

TO
MY BELOVED SISTER
MOTHER ST. JAMES LL.D.
A TRUE DAUGHTER OF ST. ANGELA
WHO GAVE HER LIFE
FOR
THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

Degree conferred May 22, 1958

E. L. Vivier

Secret. of the Graduate Division

THE JESUIT MARTYRS OF NORTH AMERICA



Left to right Standing Saints Noel Chabanel, Gabriel Lalemant, John de Brebeuf, Isaac Jogues, Anthony Daniel Kneeling John de Lalande, Rene Goupil, Charles Garnier.

SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE
A PROJECT IN EARLY CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION IN THE HEART
OF THE NORTH AMERICAN WILDERNESS
by Sister M. Margareta, O.S.U.

Thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts
of the University of Ottawa through the
Institute of History as partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts.



Ottawa, Canada, 1956

UMI Number: EC55833

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI Microform EC55833

Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the heroic Jesuit Martyrs, Saint John de Brebeuf and his Companions, on whose help I continually relied during the writing of this thesis; to Dr. George Buxton for his encouragement and kindly help; to Dr. Brault for his precious time spent in giving timely suggestions; to Dr. J. J. Talman, whose kindness and generosity gave me free access to the excellent library at the University of Western Ontario, even to the perusal of valuable books in the library's Treasure Collection. To Brescia Hall also goes thanks for the use of their library with its valuable set of the Jesuit Relations. Acknowledgments are also due to the Dominion Archives in Ottawa; to Miss Storey in the manuscript library and to Miss Bourque in the reference library, and to all others there who aided me in the use of microfilms and photostats; to the Oxford University Press, Toronto, for the permission to use some cuts from the book, Sainte Marie Among the Hurons, by Mr. W. Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury; to the very Reverend Father McCaffrey, S.J., for permission to use cuts from the Martyrs' Shrine Message, and from Father Devine's book; to Mr. Herbert Cranston for the picture from his book on "Agriculture in Huronia". To the Reverend Father Dennis A. Hegarty, S.J., renowned archaeologist, who discovered the grave of St. John de Brebeuf, goes special thanks for first hand information given regarding the excavations at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
I.-INTRODUCTION	1
II.-LOCATION AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE	15
III.-A SCHOOL OF RELIGION	22
IV.-A SCHOOL OF SACRED LITURGY	41
V.-A CENTRE OF SOCIAL AND HOSPITAL WORK	63
VI.-THE FIRST EXPERIMENTAL FARM IN NORTH AMERICA WEST OF QUEBEC	92
VII.-A CENTRE OF ENGINEERING, ARCHITECTURE, AND FORT-BUILDING	109
CONCLUSION	142
BIBLIOGRAPHY	148

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	page
I.-The Jesuit Martyrs	Frontispiece
II.-Map of Huronia	14
III.-Brief of Pope Urban VIII to Fort Ste. Marie, Dated February 18, 1644. The First Apostolic Document Ever Issued to the Church in Ontario	61
IV.-The Finding of the Grave of Saint John de Brebeuf	87
V.-Indian Agriculture - From Lafitu 1724.	98
VI.-The Exodus from Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye in 1649	106
VII.-The Outlet of the Canal	112
VIII.-Original Stonework Inside Reconstructed Bastions Built with the Original Stones in 1947 -Three and one-half inch Timber under Original Stone Foundation of Bastion	117
IX.- Plan and Reconstruction of Sainte-Marie- on-the-Wye	125
X.-Reverend Father D. A. Hegarty, S. J., at the Grave of Saint John de Brebeuf. The Christian Cemetery and the Skeletal Structure of the Algonquin Longhouse are seen in the Background	128
XI.-The Blackrobes Taught the Indians how to Build .	132a

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER I

In the introduction of chapter I, Champlain in Huronia, 1615, promised that he would send missionaries to their country. He sent the Récollet Fathers. Then follows a brief resume of Huronia, the derivation of its name, its tribes, and location. In 1624, Brother Sagard, who had been in Huronia for a period of ten months, is recalled to Quebec by his superiors. He says farewell to the Hurons who plead a second time for missionaries to teach them about the true God. In 1626, Brébeuf comes to the Huron country. He, too, is forced to leave the mission in 1629 because of the capture of Quebec by Kirk. Again the Hurons put a pitiful plea for spiritual help. Brébeuf leaves them with a heavy heart, but a determination to return to his beloved neophytes as soon as possible, God willing. He does return in 1634, from then on he labours in the mission fields of Huronia until his glorious martyrdom.

CHAPTER I

Winter had passed and spring was fast taking hold of the countryside. It was the year of one thousand six hundred and fifteen. Huronia was astir, for this was the time to make the last preparation for the long journey up to the French trading post at Quebec. Peltries had received their finishing touch; bags of maize were already packed up; everything for this important trip had been prepared. In the midst of all this tense occupation, our eyes turned to a group gathered in the chieftain's longhouse. In the group were intermingled white men and Huron warriors. One man in the group stood out above all the others, because of his distinguished appearance and military bearing. Writers have described him as a gaily clad gentleman of the seventeenth century, his genial face adorned with a mustache and goatee, his long curly hair partly hidden under a broad-rimmed hat. He wore a silken doublet, knee-breeches and long boots turned down at the top. He was the great Samuel de Champlain, the Commandant of the colony of New France. Near him, and wearing the grey habit of the Récollets, was a missionary. All listened intently to the Huron chieftain who spoke to Champlain. It was the Hurons' farewell to Champlain who had been in Huronia for almost a year, and who now was returning to Quebec. Champlain and his Huron allies had fought an unfortunate battle with the Iroquois at Lake Oneida in 1615.

Champlain had been wounded twice by Iroquois arrows, and had been carried back to Huronia to recuperate from his wounds. Since winter had set in he had been forced to remain with his Huron allies until spring time.

Let us now listen to the words of this Huron chieftain on whom all eyes are turned:

You say things that pass our understanding and that we cannot comprehend by words, as something beyond our intelligence; but if you would do well by us, you should dwell in our country and bring women and children, and when they come to these regions we shall see how you serve this God whom you worship, and your mode of life with your wife and children, your way of tilling ground and sowing, and how you obey your laws and your manner of feeding animals, and how you manufacture all that we see proceeding from your invention. Seeing this we shall learn more in one year than hearing your discourse in twenty, and if we cannot understand, you shall take our children who will be like your own; and thus judging our life wretched in comparison with your own, it is easy to believe that we shall adopt yours and abandon our own.¹

Thus spoke the Huron chieftain. A deep pause followed and Champlain answered through his interpreter, Etienne Brûlé. Champlain had been deeply touched by the words of this dusky warrior, for these friendly Hurons had won their way to his heart. The Hurons on their part were filled with admiration for this great white Onontio because of his nobility and purity of character. The words of their chieftain had burned themselves into his soul. Champlain promised them that he would help them and would do all in his power to carry out

1 Champlain's Works, vol. iii, pp. 145-146.

their request.

Back in Quebec Champlain's thoughts frequently turned to Huronia. He reflected that to bring the Hurons to the knowledge of God, it was not sufficient to send friars, but as the Huron chieftain had suggested, French settlers also were necessary to set an example for an upright and godly life. Inhabitants and families were needed to keep them in their duty and by gentle treatment to constrain them to do better, and by good example to incite them to better living. Champlain wrote the following to his superiors in France:

It is a great pity to allow many men to be lost and to see them perish at our doors without succoring them, which can only be with the aid of Kings, princes, and ecclesiastics, who alone have the power to do this. For also, they alone ought to win from other nations the honor of so great a work, to wit, planting the Christian faith in an unknown and savage country, being told by the people, as we are, that their wish and desire is to be fully instructed about what they ought to follow and avoid. It is therefore, the task of those who have the power to attend to it and to contribute toward it of their abundance; for one day they will answer before God for the loss of so many souls whom they leave to perish by their neglect and avarice, for these are not a few but in very great-number. Now this shall take place whenever it please God to give them grace to that end. As for myself I desire this result rather today than tomorrow, for the zeal I have for the advancement of the glory of God, for the honor of my King, for the welfare and reputation of my country.²

Here in the midst of his sober record, spoke the ardent spirit of Champlain; here he set down his dream. Through

2 Morris Bishop, The Life of Fortitude, p. 323.

his untiring zeal, his dream began to be realized when the Récollets were established in this mission field in 1615. Champlain saw in his mind's eye this first project in Christian civilization, in the heart of the North American wilderness, as the nucleus of a great world empire. He visualized a vast French empire which would stretch westward from Acadia, on the Atlantic coast. Parkman speaks in a similar manner when he writes:

These sanguinary hordes, weaned from intestine strife, were to unite in a common allegiance to God and to the King, mingled with French traders and settlers, softened by French manners, guided by French priests, ruled by French officers. Their now divided bands would become the constituents of a vast wilderness empire, which in time might span the continent. Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him ... Peaceful, benign, and beneficent were the arms of her conquest. France endeavoured to submit not by the sword, but by the cross; she aspired not to crush and destroy the nations she invaded but to convert them in her bosom as her children.³

Before continuing the story of Huronia let us stop and consider some of its features. What does the name Huronia mean? Where is it located? What tribes dwelt in this land? The name "Huronia" is derived from the Huron Indians, who really were not Hurons at all but "ouendats" (pronounced "wen-dats"). They called their homeland "Owendake" (pronounced "Wen-dak-e") meaning the "Islands" or

³ Francis Parkman, France and England in North America, vol. ii, p. 44.

"In the Island", which possibly was related to the fact that part of their country in North Simcoe, was, if rivers be counted, almost surrounded by water. Another translation of "Ouendake" is "One Land Apart". The Ouendats were 30,000 strong and lived in twenty villages. The name "Huron" was given the Ouendats because the first Hurons seen at Quebec plucked their hair in ridges resembling the bristles on the neck of a wild boar. A party of Indians seen by French sailors amused the seamen greatly and they were said to have exclaimed: "Quelles hures!" or "What boar-heads!"

The Franciscan historian, Sagard, claims that the Hurons, and the sedentary nations generally, were considered "as the nobility among the Indians of Canada, and the roving tribes were the rabble."⁴ There were three distinct groups in the Huron nation. A closely related tribe, the Petuns or Tobacco Indians, 20,000 in number, grew tobacco as a major crop and lived along the shores of Georgian Bay west of Nottawasaga River, and in the Blue Mountains southwest of Collingwood. In the neighbourhood of Owen Sound there was a large Petun village in which the "Cheveux Releves" or "High Hairs", a branch of the Ottawa nation of Algonquins, set up their

4. Sagard, History of Canada.

Other references on Huronia and the Hurons are R. G. Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, vol. xvi, pp. 229-31. (Hereafter these Relations will be referred to as J.R.)

A. E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, p. 422

E. J. Devine, Old Fort Ste. Marie, p. 11.

wigwams beside the Petun longhouses. Champlain called them the "Cheveux Relevés" because they wore their hair straight up from their foreheads. A third great nation, the Neutrals, so-called because it took no part in the Indian wars, lived in Southern Ontario between the Niagara Peninsula and the Detroit River. Strongest and most ferocious of the savages were the Iroquois, whose country lay along the south shores of Lake Ontario between Lake Champlain and the Niagara River, in what is now New York State. It was in the land of Huronia that the Jesuit Mother house of the Huron missions, Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye was to play an important role in the early Christian civilization of Canada.

Father de Rochemonteix, who had access to the early Roman archives of the Jesuits, informs us that Jérôme Lalemant had in mind the building of a Huron "réduction". The work his order was accomplishing in other parts of the world, especially South America, was attracting the attention of Europe. "In Paraguay, after six years of labour on the part of the Jesuit, Ruiz de Montaya, 100,000 Indians had been induced to give up their nomadic lives and dwell in fully organized communities or "réductions" where greater opportunities were offered for civilizing them and teaching them the truths of Christianity."⁵ In this way whole tribes had been raised out of barbarism and made citizens of a quasi-utopian state where laws based on justice and charity reigned supreme. The Jesuits in early

5. John J. Wynne, S.J., The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, p. 149.

Camille de Rochemonteix, S.J., Les Jesuites de la Nouvelle-France, vol. i, p. 386.

Canada had dreams of similar enterprises as we know from their experiments at Sillery, Three Rivers, and later on at Caughnawaga.

Champlain, true to his promise, had arranged for the Récollets to set up their mission cabin in Huronia. But fate was against their mission, so it was short-lived. Father Le Caron, who reached Huronia three weeks before the arrival of Champlain, had already been accepted by the Hurons, who were in the process of building his cabin when Champlain arrived. On August 12, 1615, Father Le Caron's cabin was completed, he inaugurated it with the solemn celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, in the presence of Champlain and all the Frenchmen, to the number of fourteen. Thus he took possession of this savage country in the name of the Saviour, Our Lord Jesus Christ. A cross was erected near the cabin, and a solemn Te Deum sung, accompanied by the sound of a volley of musketry. "It was the first mass celebrated in the Province of Ontario, and Father Le Caron's cabin was the first church raised to the true God in the country of the Great Lakes."⁶

The known history of Huronia falls naturally into two parts, (1) 1615-29, (2) 1634-43. These are separated by the first English possession of Canada. Admiral David Kirke captured Quebec in 1629. One of the conditions of the capitulation was that every Jesuit and Récollet should leave the colony. In March 1632, Canada was ceded back to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. The Jesuit Fathers were invited to

6. Paquin, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p. 9.

return in sole charge of the missions, since the Récollets, a mendicant order, lacked sufficient means and men to participate. Father Jones, in his book "Old Huronia", divides the history of the first years into two periods: (a) a period of Récollets 1615-25. Father Le Caron worked alone in the field during 1615-16; he returned with Father Nicholas Viel and Brother Sagard in 1623; he and Brother Sagard received orders to leave in 1624 and Father Viel in 1625. It was nearing the end of his return journey that Father Viel was drowned with a Christian neophyte at Sault-au-Récollet which was so called after this drowning. The second is the (b) period of one Récollet, Father de la Roche Daillon, and of two Jesuits, Father Anne de Noue and Father Jean de Brébeuf. In 1634 Father Jean de Brébeuf returned with Fathers Davost and Daniel to reopen the missions to the Hurons.

During the period of the Récollets, Father Le Caron, in the summer of 1616, went to Quebec with the Huron traders, and did not return. As a result Huronia was left for a period of seven years without a missionary. Father Le Caron was sent to France as a delegate to plead together with Champlain, for the settlement of the colony on a larger scale, and a more generous support of the missionaries' work among the Indians, but their pleas were unheeded. The trading company was not concerned with the colonization of Canada, nor with the conversion of its savages; it resented any interference which might draw the Indian trappers away from their hunting grounds, or disturb them in their hunt for beaver skins.

In July 1623, the Récollets resumed their mission

work among the Hurons. Father Le Caron, Father Viel, and Brother Sagard, accompanied by two voluntary servants arrived at Carhagua where Father Le Caron had lived nine years before. Brother Sagard was a well-educated lay-brother, and endowed with natural talents. He soon endeared himself to the natives, but his stay in Huronia was short-lived. In June 1624, Brother Sagard accompanied a band of Hurons to the French colony. Before leaving he said:

When I made my farewells through the town, many feared that I should not return from that journey and showed themselves ill pleased at it, saying in a very sad voice: "Gabriel shall we and our little children still be alive when you come back to us? You know how we have always loved you and made much of you, and that you are more precious to us than anything else that we have in the world. Do not desert us then, persevere in teaching us and showing us the way to Heaven, that we may not perish and be carried off after death by the devil to his abode of fire, for he is spiteful and does us much harm. So pray to Jesus for us, and make us His children, that we may go to His Paradise, in company with you."⁷

So once again, a pitiful plea is presented to Brother Sagard for missionary help, just as the Huron chieftain had pleaded with the great Champlain in 1615.

On July 14, 1626, the two Jesuits, Brébeuf, and Anne de Noue and the Récollet d'Aillon, left Three Rivers with the Huron traders en route to Huronia. They also landed at Toaniché in the Thunder Bay district where Champlain and Father Le Caron had landed in 1615. Father Anne de Noue soon judged himself

7. Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, edited by G. M. Wrong, translated by H. H. Langton (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1939), p. 46.

unfit for the work of an Indian missionary, and returned to Quebec with the trading expedition of 1627. He was followed shortly by Father d'Aillon in the summer of 1628. Father Brébeuf was now alone in Huronia at Toanché, only Brûlé and the French agents were with him. The winter of 1629 was a hard one for the Frenchmen in Huronia. The following July 10th Admiral Kirk took Quebec. Word was sent to all the Frenchmen in Huronia to return. Father Brébeuf was to come with them. So now for the third time a devout apostle and missionary is forced to say farewell to his beloved flock. Throughout the country the word passed that Echon, the Blackrobe, was leaving them. An old man reproached him:

Listen to me my nephew, you have told us that you have a father in heaven who made you all. You warned us that any one who did not obey him would be cast into the flames. We have asked you to teach us more. What shall we do when you go away?⁸

Another addressed him:

Echon, I am not baptized and you are leaving us. My soul will be lost, but what can I do about it? You say you will come back. That is good. Go then, and be brave, but return before I die.⁹

One of Father Brébeuf's last acts was that of baptizing a baby boy at the request of a friendly man named Houtaya, who remembered that Echon had said he would have happiness after death. Before his departure a chief addressed him in these words:

⁸ The Jesuit Relations, vol. v, p.191,

⁹ Ibid. vol. v, p. 191.

Are you going to forsake us? for three years you have lived with us, learning our language, and making God known to us, and teaching us how to serve Him. And now that you speak Huron better than any of those who have ever set foot here you are deserting us? If we knew at all the God you adore, we here call Him to witness that if we do not serve Him it will be your fault.¹⁰

This departure must have been painful for him, who had cast his lot with these children of the forest. But he could not help it. He encouraged them with the promise to come back as soon as possible. These protests of love for Brébeuf from the Hurons were often repeated during the home voyage. So it was with a saddened heart that Brébeuf and his French companions embarked on July 22, 1629, for Quebec, and then to France by the way of England. Deep down in his heart was the burning desire to return to his beloved Huronia when the first occasion presented itself. God only knew when that would be.

We have seen now the three touching pleas of the Hurons for missionaries to bring Christ into Huronia. Brébeuf was the one destined by God to lead the way again into the mission field. Canada remained an English possession for nearly three years, from July 20, 1629, to March 22, 1632. At that date it was ceded back to France.

On May 22, 1632, Champlain returned to Quebec to resume his work of the colonization of New France, and the

¹⁰ The Jesuit Relations, vol. v, p.193.

conversion of ~~its~~ native inhabitants to the Christian faith. Three Jesuit Fathers, Brébeuf, Daniel, and Davost, had come with Champlain and were ready at Quebec to leave for Huronia by the end of July 1633, with the Huron traders. The work of civilization was getting under way.

From 1634 until 1639 the Jesuit missions were scattered throughout Huronia. By 1639 there were two "permanent" residences. St Joseph at Teanaostayë was twelve miles south-east of the present Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. La Conception was at Ossossanë, on Nottawasaga Bay, which is ten miles south of the present site of the Martyrs' Shrine, Midland. It was on August 5, 1634, the Feast of Our Lady of the Snows, that Brébeuf was landed on the shore of Toanché, towards evening, and abandoned there by his Indian companions, who proceeded on to their own village. "Toanché, a village seven miles north-west of the site of the present-day Martyrs' Shrine",¹¹ no longer existed as the Indians had moved to another site. Brébeuf went in search of the village, which he found at night-fall. "When I appeared in the village", he writes, "the cry went up - 'Here is Echon!' 'Echon has come back!' and they all surrounded me, caressing me and greeting me 'Echon! My uncle, my nephew, my cousin, you have come back at last!'"¹²

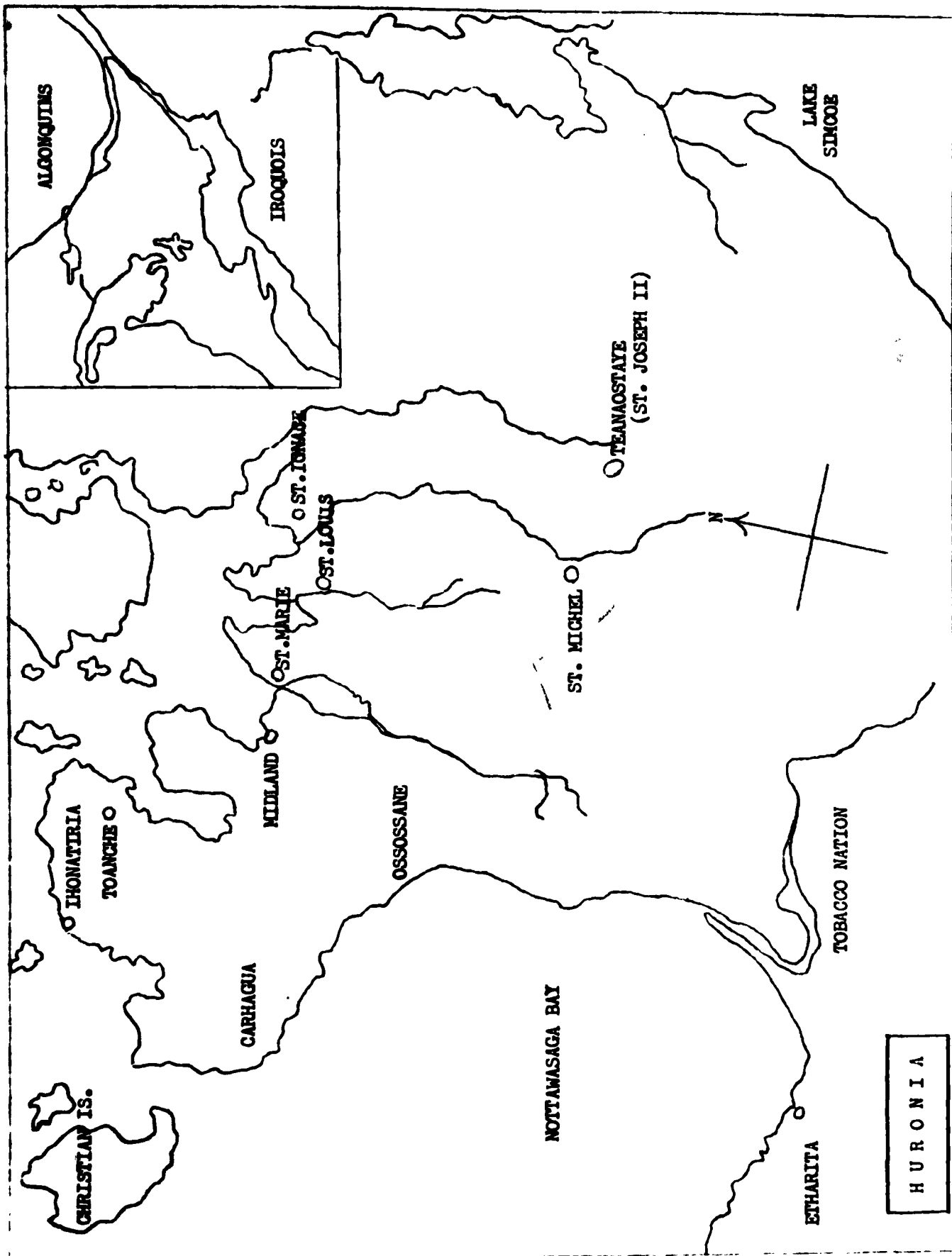
-
- 11 Lawrence Voisin, S.J., The Heart of a Giant, p.9.
The Jesuit Relations, vol.,v, p.292.
 A.E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, P.309.
- 12 The Jesuit Relations, 1635, p.37.

Father Brébeuf was named the superior of the group of missionaries in 1634. He had with him Fathers Daniel and Davost, three young men and two boys. Father Brébeuf retained the post of superior until September 1638. He was then succeeded by Father Jérôme Lalemant, who was appointed superior of the Huron mission. During this short period of four years the number of Jesuits in Huronia increased from three to ten. Father Lalemant in his "relation" says: "I found seven Fathers occupying two Residences in the two most important towns, Ossossané and Teanaostayé, I made the eighth, and about a month later, Father Simon Le Moyne and Father François Du Peron arrived and swelled the number to ten."¹³

From the increase of Jesuits in Huronia we can judge the necessity of one permanent residence from which the priests could fan out to the surrounding missions. This was Father Lalemant's first thought on reaching Huronia. Thus it was he became the founder of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye.

13. Father Paquin, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p. 42.

A. E. Jones, S. J., Old Huronia, p. 307.



SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

Chapter II tells of the establishment of the central mission residence of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. It gives its location and its strategic importance. The main motives for the building of this residence are mentioned, also the negotiations made with the Huron tribes living there for the permission to build in their territory.

The whole chapter deals with the location of Sainte Marie, as a site for usefulness, a site for strategy, and a site for peace.

CHAPTER II

SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE

The migrant habits of the Indians
 With their desertion of the villages
 Through pressure of attack or want of food
 Called for a central site where undisturbed
 The priests with their attendants might pursue
 Their culture, gather strength from their devotions,
 Map out the territory, plot the routes,
 Collate their weekly notes and write their letters.
 The roll was growing- priests and colonists,
 Lay brothers offering services for life.
 For on the ground or on their way to place
 Themselves at the command of Lalemant,
 Superior, were Claude Pijart, Poncet,
 Le Moyne, Charles Raymbault, René Ménard
 And Joseph Chaumonot: as oblates came
 Le Coq, Christophe Reynaut, Charles Boivin,
 Couture et Jean Guérin. And so to house
 Them all the Residence - Fort Sainte Marie!

BREBEUF AND HIS BRETHREN- E.J. Pratt.

