

John C. Schaefer. A LONG AND SLOW MARTYRDOM: THE JESUITS' SUPPLY ROUTE TO HURONIA, 1632-1650. (Under the direction of Dr. Lawrence E. Babits) Department of History, April 1994.

This thesis provides a maritime model to predict the material culture and the ecological indices of site locations associated with the Society of Jesus's seventeenth-century Huronian mission. During the period 1632-1650, the Jesuits developed an extensive mission system in Huronia and sustained their efforts by shipping supplies and personnel over the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route.

The canoes and cargos lost on the westward journey deposited cultural material on Canada's cold river and lake bottoms. The geological make-up of the Canadian Shield precludes significant changes in terrain, even over a three hundred year time period.

Detailed research reveals that the **Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents** contain valuable maritime-related information. A synthesis of this information with data from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade documents provides a more complete understanding of the route as it existed in the seventeenth century.

This thesis provides a maritime model to contribute encouragement and information to future underwater archaeological projects regarding the Jesuits' seventeenth-century mission in the Huron country.

A LONG AND SLOW MARTYRDOM:  
THE JESUITS' SUPPLY ROUTE TO HURONIA, 1632-1650

A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of the Department of History  
East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts in Maritime History

by  
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April 1994

To My Family

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

From Quebec in 1632, Jesuit Father Charles Lalemant wrote his brother a letter in which he described a near fatal canoe accident. Father Lalemant related that he and two other Frenchmen nearly drowned in a "little native canoe" after "having gone to see a sick person on board [their] vessel." Caught in a change of tides, the canoe and its occupants were swept out into the St. Lawrence River. In the letter, Lalemant vividly recounted the frightening experience:

The tide was very violent; the person who was behind in this canoe wishing to detach it from the ship, the tide gave him a turn, also the canoe and ourselves, and behold us all three carried away by the fury of the waves to the middle of the great saint Lawrence river. Those in the ship cried, "Save them, save them, help!" but there was no shallop there. We caught hold of the canoe; as I felt that it was whirling about so rapidly that the water came a great way over my head, and that I was suffocating, I let go of the canoe to swim.... I had made scarcely sixteen feet when, my cassock winding around my head and arms, I felt that I was going to the bottom... I was already half drowned, when a boat that was on the shore of the river, and two Savages in their canoe, hastened towards us. Nothing was seen of me but a little end of my cassock; they dragged me out by that, and if they had been one Pater later I would have been dead... we were all three saved.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Father Charles Lalemant; quoted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), V, 67-69.

Fortunately Father Lalemant and his companions survived their ordeal. In the majority of incidents of this nature, however, the outcome was not always so fortunate. Canada's lakes and rivers were for the most part unforgiving of mistakes made upon their waters. Even in the best case scenario, canoe accidents resulted in the loss of the vessel's cargo, and its occupants' personal possessions. The icy-cold, deep water, and strong currents at wreck sites precluded recovery of goods and belongings in the seventeenth century.

Conditions that prevented salvage efforts, however, contributed to the preservation of the lost material culture. Though eventually replaced and forgotten, the articles' importance has increased substantially over the passage of time. These artifacts offer historians and archaeologists additional insights into the Jesuits' Huronian mission. If researchers recovered these items today, then Lalemant's and the other Jesuits' seventeenth-century misfortunes could ultimately contribute to a better understanding of their lives and experiences.

This thesis will add a maritime dimension to historical and archaeological work concerned with Jesuit activities in Huronia during the period 1632-1650 by providing a model relating to vessel loss sites. I will demonstrate that the

application of a maritime model can add data to the existing record. Results from a search of the Jesuit Relations for maritime-related information, linked with comparative documentary and archaeological sources, provided the data necessary to form the model. The resulting model will be used to predict site locations and their contents. This additional information will facilitate future underwater archaeological investigation in the region.

The maritime model makes predictions about expected sites and their contents based on data accumulated from primary documentary and archaeological sources reviewed during this research. Based on documentary information, the mission lost support and supply vessels traveling on the region's lakes and rivers. These wrecks deposited material culture in predictable locations, in effect, creating seventeenth-century time capsules.

An ecological determinants approach provided the initial theoretical framework of the maritime model. The review of the primary documents indicated that the majority of canoe accidents occurred at rapids. The ecological determinants approach "recognizes that [sites] are often located in response to a specific set of environmentally determined factors.... As a model, the... approach assumes that all else being equal, a particular constellation of

environmental parameters will strongly condition the placement of... sites."<sup>2</sup>

The model's four parameters guided organization of the collected data for analysis. Explained in greater detail in chapter six, the model provides chronological, ecological, and cultural parameters to identify those areas where wrecks likely occurred, and explains the rationale behind the predictions. Specifically, the first two parameters define the model's temporal and spatial limits, while the next two provide descriptions of the ecological indices and anticipated artifact assemblages. Specific artifacts will identify predicted sites, and allow identification of Jesuit-related, seventeenth-century artifacts at these locations. Although the parameters vary to some degree for each area, they provide useful guidelines for field research.

The model is drawn from the Jesuit mission's period of centralization in Huronia (1632-1650) to define its temporal parameter. During this period, the Society of Jesus strengthened its presence by building a European-style residency in the heart of Huron country, supported and sustained by supplies shipped from French settlements in the St. Lawrence valley. Huron crewed, birch-bark canoes

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<sup>2</sup>David Hurst Thomas, Archaeology, 2d ed. (Fort Worth, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1990), 447.



carried the personnel and goods of the mission, serving as the Jesuits' primary transportation in Canada.

To reach the mission in Huronia, supplies and personnel traveled over a demanding, hazardous river route. The model's spatial parameter is defined by the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route that connected the Huronian mission to New France's nascent settlements. All support and communication between the isolated Jesuit mission and French civilization traveled along this linear system during this period.

Based on the Jesuit Relations, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade documents, ecological indices provide predictable site locations. New France's terrain played a determining factor in its early history, and an essential role in the development of the Jesuit mission in the Huron country. Documentary and archaeological research determined that even though Jesuits did not record specific accident locations, they nevertheless occurred in predictable physiographic locations.

The model's final parameter predicts what seventeenth-century Jesuit related material is expected at submerged sites. An analysis of related primary documents, and the archaeological record, determined three general categories of material culture used, or required, by Jesuits to fulfill their mission's goals. This research developed a list of

items connected to the Jesuit presence in Huronia that, if lost in seventeenth-century canoe accidents, should have withstood the ravages of time submerged in Canada's preserving waters.

The following questions guided the research and collection of information for this thesis: Why were the Jesuits in Huronia? What were the conditions of transportation routes in New France? To what degree did the Jesuits utilize these routes? Does material evidence of this exploitation persist? Are site locations predictable? Will a synthesis of documentary evidence and the archaeological record offer enough evidence to provide additional interpretations of the Jesuit mission to Huronia? The thesis addressed these questions in order to resolve the intents and purposes of this study

A survey of the sources available on the Society of Jesus in New France demonstrates that, while a great deal of information concerning the main site of the Jesuit efforts in Huronia is obtainable,<sup>3</sup> there remains a need for a

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<sup>3</sup>For detailed information regarding the archaeological field work at the site see Kenneth E. Kidd, The Excavation of Ste. Marie I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949); Wilfrid Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954; reprint Toronto: Oxford in Canada Paperback, 1965). The conclusions reached in the above works, however, are open to debate. For example, in one of his studies, ethnohistorian Bruce G. Trigger raised some questions regarding various aspects of

detailed analysis of the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents relating to other sites. The analysis could generate development of a maritime model to locate high probability areas with submerged cultural resources associated with the Jesuit Mission. A recent study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade sites, by Robert C. Wheeler et al., provides direct evidence of material remains' survivability in the favorable conditions produced by Canada's river and lake environments.<sup>4</sup>

An outstanding account of village site locations and related environmental factors exists for Huronia,<sup>5</sup> but archaeologists have not yet examined the potential for submerged cultural resources in this region. Creation of a maritime model based upon a synthesis of archaeological and historical records may provide additional data or new interpretations about the Jesuit missions.

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both Kidd's and the Jurys' interpretations. See Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976).

<sup>4</sup>Robert C. Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts 1960-73 (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 1975).

<sup>5</sup>Conrad E. Heidenreich, Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971) remains the definitive account of Huron country geography. Heidenreich also examines the settlement pattern of the Huron, providing detailed information on possible environmentally determinable site locations.

## Sources

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents contain a wealth of primary source material concerning Jesuit activities in the "New World." Consisting of letters from missionaries in the field, the Relations capture the emotions and drama of seventeenth-century service to God and country. Though some documents pre-date the compilation of the Relations (begun in 1634 by Jean de Brebeuf), the majority concern Jesuit operations in Huronia during the period 1632-1650 (vols. 7-40).

The Society of Jesus published the Relations to elicit funding to support the New France missions. To this end, they are by nature propagandistic and self-serving. An awareness of Jesuit rhetorical traditions is critical in citing their letters as historical evidence. Though Jesuits did not deliberately set out to mislead recipients, they regularly exaggerated facts.<sup>6</sup>

The primary Jesuit mission in New France entailed transference of a belief system rooted in Western Christianity to Native American societies. The Relations reflect the clerics' concerns regarding the progress of their Christianizing (civilizing) efforts amongst native peoples. The writings evidence a preoccupation with

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<sup>6</sup>A. Lynn Martin, The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 4.

evangelizing and conversions. At times the religious tone of the documents becomes overbearing, threatening to drown out non-religious information of interest. Instead of keeping detailed travel records, for example, Jesuits concerned themselves with enumerating successful Christianizing endeavors. Tabulation of baptisms took precedence over relating items of cultural or political significance.

The New World had ceased being new to Europeans by the seventeenth century. Explorers repeatedly brought back Native Americans to entertain and fascinate the courts of Europe. Jacques Cartier returned to France in 1534 with the sons of an Iroquois chief. In 1536, Cartier presented the Iroquois Chief Donnacona at the French Court. The interest in the indigenous population of North America transcended the 1589 Valois-Bourbon dynastic change in France. Native Americans, for example, entertained Henry IV on several occasions.<sup>7</sup> In addition, travel and colonization narratives circulated among the upper class in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France. Though publishers produced few accounts of French voyages in France, numerous translations of Iberian, English, and Italian New World

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<sup>7</sup>Cornelius J. Jaenen, Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 13-15.

adventures piqued the curiosity of an intelligent reading public.<sup>8</sup>

The Society of Jesus played an active role in French society during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Jesuits actively participated in the intellectual and court life of France. The society's position exposed its members to New World inhabitants. Flushed with recent missionary successes, the contact fueled Jesuits' desires to Christianize the new found masses. The European accounts of New World escapades, though filled with hardships, did not deter the priests. Undaunted, they journeyed into the wilderness, for the most part alone, keeping journals or diaries of their adventures.

Intelligent, educated, highly motivated individuals, the Jesuit fathers fervently believed in their mission. They endured constant hardships on the voyage to New France and Huronia. Nothing prepared the priests for reality encountered in New France. The clerics' entertaining writings preserved their experiences for future generations of aspiring missionaries. Those who accepted the challenge embarked for Canada forewarned by those who had preceded them:

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<sup>8</sup>Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420-1620 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 306-307.

You must expect to be, at least, three or four weeks on the way, to have as companions persons you have never seen before; to be cramped in a bark Canoe in an uncomfortable position, not being free to turn yourself to one side or the other; in danger fifty times a day of being upset or of being dashed upon the rocks. During the day, the Sun burns you; during the night, you run the risk of being prey to Mosquitoes. You sometimes ascend five or six rapids in a day; and, in the evening, the only refreshment is a little corn crushed between two stones and cooked in fine clear water; the only bed is the earth, sometimes only the rough, uneven rocks, and usually no roof but the stars; and all this in perpetual silence.<sup>9</sup>

The Relations provide valuable, first-hand accounts of Jesuit ventures in New France. The documents contain a vast amount of primary source material specifically concerned with events in Huronia. The documents do not contain explicit descriptions of everything encountered; rather, as "children of the age of reason," the Jesuits noted only those details considered relevant to their cause.<sup>10</sup> When one priest encountered the Huron for the first time, for example, their religious beliefs concerned him more than their social structure: "I saw the Huron arrive; in their [fifty] canoes and more, they made a very fine sight upon the river. They are large, well-made men, and are to be pitied because they do not know the Author of the life they

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<sup>9</sup>Paul Le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, X, 89.

<sup>10</sup>David Beers Quinn, preface to Black Gown and Redskins: Adventures and Travels of the Early Jesuit Missionaries in North America (1610-1701), by Edna Kenton, ed. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1956), iii-iv.

enjoy, and have never heard of him who gave his life and shed his blood for them."<sup>11</sup>

For the most part Jesuits do not specifically discuss or mention maritime related topics except in terms of how they affect their missionary efforts. This point, however, does not detract from the documents' worth; rather, it increases their value for this research. Unrelated, non-religious information mentioned in passing is more likely to be free of bias than information presented as "fact." Latin American ethnohistorians have utilized political and legal documents to reconstruct the lifestyle of Native Americans.<sup>12</sup> French historian E. L. Ladorie analyzed fourteenth-century Inquisition records to examine lifestyles of illiterate French peasants.<sup>13</sup> Historian and archaeologist Lawrence E. Babits abstracted data from the Relations to demonstrate evolutionary changes in firearm ignition systems.<sup>14</sup> These studies relied on information derived from documents primarily concerned with preserving

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<sup>11</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, V, 71.

<sup>12</sup>Richard N. Adams, "Ethnohistoric Research Methods: Some Latin American Features," Ethnohistory, 9 (1962), 7.

<sup>13</sup>Emmanuel Le Roy Ladorie, Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: George Braziller, 1978).

<sup>14</sup>Lawrence E. Babits, "The Evolution and Adoption of Firearms in Eastern North America: An Ethnohistorical Approach," The Chesopian, 14 (June-August 1976), 40-82.



other information. For the purposes of learning the details of the trade and communication routes, the Relations provide a remarkably unbiased information source. Other, non-Jesuit documents, amplify the Relations.

Considered as the "Father of New France," French soldier and explorer Samuel de Champlain's narratives contain information of use to this study.<sup>15</sup> While earlier and considerably shorter than the Relations, Champlain's accounts provide valuable descriptions of Huronian travel routes. Champlain's concise writing style reflects the fact he wrote only of events he participated in or observed first-hand. Historian H. P. Biggar believes Champlain relied on a diary or personal journal of some kind to recall his Canadian adventures. Biggar cites examples of Champlain describing events on a day-by-day basis, even though he wrote long after the fact.<sup>16</sup>

Though Recollect Brother Gabriel Sagard spent only one year in New France (spring 1624 - spring 1625), his journal The Long Voyage to the Country of the Hurons<sup>17</sup> is considered to contain the best general account of Huron

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<sup>15</sup>W. L. Grant, ed., Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1618 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907).

<sup>16</sup>H. P. Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France (New York: Argonaut Press, 1965), 276-277.

<sup>17</sup>Gabriel Sagard, The Long Voyage to the Country of the Hurons, trans. H. H. Langton (Paris, 1632; reprint, Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939).

life.<sup>18</sup> Sagard never again visited the New World and did not publish his account until 1632. He kept a diary of adventures to facilitate recall of events. One volume, apparently lost on the way to Huronia, detailed the journey from Dieppe to Quebec. The Recollect brother continued his diary in another volume, providing the framework for later writing.<sup>19</sup>

The Champlain and Sagard narratives complement the Relations, providing supplementary and comparative data to offset Jesuit concentration on religious affairs.<sup>20</sup> While the main focus of this thesis concerns the Relations, those works provide necessary background information.

A survey of secondary source literature relating to the Huron country reveals a wide variety of thematic schemes and concepts. Even though the majority of these studies utilize the Relations as their primary source material, the authors' explanations of events differ. Perceptions and interpretations of seventeenth-century reality slowly evolved over time. Primary accounts suffer (albeit unconsciously) from being propagandistic in nature and

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<sup>18</sup>Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic, 333.

<sup>19</sup>Biggar, Trading Companies of New France, 282.

<sup>20</sup>Elisabeth Tooker, An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649 Bulletin 190 (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1964), 3-7.

intent.<sup>21</sup> Early secondary accounts also examined the region's history from a Eurocentric viewpoint, fundamentally oriented by ideological motivations grounded in the belief of Western culture's superiority over non-Western thought and traditions.<sup>22</sup>

These works remained the definitive historical accounts of the Huron country and the interaction of natives with French until the twentieth century. Renewed interest in Huronia followed development of new methods in historical writing. Biographical, institutional, economic, and geographic analyses concentrated on, or alluded to, events pertaining to the Huron or their environs. Jesuit historians focused on their Canadian brethren's experiences among New France's indigenous peoples. In Saint Among the Hurons: The Life of Jean de Brebeuf, Jesuit Father Francis Xavier Talbot chronicled the life and martyrdom of Brebeuf, an early missionary to the Huron. Father John J. Wynne's The Jesuit Martyrs of North America, provided biographical information regarding the lives and deaths of eight Jesuits

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<sup>21</sup>See Sagard, Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons; Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; J. F. Jameson, ed., Narratives of New Netherlands, 1609-1664 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909).

<sup>22</sup>See P. F. X. Charlevoix, History and General History of New France, 6 vols. trans. John Gilmary Shea (New York: John Gilmary Shea, 1870; reprint, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962); Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century (1867; reprint, Boston: New Library ed., 1909).

killed in New France.<sup>23</sup> Jesuit historian Martin P. Harney's, The Jesuits in History, examined the Society's mission in the Huron country and placed it in the broader context of the order's world-wide experiences.<sup>24</sup> In economic terms, Harold A. Innis's The Fur Trade in Canada defined the effect of the early trade on New France's exploration and colonial development.<sup>25</sup> Finally, geographers Samuel Edward Dawson and Nellis M. Crouse addressed the impact of Canada's terrain on Jesuit endeavors. Dawson's account of the exploration and settlement of the St. Lawrence River's drainage basin placed the river and its tributaries' role in the Jesuits' mission in proper perspective. Crouse's Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France

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<sup>23</sup>See Francis Xavier Talbot, Saint Among the Hurons: The Life of Jean de Brebeuf (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949); John J. Wynne, The Jesuit Martyrs of North America: Isaac Jogues, John de Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Noel Chabanel, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier, Rene Goupil, John Lelande (New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation, Inc., 1925).

<sup>24</sup>See Martin P. Harney, The Jesuits in History: The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries (New York: The American Press, 1941).

<sup>25</sup>See Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History (New Haven, CT, 1930; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964).

1632-1675 examined the Jesuits' role in North American exploration.<sup>26</sup>

These more recent accounts continued to rely on documentary evidence to prove or disprove their points. While abundant documentary evidence survived regarding the Europeans' role in New France's history, no evidence existed to explain the role and experiences of Native Americans. Their non-literate societies left no documentary sources. The lack of information regarding native peoples' experiences resulted in an abundance of European-orientated histories, which often failed to address both sides of the issue.

The emergence of inter-disciplinary research allowed for some balance in the historical record. While previous studies sometimes lacked objective view points, research contributions by diverse disciplines provided the necessary additional data. Ethnographic and archaeological inquiries enabled research from the Native Americans' perspective. In her book, An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649, Elisabeth Tooker examined Huron culture and their

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<sup>26</sup>See Samuel Edward Dawson, The Saint Lawrence: Its Basin & Borderlands: The Story of Their Discovery, Exploration, and Occupation (New York: Frederick A. Stolus Company, 1905); Nellis M. Crouse, Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632-1675 (Ithaca: Cornell Publications Printing Company, 1924).

interactions with Jesuits through linguistic means.<sup>27</sup>

Ethnohistorian Bruce G. Trigger used archaeological data to supplement his description of the Huron Confederacy's political and commercial history, and to reassess Jesuit influence on the nation's ultimate cultural demise.

Trigger's influential study, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660, provided a definitive account of the Hurons' interactions with Europeans.<sup>28</sup>

In recent years, historians have continued to address Jesuit activities, but in a chronological, subjective manner. Instead of concentrating specifically on the Jesuits' seventeenth-century Huronian mission, most studies placed the mission into the larger, all encompassing context of Canadian or North American history. Both John Webster Grant's, The Moon in Wintertime, which explored the long-term relationship between Christian missionaries and Native Americans, and Olive Patricia Dickason's Canada's First Nations, a comprehensive, revisionist account of Canadian history, exemplify this trend.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>See Tooker, An Ethnography of the Huron.

<sup>28</sup>See Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic.

<sup>29</sup>John Webster Grant, The Moon in Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples From Earliest Times (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

While it can not answer all of the questions, archaeological reporting does provide an additional means to interpret non-literate societies' history. The authors of the eurocentric orientated seventeenth-century documents distorted and ignored both Native American history and culture. As a result, historical studies relying exclusively on these written records risk missing relevant data. Archaeological data present another side of the story, providing evidence in the form of material culture, leading to more accurate interpretations.<sup>30</sup>

Adding underwater archaeology and its information enables scholars to access information not readily available in historical accounts or secondary studies. Documents can store information regarding shipwrecks, and even enumerate cargo and crew losses, but they can not present the complete picture. Documentary evidence, with its focus on the written word, provides researchers with a two dimensional picture of the past. Researchers can study and interpret the document, but in most cases that is as far as they can go with the specific document itself. Underwater archaeology, through study of recovered material culture,

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<sup>30</sup>Frank Hole, "Changing Directions in Archeological Thought," Chapter in Ed. Jesse D. Jennings, Ancient North Americans (New York: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1983), 7; Bruce G. Trigger "Sixteenth Century Ontario: History, Ethnohistory, and Archaeology," Ontario History, LXXI, 4 (December 1979), 206.

offers historians a three dimensional picture of life; the object itself allows further interpretations, and its contextual setting still more possibilities.

Through a combined analysis of The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, additional contemporary documents, and the published archaeological record, an accurate predictive model can be developed to facilitate maritime field research in the historical Jesuit mission area. Additionally, it is expected that the secondary goal of contributing new interpretations will provide a greater understanding of the centralized Jesuit mission in Huronia.

