# EXPEDITION

OF THE

# SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN

AGAINST THE

## ONONDAGAS IN 1615

COMPRISING AN INQUIRY INTO THE ROUTE OF THE EXPEDITION, AND THE LOCATION OF THE IROQUOIS FORT WHICH WAS BESIEGED.

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BY

ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY

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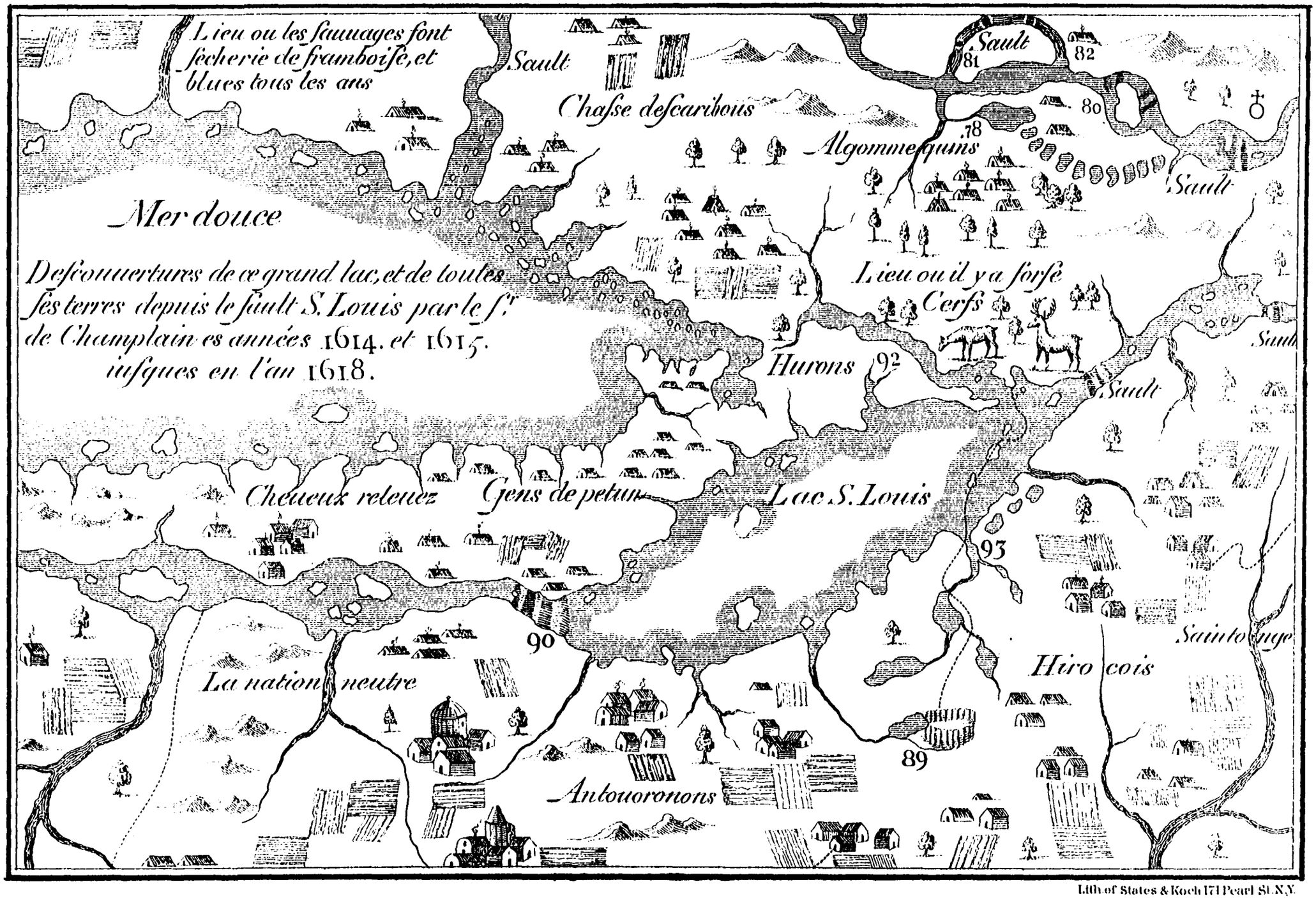
# Fac-Simile of Part of the Champlain Map of 1632.




Lith of States & Koch 171 Pearl St. N.Y.

## EXPLANATION.

The map prefixed is a photo-lithographic fac-simile of the original which accompanies the edition of the Voyages of Champlain in New France, printed at Paris, in 1632.

The numbers 89, 90, 93 appear in the original, and are thus explained in a table annexed :

89. Village renfermé de 4 pallisades ou le Sieur de Champlain fut à la guerre contre les Antouhonorons, où il fut pris plusieurs prisonniers sauvages.

*Translation :* Village enclosed within 4 palisades, where the Sieur de Champlain was during the war upon the Antouhonorons, and where numerous savages were made prisoners.

90. Sault d'eau au bout du Sault Sainct Louis fort hault où plusieurs sortes de poissons descendans s'estourdissent.

*Translation :* A waterfall of considerable height, at the end of the Sault St. Louis, where several kinds of fish are stunned in their descent.

93. Bois des Chastaigniers où il y a forces chastaignes sur le bord du lac S. Louis et quantité de prairies, vignes et noyers.

*Translation :* Woods of chestnut trees, with abundance of chestnuts, and extensive meadow lands, with vines and walnut trees on the border of Lake St. Louis.

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# CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615 AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS.

IN the year 1615, there dwelt on the south-eastern shore of Lake Huron, between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay, a nation of Indians who were called in their own language, "Wendats" or "Wyandots," and by the French "Hurons." There is no record of their having been visited by the white man prior to the above date. In the same year, the Sieur de Champlain, the Father of French Colonization in America, who had entered the St. Lawrence in 1603 and founded Quebec five years later, ascended the river Ottawa as far as the Huron country—Le Caron, the Franciscan, having preceded him by a few days only. These adventurous pioneers were seeking, in their respective spheres, and by concurrent enterprises, the one to explore the western portions of New France, and the other to establish missions among the North American Indians.

The Hurons, and their Algonkin allies who dwelt on the Ottawa, being at that time engaged in a sanguinary war with the confederated Iroquois tribes south of Lake Ontario, persuaded Champlain to join them in an expedition which they were projecting into the territories of their enemy. The combined forces set out from Ca-i-ha-gué, the chief town of the Hurons, situated between the river Severn and Matchedash Bay, on the first day of September, 1615.[1]

Crossing Lake Simcoe in their bark canoes, they made a short portage to the headquarters of the River Trent, and descended in its zigzag channel into Lake Ontario. Passing from island to island in the group which lies in the eastern extremity of that Lake, they safely reached its southern shore, and landed in the present State of New York. Concealing their canoes in the adjacent woods, they started overland for their Iroquois enemies.

[1] Champlain's Voyages. Edition of 1632, p. 251.

In an account of this expedition, read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, and published in its Proceedings for that year,[1] I endeavored to establish the precise point where the invaders landed, the route which they pursued, and the position of the Iroquois fort which they beseiged. The fact that Champlain had, at that early day, visited the central part of the State of New York, seemed to have been overlooked by all previous writers, and was deemed to be an interesting topic for historical investigation. Taking for my guide the edition of Champlain's works published in 1632, the only one then accessible,[2] I became satisfied on a careful study of the text alone, the map being lost, that the expedition landed at or near Pointe de Traverse, now called "Stony Point," in Jefferson County, and from thence proceeded in a southerly direction, and after crossing the Big and Little Sandy creeks and Salmon and Oneida rivers, reached the Iroquois fort on Onondaga Lake. I fully stated these conclusions in the communication above referred to, and they were approved and adopted by several of our American historians.[3] Other writers, however, of equal note and authority, locate the fort as far west as Canandaigua Lake.[4]

In view of these considerations, I have been led to reexamine the subject, aided by additional sources of information, particularly by the late Abbé Laverdière's recent edition of all of Champlain's works. My present purpose is to state, briefly, the result of that re-examination, and the additional grounds upon which I adhere to my former conclusions. I will first, for convenient reference, give a literal translation of that part of Champlain's narrative which relates to the question. It is taken from the edition of 1619, which differs in a few unimportant particulars from that of 1632. After describing the voyage until their embarkation near the eastern end of Lake Ontario, a synopsis of which has already been given, our historian says:—[5]

"We made about fourteen leagues in crossing to the other side of the Lake, in a southerly direction, towards the territories of the enemy. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We made by land about four leagues, over a sandy beach, where I no-

[1] Proceedings for 1849, p. 96.