In these few lines of his epic, Brébeuf and His Brethren, E.J. Pratt sums up the main reasons for the foundation of the Mother House of the Huron missions, Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye, and he names the personnel for the year of 1639. The founder of this mission, Father Jérôme Lalemant, arrived in Huronia on August 16, 1638, as superior of the Huron missions. He began his administration by sending out all the Fathers to take a census of the whole Huron nation. Every Huron village between Lake Simcoe and Nottawasaga Bay was visited and a census was taken. The missionaries found "thirty-two small hamlets and straggling villages which comprised in all about seven hundred cabins, two thousand fires,

and about twelve thousand persons. Owing to pestilence and Iroquois raids the population of Huronia had dwindled down to half of its numbers."¹

In the spring of 1639 Father Lalemant assembled all his missionaries at the Residence of Ossossané in order to lay before them his plans for the betterment of their missionary work, and to get their opinions regarding it. He, himself had decided against the multiplication of small isolated residences. One large residence, with missions depending upon it appealed to his practical mind. For he says:

That while building a house remote from the neighbourhood of the villages, it would serve among other things as a retreat and a place of recollection for our Gospel labourers who, after their combats, would find in this solitude a place of delights.²

Lalemant's plan was wholeheartedly accepted by his missionaries. They would be saved from the annoyances of the savages as close neighbors, from the curious-minded poking into their cabins and spying on their every move. They would be away from the raucous turmoil, the outcries and groans and shouts of the feasts and rituals and incantations, the filth of the village and the shamelessness of the inhabitants. They were specially pleased to learn from their superior that this residence would also be a retreat for the poor Christian savages,

1. A. E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, p. 315.

2. The Jesuit Relations, vol. xix, p. 137.

Who, - feeling themselves carried away by the torrent of debaucheries, and by barbarous and infernal customs of their country, while dwelling in their own villages, - will have a means of escaping shipwreck by taking refuge near us; some of them have already done so, and we shall willingly welcome as neighbours entire families who may wish to approach us, some of whom have already given us their word.³

Authority to plant their residence in this territory had need to be sought from the Ataronchronons, the third principal Huron nation. This people had shown itself inimical to the missionaries, and they, in turn, had made little effort to evangelize the villages in this area. Now they were prepared to attempt the conquest of these Indians by securing a site in their land. They held council with the chiefs. "There was ground for apprehension in making our proposal and opening negotiations with the communities of Savages who were masters of this area," Lalemant affirms. "But it pleased God to assist us in this, for the proposition was at once accepted and immediately carried out, and the presents necessary thereto delivered at the proper time. If we had delayed two hours, I know not whether the affair could ever have succeeded."⁴

The permission was granted in March 1639, and Father Lalemant immediately blessed the site and dedicated it to Our Lady.

3 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxi, p.141.

4 Ibid, vol., xix, p.135.

We have given this new residence the name of Sainte-Marie, or Notre-Dame-de-la-Conception. The general and special obligations that we are under to this great Princess of Heaven and earth make it one of our keenest disappointments that we are not able to show her sufficient gratitude. At ~~least~~ claim henceforth this consolation, that as often as people shall speak of the principal abode of this mission of the Hurons, calling it by the name of ~~Ste.~~ Marie, it will be so much homage which will be rendered to her for what we are to her and hold from her, and of what we wish to be to her forever.⁵

In the founding of this new village the missionaries took a lesson from the Hurons. Sagard informs us that the Huron Indians chose their sites with fine discrimination: "always near some convenient stream, or on an elevation, and surrounded if possible by a natural depression of the soil." The location of this central residence was in a heavily wooded tract along the right fringe of the Wye River. It was valley land, elevated but a few yards higher than the water level. The plain spread out many miles toward Lake Isaragui, (the lake where the sunbeams dance) beyond which, in a hazy distance, the highlands reared broadly upwards. A half league to the rear rose an encircling ridge of hills, and in the direction of the bay a dominating hill humped up a few hundred yards away. Sainte Marie was thus in a hollow, well-protected and giving easy access to all parts of the peninsula and to the most travelled waterways. The soil was rich and

5 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xix, p.135.

virgin as Lalemant says: "The lands around are fairly good for the native corn which, as time goes on, we intend to harvest for ourselves."⁶

The main building was begun in the summer of 1639 under the direction of Father Isaac Jogues. And so rapid was the progress that it was ready for occupation in the middle of the autumn. The residence of Ossossanë was moved in the autumn of 1639 and that of Teanaostayë in the following spring. In the fall of 1639 the personnel of Ste. Marie numbered "twenty-seven Frenchmen, thirteen of whom were priests now serving five missions."⁷

The work of building this residence was carried on with great difficulty. There were few workmen and the Hurons gave no help. They had to build in green wood. The few tools they had were inadequate. Under these circumstances the dwelling had the appearance of an Indian cabin with all its inconveniences. Within this building were the Father's apartments, a private chapel, a refectory, quarters for the laymen in the service of the mission, and two large rooms set apart for the Indians receiving instructions. Outside, other structures were contemplated, a church, a hospital, a large cabin where Indian visitors could be entertained, together with a garden, the whole to be surrounded with a palisade. An inlet was also dug for the landing and tying of canoes.

6 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xix, p.135.

7 A.E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, p.315.

This was the modest beginning of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye, which was to become a centre of Christian civilization in the North American wilderness. During the period of the ten years that followed, up to its destruction in 1649, great developments took place within the walls of this Residence. The untiring zeal of the saintly Jesuits, assisted by their ever faithful donnés and domestics, created the first experimental farm in agricultural records outside of Quebec. They also established the initial social science effort, instructing the Indians in the fundamentals of moral conduct, sanitation, and political sciences. They developed a form of state medicine and education. The Jesuits were aided in this work. A letter from Jérôme Lalemant to Cardinal Richelieu from the Huron country March 28, 1640, reveals the fact that this eminent French statesman had the interests of the Huron mission at heart, in "providing a fund for a few of the Society who are working for the conversion of the barbarians."⁸

8 The Jesuit Relations, vol.. xvii, p.219.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III

Chapter three deals with the religious and social work of the heroic Jesuits in Huronia. During the epidemic of 1637 and 1638 the Fathers worked tirelessly in the mission field, administering to both body and soul of the afflicted. Mention is made of the catechetical workers or Dogiques who carried on in the absence of the Fathers. These special catechists were carefully trained by the Fathers for this calling. Outstanding among all of them were Joseph Chihwatenhwa, surnamed "the Christian" and Etienne Totiri. There is also a brief outline given of the procedure followed by the Fathers for the instruction of both children and adults. The custom of using the Rosary was introduced and encouraged by the zealous missionaries, as it was a powerful weapon against the demons. Not only adults but also children vied with one another in the recitation of the rosary prayers.

Father Anthony Daniel, "the Pedagogue of the Hurons" gets special mention, also, Father Garnier with his unique picture method of instruction.

CHAPTER III
 SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE
 A SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye was a cradle of Christianity in the heart of the North American wilderness. The Jesuits of Huronia combined their teaching of religion with their social work. Their great charity in times of pestilence touched the hearts of the Savages. In spite of many dangers the Fathers went from cabin to cabin to aid the sick with their ministrations. They had little to offer, perhaps some broth of wild purslane stewed in water, but it was an opportunity for them to baptize the dying, both young and old. Father Jérôme Lalemant was soon able to write to his superiors that "We have had 5 missions in these regions of the Hurons, - preaching the Gospel to more than 10,000 barbarians, and that to their several families."¹

The Jesuit Relations are filled with the records of the heroic work of the Fathers during the eight months of the small-pox epidemic of 1637 and 1638. During this period the missionaries had to suspend their ordinary work and devote all their time and energy to the care of the sick. They had but little medicine to give them, and what they had was quite inadequate to achieve its purpose; however, a few prunes and

1. The Jesuit Relations, vol. xvii, p. 227

raisins in sweetened water, coupled with prayer, did wonders at times. A small bag of senna administered very sparingly went a long way in giving relief. But it was the lancelet wielded skilfully by "Simon Baron"² which helped the sick most effectively. The Fathers offered a number of masses in honor of their patron, Saint Joseph, to secure the protection of heaven, as they worked unceasingly through the whole country of the Bear Clan. Needless to say, they neglected no chance of snatching from the devil every dying child and adult they could reach, by procuring for them the blessing of Baptism. It was no easy task to win over the grown-up people to the Faith, and to instruct them sufficiently for the valid reception of the Sacrament of Baptism, or to baptize the dying babies. We read in the Relations, the ingenious devices resorted to by the Fathers, for the purpose of secretly baptizing dying Indians. Sometimes a dripping wet handkerchief, presumably to cool their feverish heads, was the only means of administering the sacrament. Again a few stray drops of water from a drinking vessel would be used. Many stubbornly refused the services of the missionaries, and drove them out of their cabins with firebrands.

From these few examples we can see how religion and social service work went hand in hand. It was impossible to separate them. Before the building of the Mother House of

2 A.E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, p.316.

Sainte-Marie it was most necessary to go into the cabins to teach the Indians. Father Le Jeune gives us a graphic bit of description of one of these visits:

If you go to visit them in their cabins:- and you must go there oftener than once a day, if you would perform your duty as you ought, -you will find there a miniature picture of hell,- seeing nothing, ordinarily, but fire and smoke, and on every side naked bodies, black and half-roasted, mingled pell-mell with the dogs, which are held as dear as the children of the house, and share the beds, plates and food of their masters. Everything is in a cloud of dust, and, if you go within you will not reach the end of the cabin before you are completely befouled with soot, filth and dirt. 3

When it was convenient, and the weather permitted, the Fathers had the children come to the Residence. Here they were carefully instructed. Sometimes it was very difficult to keep the attention of these little wanderers of the forest, who would be much happier watching the birds and animals in the woods. The missionaries did everything in their power to attract them. Here was the method they followed:

When there was no feast, dance or game on the program of the day, at the sound of a little bell, or the call of the Captain, they who were of good will assembled in our cabin. After singing the Our Father, rendered in Huron verse by Father Daniel, all squatted down, and I wearing the surplice and biretta, began my instructions, in the simplest terms possible. Then followed the questioning of the children, who were rewarded with a few glass beads for a good answer. A very attractive feature of the meeting was a rehearsal of the lesson of the day by our two French boys, in the form of a dialogue. Finally, the elders

were invited to express their opinion, and propose their difficulties. This gave us an opportunity of learning their fables and refuting them. ⁴

On Sundays and feast days the Savages were encouraged to come to the Fathers' cabin and again they were taught the truths of Christianity. The Fathers did everything in their power to make the lessons attractive to them. In one of the Relations we are given minute details of one of these meetings. One can see the Wye River dotted with the frail bark canoes, laden with the noisy Hurons and their children floating in from Georgian Bay. We can see them placing their canoes safely side by side in the shelter of the moats that have been dug for this purpose. They all assemble in one of the rooms in the Residence used for their instructions. The Father Superior begins the instructions with a prayer in the Huron language, which he pronounces in the tone generally used in the councils, it is somewhat slow, being employed for their instruction, as well as to commend them to God. With the same object in view is sung the Apostles' Creed in the native rhymes. This procedure pleases them very much. All this is done to prepare them for the catechism in which it is necessary to have as much variety as possible. In his Relation of 1638, Father Le Jeune describes how this variety is obtained:

Here, our Joseph does wonders; for acting sometimes as objector, sometimes as ignoramus, and anon the Doctor, he gives opportunity to Our

⁴ Father Paquin, S.J., p.49, The Tragedy of Old Huronia

Catechist to explain by dialogue, and with more clearness, what otherwise would be only half understood. It is hardly credible how much these questions and answers please them and hold their attention. There follows some Church Hymn, and then all is ended with prayer, intoned to some tune resembling their own songs, of which they are very fond. These Catechisms please them greatly, and they seldom go away from them without their exclamation of pleasure and approbation, 'Ho, Ho'" 5

Because of the example and teaching of the Jesuits, the older Christians among the Hurons began to lead lives that were exemplary and full of goodness. The Fathers trained them to be Native catechists, called among the Hurons, Dogiques. These Dogiques carried on as much as they could in the absence of the Fathers, by instructing their countrymen and leading their tribes in prayer.

In the wars and on their hunts, even when they are in large bands, they offer public prayers, and hold divine service, and strictly as if they were in church; they instruct and baptize, with much satisfaction and edification, in times of danger; the reputation of their virtue pervades the foreign tribes with whom they trade, they preach there the holiness of the Christian law. 6

In the Relations, two names among the Huron braves stand out as heroic examples of these Christian catechists or Dogiques. They are Joseph Chiwatenhwa, and Etienne Totiri. The former was surnamed "the Christian". He was not only endowed by nature with a keen intellect, but had a special gift of oratory, which he used to his utmost ability to bring the

5 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xv, p.123.
Joseph Chiwatenhwa is referred to here. More will be heard about him later

6 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxxvii, p.67.

Indians of his tribe to the knowledge of the true God. Etienne Totiri, the other dogique, lived in the vicinity of the mission of St. Joseph. When persecution of the missionaries reached its climax here, Totiri erected within his cabin, a chapel, where Christians could hear mass and receive Holy Communion. Etienne Totiri addressed the Christians in the following words:

On Christmas Day I felt the Lord entering my heart. I believe He is still there, for often, when I do not think of Him, He speaks to my heart without words. Oh! I am sure the Lord comes into our hearts in Holy Communion. 7

Such was the faith of this one-time pagan warrior. What a great consolation it must have been for the Fathers to see the work of God's grace in this beautiful soul.

One of the main reasons for the building of the central Residence of Sainte-Marie, was that "it would serve among other things as a retreat and a place of recollection for our Gospel laborers, who, after their combats, would find in this solitude a place of delight." It was indeed the Providence of God that brought as their first retreatant, Joseph Chihwatenhwa. He was certainly destined by God to become a great saint among the Huron Indians. He is one of ^{the} uncanonized saints. When Joseph heard about the "Spiritual Exercises" from one of the Fathers he exclaimed:

Alas! Why have you been so long without imparting to me so great a good? I had a thousand times had the thought of inquiring why you did not teach me

7 Father Paquin, The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p.142.

what I so often saw the two Fathers do who are in my cabin, who pray to God so long without moving their lips; I restrained myself, believing that if you had judged me capable, you would have taught me, and consequently that I must wait to be found worthy thereof. 8

Joseph was a talented orator and he used his gift to his best advantage whenever an opportunity presented itself. Here is a synopsis of his discourse at Midnight Mass. Taking his inspiration from the many candles illuminating the church, he said in substance:

My brothers, what is the meaning of all these bright lights? They have driven out of this church the darkness of the night; they teach us that the God of Heaven and earth has sent His Divine Son into this world to drive out the darkness of ignorance and sin. At last the light of Jesus had reached our country. How thankful we ought to be that His light has entered our souls before we die, to show us clearly the way to Heaven. 9

And he kept on discoursing in this manner a good part of the night. On another occasion, when objections were made in a council against the propaganda of the missionaries, he said:

My brothers, you object to the persistent exhortations of the Blackrobes to accept their Faith in the Creator of Heaven and earth, and the universal Lord of all things. You understand that they know more than we do, but you say that they are teaching us new things, that you have your own way of living, which is good enough for you. My brothers, you speak foolishly. When the French offered us

8 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xix, p.245.

9 Father Paquin, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p.102.

their iron hatchets and their copper kettles, we saw at once that they were infinitely better than our stone tomahawks and our earthen and wooden vessels. We did not say "They are new things; we have our own utensils; we do not want the French utensils;" but we accepted them eagerly, and found much advantage in their use. Now the same men, who are so much greater than we, urge us to take up their mode of living, and become so much happier in this life and be sure to share God's life in Heaven. These are new notions that we did not know before, and they show us the deep misery of our lives. We have accepted their axes and kettles, and they have served us well too, and save us from our misfortunes." 10

This powerful argument he urged on his hearers in the style of a great orator, and convinced them that it was wisdom to accept the Christian faith.

This heroic Christian deserves special notice in the history of Huronia. "To him", says Father Lalemant, "We owe, in great measure, this year's harvest of souls, for he has always played the part of an apostle, not only here at Ossos-sanë, but alsoⁱⁿ the mission of St. Joseph, and in other villages." Father Lalemant adds this comment "Truly he has nothing of the savage about him but the physical features and the name; otherwise he is a saint, excelling in the practice of the fundamental virtues of a Christian, and blessed with the choicest gifts of the Holy Spirit." 11

It would be impossible to sum up in a short writing the apostolic labours of these zealous Jesuits in Huronia.

10 Father Paquin, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p. 103.

11 Father Paquin, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p. 102

The Relations fill many pages with their heroic endeavours to spread the light of the Gospel. Father Le Mercier says:

The Indians are quick to see how our doctrine conforms to reason, and how inhuman and senseless are their own superstitions. Of course that doesn't mean that they all become converted. The spirit is often willing, but the flesh is weak. They are amazed, too, to find that all of us teach the same doctrine year in, and year out, in all the villages of Huronia, in Quebec, in Three Rivers, always the same doctrine. They see how convinced we are of the Faith, we preach, how we are ready to die, if necessary, to prove its truth. They are impressed too, by the way we bear our sufferings. No matter how serious the situation we never lose our confidence in God. They cannot deny that we practise what we preach.¹²

The Rosary was the powerful weapon in the hands of St. Dominic for the subduing of the Albigensian heresy, so also it was used by the Jesuit Fathers in Huronia for the destroying of the devil worship and the pagan practices of the Savages. These Fathers introduced among the Huron Christians that custom of wearing their rosaries around their necks openly as a sign of their character to the pagans, an emblem of their obligations to themselves, and a pledge of heavenly aid. The Indians were proud of their prayer beads, and the pagans feared even the sight of them. "I wonder", said a pagan woman to a young Christian, her former paramour, "at the change that has come over you; since you wear this string of beads around your neck I dare not speak to you. I pray you take it off, that I may enjoy your company again."¹³ Rosary

¹² The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiv, p. 121.

¹³ Father Paquin, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p. 168.

devotion was not confined to adults for "often little girls, going into the forest to cut some firewood, have no more delightful conversation than to say their Rosaries; and, with holy emulation, they take all their pleasure in seeing who might surpass her little companion in this piety."¹⁴ We are told also that the faithful Etienne Totiri and his brother wore their rosaries on their necks, for "it is one of the signs that we acknowledge as our Master, Him who alone has created Heaven and earth."¹⁵ The Christian Indians also found pleasure and great help in the recitation of the Rosary; "on Sundays, when deprived of the consolation of the Mass, at the noon hour, they assembled in their chapels and recited the Rosary with great devotion."¹⁶

From these few examples taken direct from the writings of the Fathers, we see how important the Rosary was in the daily life of the Huron converts. The missionaries tell us that:

There are some who use their Rosaries, in order to mark how many times they have uplifted their hearts to God, - striving to continue perfecting themselves from day to day in an exercise so holy, and one which appears to them so lovable; and one man will be found who, in the space of one night, will have uttered two hundred times some ejaculatory prayer. Some, being in their fields of Indian corn, in order to renew more frequently the offering which they make to God of their work, will take, as a sign which is to refresh their memory of this, some trees before which they pass so often; and

14 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxiv, p.111.

15 Ibid, vol., xxvii, p.21.

16 Father Paquin, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, p.168

will mark there, either on the bark or else on the ground, a cross, which they adore every time when they pass it... and it will happen sometimes that certain ones among them will have been almost constantly in prayer, without intending to be. 17

From this excerpt taken from the Relations we can see the high degree of sanctity reached by many of the Christian Hurons. It can put us to shame today when we read of the Christian ideals of these one-time pagans. St. Ambrose says that there is no race that cannot mount to the heights of Christian perfection. Here we have a proof of it. In the writings of Marc Lescarbot we find an interesting passage in which he compares the apathetic view of apparent Christians, living in a Christian country, with a long tradition of Christian heritage, to the poor pagan savages who have just received the word of God. He says:

This may be given as one of the many proofs in witness of the zeal of this poor people, who are not, I confess it, sufficiently interested in points of religion, but are more fit to possess the Kingdom of heaven than those who know much and do the works of darkness: for they believe and carefully practise what is told them. While in these parts we see in men naught but infidelity. And if one reproaches them for their ignorance, the same reproach must be brought against the greater part of these here, who are Christians only in name. In short, I shall set down in Latin the saying of St. Augustine: "Surgunt indocti, et rapiunt caelos, nos cum scientia nostra mergimur in infernum" - "The ignorant rise up and take the Kingdom of heaven by violence; we with our knowledge are plunged into hell." 17

This chapter would be incomplete without including a

17 Marc Lescarbot, History of New France, Translated, Champlain Society, vol. iii, p. 43

few lines about Father Anthony Daniel, "the Pedagogue of the Hurons". He was the catechist "par excellence". Mention must also be made of Father Garnier and his modern aids in teaching. Father Daniel was born in Normandy. From his early school days he showed a brilliant intellect and was the pride and joy of his parents. He was educated as a lawyer, but not finding his vocation in this calling, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Rouen in 1621. In 1626 he was teaching in the college at Rouen when Amantacha, a Huron boy, arrived from New France. Father Charles Lalemant had sent this Huron boy to France to be educated. If well trained he would be of great assistance in converting the Hurons. Father Daniel, keenly interested in the missions, was eager to instruct this boy. Amantacha soon mastered the French boys' games and outstripped his playmates so easily that his feats of strength and agility became the wonder of the school. He learned, too, how to speak French, how to read and write. Most important of all, he was instructed in the truths of Faith and prepared for Baptism. Amantacha never forgot the day of his Baptism in the college chapel at Rouen. It was filled to overflowing, with students, and distinguished visitors. "Even King Louis XIII, hearing of this unusual Baptism, sent two of the court favorites, the Duc de Longueville and Madame Villars, to be sponsors for the new convert. In honour of the King, Amantacha was baptized Louis, "Louis of the Holy Faith."¹⁸

¹⁸ The Jesuit Relations, vol. v, p. 247.

Father Daniel was very happy this day and his whole heart was filled with a deep desire to spend his life in Huronia, the land of Louis. Little did he know that five years after the baptism, he and Louis would meet again in the land of the Hurons. In 1634 Father Daniel was sent as missionary to the Hurons. With Father Brébeuf's aid he soon mastered the Huron tongue sufficiently to instruct the Savages.

As we read the Relations, we can picture to ourselves these little children of the forest gathered around him. At times he grew discouraged for it was only natural for them to become disinterested. Father Daniel soon solved this problem. He discovered that the Huron children had exceptionally fine voices and enjoyed singing. He immediately began a children's choir. This choir aroused great interest in the village. It was indeed something new to them. He trained the children to sing at Mass and Benediction. The parents naturally proud of their children came to hear them sing. When Father Daniel saw the chapel filled with the pagan adults, he decided to reach them, too, by means of the children. He did this by putting the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Ten Commandments to music, and, of course, in the Huron tongue. So it was by listening to the hymns sung by the children, that the parents learned the fundamental truths of the Catholic religion.

One day when he was least expected, Louis Amantacha appeared in their midst. Father Daniel was happy for Louis had come at an opportune time. With Louis's expert training

he was able to translate the catechism into the difficult language of his own tribe.

Father Daniel's co-worker, Father Garnier, had unique teaching methods. In his teaching of catechism, he made use of vivid pictures to impress his young neophytes. We smile when we read his letter to his brother in France asking for some catechetical pictures. He writes:

These sacred pictures are half the instruction that one is able to give the Savages. I had desired some portrayal of hell and of lost souls, they sent me some on paper, but that is too confused. The devils are so mingled with the men that nothing can be identified therein, unless it is studied closely. If some one would depict three, four or five demons tormenting one soul with different kinds of tortures, one applying to it the torch, another serpents, another pricking it with red-hot tongs, another holding it bound in chains, it would have a good effect, especially if everything were distinct, and if rage and sadness appeared plainly in the face of the lost soul. Fear is the forerunner of faith in these barbarian minds.¹⁹

Father Garnier's interest in pictures for the purpose of teaching proved to be effective. He knew exactly what he wanted. Another time he wrote to a friend in France asking for a picture of Christ. Here is his description of this picture:

Without beard or with very little, as for instance when he was about eighteen years old. On the cross the figure must be very distinct, and with no one near Him, so as to not distract attention. Put a crown on the Blessed Virgin, a sceptre in her hand, and have Our Lord standing on her knee. That quite takes the Indian's fancy. Do not use a halo. They will mistake it for a hat; though rays will answer.

19 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xi, p. 89.

In fact the head must always be uncovered. Send me pictures of the Resurrection, and make the souls of the blessed as happy looking as possible. Avoid Confusion in representing the General Judgment. In the Resurrection of the dead the figures must stand out, and if possible let them be illuminated. The faces should not be in profile, but full with the eyes open. The bodies should not be completely draped; at least a part should be bare. There must be no curly hair, and no saint should be bald. Beards should also be debarred, and birds and animals should be kept out of the picture. Our Lord and His Blessed Mother should be very white, and with vivid colored robes, red, blue, scarlet, but not green or brown. Let the saints coming down from Heaven be as white as snow, with bright garments, and with happy smiling countenances, looking affectionately on the spectators and pointing to a motto above; "The eye hath not seen, etc." 20

Let us hope that some one in France was able to help this zealous missionary's endeavours by sending the desired pictures. His request, for pictures of this type, shows that he knew the Indian mind thoroughly and knew their likes and dislikes. He really furnished us with a psychological sketch of the Indians.

For a period of time St. Anthony Daniel's teaching in Huronia was at an end. When Father LeJeune saw the transformation in Louis of the Holy Faith because of his education in France, he considered sending more Huron boys there. His plan was hardly practical since too much time would be lost in travelling. Moreover the boys would take too long to accustom themselves to such a strangely different life.