This thesis utilized archaeologist Bernard A. Knapp's recent redefinition of concepts behind the Annales framework.<sup>31</sup> Knapp accepts the basic need to examine past events utilizing all available means to provide the most accurate and complete picture possible of the historical problem under investigation. An analysis of this sort cannot be accomplished unless all applicable data from a broad range of traditional disciplines are incorporated into the study. "The intended result is not so much 'historical

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<sup>31</sup>Bernard A. Knapp, ed., Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).



science' as an interdisciplinary human science, which should restore some equilibrium amongst relevant material..."<sup>32</sup>

Knapp does not call for a return to the all encompassing theories of Fernand Braudel's Geo-History, exemplified in his seminal work, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.<sup>33</sup> Rather, he espouses a more contemporary, and perhaps, a more conservative approach to using Annales ideals:

An Annales approach demands that equal consideration be given to continuity and change, whatever the medium that reveals them. It also forces the archaeologist, social scientist, or historian to realize (1) that certain variables must be weighed on different spatial or temporal scales, and (2) that such "objectivity" as is possible resides in the use of appropriate theory and method to elicit and elaborate on sociocultural or politico-economic issues. The goal is to generate an interdisciplinary, multivariate, human science that incorporates a broad spectrum of material, documentary, and behaviorable variables.<sup>34</sup>

The wide range afforded practitioners of this approach in history allows them to fill inevitable gaps in the historical record by manipulating data from other areas of study. Archaeological, geographical, and ethnological material, in combination with traditional documentary

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 84.

<sup>33</sup>Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II 2 vols., trans. Sian Reynolds (Paris: 1945, 1966; reprint, New York: 1973).

<sup>34</sup>Knapp, Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory, xv-xvi.

evidence, can offer new, testable interpretations for age-old controversies.

The Annales school remains divided over precisely what methods constitute membership in the ranks of the enlightened few, or even if such a school exists. In fact, some researchers, Robert Forster in particular, question the very existence of a separate theory: "The researchers who contribute regularly to the Annales appear interested less in any 'theory' or formal methodology that their disciplines offer than in some of their techniques and approaches which they adapt, almost unconsciously it would appear, to their source material."<sup>35</sup> This being the case, it appears that any combination of relevant research, no matter how unlikely it seemed, would be welcomed in a serious manner. It remains for the aspiring Annalist scholar to "begin with a block of sources -in 'series,' if possible- and the search for a problem to which to relate them, than to begin with a historical question. The 'trick', of course, is to marry the source, the problem, and some ancillary social science discipline; and if this [combination] seems unlikely, so much the better."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Robert Forster, "Achievements of the Annales School," Journal of Economic History, 38 (1) (1978), 71.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

Even though the Relations concentrate on events of a religious nature, one can still derive useful information from the contents by noting occurrences mentioned in passing. Lawrence E. Babits' "The Evolution and Adoption of Firearms in Eastern North America: An Ethnohistorical Approach" utilized information gleaned from an analysis of the Relations to demonstrate that adoption of firearms by seventeenth-century indigenous populations followed postulated cultural laws.<sup>37</sup> This study will emulate Babits' methodology by abstracting useful information about canoe and cargo losses from the Jesuits' records.

The structure of the maritime predictive model is based upon a model designed by Richard J. Anuskiewicz.<sup>38</sup> Anuskiewicz developed and tested a model to predict maritime and nautical sites associated with St. Catherines Island, Georgia. The model focuses on Spanish colonial occupancy, but also includes data for the modern period. Anuskiewicz examined and applied relevant historical and archaeological resources to the model's development. The study's objectives complement past and current terrestrial

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<sup>37</sup>Babits, "The Evolution and Adoption of Firearms." Babits utilized cultural laws to explain a thirty year delay in the adoption of firearms by Native Americans.

<sup>38</sup>Richard J. Anuskiewicz, "A Study of Maritime and Nautical Sites Associated with St. Catherines Island, Georgia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1989).

archaeological research pertaining to St. Catherines, adding a much needed maritime dimension.<sup>39</sup>

In effect, chapter one has introduced the sources and concepts behind the basic framework used in this research. An examination of the origins of The Jesuit Relations, along with their authors' intentions, was of particular importance. The documents provided seventeenth-century Frenchmen with comparatively up to date information of events taking place half way around the world. Bernard Knapp's interpretation of the Annales ideals guided the gathering of evidence to generate an interdisciplinary, balanced approach to the study.

Chapter two examines events, individuals, and institutions of seventeenth-century France. The potential role of New France in French economic recovery is outlined and examined. Cardinal Richelieu, through his domination of France and its economy during this period, played a determining role in New France's future. Richelieu probably thought he struck a deal with the devil by granting the Jesuits exclusive missionary rights to the colony in 1632, in return for promulgation of the Catholic Faith and Gallican principles. The understanding between old enemies allowed the Jesuits to dominate the Huronian mission field

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 67-68.

until the confederacy's 1650 dispersal at the hands of the Iroquois.

To support their efforts in the Huron country, the Jesuits created a mission system similar to their successful Paraguayan Reductions. The development of the system necessitated transportation of supplies, equipment, and personnel over hundreds of miles of dangerous waters. The last stages of the voyage, specifically the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route, contained the most treacherous conditions. Canoes and cargos lost on the journey west deposited recoverable cultural material on Canada's cold river and lake bottoms.

Chapter three summarizes a "typical" voyage to the Huron country from the Jesuits' perspective by using documentary sources. An examination of the Relations, complemented by other historic sources, reveals the large amount of maritime-related information contained within its pages. This material used in conjunction with the archaeological record provides data for the development of a maritime model.

Chapter four provides a brief description of the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route using eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade documents. Based upon the geological principle of uniformitarianism, one can infer that rapids described as troublesome in fur trade documents

also caused problems in the seventeenth century. This review provides specific data about the route that is complimentary to seventeenth-century sources.

Chapter five recounts the history and present status of archaeological research in the Huron country. The chapter demonstrates the availability of terrestrial research while pointing out the lack of maritime related studies. In the past, researchers have used underwater archaeology in the region, but their project focused on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade routes. Chapter five establishes the need for future underwater archaeology projects regarding the Jesuit mission in Huronia.

Finally, chapter six defines and describes the maritime model's parameters. Artifacts survive on Canada's lake and river bottoms due to geological and climatic conditions. The geological make-up of the Canadian Shield precludes significant changes in terrain, even over a three hundred year time period. Technology is responsible for the most notable changes in the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route. In addition, the chapter discusses material culture expected at predicted underwater site locations. A review of survey and excavation methodology from comparative archaeological sites concludes chapter six.

Jesuit missionary activities in New France have long been of interest to scholars. The majority of studies

incorporating various aspects of the Society of Jesus' encroachment on the indigenous population of New France focus primarily on seventeenth-century interactions with the Huron. Current researchers continue to analyze the matter from different perspectives, attempting to provide new interpretations for historic events. Questions surrounding Jesuit endeavors persist, but the fact remains that, for good or bad, the Jesuits played a significant role in the formulation of Canadian history. While archaeologists have conducted terrestrial research projects in the Huronian mission area, they have not yet examined the potential for Jesuit-related submerged cultural resources. This thesis provides a maritime model that will contribute encouragement and information to future underwater archaeological projects regarding the Jesuits' seventeenth-century mission in the Huron country.

## Chapter 2

### FRANCE, RICHELIEU, AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

In the 1636 Jesuit Relations, Father Paul le Jeune addressed French concerns regarding New France by answering various "propositions" submitted from "persons of standing." These unidentified individuals had expressed interest in the still relatively unknown colony "in order to decide whether to cross over into these countries." Le Jeune responded to their inquiries, describing a land rich in natural, exploitable resources safe from Spanish incursions. New France possessed "hundreds of leagues of woods, of forests, of rivers, of lakes, and of mountains," able to support a large population in as "many comforts as we do in France."<sup>1</sup>

Though colonists could not participate in the profitable fur trade, which was reserved exclusively for the "Gentlemen" of the Company of New France, opportunities existed to "gather riches" in other areas. Enough mineral, agricultural, fishery, and timber resources available for all, provided incentive for French citizens to cross the Atlantic and settle in the new land.

New France's potential for profit was not lost on bullion poor France, devastated economically by decades of

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<sup>1</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: Burrow Bros., 1896-1901), IX, 151.



religious wars. Possession of this vast land, rich in resources, offered France a chance for economic recovery.

This chapter examines New France's impact on Cardinal Richelieu, Louis XIII's penultimate minister, and on the Society of Jesus, one of the leading institutions of seventeenth-century France. For Cardinal Richelieu, New France represented an opportunity to ease French economic miseries,<sup>2</sup> while for the Jesuits the colony offered a chance to build a purified Europe in America.<sup>3</sup> Both Richelieu's and the Jesuits' plans for New France necessitated a strong French presence in the colony and among its indigenous population in the interior. Only an isolated Jesuit mission, supported by maritime supply and communication routes, could attain this goal.

First, the chapter will survey late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French society to provide a background of France's economic woes. Next, the chapter relates Cardinal Richelieu's efforts to correct France's economy through internal and external improvements. Finally, the chapter provides a brief history of the origins

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<sup>2</sup>Robert Knecht, Richelieu (New York: Longman, 1991), 149-153.

<sup>3</sup>James P. Ronda, "The European Indian: Jesuit Civilization Planning in New France," Church History, 41 (1972), 385.

of the Society of Jesus and a review of Jesuit missionary methods and goals.

#### France

After the Protestant Reformation reached France, religious and civil war devastated the sixteenth-century countryside. Catholic and Protestant factions vied for control over local regions as well as the throne, disrupting and destroying villages and cities. Famine, pestilence, and chaos accompanied the warfare. When Paris itself underwent siege in 1590, the population was reduced to near starvation.<sup>4</sup> The Norman and Breton coasts were particularly hard hit, with Rouen, Dieppe, and La Rochelle undergoing numerous sieges.

The situation improved slightly following King Henry IV's coronation on 25 July 1593. By virtue of descent, Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot, was crowned king after converting to Catholicism. Henry's coronation, while representing a change in the kingdom's dynastic line from Valois to Bourbon, did not drastically improve France's internal relations. In 1598 the Edict of Nantes provided additional hope for internal peace but left the seeds of later wars. Though it reduced the Huguenots' rights to some

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<sup>4</sup>Francis Xavier Talbot, Saint Among the Hurons: The Life of Jean de Brebeuf (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), 3.

degree, the edict allowed them to retain fortified cities and a Protestant militia.<sup>5</sup>

Louis XIII gained the throne of France after a crazed fanatic, believing Henry threatened the Catholic Church, assassinated him in 1610. Under Louis XIII, Richelieu pursued a deliberate royalist policy to weaken Huguenot influence in France following the Cardinal's 1624 accession to power. In addition to their Protestant faith, Richelieu acted against the Huguenots because he felt they threatened the state: "so long as the Huguenots retain their power in France the king cannot be master in his kingdom, nor undertake any glorious deeds beyond its borders."<sup>6</sup>

Although religious warfare lessened following the Edict of Nantes, hatred between Catholics and Huguenots survived, surfacing in periodic outbursts of violence and rebellion, exemplified by the crown's 1627-1628 siege of La Rochelle.<sup>7</sup> The 1629 Peace of Alais basically ended France's internal wars, allowing the Huguenots to retain their religion while forfeiting their military and territorial rights.

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<sup>5</sup>Maurice Braure, The Age of Absolutism (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1963), 11.

<sup>6</sup>D. L. M. Avenel, ed., Lettres, Instructions et Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Richelieu vol. II (Paris, 1856), 77-87; quoted in A. D. Lublinskaya French Absolutism: The Crucial Phase, 1620-1629, trans. Brian Pearce (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 276.

<sup>7</sup>Louis Auchincloss, Richelieu (New York: Viking Press, 1972), 85-97.

The power struggle between the Catholics and Huguenots had drained French resources. European developments directly impacted colonial enterprises, specifically those concerned with New France. French colonial investments lagged, delaying New World organizational efforts. While England expanded and strengthened its colonial holdings, France focused on continental affairs, placing less importance on the development of its own North American colonies.

Colonial ventures lagged far down the list of Louis XIII's and Richelieu's concerns during this period. Foreign and domestic crises early in the seventeenth-century drained the resources of the kingdom to such a degree that at times the crown's expenditures exceeded ordinary revenues. Covert and overt involvement in the Thirty Years' War, in addition to the Huguenot campaigns, forced France's military spendings to spiral out of control. From 1627-1639, for example, military expenses exceeded the crown's ordinary revenues six times.<sup>8</sup> Ultimately, lack of finances forced Louis XIII and Richelieu to move towards revenue enhancements in a bid to fuel their wars, thereby accelerating the growth of French absolutism.<sup>9</sup> An

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<sup>8</sup>William H. Cobb, "Royal Revenues, 1627-1639 and the French Decision for War" (Orlando, FL: The Southern Historical Association, 1993), 6, photocopied.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 12.

examination of seventeenth-century French royal expenditures reveals France's dire economic straits during the first half of the century (See Appendix, Graphs I and II).

Though France focused largely on European continental affairs, ventures in Brazil, Florida, and Canada introduced the French to indigenous populations and led to the development of New World colonial endeavors. These enterprises offered France a chance to broaden its power on the international horizon while correcting internal economic woes. New France's potential for wealth was known and already generating profits through its fisheries and limited fur trade. The nascent colony, however, needed further development for France to retain its North American claims. Commerce, conversion, and colonization became permanently linked and guided future policies concerning the regions' inhabitants.<sup>10</sup>

Other European nations also exploited the New World's abundant harvest. Both Spain and England claimed parts of the French colony and threatened to end its precarious existence. Until France corrected its internal problems, its North American colonial development would lag behind other European powers.

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<sup>10</sup>Cornelius J. Jaenen, The French Relationship with the Native Peoples of New France and Acadia (Ottawa: Research Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1984), 4-5.

## Richelieu and Economics

Louis XIII's France faced serious threats to its economic well-being from a variety of sources. Currency shortages, foreign competition, excessive taxation, and an increase in the cost of living contributed to the economic instability that affected the King's realm early in the seventeenth century. Louis XIII, and his able minister, Cardinal Richelieu, developed and implemented programs to attack the problems contributing to French economic woes. Ultimately, their efforts failed to correct the financial difficulties of the kingdom. To succeed, the programs required both royal encouragement and financial support. Unfortunately for the economic well-being of France, the endemic and expensive warfare occurring throughout the Cardinal's ministry preoccupied the royal government and focused its energies elsewhere.<sup>11</sup>

Though Richelieu claimed that his grasp of financial theory was suspect,<sup>12</sup> his intellectual flexibility enabled him to quickly adapt to complexities. At one time opposed

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<sup>11</sup>Victor-Louis Tapie, France in the Age of Louis XIII and Richelieu trans. D. Lockie (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 249.

<sup>12</sup>"I fully admit my ignorance of financial matters and realize that you are so well-versed in the subject that the only advice that I can give you is to make use of those whom you find most useful to the king's service, and to rest assured that I will second you in every way I can." Richelieu, 1635, Note to Bullion, Superintendent of Finance, quoted in Ibid., 247.

to French trade with the Levant, for example, the Cardinal changed his mind once he realized the potential profits for France.<sup>13</sup> The Cardinal's fiscal engineering saved France from bankruptcy more than once during his ministry.<sup>14</sup> Louis XIII's confidence in Richelieu's control of the French economy allowed the Cardinal to undertake a variety of mercantilist measures to strengthen France's economy.<sup>15</sup>

The Cardinal promoted economic development by targeting certain industries for improvement including glass, tapestry, silk, mining, and sugar extraction. Richelieu developed and encouraged various proposals to increase internal/external transportation and communication, including construction of an Atlantic/Mediterranean canal.<sup>16</sup> A strong central economy, based on improved domestic industries, would allow France to reverse its foreign spendings and stop the bullion drain.

The Cardinal felt France possessed adequate resources for the needs of the state and its people. Though he believed the country could exist without imports, he felt France controlled items desired by other countries. These

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<sup>13</sup>Knecht, Richelieu, 160.

<sup>14</sup>See Cobb, "Royal Revenues."

<sup>15</sup>William F. Church, Richelieu and Reason of State (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 302.

<sup>16</sup>D. P. O'Connell, Richelieu (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968), 149.

items must travel abroad in French owned ships. According to Richelieu, foreigners possessed power in France due to advantageous trade situations, which directly affected France's economic and political well-being.<sup>17</sup>

Various individuals developed or submitted proposals to ease French economic miseries. The following example typifies the period's similar ideas and answers. Antoyne de Montchretien's 1615 treatise called for an increase in industry to spur economic development. Montchretien called for the creation of a national merchant marine and international trading companies to increase foreign trade. Montchretien assumed external trade would provide the ultimate means of enriching the state. Above all, external trade would provide France with the bullion desperately needed to ease economic woes: "We live today by gold and silver... they supply the needs of all men."<sup>18</sup>

Following Montchretien's general ideas, Richelieu favored formation of trading companies similar to successful Dutch enterprises, with the goal of wresting France's commerce away from its competitors. Dutch trading successes provided evidence of the desire of Native Americans to trade

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<sup>17</sup>Tapie, France in the Age of Louis XIII and Richelieu, 254-55.

<sup>18</sup>Antoyne de Montchretien, Traicte de l'Economie Politique Dedie en 1615 au Roy et la Reyne Mere du Roy (Paris: 1889), 141-142; quoted in Lublinskaya, French Absolutism: the Crucial Phase, 1620-1629, 123.



furs for European technology. As early as 1609, Dutch ships penetrated New York's interior along the Hudson River to trade with the indigenous population. These early trading ventures demonstrated the Natives' overwhelming desire to trade furs for items Europeans considered unimportant:

The people of the Countrie came flocking aboard, and brought us Grapes and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us Bevers skinnes, and Otters skinnes, which wee bought for Beades, Knives, and Hatchets.<sup>19</sup>

Colonists followed the early traders. The first Dutch settlers arrived in New Netherlands in 1624. They soon expanded up the Hudson and established Fort Orange, near the site of present day Albany. While the Dutch West India Company originally theorized that its colony would be successful in terms of agricultural output, fur trade profits quickly moved that industry to the forefront of colonial pursuits. When the expected agricultural bonanza failed to materialize, the company distanced itself from the investment. Settlers and other developers, however, continued to invest in the colony.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Robert Juet, "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson," quoted in Narratives of New Netherlands, 1609-1664, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 22.

<sup>20</sup>Thomas Elliot Norton, The Fur Trade in Colonial New York 1686-1776 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), 4.

Imitating the Dutch example, a succession of French trading companies received special rights and privileges in return for promoting and supporting settlements. Richelieu acquired personal control of New France's colonial management by forming trading companies that centralized French power. New France received particular interest because fur traders transacted their business without the use of gold.

Following the Renaissance, gold had become the principal medium of exchange between nations. Its rareness increased its importance, and nations hoarded the precious metal to accumulate the greatest possible quantities.<sup>21</sup> Due to bullion shortages in France, Richelieu reluctantly allowed precious metals to leave its boundaries.<sup>22</sup> Canada's unique trade, transacted with goods instead of gold, allowed France to increase its revenues with little risk to its treasury.

In 1626, Isaac de Razilly, Knight of Malta, wrote a memorandum describing methods to increase France's maritime prestige. Razilly focused on colonial and maritime enterprise due to his naval background and interests. He stated France possessed natural advantages favorable to

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<sup>21</sup>Marcel Trudel, The Beginning of New France 1524-1663 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 168.

<sup>22</sup>Norton, Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 255-57.

maritime development, but did not utilize their maximum potential. Furthermore, he stated that internal conflict disrupted trade and lowered French international prestige.<sup>23</sup> Razilly's memorandum influenced Richelieu's colonial policy, leading to the formation of the Company of New France in 1627.<sup>24</sup>

The Charter of the Company of New France (or the Hundred Associates) recognized that both company and crown depended upon each other, whether involved in conquest, conversion, commerce, or exploration. In return, Louis XIII and Richelieu granted the company perpetual rights and privileges in New France, including entitlement to all profits derived from trade, commerce, and cultivation.<sup>25</sup>

The charter obligated the company to send between two and three hundred men to New France annually and support them for three years following their arrival. In addition, the Hundred Associates were responsible for maintaining three priests in each settlement founded by the company for a period of fifteen years. Since French authorities encouraged missionary endeavors to civilize native populations, additional stipulations directed the company to

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<sup>23</sup>A. D. Lublinskaya, French Absolutism: The Crucial Phase, 1620-1629, 141.

<sup>24</sup>The Jesuit Relations, VIII, 287, note 2.

<sup>25</sup>J. H. Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage in New France (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 34-35.

provide Catholic guidance to indigenous peoples.<sup>26</sup> A large Christian native population would strengthen France's tenuous hold on the colony and cement trade ties between the peoples.<sup>27</sup>

Initially, the trade did not adversely affect the native communities. Early French colonization efforts took place in land of marginal worth in Acadia and in the "no-man's land" of the St. Lawrence valley.<sup>28</sup> Though Native Americans had some control over the effects of contact, the one aspect they could not control was change. The French remained in Canada and continued to trade their items no matter what the Native Americans thought or did.<sup>29</sup> Before the period of utter dependence on European goods set in, Native Americans benefited to some degree from converting to Catholicism. Those who accepted the faith enjoyed certain benefits denied to nonbelievers. The Company of New France's Articles of Association recognized Christian converts, and conferred upon them citizenship in a greater France:

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Jaenen, The French Relationship, 65.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 6.

<sup>29</sup>Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976), 41.

The descendants of the French who colonize the said country, together with the savages who will be brought to a knowledge of the Faith and make profession of it, shall henceforth be considered native-born Frenchmen, and as such may come to live in France when they wish, and acquire property there, make wills, succeed as heirs and take gifts and legacies in the same way as true nationals and native-born Frenchmen, without being required to take out letters of declaration or nationalization.<sup>30</sup>

The charter's provision to provide religious instruction to Canada's native peoples continued the trend practiced by earlier French settlement endeavors. Though undoubtedly some Huguenots accompanied early voyages, Catholic missionaries had the first official opportunity to convert Canada's indigenous peoples.