[2] The first account of the expedition was published in 1619.

[3] Brodhead's History of New York, Vol. I., p. 69; Clark's History of Onondaga, Vol. I., p. 253; Shea's edition of Charlevoix's New France, Vol. II., p. 28, note.

[4] O'Callaghan's Doc. Hist. of New York, Vol. III., p. 10, note; Ferland's Cours D'Histoire du Canada, p. 175; Parkman's Pioneers of New France, p. 373; Laverdière's Works of Champlain, p. 528, note.

[5] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

ticed a very agreeable and beautiful country, traversed by many small streams, and two small rivers which empty into the said Lake. Also many ponds and meadows, abounding in an infinite variety of game, numerous vines, and fine woods, a great number of chestnut trees, the fruit of which was yet in its covering. Although very small, it was of good flavor. All the canoes being thus concealed, we left the shore of the Lake, which is about eighty leagues long and twenty-five wide, the greater part of it being inhabited by Indians along its banks, and continued our way by land about twenty-five or thirty leagues. During four days we crossed numerous streams and a river issuing from a Lake which empties into that of the *Entouhonorons*. This Lake, which is about twenty-five or thirty leagues in circumference, contains several beautiful islands, and is the place where our Iroquois enemies catch their fish, which are there in great abundance. On the 9th of October, our people being on a scout, encountered eleven Indians whom they took prisoners, namely, four women, three boys, a girl, and three men, who were going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemies' fort. * * The next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived before the fort. * * * Their village was enclosed with four strong rows of interlaced palisades, composed of large pieces of wood, thirty feet high, not more than half a foot apart and near an unfailing body of water. * * * We were encamped until the 16th of the month. * * * As the five hundred men did not arrive,[1] the Indians decided to leave by an immediate retreat, and began to make baskets in which to carry the wounded, who were placed in them doubled in a heap, and so bent and tied as to render it impossible for them to stir, any more than an infant in its swaddling clothes, and not without great suffering, as I can testify, having been carried several days on the back of one of our Indians, thus tied and imprisoned, which made me lose all patience. As soon as I had strength to sustain myself, I escaped from this prison, or to speak plainly, from this hell.

"The enemy pursued us about half a league, in order to capture some of our rear guard, but their efforts were useless and they withdrew. * * * * The retreat was very tedious, being from twenty-five to thirty leagues, and greatly fatigued the wounded, and those who carried them, though they relieved each other from time to time. On the 18th considerable snow fell which lasted but a short time. It was accompanied with a violent wind, which greatly incommoded us.

[1] A reinforcement they were expecting from the Carantouanais, who lived on the sources of the Susquehanna.

Nevertheless we made such progress, that we reached the banks of the Lake of the *Entouhonorons*, at the place where we had concealed our canoes, and which were found all whole. We were apprehensive that the enemy had broken them up."[1]

I will now proceed to examine the reasons which have been assigned in favor of locating the Iroquois fort on or west of Canandaigua Lake. They are three-fold, and founded on the following assumptions: 1st. That the *Entouhonorons*, whose territory was invaded, were the *Senecas*, then residing on and west of Canandaigua Lake.[2] 2d. That the route, as laid down on the map of Champlain, which is annexed to the edition of 1632, indicates that the fort was on Canandaigua Lake, or on a tributary of the Genesee river, and consequeutly in the *Seneca* country.[3] 3d. That the distances traveled by the expedition, as stated by Champlain, prove that the extreme point he reached must have been in the *Seneca* country.[4]

I will notice these propositions in their order. 1st. In regard to the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the Senecas. One of the arguments urged in favor of this identity is based on the similarity of name, the Senecas being called "*Sonontoerrhonons*" by the Hurons. But the latter called the Onondagas "*Onontaerrhonons*," which bears quite as strong a resemblance to *Entouhonorons* as the name they applied to the Senecas. It may be stated here that O'Callaghan, Parkman, Ferland, and Laverdière, each called the tribe in question "Entouho*ronons*," whereas, Champlain, in all the editions of his works, refers to them invariably as "Entouho*norons*." He never calls them "Entouho*ronons*" in his *text*. On the *map* annexed to the edition of 1632, they are named "*An*touo*ronons*," but in the *index* to the map, "*An*touho*norons*."[5] It must, therefore, have been from the map, and not from the text, that the word "Entouhoronons" was derived. The other name, as uniformly given by Champlain in his text, we must assume to be correct, in preference to the solitary entry on the map.[6]

[1] Champlain's Voyages. Ed. 1632, Part I., pp. 254–263. Laverdière's Reprint of the Narrative of 1619, pp. 38–48.

[2] Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 1, p. 521, n. 1. Parkman's Pioneers, p. 373, n.

[3] O'Callaghan, in Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. 1, p. 10., n. Parkman's Pioneers, p. 373.

[4] Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 1, p. 518, n.

[5] Laverdière's Champlain, Vol. 2, p. 1392.

[6] If it be assumed that the terminations "*ronons*" and "*norons*" are identical, and mere suffixes, signifying, in the Huron language, "people," see Father Bruya's Mohawk Dictionary, p. 18, then, if those terminations are dropped from each of the three words, they will respectively become "*sonontoe*," "*onontae*," and "*entouho*," and represent the names of the *places* where those nations resided. Now it cannot be said that there is any stronger resemblance between *sonontoe* and *entouho*, then between *onontae* and *entouho*.

It is supposed by some that the edition of 1632, which contains the map, and is composed of his previous publications, was not the work of Champlain, and never passed under his personal supervision. It is asserted that it was compiled by his publisher, Claude Collet,[1] to whose carelessness the error in the name, as contained on the map, may be attributed. There was no map annexed to the edition of 1619, and the one which accompanied that of 1632 was not constructed until seventeen years after the date of the expedition, as appears from a memorandum on its face. It may not have been compiled from authentic data. One of the discrepancies between it and the text is its location of the "*Antouoronons*," not at the Iroquois fort, but a long distance west of it, thus making a distinction between them and the Iroquois who were living at the fort that is wholly unwarranted by anything contained in the narrative. It is also worthy of note, that the map is not once referred to by Champlain in his text. Not only was it constructed after all his narratives were written, but the index to it was evidently added by some other hand. Another argument urged in favor of the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the Senecas has been drawn from the existence of a nation, called by Champlain "*Chountouaroüon*," which is undoubtedly a misprint for "*Chonontouaronon*."[2] They are described as living between the Hurons of Canada, and the *Carantouanais* (or Andastes), on the Susquehanna.[3] Champlain says that, "in going from the one to the other, a grand detour is necessary, in order to avoid the *Chonontouaronon*, which is a very strong nation."[4] From the name and location, they can be no other than the Senecas.

The Abbé Laverdière assumes that the *Chouontouaronons* and *Entouhonorons* are one and the same people.[5] This cannot be true, for Champlain mentions them both in almost the same sentence, and gives to each their respective names, without a hint of their identity.[6] Indeed, Laverdière, in support of his theory, is obliged to interpolate a word in the text of Champlain, which is entirely superfluous.[7] The identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the Senecas, rather than with the Onondagas, cannot therefore be established by any supposed similarity of name.

[1] Harrisse. Bibliographie de la N. France, p. 66. See also Laverdière's Champlain, pp. 637–8.

[2] Shea's Charlevoix, Vol. 2. p. 28, n. The letters "n" and "u" occur frequently in Indian names, and it is quite difficult to distinguish the one from the other in manuscript. Their being often mistaken for each other occasions numerous typographical errors.

[3] Jesuit Relation for 1648. Quebec Reprint, pp. 46—48.

[4] Laverdière's Champlain. p. 522.

[5] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 521, note 1.

[6] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 909–910.

[7] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 522, note 1.

2d. The next in order for consideration, is the *route* pursued by the expedition, and the *site* of the Iroquois fort, as they are indicated on the map.

