosed with Stakes and Palifades. There are also some *Hurons* and

and *Outabouacs*, two Neighbouring Nations, whom those Fathers take Care to instruct, not without very much Trouble, those People being downright Libertines, and there are very often none but a few Women in their Churches. Those Fathers have each of them the Charge of instructing a Nation, and to that Effect have translated the proper Prayers into the Language peculiar to each of them, as also all other Things relating to the Catholick Faith and Religion.

May 1688

They offer'd Father *Anastafius* and Monsieur *Cavelier* a Room, which they accepted of, and we took up our Lodging in a little Hovel some Travellers had made. There we continued the rest of *May* and Part of *June*, till after the Feast of *Whitsontide*. The Natives of the Country about, till the Land and sow *Indian* Corn, Melons and Gourds, but they do not thrive so well as in the Country we came from. However they live on them, and besides they have Fish they catch in the Lake, for Flesh is very scarce among them.

On the 4th of *June*, there arriv'd four Canoes, commanded by Monsieur *de Porneuf*, coming from *Montreal*, and bringing News from the Marques *d' Hennonville*, and Orders to send to the Settlements which were towards the Lake *des Puans* and others higher up, towards the Source of the River *Colbert*, to know the Posture and Condition of Affairs. We prepar'd to be gone with the two Canoes. Monsieur *Cavelier* bought another, to carry our Baggage, and left Part of his Furs with a Merchant, who gave him a Note to receive Money at *Montreal*. I did the same with those few Furs I had, the rest of them having been left at *Micilimaquinay*. We

July 1688

Illinois  
and Hu-  
rons.

We took Leave of the *Jesuits*, and set out in four Canoes, viz. two belonging to Monsieur *de Porneuf*, and two to Monsieur *Cavelier*, one of which had been brought from Fort *Lewis*, and the other bought, as I have just now said, we being twenty nine of us in those four Canoes. We row'd on till the 24th, when Monsieur *de Porneuf* left us to go St. *Mary's* Fall, to carry the Orders given him. The 25th, we got out of the Lake of the *Illinois*, to enter that of the *Hurons*, on the Banks whereof stands the Village, call'd *Tessalon*, where Monsieur *de Porneuf* came again to us, with a Canoe of the Natives, and with him we held on our Way.

French  
River.

We proceeded to *Chebonany* the 30th of *June*, and the 3d of *July*, enter'd the *French* River, where we were forc'd several Times to carry our Canoes to avoid the Falls and the rapid Streams, observing as we went a barren and dry Country, full of Rocks, on which there grew Cedars and Fir Trees, which take Root in the Clefts of those Rocks.

Nipicin-  
gue Lake.

The 5th, we enter'd upon the little Lake of *Nipicingue*, adjoining to a Nation of that Name. We got out of it again and enter'd upon the great River, where, after having pass'd the great Fall, we arriv'd the 13th, at the Point of the Island of *Montreal*. We landed at a Village call'd *la Chine*, which had belong'd to the late Monfr. *de la Sale*. Monfr. *Cavelier* set out the 14th, for *Montreal*, where we came to him the 17th.

Arrival at  
Montreal.

At *Montreal* we found the Marques d' *Hennonville*, Monsieur *de Noroy* the Intendant and other

other Gentlemen, to whom we gave an Account of our long and painful Travels, with the Particulars of what we had seen, which they listened to with Satisfaction, but without mentioning Monsieur *de la Sale's* Death. We told them the Occasion of our going over into *France*, and they approv'd of it, being of Opinion with us, that we ought to hasten our Departure as much as possible.

We made us some Cloaths, whereof we stood in Need. The Sieur *Teissier*, who came along with us, and was of the Reform'd Religion, knowing the Exercise of it was forbid in *France*, abjur'd it in the great Church of *Montreal*.

The 27th, we went aboard a Bark to go down the River to *Quebec*, where we arriv'd the 29th, Father *Anastasi* carry'd us to the Monastery of the Fathers of his Order, seated half a League from the Town, on a little River, where we were most kindly receiv'd by the Father Guardian and the other Religious Men, who express'd much Joy to see us, and we still more for being in a Place of Safety, after so many Perils and Toils, for which we return'd our humble Thanks to Almighty God, our Protector.

We chose rather to take up our Lodging there than in the Town, to avoid the Visits and troublesome Questions every one would be putting to us with much Importunity, which we must have been oblig'd to bear patiently. Monsieur *Cavelier* and his Nephew, whom we had left at *Montreal*, arriv'd some Days after us, and were lodg'd in the Seminary.

Aug. 1688

Arrival at  
Quebec.

Aug. 1688



We stay'd in that Monastery till the 21<sup>st</sup> of *August*, when we embark'd on a large Boat, eighteen Persons of us, to go down the River of *St. Laurence*, a Board a Ship, that was taking in and fishing of Cod. We went a Board it the 30<sup>th</sup> of the same Month, and after hearing Mass, made ready and sail'd for our dear Country, arriv'd safe at *Rockelle* on *Saturday* the 9<sup>th</sup> of *October* 1688, whence, setting out by Land, the 15<sup>th</sup>, the same Providence, which had protected and conducted us, brought us without any Misfortune to *Roan*, the 7<sup>th</sup> of *October*, the same Year.

*The End of the JOURNAL.*

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*The Remainder of the LETTER, written by him who revis'd this JOURNAL, the other Part whereof is at the Beginning of it, this being the Sequel to the said JOURNAL.*

Note,  
That these  
have writ  
of those  
Parts, but  
none of  
this par-  
ticular  
Voyage.

THREE several Authors have given an Account of this Voyage; *First*, Father *le Clerk*, upon the Relations he had from the Fathers *Zenobius* and *Anastsius*, Recolets, as he was himself and both of them Eye-Witnesses: *Secondly*, The Chevalier *Tonty*, who was also a Witness to a considerable Part of those Adventures: And, *Lastly*, Father *Hennepin*, a *Fleming*,



ming, of the same Order of the Recolets, has done it more largely, he seems to be well acquainted with the Country, and had a great Share in those Discoveries; but the Truth of his Relations is much controverted. It was he who went to the Northward, and towards the Source of the *Mississipi*, which he calls *Mechassipi*, and who printed, at *Paris*, an Account of the Country about the River, giving it the Name of *Louisiana*. He ought to have stopp'd there, and not to have gone, as he did, into *Holland*, to set forth another Edition, very much enlarg'd, and perhaps not so true, which he dedicated to *William* the Third, Prince of *Orange*, and afterwards King of *Great Britain*. An Action for a Religious Man no less ridiculous than extravagant, not to give it a worse Name; for after many great and tedious Encomiums given that Protestant Prince, he exhorts and conjures him to turn his Thoughts towards those vast Countries, as yet unknown, to conquer them and send Colonies thither, to make known to those Savage Nations the true God and his Worship, and to preach the Gospel. That good Religious Man, whom many have falsely thought, on Account of that Extravagancy, to have renounc'd his Religion, did not consider what he said, and consequently has scandaliz'd the Catholics, and furnish'd the *Hugonots* with Matter of Laughter; for is it likely, that they being Enemies to the *Roman* Church, would employ Recolets to go preach up *Popery*, as they call it in *Canada*? Or would they introduce any other Religion than their own? Can Father *Hennepin* be excusable in this Point?

In

In fine it appears, by all that has been writ by those several Persons concerning that Enterprize, that the Murder committed on the Person of Monsieur *de la Sale* was the Occasion of its miscarrying; but that which obstructed the making of some Provision in that Case was, the said Murders being conceal'd for the Space of two Years, and that the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* having been inform'd of all the Affair, sent Men, who carry'd off the weak Garrison Monsieur *de la Sale* had left in the Fort built by him, near the Place of his Landing, before he penetrated into the Country, to find out the *Mississipi*. They also entirely raz'd that Fort, so that Seven or Eight Years elaps'd, till Monsieur *de Hiberville*, a Gentleman of *Canada*, and a Person of Capacity and Courage, famous for his notable Exploits in *Hudson's Bay* and other Parts, resolv'd to reassume and revive that Project. He came over into *France* upon that Design, and made an Armament about the Year 1698, set out and sail'd to the Gulf of *Mexico*. Being an able Seaman, he search'd along the Coast so narrowly, that he found the Mouth of that fatal *Mississipi* and built a Fort on it, leaving Men there, with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Provisions, and return'd to *France*, intending to go back with a Reinforcement, as he did, and having penetrated far into the Country, discover'd several Savage Nations, and join'd Friendship and Alliance with them, as also built another Fort, which he left well stor'd with Men and Neecessaries, return'd into *France*; but attempting a third Voyage, he dy'd by the Way, and thus, for want of Relief and

Sup-

*Expt. 8*  
M. de la  
Sale's Fort  
taken by  
the Spani-  
ards.

