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REPUTED PORTRAIT OF MARQUETTE From oil painting by unknown artist, discovered in Montreal in 1897

COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES Secretary and Superintendent of the Society

VOL. XVI The French Regime in Wisconsin—I

1634–1727

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PREFACE

The long period (1634–1763) of the French regime is the most romantic chapter in the history of Wisconsin. But its details have in large measure been inaccessible save to

those historical specialists who had opportunity to work in the archives of both France and Canada. Unfortunately, the contemporary French documents heretofore published in our COLLECTIONS have been unsatisfactorily in number and range. The student of that time, seeking thoroughly to know Wisconsin under the domination of France, has been compelled to supplement the COLLECTIONS with investigations elsewhere—chiefly in the old Jesuit Relations, Perrot's *Mémoire* , La Potherie's *Histoire* , Charlevoix's *Histoire* , Margry's *Découvertes* , the New York *Colonial Documents* , and the calendar entries in Brymner's *Canadian Archives* .

A variety of reasons have conspired to prevent a fuller presentation of material in our series—chief of these was the lack of funds for researches in the Paris archives, and for the transcription and translation of documents when found. The time has now arrived, however, when the Society finds itself enabled properly to publish the most important documents concerning this epoch in Wisconsin history. The recent edition of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* has made available, much of it for the first time, a considerable mass of material bearing upon the French regime in the Northwest; and important investigations have been conducted during recent years in behalf of this Society and of similar bodies, in the governmental archives of Paris. From this store of new material and that which has already appeared in the several publications above named, it has at last become possible to make a reasonably full presentation of the most important documents relating to the wide fur trade region of the upper Great Lakes, of which xii what is now Wisconsin then formed an integral part. The result is so satisfactory that it is fortunate that an earlier publication was not attempted; for not until now has such complete treatment been practicable.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the originals of all these documents were written in the French language, the greater number of them being Englished for this volume; the principal exceptions are those borrowed direct from the New York *Colonial Documents* , which were translated under the editorship of E. B. O'Callaghan. In earlier years, editors of historical material were less solicitous than the present generation, to reproduce originals

verbatim et literatim . Liberties were freely taken, especially with manuscripts, which often were modernized and otherwise “improved” out of all semblance; thus was history falsified in a measure, for it is only by having before us the original document, or an exact reproduction of it (so far as typography permits), that we can fairly study the writer and his times. Such documents as we have reproduced from the originals, are, in accordance with the custom of this series, presented with such of their textual eccentricities as can be expressed in translation; those copied from other published collections are necessarily as therein given—in most cases, obviously modernized in form, although doubtless otherwise unimpaired, save for possible unintentional errors in transcription and translation. The original transcripts made for us in Paris, are preserved in the Society's library.

It has been deemed best to present the material in chronological sequence, regardless of source. In each ease the source is indicated, for the benefit of scholars who may wish to consult the original, and such explanatory notes are given as seem essential to the elucidation of the text. That the series may be complete, references are made, in their proper place, to documents previously published in these Collections . In the case of the *Jesuit Relations* , only synopses are for the most part given, for the reason that the new edition (in 73 volumes) is now obtainable in many of the libraries of the Northwest —although some of the most important Wisconsin material therein is here reproduced in full. Documents from other sources are usually xiii given *in extenso* , only such matter being omitted as either did not come within our historical field, or appeared to the Editor needlessly detailed for the present purpose. In a few cases, where documents are either too profuse or are unavailable, a synoptical editorial note covers the period sufficiently for the average student—references being given to more abundant sources.

Owing to the great extent of the material, it has been found impossible to include all of it within this volume, the size of which is restricted by law. A considerable portion of vol. xvii will be occupied with the remainder of the documents, which carry us to the downfall of New France, in 1763.

It is hoped that the publication of these documents may greatly renew beth popular and scholarly interest in the period when the region of the upper Great Lakes was a part of New France. The story here revealed is one possessing great interest to the student of civilization, as well as of Western history.

With the simple record in the *Jesuit Relations* of Nicolet's voyage in 1634 (or possibly 1638), we see the French—impelled by desire for empire, for trade, and for religious proselyting—first reaching out to the Northwest. With this event. the annals of our region begin. For many years, these concern almost wholly the migrations and wars of Indian tribes, and the operations of a few adventurous fur-traders. At first the accounts are shadowy in character, having reached the French at the settlements on the St. Lawrence river through devious channels of report, for few white men had as yet penetrated to these far-away wilds; and most of the explorers were unlicensed traders whose interests did not lie in spreading knowledge of their wanderings. We find the Winnebagoes (Puants), an outcast tribe of the Siouan stock, reported as being, in the middle of the seventeenth century, powerfully entrenched upon Green Bay, tyrannizing over their Algonquian neighbors, the Menomonees, Pottawattomies, Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, and Mascoutens; and cruelly betraying the Ottawas and Illinois, whose envoys they “cooked in their kettles.” The Ottawas first formed a war-league against the Winnebagoes, whom they pitilessly scourged; later, the Illinois headed a similar conspiracy, xiv which almost annihilated the Winnebago tyrants, the survivors retreating to the borders of Lake Winnebago.

Soon after these events, the all-conquering Iroquois, engaged in devastating raids upon the tribes dwelling along the eastern shores of Lake Huron, drove northward the Hurons and Ottawas, who established themselves at Mackinac, at Thunder Bay and Point Keweenaw on Lake Superior, and on the islands at the mouth of Green Bay. About 1653–55, the Iroquois pursued the fugitives into these hiding-places, and drove them still farther westward, although not without some severe reverses. The new retreat of the Hurons and Ottawas was on the western waters of Wisconsin, where at last they were

comparatively safe from Iroquois incursions. Upon both sides of the upper Mississippi they found powerful Sioux tribes, disposed to welcome the newcomers, who brought to them articles of iron obtained from French fur-traders who had not yet penetrated to the Sioux. But the impolitic fugitives repaid their kind hosts with base treachery, and the latter turned upon them with fury. This led the Hurons and Ottawas to seek seclusion at the head-waters of the Black and other west-flowing rivers, and on the isolated shores of Chequamegon Bay. It might have been presumed that the strangers would now learn to keep the peace; but finding that the Sioux did not follow them, they sent against the latter war-parties, which frequently met defeat, although the Sioux were singularly indulgent and allowed the ungrateful fugitives thereafter to live in peace for several years.

This was the situation when Radisson and Groseilliers came to Wisconsin (1654–61), and traded on Chequamegon Bay and explored the interior; when the Jesuit Ménard established (1660–61) the first mission on Lake Superior, at Point Keweenaw, and met death on the upper waters of Wisconsin river while attempting to reach the Hurons encamped on the head-waters of the Black; when Allouez founded (1665) the Jesuit mission of La Pointe on Chequamegon Bay; and when Marquette succeeded Allouez at La Pointe (1669). Soon after Marquette's arrival, the Hurons and Ottawas again goaded the Sioux into anger, and were obliged, with their missionary, to flee (1671) from the threatened storm the Hurons to Mackinac, and the Ottawas to Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron.

xv

After the coming of Allouez, we find Lake Superior frequently mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations* . The attention of both priests and laymen was early attracted to the copper mines, which receive much attention from the annalists of that time. The lake is also regarded as a promising seat for missionary enterprises, because of the many nations that frequent its shores for fishing and trading purposes. But upon the retreat of Marquette, the Jesuits abandoned the field.

Rivers and lakes were the primitive highways followed by the french explorers. Within the region now known as Wisconsin, the sources of divergent water systems interlaced —here. was the parting of the ways. To Wisconsin portage-paths, especially to that between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, the explorers were early led; thus topographical peculiarities caused Wisconsin to become known to the French at a time when the Puritans of Massachusetts had not ventured far beyond the sound of the sea.

Nicolet and Radisson and Groseilliers had sought the shores of Green Bay, the upper end of the path to the Mississippi; and Allouez had established a Jesuit mission there, before Marquette left Lake Superior. The centre of interest now shifted to this region; thenceforth our documents are chiefly concerned with the exploitation of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway and the lands to which it led.

In Perrot's *Mémoire* and the *Jesuit Relations* we have our earliest detailed accounts of the life and customs of the Wisconsin tribes, gaining from them vivid impressions of the Indians as they were when first encountered by white men. From these documents we obtain a clear view of the attitude of the savages to the newcomers; and the arguments resorted to by the latter to induce the tribesmen to abandon their simple life and seriously to take up the business of supplying Frenchmen with peltries, in exchange for white men's clothing, utensils, weapons, and ornaments. The effect of this intercourse on the French themselves is readily traced, with the lowering of standards on the part of both races as they sought to meet on common ground. The gradual growth of the Jesuit missions; the spread of the fur trade, with the economic and social revolution wrought thereby in the forest life of the West—and the xvi demoralization which often resulted, thus nullifying missionary influence; the introduction of military posts, to protect the traders and to connect Canada and Louisiana by an arch of armed occupation in which Wisconsin was the keystone the development of all these movements is clearly recorded in the documents herein presented. Only through a knowledge of them, can early Wisconsin history be fully understood.

The story revealed by the documents abounds in dramatic incidents: Nicolet, hoping to find Chinamen on the shores of Green Bay; war-parties of half-naked Iroquois, Algonquians, and Sioux, chasing each other in the dark Wisconsin forests, with the intention of literally devouring the vanquished; Radisson and Groseilliers, seeking peltries and fierce adventures; stout-hearted sons of Loyola endeavoring to win our painted savages to a knowledge of the Cross; coureurs de bois like Perrot, Du Luth, La Salle, and Le Sneer, exploiting for gain far-stretching forests and waterways; Joliet and Marquette discovering the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien; Hennepin, with his curious experiences as a captive among the Sioux; and finally, the Fox War, a dreary half-century of spasmodic conflict, which absorbed the attention and helped drain the treasury of New France, contributing not a little to her downfall.

Highly significant are the revelations of the duplicity and practical dishonesty of many of the French military officers in the Northwest, especially during the last fifty or sixty years of the old regime. An appointment to a frontier post was often brought about by corrupt influence. The appointee sought at every turn to enrich himself at the expense of both the Indians and the king. Charges of corruption were freely bandied to and fro; and throughout the system, from governor down to the smallest commandant, one detects the presence of spies and informers, with the usual accompaniment of malice and slander. It is a sorry picture, but characteristic of New France.

In the preparation of material for this volume, which sheds so much new light on the earliest chapter of Wisconsin history, a large share of the work has fallen to Miss Emma Helen Blair, chief of the Division of Maps and Manuscripts in the Library of the Society. Miss Blair's long service as Assistant xvii Editor of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* has well qualified her for a task of this character. Acknowledgments are also due to the Burrows Brothers Company, of Cleveland, for generous permission to draw upon their edition of the Relations, not only for documentary material but for many of be

engravings which illustrate the present volume; also to Messrs. D. Appleton & Company, of New York, for the loan of two engravings.

R. G. T.

June, 1902. b

THE FRENCH REGIME IN WISCONSIN—I.

1634: JEAN NICOLET'S VISIT TO WISCONSIN.

[From the Jesuit *Relation* of 1642–43.]

He came to New France in the year sixteen hundred eighteen; and forasmuch as his nature and excellent memory inspired good hopes of him, he was sent to winter with the Island Algonquins, in order to learn their language.1 He tarried with them two years, alone of the French, and always joined the Barbarians in their excursions and journeys—undergoing such fatigues as none but eyewitnesses can conceive; he often passed seven or eight days without food, and once, full seven weeks with no other nourishment than a little bark from the trees. He accompanied four hundred Algonquins, who went during that time to make peace with the Hyroquois, which he successfully accomplished; and would to God that it had never been broken, for then we would not now be suffering the calamities which move us to groans, and which must be an extraordinary impediment in the way of converting these tribes. After this treaty of peace, he went to live eight or nine years with the Algonquin Nipissiriniens, where he passed for one of that nation, taking part in the very frequent councils of those tribes, having his own separate cabin and household, and fishing and trading for himself. He was finally recalled, and appointed Agent and Interpreter. While in the exercise of this office, he was delegated to make a journey to the nation called People of the sea, and arrange peace between them and the Hurons, from whom they are distant about three hundred 2

1 Regarding Jean Nicolet and his explorations, see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., viii, pp. 188–194; x, pp. 41–46; xi, pp. 1–25.— Ed.

2 leagues1 Westward. He embarked in the Huron country, with seven Savages; and they passed by many small nations, both going and returning. When they arrived at their destination, they fastened two sticks in the earth, and hung gifts thereon, so as to relieve those tribes from the notion of mistaking them for enemies to be massacred. When he was two days' journey from that nation, he sent one of those Savages to bear tidings of the peace, which word was especially well received when they heard that it was a European who carried the message; they despatched several young men to meet the Manitouiriniou —that is to say, “the wonderful man.” They meet him; they escort him, and carry all his baggage. He wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors. No sooner did they perceive him than the women and children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands—for thus they called the two pistols that he held. The news of his coming quickly spread to the places round about, and there assembled four or five thousand men. Each of the chief men made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least sixscore Beavers.2 The peace was concluded; he returned to the Hurons, and some time later W the three Rivers, where he continued his employment as Agent and Interpreter, to the great satisfaction of both the French and the Savages, by whom he was equally and singularly loved. In so far as his office allowed, he vigorously cooperated with our Fathers for the conversion of those peoples,

1 Distances are usually given in leagues by early French explorers in America; but they use the term only approximately, as they estimated instead of measuring distances. The standard French league is about 2.42 English miles; the common league is 2.76 of these The arpent is an old French measure of distance, used in measuring land, equivalent to about 192 English feet (linear). Another old French measure was the brasse, equivalent to 5.318 English feet.— Ed.

2 Le Jeune mentions (*Jes. Relations*, xviii, pp. 231–233) the tribes seen by Nicolet in Wisconsin—Menomonees, Winnebagoes, Mascoutens, and Pottawattomies. The date of his visit must have been 1634, according to Suite (*Mélanges d'histoire*, pp. 426, 436) and Butterfield (*Discovery of Northwest*, pp. 42–45); but Hebberd argues (*Wisconsin under French Dominion*, pp. 14–17) that 1638 is more nearly correct.— Ed.

3 whom he could shape and bend howsoever he would, with a skill that can hardly be matched.— *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland reissue), xxiii, pp. 275–279.1

1 All citations in this volume from the *Jesuit Relations* refer to the above edition.— Ed.

BETWEEN 1640 AND 1660: TRIBES AND TRIBAL WARS ABOUT GREEN BAY.

[From Bacqueville de la Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* , punished at Paris in 1722, and again in 1753. The author was a French historian of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1697 he visited Hudson Bay as royal commissioner.]

This [Green] Bay is forty leagues in depth; its width at the entrance is eight or ten leagues, gradually diminishing until at the farthest end it is but two leagues wide. The mouth is closed by seven islands, which must be doubled in voyaging to the Islinois. The Bay is on the Northwestern side of the lake, and extends toward the Southwest; at the entrance is a small village, composed of people gathered from various nations-who, wishing to commend themselves to their neighbors, have cleared some lands there, and affect to entertain all who Pass that way. Liberality is a characteristic greatly admired among the Savages; and it is the proper thing for the Chiefs to lavish all their possessions, if they desire to be esteemed. Accordingly, they have exerted themselves to receive Strangers hospitably, who find among them whatever provisions are in season; and they like nothing better than to hear that others are praising their generosity.

The Pouteouatemis, Sakis, and Malhominis2 dwell there; and there are four Cabins, the remains of the Nadouaichs, a tribe

2 These are variants of the names Pottawattomies, Sacs, and Menomonees. Puans (Puants) was the name applied by the French to the Winnebagoes; the word was an erroneous translation of the Algonkin word *Ouinipeg*, which appears in the modern names Winnipeg and Winnebagoes. See *Jes. Relations*, xv, pp. 155, 247; xvi, 263; xviii, 231; xxxiii, 151; xxxviii, 239; xli, 79, 185; xlv, 219.— Ed.

4 which has been entirely destroyed by the Iroquois. In former times, the Puans were the masters of this Bay, and of a great extent of adjoining country. This Nation was a populous one, very redoubtable, and spared no one; they violated all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If any stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny. Those Tribes believed themselves the most powerful in the Universe; they declared war on all Nations whom they could discover, although they had only stone knives and hatchets. They did not desire to have commerce with the French. The Outaouaks [Ottawas], notwithstanding, sent to them Envoys, whom they had the cruelty to eat. This crime incensed all the Nations, who formed a union with the Outaouaks, on account of the protection accorded to them by the latter under the auspices of the French, from whom they received weapons and all sorts of merchandise. They made frequent Expeditions against the Puans, who were giving them much trouble; and then followed Civil wars among the Puans—who reproached one another for their ill-fortune, brought upon them by the perfidy of those who had slain the Envoys, since the latter had brought them knives, bodkins, and many other useful articles, of which they had had no previous knowledge. When they found that they were being vigorously attacked, they were compelled to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five thousand men; but maladies wrought among them more devastation than even the war did, and the exhalations from the rotting corpses caused great mortality. They could not bury the dead, and were soon reduced to fifteen hundred men. Despite

all these misfortunes, they sent a party of five hundred warriors against the Outagamis, who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all those men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest which arose. Their enemies were moved by this disaster, and said that the Gods ought to be satisfied with so many punishments; so they ceased making war on those who remained. All these scourges, which ought to have gone home to their consciences, seemed 5 only to increase their iniquities. All Savages who have not yet embraced the Christian faith have the notion that the souls of the departed, especially of those who have been slain, can not rest in peace unless their relatives avenge their death; it is necessary, therefore, to sacrifice victims to their shades, if their friends wish to solace them. This belief, which animated those barbarians, inspired in them an ardent desire to satisfy the manes of their ancestors, or to perish utterly; but, seeing that this was impossible for them, they were obliged to check their resentment—they felt too humiliated in the sight of all the Nations to dare undertake any such enterprise. The despair, the cruel memory of their losses, and the destitution to which they were reduced, made it still more difficult for them to find favorable opportunities for providing their subsistence; the frequent raids of their enemies had even dispersed the game; and famine was the last scourge that attacked them.

Then the Islinois, touched with compassion for these unfortunates, sent five hundred men, among whom were fifty of the most prominent persons in their Nation, to carry them a liberal supply of provisions. Those Man-eaters received them at first with the utmost gratitude; but at the same time they meditated taking revenge for their loss by the sacrifice which they meant to make of the Islinois to the shades of their dead. Accordingly, they erected a great cabin in which to lodge these new guests. As it is a custom among the Savages to provide dances and public games on splendid occasions, the Puans made ready for a dance expressly for their guests. While the Islinois wore engaged in dancing, the Puans cut their bow-strings, and immediately flung themselves upon the Islinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general Feast of their flesh; the enclosure of that cabin, and the melancholy remains of the victims, may still he seen.

The Puans rightly judged that all the Nations would league themselves together to take vengeance for the massacre of the Islinois and for their own cruel ingratitude toward that people, and resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying. But, before they took that final step, each reproached himself for that crime; some dreamed at night that their families were being carried away, and others thought that they saw on every 6 side frightful spectres, who threatened them. They took refuge in an Island, which has since been swept away by the ice-floes.

The Islinois, finding that their people did not return, sent out some men to bring news of them. They arrived at the Puan village, which they found abandoned; but from it they descried the smoke from the one which had just been established in that island. The Islinois saw only the ruins of the Cabins, and the bones of many human beings which, they concluded, were those of their own people. When they carried back to their country this sad news, only weeping and lamentation were heard; they sent word of their loss to their Allies, who offered to assist them. The Puans, who knew that the Islinois did not use Canoes, were sure that in that Island they were safe from all affronts. The Islinois were every day consoled by those who had learned of their disaster; and from every side they received presents which wiped away their tears. They consulted together whether they should immediately attempt hostilities against their enemies. Their wisest men said that they ought, in accordance with the custom of their ancestors, to spend one year, or even more, in mourning, to move the Great Spirit; that he had chastised them because they had not offered enough sacrifices to him; that he would, notwithstanding, have pity on them if they were not impatient; and that he would chastise the Puans for so black a deed. They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all the Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the Winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the island over the ice, they found only the Cabins, in which there still remained some fire; the Puans had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in any emergency, be surprised by the Islinois. The army of the latter followed these Hunters, and on the sixth

day descried their village, to which they laid siege. So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhouminis' village, but severely wounded by arrows.1

1 Allouez thus comments upon this event: “About thirty years ago, all the people of this Nation were killed or taken captive by the Iliniouek, with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow. When the Iliniouetz had sent back his captive countrymen to inhabit the country anew, he was made Captain of his Nation, as having never been a slave.”— *Jes. Relations*, liv, p. 237.

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The Islinois returned to their country, well avenged; they had, however, the generosity to spare the lives of many women and children, part of whom remained among them, while others had liberty to go whither they pleased. A few years ago, they [the Puans] numbered possibly one hundred and fifty warriors. These Savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble; on the contrary, they are the first to affront those who are with them. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food. These people are very fond of the French, who always protect them; without that support, they would have been long ago utterly destroyed, for none of their neighbors could endure them on account of their behavior and their insupportable haughtiness. Some years ago, the Outagamis, Maskoutechs, Kikabous,1 Sakis, and Miamis were almost defeated by them; but they have become somewhat more tractable. Some of the Pouteouatemis, Sakis, and Outagamis have taken wives among them, and have given them their own daughters.

1 Variants of Mascoutens and Kickapoos. The Outagamies are better known as Foxes (Fr. Rénards).— Ed.

The Pouteouatemis are their neighbors; the behavior of these People is very affable and cordial, and they make great efforts to gain the good opinion of persons who come among them. They are very intelligent; they have an inclination for raillery; their physical appearance is good; and they are great talkers. When they set their minds on anything, it is not easy to turn 8 them from it. The old men are prudent, sensible, and deliberate; it is seldom that they undertake any unseasonable enterpise. As they receive Strangers very kindly, they are delighted when reciprocal attentions are paid to them. They have so good an opinion of themselves that they regard other Nations as inferior to them. They have made themselves Arbiters for the tribes about the Bay, and for all their neighbors; and they strive to preserve for themselves that reputation in every direction. Their ambition to please everybody has of course caused among them jealousy and divorce; for their Families are scattered to the right and to the left along the Méchéygan [Lake Michigan]. With a view of gaining for themselves special esteem, they make presents of all their possessions, stripping themselves of even necessary articles, in their eager desire to be accounted liberal. Most of the merchandise for which the Outaouas trade with the French is carried among these people.

The Sakis have always been neighbors of the Pouteouatemis, and have even built a Viii age with them. They separated from each other some years ago, as neither tribe could endure to be subordinate; this feeling is general among all the Savages, and each man is master of his own actions, no one daring to contradict him. These Peoples are not intelligent, and are of brutal nature and unruly disposition; but they have a good physique, and are quite good-looking for Savages; they are thieves and liars, great chatterers, good Hunters, and very poor Canoemen.

The Malhominis are no more than forty in number; they raise a little Indian corn, but live upon game and Sturgeons; they are skillful navigators. If the Sauteurs1 are adroit in

catching the Whitefish at the Sault, the Malhominis are no less so in spearing the Sturgeon in their river. For this purpose they use only small. Canoes, very light, in which they stand upright, and in the middle of the current spear the Sturgeon with an iron-pointed pole; only Canoes are to be seen, morning and night. They are good-natured people, not very keen of intellect;

1 Sauteurs (Saulteurs), “the people of the Sault:” the French name for the Ojibwas (Chippewas), given to them because they dwelt at and near Sault Ste. Marie when first encountered by the French.— Ed.

9 selfish to the last degree, and consequently characterized by a sordid avarice; but they are brave warriors.

All these Tribes at the Bay are most favorably situated; The country is a beautiful one, and they have fertile fields planted with Indian corn. Game is abundant at all seasons, and in Winter they hunt Bears and Beavers; they hunt Deer at all times, and they even fish for Wild-fowl. I will explain my remark; in Autumn there is a prodigious abundance of Ducks, both black and white, of excellent flavor, and the Savages stretch nets in certain places where these Fowl alight to feed upon the wild rice.1 Then advancing silently in their Canoes, they draw them up alongside of the nets, in which the birds have been caught. They also capture Pigeons in their nets, in the Summer. They make in the woods wide paths, in which they spread large nets, in the shape of a bag, and attached at each side to the trees; and they make a little hut of branches, in which they hide. When the Pigeons in their flight get within this open space, the Savages pull a small cord which is drawn through the edge of the net, and thus capture sometimes five or six hundred birds in one morning, especially in windy weather. All the year round they fish for Sturgeon, and for herring in the Autumn; and in Winter they have fruits. Although their rivers are deep, they close the stream with a sort of hurdle, leaving open places through which the Fish can pass; in these spaces they set a sort of net which they can cast or draw in as they please; and several cords are attached, which, although they seem to close the opening,

nevertheless afford passage to the Fish. The Savages are apprised of the entrance of the Fish into the net by a little bell which they fasten on the

1 The wild rice (Zizania aquatica) formed an important part of the food of the northwestern Algonquian tribes. For information regarding their use of it, see Carr's “Food for American Indians,” in Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc., x (1895), part I; A. E. Jenks's “Wild-rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes,” in 19th (and forthcoming) Report of U.S. Bureau of Ethnology—also published separately (Washington, 1901); and Gardner P. Stickney's “Indian Use of Wild Rice,” in Amer. Anthropologist, ix, pp. 115–121. The Indian practice of capturing wild fowl in nets is also described by Dablon in the Relation of 1671–72 (Jes. Relations, lvi, p. 121).— Ed.

10 upper part of it; when this sounds, they pull in their Fish. This Fishery suffices to maintain large Villages; they also gather wild rice and acorns; accordingly the Peoples of the Bay can live in the utmost comfort.—La Potherie's *Amér. Septentrionale* , pp. 69–81.

1653–55: FIRST IROQUOIS RAID INTO WISCONSIN.

[From Nicolas Perrot's *Mémoire sur les moeurs, coustumes et relligion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale* : written about 1715–18;1 published at Paris, 1864, with annotations by Rev. Jules Tailhan, S. J.]

1 Nicolas Perrot was one of the most noted French voyageurs in the Northwest; see accounts of his life and achievements in Tailhan's notes on his *Mémoire*, and in *Wis. Hist. Colls*., v. pp. 110–112. In regard to his taking possession of the Upper Mississippi, *Id*., x, 359–362, and xi, 35, 36; and, on the ostensorium presented by him to the De Pere mission, Id., viii, pp. 129–206, and *Jes. Relations*, lxvi, p. 347. For locations of forts erected by him in Wisconsin, see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., x, pp. 59–63, 299–301, 328–333, 358, 364–372, 504–506.— Ed.

This defeat spread terror among the Outaouas [Ottawas] and their allies: who were at Sankinon: at Thunder Bay, and at Manitoaletz and Michillimakinak. They went to dwell

together among the Hurons, on the island which we call Huron Island2 The Irroquois remained at peace with another village,

2 Tailhan thinks (*Perrot*, p. 214) that the island here mentioned was that now known as Washington Island, at the entrance of Green Bay-later, the abode of the Pottawattomies. The only application of the name Huron Islands on early maps, however, is to the group still known by that name near the south shore of Lake Superior; they lie to the north of Marquette county, Mich. The name Sankinon is but a variant of Saginaw (the large bay in the western shore of Lake Huron), and Manitoaletz of Manitoulin (the islands at the entrance to Georgian Bay). Sakinan (Sankinon) is said by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan (*N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 293, *note*) to mean, in Algonkin, “the country of the Sakis.” Cf. Nouvel's account of the “Saki country,” in *Jes. Relations*, lx, pp. 219–221; apparently it was on the Tittibawassee river, in Midland and Saginaw counties, Mich, “This defeat” refers to the ruin of the Huron confederacy by the Iroquois in 1650–51; for detailed accounts thereof, see *Jes. Relations*, vols. xxxiii-xxxvi.— Ed.

11 established at Detroit, of savages who were called Neutral Hurons,” because they did not embrace the interests of their allies, but maintained an attitude of neutrality. The Irroquois, however, compelled these people to abandon Detroit and settle in the Irroquois country. Thus they augmented their own strength, not only by the many children whom they took captive, but by the great number of Neutral Hurons whom they carried to their own country; and it was at that time that they made so many raids against the Algonkins that the latter were compelled to seek shelter among the French colonists. The Nipissings made a stand in their villages during a few years; but they were finally obliged to flee far northward to Alimibegon [Nepigon]; and the savages who had been neighbors to the Hurons fled, with those along the Outaoua River, to Three Rivers.

The Irroquois, elated by the advantage which they had gained over their enemies in thus compelling them to take flight, and finding no other bones to gnaw, made several attacks upon the Algonkins and even upon the French, taking several captives who were afterward restored. These hostilities were succeeded by more than one treaty of peace, which

proved to be of short duration. The early relations of these events describe them quite fully; accordingly I do not expatiate upon them here, but limit myself to an account of only such things as they have omitted, and which I have learned from the lips of the old men among the Outaoua tribes.

The following year [1653 §], the Irroquois sent another expedition, which counted 800 men, to attack the Outaouas; but those tribes, feeling sure that the enemy had ascertained the place where they had established themselves, and would certainly make another attack against them, had taken the precaution to send out one of their scouting parties, who went as far as the former country of the Hurons, from which they had been driven. These men descried the Irroquois party who were marching against them, and hastened back to carry the news of this incursion to their own people. Those tribes, who were dwelling on Huron Island, immediately abandoned that place 12 and retreated to Méchingan,1 where they constructed a fort, resolving to await there the enemy. The Irroquois came to that region, but were unable to accomplish anything for two years. They made persistent efforts to succeed, and put in the field a little army, as it were, intending to destroy the villages of that new settlement, at which a considerable extent of land had been already cleared. But the Outaouas had time enough to harvest their grain before the arrival of the enemy; for they were always careful to keep scouts on the watch, in order not to be taken by surprise, and the scouts saw the enemy in time. The Irroquois finally arrived one morning before the fort, which appeared to them impregnable. In their army were many Hurons who were the offspring of the people whom they had come to attack —men whose mothers had escaped from the ruin of their tribe when the Irroquois had invaded their former country. The enemy had at the time not much food, because they found very little game on the route which they had followed. Deliberations were held, and propositions for a treaty of peace were made. One of these was that the Hurons who were in the Irroquois army should be given up, which was granted. In order to settle upon the terms of the treaty, it was agreed that six of their chiefs should enter the fort of the Hurons, and that the latter should, in exchange, give six of their men as hostages. A

treaty of peace was accordingly made and concluded between them. The Ontaouas and Hurons made presents of food to the Irroquois, and also traded with them for blankets and porcelain collars.1 The latter remained in camp for several days to rest their warriors, but when they entered the fort only a few at a time were admitted, and these were drawn by the Outaouas over the palisades by ropes.

1 By Mechingan (Michigan), Perrot probably means the mainland northwest of Lake Michigan.— Ed.

The Outaouas sent word to the Irroquois army before their departure that they wished to present to each of their men a loaf of corn-bread; but they prepared a poison to mix with the bread.

“Porcelain” is simply the Canadian-French term for the shell, glass, or porcelain beads used as money and ornaments by the Indians—the “wampum” of English writers.— Ed.

13 When the loaves were baked, they were sent to the Irroquois; but a Huron woman who had an Irroquois husband knew the secret, and warned her son not to eat any of the bread, because it had been poisoned. The son immediately warned the Irroquois; they threw the bread to their dogs, who died after eating it. They needed no more to assure them of the conspiracy against them, and determined to go away without provisions. They concluded to divide their forces into two parties; one of these embarked from that place, and were defeated by the Saulteurs, Missisakis, and people of the Otter tribe (who are called in their own tongue Mikikoüet), but few of the Irroquois escaping. The main force pushed farther on, and soon found themselves among the buffaloes. If the Outaouas had been as courageous as the Hurons, and had pursued the enemy, they could without doubt have defeated them, considering their slender supply of food. But the Irroquois, when they had secured abundance of provisions, steadily advanced until they encountered a small Illinoët village; they killed the women and children therein, for the men fled toward their own people, who were not very far from that place.1 The Illinoëts immediately assembled their forces, and hastened after the Irroquois, who had no suspicion of an

enemy; attacking them after nightfall, the Illinoëts gained the advantage and slew many of them. Other Illinoët villages, who were hunting in that vicinity, having learned what had occurred, hastened to find their tribesmen, who undertook to deal a blow at the Irroquois. Assembling their warriors, they made a hasty march, surprised the enemy, and utterly defeated them in battle; for there were very few of the Irroquois who returned to their own villages. This was the first acquaintance of the Illinoëts with the Irroquois; it proved baneful to them, but they have well avenged themselves for it.—Perrot's *Mémoire* , pp. 80–83.

1 Missisakis: an earlier form of Missisaguas—an Algonquian tribe resident on the north shore of Lake Huron, and later forming villages in the peninsula between that lake and Lakes Erie and Ontario. Mikikouets: probably the same as the Algonquian Nikikouets, occasionally mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations*; located near the Missisaguas. Illinoëts: the Illinois tribes.— Ed.

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1656–62: THE OTTAWAS AND HURONS FLEE TO WISCONSIN; HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THEM AND THE SIOUX.

[From Perrot's *Mémoire* .]

The Flemish Bastard1 carried away [from the vicinity of Montreal] several Huron prisoners; he caused their fingers to be burned, without any opposition on the part of the French, but spared their lives after he had taken them to his own village. The Hurons never forgot the way in which we abandoned them, on that occasion, to the pleasure of their enemies. They will, moreover, always remember how little effort the French made to oppose the Irroquois when the latter, in time of peace [May, 1656], carried away the Hurons who dwelt on Orleans Island, and made them pass in canoes before Quebec and Three Rivers —meanwhile compelling them to sing, in order to increase their mortification. But since then the Outaouas have, in revenge, sought every opportunity to betray the French, at the same time pretending to be their devoted friends; they treat the French thus through

policy and through fear, for they do not trust any people, as the reader will learn from the circumstances narrated in this Memoir.

1 Thus named by the French; the son of a Dutchman and a Mohawk woman; his mother's tribe chose him as one of its chiefs. He was long a prominent figure in the hostilities waged by the Iroquois against the French and Algonkins. In 1666, he came to Quebec to negotiate for peace; this was secured for the time, but was soon broken; and Tracy and Courcelles led an expedition against the Mohawks, which laid their country waste. Overwhelmed by this blow, they sent the Flemish Bastard to Quebec to sue for peace, which was then established. The Bastard, with many of his tribesmen, even removed their families and abodes to Canada, and settled near Montreal. See Perrot's *Mémoire*, pp. 111–114, 228.— *Jes. Relations*, xxxv. p. 292.

When all the Outaouas were dispersed toward the great lakes, the Saulters and the Mississakis fled northward, and finally to Kionconan [Keweenaw], for lack of game. Then the Outaouas, fearing that they were not strong enough to repel the incursions of the Irroquois, who had gained information of the place in which the former had established themselves, sought 15 refuge in the Micissypy region, which is now called Louisianna. They ascended thai river to a place about twelve leagues from the Ouisconching, where they came to another river, which is named for the Ayoës savages.1 They followed this stream to its source, and there encountered nations who received them cordially. But as they did not find, in all that region which they traversed, any place suitable for a settlement, —since the country was destitute of woods, and contained only prairies and level fields, although buffaloes and other animals were found there in abundance,—they retraced the same route by which they had come; and, having again reached the shores of the Louisianna river, they continued to ascend it. Before they had gone far, they dispersed in various directions to pursue the chase; I will mention only one of their bands, whom the Scioux encountered, captured, and carried away to their villages. The Scioux, who had no acquaintance with the firearms and other implements which they saw among the strangers,—for they themselves use only knives and hatchets of stone,—hoped that these

new nations who had come near them would share with them the commodities which they possessed; and, believing that the latter were spirits, because they were acquainted with the use of iron,—an article which was utterly unlike the stone and other things which they used,—conducted them, as I have said, to their own villages, and delivered the prisoners to their own people.

The Outaouas and Hurons gave the Scioux, in turn, a friendly reception, but did not make them presents of much value. The Scioux returned to their own country, with some small articles which they had received from the Outaouas, and shared these with their allies, giving to some hatchets, and to others knives or awls. All those villages sent deputies to those of the Outaouas; as soon as they arrived there, they began, according to their custom, to weep over every person they met, in order to manifest the lively joy which they felt in meeting them; and they entreated the strangers to have pity on them,

1 Micissypy: a variant of Mississippi. Ouisconching: the Wisconsin River. Ayoës: the same as Iowas—referring to the Iowa River.— Ed.

16 and share with them that iron, which they regarded as a divinity. The Outaouas, seeing these people weeping over all who approached them, began to feel contempt for them, and regarded them as people far inferior to themselves, and as incapable even of waging war. They gave to the envoys a few trifles, such as knives and awls; the Scioux declared that they placed great value on these, lifting their eyes to the sky,1 and blessing it for having guided to their country these tribes, who were able to furnish them so powerful aid in ameliorating their wretched condition. The Outaouas fired some guns which they had; and the report of these weapons so terrified the Scioux that they imagined it was the thunder and lightning, of which the Outaouas had made themselves masters in order to exterminate whomsoever they would. The Scioux, whenever they encountered the Hurons and Outaouas, loaded them with endearing terms, and showed the utmost submissiveness, in order to touch them with compassion and obtain from them

some benefits; but the Outaouas had even less esteem for them when they persisted in maintaining before them this humiliating attitude.

1 Among most of the Indian tribes, the sky was revered, not only as the residence of a deity, but (by a sort of personification) as the deity himself, and was often invoked, especially at councils; the sun also was regarded as a deity. See *Jes. Relations*, x, pp. 159, 161–165, 195, 273; xviii, 211; xxiii, 55; xxxiii, 225; xxxix, 15; xlvi, 43; lxviii, 155.—Ed.

The Outaouas finally decided to select the island called Pelée as the place of their settlement; and they spent several years there in peace, often receiving visits from the Scioux.2 But on one occasion it happened that a hunting-party of Hurons encountered and slew some Scioux. The Scioux, missing their people, did not know what had become of them; but after a few days they found their corpses, from which the heads had been severed. Hastily returning to their village, to carry this sad news, they met on the way some Hurons, whom they made prisoners;

2 Situated at the upper end of Lake Pepin, opposite Red Wing, Minn.; see Charlevoix's *Journal Historique*, p. 398. It was thus named, as he tells us, “because it had not a single tree;” he adds: “The French of Canada have often made it the center of their trade in those Western Regions.”— Ed.

17 but when they reached home the chiefs liberated the captives and sent them back to their own people. The Hurons, so rash as to imagine that the Scioux were incapable of resisting them without iron weapons and firearms, conspired with the Outaouas to undertake a war against them, purposing to drive them from their own country in order that they themselves might thus secure a greater territory in which to seek their living. The Outaouas and Hurons accordingly united their forces and marched against the Scioux. They believed that as soon as they appeared the latter would flee, but they were greatly deceived; for the Scioux sustained their attack, and even repulsed them, and, if they had not retreated, they would have been utterly routed by the great number of men who came from other villages to the aid of their allies. The Outaouas were pursued even to their

settlement, where they were obliged to erect a wretched fort; this, however, was sufficient to compel the Scioux to retire, as they did not dare to attack it.

The continual incursions made by the Scioux forced the Outaouas to flee. They had become acquainted with a river, which is called Black; they entered its waters and, ascending to its source, the Hurons found there a place suitable for fortifying themselves and establishing their village. The Outaouas pushed farther on, and proceeded as far as Lake Superior, where they fixed their abode at Chagouamikon [Chequamegon]. The Scioux, seeing that their enemies had departed, remained quietly, without pursuing them farther; but the Hurons were not willing to keep the peace, and sent out several hostile bands against the Scioux. These expeditions had very little success; and, moreover, drew upon them frequent raids from the Scioux, which compelled them to abandon their fort, with great loss of their men, and go to join the Outaouas at Chagouamikon. As soon as they arrived there, they planned to form a war-party of a hundred men, to march against the Scioux and avenge themselves. It is to be observed that the country where they roam is nothing but lakes and marshes, full of wild rice; these are separated from one another by narrow tongues of land, which extend from one lake to another not more than thirty or forty paces, and sometimes no more than five or six. These lakes and 3 18 marshes form a tract more than fifty leagues square, and are traversed by no river save that of Louisianna [the Mississippi]; its course lies through the midst of them, and part of their waters discharge into it. Other waters fall into the Ste. Croix River, which is situated northeast of them, at no great distance. Still other marshes and lakes are situated to the west of the St. Peter River, into which their waters flow. Consequently, the Scioux are inaccessible in so swampy a country, and cannot be destroyed by enemies who have not canoes, as they have, with which to pursue them. Moreover, in those quarters only five or six families live together as one body, forming a small village; and all the others are removed from one another at certain distances, in order that they may be able to lend a helping hand at the first alarm. If any one of these little villages be attacked, the enemy can inflict very little damage upon it, for all its neighbors promptly assemble, and give

prompt aid wherever it is needed. Their method of navigation in lakes of this kind is, to push through the wild rice with their canoes, and, carrying these from lake to lake, compel the fleeing enemy to turn about, and thus bewilder him; they, meanwhile, pass from one lake to another until they thread those mazes and reach the firm ground.

The hundred Hurons became involved among these swamps, and without canoes; they were discovered by some Scioux, who hastened to spread the alarm everywhere. That was a populous nation, scattered along the circumference of the marshes, in which they gathered abundance of wild rice; this grain is the food of those people, and tastes better than does rice. More than 3,000 Scioux came together from every side, and besieged the Hurons. The loud noise, the clamor, and the yells with which the air resounded showed them that they were surrounded on all sides, and that their only resource was to make head against the Scioux (who were eagerly striving to discover their location), unless they could find some place by which they could retreat. In this straitened condition, they concluded that they could not do better than to hide among the wild rice, where the water and mud reached almost to their chins. Accordingly, they dispersed in various directions, taking great pains to avoid noise in their progress. The Scioux, who were sharply searching 19 for them, and desired only to meet them in battle, found very few of them, and were fully persuaded that the Hurons were hidden in the wild rice; but they were greatly astonished at seeing only the trail made in entering the lake, and no trace of the Hurons' departure. They bethought them of this device: they stretched across the narrow strips of land between the lakes the nets used in capturing beavers; and to these they attached small bells, which they had obtained from the Outaouas and their allies in the visits which they had made to those tribes, as above related. They divided their forces into numerous detachments, in order to guard all the passages, and watched by day and night, supposing that the Hurons would take the first opportunity to escape from the danger which threatened them. This scheme indeed succeeded; for the Hurons slipped out under cover of the darkness, creeping on all fours, not suspecting this sort of ambuscade; they struck their heads against the nets, which they could not escape, and thus set the bells to

ringing.1 The Scioux, lying in ambush, made prisoners of them as soon as they stepped on land. Thus from all that band but one man escaped; he was called in his own language Le Froid [“he who is cold”]. This same man died not a long time ago.

1 Cf. Radisson's device for the protection of himself and Groseilliers at Chequamegon —“a long cord tyed wth some small bells, wch weare senteryes [sentries];” see *Wis. Hist. Collis*., xi, p. 73.— Ed.

The captives were conducted to the nearest village, where the people from all the others were assembled in order to share among them the prey. It must be observed that the Scioux, although they are not as warlike or as crafty as the other tribes, are not, like them, cannibals. They eat neither dogs nor human flesh; they are not even as cruel as the other savages, for they do not put to death the captives whom they take from their enemies, except when their own people are burned by the enemy. They were naturally indulgent, and are so now, for they send home the greater number of those whom they have captured. The usual torture which they inflict upon those whom they have doomed to death is, to fasten them to trees or stakes, and let the boys shoot arrows at them; neither the warriors, nor any men, 20 nor the women, took part in this. But, as soon as they saw their own people burned, they resolved to do the same by way of reprisal; even in this, however, they do not behave with as much cruelty as do their enemies either because some motive of pity or compassion will not permit them to behold such suffering, or because they believe that only despair can make the captives sing during their torments with so much fortitude and bravery, if it may be so called. On this account they speedily break the enemies' heads, in time of war.

The Scioux, having shared the prisoners, sent back part of them, and made the others objects for their sport—delivering them, as I said, to their boys to be shot to death with arrows; their bodies were then east upon the dung-heap. Those whose lives they spared were condemned to see their comrades die, and were then sent home. Having arrived there, they gave a faithful account of all that had occurred, and said that having seen

the numbers of the Scioux, they believed it impossible to destroy them. The Outaouas listened very attentively to the relations of their recently-arrived comrades, but, as they were not very brave warriors, they were not willing to make any hostile attempt; and the Hurons, recognizing the smallness of their numbers, made up their minds to meditate revenge no longer, but to live peaceably at Chagouamikon, which they did during several years. In all that time they were not molested by the Scioux, who gave all their attention to waging war against the Kiristinons [Crees], the Assiniboules, and all the nations of the north; they ruined those tribes, and have been in turn ruined by them. * * * The Outaouas, having settled at Chagouamikon, there applied themselves to the cultivation of Indian corn and squashes, on which, with the fish they could catch, they subsisted. They searched along the lake to find whether other tribes were there, and encountered the Saulteurs who had fled northwards, and with them some Frenchmen, who had followed them to Chagouamikon in order to settle there. Part of the savages went towards Kionconan [Keweenaw], and reported that they had seen many tribes; that beavers were abundant there; that they did not all return together because they had left their people at the north; that the latter intended to dwell 21 there, but without a fixed residence, purposing to roam in all directions; and that the Nepissings and Amikouets1 were at Alimibegon.

1 These were Algonquian tribes of Western Canada, from Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay respectively, who had fled from Iroquois ferocity to Lake Nepigon, north of Lake Superior.— Ed.

At these tidings, the Outaouas went away toward the north, and sought to carry on trade with those tribes [1662], who gave them all their beaver robes for old knives, blunted awls, wretched nets, and kettles used until they were past service. For these they were most humbly thanked; and those people declared that they were under great obligations to the Outaouas for having had compassion upon them and having shared with them the merchandise which they had obtained from the French. In acknowledgment of this, they presented to them many packages of peltries, hoping that their visitors would not fail to come to them every year, and to supply them with the like wares. They assured the

Outaouas, at parting, that they would go on a hunting expedition to make ready for their coming; that they would be present, without fail, at the rendezvous agreed upon; and that they would surely wait for them there.—Perrot's *Mémoire* , pp. 84–93.

1658–61: RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS IN WISCONSIN.

[Such part of Radisson's *Voyages* as relates to the stay in Wisconsin of Groseilliers and himself, is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls* ., xi, pp, 64–96,]

1660–61: FIRST JESUIT MISSION AMONG THE OTTAWAS.

[Letter of Father René Ménard, June 2, 1661, to his superior at Quebec, Jerome Lalemant.]

[Synopsis: This letter is written from the Bay of Ste. Thérèse (Keweenaw Bay), Lake Superior, where Ménard has labored among the Ottawas whom he accompanied thither the preceding year. He has gained six converts in that time, whose pious fervor and pure lives console him in his life of privations 22 and trials. He mentions his poverty; he needs presents for the Indians, clothing for himself, some medicines for the sick, and some tobacco, which is money in that region. “These people are so poor, and we likewise, that we cannot find a scrap of cloth wherewith to make a compress; or a piece of stuff as large as one's hand, with which to mend our clothes.”

Ménard mentions the unusual mildness of the winter at Lake Superior. Ire is uncertain how long he will remain at Keweenaw, and states that he must go to the spring rendezvous of the Algonkins, at St. Esprit (Chequamegon) Bay. The letter at this point (March 1) remains unfinished for three months; on June 1, he resumes it, and gives a summary of his experiences during the interval. The supply of fish was deficient this winter, and “those who wished to keep Lent suffered greatly;” but after Easter they have, for a time, abundance of moose-meat. This also failing, the Frenchmen, nine in number, leave the Indians, and go in canoes to the rendezvous. The spring is cold and stormy; “the winter

and white frosts continued until the middle of May.” Among the fugitive Hurons, many are dying with hunger; and to this misery is added an attack by their relentless foes, the Iroquois, and another by the Sioux. Again they flee, seeking refuge in the forests of Central Wisconsin.

Ménard sends some of the Frenchmen to an Indian chief, to procure corn; but they do not return when he expects them, and his provisions are almost gone. Joliet and a companion have just left him; and, with the remaining three Frenchmen, he is encamped near eighty cabins of Ottawas.]— *Jes. Relations* , xlvi, pp. 11–13, 127–145.

1660–61: MÉNARD'S LABORS AND DEATH.

[From the Jesuit *Relation* of 1662–63.]

[Synopsis: The *Relation* states that the news of Father Ménard's death is brought to Montreal, two years after the event. The Frenchmen who had accompanied him to the Ottawa country relate the particulars of the privations and 23 sufferings endured by them there—hardest of all for the Father, who is old, and spent by many years of toil and exposure. He baptizes some dying children, and gains a few adult converts; but the Ottawas, excepting these, treat him with indifference, and even brutality. The Father hears of a Huron band who have fled from the cruel Iroquois1 into the depths of the great forests in Wisconsin; they are safe from their enemies, but are starving to death. Ménard sets out to visit them, despite all remonstrances from his companions. His savage guides leave him with one Frenchman, promising to return soon for them. As the Indians do not come, the Frenchmen finally proceed alone; but the Father, becoming separated from his companion, disappears from sight, and cannot be found by any search. Later, articles belonging to him are found among the savages; but it is not known whether he was murdered by Indians, or starved to death.2 The following extract from the *Relation* vividly describes the hardships of the early explorers and missionaries:]

1 More exact information regarding the flight of this Huron band is given by Perrot; see p. 17, *ante*.— Ed.

2 Regarding the life, labors (1640–61), and death of Ménard, see H. C. Campbell's monograph thereon, Parkman Club *Publications*, No. 11 (Milwaukee, 1897).— Ed.

The poor Father and the eight Frenchmen, his Companions, setting out from Three Rivers on the 28th of August in the year 1660 with the Outaouax, reached the latter's country on the 15th of October, saint Theresa's day, after enduring unspeakable hardships, ill treatment from their Boatmen, who were utterly inhuman, and an extreme scantiness of provisions. As a result, the Father could scarcely drag himself along, for he was, besides, of a delicate constitution and spent with toil; but, as a man can still go a good distance after growing weary, he had spirit enough left to gain his hosts' Quarters. A man known as le Brother [“the Pike”], the head of this Family,—proud, extremely vicious, and possessing four or five wives,—treated the poor Father very badly, and finally forced him to leave him and make himself a hut out of fir-branches. Heavens, what an abode during the rigors of Winter, which are well-nigh 24 unbearable in those regions! The food was scarcely better, as they commonly had for their only dish one paltry fish, cooked in clear water and to be divided among the four or five of their party; and this, too, was a charitable offering made by the Savages, some one of the Frenchmen awaiting, at the water's edge the return of the fishermen's Canoes, as poor beggars wait for alms at Church doors. A kind of moss growing on the rocks often served them in place of a good meal. They would put a handful of it into their kettle, which would thicken the water ever so little, forming a kind of foam or slime, like that of snails, and feeding their imaginations more than their bodies.1 Fish-bones, which are carefully saved as long as fish are found in plenty, also served to beguile their hunger in time of need. There was nothing, even to pounded bones, which those poor starvelings did not turn to some account. Many kinds of wood, too, furnished them food. The bark of the Oak, Birch, Linden or white-wood, and that of other trees, when well cooked and pounded, and then put into the water in which fish had been boiled, or else

mixed with fish-oil, made them some excellent stews. They ate acorns with more relish and greater pleasure than attend the eating of chestnuts in Europe, yet even of those they did not have their fill. Thus passed the first Winter.

1 This was probably the *tripe de roche (Umbilicaria Dillenti*), one of the edible species of lichen, growing upon rocks in Canada. It is often mentioned by early explorers. Perrot (Tailban's ed., p. 52) describes it as “a sort of gray moss, dry, which has no flavor of its own, tasting only of the soil, and of the soup in which it is cooked; without it, most of the families would die of hunger.” Father André (*Relation* of 1671) says of it: “It is necessary to close one's eyes when one begins to eat it.” Charlevoix (*Journal Historique*, p. 332) mentions it in similar terms.— *Jes. Relations*, xxxv, p. 292.

In the Spring and Summer, thanks to some little game, they eked out a living with less difficulty, killing from time to time Ducks, Bustards, or Pigeons, which furnished them delightful banquets; while Raspberries and other similar small fruits served them as choice refreshments. Corn and bread are entirely unknown in those countries.

When the second Winter came, the Frenchmen, having observed how the Savages carried on their fishing, resolved to 25 imitate them, deeming hunger still harder to bear than the arduous labor and risks attending such fishing. It was a sight to arouse pity, to see poor Frenchmen in a Canoe, amid rain and snow, borne hither and thither by whirlwinds on those great Lakes, which often show waves as high as those of the Sea. The men frequently found their hands and feet frozen upon their return, while occasionally they were overtaken by so thick a fall of powdery snow, driven against them by a violent wind, that the one steering the Canoe could not see his companion in the bow. How then gain the port ? Verily, as often as they reached land, their doing so seemed to be a little miracle. Whenever their fishing was successful, they laid by a little store, which they smoked and used for provision when the fishing was over, or the season no longer admitted of fishing.

There is in that country a certain plant, four feet or thereabout in height, which grows in marshy places. A little before it ears, the Savages go in their Canoes and bind the stalks of these plants in clusters, which they separate from one another by as much space as is needed for the passage of a Canoe when they return to gather the grain. Harvest time having come, they guide their Canoes through the little alleys which they have opened across this grain-field, and bending down the clustered masses over their boats, strip them of their grain. As often as a Canoe is full, they go and empty it on the shore into a ditch dug at the water's edge. Then they tread the grain and stir it about long enough to free it entirely of hulls; after which they dry it, and finally put it into bark chests for keeping. This grain much resembles Oats, when it is raw; but, on being cooked in water, it swells more than any European grain.— *Jes. Relations* , xlviii, pp. 12, 115–143.

1662–72: RELATIONS BETWEEN THIef WISCONSIN TRIBES AND THE SIOUX.

[From Perrot's *Mémoire* .]

The Outaouas and other tribes lived in peace, during several years, in the country to which they had fled to avoid being harassed 26 by the Scioux. An Irroquois band came, on one occasion, to the Sault Sainte Marie, in order to find some village to eat [1062]; they were confident that, since they had spread terror among all the other savages, whom they had driven away from their homes, they had caused themselves to be feared as soon as they should appear. The hundred men who composed the Irroquois party ascended the Sault Sainte Marie, and proceeded to encamp at the entrance to Lake Superior, about five leagues from the Sault; there they perceived fires burning along the hills to the north, not very far from them. They then sent out scouts toward those hills, to ascertain who might be there. Some Saulteurs, Outaouas, Nepissings, and Amikouets had gone from their settlement to hunt elk in the vicinity of the Sault, and to carry on the fishery of the great white fish, or salmon—which they capture there in great abundance, amid the foaming waters of those rapids. There is hardly any place where that fish is found as large and as fat as are those at the Sault. These people were scattered about, hunting, when one of

them saw the smoke from the Irroquois camp. The warning was sent to all their men, and they rallied together, to the number of one hundred warriors. They elected as chief of the party a Saulteur, who well deserved the honor, because he had a thorough acquaintance with the country where they were, having lived there before the Irroquois war. * * * After the defeat of the Irroquois, the Saulteurs and their companions returned in triumph to Kionconan and Chagouamikon, where they long dwelt in peace, until some Hurons, who went to hunt on the borders of the Scioux country (for Chagouamikon is distant from it, in a straight line, only fifty or sixty leagues), took some Scioux prisoners. They carried these people to their village, and alive, for they did not feel inclined to kill them; the captives were very kindly received there, especially by the Outaouas, who loaded them with presents. Although they did not show much appreciation of this welcome, it is certain that they would have been thrown into the kettle if it had not been for the Outaouas. When the Scioux were ready to return home, they were accompanied [1665–66] by Sinagos, chief of the Outaouas, with his men and four Frenchmen. They were treated with great kindness 27 on their arrival, and during all their stay there; but they did not bring back many peltries, because it is a custom among them to roast the beavers in preparing them as food. Honors were heaped upon Chief Sinagos, and they sang the calumet to him—which is one of the notable marks of distinction conferred by them,1 for he who has had that honor becomes titus a son of the tribe, and is naturalized as such. When the calumet is presented and sung to him, obedience is due to him from the people of the tribe. The calumet constrains and pledges those who have sung it to follow to war the man in whose honor it has been sung; but that obligation does not rest upon him. The calumet halts the warriors belonging to the tribe of those who have sung it, and arrests the reprisals which they could lawfully inflict on those who have slain their tribesmen. The calumet also compels the suspension of hostilities and secures the reception of deputies from hostile tribes who are sent among nations whose people have been recently slain. It is, in one word, the calumet which has authority to confirm everything, and which renders solemn oaths binding. The savages believe that the sun gave it to the Panys,2 and that since then it has been communicated from village to village as far as the Outaouas. They have

so much respect and veneration for it that he who has violated the law of the calumet is regarded by them as disloyal and traitorous; they assert that he has committed a crime which cannot be pardoned. Those of the prairies have the utmost attachment for it, and regard it as a sacred thing. Never did they betray the pledge that they had given to those who sang it, when that nation dealt a blow against their own—unless he who had sung

1 See Allouez's description of the calumet dance, *post*, under date or 1667; also Marquette's more detailed account of it, and of the importance attached to the calumet, in *Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 129–137 (the musical notation of the song is given at p. 811). A document which we shall give in the present series, under date of 1744, written by the Jesuit Le Sueur, states that the dance was introduced by the Foxes (1720) among his Abenaki converts on the St. Lawrence, with the view of seducing the latter from their French alliance.— Ed.

2 Panys: the Pawnee tribes, originally located between the Niobrara and Arkansas rivers; see Coues's account of this group, in his *Lewis and Clark*, pp. 55–57; *note* 7.— Ed.

28 it should perfidiously take part in the attack made upon them. Thai would be the basest of all traitorous acts, because it would break the calumet in pieces and disrupt the union which had been contracted through its agency.

I have just said that the Scioux sang the calumet to Chief Sinagos; this ceremony was performed in their villages with authority and solemnity. All the chiefs were present, and gave their consent to an inviolable peace. After that solemnity, Chief Sinagos, with his people and the Frenchmen who had gone with him, returned to Chagouamikon, assuring the Scioux that he would revisit them the following year. This he failed to do, even in the second year afterward; and the Scioux did not know what had caused him to break his promise. It happened, however [1669–70], that some Hurons, having gone to hunt far toward the Scioux country, were captured by some young men of that nation, and taken to their village. The chief, who had sung the calumet to Sinagos, was greatly incensed at seeing these prisoners, and made it his business to protect them; he almost attacked

those who had captured them, and nearly caused war between his villages and theirs. lie took possession of the captives, and set them at liberty. On the next day, this chief sent one of them to Chagouamikon, in order to assure the Hurons that he had not been to blame in the late affair; that the attack had been made by misguided young men, who were not even of his own tribe; and that in a few days he himself would conduct to their homes the captives whom he had retained in his village. That Huron, whom he had sent to Chagouamikon to assure his tribesmen of the Scioux chief's sincere goodwill, told them —either because he chose to lie, or because some one instigated him to do so—that the Scioux had made prisoners of him and his companions; that he had fortunately escaped from their hands; and that he did not know, since his departure, whether his comrades were still alive or had been put to death.

The Scioux chief who had sung the calumet to Sinagos chose to go in person to restore the Huron captives to their nation. lie departed from his village with them; but when they came near Chagouamikon they deserted him. Having reached their friends, they declared that they had just escaped from death by 29 flight. The Scioux chief, not seeing those persons the next morning, was much surprised; he nevertheless persisted in his resolution and continued on his way, reaching the village on the same day. Not daring, however, to go among the Hurons, whom he distrusted, he entered the cabin of Chief Sinagos, to whom he had sung the calumet, who, with all the Outaouas, received him very cordially. He explained to them that he had set the Hurons free; he had four companions, including a woman. The Hurons, crafty, and the most treacherous of all the savages—when they found that they could not persuade the Outaouas to deliver the Scioux to them, concluded to see What could be done by presents; and by the agency of these they gained over Chief whose house the Scioux had entered. Such was their success that they corrupted him; and all the Outaouas, following his example, were so carried away that they had the inhumanity to throw the Scioux into the kettle and eat them. At the same time, abandoning their villages, they went to live at Michillimakinak and Manitoaletz [1670–71]. The next year they went doom to Montreal, and bought, in exchange for their peltries, only guns

and munitions of war—intending to march against the Scioux, build a fort in their country, and wage war against them during the entire winter. Returning home after this trading expedition, they hastily gathered in their grain-crops, and departed in a body to march against the Scioux. Their forces were increased along the route; for Chief Sinagos had for a brother-in-law the chief of the Sakis, who resided at the Bay; and the Poutéouatamis and the Renards were his allies. As the Outaouas had brought with them all the goods which they had obtained in trade with the French, they made presents of these to the Poutéouatamis, Sakis, and Renards, who formed a body of over a thousand men, all having guns or other powerful weapons of defense.

As soon as they arrived in the Scioux country, they fell upon some little villages, putting the men to flight and carrying away the women and children whom they found there. This blow was so quickly dealt that they had not time to reconnoiter or to erect fortifications. The fugitives quickly carried the alarm to the neighboring villages, the men of which hastened in crowds to 30 fall upon their enemies, and so vigorously attacked them that they took to flight, and abandoned the fort which they had commenced. The Scioux pursued them without intermission, and slew them in great numbers, for their terror was so overwhelming that in their flight they had thrown away their weapons; besides, they were stripped of all their belongings, and many of them had only a wretched deerskin for covering. In a word, nearly all of them perished—by fighting, by hunger, or by the rigor of the climate. The Renards, the Kiskaouets,1 and the Poutéouatamis, tribes less inured to war than the others, were the only ones whose loss was not so great in this enterprise; and that because they took to their heels at the beginning of the combat. The Hurons, the Sinagos, and the Sakis distinguished themselves on this occasion and, by the courageous resistance that they made, greatly aided the fugitives by giving them time to get the start of the enemy. At the end, the disorder among them was so great that they ate one another [1671–72].

1 The Kiskakons, the Bear clan of the Ottawas; in 1678, their village at Mackinac numbered about 500 souls (*Jes. Relations*, lxi, p. 69). Late in the seventeenth century,

they were located along St. Marys river; in 1745, they had wandered as far south as Detroit.— Ed.

The two chiefs of the party were made prisoners, and Sinagos was recognized as the man to whom they had sung the calumet; they reproached him with his perfidy in having eaten the very man who had adopted him into his own nation. They were, however, unwilling to burn either him or his brother-in-law; but they made him go to a repast, and, cutting pieces of flesh from his thighs and all other parts of his body, broiled these and gave them to him to eat—informing Sinagos that, as he had eaten so much human flesh and shown himself so greedy for it, he might now satiate himself upon it by eating his own. His brother-in-law received the same treatment; and this was all the nourishment that they received until they died. As for the other prisoners, they were all shot to death with arrows, except a Panys2 who belonged to the chief of those savages; and he was sent back

2 The Indian tribes, generally, enslaved their captives taken in war; and these slaves were also transferred to the whites, especially to the French. So many were obtained (largely by the Illinois) from the Pawnees,—who were, early in the eighteenth century, settled on the Missouri river,—that Indian slaves were everywhere known by the general term *panis*. Slavery in Canada was not legally abolished until 1834.— *Jes. Relations*, lxix, p. 301. See also, p. 27 *ante, note* 2.— Ed.

31 to his own country that he might faithfully report what he had seen and the justice that had been administered.—Perrot's Mémoire, pp. 96–104.

1665: ALLOUEZ DESCRIBES LAKE SUPERIOR.

[From the Jesuit *Relation* of 1666–67.]

On the second of September, then, after clearing this Sault [de Sainte-Marie],—which is not a waterfall, but merely a very swift current impeded by numerous rocks,—we entered

Lake Superior, which will henceforth bear Monsieur de Tracy's name, in recognition of indebtedness to him on the part of the people of those regions.

The form of this Lake is nearly that of a bow, the Southern shore being much curved, and the Northern nearly straight. Fish are abundant there, and of excellent quality; while the water is so clear and pure that objects at the bottom can be seen to the depth of six brasses.

The Savages revere this Lake as a Divinity, and offer it Sacrifices, whether on account of its size,—for its length is two hundred leagues, and is greatest width eighty,—or because of its goodness in furnishing fish for the sustenance of all these tribes, in default of game, which is scarce in the neighborhood.

One often finds at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper, of ten and twenty pounds' weight. I have several times seen such pieces in the Savages' hands; and, since they are superstitious, they keep them as so many divinities, or as presents which the gods dwelling beneath the water have given them, and on which their welfare is to depend. For this reason they preserve these pieces of copper wrapped up, among their most precious possessions. Some have kept them for more than fifty

In honor of Alexandre do Prouville, marquis de Tracy, governor-general from 1663 to 1667 of the French possessions in America.— Ed.

32 years; others have had them in their families from time immemorial, and cherish them as household gods.

For some time, there had been seen a sort of great rock, all of copper, the point of which projected from the water; this gave passers-by the opportunity to go and cut off pieces from it. When, however, I passed that spot, nothing more was seen of it; and I think that the storms—which here are very frequent, and like those at Sea—have covered the rock

with sand. Our Savages tried to persuade me that it was a divinity who had disappeared for some reason which they do not state.1

1 See. *post* (under date of 1671), Dablon's account of the copper mines of Lake Superior. — Ed.

This Lake is, furthermore, the resort of twelve or fifteen distinct nations—coming, some from the North, others from the South, and still others from the West; and they all betake themselves either to the best parts of the shore for fishing, or to the Islands, which are scattered in great numbers all over the Lake. These peoples' motive in repairing hither is partly to obtain food by fishing, and partly to transact their petty trading with one another, when they meet. But God's purpose was to facilitate the proclaiming of the Gospel to wandering and vagrant tribes2 —as will appear in the course of this Journal.— *Jes. Relations* , l, pp. 265–267.

2 For accounts of Allouez's missionary work in New France (1658–89), see his own writings, *Jes. Relations*. xlix-lii, liv, lvii-lx; Rev. J. S. La Boule's sketch, in Parkman Club *Publications*, no. 17 (Milwaukee, 1897); and Father Chrysostom Verwyst's *Missionary Labors* (Milwaukee, 1886). Allouez came to Canada in 1658; his labors among the Western tribes began in 1665, and continued until his death, which occurred Aug. 27, 1689.— Ed.

1665–66: PERROT VISITS THE WISCONSIN TRIBES, AND INDUCES THEM TO BECOME ALLIES OF THE FRENCH.

[From La Potherie.]

While we were waging war with the Iroquois, those [Ottawa tribes] who dwelt about Lake Huron fled to Chagouamikon, 33 which is on Lake Superior; they came down to Montreal only when they wished to sell their Peltries, and then trembling with dread of the enemy. The Trade was not yet opened with the Outaouaks. The name of the French people

gradually became known in that region, and some of the French made their way into those places where they believed that they could make some profit; it was a Peru for them. The Savages could not understand why these men came so far to search for their worn-out beaver robes;1 meanwhile they admired the wares brought to them by the French, which they regarded as extremely precious. The knives, the hatchets, and above all the iron weapons, could not be sufficiently praised; and the guns so astonished them that they declared that there was a spirit within the gun, which caused the loud noise made when it was fired. * * *The Savages often took them [the Frenchmen] for Spirits and Gods; if any Tribe had some Frenchmen among them, that was sufficient to make them feel safe from any injuries that their neighbors might inflict upon them, and the French became Mediators in all their quarrels. The detailed conversations which I have had with many Voyageurs in those countries have supplied me with material for my accounts of those Peoples; all that they have told me about them has so uniformly agreed that I have felt that it would be a favor to the public to give it some idea of that vast region.

1 The beaver-skins most sought by the French were those designated by the name of *castor gras d'hiver* (“greasy, or fat, winter beaver”)—that is, the skins of beavers killed during the winter, and of which the savages had made robes, which they had worn sufficiently long to grease them through, by their sweat penetrating to the roots of the fur. —Tailhan, in *Perrot*, p. 317.

Sieur Perot has best known those Nations; the governors-general of Canada have always employed him in all their schemes; and his acquaintance with the savage tongues, his experience, and his mental ability have enabled him to make discoveries which gave opportunity to Monsieur de la Salle to push forward all those explorations in which he achieved so great success. It was through his agency that the Mississippi became known. Ire rendered very important services to the Colony, made known 4 34 the glory of the King among those Peoples, and induced them to form an alliance with us. On one occasion, among the Pouteouatemis, he was regarded as a God. Curiosity induced him to form the acquaintance of this Nation, who dwelt at the foot of the Bay of Puans [Green Bay].

They had heard of the French, and their desire to become acquainted with them in order to secure the trade with them had induced these savages to go down to Montreal, under the guidance of a wandering Outaouak who was glad to conduct them thither. The French had been described to them as covered with hair (the Savages have no beards), and they believed that we were of a different species from other men. They were astonished to see that we were made like themselves, and regarded it as a present that the Sky and the Spirits had made them in permitting one of the celestial beings to enter their land. The Old Men solemnly smoked a Calumet and came into his presence, offering it as homage that they rendered to him. After he had smoked the Calumet, it was presented by the Chief to his tribesmen, who all offered it in turn to one another, blowing from their mouths the tobacco-smoke over him as if it were incense.1 They said to him: “Thou art one of the chief spirits, since thou usest iron; it is for thee to rule and protect all men. Praised be the Sun, which has instructed thee and sent thee to our country.” They adored him as a God; they took his knives and hatchets and incensed them with the tobacco-smoke from their mouths; and they presented to him so many kinds of food that he could not taste them all. “It is a Spirit,” they said; “these provisions that he has not tasted are not worthy of his lips? When he left the room, they insisted on carrying him upon their shoulders; the way over which he passed was made clear; they did not dare look in his face; and the women and children watched him from a distance. “He is a Spirit,” they said; “let us show our affection for him, and he will have pity on us.” The Savage who had introduced him to this tribe was, in acknowledgment thereof, treated as a Captain. Perot was careful not to receive all these

1 Among many aboriginal tribes of North America, it was customary to offer tobacco to their deities; see *Jes. Relations*, x, pp. 324–325, and Peter Jones's *Ojebway Indians*, p. 255.— Ed.

35 acts of adoration, although he accepted these honors so far as the interests of Religion were not concerned. He told them that he was not what they thought, but only a Frenchman; that the real Spirit who had made all had given to the French the knowledge of iron, and the Ability to handle it as if it were paste. He said that that Spirit, desiring

to show his pity for his Creatures, had permitted the French Nation to settle in their country in order to remove them from the blindness in which they had dwelt, as they had not known the true God, the author of Nature, whom the French adored; that, when they had established a friendship with the French, they would receive from the latter all possible assistance; and that he had come to facilitate acquaintance between them by the discoveries of the various tribes which he was making. And, as the Beaver was valued by his people, he wished to ascertain whether there were not a good opportunity for them to carry on Trade therein.

At that time, there was war between that Tribe and their neighbors, the Malhominis. The latter, while hunting with the Outagamis, had by mistake slain a Pouteouatemi, who was on his way to the Outagamis. The Pouteouatemis, incensed at this affront, deliberately broke the head of a Malhomini who was among the Puans. In the Pouteouatemi Village there were only women and old men, as the Young Men had gone for the first time to trade at Montreal; and there was reason to fear that the Malhominis would profit by that mischance. Perot, who was desirous of making their acquaintance, offered to mediate a Peace between them. When he had arrived within half a league of the Village, he sent a man to tell them that a Frenchman was coming to visit them; this news caused universal joy. All the youths came at once to meet him, bearing their weapons and their warlike adornments, all marching in file, with frightful contortions and yells; this was the most honorable reception that they thought it possible to give him. He was not uneasy, but fired a gun in the air as far away as he could see them; this noise, which seemed to them so extraordinary, caused them to halt suddenly, gazing at the Sun in most ludicrous attitudes. After he had made them understand that he had come not to disturb their repose, but to form an alliance 36 with them, they approached him with many gesticulations. The Calumet was presented to him; and, when he was ready to proceed to the Village, one of the savages stooped down in order to carry Perot upon his shoulders; but his Interpreter assured them that he had refused such honors among many Nations. tie was escorted with assiduous attentions; they vied with one another in clearing the path, and in breaking

off the branches of trees which hung in the way. The women and children, who had heard “the Spirit” (for thus they call a gun), had tied into the woods. The men assembled in the cabin of the leading war Chief, where they danced the Calumet to the sound of the drum. He had them all assemble next day, and made them a speech in nearly these words: * * * The Father of the Malhomini who had been murdered by the Pouteouatemis arose and took the collar that Peter had given him; he lighted his Calumet, and presented it to him, and then gave it to the Chief and all who were present, who smoked it in turn; then he began to sing, holding the Calumet in one hand, and the collar in the other. He went out of the cabin while he sang, and, presenting the Calumet and collar toward the Sun, he walked sometimes backwards, sometimes forwards; he made the circuit of his own cabin, went past a great number of those in the Village, and finally returned to that of the Chief. There he declared that he attached himself wholly to the French; that he believed the living Spirit, who had, in behalf of all the Spirits, domination over all other men, who were inferior to him; that all his Nation had the same sentiments; and that they asked only the protection of the French, from whom they hoped for life and for obtaining all that is necessary to man.

