

and *Notre* Adam Dollard & Adm. Ormeaux,
Pierre Aujouit, Pierre, Aguidan, & Piquet
Basse, de par San Martin & Villamarye en l'île de
(Montreal) Subz figure sommaire d'accord
d'ontques Ensin, *Ost* Jeanois qui nous
dit Dollard, Aguidan & Basse nous
dameuront plus & entis pouris au dit Aujouit
d'asferre une chaloupe ou basliman propre
pour Naviger depuis Suibey Jusqu'en l'île
& Villamarye le quel basliman n'passant
le prix & somme & huit n'ne l'île pour
l'asfer & la quelle chaloupe & basliman
nous luy promettons & l'île obligons luy
Johannis de Croix-Quatre, & Caumont, qui
Sous l'île chaloupe ou basliman, le quel
asfer & l'île fait ledit Aujouit, pourra s'en
l'île n'passant. Qui sont Ammiral & France
pour ledit Villamarye, Nuprix, pour
Commence Veuil l'île a propos, l'île
l'île d'auant fait & l'île l'île l'île l'île
l'île, nous luy promettons l'île
Compte, l'île & l'île double fait

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ORIGINAL EN TRÈS MAUVAIS ÉTAT.

ORIGINAL NON CONSULTABLE

ORIGINAL A: 038-04-03-02

Ville Marie
8 Nov. 1658.

Dollard

29

Forme 1580-1-20

Double Nadi Villamarye Embadiker
Jlle lequitt & son Louis de Novembre
Onil six mil Cinquante Juit

~~J. Laguardia & son~~

~~Dollard~~

~~Bassett~~

8 Nov 1658.

OLD AND NEW.

"Gazette" July 24/1909

Next spring it will be just a quarter of a millennium since Adam Dollard des Ormeaux and his sixteen young companions, heroic defenders of the young frontier settlement of Ville Marie, checked by the sacrifice of their lives the advance of the Iroquois and saved the colony from almost certain destruction. The story has been written by many pens. A fairly full account of the origin, methods and results of the expedition may be seen in the Relations des Jesuites (1660, pp. 12-18). Another account is contained in the Histoire du Montreal of Father Dollier de Casson. One of the letters of Madame Marie de l'Incarnation contains another. We find a further narrative in the Histoire du Canada of the Abbe de Belmont. In the Relations the leader is called "Dolard, homme de mise." In the other narratives he is called d'Aulac or Daulac. Dollier de Casson describes him as "garcon de coeur et de famille." M. de Belmont is more concise. He says simply "un homme Daulac." Abbe de Belmont was superior of the Seminary of Montreal from 1713 to 1724. Each of these early records has a characteristic note. That of M. Dollier de Casson, who had been a soldier before he became a priest, is the most sympathetic. He ascribes to the Huron chief Anoutahaha and to the 17 Frenchmen. Abbe de Belmont sums up the affair in these significant words: "The 17 Frenchmen were slain, all but four, of whom three died (of their wounds), and one was burned. The enemy were daunted by this resistance and retreated. Otherwise all would have been lost." Of the unfortunate who fell alive into the hands of the Iroquois and survived long enough to give them the savage pleasure of torturing him, Dollier de Casson says: "On ne saurait dire les tourments qu'il lui firent endurer et ou ne saurait exprimer non plus la patience admirable qu'il fit voir dans les tourments." In the Relations some details are given of the treatment to which the prisoners were subjected, and of all the victims it is said that their self-sacrifice saved the colony from ruin.

Of modern writers who have dealt with the fight at the Long Sault, the Abbes Faillon and Casgrain, Parkman and Abbe Rousseau may be specially mentioned. Abbe Faillon is, as usual, independent and thorough. He writes as follows, by way of introduction to his narrative: "These brave men performed the finest feat of arms in the record of modern history. Their truly heroic courage obliged the Iroquois to renounce their plan of campaign and to return home, after leaving on the field of carnage a large number of warriors. An account of the conflict was written a few days afterwards by Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, in one of her letters, on the report of a cowardly Huron, who had betrayed the French. There is another version in the Relations for the year 1660, based on the report of three treacherous Hurons, who had surrendered to the Iroquois and had managed to escape out of their hands. But both these accounts are incomplete, inexact, and seriously astray, on several points, as sometimes happens in the first recital of events which took place at a distance from the narrator. The true circumstances come to light only after a certain time has given opportunity for enquiry. So it was, in this case. Confusion was ultimately succeeded by certainty. Besides, M. Dollier de Casson, in his Histoire du Montreal, has collected all the details, thus providing an accurate record and correcting the mistakes of his predecessors. It is Abbe Dollier de Casson's account that we propose to follow in the ensuing chapter, adding, however, to what he has told us certain particulars of which he has lost sight, but which are given in the other narratives."