After consulting the Jesuit Fathers at Quebec, Father

20 T.J. Campbell, S.J., Pioneer Priests of North America. vol., 1, p. 340.

Le Jeune decided to open a boarding school for the Huron children, whose parents would consent to part with them. Father Brebeuf was requested to co-operate, and he succeeded in procuring twelve bright boys, who were entrusted to the care of Father Daniel. Father Brebeuf knew Daniel's reputation as a teacher in France and he had noticed how skilfully the master could guide the Indian children. Father Daniel's confrères in Huronia were loath to lose him, for he handled the language with facility and he was loved by them for his cheerful companionship, his unfailing friendliness and good humour.

"Father Daniel left for Quebec on July 22, 1637".²¹ On embarking he found that instead of twelve Indian boys, as he had been promised, he found himself with only one. All the others were the victims of their mothers' inordinate love, and were put out of sight until the canoes departed. However, during the trading season at Three Rivers, five more young Hurons were given over to the Seminary, and the total number of students was six. It was a difficult task for Father Daniel to win those young savages to discipline and love of study. However, Father Daniel was soon master of the situation, and made model boys of these Savage children. But this Seminary of "Our Lady of the Angels" had a comparatively short existence because of desertions and epidemics. It was not uncommon to learn that the registration had dropped over night, as one or

21 A. E. Jones, Old Huronia, p. 300.

more of the young hopefuls would decide to return to the wigwam - taking with him, of course, bed clothes, cooking utensils anything he could lay hands on and easily carry in the middle of the night. It was not long before the school was closed. The remnants of Father Daniel's seminary for the Hurons were absorbed in a larger project endowed by the Marquis de Gamache. This nobleman was the father of René Rohault, S.J. "He presented a gift of sixteen thousand ecus and an annuity of three thousand livres for the maintenance of a school on the Canadian mission."²² This school was to^{be} built at Quebec.

Before concluding this chapter we might add that both Father Garnier and Father Daniel were three hundred years ahead of their time in their pedagogical methods. Father Garnier's vivid and realistic pictures of Heaven and hell, and Christ and His saints are comparable to our present day audio-visual aids which are a "must" in our schools today. Father Daniel's little neophytes chanting in the Huron tongue, the Credo, the Ave, and the Commandments, can be compared to John Redmond's kindergarten children singing the same things plus the story of the sacraments and stories from the Bible History. An article in a current magazine entitled, "Faith on Hi-Fi" describes how this method of teaching religion began in Boston. Not only are these basic truths of the Christian religion sung by the children, but also Hi-Fi records are made of them. The

22 John A. O'Brien, The American Martyrs, p. 222.

church has put her imprimatur on these records. An interesting example of learning religious doctrine through music is given in this article:

A little girl in Upper Montclair, N.J., walked just twice past the room where her younger brother and sister spent an entire Sunday playing the Ten Commandments on their record machine. It proved so catchy that she was able to work it up easily by ear on the piano. Now singing to her own accompaniment, she is making the atmosphere holier than it's been since T.V.²³

From this comparison we can see how children love music, and it can become the means of learning many of the basic truths of the Christian religion in an easy and playful way.

²³ Columbia, "Faith on Hi-Fi", James C. G. Conniff, p. 17-19.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

Chapter four deals with Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye as a School of Sacred Liturgy. From the time of Father Brébeuf in 1625 until the destruction of Sainte-Marie in 1649, the Jesuit Fathers used the liturgy of the Church whenever it was possible in carrying out the sacred functions of the Catholic religion. In the Relations we read of their simple churches beautifully decorated. To the Indians they were one of the wonders of the world. Adult Baptisms were administered with great solemnity. Graveyards were consecrated. Funerals were surrounded by all the solemn liturgy of the Church. The sacraments were administered with meticulous care. The reaction of the Savages to all this solemnity was remarkable. With the reception of the sacraments, grace entered their souls, and the lives of the pagan Hurons became comparable to those of the first Christians. Brébeuf composed the first Canadian carol, besides other liturgical prayers that affected the Indian temperament - such as the ceremony on the Feast of the Purification. Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye became a popular shrine in the seventeenth century. The brief of Urban VIII, February, 1644, granted a plenary indulgence on the usual conditions to all who visit the chapel of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye on the Feast of St. Joseph. For this reason Sainte-Marie was the first place of pilgrimage in America, north of Mexico.

CHAPTER IV
 SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE
 A SCHOOL OF LITURGY

The Jesuit Fathers did everything within their power to make their chapels as beautiful as possible. Their pictures sacred vessels, vestments, and ornaments had to be carried all the way from Quebec. The Indians were fascinated by all the decorations, bright vestments, and shining sacred vessels. Never before were such splendors seen in the land of the Hurons. Crowds came from afar, and gazed in awe and admiration at the marvels of the sanctuary. There was a representation of the Last Judgment, wherein dragons and serpents might be seen feasting on the entrails of the wicked, while demons scourged them into the flames of hell. "A woman came from a distant town to behold it, and, tremulous between curiosity and fear, thrust her head into the recess, declaring that she would see it, though the look would cost her life."¹

If in the missions some Adult in good health is deemed worthy of Baptism, after all the trials to which he is subjected, he is sent to this House to be again examined, and to receive with solemnity that Sacrament which makes him a Child of the Church. We have reserved the majority of these Baptisms for the festivals of the Christmas, of Easter, and of Pentecost, from which our Christians, who have been assembled there from all parts have always departed with a marked

¹ Francis Parkman, The Jesuits of North America, p. 201.

The Jesuit Relations, vol. xvii, p. 97.

increase of faith. The outward splendor with which we endeavour to surround the Ceremonies of the Church; the beauty of our Chapel (which is looked upon in this Country as one of the wonders of the World, although in France it would be considered but a poor affair); the Masses, Sermons, Vespers, Processions, and Benedictions of the Blessed Sacrament that are said and celebrated at such times, with a magnificence surpassing anything that the eyes of our Savages have ever beheld, - all these things, produce an impression on their minds, and give them an idea of the Majesty of God, Who, we tell them, is honored throughout the World by a worship a thousand times more imposing.²

The curiosity of the pagan Indians got the better of them when they heard about these baptisms, so we find them cautiously going into the chapels to witness them. What a picturesque congregation it must have been! We could imagine there -

warriors young and old, glistening in grease and sunflower oil, with uncouth looks, a trifle less coarse than a horse's mane, and faces perhaps smeared with paint in honor of the occasion; wenches in gay attire; hags muffled in a filthy discarded deer-skin, their leathery visages corrugated with age and malice, and their hard, glittering eyes riveted on the spectacle before them. The priests, no longer in their daily garb of black but radiant in their surplices, the genuflections, the tinkling of the bell, the swinging of the censer, the sweet odors so unlike the fumes of the smoky lodge-fires, the mysterious elevation of the host (for a mass followed the Baptism), and the agitation of the neophyte, whose Indian imperturbability fairly deserted him, -- all these combined to produce on the minds of the savage beholders an impression that seemed to promise a rich harvest for the faith. 3

So deeply did these sights impress the Indian mind, that once

2 The Jesuit Relations, vol. 23, p.23.

3 Francis Parkman, The Jesuits of North America, pp. 202-3.

they received the gift of Faith, their generosity knew no bounds. Among the newly baptized was a poor old woman, sixty years of age, who had heard of the zeal that is shown in France for adorning the churches, and that many people made great sacrifices of all they had in this world, to give it for the building of these edifices. She decided that she, too, would do likewise.

Although the weather was cold and she had nothing of value except a robe of Beaver fur that covered her. She took it off, and said, "I offer it to Our Lord; it will serve, when fitted down, as a carpet for our chapel. If I had anything else, I would give it cheerfully, so that God may have pity on me." ⁴

The first Christian Savage in good health to be baptized in the land of the Hurons was Tsiouendaentaha. He was publicly baptized on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, with all the solemnity of the church. The ceremony was carried out in the presence of the chief persons of his village, some of them regarded this act with astonishment, and others with a desire to imitate it. Father Le Jeune relates:

Our Chapel was remarkably well decorated;... We had arranged a portico, entwined with tinsel; in fact we had displayed everything beautiful that your Reverence has sent us. Nothing so magnificent has ever been seen in this country. But the rarest piece was our proselyte, so the eyes of all those present were fixed upon him. True they had seen little children baptized in our cabin; but that a man of his age, and in good health, should present himself for baptism, - this was

⁴ The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxiv, p.131.

something they had not seen before. At the beginning of the ceremony, he appeared rather bashful, and trembled all over; and when Father Superior questioned him, he was confused, and said to him in a low tone, "Echon, I do not know what to answer." However, when it was only a question of "yes" or "no", he spoke so loudly and so distinctly as to remove all one's reasons to doubt the sincerity of his heart: and even his modesty which appeared upon his brow showed us unveiled as it were, the integrity of his intentions in an affair of so much importance. 5

In the congregation was another old Indian, named Tendoutsahorine, who could not contain himself, and was continually talking out loud. He told his listeners that it was much better to be baptized like this, than to be baptized in sickness, which often deprives us of judgment and understanding; and he exhorted the whole assembly to imitate Tsiouendaentaha, and to be baptized like him, as soon as possible. The Father adds:

Apart from this, we had reasonable quiet, the little extra decoration serving materially to this end. Simon Baron was his godfather, and named him Pierre. After his baptism the Father Superior said the Mass, to which he listened with considerable devotion for a Savage. From time to time I said a few words to him, having him now perform an act of faith, now ask God's pardon for his sins; again I told him to reflect inwardly upon the great obligations that we are under to Our Lord. At the close of the Mass, he received communion very modestly, and the Father Superior helped him afterwards to offer his thanksgiving. An hour or two later, we made a feast for all the people of our village, that we might rejoice together at the grace that God had just shown to our Christian. 6

5 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xiv, p.93.

6 Ibid, vol., xiv, pp.94-5.

At Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye there were two chapels or churches. One was for the use of the Fathers, and within the French compound. The other church was built within the Indian compound and it had two fireplaces, one at each end. The first church was built shortly after the establishment of the Mother House of Sainte-Marie. At first the Indians were admitted to this church but as the number of converts grew, it was necessary to build a second church for the Indians.

In his Relation of 1642, Father Lalemant says:

We have been compelled... to build a Church for public devotions, a retreat for pilgrims, and, finally a place apart from the others, where the infidels - who are only admitted by day, when passing that way - can always hear some good words regarding their salvation. 7

The only way of heating the chapels was by means of fire-places or fire-pits. During the winter the Fathers were careful to keep these fire-pits full of burning coals, as Father Le Jeune states:

To provide against the discomforts that might arise from the cold and their nakedness. This so pleases them that some often remain, of their own free will, whole hours after service, to converse about our mysteries, and to become better and better instructed. 8

We have already spoken of the work of Father Daniel in putting the Our Father, the Apostles Creed and the Hail Mary, as well as the Ten Commandments in music. The Christian Indians delighted in singing these chants. The Fathers tell

7 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxiv, p.201.

8 Ibid, vol. xvi, p.39.

us, that often when on their hunts, these Christian Savages sang the Ten Commandments, as they paddled along in their canoes, their voices filling the virgin forests with their echoes of praise to the God-Who-Made-All.

Since the Indian tongue was entirely different from the French language, the Fathers met with some problems. One difficulty was in teaching them the Our Father. They would not say "Our Father who art in Heaven." To insist on their saying it would be an insult. The reason is, the savages are sentimental. To speak to any of them about a dead father or mother or husband would put them in a rage. Thus the expression "Our Father who art in Heaven" is an insinuation which they do not like. The same difficulty arises when you tell them to honor their father and their mother if the old people are dead.

In the Huron language the relative noun always exacts a possessive pronoun so that it is impossible for us to get them to say: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." The formula was changed to "In the name of Our Father, and of His Son, and their Holy Ghost."⁹

We find Father Brébeuf being somewhat scrupulous about this change and writing to his superiors to know if this change is allowable.

Father Brébeuf is known to have written the first Canadian Christmas carol, *Jesous Ahatonhia*, which is adapted from a French folk song. This hymn was preserved by the Hurons

⁹ Thomas Campbell, S.J., Pioneer Priests of North America, p. 125.

who escaped the devastating attacks of the Iroquois and were later settled by their missionaries in a reservation at Lorette near Quebec. There Father Etienne de Villeneuve recorded the words of the hymn, which were found among his papers after his death, 1796, and later published with a French translation. The tune is said to have been sung in France to a carol called "Une Jeune Pucelle" (a young maiden). It is a sixteenth century melody based on the first Plagal mode of Gregorian Tonality which antedated the Diatonic scale. A translation into French of the original Huron Carol was made by Paul Picard of Lorette, who was a Huron Chief; it was printed by Ernest Myrand in "Noël Anciens." The following is the French translation:

"Hommes, prenez courage, Jésus est né
Maintenant que le règne du diable est détruit
N'écoutez plus ce qu'il dit à vos esprits,
Jésus est né.

Ecoutez les anges du ciel.
Ne rejetez pas maintenant ce qu'ils vous ont dit,
Marie a enfanté le Grand Esprit, comme ils vous ont dit

Jésus est né.

Trois chefs se donnèrent parole
En voyant l'étoile au firmament
Et ils convinrent de suivre l'étoile,
Jésus est né.

Ces Chefs firent des offrandes; en voyant Jésus
Ils furent heureux, et Lui racontèrent de grandes choses,
Ils Le saluèrent et Lui parlèrent sincèrement.
Jésus est né.

A présent venez tous Le prier,
 Adorez-Le. Il a exaucé nos vœux.
 Ecoutez-Le. Il veut que vous soyez saints.
 Jésus est né. 10

In 1642 Brébeuf wrote:

The Indians have a particular devotion for the night that was enlightened by the Son of God. They build a small chapel of cedar and fir branches in honor of the manger of the Infant Jesus. Even those who were a distance of more than ten days' journey met ^{at} a given place to sing hymns in honor of the new-born child. 11

According to the early French legends, the cattle in the stables fell on their knees; so also the deer in the forest. Thus legend found its way into the New World through the French in Canada, who spread it among the Indians. Harrison, in his Sketches of Upper Canada, relates how at midnight on Christmas eve he met an Indian creeping cautiously along in the stillness of the woods. The Indian, upon seeing him, motioned him to be silent, and when asked for a reason, replied that he was out to watch the deer kneel because he believed that on Christmas night all deer would adore.

In this twentieth century Catholics in general observe the First Friday in honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and

10 René Latourelle, S.J., Etude sur les écrits de saint Jean de Brébeuf, vol. 1, p. 241-2.
Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 19.

11 Father Jean De Brébeuf, Jesous Ahatonhia, English interpretation by J.E. Middleton, published by Provincial Paper Limited, p. 3. - (1955)

the First Saturday in honour of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Most of us think that these are new devotions for the modern age. Not at all, "The Jesuits, three hundred years ago, urged their neophytes to observe the First Friday and the First Saturday of each month." 12

The great feasts of the church were made living festivals by the missionaries. We read in the Relations the beautiful ceremonies they had on the Feast of the Purification. We can see the church with its many lights, and assembled there a strange group of parishoners. This time there are many more children than usual - small children, young and old, from papooses yowling on their mothers' backs, to older ones wandering wide-eyed among their elders. The solemn ceremony began with the blessing of the candles. Father Brébeuf in cassock and surplice, turned toward his Huron congregation, and in their own tongue very graphically explained to them the meaning of the Feast of the Purification. He told the adults that on such a day Our Lady had offered her Son in the Temple to the Eternal Father and how, in imitation of her, they should also present their children to the service of God, and that God would take special care of them if they did so. They were well pleased, and thereupon Father Brébeuf taking the crucifix in his hand pronounced the prayer in their language:

12 The Jesuit Relations, vol., x, p.69.

Come Listen! You who have made the earth, and you who are named Father, and you who are named his Son, and you who are named the Holy Ghost; come listen, for it is no small thing we do. Look upon these children here assembled. Already they are all thy creatures, for they have been baptized. But lo! Again we present them all to Thee, we give them all up to Thee. This is what all these think, these assembled women, they think that he should be master of all these children. So that they may never sin. Turn aside all that which is evil; and if the plague attack us again, turn that aside also; and if the famine attack us, turn that aside also; and if war assail us, turn that aside also; and if the demon provoke us, and the wicked ones who cause death by person, turn those aside also. Finally turn aside all that which is evil. Jesus, Our Lord, Son of God, for this thou wilt exhort the Father, who never refuses thee. And you also Mary, the Mother of Jesus, who are Virgin, ask it also. So be it. 13.

Father Brébeuf said that:

These orisons, among others, pleased them, since we asked God to preserve them from contagion, from famine, and from war. All they asked for in addition was two prayers, that they might not be shipwrecked and might not be burned; "enonche watiwarcha, enonche watiatate;" They being added, they thought it complete." 14

If there was anything in the world that was sacred to the Hurons, it was their law of burial. Their care in this matter greatly exceeded anything that is done in France. They were singularly lavish in proportion to their means, and despoiled themselves to clothe their dead and to preserve carefully the bones of their relatives, in order that they

13 The Jesuit Relations, vol., x, p.71.
 Father Brébeuf, The Travels and Suffering of Father John de Brébeuf, translated from the French and Latin by Theodore Besterman, p.78.

14 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxiii, p.31.

might repose after their death in the same spot. One of the missionaries said:

Never would we have believed that our Christians would so soon renounce this claim of affection so firmly implanted in Nature; but Faith is a sword that severs the Soul from the body, and children from their Father. 15

"Let us not" added the Christians, "profane the Mysteries that are taught us, when we see souls of dogs and of brute beasts; but let us publish everywhere the advantages of the Faith. Above all, let our lives and our example show that our Faith does not rest merely on our lips." 16

Joseph Chihwatenwha, the greatest of the Huron confessors, and perhaps, the first martyr, was buried on August 4, 1640, with all the solemnity of mass and interment in consecrated ground. Echon, his Father in Christ, his teacher and oldest friend, delivered the funeral oration.

It is interesting to learn that the first burial in the cemetery at Sainte-Marie was a young Huron mother who died in childbirth. Her baby also died shortly after Baptism. The mother was a patient in the hospital in the Indian compound. After this death Father Lalemant, in charge of the Residence, says:

It was then that we saw ourselves compelled to consecrate a cemetery near our church, which was to receive as its first seed so blessed a deposit.

15 Ibid, vol., xxiii, p.31.

16 The Jesuit Relations, vol., 23, p.31.

The burial was solemn, and so replete with devotion that the Christians who had flocked to our place at the news of her death, left it only with tears in their eyes, and in their hearts the desire to live and die like her. 17

Father Lalemant continues his Relation by adding:

Since then, the Christians who have died not only at the village of la Conception, but at that of St. Joseph, five leagues from our House, have wished to be buried in our cemetery. 18

As the number of Christian increased in our missions, more cemeteries were needed. "In order to render their cemetery more august, the Fathers of the mission of St. Joseph, carried hither in procession a great cross, issuing from the Chapel and passing through the village, in sight of the infidels." 19 The Christian Savages who took part in the ceremony were persecuted. They endured many mockeries from the blasphemous tongues, "which made sport of their simplicity in bearing with so much respect a trunk of wood, - which indeed had no rare beauty than that which a living faith discovers in it, and which an infidel eye cannot contemplate." 20

Some time after the children of these pagans began to imitate their fathers, and cast at the cross stones and filth which somewhat injured it. It is now that the faithful Christian, "Etienne Totiri felt obliged to maintain, in regard to

17 The Jesuit Relations, vol.. xxvi, p.209.

18 Ibid idem, vol. xxvi, p.275.

19 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxix, p.275.

20 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxix, p.275.

this insult, the honor of God."²¹ It was evening and he went up to the roof of his cabin, In order to assemble the whole village, he shouted in a loud voice, similar to that which serves as a signal when some one has sighted an enemy approaching. All the Savages ran carrying their arms with them to find out where the enemy was. Totiri, seeing them all gathered in front of the cabin addressed them in the following manner:

"Tremble my brothers," says he to them; "the evil is at our doors and the enemy in our village. The cemetery of the Christians is profaned; God will avenge this insolence. Cease to provoke his wrath; check your children; otherwise you participate in the crime, and the punishment for it will fall alike on all. Dead bodies are Sacred things; and even among you infidels they are shown respect, and he commits a crime if he touch a paddle suspended in a sepulchre. Let them break down my house, let them strike me, and let them even kill me. I will see it without resistance, and will endure it with love; but when they shall attack things consecrated to God, as long as I shall have any remnant of voice I make you know the enormity of your crime, and will tell you that it is a terrible thing to take God as an enemy." ²²

This vehement speech on the part of Totiri had the desired effect. The parents in great fear, repressed the insults of their children.

The Christian Savages approached the Sacrament of Penance frequently and were urged to do so by the missionaries. Through the admonitions of the Fathers many of the Christian

21 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xxix, p.275.

22 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxix, p.275.

Savages began to live lives of great sanctity. We are told in the Relation of 1642 that -

On Saturday, all go to confession, to prepare themselves for the holy Day (so they call Sunday), on which a short Sermon is preached to them before Mass. Although all have confessed their sins, nevertheless, as a rule, they are allowed to receive Communion but once a month! ...If Heaven be pleased to continue to grant its blessings to others, and to make good Christians of them as those whom it now gives us. I may safely say that most and nearly all of them will be of the number of the Elect. 23

When they are about to go to confession, they prepare themselves with the utmost care. Sometimes one would hear the husband and wife asking each other their faults; they would inform each other of their sins, that they had committed during the week, and each taught the other how he should confess. The missionary adds in his Relation "I think that Heaven takes pleasure in their simplicity." 24

On Sundays they increase their devotions, preparing for the same two or three days before, especially those who intend and have permission to go to Holy Communion; and all the Christians have the devout practice of going to confession every week. While on the subject of confession, it is interesting to note the attitude of a Christian Savage on this sacrament. He had been taught by the Fathers that when sins are once forgiven, they never return, but that grace lost through sin comes back when we confess. Seeking, in his own

23 The Jesuit Relations, vol. 23, pp.107-9.

24 Ibid idem, vol., 23, p.113.

mind for the cause of this difference, he reasoned as follows:

"Grace" said he, "is like a beautiful robe of Beaver fur, with which God our father clothes the souls of his good children. When one of the children offends us, we take his fine robe from him and leave him quite naked, but we do not throw the dress in the fire. It is too valuable a thing, and we put it away somewhere to give it back to him when he is willing to obey us. In the same manner, God when we have sinned, deprives our soul of its grace; but he does not wish that grace to be lost, for it is too precious to him. He preserves it very carefully in his treasury, being quite ready to give it back to us when we ask his pardon. But sin is so hideous a thing, that God has a horror of it. When we confess ourselves he destroys it entirely. Would he place so frightful a monster among his treasures? It is therefore not surprising that it never returns into our Souls, when once it is washed away. 25

This dissertation on grace amazes us. It shows how thoroughly these Savages learned the lessons taught them by the Jesuits. Father Lalemant ends his letter by saying: "If this argument be not received in the School, we must excuse a Barbarian who never read saint Thomas." 26

Religious processions were often held on feasts and at other times to invoke God's blessing and help. During the summer of 1628, when Father Brébeuf was the only missionary in the land of the Hurons, Toanche and the whole northern region of Huronia suffered from drought. Since the corn was rotting and there would be famine in the winter, the women were

25 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxiii, p.113.

26 Ibid idem, vol., xxiii, p.113-115.

grief-stricken. They invoked the help of a powerful sorcerer to make rain. Failing several times in his incantations, he announced that his demon had revealed the cause of his failure; the Thunder Bird would not bring clouds because it feared the red cross on Echon's cabin. An old chieftain addressed Echon:

"My nephew" here is what he said, "What do you answer? The corn will not ripen and we are ruined. You do not wish to be the cause of our deaths. We believe that you should take down that red cross and hide it in your cabin or the like, so that the clouds may not see it. Then when the rain comes, and the harvest is gathered, you may put it up again."

Echon answered:

My uncle, I shall never take down or hide the cross on which He-who-brings-blessings dies. I cannot prevent you from removing it, but be on your guard against making the Master-of-all angry. 27

Echon continued to tell them that if they thought the clouds were afraid of the red colour of the cross, he would paint it white. "The cross was painted white and the drought continued," says Father Brébeuf, "and the wrath of the crazed people turned on the sorcerer." 28

The Hurons led by their Chieftains came to Echon in a body to begged him to make rain. This was an opportunity for Echon to explain to them what the cross meant to the

27 The Jesuit Relations, vol. x, p.45.

28 Ibid Idem, vol. x, p.43.
Francis Xavier Talbot, Saint Among the Hurons, p.67.

Christians. He said:

Then Our Lord inspired me to instruct them in the mystery of the Cross, and to speak to them of the honor that was everywhere rendered to it; and to tell them that it was my opinion that they should all come in a body, men and women, to adore the Cross in order to restore its honor; and inasmuch as it was a matter of causing the crops to grow, they should each bring a dish of corn to make an offering to Our Lord, and that what they gave should afterwards be distributed to the poor of the village. 29

The time was appointed for the veneration of the Cross, which in the meantime was again painted red, the original colour.

The Father hung upon the Cross a small crucifix. Together they recited some prayers in Huron to the God-who-made-all, Father Brébeuf then says:

I adored and kissed the Cross, to show how they ought to do it. They imitated me one after the other, apostrophizing our crucified Savior in prayers which natural Rhetoric and the exigency of the time suggested to them. In truth, their fervent simplicity inspired me with devotion. 30

We are told that God was so pleased with these simple Savages that He gave them rain. That year they had a plentiful harvest, and they were filled with a profound admiration for the divine Power. Echon was hailed as a great magician.