The Pouteouatemis were very impatient to learn the fate of their people who had gone trading to Montreal; they feared that the French might treat them badly, or that they would be defeated by the Iroquois. Accordingly, they had recourse to Perot's guide, who was a master Juggler. That false Prophet built himself a little tower of poles, and therein chanted several songs, through which he invoked all the infernal spirits to tell him where the Pouteouatemis were. The reply was that they were at the Oulamanistik River, which is three days' journey 37 from their Village;1 that they had been well received by the French; and that they were bringing a large supply of merchandise. This Oracle would have been believed if Perot, who knew that his Interpreter had played the Juggler, had not declared that he was a liar. The latter came to Perot, and heaped upon him loud reproaches, complaining that he did not at all realize what hardships his Interpreter had encountered in this Voyage, and that it was Perot's fault that he had not been recompensed for his prediction. The Old Men begged that Perot himself would relieve them from their anxiety.

After telling them that such knowledge belonged only to God, he made a calculation, from the day of their departure, of the stay that they would probably make at Montreal, and of the time when theft return might be expected; and determined as nearly as possible the time when they could reach home. Fifteen days later, a man Fishing for Sturgeon came to the Village in great fright, to warn them that he had seen a Canoe, from which several gunshots had proceeded; this was enough to make them Believe that the Iroquois were coming against them. Disorder prevailed throughout the Village; they were ready to flee into the woods or to shut themselves into their Fort. There was no probability that these were Iroquois, who usually make their attacks by stealth; Perot conjectured that they were probably their own men, who were thus displaying their joy as they came near the Village. In fact, a young man who had been sent out as a scout came back, in breathless haste, and reported that it was their own people who were returning. If their terror had caused general consternation, this good news caused no less joy throughout the village. Two Chiefs, who had seen Perot blow into his gun at the time of the first alarm, came to let him know of the arrival of their people, and begged him always to consult his gain. All were eager to receive the fleet. As they approached, the new-comers discharged a salvo of musketry, followed by Shouts and yells, and continued their firing as they came toward the Village. When they were two or three hundred

1 The Manistique river, which, with its tributaries, waters School-craft county, Mich.— Ed.

38 paces from the shore, the Chief rose in his canoe and harangued the Old Men who stood at the water's edge; he gave an account of the favorable reception which had been accorded them at Montreal. An old man informed them, meanwhile praising the Sky and the Sun who had thus favored them, that there was a Frenchman in the Village who had protected them in several times of danger; at this, the Pouteouatemis suddenly flung themselves into the water, to show their joy at so pleasing an occurrence. They had taken pleasure in painting themselves in a very peculiar manner; and the French garments, which had been intended to make them more comfortable, disfigured them in a ludicrous fashion. They carried Perot with them, whether or no he would, in a scarlet blanket, and

made him go around the Fort, while they marched in double files in front and behind him, with guns over their shoulders, often firing volleys. This Cortege arrived at the cabin of the Chief who had led the band, where all the Old Men were assembled; and a great feast of Sturgeon was served. This Chief then related a more detailed account of his Voyage, and gave a very correct idea of French usages. He described how the trade was carried on; he spoke with enthusiasm of what he had seen in the houses, especially of the cooking; and he did not forget to exalt Onontio,1 who had called them his children and had regaled them with bread, prunes, and raisins, which seemed to them great delicacies.

1 The Huron-Iroquois appellation of the governor of Canada; afterward extended to the governor of New York. and even to the king of France.— Ed.

Those Peoples were so delighted with the alliance that they had just made that they sent deputies in every direction to inform the Islinois, Miamis, Outagamis, Maskoutechs, and Kikabous that they had been at Montreal, whence they had brought much merchandise; they besought those tribes to visit them and bring them Beavers. Those Nations were too far away to profit by this at first; only the Outagamis came to establish themselves for the Winter at a place thirty leagues from the Bay, in order to share in the benefit of the goods which they could obtain from the Pouteouatemis. Their hope that some Frenchmen 39 men would come from Chagouamikon induced them to accumulate as many Beavers as possible. The Pouteouatemis took the Southern part of the Bay, the Sakis the Northern; the Puans, as they could not fish, had gone into the woods to live on Deer and Bears. When the Outagamis had formed a Village of more than six hundred Cabins, they sent to the Sakis, at the beginning of Spring, to let them know of the new establishment that they had formed.1 The latter sent them some chiefs, with presents, to ask them to remain in this new settlement; they were accompanied by some Frenchmen. They found a large Village, but destitute of everything. Those people had only five or six hatchets, which had no edge, and they used these, by turns, for cutting their wood; they had hardly one knife or one bodkin to a Cabin, and cut their meat with the stones which they used for arrows; and they scaled their fish with mussel-shells. Want rendered them so hideous that they

aroused compassion. Although their bodies were large, they seemed deformed in shape; they had very disagreeable faces, brutish voices, and evil aspects. They were continually begging from our Frenchmen who went among them, for those Savages imagined that whatever their visitors possessed ought to be given to them gratis; everything aroused their desires, and yet they had few Beavers to sell. The French thought it prudent to leave to the Sakis for the Winter the trade in Peltries with the Outagamis, as they could carry it on with the former more quietly in the Autumn.

1 It is not possible, with present data, to locate the site of this Outagamie village, further than to say that it was probably in Waupaca county, somewhere on the Little Wolf river. Verwyst and Gary place it near Mukwa, and La Boule near New London; while Lawson (in his pamphlet, *Mission of St. Mark*, Menasha, October, 1901) locates it in “the vicinity of Manawa, Waupaca county.” The “little lake St. Francis” mentioned by Allouez, Lawson identifies with White Lake, five miles south of Manawa; other writers suppose it to be Little Lake Butte des Morts, west of Menasha. See *Jes. Relations*, liv, pp. 219, 307, 308; lviii, 297.— Ed.

All the tribes at the Bay went to their villages after the Winter, to sow their grain. A dispute occurred between two Frenchmen and an old man, who was one of the leading men 40 among the Pouteouatemis; the former demanded payment for the goods; but he did not show much inclination to pay; sharp words arose on both sides, and they came to blows. The Frenchmen were vigorously attacked by the Savages, and a third man came to the aid of his comrades. The confusion increased; that Frenchman tore the pendants from the ears of a Savage, and gave him a blow in the belly which felled him so rudely that with difficulty could he rise again. At the same time the Frenchman received a blow from a war-club on his head, which caused him to fall motionless. There were great disputes among the savages in regard to the Frenchman who had just been wounded, who had rendered many services to the Village. There were three families interested in this contention—those of the Red Carp, of the Black Carp, and of the Bear.1 The Head of the Bear family—an intimate friend of the Frenchman and whose son-in-law was the Chief of the Sakis—

seized a hatchet, and declared that he would perish with the Frenchman, whom the people of the Red Carp had slain. The Saki Chief, hearing the voice of his father-in-law, called his own men to arms; the Bear family did the same; and the wounded Frenchman began to recover consciousness. He calmed the Sakis, who were greatly enraged; but the Savage who had maltreated him was compelled to abandon the Village. These same Frenchmen's lives were in danger on still another occasion. One of them, who was amusing himself with some arrows, told a Saki who was bathing at the water's edge to ward off the shaft that he was going to let fly at him. The Savage, who held a small piece of cloth, told him to shoot; but he was not adroit enough to avoid the arrow, which wounded him in the shoulder. He immediately called out that the Frenchman had slain him;

1 Those “families” are, in reality, the tribal divisions now known as “clans” or “gentes;” they were founded on consanguinity, and have been characteristic of savage society in all times and countries. Each clan had its distinctive symbol (called “totem” by Algonquian tribes), usually a fish, bird. or other animal. See *Jes. Relations*, xxix, pp. 293, 294; lviii, 293; lxvii, 153–157; *Minn. Hist. Colls*., V, pp. 44, 45; U.S. Bureau of Ethnology's *Report*, 1881–82, pp. xxxviii-lxii; and N. Y. *Colon. Docs*., ix, 175, 1052–58.— Ed.

41 but another Frenchman hastened to the Savage, made him enter his cabin, and drew out the arrow. He was pacified by giving him a knife, a little vermilion to paint his face, and a piece of tobacco. This present was effectual; for when, at the Saki's cry, several of his comrades came, ready to avenge him on the spot, the wounded man cried, “What are you about? I am healed. Metaminens” (which means “little Indian corn”—this name they had given to the Frenchman, who was Perot himself) “has tied my hands by this ointment which you see upon my wound, and I have no more anger,” at the same time showing the present that Perot had given him. This presence of mind checked the disturbance that was about to arise.

The Miamis, the Maskoutechs, the Kikabous, and fifteen cabins of Islinois came toward the Bay in the following summer, and made their clearings thirty miles away, beside the Outagamis, toward the South. These Peoples, for whom the Iroquois were looking,

had gone Southward along the Mississippi after the combat which I have mentioned.1 Before that flight, they had seen knives and hatchets in the hands of the Hurons who had had dealings with the French, which induced them to associate themselves with the Nations who already had some union with us. They are very sportive when among their own people, but grave before Strangers; well built; lacking in intelligence, and dull of apprehension; easily persuaded; vain in language and behavior, and extremely selfish. They consider themselves much braver than their neighbors; they are great liars, employing every kind of baseness to accomplish their ends; but they are industrious, indefatigable, and excellent pedestrians. For this last reason, they are called Metousceprinioueks, which in their language means “Walkers.”

1 Apparently a reference to the overthrow of the Winnebagoes by the Illinois; see p. 6, *ante*.

After they had planted their fields in this new settlement, they went to hunt Cattle.2 They wished to entertain the people at the Bay; so they sent envoys to ask the Pouteouatemis to visit them, and to bring the Frenchmen, if they were still

2 Buffaloes are here meant; they were usually called “wild cattle” or “wild cows” by the early French writers and explorers.— Ed.

42 with them. But those savages were careful not to let their guests know how desirous their neighbors were to become acquainted with the French; so they went away without telling them, and came back at the end of a fortnight, loaded with meat and grease. With them were some of those new settlers, who were greatly surprised to see the French—whom they reproached for not having come to visit them with the Pouteouatemis. The French saw plainly that the latter were jealous, and they recognized the importance of becoming acquainted with those Peoples, who had come to the Bay on purpose to trade more conveniently with us. The Pouteouatemis, when they saw that the French desired to go away with a Miami and a Maskoutech, made representations to them that there were no Beavers among those people,—who, moreover, were very boorish,—and even

that they were in great danger of being plundered. The French took their departure, notwithstanding these tales, and in five days reached the vicinity of the Village.1 The Maskoutech sent ahead the Miami, who had a gun, with orders to fire it when he arrived there; the report of the gun

1 The location of the Mascouten village is a disputed question among antiquarians. Butterfield and some other writers place it in Green Lake county—Father La Boule near Ste. Marie, Father Holtzknecht at Marquette, and P. V. Lawson “two or three miles from Princeton;” while George Gary concludes that it was in Rushford township, Winnebago county. Father Verwyst, Thomas Clithero, and A. J. Turner locate the village near Corning, Columbia county. See *Jes. Relations*, liv, p. 308; *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, xii, 31–34, 76–80, and xiv, 98–100; and Oshkosh *Northwestern*, Jan. 18, 1902. The difficulty arises mainly from the apparent discrepancy in the statements of the missionaries who visited the Mascoutens. Marquette says (*Jes. Relations*, lix, p. 105): “At three leagues from Maskoutens was a river which discharged into Mississippi.” On this statement is based the claim for the Corning site, which is on the Fox river about seven miles (by the stream) north of the portage. But Allouez (*Id*., liv, pp. 227, 229) locates the village a day's journey above the junction of the Wolf and Fox—with which the maps of Joliet and Marquette agree. Princeton is, however, 65 miles down the Fox river from Portage, and Berlin is 20 miles farther. The most satisfactory explanation is, a probable error by the copyist of Marquette's report, in writing *trois* (“three”) for *trente* (“thirty”); thirty French leagues would be about 72 miles.— Ed.

43 was heard soon afterward. Hardly had they reached the shore when a venerable Old Man appeared, and a Woman carrying a bag in which was a clay pot filled with cornmeal porridge. More than two hundred stout young men came upon the scene; their hair was adorned with headdresses of various sorts, and their bodies were covered with tattooing in black, representing many kinds of figures; they carried arrows and war-clubs, and wore girdles and leggings of braided work. The old man held in his hand a Calumet of red stone, with a long stick at the end; this was ornamented in its whole length with the heads of

birds, flame-colored, and had in the middle a bunch of feathers colored a bright red, which resembled a great fan. As soon as he espied the leader of the Frenchmen, he presented to him the Calumet, on the side next to the Sun; and uttered words which were apparently addressed to all the Spirits whom those Peoples adore. The old man held it sometimes toward the east, and sometimes toward the west; then toward the Sun; now he would stick the end in the ground, and then he would turn the Calumet around him, looking at it as if he were trying to point out the whole earth, with expressions which gave the Frenchman to understand that he had compassion on all men. Then he rubbed with his hands Perot's head, back, legs, and feet, and sometimes his own body. This welcome lasted a long time, during which the Old Man made a harangue, after the fashion of a prayer, all to assure the Frenchman of the joy which all in the Village felt at his arrival.

One of the men spread upon the grass a large painted ox-skin, the hair on which was as soft as silk, on which he and his comrade were made to sit. The Old Man struck two pieces of wood together, to obtain fire from it; but as it was wet he could not light it. The Frenchman drew forth his own fire-steel, and immediately made fire with tinder.1 The Old Man uttered loud exclamations about the iron, which seemed to him a spirit; the Calumet was lighted, and each man smoked; then they must eat porridge and dried meat, and suck the juice of the green

1 For descriptions of aboriginal processes of fire-making, see *Jes. Relations*, vf, 217; xii, 272; also, Walter Hough's “Fire-making Apparatus,” in U.S. Natl. Museum *Report*, 1887–88, pp. 531–587.— Ed.

44 corn. Again the Calumet was filled, and those who smoked blew the tobacco-smoke into the Frenchman's face, as the greatest honor that they could render him; he saw himself smoked like meat, but said not a word. This ceremony ended, a skin was spread for the Frenchman's Comrade. The Savages thought that it was their duty to carry the French guests; but the latter informed the Maskoutechs that, as they could shape the iron, they had strength to walk, so they were left at liberty. On the way, they rested again, and the same honors were paid to him as at the first meeting. Continuing their route, they

halted near a high hill, at the summit of which was the Village; they made their fourth halt here, and the ceremonies were repeated. The great Chief of the Miamis came to meet them, at the head of more than three thousand men, accompanied by the Chiefs of other Nations who formed part of the Village. Each of these Chiefs had a Calumet, as handsome as that of the Old Man; they were entirely naked, wearing only shoes, which were artistically embroidered like buskins; they sang, as they approached, the Calumet song, which they uttered in cadence. When they reached the Frenchmen, they continued their songs, meanwhile bending their knees, in turn, almost to the ground. They presented the Calumet to the Sun, with the same genuflexions, and then they came back to the principal Frenchman, with many gesticulations. Some played upon instruments the Calumet songs, and others sang them, holding the Calumet in the mouth without lighting it. A war Chief raised Perot upon his shoulders, and, accompanied by all the Musicians, conducted him to the Village. The Maskoutech who had been his guide offered him to the Miamis, to be lodged among them; they very amiably declined, being unwilling to deprive the Maskoutechs of the pleasure of possessing a Frenchman who had consented to come under their auspices. At last he was taken to the Cabin of the Chief of the Maskoutechs; as he entered, the lighted Calumet was presented to him, which he smoked; and fifty guardsmen were provided for him, who prevented the crowd from annoying him. A grand repast was served, the various courses of which reminded one of feeding-troughs rather than dishes; the food was seasoned with the fat of the wild ox. The Guards 45 took good care that provisions should be brought often, for they profited thereby.

On the next day, the Frenchman gave them, as presents, a Gun and a Kettle; and made them the following speech, which was suited to their character: “Men, I admire your youths; although they have since their birth seen only shadows, they seem to me as fine-looking as those who are born in regions where the Sun always displays his glory. I would not have believed that the earth, the mother of all men, could have furnished you the means of subsistence when you did not possess the light of the Frenchman, who supplies its influences to many peoples; I believe that you will become another nation when you

become acquainted with him. I am the dawn of that light, which is beginning to appear in your lands,—as it were, that which precedes the Sun, who will soon shine brightly and will cause you to be born again, in another land, where you will find, more easily and in greater abundance, all that can be necessary to man. I see this fine Village filled with young men, who are, I am sure, as courageous as they are well built; and who will, without doubt, not fear their enemies if they carry French weapons. It is for these young men that I leave my Gun, which they must regard as the pledge of my esteem for their valor; they must use it if they are attacked. It will also be more satisfactory in hunting Cattle and other animals than are all the arrows that you use. To you who are Old Men I leave my Kettle; I carry it everywhere without fear of breaking it. You will cook in it the meat that your young men bring from the chase, and the food which you offer to the Frenchmen who come to visit you." He tossed a dozen awls and knives to the women, and said to them: "Throw aside your bone bodkins; these French awls will be much easier to use. These knives will be more useful to you in killing Beavers and in cutting your meat than are the pieces of stone that you use." Then, throwing to them some Rassade:1 "See; these will better adorn your Children and Girls than do their usual ornaments." The Miamis

1 A French term for porcelain (wampun) beads of the round sort; they were made of porcelain or glass, both white and colored. The long, tubular beads were known as *canons*.— Ed.

46 said, by way of excuse for not having any Beaver-skins, that they had until then roasted those animals.

That alliance began, therefore, through the agency of Sieur Perot. A week later the Savages made a solemn feast, to thank the Sun for having conducted him to their Village. In the Cabin of the great Chief of the Miamis an altar had been erected, on which he had caused to be placed a Pindiikosan. This is a Warrior's Pouch, filled with medicinal herbs, and wrapped in the skins of animals, the rarest that they can find; it usually contains all that inspires their dreams. Perot, who did not approve this Altar, told the great Chief that he adored a God who forbade him to eat things sacrificed to evil Spirits or to the skins

of animals. They were greatly surprised at this, and asked if he would eat provided they shut up their Manitous; this he consented to do. The Chief begged Perot to consecrate him to his Spirit, whom he would thenceforth acknowledge; he said that he would prefer that Spirit to his own, who had not taught them to make Hatchets, Kettles, and all else that men need; and hoped that by adoring him they would obtain all the knowledge that the French had. This Chief governed his people as a sort of Sovereign; he had his Guards, and whatever he said or ordered was regarded as Law.

The Pouteouatemis, jealous that the French had found the way to the Miamis, secretly sent a Slave to the latter, who said many unkind things about the French; he said that the Pouteouatemis held them in the utmost contempt, and regarded them as dogs. The French, who had heard these abusive remarks, put him into a condition where he could say no more outrageous things; the Miamis regarded the Spectacle with great tranquility. When it was time to return to the Bay, the Chiefs sent all their young men to escort the Frenchmen thither, and made them many presents. The Pouteouatemis, having learned of the Frenchman's arrival, came to assure him of the interest they felt in his safe return, and were very impatient to know whether the Nations from whom he had come had treated him well. But when they heard the reproaches which he uttered for their sending a Slave who had said most ungenerous things regarding the French Nation, they attempted to make an explanation 47 of their conduct, but fully justified the poor opinion which he already had of them. The Savages have this characteristic, that they find a way to free themselves from blame in any evil undertaking, or to make it succeed without seeming to have taken part in it.

It was for the interest of the Ponteouatemis to keep on good terms with the French; and they had been too well received at Montreal not to return thither. Indeed, after having presented to Perot a bag of Indian corn, that he might, they said, “eat and swallow the suspicion that he felt toward them,” and five Beaver robes to serve as an emetic for the ill-will and vengeance which he might retain in his heart, they sent some of their people on a journey to Montreal. When they came in sight of Michilimakinak, which then was

frequented only by them and the Iroquois, they perceived smoke. While they were trying to ascertain what this meant, they encountered two Iroquois, and saw another Canoe off shore. Each party was alarmed at the other; as for the Iroquois, they took to flight, while the Pouteouatemis, plying their paddles against contrary winds, fled to their own Village; they felt an extraordinary anxiety, for they knew not what measures to take for protection against the Iroquois. All the Nations of the Bay experienced the same perplexity. Their terror was greatly increased when, a fortnight later, they saw large fires on the other shore of the Bay, and heard many gunshots. As a climax to their fears, the scouts whom they had sent out brought back the news that they had seen at night many canoes made in Iroquois fashion, in one of which was a gun, and a blanket of Iroquois material; and some men, who were sleeping by a fire. All those canoes came in sight the next morning, and each one fled, at the top of his speed, into the forest; only the most courageous took the risk of awaiting, with resolute air, the Iroquois in their Fort, where they had good firearms. As we were at Peace with the Iroquois, some of the bolder spirits among our Frenchmen offered to go to meet that so-called army, in order to learn the motive which could have impelled them to come to wage war against the Allies of Onontio. They were greatly surprised to find that it was a Fleet of Outaouaks, who had come to trade; these people had, while traveling across the 48 country, built some Canoes which resembled those of the Iroquois. The men whom the Pouteouatemis had seen at Michilimakinak were really Iroquois; but they had feared falling into the hands of the Pouteouatemis quite as much as the latter had feared them. The Iroquois, while fleeing, fell into an ambuscade of forty Sauteurs, who carried them away to the Saulteur Village; they had come from a raid against the Chaouanons [Shawnese], near Carolina, and had brought with them a captive from that tribe, whom they were going to burn. The Sauteurs set him at liberty, and enabled him to return to the Bay by entrusting him to the Sakis. This man gave them marvelous notions of the South Sea, from which his Village was distant only five days' journey—near a great river which, coming from the Islinois, discharges its waters into that Sea.1 The tribes of the Bay sent him home with much merchandise, urging him to persuade his tribesmen to come and visit them.

1 A reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi river—then, however, supposed to flow into the Pacific Ocean, which was called South Sea.— Ed.

These Peoples held several councils, to deliberate whether they should go down to Montreal; they hesitated at first, because they had so few Beavers. As the Savages give everything to their mouths, they preferred to devote themselves to hunting such wild beasts as could furnish subsistence for their families, rather than seek Beavers, of which there were not enough; they preferred the needs of life to those of the State. Nevertheless, they reflected that if they allowed the Frenchmen to go away without themselves going down to trade, it might happen that the latter would thereafter attach themselves to some other Nations; or, if they should afterward go to Montreal, the Governor would feel resentment against them because they had not escorted these Frenchmen thither. They decided that they would go with the Frenchmen; preparations for this were accordingly made, and a solemn feast was held; and on the eve of their departure a volley of musketry was fired in the Village. Three men sang incessantly, all night long, in a Cabin, invoking their Spirits from time to time. They began with the song of Michabous; then they came to that of the God 49 of Lakes, Rivers, and Forests, begging the winds, the thunder, the storms, and the tempests to be favorable to them during the Voyage. The next day, the crier went through the Village, inviting the men to the Cabin where the Feast was to be prepared. They found no difficulty in going thither, each furnished with his Ouragan and Mikouen.1 The three Musicians of the previous night began to sing; one was placed at the entrance of the Cabin, another in the middle, and the third at its end; they were armed with quivers, bows, and arrows, and their faces and entire bodies were blackened with coal. While the people sat in this Assembly, in the utmost quiet, twenty young men—entirely naked, elaborately painted, and wearing girdles of Otterskin, to which were attached the skins of Crows, with, their plumage, and gourds—lifted from the fires ten great kettles; then the singing ceased. The first of these Actors next sang his war-song, keeping time with it in a dance from one end to the other of the Cabin, while all the Savages cried in deep guttural tones, “Hay, hay!” When the Musician ended, all the others uttered a

loud yell, in which their voices gradually died away, much as a loud noise disappears among the mountains. Then the second and the third Musicians repeated, in turn, the same performance; and, in a word, nearly all the Savages did the same, in alternation —each singing his own song, but no one venturing to repeat that of another, unless he were willing deliberately to offend the one who had composed the song, or unless the latter were dead, so that he could restore his name by appropriating his song. During this, their looks were accompanied with gestures and violent movements; and some of them took hatchets, with which they pretended to strike the women and children who were watching them. Some took firebrands, which they tossed about everywhere; others filled their dishes with red-hot coals, which they threw at each other. It is difficult to make the reader understand the details of Feasts of this sort, unless he has himself seen them. I was present at a like entertainment among the Iroquois at the Sault of Montreal, and it seemed as if I were in the midst of 5

1 His dish and spoon.— La. Potherie.

50 hell. After most of those who had been invited to this pleasant Festival had sung, the Chief of the Feast, who had given the dance, sang a second time; and he said at the end of his song (which he improvised) that he was going to Montreal with the Frenchmen, and was on that account offering these Prayers to their God, entreating him to be propitious to him on the Voyage, and to render him acceptable to the French Nation. The young men who had taken off the kettles filled all the dishes with food, while the three Chanters repeated their first songs, not finishing their concert until everything had been eaten— a feat which did not take long to accomplish. An Old Man arose and congratulated, in the most affable manner, the Chief of the Feast on the project which he had formed, and encouraged the young men to follow him. All those who wished to go on the Voyage laid down a stick; there were enough people to man thirty Canoes. At the Sault, they joined seventy other Canoes, of various Nations, all of whom formed a single fleet.—La Potherie's *Ameér. Septentrionale* , ii, pp. 85–118.

1665–67: RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE UPPER ALGONKIN TRIBES. [From the Jesuit Relation of 1666–67.]

Following is what Father Allouez relates concerning the customs of the Outaouacs and ether peoples, which he has studied very carefully—not trusting the accounts given him by others, but having been himself an eye-witness and observer of everything described in this manuscript.

“There is here,” he says, “a false and abominable religion, resembling in many respects the faiths of some of the ancient Pagans. The Savages of these regions recognize no sovereign master of Heaven and Earth, but believe there are many genii—some of which are beneficent, as the Sun, the Moon, the Lake, Rivers, and Woods; others malevolent, as the adder, the dragon, cold, and storms. And, in general, whatever seems to them 51 either helpful or hurtful they call a Manitou, and pay it the worship and veneration which we render only to the true God.

“These divinities they invoke whenever they go out hunting, fishing, to war, or on a journey—offering them sacrifices, with ceremonies appropriate only for Sacrificial priests.

“One of the leading old men of the Village discharges the function of Priest, beginning with a carefully-prepared harangue addressed to the Sun—if the eat-all feast, which bears a certain resemblance to a holocaust, is held in its honor. He declares in a loud voice that he pays his thanks to that Luminary for having lighted him so that he could successfully kill some animal or other,—praying and exhorting it by this feast to continue its kind care of his family. During this invocation, all the Guests eat, even to the last morsel; after which a man appointed for the purpose takes a cake of tobacco, breaks it in two, and throws it into the fire. Every one eries aloud while the tobacco burns and the smoke rises aloft; and with these outcries the whole sacrifice ends.”

“I have seen,” continues the Father, “an Idol set up in the middle of a Village; and to it, among other presents, ten dogs were offered in sacrifice, in order to prevail on this false god to send elsewhere the distemper that was depopulating the Village. Every one went daily to make his offerings to this Idol, according to his needs.

“Besides these public sacrifices, they have some that are private and domestic; for often in their cabins they throw tobacco into the fire, with a kind of outward offering which they make to their false gods.

“During storms and tempests, they sacrifice a dog, throwing it into the Lake. ‘That is to appease thee,’ they say to the latter; ‘keep quiet.’ At perilous places in the Rivers, they propitiate the eddies and rapids by offering them presents; and so persuaded are they that they honor their pretended divinities by this external worship, that those among them who are converted and baptized observe the same ceremonies toward the true God, until they are disabused.

“As, moreover, these people are of gross nature, they recognize no purely spiritual divinity, believing that the Sun is a 52 man, and the Moon is his wife; that snow and ice are also a man, who goes away in the spring and comes back in the winter; that the evil spirit is in adders, dragons, and other monsters; that the crow, the kite, and some other birds are genii, and speak just as we do; and that there are even people among them who understand the language of birds, as some understand a little that of the French.

“They believe, moreover, that the souls of the Departed govern the fishes in the Lake; and thus, from the earliest times, they have held the immortality, and even the metempsychosis, of the souls of dead fishes, believing that they pass into other fishes' bodies. Therefore they never throw their bones into the fire, for fear that they may offend these souls, so that they will cease to come into their nets.

“They hold in very special veneration a certain fabulous animal which they have never seen except in dreams, and which they call Missibizi, acknowledging it to be a great genius, and offering it sacrifices in order to obtain good sturgeon-fishing.

“They say also that the little pebbles of copper which they find at the bottom of the water in the Lake, or in the Rivers emptying into it, are the riches of the gods who dwell in the depths of the earth.

“I have learned,” says the Father who has brought to light all these follies. “that the Ilinioueк, the Outagami, and other Savages toward the South, hold that there is a great and excellent genius, master of all the rest, who made Heaven and Earth; and who dwells, they say, in the East, toward the country of the French.

“The fountain-head of their Religion is libertinism; and all these various sacrifices end ordinarily in debauches, indecent dances, and shameful acts of concubinage. All the devotion of the men is directed toward securing,many wives, and changing them whenever they choose; that of the women toward leaving their husbands; and that of the girls, toward a life of profligacy.

“They endure a great deal on account of these ridiculous deities; for they fast in their honor, for the purpose of learning the issue of some affair. I have,” says the Father, “seen with 53 compassion men who had some scheme of war or hunting pass a whole week, taking scarcely anything. They show such fixity of purpose that they will not desist until they have seen in a dream what they desire,—either a herd of moose, or a band of Iroquois put to flight, or something similar,—no very difficult thing for an empty brain, utterly exhausted with hunger, and thinking all day of nothing else.

“.Let us say something about the art of Medicine in vogue in this country. Their science consists in ascertaining the cause of the ailment, and applying the remedies.

“They deem the most common cause of illness to come from failure to give a feast after some successful fishing or hunting excursion; for then the Sun, which takes pleasure in feasts, is angry with the one who has been delinquent in his duty, and makes him ill.

“Besides this general cause of sickness, there are special ones, in the shape of certain little genii, malevolent in their nature, which thrust themselves of their own, accord, or are sent by some enemy, into the parts of the body that are most diseased. Thus, when any one has an aching head, or arm, or stomach, they say that a Manitou has entered this part of the body, and will not cease its torments until it has been drawn or driven out.

“The most common remedy, accordingly, is to summon the Juggler, who comes attended by some old men, with whom he holds a sort of consultation on the patient's ailment. After this, he falls upon the diseased part, applies his mouth to it, and, by sucking, pretends to extract something from it; as a little stone, or a bit of string, or something else, which he has concealed in his mouth beforehand, and which he displays, saying: ‘There is the Manitou; now thou art cured, and it only remains to give a feast.’

“The Devil, bent on tormenting those poor blinded creatures even in this world, has suggested to them another remedy, in which they place great confidence. It consists in grasping the patient under the arms, and making him walk barefoot over the live embers in the cabin; or, if he is so ill that he cannot walk, he is carried by four or five persons, and made to pass slowly over all the fires, a treatment which often enough results 54 in this, that the greater suffering thereby produced cures, or induces unconsciousness of, the lesser pain which they strive to cure.

“After all, the commonest remedy, as it is the most profitable for the Physician, is the holding of a feast to the Sun, which is done in the belief that this luminary, which takes pleasure in liberal actions, being appeased by a magnificent repast, will regard the patient with favor, and restore him to health.”

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“I must not omit here a rather strange circumstance: on the day after his death his relatives, contrary to all usage of this country, burned his body and reduced it entirely to ashes. The cause of this is found in a legend which passes here for truth.

“It is held beyond dispute that this old man's father was a Hare,—an animal which runs over the snow in winter,—and that thus the snow, the Hare, and the old man are of the same village,—that is, are relatives. It is further said that the Hare told his wife that he disapproved of their children's remaining in the depths of the earth, as that did not befit their condition—they being relatives of the snow, whose country is above, toward the Sky; and, if it ever occurred that they were put into the ground after their death, he would pray the snow, his relative, in order to punish the people for this offense, to fall in such quantities and so long that there should be no Spring. And, to confirm this story, it is added that three years ago the brother of our good old man died, in the beginning of the winter; and, after he had been buried in the usual manner, snow fell to such an extent, and the winter was so long, that people despaired of seeing the spring in its season. Meanwhile, all were dying of hunger, and no remedy could be found for this general suffering. The elders assembled, and held many councils, but all in vain; the snow still continued. Then some one of the company said he remembered the threats which we have related. Straightway they went and disinterred the dead man, and burned him; when immediately the snow ceased, and spring followed. Who would think that people could give credence to such absurd stories? And yet they regard them as true beyond dispute.”— *Jes. Relations* , 1, pp. 285–295; li, pp. 33–35.

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1665–68: ALLOUEZ'S ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS TRIBES. [From the Jesuit Relations of 1666–67.]

The Ponteouatami are a people speaking the Algonquin tongue, but in a dialect much harder to understand than that of the Outaouacs. Their country lies along the Lake of the Ilimouek—a large Lake which had not before come to our knowledge, adjoining the Lake of the Hurons, and that of the Stinkards, in a Southeasterly direction.1 These people are war-like, and they engage in Hunting and Fishing. Their country is excellently adapted to raising Indian corn, and they have Fields covered with it, to which they are glad to have recourse, to avoid the famine that is only too common in these regions. They are extremely idolatrous, clinging to their ridiculous legends, and are addicted to Polygamy. We have seen them all here, to the number of three hundred men bearing arms. Of all the people with whom I have mingled in these regions, they are the most docile, and the best disposed toward the French. Their wives and daughters are more modest than those of the other Nations. They observe among themselves a certain sort of civility, and also show it toward strangers—which is rare among our Barbarians. Once when I went to see one of their elders, his eyes fell upon my shoes, which were made after the French fashion; and curiosity moved him to ask leave to take them, in order to examine them easily. Upon returning them to me, he would not permit me to put them on myself, but obliged me to allow him to perform that service,—even insisting on fastening the thongs, and showing the same marks of respect that servants do to their Masters upon rendering them this service. Kneeling at my feet, he said to me, ‘It is in this way that we treat those whom we honor.’

1 Lake of the Ilimouek (Illinois): an early appellation of Lake Michigan. “Lake of the Stinkards” (Fr. Puants) refers to Green Bay, at first supposed to be a lake.— Ed.

On another occasion when I went to see him, he arose from his seat to yield it to me, with the same formalities that politeness demands of gentlefolk.

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I next add these two nations [Ousaki and Outagami—now called Sacs and Foxes] because they are mingled with and allied to the preceding, and have, besides, the same language, the Algonquin, although differing greatly in various Idioms, a fact which makes it very difficult to understand them. Nevertheless, after some labor on my part, they understand me now, and I understand them, sufficiently for their instruction.

The country of the Outagami lies Southward toward the Lake of the Ilimouek. They are a populous tribe, of about a thousand men bearing arms, and given to hunting and warfare. They have fields of Indian corn, and live in a country offering excellent facilities for the hunting of the Wildcat, Stag, wild Ox, and Beaver. Canoes they do not use, but commonly make their journeys by land, bearing their packages and their game on their shoulders. These people are as much addicted to idolatry as the other nations. One day, on entering the Cabin of an Outagamy, I found his parents dangerously ill; and when I told him that bleeding would cure them, the poor man took some powdered tobacco and sprinkled it completely over my gown, saying to me: “Thou are a spirit; come now, restore these sick people to health; I offer thee this tobacco in sacrifice.” “What art thou doing, my brother?” said I; “I am nothing, but he who made all things is the master of our lives, while I am but his servant.” “Well, then,” he rejoined, scattering some tobacco on the ground, and raising his eyes on high, “to thee, then, who madest Heaven and earth I offer this tobacco. Give these sick persons health.”

These people are not very far removed from the recognition of the Creator of the world; for it is they who told me what I have already related—namely, that they acknowledge in their country a great spirit, the maker of Heaven and earth, who dwells toward the country of the French. It is said of them and of the Ousaki that, when they find a man alone and at a disadvantage, they kill him, especially if he is a Frenchman; for they cannot endure the beards of the latter people. Cruelty of that kind makes them less docile, and less inclined to receive the Gospel, than are the Ponteouatami. Still I failed not to proclaim it to nearly six-score persons, who passed a summer 57 here. I found none among them sufficiently

well prepared for Baptism, though I conferred it on five of their sick children, who then recovered their health.

As for the Ousaki, they above all others can be called Savages. They are very numerous, but wandering and scattered in the forests, without any fixed abode. I have seen nearly two hundred of them, to all of whom I published the faith, and have baptized eighteen of their children, to whom the sacred waters were salutary for both soul and body.

The Ilimouec speak Algonquin, but a very different dialect from those of all the other tribes. I understand them only slightly, because I have talked with them only a very little. They do not live in these regions, their country being more than sixty leagues hence toward the South, beyond a great river-which, as well as I can conjecture, empties into the Sea somewhere near Virginia. These people are hunters and warriors, using bows and arrows, rarely muskets, and never canoes. They used to be a populous nation, divided into ten large Villages; but now they are reduced to two, continual wars with the Nadouessi [Sioux] on one side and the Iroquois on the other having well-nigh exterminated them.

They acknowledge many spirits to whom they offer sacrifice, They practice a kind of dance, quite peculiar to themselves, which they call “the dance of the tobacco-pipe.” It is executed thus: they prepare a great pipe, which they deck with plumes, and put in the middle of the room, with a sort of veneration. One of the company rises, begins to dance, and then yields his place to another, and this one to a third; and thus they dance in succession, one after another, and not together. One would take this dance for a pantomime ballet; and it is executed to the beating of a drum. The performer makes war in rhythmic time, preparing his arms, attiring himself, running, discovering the foe, raising the cry, slaying the enemy, removing his scalp, and returning home with a song of victory—and all with an astonishing exactness, promptitude, and agility. After they have all danced, one after the other, around the pipe, it is taken and offered to the chief man in the whole assembly, for him to smoke; then to another, and so in succession to all. This ceremony 58 resembles in its significance the French custom of drinking, several out of the same

glass; but, in addition, the pipe is left in the keeping of the most honored man, as a sacred trust, and a sure pledge of the peace and union that will ever subsist among them as long as it shall remain in that person's hands.

Of all the spirits to whom they offer sacrifice, they honor with a very special worship one who is preëminent above the others, as they maintain, because he is the maker of all things. Such a passionate desire have they to see him that they keep long fasts to that end, hoping that by this means God will be induced to appear to them in their sleep; and if they chance to see him, they deem themselves happy, and assured of a long life.

All the nations of the South have this same wish to see God, which, without doubt, greatly facilitates their conversion; for it only remains to teach them how they must serve him in order to see him and be blessed.

I have proclaimed the name of Jesus Christ here to eighty people of this nation, and they have carried it and published it with approbation to the whole country of the South; consequently I can say that this Mission is the one where I have labored the least and accomplished the most. They honor our Lord among themselves in their own way, putting his Image, which I have given them, in the most honored place on the occasion of any important feast, while the Master of the banquet addresses it as follows: “In thy honor, O Man-God, do we hold this feast; to thee do we offer these viands.”

I confess that the fairest field for the Gospel appears to me to be yonder. Had I had leisure and opportunity, I would have pushed on to their country, to see with my own eyes all the good things there of which they tell me.

I find all those with whom I have mingled affable and humane; and it is said that whenever they meet a stranger, they give a cry of joy, caress him, and show him every possible evidence of affection. I have baptized but one child of this nation. The seeds of the faith which I have sown in their souls will bear fruit when it pleases the master of the vine to gather it. Their country is warm, and they raise two crops of Indian corn a year. 59 There

are rattlesnakes there, which cause many deaths among them, as they do not know the antidote. They hold medicines in high esteem, offering sacrifice to them as to great spirits. They have no forests in their country, but vast prairies instead, where oxen, cows, deer, bears, and other animals feed in great numbers.— *Jes. Relations* , li, pp. 27–29, 43–51.

1665–69: ALLOUEZ'S MISSION AT LAKE SUPERIOR. [From the Jesuit *Relations* of 1666–67 and 1668–69.]

[Synopsis: The *Relation* of 1666–67 announces that Allouez has returned from his two years' mission among the Ottawas; he has traveled nearly 2,000 leagues in the wilderness of the great Northwest, and endured many hardships; “but he has also had the consolation of bearing the torch of the Faith to more than twenty different infidel Nations.” The journal of his wanderings is given; it includes many interesting “descriptions of the places and Lakes that he passed, the customs and superstitions of the peoples visited,” etc. He confers upon Lake Superior the name of the governor-general, Tracy. It is a resort for many tribes, North, South, and West; they obtain there food from the fisheries, and carry on trade with one another. Allouez finds some of Menard's disciples—among them, “two Christian women who had always kept the faith, and who shone like two stars amid the darkness of that infidelity.” life finds at Chequamegon Bay a great village of sedentary Algonkins, numbering eight hundred warriors. Most of these people have never seen [Europeans, and the missionary finds his labors constantly interrupted.

Soon after Allouez's arrival, a great council of the Algonkin tribes is held, mainly to plan for defense against their enemies, the Sioux, with whom a new war is imminent. They invite to this assembly the Father, who is, moreover, the bearer of messages and presents to these savages from Tracy. They listen to him attentively, and he then proclaims the gospel to them, 60 afterward going among their cabins and with them on their journeys, to gather the fruits of this sowing. Allouez describes many of the peculiar customs and superstitious rites among these savages, of which he has been an eye-witness. He finds these people unusually licentious, and, like the Eastern tribes, swayed by their dreams and

medicine-men. The Father establishes at Chequamegon the residence and mission of St. Esprit, a name already applied to the bay; and there he labors to spread the gospel among the savages, who visit him from curiosity, but show little sympathy with his work. Still, he sees some good results; he baptizes many little children, and the young people are less shameless in their behavior. After a time, he removes his chapel to the large village; but the medicine-men are so hostile to him that he is compelled to return to his former station.

Allouez finds the remnants of the Tobacco Nation settled not far from this place, and undertakes to restore in their hearts the Christian belief which they once had—now, alas! almost effaced through their long intercourse with the pagans. “As they had been very well taught, it was a matter of no great difficulty for me to restore piety to their hearts.” He describes, in especial, the conversion of three persons in this tribe, “for Whose salvation God seems to have sent me hither.”

He relates his work among the Ottawa tribes. They are extremely licentious and superstitious, and therefore care little for the gospel; yet many attend the chapel services and instructions, and he baptizes about eighty children. The savages have lost their former dread of baptism as causing death; they now imagine that this rite will cure sickness, and raise up the dying. The Father ministers especially to the sick and the dying; he finds only four adults who are worthy of baptism.

Allouez next mentions his labors among the Pottawattomies. These people he has met at Lake Superior, whither they resort. He considers them more friendly and tractable, and less licentious, than other tribes in that region. The Father visits their cabins during their stay there, and baptizes thirty-four little children; a few adults are also converted—among them a man “about a hundred years old, who was regarded by the Savages as a sort of divinity.” Allouez relates the particulars of 61 his labors with these people, and of the conversions occurring among them. Bands of the Sacs and Foxes also sojourn near Chequamegon, to whom Allouez preaches the faith; and he baptizes some of their children.

The seed of the true religion has been carried among the Illinois tribes by some of their own people, whom Allouez has instructed. He regards that nation as offering a most promising field for missionary labor; he finds them friendly, and more inclined than other tribes to recognize a Supreme Being. He describes a ceremony peculiar to them, the calumet dance.

He meets also some wandering Sioux and Cree savages; regarding all these distant tribes, he gives much curious information gathered from conversation with these people. The Crees invite him to spend the winter with them; but he cannot leave his present field to do so. The Nipissing Indians (in the days of the Huron mission, instructed by the Jesuits) have been driven by fear of the Iroquois to Lake Nepigon, where Allouez visits them—crossing the western end of Lake Superior in a frail canoe, three men paddling without any halt for twelve or fifteen hours each day. He finds among these people twenty professed Christians, as well as many infidels; and he spends there two weeks of constant ministration and instruction.

Le Mercier concludes, from Allouez's report, that missionaries to the Northwest should have a fixed residence, with men to work for their maintenance and to erect chapels for religious services. This is Allouez's own plan, to execute which he descends to Quebec for aid. He obtains Father Nicolas,1 with five men, and supplies of food, clothing, etc.; but the Indians with whom he has come down are ill-humored, and refuse to take more than three Frenchmen, with but a small part of their baggage. There is, accordingly, “reasonable doubt whether they can reach the country; or, if they do so, of their ability to maintain themselves there very long.”

1 Louis Nicolas was one of the Jesuit missionaries in New Franco from 1664 to 1675; returning then to France, he left the Jesuit order three years later. His labors were mainly in Lower Canada.— Ed.

At Lake Superior [1669], Allouez has been laboring with 62 the Ottawas. Dablon1 is sent to reinforce him, and to act as superior of that mission. They are stationed at Sault Ste. Marie, and Allouez has also ministered at Chequamegon. A third church will soon be established at Green Bay. A peace has been negotiated between the Iroquois and the Ottawas; but the fickle temper of these savage peoples makes the duration of the peace somewhat uncertain.

1 Claude Dablon was engaged in the New France missions from 1655 until his death in 1697. During 1668–71, he was among the Lake Superior tribes; during the next ten years, and from 1686 to 1693, he was superior of all the Canadian missions.—ED.

Allouez announces the conversion of an entire Ottawa tribe. These people had received instruction for several years, but had always made sport of the new religion. But at last the good seed has taken root, and they institute a complete reform. They abolish polygamy, give up their sacrifices, and flock to Allouez's little chapel.2 Some of the conversions here made are described at length,—especially that of their chief, Kekakoung. A hundred of them have already been baptized—besides thirty–eight Hurons, who had fled to that country for refuge;and a hundred more, in other neighboring tribes.

2 Reference is here made to the Kiskakon clan (see p. 30, *ante*, note 1).— Ed.

Marquette, too, is stationed at Sault Ste. Marie, and he writes that “the harvest there is very abundant, and that it only rests with the Missionaries to baptize the entire population, to the number of two thousand;” but, knowing the fickle nature of the Indians, the Fathers are not disposed to trust them too far.]— *Jes. Relations* , l, pp. 17, 18, 249, 311; li, pp. 9–11, 21–51; lii, 14, 15, 199–213.

1670: GALINÉE AND DOLLIER DE CASSON AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

[Note: In 1669 Queylus, the Sulpitian superior at Montreal, conceived the idea of establishing missions among Western 63 tribes. He accordingly sent two of his order,

François Dollier de Casson and René de Bréhant de Galinée,—who had come with Queylus to Canada in the year preceding,—to travel with the explorer La Salle, to seek the Mississippi river, and to open the way, among hitherto unknown tribes, for Sulpitian missions. In pursuance of this commission, the two priests spent the winter of 1669–70 on the north shore of Lake Erie,—alone, since La Salle, on account of illness, returned to Montreal in the preceding October,—where they took possession of the country in the name of Louis XIV.; and made earnest but unavailing efforts to reach the Mississippi. But they met with disasters, which obliged them to give up the attempt. They proceeded to Sault Ste. Marie, and returned to the St. Lawrence in the spring of 1670. Galinée then made a map of the region which they had explored: Lake Ontario, Niagara, the north shore of Lake Erie, Detroit, and the east and north shores of Lake Huron—the first chart thereof known to exist.]— *Jes. Relations* , 1, pp. 320–321.

1670: JESUIT MISSIONS AMONG THE WISCONSIN TRIBES. From the Jesuit *Relation* of 1669–70.]

[Synopsis: Much of this year's Relation is occupied by the report of the Ottawa mission, made by Dablon to his Quebec superior. He mentions its three centres of work—at Sault Ste. Marie, Chequamegon, and Green Bay; and gives a separate account of each; of its topography, resources, and inhabitants; and of the state of each mission.

Sault Ste. Marie is a resort for nineteen different tribes, most of whom come hither to fish during the summer. Some of these come from the region of Hudson Bay; and intercourse with them has led the missionaries to plan a journey to that distant land—partly to open the way for missionary work among those peoples, partly to discover a land route to the great and still mysterious “North Sea,” and perhaps also the Japan Sea. They have, moreover, heard of the Mississippi river, and of the Illinois 64 tribes who live near it; they are also planning to visit these savages.

At the Sault, the Fathers are cultivating the soil, and some of the Indians have even begun to imitate their example. In their chapel, they regularly give instruction to both adults and children, and celebrate the rites of the Church. The greatest obstacle in their way is the devotion paid by the savages to their personal manitous, or “medicine”—a devotion inculcated from earliest infancy, in both boys and girls. Notwithstanding this and other difficulties, the missionaries at the Sault have baptized more than three hundred persons, of all ages.

A detailed description of Lake Superior and its fisheries is given by Dablon, which we copy upon a later page.

Chequamegon Bay is a resort for all the tribes of the Northwest; at this point they carry on both fishing and mutual commerce. It thus becomes a highly advantageous location for the Jesuit missionaries, who can here reach savages belonging to all the tribes between Lake Michigan and the Missouri river, and from Hudson Bay to the Ohio. The Illinois tribes desire instruction, and Marquette is already planning to visit them next year. A letter from him to the superior at Quebec (Le Mercier) follows Dablon's report. Marquette recounts his arrival at Chequamegon (September, 1669), where he succeeds A1louez; the latter considered this too hard a field, and Marquette finds it in every way discouraging. The Ottawa tribes here are unusually superstitious and licentious; and the once Christian Hurons axe so demoralized by the example of their neighbors that they retain but little of their new faith. The Father struggles against indifference and mockery, immorality and superstition; after a year of this almost useless effort, he again replaces Allouez, this time with the Kiskakons, another Ottawa tribe, dwelling at La Pointe,—who have at last consented to receive the Christian religion. Here Marquette reaps the harvest of his predecessor's long toil; he baptizes the children, and induces the families to winter near the chapel, where they are regularly instructed. “The Pagans hold no feast without Sacrifice;” “I keep a little of their usage, and take from it all that is bad”—that is, he induces them to address their invocations 65 to God, instead of to their divinities. Under

his instruction, too, the women become modest and chaste. Marquette waits only for another Father to take his plaee, before departing on a mission to the Illinois tribes. Those Indians are well disposed to Christianity; some of their number heard Allouez at La Pointe, and have inclined their tribesmen to listen to the preachers of the faith. Marquette looks forward with hope to a mission among these tribes, and is already studying their language. He describes their location, customs, and characteristics, as well as those of the Sioux and Crees—repeating what he has learned from the savages whom he has met at La Pointe. To the Sioux, “the Iroquois of this country,” the Father sends a present, asking them to let him and other Frenchmen pass freely and unharmed through all those regions, to which they consent.

Following this document is another letter, from Allouez to Le Mercier. He recounts his labors during the past season (November, 1669, to May, 1670, inclusive), among the tribes along the west shore of Green Bay, and on the Fox river. He describes his journey from the Sault to Green Bay, on the shores of which he spends the winter, instructing the natives who make there their winter quarters. Some hear him willingly, but most are indifferent or opposed; and all are, at times, on the verge of starvation, so scanty are their supplies of food. Often does the Father suffer from hunger; but he praises God for his crosses. In April, 1670, he goes to visit the Indian villages on the Wolf and upper Fox rivers. During this voyage, A1louez observes a solar eclipse. After traveling eight days, he reaches the Outagami (Fox) settlement on the Wolf river. Even in these remote Wisconsin forests the fierce Iroquois have made one of their sudden raids, killing and taking captive all the people in a considerable Fox encampment, but a few weeks before Allouez's visit. This disaster has so dispirited his hosts that they cannot give his teachings more than civil attention at this time; but they request him to visit them again.

Allouez proceeds thence to the Mascouten village on the upper Fox. Here he is welcomed with great hospitality and ceremony, 6 66 since they regard him as a manitou, or spirit. The Father, horrified at this idea, succeeds in making them understand that he is only God's servant, and preaches the gospel to them, which they reverently receive. In this

same region are some Miami families, whom Allouez visits and instructs. They appear very docile and gentle, and the Father commends the importance of this mission field; but he cannot remain, as obedience calls him to the Sault. Returning down the Fox river (this time, making the voyage in three days), he visits the Menomonees, who have been “almost exterminated by the wars;” and the Winnebagoes, at present camping on the east shore of Green Bay. This tribe also had been ruined, a generation before, by the Illinois. In both places, he is welcomed and respectfully heard, and urged to visit them again.

In conclusion, Allouez summarizes the condition of the Green Bay mission. Although he has no chapel, he instructs the savages as well as he can, and counts as Christians seven adults and forty-eight children. May 20, Allouez returns to the Sanlt, intending to revisit all his scattered flock the next autumn.

A few paragraphs are added, in conclusion, by Le Mercier. He states that a reinforcement has been sent to the Ottawa mission-Fathers Druillettes and André1 ; and adds a description of the eclipse mentioned by Allouez.]

1 Gabriel Druillettes was a missionary in Canada from 1643 until his death in 1681. He was in charge at Sault Ste. Marie for about two years; most of his life was stent among the Abenaki and Montagnais tribes.

Louis André came to Canada in 1669, and from that time to 1684 labored in the Ottawa and Wisconsin missions at Green Bay, during 1671–81. In his later years he was a missionary among the tribes on the lower St. Lawrence; he died at Quebec in 1715. See Father A. E. Jones's biographical sketch of André, in *U. S. Cath. Histor. Mag*., No. 9, 1889. — Ed.

FACSIMILE OF HANDWRITING OF LOUIS ANDRÉ. S. J. Selected from the original MS. in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, of his *Preceptes, phrases et mots* , Reproduced from the *Jesuit Relations* , lvii, by permission of Burrows Brothers, Co.

[Part of Allouez's report for this year.]

On the following day, I celebrated holy Mass, at which the French, to the number of eight, paid their Devotions. As the Savages had gone into winter quarters, I found here only one Village of different Nations—Ousaki, Pouteouatami, Outagami, Ovenibigoutz [Winnebago]—about six hundred souls. A league and a half away was another, of a hundred and fifty souls; four leagues distant, one of a hundred souls; and eight leagues from here, on the other side of the Bay, one of about three hundred souls.

All these Nations have their fields of Indian corn, squashes, beans, and tobacco. On this Bay,1 in a place they call Ouestatinong, twenty-five leagues away, there is a large Nation named Outagami,2 and a day's journey from them there are two others, Oumami and Makskouteng.3 Of all these Peoples, a portion gained a knowledge of our Faith at saint Esprit point, where I instructed them; we shall do so more fully, with Heaven's help.

1 Meaning “In the vicinity of this Bay.”— Ed.

2 See p. 89, *ante*, note.— Ed.

3 See p. 42, *ante*, note.— Ed.

In the matter of our sustenance, we have had a good deal of trouble. Scarcely have we found material to make our cabin; all that we have had for food has been only Indian corn and acorns; the few fish that are seen here, and that but seldom, are very poor; and the water of this bay and of the rivers is like stagnant ditch-water.

The Savages of this region are more than usually barbarous; they are without ingenuity, and do not know how to make even a bark dish or a ladle; they commonly use shells. They are grasping and avaricious to an extraordinary degree, and sell their little commodities at a high price, because they have only what is barely necessary. The season in which we

arrived among them was not favorable for us; they were all in a needy condition, and very little able to give us any assistance, so that we suffered hunger.

* * * * * * * *

On the 16th of April, I embarked to go and begin the Mission to the Outagamis, a people of considerable note in all these regions. 68 We slept at the head of the bay, at the mouth of the River des Puans, which we have named for saint Francis.1 On our way we saw clouds of Swans, Bustards, and Ducks. The Savages set snares for them at the head of the bay, where they catch as many as fifty in one night, this game seeking in Autumn the wild oats that the wind has shaken off in the month of September.

1 The Fox river, at first named for the Winnebagoes (Puants). This sentence alone shows that Allouez did not, as usually supposed, begin his mission at the mouth of the Fox river; to reach that point evidently required nearly a day's journey from his headquarters, which were probably at the mouth of Oconto river. See *Jes. Relations*. liv, pp. 305, 306.— Ed.

On the 17th, we ascended the River saint François, which is two, and sometimes three, arpents wide. After proceeding four leagues, we found the Village of the Savages called Saky [Sacs], whose people were beginning a work that well deserves to have its place here. From one bank of the River to the other they make a. barricade by driving down large stakes in two brasses of water, so that there is a kind of bridge over the stream for the fishermen, who, with the help of a small weir, easily catch the Sturgeon and every other kind of fish,—which this dam stops, although the water does not cease to flow between the stakes. They call this contrivance Mitihikan, and it serves them during the Spring and a part of the Summer.

On the eighteenth we passed the portage called by the natives Kekaling, our sailors dragging the canoe among rapids; while I walked on the River-bank, where I found apple-trees and vinestocks in great numbers.

On the 19th, our Sailors ascended the Rapids for two leagues by the use of poles, and I went by land as far as the other portage, which they call Ooukocitiming,—that is to say, “causeway.”2 We observed on this same day the Eclipse of the Sun predicted by the Astrologers, which lasted from noon until two o'clock; a third of the Sun's disk, or near that, appeared to be eclipsed, the other two-thirds making a Crescent. We arrived

2 The Sac village was apparently at Little Rapids (or Little Kakalin). The Kekaling portage was around the rapids at Kaukauna; that at Ooukocitiming, at Little Chute.— Ed.

69 in the evening at the entrance to Lake des Puans [Winnebago], which we have named Lake saint [François; it is about twelve leagues long and four wide, extends from the North-Northeast to the South-Southwest, and abounds in fish, but is uninhabited, on account of the Nadouecis [Sioux], who are there held in fear.

On the twentieth, which was Sunday, I said Mass, after voyaging five or six leagues on the Lake, after which we came to a River, flowing from a Lake bordered with wild oats; this stream we followed, and found at the end of it the River that leads to the Outagamis, in one direction, and that which leads to the Machkoutench, in the other.1 We entered this first stream, which flows from a Lake; there we saw two Turkeys perched on a tree, male and female, resembling perfectly those of France-the same size, the same color, and the same cry. Bustards, Ducks, Swans, and Geese are in great number on all these Lakes and Rivers—the wild oats, on which they live, attracting them thither. There are large and small Stags, Bears, and Beavers in great abundance.

1 Allouez's course led through Grand Lake Butte des Morts, the Upper Fox river, and up Wolf river. He saw the wild turkeys at Lake Winneconne.— Ed.

On the twenty-fourth, after turning and doubling several times in various Lakes and Rivers, we arrived at the Village . of the Outagamis.

This people came in crowds to meet us, in order to see, as they said, the Manitou, who was coming to their country. They accompanied us with respect as far as the door of the cabin, which we were made to enter.

This Nation is renowned for being populous, the men who bear arms numbering more than four hundred; while the number of women and children there is the greater on account of the polygamy which prevails among them—each man having commonly four wives, some having six, and others as many as ten. Six large cabins of these poor people were put to rout this month of March by eighteen Iroquois from Tsonnontouan2 —who, un-

2 The name of the western most Iroquois tribe, now known as Senecas. Sonnontouan, their principal village, was located two and half miles north of Honeoye Falls, near Rochester, N. Y.— Ed.

70 der the guidance of two fugitive Iroquois Slaves of the Pouteouatamis, made an onslaught, and killed all the people, except thirty women whom they led away as captives. As the men were away hunting, they met with but little resistance—there being only six warriors left in the cabins, besides the women and children, who numbered a hundred or thereabout. This carnage was committed two days' journey from the place of our winter quarters, at the foot of the Lake of the Ilinioues, which is called Machihiganing [Michigan].

These Savages had withdrawn to those regions to escape the persecution of the Iroquois, and settled in an excellent country—the soil, which is black there, yielding them Indian. corn in abundance. They live by hunting during the Winter, returning to their cabins toward its close, and living there on Indian corn that they had hidden away the previous Autumn; they season it with fish. In the midst of their clearings they have a Fort, where their cabins of heavy bark are situated, for resisting all sorts of attacks. On their journeys, they make themselves cabins with mats. They are at war with the Nadouecious, their neighbors. Canoes are not used by them; and, for that reason, they do not make war on the Iroquois, although they are often killed by them. They are held in very low estimation, and are considered by the other Muttons as stingy, avaricious, thieving, choleric, and quarrelsome.

They have a poor opinion of the French, ever since two traders in Beaverskins appeared among them; if these men had behaved as they ought, I would have had less trouble in giving these poor people other ideas of the whole French Nation—which they are ginning to esteem, since I explained to them the principal and only motive that brought me to their country.

* * * * * * * *

On the twenty-ninth, we entered the River which leads to the Machkoutench, who are called by the Hurons *Assista Ectaeronnons* . “Nation of Fire.”:1 This River is very beautiful, without rapids or portages, and flows toward the Southwest.

1 It is generally supposed that the appellation “Fire Nation” arose from a mistranslation of the name Mascouten, which more properly signified “people of the prairies.” W. W. Tooker, however, thinks that the Mascoutens were the same as the Bocootawanaukes mentioned by Strachey; and that the name “Fire Nation” was given them because they used are in melting copper. See his *Bocootawanaukes* (N.Y., 1901). Lucien Cart thinks that the Mascoutens were a Shawnese tribe; see his “Mascoutins,” in Amer. Antiquarian See. *Proceedings*, April, 1900.— Ed.

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On the thirtieth, landing opposite the Village, and leaving our canoe at the water's edge, after walking a league through beautiful Prairies, we perceived the Fort. The Savages, espying us, immediately gave the cry in their Village, hastened to meet us, and accompanied us with honor into the Cabin of the Chief, where refreshments were straightway brought to us, and the feet and legs of the Frenchmen with me were anointed with oil. Afterward a feast was prepared, which was attended with the following ceremonies. When all were seated, and after some had filled a dish with powdered tobacco, an Old Man arose and, turning to me, with both hands full of tobacco which he took from the dish, harangued me as follows: “This is well, black Gown, that thou comest

to visit us. Take pity on us; thou art a Manitou; we give thee tobacco to smoke. The Nadouessious and the Iroquois are eating us; take pity on us. We are often ill, our children are dying, we are hungry. Hear me, Manitou; I give thee tobacco to smoke. Let the earth give us corn, and the rivers yield us fish; let not disease kill us any more, or famine treat us any longer so harshly!" At each desire the Old Men who were present uttered a loud "Oh!" in response. I had a horror of this ceremony, and, begging them to hear me, I told them that it was not I to whom their vows must be addressed; that in our necessities I had recourse to Prayer to him who is the only and the true God; that it was in him that they ought to place their trust. I told them that he was the sole Master of all things, as well as of their lives, I being only his servant and envoy; that he Was my sovereign Lord, as well as my host's; and that wise men nevertheless willingly honored and listened to the black Gown, as being a person who is heard by the great God and is his Interpreter, his Officer, and his Domestic. They offered us a veritable sacrifice like that which they make to their false Gods.— *Jes. Relations* , liv, 12–16, 127–237.

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1670: DABLON'S ACCOUNT OF COPPER MINES AT LAKE SUPERIOR.

[From the Jesuit *Relation* of 1669–70.]

Hitherto it had been thought that these Mines were found only in one or two Islands; but, since we have made more exact inquiries on the subject, we have learned from the Savages some secrets which they did not wish to reveal. It has been necessary to use artifice to elicit this information, and to distinguish the true from the false.

Still we do not vouch for the truth of all that we are about to relate, upon their simple deposition, until we are able to speak with more assurance after having gone in person to the places referred to; and this we hope to do this Summer, at the same time when we go in search of lost and wandering sheep all through the region of that great Lake.

Upon entering it by its mouth, where it empties into the Sault, the first place met where Copper is found in abundance, is an Island, distant forty or fifty leagues and situated toward the North, opposite a spot called Missipicouatong Michipicoten].

The Savages say that it is a floating Island, which is sometimes far off, sometimes near, according to the winds that push it and drive it in all directions. They add, that a long time ago four Savages came thither by chance, having lost their way in the fog by which that Island is almost always surrounded.

It was in the times before they had yet had any commerce with the French, and when they did not use kettles or hatchets. These men, then, wishing to prepare themselves something to eat, adopted their usual method: taking some stones that they found at the water's edge, they heated them red-hot, and threw them into a bark dish filled with water, to make it boil, and by this device to cook their meat. While selecting these stones, they found that they were almost all pieces of Copper; accordingly they made use of some of them, and, after taking their repast, resolved to embark as soon as possible, fearing the Lynxes and the Hares, which are as large as Dogs in that region, and were coming to eat up their provisions and even their Canoe.

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Before setting out, they loaded themselves with a good many of these stones, large and small, and even with some slabs of Copper; but they had not gone far from the shore when a powerful voice made itself heard to their ears, calling in great wrath: “Who are those robbers carrying off from me my children's cradles and playthings?” The Copper slabs are the cradles, because among the Savages these are made of only one or two boards joined together, on which they put their children to bed; and those little pieces of Copper that they were carrying off are the toys and playthings of the Savage children, who play together with little stones.

That voice astonished them greatly, as they knew not whose it was. Some say that it was Thunder, because there are many storms there; and others that it was a certain Spirit whom they call Missibizi, who passes among these peoples for the God of the waters, as Neptune did among the Pagans. Others say it came from Memogovissiouis: these are, they say, marine People somewhat like the fabulous Tritons or the Sirens, who always live in the water and have long hair reaching to the waist. One of our Savages told us he had seen one of them in the water, according to what he imagined.

However this may be, that astounding voice inspired such terror in our Travelers' souls that one of the four died before reaching land. A short time afterward a second was taken off, and then the third; so that only one was left, who, after returning to his Country and relating all that had happened, died very soon afterward.

The Savages, timid and superstitious as they all are, have never dared to go there since that time, for fear of dying there, believing that there are certain Spirits who kill those who approach them. And, in fact, in the memory of man, no one has been known to set foot there, or even to be willing to sail in that direction—although the Island seems to be open enough, and its trees may even be distinguished from another Island, named Achemikouan.

There is truth and there is untruth in this whole narrative, and the following is what is most probable: namely, that those four persons were poisoned by the water that they boiled with 74 the pieces of copper, which communicated their poison to it, owing to their very great heat; for we know by experience that this copper, when it is put into the fire for the first time, exhales very malignant vapors, which are thick and infectious and whiten the fireplace. It is not, however, a poison so immediate as not to operate more promptly in some eases than in others, as happened with those of whom we are speaking; who, being already affected by the poison, may have easily imagined that they heard those voices, if

they heard, however slightly, some echo, such as is commonly found among the Rocks bordering that Island.

Perhaps this fable has been invented since the event, from not knowing to what to attribute the death of those Savages; and when they say that it is a floating Island, i; is not incredible that the mists with which it is often laden, by becoming thin or dense under the Sun's rays, make the Island appear to the observer sometimes very near, and at other times farther away.

What is certain is that, in the common opinion of the Savages, there is a great abundance of Copper in that Island; but they dare not go there. It is there that we hope to begin the discoveries which we purpose making this Summer.

Advancing as far as the part called “the great inlet,” one comes to an Island three leagues from the land, renowned for the metal that is found there, and for the name [*Thunder*], which it bears because it is said to thunder there all the time.

But farther toward the West, on the same North side, is found the Island which is most famous for Copper, and is called Minong [Isle Royale]; this is the one in which, as the Savages have told many people, the metal exists in abundance, and in many places. It is large, and is fully twenty-five leagues long; it is distant seven leagues from the mainland, and more than sixty from the end of the Lake. Pieces of Copper, mingled with the stones, are found at the water's edge almost all around the Island, especially on the South side; but principally in a certain inlet that is near the end facing the Northeast, toward the offing, there are some very steep clay hills where are seen several strata or beds of red Cooper, one over another, separated or 75 divided by other strata of earth or of Reeks. In the water even is seen Copper sand as it were; and from it may be dipped up with ladles grains as large as a nut, and other smaller ones reduced to sand. This largo Island is almost all surrounded with Islets that are said to be formed of Copper; they are countered in various places, as far as the mainland on the North. One, among others, is only two gunshots

distant from Minong; it is between the middle of the Island and the end that faces the Northeast. Again, on this Northeast side, far out in the lake, there is another Island which, because of the copper in which it abounds, is called Manitouminis [*i. e* ., “Island of the Spirit”]; of this it is related that those who came here formerly, upon throwing stones at the ground, made it ring, just as brass is wont to ring.

Going on to the end of the Lake, and coming back a day's journey along the South side, one sees at the water's edge a Rock of Copper weighing fully seven or eight hundred livres, so hard that steel can scarcely cut it; yet, when it is heated, it may be cut like lead.

Twenty or thirty leagues this side of that spot is situated Chagaouamigong [Chequamegon] point, where we have established the Mission of saint Esprit, of which we shall speak hereafter. Near that place are some Islands, on the shores of which are often found Rocks of Copper, and even slabs of the same material.

Last Spring, we bought from the Savages a slab of pure Copper, two feet square, and weighing more than a hundred livres. It is not thought, however, that the mines are found in the Islands, but that all these Copper pebbles probably come from Minong or from the other Islands which are the sources of it, borne upon floating ice or rolled along in the depths of the water by the very impetuous winds—particularly by the Northeast wind, which is extremely violent.

It is true that on the Mainland, at the place where the Outaouaks raise Indian corn, half a league from the water's edge, the women have sometimes found pieces of Copper scattered here and there, of the weight of ten, twenty, or thirty livres. It is in digging up the sand to plant their corn that they make these chance discoveries.

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Still returning toward the mouth of the Lake and following the South side, at twenty leagues' distance from the spot we have just mentioned one enters the river called Nantounagan [Ontonagon], in which is seen a height from which stones of red Copper fall

into the water or on the ground, and are very easily found. Three years ago we were given a massive piece of it, a hundred livres in weight, which was taken in this same spot; from it we have cut off some fragments, and sent them to Quebec to Monsieur Talon.1

1 Jean Talon, intendant of New France from 1663 to 1668. He did much to develop the natural resources of the country, and to extend explorations in the Northwest.— Ed.

All do not agree as to the precise spot where it is found, some maintaining that it is where the river begins to narrow, and others saying that it is encountered very near the Lake, by digging in the clay. Some have said that at the place where the River forks, and in the channel farthest to the East, on this side of a point of land, one must dig in the rich earth to find this Copper; and that pieces of this metal are even found scattered in the channel which is in the middle.

Still continuing in this direction, the long point [Keweenaw] of land presents itself which we have called the arrow of the bow; at its end there is only an Islet, which appears to be six feet square, and is said to be all of copper.

Finally, not to leave any part of this great Lake that we have not explored, we are assured that in the interior, toward the South, mines of this metal are found in different places.

All this information and ether besides, which it is not necessary to give more in detail, make it worth while to undertake an exact investigation in these matters; and that is what we shall try to do—as also to examine a certain verdigris which is said to run down through the crevices of certain Rocks at the waterside, where one even finds among the pebbles some rather soft pieces, of a pleasant green hue. If God guide us in our enterprise, we shall speak about it next year with more certainty and knowledge.— *Jes. Relations* , liv, pp. 153–165.

1670: CHEQUAMEGON A CENTER OF TRADE. [From the Jesuit *Relation* of 1669–70.]

More than fifty Villages can be counted, which comprise divers peoples, either nomadic or stationary, who depend in some sort on this Mission; and to whom the Gospel can be proclaimed, either by going into their Country, or waiting for them to come to this to do their trading.

The three Nations comprised under the name of Outaouaks, of which one has embraced Christianity, and that of the Etionnontatehronnon Hurons1 —among whom there are more than five hundred baptized persons—inhabit this point; they live there on fish and corn, and rarely by hunting, and number more than fifteen hundred souls.

1 The Tionnonates, or Petun (Tobacco) Indians; they dwelt west of the Hurons (about the southern end of Nottawasaga Bay, Ont.), to whom they were racially allied, and were driven from their country by the Iroquois at the time of the Huron overthrow (1649–50).—Ed.

The Ilinois, tribes extending toward the South, have five large Villages, of which one has a stretch of three leagues, the cabins being placed lengthwise. They number nearly two thousand souls, and repair to this place from time to time in great numbers, as Merchants, to carry away hatchets and kettles, guns, and other articles that they need. During the sojourn that they make here, we take the opportunity to sow in their hearts the first seeds of the Gospel. Fuller mention will be hereafter made of these peoples, and of the desire which they manifest to have one of our Fathers among them to instruct them; and also of the plan formed by Father Marquette to go thither next Autumn.

Eight days' journey from here toward the West is the first of the thirty Villages of the Nadouessi. The extensive warfare carried on by them with our Hurons, and with some other Nations of those Regions, keeps them more confined, and obliges them to come

hither only in small numbers, and as if on an Embassy. Of them also mention will be made hereafter, and of what the said Father has done to put them in a state of peace and keep them there.

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Of all the Nations toward the North, there are three, among others, who come to trade here; and very recently two hundred Canoes passed some time here.— *Jes. Relations* , liv, pp. 165–167.

1670–73: JESUIT MISSIONS IN THE LAKE REGION; TRIBAL MIGRATIONS.

[From the Jesuit *Relations* of 1670–71, 1671–72, and 1672–73.]

[Synopsis: In Part III of the *Relation* of 1670–71 are described the Ottawa missions. It opens with a survey of these missions, of the tribes that they reach, and of the regions inhabited by those peoples; this résumé is illustrated by a map of Lake Superior and the adjacent lands, prepared by some of the missionaries. Besides the missions already familiar to the reader of these accounts,—at Sault Ste. Marie, Chequamegon, and Green Bay,—several new ones have been founded. New locations are assigned to several tribes that have been mentioned in previous documents; for the fierce Iroquois on the east, and the Sioux on the west, have made numerous raids upon the weaker tribes, who flee to whatever regions seem to offer even temporary security from their foes.

Dablon then relates how all the North and West has been annexed to the crown of France, the king “subjecting these nations to Jesus Christ's dominion before placing them under his own.” This is accomplished by a formal ceremony at Sault Ste. Marie (June 4, 1671), at which St. Lusson takes possession, in the name of the king, of the territories “from Montreal as far as the South Sea, covering the utmost extent and range possible.” He plants a cross there, and raises over it the French royal standard, with ceremonies both civil and religious. Representatives of fourteen different tribes are present, whom Allouez addresses in eulogy of the king—“giving them such an idea of our incomparable Monarch's

greatness that they have no words with which to express their thoughts upon the subject." His speech is reported at length; it is followed by one 79 from St. Lusson, "in martial and eloquent language." The ceremonies close with a bonfire, "around which the *Te Deum* was sung to thank God, on behalf of those poor peoples, that they were now the subjects of so great and powerful a monarch."1

1 For the procàs-verbal drawn up by St. Lusson on this occasion, see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., xi, pp. 26–29.— Ed.