*Boston*  
M. de Hi-  
berville's  
Expedition  
for the Mis-  
sissipi.

Support, that noble Enterprize miscarry'd again.

But God has now provided for it, and it is the Concern of Heaven, for if *France* is interested on Account of the Temporal Advantages it expects, the Church is so in like Manner, for the Conversion of the *Indians* it hopes will follow. Accordingly, Providence has taken the Affair in Hand, having rais'd the Man, who is the fittest to revive and support so important a Project. This is Monsieur *Crozat*, Secretary to the King, a Man of singular Worth, very Intelligent, Well-meaning, and prodigiously Rich, who without going out of his Closet, has been the Occasion of many notable Voyages by Sea, and all of them successful. To him, his Majesty, by his Letters Patent, bearing Date the 14th of *Septemb.* 1712. has granted the sole Power to trade and settle Colonies in the Countries describ'd in this Journal, and which are known to us by the Name of *Louisiana* and the River *Mississipi*, from hence forward to be call'd the River of *St. Lewis*. The Grant is made to him for 15 Years, under several Conditions mention'd in the said Letters Patent, which have been made publick.

And whereas such a Grant cannot subsist without Blacks, he is also allow'd to send a Ship to *Guinea* to purchase them. They may perhaps find there the famous Black *Aniaga*, Brother to a King of *Guinea*, whom Captain *Delbee* brought over into *France*, above Thirty Years ago. The King was pleas'd to have him Educated, Instructed and Baptiz'd, the *Dauphin* being his Godfather; then put him into his Troop of Musquetiers, and afterwards made him

M. Crozat  
only to  
plant Colo-  
nies and  
Trade in  
Louisiana.

*A Black  
bred in  
France  
turns to his  
Native Cu-  
stoms.*

him a Captain in his own Regiment, where he serv'd Honourably. Being desirous to see his own Country again, where he promis'd to promote the *French* Trade, and the settling of Missioners, his Majesty loaded him with Presents, and order'd a Ship to carry him back to *Guinea*; but as soon as he was there, he no longer remember'd he had been baptiz'd, and turn'd again as perfect a Black, as he had been before. A Friend of mine, who was an Officer aboard a Ship, and hapned to be on that Coast in the Year 1708, had two or three Interviews with that Black, who came aboard him. He was a great Man in that Country, for his Brother was King. He express'd much Gratitude for the Kindness that had been shewn him in *France*, and was extraordinary Courteous, and made great Offers to those aboard the Ship, and to all such of the Nation as would go into *Guinea*.

This Navigation to *Louisiana* will farther procure us a free Refort to the two famous Ports of the Gulf of *Mexico*, viz. The *Havana* and *Veracruz*, where Strangers did not use to be admitted, and which we knew only by their Names and their Situation in our Maps.

*Veracruz  
in New  
Spain.*

The latter of those Towns is the Port of *New Spain*, at the Bottom of the Bay or Gulf, in 18 Degrees of *North* Latitude, Seated in a Sandy Plain, encompass'd with Mountains; beyond which there are Woods and Meadows, well Stock'd with Cattle and wild Fowl. The Air is very Hot, and not Healthy, when any Winds blow, except the *North*, which rises commonly once in Eight or Fifteen Days, and holds for the Space of Twenty Four Hours, blowing

blowing so hard, that there is no going ashore from the Ships, and then the Cold is very piercing. When the Weather is clear there plainly appear, on the Road to *Mexico*, two Mountains rising above the Clouds, and forty Leagues distant, all cover'd with Snow. The Streets of *Veracruz* are streight as a Line; the Houses are handsome and regular; the Fortifications next the Land inconsiderable, but the Front of the Town next the Sea forms a Semicircle, with a little Fort at each End. Directly before that Front, a Quarter of a League out at Sea, there stands, on a Spot of Ground, inaccessible, by Reason of the Breaking of the Sea, a strong Citadel, well built and furnished with all Necessaries, a good Garrison and double Batteries of two hundred Pieces of brass Cannon. Ships cannot anchor any where, but between that Citadel and the Town; besides that, it requires several Precautions, because it is difficult coming to an Anchor.

Most of the Inhabitants are *Mulattoes*, that is of a tawny dark Colour, who live most upon Chocolate and Sweetmeats, extraordinary sober, and eating little Flesh. The Men are haughty, the Women keep retired above Stairs, not to be seen by Strangers, and seldom going abroad, and then in Coaches or Chairs, and those who cannot reach to it, cover'd with fine silk Veils, which reach from the Crown of their Heads to their Feet, leaving only a small Opening on the Right Side, for them to see their Way. In their own Apartments they wear nothing but a Smock and a silk Petticoat, with gold or silver Laces, without any Thing on their Heads,  
and

*Porto Rico*  
- *the original*  
*about 1790*



and their Hair platted with Ribbons, a gold Chain about their Neck, Bracelets of the same and Pendants of Emeralds in their Ears. They could well enough like the Behaviour and Company of the French, but that the jealous Temper of the Men obstructs them. There being a Picture of *Philip* King of *Spain*, now reigning, aboard the Ship in which my Friend was, who gave me this Account, the People swarm'd aboard to see it, they were never satisfy'd with gazing at it, and there was a most magnificent Festival kept in the Town, on Account of the Birth of the Prince of *Asturias*.

They understand Trade very well, but are sloathful and averse to Labour, fond of State and Ease. They wear great Strings of Beads about their Necks, their Houses are full of Pictures and Images of Devotion, decently furnish'd with *Purceline* and *China* Goods. The Churches are magnificently adorned with Plate.

All Strangers are forbid Trading there, yet some come by Stealth and deal Underhand, by Means of Presents made to such Persons as can favour them. If those Mulattoes call themselves white, it is only to honour themselves and by Way of Distinction from their Slaves, who are all Blacks, and having got much Money by their Labour, ransom themselves and sometimes become considerable Merchants.

Mexico  
City.

The City of *Mexico*, Capital of the Country and the Residence of the Vice-roy, is about eighty Leagues distant from *Veracruz*, to the Westward, the Way to it very bad and ill furnish'd with Provisions. That Country would be better in some Parts, were it well cultivated



cultivated by the Inhabitants. They sow but little of our Wheat, and are satisfied with *Indian* Corn and *Cassabi* Root, whereof they make Cakes, as is practis'd in the Islands. Their Trees and Fruits are the same as in other hot Countries. About the Town of *Veracruz*, there are Bushes of a Sort of Thorn, without Leaves, among which grows an extraordinary Plant; for tho' it has but a small Stem, it shoots out Leaves of a Cabbage Green, as thick as a Man's Finger, which grow out, one at the End of another, in the Shape of a Racket, and the Plant itself is so call'd. From those Leaves there grows out a Sort of red Figs, very juicy, with Seeds like those of the Pomgranate; the Juice is of a Violet Colour, but unfavoury. There is a Sort of Flies that cleave to it and are so fond of the Taste of the Fruit, that they burst and drop down dead. They are carefully gather'd and dry'd, and are the Scarlet Dye, call'd *Cochinilla*, which is brought into *Europe*, and makes that beautiful Colour. The Birds and Beasts are much the same as in other Countries of *America*. There is a Sort of Bird, all red, which for that Reason is call'd the *Cardinal*; this they often tame and teach to sing like a *Canary* Bird. This is what I have been told concerning the Town of *Veracruz*.