Introduced originally by Samuel de Champlain in 1615, the Recollect Order toiled alone in New France's missionary work until 1625.<sup>31</sup> Underfunded, understaffed, and unsuccessful, the order invited the Society of Jesus to participate in the Christianizing effort in 1626. Both the Recollects and Jesuits worked together in the Canadian missionary field, striving to enlighten and save the new

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<sup>30</sup>Articles of Association - Company of New France. G. Hanotaux and Duc de La Force, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu 6 vols. (Paris: 1893-1947), IV, 558; quoted in O'Connell, Richelieu, 150.

<sup>31</sup>Peter G. LeBlanc, "Indian-Missionary Contact in Huronia 1615-1649," Ontario History, LX (September 1968), 134.

"Children of God." This joint venture lasted until a British-Huguenot expedition seized Quebec in 1629.<sup>32</sup>

#### Richelieu and The Society of Jesus

Following the return of New France from England in 1632, Richelieu, distrustful of the Jesuits' high papalism, offered the Capuchins the New France missionary fields. Overextended in other areas, the order declined his offer. The Capuchins recommended either the Jesuits or Recollects. Due to previous Recollect failures and a strong pro-Jesuit lobbying effort, the Cardinal offered the Society of Jesus the opportunity to convert New France's indigenous peoples.<sup>33</sup>

Jesuit missions were essential in converting French Canada's indigenous peoples. Traders lacked the tact to promulgate the Catholic faith and the Recollect order lacked the means to increase their efforts. The Society of Jesus had both experience and knowledge in converting non-Christian societies, as well as coffers deep enough to support New World endeavors.

All things considered, Richelieu probably would have preferred the Capuchins over the Jesuits. Though the

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<sup>32</sup>Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montreal: McGills-Queen's University Press, 1976), 460-462.

<sup>33</sup>Kennedy, Jesuit and Savage in New France, 38.

Cardinal admired the Jesuits' orthodoxy, scholarship, and discipline, he never quite trusted their motives and influence in the royal court's affairs.<sup>34</sup> The Capuchin Father Joseph, Richelieu's adviser, convinced him to grant the Jesuits exclusive control of France's Canadian colony.<sup>35</sup> The Cardinal tolerated the Society's role in New France as long as it remained subservient to his control and continued to promote French interests.<sup>36</sup> Richelieu's thoughts on education evidenced his wariness of Jesuit intentions.

According to the Cardinal, Jesuits exercised considerable power through their position as the leading educators of middle-class and noble youth.<sup>37</sup> In his *Political Testament*, the Cardinal advised Louis XIII that the Jesuits, though apparently reformed, could easily return to their past arrogance if allowed to control instruction of the French youth. He wrote that the Jesuits' involvement in education led to further dangers:

One cannot entrust the entire education of young men to Jesuits without running the risk of giving

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>35</sup>Gustave Lanctot, A History of Canada trans. Josephine Hambleton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), I, 148-49.

<sup>36</sup>James T. Moore, Indian and Jesuit: A Seventeenth-Century Encounter (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), 7.

<sup>37</sup>Braure, The Age of Absolutism, 24.

them a power most dangerous to a country because all its influential positions and offices would ultimately be filled by their members or those over whose minds they had gained an early ascendancy, often of lifelong duration.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, Cardinal Richelieu warned that Jesuits wielded considerable influence through their role in the Catholic church's sacraments, especially in the sacrament of Penance.<sup>39</sup> Even though Richelieu mistrusted the Jesuits, he supported their endeavors in New France.

The Cardinal's aid is evidenced by his actions regarding threats to the supplies and personnel shipped to New France. In 1640, following the Cardinal's intercession, French warships escorted Jesuit Father Hierosme Lalemant's ship past Dunkirk privateers in the English Channel.<sup>40</sup> Upon reaching New France, Father Lalemant sent Cardinal Richelieu a letter that recounted Jesuit missionary successes. Furthermore, Lalemant thanked his Eminence for supporting their position in New France.<sup>41</sup> Additionally, the Cardinal strengthened the Jesuit and French positions in the New World by supplying French regulars and fortification

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<sup>38</sup>Armand Jean du Plessis, The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu, trans. Henry Bertram Hill (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 17.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>H. Lalemant, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, XVIII, 71.

<sup>41</sup>Lalemant, Letter to Cardinal Richelieu, 28 March 1640; quoted in The Jesuit Relations, XVII, 219-225.



funds in 1642.<sup>42</sup> Richelieu's involvement in the Jesuits' Canadian endeavor provided the order with a basis of stability, a factor crucial to the mission's chances for success.

#### Society of Jesus

Even though the Society enjoyed the support of the Cardinal and France, the Jesuits' religious fervor and dedication to the service of God provided the final factor in their mission's short-lived success. Jesuits owed their iron discipline and organization to their order's origins. In 1521, the founder of the Society of Jesus, Ignatious de Loyola, gave up a promising military career to establish a monastic order directed towards active participation in the world's affairs. Structured along military lines, the Society required strict obedience to superiors and absolute loyalty to the Catholic Church.<sup>43</sup>

The Society of Jesus selected and trained only those individuals who possessed certain characteristics and intellectual force. An ideal candidate was religious, educated to some degree, preferably of an upper class or

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<sup>42</sup>Lanctot, A History of Canada, I, 177; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 669.

<sup>43</sup>Martin P. Harney, The Jesuits in History: The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries (New York: The American Press, 1941), 28; Christopher Hollis, The Jesuits: A History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), 8.

noble family, and of worthy intentions. Once chosen, spiritual rules and guidelines inspired by Loyola's martial background sharpened individuals for service to God. Jesuit colleges provided further education, producing clerics who followed Loyola's recurring advice to "take account of persons, places, times, and other circumstances."<sup>44</sup> Jesuit training and colleges produced members adequately prepared to bring about the goals of their order. The Society concentrated on saving and perfecting souls for the greater glory of God. Above all, French Jesuits sought individuals who could contribute to the Society's apostolic mission, both in France and abroad.<sup>45</sup>

Western Europe's expansion into foreign lands included transference of its belief system. A crusading zeal drove Europeans to conquer new lands for Christ. The Spanish government permitted the exploitation of native peoples, demanding only that Indians received religious instruction and guidance. The Society of Jesus undertook responsibility for Christianizing the indigenous populations of vanquished lands. The Jesuit enthusiasm for saving souls provided

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 233.

<sup>45</sup>A. Lynn Martin, The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 19-20, 32-33.

colonizing powers with a much needed labor pool for their endeavors.<sup>46</sup>

Jesuits followed the Spanish and Portuguese into Africa and Asia in the sixteenth century. Their missions thrived in Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, and the Congo. In India, the Society slowly attracted converts to the Catholic faith, encountering resistance from Brahmins at Madura despite the fact the court of the Grand Mogul welcomed Jesuits in northern India.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the Society of Jesus developed missions in Southeast Asia, China, Japan, and the Philippines during this time.<sup>48</sup>

The Society of Jesus's long association with missionary enterprises afforded it considerable experience in converting non-Christian populations. In their struggles, the Jesuits used the early Christian and medieval practices of accommodation and adaptation. By applying Pope Gregory I's instructions regarding the conversion of the seventh-century non-Christian British peoples, the Jesuits accommodated and adapted pagan beliefs to Christianity to win converts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Hollis, Jesuits, 73.

<sup>47</sup>Harney, Jesuits in History, 221-25.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 236-39; Hollis, Jesuits, 35-72.

<sup>49</sup>Peter Duignan, "Early Jesuit Missionaries: A Suggestion for Further Study," American Anthropologist, 60 (1958): 725.

Nevertheless, Jesuits did not freely employ these principles without error. The Society adopted Gregory's principles only after a period of development, marked by few successes and numerous failures. Through their experiences, the Jesuits realized the necessity of linking, then incorporating, traditional indigenous beliefs and morals with Christian dogma.<sup>50</sup>

World-wide experiences with diverse cultures led the Jesuits to adopt a position of relativism. Though the Society believed the Hurons and other Native Americans existed in a less civilized state than Europeans, they refused to judge them in a negative manner:

Oh, how feeble is the judgement of men. Some find beauty where others see only ugliness. The most beautiful teeth in France are the whitest, in the Maldiv Islands whiteness of the teeth is a deformity, they redden them to be beautiful. And in Cochin China, if I recall right, they paint them black. Who is right?<sup>51</sup>

The Jesuits surmised that, although fundamental differences existed between different cultures, God had created all men essentially the same: "men are men everywhere, at the ends of the earth as well as in the middle."<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 726.

<sup>51</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, V, 106.

<sup>52</sup>Jerome Lalemant, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, XXXII, 252.

Divergent views of Native Americans existed in French society after first contact with native peoples. The first view elevated Native Americans to the status of "noble savages," imagining them in an idyllic, natural paradise, free from the corrupting influences of society. The second view deemed them hairy, wild, beastly people who subsisted on roots and cannibalism in an uncultivated wilderness.<sup>53</sup> Religious and civil authorities decided the issue, decreeing the newly discovered people as indeed human. Following Christopher Columbus' 1492 discoveries, Pope Alexander VI issued a Bull justifying conquest of the New World's inhabitants, but only if undertaken to Christianize the masses. By 1537, the official doctrine of the Catholic Church recognized Canada's indigenous peoples as "truly men... capable of understanding the Catholic Faith" who should not be destroyed as opponents of Christianity or enslaved as supposedly inferior "dumb brutes created for our service."<sup>54</sup>

Jesuits accepted their superior's decisions regarding Native Americans. Though some members experienced difficulties with New France's inhabitants,<sup>55</sup> most Jesuits

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<sup>53</sup>Jaenen, French Relationship, 4.

<sup>54</sup>Papal Bull *Sublimus Deus*, 1537; quoted in Ibid., 2. The doctrine was repeated in 1639.

<sup>55</sup>The Jesuit Relations, I, 273.

ignored misunderstandings, and instead stressed positive aspects. Fathers Paul le Jeune and Charles Lalemant argued Native Americans displayed the same intellect as Europeans, and deserved to be treated as "men of reason."<sup>56</sup> Even Samuel de Champlain approached Canada's inhabitants with these ideals in mind. Though Champlain readily admitted that he was driven by desires for "profit and glory," he also yearned to "lead the poor natives to the knowledge of God."<sup>57</sup>

French confidence in their own cultural and technological superiority reflected itself in the belief that uncivilized Native Americans would benefit from adopting European customs and culture. Unfortunately for French colonizers and missionaries, the majority of New France's native inhabitants disagreed. Though natives recognized French technological superiority and quickly assimilated useful items, most preferred to retain traditional customs and ways. Under attack from well-intentioned missionaries, the Hurons defended their customs, declaring to one Jesuit that "you can have your way and we will have ours; every one values his own ways."<sup>58</sup> Huron

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., X, 211-213.

<sup>57</sup>W. L. Grant, ed. Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1618 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 228.

<sup>58</sup>Jaenen, French Relationship, 55.

religious leaders surmised that adoption of Christianity entailed more than conversion; it involved a radical cultural transformation. One Huron chief assailed Jesuit efforts in his homeland, and spoke out against Christianity's so-called benefits to his people:

You tell us that God is full of goodness; and then, when we give ourselves up to him, he massacres us. The Iroquois, our mortal enemies, do not believe in God, they do not love the prayers, they are more wicked than demons, -and yet they prosper; and since we have forsaken the usage of our ancestors, they kill us, they massacre us, they burn us, -they exterminate us root and branch. What profit can come to us from lending an ear to the gospel, since death and the faith nearly always march in company. Before these innovations appeared in these regions, we lived as long as the Iroquois; but, since some have accepted prayer, one sees no more white heads, - we die at half age.<sup>59</sup>

New France offered Jesuits the chance to create an unblemished, European-style Christian society. The Jesuits' Western Hemisphere experiences commenced in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions where the fathers endeavored to protect natives from slavery and persecution. In one effort to protect nomadic tribes, the Jesuits established permanent settlements in seventeenth-century Paraguay. These self-governing, self-supporting colonies of Christian Indians existed to provide a safe haven, removed from the corrupting influences of white settlers and traders. Jesuits barred Europeans from these settlements to provide the ideal

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<sup>59</sup>The Jesuit Relations, XXV, 35-37.

environment for the conversion of the Indians and to protect them from slavers.<sup>60</sup>

The Paraguay Reductions served as bastions of European civilization and order in the wilderness. They provided central meeting places, market places, hospitals, and dwellings; in effect, they rendered to their people all the services of a city far removed from corrupting influences. A description of the physical layout of a typical settlement best illustrates this function:

On a site, chosen usually in a high and healthy spot, the new foundation was laid out around the four sides of a great central plaza. On three sides, east, south, and west, on streets leading from the plaza, were built the Indians' houses, ...in the beginning, of simple material, later of stone or adobe. On the North side was erected the church. To its left stood the priests' house and to its right the well-kept cemetery, then... the refuge and the hospital for crippled children. At the back of the church were located the workshops and the storerooms, while behind the dwellings of the natives stretched the farms. In the plaza also was to be found the village well. The pride of each village was its church... Friends and foes alike have wondered how such glorious buildings could have been erected by such people in so remote districts.<sup>61</sup>

Communal ownership of land and property enabled the communities to function independently of the provincial infrastructure, a structure lacking in New France.

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<sup>60</sup>Harney, Jesuits in History, 244-45; Hollis, Jesuits, 80. The Society went as far as organizing an Indian army to fight off Portuguese and Spanish invaders. Duignan, "Early Jesuit Missionaries," 729.

<sup>61</sup>Harney, Jesuits in History, 247.



Agricultural surpluses and manufactured goods enabled the villages to purchase needed commodities. The initial success of the Paraguay Reductions occurred before Jesuit endeavors in New France, providing an ideal model upon which to build.

Paraguayan successes encouraged the Society to pursue similar goals in North America. The Society of Jesus' civilization planning theorized Native North Americans as ideal building blocks similar, and perhaps better, than their southern neighbors.<sup>62</sup> Jesuit Father Paul le Jeune held high hopes for Canada's native inhabitants. He believed that Jesuit achievements in Paraguay would "someday be accomplished in New France."<sup>63</sup> Le Jeune was not alone in his beliefs. In a 1629 letter to his French superiors, Father Charles Lalemant expressed similar aspirations: "It seems to me that the tribes which have stationary homes could be easily converted. I can say of the Huron all that was written to us awhile ago by the [Jesuit] Father of a young Paraguayan: to wit, that much suffering must be endured among them but that great results may be expected."<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>James P. Ronda, "The European Indian: Jesuit Civilization Planning in New France," Church History, 41 (1972), 385.

<sup>63</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, XII, 221.

<sup>64</sup>Charles Lalemant, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, V, 33.

Of all the tribes in New France, the Huron provided a stellar opportunity for conversion. Their society resembled primitive European villages in terms of structure and subsistence, only differing in laws and customs. The Jesuit Chinese experience prepared them to adjust Catholic principles for a culturally diverse population. The Native American world-view differed markedly from the Europeans', necessitating efforts to reach a common ground. Cultural relativism allowed the Jesuits to bridge the gap as they assumed a role of being all things to all men, totally immersing themselves in the new culture.<sup>65</sup>

Jesuit experiences in China and India illustrated the importance of acquiring the indigenous population's language and maintaining respect for its religion. After gaining religious knowledge, Jesuits slowly and respectfully worked to establish Christianity's superiority over traditional beliefs. They sought to reorganize and reorient native practices, not to destroy them.<sup>66</sup>

Religious warfare and civil strife contributed to the economic difficulties that prevented seventeenth-century France from adequately supporting and expanding its North American colony. Though Cardinal Richelieu realized New

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<sup>65</sup>Jaenen, The French Relationship, 67.

<sup>66</sup>Duignan, "Early Jesuit Missionaries," 726.

France could contribute to France's economic recovery, the poor financial situation denied him the abilities to develop its resources. By granting the Society of Jesus exclusive rights in New France, Richelieu gained a valuable French ally in the New World.

Once given the leading role in the colony, the Jesuits strived to promote the extension of French rule.<sup>67</sup> A large, loyal Christian population provided the ideal method to retain French sovereignty. In all of New France, the Huron offered the best chance for success.

The Jesuit mission in Huronia necessitated development of a strong, adequately supplied base in the region. The Society of Jesus shipped the large amounts of supplies and personnel required for the build-up over hundreds of miles of treacherous rivers and lakes. Losses occurred along the way to their final destination, and the seventeenth-century cargos should still remain preserved in their cold water resting places, offering underwater archaeologists an ideal opportunity for research.

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<sup>67</sup>Jaenen, The French Relationship, 25.

### Chapter 3

#### A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY TO THE HURON COUNTRY

"Marvelous!" wrote Jesuit Father Simon le Moyne in 1639, "that this scrap of paper should reach you after shooting so many Rapids, and encountering, as it must, so many dangers."<sup>1</sup> With this statement, Father le Moyne adequately summed-up the incredible journey of the Jesuits and their letters, journals, and supplies from France to their ultimate Huronian destination. Le Moyne's statement illustrates the uncertainty of the tenuous supply line to civilization.

Today, voyagers tend to view safe journeys as a given, only concerning themselves with what lies ahead at the conclusion of their travels. Jesuit missionaries were not afforded this luxury. Seventeenth-century waterborne travel was hardly an uneventful occurrence. While frequent New World voyages afforded mariners considerable experience in the uncertain, treacherous Atlantic, they did not significantly raise safety factors. Transoceanic travel remained a dangerous process into the twentieth century. Even travel upon New France's rivers and lakes involved risks.

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<sup>1</sup>Simon le Moyne, quoted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), XV, 193.

This chapter will examine the role of maritime travel in the Huron country through a review of the historic record, concentrating primarily on the Jesuit Relations. Though the Relations' authors occupied themselves more with documenting successful conversions than in relating maritime data, valuable information regarding seventeenth-century waterborne travel does exist in the records. The documentary information will be used in combination with the archaeological record to develop a maritime model to facilitate future research in Huronia.

The following account, based on the Relations, presents a "typical" journey to the Huron country from a Jesuit perspective. Since the model was created to aid in recovering cultural material associated with the seventeenth-century Jesuit mission in Huronia, their viewpoints and experiences form the basis of the documentary research. Where gaps exist in the Jesuits' records, the research relied on Samuel de Champlain's narratives for supplemental information.

#### Embarkation

The ports of St. Malo and Dieppe played important roles in New France's early exploration. Dieppe's reputation as a leading port for New World expeditions originated early in the sixteenth century. The port's mariners gained valuable

experience on voyages of plunder to Brazil and West Africa, and its cartographers were the first to document the configuration of the St. Lawrence and New France.<sup>2</sup>

The profitable cod fisheries off Canada attracted mariners early in the sixteenth century. Though questions exist concerning pre-Columbian utilization of the Grand Banks, documents provide clear evidence of their use by the 1500's. Historic sources provide scanty information about French ships involved in the Grand Banks fishing industry, indicating only that the trade consisted of a substantial number of vessels by 1527.<sup>3</sup> In 1549 over seventy ships sailed for the Newfoundland coast from Rouen alone. The number of departures increased to over ninety by 1555.<sup>4</sup>

Nearly every port on France's west coast participated in this profitable industry. In 1508, Dieppe fishermen first worked the Grand Banks off Newfoundland. Breton fishermen followed suit by 1510.<sup>5</sup> The fishery voyages provided an ideal training-ground for Atlantic mariners.

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<sup>2</sup>Boies Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 252.

<sup>3</sup>H. P. Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France (New York: Argonaut Press, 1965), 19-21.

<sup>4</sup>Gayle K. Brunnell, The New World Merchants of Rouen 1559-1630 (Kirksville, MO: N. Missouri State University, 1991), 30.

<sup>5</sup>Biggar, Early Trading Companies of New France, 19.

Jacques Cartier relied on the knowledge and experience of the Grand Banks fishermen in his crews, and may have visited the region as a fishing boat captain before his exploratory voyages.<sup>6</sup> Favorable arguments regarding New France in 1629 stressed retaining the territory for its cod fisheries, as well as noting it provided an "excellent school to train sailors."<sup>7</sup>

Cartier's 1534 and 1535 exploratory voyages departed from and returned to St. Malo. In 1536, Jean Ribaut embarked from Le Havre for his ill-fated colonization attempts in South Carolina and Florida, while Champlain relied on Dieppe and La Rochelle for support during his years in New France.<sup>8</sup> In 1629, the Company of the Hundred Associates dispatched vessels from Dieppe and La Rochelle to supply colonists at Quebec.<sup>9</sup>

#### European Ship Design

The Relations do not contain significant information concerning seventeenth-century ship design. Jesuit

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>7</sup>P. F. X. Charlevoix, History and General History of New France, 6 vols. trans. John Gilmary Shea (New York: John Gilmary Shea, 1870; reprint, Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), VII, 56.

<sup>8</sup>Penrose, Travels and Discoveries in the Renaissance, 152-53, 235-36.

<sup>9</sup>The Jesuit Relations, VIII, 288.

missionaries were more interested with conditions on board the vessel than with the ship itself. Though Jesuits sometimes noted vessel names, captains and, in some cases, crew size, they seldom went into detail regarding ship configurations. Jesuits occasionally used descriptive ship designations in their writings. The most common types mentioned in the Relations include barks (barque), and shallops (chaloupe). A thorough understanding of ship types enhances use of the Relations for maritime research.

Arriving at this understanding, however, presents some problems. Since the Jesuits lacked expertise in maritime matters, researchers must examine other documents. Even today, sources disagree on exact definitions for historic ship types. A review of selected maritime sources exemplifies the differing definitions of ship types mentioned by the Jesuits in their writings.<sup>10</sup>

#### Transatlantic Crossing

The Relations complement other historic records in regard to seventeenth-century sailing vessels. Although the

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<sup>10</sup>See William Falconer, A New Universal Dictionary of the Marine (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, In the Strand, and J. Murray, Bookseller to the Admiralty, 1815); Howard I. Chapelle, The History of American Sailing Ships (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1935); Peter Kemp, The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea (London: Oxford University Press, 1976); John G. Rogers, Origins of Sea Terms (Boston: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1984).