A report of the various branches now made. At the Sault, Druillettes is in charge. An epidemic breaks out there among the Indians, but wonderful cures of the sick are wrought by prayer—in cases of fever, hemorrhage, and even of paralysis, blindness, and deafness. These wonders lead the savages to embrace the faith; even the elders are desirous of instruction and baptism, and publicly declare (October 11, 1670) that "the Sault is Christian, and that God of prayer is the Master of life." Many of these miraculous cures are related in detail. The result is oust the chapel is filled on Sundays, and in the cabins instructions are given both day and night. In less than six months, Druillettes has baptized more than six-score children. But such blessings from God, and such honors paid to him, "doubtless stirred the wrath of Hell against this infant Church;" the chapel is consumed by fire January 27, 1671. Another and much finer building is soon erected, however; "in it were baptized in a single day as many as twenty-six children."

The Ottawas have been driven by the Sioux from Chequamegon Bay, and part of the refugees have returned to their home on Manitoulin Island. They ask for a priest, and André is assigned to this post. In the *Relation* is published the report of André upon his labors since August, 1670, among tribes about Lake Huron. He first goes to the Mississaguas, whom he finds so pressed by famine that they are living on the inner bark of the fir-tree; but he is able to ha.prize seven newborn infants. On an island in Georgian Bay, he finds a large concourse of Indians from various tribes, who are "resuscitating" a dead chief—that is, giving his name to his son. The Father addresses the assembly,

urging them to accept the Christian 80 faith, and to recognize the authority of the French governor. He then goes among the cabins, exhorting individuals; “in twelve days I baptized fifteen little children, while I left no one without adequate instruction.” Thence he proceeded to Manitoulin Island, the old home of the Ottawas, to which many of them have returned. With them he remains until famine disperses the people, and he is compelled to depart, after almost. perishing from starvation. His next station is Lake Nipissing, where he remains three months; he there gains “fourteen Spiritual children, through Holy Baptism.” Although he suffers greatly from hunger, he is able to keep alive with acorns and rock tripe (an edible lichen). When the ice melts, he returns to Manitoulin, and instructs the Beaver tribe [Amikoués]; they can now capture enough moose to live in comparative comfort.

A long description is given of Mackinac Island, its fisheries, its phenomena of wind and tide, and the tribes who, now and in the past, have made it their abode. A favorite resort for all the Algonkin tribes: many are returning to it since the peace with the Iroquois. On this account, the Jesuits have begun a: new mission, apparently on the island, called St. Ignace. Thither have fled the Hurons, driven from Chequamegon Bay by fear of the Sioux, “The Iroquois of the West;” and Marquette follows his flock.

The *Relation* is here interrupted by a detailed account of a remarkable display of parhelia (“sun-dogs,” in common parlance), which appeared on the upper lakes in January and March respectively, in 1671.

Resuming his report of the missions, Dablon next describes that at Green Bay. He enumerates and locates the tribes dwelling in Wisconsin. He relates a journey made by himself and Allouez, in the autumn of 1670, to visit the tribes in the central and southern parts of the State. Arriving at Green Bay, they find serious disturbances—the Indians are plundering and treating the French traders there, in revenge for wrongs which they have received from the soldiers at the French settlements. The Fathers quiet the savages, and call them together in a council; they announce the purpose of their coming hither, to teach

MAP OF LAKE SUPERIOR, FROM THE “RELATION” OF 1670–71 Reproduced from the *Jesuit Relations* , lv, by permission of Burrows Brothers Co.

81 the Indians the way to heaven, and they also reprimand the latter for the current disturbances. On this occasion some of the warriors attempt to imitate the appearance and drill of the French soldiers at Quebec, but make themselves “the more ridiculous, the more they tried to comport themselves seriously. We had difficulty in refraining from laughter, although we were treating of only the most important matters—the Mysteries of our Religion, and what must be done in order not to burn forever in Hell.”

The Fathers proceed up the Fox river, to visit the tribes thereon; they find at the De Pere rapids a sort of idol, adored by the savages—a rock, resembling a human bust. This the missionaries remove, and cast to the bottom. of the river. After passing all the rapids, they reach the prairies and “oak-openings” of Winnebago county—“the fairest land possible to behold;” its beauty is vividly portrayed in their account. Here the abundance of game and wild rice renders the savages sedentary. They reach the Mascoutens and Miamis, who have fixed their abode in the same place, for common defense against the Iroquois. The Fathers address these people upon their need of the Christian religion, reinforcing their appeals, as usual, with a picture of the judgment-day, and a description of “the happiness of the Saints and the torments of the damned.” The Indians listen with great wonder and respect; and afterward, not satisfied with the instruction given them through the day, “assembled during the night, in crowds, t.o hear a more detailed account of the Mysteries about which they had been told.” The Fathers are regaled with many. feasts, and have free access to the cabins; they avail themselves of every opportunity to instruct the people. Among three thousand souls they find but one sick person—a child who is dying of consumption. After receiving baptism, this child is restored to health.

Dablon devotes a chapter to the character, manners, and customs of the Illinois Indians, some of whom have come to dwell with the Mascoutens; and to the Mississippi river and valley, so far as he has learned about that region from the reports of the savages. He is

delighted with the mildness and politeness of the Illinois tribe, and dilates upon the noble character and 7 82 kindness of their chief, who shows the missionaries every attention; they have strong hope that he will embrace the faith. All these people show great docility, and are much less superstitious than the Ottawas and other Algonkin tribes. They offer no sacrifices to spirits, and worship only the sun. They promise to build a chapel for the missionaries, when the latter come back to them. After thee Fathers return to Green Bay, Allouez goes (February, 1671) to the Outagami (Fox) tribe, where he founds the mission of St. Mark. These savages are haughty and insolent, and at first bestow upon him only rebuffs and mockery. But Allouez perseveres in his efforts to reach them with the Gospel, “cheering some with the hope of Paradise, and frightening others with the fear of Hell.” After a time, he secures their attention, and even their affection; he baptizes seven persons, and the elders promise to build him a chapel when he shall return to them. All these tribes regard the Fathers as manitous, or spirits.]— *Jes. Relations* , lv, pp. 10–16, 95–225.

[Synopsis: It is in the Ottawa missions that the Jesuits have reaped most of their harvest during the past year (1671–72). Their gains are thus triumphantly announced: “More than three hundred baptisms conferred in one year; more than twenty-five nations illuminated by the light of the Gospel; many sick persons restored to health in a very extraordinary manner; Churches erected and Crosses planted in the midst of adolatry; the Faith borne far to the North and South.” A more detailed account of this work is begun by the journal of Nouvel,1 who has spent the winter among the Beaver Indians, on the north shore of Georgian Bay. His mission begins well, but the devil is envious of his success, and stirs up trouble for him with the medicine-men. By God's grace, he is able to vanquish his opponents one of whom, at the Father's bidding, erects a large cross for the veneration of his tribesmen. During the winter

1 Henri Nouvel entered the Canada mission in 1662, and labored among the tribes of the Upper Lakes from 1671 to 1700; he was superior of the Ottawa mission during some thirteen years.— Ed.

83 Nouvel makes various excursions to neighboring encampments, here and there baptizing a few, mainly children—except at Manitoulin Island. where he receives into the Church fourteen adults and youth. He relates several instances of marvelous cures wrought in sickness, by water in which certain relies of the martyr Brebeuf have been dipped.

At Sault Ste. Marie, one hundred and forty-five baptisms are recorded. A church has recently been built there, which is the object of much admiration, from Frenchmen as well as savages. The rest of the report from this mission is occupied with accounts of miraculous cures wrought by prayer and holy water. These wonders “have gone far toward eradicating the two chief vices prevalent among these Tribes, jugglery and polygamy.” “Those who recognize only the true God enjoy perfect health. We see, in fine, Christianity becoming established here, despite all hell.”

The mission of St. Ignace, apparently on Mackinac Island, was recently opened for the benefit of the Hurons, who have fled thither from Chequamegon Bay in dread of the hostile Sioux tribes. Marquette has accompanied them, and has charge of the mission. Such of these Hurons “as have continued in the faith now display great fervor.”

A chapel has been built for the Green Bay mission, at the De Pete rapids. The advantages of this location are recounted at length. The writer gives an interesting account of the methods employed by the savages of the place in catching fish, and praises the beauty and fertility of the surrounding country. Allouez and André are laboring with those tribes —the former, with the inland tribes on the Fox and Wolf rivers; the latter, with those about De Pete and along the shores of Green Bay. The divinities venerated by these tribes, and their superstitions regarding them, are recounted. André makes a strong impression on the minds of his savages by songs,—composed in the Indian tongue, but sung to French airs, —which he accompanies with a flute. These songs, many of which are expressly directed against their superstitions, he teaches to the children; and with a band of “these little Savage musicians” he goes about the villages, “to declare war on Jugglers, Dreamers, and

84 those who have had several wives." He also employs pictures to instruct the people; and spends the winter in going from one village to another, instructing and baptizing. He is subject, of course, to trials and annoyances, "but such Crosses are the light of Missionaries." André adds notes of his observations upon the apparent tides in Green Bay.

Among the tribes of Central Wisconsin, Allouez has accomplished much—instructing savages of five different tongues, of whom some had never before seen a Frenchman. The Mascoutens and Illinois "receive him as an Angel from Heaven, and crowd about him, beth day and night." The Outagamies are especially interested in the cross; almost every one, young or old, frequently makes its sign, and a war-party from this tribe believe that they have won a battle by this means. Allouez erects in their village a large cross, "thus taking possession of those infidel lands in the name of Jesus Christ."]— *Jes. Relations* , lvi, pp. 11–14, 107–147.

[Synopsis: The mission to the Ottawas is now on Lake Huron and Green Bay, for the Algonkin tribes have been driven by the Sioux from the shores of Superior. This facilitates the work of the missionaries, who this year (1672–73) have met with unusual success, having baptized over four hundred persons. At Sault Ste. Marie the Indians have begun to plant Indian corn. A church has recently been erected, which is well frequented by the savages, who there pray "to Jesus, the God of war," as one of their chiefs entitles him. A church has been built at De Pere also, which excites much religious fervor among the Wisconsin tribes. The Kiskakons at the Sault have been urged by the Ottawas of Manitoulin Island to dwell with them—where, according to Dablon, "polygamy and Juggleries seem to have dedicated most of the Cabins to hell." But "those instruments of the Demon" fail to draw away the Kiskakons from their loyalty to the Church. Druiltettes, who is in charge at the Sault, also cares for the Mississaguas, dwelling on the north shore of Lake Huron. They receive him most hospitably and kindly. To the twenty converts already there he adds

FACSIMILE OF HANDWRITING OF CLAUDE DABLON, S. J. Selected from his petition to the Governor, in 1662, relative to the claims of Sieur de la Potherie at Cap de la Madeleine. Original is in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Reproduced from the *Jesuit Relations* , xlvii, by permission of Burrows Brothers Co.

85 twenty-three newly baptized, and the elders beg him to return soon to continue their instruction.

A chapter is devoted to “marvels that God wrought at Ste. Marie du Sault.” These include, besides the cure of various diseases through prayer and holy water, the successful raid of an Algonkin band against the Sioux,—the former not even receiving any wound or other injury,—this also in answer to their prayers. Among the Kiskakons—who, as a tribe, have embraced the Christian faith—“the children hardly ever die:” and those who die prove to be “the children of those who were addicted to polygamy, or of their nearest relatives.” Many Christians have been marvelously aided in temporal matters, or saved from death. These wonders have greatly. impressed the minds of the savages; in consequence, the numbers of the baptized are increasing, and the medicine-men often renounce their superstitions. But, if God grants such success, he “makes the Missionaries pay very dearly for it.” Father Nouvel has several times narrowly escaped death—once at the hands of an angry medicine-man; and for all there are many hardships. The mission of the Apostles, among the northern islands in Lake Huron, “formerly affording much consolation to the missionaries, has this year yielded almost nothing but thorns and difficulties to Father Bailloquet, who has charge of it;” this is due to “the malice of some old men,” who wish to get rid of the Father. He, too, has imperiled his life by his zeal; and has often been driven from the cabins. The few who profess the faith show, however, great constancy therein, and refuse to yield to the superstitions customs around them.

A report from the mission of St. Ignace is made by Marquette, in a letter to the superior, Dablon. There the remnant of the Tobacco tribe of Hurons have settled, and are under Marquette's spiritual care. They are becoming more tractable, but “God alone can give

firmness to their fickle minds.” In general, they manifest much esteem for the Father, and respect for the faith. In the autumn, most of his savages go hunting; those who remain ask his sanction for their dances. The chapel services are well attended, despite the severe cold. Marquette visits his parishioners in their fields, at a considerable distance 86 from the village. He has baptized only two adults. In obedience to his superior's orders, the Father is preparing to undertake a journey of exploration toward the South Sea.

Allouez and André conduct the mission at St. François Xavier, at De Pere, and its neighborhood—André caring for the savages residing at or near Green Bay, and Allouez for those up the Fox and Wolf rivers. A letter from the former states that a fire in his cabin burned (December 22, 1672) his diary and writing materials. He describes his labors during the rest of that winter, at a fishing village on the bay. The natives at once build him a new cabin; it includes a chapel, at which the women and children are assiduous attendants. The great obstacles to the missionary's success are the dependence of these people upon dreams, and the belief of the warriors that prayer is not for them, but for the women and children. André recounts various debates which he holds with the chiefs on this and like questions. One of them admits frankly, “We care very little whether it be the devil or God that gives us food.” Notwithstanding his opposition to their false gods, André is able to say: “I have had no trouble this year with the savages;‘” and, indeed, they endeavor to please him in various ways. Some even renounce their superstitions, and accept God as their only manitou. André does not ascribe this improvement to his own efforts during his three months’ stay; but “God accomplished this, through the great numbers of sturgeon that were speared there”—which makes them conclude that their deity is worth nothing, since they secure abundance of fish without invoking him. The Father baptizes ten adults and nine children during his sojourn there. He then proceeds to the Suamico river, where there is a village of Pottawattomies. These savages entreat the father to procure for them, by his prayers, success in their fishery. He refuses to do so unless they renounce their false deities, which they readily promise to do. One of them gives a feast, at which, as he assures André, he “Impersonated God, and not the Devil.

I told him that I knew that he was worthless, and had no esteem for prayer. He is called *porceau* [‘the hog’], and he is a true hog in his conduct.” The Father says, in reference to their answers to his inquiries about 87 the superstitious observances at their feasts, “But The savages are too great liars to be Believed.” “However,” he adds, “I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the gifts,” who are always assiduous in attending and in learning the prayers. The children clean their faces when André tells them to; and “even the young men came in the evening to pray, and not to see the girls, * * * hoping that God would give them sturgeon, and manifesting their belief that their dreams were folly.” At the dose of André's report, he adds some curious observations regarding the apparent tides in the Fox River. He ascribes these to the action of the wind.

Allouez's work among the Wisconsin tribes is described in his report to his superior. In May, 1672, he goes to the Mascouten village on the upper Fox river. Here he finds nearly two hundred cabins of savages, representing five tribes. A cabin is erected, for his chapel; but, when he undertakes to say mass, so great a crowd assembles, and so great is their curiosity “to see the black gown,” that for some time he cannot even make himself heard by them. He succeeds at last in explaining the ceremony to them, when they show profound respect, and even refrain from smoking and talking while Allouez is using the chapel. Crowds attend his instructions every day, and he says, “I had barely time to take my food.” He erects a great cross; and his parishioners hang upon it “dusters of Indian corn, girdles, and red garters,” to show their veneration. Two of the tribes begin to quarrel over it, each desiring to have it when the Father shall depart; “this holy contention gave me joy.” He settles it by erecting another cross in the rival encampment. Allouez remains among these people until September 6, when he sets out on his return to De Pore. His canoe is wrecked in the Appleton rapids; all his baggage is soaked with water, but fortunately is not lost. With one of his boatmen, who is ill, he remains eight days on “an Islet ten feet Long,” until his men can procure another canoe. They then return safely to the mission-house at De Pete.

In the mission of St. François Xavier, which includes the Pottawattomie village on the east shore of Green Bay, Allouez baptizes thirty-four persons during the year—all children, except 88 one sick man. After September, he dwells in his house alone the savages all departing, “because this year there are neither acorns nor Ducks.” Many parties of Indians pass that way, however, going to or returning from their hunting; these he instructs as he has opportunity.

At St. Mark's, among the Foxes, he has baptized forty-eight. In November, he goes there to visit some sick converts, of whose religious experiences he gives some account. In February, 1673, he again visits them, but finds that they have been prejudiced against the faith by the Iroquois. Moreover, notwithstanding their prayers to God, they have lost many warriors at the hands of the Sioux. lie says mass every day, and preaches boldly against their superstitions and their licentious customs; yet no one interferes with him. “This is a special grace for this village, where the people are self-willed beyond anything that can be imagined.” Allouez relates the course of events during his stay there. They listen to him readily, but are easily diverted from belief in the new faith, especially when it does not protect them from their enemies.

The Father departs, April 30, for the Mascouten village, where he is welcomed by a friendly but noisy crowd, so anxious to get inside his chapel that, as before, they tear off the rush mats of which it is made. Of the Miami Indians, who also dwell here, some profess the faith; but others do not approve the Father's preaching. He observes, however, that all those who believe have not suffered from hunger during the winter, while the pagans have experienced such famine that some them died. The Miamis have given up invocations to their manitous, and invoke “him who has made Heaven and earth.”

Marquette has departed on his voyage toward the South Sea, and Albanel1 has again set out for Hudson Bay.]— *Jes. Relations* , lvii, pp. 15–18, 203–301; lviii, 21–73.

1 Charles Albanel came to Canada in 1649, and was long a missionary among the Montagnais. In 1671–72, he was sent to Hudson Bay by Talon, to take possession of that region for France. In 1676 he began labor in the Ottawa missions, where he remained until his death (1696). He was stationed at Green Bay during 1676–83.— Ed.

MARQUETTE'S MS. MAP, ACCOMPANYING HIS JOURNAL, 1673 Original in St. Mary's College archives, Montreal. Reproduced from the *Jesuit Relations,* lix, by permission of Burrows Brothers Co.

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1673: JOLIET AND MARQUETTE DISCOVER THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI. [From a document in the Jesuit *Relations* .]

[Synopsis: The journal of Father Marquette describes the voyage in which he and Joliet discovered and explored the Mississippi river. It is prefaced with a brief note by Dablon, which mentions Marquette's early desire to carry the gospel to the Southern tribes, and his opportunity for doing so when Joliet is chosen by Frontenac and Talon to explore the then unknown water-routes beyond Lake Michigan. Dablon also praises the fitness of Joliet for this undertaking.1

1 Jacques Marquette, born in 1673, entered the Jesuit order at the age of seventeen. Joining the Canadian mission in 1666, he was, three years later, sent to the Ottawas at Chequamegon, and in 1671 founded the Mackinac (or St. Ignace) mission to the Hurons. After his famous voyage of discovery and exploration on the Mississippi river, he returned to Green Bay; a year later he founded the mission to the Illinois Indians. His health giving way, he departed thence to go to Mackinac; but died on the way (May 18, 1675), at the mouth of Marquette river, Mich.

On this voyage Marquette was the companion of Louis Joliet sent by the Canadian authorities to explore the *terra incognita* west of the Fox river of Green Bay. Joliet had

been educated at the Jesuit college of Quebec; had explored the Lake Superior copper region in 1669; and accompanied St. Lusson when the latter took possession (1671) of the Northwest. Returning from his Mississippi expedition, Joliet lost all his papers in the wreck of his canoe near Montreal, but afterward prepared other copies of them, and of his noted map, for the French government. In 1679 he made a voyage to Hudson Bay. In 1679–80 he obtained grants of islands (Mingan and Anticosti) noted for their valuable fisheries; but he died (about 1700) a poor man. For more detailed information regarding both these explorers, see Gagnon's “Louis Jolliet” (*Rev. Canadienne*, 1900–01), Thwaites's *Father Marquette* (N. Y., 1902), and *Jes. Relations*, 1, pp. 323–325; for reproductions of their maps, Id., lix., pp. 86, 108, 154; Marquette's report of his first voyage, and journal of his second, are given in full in vol. lix.— Ed.

Marquette recounts the details of their voyage, which begins May 17, 1673, at the St. Ignace mission. They journey via Green Bay, visiting on the way the Menomonee Indians, who endeavor to dissuade them from their enterprise saying that 90 there are ferocious tribes on the great river, some of whom are at war together, who will kill any stranger; that horrible monsters and demons will endanger their lives, etc.

Passing through the bay, and ascending the Fox river, they arrive at the Mascouten village June 7. Marquette describes at length two remarkable plants, the wild rice and snake-root. The Frenchmen at once call the elders, and ask them for guides on their way, which is readily granted. These savages conduct them to the Fox-Wisconsin portage, whence the travelers make their way alone. On June 17, they enter the Mississippi, at Prairie du Chien, “with a Joy that I cannot express.” Marquette gives a minute description of the great river, the lands through which it passes, and the fauna of that region, most of which are strange and curious to the Canadians. Among these animals, he gives especial attention to the buffalo.

The voyagers proceed more than sixty leagues without seeing any human being, until June 25, when they discover a beaten path from the river inland. Marquette and Joliet

follow this, and reach an Illinois village, the people of which receive them most hospitably, and with elaborate ceremonies, which are fully described. A chapter is devoted to an account of their customs and usages. Marquette praises the gentleness and docility of the Illinois savages. They use guns, and carry on an extensive trade in slaves, whom they capture from more remote tribes. They raise abundant crops of Indian corn and other vegetables. The calumet, or ceremonial pipe, and the dance in honor of it, are fully described. One of these pipes is given to Marquette and his party, as a safeguard for their passage through the hostile nations farther down the river.

After remaining several days with the friendly Illinois savages, the explorers resume their voyage. They find new and curious plants, and agreeable fruits. Near Alton, Illinois, they see on the smooth face of a bluff paintings of strange monsters, so frightful in appearance that “the boldest savages dare not Long rest their eyes” upon them. Shortly after passing these grotesque figures, they narrowly escape being wrecked in the swollen and turbid flood poured forth at the mouth of the Missouri river. The reports which they have already heard from 91 the savages regarding this stream lead them to suppose that, by ascending it far enough, they might gain other rivers which would furnish the long-sought passage to the Western Sea, Near the mouth of the Ohio, they find rich deposits of iron ore. They now begin to experience the torment of mosquitoes.

Somewhat farther down, they encounter a band of savages, who at first appear to be hostile; they prove, however, to be “as frightened as we were,” and soon become pacified. Again, at the mouth of St. Francis river, they are in danger of losing their lives, being attacked by the Mitchigameas, who dwell there. In this emergency, they are saved by displaying the calumet which the Illinois gave them. On the next day they proceed to the mouth of the Arkansas, where another tribe dwells. These savages are friendly, and warn them that they cannot go farther without great danger.

At this point, Marquette and Joliet take counsel together as to their next proceeding. They are now well satisfied that the great river, on which they have voyaged more than

a thousand miles, flows into the Gulf of Mexico. If they advance, they are in danger of imprisonment, and perhaps death—thus risking the loss of all that they have gained from their long and perilous journey. Accordingly, they begin (July 17) their return voyage; but this time they ascend the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers, and enter Lake Michigan by the Chicago river. They stop on the way to visit a Kaskaskia band, who desire Marquette to come again to instruct them; also the Peorias, where he baptizes a dying child, which alone repays the missionary for his long and toilsome journey. At the close of September, they reach the De Pete mission.

Dablon writes (August 1, 1674) to his superior in France, giving an account of the recent discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette, obtained from reports made by the former. He describes the extent and course of the great river, and mentions the tribes dwelling upon its shores. The savages of that region appear gentle and friendly. At the first village that they enter, a magnificent calumet—the pipe of peace—is presented to the Frenchmen. The beauty and fertility of that country, the abundance of game, and the mildness 92 of the climate, delight the travelers. They proceed until, as the Indians inform them, they are but fifty leagues distant from the sea. At this point, fearing that they may be detained as prisoners by the Spaniards, they conclude to go back to Quebec, to inform the governor, as soon as possible, of their discoveries. They return to De Pere (this time by the Illinois river route), and Joliet proceeds to Quebec; but he has the misfortune to wreck his canoe above Montreal, losing all his papers; and barely escaping with his life.

Dablon's first comment on this important voyage is, that it opens the way for missions to new tribes, among whom there is a bright prospect for success. He also observes that it is now tolerably certain that the Mississippi discharges into the Florida sea. This disappoints the hope of explorers that the river would offer a passage to the China sea; but they think that, by ascending the Missouri, some other river which flows westward may be reached. The writer—or, more probably, Joliet—suggests that a ship-canal might be cut across the Chicago portage, to connect the Illinois river with Lake Michigan, thus affording a short and inland route from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.1 Joliet recommends the Illinois prairies

as suitable for French colonies.]— *Jes. Relations* , lix, pp 14–17, 87–163; lviii, 12, 13, 93–109.

1 The portage of the Chicago-Des Plaines route varied in length from one to nine miles, according to the season of the year. A canal between these rivers was opened in 1848, which is now replaced by the Chicago drainage canal; it is 36 miles long, and extends from Chicago to Joliet.— Ed.

1673–76: JESUIT MISSIONS TO OTTAWAS AND WISCONSIN TRIBES. [From the Jesuit *Relations* of 1673–74, 1675, and 1676–77.]

[Synopsis: At Sault Ste. Marie, the chapel first built, which was consumed by fire in 1671, has been replaced by a new and finer one. This, too, was in danger of the same fate, in the spring of 1674—the residence of the Fathers, which

GÆTANO TRENTANOVE'S STATUE OF MARQUETTE Now in the Capitol at Washington: a replica, in bronze, is at Marquette, Mich. The subject is idealized; the sculptor did not attempt a portrait

93 stood near it, being burned to the ground. This fire results from a treacherous attack made upon some Sioux ambassadors who had come to treat for peace, and had been placed, for their safety, in the mission-house. Nevertheless, the ambassadors are attacked even there, by certain Cree Indians who are implacably hostile to the Sioux. The ambassadors are all slain, sifter having killed many of the Crees and Ottawas. During the fight, the mission-house is burned, with all its contents; and, worst of all, the Fathers see the door closed by which they had hoped to enter the Sioux tribes. The Algonkins at the Sault, fearing reprisals from the Sioux for this treacherous murder, take flight; and the missionaries are thus left alone to face the expected enemy.

Allouez gives (1674) an account of his work at Green Bay. “In the conviction that the house of God will protect them,” the Illinois tribes are Socking to that region, as wall as many from the upper Mississippi. “If they do not all pray as yet, they at least esteem

Prayer.” When they pass the church, they throw tobacco all around it, as a token of respect “to the greatest divinity of whom they have ever heard.”

André is laboring among the Menomonees and other tribes along the shore of Green Bay. He finds the former invoking the sun to send them success in fishing for sturgeon; he persuades them to replace the image of the sun by his crucifix. On the next day, they catch abundance of fish; this renders them surprisingly attentive to his instructions. He baptizes many children, and two sick men. At another of these outlying stations, the young men are taught the folly of invoking the devil, by the failure of an expedition on which they set out against the Sioux; they then are willing to have recourse to the true God. André's efforts are also aided by the cure of a sick man through baptism. His people go in November to the shore of Lake Michigan, but he is unable to follow them. He falls ill, and is obliged to remain alone at the Menominee river during six weeks, suffering from the cold and his sickness, and exposed to possible attack from enemies; but his confidence in God, and his expectation of the coming of some Illinois bands in January, sustain him amid these hardships.]— *Jes. Relations* , lviii, pp. 17–18, 255–289.

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[Synopsis: In 1675, Dablon sends to his provincial an account of “the present condition of the missions in New France.” It begins with a brief survey of the Ottawa mission, followed by an account of Marquette's last voyage and death.

At Sault Ste. Marie, with its dependent missions on the islands and northern shore of Lake Huron, over one hundred and twenty persons have been baptized, “notwithstanding all the opposition that the devil raises up against the Gospel by various superstitions”— to oppose which the missionaries have more than once risked their lives. At St. Ignace (Marquette's post), the new chapel built last year was, at its opening, “consecrated by sixty-six baptisms,” administered to Hurons and Algonkins who have settled there. At De Pere, André has, by mingled patience and firmness, conquered the minds, “most ferocious and superstitious,” of the savages in that region. He has formed “a church of four

or five hundred Christians;" and has baptized a hundred and forty persons during the past year. Among the Central Wisconsin tribes Allouez has baptized a hundred and sixty. The Mascouten village has been increased, by refugees from many tribes, to a population of 200,000 souls—a parish too large for Allouez, who is now aided by Silvy.1 Letters from the former give some account of his work there. As usual, the great obstacle in the way of the missionaries is the blind adherence of the savages to their superstitions, especially where dreams are concerned.]— *Jes. Relations* , lix, pp. 69, 71, 217–235.

1 Antoine Silvy came to Canada in 1673, and spent his life in the missions. During 1674–78 he was a laborer in the Ottawa missions, aiding Allouez in Wisconsin during the last two years of that period.— Ed.

[Synopsis: The Ottawa missions (1676) have "within a year Given to the Church 367 persons. * * * Of all that number, not more than 60 are adults. The remainder are children, most of whom have gone to Heaven since baptism." Extracts from the missionaries' letters are given. Allouez writes from the De Pere mission (May 26, 1676) that he has spent 95 the preceding year in itinerant missions among the tribes in Central Wisconsin. From the Outagamies he expects much, for they have been sorely afflicted of late, by war, famine, and sickness. A letter from André, dated April 20, 1676, gives some account of the De Pere mission. His stations are scattered around Green Bay, ten to fifteen leagues apart; "this compels me To Be always in the Field." He has on this bay "from 4 to 500 Christians." He has secured forty-five baptisms, but has had to endure much at the hands of the infidels One of these burns André's house: "he did so perhaps to allay the sorrow that he felt for the death of his two children, who were killed some time ago by a savage." The Father mentions various journeys which he has made among the scattered tribes, baptizing some children or old men at each camp; the devil tries "to revenge himself for the prey that I Snatched from him through these Baptisms." Among the Winnebago Indians André finds others, who speak their language, are neutral in the war between them and

the Sioux, and belong to the Iowas, 200 leagues westward from Green Bay. A postscript by Dablon summarizes André's observations on the apparent tides in Green Bay.

Silvy has gone to the Mascouten village, to aid Allouez in that great field. He finds (April 6, 1676) among them thirty-six adult Christians and 126 baptized children. The savages, both Christian and pagan, throng to his chapel. He details the pious behavior of one of the Christians, who, at the elevation of the host, feels such awe and veneration that he “suddenly fell into such convulsions that he seemed like one possessed.”

From St. Ignace mission, Pierson writes (April 25, 1676) in highly encouraging terms. He has baptized forty-seven adults, a number greater than that of the children; and his Huron church is steadily growing in faith and devotion, as well as in numbers. The medicine-men have kept the promise given by them two years ago, to abandon their juggleries and superstitions. The Iroquois are endeavoring to gain the good will of the Hurons; but the Jesuits fear that this is but a pretext to lure the Hurons to the Iroquois country, which would ruin the St. Ignace mission. The other Fathers who labor on or near 96 Lake Huron also report many baptisms, mainly of children.] *Jes. Relations* , lx, pp. 18, 19, 197–213.

1676–77: ALLOUEZ BEGINS THE ILLINOIS MISSION.

[The mission to the Illinois tribes, which was founded by Marquette, was continued by Allouez (1676–77). His journal of the voyage thither is given in *Jes. Relations* , lx. The original MS., written by him, rests in the archives of St. Mary's (Jesuit) College, Montreal.]

[Synopsis: A voyage to the Illinois mission, which was gun by the late Father Marquette, is made by his successor, the veteran Allouez. His report of this journey, prefaced by a short note by Dablon, is here given.

He sets out from De Pere near the end of October, 1676, with two men. They intend to winter with the Illinois, but cold weather overtakes them earlier than usual, and they are obliged to remain among the Pottawattomie Indians near Green Bay until February. The

ice is then strong enough to bear their canoe, upon which they rig a sail, and thus have an ice-boat which is propelled by the wind; when the wind fails, they haul the canoe by ropes. March 29, they embark on Lake Michigan, which they have reached via the Sturgeon Bay portage. After voyaging seventy-six leagues along the lake-shore, they reach Chicago river, where they are cordially welcomed by the Indians who dwell there. Finally, on April 27, they reach the great Illinois village of Kaskaskia.1 This place now has people from eight different tribes, and contains 351 cabins. Allouez briefly mentions the customs of these people, and the natural products of the country. He at once begins to instruct them, in the very cabin where Marquette had lodged; “I could not have desired a larger audience, or closer attention.” The Father baptizes thirty-five children and a sick man; he erects a great cross in the village, which is adored by even the children;

1 This village was not located at the place afterward called Kaskaskia, but near the present village of Utica, in La Salle county, Ill. The tribe migrated to the present Kaskaskia in 1700 (see Jes. Relations, lxv, p. 101).— Ed.

MARQUETTE'S UNFINISHED AUTOGRAPH JOURNAL, 1674–75 Photographic facsimile (reduced from the original MS, (seven pages) in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. The seventh page contains the superscription addressed to Father Dablon, and the latter's endorsement thereon. Reproduced from the *Jesuit Relations,* lix, by permission of Burrows Brothers Co.

97 and he sees there a bright prospect of success for the faith. A rumor that the Iroquois intend to make war upon the Illinois leads him to dread that “beginnings so glorious may be entirely destroyed.” A postscript by Dablon states that the expected Iroquois raid had taken place, but had been repelled by the Illinois. He dreads the result of this upon the mission just begun.]— *Jes. Relations* , lx, pp. 16, 17, 149–167.

1677–79: JESUIT MISSIONS TO OTTAWAS AND WISCONSIN TRIBES. [From the Jesuit *Relations* of 1677–78 and 1679.]

[Synopsis: The Fathers in the Ottawa missions send (1678) favorable reports. At Mackinac, Nouvel has the care of the Kiskakons; their chiefs and leading elders are baptized, and most of the people are living as Christians. Pierson is also doing good work among the Hurons of that locality; and Bailloquet is an itinerant among the tribes scattered along the north shore of Lake Huron, where “opportunities for practicing patience and charity have not failed us.” At Sault Ste. Marie, Druillettes is in charge; “broken down by age, and worn out by past fatigues and many infirmities,” he yet “labors with almost unparalleled energy.”

Good news also comes from Wisconsin. Albanel, superior at De Pete, states that his chapel there is a centre for the savages of all that region. André Silvy, and Allouez report numerous baptisms; and, although they have been ill-treated by the infidels, “all that is to them a cause for joy and triumph.”

St. Ignace is now (1679) an important station, being a centre for four distinct missions: those to the Ottawas and the Hurons at Mackinac, the tribes at the upper end of Lake Huron, and the savages dwelling at Lake Nipissing. Bailloquet is in charge of the last two, and has for two years been aided by Bonneault; extracts from their letters are given. The two missions at St. 8 98 Ignace, in charge of Nouvel and Pierson, are reported by Enjalran, who has been siding those Fathers.1

1 Jean Enjalran was superior of the Jesuit missions in the Northwest during 1681–88. He then returned to France; but it is known that he was again in Canada, during 1701–02. Pierre Bailloquet was, during 1673–79, a missionary among the Algonkin tribes northeast of Lake Huron; he then spent a few years at Sault Ste. Marie and Millimackinac, with the Ottowas there resident. André Bonneault in 1677 came to Michillimackinac, and in the following year replaced Silvy in Central Wisconsin; he returned to France in 1679. Philippe Pierson came to Canada in 1666; after ministering to the savages at Laprairie and Sillery,

he was sent to the Huron mission at Michillimackinac (1673), where he labored during ten years. He died at Quebec in 1688.— Ed.

He warmly eulogizes the patience, love, and zeal of his colleagues. The Hurons and Ottowas there comprise, in all, about 1,800 souls. Enjalran relates at length the pious usages and rule of this Christian community, and their observance of the principal church feasts. He praises their charity to one another, as well as their devotion in church services. The two nations live side by side, in Christian affection, often uniting in their celebration of notable feast-days. The Algonkins are so fervent that many of them pray all day long, and would, if permitted, continue this pious exercise far into the night. The baptisms among them during the winter count nearly 140, twenty of whom are adults. The Kiskakon band, who had been converted (about 1669) by the long and patient labors of Allouez and Marquette, are especially zealous; their chiefs and most of their old men are baptized, and "Continually exhort the young people to make profession of Christianity." A large cross is erected in their village, and adorned by a zealous convert with a lance and sponge. The devil persuades some of the infidels that this lance "signifies that the Iroquois are soon to cause us to perish, and that Jesus is about to deliver us into the hands of our enemies." They also inform the Fathers that their enemies, the Sioux, crucify their prisoners of war; accordingly, these Algonkins regard the cross with dislike. The Jesuits are, however, able to win their minds from this prejudice. Some unbelievers insult the cross; but prompt and full reparation is 99 made by all the tribes, and, in the end, the true faith is more honored than ever.

In Northern Wisconsin, the missions are accomplishing much good; but the Fathers have to contend most of all against the inveterate superstition and idolatry of the savages. Nevertheless, the latter frequent the De Pete chapel, and venerate it as they do their idols—offering it tobacco, and addressing it "as if it were a living Thing." Albanel is now in charge there; André continues his labor's among the tribes about Green Bay, whose savage traits have been greatly subdued by his patience, courage, and devotion. He now "counts more than 500 Christians on the whole bay." Allouez and Silvy have ministered in

the Outagamie and Mascouten villages, which, including the refugees from other tribes, number at least 20,000 souls. They have baptized some 500 persons, many of whom have been healed by that rite.]— *Jes. Relations* , lxi, 10–13, 69–73, 157.

1681–83: FUR TRADE; WISCONSIN INDIANS ATONE TO JESUITS FOR THE MURDER OF THEIR SERVANTS. [From La Potherie.]

As fast as the new Nations were discovered, efforts were made to introduce among them the Gospel. Monsieur de la Sale had with him some Recolet Fathers. Having found his people, who had gone to live among the Islinois, he established himself upon a steep rock, which was accessible only by a narrow footpath; and the Islinois retired to a valley at the foot of the rock. The Miamis, the Maskoutechs, and the Kikabous abandoned their Village at his arrival, because the men who served those Religious had been assassinated; and they established themselves thirty leagues from there, on the river St. Joseph.1 The

1 La Potherie apparently refers to the Jesuit missionaries, not to the Récollets, when he says “those Religious;” for in the caption of the chapter (as above) he states that it was the Jesuits whose servants had been slain. At this time (1682), Allouez was laboring among these Miamis. La Salle's establishment was that known as Fort St. Louis, built on “Starved Rock,” a lofty height near the present Utica, Ill.— Ed

100 Peace that had just been concluded with the Iroquois seemed to shield them from all difficulties that might arise for them; and the presents that they had given to the Iroquois deputies were a sort of pledge of the alliance that they had contracted. About this time1 the Court revoked the Congés; these were a score of Permissions which His Majesty had granted to the Families Of the poorer Gentlemen to go trading among the Outaouaks, and which the Governor-general distributed to the persons whom he thought most in need of them. A Congé was, then, a Permission to take into the Outaouak country a Canoe with eight men, loaded with merchandise. Those who did not care to go up thither would sell their Coughs for a sum varying from eight to twelve hundred francs. The buyer would choose three Voyageurs, to whom he gave a thousand é?cus' worth of goods, which he

rated high; these goods would produce about twelve thousand francs' profit. The Owner of the Congé had the half of this profit, besides his principal; and the Voyageurs shared the rest. Those people usually resorted to Michilimakinak, or else went among those Nations who they believed, had most Peltries. So many abuses crept in with all these favors from the Prince that persons who were entitled to but one year extended that term, and others went thither as they would. As a result, Beaver-pelts became so abundant that the Farmers of the West could with difficulty find sale for them in France, or a market in foreign countries. On the other hand, Monsieur de la Sale, seeing his projects thwarted by the disorderly commerce which some unauthorized Frenchmen were coming into those quarters to carry on, ordered his men to plunder them; and, at an Assemblage of the Savages convened by him, he begged them not to trade with any one who was not provided with one of the Commissions issued by him. He took this action because the trade which he carried on was really the means of maintaining those peoples, and because he could not succeed in his discoveries if he did not attach them to himself.

1 In 1660.— La Potherie.

101 He took all necessary precautions to prevent the abuses which might be occasioned by the orders which he had given; but they were nevertheless certain to occur; for the Savages, extending their range up to the places where Trade was free, plundered all, indifferently, whom they found roving in those quarters.

* * * * * * * *

The Nations at Baye des Puants no longer dared to go down to Montreal after the Missionaries' servants had been assassinated upon their lands; for they were persuaded that our customs must be like their own, which allow them to avenge a death not only upon the evil-doer, hut also upon his nearest Relatives, his Friends, or his neighbors. Some of the more courageous among them exposed themselves to this danger; but, seeing that the murders that they had committed on every side were left unpunished, they conceived a

contempt for our Nation, and continued to plunder and massacre all stragglers whom they found.

A contagious malady suddenly appeared at the Bay, which cauesd great mortality. This scourge afflicted them to the utmost degree; those who recovered from it often found themselves greatly enfeebled, especially the young men. In the midst of this affliction, our Missionaries found themselves in great danger; for, since the Savages are extremely superstitious, they imagined that the Fathers had east upon them some spell of witchcraft, in order to avenge the death of their people who had been assassinated. The Missionaries narrowly escaped the burning of their houses and Churches, and a like fate for themselves. A Chief, who had heard some one say that they ought to get rid of these Religious, came to live near them, in order to ward off attacks upon them. A Frenchman who had considerable ascendancy over the minds of those Peoples1 told them that the Fathers were incapable of feeling a resentment which could extend to vengeance; that they bore the word of the Spirit who made all things, and who forbids vengeance. He told them that the Fathers employed no spell to make men die; that, on the contrary, they strove to mollify and appease that spirit when he corrected them; but that their crimes and iniquities

1 Evidently a reference to Nicolas Perrot.— Ed.

102 alone could be the cause of this chastisement, which would cease if they were willing to believe on the Spirit and belong to the prayer (it is thus that they name the assembly of the Christians). This Frenchman, who was very adroit, appeased the Savages; he went from cabin to cabin to soothe their irritated minds, and found only affliction and misery on every side. He made them assemble in the cabin of a Chief, where he severely reproached them for the assassination that had been committed on the Frenchmen, and at the same time demanded from them full satisfaction therefor. They defended themselves from the charge of such perfidy; and, after many explanations on both sides, they declared that the Malhominis were the Authors of the crime. They promised that, since the latter were their neighbors, they would invite them to be present, with themselves, at the nearest

Jesuit church to make atonement to those dead men. During the past winter an interview occurred between the Outagamis, accompanied by the Loups,1 and the Sauters and Nadouaissioux; an Outagami Chief had been one of the thirty young Warriors who carried away twelve women and children from the Sauteurs. News of this was at once carried to the Bay. The Commandant at Michilimakinak sent some Frenchmen to ask the Outagamis to send back to him an Outaouak girl and a Sokoki2 woman, but to retain the women of the Santeurs until the latter should restore some children of the Outagamis whom they had kept for some years. A Sauteur Chief who was present at this Parley was deeply offended at the Outsgamis when they refused to restore their prisoners. The Frenchmen on their march encountered two of their comrades, whom the Outagamis had tried to kill, who had saved their lives by swimming a large river. When they arrived at the Outagami village, they called an assembly of the people. The most prominent among the Frenchmen delivered to them a speech, in nearly these words: “Listen, Outagamis, to what

1 Loups: the French appellation of the Wolf clan of the Mohegans-Algonquian tribes who were located mainly in the valleys of the Hudson and Connecticut rivers.— Ed.

2 Sokosis: an Abenaki tribe, settled along the Saco river in Maine; they finally migrated to Canada.— Ed.

103 I am going to say.1 I have learned that you are very anxious to eat the flesh of the French; I have come with these young men Whom you see, in order to satisfy you. Put us into your kettles, and satiate yourselves with the flesh that you have wanted.” Then, drawing his sword from the scabbard, he bared to their sight his chest. “My flesh,” he continued, “is white and savory, but it is quite salt; if you eat it, I do not think that you can swallow it without vomiting.” The head war-Chief immediately replied: “What Son will eat his own Father, from whom he has received life? Thou hast given us birth, since thou has brought us the first Iron; and yet thou tellest us to eat thee.” The Frenchman replied to him: “Thou art right in telling me that I have given thee birth; for when I came to thy village you all were in wretchedness—as it were, people who know not where to settle, and who spring from the lowest depths of the earth. But now, how peacefully you live, and

how you enjoy the light that I have obtained for you! But you are trying to disturb the land, to kill the Sauteurs, and to reduce to subjection those whom I adopted before I did you. Now vomit up your prey; give me back my body, which you wish to put in your kettle; and fear lest the fumes which would arise if you should cook it might form vapors that would become storm-clouds, extending over your village. In one moment, it would be consumed by the flames and lightnings that would issue from that cloud; and these would be followed by a hailstorm which would fall upon your families, so violently that not one would find shelter from it. You forget that your ancestors and yourselves have been vagabonds until now; are you weary of living in comfort? Vomit forth your anger; and believe in your father, who will not abandon you unless you compel him to do so. Listen to my words, and I will settle the bad scrape that you have got into with the Sauteurs." Nothing more was needed to gain for him the prisoners whom he desired. The arrival of the two Girls at Michilimakinak immediately quieted the Outaouaks, who were preparing to go to war against the Outagamis, for news had been brought to them that the latter had slain the Girls.

1 In 1688.— La Potherie.

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Savages from all the villages of the Bay arrived, according to their promise, at the house of the Jesuits, in order to make atonement to the latter for the death of their men. As the affair had been a notorious one, they were at once taken into the Church,1 where the Superior gave them an exhortation, praised their excellent intention, which God would bless, and had them offer some Prayers. Going from that place, they entered a room where sat the French commandant with several other persons; on this occasion it was necessary to conform to the procedure of the Savages, who spread over the dead the presents which they make to those who are the parties concerned. They laid on the floor, accordingly, four packages of beaver-skins and two Porcelain Collars, to efface the resentment that our people might feel at the assassination which they had committed at the French house. The latter were much piqued over a point of honor, and

claimed that that number of Beaver-skins was not sufficient to wipe away their tears. The Jesuits paid very little attention to all these presents; they felt constrained to exact public satisfaction from those people only that they might maintain them in the spirt of religion. Their only occupation was to lay the foundations of the House of God. * * * The Savages readily agreed that their present was an insufficient one, but thought that we ought to consider their troubles, as the sickness prevalent among them had not allowed them to go hunting; and claimed that they would make satisfaction in the following Spring, in a more acceptable manner.

1 This refers to the church at Allouez's Fox river mission (at the present De Pore); it was built in 1672 or 1678 (*Jes. Relations*, lvii, p. 209).— Ed.

At that time, a Saki hung up a war Kettle, but without the consent of all the Chiefs of his tribe; and some of his band entered the cabin of a Frenchman, who was lying on his bed. Suspecting that they had come to say farewell-to him, he pretended to snore; the others waited the moment when he should awake. The Frenchman, suddenly opening his eyes as does a man who awakes from a heavy slumber, said aloud in the Saki tongue: “The Sakis who are going to war will be defeated.” The warriors asked what had given him that idea.

THE DE PERE MONUMENT TO ALLOUEZ Near the site of St. François Xavier mission, which was established by Father Claude Allouez at De Pere rapids in the winter of 1671–72. Erected by the citizens of De Pere, and unveiled by the Wisconsin Historical Society September 6, 1899

105 He told them that he had that moment dreamed that he saw, on the plains North of the Mississippi, beyond the village of the Sioux, a camp of Nadouaissioux, where there was a lighted fire and a great troop of black dogs. Some white dogs, happening to meet them, were attacked and devoured by the black ones—except the largest one, who held out until the last, but was quite worn out. He himself had tried to snatch this victim from their jaws, but all the black dogs had leaped upon him to devour him; and the fear of actually meeting

that fate had caused him to awake, with the startled manner that they had just noticed. This fiction had more effect than had all the solicitations of those Chiefs, who could not obviate the results of this expedient, so ill-timed for their plans; for those young warriors proceeded to relate the danger of the Frenchman, the meaning of which they interpreted by representing the Nadouaissioux as the black dogs, and the Sakis as the white ones. They did not fail to conclude that the Spirit had aided the Frenchman in this emergency, in order to turn them aside from an enterprise which would without doubt have been fatal to them.—La Potherie's *Amér. Septentrionale* , ii, pp. 141–157.

1682: DESCRIPTION OF WISCONSIN RIVERS; ACCUSATIONS AGAINST DULUTH.

[From a letter by La Salle, in Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français* 1614–1754 (Paris, 1876–85), ii, 1919. 249–254.]

Following the windings of the Mississippi, we come to the river Ouisconsing, Misconsing, or Meschetz Odéba, which is between the bay of the Puans and the Great River. It flows at first from north to south to about the 45th degree of north latitude, and then turns to the west and west-south-west, and, after flowing sixty leagues, it falls into the Mississippi. It is nearly as wide as that of the Islinois, navigable to that bend (and perhaps below it) where the canoes are portaged across 106 an oak grove and a flooded meadow to reach the Kakaling river,1 which falls into the bay of the Puans. Misconsing flows between two ranges of hills which widen out from one another at times, leaving between them quite large meadows and lands without trees, sandy and of but little fertility. At other places the level land between the hills and the river is lower, and swampy in some spots; and then it is covered with timber, and flooded by the overflowing of the river. The mountains gradually diminish as the river is ascended; and finally, about three leagues from the portage, the land becomes level and swampy; without trees on the side of the portage, but covered, with pines on the other side. The place where the canoes are carried over is marked by a tree, on which two canoes have been clumsily drawn by the Savages. At a distance of about half a league from this spot is the river Kakaling, which is only a

stream with its source in the swamp, through which it winds a great deal, and forms small lakes by frequently widening and narrowing. The route continues about forty leagues down this river, following its windings, and then the village of the Outagamis is reached, half a league from the river on the north side. Before reaching that place, the river flows into a lake about eight leagues long and three leagues wide; and about two leagues beyond the village are what are called the Kakaling rapids. They are difficult to descend, owing to the swiftness of the water, the quantity of rocks against which it strikes, and three falls where the canoes and their cargoes have to be portaged; they are six leagues in length. At the mouth of this river, where it falls into the bay of the Puans, is a house belonging to the Jesuits,—who really hold the key to the country of Castoria [Beaver land],—where a lay brother that they have, who is a blacksmith, with two companions converts more iron into beaver-skins than the Fathers convert Savages into Christians.

1 A reference to Fox river. The name Kakaling was usually restricted to the rapids and portage at the present Kaukauna (the name of which is but a corruption of Kakaling).— Ed.

About twenty-three or twenty-four leagues to the north and northwest of the mouth of the Ouisconsing—where there is 107 also a reek on the south side, and a fine meadow on the north, near three fine basins or coves of still water—is the Rivière Noire [Black river], called Chabadeba by the Nadouesioux, which is of inconsiderable size and whose mouth is bordered by alder bushes on both sides. About thirty leagues, ascending always in the same direction, one comes to the Rivièredes Boeufs [Buffalo river] which is as wide at iris mouth as that of the Islinois. It is called by that name owing the great number of those animals found there; it is followed from ten to twelve leagues, the water being smooth and without rapids, bordered by mountains which widen out from time to time, forming meadows. There are several islands at its mouth, which is bordered by woods on both sides. Thirty-eight or forty leagues above is the river by which Sieur Du Luth1 descended to the Missisippi. For three years he remained, contrary to orders, with a band of twenty coureurs de bois, in the Lake Superior country; he had conducted himself boldly there, publicly announcing everywhere that at the head of those brave men he feared

not the Grand Provost, and would obtain by force the granting of an amnesty in his favor. The coureurs de bois, whom he first caused to throw off the mask, went to and returned from the settlements several times, loaded with goods and furs; during that period they exhausted the supply of pelts in the Lake Superior country, besieging it from all sides; and this year they prevented the Outaouacs from going down to Montreal.

1 Daniel Greysolon du Luth (Lhut) was especially prominent among Northwestern explorers. An officer in the army of France, he came to Canada about 1676; two years later, he conducted a French expedition into the Sioux country, of which he took formal possession (1679) for France. He spent nearly ten years in explorations (mainly beyond Lake Superior) and fur-trading; he was for a time commandant of the Northwest. In 1689, he had returned to the St. Lawrence; he died in 1710.— Ed.

At that time, and while he was in the Lake Superior country, the Nadouesioux, induced by presents given them by the late Sieur Randin on behalf of Monsieur the comte de Frontenac, and the Sauteurs,—the Savages who bring most furs to Montreal, and who live in the Lake Superior country,— 108 wishing to obey the repeated commands of the said monsieur the Count, were negotiating a peace to unite the nation of the Sauteurs with the French, and to go and trade in the country of the Nadouesioux, distant about sixty leagues to the west of Lake Superior. Du Luth, to cover his desertion, seized this opportunity to give it some color; and with two of his deserters passed himself off as an envoy of Monsieur the Count and as the bearer of his commands to negotiate such peace, while his comrades negotiated much better the trade in beaver-skins. Many interviews took place with the Nadouesioux; and, as he had no interpreter, he enticed away one of my men, named Faffart, who was then a soldier at Fort Frontenac. Finally,—as the Sauteurs had come among and returned from the Nadouesioux several times, and the Nadouesioux had done the same as regards the Sauteurs,—seeing that he had nothing to fear, and that he could thereby greatly increase the number of his beaver-skins, he sent Faffart by land with some douesioux and Sauteurs who were going back together. On his return, that young man told him of the abundance of beaver-skins that he could obtain in that quarter;

he thereupon resolved to try to go there himself. Accordingly, guided by a Sauteur, a Nadouesioux and four Frenchmen, he ascended the river Nemitsakouat1 — whence, after a short portage, he descended into this one, wherein he says he passed forty leagues of rapids. Then, finding that the Nadouesioux were lower down with my people and the Father,2 — who had returned

1 Apparently referring to the Bois Brulé river, which empties into Lake Superior near its western end; the river “full of rapids” was probably the St. Croix.— Ed.

2 An allusion to Father Louis Hennepin, a Récollet priest who came to Canada at the same time with La Salle (1675). Three years later, he joined that explorer, and accompanied him as far as his Illinois fort. Then Hennepin, in company with a Frenchman named Michel Accault, continued his travels by ascending the Mississippi as far St. Anthony's Falls, visiting the tribes of that region. Returning to Quebec in 1681, Hennepin soon afterward went to France, where he wrote his *Description de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1682)—an account of his travels in America which attained great popularity in Europe, and made known La Salle's discoveries. It was translated and published, with extensive historical and bibliographical annotations, by John Shed (New York, 1880).— Ed.

109 from the village of the Nadouesioux, whither they had already been,—he went to meet them. He returned to the village, whence they all came down together, reascended the river Ouisconsing, and thence returned to Montreal as boldly as he had left it—going so far as to insult the commissaries and the representative of the Procurator-general (now the Procurator-general) named d'Auteuil. Mionsieur the Count de Frontenac had him arrested and guarded, to keep him a prisoner in the castle of Quebec—intending to send him to France on charges instituted by Monsieur the Intendant,1 unless the amnesty granted to the coureurs de bois allows of his being set at liberty.

The intendant of New France at that time was Jacques de Meulles who held the office from 1675 to September, 1682.— Ed.

To know who the said Du Luth is, you have only to inquire of Monsieur Dalêra. Nevertheless he claims to have made a great discovery, and asks for that country as an appendage of the Islinois; but it is somewhat of a joke that he should expect to be rewarded for his rebellion. In the second place, there are only three routes to go there: one by Lake Superior, another by the bay of the Puans, the third by the Islinois and through the lands under my jurisdiction. The two former are suspicious; and it would not be necessary to open the third, to my detriment, as he has incurred no expense and has obtained great gains without any risk, while I have undergone great fatigues and dangers and suffered much loss. By the Islinois route there is a detour of three hundred leagues for him. Moreover, the country of the Nadouesioux is not a country that he has discovered. It has been known for a long time, and Reverend Father Hennepin and Michel Accault went there before he did. Even the first of his fellow-deserters who went there was one of my soldiers, whom he enticed away from me. Moreover, that country is uninhabitable, but little suited for cultivation, containing only swamps of wild oats, on which those peoples live; and no advantage can be derived from that discovery, whether it be attributed w my people or to Du Luth,, because the rivers are not navigable. But as the King has grated us the trade in buffalo-hides, it would be ruined by 110 the going and coming to and from the Nadouesioux by any other route than that via Lake Superior—by which Monsieur the Count de Frontenac can send to get the beaver-skins, under the power that he possesses to grant permits. But if they go by Ouisconsing, where buffaloes are hunted in the summer and where I have begun an establishment, they will ruin the trade on which alone I rely, owing to the great number of buffaloes killed every year, which is greater than one can believe.

1683: AFFAIRS AT MICHILLIMACKINAC.

[Letter from Father Enjalran to Lefevre de la Barre, governor of New France. From Margry's *Découv. et établ* ., v, pp. 3–7.]

Missilimakinak , 26th August, 1683.

My previous letters will have informed you that the Gentlemen n charged with carrying out your orders—and who are really desirous of imitating your vigorous conduct regarding the protection of those who are faithful to you, and the punishment of those who are rebellious—had already partly forestalled your commands with respect to the Pouteatamis, who assuredly will have robe humbled sooner or later. Immediately after his arrival, Monsieur de la Durantaye1 sent with despatch to la Baye, that he might afterward take measures according to the information that might be obtained as to the state of affairs there, and what we might have to dread from the mutinous spirit and the insolence of those peoples. Had the canoes that Monsieur Duluth was expected to send been here, perhaps something more effective would have been done than could be accomplished by Monsieur de Ia Durantaye, going there alone

1 Oliver Morel de la Durantaye was an officer in the famous Carignan regiment, which came to Canada in 1655. He was commandant at Michillimackinac, from 1683 to 1685, and was then made commander-in-chief of the Northwest. In 1690, he was recalled to the St. Lawrence; nine years later, he resigned his commission; and his death occurred in 1727.— Ed.

111 with his people—while Monsieur the chevalier de Baugy1 passed by mother way, in order to meet the sieur de la Salle in case he should come by the same way, which is the shortest. Therefore, knowing your views regarding the various advices that we have received as to the state of those nations, we thought, with Monsieur Duluth, that it would be advisable to take advantage of the opportunity offered by his people whom he is sending to the Nadouessis via la Baye, and who have been joined By other persons. Accordingly he left on the eighth instant, with about thirty persons. They were to proceed as far as the house of St. François Xavier, situated at the head of the Bay, and leave their goods there, proceeding afterward in warlike array to speak to the Pouteatamis. They intended to partly form those savages of the resentment felt by the new Onontio2 on

account of their past assassinations and the bad feelings they display toward the French who go to their country, inspiring the other nations with their own hostile spirit. It is the policy of the wretched Ounanghissé, with the view of shielding himself, to induce others to join him; and, whatever good-will he may display, there is no doubt that he is urging the Illinois, Miamis, and others to do without the French—leading them to hope that he and his adherents will supply them with goods. Our house, therefore, gives him umbrage, because he thinks that it favors the designs of the French. Monsieur Duluth—who had not yet been able to start for Lake Superior, for the reasons which he has written you—will effect a good stroke, speaking as he will speak to them, and as I shall be careful to write you by another conveyance with details of all matters. For the present, Monseigneur, it will suffice for me to tell you that, intending to send to the Nadouessis via la Baye, as he wrote you, it was necessary to clear the road and make it salve for his people until

1 The Chevalier de Baugis (Baugy) was an officer in Governor La Barre's guards. In 1683, he was sent by La Barre to seize La Salle's fort (St. Louis) on the Illinois; he remained there about a year, when he gave it up to Henri de Tonty, and returned to Quebec.— Ed.

2 Frontenac was superseded (September, 1862) by La Barre, who held the office of governor during three years; he was succeeded in 1685 by Denonville.— Ed

112 other measures can be taken, should this slight attempt not have the effect expected from it. Matters will be arranged in accordance with your intentions. One good thing (and no slight one) will result from this expedition, if we prevent the rupture between the Outagamis and the Sauteurs; Monsieur Duluth will strive for this with a vigor corresponding to that which animates your great mind, and which I cannot sufficiently admire. This compels and urges us to redouble our prayers, and beg heaven to bless all your designs.

I am sending sundry letters to Our Reverend Father Superior, from which he will obtain information of various kinds and tell you what concerns Messieurs de la Durantaye and the chevalier de Baugy. I fear that the latter may meet with dangerous encounters, owing to the continual acts of hostility that take place in that direction; for the Iroquois carried off

fifty Masscoutins, and the latter are no less to be dreaded should they meet any person while pursuing the aggressors. Steps must be taken to secure the return of the Miamis and Ilinois to their own country. A savage called Nassouascouat, who has just come from that quarter and who is going to see you in the spring, assures me that the Ilinois will return to their country if they can be sure of your protection. Monsieur de la Durantaye came to an understanding with Father d'Allouès, and I rejoice in the hope that success might be obtained as we had planned at the beginning, and that those Gentlemen would arrange with him regarding Monsieur de la Salle and the Savages of that quarter. But an indisposition that attacked the Father puts an end to these measures. It will perhaps be somewhat late when Monsieur de la Salle is warned, if Monsieur the chevalier de Baugy has not become impatient at waiting so long for Monsieur de la Durantaye—who has had many causes of delay, apart from the length of the journey. If all who have taken the road to the Miamis and Ilinois arrive safely, Monsieur the chevalier de Baugy will not be the only one to winter in that quarter, according to the first idea—which was not to abandon that part of the country until still better protection was afforded the Savages than that given by Monsieur de la Salle. I have imparted to all the advice I deemed most conformable to your intentions.

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Sieur de Boisguillot faithfully performs the duty confided to him during the absence of those who are entrusted with your commissions. He writes us what Sieur Péré tells him about the dispositions of the Northern Savages, and I wrote it elsewhere. I do not wish to trouble you with a pile of letters that I have received or am writing, and whereof I am sending the originals or copies to the Reverend Father Superior. He will extract therefrom what is to be communicated to you, pending the moment when I shall do myself the honor of adding to the particulars that I shall give of the news we expect daily; they will supply what is needed to show you that, with all possible esteem and attachment, I remain, Monseigneur,

Your most humble and most obedient servant, J. Enjalran , of the Society of Jesus.

The Hurons have not yet returned from below nor from the exploring expedition.

1683: JESUIT MISSIONS IN THE NORTHWEST.

[Father Thierry Beschefer's report to his provincial, for the year 1683.]

[Synopsis: He enumerates the tribes of the Ottawa missions, and the stations which the Jesuits have established among them. The pious dispositions and customs of the Christian Indians at Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac are described at some length. Superstitious and idolatrous rites are seldom openly practiced among them. A solar eclipse is, as usual, advantageously employed by the Fathers to combat the native superstitions. Nouvel has made various missionary journeys along the shores of Lake Huron, and has found the savages of that region very friendly, and well inclined to the faith. Drunkenness had almost destroyed them; but the Father's preaching has aroused them to strive against this vice. Albanel and André have done good work among the Wisconsin tribes, as also did Allouez before them; the latter is now evangelizing the Illinois and Miami savages, and has been able to abolish most of their superstitious fasts. Famine among them has caused him great 9 114 suffering and hardship. A long and interesting account is given of Allouez's labors, and of the methods which he employs to win those savages. The superior resets the necessity of discontinuing the Illinois mission, on account of the hostilities waged in that region by the Iroquois, who desire to exterminate the Western tribes. Beschefer states the need of new missionaries for the West, since four of the seven now there are almost unfit, on account of age and infirmities, for active service; and, were it not for the services of the donnés, the Jesuits could not have maintained those missions to the present time.] — *Jes. Relations* , lxii, pp. 17–18, 193–215.

1684: INDIAN MURDERERS PUNISHED BY DULUTH.

[Extract from a letter by Du Luth. The original MS. of this document, from which the present is a translation, is in the archives of the Ministère des Colonies, at Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Correspondence génerale, vol. 6, c. 11, fol. 231.”]

Mischelimakinac , April 12, 1684.

Monsieur : As I have had the honor of writing to you (in September and October of last year) regarding the murder committed by the children of Achiganaga, you will be pleased to learn from the present letter the means that I have used to avenge the death of the two Frenchmen of whose murder I informed you.

To follow the affair in detail, Sir, you must know that on the 24th of last October I received notice that the Folavoine,1 who was an accomplice in the murder and robbing of the aforesaid two Frenchmen, had arrived at Shinto Marie du Sault with fifteen cabins of Sauteurs—who had, conjointly with the Gens des Terres,2 made an attack on the Nadouecioux last spring;

1 Literally, “Wild-oats (rice) man;” one of the Menomonee tribe, called by the French “Folles avoines,” which is simply the translation of Malouminé, or Menomonee.— Ed.

2 Gens des Tortes: the French appellation of an Algonquian tribe who then roamed through the wilderness north of Lake Superior; also called Têtes de Boule (“Round Heads”). The remnant of this tribe migrated, in the 19th century, to the St. Maurice flyer, in the Province of Quebec. Up to the present time they retain their nomadic habits, and are “the only tribe in Eastern Canada which persistently refuse to adopt agriculture, either partially or entirely.” See James Bain's note on p. 62 of Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures* (new ed., Boston, 1901).— Ed.

115 and that he believed himself in safety, on account of the number of allies and relatives whom he had there. The Reverend Father Albanel sent me word that the French, of whom there were twelve at the Sault, had not judged it advisable to arrest him, believing

themselves too weak; the Sauteurs, besides, had as much as declared that they would not suffer their lands to be reddened with their blood. I informed the Reverend Father Enialran that I intended to embark at daybreak with six Frenchmen, to join those who were at Sainte Marie du Sault and make myself master there. He was of my opinion; and, as he had some matters to arrange with the Reverend Father Albanel, he got into my canoe.

Arrived at a leaguers distance from the village the Reverend Father, Messieurs the Chevalier de Fourcille and La Chardonniere, and myself disembarked; and I sent away the canoe. in which were Baribaud, Le Mire, La Fortune, and Macons, while we went through the woods to reach the house of the Reverend Fathers,1 for fear that the savages might discover me and take offense at my coming, and enable the Felavoine to escape. Finally, to be brief, I arrested him, and had him guarded day and night by six Frenchmen. Afterward I held a council, to which I desired that all the savages who were present should come, and in which I repeated to them what I had said to the Hurons and Oatouats at the time of the departure of Sieur Péré2 —namely, that you had given me orders, in case there

1 The Jesuit mission at Sault de Ste. Marie was established in 1669. Its buildings had been destroyed by fire twice before 1684; see pp. 93, *ante*.— Ed.

2 Jean Péré was a noted *coureur de bois*, and made explorations in the Northwest, especially in the Lake Superior region, whither he was sent by Talon (1669) to search for copper mines—one of which was discovered by him three years later. In 1684, he was captured by the English at Hudson Bay; but they sent him back to France. In 1687, he was engaged in Denonville's expedition against the Iroquois; he is mentioned, three years later, as being at La Rochelle, France.— Ed.

116 were among them any sufficiently perverse to follow the example of those who have in the past assassinated us at Lake Superior and in Mischigané, who should do the same, I was to separate the innocent from the guilty, not wishing that the entire nation should suffer for the crime, unless it supported the criminals. I told them that they must

declare themselves, in order that, if any factious spirits shared in this project regarding the Folavoine, I might learn it, and they would see that I do not fear them enough to be kept from doing my duty. They then held several councils, to which they invited me, and which tended only to exculpate the prisoner so that I might release him all unanimously accusing Achiganaga and his children, in the belief that Sieur Péré with his detachment could not make himself master of them, and wishing to persuade me that they feared lest all the French there might be killed. I answered that, as regarded the Folavoine, I was net obliged to believe a man whom I considered as having aided to shed the blood of my brothers; that nevertheless, in view of their submission to the orders of Onontio, their Father, I would make no decision until I had more fully investigated the matter. I said, moreover, that if I did not get more convincing proofs against him than those which appeared, I would send him back to them; but that, on the contrary, if it were true that he belonged to the number of the assassins, I would consider in what manner I should dispose of him. And as for the pretended death of Sieur Péré, as well as of the other French, that did not trouble me, since I doubted whether the allies, or any one of the tribe of Achiganaga, would wish to have a war with us in order to sustain an action so infamous as this; and that I therefore felt sure that the French—as they had to attack only some murderers, or at most the men of his family—would get them, alive or dead. These are the only answers that they secured from me during the three days while their councils lasted—after which I embarked, at ten o'clock in the morning, supported only by twelve Frenchmen, to show some seditious persons, who boasted that 117 they would take away the prisoner from me, that the French did not fear them.

The advices that I received daily concerning the number of savages of his own tribe whom Achiganaga was gathering at Kiaonan [Keweenaw]—under pretext, he said, of going to war this spring against the Nadouecioux, to avenge the death of one of his relatives, a son of Onenous—led me to believe that it was only to secure himself from our possible pursuit, in ease we were assured that his children had killed us. This precaution left me between fear and hope regarding the expedition that Sieur Péré was to make—when on the 24th

of November, at 10 o'clock in the evening, he came through the woods to tell me that he was bringing to me Achiganaga and four of his children. He said that they had not, indeed, all been present at the murder; but that he had thought it well to follow in this matter the maxim of the Savages, which is to seize all the relatives; and that the Folavoine, whom I had arrested, was the most guilty, as being the author of the evil. This obliged me to keep him close, and to prevent any one from talking to him, as he had a brother, a sister, and an uncle in the village of the Kiscacons.1 Sieur Péré told me, finally, that he had released the youngest son of Achiganaga, aged about thirteen or fourteen years, in order to make known to those of their tribe, and to the Sauteurs and the Nocké,2 who were in the neighborhood, the reason which the French had for taking away his Father and his brothers. He also told them that, if any were inclined to murmur against this, the French awaited them resolutely—for they were then in a condition to defy them, having found at Kiaonan 18 Frenchmen, who have passed the winter there. No one attempted to oppose his design.

1 The Kiskakon Ottawas had been evangelized by Allouez and Marquette, when at Chequamegon Bay (1665–70); then removing to Michillimackinac, they settled near the Jesuit mission there. Cf. p. 80, *note* 1, *ante*.— Ed.

2 Nouquets (Nocké): an Algonquian tribe along the south shore of Lake Superior; they have given name to Bay de Noquet, in Delta county, Mich. By 1670 they had become merged in the Sauteurs (Ojibwas).— Ed.

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On the 25th, at daybreak, he embarked with four good men whom I gave him, to go to join the prisoners—whom he had left four leagues from here, under the guard of 12 Frenchmen; and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon they arrived. I had them put in the guard-room, which I had arranged in my own lodgings, not suffering them to speak to any one. On the 26th, I set to work to arrange their trial, which I did in the following manner:

I notified all the chiefs and elders that they must come to the council Which I wished to hold; I told the Folavoine to choose two of his kinsmen to sustain his interests; and I told the children of Achiganaga—that is, the two murderers—to do the same. These men I kept separated. The council assembled, and I sent for the Folavoine, that he might be interrogated. I had his answers written down; these were afterward read to him, to know if these were not word for word what he had answered, after which I sent him out of the council under good and sure guard. I observed the same formalities with the two sons of Achiganaga, and, as the Folavoine in some sort accused the father, I sent for him, and had the Folavoine and the two children come back; and all three made accusations, without denying the murder. Achiganaga alone stoutly maintained that he knew nothing of the design of the Folavoine, or that of his children; and that they should say whether he had urged them to kill the French. They answered that he had not.

This confrontation, which the savages did not expect, surprised them; and, seeing that they were convicted of the murder, the elders said: “It is enough; you accuse one another. The Frenchman is now master of your bodies.”

The next day I held another council, in which I said that there was no longer any doubt that the Frenchmen had been killed and robbed, that the murderers were known, and that they knew what was their own practice in such cases. To all that they answered nothing, which obliged me to hold another council in the cabin of Le Brochet. After I had talked to them, seeing that they did not come to any decision, and that all my councils resulted in nothing but the reduction of tobacco into ashes, I made a speech telling them that, since they 119 would not declare themselves, I was going to set about holding their trial; and that the next day I would make known to them what the French and I had resolved.

It is well, Monsieur, that you should know that I only observed all these formalities to see whether they would do us the same justice which they practice among themselves; for I have various examples that in such cases, when the tribe of those who have killed does

not wish to have war with the one that has been offended, the nearest relatives of the murderers themselves kill them—that is, a man for a man.