As for the *Havana*, a Town and Port no less famous, in the Island of *Cuba*, belonging as well as the other to the Crown of *Spain*, it stands towards the Western End, and on the North Side of that Island, almost under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and about four or five hundred Leagues on this Side of *Veracruz*. It is large and beautiful

Havana.

ful; the Port good, secur'd by two Forts on the two Sides, and Brafs Guns, from twenty four to thirty six Pounders, the Entrance so narrow, that only one Vessel can go in at once. The Town is encompass'd by a good Wall, fortify'd with five Bastions, furnish'd with Cannon. The Streets are all as strait as a Line, and level, the Houses very handsome, but ill furnish'd. In the Midst of it is a fine Square, the Buildings about all uniform. The Churches are magnificent, and enrich'd with Gold and Silver, Lamps, Candlesticks, and Ornaments for the Altars. There are some Lamps curiously wrought, which weigh two hundred Marks of Silver, each Mark being half a Pound. The Revenue of the Bishoprick amounts to fifty thousand Crowns, and he who enjoy'd it in the Year 1703, as I was inform'd by my Friend, who gave me this Account of what he had seen, was the greatest Ornament of that City, for his Virtues and Charity, being satisfy'd with Necessaries, and spending all the rest upon the Poor, and in repairing decay'd Churches. Tho' Strangers are prohibited to trade there, yet it is easier carried on than at *Veracruz*. The Inhabitants are more familiar; the Women have more Liberty, yet they do not go Abroad without their Veils to wrap and hide them. Many of them speak *French*, and dress after the *French* Fashion, and some of our Nation have settled themselves there. When my Friend was there, a magnificent Festival was celebrated for fifteen Days successively, in Honour of K. *Philip* the Fifth, and Monsieur *du Casse* being then there, with his Squadron, the City desir'd him to join with them. To that Purpose, he set  
ashore

ashore five hundred Men, who perform'd the Martial Exercise in the great Square, which was much admir'd. The *Havana* is the Place, where the Galeons meet. Provisions are dear there, especially Bread; but the Wine is not, tho' it is good. Fish and Flesh there, are unfavorable. The Inhabitants are *Spaniards*.

We have thought fit to describe those two famous Ports of the Bay of *Mexico*, as well because it has not been so exactly done before, as in Regard that the Settlement which is going to be made in *Louisiana*, may have some Dependence on them; for the *Havana* lying in the Way, those who perform the Voyage may have the Conveniency of taking in Refreshments there, of putting in for Shelter in foul Weather, and of careening or refitting. As for the *Veracruz*, tho' farther out of the Way, the Correspondence there may be advantageous for the Securing of the Colony of *Louisiana*.

But how can that fail of succeeding, under the Conduct of Monsieur *Crozat*, who has the Charge of that Enterprize, and whom Providence seems to have in a Manner engag'd to advance in Wealth and Honour, to the Amusement of the World, and yet free from Envy, from Jealousy, and from any Sort of Complaints. There is therefore no Reason to presage otherwise than well of the Event of this Affair; the Blessings God has pour'd down upon all his former Undertakings, seem to be a Security for what is to follow. There is Reason to hope for still greater Blessings on this Project of a Settlement in *Louisiana*, as being equally advantageous to Religion and the State; for the propagating of the Knowledge and Service of God

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among

among an infinite Number of Savages, by Means of the Missioners, who are to be sent to and maintain'd in those vast Countries; the Planting of the Faith in that new World, only the Name whereof is known to us, and the Reducing of it to be a Christian and a *French* Province, under the Dominion of our August Monarch, and to the eternal Memory of his Reign, will be the Consequences and the Fruits of Monsieur *Crozat's* Care and Expence, the Glory of his Enterprize, the Security of the large Fortune he has made in this Life, and what is rare among such rich Men, the Earnest of much better in the Next. Heaven grant our Hopes and Wishes may be answer'd.

*I am, &c.*

*The Letters Patent granted by the King of France to M. Crozat.*

**L** OUIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarre*: To all who shall see these present Letters, Greeting. The Care we have always had to procure the Welfare and Advantage of our Subjects having induced us, notwithstanding the almost continual Wars which we have been obliged to support from the Beginning of our Reign, to seek for all possible Opportunities of enlarging and extending the Trade of our American Colonies, *We did in the Year 1683 give our orders*  
to

*to undertake a Discovery of the Countries and Lands which are situated in the Northern Part of America, between New France and New Mexico: And the Sieur de la Sale, to whom we committed that Enterprize, having had Success enough to confirm a Belief that a Communication might be settled from New France to the Gulph of Mexico by Means of large Rivers; This obliged us immediately after the Peace of Ryswick to give Orders for the establishing a Colony there, and maintaining a Garrison which has kept and preserved the Possession, we had taken in the very Year 1683 of the Lands, Coasts and Islands which are situated in the Gulph of Mexico, between Carolina on the East, and Old and New Mexico on the West. But a new War having broke out in Europe shortly after, there was no Possibility, till now, of reaping from that new Colony the Advantages that might have been expected from thence, because the private Men, who are concerned in the Sea Trade, were all under Engagements with other Colonies, which they have been obliged to follow: And whereas upon the Information we have received concerning the Disposition and Situation of the said Countries known at present by the Name of the Province of Louisiana, we are of Opinion that there may be established therein a considerable Commerce, so much the more advantageous to our Kingdom in that there has hitherto been a Necessity of fetching from Foreigners the greatest Part of the Commodities which may be brought from thence, and because in Exchange thereof we need carry thither nothing but Commodities of the Growth and Manufacture of our own Kingdom; we have resolv-*

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ed to grant the Commerce of the Country of *Louisiana* to the *Sieur Anthony Crozat* our Counsellor, Secretary of the Household, Crown and Revenue, to whom we entrust the Execution of this Project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, because his Zeal and the singular Knowledge he has acquired in maritime Commerce, encourage us to hope for as good Success as he has hitherto had in the divers and fundry Enterprizes he has gone upon, and which have procured to our Kingdom great Quantities of Gold and Silver in such Conjunctions as have rendred them very welcome to us.

FOR THESE REASONS being desirous to shew our Favour to him, and to regulate the Conditions upon which we mean to grant him the said Commerce, after having deliberated this Affair in our Council, Of our certain Knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, We by these Presents, signed by our Hand, have appointed and do appoint the said *Sieur Crozat* solely to carry on a Trade in all the Lands possessed by Us, and bounded by New Mexico, and by the Lands of the English of Carolina, all the Establishment, Ports, Havens, Rivers, and principally the Port and Haven of the Isle Dauphine, heretofore called Massacre; the River of St. Lewis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the Edge of the Sea as far as the Illinois; together with the River of St. Philip, heretofore called the Missourys, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ovabache, with all the Countries, Territories, Lakes within Land, and the Rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that Part of the River of St. Lewis.

T H E



## The ARTICLES.

I. Our Pleasure is, that all the aforesaid Lands, Countries Streams, Rivers and Islands be and remain comprised under the Name of *The Government of Louisiana, which shall be dependant upon the General Government of New France*, to which it is subordinate; and further, that all the Lands which we possess from the *Illinois* be united, so far as Occasion requires, to the General Government of *New France*, and become Part thereof, reserving however to Ourselves the Liberty of enlarging as We shall think fit the Extent of the Government of the said Country of *Louisiana*.

II. We grant to the said *Sieur Crozat* for Fifteen successive Years, to be reckon'd from the Day of Inrolling these presents, a Right and Power to transport all Sorts of Goods and Merchandize from *France* into the said Country of *Louisiana*, and to traffick thither as he shall think fit. We forbid all and every Person and Persons, Company and Companies of what Quality or Condition soever, and under any Pretence whatever, to trade thither, under Penalty of Confiscation of Goods, Ships, and other more severe Punishments, as Occasion shall require; for this Purpose we order our Governours and other Officers commanding our Troops in the said Country forcibly to abet, aid and assist the Directors and Agents of the said *Sieur Crozat*.