Jesuits might not be considered as experts on seventeenth-century oceanic travel, their comments reveal the conditions on the journey to New France and Huronia from their perspective. The Society trained its members to make rational, educated observations concerning all aspects of their environment.<sup>11</sup> The clerics' written accounts and opinions reflect their own maritime-related experiences, both at sea and on Canada's rivers and lakes. Since the maritime model focuses on Jesuit-related submerged archaeological sites, this thesis considers Jesuit observations and experiences as relevant.

On 26 January 1611, a group of Jesuits departed Dieppe aboard *la Grace de Dieu*, a vessel of sixty tons burden, under the command of Monsieur de Biancourt. They enjoyed favorable weather for the first few days, but encountered contrary winds and tides near the Isle of Wight. The weather conditions forced the vessel within a couple of hundred paces of the breakers, but they found a safe anchorage in time to avoid tragedy.

It appeared to the Jesuits that, even at this early date, an established route to Canada existed:

Now mariners, in coming to Port Royal, are not accustomed to take the direct route from the Ouessant islands to Cape Sable, which would lessen

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<sup>11</sup>A. Lynn Martin, The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 19-20.

the distance, for in this way, from Dieppe to Port Royal, there would only be about one thousand leagues; but they are in the habit of going South as far as the Azores, and from there to the great bank, thence, according to the winds, to strike for Cape Sable, or Campseaux, or elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>

Navigators did not arbitrarily arrive at these directions; rather, it seems that they resulted from knowledge gained over a century of travel to the Grand Banks. The Jesuits' inquisitive nature naturally led them to inquire of mariners the reasoning behind navigational choices:

They have told me that they go by way of the Azores for three reasons: first, in order to avoid the north sea, which is very stormy, they say; second, to make use of the south winds, which usually prevail there; third, to be sure of their reckonings; for otherwise it is difficult to take their bearings and arrange their route without error.<sup>13</sup>

On this particular voyage, according to Father Pierre Biard, the mariners chose the southern route, though to him it did not seem to make any difference:

But none of these causes affected us, although we followed this custom. Not the first, for we were so tossed about by the tempests and high seas, that I do not think we gained much by going north or south, south or north; nor the second, because often when we wanted the South, the North wind blew, and vice versa; and certainly not the third, inasmuch as we could not even see the Azores, although we went down as far as 39 30'.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Pierre Biard, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, I, 145-147.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 147.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

The elements posed the greatest challenge to a successful transatlantic crossing. Though the *la Grace de Dieu* weathered the storms, thanks to her solid construction, the priest's experiences on the passage made it clear to him that shipwrights did not design accommodations with the passenger's comfort utmost in mind. Father Biard described typical conditions on board during the tempestuous crossing:

In taking this route to New France, so rough and dangerous, especially in small and badly equipped boats, one experiences the sum total of all the miseries in life. We could rest neither day nor night. When we wished to eat, a dish suddenly slipped from us and struck somebody's head. We fell over each other and against the baggage, and thus found ourselves mixed up with others who had been upset in the same way; cups were spilled over our beds, and bowls in our laps, or a big wave demanded our plates.<sup>15</sup>

All parts of the ship were equally subjected to the strains of the journey. The captain shared his cabin with Biard out of respect for his position; even there the Jesuit found no refuge from the cold air and water:

One fine night, as we were lying in bed, trying to get a little rest, a neat and impudent wave bent our window fastenings, broke the window, and covered us over completely; we had the same experience again, during the day. Furthermore, the cold was so severe, and continued to be for more than six weeks, that we lost nearly all sensation from numbness and exposure.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 149.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

Though the earliest account of the Atlantic crossing in the Relations, Biard's journey exemplifies Jesuit reactions to conditions encountered on subsequent voyages.

Father Paul le Jeune's 1632 voyage, for example, experienced similar difficulties. Following a favorable departure from Honfleur, by way of Le Havre, the Jesuit's ship initially experienced fair weather, but conditions soon deteriorated:

I had sometimes seen the angry sea from the windows of our little house at Dieppe; but watching the fury of the Ocean from the shore is quite different from tossing upon its waves. During three or four days we were close-reefed, as sailors say, our helm fastened down. The vessel was left to the wills of the billows and the waves, which bore it at times upon mountains of water, then suddenly down into the depths of the sea. You would have said that the winds were against us. Every moment we feared lest they would snap our masts, or that the ship would spring a leak; and, in fact, there was a leak, which would, as I heard reported, have sunk us if it had been lower down. It is one thing to reflect upon death in one's cell, before the image on the Crucifix; but quite another to think of it in the midst of a tempest and in the presence of death itself.<sup>17</sup>

Le Jeune's account also includes a description of conditions experienced on board the vessel during the journey to New France. His comments on the cold weather, salt-food diet, and lack of fresh water paint a particularly grim picture: "The size of our cabins was such that we could not stand upright, kneel, or sit down; and what is worse,

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<sup>17</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, V, 13.

during the rain, the water fell at times upon my face. All these discomforts were shared by the others; but the poor sailors suffered many more."<sup>18</sup>

In addition to these privations, the North Atlantic's harsh climatic conditions created additional predicaments. The Relations note several voyages met with ice before reaching Canada. Biard's 1611 crossing encountered icebergs at forty-six degrees north latitude. Captain Biancourt changed to a more southerly course to lessen the danger, only to discover an enormous sheet of ice, "stretching as far as the eye could reach."<sup>19</sup> His earlier North Atlantic experience allowed *la Grace de Dieu* to escape the ice field unscathed.

Le Jeune's 1632 voyage experienced similar encounters with ice two hundred leagues east of Newfoundland:

We... encountered two icebergs of enormous size, floating upon the sea. They were longer than our ship and higher than our masts, and as the sunlight fell upon them you would have said they were Churches, or rather, mountains of crystal."<sup>20</sup>

Unlike churches, these icebergs posed a great threat to the Jesuits and sailors aboard the small ship. Wooden hulls presented no great match to an iceberg's raw power. A

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 15.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., I, 151.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., V, 17.

single iceberg could sink even the most solidly built seventeenth-century vessel. Confrontations with fields of icebergs spelled almost certain disaster: "When a great number of them are encountered, and the ship finds itself caught among them, it is very soon broken into pieces."<sup>21</sup>

According to Jesuit sources, nature may not have thrown the only obstacles in their path on trans-Atlantic voyages. In addition to uncertain weather and ice, conflict with Huguenot merchants and Dunkirk raiders often threatened vessels bound for New France. Jesuits aboard the *Esperance*, for example, narrowly escaped capture by privateers off Dieppe in 1640. They succeeded in eluding the waiting enemy due to the providential arrival of a storm. It is ironic that the very storm that saved them from capture nearly destroyed them in the roadstead.<sup>22</sup>

#### Canadian Waters

The mouth of the St. Lawrence did not mark the end of navigational hazards. The trip upriver to Tadoussac, Quebec, Montreal, or Three Rivers included the same dangers of oceanic travel, in addition to Iroquoian threats. The St. Lawrence River basin drains an area 530,000 square miles in extent, stretching from its mouth at the Atlantic Ocean

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., XVIII, 71.

to the depths of the Canadian wilderness. Strategically, the St. Lawrence commands all communication and trade routes to the interior.<sup>23</sup> The river waters run clear and bright in its course to the sea. Its width varies from one to three miles above Quebec to nearly thirty miles at Tadoussac.

Numerous rapids hinder navigation above Montreal. The rapids commence nearly 119 miles up-river from Montreal, and drop in quick succession through eight major locations.<sup>24</sup> From Montreal to Quebec, the river sedately flows through an even valley. Tidal effects range as far inland as Three Rivers; the tide rises and falls nearly sixteen feet at Quebec.<sup>25</sup>

Seventeenth-century mariners navigated the St. Lawrence in sizable vessels to Three Rivers. Though some scholars disagree with this fact,<sup>26</sup> historical sources provide supporting evidence. Le Jeune's 1636 Relation included a

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<sup>23</sup>Samuel Edward Dawson, The Saint Lawrence: Its Basin & Borderlands: The Story of Their Discovery, Exploration, and Occupation (New York: Frederick A. Stolus Company, 1905), xxvii.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., xxxv.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., xxxv-xxxvi.

<sup>26</sup>Biggar states that Tadoussac marked the terminus of the Atlantic route, and that everything was transhipped at this point into smaller vessels for the journey to Quebec. For further information see Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France, 66-67.

chapter written in a question and answer form described the "King of all Rivers" from its mouth to Three Rivers. Le Jeune based his observations on his frequent travels over this route:

As to the size of the ships that can enter this River, I am persuaded that all those which come up as far as Tadoussac, and perhaps they do not generally sail as high. However, they those of one to two hundred tons. Beyond Kebec only Barks are sent, which pass far above three Rivers.<sup>27</sup> Seventeenth-century vessel size is irrelevant in this case. Or river vessels could reach Quebec if their navigators or pilots avoided making mistakes.<sup>28</sup> The St. Lawrence pilots avoided depth for the passage of large vessels contains adequate depth for the river. British naval upriver beyond Quebec with the river. British naval from an unfamiliarity with the river during the Seven Years' war proved the river capable of passing sufficient depth for movements in the assault on Quebec contained sufficient hazards though the St. Lawrence contained navigational hazards ocean-going vessels, shoals and other navigational hazards still threatened mariners. In 1640, Father Hierosme Lalemant recounted his experiences on a trip to Three Rivers:

<sup>27</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, IX, 161.

<sup>28</sup>Frederick A. Innis, A History of Transportation in Canada, Toronto: Ryerson



chapter written in a question and answer format that described the "King of all Rivers" from its mouth to Three Rivers. Le Jeune based his observations on his frequent travels over this route:

As to the size of the Ships that can enter this River, I am persuaded that all those which can sail the Ocean with safety can safely come up as far as Tadoussac, and perhaps even to Kebec, and a little higher. However, they do not generally bring vessels up here except those of one to two hundred tons. Beyond Kebec only Barks are sent, which pass far above three Rivers.<sup>27</sup>

Vessel size is irrelevant in this case. Seventeenth-century vessels could reach Quebec if their navigators or river pilots avoided making mistakes.<sup>28</sup> The St. Lawrence contains adequate depth for the passage of large vessels upriver beyond Quebec. Apparently, the policy developed from an unfamiliarity with the river. British naval movements in the assault on Quebec during the Seven Years' War proved the river capable of passing deep draft vessels.

Though the St. Lawrence contained sufficient depth for ocean-going vessels, shoals and other navigational hazards still threatened mariners. In 1640, Father Hierosme Lalemant recounted his experiences on a trip to Three Rivers:

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<sup>27</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, IX, 161.

<sup>28</sup>G. P. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada, with a Foreword by Harold A. Innis (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938), 1.

The Reverend father Vimont... having taken Father Raimbault and me with him to go up to the three Rivers, the bark which carried us was almost wrecked in the harbor. The next night, while we were making a prosperous voyage, we ran against some rocks, and, the tide receding, our bark lay upon its side; the tide returning, it rights itself, but it was so damaged that every part of it leaked.... The bark was beached to be repaired. Following the repair, the voyage proceeded at good pace until a rock was encountered. The ships hull was fractured in many places so it settled on the bottom, ruining supplies being sent to the Huron.<sup>29</sup>

Conditions did not improve in following years.

Seasonal navigation in the relatively narrow, uncharted river remained dangerous.<sup>30</sup> Even though French pilots grew adept at guiding craft on the St. Lawrence, losses still occurred as evidenced by the wreck of a brigantine destined for Three Rivers from Quebec in November 1646. Nine men, including Huronia-bound apothecary Gasper Gouat, lost their lives in the treacherous waters. Though salvors eventually recovered two-thirds of the cargo, loss of the vessel handicapped future endeavors in the Huron Country.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Hierosme Lalemant, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, XIX, 61.

<sup>30</sup>Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada, ix-3.

<sup>31</sup>Hierosme Lalemant, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, XXVIII, 245-247.

### Indigenous Watercraft

The final stage of the journey to Huronia used smaller locally produced vessels. Native American bark canoes provide an ideal example of a utilitarian water craft, designed to fill a specific niche in a subsistence economy. As the fur trade developed and grew in importance, the bark vessels proved perfect for moving furs, trade goods, and individuals on New France's waters.

Canoes reflect their environment, both in construction materials and in the finished product. Native Americans relied on canoes as the primary transportation mechanism in their wilderness habitat. Eastern Canada's rivers and lakes facilitated communication, trade, and warfare between various peoples. Canoes' unique design allowed one to use them in a variety of situations. Though highly specialized, structurally they remained simple enough for quick repairs using natural materials available in the wilderness.<sup>32</sup>

Canoe construction impressed Europeans. Explorers noted the potential of canoes to gain great speed, as well as their usefulness for carrying large cargos in shallow water. Jacques Cartier reported encountering canoes in

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<sup>32</sup>Edwin Tappan Adney and Howard I. Chapelle, The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1964), 3.

1535, and Champlain recorded dimensions of those he observed near Quebec in 1608.<sup>33</sup>

Historical evidence suggests that typical Native American canoes ranged from ten to twenty-four feet in length at contact. Baron de la Hontan's position as one of Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle's officers exposed him to a large number of various designs. He detailed construction methods, even noting steps taken in the acquisition of the raw materials. La Hontan mentions that typical canoes ranged from twelve to thirty feet in length.<sup>34</sup>

Joseph Francois la Fiteau's 1724 monograph described variations in Native American canoe design on a regional basis. Different environmental conditions necessitated specialized designs to address successfully environmental challenges:

The Abenacquis, for example, are less high in the sides, less large, and more flat at the two ends; in a way they are almost level for their whole extent; because those who travel on their small rivers are sure to be troubled and struck by the branches of trees that border and extend over the water. The Outaouacs [Ottawas] and the nations of the upper country having to do their navigation on the St. Lawrence River where there are many falls and rapids, or especially on the Lakes where there

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>34</sup>Baron de la Hontan, Letter 29 June 1684, quoted in Adney and Chapelle, The Bark Canoes, 8.

is always a very considerable swell, must have high ends.<sup>35</sup>

In a letter to his brother, Father Charles Lalemant described a typical canoe used to transport Jesuits to Huronia:

They go upon the rivers in light birch-bark canoes, very neatly made; the smallest of these can hold 4 or 5 persons and leave room for their little baggage. The oars are proportioned to their canoes, one at the bow and one at the stern; ordinarily, the women holds the one at the stern, and consequently steers.<sup>36</sup>

#### Northern Route to Huronia

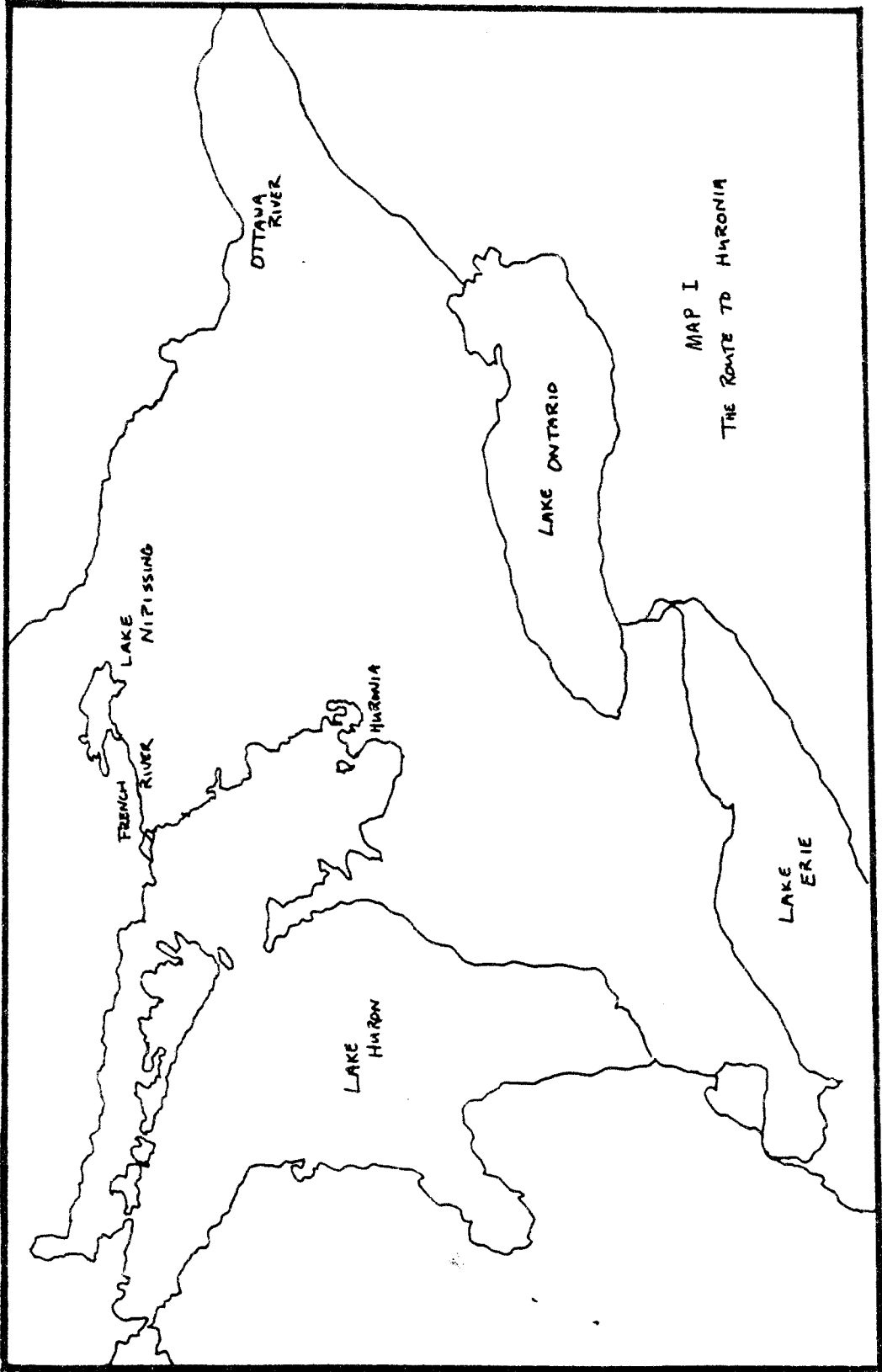
Because of Iroquois hostility, Jesuits utilized the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River (Map I) route rather than the shorter, more accessible St. Lawrence/Lake Ontario route. The Jesuits knew the southern route existed, and realized its potential, but they could not pacify the Iroquois long enough to use it. Father Ragueneau discussed the merits of both routes in 1647, noting that the northern route lengthened the distance by one-half and also contained approximately sixty more falls.<sup>37</sup> Journeys along the Ottawa route lasted from twenty to forty days, depending

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<sup>35</sup>Joseph Francois la Fiteau, Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains (Paris: Saugrain, 1724); quoted in Ibid., 12.

<sup>36</sup>Charles Lalemant, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, IV, 205.

<sup>37</sup>The Jesuit Relations, XXXIII, 65.



MAP I  
THE ROUTE TO HURONIA

upon a variety of circumstances including adverse weather, Iroquois and Algonquin hostility, and crew health. Use of the northern route naturally led to the discovery of the Upper Great Lakes and extended France's possessions into the interior of North America.<sup>38</sup>

The Ottawa River is the foremost tributary of the St. Lawrence. The 780 mile long river drains an area of approximately 80,000 square miles and follows a circuitous route to its juncture with the St. Lawrence.<sup>39</sup> Rapids obstructed travel in many places on the Ottawa, providing an awesome display of raw power that definitely alerted travelers to the river's lack of tranquility. On his journey to the Huron country in 1634, Father Jean de Brebeuf counted thirty-five portages along the way, and noted at least fifty additional spots where canoes had to be dragged against the current.<sup>40</sup>

Champlain's narratives contain the earliest descriptions of travel upon the Ottawa River. In 1613, Champlain set out to discover a route to the North Sea (Hudson's Bay) after Nicholas de Vignau claimed to have

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<sup>38</sup>Nellis M. Crouse, Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632-1675 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Publications Printing Company, 1924), 37.

<sup>39</sup>Dawson, The Saint Lawrence, xxxvii.

<sup>40</sup>Jean de Brebeuf, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, VIII, 75.

reached there in 1612. During his travels in the region, Vignau observed the wreckage of an English ship. He also reportedly noticed scalps from crewmen adorning the walls of native dwellings.<sup>41</sup> Aware of Henry Hudson's ill-fated exploratory voyage to the northern regions of Canada, Champlain journeyed north to claim the lands for France.

The Ottawa River provided the French with many opportunities to perfect their canoe handling skills. Champlain vividly recorded his 1613 voyage on the Ottawa:

We had to get into the water and drag our canoes along the shore with a rope. Half a league from there we passed another little fall by rowing, which makes one sweat. Great skill is required in passing these falls, in order to avoid the eddies and surf, in which they abound; but the savages do this with the greatest possible dexterity, winding about and going by the easiest places, which they recognize at a glance.<sup>42</sup>

The Recollect Father Joseph le Caron recorded a similar experience on the Ottawa in 1615:

It would be hard to tell you how tired I am with paddling all day, with all my strength, among the Indians; wading the rivers a hundred times and more, through the mud and over the sharp rocks that cut my feet; carrying the canoe and luggage through the woods to avoid rapids and frightful cataracts; and half starved all the while.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>W. L. Grant, ed., Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1618 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 234-236.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 237.

<sup>43</sup>Joseph le Caron, quoted in Fred Landon, Lake Huron (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1944), 21.