In the Relation of 1635, Father Le Jeune describes the unusual and intense drought which prevailed throughout Canada, in the spring and early summer of 1635. Both times when

29 The Jesuit Relations, vol., 10, p.47.

30 Ibid idem, vol., 10, p.49.

the sorcerers failed to produce the desired rain, the Indians came to the Fathers for help. In the Huron country, the drought was intense from Easter until the middle of June. Nothing was growing, everything was dying, so that the whole country faced a serious famine. The Fathers gathered in their cabin all the Indians who had not had recourse to the sorcerers and spoke to them kindly. They assured them that they could not make rain, nor any human person, but that they must have recourse to God -

"he who made Heaven and earth...and that recourse must be had only in him; that the Cross that had been planted had not hindered the rain...but that perhaps God was angry because they had spoken ill of him and had recourse to wicked Arendiowane," 31

The Fathers then urged them to pray to the Author of all blessings. Father Le Jeune then says in his writings: "This Nation is very docile, and when influenced by temporal considerations it can be bent as one pleases."

The Indians immediately complied with the Fathers' advice. They replied that they no longer had any faith in their soothsayers, and that they had deceived them. The Fathers told them that they must hate their sins, and resolve to serve that God whom we had announced to them; that henceforth they would make a procession every day to implore God's help, that all

31 The Jesuit Relations, vol. 10, p.39.

the Christian did this, that they should be constant and persevering, not losing courage if they were not immediately heard. The Father continued his narration by saying: "We added to this a vow of nine Masses in honor of the glorious Spouse of our Lady, the Protector of the Hurons."³² They exposed also the Blessed Sacrament on the occasion of the Feast, which happened at that time. "On the ninth day of the novena, June 13, the rain came in such torrents that they could not finish the Procession. This rain in answer to their prayers saved the country from drought."

At Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye the Sacred Liturgy was in use as far as it was humanly possible to do so. It was the first school of this type in the heart of the North American wilderness. This school brought about a complete transformation in the Indian character. The sacredness of marriage began to^{be} realized, the moral conduct of some of the Christian Indians were an example to all. Thieves were becoming fewer. At one time to be a Huron and to be a thief was synonymous. When Louis of the Holy Faith had returned from France, he was fully grounded in the moral virtues, and had realized the sinfulness of thieving. He learned that in France thieves were punished by hanging. One day he was asked to explain to his relatives the commandment not to steal. He told them that in France thieves were put to death. He was asked by his father

32 The Jesuit Relations, vol. 10, p. 41.

URBANVS.PP.VIII.

[illegible]

Gratias pro Deo et Imperatore

M. A. Mandelberg

BRIEF OF POPE URBAN VIII. TO FORT STE. MARIE

DATED FEBRUARY 18, 1644

The first Apostolic Document ever issued to the Church in Ontario.

whether he would put them to death if he became chief. Louis answered that if he did the country would soon be depopulated, for it would be necessary to kill everybody.³³ A Huron and a thief being practically the same thing.

Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye soon became a popular shrine in the seventeenth century, the rendez-vous for all Hurons seeking spiritual strength and consolation - the first place of pilgrimage in America north of Mexico! To substantiate this fact, all we need do is to consult a precious document, as fresh and as well preserved as when it was written nearly three hundred years ago, which still exists in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. This parchment, undoubtedly the first Apostolic document ever issued in behalf of the church in what is now the Province of Ontario, is "a Brief from Urban VIII, dated February 18, 1644, granting a plenary indulgence on the usual conditions to all who will visit the chapel at Ste. Marie on the feast of St. Joseph."³⁴

33 Father Brébeuf, The Travels and Sufferings of Father John de Brébeuf, Translated by Theodore Besterman, p.78.

34 The Jesuit Relations, vol. 27, p.167.
E.J. Devine, S.J., Old Fort Ste. Marie, pp.26-27.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER V

Chapter V deals with Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye as a centre of social work and a hospital centre. The corporal and spiritual works of mercy were combined with their social work. During the devastating plagues of 1636 and 1637 the missionaries tirelessly went their round from village to village, administering to the sick and the dying. They were always on the alert to snatch souls from Satan, who at this time, was "prowling about like a lion". Simple remedies were given the sick. Simon Baron, skilled in the use of the lancelet, used his art in healing the feverish patients. At first the Indians had every confidence in the Fathers. But the day came, when the Indians, influenced by their medicine men, were on the verge of massacring them all. The Indians said that they were the cause of all their epidemics.

In 1640, Father Lalemant built the Indian hospital at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. Dr. Gendron, a young surgeon from Orléans, France, gave his services gratuitously to the hospital here. The Indians flocked to this centre for the medication of the white men. Brother Molère plied at his trade as chemist and assistant to Dr. Gendron.

In the Indian compound and beside the church was the Christian cemetery. This graveyard was erected and consecrated by Father Lalemant. Three hundred years afterwards, this

cemetery was excavated. The skeletal remains numbered twenty-one. The climax to all the excavating was the discovery of St. John de Brébeuf's grave on August 17, 1954.

CHAPTER V

SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE

A CENTRE OF SOCIAL WORK AND HEALTH WORK

Social work among the Hurons began with the advent of the Jesuits in Huronia. From the very beginning these missionaries combined the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. They were inseparable if progress in Christianity was to be made in the Huron country. Among the evils of plagues and famines the Fathers snatched many souls from the clutches of Satan, souls who were breathing their last when the saving waters of Baptism was poured on their heads. We have already seen the very simple remedies administered by the Fathers as they visited the sick in their cabins. It might be a few prunes or raisins, or broths of senna leaves. When they were able to procure it, it might even be the broth of a wild duck or bustard. These visits were always the occasion of a baptism, either of a dying adult or a child. Sometimes these Baptisms were so secret that they were known only to the missionary and the soul concerned.

The year of 1636 was one of great tribulation in Huronia. Whole cabins were wiped out. The influenza epidemic was raging. It struck the cabin of the Jesuits on September 17, and one by one the Fathers succumbed to its ravages. Some of the Fathers hovered on the brink of death. The missionaries

who were well and those who had just recovered, administered to their stricken brethren. They had no medicines, "but thought that prunes, raising, or broths of senna leaves and wild purslane might be helpful as a purge. They had no food except corn mash seasoned with dried fish and an occasional egg."¹ Father Le Jeune reported:

We had, indeed, one hen; but she did not every day give us an egg, - and, besides, what is one egg for so many sick people? It was very amusing to us to see us who were well, waiting for that egg; and then afterwards we had to consider to whom we should give it, and to see who most needed it. As for our patients, the question among them was who should not eat it.²

The workman, Petit-Pré, went in search of game, often finding none. But as time went on, they realized that God, in His Providence was watching over them, for the game kept on increasing in proportion to the increase in the number of patients.

During this epidemic, bleeding the patient was used as a last resource to bring down a high fever. We are told in the Relations "that Father Jogues weakened and languished. For three days, he bled from the nose and his fever rose higher. The only remedy they could think of was surgical bleeding."³ Since no one of them had ever bled a patient, they feared that they might not be able to staunch the blood.

1 The Jesuit Relations, vol., xiii, p.93.

2 Ibid Idem, vol., xiii, p.93.

3 Ibid. vol. xiii, p.89.

after cutting the vein. Father Brébeuf had volunteered to make the cut; Le Mercier was also willing to assume the responsibility. They consulted with Père Isaac, and he, knowing their dread of killing him, said that he had seen a surgeon bleed a Savage and thought, he himself, could cut the vein. The next morning, September 24, after he had received Holy Communion, he made the incision in his arm and blood spurted out freely. They clotted the cut and laid him back on the blankets. Shortly he fell asleep as if in a swoon. It was not long before he was fully recovered. This same treatment was accorded other patients, all of whom returned to health. Some of the lancets used for this purpose were found during the recent excavations of Sainte-Marie.

Seeing so many Blackrobes ill at one time, the curiosity of the Indians knew no bounds. They must see for themselves how these white men bore their illness. In spite of contagion they pushed their way into the cabin of the Fathers. They wondered at the order the Fathers observed in caring for their sick, and the diet given them. During their investigations they were not always too quiet, and one day one of the Fathers said to a Savage: "My friend, I pray thee, speak a little lower." "Thou hast no sense" he said to me; "There is a bird" speaking of our cock, "That talks louder than I do, and thou sayest nothing to him."⁴

⁴ The Jesuit Relations, vol. 13, p.101.

No effort was too great to procure proper nourishment for the invalids. On one occasion Father Brébeuf remembered that a friendly Savage had a plover tied in his cabin. "He offered the Indian, beads, then a hatchet, then a blanket for the bird; but the Huron said he loved his little plover so much that he would not part with it. De Brébeuf counting no price too high in this crisis, obtained the bird in exchange for a deer skin."⁵ Such was this Father's love and regard for his sick brethren. The Relations of 1636 speak of the valour of Father Brébeuf during this epidemic:

All marvelled at Jean Brébeuf. During the two harrowing weeks, through the night and through the day, he fed, and eased, cleansed, and soothed the seven patients in the infected longhouse, had hovered about them as would a father, had brought them viaticum daily, yet had shown no weakness either of spirit or body. 6 (a)

Fortunately for Huronia the missionaries had recovered from the epidemic before it spread through the village. Since this happened, the Fathers were the Angels of Light hovering over the sick beds of the poor Hurons, administering what they could in the form of simple remedies, and mainly trying to save souls.

God having resolved to derive from us some little services for the consolation and conversion of the Savages, was it not very reasonable that we should be sick first, in order to be further out of the clutches of the disease, to make them esteem some little remedies with which we were to assist them, and to have an excellent opportunity to make

⁵ Francis S. Talbot, S.J. Saint Among the Savages, p. 157.
⁶ (a) The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiii, p. 109-111.

known to them the Master of our lives, showing them that we are indebted to Him, to the exclusion of all others, for our recovery. 6 (b)

By September 29, the disease had spread considerably. The Fathers had to draw up a definite schedule for the procedure in caring for the sick. Certain Fathers were assigned definite villages and cabins. They visited them twice daily, morning and evening, and carried soup and meat, that is if the patients could take them. No opportunity was lost for giving instruction and Baptism. Father Le Jeune informs his superior:

We ate during our own sickness a few raisins and prunes, and some little remedies that your Reverence had sent us, - using them only in case of necessity, so that we still had a good part of them, which we have made last up to the present. Everything was given by count, two or three prunes, or 5 or 6 raisins to one patient. This was restoring life to him. Our medicines produced effects which dazzle the whole country, and yet I leave you to imagine what sort of medicines they were! A little bag of senna served over 50 persons; they asked for it on every side. 7

In the following February the epidemic began to wane. There were still a number of patients waiting for our ministrations since the fame of the Fathers, as nurses, had spread over Huronia. One of the domestics had secured two bustard, so the Fathers had something nourishing for their patients. This time they did not cook them; but Le Jeune says: "We contented ourselves with carrying them some pieces of Bustard,

6 (b) The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiii, p. 109-111.

7 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiii, p.115.

entirely raw, teaching them to make soup therefore," sometimes while on their errands of mercy the Fathers met with strange experiences.

At this time we had an amusing encounter; upon carrying some broth to a sick woman, we found the Physician there. He is one of the most dignified and serious Savages that I have seen. He took the broth, looked at it, and then drew out a certain powder that he had in his bag; he put some of it in his mouth, spit it out upon the broth, and then, choosing the best of it, made the patient eat it. 8

Since medicinal bleeding had aided the Fathers in their recovery from the influenza, they used this same treatment with the seriously ill Savages. Simon Baron, a surgeon of a sort, came to Huronia on December 9, 1637. He was skilled in the use of the lancet.

He bled more than 200, and in a single day as many as fifty. They emulated each other in holding out their arms to him, - the well ones having themselves bled as a precaution, and the sick ones considering themselves half cured when they saw the blood flowing. 9

The presence of Simon Baron relieved the less skilful Fathers in this method of curing people.

The pagan Hurons having appealed in vain to their sorcerers and medicine men, finally had recourse to Echon, the Great Magician. They saw the wonders that he and his Blackrobe companions were working among the afflicted. Echon

8 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiii, p.255-57.

9 Ibid, vol. xiii, p. 181.

told them plainly that the only way to avert the scourge was to believe in the God-who-made-all, to pray to Him and to keep His Commandments. He also asked them to promise to serve God and as a proof of their sincerity, to vow that, if God took away the pestilence from them, they would erect next spring a special house for God's service. The Indian council accepted this proposition to believe in the French God and to build a house for Him next spring. Brébeuf, doubting their sincerity, impressed upon them the seriousness of the vow. God would be more angry with them. Echon then bade them all kneel before a statue of Our Lord and repeat after him a vow to believe in God, and to keep His Commandments, and to build a chapel.

The influenza epidemic abated about the middle of February 1638. With it passed away the fury and the frenzy of the Hurons. They forgot both their witch doctors and their promises made to Echon at their council. They thought only of the spring to come, of the corn planting, of their nets and fishing, of their peltries for trading, of their canoes for water journeys. The missionaries, too, had their surcease of strife and travel.

Only a few months had elapsed when a more dread epidemic appeared in the land. A canoe of Savages launched on the shore of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye in early September. Father Lalemant, the superior of the new Residence, was called to the shore by the Indians. One of their Savages had

become afflicted with a strange malady on his return from Quebec. The Indians told the Father that the Algonquins tribe was suffering with a similar disease when they passed through their territory. Looking upon the sick man with all his body covered with pustules, Lalemant in horror, recognized the disease as la variole, the smallpox. He said: "Without being a prophet, we can rest assured that the smallpox will soon spread through all the Huron country."¹⁰

The Indians placed their sick comrade on a stretcher of bark and carried him along a woody trail to their village of St. Anne, about three miles from Sainte-Marie. Within a few days, we are told, the man died. Then the inevitable happened. Within a week, almost everybody in the cabin where the sick man died, and many Indians in the village, had contracted smallpox. Visitors from nearby villages, coming to console the sick, went home with backaches, and headaches, with chills and vomiting, in weakness and oftentimes in delirium. All the Ataronchronon cabins were soon full of the plague-stricken.

To add to the worries of the Fathers, one of their own faithful donnés, was delivered at their door in a dying condition with the same disease. It was their "contact" man, Le Coq. He was almost indispensable to the mission because of the work he did. So it was on September 10, 1639, that this sick man was left at the Fathers' cabin. At first he was unrecognizable.

10 Francis X. Talbot, S.J., Saint Among the Hurons, p205

He was a pitiful sight, covered with sores from head to foot. His disease, smallpox, had been contracted on his way from Quebec. The disease had brought him to the threshold of death, but he had survived by a miracle of God's grace. Now he was at Sainte-Marie, and it was up to the Fathers to nurse him back to health. His presence at Sainte-Marie meant contagion to all those with whom he came in contact. Several Huron traders had contracted the epidemic also, besides the one who died at St. Annes. Father Lalemant attested regarding Le Coq:

I do not believe that one could look on a human body more covered with miseries. Not one of us could ever have recognized him. He was in a state of sickness which caused as much horror as compassion to all who had the courage to examine the ulcers with which he was covered.¹¹

The Relations go on to state that one of the Fathers absolved him and administered Extreme Unction. Though Le Coq was now content to die, he continued to live, his sores began to heal and soon he had recovered.

As Lalemant predicted, smallpox was soon prevalent throughout Huronia, along with the dreaded influenza which still existed. Both maladies raged through the fall and, instead of abating when winter came, reached a new fury. Terror mounted to panic and hysteria in the country of the Hurons. Huddled together in their cabins with no segregation of the stricken, the Savages fell prey to the epidemic.

11 Francis Talbot, S.J., Saint Among the Savages, p.206.
The Jesuit Relations, vol. 19, pp. 95-110.

The Jesuits went tirelessly through the inclement weather of winter from village to village, nursing the sick, speaking words of comfort, urging the invalids to say a few short prayers and doing all in their power to relieve a few of their sufferings. Thousands of Hurons lay writhing in pain, hundreds were dragged dead from their longhouses, and not a family escaped. Scarcely a cabin in Huronia went unvisited by the Fathers. The missionaries tried to save as many souls as possible but they were struggling against the assaults of demons. Some of the dying Indians when questioned by the Fathers about their Eternal Destiny would say: "I wish to go where my relatives and ancestors have gone." Others would say: "Heaven is a good place for Frenchmen, but I wish to be among the Indians, for the French will give me nothing to eat when I get there." Which will you choose" asked a missionary of a dying woman. "Heaven or hell?" "Hell", she replied, "if my children are there." 12 But in spite of many discouragements the Fathers had abundant consolations. Father Lalemant said that during the year, "the missionaries in the Huron country, have baptized over a thousand persons." 13

The climax came when the missionaries were blamed for the epidemics, and the Indian council decided on their death. It would take too long in this chapter to enumerate

12 John A. O'Brien, The American Martyrs, p.166.

The Jesuit Relations, vol. 15, p. 71.

13 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xix, p. 3.

the details of their persecution. God in a miraculous manner preserved the Blackrobes, who had prepared for death and had written their farewell message to their Father General. Brebeuf wrote this letter from Ossossané, on October 28, 1637.

Here is a brief resume of what he said:

We are perhaps upon the point of shedding our blood in the service of our Good Master, Jesus Christ... I assure you that all our priests await the outcome of matter with great calmness and serenity of soul. As for myself, I can say to your Reverence, with all sincerity, that I have not yet had the slightest dread of death from such a cause. But we are all grieved over this, that these poor Barbarians, through their own malice, are closing the door to the Gospel and to Grace. Whatever conclusion they reach, and whatever treatment they accord us, we will try, by the Grace of Our Lord, to endure it patiently for His Service. It is a singular favor that His Goodness gives us, to allow us to endure something for love of Him. Now it is that we consider ourselves as belonging truly to the Society. May He be forever blessed for having chosen us, from among so many others better than we and destined for this country, to aid Him in bearing His cross. 14

In this desperate state of affairs the Blackrobes had recourse to St. Joseph, "All making a vow to God to say the holy Mass in his honor for nine consecutive days."¹⁵ The Fathers felt that it was important that this people should know the interest that they had in their welfare, and the little value that they

14 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xix, p.3.
John O'Brien, The American Martyrs, p.171.

15 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xix, p.67.

placed upon this miserable life, so they invited them to their Atsation, - that is the Farewell feast, such as the Indians are accustomed to give when they are nearing death. The Blackrobes' cabin was filled with Indians. This was an opportune time for Brébeuf to speak to them of the other life. On this topic he waxed eloquent. Father Brébeuf relates that "The mournful silence of these good people saddened us more than our own danger."

"Meanwhile, one, two, and three days slipped away, to the astonishment of the village, without any more threats of death from those Gentlemen in their assembly."¹⁶ St. Joseph had answered their novena, - the fears of the Natives disappeared, their affection for the priests was restored.

In 1639, with the coming of Father Jérôme Lalemant, we saw how a central Residence was set up at Sainte-Marie. As time went on this Residence grew to vast proportions. In 1640 Father Lalemant refers to "Our House, in which we have a sort of hospital outside our apartments, has always been open to them. They have come there from time to time, and one after another, to recruit their strength, so that they might afterwards more easily work in their fields."¹⁷ Again Father Lalemant states: "We have therefore, been compelled to establish a hospital for the sick."¹⁸ From these statements in

16 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiv, p.67.

17 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvii, p.65.

18 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvi, p.201.

the Relations we have proof positive that a hospital did exist at Sainte-Marie. It was a well-regulated hospital that eventually came under the skilful supervision of Dr. Gendron, a young surgeon of Orléans, France. It is an interesting fact to note that this hospital at Sainte-Marie was established three years before the founding of Ville-Marie at Montreal. In the most southerly section of the stockade, excavations plainly showed a building forty by forty-four feet, built of horizontal planks insulated with clay, similar to the buildings in the European compound. Only two buildings of European construction stood in this compound, one was the Indian church, the other the hospital. This definitely was the hospital spoken of in the Relations of 1644. Lalemant specifically states that "the hospital is so distinct from our dwelling that not only men and children, but even women, can be admitted to it. God had given us good servants who are able to attend them in their sickness, while we assist them for the good of their souls."¹⁹

In 1641 Father Brébeuf, at the command of his superior returned to Quebec for medical treatment. He had broken his left shoulder blade, and after eighteen months of suffering it had not healed. It was Dr. Gendron who administered to him. "The doctor also stated that the Father must have suffered continually during this time."²⁰ On June 13, 1642, Father

19 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvii, p.65.

20 A.E. Jones, Old Huronia, p.324.

Jogues set out from Quebec for the Huron country accompanied by René Goupil, a young French doctor, and some Huron braves. Before they reached their destination, they were captured by the cruel Iroquois. René Goupil was tortured to death, but Father Jogues, after a long and painful captivity, finally escaped to France. Hearing of this great tragedy, and the loss of the doctor to the Huron mission, Dr. Gendron volunteered to take Goupil's place at Sainte-Marie.

But here is what increases our astonishment, Father Barthelemy Vimont wrote from Quebec, "Another young surgeon, well versed in his art, and well known in the hospital of Orléans, where he has given proofs of his virtue and of his competence, has chosen to take the place of his comrade; he has crossed in to New France; and I who write this last chapter, seeing him on the point of going up to the Hurons, representing to him all the perils into which he was about to plunge. "I foresee all that", he said to me; "if my designs tend me only to the earth, your words would give me terror; but my heart, desiring only God, fears nothing more." Thereupon he embarks with three young Christian Hurons. We believe that they have passed secretly through the enemy; we have as yet no assurance thereof. ²¹

Can we not surmise, that since Dr. Gendron was the surgeon who attended Father Brébeuf in 1642, that this doctor got his idea and inspiration from this saintly Jesuit, to dedicate his life and profession to the Huron mission, for the greater honour and glory of God. Dr. Gendron was stationed at Sainte-Marie from 1644 up until the exodus of 1649. He "assisted the

21 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxv, p.33.

French and the Savages with great kindness in all their sickness; he performed excellent cures, in number. He lived in great humility, and practised every virtue, without wages, without gain, purely for the love of God."²¹ There is no doubt that the small hospital at Sainte-Marie was well organized and conducted under such a charitable and God-fearing man.

A number of interesting stories are related of some Hurons who died holy deaths in this hospital. Here is a typical example. A Christian woman of the Immaculate Conception village paid a visit to her relatives twelve leagues distant (about 36 miles) from Sainte-Marie. She fell sick there, though as it seemed, was in no danger of death. However having a presentiment of death, she returned saying;

I am leaving you because I wish to die among the Faithful and my relatives who bring me eternal truths, They will help me at death and will look after my burial. I shall rise with them after death and I do not wish to be buried with my own people from whom I shall be separated in eternity. My whole love is for the Faith and those who are dear to God. 22

She then set out in a canoe reaching the village of Conception the same day. Without delay, she walked the three remaining leagues to Sainte-Marie. This good Christian had been one of the pearls of the church; and she became more precious as death approached and showed heroic patience during her long

21 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxv, p.33.

22 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvi, p.209.

and painful illness. She was scarcely able to move when the Father brought her the Last Sacraments, yet she manifested great faith. Though in a dying condition, she rose and knelt on the ground saying: "Lord, I firmly believe that you are coming to visit me. I die in that Faith, repenting that I did not know you sooner. Have pity on me."²³ The next day she fell into a coma and understood only when they spoke to her of prayer. Even in her death agony, "she was happy in adoring Him Whom she knew".

This poor Indian had been pregnant for five months and the main regret of the missionaries was that her child would be deprived of the grace of Baptism. The Fathers made a special vow in honour of St. Anne that if the child lived to be baptized, special prayers in honour of that great Saint would be said. God listened to their prayers. The child was born and lived only a few minutes but long enough to assure its happiness in Heaven, by being baptized. "The Father christened him Ignace."²⁴ The mother also died soon after and their bodies were buried together in a grave at Sainte-Marie.

23 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvi, p. 209.

24 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvi, p. 201.

Even the very young were carried by their parents to die in the hospital at Sainte-Marie. A little child of six years was extremely sick in the mission of Saint Michel. His mother was unable to contain her tears, seeing the excess of his pain, and the approach of death to her only son.

"My mother" said the child to her, "Why do you weep? Your tears will not give me back my health but rather let us pray to God together so that I may be very happy in Heaven." After some prayers the mother said to him. "My son, I must carry thee to St. Marie, so that the French may restore thee thy health." "Alas! My mother," said to her this young innocent, "I have a fire burning in my head; could they indeed quench it? I no longer think of life, - I have no desire of it for me; but I will warn you of my death, and, when it is near, I will pray you to carry me to Ste. Marie, for I wish to die there, and to be buried there with the excellent Christians.²⁵

From these two stories told us in the Relations, little is mentioned of the medication administered to the sick Indians in the hospital of Ste. Marie. To many of the Indians it was but the threshold to a new life in Heaven.

"This house is truly the house of God and not of the infirm", said a Christian Savage named Sawenhate of the village of St. Joseph. "I would never have admitted that sickness is a good thing, but now I prefer it to health. Heaven's gifts have come to me with my illness, and it is here that God shows me that He alone is capable of satisfying all our desires. I do not wish for life, which keeps me back from the possession of the great gifts that Faith leads me to hope for. I do not seek death, for he alone, who is the Master of our bodies and of our souls, can dispose of what belongs to Him. But when he is pleased to call me from

²⁵ The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxiv, p.113.

this world, I think that I am ready to obey his wishes. 26

Before the opening of the hospital at Sainte-Marie, the Fathers used their own quaint methods in aiding the sick. In 1641, Father Garnier writes the following to his brother in France:

I thank you for the memorandum which you have sent me of the easiest remedies; you do not realize that they are nevertheless for the most part, difficult to us, in the dearth of this Country; how be it, I thank you for them. But I beg you to send me some medicinal seeds. As the purgatives and some other like sorts, if you cultivate the plants at home, please inform me of their cultivation and use. 27

One can be assured that Father Garnier received these medicinal seeds requested from his brother in France. Brother Molère, S.J., who was apothecary, would be most interested in these herbs. We can imagine him carefully tending these beds of herbs in the monastery garden of Sainte-Marie.