A slight examination of the annexed *fac-simile* of that portion of the original map, which relates to this expedition, will show it to be wholly unreliable as a guide in any investigation of Champlain's route. It is incorrect in most of its details. Although the original exhibits the general outlines of Lakes Ontario and Huron, Lake Erie is almost entirely ignored, an irregular strait, bearing little resemblance to it, being substituted. Lake Ontario, as shown by the *fac-simile*, is erroneously represented as containing several islands scattered along its northern and southern shore, and the Niagara river as running due east into its westernmost extremity. The Great Falls are located at the very mouth of the river. Everything is distorted, and in some places it is scarcely recognizable. The supposed route of Champlain is indicated by a *dotted line*, which, crossing Lake Ontario along a chain of imaginary islands, nearly opposite the mouth of the Oswego river, strikes the southern shore at that point. All evidence that the expedition traversed the "sandy beach" which stretches along the Lake shore, south of Stony Point, as referred to in the text, *is entirely omitted.* From the mouth of the Oswego, the line pursues a southerly direction, and after crossing what appears to be the present Seneca river, and another stream, passes between two lakes directly to the Iroquois fort. This route, as thus shown by the *map*, is highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and cannot possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain.[1] If the expedition had gone as far west as Canandaigua lake, Champlain would have passed near to, and have become acquainted with, the existence of no less than eight of those remarkable inland sheets of water which form so conspicuous a feature in the scenery of central New York, not to mention three others a little further west. Only five lakes are indicated on the map, and none are mentioned in the narrative, except Oneida Lake and the one on which the fort was situated. They would certainly have been as worthy of description as the "sandy beach," "the beautiful wooded country," "the numerous streams," the Oneida "lake and river," and

[1] In the *fac-simile* of Champlain's map, published by Tross, in Paris, the dotted line, where it should cross Lake Ontario, as shown by the original map, is omitted. The same portion of the line is also wanting in the *fac-simile* published by Dr. O'Callaghan, in Vol. III. of the Documentary History of New York, and by Laverdière, in his recent edition of Champlain's works. The islands in the eastern end of Lake Ontario, as represented on the original map, are also entirely omitted on Dr. O'Callaghan's *fac-simile*.

"the small lake," adjacent to the Iroquois fort, which were met with on the route and noticed in the narrative.

3d. It is urged, as an additional argument against the location of the Iroquois fort in the Onondaga country, that the distance of "twenty-five or thirty leagues," stated by Champlain to have been traveled by the invaders after they had landed, as well in going to as in returning from the fort, necessarily indicates that they must have gone at least as far west as Canandaigua Lake. It may be said that in stating this distance, Champlain intended to exclude the "four leagues" which they traveled over "a sandy beach," immediately after they had concealed their canoes, thus making from twenty-nine to thirty-four leagues in all. But this cannot be a fair construction of his language. He says, "We made about fourteen leagues in crossing the lake in a southerly direction. The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We traveled by land some four leagues over a sandy beach." A little further on he continues: "All the canoes being concealed, we proceeded by land about twenty-five or thirty leagues during four days." He thus includes the "four leagues" in the four days' travel of "twenty-five or thirty leagues."

The above construction is justified by the further statement, that the same distance of "twenty-five or thirty leagues" was traveled by the expedition on its *return* from the fort to the canoes, referring to the *whole* distance. "The retreat," he says, "was very tedious, being from twenty-five to thirty leagues, and greatly fatigued the wounded and those who bore them, although they relieved each other from time to time." Yet this retreat must have been accomplished in *two days*, half the time it took to reach the fort from the landing, for he states they were encamped before the fort until the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th. Charlevoix says they did not stop during their retreat[2]—a physical impossibility, certainly, if they had started from a point as far west as Canandaigua Lake. This assertion of Charlevoix does not appear to be warranted by the narrative of Champlain.

Those writers who, relying on the map, locate the fort on Canandaigua Lake, lose sight of the fact that it discharges its waters into Lake Ontario through the Clyde, Seneca and Oswego rivers, whereas the map places the fort on a stream which empties into Lake Ontario at a point much further west. In considering the question of *distance*, it must be borne in mind, that the attacking party was on foot, advancing cautiously

[1] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 526.

[2] Charlevoix' N. France, Vol. I., p. 241 Edition of 1744.

towards a formidable enemy, in a hostile and unexplored country, destitute of roads and abounding in dense forests, numerous rivers and miry swamps. Under such circumstances, incumbered as they were with their implements of war and other effects, their progress must have been slow. The distances which are given by Champlain, being measured only by time, are consequently over-estimated. On their retreat, they had become more familiar with the country, and under the stimulus of an enemy in the rear, accomplished their return with much greater rapidity. From Stony Point where they landed, to Onondaga Lake, following in part the beach of Lake Ontario, is fifty-three miles, by the *shortest possible line*, as measured on a reliable map. But it would have been impossible for such an expedition to pursue so direct a course, owing to the necessity of moving circumspectly, and of seeking the most convenient and practicable route through an unknown wilderness. It would not be unreasonable to deduct at least one-fifth from the number of leagues stated by Champlain, in order to arrive at the actual air line distance between the place where he landed and the Iroquois fort.[1] If, therefore, we take one-fifth from twenty-seven and a half leagues, which is the mean of the two distances given by Champlain, it will leave twenty-two leagues, or fifty-three and a half miles, as the true distance, measured on an air line. As an example of over-estimates by Champlain himself, reference may be had to the width of Lake Ontario, which he says is "twenty-five leagues," an excess of one-fifth.[2] Also to the circumference of Oneida Lake, which he states at "twenty-five or thirty leagues," an excess of one-fourth. Numerous other examples might be cited.

[1] Champlain's distances are stated in "leagues." . Several, differing in length, were used by the French, under that name. Among them were the "*lieue de poste*" of $2\frac{42}{100}$ English miles—the "*lieue moyenne*" of $2\frac{76}{100}$ English miles, and the "*lieue géographique*" of $3\frac{33}{100}$ English miles. It is important, in discussing this question, to determine the length of the one used by Champlain. Neither his narrative, nor his map of 1632, affords any light on the subject. There is inscribed on a map published in Paris in 1664, entitled: "Le Canada fait par le Sr. de Champlain * * suivant les Mémoires de P. du Val," a scale of '*Lieues Francaises chacune de* 2,500 *pas géométriques.*" It is fair to presume that the length of the league, as given on this map is identical with the one used by Champlain. As a geometrical pace is $1\frac{62}{100}$ French metres, or $3\frac{28}{100}$ English feet, it follows that Champlain's league must be $2\frac{53}{100}$ English miles, differing slightly from the length of the *lieue de poste* as above stated. This conclusion would account for the discrepance which has arisen from calling the old French league equivalent to three English miles. The English miles, stated in the text, have been computed on the basis of two and a half to a French league. Even if there were three, it would not change the result, or carry the expedition west of Onondaga Lake. By reckoning the league as equivalent to two and a half miles, many supposed discrepancies of early French travelers in America are reconciled, and their over-estimates of distances explained.

[2] Laverdiére's Champlain, p. 527.

It may be interesting, in this connection, to compare Champlain's statements with those of the Jesuit Dablon, who traveled twice over the same route in 1655 and 1656, under much more favorable circumstances for correctly estimating the distances. He informs us that, in company with Father Chaumonot, he left Montreal on the 7th day of October, 1655, for the Onondaga country, and reached "*Otihatangué*" (the mouth of Salmon river) by canoe on the 29th of the same month.[1] That he landed the next day, and prepared to go on foot to *Onondaga*. That on the first day of November, after going "*five good leagues*," he encamped for the night on the banks of a small stream. Early the next day he continued his journey for "*six or seven leagues*," and encamped for the night in the open air. On the third, before sunrise, he resumed his way, and reached "*Tethiroguen*," which he describes as "a river which issues from Lake *Goienho*" (Oneida Lake), and "remarkable as a rendezvous for a great number of fishermen." Here he passed the night in an Indian cabin. The distance traveled this day is not stated, but we may assume it to have been six leagues, which is about the average of the other days. On the fourth he went "*about six leagues*," and passed the night in an "open country," "*four leagues*" from Onondaga. On the fifth of November he reached the latter place,[2] having spent five days in traveling from the mouth of Salmon river, a distance, according to the narrative, of twenty-seven and a half leagues. Inasmuch, however, as the Iroquois fort is claimed to have been on Onondaga Lake, five leagues north of the ancient village of Onondaga,[3] which the Jesuit reached on the fifth of November, the said five leagues should, for the purpose of comparison with Champlain, be deducted from the above twenty-seven and a half leagues. To the resulting difference should be added, for the same reason, six and a half leagues, being the distance from Stony Point to the mouth of the Salmon river, thus making, from the said Point to the fort, according to the Jesuit narrative, twenty-nine and a half leagues, which is a little short of the extreme distance of thirty leagues stated by Champlain.

Leaving *Chaumonot* at Onondaga, *Dablon* set out on his return to Quebec on the second day of March, 1656,[4] over nearly the same route, and traveled that day *five leagues*. On the third he rested on account of the rain. On the fourth he traveled *six leagues* to Oneida Lake. Fear-

[1] Relation of 1656, p. 7. Quebec Edition.