Parkman devotes a thrilling chapter of his valuable, though not uncriticized, work, "The Old Regime in Canada," to "The Heroes of the Long Sault." Characterizing the enterprise as a whole, he says that the spirit of it was purely medieval, and then adds these words: "The enthusiasm of honor, the enthusiasm of adventure, and the enthusiasm of faith, were its motive forces. Daulac was a knight of the early crusades among the forests and savages of the New World. Yet the incidents of this exotic heroism are definite and clear as a tale of yesterday." Then, after citing the official sources of knowledge regarding them, he thus speaks of Daulac and his companions: "The three eldest were of twenty-eight, thirty, and thirty-one years respectively. The ages of the rest varied from twenty-one to twenty-seven. They were of various callings—soldiers, armors, locksmiths, lime-burners, or settlers without trades. The greater number had come to the colony as part of the reinforcement

brought by Maisonneuve in 1653." Of the leader he thus writes: "Adam Daulac or Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, was a young man of good family, who had come to the colony three years before at the age of twenty-two. He had held some military command in France, though in what rank does not appear. It was said that he had been involved in some affair which made him anxious to wipe out the memory of the past by a noteworthy exploit; and he had been busy for some time among the young men of Montreal, inviting them to join him in the enterprise he meditated." Then, after telling how Daulac and his sixteen companions virtually doomed themselves to death by taking a common oath to accept no quarter, and made their wills, confessed and communicated, Parkman mentions the offer of Charles Le Moyne and other leading men of Montreal to join the party, if the expedition were delayed until after the spring sowing. "Daulac refused. He was jealous of the glory and the danger, and he wished to command, which he could not have done had Le Moyne been present." The event proved that delay would have been attended with the gravest risks. Besides Le Moyne, the intrepid Closse (whose heroic death took place, it is said, not far from the site of the General Hospital (near the corner of Dorchester and Saint Dominique street) and M. Picotte de Belestre were also among the conditional volunteers.

It is evident that authorities differ as to the form of the leader's name. Ferland is disposed to accept what at first sight might seem a compromise—Daulard—a form which seems to have a solemn sanction from its occurrence in the young commandant's will. There is a point which most of the historians, French as well as English, have shrunk from discussing—we mean, the strange term that M. Dollier de Casson and de Belmont have employed to express the enlistment or engagement of his sixteen companions by "M. d'Aulac, Garcon de coeur et de famille"—namely, "debaucha" (by the latter) and "tacha de debaucher" (by the former). One historian, who has scented exaggeration in the story (and who also calls attention to the diversity of statement as to the scene of the conflict) interprets the French word by the English "mislead." With this explanation, Dollier de Casson's narrative does not harmonize. In the 17th century "debaucher" (besides other significations) meant "to induce men to leave one employment or service for another." Abbe Ferland naturally thinks it surprising that Charlevoix should have omitted any reference to a feat of arms which is worthy to be compared with the boldest undertakings of ancient and medieval warfare. It is not, however, for the purpose of raising problems of historical criticism that we have introduced the subject of Dollard des Ormeaux and his colleagues, and their ever praiseworthy deed of self-sacrifice, but rather because the approaching anniversary makes it timely to recall so noble an example of patriotic devotion, soldierly courage and sublime faith. There may have been other motives. Certainly, when one reads what the same Dollier de Casson relates of a kindred spirit, Major Closse, one must acknowledge that the founders and early leaders and settlers of Montreal were in many cases inspired by motives different from those that prevail in the frontier towns of today. Closse, like Dollard, had his wish, without recrossing the Atlantic to fight the Turks.