On the 29th, I assembled a part of the French who were here; and, after having had read to them the examinations and answers of the accused, the certainty which we had that they were all three quilty, by their own avowal, decided us to put them all three to death. But, as the French who had remained at Kiaonan to pass the winter there wrote to the Reverend Father Enialran and myself, begging us to treat this affair with all the mildness possible,—because the savages murmured that, if all the accused were put to death, they would revenge themselves upon the French,— I made known to these gentlemen that, this being an unprecedented affair, I believed it was expedient, for the safety of all their companions who were wintering at Lake Superior to put to death only two. I told them that, in ease the savages wished to make trouble, one man more would not greatly weaken their own party, whereas the death of this third savage might have grievous consequences; on the contrary, by only killing man for man, the savages would have nothing to say, since that is their own practice. M. de la Tour, a man of the Fathers, who has served a long time, supported by cogent reasons the opinion I had expressed, which gave all those whom I had called to the council reason for releasing the third man. It was resolved that two of them, the Folavoine and the elder of the two brothers, should be shot, and that the younger should hold his life by your favor, Monsieur. After this I returned with Messieurs Boisguillot, Péré, de Repentigny, de Manthet, de la Ferté, and Macons, to Le Brochet's cabin, where were present all the elders of the Outaouats of Sable, Outaouats Sinagaux, Kiskacons, Sauteurs, Mississagués, 120 Achilings,1 a part of the Hurons, and Oumamens, chief of the Amikois. I there declared to them anew that, as they were aware of the murder of the two Frenchmen at Kiaonan, and knew all the murderers, I was surprised that no one dared to declare himself in favor of giving us satisfaction; that, nevertheless, Onontio's blood had been shed, that it was still warm, and that other blood must be shed to satisfy it. I therefore made known to them that, since we had been killed by two different tribes, one man of each should die therefor, and that they should meet

the same death which they had inflicted on the French, and should therefore be shot. As for the third, I said that you granted him his life on condition that he make known to all his allies the favor that you, Monsieur, had shown him. I added that if I were not relaxing the rigor of our laws, I would put to death all six of them as being guilty of participating in the robbery, and possibly of contributing to the murder by their evil counsels; but that I hoped that the mildness I had shown on this occasion would not be condemned by you. This decision to put them to death was a very bard blow for them, for they had thus far believed that I would not venture to undertake this. The Outaouats of Sable and the Outaouats Sinagaux, in order not to have trouble with you, Monsieur, had seemed to blame their conduct, and not to care what became of them; now Le Talon rose, and after a long harangue concluded that, if I had a heart, I would grant them their lives. The chief of the Outaouats Sinagaux said that he had taken captive some Irocois whom Monsieur de Courcelle had demanded of him, whom he had surrendered and whose lives had been spared; and that I therefore ought to do the same. Oumamens, whom the Sauteurs had employed to speak for them,—not being able to speak for themselves, as they were parties in the trial,—thanked me for being content with so little, and praised the good heart of the Frenchman, who was going to release the

1 The Sinagaux (Sinagos) were the Squirrel clan of Ottawas; it is their chief who is mentioned as Singos on pp. 26, 27, *ante*. Those “of Sable” were apparently a band located along An Sable river, Mich. The Achilings were a small tribe living on French river and about its discharge into Georgian Bay. The Amikois (Amilkoués) are also known as the Beaver tribe.— Ed.

121 father and three of his children. The other tribes did not speak.

These different opinions led me to answer the two former speakers that, if these were prisoners of war, I would be pleased to spare their lives; but that being assassins they must die, to set an example for those who might have similar designs, and by this fear prevent them from so readily resorting to assassination, especially that of Frenchmen. I said that they know very well that I love men, but that I do not fear them enough to be kept

from executing the orders received from you to put to death whomsoever kills us; that, if I did not do so, when you learned that, although I had in my power those who assassinated your first children, I did not punish them, you would believe it was on account of my fearing men that I had been restrained. Then, to teach me to be afraid, I would no sooner have arrived than you would inflict on me the same treatment that their crime deserved. I said, moreover, that I was not the author of their death, but that all the elders were. I said: “I say thus on account of the sentiments which you have insinuated into the youth, that to kill the French was not an affair of such great moment as one imagined, since a slave or a package of beaver could make sufficient amends; and till now there has been no more grievous result for those who had committed assassinations. But if you had from the beginning made known to the young men that in case they committed any evil deed the tribe would abandon them, they would have been better advised, and the Frenchmen would still be alive.” After this I left the council, and informed the Reverend Fathers, so that they might baptise those two wretched men, which they did. An hour afterward, I put myself at the head of 42 Frenchmen, and, in sight of more than 400 men, and 200 steps from their fort, I had their heads broken.

The impossibility of guarding them until spring to be sent to you, Monsieur, made me hasten their death, being persuaded that on such an occasion a prompt execution is necessary to calm everything, and to avoid giving opportunity to those interested to take measures for attempting to rescue the prisoners.

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When Sieur Péré arrested them, those who had committed the murder confessed; and when asked what they had done with the merchandise, they answered that it was almost all hidden. He had himself conducted to the hiding-places, and was greatly surprised, as were the Frenchmen with him, to see that it was in twelve or fifteen different places; and that through their carelessness the bales, the tobacco, and the powder were ruined, as they had put them in the pine woods, under roots that were soaked in water on account of ten or twelve days of continual rain, which had inundated all the land, because snow

and freezing weather had come unexpectedly soon. They had, therefore, the utmost difficulty in withdrawing the goods. They next went to look for the bodies, and tried, but unsuccessfully, to recover them, as the wretches had thrown them into loose soil, and in a hole which they had made; and, not even satisfied with this, had put branches across them to prevent them from floating when the country is under water in spring. By this precaution they hoped that the French, finding no indications that the missing men had been killed, would believe that they had been drowned by capsizing—which report they had in fact circulated, saying that they had found on the other side of the portage,1 in the lake, a demolished boat, which they believed to be the property of Frenchmen.

1 An allusion to the portage route across Keweenaw Point, which is now followed by the Portage river ship-canal.— Ed.

The merchandise recovered, Sieur Péré had it brought to the place where all the French were, both those who were to spend the winter at Kiaonan, and who knew nothing of the death of Jacques Le Maire and Colin Berthot when Sieur Péré arrived, and the ten who belonged to his detachment. A conference was held regarding the measures which they ought to take to avoid the total loss of the wares, and it was concluded to sell them to the highest bidder. This brought 1,100 livres Paris, to be paid in beaver to M. de Lachesnaye, to whom I send the names of those indebted for the goods.2

2 The livre was a French money of account, in value somewhat less than the modern franc; that of Tours was worth 20 sous, that of Paris 25 sous.

Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye was one of the most wealthy, influential, and public-spirited merchants of Canada. He came to Canada in 1655, and died in 1702.— Ed.

The savages who were present when Achiganaga and his children were arrested wished to dance the calumets for Sieur Péré, and to give him some slaves, which was only meant to patch up the assassination committed upon the French. He perceived their intention,

and therefore would not allow it, telling them that a hundred slaves and a hundred packages of beaver could not make him traffic in the blood of his brothers; and that, when he had sent them to me, it would be for me to decide. I said the same thing here in the councils, so that they might not in future believe that they could save by presents those who might commit similar acts.

On the whole, Monsieur, Sieur Péré plainly shows by his conduct in the pursuit of this affair that he is not so much in the interest of the savages as has been reported; and I venture to say that I know of no one whom they fear more, who flatters them less, and who knows them better.

The criminals being in two different places, Sieur Péré, forced to guard four of them, detached Messieurs de Repentigny, and de Manthet, and six other Frenchmen, to go to arrest the two who were among their people eight leagues away in the woods, which order they vigorously carried out. Among others, Messieurs de Repentigny and de Manthet showed that they feared nothing where honor called them. Sieur de la Chevrotiere rendered very useful service, both in person and by his counsels, as he indicated the place where the criminals were; Achiganaga, who had adopted him as his son, had told him the place where he was to hunt during the winter. I enclose herewith, Monsieur, a list of those who composed the detachment; and, as I prevented them from taking along any wares, since this was not a trading expedition, I have led them to hope that, in ease they should be unable to dispose of their merchandise this spring, you would be kind enough to continue them for a year, so that they may have an opportunity to do their trading.1

1 These men were voyageurs or traders, whom Du Luth had induced to aid him in the capture of the Indian murderers; he asks that the governor will extend for a year the permits to trade now held by these voyageurs.— Ed.

124 This is the favor, Monsieur, that I ask of you for them. Sieur de Boisguillot, who remains here, will await your orders in this.

Two days after the murderers had had their heads broken, the Kiskacons, the Outaouats of Sable, and the Outaouats Sinagaux held a council, in which they gave me six collars (each tribe giving two), to cover the Frenchmen who had been killed, and to efface their blood, in order that the earth might be clean in future. An hour later, they performed the same ceremony toward Achiganaga and the relatives of the Folavoine who were then present.

The next day I held for them a great festival of wheat and tobacco in the cabin of Le Brochet, in order to take away the pain that I had caused him by pronouncing the death-sentence of the two savages in his cabin, without speaking to him of it. To this I invited all the chiefs and elders of all the tribes previously named. The Hurons here gave me three collars for the same purpose as the others had, and they gave three for the Sauteurs and the Folavoines.

It still remained for me to enable Achiganaga and his three children to go home and join their family, located about 120 leagues from here, where they had been taken. They could not travel this distance without my aid, as they were in need of everything. Knowing their need, I informed them that you were not satisfied with merely sparing their lives, but that you wished to preserve them in life by furnishing them with everything they needed to escape dying of hunger and cold on the way—which you did by giving them, by my hand, blankets, guns, powder, lead, mitasses,1 tobacco, axes, knives, twine for making a beaver-net, shirts, and two sacks of wheat to keep them until they could kill some game. They departed two days

1 Mitasse: an Algonkin word adopted by the French Canadians, as the name of the leggings worn by the Indians and hunters in winter; defined in Clapin's *Dict. Canad.-Français* as “a gaiter of deerskin or cloth, ornamented with designs in beads or moose-hair of various colors.” Crawford Lindsay, of Quebec, informs the editor: “What the Indians and French Canadians call *mitasse*—the English inhabitants call ‘neap’—a blanket over-stocking that we wear inside moccasins for snowshoeing.”— *Jes. Relations*, lxvii, 10. 344.

125 later, thoroughly satisfied; but God was not, for at two days' journey from here old Achiganaga fell sick with a quinsy and died, which left his three children at liberty. This news reaching the savages, most of them in this place attributed his death to the French, saying that we killed him. I let them talk unheeded. It is only about two months since they set out for Kiaonan. I gave them letters to the French there, so that these may have nothing to say to them about the murder of their companions, as I have taken such satisfaction as I deemed just.

The Sauteurs gave them some collars in order that they might take good care that no trouble be made over the death of their brother; and in order, should any have evil designs, to restrain them by these collars, of which they are bearers. For my part, I do not doubt that this example will render them wiser, and produce very good results.

1686: GOVERNOR DENONVILLE ORDERS DULUTH TO ESTABLISH A POST AT DETROIT.

[From MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corres. gèn., vol. 8, c. 11, fol. 53.”]

Villemarie ,1 *June* 6, 1686.

1 Villemarie (“city of Mary”) was the name first given to Montreal by the religious colony who established that settlement (1641); they dedicated it to the Virgin Mary.— Ed.

Monsieur : Although I sent word to you this autumn to come to meet me in order to confer with us about a great many things which can not be written, yet, as the Reverend Father Anialran [Enjalran] has come here and intends to go back to Michilimaquina as soon as the restitution of the prisoners shall have been effected, and as your presence is much more necessary with the Outaouats, I therefore give you orders in this letter not to come down, but to join Monsieur de la Durantaye, who is to be at Michilimaquina to execute the orders that I am sending to him for the security of our allies and friends,

You will see by the letters that I write to Monsieur de la 126 Durantaye that my intention is for you to occupy a post at the Strait of Lake Erie, with 50 men; that you Should choose a post in an advantageous place to assure us of that passage, and to protect our savages who go hunting, and serve them as a refuge against the enterprises of their enemies and ours. You will do or say nothing to the Iroquois, unless they should undertake anything against us or against our allies.

You will see also by the letter that I write to Monsieur de la Durantaye that I intend that you go to this post as soon as you possibly can, with some twenty men only, whom you will put under the orders of such lieutenant as you shall choose, as being best adapted for the command and best suiting yourself.

After giving all the orders that you judge necessary for the security of that post, and having ordered your lieutenant to be on his guard, and having recommended the rest to be obedient, you will go to Michilimaquina to await the Reverend Father Anialran, and receive from him the information and instructions on all matters that I shall have communicated to him regarding what I desire of you; and then you will return to said post with thirty men, whom you will receive from Monsieur de la Durantaye to conduct thither. You will see to it that each one furnish himself with the provisions necessary for his subsistence at the post, where doubtless it will be possible to do some trading in furs; accordingly, your men will not do ill to take with them a little merchandise.

I can not sufficiently recommend to you to keep up a good understanding with Monsieur de la Durantaye, as otherwise all our plans would come to nothing, and meantime the service of the king and the public would seriously suffer.

The post to which I send you is all the more important as I count that it will bring us into relations with the Illinois, to whom you will make known the matters of which the Reverend Father will inform you. Remember that nothing can be more important than to apply yourself to carry out well all my orders, and everything that I shall make known

to you through the Reverend Father on his return to Michilimaquina. I send to you the commissions necessary for the command of that post, and for your lieutenant.

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I say nothing of your interests, but you may count upon my doing with pleasure everything that is necessary for your advantage. After this, however, I will repeat to you once more that you can not exercise too much application, in order to succeed in everything that I shall desire of you for the interests of the King's service. If your affairs could allow your brother to be with you next spring, I would be greatly pleased; for, as he is a very intelligent youth, who could be of great service to you, he might also be of great utility to us.

I beg you to mention nothing that you may guess of our designs, but to evade all that.

1686 (*ca*): ACCOUNT OF DETROIT POST.

[Extract from a letter written apparently to Count de Pontchartrain, then intendant of finance in France. The original MS. is in the MSS. division of the library of Congress, Washington.]

To give you an idea, Monsieur, of what the Detroit is, in ease you have none, you must Know that it is a River which is twenty-five Leagues long, into which Lake Huron discharges its waters, to fall into Lake Erie. About Six Leagues from the latter, there is another lake in this River, called Lake St. Claire, which is ten Leagues in length and about fifteen in width. It is well stocked with fish, as is also the River, which is on the forty-first degree of latitude and runs from the Mouth of this lake to Lake Erie, from North-Northeast to South-Southwest. The Land on the North [*sc* . West] side extends toward the Miamis, where is a River by which one goes in Six days to that country whence one can easily reach the Missisipi.1 That to the South [*sc* . East] extends to Toronto,2 a mainland

1 “The Miamis” refers to the new abode of these savages, at the river St. Joseph. From that river access was gained to the Mississippi by a portage (near the present South Bend, Ind.) to the Kankakee, the southern branch of the Illinois river.— Ed.

2 Torento (Tarento, Toronto) was an early appellation of both Lake Simcoe and the Severn river; the name was also applied to the portage-trail from Georgian Bay (via Lake Simcoe) to Lake Ontario, and was transferred to the shore of the great lake, and finally to the present city of Toronto. See Bain's note thereon, *Henry's Travels*, pp. 170, 171.— Ed.

128 at the Foot of Lake Huron which ends at Lake Ontario. The Detroit is one hundred Leagues from Missilimakinac; and from its lower end there are one hundred more to Niagara, which is distant one hundred and fifty leagues from Montreal. And if an Establishment be made at this post, it has been resolved that our people shall build Barks at Katara-Kôui,1 to convey necessaries to Niagara. At the latter place a fort will be erected, in order that Wagons may be kept there for transporting the goods, which will be placed on other Barks, to be carried as far as the Detroit. From this place they can be sent to the Miamis and to Chikager [Chicago] and to la Baye [Green Bay], for the purpose of carrying on Trade with the many nations there.

1 Kartarakoui (Cartarcoui): the Iroquois name of the place where Kingston, Ont., is now situated; a place of great strategic importance, where Frontenac erected (1673) the fort that bore his name. It was abandoned in 1689, but restored in 1695; it was finally captured and destroyed by the English, in 1758.

In 1679 La Salle had erected blockhouses at the entrance of Niagara river; on that site a fort was built by Governor Denonville in 1687. This was for many years one of the most important French posts; in 1759 it was surrendered to the English.— Ed.

Our Fort covers a square of one Arpent in extent, without the Bastions, and is very advantageously Situated on an Eminence, separated from the River by a gentle slope of about forty paces, which forms a very pleasant Glacis.2 Care has been taken to place it

at the narrowest part of the River, which is here a gunshot in width, while everywhere else it is a good quarter of a league. And, if a settlement be made at the Post, the ground is very well suited for building a large town there in the future. The various conditions to be encountered in this

2 A military term, meaning the mass of earth outside a fort which serves as a parapet to the covered way, and gently slopes to the exterior ground. Du Luth's fort was built, not at the place chosen by Cadillac in 1701, but at the southern end of Lake Huron, apparently at or near the present Fort Gratiot, Mich.— Ed.

129 Region make it a very agreeable one; the Climate is as temperate as in Touraine,1 and the Winter (according to the Savages) does not last more than six Weeks. It is a charming sight to see that River, bordered with an infinite number of apple-trees, with abundance of plum-trees of every kind, of Chestnut and Walnut trees, and the Hazel-bushes of France; and to find there the Vine, one of its finest ornaments, whose Grapes are fairly large and good. At intervals we come upon very large meadows, both dry and wet, full of grass that grows to the height of over three feet. They are broken only by fruit Trees, or by hard-wood Timber of great height and of various kinds, such as the butternut and walnut, red and white Oak, Poplar, Basswood, Elm, Ash, and Cottonwood. This diversity continues inland, where we have taken the precaution to have the soil examined; it is so good that it leads us to hope that its fertility will not refuse to the hand of the Careful Husband-man what Nature itself produces so abundantly.

These Woods and vast prairies supply food to an immense number of Oxen, Cows, Stags, Does, Deer, Bears, and Turkeys, which have been of great Assistance to us in providing Subsistence for our Soldiers and Voyageurs, who were occupied in building and whose provisions gave out just as they arrived Four or five Hunters have hitherto Sufficed to support them, notwithstanding the great Heat, which made them lose a portion of their meat. This will give an idea of the various kinds of animals to be found on this Continent. In the prairies, in Lake Ste. Claire, and in the River, wherein there are several Islands,

there are great quantities of Game, consisting of pheasants, Quail, Rail, red Partridges, Cranes, Swans, Bustards, Ducks of various kinds, Teal, and Pigeons.

If we continue to maintain this Establishment, it will be a means of preventing the English from coming to take possession of it, to deprive us of the Trade with the Nations up above; of holding the Iroquois in check; and of maintaining our Allies in their duty. It will be much easier to Frenchify the 10

1 Tournine was a province in the west central part of France. its mean latitude 47° N.; it was watered by the Loire river.— Ed.

130 latter and to preach the Gospel to them, on account of the proximity of the French and the number of Missionaries who will be there.

This, Monsieur, is all that I can write to you at present of the excellence of this Country. If any discovery should be made hereafter I will inform you of it.

1687: ENGLISH AND IROQUOIS INTRIGUES AMONG NORTH-WESTERN TRIBES.

[Part of a letter from Governor Denonville to the French Minister; dated June 8, 1687. The original MS. is in the Paris archives; we obtain our text from a transcript in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, Canada; press-mark, “Corres. gén., vol. ix, pp. 31–50.”]

By the last letters that I had the honor to send you (in November of last year), I rendered you a tolerably exact account of the condition of affairs in this country. Since that time, Monseigneur, we have learned from Missilimaquina that Father Angelran, Superior of the missionaries who are scattered among the remote nations of that region, and Sieur de la Durantaye, who commands at Missilimakinak and the other posts that we hold, have had great difficulty in restraining all the Hurons and the other Outawes savages, and preventing them from going to find the Sonnontwan [Seneca] Iroquois—resolved to come to terms with them, and to become their dependants, and thus their allies. As a result, through the Iroquois power would be introduced the trade with the English—which has

made a strong impression upon our savages by the cheapness of the wares which the English merchants sold them last year at Missilimakinak, whither they resort, as I have had the honor of informing you by my letters. This Huron nation—naturally distrustful and fickle, like all the savages—and the Outawes, although they have long been the enemies of the Iroquois, willingly go over to their side. They do so through fear of the Iroquois power, and through the persuasions of the English, who promise to maintain them in peace with their 131 enemies, and to render them masters of the entire trade of the other remote nations to whom our Frenchmen are accustomed to go. Consider, too, the greater cheapness of goods which the English promise them. All these things, Monseigneur, have caused great difficulty in so managing these peoples as to turn them aside from those transactions.

The Hurons and the Outawes finally determined to send me, this winter, the two most prominent men among them, with four of our Frenchmen, who brought them to me over the ice. How those Fathers, Monseigneur, have averted the greatest misfortune Which could at present happen to us! which would be, if those peoples, quitting our alliance, should take sides with our enemies. The post which Sieur Dulhu occupies at the strait [*Detroit*] of Lake Erié, and the Frenchmen whom Sieur de la Durantaye has gathered at Missilimakina, have been of no little aid to Brother Valloin.1 The harangues of the Fathers have been accompanied with threats from Sieur Durantaye. All these results, Monseigneur, could not be achieved without expense not only to support our Frenchmen who were kept together in the posts, but for the voyages which it has been necessary to make with all diligence, but without any profit for those who were employed either in voyages or at the posts, where as vigilant guard is maintained as in a city in time of war.

1 This name cannot well be identified, as no such person is known among the Jesuit missionaries to New France (see list of these in *Jes. Relations*, lxi, pp. 120–181). It is possible that reference is here made to Father François Vaillant de Gueslis, from 1678 to 1085 a missionary to the Iroquois.— Ed.

Monsieur de Champigny and I did not fail to take good care of our two savage envoys, whom we were obliged to keep several months, awaiting the end of the severe cold season to send them back over the ice to a place near Lake Huron. According to the news that I have received,. they reached their destination on the 3rd of May, when the ice was breaking up. They went away apparently quite resolved to march with their people to join me with Sieurs de la Durantaye and Dulhu, in accordance with my former plans of last year, and with the orders that I 132 have sent to those officers, which I had the honor to report to you in my last letters.

1687–89: HOSTILITIES BETWEEN FRENCH AND IROQUOIS.

[Note : Frontenac had been recalled to France, and succeeded (1682) by Le Febvre de la Barre—an old man, ignorant of the affairs of the colony and of the Indian character, and eager to make money. Engaging in the fur trade, his interests and those of the Canadian merchants leagued with him were imperiled by the Iroquois, who attacked and plundered the French traders. These savages, moreover, endeavored to secure for themselves the monopoly of the trade with the Algonquian tribes on the upper lakes, in order to divert it from Canada to the English and Dutch of New York; and their insatiable ambition and ferocity led them to attempt the conquest of those Northwestern tribes. As we have seen in the third document of this series, the Iroquois had made their way into Wisconsin as early as 1651; and in 1680 they destroyed the great Illinois village near La Salle's Fort St. Louis. In 1684, La Barre led an army into the Iroquois country, but accomplished nothing, save to render those savages more arrogant and turbulent than before. This failure caused La Barre's immediate recall; his successor (1685) being the Marquis de Denonville. The latter, a far abler and more honest man, strove to restrain the Iroquois, and to counteract the influence exercised over them by the English and Dutch; he also endeavored to secure and extend French ascendency on the upper lakes and in the Mississippi valley; but he was greatly hampered by lack of troops and money. Finally securing supplies of men and money from France, he conducted an army (June–July, 1687) against the

Senecas, destroying their villages and crops; and afterward built a fort at the mouth of Niagara river. But he had incensed more than he had injured the Senecas; and in this same campaign he had committed a cruel and treacherous act by seizing, under pretext of a friendly conference, some two hundred peaceable and inoffensive Iroquois (including the 133 women and children), who lived on the north shore of Lake Ontario, among whom a mission was maintained by priests from Montreal. Many of the women and children died from grief or disease; some of the men were surrendered to their converted relatives in the Canadian mission colonies, and the rest were sent to France, to serve with convicts on the royal galleys. Exasperated at this atrocious act, the Iroquois began to harass the French settlements in Canada—terrorizing the tire colony, paralyzing agriculture, and cutting off the fur trade, the two occupations which alone gave it life. The climax of this misery was reached in the terrible massacre at Lachine (August 4–5, 1689), when that settlement was destroyed by an Iroquois army, who butchered or tortured to death some 320 French inhabitants—men, women, and children. Then they ravaged Montreal Island, plundering, killing, and burning all in their way.

Under beth La Barre and Denonville, the tribes of the west were in constant danger from the. frequent hostilities with the Iroquois; and the impoverished and feeble condition of Canada prevented the French from doing much to aid their Indian allies—who had, nevertheless, sent-their warriors to take part in both the French expeditions against the Iroquois. In consequence of this neglect, the Hurons, Ottawas, and other tribes about the lakes, were ready to make peace on their own account, with that dreaded foe, regardless of the French interests. It was all that Perrot, La Durantaye, and other French commandants could do to hold their wavering allegiance. Parkman, in his *Frontenac* , gives a full account (with numerous citations of authorities) of this period; of the commercial, political, and religious influences at work in the development of the Canadian colony; and of the various intrigues carried on by the French, English, and Dutch traders, and the Indian chiefs who were the leading politicians in their respective tribes.

It soon became evident to the French government that Canadian affairs required a more capable and experienced head; and in 1689 Denonville was superseded by Count de Frontenac, the only man who seemed available for that post at this critical juncture.—ED.]

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1688–90: DISTURBANCES AMONG THE UPPER TRIBES, WHICH ARE QUELLED BY PERROT. [From La Potherie.]

La Petite Racine [“Little Root”], who had come on behalf of his tribe to be a Witness of all that should take place in the general Peace Council, found an altogether extraordinary change in the condition of affairs;1 he traded the Peltries that he had brought down, and promptly returned home. Monsieur Denonville despatched with him a canoe, by which he sent his orders to Monsieur de la Durantaye, Commandant at Michillimakinak. This Chief, on his return, caused universal alarm. The Outaouaks informed all the tribes of the devastation that had been inflicted upon the French, and entreated all the Chiefs to come to Michilimakinak, that they might consult together upon the measures that ought to be taken regarding the wretched condition into which they were going to be plunged. They resolved in their general Council to send two Tsonnontouan Deputies, with two of those Iroquois old men whom they had set free, in order to assure the Iroquois that they would have no further connection with the French, and that they desired to maintain with the Iroquois a close alliance.

1 A reference to the Iroquois raids on the St. Lawrence, and the consequent fear of them prevalent among the French.— Ed.

The Hurons feigned not to join in the Revolt of the Outaouaks; the policy of those peoples is so shrewd that it is difficult to penetrate its secrets. When they undertake any enterprise of importance against a nation whom they fear, especially against the French, they seem to form two parties—one conspiring for and the other opposing it; if the former succeed in their projects, the latter approve and sustain what has been done; if their designs are

thwarted, they retire to the other side. Accordingly, they always attain their objects. But such was not the case in this emergency: they were so terrified by La Petite Racine's report that neither the Jesuits nor the Commandant could pacify those people who reproached them, with the most atrocious insults, saying that the French had abused them. Matters reached so pitiable a condition that Monsieur 135 de la Durantaye had need of all his experience and good management to keep his Fort and maintain the interests of the Colony —an undertaking that any other man would have abandoned; for the Savages are fickle, take umbrage at anything, are time-serving, and are seldom friends except as caprice and self-interest induce them to act as such; it is necessary to take them on their weak side, and t, profit by certain moments when one can get the better of their schemes.

Soon afterward, Monsieur the Marquis de Denonville was recalled to Court, His Majesty having appointed him Sub-Governor to Monsieur the Duke of Burgundy. Monsieur the Count de Frontenac succeeded him, and arrived in Canada at the end of October, 1689. Monsieur de la Durantaye, who had remained at Michilimakinak, despatched a canoe to the new Governor, to acquaint him with all the movements of the Outaouaks;1 and, as he held only a temporary command in the post which he was occupying, Monsieur de Frontenac sent Monsieur de Louvigni to relieve him. That General was of opinion, at the outset, that it was desirable to make known his arrival to all the Tribes; Perrot was the man whom he selected for that purpose; he ordered him, at the same time, to make every effort to pacify the troubles that the Outaouaks might have occasioned in those regions. He was accordingly despatched with Monsieur de Louvigni, who cut to pieces, at fifty leagues from Montreal, a party of sixty Iroquois; three of these he sent, as prisoners to Monsieur de Frontenac, and another he took with him. He also carried away many scalps, order to show them to the Outaouaks, in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation with them; but those peoples had already secured the start of him, lest they should draw upon themselves the indignation of the Iroquois. On the route the French

1 The courier sent by La Durantaye on this occasion was Zacharie Joliet, a younger brother of the noted explorer. By the same post was sent Carheil's letter to Frontenac (the

document immediately following this). Both the soldier and the priest were alarmed at the disposition manifested by the upper tribes, and appealed to the governor for such vigorous action as would restrain from hostilities the turbulent savages under their care.— Ed.

136 learned, through the Missisakis, that La Petite Racine had gone as Ambassador to the Iroquois with two Chiefs; that nothing had been heard from them since, except that one man had said that they were yet to depart. This news induced Monsieur de Louvigni to send Perrot with two canoes to Michilimakinak, to inform the French of his arrival. As soon as he came in sight of the place, he displayed the white Flag, and his men' uttered loud shouts of “Vive le Roi!” The French judged, by that, that some good news had come from Montreal. The Outaouaks ran to the edge of the shore, not in the least understanding all these outcries; as they were thoroughly persuaded that our affairs were in very bad condition, they were so politic as to say that they would receive in warlike fashion the French who were on the way. They were warned that our usages were different from theirs; we were unwilling that they should swarm into our canoes to pillage them, as is their custom in regard to nations who crone back victorious from any military expedition, abandoning whatever is in their canoes; we preferred that they should be content with receiving presents. Warning was sent to Monsieur de Louvigni that he would be received in military array, with all the Frenchmen whom he was bringing; all sorts of precautions were taken lest we should be duped by those peoples, who were capable of laying violent hands on us when we were least expecting such action. The canoes came into view, at their head the one in which was the Iroquois slave; according to custom, he was made to sing, all the time standing upright. The Nepiciriniens, who had accompanied the Frenchmen responded with them, keeping time, by loud shouts of “Sassakoue!” followed by volleys of musketry. A hundred Frenchmen of Michilimakinak were stationed, under arms, on the water's edge at the foot of their village; they had only powder in their guns, but had taken the precaution to place bullets in their mouths. The fleet, which proceeded in regular array, as if it were going to make a descent on an enemy's country, gradually came near. When the canoes neared the Village of the Outaouaks,1 they halted, and the Iroquois

1 At Michilimackinac (the present St. Ignace) were three separate villages those of the French,. the Hurons, and the Ottawas. See the mad of that locality which we here reproduce from La Hontan's *Voyages* (ed. 1741, Amsterdam, t. i, p. 156).— Ed.

LA HONTAN'S MAP OF MACKINAC STRAITS From La Hontan's *Voyages* (Amersterdam, 1741), t.i.p. 156

137 was made to sing; a volley of musket-shots, to which the Outaouaks responded, accompanied his song. The fleet crossed, in nearly a straight line, to the French village, but did not at once come to land. The Outaouaks hastened, all in battle array, to the landing-place, while the men in the canoes replied to the prisoner's songs with loud yells and firing of guns, as also did the French of Michilimakinak. At last, when it was necessary to go on shore, Monsieur de Louvigni had his men load their guns with ball, and disembark with weapons ready; the Outaouaks stood at a little distance on the shore, without making any further demonstration.

The Hurons—who, although they had been at all times very unreliable, had seemed greatly attached to our interests amid the General Conspiracy of the Outaouaks—demanded the Slave, in order to have him burned; the other tribes were jealous of that preference. The Huron chiefs, who were very politic, after many deliberations warned their people not to put him in the kettle; their object in this was to render themselves acceptable to the Iroquois, in ease Peace should be made with that people, by the 'distinguished service which they would have rendered to one of their chiefs by saving him from the fire; but we very plainly saw their design. The Outaouaks, who were greatly offended, could not refrain from saying that it would be necessary to eat him. That Iroquois was surprised that a mere handful of Hurons, whom his own people had Enslaved, should have prevailed on an occasion of such importance.

The Father who was Missionary to the Hurons, foreseeing that this affair might have results which would be prejudicial to his cares for their instruction, demanded permission

to go to their village that he might constrain them to find some way by which the resentment of the French might be appeased. He told them that the latter peremptorily ordered them to put the Iroquois in the kettle and that, if they did not do so, the French must come to take him away from them and place him in their own Fort. Some Outaouaks who happened to be present at the Council said that the French were right. The Hurons then 138 saw themselves constrained to beg the Father to tell the French, on their behalf, that they asked for a little delay, in order that they might bind him to the Stake. They did this, and began to burn his fingers; but that Slave displayed so great lack of courage, by the tears that he shed, that they judged him unworthy to die a warrior's death, and despatched him with their weapons.

The Chiefs of all the nations at Michilimakinak were assembled at the house of the Jesuit Fathers; and before each one was placed a present of guns, ammunition, and tobacco. Our envoy represented to them their short-sightedness in abandoning the interests of the French nation to embrace those of the Iroquois, whose only desire was for such a rupture. They were told that Onontio, who had every reason to abandon them, was nevertheless touched with compassion for his children, whom he desired to return to him; and that he had sent the band Frenchmen who had just arrived among them, in order to store to the right path their minds, which had gone astray. That those houses burned on Montreal Island by the Iroquois, and the few corpses that they had seen in the unexpected invasion which the latter had made there, ought not to have such an effect on their minds as to persuade them that all was lost in the Colony; that the Iroquois would not derive much profit from a blow which would far more redound to their shame than to the glory of true warriors, since they had come at that very time to ask for Peace. That the French nation was more numerous than they imagined; that they must look upon it as a great river which never ran dry, and whose course could not be checked by any barrier. That they ought to regard the five Iroquois nations as five cabins of Muskrats in a marsh which the French would soon drain off, and then burn them there; that they could be satisfied that the hundred women and children who had been treacherously carried away would be placed

by many soldiers, whom the great Onontio, the King of France, would send to avenge them. That since our Onontio of Canada, the Count de Frontenac, had arrived at Quebec, he had made the English feel the strength of his arms, by the various war-parties that he had sent into their country; that 139 even the Nepiciriniens who had recently come up to Michilimakinak with Monsieur de Louvigni had given us no little aid in putting five large English villages to fire and sword; that Onontio was powerful enough to destroy the Iroquois, the English, and their Allies. Finally, if any one of these tribes undertook to declare themselves in favor of the Iroquois, he gave them liberty to do so; but that he would not consent that those who turned the war-club to maintain their own interests should hereafter dwell upon his lands; that, if they preferred to be Iroquois, we would become their enemies; and that it would be seen, without any further explanations, who should remain master of the country.

The Chief of the Cinagos, rising in the Council, spoke in these terms: “My brother the Outaouak, vomit forth thy hateful feelings and all thy Plots. Return to thy Father, who stretches out his arms, and who is, moreover, not unable to protect thee.” Nothing more was needed to overturn all the schemes of the malcontents. The Chiefs of each nation protested that they would undertake no action against the will of their Father. But, whatever assurance they gave of their fidelity, most of them, seeing their designs foiled, sought to thwart us by other subterfuges. They did not dare, it is true, to carry out their resolution—either because they were unwilling to risk a Combat with the French, who were only waiting for a final decision; or because they did not know how they could transport their families to the Iroquois country—but all their desire was for the time when they could open the way for a large troop from that nation who could carry them away. They decided, however, in a secret conclave that they would send to the Iroquois the same Deputies on whom they had previously agreed; and that, if their departure should unfortunately be discovered, the Old Men should disown them. This mystery was not kept so hidden that we did not receive warming of it. A Sauteur came to warn Perrot of their intention; one of their Deputies entering his cabin a little later, he reproached him for it. But, as the

Savage is by nature an enemy of deceit, this man could not long disguise his sentiments; and he admitted that his brother was at the Head of that Embassy. Monsieur de Louvigni did not hesitate to call together aft the Chiefs, 140 whom he sharply rebuked for their faithlessness. The Outaouaks thought that they could exculpate themselves by casting all the blame upon the man who was to go away. Messengers were sent for him, and never did a man seem more ashamed than he when he saw that he must appear before the Council; he entered the place with the utmost mortification in his face. His brother said to him: “Our Chiefs are throwing the stone at thee, and they say that they know nothing about thy departure for the Iroquois.” Perrot took up the word, saying: “My brother, how is this? I thought that thou wast the supporter of the French who are at Michilimakinak. When the attack was made at Tsonnontouan, all the Outaouaks gave way; thou alone, with two others, didst second the French. At all times thou hast kept nothing for thyself; when thou hadst anything thou gavest it to the French, whom thou didst love as thine own brothers; yet now thou wouldst, against the wishes of thy tribe, betray us. Onontio, who remembers thee, has told me to reward thee; I do not think that thou art capable of opposing his wishes.” He gave the man a brasse of tobacco and a shirt, and continued: “See what he has given me to show thee that he remembers thee. Although thou hast done wrong, I will give thee something to smoke, so that then mayest vomit up or swallow whatever thou hast intended to do against him; and thy body, which is soiled by treason, shall be made clean by this shirt, which will snake it white.” That Chief was so overcome with sorrow that it was a long time before he could speak; he recovered himself somewhat, and, addressing the Old Men with an air full of pride and contempt, said to them: “Employ me in future, Old Men, when you undertake to plot anything against my Father—he who remembers me, and against whom I have taken sides. I belong wholly to him; and never will I take part against the French.” Then training toward Perrot, he said to him: “I will not lie to thee. When thou didst arrive, I went near thee, intending to embrace thee.; but thou didst regard me unkindly. I thought that thou hadst abandoned me, because I had been to the Iroquois with La Petite Racine. When thou didst speak to the tribes, I withdrew, in order to divert them from the design that we all had of giving ourselves to the Iroquois. They did

not dare to oppose thee; 141 but at night they held a Council in a cabin (from which they turned out all the Women and Children), to which I was summoned. They Deputed me to retrain to the Iroquois, and I believed that thou hadst a grudge against me; those reasons constrained me to yield to what they demanded from me."

Those peoples could no longer maintain their evil design; the explanations that had just been made checked its progress; but they always kept up a very surly feeling against the French nation, and, although they saw that they were unable to compass their object, they did not fail again to stir up opposition against us, in order to annoy us. The jealousy that they felt because we made presents of a few gold-trimmed jackets to some Hurons, who had appeared to be our friends in this affair, inspired in them a new stratagem. They knew that the Miamis, our Allies, were at war with the Iroquois; and they resolved to attack the former, who did not mistrust their design, that they might force the Miamis themselves to make a peace with the Iroquois. The Sauteur who had already ascertained that the Outaouaks had intended to send Deputies to the Iroquois also learned that two canoes were to go to break heads among the Miamis; but we again broke up their plans, and prevented this act.

The Outagamis and the Maskoutechs, wishing to second the Outaouaks at the time when they took sides with the Iroquois-who had sent them a large Collar, in order to thank them for having restored to them five Chiefs whom they had captured when on a hostile expedition against the Islinois—resolved, to do the Iroquois a pleasure, to massacre all the French who were coming down from the country of the Nadouaissioux. They persuaded themselves that they would, by such a massacre, attract to themselves the friendship of that haughty nation, who had appeared greatly pleased when the Outagamis had sent back to them five slaves of their nation, whom the Miamis had given to them to eat.1 —La Potherie's *Amér. Septentrionale* , ii, pp. 231–244.

1 Part of a letter from Froutenac to the French minister, relating (under date of Nov. 12, 1690) the results of this expedition by Louvigny and Perrot, is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls*. v, pp. 65–67. — Ed.

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1689: ALGONKIN, HURON, AND IROQUOIS POLITICS.

[Letter of Étienne de Carheil, a Jesuit missionary, to Count Frontenac; written from Mackinac, probably in November, 1689.]

[Synopsis: Carheil1 writes to the governor warning him of the dissatisfaction prevalent among the Ottawas, who are inclined to form an alliance with the Iroquois. Carheil vigorously denounces the inaction and timidity of recent French policy toward the Iroquois, and says that there is nothing left for the Algonkins save to secure peace as best they can, for the French no longer protect them. The Hurons at Mackinac are really taking the same course as the Ottawas, but are more politic and crafty in their methods. If these tribes are allowed to make peace for themselves, the Iroquois and the Dutch will monopolize the fur trade, to the exclusion of Canada. Carheil warns the governor that he cannot count upon the aid of the upper tribes, if he shall decide to make war upon the Iroquois. They have released the prisoners from that nation, and have forcibly indicated their contempt for the French alliance; their reasons for this are given at length. They reproach the French with weakness and cowardice, and taunt them with having accomplished so little in the Seneca campaigns. They regard the French alliance as also injurious to their trade, in which they get more advantage from the English. Carheil, after summarizing the case, adds: “From this it will be seen that our savages are much more enlightened than one thinks; and that it is difficult to conceal from their penetration anything in the course of affairs that may injure or serve their interests.” He urges, accordingly, vigorous measures by the governor against either the Iroquois or their inciters, the Dutch.]— *Jes. Relations* , lxiv, pp. 11, 12, 23–39.

1 Etienne de Carheil came to Canada in 1666, and two years later was assigned to the Iroquois mission, where he labored until 1683. In 1686 he was sent to the Huron-Ottawa mission at Michillimackinac, in which he continued until about 1704, by which time the Hurons had deserted that post for the new settlement at Detroit. Carheil then returned to Quebec, and spent the rest of his life in the French towns on the St. Lawrence. He died in 1726, at the age of ninety-three years.— Ed.

PERROT'S OSTENSORIUM, 1686 Silver soleil (or ostensorium) given by Nicolas Perrot, French commandant of the West, to St. François Xavier mission at De Pere, in 1686. Now in museum of Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison. The translation of the engraved base reads: “This soliel was given by Mr. Nicolas Perrot to the mission of St. Francçois Xavier at the Baye des Puants, 1686”

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1690–91: PERROT'S DEALINGS WITH WISCONSIN TRIBES; HE ESTABLISHES A FORT ON THE MISSISSIPPI, NEAR THE WISCONSIN. [From La Potherie.]

The arrival of the French at Michilimakinak was heard of La Baye. The Chief of the Puans, a man of sense, who greatly loved our nation, resolved to thwart the design of the Outagamis to kill our people. He went to find them, and made them believe that Onontio had sent Le Petit Bled d'Inde [Petrol] with three hundred IroquOis from the Sault, as many more Abenaquis, all the Nepiciriniens, and six hundred Frenchmen, to revenge himself for their evil project. The Outagamis precipitately quilted their ambuscade, and went back to their Village. This Chief, who was afraid that they would learn of his ruse, went to meet Perrot at the entrance of the Bay; the latter promised to keep his secret, and presented to him a gold-trimmed jacket. A contrary wind compelled them to halt there for a time, and Perrot had an opportunity to become acquainted with all that had occurred at La Baye. The Outagamis had taken thither their hatchets, which were dulled and broken, and had compelled a Jesuit brother to repair them; their Chief held a naked sword, ready to kill him, while he worked. The brother tried to represent to them their folly, but was so maltreated

that he had to take to his bed. The Chief then prepared ambuscades, in order to await the French who were to return from the country of the Nadouaissioux. All the peoples of the Bay had, it is true, good reason to complain, because our people had gone to carry to their enemies all kinds of munitions of war; and one could not be astonished that we had so much difficulty in managing all those people. Perrot sent back the Puan Chief to the Outagamis, to tall them on his behalf that he had learned of their design against his young men, and would punish them for it; and, to let them know that he was not disturbed by all their threats, that he had sent back all his men, except fifty Frenchmen; that he had three hundred musket-shots to fire, and enough provisions with which to receive them; that if he should by chance encounter any one of their 144 nation, he could not answer for the consequences; and that it would be useless for them to ask him to land at their village.

The Puan chief returned to La Baye, where he exaggerated still further what Perrot had said to him. The Renard Chief visited him expressly to ascertain the truth of the matter, and dared not wait for Perrot. He departed with eighty of his warriors to march against the Nadouaissioux, after he had given orders to the people of his village to assure Perrot in his behalf that he loved him, and to take great pains to entertain him well. He preceded to the post of the Frenchmen who were sojourning in the country of the Nadoualssioux; as they were afraid of him, they gave him presents—a gun, a shirt, a kettle, and various munitions of war; and he told them that Le Petit Bled d'Inde had resolved to recall them to La Baye. This news, which was not very agreeable to them, induced them to quit that establishment; and they retired to a place eighty leagues farther inland, where they engaged the Nadouaissioux to go hunting, and to return to them in the Winter. The Outagamis profited by this opportunity to attack the Nadouaissioux, of whom they slew many, and took several captives. The alarm was immediately given among the villages; the warriors fell upon them, and likewise slew many of the Outagamis, and took some captives. The Chief fought on the retreat with extraordinary courage, and would have lost many more of his people if he himself had not made so firm a stand at the head of his band.

The Miamis, who had heard the report that Perrot would soon arrive at La Baye, set out to visit him, to the number of forty, loaded with Beaver-skins; when they came near the house of the Jesuits. canoes were sent to them that they might cross a little stream. The Chief sent his young warriors to erect some cabins; when these had been made, they all resorted thither, in order to consult about the interview that they expected to hold with Sieur Perrot. An incident happened to a Saki who was at the time in his cabin; while he was sitting on the floor, a kettle which hung over the fire fell over him, and part of his body was burned, as he wore only an old raccoon-skin. He uttered a yell, with contortions that made those who were present 145 laugh, despite the compassion which they could not help feeling for him. A Frenchman said to him, jestingly, that a man as courageous as he was ought not to fear the fire; that it was the proper thing for a warrior such as he to sing; but that, to show him that he felt grieved at the accident, he would lay over the scalded part a plaster, consisting of a brasse of tobacco. The Saki replied that such an act showed good sense; and that the tobacco had entirely healed him. The Miamis sent to beg Perrot to visit them in their cabins, that he might point out to them a place where he desired them to assemble. The place of rendezvous was the house of the Jesuits, to which they brought one hundred and sixty Beaver-skins, which they piled in two heaps. The Miami Chief, standing by one of them, spoke after this fashion: “My Father, I come tell thee that thy dead men and mine are in the same grave; and that the Maskoutechs have killed us, and have made us eat our own flesh. My three Sisters, who were made prisoners in the year of the Battle with the Tsonnontouans, seeing that the Iroquois were routed by Onontio, escaped from their hands. Some Maskoutechs, whom they encountered at the river of Chikagon, found on their way two Frenchmen who were returning from the Islinois, and assassinated them. Their dread that the women would make known this murder led the assassins to break their heads; but they carried away the scalps, which they have given us to eat, saying that they were those of some Iroquois. The Spirit has punished those assassins by a malady which has caused them and all their children to die; at last one of them confessed his crime when he was dying. Those Beaver-skins which thou seest

on the other side tell thee that we have no wilt but thine; that, if thou tellest us to weep in silence, we will not move."

Perrot made them several presents, and spoke to them in nearly the following words: "My brothers, I delight in your repose, and war is odious when you fight against the Maskoutech; he is brave, and will slay your young men. I do not doubt that you could destroy him, for you are more numerous and more warlike than he; but desperation will drive him to extremity, and he has arrows and war-clubs, which he can handle 11 146 with skill. Besides, the war-fire has been lighted against the Iroquois, and will be extinguished only when he ceases to exist. War was declared on your account when he swept away your families at Chikagon; those dead persons are seen no longer, for they are covered by those of the Frenchmen whom the Iroquois have betrayed through the agency of the Englishman-who was our Ally, and upon whom we have undertaken to avenge ourselves for his treacherous conduct. We have also for an enemy the Loup, who is his son. Accordingly, we shall not be able to assist you if you undertake war against the Maskoutechs."

After he had delivered this speech to them he also made two heaps of merchandise; and, displaying these, continued thus: "I place a mat under your dead and ours, that they may sleep in peace; and this other present is to cover them with a piece of bark, in order that bad weather and rain may not disturb them. Onontio, to whom I will make known this assassination, will consider and decide what is best to do." The Miamis, then, had reason to be satisfied; since they begged him to locate his establishment upon the Missisipi, near Ouiskensing [Wisconsin], so that they could trade with him for their Peltries: The Chief made him a present of a piece of ore which came from a very rich Lead Mine, which he had found on the bank of a stream which empties into the Missisipi;1 and Perrot promised them that he would within twenty days establish a post below the Ouiskonehe [Wisconsin] river. The Chief then returned to his Village.

1 Probably the Galena river.— Ed.

All the Saki Chiefs and the Pouteouatemis assembled near the Jesuit house. Perrot gave them presents of guns, tobacco, and ammunition, and encouraged them to deal harder blows than ever at the Iroquois, to whom no one was a friend; and he told them how utterly knavish the Iroquois were. He said that the Miamis should distrust their artful words and their fine Collars, which were only so many baits to lure them into their nets; and that, if they should unfortunately fall into those snares, Onontio could not draw them out. He told them that 147 they had cause to be glad that they had continued in their fidelity notwithstanding all the foolish proceedings of the Outaouaks, who had tried to induce the Miamis to espouse their interests instead of his. He repeated to them the details of all that he had said to the nations on Lake Huron; and also made them understand that, if they declared themselves in favor of the Iroquois, they could go to live among them, since he would not suffer them to remain upon our lands. They protested that they would never stray from their duty; and that, although the Outaouaks had always been their friends, they were resolved to perish rather than to abandon the cause of the French.

When Perrot had reached a small Puan village which was near the Outagamis, the Chief of the Maskoutechs and two of his Lieutenants arrived there. They entered Perrot's cabin, excusing themselves for not having brought any present by which they could talk to him, as their village was upon his route; the Chief entreated him to sojourn there, as he had something of importance to communicate to him. Although we were greatly offended with both them and the Outagamis, who had sworn the ruin of the French who were among the Nadouaissioux, Perrot promised to stop at their village in order to forget the resentment that he felt toward them and to pardon them their error, which had been made only through the fault of the Renards.

The Sakis returned by way of the Outagamis, to whom they reported all that had been said to them. Perrot encountered two Outagami Chiefs, who came to meet him; they approached him trembling, and begged him, in the most submissive terms, to land, in order to hear them for a little while. After he had landed, they lit a fire, and laid on the

ground a Beaver robe to serve him as a carpet, on which he seated himself; they were so beside themselves that for a time they could not speak. Finally one of them began to talk, saying: “The Outagamis have done wrong not to remember what thou didst formerly tell them. Since they became acquainted with thee thou hast never deceived them; and when they do not see thee they let themselves be carried away by the solicitations of the Outaouaks and others who try to induce them to abandon the French. I 148 have tried to prevent our people from undertaking anything against thy young men; but they would not believe me, and I have been alone in my opinion. When they learned that thou wept coming, they were afraid of thee, and have begged me to tell thee on their behalf that they wish to see thee in their village, in order to reunite themselves to thy person—which they have not altogether abandoned, since if they had carried out the scheme with which the Outaouaks inspired them against the French, they would have taken care of thy children. As for me, I have taken no part in their Conspiracy; and on that account I have come to meet thee, to entreat that, if thou wilt not grant me anything for them, thou wilt at least not refuse to come and listen to them, out of consideration for me.”

It was very difficult to obtain from those peoples all the satisfaction which we had desired. Their great distance from us prevents us from reducing them to obedience; and the blustering manner which must be assumed with them was the best policy that could be adopted to make them fear us. Perrot, who understood their character, yielded the point out of consideration for this Chief, and promised to remain with them half a day, in order to listen to their words. The Chief went away to console his people; he came back alone to meet Perrot, to ask him that he would land at the village. Another Chief, seeing that the French did not leave their canoes, said that they were afraid. Our men answered that we did not fear them, and that the weapons of the French were able to make them repent, if they had the temerity to offer us any affront. The first-named Chief was greatly incensed against this one, and said to his countrymen: “O Outagamis.,will you always be fools? You will make the Frenchman embark, and he will abandon us. What will become of us? can we plant our fields if he will not allow it?” Throughout the Village there were. endless

Harangues, to quiet those who were seditious, and to induce the others to give sieur Perrot a good reception. The head Chief conducted him to his own cabin, where were present the most influential men of the tribe, who said to him “Welcome!” while offering him every token of kind feeling. Two young men entirely naked, armed as warriors, laid at his feet two packages 149 of Beaver-skins; and, sitting down, cried out to him, “We submit to thy wishes, and entreat thee by this Beaver to forget our foolish acts. If thou art not content with this atonement, attack us; we will suffer death, for we are willing to atone with our blood for the fault that our nation has committed.” All these acts of submission had no other object than to procure ammunition and weapons for the Peltries, foreseeing that he would refuse these supplies to them. Perrot made them understand that he had come to their village only to hear them; that, if they repented of their inconsiderate demands, he would pardon them; that, although they might escape from one hand, he would hold them tightly with the other; that he was holding them by no more than one finger, but that, if they would bestir themselves a little, he would take them by the arms and gradually bring them into a safe place where they could dwell in peace.

All the Chiefs begged him, one after another, to receive them under his protection, imploring him to give them ammunition for their Peltries so that they could kill game to make soup for their children. He would not grant them more than a small amount. A war-Chief, who carried in his hand a dagger, thought that Perrot's Clerk had not given him enough powder, and spoke so fiercely to him that the clerk yielded all he asked. Perrot was greatly irritated against them, and undertook to have everything taken back to the canoes; but after some explanation he recognized that the Chief had no bad intention. Those peoples are so brutal that persons who do not understand them suppose that they are always full of anger when they are speaking.

Their trading being ended, the Frenchmen reëmbarked; they did so very opportunely, for the desperate frame of mind in which the Outagamis found themselves the next day, at tidings of the defeat of their people by the Nadouaissioux, would have made them forget the alliance which they had just renewed; in the sequel, they made that

feeling sufficiently evident. The French arrived at a place a little below the village of the Maskoutechs, where they encamped. The Chiefs, accompanied by their families, came to receive Perrot on the bank of their river; they entreated him to enter a cabin; and by a package of Beaverskins 150 they told him that they covered the dead whom their people had assassinated, including three Miami Slaves who had escaped from the Iroquois. By another present, they begged that he would allow them to establish their village at the same place where the French were going to settle; that they would demonstrate to him their fidelity, and would trade with him for their Peltries. Perrot told them that they had a right to settle wherever they pleased; but that, if he permitted them to come near the French, they must turn their war clubs against the Iroquois only; that they must hang up the hatchet against the Nadouaissioux until the fire of the Iroquois should be wholly extinguished. He told them that since Onontio had undertaken war against the Iroquois (who was his son)—on account of the Miamis who had been slain at Chikagon, and for the sake of the Maskoutechs themselves, who had lost their families—he could chastise the Nadouaissioux more easily than they were aware, when he saw that all his children were uniting their forces with his to destroy the common foe. On the next day they presented to the Frenchmen a buffalo and some Indian corn, which was of great assistance to them during the rest of their journey. He disclosed to them the project formed by all the nations—the Miamis, the Outagamis, the Kikabous, and many of the Islinois. All these tribes were to assemble at the Missisipi, to march against the Nadouaissioux. The Miamis were to command the army; the Maskoutechs also were under obligation to join them, in order to avenge the assassination of the Miami Slaves. At that moment some Outagamis brought the news of the defeat of their people by the Nadouaissioux; and they secretly tried to induce the Maskoutechs to unite with them against the French, who had furnished weapons to their enemies. The Maskoutechs were careful not to embroil themselves with the French; and the difficulty which they had already experienced in reinstating themselves in the good graces of the latter hindered them from undertaking any enterprise which would displease the French. These Outagamis, who had got wind of Perrot's sending to La Baye a canoe loaded with Peltries, went to inform their Chief of it; he sent out some men

to carry it away. The Frenchmen in the canoe, hearing at night the noise 151 of paddles, and suspecting that the savages were going to capture them, hastily slipped among the tall reeds, which they traversed without being perceived.

Perrot reëmbarked, with all his men, in good order; he encountered at the [Fox-Wisconsin] portage a canoe of Frenchmen who were coming from the country of the Nadouaissioux. He warned them not to trust the Maskoutechs, who would plunder them; but his warning was in vain. Some of that nation, discovering them, bestowed upon them every kindness, entreating them to stop and rest themselves, on their way, at their village; but the Frenchmen had no sooner arrived there than they were pillaged. The other Frenchmen reached the Missisipi; Perrot detached ten men to warn, in behalf of Monsieur de Frontenac, the Frenchmen who were among the Nadouaissioux to proceed to Michilimakinak. Perrot's establishment was located below the Ouiskonehe, in a place very advantageously situated for security from attacks by the neighboring tribes.1 The great Chief of The Miamis, having learned that Perrot was there, sent to him a war-Chief and ten young warriors, to tell him that, as his village was four leagues farther down, he was anxious to sit down with Perrot at the latter's fire. That Chief proceeded thither two days later, accompanied by twenty men and his women, and presented to the Frenchman a piece of ore from a lead Mine. Perrot pretended not to be aware of the usefulness of that mineral; he even reproached the Miami for a similar present by which he pretended to cover the death of the two Frenchmen whom. the Maskoutechs had assassinated with the three Miami women who had escaped from an Iroquois village. The Chief was utterly astonished at such discourse, imagining that Perrot was ignorant of their deed; and told him that, since he knew of that affair, he would do whatever Perrot wished in the matter. The Chief also assured him that, when the Allies were assembled, he would make them

1 There are no data sufficient for the exact location of this post; it was probably not far from the present Dubuque, Iowa—at which place, and at Galena, Ill., were located the lead mines often mentioned by La Potherie; and later, by Charlevoix, as “Perrot's mines.” See *Wis. Hist. Colls*., x, pp. 301–333.— Ed.

152 turn the hatchet against the Iroquois; but that until they came to the general Rendezvous it was necessary that he himself should be ignorant of their design, in order that he might be there with his tribe and be able to raise a large troop against the Iroquois. The ice was now strong enough to support a man; and the Maskoutech Chiefs had sent to him a warrior to inform him that the Outagamis were far advanced into the country try of the Nadouaissioux, and prayed the Miamis to hasten to join them; but the latter had replied that they would do nothing without the Frenchman's consent.

The Tchiduakouingoues, the Ouaouiartanons,1 the Pepikokis, the Mangakekis, the Pouankikias, and the Kilataks, all Miami tribes, coming from all directions, marched by long stages to reach that Rendezvous. The first five of these tribes were the first to arrive, with their families, at the French post; the other bands would have perished from hunger if the Tchiduakouingoues had not been at hand with a good supply of provisions. Perrot made them many presents, to induce them to turn their war-club against the Iroquois, the common enemy. They excused themselves from a general advance, asserting, nevertheless, that all their young men would go in various detachments to harass the Iroquois youth and carry away some of their heads. But, far from keeping their promise, they amused themselves for an entire month with hunting cattle; meanwhile, all the warriors who had joined the Outagamis and Maskoutechs were intending to march against the Nadouaissioux, while the old men, women, and children would remain with the French.

1 Ouiatanons (Wawaiation; called Weas by the English): a tribe allied to the Miamis; in the eighteenth century they were residing along the Wabash river.— Ed.

The Savage's mind is difficult to understand; he speaks in one way and thinks in another. If his friend's interests accord with his own, he is ready to render him a service; if not, he always takes the path by which he can most easily attain his own ends; and he makes all his courage consist in deceiving the enemy by a thousand artifices and knaveries. The French were warned of all the Savages' intrigues by a Miami woman; all these hostile actions would have greatly injured Perrot's scheme 153 that they should turn their

weapons against the Iroquois—who, moreover, were delighted that these peoples should be thus divided among themselves, for whatever discord could be aroused among them was the only way by which their plans could be made to fail. Perrot sent for the Chief of the Miamis; he made him believe that he had just received a letter which informed him that the Maskoutechs—jealous at seeing themselves obliged, by way of satisfaction, to join their war-club to that of their Allies—had won over the Outagamis, and that they would by common consent attack the Miamis while on the general march against the Nadouaissioux. The Chief, believing Perrot's statement, did not fail to break up the band of his warriors, and seat them the next day to hunt buffalo; they also held a war-feast, at which they swore the ruin of the Maskoutechs. The Outagamis, who had displayed more steadfast courage than did the other Allies, finding that they were advanced into the enemy's country, consulted the medicine-men to ascertain whether they were secure. Those Jugglers delivered their Oracles, which were that the Spirits had showed them that the Sauteurs and the Nadouaissioux were assembling to march against them. Whether the devil had really spoken to them (as is believed in all Canada), or they were seized with fear at finding themselves alone without assistance—however that might be, they built a Fort, and sent their Chiefs and two warriors to Perrot, begging that he would go among the Nadouaissioux to check their advance, and thus enable the Outagamis, with their families, to take refuge in their own village.

The Miamis would actually have engaged in Battle with the Maskoutechs, if the Frenchman had not dissuaded their Chief from doing so. They received the Outagami Chief with all possible honors; he told them that their people were dead. Perrot asked him how many the dead were. He replied: “I do not know anything positively; but I believe that they all are dead, for our Diviners saw the Nadouaissioux assemble together in order to come against us; they are very numerous, and we are greatly troubled on account of our women and children, who are with us. The old men have sent me to thee, to beg thee to deliver us from the danger into which we have too blindly 154 rushed; they hope that thou wilt go among the Nadouaissioux to stop their advance.” Parrot told him that they

ought not to place any confidence in their Jugglers, who are liars; and that it was only the Spirit who could see so far. “Not at all,” replied the Outagami; “the Spirit has enabled them to see what they have divined, and that is sure to happen.” The Miamis were strongly in favor of advancing. The Frenchman, who felt obliged by the orders that he had received from Monsieur de Frontenac to keep everything quiet among the Allies, concluded that it would be best to avert an attack so fatal to the Outagamis; their destruction would have been very detrimental to the Frenchmen who happened to be in those regions, because the Savages, who are naturally unruly, would have taken the opportunity to vent their resentment against them. He made them understand, however, that since the safety of a band of their nation was concerned, he would go to make some attempt at ameliorating their situation. He encountered on the voyage five cabins of Maskoutechs, a village which was preparing to go to the French establishment to trade there for ammunition. He told them the reason for his departure, and warned them not to trust themselves with the Nadouaissioux.

Parrot finally arrived at the French Fort,1 where he learned that the Nadouaissioux were forming a large war-party to seek out the Outagamis or some of their Allies. As he was then in a place under his own authority, he made known his arrival to the Nadouaissioux, whom he found, to the number of four hundred, ranging along the Missisipi in order to carry on some warlike enterprise. They would not allow his men to return to him, and themselves came to the Fort, to which they flocked from all sides in order to pillage it. The Commandant demanded why their young men appeared so frightened at the very time when he came to visit his brothers in order to give them life. A Chief, arising, made the warriors retire, and ordered

1 Apparently referring to a fort previously erected by Parrot on the upper Mississippi; it may have been his supposed winter-quarters (1685–86) near Trempealeau, Wis., or else one of the two forts that he built on Lake Pepin. Regarding the locations of early French forts on the Mississippi, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 299–372.— Ed.

SUPPOSED SITE OF PERROT'S WINTER QUARTERS, 1685-86 The scene is about one mile north of the village of Trempealeau. The foreground is the Wisconsin side, looking south. What are supposed to be the relics of an early French post were unearthed in April, 1888, on the left bank near the head of the tongue of water in the centre of the picture. The site of the fort is the irregular triangular strip of mainland, lying between the railway curve and the river

155 them to encamp. When their camp was made, Perrot sumoned their leading men, and told them that he had come to inform them that the Miamis, the Outagamis, the Islinois, the Maskoutechs, and the Kikabous had formed an army of four thousand men to fight with them; that they were to march in three parties—one along the Missisipi, another at a day's journey farther inland, but following the river, and a third at a similar distance from the second. He told them that he had stayed this torrent that was going to carry them away; but find them by chance in this locality, he exhorted them to return to their families and hunt Beavers. They replied with much haughtiness that they had left home in order to seek death; and, since there were men, they were going to fight against them, and would not have to go far to find them. They exchanged some Peltries; when that was done, they sent to ask Perrot to visit their camp, and there manifested to him the joy that they felt at his saying that they would find their enemies, entreating him to allow them to continue their route. He tried all sorts of means to dissuade them from this purpose; but they still replied that they had gone away to die; that the Spirit had given them men to eat, at three days' journey from the French; and that Perrot had invented a falsehood to them, since their Jugglers had seen great fires far away. They even pointed out the places where these fires were: one was on this side, and at some distance inland; another somewhat farther, and deeper inland; and a third they believed to be the fire of the Outagamis. All these statements were true, for the five cabins of the Maskoutechs were at three days' journey from the French establishment; their village was on one side, the Fort of the Outagamis opposite, and the Miamis and Islinois at a considerable distance farther. It is believed that the demon often speaks to the Sawages; our Missionaries even claim to have recognized

him on several occasions. There was much truth in what the evil spirit had communicated to their Jugglers. Other expedients must be employed to stop them; to gain their attention, Perrot gave them two kettles and some ether wares, saying to them with these: “I desire you to live; but I am sure that you will be defeated, for your devil has deceived you. What I have told 156 you is true, for I really have kept back the Nations, who have obeyed me. But you are now intending to advance against them; the road that you would take I close to you, my brothers, for I am not willing that it should be stained with blood. If you kill the Outagamis or their allies, you cannot do so without first striking me; if they slay you, they likewise slay me; for I hold them under one of my arms, and you under the other. Can you then do them any wrong without doing it to me?” He was holding the Calumet which they had sung to him when he first made discovery of their Nation; he presented it to them to smoke, but they refused it. The insult which they thus offered was so great that he flung the Calumet at their feet, saying to them: “It must be that I have accepted a Calumet which dogs have sung to me, and that they no longer remember what they said to me. in singing it to me, they chose me as their Chief, and promised me that they would never make any advance against their enemies when I presented it to them; and yet. today they are trying to kill me.” Immediately a war-Chief arose, and told Perrot that he was in the right; he then extended it toward the Sun, uttering invocations, and tried to return it to Perrot's hands. The later replied that he would not receive it unless they assured him that they would lay down their weapons. The Chief hung it on a pole in the open place within the Fort, turning it toward the Sun; then he assembled all the leading men in his tent, and obtained their consent that no hostile advance should be made. He then called Perrot thither, and sent for the Calumet; he placed it before him, one end in the earth and the other held upright by a small forked stick. He drew from his war-pouch a pair of moccasins, beautifully made; then he took off Perrot's shoes, and with his own hands put the moccasins on the Frenchman's feet. Finally he presented to him a dish of dried grapes, and three times put some of the fruit in Perrot's month. After he had eaten these, the Chief took the Calumet and said to him: “I remember all that these men promised to thee when they presented to thee this Calumet; and now we listen to thee. Thou art depriving us of the prey that the

Spirit had given us, and thou art giving life to our enemies. Now do for us what thou hast done for them, 157 and prevent them from slaying us when we are dispersed to hunt for Beaver, which we are going to do. The Sun is our witness that we obey thee.”

Quiet was restored by the good management of Sieur Perrot, who returned to his establishment. He related to the Maskoutechs, who came to meet him, all that he had accomplished among the Nadouaissioux in favor of them and their Allies; and compelled them to settle, with the Kikabous, at a place two days' journey from him near a Miami village—in order that, if the Nadouaissioux should happen to break their promise, these tribes might be able to resist them. They sent a band of forty warriors against the Iroquois, and brought back some of their scalps.

The French discovered the Mine of lead, which they found in great abundance; but it was difficult to obtain the ore, since the mine lies between two masses of rock—which can, however, be cut away. The ore is almost free from impurities, and melts easily; it diminishes by a half, when placed over the fire, but, if put into a furnace, the slag would be only one-fourth.

The Outaouaks, seeing that all was quiet among the tribes of the South, rightly judged that now they could easily carry fire and sword among those peoples. The Alliance which they desired to contract with the Iroquois continually possessed their minds; and however great the ascendancy that the Jesuits had gained over them, or the skill with which Monsieur de Louvigni managed them, in order to keep them in submission to Monsieur de Frontenac's orders, nothing could prevail over their caprice. They left Michilimakinak, to the number of three hundred, and formed two war-Parties; one was to join the Islinois against the Ozages and the Kanças,1 and the other was to disperse into the country of the Nadouaissioux. Their course of conduct could only be very detrimental to the interests of the French Colony, which would thus be prevented from receiving general aid from all the Southern tribes against the Iroquois. When they had arrived at the Bay des Puans, they could not refrain

1 The Osages and Kansas, Siouan tribes, formerly located on the rivers thus named. See Dorsey's “Migrations of Siouan Tribes,” in *Amer. Naturalist*, xx, pp. 211–222.— Ed.

158 from shouting that they found in their road a very precipitous place, which they did not believe they could scale or overturn. “There is Metaminens,” they said, “who is going to stretch out legs of iron, and will compel us to retrace our steps; but let us make an effort, and perhaps we shall get over them.” They remembered that he had restrained them at Michilimakinak, after the raid of the Iroquois upon the island of Montreal. Their fear that we would exasperate the minds of certain tribes in that region made them speak thus. Monsieur de Louvigni had taken the precaution to inform them that Perrot had pledged the Outagamis to our cause, and knew that he could accomplish a great deal in circumstances of such importance. Perrot was prudent enough to say nothing to the Outaouaks about their enterprise; he only inquired from some of the war-Chiefs if they had not some letters from Michilimakinak to give him. They told him that they had none, and that they were going to seek for the bones of their dead among the Nadouaissioux, hoping that he would consent to their project, as the Jesuit Fathers and Monsieur de Louvigni had done. He treated them very affably, and had them smoke a pipe, without saying anything to them of other matters. Some one privately gave him the name of the Chief who had hidden one of his letters; Perrot went to see this Chief at night, and demanded why he had not given him the letter. “Dost thou not suppose,” he said to him, “that the Spirit who has made Writing will be angry with thee for having robbed me? Thou art going to war; art thou immortal?” The Chief was, of course, somewhat surprised, imagining that the other had had some revelation in regard to the letter; he restored it to Perrot, and on the next day asked him to tell what he had read therein. The substance of it was, that he positively must restrain the Outaouaks; or, if he could not do that, he must render them objects of suspicion to the Outagamis. The Chief of the Puans was extremely friendly to the French, to whom he offered any service that he could render; he was thoroughly convinced that, if the Outaouaks should advance, all the other nations would undoubtedly follow them, and that an army of two thousand warriors would be formed. All the prominent men of that nation

desired to hear the speech that 159 Perrot was going to deliver to them; and it was in the following manner that he addressed them, holding his Calumet in his hand, and having at his feet twelve brasses of tobacco: “Cinagots, Outaouaks, and you other warriors, I am astonished that. after having promised me last year that you would have no other will than Onontio's, you should tarnish his glory by depriving him of the forces that I have with much labor obtained for him. How is this? you who are his children are the first to revolt against him. I come from a country where I have hung up a bright Sun, to give light to all the nations that I have seen—who now can leave their families in quiet, without fearing any storms, while warriors are seeking to avenge the bones of their dead among the Iroquois; but you are trying to cause clouds there which will give birth to thunderbolts and lightnings, in order to strike them, and perhaps to destroy even us. I love Peace in my country; I have discovered this land, and Onontio has given the charge of it to me; and he has promised me all his young men to punish those who undertake to stain it with blood. You are my brothers; I ask peace from you. If you are going to war with the Nadouaissioux, go by way of Chagouamigon, on lake Superior, where you have already begun war with them. What will Onontio say when he learns of the measures that you are taking to deprive him of the aid that he is expecting from you, and from his other children, whom you are trying to seduce?. You have forgotten that your Ancestors in former days used earthen Pots, stone Hatchets and Knives, and Bows; and you will be obliged to use them again, if Onontio abandons you. What will become of you if he becomes angry? He has undertaken war to avenge you, and he has maintained it against nations far stronger than you. Know that he is the master of Peace, when he so wills; the Iroquois are asking it from him, and it would be made if he did not fear that you would be made its victims, land that the enemy would pour out upon you his vengeance, to satisfy the shades of the many families that he has sacrificed on your account. With what excuses will you defend yourselves before him from all the charges that will be made against you? Cease this hostile advance which he forbids to you. I do not wash the blackened countenances of your 160 warriors; I do not take away the War-club or the Bow that I gave you on Orientio's behalf; but I recommend to you to employ them against the Iroquois, and not against other nations. If you transgress his

orders, you may be sure that the Spirit who made all, who is master of life and of death, is for him; and that he knows well how to punish your disobedience if you do not agree to my demands" He lighted his Calumet, and, throwing to them the twelve brasses of tobacco, continued: "Let us smoke together; if you wish to be children of Onontio, here is his Calumet. I shall not fail to inform him of those who choose to set him at naught."

He presented it to them, but there was one war-Chief who refused it; the result, however, was more propitious than Perrot expected. The Puans, seeing that the only question now at issue was to appease this man, offered to him the Calumet, and made him a present of six kettles, with two Porcelain Collars. The next day, they made a solemn Feast for the. Outaouaks, and sang the Calumet to them. At the time when these three hundred warriors set out to return to Michilimakinak, a young warrior, with several of his comrades, left the troop, in order to continue their march against the Nadouaissioux. The Outaouaks, who had fully decided to forget all their resentment, were so offended at this proceeding that they threw all the baggage of these men into the river, and dragged their canoe more than a hundred paces up on the land.—La Potherie's *Amér. Septentrionale* , ii, pp. 244–276.

1695: NORTHWESTERN INDIANS AT QUEBEC; HURON INTRIGUES.

This fortunate return of the convoy from Fort Frontenac was not the sole pleasure of so fine a day. It had been preceded, some hours, by the arrival of Sieur Nicolas Perrot from the Outawais and Farthest Nations, with ten or twelve Canoes of Poutewatamis, Sacs, Folles Avoines [Menomonees], Outagamis, 161 and Miamis of Maramek.1 This was on the 14th of August, and the following is the substance of the news the Count [Frontenac] received by them in a letter from Sieur Delamotte, and from the reports of Perrot and the Frenchmen who came down with him.

1 Marameg (Maramek): the early name of the Kalamazoo river, which discharges its waters into Lake Michigan, in Allegan county, Mich.— Ed.

News from the outawais.