[2] Onondaga was situated a few miles south of the present city of Syracuse.

[3] Jesuit Relation for 1657, p. 14. Quebec edition.

[4] Jesuit Relation for 1656, p. 35. Quebec edition.

ing to venture on the thin ice, he spent the next day on its banks. On the sixth, it was sufficiently frozen to enable him to cross at a point where the lake was a league and a half broad. He reached the mouth of Salmon river on the eighth, a little before noon, consuming in travel, exclusive of detentions, four and a half days. The rate of progress, after crossing Oneida Lake, is not given, but, estimating six leagues as an average day's travel, would make twenty-six leagues from the Onondaga village to the mouth of Salmon river. After allowing the same deductions and additions as in the case of his previous trip, it would leave twenty-seven and a half leagues, which is the mean of the two distances stated by Champlain. By thus comparing Champlain's estimates with those of the Jesuit, it will be readily seen that the expedition of the former could not possibly have extended west of Onondaga Lake.

Having thus examined the reasons which have been urged in favor of locating the fort in question on Seneca territory, founded on the similarity between the names which the Hurons bestowed on the Iroquois and the *Entouhonorons*, and also the reasons for such location, based on the course of the "dotted line" laid down on Champlain's map, between the point where he landed and the said fort, and on the distances which Champlain states were traveled by him, between the same points, it now remains to state and consider the objections which exist against placing the location of the fort as far west as the Seneca Country.

1st. The actual distance between the place of landing and the foot of Canandaigua Lake, measured on the shortest possible line, is ninety-six miles, or thirty-eight and a half leagues. It would be absurd, however, to suppose that the expedition could have followed so direct a course. On the contrary, in accomplishing the distance to the fort, it must have passed over, as stated on a previous page, at least one-fifth more than a straight line between the said points. This fact, without allowing anything for Champlain's over-estimate, would, in case the objective point were Canandaigua Lake, make the distance actually traveled at least forty-six leagues, or not less than one hundred and fifteen miles. If, as is claimed by some, the fort were still further west, on a tributary of the Genesee,[1] it would add several leagues more to the difficulty. 2d. The design of the expedition was to attack an Iroquois tribe living south of Lake Ontario. The assailants were the Hurons, living on the eastern shore of the lake which bears their name. They started from their principal village, which was situated west of Lake Simcoe, on the borders of the Huron country nearest to the Iroquois.[2]

[1] Laverdière's Champlain, p. 528, note 1.

[2] Jesuit Relation, 1640, p. 90, Quebec edition. Laverdière's Champlain, p. 518, note 1.

Now, if it were their object to attack the Senecas, the shortest and most feasible route to reach them would have been either in a southerly direction around the western extremity of Lake Ontario, through the territory of the friendly Neuter nation, who then lived on both sides of the Niagara, or by canoe directly across the lake, or by coasting along its western shore, landing, in either case, near the mouth of the Genesee river. The fact that the expedition chose the circuitous and toilsome route by the river Trent, through crooked lakes and tortuous channels, involving numerous portages, and traveled eastward for the entire length of Lake Ontario, crossing its eastern extremity in search of an enemy on its south side, affords a strong presumption that the enemy thus sought was located near that eastern extremity. 3d. If the object were to attack the Senecas, the Hurons and their allies would hardly have chosen a route which would separate them so far from their canoes, at the risk of being outflanked by the watchful and kindred Iroquois tribes whom they must pass on the way. After crossing the eastern end of Lake Ontario, it would have been much less hazardous and fatiguing to have coasted along its southern shore to Irondequoit bay, from whence the Senecas could easily be reached, as they were by Gallinée in 1669, and by Demonville in 1687.

Having examined the arguments which have been urged in favor of the location of the Iroquois fort in the country of the Senecas, and noticed a few of the principal objections against it, some of the affirmative proofs, establishing its site on or near Onondaga Lake, remain to be considered.

A careful examination of Champlain's narrative will show that, as before stated, he must have landed on what has been designated as "*Pointe de Traverse*" or "Stony Point," in Jefferson County. It is the nearest and most feasible landing from the islands which are grouped in the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, and along which the expedition undoubtedly passed before reaching its southern shore.[1] It is well known that from the earliest times the Indians and voyageurs, as they crossed the Lake in rough weather, availed themselves of the protection of those islands. They form a continuous chain, stretching from shore to shore, embracing the Inner Ducks, Outer Ducks, Great Galloo, Little Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands. The distances between them are unequal, in no case exceeding seven miles. The expedition could not easily have landed directly upon the point in question, as it presents a perpendicular rocky bluff, washed at its base by the lake, and forms a bold and in-

[1] Champlain says, "There were large, fine islands on the passage."—*Laverdière's Champlain*, p. 526.

surmountable barrier for some distance in either direction. By passing around the northern extremity of the point, now called "six town point," a safe and sheltered bay is accessible, at the bottom of which is the present harbor of Henderson. This convenient and secluded position was undoubtedly chosen by Champlain and his companions as a favorable point for leaving and concealing their canoes.[1] Having accomplished their debarkation, the invaders followed, for four leagues in a southerly direction, the sandy beach which still borders the lake as far south as Salmon river. It is about six and a half leagues from Stony Point to that river. The many small streams and ponds mentioned by Champlain can easily be identified by the aid of a correct map. The "two small rivers" are undoubtedly those now known as the Big Sandy creek and Salmon river. The invaders were four days from the time of their landing in reaching the Iroquois fort. The narrative states that after passing the two small rivers above mentioned, "they crossed another issuing from a lake, which empties into that of the *Entouhonorons*."[2] This undoubtedly refers to Oneida river and Lake. "This Lake," says the narrative, "is about twenty-five or thirty leagues in circumference,[3] contains beautiful islands, and is the place where the Iroquois *catch their fish*, which are there in abundance." After crossing Oneida river, the scouts encountered and captured a party of Iroquois, "*going to the fishery, distant four leagues from the enemy's fort.*" This locates the fort four leagues south of the outlet of Oneida lake. The latter point was always a noted resort for Salmon fishery in the early history of the country. It is so referred to in one of *Dablon's* Journals above quoted, and in many other early narratives.

The expedition must have met the party of Iroquois, which included women and children, not far from the fishery and the village, which were only about four leagues or ten miles apart. They were probably going from the latter to the former. This was on the 9th of October. *On the next day*, at 3 P. M., they reached the fort. It would have required two or three days more time, and sixty miles more of hard marching, to have arrived at Canandaigua Lake.

It is impossible, from the meager details given by Champlain, to ascertain the *precise* locality of the fort. He places it near a small lake,

[1] A natural landing place of rock formation, existed there in olden time, known as the "Indian Wharf." A trail or portage road, 300 rods long, led from the landing to Stony Creek. See French's N. Y. State Gazetteer, p. 358. MS. letter of the Hon. Wm. C. Pierrepont, of Pierrepont manor, to the author.

[2] Lake Ontario.

[3] These dimensions are, as usual, over-stated.

and there is no site more probable, nor one which corresponds in more particulars to Champlain's description, than the banks of Onondaga Lake. The late Joshua V. H. Clark, author of the "History of Onondaga," states that traces of an ancient Indian fortification were discovered by the first settlers, on the east side of that lake, near the present village of Liverpool. These may have been the remains of the fort in question. There is reason to believe that Monsieur Dupuis and his companions, including several Jesuit missionaries, occupied the same locality in 1656. It is described by the Jesuits[1] as a beautiful, convenient and advantageous eminence, overlooking Lake Gannentaa (Onondaga Lake) and all the neighboring country, and abounding in numerous fresh water springs.[2] Its distance from the chief village of the Onondagas, where burned from time immemorial the ancient council fire of the Iroquois Confederacy, is stated to be four leagues, which would indicate that its location must have been near Liverpool.

It is also supposed that the *Count de Frontenac* encamped in the same place, when he invaded the Onondaga country in 1696, and that Col. Van Schaick occupied the identical ground while on his expedition against the Onondagas in 1779.[3] It was a position which undoubtedly commended itself to the sagacious Iroquois as eminently suitable for a defensive structure, and was thus early used for that purpose.