The Indians had their own way of treatment of the sick and injured. On one of his missionary trips, Father Chaumonot was attacked by an infidel, who struck him a terrible blow on the head with every intention of killing him. Some of the Christian Indians came to his rescue. One of them administered medical treatment. "He scarified it with a stone, breathed thereon, and moistened it with saliva; then he applied to it the gum of certain roots. The treatment was successful, for in

26 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvi, p.201.

27 Ibid, vol. xxi, p.237.

a short time the wound was healed. This happened at Saint-Michel, a mission of St. Joseph. 28

Dr. Gendron, the surgeon at Sainte-Marie, describes another strange medication used by the Indians. The Indians claimed that in the vicinity of Niagara Falls certain stones were found that had curative value. He relates:

At the bottom of certain rocks foam was forming from the bounding waters and becoming a stone or rather a petrified salt which has a slight yellow tinge, which possessed the fine virtue of curing some purulent wounds and malignant ulcers. In this horrible place some Indians were living and they were trading with the people "erienne" stones (the name being derived from the lake), and they carried these stones to other nations. 29

Before closing this chapter we must visit the graveyard in the Indian compound. It is the oldest cemetery on record in America, north of Mexico. Here the social work of the missionaries included that corporal work of mercy namely - the burial of the dead. As already noted in this account, Father Lalemant stated that after the death of the young Christian Huron mother and her child in their hospital at Sainte-Marie, a graveyard had been consecrated for the burial of the Christians. This mother and her child were the first to be buried in this cemetery. The second burial in this consecrated ground was Christine Tsorihia, the saintly mother of that outstanding

28 Gendron, Quelques particularites du pays des Hurons en la Nouvelle France, p.8.

29 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxi, p.237.

Christian Huron, Etienne Totiri. This woman lived a holy life after her conversion and the Relations record that she had "a vision of the Blessed Virgin," before her death. Many of the Hurons from the surrounding villages of La Conception and St. Joseph five leagues away requested that after their death that they be buried in this cemetery at Sainte-Marie and so it was that the

devotion of the living had been so fervent that the intense cold in the severest part of winter, and the depths of the snows, have not prevented them from carrying on their shoulders a burden that they considered only an agreeable one, because they thought that they were paying the last duty to bodies which would one day rise again with them in glory. 30

In the Indian compound about five hundred feet south of the northermost palisade of the fort, our eyes are arrested by the trim little graveyard with its twenty-one small white crosses and in the centre of it all a concrete slab, at one side and standing in its rugged dignity is a tall cross of wood still bearing its bark. The graveyard fronts the Wye River, and one side flanks the Indian church. It was only in 1950 that this cemetery was discovered. The twenty-one graves were opened and examined. "The bodies were buried there in clear white sand. (the subsoil elsewhere under the fort is clay). Most of the bodies were buried in coffins about six feet in length." 31

30 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxvii, p.112.

31 D.H. Houtigan, S.J., "Archaeology Serves History", The Shrine Message, March 1952, pp. 24-25.

Practically every grave contained evidence of the old Huron pagan custom. Broken pipe stems, seeds, and potshreds were the most common offerings. One small female skeleton was found with a small cache of wampum at its side. Another had laid beside it a pint measure of basswood seeds. In one grave "the teeth and jawbone of a dog were intermingled with the human jaw and skull."³² To this day the missionaries are still trying to urge the Christian Indians to leave off their pagan practice of burying with their dead their more precious belongings and other articles of food and clothing.

Among the grave findings, grave nineteen, produced the most interesting. In this grave were found two skeletons, blue, red, and white, rosary beads, and a copper vessel, five inches in diameter, with an iron handle. With the pot were a typical trade-iron knife-blade and a beautifully designed and executed pewter pipe, fourteen inches long, two fleur-de-lis can be plainly distinguished near the bowl. These objects are now on exhibit at the Martyrs' Shrine Museum. Many are the conjectures regarding these articles. One supposition is that grave nineteen was the burial place of an influential Huron, possibly a chieftain. He may have been received into the Church after his wife's death. Her bones, preserved and wrapped in the manner of the pagan Huron burial, were placed at his side. The unique pipe of French workmanship of the period was possibly a gift to him, or he may have acquired it through extensive trade. The base of the copper vessel was damaged.

32 The Juries, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, p. 93.

to allow the spirit to escape. This pagan practice was called "killing the pot".

The human remains that were found at Sainte-Marie were not disturbed, but were respected as Christian burials. At least one member of the Jesuit Order was present when they were examined, and in these interesting days many of the priests came to watch the uncovering of this result of the labour of their illustrious predecessors. Mr. Jury tells us that

In two cases only were there indications of the cause of death. One skull bore the hole of a 32 calibre bullet, at the base of the left side. The hole was round and shattered on the inner wall. 33

The grave of the only white man - an European was the cause of much investigation. On examining the skeletal remains it was noted that the left hip-joint was displaced and that both ankles were broken. The highly arched feet and the roughness of the arm bones (which indicated well-developed muscles) were characteristically that of a white man. The skull was badly damaged. Dr. Alan Skinner, Professor of Anatomy at the University of Western Ontario, after a special examination of bone remains, submitted an eight-page report. "This report stated that the skeleton was that of an European, about 5 feet 2 inches in height, about the age of 35... The condition of the teeth indicated that he had subsisted on coarse food for from about five to seven years."³⁴ Around the neck was found

33 Wilfred Jury, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, p.94.

34 Ibid, p.94.



James Hood of Midland (left), a assistant to Rev. Denis Hegarty (right), points to spot where metal plaque bearing name of the Jesuit martyr Brebeuf was found in ruins of a chapel at Fort Ste. Marie.

a well preserved rosary of bright blue porcelain beads and a brass religious medallion.

All the characteristics of this skeleton point to that of Jacques Douart who was at Sainte-Marie in 1642, and 1646 he took his vows as a *donné*. The Jesuit Relations of 1648 say "Towards sunset, 28 April, 1648, he wandered a short distance from the house ... and was killed by the blow from a hatchet.³⁵ From the condition of the skeletal remains, the following story has been surmised. Jacques Douart, finding himself followed by a hostile Indian, climbed a tree for safety. Losing his footing he fell. His feet caught in a crotch in the tree, and the force of the downward impact displaced his left hip joint. In this position he was an easy victim for his enemy pursuer who bashed his head in with a tomahawk. This is all supposition, as no definite account is left of his murder.

After the martyrdom of St. John Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant at St. Ignace on that fatal March day, of 1649, their holy remains were brought back to Sainte-Marie by that loyal *donné*, Christopher Régnault. He prepared the mutilated bodies for burial, at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye and later for removal to Quebec when the Jesuits left the Huron country. Christopher Régnault relates the part that he played in this great act.

We buried these precious relics on Sunday, the 21st day of March, 1649, with much consolation.

35 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxiii, p.229

When we left the country of the Hurons, we raised both bodies out of the ground, and set them to boil in strong lye. All the bones were well scraped and the care of drying them was given to me. I put them every day into a little oven which we had, made of clay, after having heated it slightly; and when in a state to be packed, they were separately enveloped in silk stuff. Then they were put into small chests, and we brought them to Quebec, where they were held in great veneration. 36

For many long years these graves were sought for. Excavators were continually looking for some indication that might be a clue. The Relations of 1649 definitely fixed the old mission headquarters of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye as the place of burial. With this in mind Father Hegarty, S.J., set out to find the long-looked-for graves. The Toronto "Globe and Mail" on August 18, gives the following account of the search which ended in the final triumph of the location of St. John de Brébeuf's grave:

Quite logically he began with the side of the old Indian chapel, excavated and identified by Wildred Jury, well known archeologist, a few years ago. After removing the sod and top soil, Father Hegarty and his assistant, James Hood of Midland, worked systematically from the east end of the former building towards the West. He worked through the area carefully, following all decomposed wood and discolored soil through to the undisturbed water-laid sand level.

Last Friday at a spot 20 feet from the west end wall of the chapel and three feet from the south side wall, approximately opposite the centre of the Christian cemetery which abuts the chapel at this point, he found a disturbed area measuring 88 by 42 inches. At the time bad weather prevented further work.

On Monday, at a depth of 40 inches he found one iron nail of the type used in coffins of the Sainte-Marie cemetery and found there in quantity.

On Tuesday further work in the area uncovered just below the 40-inch level the distinct outline of a

coffin, formed by decomposed wood and blackened soil in the white sand. The outline measured 79 inches in length, 33 inches in width at the head and 30 at the foot.

The base of the outline rested on white sand at the 54-inch level. It was found on a north-south axis with the foot three feet from the south chapel wall. The black outline of the coffin was fringed with pink.

There was strongly marked black matter in the outline from the centre to about one foot from the head. It revealed no discernible pattern. This discolored soil has been collected and will be submitted to experts for analysis.

At 1:40 p.m. on Tuesday James Hood found a lead plaque bearing a readily legible inscription. The first line reads: "P. Jean de. B Beuf"; the second line, "Par es Iroq"; the third line, "16 17 de Mars", and the fourth line clearly reads, "1649".

The plaque is in excellent condition and after cleaning should be completely legible. It measures 3 by $\frac{1}{2}$ inches and was found near the spot where the left shoulder must have originally rested. It was obviously buried with the coffin for purposes of identification.

There were 40 iron nails found in the coffin pattern, some with decomposed wood clinging to them, others bent as though to clinch them in place. 37

And so it was on August 17th 1954, almost ninety-nine years to the day after Father Félix Martin, S.J., was searching about the brush-covered mounds, the long search for Father Brébeuf's grave came to a successful conclusion with the discovery of the plaque with the martyr's name on it.

Though many had a hand in the search over the years, it was perhaps fitting that a Jesuit should find the burial place of that great Jesuit martyr, Jean de Brébeuf. Our one

37 The Toronto Globe and Mail, "Burial Plate, Ancient Nails dug from Brébeuf's Grave," August 18, 1954.

hope now is that the resting place of this great Saint's fellow missionary may soon be found, too, the grave of Gabriel Lalemant. 37

37 The Toronto Globe and Mail, "Burial Plate, Ancient Nails dug from Brébeuf's Grave, "August 18, 1954.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER VI

This chapter deals with the primitive methods of Huron agriculture. Their method of corn-growing is described. It tells of their use of the natural products - fruits and vegetables, found in their locality. Mention is made of the first scientific gardening, on a small scale, as introduced by Brother Sagard and his Récollet companions. Then is narrated the story of the first agricultural farm, and the introduction of animal husbandry, as it was practised by the Jesuit Fathers. Very little is said in the Jesuit Relations regarding agriculture as carried on by the Fathers at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. Recent excavations linked up with the casual remarks in the Relations reveal to us their scientific farming carried on extensively.

In the heart of agricultural Ontario, the trowel and the spade have revealed to us today the cultivated farm land, the first stables, and the remains of the first domesticated animals in the Province. All these discoveries predated permanent settlement by two centuries.

CHAPTER VI

SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE

THE FIRST EXPERIMENTAL FARM IN NORTH AMERICA WEST OF QUEBEC

Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye has been considered the first experimental farm in agricultural methods west of Quebec. Over three hundred years ago, was found here, the genesis of experimental farms in Canada. By patient toil and almost super-human effort land was cleared for many acres; and to stock it sheep, hogs and cattle were brought up from Quebec by canoe and carried on the shoulders of priests over portages. Chickens were carried in crates. Many experiments were made in crop production, including at that early date, a system in vegetable growing and the newest methods of cultivation in vogue. The Hurons were encouraged to observe these experiments and profit by imitation, for their agricultural methods were so primitive that land was exhausted within a decade or two.

Father Du Peron records:

The land, as they do not cultivate, produces for only ten or twelve years at the most, and when the ten years have expired, they are obliged to remove their village to another place. If they cultivated it, it would yield as well as that of France.¹

We find almost the same statement in the writings of Champlain:

They sometimes change their village site after ten, twenty, or thirty years, and move it one, two, or three leagues, inasmuch as their land is exhausted by bearing corn without being restored by manure.²

1 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiv, p. 153.

2 Samuel de Champlain, Works, (Champlain Society, Toronto,) vol. iv, p. 303.

This farm was truly the fulfilment of a request made by a Huron chieftain to the great Champlain. This chief had begged Champlain to send the French to live with them in their country, and among other things to show them their manner of feeding animals. You may be sure, now, that the promise had been fulfilled, they were eager to learn the French ways. Little is actually told in the Relations of the temporal life of the Fathers at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. Their chief interest was the salvation of souls.

As we peruse the Relations, we learn that some excellent gardeners, skilled in agriculture, came out from France and eventually found their way to Sainte-Marie. Foremost among these gardeners we find the name of Jean Caron. It was on September 29, 1646, "that he set out from Three Rivers for the Huron country, while Pierre Masson left Quebec for the same destination, together with Jean Boursier dit Desforges!"³ Jean Caron was a lay brother. He had worked previously at Fort Richelieu. Brother Masson was also an excellent gardener. He remained at Sainte-Marie until the Exodus in 1649. We can be quite certain that these skilled gardeners, having learned their trade in France, laid out typical French vegetable gardens, as well as finely cultivated gardens of flowers, with seeds imported from France. Here, too, on this well-cultivated

3 A.E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, p.355.

farm were to be found apple and pear trees as well as the vine-yard with its well-trimmed vines. "It has long been a popular tradition that the vines that grow on the southern slopes of the hill to the north of the site, where the Martyrs Shrine stands, are the vines planted by the French gardeners three hundred years ago. And indeed, they are not the native wild grape found in this district."⁴

The first record of scientific gardening was carried on, on a very small scale, in Huronia under the Récollet Fathers. Brother Sagard describes their first garden:

Around our little dwelling we made a little garden, fenced off by stakes so as to prevent free access by the small children of the Savages, who for the most part seek only to do mischief. The peas, herbs, and other trifles we had sown in this garden did quite well there, although the soil was very poor, as this is one of the worst and most unproductive parts of the country. ⁵

Sagard was speaking of the district of Carhagua where the Récollet Fathers had built their cabin in the district of Huronia.

According to Sagard, the Récollet Fathers made the best use of the natural products found around them. During the spring when the sap was running in the trees, they would sometimes make an incision into the bark of some big beech tree, and placing a container underneath get the juice and liquid

⁴ Wilfred Jury, and Elsie McLeod Jury, Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, p.81.

⁵ Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, p.81.

which dropped from it; as he says: "this served as a tonic for digestion whenever we were indisposed in that way."⁶ There was an attempt at cultivating the wild grape vines found around their cabin. When the Fathers had run out of Mass wine, Sagard tells us what they did:

Before we set out to the Freshwater sea the wine for mass, which we had carried in a little keg holding two quarts, had gone out. We made more with the grapes of the Country; it is very good and fermented in our little keg and in two other bottles that we had, just as it might have done in larger vessels, and if we had had other receptacles it would have been possible to make a very good supply, in view of the great quantity of vines and grapes in the country. ⁷

Sagard also tells us that the Savages eat the grapes, but they neither cultivate them, nor make wine from them, not knowing the art of having the proper utensils. Sagard then explains his way of preparing the grapes for wine. Since he was the brother who had to do all the cooking and gardening, he was skilled in the art. He used a wooden mortar, and a napkin belonging to the chapel, served as a press, and an Anderoqua or birch-bark bucket, was used as a vat; but he adds that:

Our small utensils were not capable of containing all the mush, we were compelled, in order not to lose the rest, to make preserves of the grape juice, which was as good as that made in France and stood us in good stead in days of recreation and festivity during the year, when we took a little on the point of a knife. ⁸

7 Sagard, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons,

8 Gabriel, Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, p.83.

In the year of 1639, Father Le Mercier also speaks of making use of the wild grapes found in the Huron country. The mass wine had given out so something had to be done to obtain wine for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

He relates:

We gathered our little harvest and our vintage for the holy Altar, in the month of September. The harvest was about a half a bushel of good wheat, which was large for the little we have sowed; a small keg of wine, which kept very well during the entire winter, and is still passably good. Three priests have been using it for nearly six months. 9

According to Father Le Jeune, fruits of various kinds were found in the region of the Hurons. "Strawberries, raspberries, and blackberries are to be found in almost incredible quantities. We gather plenty of grapes, which are fairly good.¹⁰ Besides these fruits certain vegetables were found in abundance. The squash was a staple food in this district. The Father continues his Relation by adding that "the squashes last sometimes four or five months, and are so abundant that they are to be had for almost nothing, and so good that, on being cooked in ashes, they are eaten as readily as apples in France."¹¹ This same Father tells us that the change of food is very little different to that of France. He adds that the only grain of the country is sufficient nourishment, when one is somewhat used to it. The Savages prepare it more than

9 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xv, p.137-9.

10 Ibid, vol. x, p.103.

11 Ibid, vol. x, p.103.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE

From Lafitau 1724



When sowing corn Indians often put a small fish in each hill as fertilizer



Indians breaking ground & sowing corn



Indian women gathering corn

Corn, squash, pumpkins, beans & tobacco were grown by Indians, especially Hurons & Iroquois

twenty ways and yet employ only fire and water.

Sagard gives us an interesting account of the Huron method of corn-growing. Since they have not proper tools, the clearing of the land is a difficult process. The Savages first cut down the trees at the height of two or three feet from the ground. They strip all the branches which are heaped around the stump and burned. In the course of time the roots are removed.

Then the women clean up the ground between the trees thoroughly and at a distance a pace apart dig round holes or pits. In each of these they sow nine or ten grains of maize, which they have first picked out, sorted, and soaked in water for a few days, and so they keep on until they have sown enough to provide food for two or three years, either for fear that some bad season may visit them or else in order to trade it to other nations for furs and other things they need; and every year they sow their corn thus in the same holes and spots, which they freshen with a little wooden spade, shaped like an ear with a handle on the end. 12

The Huron women had an intuitive knowledge of the fertilization of their corn, primitive as it may be. When sowing the corn the Hurons often put "a small fish in each hill as fertilizer!"¹³ Sagard continues his account by saying that the rest of the land remains uncultivated but is kept clear of noxious weeds; "so that it seems as if it were all paths, so careful are

12 Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, p.93.

13 Herbert Cranston, Huronian, p.20.

they to keep it quite clean; and this made me, as I went alone, sometimes from one village to another, lose my way usually in these corn-fields more than in meadows and forests."¹⁴ Since such care was taken in the cultivation, the corn was unusual. We are told that on each stalk there were two or three ears, each yielding from one hundred to four hundred grains, and occasionally more. Sometimes the stalk was almost six feet tall and very thick. Sagard remarks that: "It does not grow so well or so high, nor is the ear so big or the grain so good, in Canada or France as these."¹⁵ This grain ripened in four months, or in three in some districts.

Sagard also narrates that there was much uncultivated wheat (Froment Sauvage, wild wheat, triticum), which had an ear like rye and grains like oats. He admits "I was deceived by it, supposing when I first saw it that they were fields that had been sown with good grain."¹⁶ He also mentions the wild peas that grew in abundance, he thought at first, that they had been sown and cultivated. As a demonstration of the richness of the soil, "a Savage of Toënchen had planted a few peas brought from a trading-place, they produced peas twice as

14 Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, p.100

15 Ibid, p.85.

16 Ibid, p.89.

big as usual,"¹⁷ which incident astonished Sagard greatly. He admitted that he had seen none so big either in France or in Canada.

Champlain had spent several months in the land of the Hurons. He left a detailed record of his sojourn there. In speaking of the district he says:

It seems indeed that God has been pleased to give these forbidding and desert lands some things in their season for refreshment for men and the inhabitants of these places. For I assure you that there are along the rivers many strawberries, also a marvellous quantity of blueberries, a little fruit very good to eat, and other small fruits. These people here dry their fruits for the winter, as we do plums in France for lent. 18

Champlain, like Sagard and the Jesuits who came later, mentions the cultivation of the sunflower, Indian corn and squashes. From the seed of the sunflower the Hurons made oil to anoint their heads.

We see from these earliest records of historians that the Hurons were a lazy sedentary race. Yet in spite of their characteristics, they practised agriculture to a certain extent, that is to say, the women did. We have seen how they made good use of the edible fruits and vegetables in their country. One fruit, especially, the blueberry, was plentiful. The Savages called it "ohentaque". The squaws dried these

17 Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, p.90

18 Champlain, Works, vol. iii, p.279.

berries, and used them as preserves for the sick and to give a taste to their sagamite and also to put into the small cakes that they bake in ashes. For flavouring the food "little onions, named Anonoque, (chives) which put out only two leaves like the lily of the valley"¹⁹ were used. They smelt of garlic as much as of onion. Sagard remarks:

We used them for putting into our sagamite to give it a flavour, and also a certain small herb, which in taste and shape resembles the wild sweet majorem, and which they call Ongnehon. But when we had eaten some of these onions or garlic raw, as we did when we had nothing else, along with a little purslane, but no bread, the Savages would not come near us nor bear the odour of our breath, declaring that it smelt so bad, and they would spit on the ground in disgust. 20

From the earliest historical records we learn that the Hurons had their own primitive idea of agriculture. What apt pupils they must have been when the Jesuits started their experimental farm at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. How interested they would be in the rotation of crops, the French method of fertilization of the soil, animal husbandry, and the orchards and vineyards. They must have gazed in wonderment at the hens in their coops, the pigs in their pens, and the growing calves in the meadow lands. And still greater surprise must have come to them, when they saw the suckling pigs full-grown, and

19 Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, p.237.

20 Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, The Long Journey etc. p.237.

the calves developed into milch-cows. No account of their reaction is left us in the Relations. In his writings Champ-lain tells us that for special feasts the Savages fatten bears, which they keep for two or three years to feast upon. He comments:

I realized that if they had cattle they would be careful of them, and would keep them quite well when they had been shown how to feed them, an easy thing for them, since they have good pasturage and plenty of it. 21

The Savages, being of a naturally curious nature, must have learned quickly the French method of caring for their cattle. We may be sure that many of the Christian Hurons worked side by side with the donnés and Frenchmen in the fields and gardens, as well as in the barns of Sainte-Marie. Whether the Fathers gave any of their livestock to the Savages, we know not.

As we carefully scan the Jesuit Relations, we find very little about agriculture in Huronia. Here and there a casual remark is made about the abundance of their harvest, the bringing of calves and chickens along the Huron trail. We read in the Relations of 1646 - "a man named Caron left Three Rivers with two calves in his canoe for Huronia."²² Again on September the twenty-second, in the same year, "Eustache Lambert took up two more calves for the same destination."²³ We

21 Champlain, Works, vol. iv, p.309.

22 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxviii, pp.187, 229.

23 Ibid, vol. xxxii, p.99.

can imagine what an arduous task this must have been, travelling with this livestock in the canoes, and carrying the calves over the many and difficult portages. Nevertheless it was done. Recent excavations of Mr. Jury have proved that it was so. No mention has been made of the actual transportation of the hens to the mission centre in Huronia. But in the Relations, the Fathers speak of "their one hen at the time of the epidemic of 1636".²⁴

The farm at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye must have been very productive in the year of 1647. Father Ragueneau was able to report to his superior:

During the past year we counted over three thousand persons to whom we gave shelter, and sometimes within a fortnight to six or seven hundred Christians, which as a rule, means three meals a day to each one. This does not include a larger number who come continually to pass a whole day and to whom we also give charity.²⁵

It would be impossible for the Fathers to feed a large number of Natives, if they did not have the produce from their farm. Again the same Father writes in the Relation of 1649: "We

24 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xiii, pp. 93, 101.

25 Ibid, vol. xxxiii, p. 77.

26 Ibid, vol. xxxiii, p. 255.

have larger supplies than usual from fishing and hunting than formerly, and we have not merely fish and eggs, but also pork and milk products and even cattle from which we hope for great addition to our store."²⁶ This is the first mention we have of pork as being part of the food of the mission table. Young pigs must have been brought by the dangerous water route at least five years before 1649; for among the bones of swine found in the cellar excavation, was "the jaw of a matured boar, five years of age."²⁷ In the Relations of 1648 we read another letter from the Superior at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye, to the Very Reverend Father Vincent Caraffa. In this letter we are again reminded of the fact that:

Last year, nearly six thousand partook of our hospitality. How strange it is, that in terra aliena, in loco horroris et vastae solitudinis, we should seem to draw mel de petra, olemque de saxo durissimo, - thence to supply our needs, not merely of those who are strangers, but also of the natives themselves. I say these things that your Paternity may know the abundance of God's goodness towards us. For while this famine has been heavy upon the villages on all sides of us, and now weighs upon them even more heavily no blight of evil has fallen upon us; nay, we have enough provisions upon which to live comfortably during three years. ²⁸

If there had not been a prosperous farm at the mission centre, the Fathers never could have accumulated provisions that would have lasted for such a length of time when they were feeding so many people.

26 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxiii, p.255.

27 The Juries, Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, p.33

28 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxiii, p.257.



In 1649, the Jesuit Missionaries finally burned their headquarters at Fort Ste. Marie lest the Iroquois capture it. They departed on rafts with their Huron refugees to Christian Island, 20 miles distant. After a winter facing starvation, they migrated to Quebec in 1650. Thus closed the heroic epoch of the tragedy of Old Huronia.

-PHOTO-STORY OF MARTYRS' SHRINE...p.20.