The Outagamis have spared the lives of the Iroquois prisoners that had been presented by the Wawaiation2 of Chégagou [Chicago] in the Spring, with the intention of employing them, in return, in negotiating with the enemy. The apprehension that the Cioux, who have mustered some two or three thousand warriors for the purpose, would come in large numbers to seize their Village, has caused the Outagamis to quit their country and to disperse themselves for a season, and afterwards to return to save their harvest. They are, then, to retire towards the river Wabache, to form a settlement there so much the more permanent as they will be removed from the incursions of the Ciou, and in a position to effect a junction easily with the Iroquois and the English, without the French being able to prevent it. Should this project be realized, it is very apparent that the Mascoutin and the Kekapou would be of the party, and that the three Tribes, forming a new village of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, would experience no difficulty in considerably increasing it, by attracting other nations thither, which would be of most pernicious consequence. But we have every reason to hope that the efficient orders issued by the Count, and the care that Sieur Delamotte will take to execute them, will dispel all these fogs. He will not possibly effect this object with as much facility as he broke up a party of Hurons who were on the point of embarking on a war expedition against the Cioux; for with a Belt3 and a few words, full indeed of energy, he had the good fortune to dispel this storm at the first conference. 12

2 Ouiantanons: see p. 152, *ante, note*.— Ed.

3 Of wampum beads—the English phrase which corresponds to the French “collar of porcelain.”— Ed.

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All Sieur DelaMotte's1 penetration, however, did not prevent some Hurons, among whom was the Baron's son, proceeding, unknown to him, with the consent of all the Nations,

both of Michilimakina and its vicinity, to the Village of the Senecas, to make their peace, independent of Onontio. They carried, for this purpose, fourteen Belts, of which some of the better-disposed Hurons secretly and mysteriously furnished him, eight days after their departure, with the explanation, the substance whereof is briefly as follows: “Our Father has vexed us; he has long since deceived us. We now east away his voice; we will not hear it any more. We come without his participation to make peace with you, and to join our arms. The Chief at Michilimakina has told us lies; he has made us kill one another; Our Father has betrayed us. We listen to him no more.”

1 A reference to Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, who came to America when a young man, and settled in Acadia. Losing all his property there by English incursions (1690–91), he removed to Quebec, and Frontenac gave him an appointment in the colonial troops. From 1694 to 1697, he was commandant at Michillimackinac; in 1701 he established the post of Detroit, which he governed during ten years, and from 1712 to 1715 he was governor of Louisiana. He died in France, Oct. 18, 1730.— Ed.

These deputies have carried back to the Senecas three of their men, in order to give them up. Two of these are to remain at the village, and the other is to return with some influential Iroquois for the purpose of having an interview, in the latter part of August, with all the Lake Tribes, and causing the existing war to be succeeded by a durable peace and close alliance.

It is a misfortune that it was impossible to anticipate the Embassy of those Indians, as this blow could have been certainly averted. But it must be understood that when they are determined to keep a secret, the policy of the most expert Machiavelian would fail against their finesse and deception, daubed over with the whitewash of sincerity and the fairest appearances in the world.

Whilst the Baron was at Montreal, as I have already stated, acting the part of the couchant dog and listening with apparent submission to Onontio's voice, all this fine scheme was

concocting in the Upper Country; and what was wonderful is, that the resolution of the Council was taken and concluded before he 163 started to come down, although the Traitor gave no other excuse for his voyage than an ardent desire which consumed him to come and hear his Father's will in order blindly to obey it.

But this is pretty tedious. Learn what is passing among the Outawais to be persuaded how much they would be disposed to make their peace with the Iroquois, independent of the Count, were they not vigorously opposed. Let us enter now into the Council with those recently-arrived Nations and witness the audience Onontio is giving them.

Being assembled on the sixteenth of August, in the presence of the Governor, Intendant, and several officers, Onanguissé, Chief of the Poutouatamis, opened the meeting with the following speech:

“Father, I come here, seeing all my Nation deranged, in order that you may restore them to their senses. This it is that brings me hither without a present, and makes me look upon you with my eyes. I wish the Cioux, the Sacs, the Miamis, and the Outagamis may listen to your voice. As for me, half your heart is in mine, and I have no will but yours. I have been surprised that the Kikakons, the Outawais of Sable, Hurons, and others of Michilimakina whom you call your children, are not hearkening W your voice today, and that on the contrary they seem to wish to upset the earth and deceive you; whilst I, who have not seen you for a long time, an always inclined to obey your wishes, as I have done since my infancy. Up there at Michilimakina I have respected your word; I have adhered to it, and, not being able to resist all those other nations, have adopted the resolution to come down to acquaint you, that you may apply the remedies you will consider necessary. When the Indians I have named to you come here to see you and call you Father, I feel sorry that, immediately after they are out of your presence, they alter their language and act contrary to what they promised; whilst I, no matter what injury the other nations may inflict on me do exactly what you desire me. I have even been killed by the Ciou; you forbad me to avenge myself, and I have obeyed your word. The memory I have cherished of your

former words alone hath kept my feet within the paths of duty, for we have not had any one, for a long time, with us to 164 communicate your wishes to us, and have almost been —I, Poutouatami, and the Sacs, and the Puans, and the Folles Avoines—as if we had no Father, being at a distance the one from the other. Those of Michilimakina are incessantly telling you that it is they alone who wage war against the Iroquois, though we wage it more than they; and they tell you that sort of stories only in order to stand better with you. I would wish that the Cioux, the Miamis, and the Outagamis wage war no more against each other."

Colubi, Chief of the Sacs, took up the word and said: "The French exhorted him to come here, and he accordingly came down in his present poor condition. He retained in his recollection, since last year, the Word of his Father, who commanded him to keep his tomahawk always in his hand, and to turn it only against the Iroquois; and this is what he has done. Although he formerly made war against the Cioux, he had resisted the entreaties of the Outagamis and Maskoutins to attack them, regarding them now as brothers." "Father," he added, "I come to tell you, that although the Outagami, or the Fox, is my relative, yet I could not dissuade nor prevent him last winter going to war against the Cioux."

Kioulous-Koio, Chief of the Folles Avoines, said that he had nothing to add to the speech of Onanguissé; like him, he observed his Father's word.

Onanguissé resumed, and spoke for Makatemangwas, an Outagami or Fox, saying in his behalf what follows: "Father, though killed by the Ciou neither I, nor any of my family have desired to make war on him as half my. Tribe hath done, recollecting that Onontio my father hath forbad me so to do. I do not approve of my Nation wishing to make an alliance and peace with the Iroquois, and I come to advise you of it, and to tell you that I have not changed my mind, and am always obedient to you."

Messitonga, or Le Barbu [“the bearded man”], a Miami of Maramek, said: “Though at a great distance, I heard my Father's voice, and have no other opinion but that of Onanguissé and of the others who come to speak, and no other thought than to make war against the Iroquois. When the Ciou kills me, I bow my head, and recollect that my Father has forbad me 165 to turn my tomahawk against him. I have not yet heard you. I complain that the Miamis of the river Saint Joseph rescue by force from us, and spare the lives of, the Iroquois prisoners we are bringing home. I am come here to ascertain whether it be by your order that these sorts of violences are committed, as I have not heretofore understood your thoughts, except by Perrot, in whom we hesitate to place confidence, the French and the Indians saying that he is but a pitiful fellow. I come here to hearken to you, and to offer you, as I did last year, my body, covering up your dead who were killed by the Iroquois, and to tell you that you are Master of my Tribe, which is that of the Crane.” He then presented a Beaver robe, and added: “I have not yet been able to learn your thought from your own lips, and have heard your word only as Perrot repeated it to me from you. This has brought me down here.”

Onanguissé demanded if it were true that Onontio had permitted Nassawakwet, as he had told him, and Sieur de Tonty,1 to go to war against the Kanzas and other Mississippi tribes.

1 Henri de Tonty, a young French officer, came to Canada in 1678 with La Salle, and shared his fortunes until the latter's death. Tonty remained at his fort on the Illinois river until 1700—striving, against many hindrances, to maintain the fidelity of the Western tribes to the, French, and to secure the ascendency of France in the Mississippi region. Deprived, by a royal decree, of Fort St. Louis, Tonty went in. 1700 to join Iberville's colony at Biloxi, Miss.; four years later, he died at Mobile from yellow fever. See Legler's “Henry de Tonty,” in Parkman Club *Publications*, No 3, (Milwaukee, 1896).— Ed.

Sieur Perrot presented a robe on the part of the Pepicoquis, who also are Miamis of Maramek, whereby they said that they covered the French dead, and the Miamis slain in

the Iroquois country. This robe was stained red, to show that they remembered the French who died for them, and whom they were desirous of revenging.

Onanguissé told Onontio, individually and in private, that it was not he but Perrot that had brought the Outagami or the Fox—whose heart he believed was false; who despised not only the French, but all other Nations also; the Outagami, however, was not the only one that had conceived bad thoughts, inasmuch as the Mascoutin had a still worse heart than he.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 619–621.

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1697: NORTHWESTERN INDIANS AT QUEBEC; FRONTENAC'S POLICY TOWARD THEM.

Mr. de Lamotte-Cadillac arrived at Montreal on the twenty-ninth of August, with a number of Indians belonging to the Upper Nations and several canoes of Frenchmen; he repaired to Quebec four or five days after, with the principal Chiefs. Affairs were in great confusion throughout all those countries, and the different Nations allied to us seemed disposed to wage war among themselves. The Scioux had made two attacks on the Miamis; these same Miamis had been attacked by the Sauteurs, and it appeared that the four Outaouais Nations wished to take the part of these latter.

The Baron, a Huron of Missilimakinac,—but who is not, however, of the family of Sataretsy,1 which gives the name to the Nation,—had gone with three or four families to settle among the Miamis, and continued his negotiations with the Iroquois for the introduction of the English into those countries; and those Hurons who we said, had made application to form a village near Orange, were of his family.

1 Sataretsy (Sasteratsi) was the name of a line of Huron chiefs. Charlevoix says (*Journ. Historique*, p. 258): “The Commandant desired that I should attend this Council, with the Officers of the Garrison. Sasteratsi, whom our French call ‘King of the Hurons,’ and who is in reality the Hereditary Chief of the Tionnontatez [the Petun, or Tobacco Hurons], who are

the true Hurons, was present there; but as he is still a Minor, he attended only for form's sake.” This was in 1721.— Ed.

Nicolas Perrot, a French voyageur, well known to all those nations, had been plundered by the Miamis, who would have burnt him had not the Outagamis and the Foxes opposed such a proceeding.

The four Outaouais Nations, the Poutouatamis, the Sacs, and the Hurons had, at the request of Mr. de Lamotte, organized different parties against the Iroquois, and more than one hundred Seneca Warriors were computed to have been killed or captured in the course of the Spring. Mr. de Lamotte had received intelligence of the last blow struck on Lake Erie, where fifty-five 167 Iroquois were killed after a fight on the water of more than two hours' duration. Our allies lost four men on that occasion.

This defeat is the more important as it broke up the measures the Baron had adopted with these same Iroquois for the utter destruction of the Miamis, under cover of negotiating peace with them. After the engagement, the Huron chief, the Rat,1 who commanded on the occasion, notified the Miamis to be on their guard, and not to trust the Baron.

1 A French appellation, conferred upon two Huron chiefs in the upper country, whence has arisen a confusion of their identity by some historical writers. One of these chiefs was Souoias, who in 1682 was an envoy from his tribe (the Tionnontates; see p. 77, *ante*) to Count Frontenac; he was then their orator (see *N. Y. Colon. Docs*. ix, p. 178). The other was Kondiaronk, one of the most able and influential savages of his time. In 1688 he treacherously slew certain Iroquois envoys who were going to Quebec, and thus was rekindled the war between that tribe and the French. But he was afterward converted to the Christian faith by the Jesuit de Carheil, and during his last years was a friend of the French. In July, 1701, he died at Montreal, while negotiating for a peace between the upper tribes and the Iroquois, and was buried with much ceremony by the French. See Charlevoix's *Nouv. France*, ii, 214, 215, 273–279; and Parkman's *Frontenac*.— Ed.

The following are the speeches of the Outaouacs and other Indians whom we have named. Longuant,2 Chief of the Kiskakons, the first Tribe, spoke for all. “Father! We are come to pay you a visit. We are rejoiced to see you in good health at your time of life. What did the inland Nations (Gens des Torres) pretend to do when they killed us? They were mistaken in attacking us. I am selected by our four Tribes to represent the matter to you. Father! I pass over this affair in silence, in order to tell you that the Miami hath robbed Perrot, and hath despised you. I participate in the resentment you may feel on the subject, and, as the Miami behaves insolently, our Village will possibly embroil the earth. As for the Fox, he acted well toward him. Children present themselves before their father, to learn his will. We are today apprehensive that the Miamis, who boast that they know how to manufacture powder and arms, will come to throw down our cabins by introducing

2 This name is given as Longecamp by La Potherie.— Ed.

168 the English into their country as some had already attempted to do had we not spoiled their game by the blow that your children have just inflicted at Lake Erie on the Iroquois. It is for you to deliberate, and to communicate your thought to us on what I now submit to you. Father! Formerly you furnished us powder and iron to conquer our enemies, but now we are in want of everything, and have been constrained to sacrifice ourselves1 in order to fight those whom we have just destroyed. They have powder and iron. How can we sustain [ourselves]?, Have compassion then on us, and consider that it is no easy matter to kill men with clubs. Father! You have rebellious children; there's the Sauteur, who has raised his tomahawk against the Miami, and is going to kill him. If he be revenging himself, can we avoid taking a part in his vengeance? Tell us what we ought to do. We are not come here to trade, but to hear your word. We have no beaver; you see us entirely naked; have compassion on us; it is late; the season is advanced; our wives and little ones may be in trouble if we delay longer; therefore tell us your mind, in order that we may take our departure tomorrow.”

1 French, *abandonner nos corps*, “to throw away our bodies”—an Indian form of expression.—E. B. O'Callaghan.

Onanguisset, Chief of the Potouatamis, observing that Longuant had not thoroughly explained what they had agreed upon among themselves, took up the Word and said: “Father! Since we want powder, iron, and every other necessary which you were formerly in the habit of sending us, what do you expect us to do? Are the majority of our women, who have but one or two beavers to send to Montreal to procure their little supplies, are they to intrust them to drunken fellows who will drink them, and bring nothing back? Thus, having in our country none of the articles we require and which you, last year, promised we should be furnished with, and not want; and perceiving only this—that nothing whatsoever is yet brought to us, and that the French come to visit us no more you shall never see us again, I promise you, if the French quit us; this, Father, is the last time we shall come to talk with you. Father! We 169 forgot to ask you what you wish us to do in regard to the death. of Lafourche” (meaning a Chief killed by the Canceas, a very distant Nation). “We shall not adopt any resolution without knowing your will.”

The speech of this Indian, and the boldness with which he spoke, closed every one's lips; and the strongest opponents of the Beaver, the sole staple of this country, were unable to conceal their astonishment, notwithstanding the dissimulation so natural to them. The country ought to pray that the threat of this Indian may not be soon fulfilled. But it will be absolutely impossible to prevent it, if the King himself in that extreme benevolence which he feels for all his subjects, apply not a prompt and effectual remedy in the premises. The entire loss of the trade is not the sole evil we have to apprehend. The garrisons which might be stationed in the respective posts in the Upper Country will run daily risk of being slaughtered by those brutal Tribes, who are so difficult of management. It will be impossible for them to live there; the Commandants will be without authority, having no means to enforce it, as formerly, by the occasional muster of the Voyageurs—who, conjoined with the Regular troops, would impress the Indians with fear and respect. The

enemy will take advantage of the coolness of Our allies, who, in consequence of this abandonment, will lose all the confidence they once reposed in us; the latter will not fail. [to go over to] the English; they will soon become friends, and those same Indians, who were the main stay of Canada, will be seen coming hither to procure scalps, and to compass its destruction.

Will it be possible to prevent the disbanding of our Coureurs de bois?—who, being themselves deprived of a trade to which they have been accustomed from their infancy, will, most assuredly, leave without permission, despite the orders of King and Governor. If any escape, notwithstanding all the care taken to prevent them, who will be able to arrest them in the woods when they will be determined to defend themselves [and] to carry their peltries to the English?

The Chief of the Foxes had only one word: “What shall I say to my father? I have come all naked to see him; I can give 170 him no assistance. The Scion ties my arms; I killed him because he began; Father, be not angry with me for so doing. I am come here only to hear you and execute your will.”

Count de Frontenac had them all assembled again on the tenth of September, and spoke to them in this wise: “A Father loveth his children, and is very glad to see them. You afford me pleasure in being rejoiced at my health in my time of life. You see I love war; the campaign I made last year against the Iroquois is a proof of it; I am glad to repeat to you that I love my children, and that I am pleased to see them again today. The tribes of the interior (gens de terre) had no sense in Killing those of your Village; but you do not tell me precisely what nation it was that struck that wicked blow. Whilst waiting for that information, do not spoil the road between Missilimakinac and Montreal; the river is beautiful; leave it in that condition and do not turn it black.

“I am aware that the Miami has been killed By the Sioux, and that the former afterward lost his wits; he has not hearkened to the advice of Mr. de Lamotte; he would have done

well had he listened to it; he would not have been killed as he has been. He has robbed Perrot, 'tis true; I shall obtain satisfaction for that; but you of Missilimackinac, who have but one and the same fire, do not think of creating confusion in the country; turn your Tomahawk only toward the land of the Iroquois. You perceive that there are French chiefs and warriors among the Miamis; it may have evil consequences. You live in peace in your wigwams; your wives and children ramble fearlessly and without danger through your prairies.1 If you redden the earth of the Miami, you will run the risk of frequently seeing your wives and little ones scalped. Pay attention, then, to my word. The Miamis are, also, my children. I order the Resident Chief among them to get the principal men

1 The French word is *déserts*, which should be translated “clearings,” since there were no prairies at Michillimackinac, and allusion is made to the spaces cleared by the Indians in a forested country, wherein they planted their corn. The term is also applied by the French Canadians to “an open piece of arable land, on which no trees are growing, to distinguish it from timbered land” (Crawford Lindsay, in *Jes. Relations*, xvi, p. 258).— Ed.

171 of the Miamis to come and see me next year. I do not block up the road on them when coming to visit me; and, if they have done you any injury, I shall see that satisfaction be made you. Communicate my words to the Sauteurs; and as they and you form but one fire, prevent their making disturbances in that direction.

“You four Outaouais Nations, and you, too, Poutouatamis and Hurons—I am pleased with the blow you have inflicted on the Iroquois; to strike the Iroquois in that way is what is good; that's the direction in which all the Tribes should throw their forces. I will effectively prevent the [English supplying the Miami with aid, even were the latter disposed to invite them thither. But I know the Miami was not informed of it. It was the Baron and Quarante sols1 who invited the Iroquois to go and devour the Miami, and then to promenade in your prairies [clearings]. I shall soon be informed of this affair. I always had you supplied with powder and iron. I continue still disposed to supply you; but imperative reasons prevent me sending this year my young men to your Country in such large numbers as I would do were it not for the vast designs I have formed against my enemies and yours. I cannot

now open my mind to you respecting the operations I have concluded. When the leaves are red, you will probably learn what my plans are. I am always laboring to annihilate the Iroquois, and am meditating his destruction; and you shall soon see the earth united in that direction.

1 Quarante sols ("Forty sous"): the French appellation of a Huron chief; he was a prisoner among the Iroquois in 1695, and later intrigued with the Miamis to give up their trade and alliance with the French for that of the English.— Ed.

"In regard to the articles you require for yourselves, your wives, and your little ones, I shall have them soon conveyed to you; but as I am resolved to think only of war with the Iroquois, I retain my young men because I want them. When they will have returned, they will visit your Village, and I shall send thither whatever you will require. La fourche must still be left undisturbed. I have already told you that it was I who should avenge him. I close the road on you, because it is I and 172 my young men who will visit his bones. Revenge his death, meanwhile, on the Iroquois."

To the Foxes: "Fox! I now speak to you; your young men have no sense; you have a bad heart, but mine was beginning to be worse disposed than yours, had you not come to hear my word and do my will. I was resolved to send Mr. de Lamotte with a party of my young men on a visit to your village; that would have been unfortunate, for, no doubt, your women and children would have been frightened by them. I hope you have sense now, and that you will smoke in peace out of the same Calumet as the French who are about to go and see you"

"I am pleased with you of Missilimackinac; Mr. de Lamotte is well disposed towards you; I am very glad of it; act fairly toward him who is about to fill his place; he it is who will communicate my thoughts to you; he knows them; do as he will desire you. I am not willing that you should all return home naked, as you would have probably done, had you not come to see me. I shall be in Montreal next year when you will come down, and you will

not be at the trouble of traveling so far. Here are some guns, and some power and ball, that I give you. Make good use of them—not in killing your allies; not in killing buffalo or deer, but in killing the Iroquois who is in much greater want of powder and iron than you. Remember that it is war alone that makes true men W be distinguished, and it is owing to the war that I, this day, know you by your name. Nothing affords me greater joy than to behold the face of a warrior. Here's what I give you. You can depart when you please."

After the distribution of these presents among them, he added: "No more powder and iron will be conveyed to the Scioux, and if my young men carry any thither, I will chastise them severely." He then caused to be brought two blankets, two belts, and some other presents for the relatives of the two Chiefs who were killed by the Iroquois, and said: "Coutakilmy, I collect thy bones in this blanket in order that they may keep warm until thy Nation hath avenged thee. Pemaou, I mourn thy death; here's what I give to dry the tears of thy relatives, so that they may be careful to avenge thee. The two 173 Belts are to hang in the Cabin of the Dead and to remain there until this vengeance be consummated."

It will be seen, by these answers, that the Governor was desirous of gaining time, in order to withdraw the Voyageurs and garrisons next year, without allowing the Indians to discover the King's intention not to send any more Frenchmen or goods to their country.—*N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 671–675.

1697: LE SUEUR'S MINES ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

[Extract from a letter of Frontenac and Champigny (intendant of New France) to the French Minister, dated October 19, 1697. MS. in Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, "Canada, Corres. gén., vol. 15, c. 11, fol. 39."]

Answering, Monseigneur, the letter in which you did me the honor to inform us of the proposition of one Le Sueur1 to make an establishment on the Mississipy, we will tell you that discoveries have indeed been made there of lead mines, and of pieces of copper large enough to induce the belief that a mine of it can be found. But we do not consider

that they can be of any use for this country, on account of the great distance and the almost insuperable difficulties of such journeys. Consequently we believe that, if regard were paid to his demand, the execution of his plans would be ruinous to him, if he were secured only the permission to deal in all kinds of peltries except beaver,

1 Pierre Charles le Sueur came to Canada when a young man, and soon became a fur trader. He was commandant at Chequamegon as early as 1693, and for several years thereafter. In that year Le Sueur erected two forts,—one on Madelaine Island, and another near the present Red Wing, Minn.,—in order to keep open the Bois Brulé and St. Croix trading route. Discovering lead mines on the upper Mississippi, he made strenuous but unsuccessful efforts to secure permission to work them. Returning from France in 1699, he went to Louisiana, and in the following year was sent by Iberville to search for copper mines in the Sioux country; finding some, he sent to France a quantity of blue and green earth taken from the mines. Little is known about his subsequent careeer; he died while on the ocean, probably before 1710.— Ed.

174 in which you are not willing to allow trade. To grant his request would be to give him the opportunity to carry on the beaver trade, to the exclusion of other persons in the Colony.1

1 In another letter to the Minister, dated six days earlier, Champigny says: “I think that the only mines that he [Le Sueur] seeks in those regions are mines of beaver-skins.”— Ed.

1698: ILLICIT FUR TRADE; PARTICIPATION THEREIN OF FRENCH SOLDIERS; COMPLAINTS AGAINST LE SUEUR.

[Extracts from a letter of Champigny to the French Minister, Oct. 14, 1698. MS. in Ministére des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Cores. gén , vol. 16, c. 11, fol. 102.”]

The commanders of the Companies, with a few exceptions, show such ardor in getting for themselves the pay of their soldiers, that I cannot describe to you how far this extends, and what obstacles and hindrances result to the service from letting them leave their

companies. There is no discipline; the majority of the soldiers, who are in quarters distant from the Commandant and myself, are rovers exempted from the service at least those who abandon their pay to their captains; while those who are incapable of working (whose number is slight), are charged with keeping guard and going through the exercises. But, as I do not receive any complaints from either side, although I ask for them and have them asked for by the commander at the head of the companies at the time of the reviews,—the soldiers, on the contrary, all seeming satisfied,—I know the evil without being able to remedy it. I even know from several soldiers that, even if I were to do them justice, they would at once return their pay in order not to be annoyed, and to have liberty to go to work; the remedy therefore, can be found only in the perfect uprightness of the captains. Those Who are not actually guilty of this cupidity, and who are of inviolable fidelity, are Messieurs de la Durantaye, de Longaueuil, and Dulhut, and after them de Maricourt—who merit by these extraordinary marks of honesty, and by their other good quali- 175 ties, to be retained in preference to all the rest, and to be suitably accredited therefor in the royal memoir, to show in what esteem the King holds virtue.

* * * * * * *

I repeat to you, Monseigneur, all that I had the honor of saying to you last year about the necessity of leaving no Frenchmen, garrisons of troops, or other men at Missillimakinac, among the Illinois or the Miamis, or at fort Frontenac or the other distant places, if you wish absolutely to put an end to the beaver-trade there. For it is indubitable that as long as there are any Frenchmen present, except only the missionaries, this trade will be continued by means of the savages, who are now trained to go down to the colony with the beavers of the Frenchmen, and to bring back to them merchandise—which they do very cleverly, appearing to be acting for themselves. This has led, of late years, to the continuation of the licenses of several Frenchmen; and, as long as there are any who have the liberty of going there, or of remaining there on any pretext whatever, they will never fail to follow this custom. Besides, the colony being open on all sides, nothing is easier than to carry out merchandise and to bring in beavers without any risk; that will be done alike

by the man named Le Sueur, with his fifty men, and by the men of Monsieur de la Forest,1 who are the only ones who have permission from the king to go to these distant places. They will also, under other pretexts, indirectly enjoy alone the favor of the 25 licenses, which were worth 25,000 livres of income to the poor families of Canada, for whom they were designed; those permits will be worth infinitely more in their hands, as they have no competitors who can form an obstacle to their trade, upon Whatever footing they may wish to put it—-even including brandy.

1 La Forest was a lieutenant of La Salle, and held command for him at Fort Frontenac until 1685, when he joined Tonty in Illinois. In 1690 these two officers secured the grant of Fort St. Louis, and a limited permission to engage in the fur trade. These favors were revoked in 1702, and La Forest was ordered to return to canada. In 1710 he replaced Cadillac as commandant at Detroit, where he died in 1714.— Ed.

Is it probable that le Sueur, who is a mere voyageur, should undertake to lead 50 men at his own expense 700 or 800 leagues 176 from Quebec, by almost impassable rivers, to look for mines of which he has no certainty (except as regards the lead-mines), and which can not be of any use to him, with the sole resource of trading in small peltry? That cannot be the case, for he knows that, according to the report of those who have been there, there is no small game in the places where he locates those mines. I know already that it is his intention to trade in other places; and as those regions, as far as known, are of limitless extent, he may, even if he has the fidelity not to trade in beaver, be able to make very considerable profits on small peltry by securing all that comes out thence; but he would be very far from fulfilling the intentions of the king, and would aim only at profiting alone and to the exclusion of all the colony, by the advantage of this entire trade. Besides, his enterprise, in the present state of affairs, can only lead to a considerable increase of our trouble, by contributing to maintain in distant territories the French who have just revolted, of which I shall inform you in continuing my letter; and it is to give them an opportunity to trade in beaver by furnishing them with his merchandise, since he has the liberty of carrying as much of it as he pleases. He has already sent along two loaded

boats, which, he says, are going to pass the winter at Missillimakinac to prepare provisions for their voyage; and Sieur de la Forest has sent one likewise, in which he told me that he did not intend to put anything but powder, balls, and other supplies for his fort St. Louis of the Illinois.

It is certain, Monseigneur, that six men in two boats, would suffice for le Sueur to make the discovery of these pretended mines. And if one opens his eyes a little, to penetrate into his motives for asking permission to take along fifty men, it will appear very well founded that his purpose has been, after the suppression of the licenses (for this is just the time he chose for obtaining this permission) to be able to carry on alone and expeditiously all the trade of the upper country, and to find himself enriched by the profits resulting therefrom. When his intention is perceived, a remedy for it will be applied.

One may also regard le Snout as the author of the troubles and warfare which have arisen between the Scioux and the other nations, who were living in peace before he had brought 177 them arms and munitions—which he did for the sole purpose of trading more advantageously. And from the moment that those Scioux savages and other far distant nations shall obtain what they need from the Outaouacs, or shall be obliged to go among them to get these articles in the colony, they will take care not to wage war against them.

1700: LE SUEUR'S VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI.

[Bénard de la Harpe, an officer in Iberville's expedition to Louisiana (1698–99) left a MS. work entitled, *Journal historique de l'établissement des Français a la Louisiane* ; this was published at Now Orleans and Paris in 1831. La Harpe compiled therein (pp. 22–25, 38–70), from Le Sueur's journal, an account of the latter's voyage. The concluding portion is given by Pénicaut in his *Relation* ; see Margry's *Découv. et établ* ., v, pp. 416–420. The portion given by La Harpe is translated by J. G. Shed, in his *Early Mississippi Voyages* ; we reprint this, adding our own translation of Pénicaut's account.]

Mr. Le Sueur arrived,1 with thirty workmen, in the *Renommee* and *Gironde* , Dec r. 7, 1699. He had acquired renown by his voyages in Canada; he was sent on behalf of Mr.. L'Huillier, Farmer-general,2 to form an establishment at the source of the Mississippi. The object of this enterprise was to work a mine of green earth that Mr. Le Sueur had discovered. What gave rise to this enterprise so far back as the year 1695, was this. Mr. Le Sueur by order of the Count de Frontenac, Governor General of Canada, built a fort on an island in the Mississippi, 13

1 He came to Iberville's recently-formed colony at Biloxi (now in the state of Mississippi)— because, as preceding documents show, the Canadian officials were opposed to his plans for exploring the upper Mississippi region; also because Iberville was his friend, and even a relative by marriage.— Ed.

2 Reference is here made to the officials known as “farmers” (or collectors) of the revenues of France. Sometimes they were private persons, sometimes organized corporations like that of the “Company of the Indies,” to whom the privilege of collecting the revenues was let (“farmed”).— Ed.

178 more than 200 leagues above the Illinois,1 in order to effect a peace between the Sauteurs (nations who dwell on the shores of a lake of five hundred leagues circumference, one hundred leagues east of the river) and the Scioux, posted on the Upper [Mississippi. The same year, according to his orders, he went down to Montreal in Canada, with a Sauteur chief named Chingouabé and a Sciou named Tioscate,2 who was the first of his nation who had seen Canada; and as they hoped to derive from his country many articles of value in commerce, the Count de Frontenac, the Chevaliere de la Callière, and M. de Champigny, received him quite well. Two days after their arrival they presented to the Count de Frontenac in a public assembly as many arrows as there were Scioux villages; and they told him that all these villages begged him to receive them among his children, as he had done the other nations whom they named in succession, which was granted. M. Le Sueur was to go up to the Mississippi in 1696, with this Sciou

chief, who had come down solely on a promise that he should be taken home again, but he fell sick during the winter and died at Montreal, after thirty-three days suffering. As M. Le Sueur was dispensed by this man's death from returning to that country, where he had discovered mines of lead, copper, and blue and green earth,3 he resolved to go to France, and to solicit at court permission to work them. This he obtained in 1697. He embarked at Rochelle, in the latter part of June in that year, to go to Canada. Off the banks of Newfoundland he was taken by an English fleet of sixteen vessels, and carried prisoner to Portsmouth; but peace being declared, he returned to Paris to get a new commission, for he had thrown his old one overboard, for fear of giving the English any information as to his plan.

1 Neill says (*Hist. Minnesota*, 4th ed., p. 148) that this fort was built on the largest of the islands above Lake Pepin, below the mouth of the St. Croix; for this statement he cites Bellin's description of the chart of North America. Cf. p. 16, *note* 2, *ante*.— Ed.

2 Neill phonetically spells it (Hist. Minn., p. 844) Teeoskahtay.— Ed.

3 These colored marls, blue, green, and yellow, owing their color to silicate of iron, were, when free from sand, highly esteemed and used as paint by the Indians, and were consequently a good article of trade.—J. G. Shea.

179 The Court ordered a new commission to issue in 1698. He then went to Canada, where he met obstacles which compelled him to return to France.1 During all these contradictions, a part of the people whom he had left in charge of the fort which he had built in 1695, hearing nothing of him, descended to Montreal.

1 Frontenac prevented his going west, and the Court approved the governor's action in the matter—J. G. Shea.

We have seen above that he arrived in the colony [of Louisiana] in the month of December, 1699, with a party of thirty workmen. On the 10th of February, 1702, he

arrived2 with two thousand quintals of blue and green earth, having come from the Scioux. The following is an extract from the relation of his voyage:

2 Probably at Fort Biloxi, which was still held at that date by a small French garrison, although Bienville had departed thence on Jan. 6, 1702, to transfer his colony to Mobile.— Ed.

He could not reach the Tamarois till the month of June, 1700, having made a considerable distance from the mouth of the river to that point. He left there July 12th, 1700, with a felucca and two canoes manned by nineteen persons.3

3 Tamarois: one of the Illinois tribes, located near Kaskaskia, Ill., at a place afterward known as Cahokia, in the present St. Clair county. Felucca: a boat with oars and lateen sails, used on the Mediterranean; its helm may be applied to either the head or the stern, as occasion requires. Péicaut (a carpenter by trade), who accompanied Le Sueur, states that his party numbered twenty-nine, instead of nineteen.— Ed.

On the 13th, having advanced six leagues and a quarter, he halted at the mouth of the Missoury river, and six leagues above he left, on the east of the river, the river of the Illinois. He there met three Canadian voyageurs who were coming to join his party; he received by them a letter from the Jesuit Father Merest,4 dated July 10, 1700, at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin at the Illinois, to this effect.

4 Gabriel Marest came to Canada in 1694; four years later, he began work among the Kaskaskias of Illinois, with whom he spent the rest of his life—dying in that mission on Sept. 15, 1714. He accompanied those savages when they removed from Peoria to Kaskaskia (in the summer of 1700), teaching them to cultivate the soil and raise domestic animals.— Ed.

“I have the honour to write you to inform you that the Sangiestas1 have been defeated by the Scioux and the Ayevois [Iowas]. These people have combined with the Quincapoux, and a part of the Mascoutins, Renards, and Metesigamias, and are going to avenge themselves—not on the Scioux, of whom they are too much afraid; but on the Ayavois, or else on the Paoutées,2 or rather on the Osages, for these last suspect nothing and the others are on their guard. As you may meet the allied nations, you must guard against their enterprises, and prevent their getting in your boats, being traitors, and unfaithful to their word. I beg God to attend you in all your designs.”

1 This name should be Peaneguichas. usually spelled Piankeshaws by English writers. The printed text translated by Shea has several blunders of this sort, as we find by Margry's version (apparently taken from the original MS.), given in his *Découv. et établ*., vi, pp. 69–87. We have corrected these in the translation, whenever necessary; and have also made occasional changes, when needed. in Shea's punctuation—sometimes, also, in his rendering of certain phrases.— Ed.

2 Also called Padoukas; now known as Pat Utes; of the Shoshonean family. They probably lived. in Le Sueur's time, in the present state of Kansas. At the present time, they are scattered through southeastern California and southwestern Nevada.— Ed.

Twenty-two leagues above the river of the Illinois he passed a small river which he named Riviére aux Boeufs [Buffalo river].3 Nine leagues farther, he passed on the left a small river, and met four Canadians going down the Mississippi to reach the Illinois.

3 Probably Salt river, which fails into the Mississippi at some distance below Hannibal, Mo. — Ed.

On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the last river, he met seventeen Seioux in seven canoes, who were going to avenge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burnt and the others killed at the Tamarois, a short time before his arrival at that village. As he

had promised the chief of the Illinois to appease the Scioux, who might be coming in war against his nation, he made the chief of this party a present of some goods to induce him to return. He told him that the King of France did not wish this river to be any more sullied with blood; and that he had sent him to tell them that, if they obeyed his word, whatever was necessary to them should hereafter be given to

JUNCTION OF THE WISCONSIN AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS From a recent photograph

181 them. The chief replied that he accepted the present—that is to say, that he would do what they told him.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of August, Mr. Le Sueur made 52¼ leagues to a little river which he called Rivière a la Mine; it comes from the north to its mouth, and from the northeast. Seven leagues on, at the right, there is a lead-mine in a prairie, a league and a half inland; this river, except the first three leagues, is navigable only when the water is high—that is to say, from early spring to the month of June.1

1 This Was the Galena (or Fever) river, which falls into the Mississippi six miles below the city of Galena—long the centre for the mining interests of that region. The distances here given in leagues were evidently but roughly estimated; it is therefore difficult to verify them, especially as the term “league” was exceedingly elastic, varying from 2½ to nearly 4 English miles in value, as used by different travelers and explorers.— Ed.

From the 25th to the 27th, he made ten leagues, passed two small rivers, and made examination of a lead-mine, from which he took a supply.

From the 27th to the 30th, he made eleven leagues and a half, and met five Canadians, one of whom was dangerously wounded in the head; they were naked, and had no arms except a wretched gun, with five or six charges of powder and ball. They said that they were descending from the Scioux to go to the Tamarois, and that forty leagues above they had perceived on the [Mississippi nine canoes, carrying ninety Indians, who had plundered and cruelly beaten them; this party were going to war against the Scioux. It was made

up of four different nations, Outagamis, Saquis, Poutouatamis, and Puans, who inhabit a country eighty leagues east of the river and of the point where Mr. Le Sueur then was. These Canadians resolved to follow the detachment, which was thus composed of 28 men. That day he made four leagues and a half.

On the 1st of September he passed the river of the Ouisconsins; it comes from the northeast to its mouth and from the east. It is almost everywhere half a league wide. About forty-five leagues up this river, on the right, is a portage of more than a league in length. The half of this portage is a bog; at the end of this portage there is a little fiver that falls 182 into a bay called Bay of the Puans, inhabited by a great number of nations who carry their furs to Canada. It was by the river of the Ouisconsins that Mr. Le Sueur came into the Mississippi for the first time, in 1683,1 to go to the country of the Scioux, where he had at various times spent seven years. The [Mississippi] river opposite the mouth of this river is only about an eighth of a league wide.

1 Margry thinks that this date is a copyist's error. Le Sueur was commandant at Chequamegon in 1693, but had been trading among the savages for a considerable time before that.— Ed.

From the first to the fifth of September, our traveller advanced fourteen leagues; he passed the Rivière aux Canots, which comes from the northeast, then that of the Quincapous, so called from the name of a nation which formerly dwelt on its bank.

From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten leagues and a half, and passed the Rivière Cachée and the Rivière aux Ailes;2 on the same day, he perceived canoes full of Indians descending the river. The five Canadians recognized those who had plundered them; sentinels were placed in the woods, for fear of a surprise from the land, and when they were within hailing distance the party called out to them, that if they came any nearer they would fire on them. They ranged themselves along the island, within half a gunshot. Soon after, four of the most distinguished in the band advanced in a canoe, and asked whether

we had forgotten that they were our brethren, and why we had taken up arms when we perceived them. Mr. Le Sueur told them in reply that after what they had done to the five Frenchmen who were present, he had reason to distrust them; yet for the security of his trade, being under the absolute necessity of

2 It is difficult to identify satisfactorily the rivers thus designated. Rivière aux Canots ("Canoe river") is probably the stream now called Bad Axe river; Rivière aux Ailes ("Wing river"—but thought by Shea to mean "Onion river"), the La Crosse river; Rivière Cachée ("hidden river"), Root river in Minnesota, emptying into the Mississippi a little below La Crosse. The Quincapous river is placed, on early maps, on the west side of the Mississippi; the only considerable stream which might answer to it is the Upper Iowa river, which falls into the Mississippi about three miles south of the Iowa boundary line; but it is below, instead of above, the Bad Axe river.— Ed.

183 being in peace with all the nations, he would not make reprisals for the robbery which they had committed. He only added that the King, their master and his, wished all his subjects to travel on that river without receiving any insult; that therefore they should take care of what they were doing. The Indian who had been spokesman seemed confounded, and made no reply; another merely said that they had been attacked by the Scioux, who had forced them to abandon all their baggage; and that if he did not take pity on them by giving them a little powder, they could not reach their village. Consideration for [the safety of] a missionary who was to go up to the Scioux, and whom these Indians might meet, made him give them two pounds of powder. Mr. Le Sueur made the same day three leagues, and passed a little river west of the great river, then a large one on the east of the Mississipi, which is navigable at all times. The Indian nations that know it called it Red river.1

1 The stream now known as Black river.— Ed.

On the 10th, at daybreak, they heard a stag whistle on the other side of the river; a Canadian crossed in a little Scion canoe that he had found. He soon after returned with the

body of the animal, which it is easy to kill in the rutting season, that is from the beginning of September to the end of August.2 During that season the hunters make a little whistle of the first bit of wood or cane, and when they hear a stag whistle, they answer; the animal, supposing it to be another stag that whistles, comes to them, and they kill it without any difficulty.

2 In La Harpe, the French word is *aout*; this is probably a misprint for *oct*., “October.”— Ed.

From the 10th to the 14th, Mr. Le Sueur made seventeen leagues and a half, passed Rivière des Raisins [“Grape river”] and that of the Paquitanettes;3 the same day he left on the east of the river a large and beautiful river, which comes a great distance from the north, and called Ben Secours, from the great number of Buffalo, stags, bears and deer found there. Three leagues up this river there is a lead mine; and seven

3 Neill thinks (*Minnesota Explorers*, 1881 p. 41) that these may be the Wazi Ozu and Buffalo rivers—the latter flowing through Buffalo county, Wis.; the former probably the Zumbro river, in Wabasha county, Minn. Ben Secours is the present Chippewa river.— Ed.

184 leagues higher, on the same side, you meet another river of great length, in the: neighbourhood of which there is a copper mine from which he [Le Sueur] took a mass of sixty pounds in his previous voyages. To render it profitable a peace would have to be made between the Scioux and the Outagamis, because the latter, who live on the lands east of the Mississippy, pass by this road constantly when going out to war against the Scioux. In these quarters, a league and half from the northwest side, begins a lake six leagues long, and more than one broad. It is called Lake Pepin.1 It is skirted on the west by a chain of mountains; on the other side, on the east, you see a prairie, and on the northwest of the lake a second prairie, two leagues long and wide; near it is a chain of mountains, which are at least two hundred feet high, and extend more than a league. Here are found many caverns to which the bears retreat in winter;2 most of these calves are over forty feet deep, and about three or four feet high. Some have a very narrow entrance, and all contain saltpetre. It would be dangerous to enter them in summer, because they

are full of rattlesnakes the bite of which is very dangerous. Le Sueur saw some of these snakes which were six feet long, but they do not generally exceed four; they have teeth like those of a pike, and the gums full o.f little bladders which contain their venom. The Scioux say that they take it every morning, and reject it at night; they have on the tail a kind of scale which makes a noise; this is what is called their rattle. Le Sueur made that day seven leagues and a half, and passed another river called Hihanbouxeaté Ouataba, which means “river of the flat rocks.”3

Du Lhut, in a letter written upon April 5, 1679, mentions the Pépin brothers.— Margry.

2 J. N. Nicollet and Jonathan Carver have also described these caves.— Shea.

3 The Sioux call the Cannon river Inyanbosndata.— Neill (*Minn. Explorer*, p. 41).

On the 15th, he crossed a small river; and perceived in the neighborhood several canoes full of Indians coming down the river. He at first took them for Scioux, because he could not distinguish whether the canoes were large or small. He made his men get their arms ready; he soon after heard the Indians 185 giving the yells they usually give when they rush on their enemies. He replied in the same manner, and after posting all his men behind trees, he forbade them to fire till he gave the word. He remained on the water's edge to see what step they would take; and, perceiving that they put two men ashore, to observe from an eminence on the other side of the river the number of his people and his forces, he made his party march in and out of the wood continually, so that they should take them to be more numerous. This succeeded, for as soon as the two Indians came down the hill, the chiefs of the party came forward bearing the calumet, which is a signal of peace among the Indians. They said that having never seen the French sailing on the Mississippy in boats like the felucca, they had mistaken them for English, and had accordingly given the war-cry and ranged themselves on the other side of the river; but, seeing their mistake by our flag, they had come without fear to inform them that one of their people who was crazy had accidentally killed a Frenchman with a ball from a gun;

and that they were going to bring his comrade, who would tell in what way the accident happened. They made this Frenchman, who was a Canadian named Denis, come: he stated that his comrade had been accidentally killed; his name was Laplace; he was a soldier who had deserted from Canada, and fled to this country. Mr. Le Sueur replied to these Indians that, Onontio (a name they give to all the governors of Canada) being their father and his, they should not seek their justification anywhere but before him; that he advised them to go and see him as seen as possible, to beg him to wash the blood of that Frenchman from their faces. This party was composed of 47 men of different nations, who live far to the east of the Mississippi, about the forty-fourth degree of latitude. Mr. Le Sueur knew the chiefs particularly; he told them that the king of whom they had so often heard in Canada, had sent to settle the mouth of the river, and he wished the nations dwelling on it, as well as those which are under his protection, to live generally in peace. He made that day three and three-quarters leagues.

On the 16th he left on the east of the Mississippi a great river, called St. Croix, because a Frenchman of that name was wrecked 186 at its mouth; it comes from the north-northwest. Four leagues higher up, ascending, you come to a small lake, at the entrance of which there is a very large mass of copper; it is on the water's edge, in a little bluff of sandy earth, west of this lake.

From the 16th to the 19th, he advanced thirteen and three-quarters leagues. After having made from the Tamarois two hundred and seven and a half leagues, he left the navigation of the Mississippi at this point, to enter St. Peter's river, on the west of the Mississippi, on which he made till the 1st of October forty-four and a quarter leagues:—after which he entered Blue river, so called by reason of the mines of blue earth found there. At the entrance of this river he made his settlement, situated at forty-four degrees thirteen minutes north latitude.1

1 Pénicaut says (Margry, vi, p. 414) that Le Sueur's party went to the Falls of St. Anthony, where they could proceed no farther except by making a long portage. Returning to the

Minnesota river, they ascended it as far as the Blue Earth river (at the mouth of which stands the present city of Mankato, Minn.), and built their fort on a point of land about a league from the entrance of that river. The name St. Peter's was applied to the Minnesota river until 1852, when the latter name was adopted by legislative act.— Ed.

At this spot he met nine Scioux who told him that this river was the country of the Scioux of the West, and of the Ayavois [Iowas] and the Otoctatas [Otoes] a little further; that it was not their custom to hunt on the grounds of others without being invited by those to whom they belonged; that when they should wish to come to the fort to get supplies, they would be exposed to be cut off by their enemies coming up or going down these rivers, which are narrow; and that if he intended to take pity on them, he must settle on the Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the mouth of St. Peter's river, where the Ayavois, the Otoctatas, and the Scioux could come as well as they. Having made their speech, they began, according to their custom, to weep over Mr. Le Sueur's head, saying, " *Oueachissou ouaepanimanabo* "-which means, "Take pity on us."

Mr. Le Sueur had foreseen that his establishment on the Blue river would not be relished by the Scioux of the East, who are, so to speak, the masters of the other Scioux and of the nations 187 just named, because they are the first with whom we traded, which has given them a good supply of guns. As he had not undertaken the enterprise in the sole view of the beaver trade, but to learn thoroughly the quality of the different mines which he had formerly discovered, he told them that he was sorry he had not known their ideas sooner; that it was clearly just, as he had come expressly for them, for him to settle on their land; but the season was too far spent to retrace his steps. He then made them a present of powder, balls, knives, and a fathom of tobacco, to invite them to come as soon as possible to the fort that he was going to erect; that there, when they were all assembled, he would tell them the intentions of the King, their master and his.

The Scioux of the West have, according to the reports of those of the East, more than a thousand cabins. They do not use canoes, cultivate the earth, or gather wild oats;

they generally keep to the prairies between the Upper Mississippi and the River of the Missouris, and live solely by hunting.

All the Scioux in general say that they have three souls, and that after death, that which has done good goes to the warm countries, that which has done evil to the cold countries, and the other keeps the body. Polygamy is in use among them; they axe very jealous, and sometimes fight duels for their women. They handle the bow very expertly and were several times seen to shoot ducks on the wing. They make their cabins of several buffalo-skins, laced and sewed together; they carry them everywhere with them; in each cabin there are ordinarily two or three men with their families. They are all great smokers, but their mode of smoking differs from that of the other Indians; there are some Scioux who swallow all the tobacco smoke, and others who, after having swallowed and kept it for some time in the stomach, eject it through the nose.

On the third of the same month, he received at the fort several Scioux, among whom was Ouacantapai,1 chief of the village.

1 This name (also spelled Wakandapi and Wahkantape) means “esteemed sacred.” It was evidently a name of distinction, and handed down for many generations; for Neill mentions it (*Hist. Minnesota*. p. 166, *note*) as borne by one of the head men at Red Wing in 1850.—Ed.

188 Soon after two Canadians, who had gone hunting, arrived; they had been robbed by the Scioux of the East, who had taken away their guns in revenge for Mr. Le Sueur's settling on Blue river. On the 14th, the fort was finished; the name of Fort L'Huillier was conferred upon it.1

1 In honor of Le Sueur's patron in France, mentioned at the beginning of this document.—Ed.

On the 22nd two Canadians were sent out to invite the Ayavois and the Otoctatas to come and make a village near the fort, because these Indians are laborious and accustomed to

cultivate the ground; and he hoped to obtain provisions from them and make them work the mines.

On the 24th arrived six Oujalespoitons Scioux; they wished to enter the fort, but they were prevented, and told that men who had killed Frenchmen could not be received; this is the term employed when they have offered any insult. The next day they came to Mr. Le Sueur's cabin to beg him to take pity on them. They wished to weep over his head, according to their custom, and to make him a present of some packages of beaver, which he refused; he said that he was astonished that men who had robbed him should have the temerity to come to him; to which they replied that they had indeed heard that the French had been plundered, but that none from their village had been present at this wicked act. Mr. Le Sueur told them that he knew that it was the Mendeouacantons who had killed him and not the Oujalespoitons. “But you are Scioux,” he continued; “they were Scioux who robbed me, and if I followed your manner of acting I would break your heads; for is it not true that when any strangers” (so they call the Indians who are not Scioux) “have done any wrong to a Mendeouacanton, Oujalespoiton, or other Scioux, all the villages avenge it on the first whom they meet?” As they could make no reply to what he said to them, they resorted to tears, and repeatedly said to him according to their custom, “ *Ouaechissou ouaepanimanabo!* ” Thereupon Mr. Le Sueur told them to cease weeping; he added that the French were kind-hearted, and that he had come to their country only to have pity on them. At the same time, he made them a present, saying to them: “Carry back 189 your beaver-skins, and tell all the Scioux that they shall have no more powder or bullets from me, and shall not again smoke with my calumet” (that is, “we shall no longer be good friends”), “until they have given me satisfaction for the plunder of the Frenchmen.”

The same day the two Canadians who had been sent out on the 22nd arrived, without having succeeded in finding the road leading to the Ayavois and Otoctatas. On the 26th Mr. Le Sueur proceeded to the mine,1 with three canoes, which he had loaded with blue and green earth. It is drawn from mountains near which are the very abundant copper mines, of which Mr. L'Huillier, one of the king's farmers-general, made an assay at Paris,

in 1696. Green stones also are found there, of which it might be worth while to make some use.

1 The locality was a branch of the Blue Earth, about a mile above the fort, called by J. N. Nicollet Le Sueur river, and, on a map published in 1773, the river St. Remis.— Neill (*Hist. Minnesota*, p. 165, *note*).

On the 9th of November, eight Mantanton Scioux presented themselves at the fort, having been sent by the chiefs of their villages to say that the Mendeouacantons were still at their lake on the lands east of the Mississippi, and that they could not come for a long time; that all the rest ought not to bear the penalty for one single village that had not had sense; that if he would tell them in what way he wished to have satisfaction, they would come and make it. Mr. Le Sueur told them that he was very glad that they had sense, and that it was for them to see what they should do. On the 15th they saw two Mantanton Scioux arrive; these Indians had been sent expressly to announce that all the Scioux of the East and a part of those of the West had joined together to come to the French, because they had learned that the Christinaux and the Assinipoils2 were about to make war on them. These two nations live above the fort on the east, more than eighty leagues up the Mississipi.

2 Christinaux: the Crees, Algonquian tribes who have always roamed through the wilderness between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. Assinipoils: the Assiniboins, a Siouan tribe who were originally a branch of the Yankton Dakotas. They were located successively along the Red river of the North, about Lake Winnepeg, and (in more recent times) on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers.— Ed.

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The Assinipoils speak the Scioux language, and are really of that nation; and it is only within a few years that they have been at enmity with that people. The origin of that war was this: The Christinaux, having obtained the use of firearms before the Scioux did, by means of the English of Hudson's Bay, continually waged war against the Assinipoils, who

were their nearest neighbors. The latter finding themselves weak asked for peace; and, to render it more firm, allied themselves to the Christinaux, taking their women to wife. The other Scioux, who had not entered this alliance, and who from all time had been at war with them, continued it; so that one day, finding some Christinaux among the Assinipoils, they broke their heads. It was the Christinaux who supplied the Assinipoils with arms and goods.

On the 16th, the two Scioux returned to their village, and it was ascertained that the Ayavois and the Otoctatas had gone to station themselves on the side of the river of Missoury, in the neighborhood of the Maha, a nation dwelling in those quarters.1

1 Maha: the Omahas, a Siouan tribe of eastern Nebraska, allied to the Kansas.— Ed.

On the 26th, the Mantantons and the Oujalespoitons arrived at the fort. After pitching their cabins in the wood, Ouacantapai came to beg Mr. Le Sueur to come to him. He there found sixteen men, with several women and children, who had their faces daubed with black. In the middle of this cabin were several buffalo-skins that served as a carpet. They made signs to him to sit down, and at the same time all these persons began to weep; this lasted during some ten minutes. Then the chief offered him wild rice to eat, and, according to their custom, put the first three spoonfuls into his mouth. After that, he told him that all those whom he saw present were,. like himself, the relatives of Tioscate (this was the name of the Sciou whom Mr. Le Sueur took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696). At this name of Tioscate they began to weep again, and to wipe their tears on Mr. Le Sueur's head and shoulders; after which Ouacantapai, resuming his discourse, told him that Tioscate begged him to forget the insult offered to the French 191 by the Mendeouacantons; and to have pity on his brethren, by giving them powder and ball to defend themselves against their enemies, and to give life to his wives and children who were wasting with hunger in the midst of a country full all kinds of beasts, having nothing to kill them with. “Behold!” added this chief, pointing to the dead chief's wives and children, “Behold thy children, thy brethren, thy sisters; it is for thee to see whether thou wishest

them to live or die. They will live if thou givest them powder and ball; on the contrary, they will die if thou refuse it." All these reasons were not needed to induce Mr. Le Sueur to yield to their request; but as the Scioux never answer on the spot, especially in important matters, and as he had to speak to them about his establishment, he left the cabin without saying anything. The chief and all those who were within followed him to the gate of the fort, and after he went in they made the circuit of the fort three times, weeping and crying at the top of their voices " *Athéouanan* "—which means, "My father, take pity on us."

The next day he assembled in the fort the most eminent men of both villages; and, as it is impossible to subdue the Scioux or to prevent their going to war, except by inducing them to cultivate the ground, he told them that if they wished to render themselves worthy of the king's protection, they must abandon their errant life and come and form a village around his settlement, where they would be sheltered from the attacks of their enemies. He said that, to facilitate their means of leading a happy life there, and to save them from the pangs of hunger, he would give them all the corn necessary to plant a good deal of ground; that the king, their chief and his, when sending him, had forbidden him to trade in beaver-skins, knowing that this hunt obliged them to scatter, and exposed them to be killed by their enemies; that in consequence he had come to settle on Blue river, the neighborhood of which, as they had several times assured him, was full of all kinds of beasts, for the skins of which the French would supply all their wants. He told them that they should reflect that they could not do without the goods of the French, and that the only means not to be deprived of them was not to make war on nations allied 192 to us; and as it is the Indian custom to accompany their words with a present proportioned to the affair discussed, he gave them fifty pounds of powder and as many of bullets, six guns, ten hatchets, twelve brasses of tobacco, and a steel calumet.

On the 1st of December, the Mantantons invited Mr. Sueur to a great feast; four of their cabins had been thrown into one, in which there were a hundred men seated around, each with his platter before him. After the repast Oucantapai, their chief, made them all smoke successively the steel calumet which had been presented to them. Then he

made a present to Mr. Le Sueur of a slave and a sack of wild rice; and, pointing to his people, said: “Behold the remnants of that great village which thou didst formerly behold so numerous; all the others have been slain in war, and the few men thou seest in this cabin accept the present that thou makest them, and are resolved to obey that great chief of all the nations of whom thou hast spoken to us. Thou must therefore no longer regard us as Scioux, but as Frenchmen; and, instead of saying that the Scioux are wretches who have no sense and are fit only to plunder and rob the French, thou wilt say: ‘My brothers are unhappy men who have no sense; we must try and get them some. They rob us, but to prevent them I will take care that they do lack iron—that is to say all kinds of goods.’ If thou dost this, I assure thee that in a short time the Mantantons will become French and will no longer have the vices with which thou proachest them.” Having finished this harangue he covered his head with his robe, the others imitated him; they wept for their comrades slain in war, and chanted a farewell to their country, in so mournful a tone that one could scarcely help sharing their grief. Then Oucantapai made them smoke again, and distributed among them presents that had been given them, and said that he was going to the Mendeouacantons to form them of the resolution and to invite them to do the same.

On the 12th three Mendeouacanton chiefs and a number of Indians of the same village arrived at the fort, and the next day made a kind of satisfaction, to the value of a thousand livres, for the plunder that they had committed on the French. They brought 400 pounds of beaver-skins; and promised that in 193 the following summer, after they had made canoes and gathered in their harvest of wild rice, they would come to settle near the French. On the same day they departed, to return to their village east of the Mississipi.

Names of the tribes of Sioux of the East, and their signification.

The Mantantons—which means, “Village of the great lake which discharges into a small one.” The Mendeouacantons—“Village of the lake of the spirit.” The Quioepetons—“Village of a lake in a river.” The Psinoumanitons—“Village of those who search for wild rice.” The

Ouadebatons—“Village of the river.” The Ocatamenetons—“Village of people who are on the headland of a lake.” The Songasquitons—“Village of the fort.”

Sioux of the West, of whom we have knowledge.

The Touchouaesintons—which means “Village of the pole.” The Psinchatons—“Village of the red wild rice.” The Oujalespoitons—“Village scattered in several small bands.” The Psinoutanhinhintons—“Village of the great wild rice.” The Tintanaoughiatons—“Village of the great cabin.” The Ouaepetons—“Village of the leaf.” The Onghetgeodatons—“Village of the dung.” The Ouasicoutetons—“Village of those who shoot into a great pine.” The Hinhanetons—“Village of the red-stone quarry.”1 14

1 The name Sioux is an abbreviation of that by which those tribes were commonly known among the Algonquian peoples east of them—Nadouessioux, meaning “the snake-like ones,” hence “the enemies,” the Sioux were continually at war with their eastern neighbors. Their own name, however, is Dakotan, meaning “allies” or “league.” present, the best ethnological authorities use the term “Siouan” to designate the stock or family speaking kindred dialects of one language; while “Dakota” is used in a tribal sense, referring to one branch of that family. The Dakotas call themselves Otceti-ca-kowin, “the seven council-fires,” referring to their original clans or gentes; several these are given in Le Sueur's list above. The Mdewakantonwan (Mendeonacantons) were so called from the place of their early residence, Spirit Lake, one of the Mille Lacs of Minnesota, A part of this same band were called Mantantons, a contraction of the former name. Another Dakota band were the Chonkasketons (Songasquitons), “the fortified villages”—also supposed by some to mean “of the strong, or brave.” Before the Siouan people obtained firearms, they used arrowheads and knives of sharp-edged flint, which they found on the banks of the Thousand Lakes—called by them Isan-ta-mde, “Lake of Knives.” From their residence there, the Eastern Sioux were called Isan-ya-ti, now modified to Santee. Included under this name are the Wahpetons (Ouaepetons), and Wazi-kute (Ouasicoutetons). The Ihañktonwan, or Yankton, are the division from which the Assiniboin separated; they claim

to have been divinely appointed as guardians of the great Red Stone quarry, and are probably the same as the Hinhanetons of Le Sueur. The other tribal appellations in his list cannot be identified, or have disappeared in the course of time. Valuable information regarding the history, organization, customs, and present status of the Siouan tribes, is given in the annual *Reports* of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology—especially in that for 1885–86, J. W. Powell's “Indian Linguistic Families,” pp. 111–118; and in that for 1893–94, W. J. McGee's “Siouan Indians,” pp. 157–204, and J. O. Dorsey's “Siouan Sociology,” pp. 213–244. See also S. R. Rigg's “Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography” (edited by Dorsey), vol. ix of *U. S. Geog. and Geol. Survey of Rocky Mountain Region* (Washington, 1893); and Neill's *Dakkotah Land* (Phila., 1859), and *Hist. Minnesota*.— Ed.

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1700: LOUVIGNY PUNISHED FOR ILLICIT TRADING WITH IROQUOIS.

[Documents relating this affair are given in *Wis. Hist. Colls* ., v, pp. 67–77.]

1700–02: LE SUEUR'S FORT ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

[Pénicaut's1 Relation in Margry's *Découv. et établ* ., v, pp. 414–421, 425, 426.]

1 Pénicaut came to Louisiana with Iberville in 1699, when he was not more than twenty years old. His “Relation de la Louisiane” covers the history of that colony, and the explorations made by its pioneers, from 1699 until 1721, when Pénicaut, having lost his sight, was compelled to return to France. The “Relation” was first published by Margry.— Ed.

Advancing a league on that river [Blue Earth], we found a point of land a quarter of a league from the woods; and upon this point Monsieur Lesueur resolved to have his fort built, since we could not ascend farther on account of the ice, and as 195 it was the last day of September, when the winter has already begun, which is very severe in that region. Half of our men went hunting, while the others worked at building the fort. We killed four

hundred wild cattle [buffaloes], which made our provision for the winter; after having skinned and cleaned the carcasses, and cut them into quarters, we placed the meat on scaffolds in our fort. We also erected within the fort some cabins, and a building for storing our merchandise. After having dragged our shallop within the enclosure of the fort, we spent the winter there, in our cabins. When we were beginning to build our fort, seven French traders from Canada came to us there. They had been plundered and stripped naked by the Sioux, a wandering people who live wholly by hunting and pillage. Among these seven persons was a Canadian gentleman known to Monsieur Lesueur, who had at once recognized him, and supplied him, as well as all the other traders, with clothing and other necessary articles. In fine, they remained with us throughout the winter at our fort, where our sole food was the meat of our buffaloes, and we had not even salt to eat with it. At the beginning, during the first fortnight, we had considerable difficulty in accustoming ourselves to this diet; we had diarrhœa and fever, and felt such disgust for this food that we could not endure the taste of it. But gradually our systems so adapted themselves that at the end of six weeks there was not one of us who did not daily eat more than ten livres of meat1 and drink four bowlfuls of soup. When we had become accustomed to this manner of life, it rendered us very fleshy, and there were no longer any sick persons among us.

1 The French livre of weight is equivalent to about 1.1 English pounds, avoirdupois.— Ed.

When spring came, we proceeded to work the copper mine. This was at the beginning of April of that year [1701]; we took with us twelve laborers and four hunters. The location of this mine was about three-fourths of a league distant from our fort. In twenty-two. days we took out from that mine more than thirty thousand livres' weight of ore; of this we selected only four thousand of the richest quality, which Monsieur Le Sueur, who had very good knowledge of ores, had conveyed to the fort; 196 it has since been shipped to France. I have not learned the result of this experiment. That mine is located at the beginning of a long range of hills which border the river. Boats could go up to the edge of the mine; the place where the ore is obtained is a green earth, a foot and a half in thickness. The soil

above it is stiff and hard as a rock, and blackened and scorched like coal by the vapor that issues from the mine. We could scratch the copper with a knife. Upon those hills there are no trees. If that mine is a good one, a great traffic in the ore could be carried on, since the hills contain that same soil for more than ten leagues. According to the observations that we made there, there seems to be a continual fog over those hills, even in the finest weather. After twenty-two days of toil, we returned to our fort, to which the Sioux (from that tribe of Savages who had pillaged the Canadians who came to our fort) brought to us their merchandise of peltries; they had more than four hundred beaver robes. These robes are made of nine skins sewed together; Monsieur Le Sueur bought these, as well as many other pelts, for which he traded with them during a week. He obliged their chiefs to come to lodge with the Savages near the fort. It was with difficulty that they could agree to this, because that tribe, who are very numerous, are always wandering, and live only by hunting; and when they have remained a week in one place, it becomes necessary for them to go more than ten leagues thence in order to find game enough to live upon. They have, however, a place of residence where they gather fruits, which are very different from those on the lower part of the Mississipy river—such as cherries, which grow in clusters, as do our grapes in France; atoquas, a fruit which resembles our strawberries, but is larger, and square in shape; and artichokes,1 which resemble our truffles. There are also more different species of trees than are found on the lower river—for instance, of the wild cherry,

1 Atoka (atoqua): the Algonquian name of the cranberry (*Vaccinium macrocarpon*). “Artichokes” probably referes to the tuberous roots of a species of sunflower (*Helianthus tuberosus*), indigenous to North America, and often used as food by the aborigines; it is popularly known as “Jerusalem artichoke.”— Ed.

197 maple, and *plaine* , and of the poplar, a tree which grows so large that some specimens of it are five brasses in circumference.1 As for the trees called “maple” and *plaine* , incisions are made in them early in March, and a tube is placed in each incision to catch the sap; this passes through the tube mad falls into a vessel, which is placed

underneath to receive it. These trees flow abundantly during three months, from the first of March to the end of May; the water which they distill is very sweet; to preserve it, this is boiled until it becomes a strap, and if it is boiled longer it turns to sugar.

1 Probably the cottonwood (*Populus*). which often grows to an enormous size. The *plaine* (a term used to this day in Canada) is the red or swamp maple (*Acer rubrum*), which also produces sugar, although somewhat inferior to that of the sugar maple (*A. saccharinum*). — Ed.

The cold weather is even more severe in those countries than it is in Canada. During the winter that we spent in our fort, we heard the loud noise, like the sound of a gunshot, made by the trees when they were split by the intense cold. Where the water in the river was still, it was frozen solid; and on the land the snow fell to the depth of five feet. All this snow and ice melts usually at the beginning of April, which causes the Mississipy to overflow its banks in the spring.

As soon as winter begins in that country, that is, in the month of September,—the bears climb up hollow trees, and wedge their bodies into the hollow places of the trees; they remain there six or seven months, without leaving their refuge, and nourish themselves only by licking their paws. When they enter those holes, they are very poor in flesh; but when they leave them, after winter has ended, they are so fat that they have a layer of tallow half a foot thick. It is almost always in the poplar or cypress that the bear hides, because those trees are usually hollow. When men undertake to kill them, they place against the tree in which the bear is, another tree, which extends to the hole by which the bear entered. A man ascends by this latter tree, and through the hole flings into the hollow of the tree where the bear lies some pieces of burning dry wood, which compels the animal to come out, in order to escape being burned there. When it has emerged from the hollow of the 198 tree, it descends backward, as a man would; and while it descends the hunters fire their guns at the beast. This is very dangerous hunting, for although the animal may be wounded, sometimes with three or four gunshots, it will still hasten to attack the

first persons whom it encounters, and in an instant rends them, with a single blow of teeth and claws. There are bears as large as a coach-horse, and so strong that they can easily break a tree as large as a man's thigh. The Sioux tribes carry on bear-hunting extensively; they use the flesh for their food, and trade the skins to the Canadian French. In exchange for these, we sell to them at high prices the wares that we carry thither. Tobacco especially (that is, Brazilian tobacco) was advanced to the rate of a hundred écus the livre; two small horn-handled knives, or four lead bullets, were then on the scale of ten écus in exchange for their merchandise of pelts; and other articles on like terms.

At the beginning of May, we launched our shallop on the water, and loaded it with that green earth that we had taken from the mines, and with pelts from our trading, of which brought away three canoe-loads. Monsieur Le Sueur, before departing, held council with Monsieur d'Eraque, a Canadian gentleman, and the three chiefs of the Sioux, who were brothers; to those chiefs Monsieur Le Sueur said that, since he was obliged to go down the river to the sea, he would beg them to remain on peaceable terms with Monsieur d'Eraque, whom he left as governor of Fort L'Huillier, With twelve Frenchmen. Monsieur Le Sueur then made the Savages a considerable present, asking them not to abandon the Frenchmen; after that, we embarked, he and the twelve men whom he had chosen to go down the river with him to the sea. At his departure Monsieur Le Sueur promised Monsieur d'Eraque and the twelve Frenchmen who remained with him to guard the fort to send them ammunition from the Illinois,1 as soon as he arrived there. This he did; for when he arrived there he despatched a canoe,

1 Apparently a reference to the settlement of the Kaskaskias (an Illinois tribe), who had removed their village to the Mississippi river in the summer of 1700; a French trading-post also was soon established there.— Ed.

199 laden with two thousand livres of lead and powder, with three of our men to manage it. We remained a few days at the Illinois, departing thence after we had obtained the supplies necessary for the voyage down to the sea. While going down, we spent the nights at the various villages which we have already mentioned on the journey up; we landed

at the post where Messieurs de St. Denis and de Bienville were in command;1 and they informed us that Monsieur d'Iberville2 had arrived Biloxi more than a month before.

1 In February, 1700, Iberville established a fortified post on the Mississippi, about half-way between the present New Orleans and the beginning of the delta; it is designated on early maps as Fort La Boulaye. In the autumn of 1705, this fort was abandoned, and its garrison and stores transferred to Mobile.— Ed.

2 Pierre le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville, was one of the most noted among Canadian naval officers of his time, and gained especial renown by his expeditions against the English at Hudson Bay (in 1686, 1694, and 1697), and by his settlement of Louisiana (1699–1702), thus confirming the claim of France to that vast territory. Obliged to return to France (1702) in ill health, he led an expedition against the English in the West Indies in 1706, and on July 9 of that year died at Havana.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

The three men with whom Monsieur Le Sueur had left orders, when he was at the Illinois, to take a canoe loaded with ammunition to Monsieur d'Eraque at Fort L'Huillier arrived at the fort of Monsieur de St. Denis; they greatly surprised Monsieur Le Sueur by informing him that, the canoe which they used having split, they had lost it, with all the ammunition, opposite Nicolas Perrot's mine. Messieurs de St. Denis and de Bienville immediately gave orders that they should lead a canoe with more ammunition and food, commanding them to use all possible diligence to arrive quickly at Fort L'Huillier. As for us, after we had unloaded from our shallop and canoes the peltries which we had obtained in trade with the Sioux, we went down the river a shallop with Monsieur Le Sueur, a few days later, to the fort of Biloxy, where we found Monsieur d'Iberville had arrived; he was still occuped with getting his ships unloaded.

* * * * * * * *

At the same time [in the spring of 1702], Monsieur d'Iberville had sent a transport loaded with military supplies and provisions 200 to Monsieur de St. Denis, commandant at the fort of Mississipy; they found there Monsieur d'Eraque, with the twelve Frenchmen who had remained with him at Fort L'Huillier. He came a few days later in the transport to Mobile, where was Monsieur d'Iberville; having saluted him, Monsieur d'Eraque reported that Monsieur Le Sueur, having left him at Fort L'Huillier, had when leaving promised him to send them from the Illinois ammunition and provisions; that, having waited a long time without receiving any news from him, he had been attacked by the Mascoustin and Renard tribes. They had slain three of our Frenchmen, who were at work in the woods, at two gunshots' distance from the fort; and after these Savages withdrew he had been compelled, since he had no lead and powder, to abandon the fort, after burying the goods that still remained to him, in order to go down with his men to the sea.

1700: TREATY WITH INDIAN TRIBES; ILLICIT TRADING.

[Extract from letter of Governor Callières to Count de Pontchartrain, Oct. 16, 1700.]

To the joint letter of the Intendant and myself,1 I annex, My Lord, the words of the Iroquois and my answers to them; you will be informed by that, of the manner I have concluded the Peace, which I made them sign according to their custom, together with the Deputies of our Indian allies, whom I invited to attend on that occasion.2

1 The governor of New France at that time was Louis Hector do Callières (from Frontenac's death, December, 1698, until his own death, May 26, 1703). Frontenac's intendant, Jean Bochart de Champigny, held that office until August, 1702,— Ed.

2 For detailed account of this treaty of peace between the French and their allies and the Iroquois (ratified in September, 1701), see *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, 708–711, 715–720, 722–732.— Ed.

I afterwards sen, Father Anjalran and Sieur de Courtemanche, 201 Lieutenant of the troops and Captain of my Guards, to the Outaouas to get them to accept and sign it, as well as all the Upper Nations. I ordered them to enjoin on the Chiefs bring me down all the Iroquois prisoners in their Country at the beginning of next August, which is the term I have likewise fixed for the Iroquois Deputies to bring me down of our Indians in their custody, so as to make them exchange them in my presence, and thereby confirm that peace, which I hope will put a termination to all acts of hostility in these countries. I hope it may be agreeable to his Majesty, having nothing more at heart than to furnish him with proofs of my zeal for his service, and to render you satisfied with my conduct.