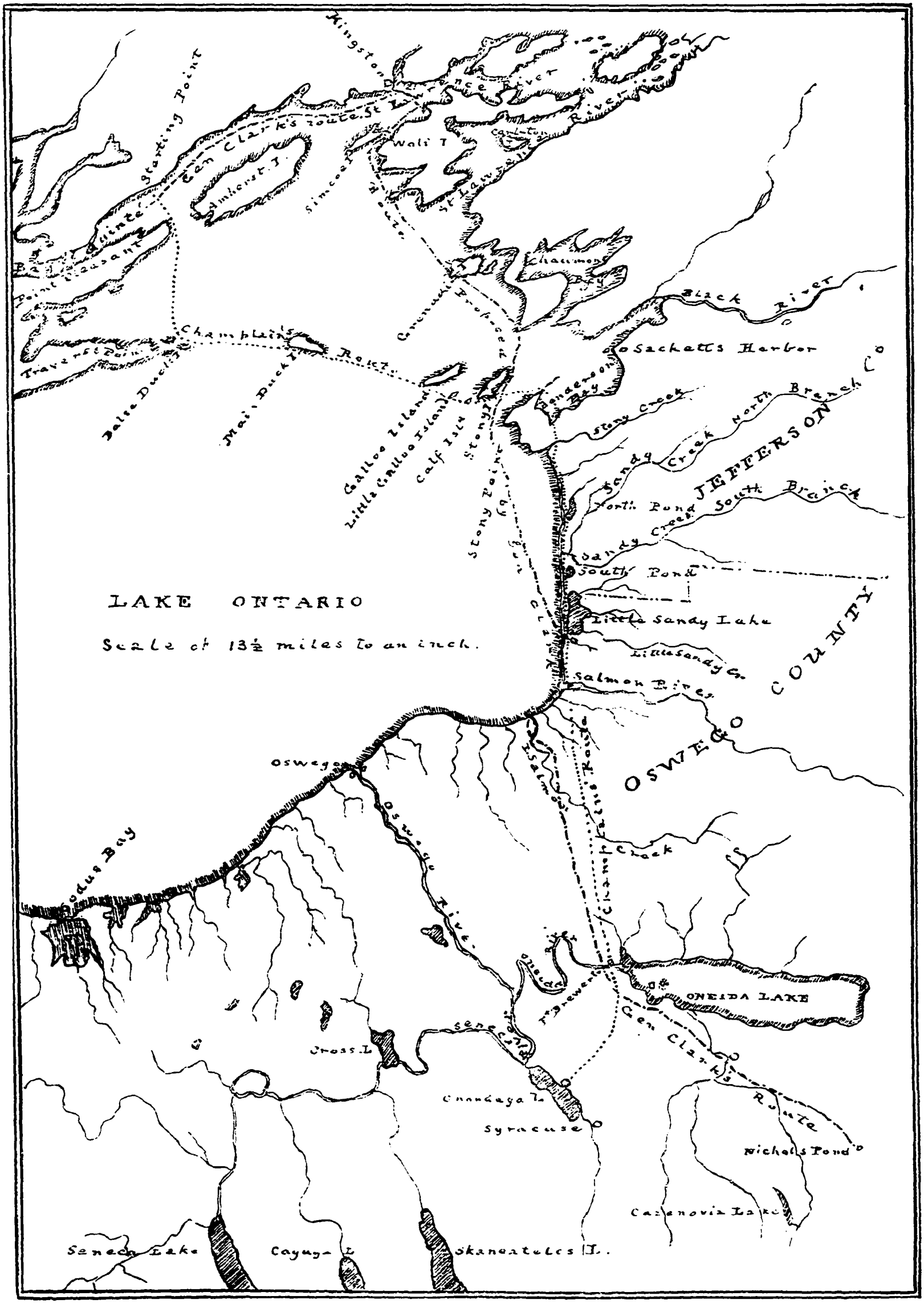
In the discussion of this question, I have endeavored fully and fairly to present the points, and to give due force to the arguments which have been urged in favor of the identity of the *Entouhonorons* with the *Senecas*, and of the location of the Iroquois fort in the territory of the latter. It is submitted that the weight of testimony is decidedly, if not conclusively, against those propositions, and that we must look on the banks of the Onondaga Lake, in the heart of the central canton of the great Iroquois Confederacy, for the site of that rude fortification which, more than two centuries and a half ago, so bravely and successfully resisted the allied Hurons and Algonkins of the northwest, aided by Champlain and his firearms, and after repeated assaults and a siege of several days compelled the assailants to abandon the enterprise, and retreat ignominiously from the Iroquois country.

O. H. MARSHALL.

[1] On the first settlement of the country, the outlines of a fortification at this point were plainly visible, of which a sketch was made in 1797, by Judge Geddes, then Deputy Surveyor General of New York. A copy is given in the second volume of Clark's Onondaga, page 147. A spring exists, at the present time, near the site of the fort, called Gannentaa Spring.

[2] Relation 1657, p. 14. Quebec edition.

[3] Clark's Onondaga, Vol. 1, p. 256.




ROUTE OF THE CHAMPLAIN EXPEDITION—1615

# CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615

## REPLY TO DR. SHEA AND GENERAL CLARK

The first number of this magazine (Jan., 1877) contains an article on the Expedition of Champlain against the Onondagas, in 1615. It was founded on a communication read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, in which I had discussed the evidences which exist as to the route of the expedition, and the site of the Iroquois fort which it besieged. My position having been questioned by several eminent historians, who claimed a more western location for the fort, the main object of my last article was to fortify my former conclusions. In it I endeavored to trace Champlain's route across Lake Ontario to its south shore, and from thence to his objective point. While my location of the fort in the Onondaga, rather than the Seneca Country, has generally been approved, some difference of opinion is entertained as to its exact site, as well as to the precise route by which it was reached.

General James S. Clark, of Auburn, in a paper read before the Buffalo and New York Historical Societies, and Georges Geddes, Esq., of Camillus, in an article in the last September number of this magazine, vol. I., p.. 521, while they agree that the site was in the Onondaga Country, dissent from my views in other particulars. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in a recent article in the Penn Historical Magazine, vol. II., p. 103, coincides in the main with General Clark. I am glad that a writer of Dr. Shea's ability has taken the field. I have read his paper attentively, and fail to see that it has disproved any of my main positions.

It may be proper to state that General Clark's address, thus reviewed and endorsed by Dr. Shea, has never been published. It was delivered before the above societies during my absence in Europe. Since my return, I have endeavored, without success, to obtain a copy. I can only judge of its contents from the references in Dr. Shea's review. That the General is accurately quoted therein, may be inferred from his having reproduced the article, with verbal corrections, in an Auburn journal.

In a published address, delivered last September before the Pioneers' Association at Syracuse, General Clark stated the conclusions to which his investigations had led him, but gave no facts or arguments to support them. In doing so, he used the following emphatic language:

"I claim especially to understand the record of Champlain by following his narrative *verbatim et literatim*, and accepting his estimates of distances, his map and illustrations. I stand on no uncertain ground. I understand this question thoroughly. I know that I am right. I desire no misunderstanding on this question. I take the affirmative and throw down the gauntlet to all comers; and if any choose to enter the list, I have the most unbounded confidence that it will not be me that will be borne from the field discomfited. I identify the site as certainly as any gentleman present can identify his wife at the breakfast table after ten years of married life," etc., etc.

It is to be regretted that General Clark has not accompanied his challenge, so forcibly stated, with the proofs and reasons on which he relies. The public could then judge whether such historians as O'Callaghan, Parkman, Broadhead, Laverdière and his neighbor Geddes are, as he asserts, mistaken in their conclusions. Is is quite evident that General Clark is an enthusiast in his Study of Aboriginal History. A certain amount of zeal may be desirable in the investigation of such subjects, but conscientious convictions, however decidedly entertained, are not always in harmony with just conclusions. It is only by patient and candid investigation, by comparing, weighing and sifting the evidence, that historical truth can be elicited.

I will consider in their order: *First.* The authenticity and accuracy of the map. *Second.* The starting point of the Expedition on Lake Ontario. *Third.* The route across the Lake. *Fourth.* The landing on the south shore. *Fifth.* The march on the beach. *Sixth.* The inland route to the Fort. *Seventh.* The location of the Fort.

THE AUTHENTICITY AND ACCURACY OF THE MAP.—In order to account for the many manifest discrepancies between Champlain's text of 1619 and the map annexed to the edition of 1632, I suggested that the map and the latter edition were not the work of Champlain and never passed under his personal supervision. I gave my reasons for this opinion on pages 5 and 6, vol. I, of this magazine.

Dr. Shea replies to this, that "the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited." This, however, is assuming the authenticity of the map, the very point in issue, without noticing the objections I advanced. If the map were actually constructed by Champlain, it is of course competent evidence, without however being conclusive where it differs from the text. It is not possible, however, to reconcile the two. Where they disagree, one or the other must yield, and in accordance with well settled rules of evidence, the text must govern.