III. We permit him to search for, open and dig all Sorts of Mines, Veins and Minerals throughout the whole Extent of the said Country of *Louisiana*, and to transport the Profits thereof into any Port of *France* during the said

Fifteen Years; and we grant in Perpetuity to him, his Heirs, and others claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to the Mines, Veins and Minerals which he fhall bring to bear, paying us, in Lieu of all Claim, the Fifth Part of the Gold and Silver which the faid *Sieur Crozat* fhall caufe to be transported to *France* at his own Charges into what Port he pleafes, (of which Fifth we will run the Rifque of the Sea and of War,) and the Tenth Part of what Effects he fhall draw from the other Mines, Veins and Minerals, which Tenth he fhall transfer and convey to our Magazines in the faid Country of *Louifiana*.

We likewife permit him to fearch for precious Stones and Pearls, paying us the Fifth Part in the fame Manner as is mention'd for the Gold and Silver.

We will that the faid *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs, or thofe claiming under him or them the perpetual Right, fhall forfeit the Propriety of the faid Mines, Veins and Minerals, if they difcontinue the Work during three Years, and that in fuch Cafe the faid Mines, Veins and Minerals fhall be fully reunited to our Domaine, by Virtue of this prefent Article, without the Formality of any Procefs of Law, but only an Ordinance of Re-union from the Subdelegate of the Intendant of *New France*, who fhall be in the faid Country, nor do we mean that the faid Penalty of Forfeiture in Default of working for three Years, be reputed a Commnatory Penalty.

IV. The faid *Sieur Crozat* may vend all fuch Merchandize, Goods, Wares, Commodities, Arms, and Ammunition as he fhall have caufed  
to

to be transported into the said Country and Government of *Louisiana*, as well to the *French*, as *Savages* who are or shall be there settled; nor shall any Person or Persons under any Pretence whatsoever be capable of doing the like without his Leave expressed in Writing.

V. He may purchase in the said Country, all Sorts of Furs, Skins, Leather, Wool, and other Commodities and Effects of the said Country, and transport them to *France* during the said Fifteen Years: And as our Intention is to favour, as much as we can, our Inhabitants of *New France*, and to hinder the Lessening of their Trade, we forbid him Trafficking for Castor in the said Country under any Pretence whatsoever; nor to Convey any from thence into our Kingdom or Foreign Countries.

VI. We Grant to the *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs or those claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to all Settlements and Manufactories which he shall erect or set up in the said Country for Silk, Indigo, Wooll, Leather, Mines, Veins and Minerals, as likewise the Property of, in and to the Lands which he shall cause to be Cultivated, with the Mansions, Mills, and Structures which he shall cause to be built thereon, taking Grants thereof from Us, which Grants he shall obtain upon the Verbal Process and Opinion of our Governor and of the Sub-delegate of the Intendant of *New France* in the said Country, to be by him Reported unto Us.

We will that the said *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs, or those claiming under him or them, shall keep in Repair the said Settlements, Manufactures, Lands and Mills; and in Default thereof during the Space of three Years, he and they shall

*Beaver*

Forfeit the same, and the said Settlements, Manufactories, Lands and Mills shall be Re-united to our Domaine fully and amply, and in the same Manner as is mentioned above in the Third Article concerning the Mines, Veins and Minerals.

VII. Our Edicts, Ordinances and Customs, and the Usages of the Mayoralty and Shreevalty of *Paris*, shall be observed for Laws and Customs in the said Country of *Louisiana*.

VIII. The said *Sieur Crozat* shall be oblig'd to send to the said Country of *Louisiana* Two Ships every Year, which he shall cause to set out in the proper Season, in each of which Ships he shall cause to be imbark'd, without paying any Freight, 25 Tun of Victuals, Effects and necessary Ammunition, for the Maintenance of the Garrison and Forts of the *Louisiana*; and in Case we should cause to be laden above the said 25 Tun in each Ship, we consent to pay the Freight to the said *Sieur Crozat*, at the common Merchantile Rates.

He shall be oblig'd to convey our Officers of *Louisiana* in the Ships which he shall send thither, and to furnish them with Subsistence and a Captain's Table for 30 Sols per Day, which we will cause to be paid for each.

He shall likewise give Passage in the said Ships, to the Soldiers, which we shall please to send to the said Country; and we will cause the necessary Provisions for their Subsistence to be furnish'd to him, or will pay him for them at the same Price as is paid to the Purveyor-General of our Marine.

He shall be furthermore oblig'd to send on Board each Ship, which he shall cause to set out for

for the said Country, Ten young Men or Women, at his own Election.

IX. We will cause to be deliver'd out of our Magazines to the said *Sieur Crozat*, 10000 Weight of Gunpowder every Year, which he shall pay us for at the Price that it shall cost us, and this for so long Time as the present Privilege shall last.

X. The Wares and Merchandize which the said *Sieur Crozat* shall consign to the said Country of *Louisiana* shall be exempt from all Duties of Exportation, laid or to be laid, on Condition, that his Directors, Deputies or Clerks, shall engage to give within the Space of a Year, to be reckon'd from the Date thereof, a Certificate of their Unlading in the said Country of *Louisiana*; under Penalty, in Case of Contravention, to pay the Quadruple of the Duties, reserving to our selves the Power of giving him a longer Respite in such Cases and Occurrences as we shall think proper.

XI. And as for the Goods and Merchandize, which the *Sieur Crozat* shall cause to be brought from the said Country of *Louisiana*, and upon his Account, into the Ports of our Kingdom, and shall afterwards cause to be transported into Foreign Countries, they shall pay no Duties either of Importation or Exportation, and shall be deposited in the Custom-House, Warehouses of Ports where they shall arrive, until they be taken away; and when the Deputies and Clerks of the said *Sieur Crozat* shall be minded to cause them to be transported in Foreign Countries, either by Sea or Land, they shall be oblig'd to give Security to bring within a certain Time, a Certificate from the  
last

last Office, containing what they Exported there, and another Certificate of their unlading in Foreign Countries.

XII. In Case the said *Sieur Crozat* be obliged, for the furtherance of his Commerce to fetch from Foreign Countries some Goods and Merchandize of Foreign Manufacture, in order to TRANSPORT them into the said Country of *Louisiana*. He shall make Us Acquainted therewith, and lay before Us States thereof; upon which we, if we think fit, will Grant him our Particular Permission with Exemptions from all Duties of Importation and Exportation, Provided the said Goods and Merchandize be Deposited afterwards in our Custom-house Ware-houses until they be Laden in the Ships of the said *Sieur Crozat*, who shall be obliged to bring in one Year, to be reckoned from the Day of the Date hereof, a Certificate of their unlading in the said Country of *Louisiana*, under Penalty, in Case of Contravention, to pay quadruple the Duties: Reserving to our selves, in like Manner, the Liberty of granting to the said *Sieur Crozat*, a longer Respite, if it be necessary.

XIII. The Feluccaes, Canoes, and other Vessels belonging to us, and which are in the said Country of *Louisiana*, shall serve for loading, unloading and transporting the Effects of the said *Sieur Crozat*, who shall be bound to keep them in good Condition, and after the Expiration of the said Fifteen Years shall restore them, or a like Number of equal Bulk and Goodness, to our Governor in the said Country.

XIV. If for the Cultures and Plantations which the said *Sieur Crozat* is minded to make  
he



he finds it proper to have Blacks in the said Country of the *Louisiana*, he may send a Ship every Year to trade for them directly upon the Coast of *Guinea*, taking Permission from the *Guinea* Company so to do, he may sell those Blacks, to the Inhabitants of the Colony of *Louisiana*; and we forbid all other Companies and Persons whatsoever, under any Pretence whatsoever, to introduce Blacks or Traffick for them in the said Country, nor shall the said *Sieur Crozat* carry any Blacks else where.

XV. He shall not send any Ships into the said Country of *Louisiana* but directly from *France*, and he shall Cause the said Ships to Return thither again; the whole under Pain of Confiscation and Forfeiture of the Present Priviledge.

XVI. THE said *Sieur Crozat* shall be obliged, after the Expiration of the first nine Years of this Grant, to Pay the Officers and the Garrison which shall be in the said Country During the Six last Years of the Continuance of this Present Priviledge: The said *Sieur Crozat* may in that Time propose and nominate the Officers, as Vacancies shall fall, and such Officers, shall be Confirmed by us, if we approve of them.