Most Europeans lacked the experience and endurance necessary to travel alone upon Canadian waters. While explorers, traders, and soldiers eventually moved themselves within the colony, the Jesuits continued to rely extensively on Native Americans for transportation. This reliance created some problems, however, but ones Jesuit planners could overcome. Some documentary evidence suggests an acceptable, or tolerated, practice developed between the Jesuits and Hurons involving gifts in exchange for space on Huronia-bound canoes by 1634. Most instructions for clerics traveling to the Huron country during the period note the necessity of carrying small gifts to encourage their Huron companions.<sup>44</sup>

Brebeuf's second journey to Huronia proved much more difficult than his first in 1625. His problems began at Three Rivers when the Hurons appeared reluctant to carry Jesuits with them on their return journey. Their misgivings may have stemmed from the fact that soon after their [Hurons] arrival at Three Rivers, a contagion swept through their ranks. Even at this early point Native Americans associated disease with Europeans and the Catholic faith. The priest wrote that the sickness struck universally among the tribes present, and that "almost no one who returned by

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<sup>44</sup>Jean de Brebeuf, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, VIII, 73-75; The Jesuit Relations, XII, 115-119.

canoe... was not afflicted." Brebeuf later excused Huron uncooperativeness on the journey, attributing it to the epidemic: "For we know very well how sickness alters the disposition and the inclinations even of the most sociable."<sup>45</sup>

Company and crown officials aided Jesuits in their efforts to reach Huronia by making it clear to tribal representatives that it was in their best interests to accept the missionaries. Villages accepting clerics and religious instruction received favored trading status in addition to military alliances. In addition, the French regarded Huron acceptance of missionaries as representing a pledge of friendship between the two peoples.<sup>46</sup> In the case of Brebeuf's and his companions' 1634 voyage, Monsieur de Plessis Bochard, general of the fleet, personally intervened in their behalf by encouraging tribal assemblies to embrace the Jesuits. In addition, he gave public feasts in their honor and provided convenient displays of fire-power to increase Jesuit prestige in native eyes.<sup>47</sup>

No matter how high official representatives elevated the Jesuits in the eyes of the Hurons, they still had to

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 87.

<sup>46</sup>Peter G. LeBlanc, "Indian-Missionary Contact in Huronia, 1615-1649," Ontario History, LX (September 1968), 136.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 71, 75.

face the hardships of the journey. Brebeuf's 1635 Relation provides the most accurate descriptive account of obstacles encountered on the journey to the Huron Country. Though many priests recounted their experiences, none captured his emotions as well. Brebeuf's record of numerous trips to Huronia lends credence to his report.

In some places, it [Ottawa] falls down suddenly from a height of several brasses. I remembered, in passing, the Cataracts of the Nile, as they are described by our Historians. Now when these rapids or torrents are reached, it is necessary to land, and carry on the shoulder, through woods or over high and troublesome rocks, all the baggage and the canoes themselves. This is not done without much work; for there are portages of one, two, and three leagues, and for each several trips must be made, no matter how few packages one has. In some places, where the current is not less strong than in these rapids, . . . the Savages get into the water, and haul and guide their canoes with extreme difficulty and danger; for they sometimes get in up to the neck and are compelled to let go their hold, saving themselves as best they can from the rapidity of the water, which snatches from them and bears off their canoe.

Frequently one has to fast, if he misses the caches that were made when descending; and, even if they are found, one does not fail to have a good appetite after indulging in them; for the ordinary food is only a little indian corn coarsely broken between two stones, and sometimes taken whole in pure water; it is no great treat. Occasionally one has fish, but it is only a chance, unless one is passing some Tribe where they can be bought. Add to these difficulties that one must sleep on the bare earth, or on hard rock, for lack of space ten or twelve feet square on which to place a wretched hut; that one must endure continually the stench of tired-out savages; and must walk in water, in mud, in the obscurity and entanglement of the forest, where the stings of an infinite number of mosquitoes and gnats are a serious annoyance. .

I say nothing of the long and wearisome silence to which one is reduced.... Now these difficulties, since they are the usual ones, were common to all those who come into this country.<sup>48</sup>

The northern route changed little over time. Brebeuf's descriptive account holds true throughout the period of Jesuit Huronian missionary efforts and well into the eighteenth century.<sup>49</sup>

Brebeuf's account does not mention the portage to Lake Nippissing, nor the journey down the French River to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. Champlain's 1615 narrative provides valuable descriptions of the route's details omitted by Brebeuf. The portage from the Ottawa to Lake Nippissing measured approximately twenty-five leagues, or seventy-five miles. Champlain mentions that he traveled by land, lake, and river (probably by Trout Lake and the La Vase River), though he does not give specific names or distances.<sup>50</sup>

Champlain does not describe the French River in detail. He noted that his party encountered several falls or rapids,

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 75-79.

<sup>49</sup>For comparison see Alexander Mackenzie, Voyages From Montreal Through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793 With an Account of the Rise and State of the Fur Trade (New York: Allerton Book Company, 1922); Daniel W. Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America: Between the 47th and 58th Degree of North Latitude,... (New York: Allerton Book Company, 1922).

<sup>50</sup>Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 280.

which they either shot or passed by portage, but he does not mention locations nor portage lengths.

Lake Huron's clear, deep waters cover an area of 23,780 square miles. The lake is 400 miles long and averages 70 miles in width. Georgian Bay, an arm of Lake Huron, is nearly a Great Lake itself and contains over thirty thousand islands.<sup>51</sup> Champlain named it Mer Douce (Freshwater Sea) due to its dimensions. The French coasted the eastern shore of the bay until they entered the country of the Attigoutan (Huron).<sup>52</sup>

Champlain arrived at Otouacha on 1 August 1615.<sup>53</sup> Though Champlain's narratives do not positively identify the site, the Rev. A. E. Jones determined through linguistic comparisons that Champlain's Otouacha is the same as Brebeuf's 1625 landfall, Toanche.<sup>54</sup> In 1634 Brebeuf discovered upon his return that the village was abandoned in fear of French reprisals following the murder of Champlain's interpreter. The Jesuit travelled a short distance inland in search of the relocated village, and eventually selected

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<sup>51</sup>Dawson, The Saint Lawrence, xxxiii.

<sup>52</sup>The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 282-283.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Rev. A. E. Jones, Old Huronia (Toronto: Ontario Bureau of Archives, Fifth Report, 1908), 59-61.

Ihonatiria (St. Joseph I) as the main site of the Huron mission (Map II-IV).

Ihonatiria served as the focal point of Jesuit missionary efforts until the founding of Ste. Marie I. in 1638. Though not directly located on navigable water, Ihonatiria was within easy communication distance.<sup>55</sup> Once in the vicinity of the Penetang Peninsula, the Huron and their Jesuit passengers coasted along Georgian Bay's east shore until near a village or mission.

Review of the historic record indicates that The Jesuit Relations and other primary documents contain information of use to maritime researchers. Though seventeenth-century Jesuit documents regarding New France concentrated primarily on relating non-maritime information, the records could not ignore the importance of Canada's New World location and intricate water transportation routes. Most travel in New France occurred on its waters. Even in the winter, the Hurons and Jesuits used frozen rivers and lakes as highways into the interior.<sup>56</sup>

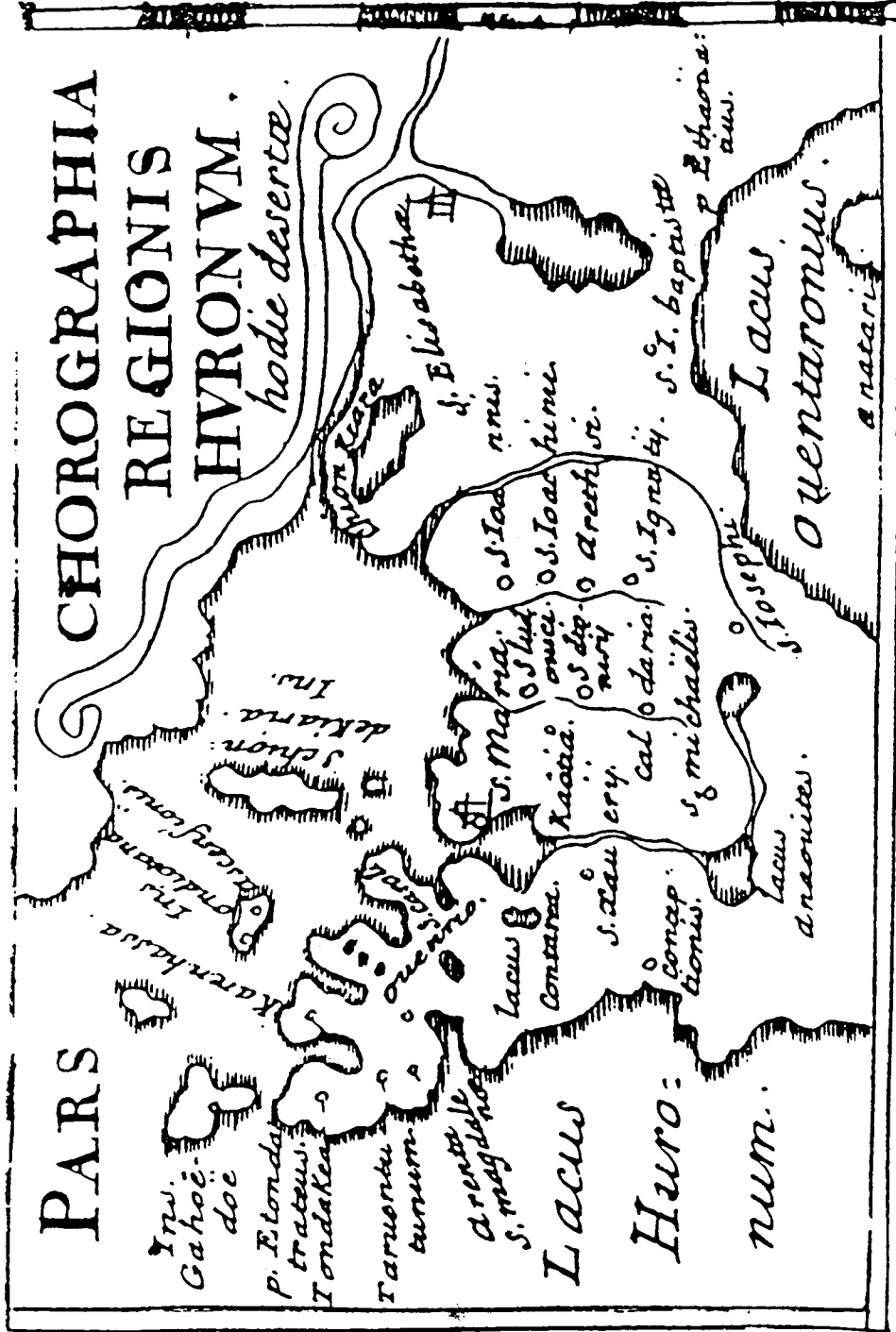
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<sup>55</sup>Conrad Heidenreich, Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 31-32.

<sup>56</sup>George Irving Quimby, Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes: 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 118.

MAP II

French Seventeenth-Century Map of Huronia



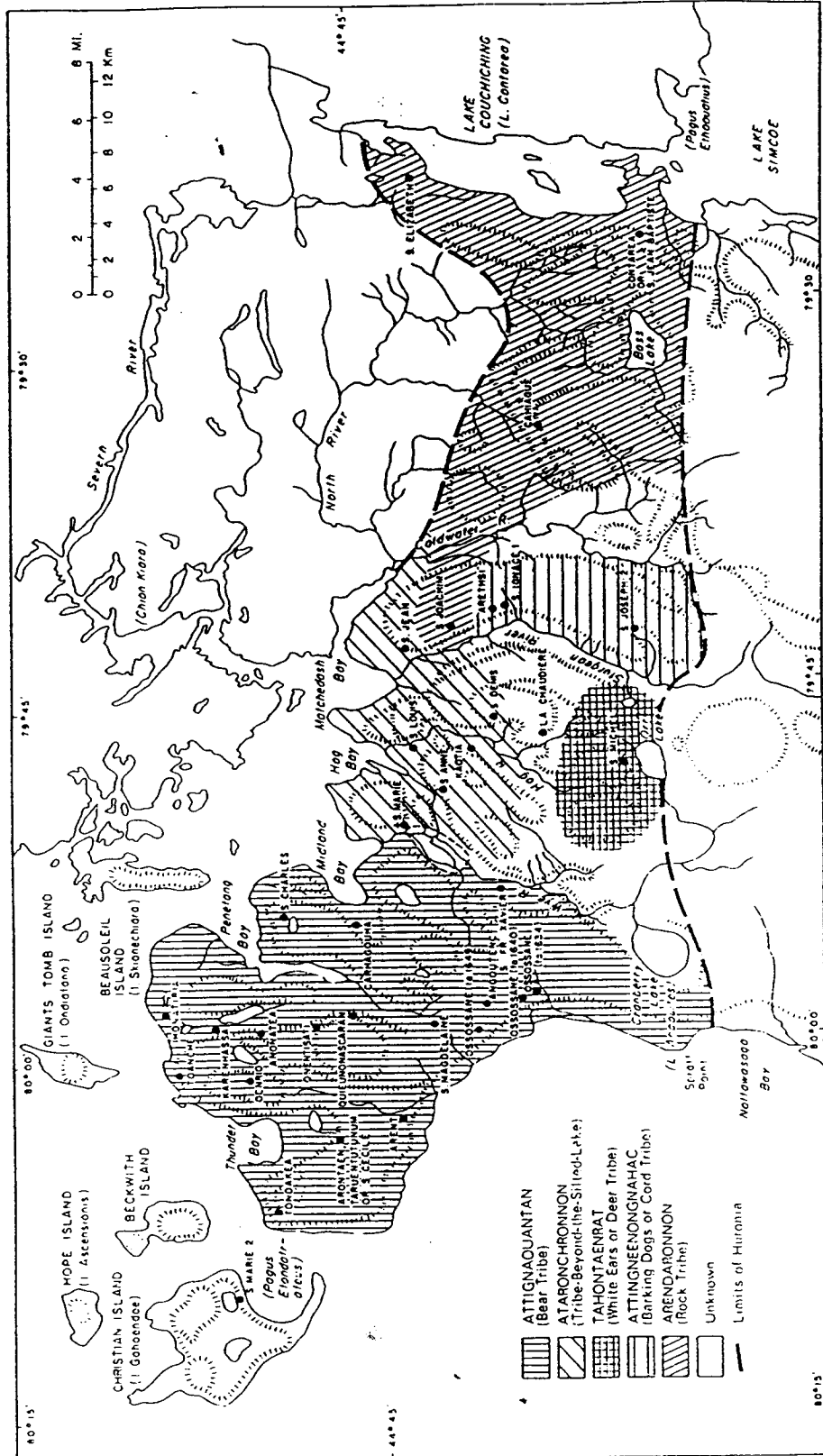
Source: Du Creux, Chorographia Regionis Huronum, 1660; cited in Conrad E. Heidenreich, Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), Appendix.





MAP IV

Huron Villages and Jesuit Missions 1615-1650



Source: Conrad E. Heidenreich, Huron: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), Appendix.

The existence of interconnected waterways allowed the Jesuits to develop and support a European bastion in New France's wilderness, thereby tightening France's grip on the fur-rich Canadian hinterlands. As the Jesuits charted their mission's progress on the pages of the annual Relations, they also recorded valuable maritime information. This information can contribute to the formation of a model designed to encourage and facilitate underwater archaeological research in the Huron country.

## Chapter 4

### FUR TRADE RIVER ROUTES AND CANOE TRAVEL TECHNIQUES

In 1800, North West Company trader Alexander Henry, the younger, met with misfortune on a Canadian river. Henry's fur trading brigade, disorientated by thick fog, had lost precious time on their western journey. In an effort to make up some of the lost time, and partly out of laziness, voyageurs in one canoe decided to shoot a rapid others in their party had just portaged. Henry, already in his canoe below the rapids, witnessed, and preserved in his journal, the results of their hasty and unfortunate decision.

I perceived the canoe on the N. side coming off to sault the rapids. She had not gone many yards when, by some mismanagement of the foreman, the current bore down her bow full upon the shore, against a rock, upon which the fellow, taking the advantage of his situation, jumped, whilst the current whirled the canoe around. The steersman, finding himself within reach of the shore, jumped upon the rock with one of the midmen; the other midman... remained in the canoe, which was instantly carried out and lost to view amongst the high waves. At length she appeared and stood perpendicular for a moment, when she sank down again, and I then perceived the man riding upon a bale of dry goods in the midst of the waves. We made every exertion to get near him, and did not cease calling out to him to take courage and not let go his hold; but alas! he sank under a heavy swell, and when the bale arose the man appeared no more.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Elliot Coues, ed., New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799-1814 (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897; reprint, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1965), 29.

The trader and his companions, through great exertion, came within yards of reaching the man before he sank from sight. The turbulent waters beneath the seemingly pleasant rapids created conditions dangerous for canoes, almost causing the would be rescuers to be in need of rescue: "While we were eagerly looking out for him, poor fellow! the whirlpool caught [our] canoe, and before we could get away she was half full of water." Henry's canoe was just able to reach shore before swamping.<sup>2</sup>

Realizing his cargos demanded attention, the trader called off the search, and directed his men to recover any goods that may have survived the mishap. Luckily for Henry, the canoe had partially unloaded before running the rapid or his loss would have been far greater.<sup>3</sup> For those traveling along the fur trade canoe routes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, accidents of this type were an all too common occurrence.

This chapter will examine the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route to the Huron country through a review of eighteenth- and nineteenth century fur trade documents. This review provides specific data about the same route used by the Jesuits. The fur trade information

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

compliments the information contained in seventeenth century sources. Though some of those mishaps occurred outside the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route used by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, a number of them probably happened in the same rapids that plagued travelers during the Jesuit Huronian mission era.

This chapter also explores the techniques used by the voyageurs, and presumably by the Jesuits and Hurons, to pass rapids they encountered on their westward journeys. Finally, the chapter discusses canoe accidents from causes other than rapids that could have deposited cultural materials in the region's waters.

Though seventeenth-century records describe navigational obstructions and hazards along the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route (Map I, page 73), they did not mention identifiable reference points. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century documents provide both descriptive accounts of rapids and portages, as well as identifiable locations. More business-related by nature, fur trade documents contain information that provides details about the route as it existed in the seventeenth century via the geological principle of uniformitarianism. The principle states that natural processes acting in the same manner as at present, acted in the same manner in the

past, and will continue to do so in the future.<sup>4</sup> Based on this principle, archaeologists can infer that rapids troublesome to river travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries posed similar problems in the seventeenth century.

The journals and diaries kept by traders reflect their concerns with the region's physical environment. Obstacles symbolized more than delays and dangers; they represented a potential loss of revenue. For this reason, later fur trading company documents contribute information to help pin-point potential archaeological sites. A historical review of the route to the Huron country based on these documents supports this contention. Before reviewing the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route, a discussion of the techniques used by the voyageurs is warranted.

In addition to portaging canoes and cargo, voyageurs passed rapids by lining canoes, paddling demi-charge or poling upstream as the situation required. Lining involved pulling a laden vessel upstream, with only a steersman remaining in it to guide the bark craft around obstructions. To pass rapids by demi-charge, voyageurs unloaded half the cargo, and then paddled upstream past the rapid; at that point the half load was deposited. Next the traders shot

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<sup>4</sup>Jane McIntosh, The Archaeologist's Handbook: How We Know What We Know About the Past (London: Bell & Hyman, 1986), 23.

the rapid downstream to pick up the remaining load and repeated the procedure. Poling consisted of using eight to ten foot poles to push the canoe upstream against strong currents.<sup>5</sup>

Of the three methods, traders and travelers preferred lining because it afforded the quickest and easiest passage. They employed the method only if an examination of the river's banks proved them relatively free of obstructions, such as fallen trees or large rocks. In some cases conditions forced canoemen to wade in waist-deep water to pass rapids.<sup>6</sup> In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, lines averaged sixty to one hundred feet in length.<sup>7</sup>

Lining was not without its dangers. On the Ottawa River in 1613, Samuel de Champlain nearly lost his life using the method. Following a successful passage of a troublesome rapid, Champlain encountered a stretch of water where "the rapidity of the current [was] so great that it made a frightful noise." Unable to portage around the falls, the explorer and his party used the only method at their disposal:

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<sup>5</sup>Eric W. Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada: Then and Now (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 50.

<sup>6</sup>Robert C. Wheeler et al., Voices from the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts 1960-73 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1975), 13.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 7.

We had to drag [our canoes] in the water with ropes, and in drawing mine I came near losing my life, as it crossed into one of the eddies, and if I had not had the good fortune to fall between two rocks the canoe would have dragged me in, inasmuch as I was unable to undo quickly enough the rope which was wound around my hand, and which hurt me severely and came near cutting it off. In this danger I cried to God and began to pull my canoe, which was returned to me by the refluent water, such as occurs in these falls.... As for our Frenchmen, they did not have any better luck, and several times came near losing their lives; but the divine goodness preserved us all. During the remainder of the day we rested, having done enough.<sup>8</sup>

Though not specifically mentioned in the Relations, the demi-charge method was probably used to pass rapids during the seventeenth century. Native Americans more than likely developed the practice following initial trading contacts with European peoples. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade documents indicate the method was used at rapids that could not be passed by other means.

Seventeenth-century historical evidence does not exist for poling in this region. Neither Champlain's narratives nor the Relations mention this practice. Voyageurs commonly practiced the technique in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, evidenced by numerous mention of its use in the period's fur trade documents.<sup>9</sup> This dangerous practice required perfect balance in notoriously unsteady craft,

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<sup>8</sup>W. L. Grant, ed., Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1618 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 237-38.

<sup>9</sup>Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes, 7.



something that green Jesuits found difficult to achieve.<sup>10</sup>

Though details concerning the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route proved scanty, they nonetheless provide insight into travel conditions unchanged since the seventeenth century. Alexander Mackenzie, a Northwest Company factor, traveled the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route on a journey to the 1789 rendezvous at Grand Portage. Due to his interest in the fur trade and its routes, Mackenzie kept a journal relating, among other things, navigational conditions along the way. The number and condition of portages particularly concerned Mackenzie.<sup>11</sup>

After leaving Montreal, travelers moving west of the Lake of Two Mountains encountered twelve miles of rapids called the Long Sault. Mackenzie noted that conditions at the Long Sault necessitated portages at "three carrying places, the length of which depends in a great measure upon the state of the water, whether higher or lower."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Pierre Biard, quoted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), I, 159-61.

<sup>11</sup>Alexander Mackenzie, Voyages From Montreal Through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans in 1789 and 1793 With an Account of the Rise and State of the Fur Trade 2 vols. (New York: Allerton Book Company, 1922).

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., lviii.