You will also see by the same joint letter that I have dispatched Sieur de Tonty,1 Captain of the Troops, to Missilimakinac to convey my orders, agreeably to those of the King, to cause the Frenchmen who remained there to come down. He brought me only 20 of them. The others, to the number of 84, adopted, for the most part, the resolution to proceed the establishment on the Mississippy, whither 30 of them had already descended in ten canoes, loaded with beaver which they owe to the merchants of this country. Sieur d'Iberville this beaver on board his ship and gave them 12 @ 1500 lbs of powder, and some of his people have also given them other goods in trade.

1 Reference is here made to Alphonse do Tonty, a younger brother of La Salle's companion. In 1701 he aided Cadillac in the formation of the Detroit settlement; and, five years later, was sent to take charge Fort Frontenac. In 1708 he was removed from that post, on charges of illicit trading and extortion from the Indians, and was for some time in disgrace with his superiors. Eventually he appears to have recovered their confidence; and in 1746 was again commandant at Fort Frontenac.— Ed.

I have learned that, since he set sail, ten other canoes loaded with beaver have gone thither, and that other Coureurs de bois are preparing to do in like manner. Had Sieur d'Iberville thought proper to write me an account of what passed in those parts, as he had done to some of his relatives in Montreal, I 202 would have advised him, or those who

are in command there, of my opinion, so as to apply a remedy to this wholesale robbery. I have been greatly surprised that he did not inform me of it, since you have not let me know, My Lord, that the King had detached that country, which was discovered by this, from the general government of this Colony. In whatsoever manner his Majesty disposes of it, it would be necessary that he should send his orders to the Commander of that post, to arrest these rebels, so that they may be sent to the galleys, agreeably to the King's declaration of the 21 st May, 1696; and that he address like instructions to, me by the earliest vessels, in order that they be informed thereof by the coast of the Mississippy and by this way, so as to constrain them to profit by the longest delay I have given them—until the month of July next year—to return to this country. This would obviate the necessity of his Majesty having to chastise them according to the rigor of his orders.1

1 A letter of Louis XIV to Callières, dated May 31, 1701, says on this point: “In regard to the 84, who had not yet rejoined last year, and the greater portion of whom had proceeded to the Mississippi, his Majesty has been informed of the reasons that have detained them in the woods, and has been pleased to take it into favorable consideration, being strongly persuaded that the clemency he is pleased to extend to them will engage them to a more prompt obedience in future. What has induced his Majesty the more to listen to their excuses has been the resolution he has adopted to form a settlement at the lower end of the Mississippi. He proposes to place those people there, and in that way to lay the foundations of that Colony, which has become to him an indispensable necessity, in order to prevent the progress which the English of Carolina and New York have begun to make in the territories intervening between them and that River: But as he is desirous of preventing that Colony being injurious to Canada, his Majesty will issue orders to oblige the Canadians who have repaired thither to pay their debts. He will prohibit them also from hunting Beaver; and as they actually have some of that article, and have not been informed of the prohibition his Majesty has concluded on, he has permitted the Deputies of the Quebec company, at present in France, to send a clerk to the Mississippi to receive and pay for all the Beaver that will be brought thither pending this and next year, to prevent

its being conveyed to the English, and in order that such trade remain in the same hands." The king also writes, a year later: "Being desirous to employ usefully the means which could be put in operation to prevent their being lost and going over to the English, his Majesty had permitted them to remove to and settle in the Colony which has been begun at the mouth of the Mississipy, with permission to vend their Beaver to the Company, with the express understanding that they would be prohibited pursuing that trade in future under severe penalties. His Majesty will not permit them even that of small peltry, but only that of hides of buffaloes and of other animals from which they can be procured." See *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, pp. 721, 735.— Ed.

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It would further be necessary to forbid those who will settle in that country receiving any beaver either directly or indirectly, or going to trade for any to the Indian nations, permitting them only to trade in Buffalo skins and other articles that can be procured on that continent. This, in my opinion, is the means to prevent the lawless people of this country disbanding themselves, and to maintain it by the fur trade of which it has been in possession since its first foundation;

Since the King has had reason for endeavoring to settle the Mississippi, though the mouth of that river be completely obstructed by a bar which prevents the entrance of vessels, there being only 8 or 10 feet of water on it, I consider for the advantage of his service that it is highly important to maintain that post, because the neighboring Spaniards and English would not fail, were it abandoned, to seize it by means of small craft, one of which has already made its appearance, and by their own exertions and those of the Coureurs de bois draw to themselves the trade of that country, without our being able to prevent it, which would be attended with an inevitable loss.

I have reprimanded the Outaouacs Chiefs who have been down here; for having been to war against the Sioux, notwithstanding my having forbid them last year; and I recommended to them, as well as to Father Anjalran and Sieur de Courtemanche, to do all

in their power to prevent the continuance of those hostilities between them, which appear to me to have reached a great height, the Sioux having swept off, last spring, a Village of the Miamis. It will be very difficult to arrange this, in consequence of the distance of those nations, who have no longer a Commandant to speak to them in my name.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 712, 713.

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1701: CADILLAC'S DETROIT COLONY; APPROVED BY JESUITS.

[Letters of missionaries to Cadillac. MSS. (copies) in the archives of Province of Quebec; and in those of St, Mary's College, Montreal. The French text of most of these documents was published by Margry, in vol. v of *Découv. et établ* .]

At Missilimakinak , July 25, 1701.

Monsieur —After having in fact desired for so many years the settlement of Detroit, as you write, the letter that you have done me the honor of writing to convey the happy news to me could only be very agreeable. I would deem it a pleasure to proceed at once to render you all the services in my power, did the state of this mission permit of it. But you know that everybody here has gone down to Montreal for the general meeting to be held there. It is necessary to await their return before anything can be done; for no other steps can be taken than those they would themselves have taken with Monsieur the Governor, in connection with the design of their approaching migration, of which they did not fail to tell him, in order to ascertain his wishes on the subject. Meanwhile, I can assure you that wherever I may go, whether directly to Detroit or to the neighborhood, I shall always be fully disposed to show you effectively by everything in my power that I remain with respect,1 Monsieur,

1 Note on margin, by La Mothe-Cadillac: “By this letter Father de Carheil, the missionary of the Hurons at Missilimakinak, proves the necessity, in his own opinion, of the settlement

at Detroit; for he admits that he has desired it for many years, and learns the news with pleasure.”

Your very Obedient Servant, Etienne de Carheil , of the Society of Jesus.

At Missilimakinak , July 28, 1701.

Monsieur —You do me the justice of believing that I will contribute as far as lies in my power to the settlement at Detroit; and that, if I cannot do it otherwise, I will do so at least by the feeble aid of my prayers to the Lord. In addition to 205 my natural inclination and to the will of our superiors, your letter will be a still further encouragement, considering the sentiments that you express. There is not a missionary who should not deem it a pleasure to go there.

You cannot do better than carry out the design you speak of with reference to brandy. That is the way to make the settlement a success. *Nisi Dominus edificaverit domum in vanum laboraverunt qui edificant eam* [“Unless the Lord have built the city, they who build it have labored in vain”]. You cannot better second the intentions of the King, whose chief object in settlements of this kind, which likewise concern the savages, is the salvation of those poor souls, of which the trade in brandy makes them incapable.

We expect our savages to return forthwith. Then we shall knew their true resolution, and the intentions of Monsieur de Calliéres and of our Superiors. For my part, I am quite ready to start this autumn, if it be desired. Whether it be the autumn or the spring, or even whether I be sent to another place (for you know that we are children of obedience), I shall ever remain with great respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant, Joseph Marest , of the Society of Jesus.1

1 Jean Joseph Marest was a brother of Gabriel; soon after he came to the Canada missions, he was sent to the Sioux, and his name appears in Perrot's *prise de possession*

(1689). He was afterward superior of the Ottawa missions, and resided at Mackinac at least during 1700–14. He died at Montreal in October, 1725.— Ed.

Note of Cadillac on this document: “In the second paragraph of the letter written by Monsieur de Callières to Monsieur Lamothe at Detroit, dated Aug. 24, 1701, he says: ‘I hope that the Hurons and most of the Ottawas will go to join you at Detroit early in the autumn; and I am writing to the Reverend Fathers Marest and de Carheil asking them to accompany the Savages, in order to agree with you on the place where it will be most suitable that they shall establish themselves.’ Those two missionaries, very far from conforming to the intention of that letter, are employing every means to prevent the Savages from coming here. That is plain from the councils which were held at fort Pontchartrain on Oct. 30 and Dec. 4, 1701.”

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At Fort Frontenac , September 23, 1701.

Monsieur —Our good fortune in meeting Madame de La Mothe at fort Frontenac gives me a fine opportunity of expressing my very humble thanks to you for all your kindness to me last summer, both on the journey and at Detroit. I beg you to be pleased to continue the same to him among our fathers who shall come down from Missilimakinac to Detroit; for I have no doubt that you will soon have one there, because, on Lake Erie, I met Quarante-sous, the Huron, who assured me that the Hurons would certainly go and settle near you this autumn.

As to the Iroquois whom we met on the way, we did not find them greatly opposed to your settlement. Some even told me that they were pleased that, when hunting near Lake Erie, they would find everything they needed at Detroit in exchange for their elk, deer, and doe skins. Thus you have only to consider the means of getting a quantity of cheap goods.

I do not give you the news we have learned here, because it has been told us by Madame de la Mothe, who will relate it to you as well as I could write it. I beg you to accept my very humble services, and to believe me, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant, François Vaillant , Jesuit.

1701: MICHILLIMAKINAC AND DETROIT.

[Extracts from letters by the Jesuit missionary Joseph Marest to La Mothe Cadillac; dated at Michillimakinac, Oct. 8 and 20, 1701. MSS. (copies) in archives of Province of Quebec; press-mark “Mss. relat. N. France, series 2, vol. 9, pp. 5117–5120.”]

Monsieur De La forest has just started from here. Our canoes left nearly 15 days ago for la baie. Father Chardon1

1 Jean B. Chardon came to Canada in 1699, and after two years joined the Western missions, soon coming to Green Bay (De Pere). He probably remained there until that post was abandoned; in May, 1705 (and for several years thereafter), he was with the Miamis on St. Joseph river. Charlevoix found him (1721) at Green Bay, ministering to the Indians; but no further information regarding him is available, save that he died in 1743.— Ed.

207 embarked with the last ones to proceed also to la baie, to the assistance of Father Nouvel, who is borne down by the weight of nearly 80 years and by many ailments. That father brought us letters from below addressed to you. There are two packets and a single letter which I have charged Mikinak (who is not unknown to you) to deliver into your hands. His conduct toward the French is always good. I cannot tell you what our Outaouas think about the Detroit settlement, and I believe that they themselves will be somewhat embarrassed about telling you their thoughts, for they do not agree.1 Many fear that, as the Iroquois has not given them back their slaves, which was the most essential article of the peace, he may seek to deceive them. But if the slaves are brought to them this autumn, as they have been led to hope, that will soothe their minds to some extent. For my

part I expect every day the orders of our Reverend Father Superior, and I do not think that I shall be able to move from here at all before the spring. Neither could I be of any use to the Savages who are fully resolved to scatter, each in his own direction, in the woods as far as they can. I recommend to you those who go to visit you.

1 Note by Cadillac: “This Father says correctly that the Savages are not agreed about the Detroit settlement. Their speeches in open council disclose that it is the missionaries who have divided them, by the wrong impressions that they have given them, and by the threats that they have uttered if the Savages proceed to establish themselves at this post.”

* * * * * * * *

I have already written you by Koutaouiliboua that I had entrusted Mikinak with the letters that Brother Louis2 had brought me here for you. I have no doubt that he has faithfully delivered them to you. He, as well as the other Outaouas who are in your quarter, may have told you what resolution they have come to (if indeed they have any fixed one); therefore it is necessary that I should write to you about it. Monsieur Arnaud, who came here from la Baie the evening before that, will tell you that since he has resided at Missilimakinak

2 A Jesuit lay brother, Louis le Boesme, connected with the missions; he came to Canada when a mere boy, about 1648, and two years later returned to France, in order to enter the order. In 1656 he came back to Canada, where he spent the rest of his life, dying in 1709. — Ed.

208 never has it been in greater solitude than we are in at present. He has brought us no letters from la Baie; he has merely told us that Father Nouvel was holding a mission two leagues from the place where your people were trading their wheat. He will himself give you verbally whatever news there may be. Amaioue, who arrived yesterday from below with various letters, does not yet inform us of the arrival of the expected ships. The articles that persons left here on deposit had already been taken to the Miamis. Everything

will be faithfully delivered to them with the exception of your note, which I have not been able to send to Father Aveneau.1 The fort that you have already completed, and the fine buildings of which you tell me, will greatly please our savages; but they will be still more pleased with the cheapness of the goods that you intend to procure for them, especially if it continue permanently. I have already written to you that, from all appearances, I should make no move this autumn; I am not even able to do so. I may say the same of Father de Carheil.

1 Claude Aveneau joined the Ottawa mission in 1686; he was sent, apparently soon after Allouez's death (August, 1689), to succeed that missionary in the charge of the Miamis on St. Joseph river. Nearly all his remaining years were spent with that tribe; Charlevoix states (*Nouv, France*, ii, pp. 322, 323) that in 1707 Aveneau was superseded by a Récollet priest, but that the Miamis became so unruly, when deprived of Aveneau's advice and influence, that it was found necessary to send him back to them. He died at Quebec, Sept. 11, 1711.— Ed.

1701: NEW TRADING POSTS TO BE ESTABLISHED IN THE WEST.

[Extract from a letter of the directors of the Company of the Colony of Canada: published in Margry's Découv. et établ., v, pp. 360–362.]

The Company2 having been informed, in the month of July last, that the coureurs de bois and even the Savages had undertaken

2 The Company of the Colony was an association formed in Canada, in 1700, to secure the monopoly of the Western fur trade. Within five years the company became insolvent; and on Oct. 25, 1705, they surrendered, by royal command, the trade to Cadillac (who was one of the associates). For list of shareholders and documents relating to this company, see *Supp. Canad. Archives*, 1899, pp. 101–110, 112, 115; Margry's *Découv. et établ*., v, pp. 172–203, 301–336, 360–367; and C. M. Burton's *Cadillac*, pp. 17–20.— *Jes. Relations*, lxv, pp. 272–273.

209 to open up commerce among the English of Carolina, and on the lower Mississippy, that they might carry thither their peltries, deputed Messieurs d'Auteuil and Péré to go to Montreal, to propose to Messieurs de Callières and de Champigny such measures as they should deem most suitable to remedy the evil. For this purpose, it is proposed to establish some posts on the routes of travel: one at the Miamis; one at the Ouabache river, at the place where it empties into the Mississippy (which will serve as a boundary between the Colony of Canada and the one that has been established on the Mississippy —all the more as by that route access is gained to the English of Carolina, and they can by the same road come upon our territories); another at Ouisconsing; and the last among the Sioux. The last-named are necessary because the trade of those nations has always been carried on through Canada; and in order that the Savages, finding at these places the French, of whom they are fond, and such wares as they need, may abandon the idea of going among strangers—and, finally, to prevent sieur Le Sueur from continuing to trade with the Sioux.

By means of these establishments the fort at Detroit can serve as a warehouse for all the goods; and the French who will be at the posts will induce the Savages who do not come down to Montreal to carry their peltries to Detroit. They will be sure to do that, all the more readily because the journey thither is as easy (and much shorter) as that to Carolina or to the lower Mississippi; and in this way we shall gather up all the trade in peltries, which belongs to the Colony.

It is not the purpose of the directors to make beaver-skins more abundant, for they are overstocked with them in both quantity and quality; but they intend that the agents of the Company shall instruct the Savages regarding the best sorts of peltries and the method of preparing them. They even hope to check for some time the supply of beaver-skins, which is so 15 210 great as to be burdensome; the [*qualitez*] will be done away with, and the sale of the pelts hoarded in france, in the storehouses of the Company, will be facilitated.

Messieurs de Callières and de Champigny have been persuaded of the necessity and usefulness of these establishments; but they have not thought best to promise them, lest they might contravene the prohibition of the congés. They see, however, that this disadvantageous state of affairs demands prompt relief, lest, if the Savages once make up their minds to resort to the English, we can not make them return to us. In that case, all the beaver-skins that are in France would become a dead loss for the Company of the Colony; for the English could, by trading in that way, send the pelts to Europe and supply them at much cheaper rates, since they would not have to pay the tax of one-fourth.1

1 Throughout the history of New France, the fur trade was in the hands of monopolists, usually associations of merchants. For the privilege of engaging in the trade, the monopolist levied on every outsider a tax or duty, in the shape of part of his proceeds; in the earliest period of the trade, this duty was one-fifth (*Jes. Relations*, iii, pp. 199, 211). Edouard Richard, in his *Supplement to Canadian Archives, 1899* (p. 105), gives the following synopsis of a document dated April 18, 1703: “Decree of the council of State which establishes new duties in Canada, instead of the duty of one-quarter, in kind, on beaver. (This decree was passed at the request of Sr. de Lino, agent in France of the Company of the Colony. He alleged that the price of beaver had been reduced in order to increase the use of the fur, and to replace the use of hare fur by that of the beaver, in the manufacture of hats. That it had not been possible to reduce the price of beaver in America, as such a reduction would oblige the Indians to sell to the English. That the prices paid and the selling prices were such as to leave no profit. He considered, therefore, that the duty of one-fourth, in kind, equivalent to six sols a pound, should be abolished and replaced by a duty on drapers' goods, merceries, groceries, and millinery. Which was granted; and hence the present decree.)”— Ed.

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1702: MIAMIS INTRIGUE WITH ENGLISH TRADERS.

[Letter of Father Jean Mermet1 to Cadillac. From Margry's *Découv. et établ* ., v., pp. 219–21.]

1 Jean Mermet, coming to Canada in 1698, was sent to aid Aveneau in the Miami mission where he spent some three years. In 1702, he went with Juchereau to his new post at the mouth of the Ohio; after that officer's death (1704), Mermet went to Kaskaskia, and passed the rest of his life in the Illinois mission, where he died Sept. 15, 1716.— Ed.

At Riviere St. Joseph , April 19, 1702.

Monsieur —Although I have not the honor of being known to you, I nevertheless write to you about an important matter regarding the welfare of both the Colony and Religion; and thereby you will see, Monsieur, that the Jesuits are better friends of yours than you think, unless you yourself will not honor them with your kind remembrance, and, if I may venture to say, with your friendship.

Five of our Miamis are going to the English to obtain some goods which they will bring here this summer. Never have we seen them so eager for hunting Beaver as since they have received fine collars brought on behalf of the English by the Iroquois who have come here. This is for the purpose of obtaining from our Miamis permission to establish freely a post 3 days' journey from here, near a river which is the source of the Ouabache, where there is only a portage of half a league to be crossed to reach this river, and a similar one to reach another river which flows to the Detroit. From that place the English might go and bring in all the Savages of our lakes from all sides.2

2 The place thus designated must have been in the southern part of Noble county, Ind.— a district whence flow streams tributary to the St. Joseph, Maumee, and Wabash rivers.— Ed.

At this last River [Maumee], which flows to the Detroit, Quarante-sous3 (who will not fail to inveigh against Father de Carheil, and who is the soul of all the intrigues of our

Miamis) is to establish himself, 20 or 30 leagues from Detroit, and he has also given very considerable presents in token of the alliance

3 A marginal note by Cadillac, written on this document, claims that Mermet confounds the identity of the Huron chief here mentioned with that of another chief bearing the same French nickname.— Ed.

212 that the Hurons and the Miamis of this [St. Joseph] river wish to conclude together. The said Quarante-sous will have the choice of trading with the English or the French. To do this more freely, it is reported that he intends to go to ask Monsieur de Callières for permission to carry on trade alone, and to say that the reason why he does not settle closer to Detroit is that he may not deprive the French of the advantage of hunting, or for fear that he may cause inconvenience to the French, who have sheep, cows, and other domestic animals which his children would be unable to refrain from killing, if they were nearer; but he does not intend to reveal the alliance that he meditates with the English, or the anger to which he proposes to give vent some day against the Outaouas. He has not even been able to avoid saying to some of his confidants that the French prevented him from revenging himself upon the Outaouas, but that the English might help him. You may judge by this, Monsieur, what reliance can be placed on the reports of Savages. You might however, Monsieur, not let it be known that the report I send you comes from us, for it might induce him to do us harm.

But in writing you this, Monsieur, I thought I should do you a service. Yon may be sure that he will not fail to deny so villainous a plot; but, if you think that I am interested, and if you cannot wholly trust me, obtain information elsewhere, and be on your guard against the Hurons.

I take the liberty of sending you some letters on the same subject for Monsieur the Governor, and Monsieur the Intendant, and our Superior. I beg you to send them as soon as possible. Should I have the opportunity, you will see very well how much I am, Monsieur

Your very humble and very obedient servant, Jean Mermet .

In order to succeed, I beg you, Monsieur, to be as diligent as possible, either in yourself writing or in sending our letters to the authorities. I consider the matter so certain and so important that, if your man had not left for Detroit, I would have started expressly to go down to Missilimakinac, and thence perhaps to Quebec, lest your man might have been stopped by the 213 savages. I am writing the same thing via Michillimakinak, but that way will be much longer. Therefore be diligent, I beg of you.1

1 Note by Cadillac: “Behold the Gordian knot of this important matter of which Monsieur de Lamothe was already informed. Two captains, who are Sieurs de la Forest and Tonty, made a rendezvous at Missilimakina, in the month of July, 1701, and there they formed, with the Jesuits, the project of establishing a post on the river where the Miamis are located, with the view of causing the ruin of the Detroit post. That is why-the Missilimakinak missionaries invited the Savages to go to settle there; and it was resolved that this Father Mermet, with Father Davenaut, [d'Aveneau], should give this alarm to Monsieur de Lamothe. The Jesuits secured an influence over Monsieur de Champigny and the two officers of Monsieur de Callières, all with the intention of obliging Monsieur the Governor-general to send a strong garrison to the Miamis to begin that post, under the pretext that the English would come there.”

1702: MIAMIS UNWILLING TO GO TO DETROIT.

[Letter from Aveneau to Cadillac. From Margry's *Découv. et établ* ., v, pp. 239, 240.]

From the River St. Joseph , June 4, 1702.

Monsieur —No sooner had I received last year the letter that Monsieur the Governor did me the honor of writing to me respecting the French establishment at Detroit (in which he invites the Savages, including the Miamis, to go and settle near the French at the post of Detroit), than I read it to them in their own language, without concealing any of the

contents of the letter from them. And now, when I remind them of it, they tell me that it is true that I read it to them; and that I added that, if they went to settle at Detroit, I also would certainly go thither, as I would not consent to abandon them. They replied that they were afraid, amid so large a concourse of people, of being reduced to starvation in a short time, although the prospect of obtaining cheap goods there did not fail to produce a great impression on them.

The news that 100 or 200 Iroquois are to come here next summer to speak to them—which St. Michel told me to tell them 214 from you—considerably surprised them, and gave them occasion to doubt the truth of the peace; for they imagined that they were not included in it, especially when they were told again on your behalf that they were to keep on their guard. This, however, has not prevented some young men from starting, a few days ago, on the war-path against the Sioux, notwithstanding all that the old men and myself could say to induce them at least to postpone their march for some time until they should obtain news from Onontio. You know the minds of the savages, I mean their manner of acting, still better than I do. They always pursue their point, so that, if they really wish to go to Detroit, they will assuredly do so; otherwise, they will remain where they are, or at least they will not exert themselves very much to change their residence. I pray God to grant us and them the grace to do his holy will in all things and always. I again present my respects to Madame your wife and ask her for a share in her prayers, I who remain with respect, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

C. B. Aveneau .

1702: EVILS ATTENDANT UPON THE FUR TRADE; DEMORALIZATION OF BOTH FRENCH AND INDIANS.

[Letter of Father de Carheil to the intendant of Canada, J. B. de Champigny; dated Aug. 30, 1702.]

[Synopsis: Carheil, who has been long stationed at Mackinac, writes a detailed account and vigorous denunciation of the lawless conduct and licentiousness that prevail among both the savages and the French in that region. This wretched state of affairs is mainly due to the traffic in brandy, permission for which “has been obtained from his majesty only by means of a pretext apparently Reasonable, but known to be false.” Carheil states that, as this civil traffic renders useless the labors of the missionaries, they will request their superior to recall them from the Ottawa missions.

The writer arraigns in scathing terms “the two Infamous sorts of Commerce which have brought the missions to the brink 215 of destruction: * * * the Commerce in brandy, and the Commerce of the savage women with the French. Both are carried on in an equally public manner, without our being able to remedy the evil, because We are not supported by the Commandants. * * * All the villages of our savages are now only Taverns, as regards drunkenness; and Sodoms, as regards immorality—from which we must withdraw, and which we must abandon to the just Anger and vengeance of God.”

Carheil regards the commandants and garrisons as enemies of the missions. “All the pretended service which it is sought to make people believe that they Render to the King is reduced to 4 chief occupations.” These are: “Keeping a public Tavern for the sale of brandy,” extending this traffic from one post to another, “keeping open house in their dwellings for all the women of their acquaintance,” and gambling. As a result, the entire time of the soldiers is spent in drinking, gambling, quarreling, and licentiousness; the savages are scandalized thereby, and the influence of the missionaries upon them is weakened when they see that the latter are powerless to remedy these evils. The above-mentioned occupations are the only ones pursued by the soldiers, who are therefore utterly useless and even pernicious to the country; and without them there would be no commandants—officials who come to Mackinac “solely for trading, without troubling themselves about anything else.” They care nothing for the missionaries, save when they can use the latter for their own selfish purposes; and they arrogate to themselves

all authority over both French and savages, which leaves the missionaries without aid. “Before there were any Commandants here, the missionaries were always listened to by the traders,” who were afraid of the Fathers. Now, the traders know that their evil acts will be condoned or connived at by the commandants, and they have no fear of the missionaries.

Another grievance of the missionaries is that the commandants secure from the home government allowances for making gifts to the savages. The natural result is, that the latter will now do nothing except in return for presents; and that they learn to employ all sorts of stratagems and intrigues in order to secure these presents, and to cheat the commandants in every 216 possible manner. Carheil hints that the greater part of the fund supplied for this purpose is appropriated by the officials for their own use.

Carheil urges that the garrisons be abolished, as being entirely unnecessary—a statement which he elaborates at length. To them and to their commandants “are due all the misfortunes of our missions.” He accordingly urges the governor to inform the king of the present state of affairs, and to ask that no more garrisons be sent to the mission posts. He considers it expedient that the present system of trade be abolished, preferring that the savages should take their peltries down to the French settlements, as in the early days of the fur trade. Carheil also adduces various reasons why this would be for the best interests of the French, who are rendered idle, vagrant, and immoral by the present system. At the same time, “The Iroquois must be completely tamed and reduced to subjection; and we must take possession of his country, which is much better than That of all the nations up here. * * * His destruction and the possession of his country would secure for us the Trade of all the savage nations up here.”

The governor, having asked Carheil for advice, is informed by the latter that he does not approve the proposal to restore to certain private persons the permissions to engage in the fur trade, which were recently abrogated by the king. The very persons whose conduct has already been so scandalous will be the ones who will secure those permissions; and

Carheil can see no adequate method of preventing their drunken and licentious acts. He forcibly depicts the various phases of their present immoral mode of life; and urges the governor to use all his influence to cheek these scandals. He advises that the Canadian company who have secured the right to the fur trade of the Northwest should establish certain trading posts, to be conducted by competent persons, honest and exemplary in morals. He complains that the governor has not forwarded to the court the complaint formulated by the missionaries at Mackinac against Cadillac. A postscript to Carheil's letter states that the Mackinac savages had favored the establishment of the Detroit post, supposing that it would aid them to destroy the Iroquois 217 nation and take possession of their country; but now, seeing that the French are befriending and aiding the Iroquois, the Ottawas and Hurons will have nothing to do with Cadillac's settlement.]— *Jes. Relations* , lxv, pp. 18–21, 189–253; lxxi, 381.

1703: HURONS REFUSE TO GO TO DETROIT.

[Extracts from letter of Father Joseph Marest to Cadillac. From Margry's *Découv. et établ* ., v, pp. 247–250.]

At Missilimakinak , May 12, 1703.

Monsieur —As I have pressing reasons which compel me unavoidably to. go down to Quebec on leaving Missilimakinak, I find myself unable to take advantage of the opportunity offered me, by the canoe and the man sent me, to satisfy the desire of those who urge me to go to Detroit.

I am much obliged to you for your kindness in placing your house at my disposal until such time as I can lodge myself, and also for the consolation your letter has caused me through the hope it leads me to feet, and the foretaste it gives me, of the perfect accord in which we shall live together.

* * * * * * * *

As soon as I learned from my Superior's letter that he called me to, Detroit, I made it my duty, the very next day, to inform the Savages of it and that I was preparing to obey him; that they knew well enough that it was Onontio's will that they should follow me there; that they should therefore give me a positive and certain answer on that point; that I was obliged to go to Quebec first of all and that I should bear their word to Onontio. They asked me for three days in which to deliberate; this led me to believe that they wished to gather at Detroit. But I was greatly surprised when, on the third day, the councillors who were assembled among the Kiskakons told me with one voice that they had resolved to die at Missilimakinak, and that even if they left there they would never go to Detroit; that such was their final resolution; that I was to assure Onontio of this 218 on their behalf, and that they themselves had said this to him last year when they went down to Montreal. I have no doubt that your surprise on hearing such a decision will equal mine. With regard to the Hurons, Quarante Sous must inform you of what conclusion he has come to with them. Although Father de Carheil went to see him as soon as he arrived, he would deign neither to call him to his council nor to come and see him, except for form's sake, on the eve of his departure—that is to say, about eight days after his arrival, during which time the Father deemed it necessary to ignore everything, and to know nothing until after his departure, in order to give rise to no suspicion. This is what he is reduced to in his own mission. He has no other consolation than that which comes from God, the true Judge of his innocence. I hope to show you by deeds that I remain, with respect and sincerity, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant, Joseph J. Marest .1

1 Note by Cadillac: “As regards the Savages of Missilimakinak, these are suppositions of the Father, since the Outaouois Sinago tribe have secretly sent a collar to Monsieur de Lamothe, to tell him that they will come, after they have harvested their Indian corn, to settle at Detroit. Moreover, since Father Marest's letter a Huron chief has come, with thirty men, to join those who are at Detroit; so there remain at Missilimakinak only about twenty-five of that tribe, besides poor Father Carheil—and he wishes to die as a missionary to the

Hurons at Missilimakinak, at whatever price, even if there were no other person remaining with him. If Monsieur de Lamothe be left to act according to the customs of the Savages—that is, through presents and collars—he will Bring them all to Detroit.”

1703: IMPORTANCE OF POST AT DETROIT.

[Extract from letter of Louis XIV to Canadian officials; dated May 30, 1703.]

He has seen what they have written respecting the expense incurred by the Company of the Colony for Detroit. He is very glad to learn that it has not been a charge to him during the last year. The information laid before his Majesty regarding 219 that establishment of Detroit is so very conflicting, that he is very glad, once for all, to know what he is to rely on. His Majesty win not repeat to them here the reasons which have prompted him to order this report to be made. Sieur de la Motto Cadillac continues to be persuaded that these reasons exist, and that this establishment will have all the effect expected from it. Others pretend that the land there is good for nothing; that it will never produce anything to feed its inhabitants; that the only thing there is the very poor fishing, and that the hunting is between thirty and forty leagues off; and, finally, that it is to be feared that the Iroquois will attack that post without its being in our power to assist it, and that war will recommence in consequence. The Company of the Colony complains likewise that it involves them in an exorbitant expense which it is out of their power to sustain, if it be continually required to convey to that post the supplies necessary for the support of the people there. His Majesty's pleasure is that the Mess rs de Callières and de Beauharnais assemble the said Sieur de la Motte Cadillac and the most respectable of the inhabitants, whether officers or settlers, for the purpose of discussing with great attention and care the reasons for and against that establishment, and that they afterwards draw up an exact Report thereon, which they will cause to be signed by the said Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, and the most respectable of those who will have attended the Meeting, and that they will sign it themselves, so that his Majesty may issue orders on its contents, either to consent to the preservation and augmentation of that post, or to abandon it altogether, or to allow it

to remain as a mere trading post. His Majesty is persuaded that they will act herein without prejudice, and with a view solely to the public good and service. The Colony must, without any difficulty, support the Chaplain of that fort, as well as of Fort Frontenac and other places where it carries on its trade.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, p. 742.

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1703: INDIAN INTRIGUES; DETROIT SHOULD BE ABANDONED.

[Extract from letter of Governor de Vaudreuil to Count Pontchartrain; dated at Quebec, Nov. 14, 1703.]

The sickness which has ravaged this colony since last autumn, and some dregs of which still remain, having prevented the Upper Nations coming down to Montreal according to their custom, some twenty canoes of Outaois, Hurons, and Miamis arrived on the 14 th July. They came by Detroit and formed a junction on Lake Ontario. You will learn the sentiments of the one and the other, My Lord, from their Speeches.

It would appear from that of *Quarante sols* , the Huron Chief, that he is strongly attached to the French; nevertheless I am advised to the contrary, and even that he has been negotiating with the Miamis to get up a sort of trade between them and the English. As I am aware, My Lord, that among these Nations a design discovered is half broken up, I have been very glad to let them see by my answers, without however giving them too much pain, that I was not unacquainted with their proceedings. Could I, My Lord, express to you my opinion, without departing from nay subject, I might with some show of reason assure you here that if the English ever establish a considerable trade with our allies, it will be owing to Detroit. I doubt not but M. de la Motte reports to you the occurrences at that post, but I strongly doubt, from what he writes me, that his views are as just as they seem to be: the general opinion of everybody being that that post is untenable and burthensome to the Colony; as you will be able to see by the unanimous declaration of the General Meeting which M. de Beauharnois and I1 convoked at Quebec, a report whereof

we transmit to you in the joint despatch. In regard to the number of Indians Sieur de la Motte expects to attract to Detroit, I do not think them so much inclined to repair thither as he calculates; which you likewise will be able to understand, My Lord, from the Speeches of the Outtaois

1 Philippe de Rigault, marquis de Vandreuil, was governor of New France from June, 1703, until his death, Oct. 10, 1725 (except from 1714 to 1716, during which time he was absent in France). François de Beauharnais (sometimes spelled Beauharnois) was intendant from September, 1702, to September, 1705.— Ed.

221 of Missilimaquina here on the second of September. This has obliged M. de Beauharnois and me, in view of the antipathy of those Indians to that post, to consent to the return of Father Marest to his mission. The same reasons have induced us also to send Sieur do Menthet thither, and I can assure you that in the present conjuncture there is scarcely any one in that country possessing moro influence than he over the Indians and French above there. We shall transmit him, next spring, the amnesty his Majesty has been pleased to accord to the French inhabiting the Outtaois country, who are only awaiting that, to return. Some of them even came down this summer to the first French settlements of this country, but seeing that there was yet no security for them, they adopted the resolution to go back.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 743, 744.

1703: CONFERENCE OF INDIAN ENVOYS WITH GOVERNOR DE VAUDREUIL.

Speeches of the Outaouaes of Misilimakinac, 27 September, 1703.1

1 These are the speeches referred to in the preceding document, which was accompanied by a report of the conference between De Vaudreuil and the Indian envoys. From that report we select such part as relates to the Northwestern tribes. The matter in bracketed Roman small type comprises the notes made on the original document, before dispatching it to France, probably by the intendant; that in Italic type, memoranda written on the margin by the French Minister.— Ed.

1. They are come to bewail Sieur de Callières' death and to cover his corpse, though they be poor.

[A token of good friendship.]

2. They are instructed by their chiefs to say to the Governor that they wish to die in their villages; notwithstanding all that can be said to engage them to remove, they will not quit their village which they have just put up anew; therefore, whatever 222 Sieur de la Motte may do to engage them to go to Detroit, they will not remove thither. This is their sentiment and that of all their chiefs, who have sent them to communicate it to the Governor.

[Nothing more strongly indicates the determination of those Outaouas never to leave their village of Misilimakinac, and not remove to Detroit, though Sieur de la Motte do all he can to draw them thither; these words expressed to the Governor-general, in presence of the Intendant, the clergy, officers, and principal men of the country, cannot be called in doubt; whilst these of Sieur de la Motte, who is alone, can be questioned. My advice would be to station a Jesuit at Detroit, to let those of Misilimakinac alone, and to permit the Indians to do as they like in this matter. Constraint may do more harm than good in these cases.]

[*Concl. To be added to the Detroit business* .]

3. They are also instructed to ask the Governor for a French Commandant; they know not what they are doing since they have none.

[I do not believe any is necessary for them; it would be the means of absolutely destroying Detroit, which has no more need of one than Missillimakinac. Let us learn by experience that these commandants apply for these posts merely for the purpose of trade, and to promote their own interests, and they encourage the Indians to demand them.]

[*Concl. Embarrassing* .]

4. They are surprised to see the Sauteurs, the Sacs and Outagamis at War; they have sent them some presents to allay this disorder. As they are in their midst, they fear somebody will be killed in their village, and that they will be thus drawn into the War.

[They act wisely in making presents to avert the consequences of this war.]

[*Good* .]

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

He thanks them for coming to bewail Sieur de Callières' death: assures them that they will find in him the same fatherly heart.

[He answers well.]

[*Good* .]

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Though the chiefs of Misillimakinac be resolved not to abandon their fort, notwithstanding they led Sieur de Callières to expect that they would remove to Detroit, it is a matter worthy consideration; he will communicate to them his resolution on this subject by the person he intends to send to Misillimakinac in the fall.

[Sieur de Vaudreuil does well not to give them a decisive answer on their resolution not to go to Detroit, and to postpone to another occasion the communication of his opinion thereupon, because he will, meanwhile, have my Lord's orders.]

As Sieur de Callières, to whom they had already applied for a Commandant, has written on the subject to the King, he will let them know his Majesty's pleasure on the arrival of the ships.

[It is important that my Lord communicate his pleasure in this regard. A commandant at Misillimakinac is unnecessary; he is on the contrary prejudicial. It has ever been the policy of Governors and officers to have commanders at Misillimakinac and everywhere else, in order to increase their powers.]

[*Good. To send positive instructions* .]

He will give orders to the person he intends to send to Misillimakinac to put a stop to the War between their neighbors, and to oblige them to execute the general treaty of peace; he, meanwhile, expects them to contribute thereunto on their side.

[Well answered and well done to expect them to maintain peace. His orders to that effect can be sent to the Missionaries to be communicated to the Indians, instead of sending private persons thither who go there only for the purpose of trading.]

[*Concl.—Appears good* .]

Speeches of the Hurons to M. de Vandreuil, 14th July.

That it is their custom to speak of news before business. [Such is their custom.]

The Mohawks have come on the part of the English to invite the Hurons to Orange.

[This is the work of Quarante Sols, already mentioned, which shows that it is not proper to have the Outaouas, Hurons, and other Indians friendly with the Iroquois. Some adroit effort must be made to prevent them becoming good friends.]

[*Good. With address; to write it to Vaudreuil* .]

They [the Mohawks] told the Miamis whom they found with the French of Detroit that, if they would remove, they will furnish them goods at a cheap rate, and do them every sort of kindness.

[This is a proof of it.]

Sieur Vaudreuil beholds in them his children who are coming to speak to him with the Miamis, who are united together; they have understood that he was desirous they should settle at Detroit.

[A sign that these wish to settle at Detroit. They must be encouraged to do so.]

[*Good. Strongly. Concl* .]

That the late Sieur de Callières having invited them to settle at the Miamis, they request him to tell them whence arises the unwillingness to their residing there. He had exhorted [them] to draw the Tionontaté to Detroit, but the latter would not consent to it, affairs being in confusion.

['Tis true, Sieur de Callières invited those Indians to the River St. Joseph, but it was only with a view to reunite the farther Miamis together, in order eventually to draw them to Detroit; therefore they must now be encouraged to return thither, under the (care of a missionary).]

[*To encourage them to it, dependent however on the decision respecting Detroit* .]

They would greatly desire a cordial union between themselves and the French, and request him to communicate it to those of Misillimakinac and to Sataresky, and that they make him master of their wigwams.

[Sieur de Vaudreuil is to act according to this request.]

[*Good* .]

The late Sieur de Callières loved them; he settled them where they were, and promised to protect them. They request Sieur de Vaudreuil to do the same, and to permit them to make war against the Scioux, as the French were waging it against the English.

[This shows that these Indians, though afar off, are aware that we have operated against the English, and regard this act as an infraction of the general peace.]

[*Concl* .]

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M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

He tells Quarante Sols and his tribe what Sieur de la Motte ought to have told him—that he was informed he wished to go to the English to learn if they, as well as the Miamis, would be well received; that the English had assured them of a good reception, and requested him to remove his village to a distance from the French forts, so as to be able to settle near them at Lake Erie, offering physical aid in case the French would offer any opposition.

[This is the intrigue of Quarante Sols, which seems but too well founded, although Sieur de la Motto ridiculed the Jesuits When they notified him of it, saying it was a game arranged among themselves to prevent the Indians coming to Detroit.]

[*Detroit affair* .]

To-day he tells them that he did not wish to answer their belts without hearing their speech.

[That's right.]

He must be aware that the French are now at war with the English, and he cannot go to them without giving displeasure. His tribe is forbidden to do it, and, if any one contravene this prohibition, he believes that it will be himself, being sorry for his young men.

[Sieur de Vaudreuil does well to Intimidate Quarante Sols, and to tell him that he does not wish him to go to the English.]

[*Good. Keep the hand on him* .]

He is glad to see the Hurons and Miamis united, and exhorts them to continue so. The late Sieur de Callières had invited him to settle at Detroit; he does the same, and would permit Sastaretsy to go and join him there.

[Well answered.]

[*Good* .]

He declares to him and to all the nations that he [the Governor] does not pretend thereby that any person should settle at Detroit, or at Lake Erie, without his permission, or that of Sieur de la Motte; that he understands that, after Sieur de la Motte had marked a place for him, he had passed the bounds, and had extended himself towards the French fort, and that this 16 226 had been done on hearing that Sieur de la Motte had been ordered not to grant any lands in the rear of his village, intending that part for fields.

[That's well done.]

[*Good* .]

He has reason to say that Sieur de Callières loved him; he [M. de V.] does not love him less. If he wage war against the English, it is because their Kings are at war; as regards

the Scioux, they were included in the peace like the rest, but if they attacked his nation, they would promise to defend [him].

[Well answered.]

[*Good* .]

Speeches of the Miamis, on the 14 th July.

He beholds his children the Miamis, who come to tell him that their fathers are dead, that the Scioux had killed them; that they, however, did not wish to revenge themselves, but had allowed themselves to be directed by Sieur de Callières, whose death they bewail, assuring M. de Vaudreuil moreover that they will do only what he pleases.

[That's well.]

[*Good* .]

They have come to see him, and to behold the face of the late Sieur de Callières.

[A token of friendship.]

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

He is pleased that they have come so far to see him; they know that all differences were terminated by the General peace; if the Scioux wage war against them, he does not prevent them defending themselves.

[That is well and regularly answered.]

[*Good* .]

He is glad they have mentioned their chiefs' names; exhorts them to invite them to [continue] in the obedience they owe the government; he understands, however, that they are invited to go to the English, whom one of their chiefs went to visit; if 227 they continue the same course, they will not please him; as he is at war with the English he would be sorry to meet any of them there; he forbids them that road; and let them tell their young men that, should they go to the English, he will no longer look on them as his children.

[Perfectly well.]

[*Good. Keep a check on them* .]

Speech of Le Pesant (“the Heavy man”), an Outaois, 14 th July.

In the name of the Kiscacons, the Outaois of Sinago, and Outaois of the Sable, he bewails Sieur de Callières. They rejoice that he has succeeded; they hope he will love them; the Scioux wage war against them, but they will not defend themselves till they know his will.

[This disposition of these Indians is very good. It would be better to give them audience and to govern them by the councils they hold at Montreal, than to send them so many commandants, who make them say what they like, and distribute the King's presents among them only as they please; whilst they receive at Montreal all that the King orders them.]

[*Concl. Appears good* .]

It would have afforded them much pleasure to see the Intendant; they had come in that expectation; they would greatly wish him to love them as much as he who is gone away.

[I am very certain that they will like Sieur de Beauharnois when they will see him.]

[*Good* .]

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer.

They may rely on it, that he will love them as much as the late Sieur de Callières, if they continue obedient. Sieur de la Motte writes him that he is satisfied with them. He exhorts them and the tribe to be always attached to him; he does not wish them to make war on the Scioux, but if these commence they can defend themselves; that he had greatly wished the Intendant had attended the Meeting, so that they might see that he was as good a father as he who had gone away.

[Very well answered.]

[*Good* .]

Approved .

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1706: ILLICIT TRADE; FRENCH POLICY TOWARD INDIAN TRIBES.

[Letter of Count de Pontchartrain to Governor de Vaudreuil.]

Versailles , 9th June, 1706.

Sir —I have received your despatches of the 3d and 5th of May and of the 16 th and 19 th of October of last year, with the papers thereunto annexed.

I am fully persuaded that you will be pleased to entertain for Messieurs de Raudot1 the consideration and friendship I requested for them; and that they, on their part, will not omit any thing to deserve the same.

1 The intendant Beauharnais was superseded by two men named Raudot—Jacques the father, and Antoine Denis the son; their joint term of office lasted from September, 1705, to

the summer of 1710. Antoine then returned to France, and Jacques remained in Canada another year.— Ed.

It is certain that you have nothing so important in the present state of affairs as the maintenance of peace with the Iroquois and other Indian nations, and his Majesty will approve all the measures you will adopt to that end; but it will be always necessary that you effect it with the dignity suitable to yourself and without evincing any fear to them. His Majesty approves your sending Sieur Jonqueres to the Iroquois, because he is esteemed by them, and has not the reputation of a Trader; but, you ought not to have sent Sieur Vincennes2 to the Miamis, nor Sieur de Louvigny,3 to Missilimaquina, as they are accused of carrying on contraband trade. You are aware that the said

2 Louis Thomas de Joncaire (Jonqueres) came to Canada when a mere boy, and served first as an Indian interpreter, then as a lieutenant in the army; as such, he was especially employed among the Seneca Indians, who adopted him, and regarded him as one of their chiefs. He died probably about 1737.

Jean Baptiste Bissot. sieur de Vincennes, an officer in the army of Canada, was prominent in Detroit and Illinois affairs, and possessed great influence with the savages. He was commandant among the Miamis in 1697, and for several years thereafter, and was often sent on special missions to that tribe. His death occurred in 1719.— Ed.

3 Documents recounting this episode in Louvigny's career are given in *Wis. Hist. Colls*., v, pp. 67–77.— Ed.

229 Sieur de Louvigny has been punished for that, and his Majesty desires that you cause Sieur Vincennes to be severely punished, he having carried on an open and undisguised trade. It is averred that, in place of having had him punished, the man named Neveu has been confined in a dungeon six months for having given information regarding this trade.

It is, also, alleged that Arnauld, Sieur de Lobiniere's son-in-law, has been sent to the Outaouacs with other Frenchmen and three canoes; and that the impunity of this man

excites considerable murmurs, and authorizes the licentiousness of those who are inclined to range the woods. I will believe that all this is done without your participation, but it is not allowable in you, occupying the post you do, to be ignorant of it; still less, not to punish it when you are cognizant of it. I will tell you plainly, that if you are not more absolute in the execution of the King's orders, and more severe in the punishment of acts of disobedience, I shall not guarantee to you that his Majesty would be willing to allow you to occupy for any length of time your present post.

I must tell you likewise, that a species of weakness has been apparent in your conduct at Montreal, at the time of the riots which broke out there. You ought to have made severe examples on the spot of some of the most mutinous, and you would have thereby avoided the second difficulty and perhaps those which possibly will hereafter occur. I am persuaded that you thought it better to employ mildness on such an occasion when a severe beginning is nevertheless always necessary as an example, reserving measures of mildness for subsequent events, and you ought to be very careful lest your mild proceedings be not attributed to weakness by the mutinous, and they be thereby encouraged to new movements.

I have no doubt of the truth of the information Sieur Jonquieres has given you respecting the intrigues of the English among the Iroquois. Continue to order him to occupy himself with breaking them up, and on your part, give the subject all the attention it deserves. It behooves you to pay the same attention to preventing the English seducing the Abenakis, the Indians of the Sault [St. Louis], those of the Mountain, those 230 of the Sault au Recolet,1 and those of Detroit; and that you so manage as to break up all the intrigues that may be afoot in these places.

1 Reference is here made to various mission colonies of Indians, in the neighborhood of Montreal, formed by Jesuit and Sulpitian missionaries among their converts in order to keep them from relapsing into heathenism— Ed.

You did very well to dissuade the Chief of the Outaouacs from the design he entertained of going to trade with the [English. His Majesty approves your having employed mild means for that purpose, and even that you had caused him to be furnished with a little Brandy in order to restrain him, when that alone will effectually prevent them resorting to the English for purposes of trade. You can very well suffer them to purchase a little of it, and provided moderation and propriety be observed, the inconveniences will be avoided which necessitated the prohibiting of the sale of Brandy; but this requires great caution on your part.

It would be desirable, if possible, to retain the Miamis at Detroit. Nevertheless, should they persist and their reasons appear valid, you can permit them to return home; but I request you to confer with Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, so as not to interfere with the measures he may have taken for the establishment of that post, and in that case you need not furnish them with a French Chief.

It is also unnecessary for you to supply the Poutouatamis with one,2 and it would be well even to prevent them waging war against the Sioux, who are not our enemies. Should the Iroquois declare against them at the same time, they would be overwhelmed; and we have an interest in preserving them.

2 At this time, the garrisons and commandants had been withdrawn from most of the French posts on the Upper Lakes. The king's instructions to Vaudreuil and Beauharnais dated June 10, 1704, warn them that they “must not appoint a commandant at Michilimakinak, so that the Indians may be compelled to go to Detroit” (*Suppl. Canad. Archives*, 1899, p. 207).— Ed.

His Majesty has approved the measures you have adopted to prevent the war between the Iroquois and the Outaouacs, and I doubt not but the arrangement you caused them to enter into 231 will continue. It is well, however, that you pay attention to it, and that the Iroquois be persuaded of your good intentions in this regard, and, if you could succeed in

driving off those Outaouacs who have illtreated the Iroquois, it must be done, in order to convince them of your sincerity. But this demands great circumspection and prudence on your part.

His Majesty has approved your having confirmed to the Iroquois the former promises which had been made them in regard to the governments of Orange and Manathe,1 and your not having included Boston therein, which is at too great a distance from them to trouble themselves about it.

1 Fort Orange, or Albany; and New York, or Manhattan (Manathe). These were originally Dutch colonies, but were seized by the English in 1664, and the name New York was substituted for that of New Netherland.— Ed.

Be persuaded that his Majesty will eventually grant you whatever favors you may desire, and that I shall most readily use my endeavors to render you any service near him; but you cannot too carefully avoid becoming mixed up with the parties of the Colony which, from all time, have caused the greatest misfortunes it has been afflicted with. I must observe to you here that his Majesty felt some difficulty in resolving to confer on you the Governor-generalship of New France, on account of your wife's family which is in that country, and his Majesty only consented on the assurances I have given him that you would act towards your wife's relatives as if they were no connections of yours. Should you depart from these principles, you would expose me to his Majesty's reproaches, and you ought even be apprehensive for the consequences. You speak to me only of M. de Lotbiniere and his family. I know she has others; for example, her brother's widow, his daughter, and Sieurs d'Amours, Deschaufont [de Chaufours], and de Plaine. You must act towards them in the same manner as by other settlers, without laying aside your character in their regard.

The avowal you make of having permitted Sieurs de Mantez [Menthet], de la Decouverte, and Vincennes to carry some merchandize with them, in the voyages you authorized them to make to the Upper country, is sufficient to create the belief that 232 they had traded,

especially Sieur de la Decouverte, who is an arrant trader. Wherefore I enjoin again on you to abstain as much as possible sending into those countries; and, whenever the service absolutely requires it, to select trustworthy people on whom you may rely.

I did not attach [any credit] to the information I received that you had sold eight licenses to go into the interior of the country; and had such been the case, it would have been out of my power to prevent his Majesty visiting you with tokens of his most profound displeasure and indignation.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 776–778.

1706: DETROIT ATTACKED BY OTTAWAS AND MIAMIS; JESUITS PACIFY MICHILLIMACKINAC SAVAGES.

[Letter from Father Joseph Marest to Governor Vaudreuil; translated from Cass MSS. (transcribed from documents in Paris archives), and published by Mrs. E. M. Sheldon in her *Early History of Michigan* (N. Y., 1856), pp. 206—17.]

Michilimackinac, August 14, 1708.

J. M. J.:—1

1 The initials of the names “Jesus, Mary, Joseph”—often used by Jesuit writers, as here, at the beginning of a letter.— Ed.

Monsieur —I did myself the honor to write to you, by Toupikanich, concerning the bad news we had heard from Detroit, that a war had broken out between the Hurons, Miamis, and Outawas. At the time I wrote, we were ignorant of the fate of the French at Detroit, and also at Michilimackinac. The savages whom we sent to Michilimackinac returned after going almost to the very gates of the fort, without bringing us any assurance of the safety of the French.2

2 At the time indicated in these opening paragraphs, Marest was probably at the Sault Ste. Marie mission.— Ed.

M. Chartier, though he had cause to fear the savages at Michilimackinac, on amount of some captives who were there, was the first to offer to go on this hazardous mission, saying “he was ashamed to remain, and rely solely on the reports of the 233 savages, for every one knew that they always mix the false with the true in any news they undertook to report.”

But an opportunity was providentially afforded us of learning all we wished to know, without incurring any risk. Merasilla, an Outawa-Sinago, Who was going to Detroit with the people of Toupikanich to avenge the death of his brother, who was killed the day after he was made chief, and by this means restore the name of Kischkouch, when he heard that we intended to go to Michilimackinac, begged of us to ask the savages to release him, that he might accompany us thither. The savages granted our request, but reproached him with having no love for his brother. But, nothing daunted, he requested an interview with M. Menard and myself.

The parley took place the next morning, which happened to be St. Ignace's day, after mass had been said for that saint. All the French who wished were permitted to be present. No one could have spoken in a more engaging, sensible manner, than did Merasilla. He said there really was cause to fear for us, and for the French at Michilimackinac; but he hoped to be able to relieve all the French from any trouble they might be in. He requested us to give him a flag, and a letter to the French; these would be sufficient evidence to them that he had not come to imbrue his hands in their blood. He said, if he found the French at Michilimackinac still alive, and desirous to revenge themselves upon their enemies, if all things were favorable to such an attempt, he would return immediately with the letter which the French would undoubtedly send in answer to ours. If he found that the French had already been massacred, without allowing the savages there to suspect that he had seen us, he would come with the utmost dispatch

and warn us, that we might retire to a place of safety; and if there were any immediate danger of an attack upon us, he would aid us in defending ourselves.

You may judge how gladly his proposition was received, though it is always said that a man risks his life, if he trusts to the fidelity of a savage. But we made him such promises, in our own name and in yours, that the hope of reward was to him a very strong inducement to keep his word. We told him that, 234 as soon as he returned, we would recompense him abundantly, whether the condition of things were good or bad, and that we would inform you of the essential service he had rendered us, and you would never forget it.

To give us every possible assurance of his fidelity, Merasilla left his whole family with us as hostages; and, with only three savages, departed in a canoe for Michilimackinac. He executed his commission with the utmost secrecy. He said nothing to the savages, nor to the French, except to the one to whom he gave the letter, until after he was fully informed of the state of affairs. All the French at Michilimackinac greatly admired his judicious conduct. On his return to the mission, each of the Frenchmen there made him a present to the value of four beavers; for which it is but just that the king should remunerate us, as it is in his service that we are exposed to so many dangers. You will greatly oblige all of us, myself in particular, if you will also recompense him liberally. He will then feel, that to render good service to the French who are under your orders, and especially to a missionary, is a matter of some importance.

Three Frenchmen returned with Merasilla from Michilimackinac, who informed us it was not without reason that we had been told that we risked much in attempting to go to Michilimackinac. For eight days the occupants of that post had been as if the tomahawk were suspended over their heads. Two of the principal women in the village, who had always until then appeared very friendly to the French, went weeping from hut to hut, demanding the death of the French who had killed their brother. Three or four times the French had been obliged to make presents to the Indians, who considered these gifts as

a kind of contribution, or honest plunder. They had also been obliged to sell goods to the savages at their own price. But, since the last news from Detroit, by which it appeared that the French there had not shared in the second attack made on the Outawas, affairs at Michilimackinac had been more quiet.

The day before the Frenchmen left Michilimackinac to come to us, all the Outawas in the village, about one hundred and sixty in number, including those who came to invite them, 235 started for Detroit. If the French there should take any part in the difficulties between the different tribes, there would be more reason than ever to fear for the safety of the French at Michilimackinac.

Notwithstanding this news, we all resolved to proceed together to Michilimackinac. For my own part, I considered it quite as safe to risk being detained as a hostage by the savages, as to incur their displeasure, which I should most certainly do if I attempted to go to Montreal. Besides, I believed that my presence would serve as a restraint upon the savages, and thus be some security to the French.

On our arrival at Michilimackinac, on the 9th of August, every one seemed rejoiced. The savages declared that they were now convinced that their father Onontio would not abandon them; that, whatever might happen at Detroit, the French would always be secure here. Indeed, they said they did not believe Onontio had anything to do with the affair at Detroit since, though he had knowledge of it, he had sent them good promises, and the missionary had returned to them, in spite of all the dangers of the way.

The French have been actively engaged in fortifying this establishment for the safety of themselves and their effects, as no one can depend on the word of the savages, since the chiefs, however good their intentions, are not masters. For our better security, M. Arnaud has found it necessary to make presents to all the savages. In this he has acted for the public good, and deserves to be repaid. He will present his bill to yourself and the intendant. You are not ignorant how zealous M. Arnaud is for the public good, especially

when he knows that his services will meet your approval. His generosity ought not to go unrewarded. M. Menard, who came up with me from Montreal, will also present you with his bill of expenditures in the service of the king.

It is not just that these two men should be obliged to defray the expense of presents to the savages; especially as the King in these troublous times has provided no presents with which to settle difficulties. I have myself paid the value of a score of beavers, for services. You will permit me to say that, as I 236 came here by your orders, in the midst of so many dangers, it seems only right that some provision should have been made for my journey, and I hope hereafter this subject may receive your attention. Still, I am very glad to be here, and hope my presence will be of service to the French.

I believe, if M. Menard and myself had arrived here before the departure of the Indians for Detroit, we might have prevented their going, by informing them of some things we heard by the way; but this was not permitted. The old men in council have condemned the departure of their tribe, but say they could not restrain the young men, after they had learned the treason of the Hurons.1 Besides, they went to aid their relatives, by their tomahawks and with provisions. Before we left St. Ignace, Toupikanich informed us that a party of a hundred men would soon arrive, on their way to Detroit; but they did not appear while we remained there. Therefore M. la Motte ought not to find fault because we did not stop them.

1 Probably a reference to the same treacherous plot of the Hurons which Perrot thus mentions (*Mémoire*, p. 146): “Since the Detroit post was established, have not the Hurons conspired to cut the throats of the Frenchmen who were keeping garrison there, under command of Monsieur de la Motte ? and, if their design was foiled, it was only by vigilant guard on the part of the French.”— Ed.

About that time, a party of warriors were to leave Michilimackinac, and, having engaged the Sacs and Foxes to join them, intended to attack the Miamis on the river St. Joseph.

M. Arnaud induced them to wait until our arrival; and we were enabled entirely to divert them from their object. To effect this, we gave them the necklace2 you had sent to settle their difficulty with Detroit, and to prevent their going thither. This necklace, with tobacco, had the effect to stop Onaské and Koutaouiliboe, who were living beyond the precincts of the village—and through their influence the whole project was easily ever-thrown. Several canoes have indeed departed since, but there was not a sufficiently large number of savages to make a successful attack.

2 Or collar, of “porcelain” (wampum).— Ed.

I asked the savages if I could send a canoe manned with Frenchmen to the river St. Joseph, with any degree of safety ? 237 They replied that I could, and urged me to do so, seeming to take an interest in the Fathers who are there. The truth is, they do not feel at liberty to make war upon the Miamis while the missionaries remain there, and for that reason would prefer that they should come to us. I had previously engaged some Frenchmen to carry the news to the river St. Joseph, and to relieve our Fathers if they were in any difficulty; but one of them has been so much intimidated by the representations of his friends, that he dare not trust himself among the savages. As affairs are at present, I do not think the removal of the Fathers is advisable, for that is the most important post in all this region except Michilimackinac; and if the Outawas were relieved from the restraint imposed upon them by the existence of the mission, they would finite so many tribes against the Miamis, that in a short time they would drive them from this fine country.

All the old men of this village who are friendly to the French, among whom is Koutaouiliboe, have behaved so well during all the trouble at Detroit, that they deserve to be rewarded for their zeal. Koutaouiliboe has long been our friend. He possesses sound sense and a good reputation, and has affection enough for us to deserve our consideration. He desires me to say, to you in particular, that he cannot settle all these bad affairs alone; and he wishes you, next autumn, to send the French chief you intend for

them, and they will pay the amount in beaver. They no longer know where to find martens and wild-cats.1 He says, they all wish to have no more difficulties here.

1 *Chat sauvage*, the raccoon; a valued and staple pelt.— Ed.

Onaské wishes me to inform you that “the reason he has appeared to grow remiss, was from the fear that some trouble might occur in his absence, and there would be no one to settle it.” He says, that “while he was at the Isle en Huronne, the small-pox desolated his village and he invited the Kickapoos of Detroit to return here: but they did not obey him, and now they have been killed by the Hurons. He took the French in his arms, when the people who came from Detroit had a bitter heart toward them; for that reason I found them in good 238 condition. He was very glad to see me, and hoped I would remain. He was glad that the French had made a fort for me, and for themselves. It would strike fear into the hearts of' their enemies, and cause jealousy among the tribes at Detroit. He had done all he could to prevent the young men from descending to Detroit; and since I was here he had nothing to fear from those who should come from there, and he would not allow any trouble to originate here. If Le Pesant left Detroit, he did not believe he would come here, but would probably go to, Manitoulin.” Onaské begs you “always to love his village, and not to believe the representations of Le Pesant, who gave six packs of beaver to the Iroquois to induce them to come with him and destroy Michilimackinac. He hopes you will continue to hinder the Iroquois from coming here, and instruct them not to receive the Huron, if he wishes to return to his wigwam.” You will, of course, manage these things as you think proper.

I have, at last, found another Frenchman who is willing to go to the river St. Joseph, and I hope the four will now depart immediately. We have reason to feel anxious concerning the safety of the Fathers, on account of so many war-parties going down on that side. At least, we shall have news from St. Joseph, unless our men find too many dangers in the way.

Michilimackinac, August 27, 1706.

A few canoes of the savages of this place, who went to Detroit, having returned, I am permitted to give you their report; they arrived here on Monday, August 23d. The chiefs of Michilimackinac, who remained at home, have always maintained that their men had not gone to fight, but to withdraw their brothers, the young men, from Detroit. Those who went last, report that they met these young men on their way home. Five or six days had already elapsed since they left Detroit, and they were nearly exhausted with hunger. Ten canoes have gone to Saginaw for provisions. Le Pesant and Jean la Blanc, with many others are still delayed by the wind. Those who have arrived, say that a great battle was fought at Detroit, and 239 that the French were going out with the Miamis and Hurons to attack the Outawas in their fort. Two Frenchmen had been killed in the combat, by a Miami. The Outawas feared that they had killed some of the Iroquois of the Saut,1 if any were with the Hurons. The savages all say that the Miamis were masters in the fort of the French, stealing their corn and other provisions, and committing all manner of depredations. It was also reported that they had burnt an Outawa. The Hurons burned a young Outawa woman in their fort. They sent four Outawas captive to the Miamis of St. Joseph; two of them escaped; but they said the Miamis had not ill-treated them, and the blame of the whole affair must rest on Quarante Sous. The same Hurons had two other Outawa prisoners, whom they wished to give either to the Miamis, who were soon to return from Detroit, or to M. la Motto.

1 A reference to the Iroquois mission village at Sault St. Louis, opposite Montreal; it is now known as Caughnawaga.— Ed.

The greater part of the fields at Detroit had been ravaged. Only a few of the Miamis remained at Detroit, and the Loups had withdrawn. No news had yet been received from M. la Motto. M. Menard will give all the circumstances at length; you may depend upon his report. We are impatiently awaiting the return of M. Bender and the Outawa chiefs. I have not yet sent to the river St. Joseph, but hope to very soon.

I hasten to close this long letter, by assuring you that I am with respect, sir

Your very humble and Very obedient servant, Jos. J. Marest .

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1706: INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS; FRENCH POLICY.

[Part of a letter from Governor de Vaudreuil to Count de Pontchartrain, dated Nov. 4, 1706.]

I have had the honor to inform you this spring, by way of Placentia,1 that, in order to maintain the union between the Outtauois and the Iroquois, I sent back Sieur de Joncaire; also a canoe to Michilimackina in which I abstained from placing an Officer, in order to save expense and to remove, at the same time, all cause of complaint. Mess rs Raudot and I agreed to put on board only an Interpreter and three hired men, with orders not to carry on any trade, and to follow the advice of Father Marest, who by the same occasion accompanied them up to his mission, agreeably to what I last year promised the Indians of Michilimakina. As I shall have the honor of giving you an account, hereafter, of the success of that voyage, I return to the Iroquois.

1 Then the leading settlement in Newfoundland, and a resort for the French fishing-vessels, by which late or special mails were often sent to France.— Ed.

I am persuaded, My Lord, and there has not been a year that I have not had the honor to observe it to you, that the tranquility of this Colony depends on the peace with these Indians. I neglect nothing to insure the continuance thereof but I dare assure you at the same time thai I do so honorably, and without disparagement to the office I have the honor to fill. I cannot furnish you stronger proofs of that fact than by transmitting you the annexed speeches which the Senecas and other villages came to address to me regarding affairs that occurred at Detroit this year. You will find my answer there also.

Had I followed, My Lord, the first impulse of vengeance, I would not have hesitated to accept the proposal of the Iroquois, but when I reflect that the Outtauois of Michilimakina had no hand in the occurrences at Detroit, and that they would not even go in there—as you will see, My Lord, by what they told me by Sieur Boudor, and by my answers to Companisté and Le Brochet, the Chiefs who came down with him to place in my hands four prisoners to be restored to the Iroquois—I cannot, 241 My Lord, consent to give over to destruction a Nation that has been faithful to us in the last war, mad has, in this affair at Detroit, perhaps, more bad luck than bad disposition.1 I send you hereunto annexed the statement of Miscoualzy, one of the Outtauois Chiefs, resident at Detroit, whom, however, I would not receive here as an envoy; also my answer to him as well as to Companistè, which appears to me sufficiently firm to protect me from the accusation of weakness. The difference consists, My Lord, in this—I speak in public, and have several interpreters, and cannot alter the truth nor shape words adapted to my subject in order to impose on you. I was not willing to adopt the course the Iroquois proposed to me at first, because having no news from Sieur de la Mothe since his departure, I could not determine what course he would adopt on arriving at his post; and as war has never been favorable to a new establishment, I did not wish that he should impute to me that I had destroyed him by letting loose the Iroquois. Secondly, as the latter assured me that their resolution was taken and that they had been to the English to advise them thereof at the same time they had come to Montreal, I was very glad to let the English know the extent of my influence over the minds of the Iroquois. I possessed still more than they, inasmuch as I had enough to make the Iroquois let go the hatchet, notwithstanding the resolution they had taken to attack the Outtauois. But, My Lord, the real reason I had for answering the Iroquois as I had done, is that I reflect, if the Huron, the Miamis, and the Iroquois be

1 Some information regarding this affair may be gleaned from Richard's synopsis of documents in *Suppl. Canad. Archives*, 1899 (pp. 208, 210, 212), “De la Mothe would not go to Detroit before the spring, nor would La Forest; sent Sr. de Bourgmont” (Vaudreuil, 1705). “De Bourgmont cannot be blamed; but had Lamethe, La Forest, or de Tonty been

at Detroit, the Outaouais would not have made their attack" (Vaudreuil, 1706). "Must make the Outaouais give satisfaction for having attacked the fort of Detroit and killed three Frenchmen; M. de Bourgmont, who was in command there, was incompetent" (Louis XIV, 1707). "The Outaouais who made the attack at Detroit have come to Montreal to sue for pardon. Refused to grant it to them unless they brought in the head of 'Pesant.' The affair has been finally placed in the hands of Sieur Lamethe, who will find some means of conciliating all parties" (Vaudreuil, 1707).— Ed.

242 united, they will accomplish the destruction of the Outtauois, or at least force him to abandon Michilimakina. The English are too acute not to profit by this opportunity, and will not fail to remind the Iroquois of his Dead. I speak Indian. The Iroquois having then nothing more to oppose him above, will wage a bloodier war than ever against us. Such, My Lord, are the reasons I had for temporizing. I do not say that satisfaction must not be exacted from the Outtauois, but as those of Michilimakina have not meddled in this affair at Detroit and as, meanwhile, the course of events reunited them all at Michilimakina, it is dangerous to begin a War which can cause us only considerable expense, the loss of a nation that has served us faithfully, and, in addition to that, a considerable loss of trade every year. War to oblige the Outtauois to abandon Michilimakina is a mistake; it will not end there; they will take refuge in Lake Superior, and, deriving supplies from the English through the head of Hudson's bay, will continue the war as long as the memory of what they will have suffered dwells among them.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, 779–781.

1707: LOUIS XIV ORDERS INSPECTION OF WESTERN POSTS.

["Instructions to Sieur Daigremont, subdelegate of Sieur Raudot, Intendant of New France, whom the King has selected to go to Fort Cataracouy, Niagara, Fort Detroit de Ponchartrain, and Missilimakinac."]

Versailles , 30th June, 1707.

His Majesty, intending to maintain these posts, has been pleased to send thither a confidential person to verify their present condition, the trade carried on there, and the utility they may be of to the Colony of Canada. He has selected him, being well persuaded that he will punctually execute what is contained in this Memoir, and render a satisfactory report thereof on his return.

His Majesty desires that he leave Quebec as soon as the season will admit of the commencement of the voyage. He furnishes an order on the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General 243 of Canada, and Sieur Raudot to have him supplied with a canoe and men necessary for its navigation, with whatever provisions he shall require for subsistence during the voyage, without, however, any merchandise for trade.

The principal reason which has induced his Majesty to make him undertake this voyage is that Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, who has charge of the establishment of Detroit de Pontchartrain, writes in all his letters that he does not receive from said Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Raudot the aid which they have been ordered to furnish him, and that he found that post on his arrival in very bad condition. He pretends that the fort was without powder, Sieur de Tonty, who commanded there, having disposed of all that was there before leaving it; that the lands of the Colonial Company [“of the Colony”], who held that post before him, lay fallow or in the occupancy of the Indians, the houses being all uncovered; no grain, the greatest portion of the peltries rotten and spoiled, and the Company's store pillaged; and that he is able to prove these facts by several witnesses. His Majesty is desirous that he himself verify all that is alleged, and that he endeavor to discover the truth by unquestionable evidence.

He will, also, take information regarding what occurred in the action of the Outaouaks, and what occasioned them to attack Fort Detroit and kill three Frenchmen, the said Sieur Be la Motto wishing to insinuate that they were stimulated to this net for the purpose of bringing

about the failure of that establishment; finally, to report all he shall learn, and especially the conduct of Sieur de Bourgmont, the Commander of the fort on that occasion.

It appears by the letters of all the officers in garrison at Detroit, that there is not a finer nor a better country, and that all the favorable reports of it are true. Sieur de la Motto adds that there is no doubt but it is constantly the retreat of all the nations in those parts; that it is very conveniently situated; that the Nations who inhabit the banks of the Lakes can reach it without passing any rapid or waterfall; and that the Indians in the interior come thither over very level roads. He will take equal care to inform himself if that fort combine all these advantages.

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Sieur de la Motte writes, also, that he caused two canoes full of French wheat to be brought, in order to sow the lands belonging to that post; likewise all sorts of other grain, and materials to build a large Mill. He will see if all these grains have succeeded, and if this Mill be in existence.

Sieur de la Motte reports that there is no one at that post to take charge of the sick, and that it is his wife and daughter who take care of them. He says that the Superior of the Gray Nuns1 of Montreal will readily take charge of those sick; and that they are well adapted for a new colony, because they teach how to work, and are qualified for manufactures. He will be careful, in passing through Montreal, to see and engage this Superior to adopt Sieur de la Motte's proposals, and will report the answer.

1 The phrase “Grey Nuns” in this translation is misleading; for the order of Grey Nuns at Montreal (who now conduct the General Hospital there) was not founded until 1747. Reference is made in the text to the Hospital Nuns of St. Joseph, who came to Montreal in 1659, and conducted the Hotel-Dieu.— Ed.

He will find hereunto annexed a copy of the Treaty Sieur de la Motte concluded for the establishment of the Post of Detroit. He will verify whether it be faithfully executed,

especially whether the soldiers who have been given him by his Majesty's order have due justice as regards food and pay.

It appears from Sieur de la Motte's last letters that Arnold, Sieur de Lobiniere's son-in-law, was still actually at Missilimakinac carrying on trade along with a man named Boudor, a merchant of Montreal. Messrs de Vaudreuil and Randot had orders to recall these two men; and, if they be still in the place, his Majesty wishes that he order them to return promptly, the latter to his home and the other to Quebec, on pain of disobedience. He will take exact information of the trade these two men have carried on during their sojourn at Missilimakina and report thereupon.