Given at *FONTAINBLEAU* the Fourteenth Day of September in the Year of Grace 1712. And of Our Reign the 70th.

SIGNED *LOUIS*

By the KING

*PHELIPEAUX, &c.*

Register'd at *PARIS* in the Parliament, the Four and Twentieth of September, 1712.

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# F I N I S.



## TEXTUAL NOTES.

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In the following notes references are made to page and line of the Text; the line referred to being in every case the one upon which the first words of the quotation appear. After the words of the English text are placed those of the original French; then, if necessary, a correct translation; finally, in brackets, any explanations that may seem necessary.

The collation of the original is as follows:

JOURNAL HISTORIQUE DU DERNIER VOYAGE  
que feu M. de la Sale fit dans le Golfe de Mexique,  
pour trouver l'embouchure, & le cours de la Riviere  
de *Missicipi*, nommée à present la Riviere de Saint  
Loüis, qui traverse la LOUISANE.

*Où l'on voit l'Histoire tragique de sa mort, & plu-  
sieurs choses curieuses du nouveau monde. Par Mon-  
sieur JOUTEL, l'un des Compagnons de ce Voyage,  
redigé & mis en ordre par Monsieur DE MICHEL.*

A PARIS,

Chez ESTIENNE ROBINOT, Libraire, Quay & attenant  
la Porte des Grands Augustins, à l'Ange Gardien.

MDCCXIII.

*Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roy.*

LE LIBRAIRE AU LECTEUR [running headline: AVIS  
AU LECTEUR] pp. iii. to xxxi.

*Approbation*, p. xxxi.

*Privilege du Roy*, pp. xxxii. to xxxiv.

*Fautes a Corriger avant que de lire*, p. xxxiv.

Map, facing p. 1.

PREFACE *Du Sieur de Michel, qui a mis en ordre ce Journal*, pp. 1 to 10.

JOURNAL HISTORIQUE,

*Du dernier Voyage que feu M. de la Sale a fait dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, pour la decouverte de la Riviere de Missicipi*, pp. 11 to 362.

*Reste de la Lettre de celui qui a revû a Journal, & qui en fait la suite*, pp. 363 to 381.

TABLE De ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable en ce Journal, pp. 382 to 386.

#### THE *French* BOOKSELLER TO THE READER.

N. B.—None of the marginal notes of this Introduction are in the original, save the very last.

Page iv, line 5. "Snapsack." *French*, "paquet" [cf. p. 60, l. 25.]

P. v. l. 13. "There are Vines which want but little Improvement." *Fr.* "On y trouve de la vigne a qui il ne manque qu'un peu de culture;"—but a little cultivation.

l. 17. "Alligators, but . . . ." *Fr.* "crocodiles, prodigieux lizards d'eau; mais . . ."—enormous water lizards [omitted].

l. 21. "hurt." *Fr.* "hurte"—strike.

P. vi. l. 16. "a Pot or Kettle." *Fr.* "chaudiere."

l. 20. "do not value Wealth." *Fr.* "ne faire cas d' aucune sorte de richesse;"—value no kind of wealth.

P. vii. l. 20. "the Mysteries of Christian Religion." *Fr.* "nos Mysteres"—our Mysteries.

P. viii. l. 16. "and we look upon those Savages as Men, who . . . ." *Fr.* "Et peut-on croire aussi qu'un Sauvage le soit [*scil.* un homme],

quand on le voit sans Loy, sans Roy, & ce qui est le plus déplorable, sans Dieu.”—And can one deem a savage such [*i. e.* a man], when he is seen to be without law, without a king, and, most deplorable of all, without a God?

P. x. l. 8. “civiliz’d.” *Fr.* “humanisez;”—humanized.

P. xi. l. 14. “O the depth of the Riches . . . . Ways past finding out!” [Though the translator habitually cuts across many phrases and clauses of the original, he here piously inserts the entire Scriptural quotation, which the French writer merely suggests by the words “*ô Altitudo.*”]

P. xi. l. 23. “This all Christians are oblig’d incessantly to pray for.” *Fr.* “Tout Catholique l’en doit prier avec instance;”—For this every Catholic is in duty bound to pray urgently.

P. xiii. l. 12. “ascertain those Mistakes.” *Fr.* “perfectionner ces ébauches.”—Perfect those sketches [*i. e.* maps, etc.].

l. 19. “let us applaud their Actions when we read them, and let us commend their Relations.”—*Fr.* “applaudissons à leurs entreprises en lisant & louant leurs Relations”—let us applaud their undertakings by reading and praising their narratives.

P. xiv. l. 14. “such as are not us’d to read many Travels.” *Fr.* “ceux qui n’ont pas la pratique des grands voyages.”—Such as have not considerable experience in traveling.

P. xv. l. 5. “*Roan.*” *Fr.* “Roüen” [so throughout the book].

P. xvi. l. 4. “Wood-Men.” *Fr.* “Coureurs de bois.”

P. xvii. ll. 3 and 11. “well enough learn’d” “well enough vers’d.” *Fr.* “assez lettré,” “assez bien versé.” [The translator of the phrase is, indeed,

"well enough," and is quoted here only because it suggests the remark that, later on, the French adverb *assez* is frequently rendered by such words as *indifferent, extraordinary*.]

- P. xxi. l. 8. "sixty Leagues." *Fr.* "plus de six cens lieuës vers sa source"—more than six hundred leagues toward its source. [This is perhaps the most considerable of the translator's slips, though there are many minor errors in the transference of figures.]
- P. 1. Title of unpaged preface. "Mitchel." *Fr.* "Michel."
- P. 2, l. 2. "the remaining Part of the World." *Fr.* "les restes du nouveau Monde."—The rest of the New World. Of course, the "Advertisement, to the *British Gentry*," at the end of this Preface, is not in the original.

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- P. 2, l. 9. "the one Brother, the other Nephew to . . . ." *Fr.* "l'un frere & les autres neveux de . . . ."—the one a brother of M. de La Salle, the others his nephews. [There were two nephews, both apparently named Cavelier,—the name of La Salle's family; although, except in this passage and one or two others, the elder nephew is called *M. Moranget*. Cf. p. 41, l. 11; p. 68, l. 11; and p. 131, l. 13.]
- P. 3, l. 11. "thirty tuns of Ammunition, and some Commodities design'd for *Santo Domingo*." *Fr.* "30 tonneaux de Munitions ou Marchandises, qui estoit fretée pour S. Domingue"—thirty casks of munitions or commodities, which were intended for Santo Domingo.
- P. 4, l. 20. "eight or ten Days." *Fr.* "sept ou huit jours"—seven or eight days.

- P. 5, l. 4. "laid the foundation of . . . ." *Fr.* "furent les secrettes semences, qui . . . ."—were the hidden seeds, which . . . . [The original figure is much more appropriate than that substituted by the translator.]
- P. 5, l. 25. "44 Minutes." *Fr.* "45 minutes."
- P. 6, l. 16. [The parenthesis in italics is not in the original.]
- P. 6, l. 34. "Dainmaville, the Priest, . . . ." *Fr.* "Dainmaville Prestre Missionaire . . ."—the missionary priest.
- P. 7, l. 2. "The 21st, . . . ." *Fr.* "Le 12"—the twelfth.
- P. 7, l. 19. "above five Persons sick . . . ." *Fr.* "plus de 50 malades . . . ."—more than fifty sick people.  
     l. 21. "the Surgeon." *Fr.* "les chirurgiens"—the surgeons.  
     l. 22. "the first Port." *Fr.* "premier Port François"—first French port.
- P. 8, l. 6. "the 26th of the said Month." *Fr.* "le 16 du dit mois." [Here the translator rightly corrects the original.]
- P. 9, l. 13. "Aboard the Ships." *Fr.* "dans le vaisseau"—on the ship.
- P. 9, l. 17. "the pretended Reform'd Religion." *Fr.* "la Religion P. R." [Where did the translator get the key to those letters?]
- P. 11, l. 4. "Zenobrius." *Fr.* "Zenobe"—Zenobius.  
     l. 13. *Fr.* "au matin"—in the morning [omitted].
- P. 13, l. 14. "being the 13th" [correcting the *Fr.*, which reads "12"—the 12th].
- P. 15, l. 26. "it grew very cloudy." *Fr.* "il s'éleva un gros nuage au nord"—there arose a great cloud to the northward,