The next obstacle encountered consisted of an eight mile stretch of rapids. Three significant stretches of white-water, the Chaudiere, the Second, or Little Chaudiere, and the Dechenes interrupted navigation. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, voyageurs portaged around the main Chaudiere falls using one of two routes.<sup>13</sup> Although not confirmed in the Relations, seventeenth-century travelers unquestionably bypassed the main Chaudiere falls. Mackenzie noted that "[at] the (first) Portage de Chaudiere, ... the body of water falls twenty-five feet, over cragged, excavated rocks, in a most wild, romantic manner."<sup>14</sup> Traders also bypassed the second Chaudiere rapids. A stretch of fast moving water existed between the Little Chaudiere portage and Dechenes. Voyageurs poled or lined canoes up this stretch of whitewater.<sup>15</sup>

The Chats Falls provided the next obstruction to travelers on the Ottawa, necessitating another portage. Fast water existed at the exit from Lac des Chats, though the evidence does not confirm if it required an additional portage or not. At this point, lightly laden canoes could bypass a rough stretch of water by using a side route, reentering the Ottawa via the Muskrat River. Champlain

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<sup>13</sup>Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes, 50.

<sup>14</sup>Mackenzie, Voyages from Montreal, lix.

<sup>15</sup>Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes, 50.

followed this route on his journey to Huronia in 1615.<sup>16</sup> The Relations do not indicate if this practice continued into the mission period.

The next rapids encountered occur at Dufort and Grand Calumet. The Grand Calumet portage covered over a mile, the longest portage east of Grand Portage. The Allumette rapids followed; voyageurs poled up these rapids and ran down stream in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The traders benefitted from the break offered by the Allumette, because the next obstructions, the Rapide-des-Joachims, required two half mile portages.<sup>17</sup> Historical sources indicate the route to Huronia and Ste. Marie left the Ottawa River at this point to proceed up the Mattawa River.<sup>18</sup>

The voyageurs passed the rapids at the mouth of the Mattawa River by lining or poling. This small river contained eleven rapids in all, with the Plain Champ, Decharge des Roses, and the Decharge Campion being the most notable. The route left the Mattawa just below Talon Falls, then travelled via three small lakes (Robichand, Turtle, and Trout) before crossing the height-of-land separating the

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 52, 53.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 54, 55.

<sup>18</sup>The Jesuit Relations, XXXIII, 65; Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 270-80.

Ottawa River and Lake Huron watersheds. In all, five miles separated Trout Lake from Lake Nipissing.<sup>19</sup>

Lake Nipissing marked the end of upstream travel. The lake also provided a welcome stretch of flat water. Traders and travelers cruised along its southeastern shore until reaching the headwaters of the French River. Voyageurs used the portage of the Chaudiere des Francois to exit Lake Nipissing.

Although the French River stretches seventy miles to Georgian Bay, its entire distance could be passed in a single day. At high water only two portages, Recollect Falls and the Petite Faucille, interrupted the journey. In 1789, Mackenzie noted that the portage at Recollect Falls measured forty-five paces, while he crossed the Petite Faucille's portage in just twenty-five.<sup>20</sup> Exactly which channel the Jesuits used to exit the French River and enter Lake Huron remains unknown, but historical sources and modern research established the channel the voyageurs used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes, 56, 57.

<sup>20</sup>Mackenzie, Voyages from Montreal, lxvi.

<sup>21</sup>In 1971, divers recovered late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century fur trade artifacts, including muskets and shot, from below the Petite Faucille rapids. Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes, 61.

Canoe accidents occurred at nearly every rapid on the route from Montreal. They were not just a seventeenth-century phenomena. According to one historical source, the maritime route to the Huron country continued to claim canoes and cargoes into the nineteenth century. While travelling to a fur trading post in western Canada in 1800, trader Daniel W. Harmon noted numerous memorials to those who perished in Ottawa and French river rapids: "At almost every rapid which we have passed, . . . we have seen a number of crosses erected; and at one, I counted no less than thirty."<sup>22</sup>

In addition to canoe accidents at or near rapids, the Relations noted other circumstances contributing to the archaeological record. Some losses resulted from poor judgement rather than unforeseen complications. Native Americans and Jesuits frequently traveled during the spring ice breakup despite treacherous conditions, with predictable catastrophic results. One Jesuit Father took particular pain to describe the loss of a colleague upon such a venture, perhaps to forewarn other brethren from repeating the fatal mistake:

In doubling a point, the surging of the water, as of a heavy tide, dashed against his canoe, and

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<sup>22</sup>Daniel W. Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America: Between the 47th and 58th Degree of North Latitude, . . . (New York: Allerton Book Company, 1922), 1-10.

overturned it with all that was in it, so that they thought all was lost.... Armand, wishing to save a Chapel that the Father was carrying in order to say the holy mass, and a quantity of porcelain and other baggage enclosed in a chest, went down so far that he was lost to sight. Behold the Chest, the Chalice, the Alb, and the Chasuble, and all his outfit engulfed on the one hand, and he on the other.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to natural hazards, Jesuits faced threats from other sources. Not all Jesuits traveling to Huronia enjoyed good relations with their Huron hosts. Father Davost experienced severe difficulties, including ill treatment and thievery. What his Native American companions did not steal they coerced him to throw away to lighten further his already reduced baggage. The value of the lost articles caused Father le Jeune to describe Davost's difficulties in detail: "They compelled him to throw away a little steel mill, and almost all our books, some linen, and a good part of the paper... of which we have great need."<sup>24</sup> Of the materials lost by Davost, the steel mill was the only item capable of surviving in the riverine environment. Nevertheless, the account provides some indications of the types of material transported to the Huronian mission.

Rapids, storms and mistakes aside, illness also played a role in accidents. At times the Jesuits must have thought

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<sup>23</sup>The Jesuit Relations, XIV, 245.

<sup>24</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, VII, 81.

the very devil himself tried to delay or postpone their safe arrival in the Huron country. One Jesuit priest worried after one of his guides experienced convulsions similar to an epileptic seizure. He recognized that if the seizure had occurred while embarked, all would have been lost:

I had just applied to a canoe in which there was a young man who had the falling sickness... and who was taken with it before my very eyes, a little while before we reembarked; this alarmed me, for, if the attack had seized him in the middle of the river, it would have resulted in upsetting both us and the canoe, and we would have been lost.<sup>25</sup>

Incidents of this nature are not expected to have deposited a great deal of material associated with the Jesuit mission.

The description of the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route demonstrates the large number of rapids faced by fur traders on their western journey. Historical documents clearly suggest significant submerged cultural material exists in predictable locations on Canada's river bottoms. Documentary evidence indicates the rapids along the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route created conditions responsible for canoe and material losses. Though the Jesuit Relations do not provide descriptive accounts of the rapids along the route in the seventeenth century, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., IX, 243.

documents contain information to fill the gaps in the Jesuit records.



## Chapter 5

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE HURON COUNTRY

Often referred to as the handmaiden of history, archaeology offers an additional means to balance our view of the past.<sup>1</sup> Rather than existing in an adversarial relationship, archaeology (in this study underwater archaeology) and history should instead combine to contribute new insights into age-old research questions. In the case of the Society of Jesus' seventeenth-century mission to Huronia, using both disciplines, in addition to others, leads to a better understanding of the Jesuit mission.

Most studies of this period rely primarily on the written record for evidence. This chapter will examine the history of archaeological research in the Huron country from its nineteenth-century origins to the present. While numerous archaeological projects occurred on terrestrial sites, the examination reveals a lack of research regarding submerged cultural resources associated with the seventeenth-century Jesuit mission. Additionally, this chapter will examine the origins and methodology of the only published underwater archaeology project conducted in the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route to Huronia.

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<sup>1</sup>Jane McIntosh, The Archaeologist's Handbook: How We Know What We Know About the Past (London: Bell & Hyman, 1986), 8.

### Early Research

Between 1820-1828, the Canadian government surveyed and defined township boundaries in present day northern Simcoe County, Ontario. The survey opened the traditional Huron country to an influx of European immigrants who discovered (in the process of clearing land) traces of the region's past inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> These discoveries fostered a renewed interest in the Society's endeavors amongst the Huron, leading to an increase in the number of field studies concerned with the area.

Investigations of the ruins of Ste. Marie Among the Hurons have dominated Huronian research since its nineteenth-century beginnings. Founded on the banks of the Wye River in 1639, Ste. Marie provided the Jesuits and their Christian converts with a safe haven in the heart of the Huron country. Located less than a mile from Georgian Bay, the site offered both protection and accessibility. Influenced by their successful Paraguayan reductions, the Jesuits constructed buildings similar in style to their residences in France. The order built a solid stone and timber headquarters for their permanent Huronian mission.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Andrew Frederick Hunter, "Archaeological Research in the Huron Country." In The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, notes to V, 295.

<sup>3</sup>Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), 576-78.

Following the abandonment and burning of the site in 1649, Ste. Marie remained unoccupied and unnoticed for two hundred years until Europeans returned to the region.

Religion provided the common bond for the initial researchers of the Jesuit Huronia mission site. Motivated to visit and walk upon the same grounds as the Canadian martyrs, clergymen sought the sacred ruins in the wilderness. The Reverend George Hallen, Rector of Penetanguishene's St. James Garrison Anglican Church, thoroughly investigated the site in the 1840's. He contributed sketches of Ste. Marie's two sites to Father Martin's translation of Father Bressani's seventeenth-century letters used in the Relations.<sup>4</sup> Excavations by archaeologists Wilfrid and Elsie McLeod Jury in the 1940s and 1950s confirmed the accuracy of Hallen's drawings.<sup>5</sup>

Father Peter Chazelle visited Ste. Marie's remains in 1844. Chazelle expressed surprise at the lack of monuments associated with the mission, but noted that a settler "who was having a house built on the shores of Matchedash Bay...

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<sup>4</sup>Hunter, "Archaeological Research in the Huron Country," 295. Following the Hurons' 1649 dispersal by the Iroquois, Ste. Marie was relocated to nearby Christian Island, located in Georgian Bay. The second site, Ste. Marie II, was abandoned the following year.

<sup>5</sup>Wilfrid Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954; reprint, Toronto: Oxford in Canada Paperback, 1965), 6.

[removed] all the good stones he could find."<sup>6</sup> Not all of the remains had disappeared, however, because Chazelle observed mounds and rubble within the site's perimeter.

In 1855, Jesuit Father Felix Martin's interest in the Society of Jesus' early history in North America drew him to Huronia. Accompanied on a visit to Ste. Marie by George Hallen, Martin examined and described the mission's ruins in detail:

The Fort is a creditable structure of stone and mortar, and the walls still show from two to four feet above the ground. The masonry, executed in a workman-like manner, give evidence of having been done by skilled masons.... The shape of the Fort is an oblong rectangle with flanking bastions at the angles. Despite peculiarities of detail in its construction, the reasons of which are not easy to guess today, it is not hard to discern, in the carrying out of the plan, a careful application of the rules of military art.<sup>7</sup>

Father Martin incorporated information from his field studies into his edition of Bressani's Relation entries, and into The Life of Joques, his account of the life and death of that Jesuit Huronian martyr.<sup>8</sup>

The Hurons' role in the failure of the Jesuit mission also attracted the interests of lay scholars, both amateurs and professionals alike. Jesuit descriptions of Huron burial practices provided researchers with explanations for

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<sup>6</sup>Peter Chazelle, Letter, 11 October 1844, quoted in Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Felix Martin; Ibid., 7.

<sup>8</sup>Hunter, 295.

the large collections of bones scattered throughout the Huron country. An assistant-surgeon at Penetanguishene, Dr. Edward W. Bawtree, inspected and collected relics from Huron ossuaries. One of only a few, Bawtree had the vision to write of his experiences and findings among the Huron bones. He spent two years (1846-1848) pursuing his mortuary interests, leading to an article on Huron sepulchral pits.<sup>9</sup>

From 1854-1860, the University of Toronto's History Department chair, Sir Daniel Wilson, examined Huron village sites and ossuaries. Wilson published numerous reports and studies concerning the region's cultural history throughout his life. His particular interest focused on Huron skeletal remains. Wilson's most notable contribution to regional archaeological studies is an article entitled "The Huron Race and its Headform," published in the Canadian Journal.<sup>10</sup>

The location and excavation of Jesuit sites other than Ste. Marie also interested scholars. From 1860-1864, Laval University's Physiology chair, Dr. J. C. Tache, searched for elusive Huron villages and remains on summer vacations. Tache tried to identify Jesuit mission sites utilizing published documents. During this period he examined

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<sup>9</sup>Kenneth E. Kidd, "Identification of French Mission Sites in the Huron Country: A Study in Procedure," Ontario History, 41 (1949), 90.

<sup>10</sup>Hunter, "Archaeological Research," 296.

fourteen Huron village sites for Jesuit remains. Contemporary historians Francis Parkman and Charles Laverdiere incorporated Tache's site identifications into their monographs. Unfortunately, the majority of Tache's work remains unpublished.<sup>11</sup>

Trinity University's Henry Montgomery inspected village sites and earthen fortifications in the vicinity of the Jesuit mission St. Louis. In 1878, Montgomery published "Indian Remains in Simcoe and Muskoka," in the Toronto Globe. In the 1870s and 1880s Charles A. Hirschfelder collected artifacts while excavating Huron ossuaries. Hirschfelder donated his extensive Huron collection to the Dominion Government's Ottawa museum.<sup>12</sup>

In 1885, the focus of field research returned to Ste. Marie. That year, Toronto librarian, James Bain, Jr., presented a paper before the Canadian Institute detailing thirty years of monitoring Ste. Marie's condition from personal inspection. In his address, Bain described the gradual deterioration of the mission's ruins.<sup>13</sup>

Two clergy members, the Rev. J. W. Annis and Father Theodore Laboreau, investigated numerous Jesuit Huron mission sites. Though Episcopalian, Annis' interests led to

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

his acquisition of a 400 specimen collection. Father Laboreau concentrated on writing papers pertaining to the Jesuit mission. He presented some findings in two papers delivered before the Canadian Institute in 1887 and 1891.<sup>14</sup>

In the 1890s, Jesuit and Huron sites began to be investigated by a new era of professional archaeologists. David Boyle, an Ontario Archaeological Museum curator, conducted scientific research in the Huron country, introducing students throughout Canada to Ontario's rich cultural heritage.<sup>15</sup> His efforts recovered over a thousand artifacts from Huron and Petun mission and village sites. Boyle published his findings in the Canadian Institute's Annual Report, and in Primitive Man in Ontario. Hunter noted that these publications represent the most significant contributions regarding the Jesuits in the Huron country before 1900.<sup>16</sup>

#### Twentieth Century

Jesuit Father A. E. Jones, a notable scholar of Huronia, carefully inspected all relevant sites associated with the mission early in the twentieth century. Jones' impressive girth became a familiar figure on the back roads

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid, 297.

<sup>15</sup>Kidd, "Identification of French Mission Sites," 90.

<sup>16</sup>Hunter, "Archaeological Research," 297.

of Simcoe County, as he investigated known, reported, and rumored Huron and Jesuit site locations. He incorporated much of Martin's work into Old Huronia, adding additional measurements and drawings.

Father Jones' labors increased the level of study concerning Jesuit Huronian activities. The Jesuit intended that his monograph serve as a convenient reference work to aid those researching events associated with the Huron country. Jones' position as Archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, facilitated his access to valuable documents, including Father Martin's notes, associated with Jesuit missionary activities.<sup>17</sup>

Jones divided his work into two parts; the first essentially provides knowledge of Huron history and village locations. Jones created the first section around a revised edition of the "Theoretical Map of Huronia, 1898," first included in Thwaites' The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. The difference between the two is slight. Jones revised Thwaites' original map utilizing information derived from topographical research and personal site investigation.

In Part First, Jones identified, located, and described Huron and Petun sites in great detail. For a documented village, he mentioned the following information: the site's

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<sup>17</sup>Rev. A. E. Jones, "'8endake Ehen' or Old Huronia," Ontario Bureau of Archives, Fifth Report, Toronto, 1908, xi-xii.



location, if known; its historical documentation; and a description of its present condition. Jones extrapolated distances between villages from historical sources without taking into account the fact that trails did not necessarily follow straight lines. The Jesuit also included Andrew Frederick Hunter's contemporary archaeological data and site photographs.

Part Second provides a detailed, year by year account of Jesuit missionary activities. Jones chronologically covered events from 1615-1650, utilizing The Jesuit Relations, in addition to Champlain's and Sagard's narratives. Hunter's archaeological research brings some balance to an otherwise heavily Eurocentric, documentary account. Nevertheless, the lack of balance should by no means detract from Jones' efforts.

The Archaeological Report provides an indication of the level of research concerning Ontario during this period.<sup>18</sup> Published annually as part of an appendix to the minister of education's report to the legislative assembly of Ontario, this report includes significant articles about the region's archaeological past. The report is not topic specific; rather, its editors considered all articles concerned with aspects of Ontario's material past eligible for publication.

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<sup>18</sup>Legislative Assembly of Ontario; Archaeological Report: Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education (Toronto: A. T. Wilgress, 1917-1925).

T. W. E. Sowter's Lake Deschenes research provides an ideal example of this period's archaeological techniques.<sup>19</sup> A three year investigation yielded various artifacts of Native American or European origin. A sampling of sites in the Lake Deschenes vicinity indicated that Native Americans and Europeans utilized its sandy shores as convenient campsites for journeys on the Ottawa River. While Sowter surface collected the majority of artifacts, he also conducted some limited excavation.<sup>20</sup>

Acceptable in his era, Sowter's methods fall short of meeting today's standards. While some leeway exists for individual approaches to different excavations, archaeologists need to conform at some point to allow comparative studies. At one location, upon discovering clam shell fragments in an ant hill, Sowter began an excavation even though his crew had forgotten to bring shovels. Sowter proceeded, substituting a digging stick and graniteware wash basin in lieu of a shovel.<sup>21</sup>

Kenneth E. Kidd's 1941 Ste. Marie excavation significantly raised the level of archaeological professionalism in the Huron country. Kidd's 1949 published

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<sup>19</sup>T. W. E. Sowter, "Lake Deschenes," Archaeological Report: Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario (1917), 78-85.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Sowter, "Lake Deschenes," 81.

report details the precise methods and techniques employed during the excavations. The work augmented the historical, written record with valuable information garnered through archaeological investigations. In the report's preface, Kidd stated that a lack of North American historical archaeology necessitated creation of procedures to supplement accepted site excavation techniques.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to his extensive Ste. Marie excavations, Kidd delved into other Huron and Jesuit research projects, exemplified by his attempts to improve Father Jones' site identification methods.<sup>23</sup> Following a brief history of Huronian archaeological research, Kidd recounted Jones' triangulation system and noted its shortcomings. Kidd believed that a judicious application of Jones' system, combined with archaeological research, would identify Jesuit mission locations.<sup>24</sup>

Frank Ridley's long association with Huronia began following a 1946 Toronto lecture by Kenneth Kidd. In the lecture Kidd stated that the Huron country remained virgin territory regarding to archaeological research. Intrigued, Ridley began his lifelong interest in the region by

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<sup>22</sup>Kenneth E. Kidd, The Excavation of Ste. Marie I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949), v.

<sup>23</sup>Kidd, "Identification of French Mission Sites," 89-94.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 93.

attempting to identify Brebeuf's first landfall, Toanche, from documentary evidence and site visits. In addition to archival research, Ridley archaeologically investigated other non-Jesuit site locations contemporary to the Society's mission in Huronia.<sup>25</sup>

Wilfred and Elsie Mcleod Jury published a popularized account of their 1948-1951 investigation of Ste. Marie.<sup>26</sup> Though some scholars questioned their interpretations,<sup>27</sup> for the most part their excavations conformed to the high standards set by Kenneth Kidd's 1941 excavations. In fact, the Society of Jesus displayed the same enthusiasm and support regarding the project as it had for Kidd's venture.<sup>28</sup>

The Jurys examined areas not explored by previous excavations. Though they overlapped Kidd's previous work to some degree, most of their excavation broke new ground. The archaeologists assigned names to individual areas, and,

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<sup>25</sup>Frank Ridley, "A Search for Ossossane and its Environs," Ontario History, 39 (1947), 7-14.

<sup>26</sup>Jury and Jury, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons.

<sup>27</sup>Bruce Trigger, Children of Aataentsic; Conrad E. Heidenreich, Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971).

<sup>28</sup>Jury and Jury, Sainte-Marie Among the Huron, x.

according to photographs, systematically surveyed and staked each area before digging.<sup>29</sup>

Conrad Heidenreich's Huron synthesized a broad range of traditional disciplines to create as complete a picture as possible of Huron society and its interactions with the environment. Through application of natural and social science research methods, in addition to geographic methods, Heidenreich expanded our knowledge of Huron life and Jesuit missionary efforts.<sup>30</sup>

Heidenreich utilized previous archaeological research conducted by a wide range of professionals and amateurs to reconstruct Huronian geography. A lack of documentary source material forced Heidenreich to generalize and extrapolate information instead of being specific. Aware of potential conflicts in interpretation, he stated that the slow pace of archaeological research in the Huron country necessitated such an approach:

Intensive archaeological... work has only recently begun in the area; much of the potentially significant work of previous years... has not been published.... The author..., aware of this shortcoming,... realizes that only decades of intensive archaeological work could provide enough material to overcome this problem.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., plate II.

<sup>30</sup>Heidenreich, Huron, 14.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 16.

The slow publishing pace of archaeological research continues to create problems. While a great deal of published ethnohistoric material is available, most archaeological work remains scattered in field journals and draft reports.<sup>32</sup> Heidenreich expressed doubts about the profitability of further Huron research without a corresponding increase in the study of the archaeological record.<sup>33</sup>

In the 1980s and 1990s, Heidenreich's call for an increase in the rate of published archaeological research remained unanswered. Though researchers continued to focus on locating and investigating Jesuit mission sites,<sup>34</sup> the project results remain difficult to obtain. Either the data from terrestrial research remain unpublished in fieldbooks, or only esoteric academic journals publish the results. Archaeologists have not published any significant regional findings pertaining to nautical research projects since the 1970s.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 314.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 315.