Sieur de la Motte pretends that the said Sieur de Vaudreuil has sent away from Detroit the interpreter of the Outaouacks who had always been paid by his Majesty and the Company, in order to have his Secretary's brother put in his place, because 245 said Sieur de Vaudreuil has been desirous of having a man at that post entirely devoted to himself. He will inform himself of what has been done in that regard, and report whether the man removed from that office was as faithful as the said Sieur de la Motte pretends.

Sieur de Vaudreuil complains, on his side, that the said Sieur de la Motte, from interested motives, wishes it to be understood that he thwarts him in his establishment, in order to render him suspected; but that Sieur de la Motte's only aim is to carry on a trade with the English, and to realize the largest profit possible from his post for his own interest exclusively.

Mess rs Vaudreuil and Randot write conjointly that, if there be any abuse in the sale of Brandy among the Indians, it can only proceed from Sieur de la Motte who carried with him some 15 barrels of it, and a large quantity of powder. They likewise observe to me that his agent at Quebec has written to him who is at Montreal, to give clearances to all the canoes who would go up to Detroit on condition of carrying thither 300 livres' weight in Brandy to Sieur de la Motte; and that, finally, it appeared to them that said Sieur de la

Motte had a desire to trade, because he carried only Brandy and powder. As his Majesty wishes absolutely to enforce the prohibitions he has issued against carrying on any trade in Brandy with the Indians, he orders Sieur d'Aigremont to verify very precisely the quantity of liquor Sieur de la Motte has carried up, and inform himself what use he made of it. This is the principal motive that induced his Majesty to send to Detroit. Therefore, he must direct all his attention to thoroughly clear up the fact, and to report fully thereupon.

He will proceed from fort Detroit to Missilimackinac in order to visit that quarter, and will inform himself of the number of French there, and the trade they carry on with the merchants of Montreal and Quebec; and finally, of all those who are interested in their trade. He will act in concert with the Missionaries on the spot respecting the conduct to be observed with the Outaouaks, and will take information of them as to the dispositions these Indians entertain towards the 246 French. He will likewise acquire every information possible respecting the advantages of that post, so as to render an exact report thereupon when he returns.

His Majesty is informed that the English are endeavoring to seize the post at Niagara, and that it is of very great importance for the preservation of Canada to prevent them so doing, because, were they masters of it, they would bar the passage and obstruct the communication with the Indian allies of the French—whom, as well as tile Iroquois, they would attract to them by their trade, and dispose, whenever they pleased, to wage war on the French. This would desolate Canada, and oblige us to abandon it.

It is alleged that this post of Niagara could serve as an entrepôt to the establishment at Detroit, and facilitate intercourse with it by means of a bark on lake Ontario; that, in fine, such a post is of infinite importance for the maintenance of the Colony of Canada, and that it can be accomplished by means of Sieur de Joncaire, whom Monsieur de Vaudreuil keeps among the Iroquois. His Majesty desires Sieur d'Aigremont to examine on the spot whether the project be of as great importance for that Colony as is pretended; and in such case, to inquire with said Sieur de Joncaire, whether it would be possible to obtain the

consent of the Iroquois to have a fort and garrison there, and, conjointly, make a very detailed report of the means which would be necessary to be used to effect it, and of the expense it would require; finally to ascertain whether it would be desirable that he should have an interview with said Sieur Joncaire, and that they should have a meeting at Niagara.

It has been attempted to give his Majesty to understand that Monsieur de Vaudreuil keeps the said Sieur de Joncaire among the Iroquois for the purpose of trading there, and of destroying the establishment at Detroit. His Majesty appears to be of a contrary opinion. Nevertheless he will not fail to inform himself of the conduct of said Sieur de Joncaire so as to be able to report thereupon.

Mess rs de Vaudreuil and Randot have informed his Majesty that they have thought proper not to farm fort Frontenac, and to retain it for his Majesty's account, being persuaded it will 247 not be any charge. They state that they have given the command of it to Sieur de Tonty; as his Majesty has not been satisfied with the conduct of the latter whilst in command at Detroit, on account of the considerable trade, it is alleged, he carried on there, Sieur Daigremont will, when passing t~rough that place, inform himself very exactly whether said Sieur do Tonty continues to carry on Wade on his own account, because in such case it would be necessary to withdraw him from that post. A return will be rendered of the merchandise the said Sieur Raudot will have sent to that place for purposes of trade, and what it produced; and he will enter into the minutest detail possible thereupon, in order to determine from the profit derivable from that merchandise, whether it will be proper to maintain that post on the footing the said Sieurs do Vaudreuil and Builder have established it on, or whether it will be necessary to farm it.

He will be careful, likewise, to inform himself of the conduct, in respect of Trade, of all those who will be at that post; because it is not proper that any one pursue commerce there; and render an exact account to his Majesty of every thing he has learned.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 805–808.

1707: POLICY TOWARD INDIANS; ILLICIT TRADE.

[Memoir of the King to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General, and Sieur Raudot, Intendant of New France; dated at Versailles, June 30, 1707.]

His Majesty has approved their determination to send a canoe to Missilimakinac in quest of the prisoners the Outaouacks had promised to the Iroquois, so as to prevent the latter declaring war. He desires Sieur de Vaudreuil to keep up a good correspondence with all the Indian Nations, in order to prevent them declaring against the French, it being of the utmost importance to the preservation of the Colony. He empowers him to adopt all measures he will consider proper for that purpose, 248 and if he be absolutely obliged to send some canoes to those Indian Nations, he recommends him in an especial manner to prevent any Brandy being conveyed to them. The best and most certain means of effecting that, would be to avoid entirely these sorts of voyages, because those who prosecute them apply themselves exclusively to trade.

His Majesty has not approved their proposal to permit those who navigate the canoes they are obliged to send to the Indians, to carry 300 livres' worth of Merchandise each. This would be authorizing the prohibited trade, which His Majesty is absolutely unwilling should be carried on. He has therefore disapproved the permission granted to the Frenchman whom they furnished the Indian that came down with Maurice Menard, to assist him in getting back to Missilimakinac, to carry 300 livres' worth of goods; and again strongly and absolutely recommends them not to send any canoe thither except under a necessity positively indispensable. In which ease they must forbid loading these canoes with merchandise under pain of punishment, and must even have them inspected, in order that an example be made of those who shall contravene their prohibitions.

His Majesty expects that Sieur de Vaudreuil will oblige the Outaouacks of Detroit to make satisfaction commensurate with the offence they have been guilty of, in attacking fort Detroit and killing three Frenchmen. From all that has been reported of that action

it appears that Sieur de Bourgmont, who commanded that fort, did not adopt proper measures to prevent it. M. de Vaudreuil ought to come to an understanding with Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, who is at Detroit, as to what will have to be done to bring these Indians to reason and to maintain peace between them and the French, as that comports with the interests of the Colony.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 808, 809.

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1707: POLICY TOWARD INDIAN TRIBES.

[Letter from Governor de Vaudreuil to Count de Pontchartrain; dated July 24, 1707.]

The attack on the Miamis by the Outtauois last year, back of Detroit, appeared to have embroiled the affairs of the Upper Countries so much the more, as not only divers Indian Nations both on one side and the other found themselves implicated, but as we were ourselves interested in it, having lost in the action a Missionary and a Soldier. I had the honor to report to you at the time of the occurrence, the circumstances which attended it, and the reasons that obliged me, not to manage the Outtaouis, but to endeavor not to lose them altogether, under the apprehension I entertained that they would be some day necessary to us, and that it was no longer time to deliberate on the propriety of attaching them to our interests. I had the honor, My Lord, last autumn to send you a copy of what the Outtauois had authorized one Miscouaky, and afterwards Sieur Boudor, to say to me, to exonerate themselves in some sort from the deaths of the Recollect Father1 and the Soldier.

1 This was Father Nicolas Constantin, one of the Récollet priests whom Cadillac, not liking the Jesuits, had brought to Detroit.— Ed.

The peace of this Colony, as well as its interest, requiring tranquillity rather than war among all the Indian Nations, I have considered it for the King's service to seek for means of accommodating this affair, without it appearing, however, that we were insensible to the blow received from the Outtauois. You have been able to perceive, My Lord, from my

answers to Miscouaky last fall, that without consenting to listen to the reasons he gave me on the part of Jean le Blanc his brother, one of the principal Outtauois chiefs, I did not make him despair, either, of all hope of pardon; giving him, however, to understand that after the insult the Outtaouais had offered me in killing my Missionary and my Soldier, it is not an easy matter to appease me, and that French blood is not paid for by Beavers or Belts. Nothing could do that, but an entire 250 resignation to my will, and an abandonment, as it were, of one's self to my benevolence. These are the terms, My Lord, I used in speaking to him.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 810, 811.

1708: REJECTION OF PROPOSAL TO ENROLL INDIANS IN CANADIAN MILITIA.

[Part of Sieur d'Aigremont's report to Count de Pontchartrain; dated Nov. 14, 1708.]

He [Lamothe Cadillac] told me that he had proposed to you, My Lord, to organize complete companies of Indians. To this I could not help observing to him, that I considered it very bold to have made such a proposal to you, and that it did appear to me extraordinary to wish to undertake to discipline people who possess no subordination among themselves, and whose chiefs cannot say to the others, “Do thus and so,” but merely “it would be proper to do so and so,” without naming any person. Otherwise, they would do nothing, being opposed to all constraint. Moreover, these people having no idea of Royal grandeur nor Majesty, nor of the power of Superiors over inferiors, will not feel among themselves any emulation or ambition to reach those national honors, and consequently no desire to perform their duties. Neither would they be influenced thereunto by fear of punishment, for, not tolerating any among themselves, they would suffer still less that others should inflict any on them.

In fine, My Lord, men are not esteemed great among these people except in so far as they are skilled in killing others by surprise, and successful in hunting. As these qualities are not found among the old, they entertain a great contempt for them—to such a degree that one John Le Blanc, an Outaouis, had one day the insolence to say, as I understand, of the late

Count de Frontenac that he was a good-for-nothing imbecile (*malingre*) since he required a horse to carry him.

I am persuaded that if any of these pretended Captains would give some command to the subaltern officers or soldiers 251 of his company for the King's service, they would tell him curtly that they should not do it, and to let him do it himself. That would, verily, be a fine example for the French troops.

But, My Lord, though it were possible to teach [these] people subordination the one to the other, I believe sound policy would forbid it; and it appears to me that instructing the Indians in discipline would be procuring for that Colony the greatest misfortune that can possibly overtake it. For, their weakness consists in the trifling amount of discipline among them; and of what would they not be capable had they absolute chiefs? As these people have no other profession than arms, they would soon render themselves masters of this country. I am persuaded, My Lord, that when Mr. de Lamothe proposed to you the formation of Indian companies, he knew very well that it would not succeed, and his motive therein was only to derive some benefit by the funds which would be appropriated for these companies, either by securing the whole, or at least three-fourths, thereof.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 823, 824.

1708: SUMMARY OF AN INSPECTION OF THE POSTS OF DETROIT AND MICHILIMACKINAC, BY D'AIGREMONT.

[Dated Quebec, Nov. 14, 1708; translated from Cass transcripts from Paris archives, and published in Sheldon's *Early Hist. Mich* ., pp. 280-294.]

M. d'Aigremont left Niagara, June 29, 1708. He sailed along the north coast of Lake Erie, a distance of ninety leagues, and arrived at Detroit. on the 15th of July. He remained at Fort Pontchartrain of Detroit nineteen days,1 and became convinced

1 Note on original MS.: “La Motte contends that this sojourn was not sufficient to gain any correct knowledge of the country. He says that during his stay, they did not have two hours' conversation together, and that M. d'Aigremont made secret inquiries in regard to him, a course well calculated to call forth discreditable remarks from the French and savages.”

252 during his stay that M. la Motte Cadillac, who commands there, is generally disliked by the French and savages, with the exception of three or four of the former, whom he employs in his secret trade, and whom he influences more than the others. This hatred is in consequence of the tyranny which he exercises over the entire settlement. Among the many instances which came under his notice, are the following:

La Motte requires of a blacksmith, named Parent, for permission to work at his trade, the sum of six hundred francs and two hogs heads of ale; and the obligation to shoe all the horses of M. la Motte, whatever number he may have, though at present he keeps but one. Of a gunsmith named Pinet, he requires three hundred francs a year, and the repairing of twelve guns per month, which makes one hundred and forty-four a year. Estimating this work at one pistole1 per gun, M. la Motte draws from the work of these men, seventeen hundred and forty francs.2 Evidently this state of things cannot last long, for they will be obliged to leave Detroit.

1 The pistole was a French money of account, having the value of ten livres.— Ed.

2 Note on original MS.: “M. La Motte says that he made agreements with these workmen at Montreal, when they were in no wise under his control; that some time after their arrival at Detroit, they themselves desired a different commission—the very one of which they now complain. Besides, the taxes that he requires of them are not new, the company of the colony having used the same prerogative.”

M. la Motte has caused a windmill to be erected, in which he takes the eighth minot3 as toll, while others take only the fourteenth. He gives for his reason, the great cost of the mill.4

3 The minor is an old French measure of capacity, equivalent to 1.11 Winchester bushels.— Ed.

4 Note on original MS.: “This reason of M. la Motte's deserves attention; yet one does not feel quite satisfied with it; he appears too covetous.”

M. d'Aigremont caused the valuable lands at Fort Pontchartrain to be measured, and found three hundred and fifty-three roods5 of it in all. La Motte has one hundred and fifty-seven; the French inhabitants, all together, have forty-six; and the

5 The context would indicate that “rood” here refers to the usual French unit of measure, the arpent (see p. 2, *ante*).— Ed.

253 Hurons one hundred and fifty. The one hundred and fifty roods of La Motte have been broken up by the soldiers and savages, nineteen roods of which belonged to the company—so the cultivation of it has cost La Motte nothing.

There are but twenty-nine of the inhabitants of Detroit who have taken ground-plots within the fort, where they have built small log-houses, thatched with grass. The whole number of the French settlers is sixty-three, thirty-four being traders.1 It is certain that if M. la Motte had not introduced the trade in brandy, but very few of the traders would remain, and no more would go there. Brandy and ammunition are the only profitable articles of commerce to the French, the English furnishing all others.

1 For mention and sketches of early Detroit settlers, see *Jes. Relations*, lxvii, p. 334; lxix, 245–277, 306–310; lxx, 21–77, 305–309.— Ed.

The savages make great complaints against M. la Motte; they say plainly that if he remains there they will not settle at Detroit. They demand the lieutenant, M. d'Argenteuil, as commandant. This man has much influence among them, but has little management. The savages promise great faithfulness to the king.

In order to prevent the disturbances which would arise from the excessive use of brandy, M. la Motte causes it all to be put into the storehouse, and to be sold to each in his turn at the rate of twenty francs per quart. Those who will have it, French as well as Indians, are obliged to go to the storehouse to drink, and each can obtain, at one time, only the twenty-fourth part of a quart.2 It is certain that the savages cannot become intoxicated on that quantity. The price is high, and as they can only get the brandy each in his turn, it sometimes happens that the savages are obliged to return home without a taste of this beverage, and they seem ready to kill themselves in their disappointment.

2 “Quart,” as here used, is a misleading translation: the old French term quart indicates “a small cask, containing not a quarter, but about half as much as a cask of ordinary size” (Littré).— Ed.

M. la Motte has bought of four individuals one hundred and four quarts, at four francs a quart, and sold it at twenty 254 francs—thus making a profit of four-fifths. The inhabitants of Detroit pay M. la Motte two francs ten sous a year for each lot of land measuring one rood, fronting on the river, by twenty in depth; and for the ground in the fort, they pay two sous for each foot of front, and double that amount when this plot borders on two streets. All the inhabitants also pay to M. la Motte a tax of ten francs a year, which he claims for himself. This tax is levied for the privilege of free trade with the Indians. M. d'Aigremont also recounted many acts of petty tyranny on the part of M. la Motte, especially exercised toward the poor soldiers that were under his immediate control.

This inspector asserted that there can be no doubt that maintaining the establishment at Detroit must be highly prejudicial to Canada; for, said he, “Our allies the Hurons even now

carry their peltries through the country to the English; and they have also introduced to the English the Miamis, of whom they formerly made such good use in the war which we had against them.”

In the month of April, 1707, the Miamis having killed three Frenchmen, M. la Motte sent orders to the Outawas to come to his aid, having heard that the Iroquois, Hurons, and Miamis were determined on the destruction of the French. Three hundred good men of the Outawas immediately set out, under the command of the two officers sent by M. la Motte; but they were surprised to learn, before they reached Detroit, that M. la Motte had already made peace with the Miamis.

The conditions of the peace were, first, to deliver up the murderers within forty days; second, to return within fifteen days, a little Outawa whom they had taken captive; third, to pay for the cattle which they had killed; fourth, to restore the goods which they had stolen from the French. The fifteen days having elapsed and the little Outawa not having been sent back, M. la Motte resolved to make war upon the Miamis, although the forty days that he had given them for the delivery of the murderers had not yet expired. He called together the French and savages, and after having lifted the tomahawk in council, he departed with four hundred men to attack the fort of the Miamis. But he conducted the march without that order and 255 precaution which were necessary, despising all the advice given him by the chiefs and his own officers. When he arrived near the fort of the Miamis, which he expected to take without oppositions,—there being but sixty warriors of the Miamis, and his force amounting to four hundred men,—he found the Miamis ready to defend themselves. They fired on the advancing army, wounding many persons, and obliging La Motte to retreat to some distance from the intrenchment. At this juncture the Miamis raised a white flag, that M. la Motte had given them the previous year, which rendered it necessary for him to hold a council with them.

The principal chief of the Miamis who came to the council reproached La Motte for having broken his word, the forty days which he had given them not having expired. La Motte

replied that he had a right to attack them, as they had failed to bring back the little Outawa who was among them, within fifteen days, as they had promised. He demanded that this little Outawa should now be restored, and that they should also give him three captives to replace the dead. They not only complied with these requisitions, but they also promised him that they would deliver up the murderers within six weeks, if possible; but if not, they would come after their harvest and settle at Detroit. As a pledge of their truthfulness, they gave three of their chiefs into the custody of the French as hostages. They also presented to M. la Motte fifty packs of different kinds of furs, for himself and for the troops and allies. In this affray them were seven Frenchmen wounded and four savages killed and two wounded.

After his return to Detroit, M. la Motte, not having heard from the Miamis, sent a canoe with four Frenchmen to their camp. The Miamis kept two of the Frenchmen, and sent back two of their own men instead, to signify to M. la Motte that they would do as they had promised; but this is improbable, as they have abandoned their fort. If they come to Detroit, it will be very difficult for them to agree with the Outawas, as no one can bring about a good understanding between all the different nations which La Motte has intended to assemble here. There are ancient enmities that will always prevail over all he can 256 say to them. If it were possible to succeed in causing them to live together in peace, there would arise another difficulty. The Iroquois would gain all these nations over to the English, on account of their greater facilities for commerce. An example of this is already seen; Detroit has not sent to the office at Montreal more than seven hundred weight of beaver this year, while Michilimackinac has sent forty thousand pounds. It is certain, however, that the Detroit tribes have traded as much as usual, therefore the rest must have passed to the English.

If Michilimackinac is abandoned and the Outawas go to Detroit, as M. la Motte intends, it is certain that the low price of the English goods will cause the trade in beaver to pass into their colony, without our being able to prevent it. We should also lose the beaver from

north of Lake Superior, which is the best there is; it will pass to the English at Hudson's Bay.

M. d'Aigremont disputes the account given of the soil about Detroit, by M. la Motte and others. He describes it as consisting of a sandy surface, nine or ten inches deep, beneath which is a clay so stiff that water cannot penetrate it. The timber, he says, is small, stunted oaks, and hardy walnuts; he acknowledges that the land produces good Indian-corn, but says that is because the soil is new. He does not believe that the fruits of Europe can be brought to perfection there, because the roots of the trees stand in water. Considerable cider1 is made there, but it is bitter as gall. It is true that the country is warm, being only forty-three degrees north latitude; but the difficulty arises from the fact that the ground is new and full of water. There are some small chestnuts which are pretty good to the taste, but they are the only kind of fruit that is good. The grasshoppers eat all the garden-plants, so that it is necessary to plant and sow the same thing even to the fourth time.

1 Doubtless made of crab-apples—a spontaneous production of the country.— Mrs. Sheldon.

Even if the land were ever so productive, there would be no market, and the trade of this post would never be useful to France—the result of which would be that the establishment would always prove a burden to the colony, and of no use to the kingdom. It may be said that, if we abandon it, the English 257 will take possession; but that is not to be feared-it being more advantageous to them that we should incur the expenses and let them reap the benefit, as they now do. The Indians are very willing to make use of the goods of the English, but they would not suffer the English to take possession of their lands, even for the purposes of trade.

The former interpreter at Detroit, brother of the secretary of M. Vaudreuil, has been discharged. His successor is much better—he is an upright man.

After having remained nineteen days at Detroit, M. d'Aigremont started for Michilimackinac, August 3d, and arrived there on the 19 th of the same month. Michilimackinac is one hundred and thirty leagues from Detroit. Here he remained four days, during which time he observed that this is the advance post of all Canada; the most important, as well for its advantageous position, as for the commerce that might be made there. It is the rendezvous and highway of all the nations of Lake Superior, and the entire upper country. If the nations wish to make war upon each other, the Outawas who inhabit Michilimackinac would be capable of preventing them, and might be the mediators in their differences, as has been the case in the past.

This post is inaccessible to the most powerful enemies of the Outawas, who are to the South, and are not boatmen. The fish are very good, and very abundant. The land is not very good, but the savages raise from it enough Indian corn for their own use and that of the traders. The beaver found there is the best in North America; but, to insure its passage into France, it is necessary to establish a French commandant there, with at least thirty soldiers. The savages desire this. It would also be necessary to induce the Hurons to return, whom M. la Motte decoyed away, as they are much better qualified to cultivate the land than the Outawas.

These Hurons would never have abandoned this country, if there had been a French commandant; they left solely on account of their hatred of the Outawas, who held them in a kind of slavery. Those whom M. d'Aigremont saw at Detroit say they like much better to be at Michilimackinac, and would 18 258 attach themselves to a French commandant there. They hate the Outawas, but appear to have a real affection for the French.

If we do not send a commandant with a garrison to Michilimackinac, it is to be feared that the Hurons who are at Detroit will settle with the Iroquois, in consequence of their feeling of dissatisfaction toward M. la Motte. They would have done so before this, if the Iroquois would have permitted them to make a distinct village among them. Thus far the Iroquois have not been willing to allow the Hurons to come among them, except on condition of

combining with them, and the name of Huron becoming extinct. Since there are now at Michilimackinac only a few wanderers, the greater part of the furs of the savages of the north go to the English trading-posts on Hudson's Bay. The Outawas are unable to make this trade by themselves, because the northern savages are timid and will not come near them, as they have often been plundered by them. It is therefore necessary that the French be allowed to seek these northern tribes at the mouth of their own river, which empties into Lake Superior. It would be advisable to reëstablish the permits, to give only twelve the first year; and after that to increase them even to twenty, but not to exceed that number. This would suffice for the quantity of beaver we should need. These permits would be sold at a fixed price, and the amount given to indigent families, as heretofore. It would be necessary to forbid the governor-general granting private permits, on any pretext whatever.

To be still more certain of obtaining the beaver, it would be expedient for the contractor to give more than thirty sous a pound; it might be necessary to increase the price even to forty sous, in which ease he would be able to purchase as much as he would desire. All this trade would come to Michilimackinac; and it would be necessary, in order to prevent any of the furs being subsequently carried to the English, that the commandant of that post should keep an exact account of the quantity of furs, more or less, which should be loaded into each canoe to be sent to the intendant. By this means, each canoe would be obliged to deliver, at the office at Montreal, the same quantity which had been charged at Michilimackinac. The contractor should remunerate the commandant for this service.

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There still remain at Michilimackinac fourteen or fifteen Frenchmen, who could not possibly subsist there, if the merchants and others in Montreal did not send them goods. These are not the only ones who trade there; many canoes go up under pretext of government service, which are really loaded with goods. As those who conduct the canoes are usually the favorites of M. Vaudreuil, there is reason to believe that he has an interest in this

trade. It is certain that if there were no French at Michilimackinac, most of the beaver now bartered there would go to the English.

Previous to the departure of M. d'Aigremont from Michilimackinac, a band of the Outawas, who had been to Montreal, arrived there. They had with them five casks of brandy, and were all so much intoxicated the next night, that they set fire to their own wigwams, which would all have been burned, but for the timely aid of the French, and who for this service were much abused by the savages.

The government at Montreal should prevent the savages from carrying away such large quantities of brandy, as it is the cause of most of the quarrels arising among them. They also squander the greater part of their beaver in presents and in brandy, and have not enough remaining to purchase half the articles that are indispensable to their comfort. The Outawas informed M. d'Aigremont that they obtained permission to bring away their brandy, by means of large presents which they made to M. Vaudreuil. He does not know certainly that this is true, but he is certain that, the other presents received by M. Vaudreuil this year will amount to more than five hundred pistoles.

A chief of the Outawas, who has been at Detroit, and is now at Michilimackinac, complained that M. la Motte refused to deliver to him a necklace of porcelain, and a feast-kettle which the chief had given to one of La Motte's agents, in security for five beaver-skins which he had borrowed. The chief wished to return the loan two-fold, and receive back his property, but was refused. He thinks the refusal arises from the fact that he did not wish to return to Detroit. M. la Motte told this chief, and many of his nation, that if they would not return to Detroit, they would all die. The savages are so superstitious that they now believe, when any of their people die, that M. la Motte has 260 caused their death. Some have even gone to reside at Detroit, to avoid this death, which M. la Motte pretends to have power to inflict.

M. d'Aigremont begs to be believed that the account he has given of the conduct of many individuals, has been quite against his own inclination, not having any reason to complain of them on his own account, but because he must obey the orders of His Majesty. He infers, from all he has seen, that Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, ought to be maintained, unless it is thought advisable, hereafter, to establish a post at La Galette, twenty-five or thirty leagues lower down. He considers the post at Detroit very injurious to the colony, and to the commerce of the kingdom; but thinks it very important to preserve the trade at Michilimackinac, where the Outawas are established.

1709: DECISIONS REGARDING NORTHWESTERN POSTS. [Part of a letter from Count de Pontchartrain to Sieur d'Aigremont; dated July 6, 1709.]

I have noted all you write me respecting Detroit, as it was the main object of your mission. It seems to me that your sojourn there was not long enough to obtain a thorough understanding of it. Besides, M r de la Mothe complains that you did not confer a sufficient length of time with him, to appreciate the reasons whereon he acted, which perhaps might have led you to adopt other sentiments than those you embraced. In a new country like that, new maxims are sometimes necessary which may appear censurable on their face, and be intrinsically good. Nevertheless, I find a too great cupidity in said Sieur de la Mothe, and that his private interests in establishing that post may have engaged him to prefer his special advantage to the general good of the Colony. On the report I have submitted on the subject to the King, his Majesty has thought fit to withdraw his troops from that place, and to leave it to Sieur de la Mothe to do what he pleases with it, without any privilege over the other inhabitants of Canada, confining him within the limits 261 of the laws, regulations, and ordinances generally. I send his Majesty's orders accordingly to Mess rs de Vaudreuil and Raudot. Give them what advice they will, in your opinion, need in the matter.

The reasons which have determined his Majesty thereto have been the prevalent dissipation of the beaver there for the benefit of the English, the introduction of their

merchandise into the Colony, the difficulty of reconciling the interests and caprices of the different Tribes that were attempted to be introduced in that post, the great expense to be incurred for the support of the garrison, the difficulty of assisting that post should it happen to be attacked by the Iroquois, the bad quality of the soil, the disappearance of the animals which are objects of hunting, and the dispersion of the [Company of the] Colony of Canada.

The reasons you submit in opposition to those of Sieur de la Mothe, on his proposal to organize Indian Companies, have appeared very conclusive, and I, on the part of his Majesty, forbid him making any movement for that purpose.

Sieur de la Mothe pretends that he could at all times derive assistance from Montreal if he were attacked, by opening a communication from Lake Eriée to Lake Ontario. He pretends that he knows the means. As you have passed over that route, let me know what appeared to you practicable.

You did well to acquaint me with what you learned respecting the rupture between the Outawas and Miamis. Sieur de la Mothe Cadillac's conduct towards the latter, does not appear blamable to me. On the contrary, it seems to me that he did what he could; and, provided these last keep their promise, to surrender to him those of them who killed and plundered the French, or to come and settle at Detroit, nothing but what is good and useful will result from what he has done. Let me know what you will learn respecting it. I am very glad to hear that the Interpreter at Detroit has been changed, and to receive assurances from you that the one appointed in his place behaves better. Report to me what you will learn of him.

I have perused what you write me concerning Missilimakinak. The reasons you give as to the necessity of preserving that post appear very good, and I shall pay attention to them. It is 262 to be regretted that all the land there is not good; but if it suffice for the support of the inhabitants, and of those whom trade draws thither, it is to be hoped

that no inconvenience will result therefrom. It is a matter of regret that the Hurons were driven away; some means must be adopted to get them back. I am very glad to learn the dispositions which you noticed among them on this subject, and that they did not relish the proposal of the Iroquois, that they should settle among them. The King will be induced thereby to adopt the resolution of appointing a Commandant at that post who will be agreeable to them.

Your proposal to reeëstablish Indian licenses appears to me very incongruous, considering the bad effect they formerly produced. We are always to apprehend the same inconveniences, whatever measures we may adopt to prevent them. The King has, therefore, not come to any resolution in the matter. He issues new orders prohibiting the abusive trade in Brandy. I send Messrs de Vaudreuil and Raudot a new ordinance on that subject, and another to prevent the conveyance of Beaver to the English. They will communicate them to you. I recommend you, on your part, to see that they be enforced. His Majesty is pleased to pardon the French who have remained at Missilimaquinak contrary to orders, hoping they will be more obedient in future. I will have their pardons transmitted to them as soon as I shall have the list of their names.

I have written in strong terms to M. de Vaudreuil on the position he took to issue licenses under cover of the orders which he transmits, and command him to make use for that purpose of the passes which will be derived from his Majesty, without departing therefrom on any account whatsoever, and the Missionaries will have to do the same.

I write to M. de la Mothe in regard to the complaint made to you by the Chief of the Ottawas respecting the detention of his Belt and Kettle. I doubt not but justice will be rendered him.

You can without any fear, communicate to me whatever you will have learned of the different intrigues of M. de Vaudreuil's people, of the interpreters and principal officers of

Canada. You owe that to the confidence I repose in you, and you need not fear that I shall compromise you.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 827, 828.

1710

1710: DISTURBANCES AMONG INDIANS; MICHILLIMACKINAC SHOULD BE REOCCUPIED.

[Extract from letter of Governor de Vaudreuil to Count de Pontchartrain; dated Oct. 31, 1710.]

M. d'Argenteuil having arrived at Montreal, My Lord, on the twenty-ninth of July, and with him the Outtauois and other Indians of those parts, I annex hereunto copy of what these Indians said to me and of my answers.

The Onnontagués and Senecas having, in like manner arrived at Montreal whilst the Ottauois were there, I annex likewise the words of these Indians and my answers.

You will remark, My Lord, by what these Indians have stated, their resolution not to take up the hatchet against us in favor of the English, and ours not to attack these Indians in case the war continue. You will also, see the complaints they presented me against the Poutouatamis on account of an insult offered in that Village to two of their people, whose ears a man had cut off after they had been made prisoners. What is unfortunate is, that during the sojourn of these Iroquois deputies at Montreal for the purpose of amicably transacting business, two more of their men have been killed, about thirty or forty leagues from Fort Frontenac, by the band of Pascoué an Indian of the Sault tribe, but who has been some years separated from his Nation.

This news having been conveyed to Fort Frontenac by some Mississagués, on the same day the Iroquois arrived there on their return from Montreal, a grand council was held between these Indians and the Mississagués, and the latter having given two large calumets and other presents to cover the dead, they asked the Iroquois whether they were

safe, and if they could, after this blow, remain undisturbed and without risk in the place where they have laid out their fields of Indian corn, which is about twelve or fifteen leagues above the spot where these two men have been killed. The Iroquois answered, that it was not they whom they had to fear, though they were the aggrieved party; that their hatchet was in the hands of their 264 common Father at Montreal, and that they had reason to hope that I would cause justice to be done them.

This affair, My Lord, is so much the more delicate, as, in order to render suitable justice to the Iroquois, it would be necessary to surrender those who struck the blow to them; and this is not easy, as there is no one in the Upper Country capable of inducing the Indians of the Lakes to deliver up these murderers to me. To put the hatchet into the hands of the Iroquois, in order to avenge themselves, is the no less dangerous to us; for they will strike indifferently all they will meet on their way, whether Indians of the Sault, Outtaouis or others. Such is their custom, and if they be asked, after the Indian fashion, “Who is it that killed us.” They will say, publicly, '“Tis Onnontio,” which is tantamount to saying, “Onnontio wages war against us.” To obviate that, and to gain time until I might find means to arrange this matter, I have sent Sieur de la Chauvignerie to Fort Frontenac, to cover these two dead on my behalf; and I have given him orders to proceed afterwards to Onnontagué to express to the entire Village the great pain this affair has caused me, and that I am really thinking to have satisfaction made them; that they must have patience until spring, when I will send to Missilimakina in order to induce those of the Lakes to keep their promise to me, and to unite with me in causing the surrender of the murderers.

I flatter myself, My Lord, that M. Raudot, who is going [to France], will cause you to understand how important it is to have a Commandant with some soldiers and a certain number of voyageurs at Michilimakina, in order to keep all the Indians under control, and to prevent them, at the same time, doing anything that may be prejudicial to us—as well as to make them declare in our favor should the Iroquois happen to be obstreperous. The

Memoir which we have the honor to transmit to you on this subject, with our joint letter, will explain to you, My Lord, all that I could represent to you here.

We have the honor to propose to you, in the same letter, Sieurs de Louvigny and de Lignery to go together to Michilimakinac; Sieur de Louvigny as chief Commandant, and Sieur 265 de Lignery under his orders. The first, My Lord, is well acquainted with the manners to be adopted for the government of those Indians; and I owe him this justice, that there is no one in the country who is better able to acquit himself herein than he. He has been greatly mortified this year because his Majesty has, as it were, forgotten him in the promotions he has made. He does not perform his duty any the less, and I reckon greatly on his influence and ability to collect the Indians together at Michilimakinac. Sieur de Lignery has not less merit; and, if he pass only a year or two with Sieur de Louvigny, will be quite conversant with the affairs of that country, and well qualified to command there in chief.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 848, 849.

1710: TRADING LICENSES, AND SALE OF BRANDY.

[Extract from letter of Sieur d'Aigremont to Count de Pontchartrain; dated Nov. 18, 1710.]

It is true, My Lord, that the reestablishment of the licenses might have some bad effects, the most serious of which would be the debauchery and trade in [Brandy among the Indians; but there is a means to prevent that, which would be, not to issue these licenses except for Michilimakinak alone, the commandant of which post, could possess a through knowledge of the conduct of those who would go, and of all the effects they would carry for the Outaois trade; and if any should be found with Brandy, he could confiscate it, and render an account to the Governor-general and the Intendant thereof, and of whatever else he should find them guilty, in order that they may be punished pursuant to the exigency of the eases. The commandant ought to be prohibited carrying on any trade except for his own support; for, if he be permitted so to do, he would find himself obliged to tolerate many things through the want he would have of this one and that for

his private trade. And as it would not be just to send an Officer there without some 266 trifling advantages, he might be allowed annually a gratuity which may be taken from the proceeds of the licenses.

Though it would not be possible to prevent all the inconveniences that might ensue on reëstablishing the licenses in the manner I propose, I believe it will be indispensable to do it, in consequence of the greater inconveniences which would inevitably result. Firstly, it must not be expected to oblige all the Coureurs de bois to return to the Colony, nor even to retain in it those who are obedient there, except by reestablishing the licenses. Those people not being accustomed to till the soil, will never submit to do so, however they be punished. This country is composed of persons of various characters, and of different inclinations; one and the other ought to be managed, and can contribute to render it flourishingly. The Coureurs de bois are useful in Canada for the fur trade, which is the sole branch that can be relied on; for it is certain that if the articles required by the Upper Nations be not sent to Michilimakinak, they will go in search of them to the English at Hudson's bay, to whom they will convey all their peltries, and will detach themselves entirely from us, which would inflict a notable prejudice on that Colony. Experience sufficiently proves that it is not to be expected that these nations will come in quest of them to Montreal; witness the few canoes that have come down within eight or nine years, except in 1708, when about 60 descended. When these Indians will be obliged to go to a great distance to get their necessaries, they will always go to the cheapest market; whereas, were they to obtain their supplies at their door, they would take them, whatever the price may be. Moreover, the means of preventing them waging war against one another is to be continually carrying on trade with them; for by that means, the commandant of Michilimakinak can be informed of everything that happens, and by his mediation terminate all differences that might arise. Religion will derive an advantage therefrom; for the more French there are among those Nations, the greater will be the authority of the Missionaries there. This active intercourse may afford them also facilities to

learn our language, and render them more docile and submissive to the instructions which will be given them.

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It is to be remarked that to render these licenses valuable, a large number of canoes ought to be prevented going up to Detroit; for, being unable to trade off within its limits the great quantity of goods with which they would be loaded, in the time ordinarily employed in bartering, those who would find their stock too large, would not fail to go further off to sell them. Finally, My Lord, the value of these licenses will depend on the proportion of the number of canoes which will go up to Detroit, which ought to be fixed at 8 or 10 at most.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 852, 853.

[Endorsed: “Mr de Frulain, in answer, show Father de Lamberville1 what he says about the licenses: moreover, censure M. de Ramesay, who abuses the protection he thinks he possesses.”]

1 Jean de Lamberville, who had labored in the Jesuit missions (mainly among the Iroquois) from 1669 to 1692; returning then to France, he acted as business agent for those missions during nearly twenty years: he died in 1614.— Ed.

1712: SIEGE OF DETROIT BY WISCONSIN INDIANS.

[Official Report, made by the commanding officer, Mr. Dubuisson, to the Governor General of Canada, of the war which took place at Detroit, in 1712, between the French and their allies, and the Ottagamie and Mascoutins Indians.2]

2 This document is reprinted from a rare pamphlet with the foregoing title, published in 1845 at Detroit (printed by Harsha & Willcox, but copyrighted by A. McFarren). The preface mentions the copies made by Gen. Lewis Cass of documents in the archives of Paris, and states that he “furnished the publisher with a translation of one of the most interesting of these papers,” Dubuisson's report of the Indian attack on Detroit in 1712. We

find it necessary to correct a few obvious typographical errors in the document; otherwise, it is produced *verbatim et literatim*. It was also published by William R. Smith, in his *History of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1854), vol. iii, pp. 315–336.— Ed.

Sir —As I have thought it was of great consequence to inform you of the state of this post, by an express canoe, I have requested Mr. De Vincennes to make the voyage, having assured him that this arrangement would be pleasing to you, persuaded 268 as I am, Sir, that you are very solicitous about what passes here. The fatigue I undergo day and night, in consequence of the public and private councils, that I hold with the Indians, preventing me from rendering you a detailed account of all the circumstances, Mr. De Vincennes has promised to forget nothing, which has passed, in order to communicate it fully to you.

The destruction of two Mascoutin and Ottagamie villages, is one of the principal reasons which induces me to send this express canoe. It is God who has suffered these two audacious nations to perish. They had received many presents, and some belts, from the English, to destroy the post of Fort Pontchartrain, and then to cut our throats and those of our allies, particularly the Hurons and Ottawas, residing upon the Detroit River; and after that, these wretches intended to settle among the English and devote themselves to their service. It is said, that the band of Oninetonam, and that of Mucatemangona, have been received among the Iroquois, and have established a village upon their lands. This information has been brought by three canoes of Outagamis, who have been defeated by the Chippeways within four leagues of the post. I am under some apprehension for the safety of Mr. Delaforet [La Forest], because, being no doubt upon his march to this place, he may fall in with some of those hostile bands, who have joined themselves to the Iroquois.

The band of the great chief Lamima, and that of the great chief Pemoussa, came early in the spring and encamped, in spite of my opposition, at about fifty paces from my fort, never willing to listen to me, speaking always with much insolence, and calling themselves the owners of all this country. It was necessary for me to be very mild, having, as you

know, Sir, but thirty Frenchmen with me, and wishing to retain eight Miamis, who were with M. De Vincennes, and also to sow our grain and pasture our cattle and besides the Ottawas and Hurons had not come in from their winter hunt. I was thus exposed every day to a thousand insults. The fowls, pigeons, and other animals belonging to the French, were killed without their being able to say a word, and, for myself, I was in no condition to openly declare my intentions.

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One of their parties entered my fort, in order to kill one of the inhabitants named Lagmenesse [probably La Jennesse], and a daughter of Roy, another inhabitant. I could then no longer restrain myself, but took arms to prevent their accomplishing their object. I compelled them to retire immediately from the vicinity of the fort, in order not to give them time to strengthen their party, as they expected the Kickapoos, their allies, that they might together execute their nefarious project; hoping to be strong enough to retire without loss among the English and Iroquois. They waited but for a favorable moment to set fire to the fort.

But they were alarmed when they learned that the party of Mascoutins, who had wintered upon the heads of the St. Joseph, had been cut off to the number of fifty men, women and children by Saguinaw, a war chief of the Ottawas and Pottawatamies. They immediately determined to set fire to an Ottawa cabin, which was close by the gate of my fort. I was informed of their intention by an Ottagamie Indian, named Joseph, who long since left his people and came to reside among us. It was from him that I learned all that passed in the Ottagamie and Mascoutins village. He had the honor to be presented to you, Sir, last year at Montreal. He informed me of the intention to set fire to my fort, and I immediately sent an express canoe to the hunting grounds of the Ottawas and Hurons, to request them to join me as soon as possible. I sent also another canoe to the other side of the lake, to invite the Chippeways and Mississaugas to join us.

The church and the house of Mr. Mullet were outside of the four of them into the redoubt, I had just constructed. I placed prevented our allies from arriving, which troubled me much, as the circumstances now pressing, I prevailed on the few Frenchmen, who were with me, immediately to bring the wheat into the fort. And it was well I did so; for, two days later, it would have been pillaged. We had to fire upon the enemy to secure it, and as it was they stole a considerable portion of it. But the principal object was, to pull down, as quick as possible, the church, the storehouse, and some other houses which were near my fort, and so close, that the Indians, at any time by 270 setting fire to them, might have burnt our works. And besides, it was important in order to defend ourselves in case of an attack, which very soon took place. It becomes us to render thanks to the Lord for his mercies. We should have been lost if I had not formed this determination. I put on the best countenance I could, encouraging the French, who were in consternation, believing themselves lost. The apprehension I entertained, that some accident might happen to the French, who had not yet arrived, and the necessity of sowing our grain and pasturing our cattle, prevented me from refusing them permission to enter the fort to trade, for fear they should suspect I was aware of their object. The only thing I could do was to tell them that I apprehended the Miamis would attack me, because I permitted them to remain so near, and therefore I was about to repair my fort. They did not appear to give much credit to my assertions. Our men were obliged to draw some posts of which the Indians had taken possession, in order to repair the fort as soon as possible, and I succeeded perfectly well in effecting the repairs with material taken from some of the houses. They wished to preserve a pigeon house from which they might have assailed us, but I deceived them and took possession session of it. I placed it immediately opposite their fort and pierced it with loop holes. I mounted two swivels upon logs of wood to serve as cannon, in ease of necessity.

The thirteenth of May, while I was impatiently awaiting the arrival of my allies, who were the only aid I could expect, Mr. De Vincennes arrived from the Miami country with seven or eight Frenchmen. He brought me no news of the Indians, which gave me much trouble,

and I did not know on what saint to call. But Heaven watched over our preservation, and when I least expected it there entered a Huron, all breathless, who said to me, “My Father, I wish to speak to you in secret. I am sent to you by our peace chiefs.” There were then in their village but seven or eight men. It seems that our deliverance was miraculous, for all the others arrived two hours after, and the Ottawas also. The messenger said “God has pity on you. He has decreed that your enemies and ours should perish. I bring you information that four men have just arrived at our 271 fort, not daring to enter yours, on account of the Ottagamies and Mascoutins, who surround you. Makisabie, war chief of the Pottawatamies, and his brother, Tehamasimon, are at the head, and desire to council with you.”

I requested Mr. De Vincennes to meet them, and he recognized at once the four Indians. He returned an hour after to render me an account of the interview, and told me, on the part of Makisabie, that six hundred men would soon arrive to aid me, and to eat those miserable nations who had troubled all the country. That it was necessary to keep myself on my guard against the Ottagamies and Mascoutins, who might learn the expected arrival of assistance.

I requested Mr. De Vincennes to return to the Huron fort, and to ascertain from Makisabie if it would not be satisfactory to his people to content ourselves with driving away the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies, and compelling them to return to their former villages, which, Sir, was your intention. But this could not be done for the Hurons were much too irritated. This great affair had been too well concerted during the whole autumn and winter with all the nations. Mr. De Vincennes, perceiving it would only irritate the Hurons to speak of accommodation, dropped the subject, and the more readily, as they said these wicked men never kept their words. Nothing else could be done, but to be silent, and to put the best face upon the affair, while we fought with them against our common enemies. The Hurons even reproached us with being tired of living, as we knew the bad intentions of the Ottagamies and Mascoutins. They said it was absolutely necessary to destroy them, and

to extinguish their fire, and it was your intention they should perish. They added that they knew your views on this subject at Montreal.

Mr. De Vincennes returned and told me it was useless to speak of any accommodation. And in truth, I well knew there was great danger in having so many nations around us of whose good intentions we were not certain. I then closed the gates of the fort and divided my few Frenchmen into four brigades, each having its brigadier. I inspected their arms and ammunition, and assigned them their stations on the bastions. I put 272 four of them into the redoubt, I had just constructed. I placed some of them at the two curtains, which were most exposed, and armed them with spears. My two cannon were all ready with slugs of iron prepared to load them, which had been made by the blacksmith. Our Rev. Father held himself ready to give a general absolution in case of necessity, and to assist the wounded, if there should be any. He communicated also the Sacred Host.

Every arrangement being made, and while we were waiting with impatience, I was informed that there were many people in sight. I immediately ascended a bastion, and casting my eyes toward the woods, I saw the army of the nations of the south issuing from it. They were the Illinois, the Missouris, the Osages and other nations yet more remote. There were also with them, the Ottawa Chief, Saguina, and also the Potawatamies, the Sacs, and some Menomenies. Detroit never saw such a collection of people. It is surprising how much all these nations are irritated against the Mascoutins and the Ottagamies. This army marched in good order, with as many flags, as there were different nations, and it proceeded directly to the Fort of the Hurons. These Indians said to the head chief of the army, “You must not encamp. Affairs are too pressing. We must enter immediately into our Father's Fort, and fight for him. As he has always had pity on us, and as he has loved us, we ought to die for him. And don't you see that smoke also. They are these women of your village, Saguina, who are burning there, and your wife is among them.” Not another word was necessary. There arose a great cry, and, at the same time, they all began to run, having the Hurons and the Ottawas at their head. The Ottagamies and the Mascoutins raised also their war cry, and about forty of them issued

from their fort, all naked, and well armed, running to meet our Indians, and to brave them in order to make them believe they were not afraid. They were obliged, however, to retreat immediately, and to return to their village. Our Indians requested permission to enter our fort, which I granted, seeing they were much excited. It was my design they should encamp near the woods, that they might not be troublesome to us. All the Indian chiefs assembled 273 upon the parade ground of my fort, and spoke to me as follows: “My Father, I speak to you on the part of all the nations, your children, who are before you. What you did last year in drawing their flesh from the fire, which the Ottagamies were about to roast and eat, well merits that we should bring you our bodies to make you the master of them, and to do all you wish. We do not fear death whenever it is necessary to die for you. We have only to request that you would pray the Father of all Nations to have pity on our women, and our children, in case we should lose our lives with you. We beg you to throw a blade of grass upon our bones to protect them from the flies. You see, my father, that we have abandoned our villages, our women and our children, to hasten as soon as possible to join you. We hope that you will have pity on us, and that you will give us something to eat, and a little tobacco to smoke. We have come from a distance, and are destitute of everything; we hope you will give us powder and balls to fight with you. We don't make a great speech. We perceive that we fatigue you and your people by tire ardour which you show for the fight.” I immediately answered them, and briefly: “I thank you, my children; the determination you have taken, to offer to die with us, is very agreeable to me, and causes me much pleasure. I recognize you as the true children of the Governor General, and I shall not fail to render him an account of all you have done for me today. You need not doubt, that when any question respecting your interest arises, he will regard it favorably. I receive orders from him every day, to watch continually for the preservation of his children. With regard to your necessities, I know you want everything. The fire which has just taken place, is unlucky for you, as well as for me. I will do all I can to provide you with what you want. I beg you to live in peace, union, and good intelligence together, as well among your different nations as with the French people. This will be the best means of enabling us to defeat our common enemies. Take courage, then; inspect and repair your

war clubs, your bows and arrows, and especially your guns. I shall Supply you with powder and ball immediately, and then will attack our enemies. This is all I have to say to you." 19

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All the Indians uttered a cry of joy and of thanks, and said: "Our enemies are dead from the present moment. The heavens begin to grow clear, and the Master of Life has pity on us." All the old men made harangues through the fort, to encourage the warriors, telling them to listen to my words, and strictly to obey all my orders. I distributed among them immediately a quantity of balls and powder; and then we all raised the war cry. The very earth trembled. The enemy, who were not more than a pistol shot distant, raised also their war cry, at the same time. The guns were immediately discharged on both sides, and the balls flew like hail.

We had to do as our Indians did, in order to encourage them. The powder and balls that you had the goodness to send us, Sir, the past autumn, did not last long. I was obliged to have recourse to three barrels, that Mr. de Lamothe left with a certain Roy to sell, not leaving me a single grain when he went away, for the defence of the fort, in ease of attack. All mine was exhausted, as well as a quantity which I had been obliged to purchase of some of the French people.

I held the Ottagamies and the Mascoutins in a state of siege during nineteen days, wearing then out by a continual fire, night and day. In order to avoid our fires, they were obliged to dig holes four or five feet deep in the ground, and to shelter themselves there. I had erected two large scaffolds, twenty feet high, the better to fire into their villages. They could not go out for water, and they were exhausted by hunger and thirst. I had from four to five hundred men, who blockaded their village night and day, so that no one could issue to seek assistance. All our Indians went and hid themselves at the edge of the woods, whence they continually returned with prisoners, who came to join their people, not knowing they were besieged. Their sport was to shoot them, or to fire arrows at them and then burn them.

The enemy that I had kept besieged, thinking to intimidate me, and by this means to have the field left open to them, covered the palisades with scarlet blankets and then halloed to me that they wished the earth was all covered with blood; these red blankets were the mark of it; they hoisted twelve red blankets 275 as standards in twelve different places of their village. I well knew that these signals were English, and that they fought for them. This indeed they told us, for we could speak from one fort to the other. They said they had no father but the English, and told all the nations our allies, that they would do much better to quit our side and join theirs.

The great war chief of the Pottawatamies, after having requested my advice and permission, mounted one of my scaffolds and spoke to our enemies in the name of all our nations in these words: “Wicked nations that you are, you hope to frighten us by all that red color which you exhibit in your village. Learn, that if the earth is covered with blood, it will be yours. You speak to us of the English, they are the cause of your destruction because you have listened to their bad councils. They are enemies of prayer, and it is for that reason that the Master of Life chastises them, as well as you, wicked men that you are; don't you know as well as we do, that the Father of all the nations, who is at Montreal, sends continually parties of his young men against the English to make war, and who take so many prisoners, that they do not know what to do with them. The English, who are cowards, only defend themselves by secretly killing men by that wicked strong drink, which has caused so many men to die immediately after drinking it. Thus we shall see what will happen to you for having listened to them.

I was obliged to stop this conversation, perceiving that the enemy had requested to speak, merely to attract our attention while they went for water. I ordered our great fire to recommence, which was so violent, that we killed more than thirty men, and some women, who had secretly gone out for water. I lost that day twelve men, who were killed in my fort. The enemy, in spite of my opposition, had taken possession of a house, where they had erected a scaffold behind the gable end, which was of earth. Our balls could not

penetrate this defence, and thus, every day, many of our people were killed. This obliged me to raise upon one of my scaffolds, the two large logs upon which were mounted our swivels. I loaded them with slugs and caused them to be fired upon the scaffold, which troubled me so much. They were so well aimed, that at the 276 first two discharges, we heard the scaffold fall, and some of the enemy were killed. They were so frightened that we heard them utter cries and frightful groans, and toward evening they called out to know if I would allow them to come and speak to me. I assembled immediately, the Chiefs of all the nations who were with me, to ascertain their opinion; and we agreed it was best to listen to them, in order, by some stratagem, to withdraw from them three of our women, whom they had made prisoners some days before the siege, and one of whom was the wife of the great war chief Saguina. I told them, through my interpreter, that they might come in safety, to speak to me, as I was willing they should have that satisfaction before dying.

They did not fail the next morning to make me a visit. We were very much surprised not to see the red flags in their village, but only a white flag. It was the great chief Pemoussa, who was at the head of this first embassy. He came out of his village with two other Indians, carrying a white flag in his hand. I sent my interpreter to meet him, and conduct him to me, and to protect him from the insults of some of the young warriors. He entered my fort; I placed him in the midst of the parade ground, and then I assembled all the chiefs of the nations who were with me, to hear our embassador, who spoke in these words (Presenting a belt of wampum and two slaves):

“My father, I am dead; I see very well that the heaven is clear and beautiful for you only, and that for me, it is altogether dark. When I left my village, I hoped that you would willingly listen to me. I demand of you, my father, by this belt, which I lay at your feet, that you have pity on your children, and that you do not refuse them the two days that they ask you, in which there shall be no firing on either side, that our old men may hold a council, to find a means of turning away your wrath.

“It is to you that I now speak, you, other children, listening to the advice of our father; this belt is to pray you to recollect, that you are our kindred. If you shed our blood, recollect, that it is also your own; endeavor then to soften the heart of our father, whom we have so often offended. These two slaves are to replace, perhaps, a little blood that you may have lost. I do 277 not speak many words until our old men can council together, if you grant us those two days, that I have asked of you.”

I answered him thus: “If your hearts were properly moved, and if you truly considered the Governor at Montreal as your father, you would have begun by bringing with you the three women whom you hold as prisoners; not having done so, I believe your hearts are yet bad. If you expect me to listen to you, begin by bringing them here. This is all I have to say.” All the chiefs who were with me, exclaimed with a high voice, “My father, after what you have just said, we have nothing to answer to this embassador. Let him obey you, if he wishes to live.” The embassador answered, “I am only a child. I shall return to my village to render an account of what you have said, to our old men.”

Thus finished the council. I gave him three or four Frenchmen to re-conduct him, assuring him that we would not fire upon his village during the day, on condition, however, that no one should leave it to seek water; and that if they did so, the truce would be at an end, and we should fire upon them.

Two hours after, three chiefs, two of them Mascoutins, and the third an Ottagamie, came bearing a flag, and bringing with them the three women. I made them enter the same place, where the others were stationed, and where all our chiefs were again assembled. The three messengers spoke as follows: “My father, here are these three pieces of flesh that you ask of us. We would not eat them, thinking you would call us to an account for it. Do what you please with them. You are the master. Now, we Mascoutins and Ottagamies request, that you would cause all the nations, who are with you, to retire, in order that we may freely seek provisions for our women and our children. Many die every day of hunger.

All our village regret that we have displeased you. If you are as good a father as all your children, who are around you, say you are, you will not refuse the favor we ask of you."

As I had now the three women, whom I sought, I did not care any longer to keep fair with them, and I therefore answered, "If you had catch my flesh, which you have now brought me, you would not have been living at this moment. 278 You would have felt such terrible coils, that they would have covered you so deep in the ground, that no one would any longer speak of you, so true is it that I love the flesh of the father of all the nations. With regard to the liberty you demand, I leave to my children to answer you. Therefore I shall say no more."

The head chief of the Illinois, whose name is Makouandeby, was appointed by the chiefs of the other nations to speak in these words:

"My father, we all thank you for your kindness to us; we thank you for it, and since you give us permission to speak, we shall do so."

And then, addressing the hostile chiefs, he said: "Now listen to me ye nations who have troubled all the earth. We perceive clearly by your words, that you seek only to surprise our father, and to deceive him again, in demanding that we should retire. We should no sooner do so, but you would again torment our father, and you would infallibly shed his blood. You are dogs who have always bit him. You have never been sensible of all the favors you have received from all the French. You have thought, wretches that you are, that we did not know all the speeches you have received from the English, telling you to cut the throats of our father, and of his children, and then to lead his children into this country. Go away, then. For us, we will not stir a step from you; we are determined to die with our father; we should disobey him; because we know your bad heart, and we would not leave him alone with you. We shall see from this moment, who will be master, you or us; you have now only to retire, and as soon as you shall re-enter your fort, we shall fire upon you."

I sent an escort to conduct the embassadors to their fort, and we began to fire again as usual. We were three or four days without any intercourse, firing briskly on both sides. The enemy discharged their arrows so rapidly that more than three or four hundred were flying at the same time, and at their ends Were lighted fuses: the object being to burn us, as they had threatened to do. I found myself very much embarrassed; the arrows fell upon all our quarters, which were covered with straw, so that the fire easily caught many of them, which frightened 279 the French so much, that they thought everything was lost. I re-assured them, telling them that this was nothing, and that we must find a remedy as soon as possible. “Come, then,” said I, “take courage; let us take off the thatch from the houses, and let us cover them with bear-skins and deer-skins; our Indians will help us.” I then directed them to bring in two large wooden pirogues which I had filled with water and provided Badrouilles [“mops”] at the end of rods, to extinguish the fire, when it should break out any where, and hooks to pull out file arrows. There were four or five Frenchmen, who were wounded. I fell into another embarrassment much greater than this. My Indians became discouraged, and wished to go away, a part of them saying that they should never conquer those nations. That they knew them well, and that they were braver than any other people; and besides, I could no longer furnish them with provisions.

This inconstancy ought to teach us how dangerous it is, to leave a post so distant as this without troops. I then saw myself on the point of being abandoned, and left a prey to our enemies, who would not have granted us any quarter, and the English would have triumphed.

The French were so frightened, that they told me they saw dearly, it was necessary we should retire as quickly as possible, to Michilimacinac. I said to them, “What are you thinking of? Is it possible you can entertain such sentiments? What! abandon a post in such a cowardly manner? Dismiss such thoughts, my friends, from your minds; do things appear so had? You ought to know that if you abandon me, the Governor General would follow you every where, to punish you for your cowardice. What the Indians have just said

ought not to frighten you. I am going to speak to all the chiefs in private, and inspire them with new courage. Therefore change your views, and let me act, and you will see that everything will go well." They answered me, that they did not think of retiring without my consent, nor without me at their head; believing that we could not hold the place, if our Indians should abandon us. They begged me to pardon them, and assured me they would do all I wished. And truly, I was afterward very well contented with them. They did their duty like brave people.

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I was four days and four nights, without taking any repose, and without eating or drinking, striving all the time to secure to my interest all the young war chiefs, in order to keep the warriors firm, and to encourage them, so that they would not quit us, until our enemies were defeated. To succeed in this object, I stripped myself of all I had, making presents to one and another. You know, Sir, that with the Indians one must not be mean. I flatter myself that you will have the goodness to approve all these expenditures, which for me are immense, and for the King, of no consequence; for otherwise, I should be very much to be pitied, having a large family which occasions me great expense at Quebec.

Having gained all the Indians in private, I held a general council, to which I called all the nations, and said to them: "What, my children ! when you are just on the point of destroying these wicked nations, do you think of retreating shamefully, after having so well begun? Could you lift up your heads again? You would be overwhelmed with confusion. All the other nations would say, are these the brave warriors, who fled so ignominiously, after having abandoned the French? Be not troubled, take courage, we will endeavor yet to find a few provisions. The Hurons and the Ottowas, your brothers, offer you some. I will do all I can to comfort you and to aid you. Don't you see that our enemies can hardly preserve their position? Hunger and thirst overpower them. We shall quickly render ourselves masters of their bodies. Will it not be very pleasant, after such a result, when you visit Montreal to receive there the thanks and the friendship of the father of all nations, who will thank you for having risked your lives with me? For you cannot doubt, that in the report

I shall make to him, I shall render justice to each of you, for all you will have done. You must also be aware, that to defeat these two nations, is to give that life and peace to your women and children, which they have not yet enjoyed.”

The young war chiefs, whom I had gained, did not give me time to finish, but said to me, “My father, allow us to interrupt you; we believe there is some liar, who has told you falsehoods. We assure you, that we all love you too much, to abandon you, 281 and we are not such cowards as is reported. We are resolved, even if we are much more pressed with hunger, not to quit you, till your enemies are utterly destroyed.” All the old men approved of these sentiments, and said, “Come on, come on, let us hasten to arm ourselves, and prove that those are liars, who have reported evil of us to our father.” They then raised a great cry, and sung the war song, and danced the war dance, and a large party went to fight.

Every day some Sacs, who had lived some time with the Ottagamies, left their fort and carne to join their people who were with me, who received them with much pleasure. They made known to us the condition of our enemies, assuring us that they were reduced to the last extremity; that from sixty to eighty women and children had died from hunger and thirst, and that their bodies, and the bodies of those who were killed every day, caused an infection in their camp, as they could not inter their dead, in consequence of the heavy fire that we continually kept up.

Under these circumstances, they demanded permission to speak to us, which was granted. Their messengers were their two great chiefs, one of peace, the other of war; the first named Allamima, and the other Pemoussa. With them, were two great Mascoutin chiefs, one Kuit, and the other Onabimaniton. Pemoussa was at the head of the three others, having a crown of wampum upon his head and many belts of wampum on his body, and hung over his shoulders. He was painted with green earth, and supported by seven female slaves, who were also painted and covered with wampum. The three other chiefs had each a chiehory1 in their hands. All of them marched in order, singing and

shouting with all their might, to the song of the Chichories, calling all the devils to their assistance, and to have pity on them. They had even figures of little devils hanging on their girdles They entered my fort in this manner, when, being placed in the midst of the nations our allies, they spoke as follows:

1 Evidently a misprint for “chichikoué,” an Algonkin term adopted by the French of Canada and the West, which was given to the small drum used by the Indian medicine-men. Among many of the tribes, a chief was also often a medicine man or soothsayer.— Ed.

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“My father, I speak to you, and to all the nations who are before you. I come to you to demand life. It is no longer ours. You are the master of it. All the nations have abandoned us. I bring you my flesh in the seven slaves, whom I put at your feet. But do not believe I am afraid to die. It is the life of our women, and our children, that I ask of you. I beg you to allow the sun to shine, let the sky be clear, that we can see the day, and that hereafter, our affairs may be prosperous. Here are six belts, that we give you, which bind us to you like your true slaves. Untie them, we beg you, to show that you give us life. Recollect, ye nations, that you are our great nephews; tell us something, I pray you, which can give pleasure on our return to our village.”

I left it to our Indians to answer these ambassadors. They were, however, so much enraged against them, that they would not give them any answer. Eight or ten of them asked permission to speak to me in private. “My father, we come to ask liberty of you to break the heads of those four great chiefs. They are the men who prevent our enemies from surrendering at discretion. When these shall be no longer at their head, they will find themselves much embarrassed, and will surrender.”

I told them they must be drunk to make me such a proposition. “Recollect, that they came here upon my word, and you have given me yours. We must act with good faith, and if such a thing were done, how could you trust one another? Besides if I acquiesced in this

proposition, the Governor General would never pardon me. Dismiss it, therefore, from your thoughts. They must return peaceably. You see clearly that they cannot avoid us, since you resolved not to give them quarter." They confessed I was right, and that they were foolish. We dismissed the embassadors in all safety, without, however, giving them any further answer. These poor wretches well knew there was no longer any hope for them.

I confess, Sir, that I was touched with compassion, at their misfortunes; but as war and pity do not well agree together, and particularly, as I understood that they were paid by the English for our destruction, I abandoned them to their unfortunate fate; indeed, I hastened to have this tragedy finished, 283 in order that the example might strike terror to the English, and to themselves.1

1 In regard to this affair, Hebberd claims (*Wis. under French Dom*., pp. 81–84) that the French, wishing to get rid of the Foxes, "enticed them to Detroit in order that they might be slaughtered." Parkman says: "It is by no means certain that they came with deliberate hostile. intent. Had this been the case, they would not have brought their women and children" (*Half Century of Conflict*, i, pp. 268–287). It is probable that intertribal jealousies and hatreds are a sufficient explanation of the cruel overthrow of the Foxes.— Ed.

The great fire recommenced, more and more violently; the enemy, being in despair, beaten in their village and out of it; and when they wished to go for water or to gather a few herbs, to appease their hunger, had no other resource but an obscure night with rain, in order to effect their escape. They awaited it with much impatience, and it came on the nineteenth day of the siege. They did not fail to make use of it, decamping about midnight, and we did not know their escape until daylight. I encouraged our people, and they pursued them very vigorously. Mr. De Vincennes joined in the pursuit, with some Frenchmen, and this gave much pleasure to the Indians.

The enemy, not doubting but that they would be pursued, stopped at the Presq' isle, which is opposite Hog island, near lake St. Clair, four leagues from the fort.2

2 Farmer says (*Hist. Detroit*, p. 231) that the place here mentioned was Grosse Pointe, a headland situated about five miles above Detroit, at the entrance to Lake St. Clair.— Ed.

Our people, not perceiving their entrenchment, pushed into it, and lost there twenty men, killed and wounded. It was necessary to form a second siege, and also an encampment. The camp was regularly laid out; there were a hundred canoes every day, as well Ottawas, Hurons, and Chippeways, as Mississauguas to carry provisions there. The chiefs sent to me for two cannon and all the axes and mattocks that I had, to cut timber, and to place it so as to approach the hostile entrenchment; together with powder and ball. As for the Indian corn, tobacco, and seasoning, they were supplied as usual, without counting all the kettles of the French, which are now lost, and that I had to pay for.

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The enemy held their position for four days, fighting with much courage; and finally, not being able to do anything more, surrendered at discretion to our people, who gave them no quarter. All were killed except the women and children, whose lives were spared, and one hundred men, who had been tied, but escaped.

All our allies returned to my fort with their slaves, having avoided it before as they thought it was infective. Their amusement was to shoot four or five of them every day. The Hurons did not spare a single one of theirs.

In this manner came to an end, Sir, these two wicked nations, who so badly afflicted and troubled all the country. Our Rev. Father chaunted a grand mass to render thanks to God for having preserved us from the enemy.

The Ottagamies and Mascoutins had constructed a very good fort, which, as I said, was within pistol shot of mine. Our people did not dare to undertake to storm it, notwithstanding all I could say. The works were defended by three hundred men, and our loss would have been great, had we assaulted it; but the siege would not have been so long. Our Indians

lost sixty men killed and wounded, thirty of whom were killed in the fort; and a Frenchman named Germain, and five or six others, were wounded with arrows. The enemy lost a thousand souls, men, women, and children.

I ought not to forget, Sir, to state, that there were about twenty-five Iroquois, who had joined themselves to the Hurons of the Fond du Lac1 in this war. These two nations distinguished themselves above all the others, and therefore their loss has been proportionably greater. They received the thanks of all the Indians, and more particularly of the Potawatamies to whom they made satisfaction for an old quarrel, by presents of slaves and pipes. I brought about this accommodation. I dare venture to assure you, Sir, that the general Assembly of all the nations has put them at peace with one another, and renewed their ancient alliance. They calculate upon receiving many presents, which they say, Sir, you promised them.

1 Fond du Lac (“end, or foot, of the lake”); an allusion to the former location of the Hurons, probably at either Sault Ste. Marie or Michillimackinac.— Ed.

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I have determined with the consent of his nation, to send you, the grand chief of the Illinois of Rock village.1 His name is Chachagonache. He is a good man, and has much authority; and I trust, Sir, that you will induce him to make peace with the Miamis.

1 Reference is here made to the Illinois village located near La Salle's fort (St. Louis, on “Starved Rock;” see p. 100, *ante, note*).— Ed.

The affair is of very great consequence, the Miamis having sent me word, that they should abandon their village and build another on the Oyou, in the fond of Lake Erie.2 It is precisely where the English are about to erect a fort, according to the belts they have sent to the different nations. They also said, that they would be contented, if you sent them, Sir,

a garrison and a Rev. Father, a Jesuit; and some presents, that they say you promised them.

2 There must be at this point some error or omission in the transcription of the original document. Allusion is apparently made to the place where the Miamis later formed a settlement, in the bend of the Maumee river where now stands the city of Fort Wayne, Ind.; not far from that place was a portage by which easy communication could be had with the Ohio river (the name of which was early spelled Oyo).— Ed.

Mikisabie, the Potawatamie chief, has much influence over the mind of this Illinois chief. He goes with him. Joseph, who accompanies them, deserves your kindness. I have had much trouble to save his life. I venture, Sir, to request, that you would take care that the Indians, who are with Mr. De Vincennes, return contented; their visit secures this post. Saguina has complained to me that Mr. Desliettes3 would not wait for him last spring, believing it was through contempt.

3 A relative of Henry de Tonty, and long prominent in military and Indian affairs in the West.— Ed.

Poor Otchipouac died this winter. It is a great loss to us, for he had much firmness, and was well disposed toward the French. We have another difficult affair, which threatens to give us much trouble. The Kickapoos, who live at the mouth of the Maumee River, are about to make war upon us, now that our allied have left us; about thirty Mascoutins have joined them. A canoe of Kickapoos, who came here to speak to the three villages, has been defeated by the Hurons and Ottawas. 286 Among them was a principal chief, whose head was brought to me, with the heads of three others. This was done out of resentment, because the last winter they had taken prisoners some of the Hurons and the Iroquois; besides, they considered him a true Ottagamie. I believe that if Mr. De Vincennes had not been at the mouth of the Maumee at the time, the Kickapoos would have killed the two Hurons and the Iroquois. There was every probability of it. Those same Indians took

prisoner also, Langlois, who was on his return from the Miami country, and who had many letters from the Rev. Fathers, the Jesuits of the Illinois villages. All these letters have been destroyed, which circumstance has given me much uneasiness, as I am sure, Sir, there were some for you from Louisiana. They dismissed him, after robbing him of his peltry, charging him to return and tell them the news; but he had no more desire to do that, than I had to permit him. However, the Ottawas might safely send there, because the Kickapoos have among them one of their women, with her children. I will endeavor to prevail upon the Ottawas and the Hurons to accommodate their difficulties with the Kickapoos, in order that our repose may not be troubled here.

The different nations have returned peaceably, with all their slaves. Saguina has abandoned his village, and gone to Michilimacinac. The Potawatamies abandoned also theirs, and will either come here or go to the Illinois. More than half of the Ottawas, of this place, will repair to Michilimacinac. The Chippeways and Mississiguas will go to Topicanich. They have not at all been disposed to make any satisfaction to the Miamis, for the murder of the last year, with Mr. De Tonty. The Miamis are very urgent upon this subject. I spare no trouble to induce them to be patient, and also to persuade them, that I am laboring earnestly for their interest.

I have the honor to inform you, Sir, that I accomplished a measure the last year that Mr. De Lamothe never could effect, during all the time he was here; which was to compel the Ottawas to make a solid peace with the Miamis, and to engage them to visit the latter, which, till now, they never would do. I succeeded very happily in the object, the Miamis having received 287 them very kindly, and a durable alliance has been the consequence.

I flatter, myself, Sir, it will be agreeable to you to be informed, that Mr. De Vincennes has faithfully performed his duty, and that he has labored assiduously here, as well as on his voyage to the Miamis and Ouyatonoms the last winter. If I am so happy, Sir, as to receive your approbation of my conduct, I shall be fully compensated for all my trouble, and shall experience no more dejection. My success has been much owing to the great influence I

have over the nations; Mr. De Vincennes is the witness of this. I do not say this either to gratify my vanity, or to claim any credit, for truly I am very tired of Detroit. You can easily judge, Sir, in what a condition my affairs must be, in consequence of having no presents belonging to the king in my hands. However, I venture to trust to your goodness, and hope that you will not suffer a [poor] devil to be reduced to beggary.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect, Sir, your very humble, and obedient servant,

(Signed) Dubuisson .

At Fort du Detroit, Pontchartrain , June 15, 1712.

[This letter was addressed to The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New France.]

Statement of expenditures, made by Mr. Dubuisson, for the service of the king, to gain an influence over the nations and to secure them in his interest, in order to sustain the post of the Fort de Pontchartrain, of Detroit, against the Ottagamies and Mascoutins, who had been paid by the English to destroy it—to wit:

livres

4 barrels of powder of 50 lbs. each, to distribute to the Indians, for the defence of Fort Pontchartrain, and to attack that of the Ottagamies and Mascoutins; the powder having been purchased of the voyageurs, at 4 livres pr lb. making the sum of 800

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300 lbs balls for the same object, at 50 sols the lb 450

60 bags of Indian Corn, at 8 livres the bag, for the subsistence of the Indians 480

300 flints at 7 sols pr hundred 21

5 guns to give to five chiefs, in order to attach them to the interests of Mr. Dubuisson, estimated at 30 livres each 150

8 blankets, to bury certain principal Indians, killed in the service, estimated at 30 livres each 240

8 pr of leggins for the same object, at 7 livres 10 sols the pr. 60

8 shirts for the same object, at 10 livres each 80

100 lbs tobacco to be ready to be given to the Indians at all times, at 4 livres the lb 400

100 butcher-knives, to use as bayonets, for the Indians 100

3 lbs vermillion to paint the Warriors, at 40 livres the lb 120

2,901

I certify, that I furnished, for the service of the king, for the defence of Fort de Pontchartrain, the articles mentioned in the above statement.