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- P. 16, l. 24. "26 Degrees." *Fr.* "le 28<sup>e</sup> degré"—the 28th degree.
- P. 18, l. 2. "and the foremost." *Fr.* "& qui estoient devant nous,"—and who were ahead of us.
- P. 20, l. 23. "25 Degrees." *Fr.* "28<sup>e</sup> degré"—the 28th degree.
- P. 21, l. 10. "our Boats." *Fr.* "nôtre chaloupe"—our boat.
- P. 23, l. 16. "in fourteen Foot Water." *Fr.* "à quatre piez d'eau:"—in four feet of water.
- P. 24, l. 10. "tendred" [misprint for tended.]
- P. 25, l. 21. "as soon as soon" [*sic*].
- l. 35. "Part of the Men were put into a Boat." *Fr.* "une partie s'embarqua"—a party embarked.
- P. 26, l. 31. "same same" [*sic*].
- P. 28, l. 24. "Rivulets." *Fr.* "marres"—ponds [cf. next note.]
- P. 29, l. 33. "Sloughs." *Fr.* "marres" [correct, but see preceding note].
- P. 31, l. 34. "little Boat." *Fr.* "canot" [explained in a marginal note as follows: "*Canot, est un petit batteau fait de bois, ou d'écorces, ou de peau*"—Canoe, is a little boat made of wood, or bark, or hide.]
- P. 36, l. 3. "Commander in Chief." *Fr.* "Chef."
- l. 7. "deform'd." *Fr.* "laides"—ugly.
- P. 38, l. 22. "several Sentinels." *Fr.* "quatre sentinelles"—four sentinels.
- P. 39, l. 15. "Village next the Fire." *Fr.* "village prochain du lieu"—near the place.
- P. 41, l. 11. "Messieurs *Moranget*, his Nephew, *Desloges*," etc. *Fr.* "Messieurs *Moranget* son neveu, *Desloges*," etc. [Cf. note to p. 2, l. 9.]
- P. 43, l. 13. "together with the Concern, most of the best Persons who had followed *M. de la Sale*



were under." *Fr.* "jointes au dégoût que la perte de nôtre navire avoit causé parmi la plupart des honnestes gens qui avoient suivi M. de La Sale," —together with the anxiety which the loss of our ship had occasioned among most of the people of respectability who had followed M. de La Salle.

P. 46, l. 3. "two or three." *Fr.* "trois ou quatre" —three or four.

l. 13. "design'd to erect a Fort farther up the River." *Fr.* "vouloit faire un Fort plus avant dans le pays;"—designed to establish a fortified post farther inland.

P. 47, l. 2. "Men in that Vessel, who . . . ." *Fr.* "vaisseau, qui,"—ship, which . . .

l. 20. "Marsh." [here there should be a semicolon, as in the *Fr.*]

P. 48, l. 2. [The following sentence is awkward enough, but it gives the sense intelligibly.]

P. 54, l. 5. Le Belle [misprint for La Belle].

P. 55, l. 1. "These Bullocks . . . curl'd Sort of Wool." [In the original this sentence has the form of a marginal note.]

P. 58, l. 12. "a Girl & a Woman, who was shot thro' the Thigh, of which she dy'd." *Fr.* "une fille, une femme blessée à la cuisse d' un coup de fusil, dont elle mourut."—a girl, a woman wounded in the thigh by a gun-shot, who died of the wound. [It is doubtful whether the *girl* and the *woman* were not one and the same person.]

P. 59, last line. "but exerting himself against his Misfortunes." *Fr.* "il seroit dit contre ses malheurs," [The original is here simply meaningless. The sense intended is probably that expressed by the translation.]

P. 60, l. 25. "Snapsack." *Fr.* "paquet." [Cf. p. iv. l. 5.]

P. 62, l. 11. "To the Northward, was the River running along by a little Hill." *Fr.* "On voyoit du côté du midy, & vers l' Orient, la Baye, & les campagnes qui la bordent, de l' Orient au Septentrion, la Riviere se presentoit le long d' un petit costan,"—To the southward and eastward stretched the Bay and the fields which border it, from the east to the north, the river appeared along a gentle slope,—[The phrase, "from the east to the north" squints both ways; the reader must determine the meaning. Perhaps, in the editor's translation, the comma after the words "border it" should be removed, so as to make the phrase "from the east to the north" qualify the verb "border." Although the editor's studies have not qualified him to express an authoritative opinion upon this point of historical geography, he hazards the guess that this river is one of those flowing into Galveston Bay.]

P. 66, l. 8. "Colours, whereof many . . . ." [The ascription of an agreeable odor to the colors is found in the original. Perhaps the *Fr.* "couleurs" is a misprint for "fleurs."]

P. 67, l. 20. "as I & my Men did, . . . ." *Fr.* "& Duhaut ayant dit ses raisons, & moy les miennes, . . . ."—and Duhaut having given his reasons, and I mine, . . .

P. 68, l. 16. "Nails." *Fr.* "alesnes"—awls.

P. 68, (foot) "little Monsieur *Cavelier*, . . . ." [Cf. p. 2, l. 9.]

P. 71, l. 8. "Pedreroes." *Fr.* "pierriers"—swivel-guns.

P. 78, l. 9. "*l' Arcleveque*" [misprint for "*l' Archevêque*," the name of one of the men.]

l. 11. (end of sentence) "&c." [not in original.]

P. 81, l. 30. "curious Meadows." *Fr.* "belles prairies" [an interesting use of the word *curious*, for *fine* or *beautiful*.]

l. 31. "Woods of tall Trees." *Fr.* "belles fûtayes."

l. 34. "curious shady Groves." *Fr.* "beaux ombrages." [Cf. the two notes immediately preceding.]

P. 82, l. 10. "the same Sort of Pasture Grounds." *Fr.* "les mêmes païsages" [in l. 2 the same word is correctly translated "Landskip"].

l. 24. "Dome or round Top." *Fr.* "dôme."

P. 85, l. 18. "16th" [should be 26th. as in *Fr.*].

l. 29. "next Day being the 28th." *Fr.* "le lendemain 27." [The original appears to be wrong, and the correction extends to the three following dates.]

P. 87, l. 8. "Knots." *Fr.* "bretelles"—carriers' or porters' knots.

P. 89, l. 1. "fine curious Country." *Fr.* "fort beau païsage."

l. 3. ["pleasant" also stands for "beau."

Cf. p. 81, ll. 30 to 34.]

|                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| P. 90. <i>Kiahoba,</i> | <i>Fr. Kiaboha</i>      |
| <i>Choumenes,</i>      | " <i>Chaumenés</i>      |
| <i>Arhan,</i>          | " <i>Arhau</i>          |
| <i>Enepiahe,</i>       | " <i>Enepiahe</i>       |
| <i>Ahonerhopiheim,</i> | " <i>Ahouerhopiheim</i> |
| <i>Korenkake,</i>      | " <i>Koienkahé</i>      |
| <i>Korkone,</i>        | " <i>Konkone</i>        |
| <i>Maghai,</i>         | " <i>Meghai</i>         |
| <i>Thecamenes,</i>     | " <i>Tecamenes</i>      |
| <i>Kavagan,</i>        | " <i>Kavayan</i>        |
| <i>Kannehonan,</i>     | " <i>Kannehoüan</i>     |
| <i>Tohaka,</i>         | " <i>Tohaha</i>         |
| <i>Chanzes,</i>        | " <i>Chancres</i>       |

|                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Orcampion,</i>  | <i>Fr. Orcampiou</i> |
| <i>Ayona,</i>      | " <i>Ayano</i>       |
| <i>Canohatino,</i> | " <i>Canohatinno</i> |