The most competent critics who have examined the edition of 1632, to which alone the map is annexed, including Laverdière, Margry and Harrisse, agree that it bears internal evidence of having been compiled, by a foreign hand, from the various editions previously published. No map accompanied the original narrative of the expedition, published in 1619.

I claim that by inspection and comparison with reliable topographical maps of the country traversed by Champlain, no ingenuity can torture the dotted line on the chart into an accurate representation of the route he pursued, as described in his text. The discrepancies will be indicated, as the various points on the route are passed in review.

I trust my readers will follow my argument with the Champlain *fac-simile*, which is annexed to my article in Vol. I of this magazine, and a reliable chart of the easterly end of Lake Ontario. All my measurements are taken from the Lake Survey Charts, recently published by the United States Government, and the most reliable maps attainable of Jefferson, Oswego, Onondaga and Madison counties.

THE STARTING POINT.—The narrative states that the expedition descended what is now known as Trent River, which empties into Lake Ontario, and after short days' journeys, reached the border of Lake Ontario. It then proceeds. I give the original French, as Champlain's works are quite rare, and copy from the edition of 1619, modernizing the old French orthography: "où etans, nous fimes la traverse en l'un des bouts, tirant à l'orient, qui est l'entrée de la grande rivière St. Laurens, par la hauteur de quarante-trois degrés de latitude, où il y a de belles iles fort grandes en ce passage."

Where then was the starting point of the expedition? Gen. Clark says "Kingston." Dr. Shea says, "from a peninsula beyond (east of?) Quinté Bay, on the north shore," agreeing with Gen. Clark that it must have been at Kingston. There is some confusion among geographers as to the extent of Quinté Bay. Some represent it as reaching to Kingston.

Quinté Bay proper, according to the best authorities, extends no farther eastward than the eastern extremity of Prince Edward Peninsula, called Point Pleasant. It is often called the River Trent, being as it were an extension of that stream.

Champlain evidently considered, and correctly so, that when he had passed Point Pleasant, he had arrived at the Lake. He says that the river he descended "forms the passage into the lake," and a little farther on, "we traveled by short days' journeys as far as the border of Lake Ontario, where having arrived, we crossed," &c.

Having fixed the starting point at Kingston, Gen. Clark claims that from thence he "ran east a distance not given, thence southerly to a point fourteen leagues (35 miles) from the commencement of the River St. Lawrence." Champlain says, the *crossing* embraced fourteen leagues. How the starting point at Kingston, much less the extension of the route eastward from Kingston, is "reconciled with the map," does not appear.

I claimed the starting point to have been opposite the eastern end of Point Pleasant, and in this I am sustained by both map and text.

According to the text, the crossing began as soon as they reached the lake, and that occurred when they passed out of the river (or bay) at Point Pleasant. Champlain does not say that they went an inch east of that Point. I quite agree with Dr. Shea's translation of the words "tirant à l'orient," and of the passage in which it occurs. Those words have no reference to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, but to the *end of the lake* which he crossed.

"Having arrived at the borders of the lake, we crossed," he says, "one of its extremities which, extending eastward, forms the entrance of the great River St. Lawrence, in 43 degrees of latitude, where there are very large beautiful islands on the passage." I suggested this interpretation some months ago to the Superintendent of the translation of Champlain's Voyages of 1603, 1613 and 1619, now being made for the Prince Society. I am inclined to believe that General Clark's extension of the route eastward to Kingston, originated in a mistranslation of those words. His construction of the route certainly requires "*tirant à l'orient*" to refer to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, which is in conflict with Dr. Shea's translation, while the route I propose is in entire harmony with it.

Dr. Shea further says, "That Champlain was actually at the head of the St. Lawrence, of which he gives the latitude, seems almost certain. For one who had founded a trading settlement on the lower river, the examination and exact locating of the head of the river, when he was so near it, seem imperatively demanded."

It must be remembered, however, that Champlain was on a war expedition, aided by only a few of his own countrymen, with several hundred Huron and Algonkin warriors, approaching a hostile country. Under such circumstances he would hardly have gone so far east, and so much out of his way, to make geographical or hydrographical observations, either during a cautious approach or a hurried retreat.

Although Champlain gives the latitude of the entrance of the river, instead of that furnishing an argument in favor of his having been there,

its effect is directly the reverse, for the latitude which he records at forty-three degrees is quite erroneous, and would place the entrance as far South as Syracuse. The true latitude is 44° 6′, a difference of over a degree. A gross error for a Captain in the French marine to make from actual observation.

THE ROUTE ACROSS THE LAKE.—If I am right in fixing the starting point opposite Point Pleasant, it would follow, both from the text and the map, that the route extended southerly, between that point and Amherst Island, to the False Ducks, and along the Main Duck, Gallo, and Stony Islands, which stretch across the lake in the direction of Stony Point. That this was the course pursued may be inferred from the following considerations:

*First.* On examining the Champlain map, the line indicating the route starts from the northern shore of the lake, and passes directly south between Point Pleasant and the first island easterly therefrom, which would correspond with Amherst Island. The next island on the map east of Amherst Island would correspond with Simcoe Island, and the next, lying in the entrance of the river, would correspond with Wolf or Long Island. These three islands constitute all that are represented on the map as lying in the east end of the lake, except those along which I claim that the expedition crossed.

Now if, as claimed by General Clark, the crossing was along Simcoe, Wolf and Grenadier Islands, which closely hug the eastern shore of the lake, then those islands would have been so represented on the map. The chain of islands along which they did pass, as shown by the dotted line, are laid down at some distance from the eastern shore. If it be claimed that the map refers to the inner ones lying close to the eastern shore, then the outer chain, equally conspicuous and in plain sight of the others, are not represented at all. To a party crossing the outer or western chain, the islands lying in-shore would scarcely be distinguishable from the adjacent land, while the outer chain, with nothing behind them but the open lake, could easily be seen from the inner islands. I am aware that the dotted line on the map exhibits a general southerly course, but the expedition, following the islands indicated by me, fulfills the conditions of the text, by crossing from the north to the south side of the lake, and for nearly a third of the way on a due south course. The map is on an exceedingly small scale, rudely drawn and nowhere preserves with any accuracy the points of compass in representing either the crossing of the lake, or the inland route as claimed by General Clark. Where the map and text are irreconcilable, the former must be rejected. It

could not be expected that a chart, 33 inches long by 20 inches wide, embracing a territory extending from Newfoundland to Lake Superior, and from the frozen ocean to the Carolinas, could exhibit a route like that traveled by Champlain, on a scale of sixty miles to the inch, without presenting numerous discrepancies. They are so gross, even in those places actually visited by Champlain, that it is difficult to see how he could possibly have been its author. It was not drawn in reference to this special expedition of 1615, but to illustrate all his voyages in America. *Second.* Champlain says, on arriving at the northern bank of the lake, "Nous fimes la traverse"—"we *crossed* it." He does not intimate that he *coasted* along its northern border for 22 miles, and then again around its eastern shore. Effect must be given to the expression, "We *crossed* it." *Third.* Champlain gives the distance he consumed in crossing as fourteen leagues, or thirty-five miles. "Nous fimes environ quatorze lieues pour passer jusques à l'autre coté du lac, tirant au sud, vers les terres des ennemis." The actual distance by the way of the Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands to Stony Point, where they would first reach land, is 38¾ miles. To Henderson Bay it is 44 miles; to Stony Creek Cove, 42 miles; to Little Sandy Lake, 53½ miles. The actual distance from the same starting point, via Kingston and Simcoe, Wolf, Grenadier and Stony Islands, to Little Sandy Lake, is 70 miles, and from Kingston, 48½ miles.

From this it appears that the actual distances on all the supposed routes exceed in each instance Champlain's estimate. It will be noticed, however, that the excess is the greatest on the route claimed by General Clark. The probabilities, therefore, so far as relates to the length of the crossing, as given by Champlain, are in favor of the route I have suggested. *Fourth.* The expedition, coming from the *west*, would naturally use the shortest route to reach its destination. That parties were accustomed to cross by the chain of Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands, is substantiated by the traditions of the Canada Indians. Hence, the point on the peninsula from which they embarked, was named by the French voyageurs, Point Traverse, and is so called to this day. The islands lying along the eastern shore of the lake were used by Indians and voyageurs ascending or descending the St. Lawrence.

THE LANDING.—I suggested in my article that the expedition probably landed in the secluded cove now known as Henderson Bay, sheltered by Stony Point. Not that the text or map of Champlain indicates that, or any other particular place with any certainty, but

*First.* Because it appeared a convenient and appropriate locality.