<sup>34</sup>See Martha Latta, "Identification of the 17th Century French Missions in Eastern Huronia," Journal of Canadian Archaeology, 9, (1985).

<sup>35</sup>Archaeologist Jean Luc Pillon of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, interview by author, 26 January 1994, Washington, D.C.

## Underwater Archaeology

In 1960, University of Minnesota professor Edward W. Davis postulated that cultural material associated with Minnesota's fur trading past might still exist beneath the waters on historic trade routes. Divers recruited by Davis to test his theory discovered seventeen brass kettles nestled together beneath Horsetail Rapids on the Granite River in northern Minnesota.<sup>36</sup> Encouraged by these initial finds, Davis expanded his research.

On 2 May 1962, a news release announced the formation of a joint Canadian-American project. The Minnesota Historical Society and the Royal Ontario Museum created the Quetico-Superior Underwater Research Project to locate and recover submerged cultural material associated with fur trade canoe accidents.<sup>37</sup> The project concentrated on west-bound traffic because outgoing canoes contained cargoes of more durable goods.<sup>38</sup>

The constant currents at rapids created an environment that precluded stratigraphic studies. Normally,

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<sup>36</sup>Robert C. Wheeler *et al.*, Voices From the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts 1960-73 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1975), 7.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 10.

<sup>38</sup>Robert C. Wheeler, "The North American Fur Trade," chap. in George F. Bass, A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology (New York: Wacker & Company, 1972), 285.

terrestrial and some underwater archaeology projects rely on the layering of cultural material to date objects relatively.<sup>39</sup> Stratigraphic succession, a fundamental principle in archaeological investigation, is based upon the geological law of superposition. Similar to nature's successive layering of geological strata, human activity also deposits layers of cultural material over a period of time. Archaeologists study the sequences of these deposits for the purposes of dating artifacts, and to understand better the site's history.<sup>40</sup> During project excavations, the turbulent conditions prohibited this practice. Swirling waters had randomly deposited artifacts, mixing modern materials with historic and prehistoric remains. Because of the depositional nature of these sites, Robert C. Wheeler described them as "archaeological omelettes."<sup>41</sup>

The Quetico-Superior project's methodology evolved from an initial period of salvage archaeology to more precise, detail-specific methods. Following instructions from on-site archaeologists, Quetico-Superior divers located, marked, and reported all items that appeared unnatural on the bottom. Though the region's clear and dark waters preserved metal artifacts, they did not arrest oxidation.

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<sup>39</sup>Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids, 11.

<sup>40</sup>McIntosh, The Archaeologist's Handbook, 12.

<sup>41</sup>Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids, 10.



In addition, aquatic plant growth served to disguise and hide some relevant finds.<sup>42</sup>

The amount and condition of fur trade materials recovered by the project's divers indicated its success. Over a thirteen year period, the project retrieved a large number of artifacts, including iron trade axes, knives, trade guns, kettles, beads, and files. The program of "whitewater" archaeology contributed valuable information to the historic record in the form of new, unused trade items. The artifacts' pristine condition facilitated accurate identification and dating procedures for terrestrial sites.<sup>43</sup>

Other results of the Quetico-Superior project provided specific information about some of the river routes and portages used by the voyageurs, enabling park officials to correct misconceptions about the traders' routes in the Quetico-Superior National Forest region. In addition, having specific knowledge of the rivers used by the voyageurs helps archaeologists to identify associated terrestrial sites. Finally, the project's documentary research accumulated a considerable amount of reference material, facilitating the search for fur trade sites.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 11.

<sup>43</sup>Wheeler, "The North American Fur Trade," 286.

<sup>44</sup>Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids, 11-12.

Limited by its focus on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade, the project did not seek cultural material related to Jesuit efforts. The project did, however, investigate sites in the historic Jesuit mission area. In 1971 divers discovered artifacts below the Petite Fauuille rapids on the French River.<sup>45</sup> The fact no seventeenth-century items surfaced at this time does not rule out their existence. Divers may have overlooked artifacts or simply missed them. Since divers recovered iron and other types of artifacts below the rapids, French River sites warrant further research, focused on recovering Jesuit related materials (Table I).

TABLE I

Quetico-Superior Underwater Research Project  
Artifacts in the Royal Ontario Museum, 1961-1973<sup>46</sup>

Artifacts Recovered from French River Sites	
Item	Quantity
Axes, iron	110
Axes, iron, clusters of	2
Ax with handle	1
Ice chisels	16

<sup>45</sup>Eric W. Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada: Then and Now (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 27.

<sup>46</sup>Based on a table from Wheeler et al, Voices from the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts 1960-1973 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1975), 99.

Item	Quantity
Files	34
Awls <sup>47</sup>	112
Kettles, copper	6
Kettle rims, copper	10
Kettle bottoms, copper	2
Lugs	3
Bails	8
Knives	2
Knife blades, iron	26
Knife handles, wooden	38
Scrapers	5
Scrapers, bundle of	1
Strike-a-lights	37
Strike-a-lights, bundle of	3
Strike-a-light, fragments	2
Muskets	11
Gun barrel	1
Musket side plates	1
Gunflints	159
Gunflints, jars of	2
Hinges	6
Brass wire, coils of	4
Penknife spring	1
Iron object	1
Musket balls	not tabulated
Bird shot	not tabulated

<sup>47</sup>Includes one box of forty-eight, and one of thirty-four.

In addition to reinvestigating French River rapids (Map V), areas on both the Mattawa and Ottawa rivers that meet the maritime model's criteria merit study. These rivers flow easterly, a factor that may lessen the chance for recovery of fur trade or Jesuit connected artifacts.<sup>48</sup> Because voyageurs portaged most of these rivers' rapids on western journeys in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries,<sup>49</sup> the Huron and Jesuits presumably did likewise in the seventeenth-century. During the Jesuit mission in Huronia, the bulk of the cargoes shipped to the west consisted of trade goods and supplies that never returned to the east. This suggests that rapids on the westward flowing French River probably contain the greatest concentration of Jesuit era artifacts. Though rapids on the Mattawa and Ottawa rivers offer less potential than French River rapids, the opportunity for recovering seventeenth-century cultural material from their waters still exists.

A review of documentary and archaeological evidence indicated the potential rewards of a project focused primarily on recovering submerged cultural resources associated with the Jesuit seventeenth-century mission to the Huron country. Historic sources, primarily The Jesuit

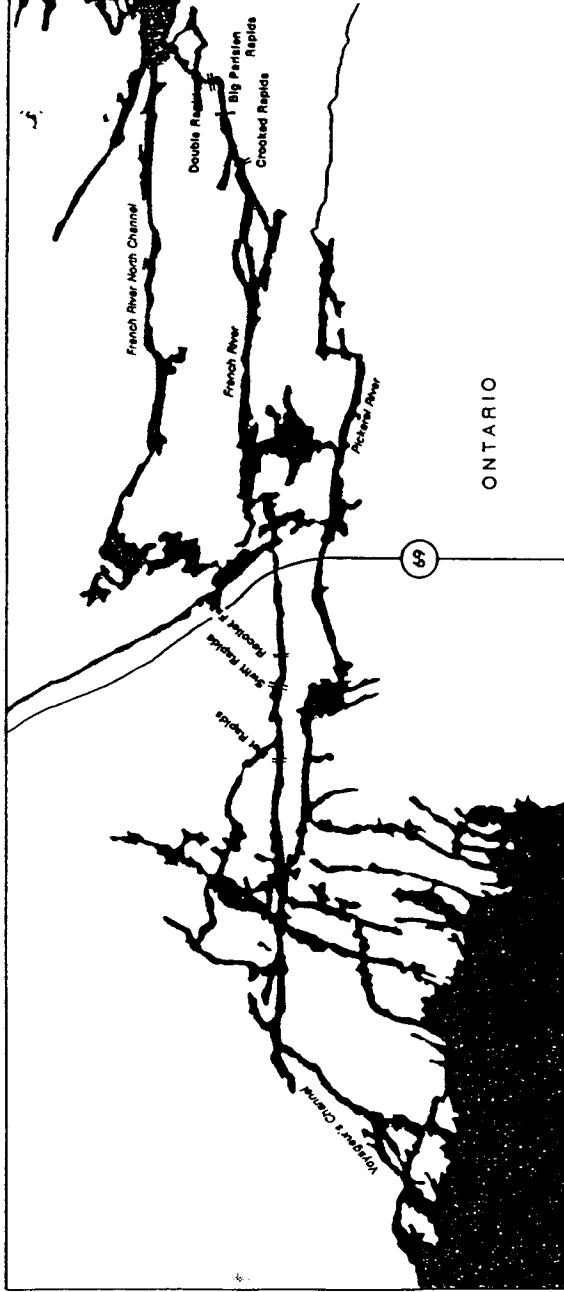
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<sup>48</sup>Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids, 13.

<sup>49</sup>Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes, 50-51.

MAP V

French River Rapids Investigated by the  
Quetico-Superior Underwater Research Project



Source: Robert C Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts 1960-73 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1975), 52.

Relations and Allied Documents,<sup>50</sup> provided information regarding canoes and cargo lost on the Huronian journey. The Quetico-Superior Research Project demonstrated the value of combining documentary research and underwater archaeology, potentially leading to new eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade insights.

The review of terrestrial archaeological research in the Huron country revealed a pattern of continual interest in the region. The slow publishing pace of findings and the absence of a project focused on the region's seventeenth-century maritime past remain as the major problems with this research.

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<sup>50</sup>Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: Burrow Brothers, 1896-1901).

## Chapter 6

### THE MARITIME MODEL

In 1633 Jesuit Father Paul le Jeune summed up the isolated clerics' intense feelings when welcoming fresh personnel and supplies to Huronia. Referring to letters delivered by successful travelers, Father le Jeune could not contain his allegorical expressions of jubilation. He regarded the letters as "very rare and very fresh fruits, received with joy,... regarded with pleasure,... relished as fruits of the terrestrial paradise."<sup>1</sup> As much as they welcomed these letters, Jesuits could not sustain themselves on "fruit" alone.

Supporting the Huronian mission required transportation of all the trappings of seventeenth-century Europe into the heart of the Canadian forests. The building blocks of European civilization traveled hundreds of miles over treacherous lakes and rivers. Everything traveling to the Huron country faced the same perils along the way, especially on the last stages of the journey. Numerous rapids and canoe accidents took a toll of cargo and personnel. Countless items survived the Atlantic voyage to Quebec only to be lost on the riverine route west.

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<sup>1</sup>Paul le Jeune, quoted in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), V, 83.

This chapter will add a maritime dimension to historical and archaeological research concerned with Jesuit activities in Huronia. A review of the documentary and archaeological records contributed the information needed to create a maritime model for predicting the potential for submerged cultural resources in the seventeenth-century Huron country. The model will facilitate research in Huronia by providing underwater archaeologists with an indication of the region's potential artifacts and high probability sites, thereby encouraging future research.

Specifically, this chapter defines the components of the maritime model.<sup>2</sup> The model's first two elements delineate its temporal and spatial limits. Next, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade documents were examined to provide descriptive accounts of rapids and portages along the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route. Following this, primary documents were examined for indications of potential artifact finds. Finally, the

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<sup>2</sup>The maritime model based its structure on the following archaeological reports: Richard J. Anuskiewicz, "A Study of Maritime and Nautical Sites Associated with St. Catherines Island, Georgia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1989); Judith Dunn Tordoff, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Organization of the Fur Trade in Eighteenth Century New France" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1983); Margaret Kimball Brown, Predictive Models in Archaeological Resource Management in Illinois (Springfield, IL: Department of Conservation, State of Illinois, 1978).



chapter discusses the model's suggested survey and excavation research methods.

A review of the published research concerning seventeenth-century Jesuit activities in the Huron country revealed a lack of maritime-related investigations. Though both scholars and amateurs alike have pursued varied interests in the Huron mission area since the nineteenth century, most if not all, projects focused on discovering or excavating Jesuit-related terrestrial sites.

The historical and archaeological records indicate the potential for submerged cultural resources. The Jesuit Relations, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade records noted or described canoe accidents. The joint American-Canadian Quetico-Superior Underwater Research Project recovered fur trade era cultural material from rivers in the area.

The Quetico-Superior project's record of success at French River sites, and the collected documentary evidence, provide the final information necessary to suggest a model that:

- Predicts locations of underwater archaeological sites along the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route connected to the Jesuit seventeenth-century mission to Huronia;
- Predicts the range of expected cultural material at submerged sites.

The Jesuit Relations and the published archaeological record provided the information necessary to reach the stated objectives. The data was organized using four parameters for analysis. The maritime model's parameters demonstrate the potential for underwater research projects in the historic Jesuit mission area.

- **Temporal** - defines the model's parameters in regard to the historic period. The definition facilitates documentary and archaeological research by focusing on one specific cultural period.

- **Spatial** - defines the model's ecological parameter in historic New France and modern Canada. Archaeological investigations for Jesuit-related maritime sites should concentrate within this region.

- **Expected Site Locations** - describes the ecological indices at expected Jesuit-related underwater sites. Documentary and archaeological research determined that maritime accidents occurred in determinable physiographic areas.

- **Expected Material Culture** - lists specific Jesuit-related material assemblages expected at site locations given the other parameters. Artifacts recovered at comparative historic sites and documentary research determined three general categories of material culture anticipated at Jesuit-related sites.

#### Temporal Parameters

This study concentrated on the period of centralization under Father Superior Gabriel Lalemant (1632-1650) to define its temporal limits. The period encompassed the Society of Jesus' main efforts in the region. From 1632 to 1639, the Jesuit mission expanded from a few clerics in scattered villages, to the creation of a centrally located, European-

style headquarters. The build-up of Jesuit strength relied on shipments of personnel, equipment, and supplies. Between 1640-1649, the number of Jesuits and lay assistants in the Huron country rose from thirteen to eighteen, and from fourteen to forty-six respectively.<sup>3</sup>

The Relations contain other evidence indicating canoes used the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route during the Jesuit period. Jesuits in Quebec and Three Rivers noted the size of the Huron fur trade brigades arriving to trade with the French. The Huron traders returned to Huronia carrying trade goods, and sometimes supplies and personnel, for the Jesuit mission.<sup>4</sup> The route remained open for regular travel throughout the period except for the years 1638-1644. At this time, Iroquois war parties blockaded the Huron country, attempting to seize furs and other supplies. Though the numbers may not be accurate, they provide an indication of the route's use (Table II). The number of consignments sent west increased the odds of canoe accidents.

Based on the number of cargo or canoe losses mentioned specifically in the Relations, the Jesuits, by and large,

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<sup>3</sup>Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), II, 665.

<sup>4</sup>The Jesuit Relations, V, 259-263; VII, 217; XVIII, 11, 15; XXVI, 71; XXVIII, 45-47; XXXII, 99; XXXIV, 53, 59.

noted only accidents they personally experienced or those endured by other clerics. Between 1632-1650, the Relations contain references to sixteen losses along the route to Huronia.<sup>5</sup> The actual number of accidents is probably much higher. Though the Jesuits increased their numbers in the Huron country during this period, overall, their numbers remained small compared to the Hurons. A review of the Relations provided information that suggested the Hurons frequently used the route between 1632-1650 (Table II). Researchers can infer that a number of canoe accidents occurred that the Jesuits were not aware of and did not report in their records. These accidents also could have deposited material along the route.

Since the Relations focused on other events, an accurate count of losses cannot be determined. Nevertheless, reporting of accidents in the Relations indicates that Jesuits experienced or had personal knowledge of almost one accident per year. Archaeologists conducting the Quetico-Superior project, using more detailed documents, discovered direct references to sixty plus accidents on the fur trade route from Montreal to posts in Alberta, Canada,

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., V, 67-69; VIII, 85, 99; IX, 221; XII, 151-53, 211; XIV, 227, 245-47, 273; XVI, 43-45, 177-79; XIX, 63, 65; XXX, 21; XXXII, 137.

during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE II  
Numbers of Canoes Traveling from the Huron Country

YEAR	NUMBER	SOURCE
1632	50	JR 5:71
1633	140-150	JR 5:239 JR 39:51
1634	11	JR 8:69
1635	UNK	-
1636	20+	JR 9:271-277
1637	20-30	JR 12:235-237
1638	UNK	-
1639	UNK	-
1640	UNK	-
1641	UNK	-
1642	UNK	-
1643	UNK	JR 24:105
1644	UNK	JR 26:71 JR 28:45-47
1645	60	JR 27:277
1646	80+	JR 28:141, 231 JR 29:233
1647	UNK	-
1648	60	JR 32: 97, 179, 185
1649	UNK	JR 32:57

Note: JR = The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.

<sup>6</sup>Robert C. Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids: An Underwater Search for Fur Trade Artifacts 1960-73 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1975), 12.

### Spatial Parameters

Spatially, the model is limited to the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route. Though Jesuits traveled extensively in other regions of Canada during this period, primarily on the Saguenay River system and in Acadia, abundant primary source material exists only regarding the northern route to Huronia. One cannot overstate the route's importance to Jesuit activities in Huronia. It served as the sole link to the outside world, and the only means by which they received supplies and support.

The Linear Stream Patterns and Riverside Settlements Rule, as defined by archaeologist Kent V. Flannery, provided the theoretical foundation for organizing sites along a linear system into a hierarchical form.<sup>7</sup> By placing the "worst" rapids in this route, the most dangerous ones are demonstrated as central places for canoe accident sites. Researchers can rank rapids according to their mention in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade documents. In the nineteenth century, for example, fur trader Daniel W. Harmon noted that "at almost every rapid which [they] passed since [leaving] Montreal,..." they noticed "a number of

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<sup>7</sup>Kent V. Flannery, "Linear Stream Patterns and Riverside Settlement Rules," chap. in The Early Mesoamerican Village (New York: Academic Press, 1976), 173-80.

crosses erected, and at one, .. counted no less than thirty."<sup>8</sup> If Harmon's comments could be tied to specific locations, then one could use his observations about the route to develop hierarchical rankings for rapids.

Above all, this study is based on the primary means of long distance travel in the seventeenth century: waterways. Navigable water brought Europeans and Native Americans together. First contact between the French and Canada's indigenous peoples occurred in the harbors and rivers of its Atlantic coast.<sup>9</sup> The early trading developed as a by-product of the North Atlantic's cod fishery off Newfoundland. Native Americans sought Europeans engaged in the east coast's dry fishery to trade furs for technology. Though sailors initially traded worn-out personal items and tools, these articles appeared priceless to a culture unfamiliar with metal goods. The Native Americans' acquisition of European technology, even iron axes and brass kettles in poor condition, profoundly impacted their lives.

Prior to 1581, the trade existed as an unorganized, secondary activity that supplemented annual fishing voyages

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<sup>8</sup>Daniel W. Harmon, A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America: Between the 47th and 58th Degree of North Latitude,... (New York: Allerton Book Company, 1922), 1-10.

<sup>9</sup>Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1976), 39.

to the region.<sup>10</sup> In the 1600s, trade increased following Samuel de Champlain's exploratory voyages. Cardinal Richelieu's 1627 formation of the Company of New France (also known as the Hundred Associates) significantly altered this practice, serving to attract the French and their technology into the interior. Briefly stalled by the 1629-1632 English occupation of Quebec, the Company continued its western movement soon after the return of its New World domain. Between 1632-1633, the Hundred Associates built a fort on St. Croix Island to extend their control of the St. Lawrence up-river, and in 1634 they established a trading post at Three Rivers.<sup>11</sup>

East of the Rockies, Canada's rivers and lakes create an environment almost totally navigable by canoe.<sup>12</sup> The St. Lawrence River provided a strategic highway into the interior, as well as an invaluable link to the Atlantic coast. Connecting river systems offered the French the benefits of lateral movement, allowing them to consolidate and expand their initial territories by providing further

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<sup>10</sup>Robert C. Wheeler, "The North American Fur Trade," chap. in George F. Bass, ed., A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology (New York: Wacker & Company, 1972), 282.

<sup>11</sup>Marcel Trudel, The Beginnings of New France 1524-1663 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), 185.

<sup>12</sup>Eric W. Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada: Then and Now (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 27.



access to the interior.<sup>13</sup> These routes drew French explorers, traders, and missionaries into Canada's vast wilderness.

#### Site Location

Canada's terrain played a determining factor in its early history and an essential role in this study. The fast-flowing freshwater rivers of the Canadian shield create a unique underwater environment, characterized as both hostile and preserving. The ancient Laurentian plateau encompasses more than half of modern Canada, underlying two million square miles. Igneous rock, shaped through the eons by glacial and alluvial erosion provided the shield's rivers with remarkably stable, virtually unchanging bottoms. Watercourses outside the shield with less stable bottoms composed of alluvial materials and softer rock shift considerably over time. Changes in a river's course bury items of archaeological significance, greatly hindering research. The stable environment preserves Canada's river and stream beds, allowing continuity in the historical record.<sup>14</sup> Since the rivers endured in the same beds throughout the seventeenth-, eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and

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<sup>13</sup>George F. G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers 1604-1954: The Military History of an Unmilitary People (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1954), 1, 2.

<sup>14</sup>Wheeler et al., Voices from the Rapids, 10.

twentieth-centuries, the model infers that dangerous rapids also remained relatively unchanged.

Essentially, the Huronian section of the route remains the same today as it did three centuries ago. Rivers and streams traveled by Jesuits in the seventeenth century continue to flow in the same beds. This is due, in part, to the resilience of the rocky northern forests to civilization and granite's resistance to decay. Although modern dams have drowned some rapids, the lakes do not hinder potential field research. In fact, drowned rapids may facilitate research by slowing river currents. Artifacts lost in the 1600s should remain on the bottom until recovered by modern researchers.

#### Predicted Cultural Material

A detailed examination of primary documents, specifically The Jesuit Relations, and both the underwater archaeological record in Huronia<sup>15</sup> and comparative terrestrial sites<sup>16</sup> indicates a range of material expected

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<sup>15</sup>Kenneth E. Kidd, The Excavation of Ste. Marie I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949); Wilfred and Elsie McLeod Jury, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954).