There have been many suppositions as to where these farm lands were located. After his excavations at Sainte-Marie Mr. Jury feels quite certain that "the farm lands must have been on the fertile flats on the opposite banks of the River Wye, where at the present time the most productive soil of the surrounding district is found."²⁹ He also states -

Between the inner and outer walls of the fort, the French probably planted vegetables in places, and possibly even some grain. The thirty-foot strip between the north walls, we suggest, was used for a barnyard. It will be noted that running water passed under a corner of the one building situated there.³⁰

At the time of the Exodus in 1649, Father Ragueneau tells us "We saved ten fowls, a pair of swine, two bulls, and the same number of cows, enough doubtless to preserve their kind. We have one year's supply of Indian corn; the rest has been used for Christian charity."³¹ With broken hearts the Fathers prepared to leave their "Home of peace, and its cultivated lands, which were promising an abundant harvest."³²

The Hurons must have had great confidence in the Blackrobes, for they had looked with amazement on the prosperous gardens, and farm lands of the mission. Many a time they

29 The Juries, Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, p.34.

30 Ibid, p.35.

31 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxv, p.27.

32 Ibid, vol. xxxv, p.35.

came knocking at the gate of the French compound to seek advice from the Fathers in their own little garden difficulties. We read with amusement of the coming of a Huron woman to get special advice on how to exterminate grasshoppers. Father Le Jeune says:

When I was returning from Ossossanè, a woman who was coming from her field caught a grasshopper and brought it to me, begging me earnestly to teach her some contrivance for killing these little creatures that eat the corn, adding that she had been told that we were past masters in this art.³³

The year of 1649 was the year that brought destruction to the mission of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. The Iroquois had devastated Huronia far and wide leaving burning villages and hundreds of Hurons weltering in their blood. Sainte-Marie the heart of Huronia, now ceased to beat. It was no longer needed, as the missions had fallen one by one to the dread assaults of the enemy. Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye would be continually in danger of the hostile Iroquois.

The days were dark at the fort and heavier grew
The burdens on Raguenneau's shoulders. Decision
was his.
No word from the east could arrive in time to
shape
The step he must take. To and fro - from altar
to hill,
From hill to altar, he walked and prayed and
watched.

33 The Jesuit Relations, vol. iv, p. 25.

As governing priest of the Mission he felt the
 pride
 Of his Order whipping his pulse, for was not
 St. Ignace
 The highest test of the Faith? and all that torture
 And death could do to the body was done. The will
 And the cause in their triumph survived. Loyola's
 mountains,
 Sublime at their summits, were scaled to the
 uttermost peak.
 Ragueneau, the Shepherd, now looked on a battered
 fold....³⁴

The decision was to depart from Huronia where they were no
 longer safe. The great mission drama of Huronia was coming to
 a close:

It fell

To Ragueneau's lot to perform a final rite -
 To offer the fort in sacrificial fire!
 He applied the torch himself. "Inside an hour,"
 He wrote, "we saw the fruit of ten years' labour
 Ascend in smoke, - then looked our last at the
 fields,
 Put altar-vessels and food on a raft of logs,
 And made our way to the island of St. Joseph."³⁵

So the brave hearted Ragueneau writes his final letter from
 Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye.

We, the shepherds, followed our fleeing flock,
 and we too have left our dwelling-place, - I
 might call it our delight, - the residence of
 Sainte-Marie, and the fields we had tilled, which
 promised a rich harvest... We saw consumed our
 work of nearly ten years, which had given us the
 hope that we could produce ourselves in this coun-
 try without aid from France. But God has willed it
 otherwise, our home is now laid waste, and our
 Penates forsaken; we have been compelled to journey
 elsewhere, and, in the land of our exile, to seek
 a new place of banishment.³⁶

34 E. J. Pratt, *Brébeuf and His Brethren*, ll. 135-145.

35 *Ibid*, ll. 152-159.

36 *The Jesuit Relations*, vol. xxv, p. 25.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Chapter seven shows how Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye was a centre of engineering. There is a brief description of the first canal built west of Quebec, with its three hydraulic lift locks. There was also built at Sainte-Marie an aqueduct that supplied the Residence with fresh running water the whole year round. For safety sake, the Residence had four stone bastions flanking each corner of the French compound. In times of danger, a runner could be dispatched secretly to the nearest mission, by means of the escape tunnel.

The French settlement was divided into two compounds - the French compound and the Indian compound. This chapter has a short description of each. In the French compound we find at least five buildings of the early Quebec style - the "Colombage pierotte". These buildings were the monastery, the chapel, the blacksmith's shop, the carpenter's shop, and another large building to house the donnés, the French workmen and the soldiers.

In the Indian compound, two buildings only were of the French style. They were the chapel and the hospital. The most important find in this compound was the grave of St. John Brébeuf in the Indian chapel. Then, too, the Indian cemetery, outside the church drew many interested spectators. In this same compound were found the remains of two longhouses, and

the circular outlines of other structures.

The art of fort-building was taught the Hurons by the Jesuit Fathers. This protection was needed to defend themselves from the assaults of the Iroquois.

The chapter ends with a brief resume of the destruction of the Huron villages and the final abandonment of the residence of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye.

CHAPTER VII

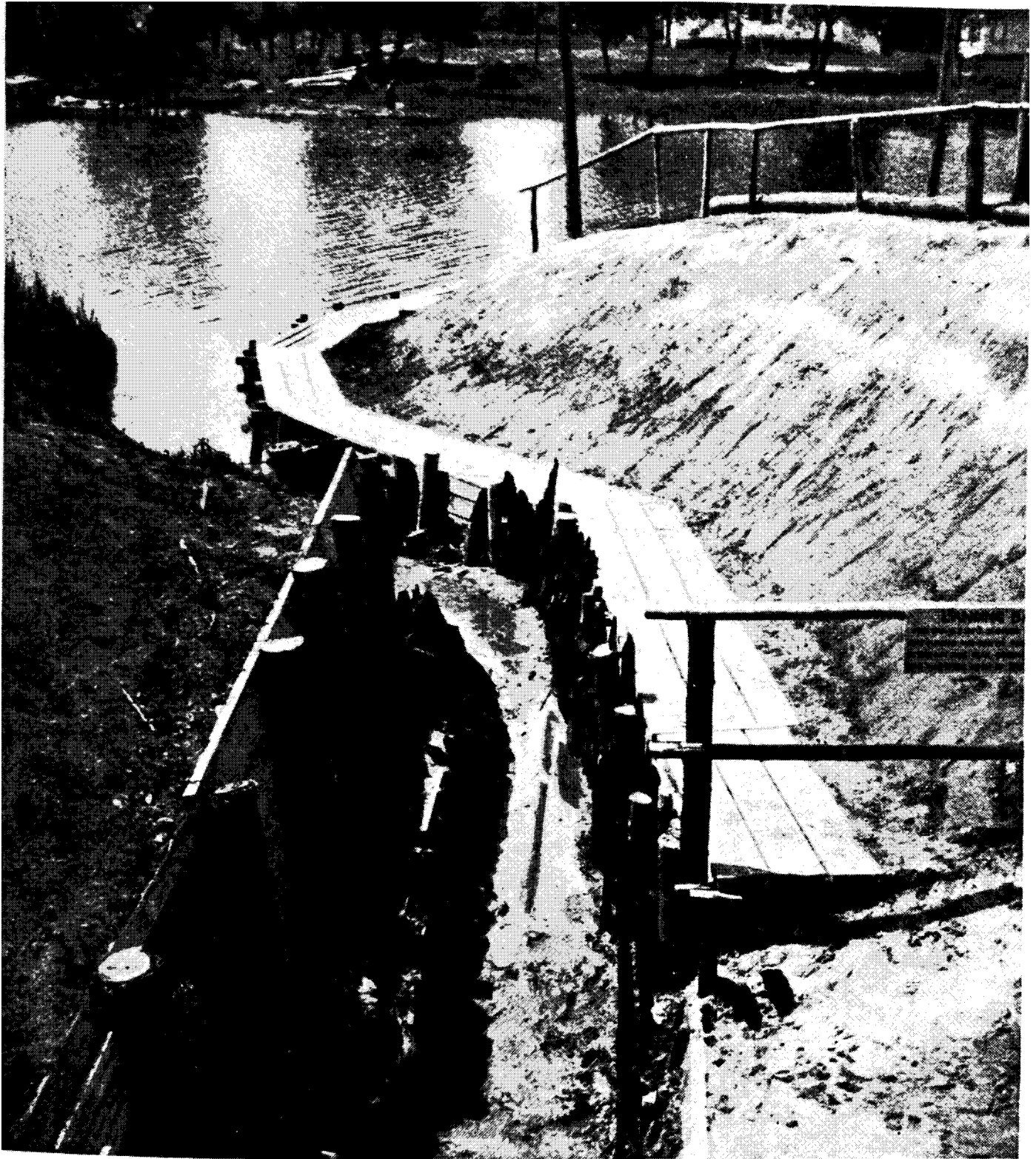
SAINTE-MARIE-ON-THE-WYE

A CENTRE OF ENGINEERING, ARCHITECTURE, AND FORT BUILDING

In March 1641 when returning with Father Chaumonot from the country of the Neutrals, Father Brébeuf had fallen on the ice and had fractured his collarbone. For two years he suffered excruciating pain. His superior, Father Lalemant, finally arranged to send him to Quebec to get proper medical attention. Father Brébeuf had already spent seven successive years in the land of the Hurons, and longed to return to his neophytes. At last the day of his return came. It was under a blistering August sun in the year of 1644 that a Huron flotilla of some twenty canoes wended its way homeward. The stately dignified figure of the saintly Brébeuf was in one of the canoes, his heart beating with anticipation of his return to work among his adopted children of Huronia. He seemed to realize that this was his last trip to the land of his desire.

Since the Iroquois menace was dangerous, "the governor De Montmagny, sent twenty-two French soldiers as an escort to the fleet".¹ After a tedious journey of thirty days, the canoe bearing Father Brébeuf and his companions, slid silently through the reeds at the mouth of the river at Sainte-Marie. The forests and hills around echoed in guttural resonance,

1 A. E. Jones, S. J., Old Huronia, p. 340.



XVI. OUTLET OF CANAL

Excavation completed. A retaining wall was built to protect the clay sides.

the arrival song chanted by the Hurons, as they clapped their bark paddles on the bark canoe. Soon the canoe glided from the choppy waters of the Wye into a waterway, and was safely moored in the second landing basin of a real canal. This was the first canal ever built in America. Great was the amazement of Brébeuf when he saw that the canal possessed three hydraulic lift-locks. It was quite beyond the imagination of a white person three hundred years ago to come upon a canal in the heart of the North American wilderness. Here in the midst of primitive Huron villages was a feat of engineering that was rarely found in Europe. We ask ourselves, how did this ever come to pass. There are many suppositions regarding its construction. Certainly the master mind behind this delicate feat of engineering had learned his skill somewhere in the Old World. On further investigation we learn that Clermont College in France was given to the Jesuits by Henry of Navarre. Engineering was taught in this college. Father Garnier at one time was a teacher in this college. There is possibility that he took a course in engineering, and had become acquainted with canals and hydraulic lift-locks. The first canal in Europe was built in 1607 by order of Richelieu. There is no doubt, that some of the French soldiers stationed at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye in the year of 1641, had some knowledge of canal building. During their time there they shared in the construction of the buildings and defence works. Mr. Jury remarks "that the canal

especially showed marks of military precision."²

This canal was a necessity in the building of the fortifications, and the bastions at Sainte-Marie. It was definitely a labour-saving device. Hundreds of stones were required to build the foundations, walls and bastions. Hundreds of immense timbers had to be brought within the walls for building purposes. Large quantities of crude iron had to be brought in, to the blacksmith shop to be fashioned into nails, bolts, hinges, and all things necessary for building. Since there were no beasts of burden, nor roads in these primitive days, the only means of transportation was by the water route. Hence was devised this canal which could bring all the heavy building material into the heart of Sainte-Marie. Excavations showed that "the canal was directed through the area where the stone walls and fortifications were erected. It passed, too, the blacksmith's shop and the carpenter's shop, where doubtless, there was a landing bay or loading basin."²

The canal at Sainte-Marie was of uniform width of four feet, wide enough and water high enough, to allow comfortable passage for the canoes. There is also a suggestion that flat-bottomed boats were built for the transportation of the heavier materials, such as iron and stone.

To have a canal there must be running water. The excavations showed an aqueduct as well as a water-main. The

2 The Juries, Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, p.75.

aqueduct was supplied with fresh water from the natural springs in the north, and fed the canal. The main also brought fresh spring water into Sainte-Marie. Thus fresh running water could be procured any time of the year. The wooden aqueduct and water-main were expertly hewn out of logs. The remains of this aqueduct, now exhibited at Sainte-Marie, show the intensive work and extraordinary skill that built them, when it was next to impossible to get the necessary tools in a wilderness, nine hundred miles from civilization. Brother Boivin who was more of an architect than a builder, must have directed most of this work. His wisdom guided in the selection of woods, as, "straight-grained cedar, pine and oak "were used in the building of both the aqueduct and the water main. Mr. Jury says that "it would be difficult to reproduce the expert work of the original tradesmen when the final reconstruction of Sainte-Marie takes place. Large square timbers were as smooth to the touch as if planed, and only an occasional score mark of the axe identified it as hewn timber.

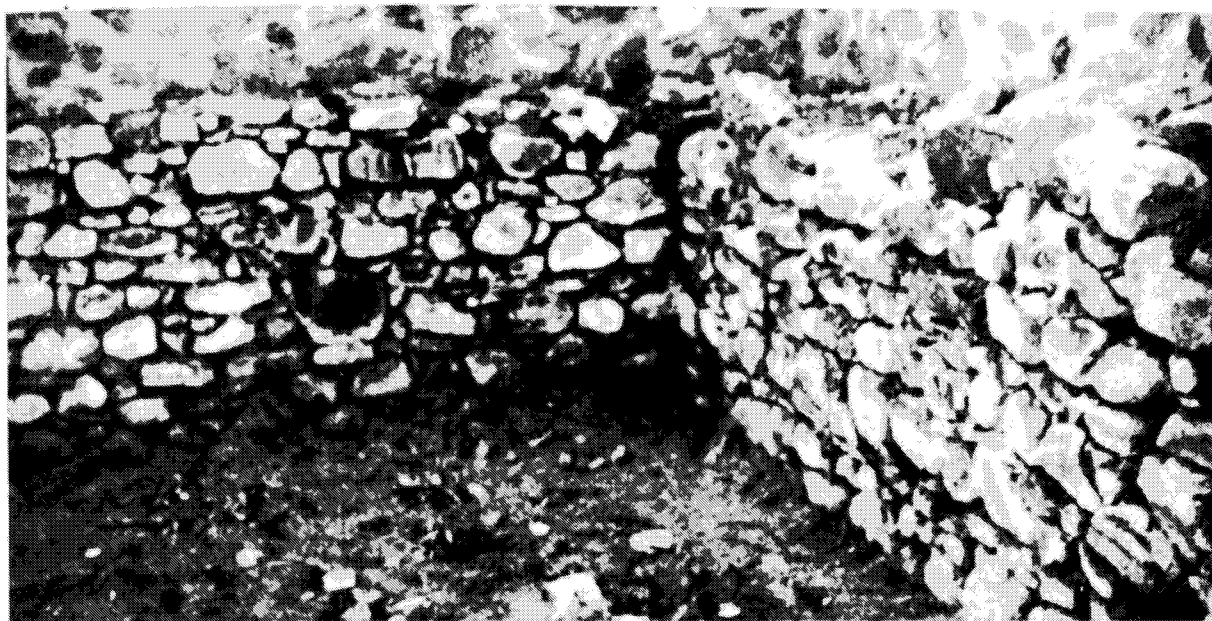
Excavations showed three distinct hydraulic lift-locks, and there is a supposition that there was possibly a fourth one. The total length of the canal including the aqueduct was four hundred and sixty feet. Near the entrance of the canal was unearthed the loading basin with a ramp leading to the buildings. The landing basin was farther up the canal, and served as a landing bay or slip for canoes of visiting

Indians or for the Fathers.

Another interesting find that came to light during the excavations was the escape tunnel, sixty-five feet in length and opening at the river bank. This was a means of precaution in times of danger or siege. By the escape tunnel an Indian runner or a white man could be dispatched for help. Excavations showed that the tunnel was three feet square, and lined with timber. It led from within the walls of the fort to the river bank. It terminated in a concealed exit at the water's edge.

This tunnel was deemed a necessity around the period of 1639 when Sainte-Marie was built. It was during this time when both the dreaded smallpox and influenza were raging. The Savages were dying by hundreds. It was a busy time for the Huron sorcerers. They prescribed one preposterous remedy after another. When all their remedies failed the sorcerers turned on the Blackrobes. "They are the cause of the plague," they said: "They seek to destroy the whole Huron nation. Though thousands of our people have died, not a single French man has passed away. Note that nearly all whom the Blackrobes have baptized have perished. Only when they are killed will the spirits end the plague."⁴ So thus it was, that the ignorant and heathen Hurons, urged on by their medicine men, laid the blame on the Fathers and planned their destruction.

4 Francis Parkman, The Jesuits of North America, p.98.



- a.* Original stonework inside reconstructed bastion built with the original stones in 1947
- b.* 31/5-inch timber under original stone foundation of bastion

Father Brébeuf, the great Echon, after Indian custom, even went so far as to hold his farewell feast, "the Atsataion, given by those who were near death."⁵ But divine Providence was watching over the mission centre of Sainte-Marie. For some unknown reason, the wave of hostility and hatred gradually passed away, and the Fathers once again, unmolested, went their way among the cabins.

Added to this Huron menace was the growing danger of Iroquois raids. This tribe was becoming more dangerous each day as they were now being supplied with arms from the Dutch traders of New Amsterdam. For these reasons the Fathers had recourse to every means possible to strengthen their residence of Sainte-Marie.

The question arises, where did the Jesuits get the money for building such extensive fortifications? We are told that:

F. Paul Le Jeune, writing from Dieppe, France, April 23, 1642, to R.F. Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome, informs him that the Cardinal de Richelieu grants 30.000 (livres) from the Treasury for the construction of a strong fort in the Huron country, and at the request of his niece (the Duchess of Aiguillon) and of Mons. Des Noiers (Des Noyers).^{5(a)}

There is a possibility then that the money necessary for the strongly fortified residence of Sainte-Marie was procured by such donations.

⁵ Francis Xavier Talbot, Saint Among the Hurons, p.183.

^{5(a)} A.E. Jones, S.J. Old Huronia, p.333.

In 1855, the Reverend Félix Martin, S.J. examined the ruins of this mission centre. He left this report:

The fort is a creditable structure of stone and mortar and the walls still show from two to four feet above ground. The masonry, executed in a workmanlike manner, gives evidence of having been done by skilled masons, as no stone is to be found in the neighborhood, the transportation of materials from a distance with the primitive means of conveyance available at the time must have greatly increased the difficulty of the undertaking.⁶

From this report, we can readily see the necessity of having a canal for the transportation of the building materials.

Archeologists have examined the building stones in the Residence of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye, and they tell us that the stone found in the building constructions was not from the vicinity. The stones used for the walls, fireplaces, the altar base, and the foundations of the bastions were limestone from the quarries near Fort McNicoll, three miles distant on the shore of Georgian Bay. "They had all been trimmed and laid in mortar. A mixture of lime and stone had floored the north-east bastions, now partially under the railway tracks."⁷

The fortified mission center of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye was composed of two compounds, the European and the Indian. Both were strongly fortified. The ruins of these compounds were excavated and the archeologist reported that:

6 E.J. Devine, Old Fort Ste.Marie, p. 41.

7 The Juries, Sainte-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, p.110.

"one can still trace the walls which were laid in hydraulic cement, and are said to be a puzzle to engineers, for there is no cement in the neighborhood and it could not have been brought a thousand miles from Quebec."⁸

Father Talbot, in "his" *Saint Among the Hurons*, gives us a general view of the fortified Residence of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. He writes:

The walls had been extended toward the river bank so that the enclosure was a square of 180 feet. The east wall of solid masonry was broken by a turreted gate and terminated on the north and south by jutting bastions. Half of the north wall was also of stone and was guarded by another bastion in the process of construction. Beyond this, the wall was solidly built of planks and clay. The west and south walls were of planks and palisades about twelve feet in height. A small cannon was mounted over the eastern doorway, and the bastions extended out from the corners to permit cross fire along the curtains. The only vulnerable side was the south, along which ran the moat from the river. To defend Sainte-Marie against a thousand Iroquois armed with muskets would require very few fighting men.⁹

In this short passage, Father Talbot visualizes what must have met the gaze of Father Brébeuf on his return from Quebec after his absence of almost four years.

Let us take an imaginary trip through the French compound at this time. Here we would find at least five wooden structures, built in the French style prevalent at that

8 T.J. Campbell, S.J., Pioneer Priests of North America, vol. i, p.7.

9 Francis Xavier Talbot, S.J., Saint Among the Hurons, p.215.

time. The excavators, working carefully, were able to interpret the soil stains, and hence tell us that most of the structures were of the "Colombage pierotte" style. This was the name given to this type of architecture by the early Quebecois. In these buildings "the framework was filled with stones". In describing the houses of the early settlers of Quebec, Mother Mary of the Incarnation uses this same expression. She says that "the houses of the early settlers except for two or three, are of "colombage pierotte".¹⁰ With this type of building, the houses would be cool in summer and warm in winter, as they were insulated with clay and stones. As our steps take us along the east wall of this compound, we come across workshops and storage rooms. Opposite the eastern gate was the residence of the Fathers. It was a gabled house of two stories, surmounted by a large cross. At each end were seen two great stone chimneys at least thirty feet high. The ground floor was divided into a community room, refectory and kitchen. The second story of this building contained the sleeping quarters of the Fathers.

Not far from the Fathers' residence was the chapel. It was very well built of posts and planks. It had a wooden floor, a rafted ceiling and a large fireplace. Remains of what was possibly the altar base are still in good condition. Pilgrims visiting the Shrine, at the present time, can see

10 Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Letters etc., vol.i, p.202

this remarkable piece of stonework. It is in the shape of the letter "H". "It is fourteen feet long, with the east-west bars extending 9 feet. The width of the masonry was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet with a depth of 3 feet."¹¹ This piece of masonry was built of quarried limestone. The stones were not cut but had been trimmed with a hammer, and between the stones was lime mortar not clay. When first uncovered the mortar was soft, but after exposure to the sun and air it became distinctly hard. Jesuit historians have given some suggestions regarding the H-shaped stonework. Most of them are of the opinion that it was a double altar. Many altars were needed, for at times there were as many as twenty Fathers present at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye.

As we pass from the chapel precincts, we come upon the carpenter-shop. This was one of the busiest parts of Sainte-Marie when the building process was going on, and an indispensable building. It was in this shop that all the small parts for the buildings were made. The carpenters, under the skilful direction of Brother Boivin, turned out the frames for doors, and windows, and the many other fittings for the houses going up, and furniture for the completed buildings. Innumerable tables, chairs, cupboards, chests, benches, beds, and all things necessary for the monastery and workshops were manufactured. You may be sure that the chapel fittings - the pews, the altars, and the shrines - were made here with exceptional care. The excavations of Sainte-Marie

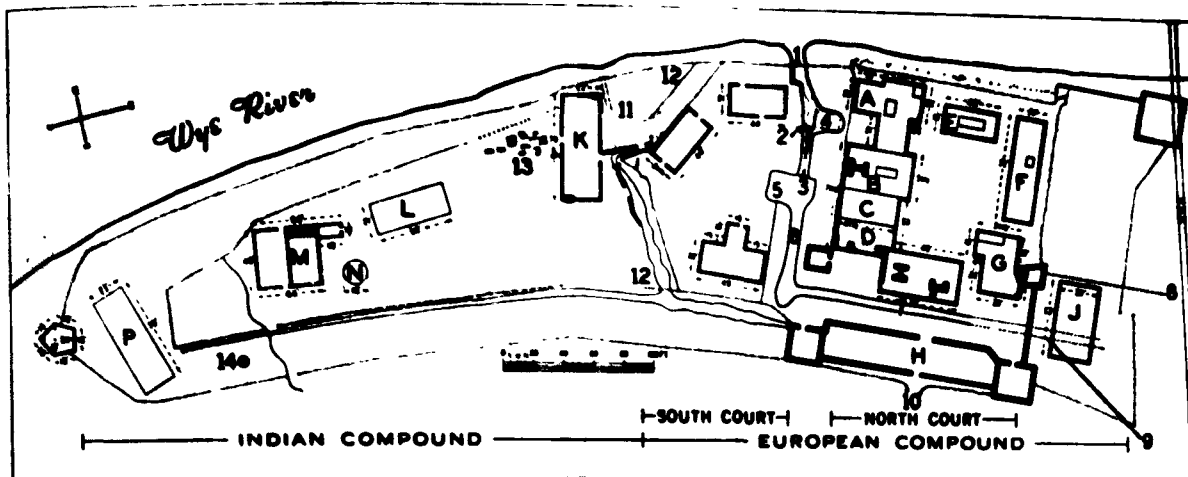
¹¹ The Juries, Sainte-Marie of the Hurons, p. 42.

show nothing but the most expert craftsmanship. It was all done for "the greater honour and glory of God."

Passing on from the carpenter shop, we come to the blacksmith shop. This, too, was a most necessary shop in the building operations. Without it, it would have been impossible to build. The remains of the blacksmith-shop were identified by the flue, a very important part of such a shop. In this shop were found the remains of a "blacksmith's hammer, five incomplete axes, and a kind of socket."¹² In this shop, fashioned out of steel, were made innumerable locks catches, keys, clasps, hooks, clamps, nails, and bolts of every description. The never ending task of the faithful blacksmith, "Brother Gauber",¹³ must have been the making of the nails and spikes for the buildings. The arrow point cut from sheet metal, found in the vicinity was possibly made here in this forge. The arquebuses of the twenty-two soldiers who were at Sainte-Marie in 1644, were likely kept in repair by Brother Gauber. If we visit the museum at the Martyrs' Shrine in Midland, we can see on exhibition there, many of the metal instruments, the nails, the bolts, locks, keys and numerous other metal objects that were fashioned by Brother Gauber in his forge over three hundred years ago.