It did not seem probable that Champlain, accompanied by so large an army, would boldly land on an enemy's shore, exposed to observation for twenty miles in two directions, with scarcely a hope of successfully concealing the canoes which were so essential for his return voyage. *Second.* Because Henderson Bay, long previous to the settlement of the country, had been a favorite landing place for the Indians passing to and from Canada, as is well attested by tradition. The name of "Indian Wharf" still bears witness to the fact. A portage road led from the landing to Stony Creek, called by the French the "rivière à Monsieur le Comte." That the expedition landed there, was a mere suggestion derived from the probabilities of the case. I do not insist upon it. In good weather an equally favorable landing could have been made in the small cove at the mouth of Stony Creek, though not so secluded from observation. It is not possible, from the meagre details of the narrative, to state with any certainty, much less to prove the exact point of landing. That it took place at Little Sandy Lake, selected by General Clark, is not probable, and for the following reasons:

Assuming for the present what I expect to prove in the sequel—that the expedition followed the sandy beach of the lake no farther south than Salmon River, where it left for the interior—we must look, according to the text of Champlain, for the following conditions between the places where he landed and where he left for the interior.

THE MARCH ON THE BEACH. — Champlain says: "Les sauvages cachèrent tous leurs canaux dans les bois, proche du rivage. Nous fimes par terre quelques quatre lieuës sur une plage de sable, ou je remarquai un pays fort agreable et beau, traversé de plusieurs petits ruisseaux, et deux petites rivières, qui se dechargent au susdit lac, et force etangs et prairies." "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We proceeded by land about four leagues over a sandy beach, where I observed a very agreeable and beautiful country, intersected by many small brooks and two small rivers which empty into the said lake, and many lakelets and meadows."

On referring to the map, we find it furnishes nothing in addition to the above, except it represents three small bodies of water as lying along the route parallel with the shore, which are undoubtedly those referred to by Champlain under the name of "Etangs." There are still existing three such collections of water between Stony Point and Salmon River, two of which are known by the name of North and South ponds, and the largest by the name of Little Sandy Lake. The latter is about 3,000 acres in extent. Dr. Shea says: "General Clark identifies the

three small lakes noted on the map, as North and South Ponds, in Jefferson County, and Little Sandy Lake." But if Champlain landed at Little Sandy Lake as claimed by General Clark, he would not have passed by North and South Ponds, as they lie north of that landing. The probabilities exist, therefore, that the landing took place farther north, and either in Henderson Bay, or at the mouth of Stony Creek, as before stated.

Dr. Shea says: "Mr. Marshall holds that the expedition passed Salmon River. The next stream is Salmon Creek, which Mr. Marshall holds is the Oswego." Dr. Shea has entirely misunderstood me in this particular. I claimed that the expedition left the lake at Salmon *River*. I did not even name Salmon *Creek*, nor did I state that the expedition ascended or even saw the Oswego River. I said that it crossed from the mouth of Salmon River to the outlet of Oneida Lake, and from thence passed to the fort, distant four leagues from the fishery.

One reason I gave for discrediting the map was that the dotted line seemed to enter the "Oswego River," that being the only stream having numerous lakes at its sources; but I distinctly averred that such a route was "highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and could not possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain." Vol. I, p. 6 of this magazine.

THE INLAND ROUTE.—My reasons in favor of the mouth of the Salmon River as the point of departure for the interior are as follows:

*First.* It is the southernmost and last point on the lake in the direct line of travel between Stony Point and the foot of Oneida Lake. The mouth of Salmon *Creek* lies west of that line, requiring a detour that would increase the travel without affording any corresponding advantage. *Second.* The mouth of Salmon River—the *Otihatangué* of the early French maps—has always been a noted place in Indian history. It is mentioned on the oldest Ms. maps of the Jesuit missionaries found in the French Archives at Paris. A trail is laid down on several of said maps, running direct from that point to the great fishery, called "Techiroguen." Franquelin, the celebrated geographer to Louis XIV., in his "*Carte du pays des Iroquois*" of 1679, calls the trail "*Chemin de Techiroguen à la Famine.*" La Famine was a name applied by the Jesuits to the mouth of the Salmon River, in allusion to the sufferings experienced there by Monsieur Du Puys and his companions, in July, 1656, from want of provisions. It has generally been called by later writers, "*Cahihonoüaghé,*" which may be a dialectical variation from *Otihatangué.* A Ms. map of 1679, says: "it is the place where the most of the Iroquois and Loups

land to go on the Beaver trade at New York." It is is evidently an Onondaga word, and is given by Morgan as "*Gä-hen-wä'-ga.*" It bears a strong resemblance to the name applied to the place by Pouchot and other writers. There is, therefore, little doubt but what the expedition left the lake for the interior from this well known point of debarkation. *Third.* Champlain says: "Tous les canaux etans ainsi cachez, nous laissames le rivage du lac," etc. "All the canoes being thus concealed we left the border of the lake," etc. Dr. Shea thinks that the text implies that the canoes were twice concealed. I do not so understand it. If all were concealed on landing, there would be none left to conceal at the end of the march on the beach. The second statement, "All our canoes being thus concealed," is, therefore, but a repetition of the first expresssion, "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore." *Fourth.* Champlain's description of his route after leaving the lake, is quite brief and unsatisfactory. "Nous continuames notre chemin par terre, environ 25 ou 30 lieuës: Durant quatre journées nous traversames quantité de ruisseaux, et une rivière, procedante d'un lac qui se decharge dans celui des Entouhonorons. Ce lac est de l'etendue de 25 ou 30 lieuës de circuit, où il y a de belles iles, et est le lieu où les Iroquois ennemis font leur peche de poisson, qui est en abondance."

"We continued our way by land about 25 or 30 leagues. During four days we crossed numerous brooks and a river flowing from a lake which empties into Lake Ontario. This lake is 25 or 30 leagues in circumference, contains beautiful islands, and is the place where the hostile Iroquois catch their fish, which are in abundance." It will be noticed that no mention is made of any of the lakes which are so conspicuously laid down on the map, contiguous to the dotted line, except Oneida Lake. On the 9th of October, the Indians met and captured eleven of the enemy, who were going to the fishery, distant 4 leagues from the enemy's fort.

The expedition reached the fort at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th. There is nothing in the *text* of Champlain to indicate the site of the fort, except its situation near an unfailing body of water, which Champlain calls "*un etang.*" Dr. Shea translates it "pond," that being its primitive signification. But as used by Champlain and other French writers of the 17th century, it has a more enlarged signification, having reference, in numerous instances, to a small lake. Those which are laid down on the Champlain map opposite the route along the sandy beach above referred to, are called "*etangs*" by Champlain. One of them is admitted by General Clark to be "Little Sandy Lake." Bouil-

let says in his *Dictionaire des Sciences, etc.*, "*Etangs naturels*" are small lakes of fresh water, produced by rains or springs." Lake Pontchitrain, near New Orleans, 40 miles long by 24 broad, is called "*un etang*" by La Salle in 1685.

There is therefore no such limitation to the meaning of the word *etang*, as to render it inapplicable to a lake as large as Onondaga. Champlain, having recently passed through Lakes Huron and Ontario, would very naturally apply a diminutive term to so small a body of water.

THE LOCATION OF THE FORT.—It is utterly impossible, from the Champlain text and map, aided by the best modern charts, and an accurate knowledge of the country, to establish, with any certainty, the exact position of the Iroquois fort. The location which I suggested was on or near Onondaga Lake, 4 leagues or 10 miles from the great Iroquois fishery at the foot of Oneida Lake. The limits of this article forbid my presenting at this time my reasons for this conclusion; I will therefore confine myself to an examination of General Clark's position. He locates the fort on Nichols Pond, in the north-east corner of the town of Fenner, in Madison County, 3 miles east of the village of Perryville, and 10 miles by an air line, south of the east end of Oneida Lake. The following are some of the reasons suggested by Champlain's text and engraved view, against this proposed location.