<sup>16</sup>Tordoff, "An Archaeological Perspective;" Lyle M. Stone, Fort Michlimackinac 1715-1781: An Archaeological Perspective on the Revolutionary Frontier (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Museum in cooperation with Mackinac Island State Park Commission, 1974).

at submerged sites. Three general categories of Jesuit-related material culture should exist in Canadian waters. Jesuits needed utilitarian goods for trade, support, and payment for passage aboard Huron canoes. To fulfill their mission's goals, Jesuits required religious accoutrements. Due to the exclusionary lifestyle of the Society, this category includes personal belongings. Finally, Jesuits used scientific equipment to record their travels and mission positions in the wilderness.

In terms of utilitarian trade items, New France's native peoples desired kettles, knives, ice chisels, files, awls, iron arrowheads, and axes. As access to these implements grew, Native Americans became more and more dependent upon them, to such an extent that they forgot how to make their old tools.<sup>17</sup> Father Brebeuf wrote detailed instructions for priests journeying to the Huron Country from first-hand knowledge. These guidelines mentioned items deemed useful for the journey and thus also for predicting potential artifacts:

You must provide yourself with a tinder box or with a burning mirror, or with both, to furnish their fire in the day time to light their pipes, and in the evening when they have to encamp; these little services win their hearts.... Each [Jesuit] should be provided with half a gross of awls, two

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<sup>17</sup>Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History (New Haven, CT, 1930; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 17.

or three dozen little knives called jambettes [pocket-knives], a hundred fishhooks, with some beads of plain and colored glass.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to trade items, Jesuits shipped a variety of support materials over the tenuous water route. The Society required building supplies, agricultural and craft implements, and general household items to create a bastion of civilization in the Canadian wilderness.<sup>19</sup> These tools traveled the same uncertain route to Huronia.

Church ornaments and associated religious artifacts present the most valuable potential finds. Jesuits required a variety of objects to celebrate mass, including chalices, cruets, and patens. A 1646 list of New Year's gifts given at Quebec indicated the rich variety of religious items available in seventeenth-century New France. This list includes enameled images of saints, medals, crucifixes, and rosaries.<sup>20</sup> These artifacts consisted of materials able to withstand the ravages of time and nature, submerged in Canada's cold waters. The Relations also mentioned that the Society of Jesus shipped holy relics to their Huronian missions.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Jean de Brebeuf, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, XII, 117.

<sup>19</sup>Jury and Jury, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, 2-3.

<sup>20</sup>The Jesuit Relations, XXVIII, 143.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid, XIX, 113.

In addition to detailed religious training, Jesuits acquired enough scientific knowledge to allow them to use astronomical equipment to chart their positions. Jesuit field observations, though sometimes recorded under great difficulties, were nevertheless fairly accurate. Jesuits mentioned various instruments in the Relations in passing. The Relations occasionally referred to compasses. References to latitude provide indirect evidence of cross-staffs.<sup>22</sup> Father Le Jeune specifically related the use of a compass in 1634,<sup>23</sup> and Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumont carried scientific equipment with them on a 1641 journey to the Neutral Nation.<sup>24</sup>

Based on the review of the historic and archaeological record, five working hypotheses were generated to test the Huronian maritime model. This thesis documented that canoe accidents occurred in rapids on the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route to Huronia. Underwater archaeologist Keith Muckelroy described wrecks in these environmental conditions as undergoing a discontinuous site formation process. Discontinuous sites lack structural

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<sup>22</sup>Nellis M. Crouse, Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632-1675 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Publications Printing Company, 1924), 18, 19, 20, 23.

<sup>23</sup>Paul Le Jeune, quoted in The Jesuit Relations, VII, 95.

<sup>24</sup>The Jesuit Relations, XXI, 189.

integrity, with their remains scattered throughout the wrecking area.<sup>25</sup> Results from the Quetico-Superior Research Project confirm Muckelroy's interpretations.

If canoe wrecks occurred at geographic locations selected for surveying, then the following hypotheses cover the range of a canoe accident's potential results.

**Hypotheses Designed to Test  
the Huronian Maritime Model**

1. Canoe accidents occurred, but did not result in material loss.  
Some canoes probably overturned or wrecked while carrying small cargoes, or none at all. Some canoes that overturned could have had their cargoes securely lashed down. No material is expected from these incidents.
2. Canoe accidents occurred, but the cargo was salvaged or recovered at that time.  
Some of the cargoes shipped to the mission probably consisted of items that floated when lost, allowing other canoes to recover them, or the wrecks occurred in water shallow enough for the Jesuits or their companions to recover them. Some items undoubtedly were lost in conditions that precluded salvage attempts. Material not recovered should remain in the wrecking location.
3. Canoe accidents occurred, but the material decayed or deteriorated over time.  
Paper items or textiles could not survive in the rapid's dynamic environment unless buried in sediment, or trapped beneath rocks. No materials of this type are expected.

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<sup>25</sup>Keith Muckelroy, Maritime Archaeology (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 196.

4. Canoe accidents occurred, and currents widely scattered or buried the material.  
In these cases, artifacts might be difficult if not impossible to find. The dynamic conditions expected at site locations could have carried cargo miles downstream, or buried them beneath silt and rock. Though some material probably is unrecoverable, researchers may locate metal items by using both proton magnetometers and metal detectors.
  
5. Some canoe accidents deposited cultural material associated with the Jesuit seventeenth-century mission.  
A review of primary documents indicated that a number of canoe accidents occurred along the river route to Huronia. Based on this information, archaeologists can infer that these accidents deposited some material able to survive in freshwater. Some of the material should remain in the wrecking location.

These hypotheses establish the level of investigation required to systematically survey rapids along the Jesuit route to the Huron country.

In order to test these hypotheses, the following problem-orientated research methodology is suggested for this region. The methodology incorporates procedures used in earlier studies conducted in similar environments. Over a thirteen year period (1960-1973), the Quetico-Superior Research project surveyed and excavated sites in conditions similar to those existing in the study area, including rapids on the French River.<sup>26</sup> Initially, the project investigated randomly selected rapids along known fur trade

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<sup>26</sup>Wheeler et al., Voices From the Rapids.

routes. Scuba divers visually surveyed areas beneath rapids hoping to find artifacts. After 1966, the archaeologists concentrated on locating accident sites documented in fur trade era journals and diaries. Divers marked the positions of the discovered artifacts with floats, and plotted their locations on site maps for further study and interpretation.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1980s, Richard J. Anuskiewicz used remote-sensing instruments to field-test perceived archaeological indices for maritime sites associated with St. Catherines Island, Georgia.<sup>28</sup> In addition to visual surveys, Anuskiewicz used both proton magnetometers and metal detectors to locate artifacts *in situ*.

The proton magnetometer is a non-environment-interactive, non-invasive, non-destructive archaeological research tool. Its use allows archaeologists to survey large areas in a reasonably short period of time. The instrument detects subtle magnetic changes caused by ferrous objects. The proton magnetometer's marine applications enable archaeologists to survey systematically high-probability areas. The proton magnetometer does have its

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<sup>27</sup>Wheeler, "The North American Fur Trade," 286.

<sup>28</sup>Anuskiewicz, "A Study of Maritime and Nautical Sites."



limits; it cannot reliably detect lead, precious metals, or alloys such as aluminum and brass.<sup>29</sup>

Marine metal detectors provide an additional means to locate cultural material. The instruments can pinpoint metals ranging from non-precious iron, lead, and brass to precious gold and silver artifacts.<sup>30</sup> The metal detectors' capabilities complement proton magnetometer surveys, and might prove more useful in the turbulent waters.

A combination of the visual survey site selection methods used by the Quetico-Superior Research Project and Anuskiewicz's remote-sensing strategy should provide future researchers with a reasonable chance for success. Archaeologists should select sites after reviewing cartographic and documentary resources. The historic record indicates Jesuit-related canoe accidents happened during the seventeenth century. Even though many of the events mentioned in the Relations occurred at locations difficult to identify today, research methodologies exists to narrow the survey area.

The environmental conditions expected at predicted site locations facilitate identifying Jesuit-related sites. The Quetico-Superior Underwater Project, for example, selected rapids that, while swift and potentially dangerous, appeared

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 121-23.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

tame enough not to daunt the voyageurs. The project defined its research area further by concentrating on rapids in westward flowing rivers, since their documentary research indicated that most accidents on the outward bound segment of the journey occurred during downstream travel.<sup>31</sup>

The decision to focus on rapids instead of broad river sections or lakes further defined the survey area. The Quetico-Superior project worked from a set of theoretical and philosophical concepts to provide a foundation for their scientific undertaking. While the Quetico-Superior project's report never specifically defines them,<sup>32</sup> their concepts produced the maritime model presented here, thus making the project's historical and ecological background, and reasons for predicting sites, explicit.

Rapids naturally pose a problem to river travel. Archaeologist Michael B. Schiffer defined areas of regular loss containing a disproportionate amount of materials accumulated by this process as "loss traps."<sup>33</sup> Such locations display "common variables related to physical properties and conditions of use." He suggests that the kinds of loci where loss occurs affects the probability of

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<sup>31</sup>Wheeler *et al.*, Voices From the Rapids, 25.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 56. The Quetico-Superior project has not yet published a final report.

<sup>33</sup>Michael B. Schiffer, Behavioral Archaeology (New York: Academic Press, 1976), 32.

its recovery. The more difficult the area of access, the better the chance that the lost item remains for the archaeologist to recover. Accordingly, rapids fit the criteria of Schiffer's terminology.<sup>34</sup> Researchers should examine locations placed in this category on the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route by visual and remote sensing techniques.

Seventeenth-century documents support the contention that an amount of material was lost during shipment to the Jesuit Huronian mission. The archaeological record, both terrestrial and underwater, demonstrates that material lost in the seventeenth century still exists in the region's soils and waters. Efforts to recover these items, guided by the Huronian maritime model, could yield quantities of Jesuit-related artifacts.

Though the Relations do not provide specific locations for canoe and cargo losses, a review of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fur trade documents narrows the survey area. The historical record suggests that seventeenth-century trouble spots continued to be "loss traps" into the fur trade period, a fact supported by references in the traders' journals and business records. Thus eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents provide researchers with

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

information to pinpoint seventeenth-century wreck sites via the geological principle of uniformitarianism.

Archaeologists can use this information to their advantage when conducting research regarding the route to the Huron country. Furthermore, future researchers could profit from a combination of comparative underwater archaeological research methods.

### CONCLUSION: ACROSS A WAY STREWN WITH HORROR

During the period 1632-1650, the Society of Jesus developed and briefly sustained a mission system in the heart of the Canadian wilderness. In the beginning, the Huronian mission consisted of a few Jesuit priests scattered in isolated communities, and evolved into a system organized around a centrally located, European-style residence. The Jesuits relied on French settlements located in the St. Lawrence Valley for supplies and communications. Between these bastions of civilization, however, existed hundreds of miles of rivers, containing treacherous rapids. The hazardous conditions in these rapids wrecked canoes carrying supplies, trade goods, and personnel to the Jesuit mission. Based on documentary and archaeological evidence, this thesis provides a maritime model to predict the locations and expected material culture of sites associated with the Jesuits' seventeenth-century Huronian mission.

A review of the documentary and archaeological records regarding the Jesuits' mission in the Huron country indicates a lack of literature and projects focusing on maritime endeavors in the region. The Jesuits in the Huron country kept detailed records of their experiences, concentrating primarily on their efforts to Christianize the indigenous peoples. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents contain the stories of their efforts, thereby

providing valuable insights into their lives and experiences on Canada's rivers and lakes.

France's preoccupation with European continental affairs and internal religious strife drained its financial resources in the first half of the seventeenth century. As a result, colonial developments lagged far down the list of Louis XIII's and Cardinal Richelieu's concerns. Richelieu, recognizing the economic potential of New France, offered the Jesuits the opportunity to Christianize its native peoples, thus, perhaps, strengthening France's grip on its North American colony. The Society of Jesus, tempered by years of missionary endeavors accepted the challenge, and strived to create a system similar to their successful Paraguayan Reductions. The Jesuit order produced highly educated candidates, both spiritually and mentally hardened for the challenges of missionary work. If assigned to the Huron country, Jesuits expected to face a long, dangerous journey across oceans, lakes, and rivers to reach their New World objective.

The Jesuits produced perceptive individuals who took an active interest in the environment around them. To pass time on their ocean voyage, the priests inquired of the mariners the reasoning behind their navigational choices, and described their shipboard diet and accommodations. The Jesuits continued to describe their voyage once they reached

New France. Based on a review of their writing, it seemed that the Jesuits saved the best of their talents for describing the final leg of their journey to Huronia. The Jesuit Relations contain descriptions of the horrors experienced by the priests on the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route, and from their observations researchers can glean knowledge about the route as it existed in the seventeenth century. The Jesuits are particularly vivid when describing the canoe wrecks that occurred along the way. Once the Jesuits came into contact with the Huron peoples, they concentrated on describing aspects of their christianizing efforts amongst them, and not on relating items of maritime interest.

Documents from the fur trade era fill some gaps in the Jesuit observations about the river routes. More descriptive by nature, fur trade company officials were concerned about the environment that created hardships on the journey. Since the fur trade posts in western Canada relied on trade goods shipped across the uncertain river system, the successful arrival of each canoe was important. Rapids represented far more than obstacles to the traders; they represented potential threats to their company's profits.

Since the nineteenth century, researchers have investigated the historic mission area in search of sites or

objects associated with its Jesuit past. The majority of projects concentrated on discovering and excavating village sites, and on documenting the ruins of Ste. Marie I. Though terrestrial projects have recovered material lost, discarded, or forgotten by the Jesuits, these items, for the most part, are in poor condition.

The findings of the Quetico-Superior Underwater Research Project proved that Canada's cold, fresh waters protected trade goods lost through canoe wrecks. The project also demonstrated that the majority of the accidents occurred in predictable locations.

The information accumulated for this thesis provided the background necessary to develop the maritime model's four parameters. Archaeological projects, both nautical and terrestrial, provided the model with its theoretical framework. A set of testable, multiple hypotheses provides an indication of the wide range of potential results of canoe accidents in river rapids. Although the model was developed with the Ottawa River/Lake Nipissing/French River route specifically in mind, researchers can apply its parameters to other riverine environments.

The European objects brought to Huronia shed light on the every day activities at the Jesuit mission. If recovered, the utilitarian, religious, and scientific items expected at "loss traps" offer researchers a glimpse into



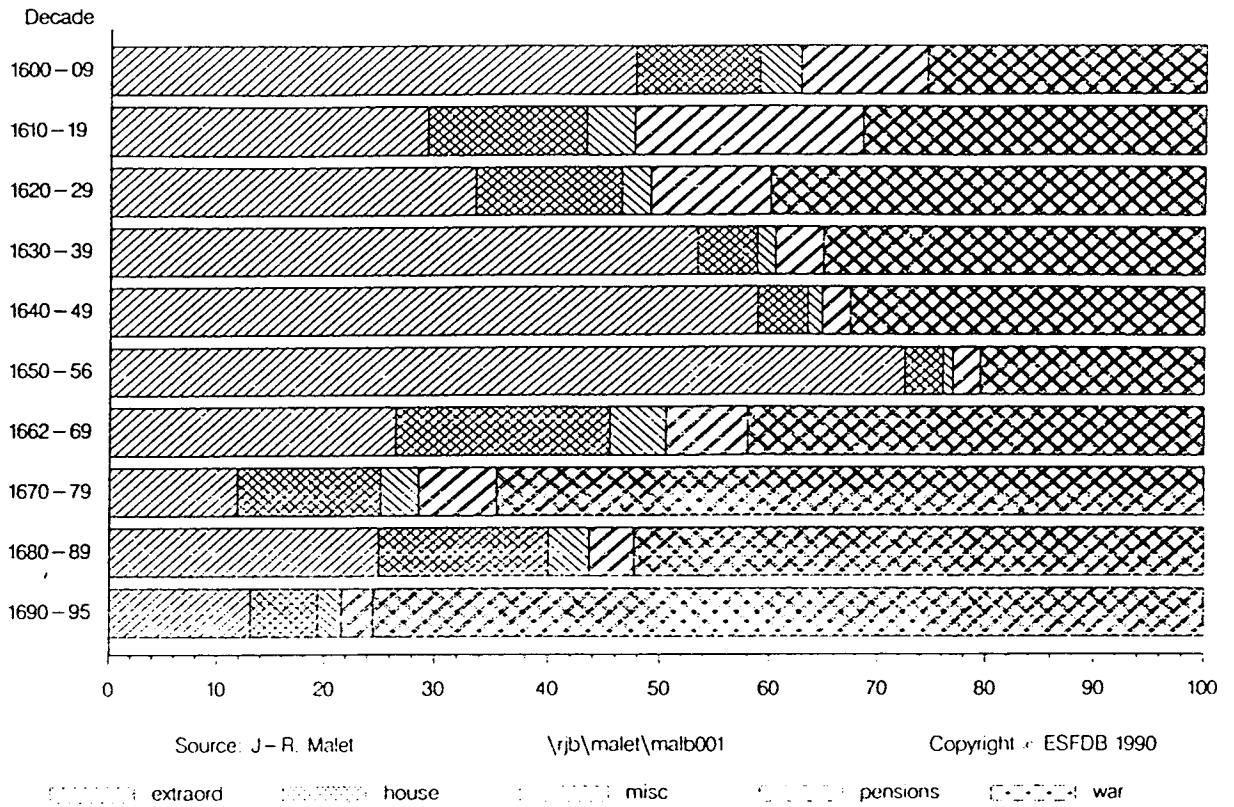
the distant past. The objects could contribute to more accurate dating of seventeenth-century artifacts, and enable researchers to conduct more precise comparative studies. The recovered artifacts could contribute to a better understanding of the Jesuits' and Hurons' utilization of canoes for transporting goods and supplies. In addition, the lost cargos could offer additional information on the diffusion of French religious and cultural traits into the Canadian interior. Finally, artifact clusters at wreck sites could provide some information on seventeenth-century cargo loading and packing methods.

The Society of Jesus faced a daunting task in Huronia. Far removed from any semblance of European civilization, the Huron country and its people offered the Jesuits a chance to build a purified, structured society safe from corrupting influences. To reach the mission, Jesuits traveled a treacherous river route that claimed many lives and canoes. Some of the cargos lost in the seventeenth century should still exist in the cold preserving waters. The maritime model provided by this thesis will hopefully encourage archaeologists to investigate river rapids in the region. The Jesuit-related artifacts could contribute new insights into their mission's history. And the long, slow martyrdom experienced by many Jesuits in the Huron country will not have been in vain.

**APPENDIX**

GRAPH I

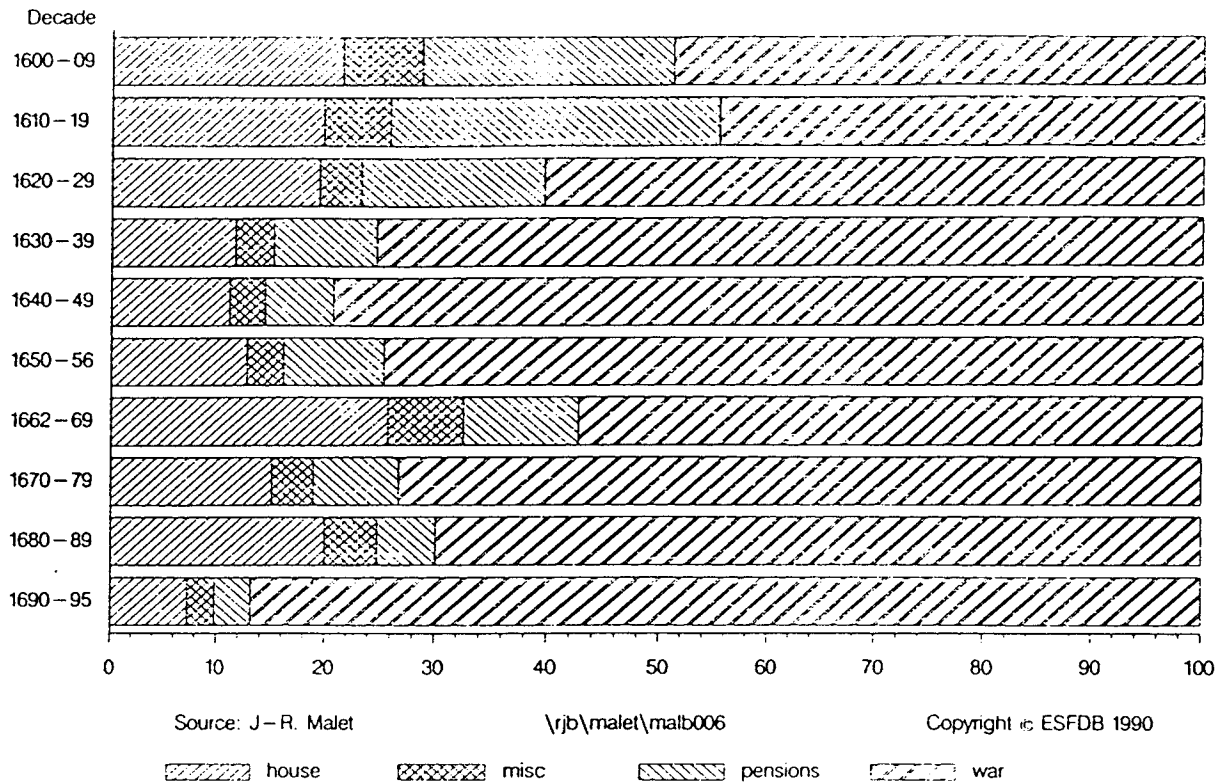
Categories of French royal expenditure by decade, 1600-95



Source: Jean-Roland Malet, *Comptes rendus de l'administration des finances du royaume de France, 1789*; cited in Richard Bonney, "Jean-Roland Malet: Historian of the Finances of the French Monarchy" *French History*, V, 2 (1991), 227.

GRAPH II

Categories of French royal expenditure by decade, 1600–95  
(excluding extraordinary expenditure)



Source: Jean-Roland Malet, *Comptes rendus de l'administration des finances du royaume de France, 1789*; cited in Richard Bonney, "Jean-Roland Malet: Historian of the Finances of the French Monarchy" *French History*, V, 2 (1991), 228.

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