- [The curious may compare the notes to p. 107, l. 34, and to pp. 114, 115.]
- P. 91, l. 16. "curious Plain." *Fr.* "belle campagne."  
[Cf. p. 81, ll. 30 to 34, and p. 89, l. 1.]
- P. 93, l. 6. "forty ancient Indians." *Fr.* "quarante anciens Sauvages"—forty old Indians.  
[Later the translator uses the proper word, "Elders."]
- P. 94, l. 13. *Fr.* "& à faire de la chaux;"—and to make lime [omitted].
- P. 97, l. 13. "Male." *Fr.* "Marle" [proper name].  
l. 31. "Heins." *Fr.* "Hiens" [proper name].
- P. 100, l. 15. "at a 'Time when he might entertain the greatest Hopes, as the Reward of his Labours." *Fr.* "dans le temps qu'il y avait tout à esperer de ses grands travaux"—at a time when there was the greatest hope of the success of his enterprise.
- P. 102, l. 14. "Dehaut" [misprint for "Duhaut"].
- P. 103, l. 8. "drown'n" [misprint for "drown'd"].  
l. 30. "Lime Trees." *Fr.* "Tilleul"—linden.
- P. 104, l. 8. "the Tessieers." *Fr.* "Teissiers" [proper name].
- P. 106, l. 27. "in their Formalities, which consisted in . . ." *Fr.* "& les anciens, qui venoient en ceremonie audevant de nous avec tous leurs ajustemens, qui consistoient en . . ."—and the elders, who came in ceremony to meet us in all their trappings, which consisted in . . .
- P. 107, l. 1. "only their Bows & Arrows." *Fr.* "d'autre leurs arcs & deux flèches seulement,"—

others their bows & two arrows only [d'autre " is a misprint for "d'autres"].

l. 17 (end of paragraph). *Fr.* "Il nous fit bien des caresses, il estoit tout nud, comme eux, & ce qu' est surprenant, il avoit presque oublié son langage naturel."—He gave us many caresses: he was, like them, quite naked; and, what is remarkable, he had almost forgotten his native tongue. [All this is omitted in the translation.]

l. 32. "discouse." *Fr.* "dessein"—design.

l. 34. "*Cannokantimo.*" *Fr.* "*Cannohantimo.*" [Cf. note to p. 90, last name in list.]

P. 108, l. 13. stragling up and down, . . . *Fr.* "par halneaux." Probably a misprint for "hameaux,"—hamlets.

l. 15. "At other Distances." *Fr.* "d'espace en espace"—at intervals.

P. 109, l. 2. "from the Dome"—form the dome [misprint].

l. 3. "lash"—lath [misprint].

l. 12. "Sagamise." *Fr.* "sagamité." [Everywhere else translated "Sagamite."]

l. 18. "well cur'd, which serve them for Feather Beds, or Quilts and Blankets." *Fr.* "passées avec le poil, qui servent de matelats & de couvertures,"—cured with the hair on, to serve as mattresses and bedclothes.

P. 111, l. 1. "all the Work." *Fr.* "presque tout le travail"—almost all the work.

P. 114, l. 17. "a whole Province, or vast Extent of Land. *Fr.* "une Province entiere"—a whole province.

l. 20. "of twenty or thirty Leagues." *Fr.* "de quinze, de vingt, ou de trente lieües"—of fifteen, of twenty, or of thirty leagues.

|                               |                         |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| PP. 114, 115. <i>Takensa,</i> | <i>Fr. Tahenssa</i>     |
| <i>Enepiahe,</i>              | " <i>Enepiahe</i>       |
| <i>Ahonerhopiheim,</i>        | " <i>Ahouerhopiheim</i> |
| <i>Ahekouen,</i>              | " <i>Ahehoüen</i>       |
| <i>Meghty,</i>                | " <i>Meghey</i>         |
| <i>Kouayon,</i>               | " <i>Koüayan</i>        |
| <i>Cagabegux,</i>             | " <i>Coyabegux</i>      |
| <i>Pickar,</i>                | " <i>Pichar</i>         |
| <i>Tokau,</i>                 | " <i>Tohau</i>          |
| <i>Peihoun,</i>               | " <i>Peihoum</i>        |

[Cf. the long list of similar errors in the note to p. 90. In the transference of these singular names, the translator has industriously asserted the rights of the creative imagination.]

- P. 116, l. 4. "a very fine Stone Horse." *Fr.* "un cheval entier et fort beau"—a very handsome *entire* horse.

l. 12. "near the River." *Fr.* "au-delà de la Riviere,"—beyond the river.

- P. 117, l. 22. "*Buter.*" *Fr.* "*Ruter*" [proper name].

- P. 118, l. 8. "N. W." *Fr.* "Nord'oüest." [Correctly rendered, but cf. p. 119, l. 22, where the direction is given as "N. E."; in original, "Nord'est."

- P. 118, l. 23. "*Buter*, the French Man." *Fr.* "Ruter s'en retourna"—Ruter returned.

- P. 119, l. 22. "N. E." *Fr.* "Nord'est." [Cf. note to p. 118, l. 8.]

- P. 122, l. 14. "*Hautot.*" [*Fr.* the same, but probably a misprint for "Liotot."

- P. 123, l. 1. "River that was near." *Fr.* "vers la Riviere"—toward the river. [Words are thus frequently inserted by the translator.]

l. 9. "He inform'd Duhaut." *Fr.* "Il apprit de Duhaut—he learned from Duhaut. [Here



the original seems wrong and the translation right.]

P. 125, l. 21. "which Way he would move." *Fr.* "que nous verrions de quel côté nous pourrions tirer,"—that we might see what direction we could take [*i. e.*, take information as to their future line of march].

P. 126, l. 33. "produce." [There should be a comma after this word.]

P. 127, l. 3. "and they set up their Throats, singing Several Songs as loud as they were able." *Fr.* "qui se mirent à chanter à pleine gorge des chansons différentes,"—who began loudly to sing various songs.

P. 130, l. 24. "begn" [misprint for *began*].

P. 131, l. 10. "Resolution." [After this word there should be only a comma. In *Fr.* there is a colon.]

P. 131, l. 13. Messieurs *Cavelier*, the Uncle and the Nephew, thirty Axes." [In the *Fr.*, after "Neveu," are the words, "& pour moy"—and for me. This nephew is the one generally referred to as M. *Moranget*. Cf. pp. 2 and 68, and the notes.]

P. 133, l. 16. "*Nahordikhe*." *Fr.* "*Nahoudikhe*." [Cf. pp. 90 and 114, and the notes.]

P. 134, l. 21. "Reception." [After this word there should be a period.]

l. 35. "*Cavelier* and the Priests." *Fr.* "de Monsieur Cavelier Prêtre."—of M. Cavelier the priest.

P. 139, l. 1. "Need of." [Here there should be only a comma, as in the *Fr.*]

l. 5. "It is to be observ'd . . . than with us." [In the *Fr.* this sentence is in the form of a marginal note.]

- P. 140, l. 31. "*Nathosos.*" *Fr.* "*Natsohos.*" [Cf. pp. 90 and 114, and the notes.  
l. 35. "Way." [After this word there should be a comma.]
- P. 144, l. 2. "*Cohainihoua.*" *Fr.* "*Cahainihoüa.*" [Cf. pp. 90 and 114, and the notes. In a marginal note in the *Fr.*, this tribe is called *Cahay-naho.*]
- P. 145, l. 9. "caressing us after an extraordinary Manner." *Fr.* "Il nous fit bien des caresses"—many caresses.
- P. 146, l. 6. "Calumet, so they call a very long Sort of Tobacco Pipe." *Fr.* "Calumet garny de differens plumages:"—calumet ornamented with various feathers. [In a marginal note: "*C'est une Pipe à Tabac, qui a la queue fort longue.*"—This is a tobacco-pipe with a very long stem.]
- P. 146, l. 16. "on his Feet." *Fr.* "sous les piez;"—under his feet.
- P. 154, l. 12. "impatiently expected." *Fr.* "aspir-oient grandement"—longed ardently for.  
l. 21. "rounded away at the Corners." [After this in *Fr.* come the words, "*sa couverture est d'écorce;*"—its roof is of bark.]  
l. 25. "deer." *Fr.* "cerfs, biches,"—stags, hinds.
- P. 155, l. 17. "However, some of them have more Conveniencies, but the Generality has not." *Fr.* "Quelques uns cependant sont plus proprement; mais generalement, non."—Some, nevertheless, are more cleanly, but generally, they are not.
- P. 157, l. 35. "going down the River." [After these words the following sentence is omitted: "*Nous fûmes bien reçus en la Cabane du Chef, & traitez comme chez les autres.*"—We were well received

in the Chief's wigwam, and were treated as we had been when among the others.]