*First.* Nichols Pond is over 24 miles, measured on a direct line, from the outlet of Oneida Lake, where the expedition crossed that stream. By any route practicable in 1615, it could not have been reached by less than 30 miles travel, owing to the intervening impassable swamps. Champlain states that the fort was 4 leagues (10 miles) from the "fishery," a distance more likely to be exaggerated than understated. *Second.* The expedition reached the fort at 3 P. M. on the 10th of October, the day after they had met and captured a party of Iroquois, who were on their way to the fishery. Now if the fishery referred to was on Oneida Lake, and within 10 miles of Nichols Pond, it must have been directly north of the latter. How then could Champlain have met a party going north from the fort to the lake, when his course, if bound for Nichols Pond, was on a line from the west end of that lake in a direction south of east? The lines of travel of the two parties could not have intersected. *Third.* Nichols Pond does not correspond in important particulars, with Champlain's engraved view of the site of the fort. I do not attach much importance to that birds-eye sketch, evidently fanciful in most respects, but as General Clark and Dr. Shea rely on its correctness, it is

fair to use it in testing the soundness of their positions. The original is a well-executed copper plate line engraving, inserted in the editions of 1619 and 1632. The copies reproduced by Lavèrdiere, and in this Magazine (vol. I., p. 561) are wood cuts, and do not, of course, do justice to the original. The latter represents the fortified village as bounded on two sides by two streams, emptying *into* the lake from elevated ground in the rear; whereas the inlets into Nichols Pond are on opposite sides, not contiguous to each other. The pond is quite insignificant, scarcely an acre in extent, nearly surrounded by a marsh of perhaps four acres more, which may, in wet seasons, have formerly been overflowed. *Fourth.* The view represents the lake as much broader than the palisaded water front of the fort, and the fortified village as quite extensive, much larger than Nichols Pond could ever have been. The latter therefore fails to answer the conditions required by the engraving. *Fifth.* General Clark says, that "the fortified village on Nichols Pond was occupied from about 1600 to 1630." The mean between the two happens to be the exact year of Champlain's invasion. How has General Clark ascertained those dates? How does he know that the village had not ceased to exist long anterior to Champlain's invasion? In fixing limits to the periods of aboriginal occupancy, it would be more satisfactory to have the evidence cited. In regard to this village, if one of any considerable extent existed on Nichols Pond, all we can certainly know is, that it belonged to the Stone Age. Who can tell when its fires were first kindled,—when, or how they were finally extinguished? History, and even tradition are silent. *Sixth.* General Clark concedes that the expedition was directed against, and besieged a fort of the Onondagas. Why then does he seek to locate it on a pond in the ancient territory of the Oneidas? *Seventh.* The site of the fort, as claimed by General Clark, is on the water-shed between the sources of the Susquehanna and the tributaries of Oneida Lake, an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet above the latter. To reach it would have involved an ascent so difficult and toilsome for an army like Champlain's, that he would hardly have failed to notice the embarrassments in his narrative. *Eighth.* The siege lasted six days. If the fort had been on the heights of Fenner, a beacon light in its neighborhood could have flashed a summons to the confederate tribes, and brought such prompt assistance that the besiegers would speedily have been attacked and overwhelmed. Champlain would hardly have trusted himself so long in a hostile country, and so far from his landing. *Ninth.* Champlain mentions the islands in Oneida Lake. General Clark assumes the knowledge of their

existence could only have been derived from their having been seen by Champlain from the hills near Nichols Pond, forgetting they are only four miles distant, and in plain sight, of the place where he crossed the Oneida outlet. *Tenth.* Champlain says they raised the seige of the fort, and began their retreat on the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th, a march quite incredible, if from so distant a point as Nichols Pond, encumbered as they were with their wounded, and impeded by a driving snow storm on the last day.

Having discussed the location of the fort, aided by the text and engraved view of Champlain, let us now see what assistance can be derived from the map, claimed by General Clark and Dr. Shea to be so accurate and authentic. Whenever the text and map agree, they must be accepted as conclusive. Where they do not, and particularly in those instances where the map differs from well authenticated modern surveys, I prefer to reject it, whether it was made by Champlain or not.

That it does not agree in important particulars, either with the text or with the actual topography of the country, is clearly evident, as I have already shown and will now endeavor to point out more in detail. The map differs from the text, *First.* In landing the expedition directly at the point on the south shore of Lake Ontario, where it passed into the interior, instead of first carrying it for at least "four leagues along the sandy beach of the lake," as clearly represented by the text. *Second.* In representing Champlain to have landed at a stream—claimed by General Clark to be Little Salmon Creek—and to have passed directly inland from the mouth of that stream, and to have crossed it twice before reaching the fort. *Third.* In representing, at the sources of that creek thus crossed, three large and two small lakes, near the largest two of which the expedition passed. If, as General Clark holds, neither of those lakes is Oneida Lake, then the five lakes thus delineated on the map are not noticed in the text at all. Champlain is utterly silent in regard to them, and rightfully so, for in point of fact *there are no such lakes in existence.* They will be sought for in vain on any reliable map of the country. *Fourth.* The map differs from the text in another important particular, that is, if the theory advanced by General Clark and Dr. Shea is correct. The route, as indicated on the map, after winding among those mythical lakes, and leaving the sources of the Little Salmon, passes directly by a southwesterly course to the Iroquois fort. This fort is located, *by the map*, on the easterly end of a lake, assumed by both General Clark and Dr. Shea to be Oneida Lake, the outlet of which flows into Lake Ontario. If it is not Oneida Lake, then that lake is not represented on

the map at all, unless it is one of the five imaginary lakes on the sources of the Little Salmon, which is disclaimed by General Clark. But the route of the expedition, as shown by the map, instead of crossing the outlet of what he claims to be Oneida Lake, as distinctly asserted by the text, does not go near it. Dr. Shea says, General Clark and Mr. Marshall agree that Champlain crossed that outlet. I certainly do, because the text asserts it. But the map contradicts it. It is for General Clark to reconcile the two. Both General Clark and Dr. Shea repudiate the map when they say, "the dotted line of the march on the map, to coincide with Champlain's text, should have continued across Oneida outlet, which it already approaches on the map." They are in error in saying that it approaches the outlet. The whole length of the lake lies between them. If the dotted line had crossed the outlet, where, on the hypothesis of General Clark, would it then have gone? *Fifth.* If the map locates the fort at the east end of Oneida Lake, as it certainly does on the theory of General Clark, what then becomes of his location on Nichols Pond, at least 10 miles in a direct line south of that lake? *Sixth.* The map places the fort on a small lake, the outlet of which empties into Lake Ontario. But the waters of Nichols Pond flow into Oneida Lake, first passing through Cowasselon, Canaserago and Chittenango Creeks. How is this discrepancy reconciled?

Dr. Shea impugns the correctness of the *fac-simile* map in one particular. He says: "In the reproduction in the magazine the dotted line goes to the town; in the original, however, it stops before reaching the lake near which the town is placed." I do not understand the force of this criticism. Both the original and *fac-simile* place the town on the lake. The dotted line of the *fac-simile* quite reaches the town, while that of the original falls two or three dots short of it. The line of the original is evidently intended to exhibit the route as extending to the town whether carried quite to it or not. Does Dr. Shea mean to be understood that the expedition did not reach the town by the line indicated?

The considerations which I have presented conclusively show that the map and the text are irreconcileable, and that one or the other must, in some of the particulars, be rejected. I prefer, for the reasons already stated, to be governed by the text. Yet Dr. Shea says that "General Clark seeks a theory which will reconcile the text and the map." Whether he has found it the reader can now decide. The effort to harmonize what cannot be reconciled has led to much of the obscurity and confusion which have involved this subject. The route of the expedition, as claimed in my two articles, is certainly the most natural, the most feasible, and the

most in harmony with the narrative of Champlain. No other across the the lake, and inland to the fort, presents so few objections, and no other which has yet been suggested can stand the test of critical examination. As to the location of the fort, I reached the conclusion, after a careful consideration of all the data that could be obtained—a comparison of the map and text of Champlain, a study of the topography of the country, aided by the best maps attainable, and by correspondence with persons familiar with the various localities—that the objective point of the expedition, the fortified village of the Onondagas, was on the lake which bears their name.

I have seen nothing in the publications of General Clark, or in the learned article of Dr. Shea, to disturb my first impressions. Certainly no other place so free from objection has been pointed out. The strong language used by General Clark in support of his views, while it is in keeping with his enthusiastic convictions, is not justified by his facts or reasons. His conclusions are valuable, to the extent only in which they are sustained by reliable data. I understand that he has ready for the press, a work on the "Homes and Migrations of the Iroquois." Possibly it will contain his views more at large on the questions here discussed. Whenever any additional facts and arguments to disprove my positions are presented, I will give them a candid and careful examination. I am constrained to believe, however, that we cannot hope for any new data, but must be content to rest the case on the scanty records of Champlain, the testimony of the early travelers, and the few relics, which time has spared, of the era in which the Iroquois met and successfully resisted the firearms of the white man, in the heart of Central New York.

O. H. MARSHALL