12 The Juries, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, p.51

13 A.E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, p.334.



PLAN OF SAINTE-MARIE I

A-Dwelling
B-Chapel
C-Carpenter-shop
D-Blacksmith-shop
E-Cookhouse

F-Dwelling
G-Dwelling
H-Barracks
J-Barn
K-Indian Church

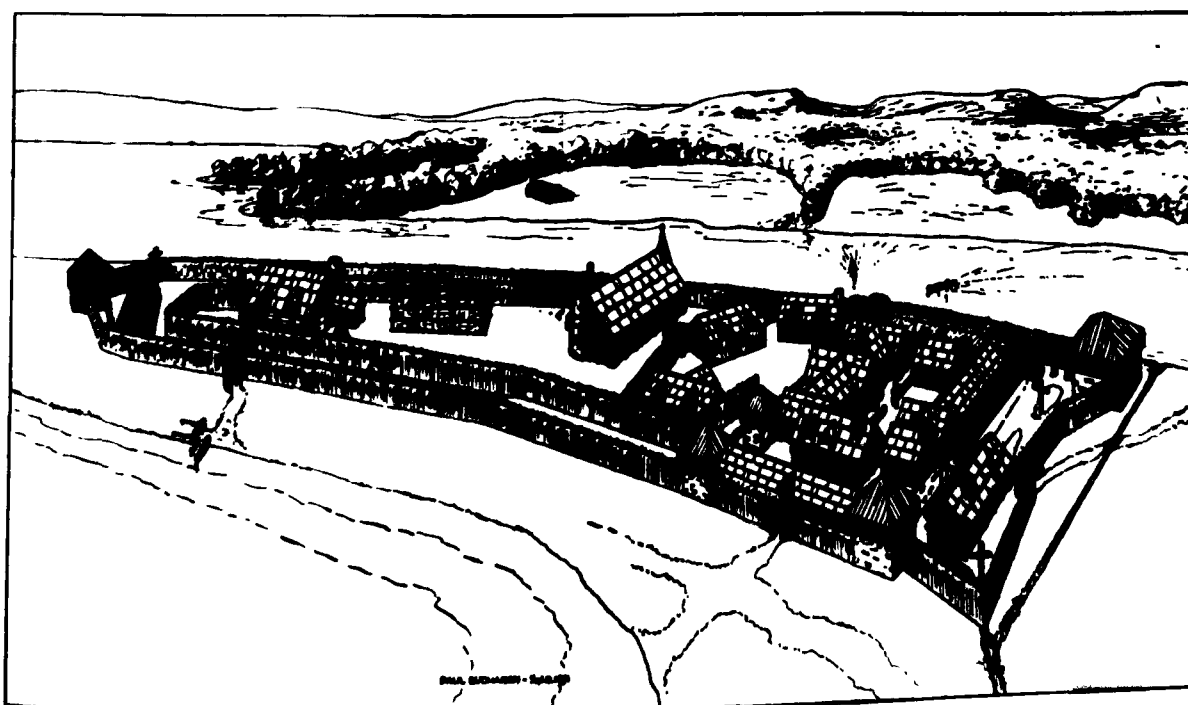
L-Huron longhouse
M-Hospital
N-Algonquin dwelling
P-Huron longhouse

1, 2, 3-Locks
4-Landing basin
5-Landing basin
6-East-west water channel

7-North-south water channel
8-Drinking water aqueduct
9-Aqueduct
10-Gateway

11-Escape tunnel
12-Ditchworks for defence
13-Christian cemetery
14-Well

Timber construction Stone construction Palisade line



RECONSTRUCTION DRAWING OF SAINTE-MARIE I

Extending from the chapel and the middle bastion along the north stockade was another building which possibly housed the visiting Christians before the Indian compound was built. A smaller building ran parallel to the west wall. On the southern side was the largest building of all. It stretched from the Residence of the Fathers to the western stockade, in the rear of which were three wings. The opinion is held that in this building were lodged the *donnés*, the workmen, and part of it was a barracks for the soldiers. In this same compound was located the central cookhouse of the European settlement. Brother Ambroise Brouet was the official cook from 1645 until he returned to Quebec in 1648, because of ill health.

The barnyards and stables ran parallel to the river, in between the double row of palisades. "The double palisade in this area, therefore, had played a double role, as defence and as a stable, the heavy sand covered roof providing warm shelter for the animals as well as being a sentry walk or firing platform in the scheme of defence, the sand rendering it fire-proof against flaming brands tossed by an enemy."¹⁴

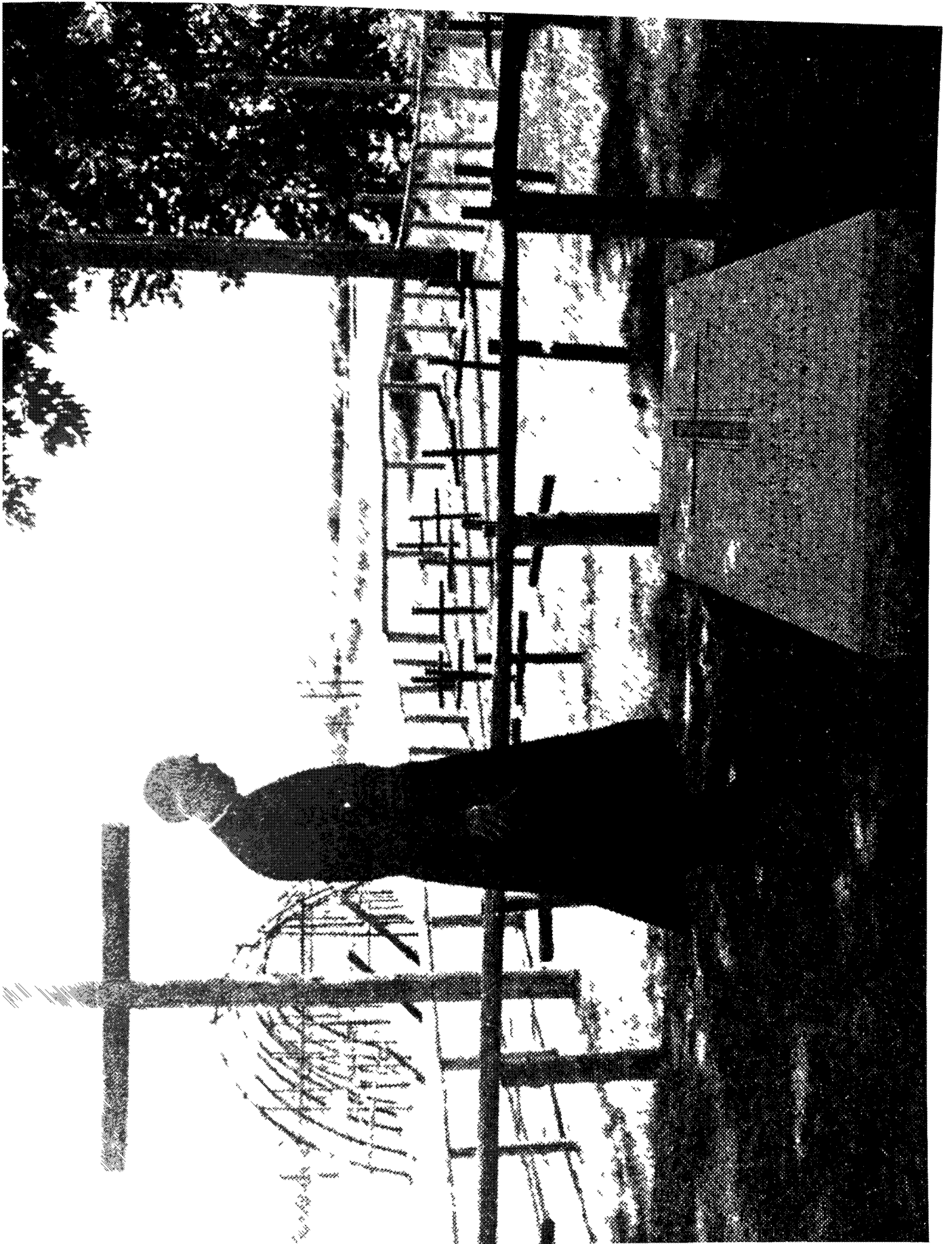
As we pass into the Indian compound we are astounded at the work that had been done there. Here was built a church for the Christian Hurons. It was located south of the

¹⁴ The Juries, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, p.29.

ditch-works in the vicinity of the river. Two fireplaces were in this building. They were needed to keep the Hurons warm.

Before passing on with our tour through the Indian compound, let us pause for a moment, twenty feet from the west end wall of the Indian chapel, and three feet from the south side wall, approximately opposite the centre of the Christian cemetery which abuts the chapel at this point. Why this pause, you ask. As we gaze down before us we will see the monument covering the grave of the great Echon, the saintly Father Brébeuf. The great privilege of finding this grave was that of Father Hegarty, S.J., a great lover of Father Brébeuf, who had spent many years anxiously searching for this most precious grave. The outlines of the grave were remarkably preserved considering that more than three centuries had elapsed since the destruction of Sainte-Marie. The lead plaque, bearing the name of Father Brébeuf was in excellent condition. "The plaque was found in the north-east corner of the coffin, above the left shoulder ... There was a small cross engraved on one side, then a date, 1649, opposite it, with three lines of writing between." On it was written:

15 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xvii, p. 39.



Father John de Brébeuf
 Burned by the Iroquois
 The 17th of March, in the
 year 1649. 15

This great discovery was made on Tuesday, August 18, 1954, at 1:40 p.m. The plaque was obviously buried with the coffin for the purpose of identification. To sum up the importance of finding the grave of St. John de Brébeuf, Father Hegarty, S.J. says:

First of all, its finding was the end of a long search - a search that began a century ago. That matters little. It was the culmination of years of planning and work and sweat. That, too, matters little. But years of prayer and self-sacrifice, the pennies of children and larger offerings of adults, of Catholic and Protestant alike, these do matter, and matter a great deal. The actual work of that month in the summer of 1954 was little, but the accumulation of prayers of hundreds of thousands does count. It is another proof of the efficacy of prayer. Here the prayer was not for some temporal favour, but for something that was to add to the honour of a martyr-saint for the greater honour and glory of God. 16

Divine Providence was certainly the guide that led the hand of the archaeologist to the spot where the grave of St. Brébeuf was. Father Hegarty tells us that after reading the Relations many times over, he always paused at the lines written by Father Ragueneau in March 1649, which said "the bodies of the Martyrs had been buried "with all possible

15 Denis A. Hegarty, S.J. A Saint's Grave, Martyrs' Shrine message, vol. xix, no 2, June 1955, p.37, 38.

16 Denis A. Hegarty, S.J., A Saint's Grave, Martyrs' Shrine Message, vol. xix, no.2, June 1955, p.37, 38.

honour" Sunday March 21st, the day after they were brought back from St. Ignace. So Father Hegarty decided, that since the graves of Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant were not to be found in the Christian cemetery, that their bodies had been buried in some place more sacred still. And Father Ragueneau's words "with all possible honour" seemed to point to either the big church or the private chapel.

Among the Iroquois tribes, the Hurons, Neutrals as well as the Five nations, it was a fairly common custom to bury the bones of some wise old man in the council-house, so that his spirit might guide the thoughts of the council. Brébeuf, over a twenty-year period, had shown himself truly a wise man to both French and Indian. The Catholic concept of prayer at the grave-side of a revered person and the pagan one of consulting the spirit of the dead leader, did not clash in this case. The French would want Brébeuf buried in a special place. The Indians, Christian and pagan, could see sense in burying his body in the Great Council-House, the Church. 17

So thus it came about that the great Huron missionary was buried in the Indian church a few feet from the cemetery of the Christian Hurons. It was quite fitting that he who had lived with them in life and led them the way to Heaven should be with them in death.

As we go out the door of the Indian church we come upon the Indian cemetery, that has already been mentioned. This burial ground was laid out at Father Ragueneau's command in 1642. At this time he informs his superior that "we have

17 Denis A. Hegarty, S.J., A Saint's Grave, Martyrs' Shrine Message, vol. xix, no. 2, June 1955, p.37-38.

therefore, been compelled to ... establish a cemetery for the dead."¹⁸ In the year of 1951, more than three hundred years after this cemetery was consecrated, it was carefully and reverently excavated by Mr. Jury and his assistants. A large wooden cross now marks this oldest cemetery west of Quebec (1639-1957).

The human remains that were exhumed at the Christian cemetery were treated with every respect as temples of the Holy Ghost. Reverently they were replaced in their new graves. Each grave was then carefully marked with a little wooden cross. That of Jacques Douart, the only European, received particular attention. A tombstone with his name engraved was placed at its head. A large wooden cross was erected near the church overlooking the graves.

In the most southerly section of the Indian compound was found the Indian hospital. In the Relations of 1644, Father Lalemant writes the following report: "a hospital had been built, quite separate from the Fathers' quarters, but within the enclosure."¹⁹ Again in 1648, Father Ragueneau tells us "this house is a resort for the whole Country, where Christians find a Hospital in their sickness,..."²⁰ Father Ragueneau again repeats that Sainte-Marie is "not only

¹⁸ D. J. Hourigan, Archeology Serves History, Martyrs Shrine Message, vol. 16, no. 1, March 1952, p. 25.

¹⁹ The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxiv, p. 213.

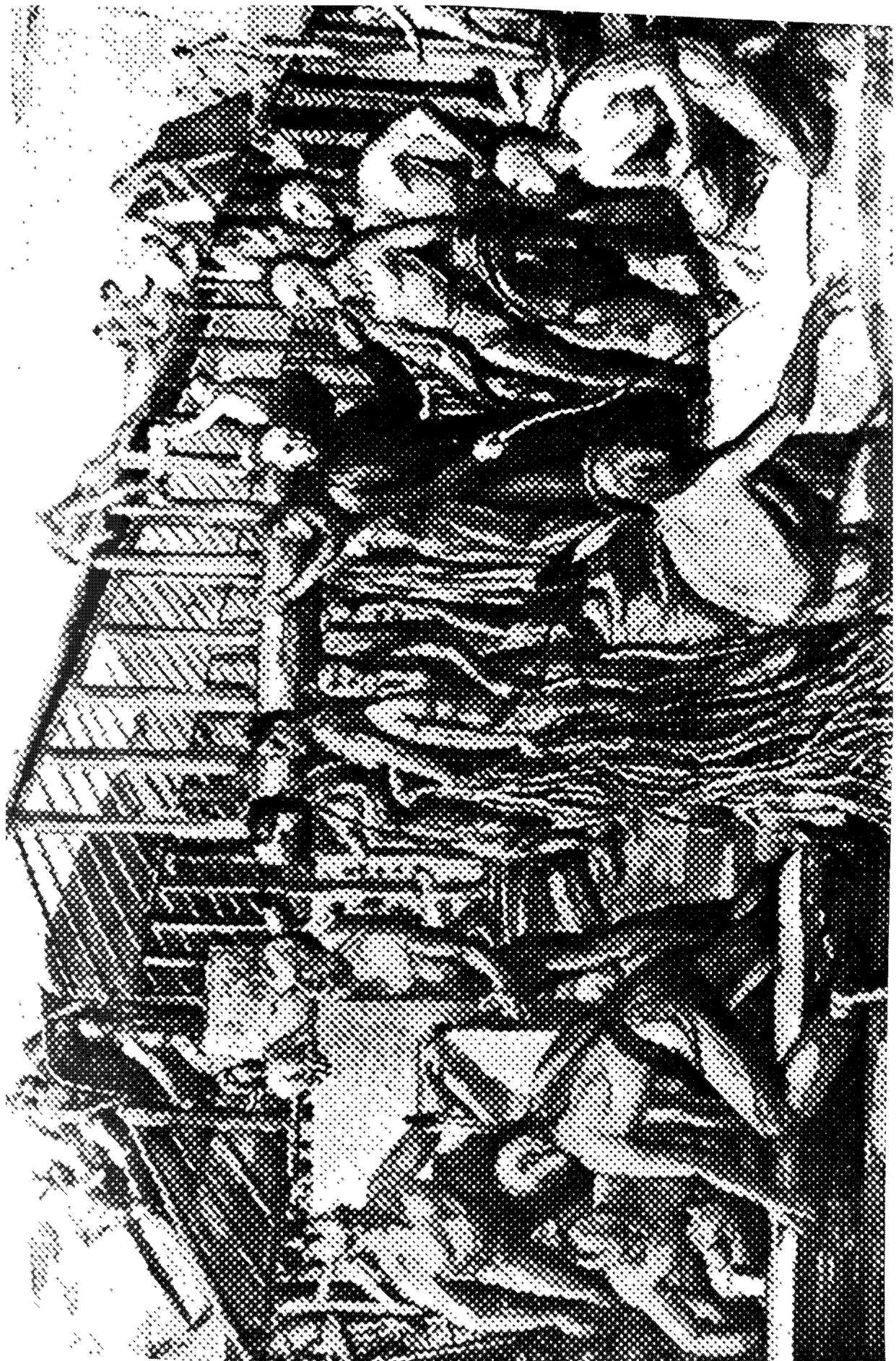
²⁰ Ibid, vol. xxxiii, p. 75.

an abode for ourselves, but it is also the continual resort of all neighboring tribes, and still more of the Christians who come from all parts for various necessities, - even with the object of dying there in greater peace of mind, and in the true sentiments of Faith. We have, therefore, been compelled to establish a hospital for the sick."²¹

The excavations of this building proved it to be of European style, the "colombage pierotte", such as found in the French compound. It definitely bore no relationship to the Indian structures that were in the vicinity. The building was divided by a partitioning wall, but this wall had no doorway. One section was evidently reserved for the women and the other for the men, as we are told in Father Ragueneau's report. Fireplaces were found in this building. Within the wing a number of broken glass fragments and melted glass were found. This was obviously Brother Molère's pharmacy. It was here that he practised his art of druggist. He was the first-hand assistant of Dr. Gendron, the famous French surgeon from Orléans, France, who generously offered his services at Sainte-Marie, when he heard of the violent death of René Goupil. He evidently was one of "those good servants" that Father Ragueneau speaks of in connection with the hospital.

Since Sainte-Marie was a hospice for the whole country, there had to be accommodation. On further investigation the archaeologists found the outlines of two irregular longhouses, also the circular outline of round structures,

21 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxiv, p. 213.



similar to those built by the Algonquin tribes. In this compound "Huron, Attiwandaron, Algonquin, and Iroquois pottery were identified; also one Iroquois iron hatchet, or tomahawk, was located, the latter object possibly a prize of war."²²

This Indian compound was surrounded with a double palisade wall built thirty feet apart. In the excavation work, was found the five-sided bastion that marked the southern boundary of the establishment of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye.

"From this southern²² most bastion a constant watch was necessary over the concealed approaches of the marshlands toward the lands where the hostile Iroquois bands were known to wander!"²³

If we could have looked into this compound three hundred years ago, what an astounding sight we would have beheld. The Indians in all their bright regalia would be seen carrying on their daily life; hundreds of fires would be glowing as their simple meals would be cooked by the squaws. Indian children would be running to and fro, delighted in their new surroundings. Then as night fell they would chant their praises to the God-Who-Made-All. With great consolation the Father of the mission would write back to France.

It is a very great consolation to us to see arrive here from two, three, and four leagues' distance on Saturday evenings, a number of our Christians, who dispose themselves in villages very near (the residence) in order to celebrate Sunday therein, and in the midst of this barbarism to render all together the homage which since the

²² The Juries, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, p.99.

²³ Ibid. p. 100.

creation of the world has been there denied to him alone who has merited it. A number of Algonquins having wintered near us this year, it is a sweet anthem to hear at the same time the praises of God in three or four languages; in a word, I can say that this house is a house of peace, so much so, that very many Savages who elsewhere are most hostile and insolent towards us, take on an appearance of feeling and disposition wholly different, when we see them in our home.²⁴

The extensive building program of these two compounds must have attracted a large number of the Savages, both Christian and pagan. They would come, not only to satisfy their curious nature, as to how the French built their houses, but many must have given voluntary help. In this way the French method of building houses and fortifications was made known to them. The Huron Indians were naturally skilful in their own way, and we may be sure they were adept pupils of the Blackrobes.

From the very first the Jesuit Fathers tried to teach the Hurons to defend themselves from enemy attacks. In 1636, Father Brébeuf had introduced the European type of defence to the Huron. He says:

We have told them (Hurons) that they should make their forts square, and arrange their stakes in straight lines; and that, by means of four little towers at the four corners, four Frenchmen might easily with their arquebuses or muskets defend the whole village. They are greatly delighted with this device, and have already begun to practise it at la Rochelle (Ossossané).²⁵

In the early days of Huronia, the slight Indian palisades had been sufficient as a bulwark against the bow and arrow. Now that the Iroquois had acquired firearms from the

24 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxi, pp. 141-2.

25 A. E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, p. 105.

Dutch in Albany, the French had to teach the Hurons how to build against the attack of fire-arms. The Hurons learned how to build such fortifications by observing the defence works at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye. These defence works were partly native and partly European. The French searched wooded areas adjacent to their residence, for tall, straight-grained red cedar which, with their iron tools, they felled and split to a uniform size. The Indian, with his stone axe, could procure only saplings, and those of many species and sizes. For this reason, the remnants of an Indian palisade are more difficult to trace than the dark, well-defined remains of the walls that surround Sainte-Marie. It was not long before the Indians learned to do the same type of building with the aid of French metal tools.

Historians state that Father Daniel was not a man to trust merely prayers for protection in time of danger:

As a means of defence, he therefore went from village to village and induced the Indians to repair their neglected palisades. He made them abandon their system of building circular forts, and showed them the advantage of rectangular constructions with bastions at the corners. He supplied the braves with metal arrowheads to take the place of their flints; and promised to send the few soldiers he had to the first place that might be attacked.²⁶

In the year of 1637, Father Garnier writes the following to his father in France:

I am in God's hands and He takes care of me. Of course we have persecutions, calumnies, etc., but the people of our vocation should never be happy till they hear the devil crying out against

²⁶ Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., The Pioneer Priests of North America, vol. ii, p. 295.

them. As far as I am concerned there is not a place on earth where I could be more joyous. You ought to know that we have a fortress here that has not its like in France; and our walls are quite different from those of the Bastille. Indeed, we have less fear of Spanish cannon than you have in Paris. Of course, some wag may whisper to you that it is because the cannon cannot come within nine hundred miles of us, and hence we are safe. In fact our defences consist only of stakes ten or twelve feet high, and a half a foot thick; but we have a tower made of thirty stakes at one corner of this enclosure and on two sides of it. We are going to have two more to protect the two other approaches. Our Hurons fancy that the French forts are built in that fashion.²⁷

By the year of 1648 the Iroquois inroads became a real danger to the Hurons. The terrified Savages in the vicinity of St. Ignace were being continually attacked. Suddenly the Iroquois would dart out of the forest, pounce like wild beasts upon a few Hurons caught off their guard on the hunt or in tilling their fields, and, as suddenly as they appeared, would fade away into the trackless wilderness roundabout. These unannounced sporadic raids kept the Savages in a state of panic. During the summer of 1647 the intensity and frequency of the attacks from the south increased to such an extent that the Savages, living in the vicinity of St. John Baptist mission could endure the strain no longer. In May of the year 1648, Father Ragueneau writes that they abandoned their homes and fled for refuge to St. Ignace. Little did they realize that the condition of St. Ignace was similar to their own, and

27. Thomas J, Campbell, S.J., Pioneer Priests of North America, vol. ii, p.306.

that the savages of that village were thinking of moving away from there for safety sake. When the Natives found their numbers considerably increased, their anxieties multiplied also. It was then that the chieftains took council and decided to ask the advice of the Blackrobes. Since Father Brébeuf had charge of this mission, he was the chief spokesman. The location of St. Ignace must be changed. Brébeuf, with the aid of his priestly companion chose an ideal spot for the new mission village. Flanked on three sides by the steep banks of the Sturgeon River, and two small brooks flowing into it through deep gullies, the place was unprotected on one side only, the south, and that for no more than a relatively short span, about one hundred yards in all. Under the supervision of Brébeuf, French artisans and Hurons worked together in the erection of the new buildings, and in raising a strongly fortified palisade to encircle the whole settlement. Not only were sufficient longhouses required to accommodate the people of the village and the refugees in their midst, but a new church had to be built similar to the one which, to the sorrow of the Fathers, they had to demolish in the place they were leaving.

The master minds of Brébeuf and his companion Lalemant, were tested to their utmost during the strenuous days of the building of this fortified residence. The magnitude of the task of constructing this great building and enough lodges to house two thousand persons, and of making the

settlement impregnable against an inexorable enemy, all in a few months of spring and summer, was enough to appal the bravest hearts. So it was under "Brébeuf's direction that the Hurons constructed a heavy palisade wall fifteen feet high, and laid in a good supply of bows and arrows, and tomahawks, and organized men for defence."²⁸

When the roving Iroquois came upon the newly built mission post, with its double row of palisades, solid and thick, their wrath knew no bounds. These fortifications are impregnable, so they thought. They blamed the hated Black-robos, who had driven on the lazy, apathetic Hurons to perform this amazing feat. Fifty men now could hold back a whole army, both by position and defence. There remained but one hope of taking the village, a chance slim and desperate as hardly to be entertained, - if the gates were unguarded. But surely the Hurons were not that careless. The early rays of a March morning sun were growing stronger. Anxiously the Iroquois strained their eyes for the sight of the sentinels, but St. Ignace seemed buried in sleep. Everything was quiet, suspiciously quiet. The Iroquois hesitated, while the fate of the nation hung in the balance. Then suddenly the leader motioned to his companions. With one accord they sped across the clearing and reached the gate. No sentinel challenged them, no arrow greeted them, no gunshot broke the morning silence.