Nearly fifty years ago, in pleading for some memorial to those citizens of Ville-Marie worthy of their fame and of the city that they saved, Faillon wrote thus: "Their names, collected by M. Souart, cure of the parish, were inserted, before the end of the year 1660, in the parochial registry of deaths—the only monument that has preserved them to this day. And it is from that dark source that, after more than two centuries, we draw them for the first time into the light of day. Adam Dollard (Sieur des Ormeaux), commandant, aged 25 years; Jacques Brassier, aged 25 years (left France with M. de Maisonneuve in 1653); Jean Tavernier, dit La Hocquetiere, armorer (also came from France in 1653 with M. de Maisonneuve); Nicholas Tillement, locksmith, aged 25 years; Laurent Hebert, dit La Riviere, aged 27 years; Alonie de Lestres, lime burner, aged 31 years; Nicholas Josselin, aged 25 years (he was from Solesmes, arrondissement of La Fleche, and came out with M. de Maisonneuve); Robert Juree, aged 24 years; Jacques Boisseau, dit Cognac, aged 23 years; Christophe Augier, dit Desjardins, aged 26 years; Etienne Robin, dit Desforages, aged 27 years (left France with M. de Maisonneuve in 1653); Jean Valets, aged 27 years (from the parish of Telle, arrondissement du Mans, Sarthe (came out with M. de Maisonneuve in 1653); Rene Doussin (Sieur de Sainte Cecile), soldier of the garrison, aged 30 years (left France in 1653 with M. de Maisonneuve); Jean Lecompte, aged 26 years (of the parish of Chemire, arrondissement du Mans, Sarthe, came out with M. de Maisonneuve in 1653); Simon Grenet,

aged 25 years; Francois Crusson, dit Pilofe, aged 24 years (came out from France in 1653 with M. de Maisonneuve). To these seventeen Christian heroes should be added the brave Anahontaha, Huron chief, and also Mettiwemeg, Algonquin captain, who stood faithful to the last and died on the field of honor. There were also the three Frenchmen (of the original seventeen) who perished at the outset of the expedition: Nicolas du Val, Mathurin Soulard and Blaise Juillet." M. Faillon accepts the date that the Abbe de Belmont has assigned for the "affaire du Long-Sault"—namely, May 21, 1660, the Friday in Whitsunt week. On the 25th of the same month news of the fate of the seventeen young Frenchmen and their Huron and Algonquin fellow-soldiers reached Montreal. When it was learned that Dollard's self-sacrificing strategy and the sanguinary price at which he and his companions had sold their lives, had so alarmed the Iroquois that they were already on their way to the south side of Lake Ontario, the relief was beyond words. At Quebec (where for five weeks sleep had been out of the question), clergy and people gave thanks to God in solemn Te Deums. In Montreal joy was tempered by the sense of loss, for it was felt that the comparative security which the city enjoyed had been purchased with the blood of their bravest and worthiest.

Of those who have sung the glories of Dollard des Ormeaux and his companions the late L. Frechette, Mr. George Marrazand, Dr. Wilfrid Campbell, deserve special mention, but just now we can give no more than mention.

OLD AND NEW.

"Gazette" Sept. 11, 1909

To the Editor of Old and New:

Dear Sir,—Allow me to say that there should not be so many ways of spelling the name of our hero of the fight at Long Sault, since he could write it himself, and that yours of a few weeks ago, Dollard, is the only right one. There are to be found, here in Montreal, no less than six signatures by him, as witness to deeds passed before our old Notary Royal, Benigne Basset; the first and last ones are dated 12th October, 1658, and 7th April, 1659, respectively, when he signed Dollard, or Adam Dollard, or once Desormeaux Dollard, every time Dollard.

Historians speak of a will or wills by Dollard and his companions; so far I found none in our public records. It was likely a mere verbal declaration as to their intentions. Dollard's personal property, which consisted only of his wearing apparel and a wooden trunk, was sold at public auction on the Sunday, 13th November, 1661, by Basset, as clerk of the court here, by command of the governor of the place, so says the proces-verbal of the sale. And there is not a word as to what was done, or to be done, with the proceeds; they likely went to the church fund, or to some charitable purpose, judging by the day the sale took place. Mr. Souart, then parish priest, spelled the name Daulat; Dollier de Casson Daulac. The difference with Dollard, though great in print, was but slight in spoken words, because the C and T were silent, which made Daulat or Daulac (Dau-law) very near the same as Dollard (Do-lawrd).

Frontenac was also Frontenaw, Branssat or Branssaw was Branssaw, De Cabanac was and is still Cabanaw, the C in the latter having since been dropped. The C is even now silent in tabac (tab-aw), the universal tobacco of our own times; and in some other words as well.

Yours respectfully,
PH. BAUDOUIN.