P. 158, l. 2. "referr'd" [misprint for "deferr'd"].

P. 160, l. 9. "several burning Reeds." *Fr.* "des cannes seiches allumées,"—dry reeds aflame.

l. 34. "or Black and Red,"—*Fr.* "de noir ou de rouge,"—of black or of red.

P. 165, l. 2. "about ten or twelve Foot high." *Fr.* "de la hauteur de huit ou dix piez;"—eight or ten feet.

P. 167, l. 6. "shove, so they . . . Poles." *Fr.* "percher; ainsi appelle-t-on la manœuvre de la perche,"—poling, so they term the act of working the boat with a pole.

l. 29. Monsr. *de la Sale*." [Omitted: "nommé Boisrondet," the name of the clerk.]

P. 169, l. 25. "dangerous." *Fr.* "difficile."

P. 170, l. 6. [Dates omitted: "toutes choses estant prestes le 1, le 18 nous prîmes congé"—everything being ready on the 1st, we took leave on the 18th.]

l. 15. "five Days." *Fr.* "huit jours"—eight days.

P. 174, l. 5. "lofty Coffins." *Fr.* "des cerceils élevez"—coffins placed high above the ground.

P. 177, l. 6. "*Chicagon*." *Fr.* "*Chicagou*."

P. 178, l. 1. "Note." *Fr.* "billet & reconnoissance"—note and receipt.

l. 33 "*Chicagon*." *Fr.* "*Chicagou*." [This difference in the form of this famous name is maintained throughout. The translator had determined that it was to be *Chicagon*!]

P. 178, l. 34. "what we had conceal'd" *Fr.* "la cache"—[the same word is rendered in the same way on the next page, l. 8. The translator was

apparently ignorant of such peculiarly American terms as *cache*, *tomahawk*, *wigwam*, *scalp*, *squaw*, *wampum*, none of which he uses.]

P. 179, l. 15. "Manna." *Fr.* "manne." [Evidently maple sap. But were there sugar maples then at Chicago?]

l. 27. "Charvel." *Fr.* "cerfeüil"—chervil.

l. 31. "5th of April." *Fr.* "le huit Avril"—8th of April.

P. 180, l. 22. "might quit their Sanctuary." *Fr.* "ne sortissent pas de leur asyle,"—might not quit . . .

l. 28. "Voyage." [Sentence omitted: "Nous en partîmes le dernier du mois, & nous arrivâmes le dix May audit lieu de *Micilimaquinay*,"—We left there on the last of the month, & we arrived on the 10th of May at the said place of Michilimackinac.]

l. 30. "River." [There should be only a semi-colon after this word, as in the *Fr.*]

P. 181, l. 8. "The proper prayers." *Fr.* "les prières"—the prayers.

P. 182, l. 7. "row'd." *Fr.* "Nous voguâmes"—we sailed.

l. 13. *Fr.* "le 27"—the 27th. [Date omitted.]

l. 21. "on which there grew." *Fr.* "il croit"—there grow.

l. 26. We got out of it again. [Date omitted. *Fr.* "le 7,"—the 7th.]

P. 184, l. 5. "Cod." [Phrase omitted after this word:] *Fr.* "pour venir en France,"—in order to reach France.

l. 10. *Fr.* "vendredy"—Friday. [Day omitted.]

last line. "October." *Fr.* "Novembre"—November.

P. 184, l. 4 of the SEQUEL. "as he was himself." *Fr.* "comme luy." [There should be a comma after "himself," though there is none in the *Fr.*]

P. 185, l. 2. "more largely." [There should be a period after these words.]

l. 3. "great share in those Discoveries;" *Fr.* "a eu part à de grandes découvertes;"—had a share in great discoveries.

P. 186, l. 18. "notable Exploits." "belles expéditions dans"—notable expeditions to.

P. 187, l. 34. "The *Dauphin*." *Fr.* "feu Monseigneur le Dauphin." [The Dauphin, eldest son of Louis XIV., had died but a year or two before the publication of the *Fr.* original.]

P. 188, l. 32. "Wild Fowl." *Fr.* "gibier, dont la chair est filasseuse, & sans goust;"—game, the flesh whereof is stringy and tasteless [the words after *gibier* are omitted in the translation].

P. 189, l. 32. "Opening on the Right Side," *Fr.* "Overture au droit de l'œil—opening opposite the eye.

P. 190, l. 18. "Images of Devotion, decently furnish'd . . . ." *Fr.* "images de piété; & ils en ont peu de veritable. Ils sont proprement meublez"—images of devotion,—and they have little that is real. They are decently furnished

P. 190, l. 21. "Plate." *Fr.* "mais la vie ni les manieres des Ecclesiastiques n'édifient point. Festes & Dimanches, il n'est point question de Matines, de Sermon, ni de Vespres: on cause dans les Eglises, on y rit aussibien que dans les Processions, qui se font frequemment la nuit aux

flambeaux.”—but the lives and manners of the clergy are not edifying. On holidays and Sundays there is no thought of matins, of sermon, or of vespers: people chat and laugh in the churches as well as in the processions, which are often at night by the light of torches. [All this omitted.]

P. 190, last line. “That Country would be better . . .”

*Fr.* “Ce pays seroit bon en quelques endroits, si les Habitans avoient l’adresse & le courage de le cultiver.”—That country would be good in some parts, if the inhabitants had the skill and energy to till it.

P. 191, l. 2. “Indian Corn.” *Fr.* “du gros mil”—coarse millet.

l. 24. “other countries of . . . .” *Fr.* “les pays chauds de . . . .”—the warm regions of. . . .

l. 32. “it stands towards the Western End.” *Fr.* “elle est à la pointe occidentale”—it stands at the western point. [One of the few instances in which the translation corrects the *Fr.*]

P. 194, l. 2. [Paging here jumps from 191 to 194.]

“and Brass Guns from twenty four to thirty six Pounders.” *Fr.* “bonne artillerie de 24 & 36,”—good artillery of 24 and 36 [pounds].

l. 10. “about all uniform.” *Fr.* “bastimens égaux à l’entour.”—uniform buildings around it [the plaza].

l. 15. “each Mark being half a Pound” [not in the *Fr.*].

l. 16. “amounts to fifty.” *Fr.* “va a plus de cinquante”—amounts to more than fifty.

P. 195, l. 4. “Galeons meet.” [The following sentences are omitted here.] *Fr.* “Par ce mot n’entendez pas des Navires d’une grandeur extraordinaire; car la plupart ne sont que des bâ-



timens fort mediocres, que la vanité Espagnole enfle & grossit par un nom de rodomontade. Mais si ces Vaisseaux ne sont pas grands, leur charge & leur richesse le sont. Avec tout cela cette Ville, l'abord des tresors des Indes Occidentales, est pleine de mendiens: mais ils ne le sont que par leur faute, & par leur paresse."—By this word should not be understood ships of extraordinary size; for most of them are but very inconsiderable craft, which Spanish vanity strives to magnify by a swelling name. But if these ships are not great, their precious freight is so. For all that, this city, the gateway to the treasures of the West Indies, is full of beggars,—but it is by their own fault and by their idleness that they are such.

P. 195, l. 7. [Last clause of the paragraph omitted.]

*Fr.* “& par dessus tout cela tient encore du Sauvage.”—and, throughout the whole, savage traits still predominate. [It is to be noted that the translator's omissions in this Postscript are evidently prompted by a desire to soften the asperity of the tone toward the Spaniards.]

PP. 196 to 205. “Letters Patent.” [These are not in the original, which ends with a table of contents. The “Index” is due to the translator, although the table of contents appended to the original is quite as useful.]



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