²⁸ John A. O'Brien, The American Martyrs, p.190.

They pushed open the gate and signalling to the army broke into the village. "The sixteenth day of March in the present year, 1649," writes Father Ragueneau, "marked the beginning of our misfortunes, if that be a misfortune which has manifestly been the salvation of many of God's elect."²⁹ The Iroquois to the number of about a thousand men, well equipped with weapons most of them firearms, which they had obtained from their allies, the Dutch,³⁰ were soon within the encampment of St. Ignace. A carnage followed. Four hundred Hurons, men, women, and children, were brutally murdered or captured. Then in rapid succession the village of St. Louis fell. With the fall of these two villages, came the cruel martyrdom of the saintly Jesuit fathers, Brébeuf and Lalemant.

"Fifteen missions had succumbed in a few months to the ferocity of the Iroquois; the Hurons had to abandon their homes; some ran to cover in thickets and forests; others roamed over rivers and lakes; others escaped to the neighboring nations; others found a place of safety on Christian Island, which they began to fortify; others finally sought protection at Sainte-Marie."³⁰ Six thousand miserable Hurons received hospitality from the Fathers at Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye during that dreadful year of 1648; other thousands received the same favour during the first months of the

29 The Jesuit Relations, vol, xxxiv, p. 123.

30 Ibid, vol xxxiv, p.197.

A.E. Jones, S.J., Old Huronia, p.382.

following year. However, "amid their appalling misery they stood unshaken in their faith", wrote Ragueneau, who was witness of events. "The hope of Paradise which the faith furnishes our Christians is the only consolation which sustains them at this critical time. It makes them more than ever esteem the advantages which cannot be snatched from them either by Iroquois cruelties or by the perils of a famine which pursues them in their flight and from which they cannot escape."³¹ "In less than fifteen days," Father Ragueneau tells us that "Our House of Sainte-Marie has seen itself stripped bare on every side, and the only one which remained standing in these places of terror, most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, - those who had lost their former dwellings having set fire to them themselves, fearing lest they should serve as retreat and fortresses for the Iroquois."³²

With a broken heart but bowed with resignation to God's holy will, Ragueneau remarks in his own philosophical way:

That God had determined to put an end to the Mission of the Hurons at the same time as to the life of him who had begun it; this was, Father Brébeuf, at whose death began the irreparable ruin of this nation. The faith had already taken possession of almost all the country; public profession of it was everywhere; and not only private persons, but the chiefs themselves, were at once its sons and protectors. The superstitious rites which were formerly a daily occurrence so began to lose credit that an

³¹ A.E. Jones, Old Huronia, p.382.

³² Ibid., p. 383.

infidel who asked for one of them by way of remedy for an ailment of his in the village of La Conception, could never, prominent though he was, obtain his end. Persecutions against us have already ceased; cursings against the Faith have been changed into blessings; I could almost say that the people were ripe for Heaven; and yet it required the scythe of death to place them in the safe granaries of Paradise. This has been our daily consolation in the universal desolation of that country. With the Faith, disasters, and afflictions had already begun; with the Faith they increased; and when it appeared that the Faith was, as it were, in peaceful possession of everything, so deeply, that this unhappy Christian church may have thought that it had come in altitudinem maris; and might have said, with tears in its eyes, Tempestas demersit me. 33

33 The Jesuit Relations, vol xxxix, p.245.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

To the Jesuit Fathers, Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye was their "Home of Peace", after their perilous missionary journeys among the Hurons and Algonquins. Hither, the Blackrobes gathered at definite times, for the purpose of consultation and prayer. Let us, too, go back three hundred years into the past and join them.

As our light canoe floats silently down the Wye River we soon enter the Bay of Gloucester, an inlet of the Bay of Matchedash, itself an inlet of the vast Georgian Bay of Lake Huron. It is the year of 1648, and the summer sun is flooding the land. Our little birch canoe, with its Indian conductor, ascends this little stream. On the right hand and on the left, gloomy and silent, rises the primeval forest; we have scarcely advanced half a league when the scene before us is changed. What a panorama opens up to our astonished eyes! Now we gaze in amazement upon the cultivated fields, planted chiefly with Indian corn, extending far along the river bank, and back to the distant verge of the forest. Before us opens the small lake from which the stream issues; and on our left, a short distance from the shore, rises a range of palisades and bastioned walls, enclosing a number of buildings. Our canoe enters a canal immediately above them, and we land at the Mission of Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye.

We enter the eastern gate of the compound, midway in the wall between its northern and southern bastions, and pass into the hall, where at a rude table, spread with ruder fare, all the community are assembled, also the *donnés*, the French workers, and a few soldiers. This assembly followed the cruel martyrdom of St. Anthony Daniel, and the destruction of the mission of St. Joseph. Parkman gives an imaginative and graphic pen picture of this assembly at Sainte-Marie:

It was a scene that might recall a remote half feudal, half patriarchal age, when, under the smoky rafters of this antique hall, some warlike thane sat, with his kinsmen and dependents ranged down the long board, each in his degree. Here doubtless, Ragueneau, the Father Superior, held the place of honour; and, for chieftains scarred with Danish battle-axes, was seen a band of thoughtful men, clad in threadbare garb of black, their brows swarthy from exposure, yet marked with the lines of intellect and a fixed enthusiasm of purpose. Here was Bressani, scarred with firebrand and knife; Chabanel, once a professor of rhetoric in France, now a missionary, bound by a self-imposed vow to a life from which his nature recoiled; ...Chaumonot, whose character savored of his peasant birth,... yet such as his faith was he ready to die for it. Garnier, beardless like a woman, was of a far finer nature. His religion...warmed with the ardor of his faith, shaped the ideal forms of his worship into visible realities. Brébeuf sat conspicuous among his brethren, portly and tall, his short moustache and beard grissled with time, - for he was fifty-six years old. If he seemed impassive it was because one over-mastering principle had merged and absorbed all the impulses of his nature and all the faculties of his mind. The enthusiasm which with many is fitful and spasmodic, was with him the current of his life, solemn and deep as the tide of destiny. The Divine Trinity, the Virgin, Heaven and Hell, Angels and fiends,- to him, these alone were real, and all things else were naught. Gabriel Lalemant, nephew of Jérôme Lalement, Superior at Quebec, was Brébeuf's colleague at the mission of St. Ignace. His slender frame and

delicate features gave him an appearance of youth, though he had reached middle life; and as in the case of Garnier, the fervor of his mind sustained him through exertions of which he seemed physically incapable. Of the rest of that company little has come down to us but the bare record of their missionary toils; and we may ask in vain what youthful enthusiasm had sent them from the heart of civilization to this savage outpost of the world.¹

So wrote Parkman, the unbeliever. To him it was something beyond belief, for talented young men, who belonged to the aristocracy of France, and who had every prospect of a spectacular career in Europe, to give their lives for the conversion of Savages in New France. Little did he know the zeal that burned within them "For the greater honour and glory of God", and for the salvation of souls. To them the honour and glory of this world was nothing but "tinkling brass and the sounding of cymbals." Failing to appreciate the high spiritual motives and ideals of the missionaries, Parkman gave us this detailed picture of the Jesuit assembly in the wilderness of North America. But his caustic gibe at Father Chaumonot and the saintly Garnier blurs his realistic description, excusable perhaps in him, because of his atheistic views and unbelief in the supernatural.

Father Chaumonot was the missionary companion of St. Charles Garnier and his intimate friend. The story is told

1 Francis Parkman, The Jesuits of North America, p. 369.

that when Chaumonot heard of Father Garnier's death, he at once,

addressed himself to his departed colleague and promised him the benefit of all the good works which he, Chaumonot, might perform during the next week, provided the defunct missionary would make him heir to his knowledge of the Huron tongue. And he ascribed to the deceased Garnier's influence the mastery of that language which he afterwards acquired.²

St. Anthony Daniel also appeared to Father Chaumonot after his death. To Parkman this seems an impossible occurrence, "a gross superstition impossible of belief." To us, who know the ways of God, we can believe it. This apparition of Daniel is narrated by Father Ragueneau in his Relation of 1649. He writes:

In fact, by one of our number (a man of eminent piety and well-attested humility, Father Joseph Chaumonot) he was seen once and again after death. But when first our Fathers were gathered in council, and planning, as is their wont, for the promotion of Christianity, Father Antoine was seen to appear in their midst, to revive us all with his strong counsel, and with the divine spirit which filled him. He seemed to be about thirty, and as far as could be judged by his face, which presented to the Fathers a noble aspect, quite unlike anything human. The Father was asked how Divine Goodness could suffer the body of his servant to be so shamefully treated after death, - disfigured, as if by disgraceful wounds, - and to be so consumed by fire that nothing, not even a handful of ashes, was left us. "Great is the Lord," replied he, and most worthy of praise. He beheld the approach of his servant; and to compensate for this in Divine fashion, he granted me many souls from Purgatory, to accompany my triumph in heaven."³

2 P. Pierre Chaumonot, S.J. Autobiographie, p.107.

3 The Jesuit Relations, vol. xxxiii, p.267.

The Iroquois scourge had reached its climax in the spring of 1649. It was in the month of March of this year that St. John Brébeuf had been favoured with more visions. Our Blessed Mother had appeared to him several times. Before leaving Sainte-Marie for his mission of St. Ignace, he was favoured once again by a vision, this time of Our Lord, who told him of his martyrdom and death. Mother Mary of the Incarnation stated that "Our Lord revealed to Père de Brébeuf the time of his martyrdom three days before it occurred," and that he manifested an extraordinary gaiety which was noted by the other priests. Suspecting the cause of his joy, his superior, Father Ragueneau, sent him to Dr. Gendron. The doctor was ordered to draw from him some blood, so that they would have a relic should he be completely burned as happened in the case of Antoine Daniel. This same nun reported a vision in which she saw the tortures he must endure, but strangely, "in these tortures his hands were in no way fractured or mutilated."⁴ This was contrary to the cruel tortures of the Iroquois. God in some remarkable way preserved the sacred hands of this great martyr, who used these same hands with great generosity in the service of God.

Like His great Master, for Whom he had given his life, the heroic St. John Brébeuf bowed his head in death.

4 Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres, pp. 4 - 223, 228, 255, 268.

Now three o'clock, and capping the height of the
 passion,
 Confusing the sacraments under the pines of the
 forest,
 Under the incense of balsam, under the smoke
 Of the pitch, was offered the rite of the font.
 On the head,
 The breast, the loins and the legs, the boiling
 water!
 While the mocking paraphrase of the symbols was
 hurled
 At their faces like shards of flint from the arrow
 heads -
 "We baptize thee with water...
 That thou mayst be led
 To Heaven...
 To that end we do anoint thee.
 We treat thee as a friend: we are the cause
 Of thy happiness; we are thy priests; the more
 Thou sufferest, the more thy God will reward thee,
 So give us thanks for our kind offices."⁵

Thus it was, amidst this fiendish torture, and with
 never a moan, passed away the spiritual giant of Huronia, the
 great Echon. His mission companion -

Lalemant dies in the morning at nine, in the
 flame
 Of the pitch belts.⁶

So now after three hundred years Sainte-Marie-on-the-Wye
 rises again.

For out of the torch of Ragueneau's ruins the
 candles
 Are burning today in the chancel of Sainte-Marie.⁷

5 E. J. Pratt, Brebeuf and His Brethren, l. 72-85

6 Ibid, 124-5.

7 Ibid, l. 16-17.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

I. Original documents

Recit Manuscript, par un Temoin, Du Martyre des Pères Brébeuf et Lalemant, S.J., 1649. Récit véritable du Martyre de la Bien heureuse mors, du Père Jean de Brébeuf et du Père Gabriel Lalemant entre nouvelle france, dans le pays des hurons par les Iroquois, Ennemis, in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

II. Microfilm

Archéologie Canadienne, Ancien Tourbeau Sauvage découvert à Pénétanguishene, Haut Canada, 1844-1867, par Felix Martin, S.J., (Dans D.B.Viger, Ma Saberdache, vol. Q., P. 252-267.) Microfilm, Saberdache Rouge #6, M-7.

III. Photostats

Documents Religieux, No. E, Group 18;

Brébeuf, Jean de, Lettres écrites à son premier retour des missions 1631-1648, photocopies. L'original de huit de ces lettres se trouve aux Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus à Rome. #3. Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

Ragueneau, Paul, S.J., Relation des évènements survenus dans les missions jésuites, 1649. En Latin, 4 pages. Reproduction en photostat. Don reçu en 1930 de James F. Bell, de Minneapolis, Minnesota, #5. Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

Regnaut, Christophe, S.J., Récit du martyres de Brébeuf et de Lalemant par les Iroquois, en 1649. Ecrit en 1678. Treize pages sont de la main de Regnaut et trois pages de notes sont d'une autre ecriture. #10. Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

IV. Printed Material

Documents Historiques Recueillis par le Rev. F. Martin, Lettre du P. Paul Le Jeune, S.J., Superior de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle-France. M.G. (Archives du Gesu a Roma), 1634-1635.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Martyres de Jésuites Missionnaires en Amérique - vies des Pp. René Goupil, Anne de Noue, Isaac Jogues, Jacques Buteau, Antoine Daniel, Jean de Brébeuf et Gabriel L'Allemant, tués par les Iroquois. (Provient des Jésuites de Paris, Saint-Germain, Residu 1460.)

Bressani, Père Francis Joseph, S.J., Les Jésuites--Martyrs du Canada, Traduite de L'Italien par le Père Félix Martin, S.J., Montreal, Compagnie D'Imprimerie Canadienne, 222 Rue Notre-Dame, 1887.

Besterman, Theodore, ed. et trad., The Travels and sufferings of Father Jean de Brébeuf Among the Hurons of Canada as Described by Himself, London, Golden Cockerel Press, 1938.

Bressani, F. Joseph, S.J., Relation Abrégée de Quelques Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus, Traduit par Felix Martin, S.J., Montreal, Lovell, 1852.

Champlain, Samuel de, The Works of Samuel de Champlain, reprinted, translated, and edited under the general editorship of H.P. Biggar, (The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1922-1936), translated by H.H. Langton, and W.F. Ganong, Toronto.

Charlevoix, Pierre Francis Xavier de, History and General Description of New France, John Gilmary Shea, Translator, 6 vols. New York, Francis P. Harper, 1900.

Chaumonot, Pierre Joseph Marie, La Vie, Écrite par lui-même par ordre de son Supérieur, l'an 1688, Nouvelle York, Isle De Manate, à la preffe Cramoify de Jean-Marie Shea, M.DCCC. LVIII. Achevé d'imprimer per J. Munfell à Albany, Ce 28 Sept. 1858.

Documents Historiques, No. 15, Gloires Ontariennes - Saint Antoine Daniel, Saint Charles Garnier, Saint Noel Chabanel, vol. II, Sudbury, Ontario, La Société Historique du Nouvel Ontario, Collège du Sacré-Coeur, 1948.

Documents Historiques, No. 14, Gloires Ontariennes - Saint Jean De Brébeuf, Saint Gabriel Lalemant, vol. I, Sudbury, Ontario, La Société Historique du Nouvel Ontario, Collège du Sacré-Coeur, 1947.

Creux, François du, S.J., The History of Canada or New France, translated with an introduction by Percy J. Robinson, edited with notes by James B. Conacher, 2 vols. Toronto, the Champlain Society, 1951.

Emmanuel, Sister Marie, O.S.U., Marie De L'Incarnation D'Apres Ses Lettres, Ottawa, Les Editions de L'Université Ottawa, 1946.

Gendron, François, Quelques particularités du pays Hurons en Nouvelle France, Translated by John Gilmary Shea, (Denys Bechet, Troyes and Louis Billaine, Paris, 1660,) reprinted in Albany, New York, for J.G.Shea, 1868.

Hunter, Andrew Edward F., Notes on Sites of Huron Villages in the Township of Tay, Simcoe County, Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Toronto, 1900.

Jones, Arthur Edward, S.J., Oendake Ehen or Old Huronia, Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, Toronto, printed and published by L. K. Cameron, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1909.

Jury, Wilfred and Elsie Mcleod Jury, Sainte-Marie Among-the-Hurons, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1954.

Latourelle, Rene, S.J., Étude sur les Écrits de Saint Jean de Brébeuf, 2 vols., Montreal, Canada, Les Editions de L'Immaculée-Conception, rue Rachel Est, 1953.

Lescarbot, Marc, The History of New France, translated by W. L. Grant, 3 vols., Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1907-1914.

Lettres de Révérende Mère Marie de L'Incarnation, editées par L'Abbe Richardeau, 3 vols., Tournai, 1876.

Marie de L'Incarnation, Écrits Spirituels et Historiques, publiés par Dom Claude Martin, réedités par Dom Albert Jamet, 4 vols., Quebec, Action Sociale, 1929-1939.

Martin, P. Felix, S.J., Autobiographie de P. Pierre Chaumonot de la Compagnie de Jesus et son Complement, Paris, Oudin, 1885.

Martin, R. P., Hurons and Iroquois, collection Saint-Michel, Le P. Jean de Brébeuf - Sa Vie, Ses Travaux, Son Martyre, 2nd Edition, Paris, Tequi, Libraire Editeur, De L'Oeuvre de Saint-Michel, 85 Rue de Runes, 1882.

O'Callaghan, Edmund Bailey, Documentary History of the State of New York, Albany, 1851.

Ragueneau, Père, S.J., Mémoires Touchant la Mort et les Vertues des Peres Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, etc., Manuscript in Archives du Collège Sainte-Marie, Montreal, Published in Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec, 1924-1925, corrected copy in mimeographed book by Arthur Melancon, S.J., 1936.

Rochmonteix, Camille de, S.J., Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII siècle d'apres beaucoup de documents inedites, Paris, Letousey, 1895.

Sagard, Gabriel Theodat, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, edited by George M. Wrong, translated by H. H. Langton, (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1939).

Thwaites, R. G., ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 73 vols., Cleveland, Burrows Bros., 1896-1901.

Vie de La Venerable Marie de L'Incarnation, Ursuline, Nee Marie Guyart, Fondatrice du Monasterie de Quebec, par Une Religieuse du meme ordre, Paris, Victor Retaux et Fils, Libraires, Editeurs, 82 rue Bonaparte, 1893.

Wintenberg, W. J., Typewritten notes and reports on his investigations at St. Ignace in 1937-8, presented to the University of Western Ontario by Dr. Diamond Jenness, Division of the Anthropology, National Museum of Canada. Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the fiscal year, 1938-1939, Bulletin No. 95, pp. 6-7.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Bracq, Jean Charlemagne, The Evolution of French Canada, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924.

Campbell, Thomas J., Pioneer Priests of North America, 1640-1710, 3 vols., New York, The America Press, 1908-1911.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, 16 vols., New York, 1913.

Cranston, J. Herbert, Huronian, Cradle of Ontario's History, Midland, Ontario, Huronia Sites and Tourist Association, MCMLI, 1941.

Devine, E. J., S.J., Old Fort Ste. Marie, Toronto, Ontario, The Canadian Messenger, Publisher, 160 Wellesley Crescent. (No date).

Devine, E. J., S.J., The Jesuit Martyrs of Canada, The Canadian Messenger, 160 Wellesley Crescent, 1925.

Dionne, U. E., The Makers of Canada, vol. 1, The French Regime, Champlain, London and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1926.

Faillon, Abbe, Histoire de la Colonie Francaise en Canada, 3 vols., Montreal, 1865.

Ferland, J. B. A., Cours D'Histoire du Canada, Quebec, Augustin Cote, Editeur - Imprimeur, 1861.

Fox, William Sherwood, St. Ignace Canadian Altar of Martyrdom, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1949.

Garneau, Francois-Xavier, Histoire du Canada, 3 vols. translated by Andrew Bell, Montreal, Printed and published by John Lovell, St. Nicholas Street, 1860.

Guthrie, Thomas Marquis, The Jesuit Missions, Chronicles of Canada, vol. 14, edited by George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton, Toronto, Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1920.

Jenness, Diamond, The Indians of Canada, Toronto, National Museum of Canada, 1934.

Kennedy, J. H., Jesuit and Savage in New France, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950.

Kenton, Edna, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, (1610-1791), selected and edited, New York, Albert & Charles Boni, 1925.

Kidd, Kenneth E., The Excavation of Ste. Marie, University of Toronto Press, 1949.

Kingsford, William, The History of Canada, vol. 1, Toronto, Canada, 1887.

Landon, Fred, Lake Huron, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Publishers, Indianapolis and New York, 1944.

McDowell, Franklin D., The Champlain Road, Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1939 and 1949.

Middleton, J. E., Iesous Ahatonhia, the First Canadian Christmas Carol, Circa 1641, by Father Jean de Brébeuf, Toronto, 1927.

Morris, Bishop, Champlain - The Life of Fortitude, Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1948.

O'Brien, John A., The American Martyrs, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953.

O'Callaghan, Edmund Bailey, Documentary History of the state of New York, vol. 4, Albany, 1851.

Paquin, Julien, S.J., The Tragedy of Old Huronia, Toronto, Extension Print, 67 Bond Street, 1932.

Parkman, Francis, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1867.

Parkman, Francis, Pioneers of France in the New World, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1865.

Pratt, E. J., Brebeuf and His Brethren, an Epic, Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1940.

Rochemonteix, Camille de, S.J., Les Jesuites de la Nouvelle-France, Paris, 1895.

Talbot, Francis Xavier, Saint Among the Hurons, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949.

Talbot, Francis Xavier, Saint Among the Savages, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1935.

Wynne, John S., S.J., The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, New York, The Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1925.

Wrong, George M., The Rise and Fall of New France, Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1928.

PAMPHLETS -

Fallon, Joseph, S.J., Heroes of Huronia, 1649-1949, translated from the Relations des Jesuites, Published in honour of the Tercentenary Year 1649-1949, by the Martyrs' Shrine Press, Fort Ste. Marie, near Midland.

Robitaille, l'abbé Georges, Marie de L'Incarnation et nos Martyrs, Le Document, Collection de textes, publiés à intervalles irreguliers, par Le Devoir de Montreal, No. 36, Mai 1941.

Voisin, Lawrence, S.J., The Heart of a Giant, John de Brebeuf, S.J., published at Midland, Ontario, 1949.

Voisin, Lawrence, S.J., No Greater Love, St. Anthony Daniel, published by the Martyrs' Shrine, Midland, Ontario, 1949.

Voisin, Lawrence, S.J., Stronger Than Death, St. Charles Garnier, S.J., published by the Martyrs' Shrine, Midland, Ontario, 1949.

Voisin, Lawrence, S.J., Martyr of Christ, St. Isaac Jogues, S.J., published at the Martyrs' Shrine, Midland, Ontario, 1949.

Voisin, Lawrence, S.J., The Strength of God, St. Gabriel Lalemant, S.J., published at the Martyrs' Shrine near Midland, Ontario, 1949.

PERIODICALS

Costain, Thomas B., "The Exalted Deaths of the Midland Martyrs", Maclean's, May 1, 1954, pp. 14-43.

Jury, Wilfred, "Excavations at Fort St. Marie in 1951", O.E.C.T.A. News, March 1952, p. 7-8.

Fogarty, D., "Grateful Canada Honours Its Martyrs", America, January 19, 1952, pp. 7-8.

Garvey, William, S.J., "Treasure Hidden in a Field", Jesuit Bulletin, vol. 16, No. 4, issue of April 1952, pp. 9-12.

Lally, T. J., S.J., Editor and Publisher of "The Martyrs' Shrine Message", quarterly, at the Martyrs' Shrine, Fort Ste. Marie, Midland, Ontario.

Larson, Raymond, "Wreath of Martyrdom", Commonweal, issue of November 9, 1934, No. 1, pp. 58-60.

McDowell, F. D., "Before the Pioneers: Jesuit Missions to the Hurons", Illustrated Canadian Magazine, issue of January 1939, No. 91, pp. 16-17 and 42-43.

O'Reilly, B. M. "The Jesuit Martyrs' Trail", Commonweal, issue of February 8, 1935, No. 21, pp. 422-4.

Vincent, D. B., "Fort Ste. Marie: Canadian Shrine of Peace", Ave Maria, issue of March 5, 1949, No. 69, pp. 303-6.

NEWSPAPERS -

Bezair, Ernest, "The Hurons - A Tale of Defeat," The Border City Star, Windsor, issue of Saturday, August 11, Third Section, pp. 1-2.

"Burial Plate, Ancient Nails Dug from Brebeuf's Grave," Toronto, Globe and Mail, the issue of Friday, August 18, 1955.

Campbell, M. F. "Old Huronia to Celebrate its 300th Anniversary," ill. bibliog., Saturday Night, issue of March 22, 1949, 64:20.

Crawford, Lenore, "Believe New Discovery Completes Outline of Fort Ste. Marie," The Free Press, London, issue of Saturday, August 25, 1951, p. 12.

McDowell, F. D., "Spade and Trowel Disclose Links in Huronia History," ill., Saturday Night, issue of June 14, 1949, 64:20-1.

Lawrence, M. L., "Shrine of the Martyrs on Georgian Bay," Saturday Night, issue of July 15, 1939, 54:18-19.

Storm, K. L., "Martyrs' Pageant will rival Oberammergau," ill., Saturday Night, issue of June 28, 1947, 62:14.