Our readers, we feel sure, will be grateful to M. Baudouin, who has the advantage, for the solution of a question of this nature, of being a notary, of large experience. Some weeks ago, in reminding the readers of Old and New that May next will be the quarter-millennial anniversary of the glorious act of patriotic self-sacrifice which M. Rameau de Saint Pere matches with the deeds of Horatius Cocles and other heroes of ancient Rome, and Mr. George Murray parallels with the immortal feat of Leonidas and his comrades at Thermopylae, we consulted a number of works—several of them written by contemporaries of the Long Sault patriots, and drew attention to the variations in the spelling. We found "Dolard"—"le Sieur Dolard homme de mise et de conduite"—in the Relations des Jesuites. In the Histoire de la Colonie Francaise, by M. Faillon, we find a list of the heroes and their chief, taken from the "Registre de la Paroisse de Ville-Marie; Sepultures, 3 Juin, 1660." In "Lake St. Louis, Old and New, Illustrated, and Cavalier de la Salle," by the Hon. Mr. Justice Girouard, of the Supreme Court, we find

the same spelling, based on the same source. Another authority, whose great work is by implication and of necessity based upon the consultation of original documents, recording baptisms, marriages and burials, is in agreement with the writers just mentioned and with Mr. Baudouin. The entry in Mgr. Tanguay's Dictionnaire Genealogique, tome I., p. 197, is as follows: "Dollard des Ormeaux, Adam, b. 1635, commandant l'expédition du Long Sault, Massacre, avec ses Compagnons, le 21 Mai, 1660, a l'age de 25 ans." In a foot-note, Mgr. Tanguay gives the names of Dollard's comrades, and also the names of three members of the expedition, as originally formed, who perished by drowning at the very outset of it, but for whom successors were promptly found. Whoever suggested to his official fellow-citizens that they ought to honor the heroic Adam (whose "plan of campaign," so bravely carried out, saved the colony from destruction), by naming a street of the town which but for him had been a heap of blood-stained ruins after the name that he had borne, did not ignore the proper spelling of that name. Dollard Lane lies between Notre Dame street and St. James street, and thousands of people pass it unheeding every day. It is situated between St. Peter and McGill streets. M. L. Huot made it some years ago the subject—or, at least, the starting point—of an essay, in which he reproaches an ungrateful and thoughtless posterity.

Why, we have often asked ourselves, should so striking a name as Dollard des Ormeaux be changed into Daulac or d'Aulac? We believe that M. Baudouin has given us a key to the conundrum. Besides what he says of the ordinary pronunciation of the final "ac," as in tabac (tabaw), it is worth calling to mind that in the 17th century there was no such stability (in French or in English) in the spelling of words as we have today. Yet even now variability in the spelling of proper names (and of common nouns) has not wholly disappeared. Before turning to the chief alternative for "Dollard" (Daulac), we may say that Kingsford, the historian, though he mentions the authorities that adopt the other spelling, adheres throughout to that which M. Baudouin defends. We consider this all the more important because, in writing the earlier volumes of his great work, Dr. Kingsford was in frequent communication with the late Abbe Verreau, whose library he constantly consulted.

To the Histoire du Mont Real of Dollier de Casson we need not refer at any length, after what M. Baudouin has said. His History, as our readers know, is arranged in the form of annals—his years beginning and ending in accordance with the coming and going of the King's vessels. Of the year that included the Long Sault conflict (from fall of 1659 till fall of 1660) he says that it should be marked in Montreal's calendar with red letters in consequence of the men that it had lost on various occasions; a solace for the loss being, however, found in the noble actions of the victims. He spells the name of the hero of the Long Sault sometimes Laulac, sometimes d'Aulac. Pere de Belmont, who wrote his Histoire du Canada more than a generation later follows Dollier de Casson's example. To these must be added the venerable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, whose spelling (Daulac) one of that saintly lady's most distinguished biographers, the late Abbe Casgrain, has naturally adopted. We believe that, when Father Dollier reached Montreal, the heroic patriotism of Dollard des Ormeaux was already a memory. Father de Belmont wrote more than thirty years after him. As for Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, her first informant was (as M. Faillon says) "un lache Huron, qui avait trahi les Fran-

cais." M. Faillon considers the account in the Relations subject to a like risk of error. M. Dollier de Casson, being some years later, he regards as more accurate, the author having revised and corrected the earlier narratives. In his own story of the "Fait d'Armes du Long-Sault et ses Suites," M. Faillon has collated all the narratives but has given most heed to M. Dollier, save in a few particulars and among these the spelling of the hero's name.

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Dollard, Adam, sieur des Ormeaux.
jeune Français de Montréal, qui,
avec 16 compagnons défendit pen-
dant dix jours, au pied du Long-
Sault sur l'Ottawa, un petit fort
de pieux contre 700 Iroquois, 1660

Son exploit sauva la colonie.

Archives de la Ville de Montréal