Done at Quebec, Oct. 14, 1712.

(Signed) Dubuisson .

1712: INDIAN AFFAIRS IN THE LAKE REGION.

[Extract from a letter of Father Marest to Governor de Vaudreuil; dated June 21, 1712. From Sheldon's *Early Hist. Michigan* , pp. 299–305.]

No doubt you have already learned the news of the recent attack on Detroit, by the Sacs, Foxes, and Mascoutins, by a canoe sent from that place. The Rev. Father Recollet of Detroit informs me that about eight hundred men, women, and children of the Foxes and

Mascoutins have been destroyed; yet, in this large number, I presume he does not reckon forty warriors, 289 sixty women, and more than a hundred children of the Mascoutins, who are reported to have been killed near the great river.1 I only give the report of others. Sakima is going to Montreal; he and Makisabe, a Pottawatomie, who is also going down from Detroit, were the chiefs principally concerned; they will give you their own account of affairs.

1 Apparently a mistake in translation; reference is probably made to the Grand river of Michigan, flowing into Lake Michigan.— Ed.

Although the number of the dead is very great, the Fox nation is not destroyed. There still remain a great number of them near the [Green] Bay—some say there are two hundred warriors, besides those who have gone to the Iroquois. Their brothers, the Kickapoos, to whose villages ten families of the Mascoutins have retired, have more than a hundred good warriors; the Sacs, eighty men, boatmen; the Puans, sixty brave men, also boatmen. If these all unite, as is natural, they may yet excite terror, especially here. They would indeed be truly formidable, because so many of them are boatmen. Michilimackinac would no longer be a place of safety, as hitherto. It is not far from this post to the Bay, and the savages could come here both by land and water, and not only the savages, but the French,2 who were the first movers in this war, having joined with the Outawas to destroy the Foxes. We believe, however, that the Foxes at the Bay, having heard of the attack upon those at Detroit, will flee; and it is not difficult to believe that the Sacs and Puans will take the part of the Foxes against the French and Outawas; but these are only conjectures. It is certain that, in this region, there will always be cause to fear an attack, either from the savages at Detroit or at the Bay, or from the Illinois. The French, if they go, as is their custom—two men alone in a boat to make the tour of the lakes—will always be in danger; for the Foxes, Kickapoos, and Mascoutins are found everywhere, and they are a people without pity and without reason.

2 It is difficult to understand the meaning of this sentence, if taken literally; there is probably some error of omission in the transcript from the original.— Ed.

If this country ever needs M. Louvigny, it is now; the savages say it is absolutely necessary that he should come for the 20 290 safety of the country, to unite the tribes, and to defend those whom the war has already caused to return to Michilimackinac. The Indians of the great river, those of Saginaw, and many from Detroit, have gone to Manitonlin with Le Pesant. But if M. Louvigny returns here, no doubt they will all quit Manitoulin, where they have planted but little, and return here.

The savages told me that all the Outawas at Detroit would have come here, but for the recent arrival of fifty or sixty Frenchmen, who said they were soon to be followed by hundreds of others. This news, though probably not entirely true, has changed the purpose of many who wished to leave Detroit, and they have now invited the Outawas and Pottawatomies to come and establish themselves there. Sakima has had a quarrel with all the Outawas, both here and at the great river. I do not know what course the Pottawatomies will take; nor even what course those will pursue who are here, if M. Louvigny does not come, especially if the Foxes come to attack them or us.

Sakima very much desired to come and present his respects to you; but the French have thought it best for him to remain for the safety of this village. In his absence, the enemy might attack us, while his presence would arrest all such designs, as he is greatly feared. They have believed it quite sufficient for Koutaouiliboe to go down and inform you of all that has passed: not deeming it expedient for both to leave Michilimackinac at such a time as this.

July 2, 1712.

This morning Koutaouiliboe came to see me, determined to prosecute a German quarrel. “What does our father Onontio mean?” he demanded. “It is already five years since he

promised us M. Louvigny; still, he wishes to deceive us this year, as he has done in all the others. He tells us that the great Onontio, the king, especially loves his children of Michilimackinac, yet it seems that he abandons them entirely. Formerly, before the establishment of Detroit, we were a powerful nation. All the other nations were obliged to come here to obtain necessaries, and there was no trouble, as there is now. But the most savage and unreasonable of the nations, such as the Foxes, Kickapoos, Mascoutins, Miamis, and others, who do not use the 291 canoe, have the power of going on foot to Detroit, in as great numbers as they wish, to buy their powder and trouble their allies. Yet the French desire more than ever to establish Detroit.

“A canoe which arrived yesterday from Detroit brought the news that M. de la Forest had already arrived with fifty men. Pie had not come to remain, but only came beforehand to hold a council with the savages. Some time hence there is to come another French chief, a young man, who has bought all the movables of M. la Motte, his plate, his cattle, and other property; he has also bought all the land of Detroit. This chief is to come with four hundred French to build a city, in which, after four years, they are to sell goods at the same price as at Montreal. Only two canoes are ordered to come to Michilimackinac. It is also said that a few persons will steal away, and come here to settle. This, then, is the preference which the French give to Michilimackinac. It is because Detroit has always been a theater of war, and because it always will be so, that they think only of its establishment. Does our father wish that we should leave a place of security like this, and go to Detroit to be killed, ourselves and our children?.

“If our father loves us, why does he not establish us here, and give us him whom he has so long promised us, to give spirit to those who have it not, and to strengthen us against our enemies? Does not our father know that all the Outawas of the great river have returned here, almost all those of Saginaw, and many of those from Detroit, all except Jean le Blanc, whose wife is already here?. Does he not know that all the Outawas of Detroit had already pitched their canoes, in order to come here, with half of the Hurons, while the other half of the tribe were to go to the Iroquois, not considering themselves safe

at Detroit any more than the Sauteurs and the Mississagues, who all left that place after the attack made by the Foxes? But when they received the news of the coming of the French, they resolved to remain." I could only tell him that you would know how to reply to him when he should come into your presence. He said that the only satisfactory reply which his father could make, was to grant him the commandant who had been promised long since, and whom he was now going to seek.

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Koutaouiliboe has also told me another fine piece of news; that there was peace in all Europe, and that "the great Onontio of the French had given one-half of his children to the English, but that he had requested the English not to give them bad medicine." He said he was indifferent whether he went to Boston or Montreal, as there was nothing but powder at Montreal, and that the French themselves went to purchase goods at the stores of the English. Already at Detroit, he said, they gave two hands of tobacco for a beaver, and a scarlet blanket for five or six beavers, and so on with other goods.

There is one thing, however, which makes all this news suspicious; those who told it brought no letters, and that makes many believe that it is news made expressly for the occasion, either by the French inhabitants of Detroit, or by the savages who remain there in such small numbers that they wish to cause others to return there for their safety. He also told me that M. la Motte had gone to Quebec, and that he told the people at Detroit, at parting, that he was not leaving them forever, but, at the expiration of four years, they would see him again.1 See how the savages make news according to their interests or inclinations!

1 Lamothe-Cadillac was appointed, in 1711, governor of Louisiana, and was succeeded by Dubuisson as commandant at Detroit.— Ed.

The Folle-Avoines have made an attack upon Chagouamigon and his wife, the adopted brother and sister of Durangé; they have killed the one, and carried off the other. Durangé

is coming here to recover the prisoner. It is said that the people of Detroit are coming to make war against the Kickapoos, and that they have invited the Sauteurs to join them.

Pardon me, sir, if I bring you only savage news; Koutaouiliboe will be able to tell you some other. He will be sure to make you remember that he is the only one who has observed your words; and that he had reason to tell you last year, that all your children would forget them as soon as they should be beyond the region of Montreal, and would not fail to kill each other. I am, with profound respect, sir,

Your very humble, and very obedient servant, Joseph J. Marest , Of the Society of Jesus.

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1712: ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF DETROIT.

[Translated from *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1883), pp. 622–625; authorship ascribed to Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, chief engineer of Canada.]

About the month of August, the Iroquois chiefs came down to Quebec, and were regaled at the palace by Monsieur d'Aigremont. A few days afterward, we were informed of the defeat of the Renards at Detroit, but we did not learn the details of the affair until long afterward. It is well to know that when Monsieur de Lamotte was at Detroit, wishing to attract the trade of all the nations to his post, he sent collars to the Mascoutins and Quiyquapous, to invite them to form a village there, and offered them a location for it. They accepted this proposal, and, having come thither to the number of forty families erected a fort there in the place assigned them. As that nation [the Renards] is both feared and hated by the other tribes, on account of its people's arrogance, the others began to stir up a conspiracy against those who were settled at Detroit; and actually, in 1712, when Sieur de Buisson was commandant at that place, the Huron and Outaouac conspirators, to the number of about nine hundred men, arrived at the French fort. That commandant

opened the gate to them; they quickly entered the fort and ascended the bastions, which commanded the Renard fort, and fired many volleys of musketry at the Renards.

One of the Renard chiefs spoke aloud, addressing the French in the following terms: “What does this mean, my Father? Thou didst invite us to come to dwell near thee; thy word is even now fresh in our pouches. And yet thou declarest war against us. What cause have we given for it? My Father, thou seemest no longer to remember that there are no nations among those whom thou callest thy children who have not wet their hands with the blood of Frenchmen. I am the only one whom thou canst not reproach; and yet thou art joining our enemies to eat us. But know that the Renard is immortal; and that if in defending myself I shed the blood of Frenchmen my Father cannot reproach me.” There were also many other points in his speech.

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The conference finished (or rather interrupted) by the discharge of muskets; the Renard replied to them quite sharply, and labored night and day in digging pits in their fort, in order to place their families in those places to shelter them from the firearms. On the fourth day the Renard, finding that his provisions were beginning to fail, again addressed the French, in these terms: “My Father, I do not speak to thee; I speak to those women who are hidden in thy fort, and tell them that, if they are as brave as they say they are, they will send out eighty of the best warriors; I promise them, and thou shalt be the witness, my father, that I will oppose to them only twenty warriors, and that if the eighty conquer these men, I consent to be their slave. But if, on the contrary, the twenty overcome the eighty warriors, the latter shall be our slaves.” No response was made to any of these propositions, save by a volley of musket-shots, which, however, killed no one.

When the eighth day arrived, the Renards, utterly enfeebled,—for they had passed six days without any food,—departed from their fort at night, with their families, but were not discovered.

The men in the French fort had been accustomed, at daylight, to fire many musket-volleys at that of the Renards, who, for their part, replied in like manner; but on that day they no longer fired their guns, which aroused in the besieged a curiosity to go to the Renard fort, where they found no one. Immediately the chiefs demanded, from Monsieur de Buisson, Sieur de Vincennes and a number of Frenchmen to head their march in pursuit of the Renards. As the latter were famished, they directed their course to a sort of peninsula, in order to feed upon the herbage; and they could only be reached by a defile which they carefully guarded. At last the Detroit party reached that place, and closed the path to the Renard fort; and there was firing on both sides. The Renard, seeing that he was shut in, again spoke, addressing Sieur de Vincennes, who had already summoned them to surrender: “I will surrender myself; answer me at once, my Father, and tell me if there is quarter for our families. Answer me.” Sieur de Vincennes called out to them that he granted their lives and safety. As soon as the Renard laid down his weapons, and while he was going to 295 meet the allies, in an instant his people were surrounded; and all the Renards were cut in pieces before they could regain their weapons. The women and children were made slaves, and most of them were sold to the French.

Thus perished the Renards whom Monsieur de Lamotte had brought to Detroit. As soon as the Maskoutins and Quiyquapous of the large villages learned of this deed, they sent many war-parties into the field—some to La Baye, others to Detroit, and to all the routes of travel. They caused all the other nations to take to flight, as the latter did not dare to remain at the enemy's approach; this went on until Monsieur de Louvigny besieged them in their fort, where they were well entrenched; but they were compelled, by the bombs fired at them, to surrender, their lives being spared; this was granted them by Monsieur de Louvigny despite the wishes and advice of the other nations, who wished to exterminate them.

1713: REESTABLISHMENT OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

[Memorial written by the Intendant of Canada;1 dated at Quebec, Sept. 20, 1713.]

1 This was Claude Michel Bégon; his term of office was from August, 1712, to August, 1726.— Ed.

It appears from the letter of Father Marest, missionary of the Society of Jesus, dated July 19th, 1712, that the post at Michilimackinac had been abandoned since the establishment of Detroit, but its reestablishment would be useful to the colony; and that M. Louvigny is expected there to gather the savages together, which will be easily accomplished, as they have great confidence in him. M. Lignery, in his letter of the 20th of July last, also states that it is necessary that Michilimackinac should be reinforced with a garrison of trained soldiers, without which no commandant could succeed. There are at present at that post about forty deserters, who, in all their conduct, only consult their own interest. He expresses great impatience for 296 the arrival of M. Louvigny, feeling assured that he will not come without a garrison. M. Lignery says the allied nations have gone to war with the Foxes, and he will give the result of the expedition when they return.

It does not appear that the war among the nations requires much attention at present, as no action can be taken in the matter till the final result is known. Let us now examine the advantages which, there is reason to hope, will be derived from the reestablishment of Michilimackinac, and whether it is best to send M. Louvigny there with troops, or without. It is certain that troops cannot be sent there at present, because their expenses for clothing and other necessaries would be very great, and there is no order from the king for such an outlay. Nor does it seem best to send M. Louvigny without troops, as, by the letter of M. Lignery, it appears that the principal object of the journey of M. Louvigny would be to bring a garrison with him, that he might be able to overcome the forty coureurs des bois, who will remain masters there as long as there are no troops.

Under existing circumstances, it seems far better that the journey of M. Louvigny should be deferred until spring. If he should attempt the journey this fall, he must leave between

this and the 15th of next month—and should he be two months in ascending the river, as the canoes were last year, he would not reach Michilimackinac before the 15th of November. The savages would then be hunting, and would not return till May, when they come to plant their corn; and not till then could M. Louvigny hold a council with them concerning the affairs of the colony.

M. Louvigny could not undertake the journey at his own expense. Provisions and clothing for himself and the troops, and presents for the savages, would require a considerable sum, and there are at present no funds, the storehouses are empty, and all kinds of merchandise are very dear. By waiting until spring, he would be able to supply himself from the stores which His Majesty will send this autumn. Besides, the principal object of the journey of M. Louvigny being the reestablishment of Michilimackinac—which has been delayed until the peace,1 because it was not considered expedient to weaken

1 The treaty of Utrecht, ratified April 11, 1713.— Ed.

297 the colony during the war—it seems necessary, before proceeding further, to know the intentions of His Majesty. There must necessarily be great expense incurred for the officers, for the garrison, and in presents to the savages; and if the project meet His Majesty's approbation, he will appropriate funds for that purpose.

Michimilimackinac might be reestablished without expense to His Majesty, either by surrendering the trade of the post to such individuals as will obligate themselves to pay all the expenses of twenty-two soldiers and two officers, to furnish munitions of war for the defense of the fort, and to make presents to the savages. Or, the expenses of that post might be paid by the sale of permits, if the king should not think proper to grant an exclusive commerce. It is absolutely necessary to know the wishes of the king concerning these two propositions; and as M. Lignery is at Michilimackinac, it will not be any greater injury to the colony to defer the reestablishment of this post, than it has been for eight or ten years past.

The conduct of the coureurs des bois is an evil which has lasted a long time, and we must learn whether the king will grant them a general amnesty, or punish them according to the rigor of the ordinance, which is corporal punishment and the confiscation of their goods. Until this decision is made, their trading at Michilimackinac will not injure the colony any more than if they pursued the same course elsewhere. It seems necessary, in order to prevent the savages from going to trade with the English, where goods are cheaper than they are at Montreal, that our goods should be carried to them. Therefore, though the coureurs des bois deserve punishment for disobeying the orders of the king, no doubt the trade which they carry on with the nations is advantageous to the colony. This trade, during the war, has brought beaver and other furs to Montreal that would otherwise have gone to the English, had there been no French in the upper country. Besides, the principal object being to prevent any intelligence passing between the Outawas and Iroquois, the French should carry all that the savages might need, lest they be attracted to the English, first by necessity, and afterward by the cheapness of their goods; and it being impossible 298 to prevent their going, the fur trade in Canada, which is our principal dependence, would be ruined. The savages would also array themselves against us in the first war, as they always take the part of those with whom they trade.

1713–14: FOXES ARE UNRULY AND LAWLESS; SHOULD BE DESTROYED; FRENCH RENEGADES.

[Extracts from letter of Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Minister; dated Nov. 15, 1713. Original MS, is in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 34, c. 11, fol. 4.”]

Sieur de Vaudreuil would have wished to send last spring Sieur de Louvigny to Michilimaquina to bring about a peace between the outaois and other nations of the upper country, or to have the war against the Renards continued, because he has a good deal of influence among these nations. Sieur de Vaudreuil apprehended that this delay might have a bad effect, and that those nations might go to deal with the English; M. Begon who

admitted the utility of this voyage, believed, however, that he could not employ any of the means that have been proposed to him for so doing.

* * * * * * * *

The Renards being the common Enemies of all the nations of the upper country, it is absolutely necessary to take all possible measures for destroying them, as they have but recently killed at detroit three Frenchmen and five hurons. That act obliged the hurons to send here [Quebec] six of their people, in their name and that of the Miamis, to ask for help; and to request that the French join with them to obtain satisfaction—as otherwise they will find themselves very closely confined to fort Pontchartrain at detroit, and in fear of having their heads broken every time they leave it. This new outrage on the part of the Renards (who last spring at the baye des puantes killed one l'Epine, a Frenchman) makes it apparent that it is no longer possible to deal gently with that nation without incurring the contempt of all the others, who are informed of the wrongs done us by the Renards.

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We can not better succeed in this enterprise than by obliging the French, to whom licenses are granted to come at an appointed time to Michilimaquina, which will be the gathering-point both for the French and the savages to make war on the renards. We can also oblige each one of those to whom a license is granted to furnish, before departing, 50 lbs. of powder and 100 lbs. of bullets to the warehouse at Montreal. The latter will furnish to his Majesty the munitions of war necessary for this enterprise, which can thus be executed without expense to his Majesty, since those holding these licenses will go at their own expense. They indemnify themselves therefor by trading the merchandise they carry with them, which they can do as soon as the Enterprise against the Renards is accomplished.

To increase the number of the French in this expedition, it appears necessary that his Majesty should be pleased to grant an amnesty to all the coureurs de bois (to the number of 100, more or less), on condition that they go to Michilimakina to join the other French

and the savages, and make war on the Renards, under the command of the officers charged with this expedition. This reason, together with the conjuncture of the peace, appears very reasonable for the granting of this amnesty, and it is moreover for the good of the Colony to make them return thither; whereas, if His Majesty does not grant them this favor, they might resolve to remain always in the upper country, and perpetuate themselves there, importing merchandise from this colony through the savages, and perhaps using them also to get some from the English. Thus those men would be lost to this country, which so urgently needs them, and those coureurs de Bois, no longer hoping for pardon, might abandon themselves to grievous extremities. The most natural Rendezvous for the expedition against the Renards is Michilimaquina, which is the centre and resort of all the nations.

These licenses will produce a good Effect among the nations of the upper country, on account of the great quantities of merchandise that will be carried to them; that will keep them from going to seek goods among the English, as they will find at home all that they need. They will produce at the same 300 time great advantages for this colony on account of the abundance of furs that will be brought hither, which will allow the dealers who buy them to return to France, and consequently to bring to us a still larger quantity of merchandise. It is so important to make war with the Renards promptly, and to transport merchandise into the upper country, so as to prevent the savages from resorting to the English that Messieurs Vaudreuil and Begon beg you, Monseigneur, to deign to make known the intentions of his Majesty regarding the matter by the first fishing-vessels leaving France for Plaisance1 or for Cape breton; and, meantime, should your orders not be promptly enough received, they beg you to approve the execution of their design. M. de Ramezay2 can explain to you, Monseigneur, the importance of this affair.

1 The French name for Placentia, in Newfoundland. Cf. also, p. 240, *note, ante*.— Ed.

2 Claude de Ramezay was a French officer (of Scottish descent) who came to Canada about 1685. His military ability gained him rapid promotion, until he became (1699)

commander of the royal troops in the colony, and (1703) governor of Montreal—holding the latter post until his death, Aug. 1, 1724. Ramezay was also acting governor of Canada during 1714–16, while Vaudreuil was absent in France. For sketch of his life, see *Revue de Montreal*, 1878, pp. 381–389.— Ed.

[Part of a letter from Claude de Ramezay to the Minister; dated Sept. 18, 1714.3 Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 354.]

3 The copy of this document from which our translation is made, is dated 1711; but internal evidence shows that it must have been written in 1714.— Ed.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil and Monsieur begon, after having attentively examined the situation of the outoua savages, have considered it indispensable to make war on the Reynars, who still Continue to make incursions among the other outoua nations. Last winter they destroyed several cabins at the illinois, and killed several hurons at detroit; so that all the nations of the lakes and the inland tribes are purposing to destroy them. They had assembled, last year, to the number of 800; 301 but, as the savages are not adapted for long Expeditions, except when they are sustained and animated by Frenchmen, this has led Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Monsieur begon to beg you, Monseigneur, to obtain from His Majesty an amnesty for the deserting Frenchmen, on condition that they will obey Monsieur de Louvigny and other officers ordered to carry out this Expedition. I will have it announced to them that all the rigor of the King's ordinance will be visited upon those who do not avail themselves of the clemency which you have had the goodness, Monseigneur, to obtain for them from His Majesty, to Expiate the fault of which they have been guilty.

It is Certain that the reynars have no retreat except among the muscoutins and the chicapoux, and that all the other savage nations are against them and are much more numerous; that if the puants, folles avoines, sakis, and malominis have not declared themselves openly against them, it is because they are the Reynars' nearest neighbors;

and that if they once declared themselves, and we did not immediately move to their assistance, this proximity would be very dangerous for them. This is the language used by Oulamex,1 one of the principal chiefs of these four nations, last July, to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was assured that they would join the other savages and the French whenever persuaded that it is our earnest intention to destroy them, or to humiliate them in such manner that they can not again trouble the other savage nations in the future. Far from running the Risk of losing this commerce, as you do me the honor of suggesting, Monseigneur, we ensure it by this means, as well as the repose and peace of all these nations.

1 Perhaps the same as Wilamak, name of a Pottawattomie chief mentioned in *N.Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 646.— Ed.

To be assured of this truth it is only necessary to Examine the pitiable situation of the savage nations, who are dying of hunger in their cabins, not daring to leave them to go hunting on account of their well-grounded fear that the Reynards will destroy them all, one after the other. The merchants will have a gloomy confirmation of this, this year, on seeing how little peltry has come down to Michilimakinac. It might even be 302 Feared that, if we remain any longer inactive, as we have done for the past two years, it may slacken the ardor of some of these savage nations and lead them to take the Reynards' side; and that we may get no satisfaction for the acts of hostility which they have committed against the French. This impunity will render us contemptible in the eyes of all the other nations. After much reflection on the part of Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil and of Monsieur Begon in regard to this war, they have evidently recognized that they could not refrain from undertaking it, without Risking the alienation of part of the savages and the loss of the trade. They see that they must set out to march against the Reynards to reduce them, in order to teach the savages that one cannot insult the French with impunity; and to show them, besides, that the latter join with them to ensure their repose and enable them to hunt unmolested in future.

It is even Disadvantageous that Monsieur de louvigny did not arrive early enough to go thither this autumn; to remedy this, I have agreed with Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil to send two boats this fall (one to Monsieur de Lignery at Michilimakinac, and the other to detroit), to re-assure all these savage nations, and to notify the French fugitives to join in this Expedition next summer,—in case the reynards do not take the proper steps for making an advantageous peace with the consent of all the nations,—arms in hand, and with all possible dignity. I will give orders in conformity with this to M. de Louvigny when he sets out next summer.

His presence is not only necessary at Michilimakinac for this Expedition, but I have learned, through Sieur de liette, who commands among the Illinois, that Sieur de boutmont, and two men named bisaillon and bourdon, lead a life not only scandalous but even Criminal in many ways. In the first place they have opposed the project of Sieurs de liette and de Vinsenne, which was to make peace between the illinois and the myamy. These gentlemen state that they would have succeeded in this but for the obstacles raised by these seditious men, who have fomented dissension between these two nations. This peace is all the more necessary, as we hope that they will furnish nearly fifteen 303 hundred men against the reynards, whose irreconcilable Foes they are, which has led Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Monsieur Begon to adopt the most suitable Expedients for gaining success.

Sieurs de bourmon, bisaillon, and bourdon are still more Criminal, in the design which they have conceived of introducing the English of carolina to the illinois, which I have learned by the Letters of the Reverend Father deville (Jesuit missionary among the savages of that nation) and by a letter of Sieur deliette, who commands there; they both write that these Frenchmen live reprobate lives. As it is almost impossible to seize these men in so distant a country, Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil hopes, Monseigneur, that you will be pleased to obtain orders from his Majesty to lay hands on them, whenever a favorable occasion offers, as being guilty of lese-majesté.

If we let them carry out their projects, it is to be Feared that they may draw away from the Illinois a part of the other Outoua nations into the interests of the English of Carolina, for both commerce and war. Judge from that, Monseigneur, of the condition to which this colony would be reduced; since we and these nations when united have difficulty in maintaining ourselves during war, judge in what manner they would act if war were declared, when they are aided by their former Enemies.

1714: PLANS FOR CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FOXES.

[Part of a letter from Vaudreuil and Begon to the French Minister; dated Sept. 20, 1714. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 288 (228?).]

Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Begon have Conferred with Sieurs de Ramezay, de Louvigny, de la forest and Daigremont regarding the plan to be followed for ending the war with the Renards. They consider that the first move to be made in this matter is to take measures for arranging a peace between the miamis and the Islinois, because those two Nations are numerous 304 and have always been Enemies of the Renards—against whom they do not, however, make war, being restrained by their mutual fear, since they are only three or four days distant from each other. For this reason we cannot induce them to send detachments against the Renards until they have been united by a reliable peace; and to bring this about we have agreed to send them presents this very autumn, which will be addressed to Sieur Desliettes for the Islinois, and to Sieur de Vincennes for the oyatanon miamis. And, as those two nations seem to desire peace, it is believed that it will not be difficult for Sieurs Desliettes and de vincennes to reëstablsh a friendly understanding between them. The presents for the miamis will be sent to detroit to Sieur de La forest, who will deliver them to Sieur de vincennes without expense; and the presents for the Islinois will be sent to Michilimakina to Sieur de Lignery, who in like manner will deliver them to Sieur Desliettes.

Sieur de Vaudreuil is now sending to Michilimakina Sieur de St. Pierre de Repentigny,1 a Lieutenant, to carry thither the presents intended for the Islinois, and he will give orders to Sieur de Lignery to persuade the savages of Michilimakina, as well as those of Lake Superior and Lake huron, to make war in every possible way against the Renards, early in the spring, as soon as Sieur de Louvigny shall arrive.

1 Reference is here made probably to Jean Paul le Gardeur de St. Pierre, born 1661, a grand-nephew of Jean Nicolet. Le Gardeur was long actively engaged in Indian and Northwestern affairs; the date of his death is not known.— Ed.

Sieur de Vaudreuil is also despatching Sieur Dupuy to carry to detroit the presents intended for the miamis, and to ascertain the quantity of provisions that will be necessary for Executing the plan. Those two officers will serve for this Expedition.

The season being too far advanced for Sieur de Louvigny to be able to go up to Michilimaquina this year, with the detachment of twenty men who are to form the garrison, they will set out early in spring with powder, Bullets, and Merchandise, both for making presents to the Savages and for securing peace or war, as may seem to the purpose.

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Sieur de Louvigny will take with him Sieurs de l'Eschaillons, Captain; La Perriere, Lieutenant; and de Contrecoeur, Ensign—whom Sieur de Vaudreuil has chosen as the men best suited for this enterprise. And to recompense these officers for the expense incurred in getting there, Sieurs de Vandreuil and Begon allow them a boat, in order that there may accrue no expense to the King for their journey; and they allow two boats to Sieur de St. Pierre de Repentigny, on condition that he meet all the expenses necessary to deliver to Sieur Desliettes the presents intended for the Islinois. They also allow Sieur Dupuy two boats, on condition that he carry to detroit, in addition to the presents intended for the miamis, the merchandise which will be entrusted to him to use in buying all the provisions necessary for this enterprise. These provisions Sieur de Louvigny will send from

Detroit to Michilimakina by the same boats that will convey the Soldiers in early spring; that will cause no delay as regards the arrival of these boats at Michilimakina, because they can leave Montreal two weeks earlier than those which will leave to go direct by the great [Ottawa] river.1

1 The boats with the soldiers for Detroit would follow the route of the Great Lakes; those going direct from Montreal to Mackinac, would proceed by way of the Ottawa and Mattawan rivers, Lake Nipissing, and French river, into Georgian Bay of Lake Huron—the old waterway followed by Nicolet and the early French travelers. One would infer from this document that the river route was two weeks' shorter than by the lakes.— Ed.

It has been agreed that, in order to reëstablish the authority of the King and the honor of the French nation in the upper country, it is absolutely necessary to take all needful measures for making war there, so that the Savage Nations who learn of this may not doubt that we have this design—especially as we have for several years given them to understand that we were fully decided upon it.

However, Sieur de Louvigny intends to employ every possible means to make for the Savages, our allies, a glorious and advantageous peace. Accordingly, on his arrival at Michilimakina, he will learn from Sieur de Lignery what disposition all the Savage Nations have toward the Renards; and in accord with 306 what he learns concerning their attitude toward making peace, and the Satisfaction that may be required of them (both for ourselves and for the Savage Nations that have been wronged), if they appear disposed as we desire, there shall be question of nothing further than of making presents for Covering the dead, and of Recovering the Slaves that may have been taken on either side.

But if the Renards persist in their insolence, Sieur de Louvigny will resolve on war against them. He expects on his arrival at Michilimakina to find letters from Sieur de La forest, by which he will be informed concerning the number of savages at detroit upon whom he

can count; and also Letters from Sieur de vincennes informing him of the attitude of the miamis toward this war and of the number that can be assembled; and he will arrange with Sieur de la forest the time and place for assembling the Savages of detroit and the miamis. He further expects to find on his arrival at Michilimakina Letters from Sieur Desliettes reporting the effect produced by the presents sent to him for the Islinois, and the Sentiments entertained by them.

Sieur de Vaudreuil has given the proper orders to Sieur de Louvigny, and has written to Sieur de Lignery to send immediately the Scioux to try to break off the peace which they have made with the Renards, and to persuade them to refuse the latter an asylum among them. He has also given orders to Sieur de Lignery to inform all the Coureurs de Bois that the King has condescended to grant them amnesty on condition that they come, by St. John's day at latest, to Michilimakina, where they will receive orders from Sieur de Louvigny for making war against the Renards; while, in case they fail to profit by this favor, they will be punished in accordance with the Rigor of the law.

These French, having assembled with all the Savages who have been invited, will form a considerable force, with which Sieur de Louvigny will March to the Village of the Renards to attack them there; and if they do not stay in their forts he will cut their corn, Burn their Cabins, and Encamp on the ground. As the Renards will not find it easy to obtain provisions when 307 assembled, they will be obliged to disperse in order to hunt; and Sieur de Louvigny will have them pursued and harassed by different parties that he will send after them.

1714: MEMOIR ON DETROIT; PLEA FOR TROOPS.

[“Supposed to have been written by Captain de la Forest,” is E. B. O'Callaghan's note on this document.]

It is for the King's glory and the interest of the Colony to preserve the post of Detroit, for divers reasons.

The first and principal is, that if that post be abandoned, the English would render themselves masters thereof, as it is separated only by Lake Herié [Erie] from the Iroquois, the near neighbors of the English, who have already made two attempts to seize it, and to form an establishment there, by means of which they would carry on the whole trade with all the Indian nations our allies. The first was in 1686, when they sent 7 Englishmen from Orange with 5 Abenaki Mohegans (*Loups*), to sound the disposition of the Indians as to whether these would be glad to receive them the following year, when they would bring some goods; and, in fact, they did perform their promises to the Indians in 1687, but were met by the French who were marching by Mr de Denonville's orders against the Iroquois. The French and Indians, to the number of 800 men, who had set out from Detroit and other posts occupied by the French, to join Mr de Denonville at the Senecas on the borders of Lake Ontario, encountered 82 canoes, in which were 60 Englishmen and some Mohegans who had gone from Orange with merchandise to trade at the Detroit with the Outaois and Hurons, then at Michilimakina; the whole of their goods were plundered and distributed among the Indians and French, as contraband and in the possession of a people without a passport either from the King or from the Governor-general of New France. The parties were sent to Fort Frontenac, where they remained until the return of Mr de Denonville, who transferred them to Quebec—whence after a detention of three weeks, he sent them 308 back to Orange. Since that time, the post of Detroit has been established, which has prevented the English presuming to send out a new expedition.

The second reason is, that the King, preserving this post with a garrison, would afford means to prevent any movements the Iroquois might make, and the engagements they might enter into with the Indians, our allies, either as emissaries of the English or on their own account.

The third reason is that, if we have war with the Iroquois, Detroit may keep them in check, because between that post and them there is only Lake Herié by which they can be attacked, as in 1687, when all the old and new grain of the Iroquois was destroyed; that this post would, moreover, furnish sufficient provisions to the French and Indians who might assemble there preparatory to going to war against the Iroquois.

The fourth reason is, that the preservation of this post is of importance for the proposed establishment at Michilimakina, since, from the commencement of the present year up to this time, more than 800 *minots* of Indian corn have been exported from Detroit; and the more Michilimakina will augment, as the land there is poor and does not produce corn, of the more consequence is it that some Indians remain at Detroit to cultivate the soil, which is good thereabouts, particularly for Indian corn.

These reasons will show the necessity of fortifying that post and of garrisoning it with 20 soldiers, one sergeant and an officer, under the orders of the Commandant; this would be sufficient both to guard the fort and to prevent the Coureurs de bets going thither.

There are two modes of defraying this expense without any cost to the King. First, to give up the trade at this post exclusively to the officer in command there, as is the ease at present, on condition of his defraying all the necessary charges, even the presents for managing the Indians who come to trade there; whence it follows that the conditions heretofore imposed by M. de la Mothe on divers private persons can no longer exist, as these cannot derive therefrom any further advantage than that of carrying on trade there to the prejudice of the Commandant who must meet all the expenses thereof.

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These settlers are unable to improve any grant of land, as they possess no other retreat and asylum there than the fort; for were any houses without the fort, they would be exposed to be burnt, and their occupants to be killed; even the Hurons and Outawas are each in their fort, like the French; and the Poutouatamis, who have not as yet had time to

erect one, have taken shelter between the French and Huron forts, and they often have alarms which oblige them to put their wives and children into the French fort. Therefore, M. de la Mothe's idea of establishing a colony there is impracticable, and incompatible with the exclusive trade his Majesty [has conferred] on the Commandant of that post, which is not to be governed otherwise than Fort Frontenac, where there were formerly some settlers whom the King obliged to abandon said place; and if it be his Majesty's intention that the Commandant of Detroit enjoy the trade of that post as the King enjoys that of Fort Frontenac, it is necessary that the settlers who remain only in the fort have orders to abandon it.

When Sieur de La Mothe undertook this establishment, his Majesty granted him 150 soldiers, whose pay and clothing were provided by the King. Sieur Delaforest, who desires to be in a position to defend this post as he ought, requires from his Majesty only twenty soldiers and one serjeant, with their pay and clothing, which he will receive at Quebec without any charge for transportation, and these soldiers will not cost his Majesty any more than his other troops in garrison in that country, and would render his Majesty very good service there, it not being fitting for an officer who has the honor to command for the King in a fort 350 leagues from Quebec, in the centre of the Indian nations, to be alone and without troops.

The second mode would be, that his Majesty should manage this fort on his own account, as is the case with Fort Frontenac. It is indifferent to Sieur Delaforest, who has no other view in this command than to acquit himself to his Majesty's satisfaction.

These two plans can be applied equally to the establishment of Michilimakina, which is still less suited to the establishment of a colony than Detroit, the soil being so poor that it does not produce Wheat, and so little Indian Corn that the resident Indians 310 of the place are every year so very short of food that they are obliged to scatter themselves along the Lakes, where they live partly on fish, and on small berries called *bluets* ,1 which are very common in that country.

1 The common blueberry (*Vaccinium Canadense*).— Ed.

But if the free trade of licences be established, exclusive trade can no longer exist at Detroit either for the King or the Commandant; and in that case his Majesty will not be subject to any extraordinary expense for the Officer and the twenty soldiers who will be in that fort, because the officer will be satisfied with his allowances, and the soldiers with their pay, in consequence of the privilege of trading which they will enjoy.

Done at Quebec, the first of October, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen.— *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 866, 867.

1714–15: INTRIGUES OF ENGLISH AND IROQUOIS AMONG WESTERN TRIBES; FOXES SLAY FRENCHMEN.

[Extracts from letters of Ramezay and Bégon to French Minister; dated Oct. 23 and Nov. 12, 1714. Original MSS. are in archives of Ministère des Colonies; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 34, e. 11, fol. 362, 364.”]

The Reynards, Ouyatanons, mascoutins, and Kinapoux have recently gone to Invite the Irokois to join with them against us and the Outaoua nations. Those who are settled at detroit, having been informed of this embassy, went to ask them for an explanation of it. Their policy, or the fear they have that this might make an impression on my mind, has led them to send a representative here with three Collars. I send herewith a report of their speeches and of the reply made to them in my name by Monsieur de Longueuil, whereby you will recognize that, as far as appearances go, they do not wish to make any decision for the present. However, there is no ground for doubting that they are ill-disposed toward us, but will not let this appear until they find a favorable occasion.

Quebekie

Oct. 23, 1714.

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Since that time we have had News from orange that, a mississagués Savage had reported there that five boats, in which were twelve Frenchmen (including a jesuit brother, who had left Michilimakina on Aug. 15, to go to Islinois to the mission of Father de ville, Jesuit), had been destroyed by a party of Renards near chicagou.

This new outrage leads us to judge, Monseigneur, that they are but little disposed to listen to proposals of peace, and that we shall be obliged to force them to this by arms; because, if we remain inactive, they will become more and more Insolent, They will also alienate the Savages our allies, either through fear or by the instigation of the English—who are attempting by every possible device to introduce themselves among the outaois nation, having sent them Collars and presents by a certain Itacougik, a mississagua savage, sent as their Emissary to induce them to act according to their intentions. This led Sieurs Ramezay and Begon to take all the measures necessary for the execution of the project Explained in the joint letter of Sept. 20; and they will have the honor of reporting to you on the outcome of this enterprise, to which they will give their whole attention.

Monsieur de la forest, the captain Commanding at the fort of detroit, died on the 16th of last month, and Monsieur de Subrevois1 will replace him, according to your orders; but he can not set out until next spring, which will occasion no difficulty, as Sieur Dubuisson, a captain, is there at present.

1 Jacques Charles de Sabrevois de Bleury, an officer in the Canadian troops, was commandant at Detroit from 1714–17. Two of his sons were also prominent in military and Indian affairs.— Ed.

[Extracts from letters of Ramezay and Begon to the French Minister; dated Sept. 13 and 16, 1715. Source, same as that of preceding document, but vol. 35, c. 11, fol. 3, 71.]

The news which was brought last year from orange to Montreal that 12 Frenchmen, including a Jesuit brother, who had set out in five boats from Michilimakina, on August 15 of said year, to go to Islinois, to the mission of Father de Ville, a 312 jesuit, had been cut off by a party of Renards near chicagou, did not prove to be true. But Captain Dubuisson (who has returned from Detroit, since Sieur de Sabrevois went up there) has reported to us that in the month of June last, a French boat, in which there were five men, carrying corn to Michilimakinak, was Surprised by a boat of 22 Renards, who killed these Frenchmen. The latter defended themselves bravely, killing three Renards and wounding several others. This makes us judge that they still persist in their Insolence, and that the authority of the King and the honor of the French Nation can only be reestablished in the upper country after we have aroused ourselves to make war against the Renards, and have struck some blows that will oblige them to sue for peace.

According to the plan formed with Monsieur the marquis de vandreuil for this war, Explained in the joint letter of Sept. 20 of last year, Monsieur de Louvigny was to go up to Michilimakina, to end this affair by making war or peace, in accordance with the exigencies of the case; but he became ill last winter, and was for that reason absolutely unable to make this expedition. This has made us resolve, Monseigneur, to charge with the execution of this project Monsieur de Lignery, the captain in command at Michilimakina, who appears to have all the necessary qualities for acquitting himself of it with Success, being of all the officers in this country the best fitted for this Expedition, with the exception of Sieur de Louvigny.

For the execution of this project Lieutenant de St. Pierre and Ensign Dupuy set out last fall —the former with the presents for the Islinois, and the latter with those for the miamis.

Sieur de St. Pierre has informed us that he was obliged to go into winter-quarters at the end of Lake Ontario, because his boatmen fell ill with measles; and he arrived at michilimakina only at the end of last May. Sieur Dupuy, not finding Sieur de la forest at detroit, where he arrived last autumn, himself carried to the miamis and oyatanons the

presents destined for them. He arrived there in the month of January last and found the miamis of the babiche1 disposed to make war on the

1 So in our transcript, made in Paris from original MS.; but probably an error of the copyist for Wabache (Wabash).— Ed.

313 Renards; and he has also induced the oyatanons to make the same resolve, although they were not inclined, according to the statements which Sieur de Ramezay has the honor of sending you, and the report which he makes—to wage war on the Renards.

He sends you also, Monseigneur, a letter from Sieur de Vincenne, who informs him of the peace made between the miamis and oyatanons and the Islinois, and of their readiness to make war on the Renards, of whom they have put to death three, including the son of the Renard chief Tonnere [“Thunder”].

Besides the officers designated by Monsieur the marquis de Vaudreuil for this Expedition, Sieur de Ramezay sent Lieutenant de Maunoir, his eldest son, and Ensign Dadoncour, second son of Monsieur de Longueuil,1 who desired to share in it. We hope that the good-will they have shown in going will have a beneficial effect on the minds of the Savages, who will feel flattered at seeing that we send, to serve with them in this war, the children of the commandant of this country and of Monsieur de Longueuil, who has great influence among them.

1 Charles Lemoine, second of that name, and baron de Longueuil; a brother of Iberville.— Ed.

Sieurs de Maunoir and Dadoncour left Montreal last April, with Sieur de Sabrevois, commandant at fort Pontchartrain at Detroit, and arrived there on June 15. In conformity with their orders from Sieur de Ramezay, they assembled all the savages settled at that place, to deliberate regarding the most suitable post to serve as a Rendezvous for the Nations of the South. It was decided in this Council that Sieurs de Maunoir and Dadoncour should go with the miamis, Oyatanons and Islinois to chicagou—where, in case they

arrived first, they were to await the Savages of detroit, who are to go there by land, hunting in order to spare their provisions. When they are all assembled there, they are to set out against the fort of the Renards, distant about 65 leagues from Chicagou; they can reach the fort from that place in about Seven days. They will regulate the time of their departure from chicagou so as to arrive at the fort of the Renards at the end of August. Sieur de Lignery will likewise assemble the French, with the outaois 314 and the Savages of the North, who are at Michilimakina and its vicinity; and he will set out with them for the fort of the Renards, distant from Michilimakina about 80 leagues. He can reach it by boat in 5 or 6 days, regulating also the time of His departure from Michilimakina so that he also may arrive at the fort at the end of August. It was agreed in the council that the first corps reaching the fort should only invest it, waiting for the arrival of the second corps, which will enable them to attempt its capture in such manner as may seem best to Sieur de Lignery.

As soon as the Council was over, Monsieur de Sabrevois sent a boat to Michilimakina to Inform Sieur de Lignery, who sent Sieur de St. Pierre to Detroit to learn more precisely the Result of this Council—which he must have done soon after, as Sieur de St. Pierre went thither and returned without delay.

Sieurs do Maunoir and Dadoncour left Detroit on the 23rd of last June, to visit the miamis. Sieur de Sabrevois reports that they arrived there on the 3rd of last July. Accordingly, they have all the time necessary for assembling the miamis, oyatanons, and Islinois, and for taking the measures agreed upon for this attack.

Lieutenant de la Perriere left Montreal last April to go to Michilimakina, and thence among the Scioux, to Invite them not only to refuse refuge to the Renards but also to join us in making war upon them.

Captain D'Eschaillons, Lieutenant Lanour, and Ensign Belestre (who has taken the place of Ensign Centrecoeur, who has been very sick for the last six months) left Montreal last May, with a sergeant and 20 soldiers who are to form the garrison at Michilimakina.

Sieur de Ramezay thought that they ought not to start sooner, because the Rendezvous for beginning hostilities was fixed for the end of August, and they would have uselessly consumed provisions which are very scarce there; and he expected them, besides, to arrive early enough for the Expedition.

Learning last spring that they were without corn at detroit, we had some bought from the Iroquois by Sieur de Joncaire who went among them with Monsieur de Longueuil. They bought 315 300 Minots, which were carried to Michilimakina by the Soldiers of that garrison, by the French settlers whom we allowed to go up there to Serve in this Expedition, and by the resident Savages who accompanied them. Sieur Dupuy conveyed from the miamis to Detroit 130 minots—which, added to the quantity which the hurons at Detroit have promised to furnish, and the supply which Sieur de Lignery writes that he will get from the Baye des Puans, will suffice for this Expedition.

These measures and the good-will of the officers and of all those who have gone up to Michilimakina for this war give us grounds for expecting a successful issue, of which we impatiently await news, that we may have the honor of reporting the same to you.

Sieur de Ramezay, in conformity with the orders of Monsieur sieur the marquis de Vaudreuil, at the end of last May sent Monsieur de Longeuil with Sieur de Joncaire to three Iroquois villages, viz.: the Sonontouans, Goyogouans, and Nontaés,1 having been Invited to do so last year by the five Iroquois villages. He reported on His return that he had never found them so haughty. They had been joined by savages coming from Carolina, with whom they amount to about 3000 men bearing arms. One of their party returning from the tares plattes killed, near the Islinois village of Rouensac,2 one Islinois, wounded another, and brought to the Sonontouans eight women or girls of this nation as prisoners. Monsieur de Longueuil represented to them that the Islinois were the children of onontio, and did all he could to induce them to turn over to him those eight women, to send them home; but he could only

1 Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas.— Ed.

2 The tribe thus joining the Iroquois was the Tuscaroras, racially allied to the former, from whom they separated probably late in the sixteenth century; the Tuscaroras rushed farther southward. finally reaching North Carolina, where they dwelt until the time referred to in our text. For account of Iroquois origin and migrations, see W. M. Beauchamp's *Origin of N. Y. Iroquois* (Oneida, 1889). The Cherokees, Chickasaws, and some other Southern tribes were called *Têtes plattes* (“Flat-heads”) by the Iroquois.

Rouensac was the name of an influential Illinois chief; the village here mentioned was that known later as Kaskaskia.— Ed.

316 obtain one, the eldest, whom he sent to detroit with orders to Sieur de Sabrevois to send her back to Her village. The Iroquois gave her a collar to invite, in their name, the chiefs of that village to come to get the Seven others, whom they have dispersed in their five villages. Their refusal to give up to Monsieur de Longueuil those seven women, and the Collar which they have sent to the Islinois, give ground for fearing that the English may have acted in concert with them, and may obtain the seven women from those Savages, to restore them to the Islinois; and may profit by this opportunity to gain over the Islinois, in making them believe that they have more influence than we among the Iroquois. Monsieur de Longueuil believes that the latter have done this act with the purpose of bringing on a war with our allies, which is still more plausible.

While he was among the Nontaés [Onondagas], an Envoy from Mr. hunter, governor of New york,1 arrived to declare to them in his name that a large number of English would shortly arrive in their village to build a fort and establish a garrison, with an envoy. Sieur de Longueuil thereupon told them that it was hardly probable that the English had come to this decision without being first assured of the consent of the principal chiefs of their village. They denied this, but he does not doubt that they are acting in concert with the

English in this matter, because, after he had done every thing possible to dissuade them, they answered that they would hold a council and decide what must be done.

1 Gen. Robert Hunter, governor of the colony from 1710 to 1719.— Ed.

It can not be doubted that the English are going to build this, fort with a view to extending their commerce in the upper country, which is all the more objectionable as it seems that, by the fifteenth article of the treaty of peace, these five villages are adjudged English territory—although the three villages of the Sonontouans, goyogouans, and Nontaés, which are situated on Rivers running into Lake ontario, and consequently into the river St. Lawrence, ought for this reason to be considered as being in territory under French domination, if the boundaries of the upper country were determined by the height of Lands 317 [water-shed], beginning at the Source of the orange [Hudson] river, which belongs to the English.

Monsieur de Longueuil has reported also that Massias and grand terre,1 nontaés chiefs, who up to the present time have always espoused our Interests, have been gained over by the English.

1 A French epithet (meaning “Broad Land”) bestowed upon an Onondaga chief named Ouhensiwan.— Ed.

However, this trip to the Iroquois country has led Mr. hunter to believe—as he writes to Sieur de Ramezay in his letter of July 5th last, which he will have the honor of sending to you—that Sieur de Longeuil had gone there with propositions from the King to those five Nations to build a fort in their country, and to Invite them to join him in making war, which he regards as an infraction of the last treaty of peace. To this Sieur de Ramezay has replied that he had no orders from His Majesty for building a fort among the Nontagués, nor stay intention of Inviting the Iroquois to go to war, but that Monsieur de Longueuil had

visited them because, being of their Cabins,2 they had Invited him last year to come and see them as he was accustomed to do.

2 A reference to the Indian custom of adoption into the tribe, which was extended to white men whom its members wished to honor.— Ed.

Father de Ville, the Jesuit missionary, and Sieur do Vincenne write also to Sieur de Ramezay that the English of Carolina are trying in every possible way to draw toward themselves the Savage Nations of the South, by means of the Iroquois; and Sieur Begon has the honor of reporting to you, Monseigneur, what Father Mermet, a Jesuit missionary of the Islinois, writes about the enterprises of the English on the ouabeche [Wabash] River and on the mississipy, where they are building three forts.

This had led Sieur de Ramezay to give orders to Sieur de Maunoir, his son, to instigate the savages to refuse to listen to the propositions of the English; and, so far as possible, induce them to consent that the French may pillage the English who are found in territories which belong to us since the Establishment of the Colony.

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I have had the honor, Monseigneur, of reporting to you, by the ship “La providence,” the motives which led Monsieur de Louvigny to ask for a number of Frenchmen, in order to end the enterprise against the reynards to the glory of the King. Since that time Sieur de Louvigny has presented a requisition to Monsieur begon and myself, in which he indicates that he is no longer satisfied with the three Canoes which Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Monsieur begon had granted him for making this expedition at his own expense without any cost to the King—as you have been informed, monseigneur, by the joint letter of Messieurs de Vaudreuil and begon of September goth last.

As Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil has for a long time led the savages to expect him to go up there, Monsieur begon and I have Left him Entirely Free to make this voyage at the expense of the King; but Sieur de Louvigny, falling ill this spring, declared that he could not undertake it.

I was informed last April, monseigneur, by a letter written to me by Sieur de Vinsenne, that peace had been made between the ouyatanons and miamis, and the ilinois. I have the honor of enclosing a Copy, by which you will learn, monseigneur, that in this treaty of peace the nations have agreed to combine unanimously to make war against the reynards. The ouyatanons did not agree to this until after the arrival of Sieur dupuy, who decided them to do so, according to Copy of enclosed letter which he sent me, and the speeches which he made to those savages and the answer which they made him in regard to the matter. But at the same time I learned that the corn had failed at detroit, which obliged us to have Sieur de Joncquere buy 300 minots among the yrokois, which the Soldiers I have sent to garrison Michilimakinak, the inhabitants, and the resident savages who went up for the reynards' expedition, took in their canoes to deliver to Sieur de Lignery, commanding at that post.

I have also been informed by the same mail, both by Sieur de Liette and by father de Ville, a missionary among the ilinois, that the English of the government of Carolina had formed the design of introducing themselves among those nations; and, with this end in view, have begun to build two forts. 319 One is at the Mobille river (where the late Monsieur dhiberville had had one built), which cuts off communication with the Mississipy; the other is at the mouth of the ouabache river, from which Sieur du tristené has retreated to the mississipy, with Monsieur de la Mothe. I have written to the latter, to inform him of the enterprise of the English, so that he may labor on his side, as we shall on ours, to prevent the accomplishment of their designs. They have made liberal presents to the chiefs of those savages; and Monsieur the Intendant has been advised by the Rev. father Mermet, a missionary on the mississipy river, that the governor of carolina had asked the King

of England for fifteen hundred men to garrison those forts. That would utterly Ruin this colony, since, if they once set foot among the illinois and Installed themselves with their consent, they would go among all the outaouet nations, and would, in the beginning, offer so great advantages to those savages that they would attach the latter to their interests, both in trade and in war. This has induced me to confer on the subject with Monsieur the Intendant, Monsieur de Longoeuil, and the most Experienced officers of this country. We have agreed that it was necessary, for the service of His Majesty, to send the younger son of Monsieur de Longoeuil and my own eldest son into that country—both to persuade the nations to carry out their plan of making war on the reynards, and to induce them not to receive the English among them. While awaiting your orders, monseigneur, I have told Sieur sabrevois, who is in command at detroit, stud my son also, that in ease any English come to trade in our territories, they shall confiscate their merchandise, if they are strong enough to undertake it, and if the savages of this country give Their consent.

I have been informed by Sieur de sabrevois, who commands at fort ponchartrain at detroit, by Sieur dupuy, and by my son that they assembled the savages settled at that post, to hold a council with them. It was there agreed that my son should go to the myamis, the ouyatanons, and the illinois, to assemble all these nations at Chicagou—where there is abundant game of all sorts, and where they can easily subsist and make a place of shelter while waiting for the savages from detroit, who are to go to join them at that place.

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Sieur de lignery will be charged with this Expedition, as I know no one else who is better fitted for the enterprise, or who has more ascendency over the savages, excepting Monsieur de Louvigny. He has been informed of the decisions of this council, and in conformity with them will march with the French who are at Michilimakinak, and with the savages of those quarters who are north of lake huron; my son will also do the same, as soon as the savages who go by land have joined him. They are to set out together to blockade the reynards before the end of August, and to attack them when all have arrived. As it was impossible to effect a junction of all these nations at michilimakinak, and as they

could, moreover, not find subsistence there, since there are no provisions, we thought that the best expedient was to make this diversion.

I have received a letter from Monsieur de lignery, under date of June 5th last, in which he writes me that he will answer for subduing that nation, if they stay in Their fort. But he fears that they may take refuge among the aoyest [Iowas], three hundred leagues from the place where they are settled, and, after placing Their families in security among that nation, may return again to carry on the war and persist in Their insolence. For he has learned that a party of twenty-five reynards, in the month of June last, killed five Frenchmen, who were carrying corn to Michilimakinac, and who defended themselves with valor, killing three reynars, and wounding several others.

You will find enclosed, monseigneur, a Copy of the first Letter that I wrote to Monsieur de Lignery, dated April 1st, and my reply to his letter of June 5th in which I give him Entire Liberty to make war or peace according to the circumstances, in conformity with the arrangements made by Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil with Monsieur de Louvigny before his departure, and with the orders he left me on embarking for France. God grant that this affair be terminated, in whatever manner, to the glory of the King and the advantage of the Colony; for otherwise the savages—our allies, would gradually be alienated either through Fear, or by the instigation of the English—who are trying by every means to introduce themselves among the outhaoua nations, by sending Collars and presents by savages acting as 321 their Emissaries, in order to induce those tribes to act in accordance with their plans. I hope, monseigneur, to have the honor of informing you of the outcome by the last vessels leaving for France.

I have also the honor of reporting to you, monseigneur, the Messages which the hurons and poutouatamis sent to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, supposing that he had not left for France, and the reply which I have made, in his absence; as you will see, Monseigneur, they reproach him vehemently for his inactivity during the last three years. Nearly all the savages of the Lakes and of the interior are of the same opinion.

You will also find enclosed, Monseigneur, a Copy of the orders which I have given to my son, and of the messages with which he is charged from me for the myamis, ouyatanons, and illinois, both for carrying on the war against the reynars and for preventing those nations from receiving the English among Them. I hope, monseigneur, that he will acquit himself of his duty on this occasion so as to deserve the honor of your powerful protection in behalf of his advancement.

I have given orders to Monsieur de Longoeul and to Sieur de Jonequiere to go to the yrokois, in accordance with those which I myself had received from Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil. They have never appeared so haughty as they are at present; for they have been strengthened by the accession of a nation of savages who were settled near Carolina and took refuge among them, so that they now number 3000 men bearing arms. They committed last winter an act of hostility against the illinois, killing one savage of that nation, wounding another, and taking their women prisoners. This act was not a premeditated one on the part of the five yrokois nations, but was done by a party returning from the war against the testes plattes. But instead of handing over the prisoners to Monsieur de Longoeul, as is customary when a hostile act has been inadvertently committed, they dispersed them among the yrokois nations and gave up only one to Monsieur de Longouil. He sent her back to the Ilinois with a collar from the Yrokois to the chiefs of that nation, by which they invite them to come and get the rest; but it is to be feared that the English may secure the captives, 22 322 and thus make it known that they have more influence with the savages than We do. They have also maltreated a savage of the mission at the sault au récollet by making him a Eunuch. Moreover, an Englishman came to the nontaés, while Monsieur de Longoeul was there, to announce to the five yrokois Nations, in the name of the governor of manaht [Manhattan, or New York], that he would soon arrive with a large number of men, to build a fort at that place and establish a garrison. We can but conclude from this that they are employing every means, in every direction, to encroach on this colony and to come to carry on the fur trade with the savages, to the exclusion of the merchants of this country. There is even reason

to Fear that at the first rupture with the English these yrokois savages may make war on us.

1715: EPIDEMIC AMONG WEAS PREVENTS THEM FROM AIDING DE LIGNERY; SHOULD BE REMOVED TO CHICAGO.

[Letter from Ramezay to the French Minister; dated Nov. 3, 1715, Source, same as preceding documents, but fol. 101.]

Monseigneur —I had the honor of informing you, on Aug. 16th last, that Sieur dupuy had gone among the ouyatanons, at the beginning of this year, to get corn and to conciliate that nation, whose minds were somewhat alienated from us, and also to cement the newly-made peace between them and the illinois. He brought with him two principal chiefs of that nation, and three of the miamis of the ouabeche, for the purpose of bringing about an interview with Monsieur de louvigny.

I also had the honor, monseigneur, of informing you that I had sent M. dudoncour de Longueuil and my eldest son to act with those nations of the south, in accordance with the plans deliberated in the council held at destroit, the result of which has been made known to Sieur de lignery at Michilimakinac. who was to conform thereto.

One of the principal chiefs of the ouyatanons has died at destroit; all the military Ceremonies usual on such occasions 323 were performed for him, a thing which greatly pleases the Savages.

After writing my Letter, I have just learned, from letters brought to me by Sieur de Bellestre, that Sieurs de maunoir and dudoncour, from whom I had had no news since Their departure from destroit, had, after ten days' march on foot, reached the miamis of the ouabeche; and that on the way they had also lost by measles the ouyatonon chief and the three ouabeche chiefs, and had found no one in the village, because it had been reported that they were coming to devour the savages. They had great difficulty in reassuring the

latter, but finally drew from them a promise that all those in condition to march would go to the Rendezvous with Sieur de Vincenne—to whom my son de maunoir, having still to travel a long way overland, sent the munitions of war, to be taken by canoes to chicagou on leaving that village. The measles had already attacked the savages.

Sieurs de maunoir and dudoncour were eight days in reaching the ouyatanons, whom they had notified of their coming, but who received them very ill, as they had learned of the death of Their chiefs, and even, after the fashion of the savages, accused the French of having killed them—saying that they were coming to mend matters with words, but that this would not satisfy them. Finally, monseigneur, by force of insinuation and flattery, the confidence of some was restored, and these promised to go to chicagou on the return of their people from the chase. They asked to have one of the officers remain with Them; this was Sieur dudoncour. Their request was the more readily granted as it was feared that they might not march unless an officer remained at their head. Their village was expected to contribute at least two hundred men.

Sieur de maunoir set out for the Illinois on July 24th, leaving orders to Sieur dudoncour to be at chicagou August 10th. The measles, which is pernicious to the savages, so increased among the ouyatanons that there were from fifteen to twenty deaths a day. Then one of their chiefs arrived, who, to prevent them from marching, said that the yrokois were going to attack Their village. They told Sieur dudoncour that, in place 324 of the two Hundred men they had promised, they could only furnish twenty or thirty, among whom were the two principal chiefs. With this small number he set out, having himself been attacked by the fever for several days; and undertook that journey of 130 Leagues through the midst of the prairies, having only dried meat and very little water for so Long an expedition.

The savages did not dare to hunt on account of the reynards, whose trails they found leading to destroit or saginan. To complete their misfortunes, they found no one at the Rendezvous at chicagou; nor were the canoes there which they had promised to send

from Michilimakinac, to inform them regarding the march against the reynards from that point. Two of the ouyatanon savages who had come with Sieur dudoncour having been attacked by the measles, the others returned to their village, so that Sieur dudoncour Remained alone with the five Frenchmen. After waiting four or five days beyond the time fixed, he set out to meet my son maunoir. The savage serving as guide went astray, so that no meeting was effected, and they went to le Rocher,1 among the illinois.

1 Le Rocher (the Rock), referring to Starved Rock (see p. 100, *ante, note*).— Ed.

My son maunoir, on leaving the ouyatanes, had gone to that same place. He sent bizaillon to announce him; the latter acquitted himself very well in that affair and has great influence among the Illinois—who, to the number of 200, came out two Leagues to meet my son and carried him to their village (their greatest mark of honor), to show their joy at his arrival. He only Remained there long enough to collect 450 men with whom he went to chicagou, on Aug. 17th, and was much mortified to find no one there, and to get no news from michilimakinac. He sent scouts out over thirty Leagues, both to get news and to keep the savages from getting restless. These scouts returning on the 28th, without having discovered any trail, it became impossible any long to retain them, and Sieur de maunoir was obliged to return to Le Rocher, and join Sieur dudoncour.

You will observe, monseigneur, that but for this untimely death of the myami and ouyatanon chiefs and the epidemic of 325 measles, it would have been possible to obtain more than 800 men from those two nations, as you will recognize, Monseigneur, by the letter of Sieur de vinsenne, a copy of which I have the honor to send you.

If Monsieur de Lignery, with four hundred men, French and savages, whom he had at Michilimakinac, had joined my son who had four hundred and fifty men, with two hundred men from destroit, the term would have amounted to nearly one thousand and one hundred men, a number large enough, perhaps, to force the reynards to sue for peace.

I have the honor, monseigneur, to send you copies of the letters of Sieur dudoncour and of my son, from which you will learn, Monseigneur, that Monsieur de la Motte Cadillac has reached the caskusscas, 30 leagues below the Illinois—well accompanied, and having two Spanish founders with him—to investigate the mines of gold and silver that have been discovered there. He Left his son with forty men to work there, after investigation had been made by the two Spaniards. Sieurs de maunoir and dudoncour learned this news from a Letter written to Sieur de vinsenne by the Reverend father deville, a jesuit missionary in the place where the mine has been discovered. It seems to me that it must be something valuable and genuine, since Monsieur de la Motthe has left so many men to work there.

I have the honor of giving you this information, monseigneur, which you will perhaps not receive this year from maubille [Mobile]; and I will add that I consider it very important to occupy the upper posts with a rather strong garrison, in order to maintain the savages in our alliance, and to prevent Them from trading with their English neighbors from Carolina and virginia—who, besides their desire to obtain peltries, would be all the more inclined to occupy those posts, attracted by the discovery of the mines. There would be also reason to fear that the coureurs de bois of Canada, attracted by these things, may become even more lawless than they are, which can only be prevented by having troops to restrain them. Accordingly, Monseigneur, I take the Liberty of reiterating, in connection with this news, the requests that I have had the honor of urging 326 upon you in order to keep in bounds both the French and the savages.

Sieur de bellestre has informed me that, in order to reassure the minds of the ouyatanons, my son has led them to hope that Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil would, in accordance with their request, send them an officer and a missionary—which seems a matter of importance, both to dissipate their fear of the Yrokois, and to maintain the peace which they have made with the Illinois.

In allowing them this officer and this missionary, they must, if possible, be persuaded to transfer Their village to Chicagou, so as to remove them 130 Leagues from the English.

Sieur dupuy, who was there last winter, believes that he could succeed in this, if Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil judge it expedient to inform him when he will return,1 thus enabling Sieur dupuy to make ready for this journey.

1 Vaudreuil was in France from 1714 to 1716, and Ramezay acted in his place during that time.— Ed.

Although I especially recommended Sieur de Dudoncour and my son to put a stop to the reported conferences between the English and the nations of the south, they make no mention of these in Their letters—either because those conferences are discontinued, or because they have postponed bringing up this matter until the difficulty with the Reynards should be settled, according to the orders which I had given them.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, Monseigneur,

Your very humble, very obliged, and very obedient servant, De Ramezay .

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1715: MILITARY PREPARATIONS AGAINST FOXES: TRADERS AND VOYAGEURS; THEIR LAWLESSNESS; RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE; ENGLISH SEEK TO CONTROL FUR TRADE; FRENCH SHOULD ESTABLISH NEW POSTS.

[Letter of Ramezay and Bégon to French Minister; dated Nov. 7, 1715. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 85, c. 11, fol. 15.”]

We had the honor, in our letter of Sept. 25 last, of reporting to you all the measures that had been taken for the war with the Renards. We have, since then, been informed by a letter of Aug. 30th last, from Sieur de Lignery, in command at Michilimakinak, to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, of which a copy is enclosed, that he has undertaken nothing against the Renards, because the convoy of provisions, munitions of war, and presents for the savages and the Soldiers of the garrison, under the conduct of Monsieur

the Captain Deschaillons, had not yet arrived. He Decided that the season was too far advanced for this Expedition, and determined to allow 100 Frenchmen to go down to Montreal, in accordance with the petition which they presented to him, of which a copy is enclosed. Sieur do Ramezay did not dispatch this convoy as early as he sent the other officers designed for this Expedition, because Monsieur Dubuisson had informed him, by his letter of March 2nd last, that the corn had so completely failed at detroit that he had been obliged to send Sieur Dupuy to the Miamis to buy some. In view of the uncertain sucks of this purchase, Sieur de Ramezay took advantage of the visit made by Sieur de Joncaire to the Iroquois, and had 300 minots bought there. Sieur do Joncaire had this grain brought to the shore of Lake Ontario by the Savages, and Sieur Deschaillons, there had it loaded upon the Canoes of his convoy; and, as it was necessary to allow time to Sieur de Joncaire to accomplish that transportation, over some 20 Leagues by land, Sieur de Ramezay judged it expedient not to send this convoy sooner than he did, in order to economize the provisions.

He took the precaution of sending to la galette, above the rapids, the munitions and presents for Michilimakinak, in a 328 Canoe conducted by the six ablest Sergeants of the troops, in order to avoid the danger of accidents which might have occurred in sending them by the rapids with Sieur Dechaillons.1

1 Reference is here made to the rapids in the St. Lawrence river above Montreal; navigation around them is now made possible by the Lachine canal, but in earlier days long and difficult portages were necessary, and travelers often met disaster in those waters.

La Galette was a fortified French post at or near the location of the present Ogdensburg, N. Y.— Ed.

He also had the bark Canoes of Sieur Deschaillon's convoy inspected with especial care; and if any mishap has occurred to prevent their arrival at Michilimakinak before the end of

August (a thing of which we have as yet no information), that delay can only be imputed to bad weather or to lack of skill on the part of the Soldiers—although he had the privilege of choosing from all the troops in this country, who had been assembled for that Purpose. Besides, Sieur Deschaillons had three months for the voyage to Michilimakinak, which ordinarily requires only two months at most.

We had the honor to inform you that the sickness of Monsieur de Louvigny, from which he Had not yet recovered in last May, prevented him from going up to Michilimakinak; he is not even able to go there for the winter, but he has determined to go up next spring to try to make peace with the Renards. He will, without doubt, employ every means to achieve this, as it is his opinion that we can not hope for success in undertaking a war against Them.

We have communicated, Monseigneur, to him and to Monsieur de Galifet the project which Sieur de Lignery has Placed before Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, of which a copy is enclosed. He therein proposes to send up next spring to Michilimakinak a hundred of our settled Savages2 and two hundred Frenchmen, the latter at their own expense, to join with the French and the Savages who are in the upper country, and to assemble at the island of Manitoualin in lake huron, to go thence to attack the Renards in their fort. The French employed

2 These were Indians (mainly Iroquois) from the mission colonies on the St. Lawrence (p. 230, *note* 1, *ante*).— Ed.

329 in this Expedition would be allowed the privilege of Exclusive trade in the upper country during two years.

This project did not seem feasible to us, as we know that those who made this proposition to Sieur de Lignery can have no other object than to make their own profit during those two Years of exclusive trade; in the upper country, always finding some specious pretext to excuse themselves for having undertaken nothing against the Renards. Besides, it does

not seem at all probable that we can send as many Savages as he asks, on account of the expense of equipping them and of supporting their families during their absence. However, we have judged it necessary that the 200 Frenchmen should go up to Michilimakinak with Monsieur de Louvigny, having their Canoes laden half with merchandise and half with provisions, so as to Intimidate the Renards and incline them, if possible, to sue for peace; and also to preserve the friendship and esteem of Our allies, by showing them that we are always Able and ready to second them in this war—which, in Fact, can not be ended save with the consent and pleasure of all the nations. We do not doubt that Monsieur de Louvigny will seek to accomplish this, with all the prudence and dexterity possible; and, in confident expectation of this, Sieur de Ramesay will give him no precise orders either for war or peace, or in regard to the measures and cautions to be employed; he Leaves him free to do whatever may seem to him most fitting when he is on the Ground and knows the circumstances. In the permits granted to these 200 Frenchmen, they will be enjoined to obey his orders, whether he wishes to keep them in case he thinks he needs them, or to send them back in case they prove useless. He will carry the same orders to those who have remained in the upper country. Sieur Begon has promised to furnish him with everything necessary for the success of his voyage.

If he succeed next year in making a peace, he can dismiss all the French who are there; but he can not avoid permitting all those who go up next spring to remain there until the autumn of 1717, so as to give them time to trade off the merchandise that they carry thither. This can not be refused them, since it is 330 just that they should indemnify themselves for the expense that they incur for this expedition; but he will oblige those who have wintered this year in the upper country to come down with him.

As our present necessity of letting the French go into the upper country will no longer exist, if peace is made next year with the Renards, we shall be able in 1717, to execute the orders of the King in regard to the fifteen licenses which His Majesty has granted. But it is not possible that any use can be made of them next year, because we could not sell them; for the French who wish to go to the upper country have the means of doing so

without cost—that is, to follow Monsieur de Louvigny and execute his orders. And even if we were to find any who wished to purchase them, it would only be on condition of having entire liberty to carry on their trade without being obliged to join his forces; for it is not to be presumed that any would present themselves and give money for these licenses if they were obliged, like the others, to share in the movements ordered by Monsieur de Louvigny. Moreover, it might lead to dangerous consequences to excuse any, as we should no longer be able to control the others.

It is for this reason that Sieur de Ramesay grants no licenses for detroit; and as he was obliged this fall to give permits for six Canoes, under the conduct of about twenty-five men,—upon representations made to him by Monsieur do Sabrevois, who maintained that without that help the post would be abandoned,—he will give orders to the holders of those permits, and to the other Frenchmen at that post, to join Monsieur do Louvigny and to obey his orders, whether he wage war or send them back to Montreal. But that post [Detroit] being too important to be left defenceless, Sieur de Ramezay will send thither ten soldiers, including five who have gone up with Monsieur de Sabrevois, and will furnish them the same supplies as those of the garrison of Michilimakinak. Therefore Sieur do Sabrevois, who will not have to incur any expense for the service of the King, ought to be satisfied if the King grants him two Canoes, which will enable him to subsist more easily than at Montreal. This is a stand which we can but take until the affair 331 of the Renards is settled; and it is in conformity with the wishes of His Majesty in regard to the reestablishment of the licenses.

Whenever we shall be Able to give any of these, then the clause requiring trade to be limited to Michilimakinak or to Illinois without leave to go away from those posts, and specifying that it shall be carried on under the authority of those in command there, will be inserted in them; and we can also, in accordance with your orders, oblige those to whom They are granted to transport whatever has to be sent to those posts, without any cost

to the King. Sieur Begon will sell these permits for the profit of his Majesty, and will have them accounted for by the Treasurer as extra receipts.

We have the honor to represent to you, Monseigneur, that permits for fifteen Canoes are not sufficient to furnish enough merchandise for the needs of the Savages in the upper country—especially at the present time, when the English are straining every nerve to become masters of the commerce of that country, and when the most efficacious means for arresting the course of their enterprises is to let a large number of Frenchmen go up with plenty of merchandise, in order that the Savages, finding it possible to trade with the French, may not negotiate with the English. This, Monseigneur, leads us to believe that it will be necessary for the King to grant permits for twenty-five Canoes at least, as fifteen would not suffice to employ the number of voyageurs in the Colony, who, having no avocation except this, would remain all their lives in the upper countries, refractory to the orders of the King, rather than abandon this sort of life; and, as it would be impossible to oblige them to come down, they would carry on all their trade with the English of Carolina.

Sieur de la Portiere, who came down from Michilimakinak to Montreal at the end of last month, and who was charged with letters from Monsieur de Lignery, has informed Sieur de Ramezay that about 100 Frenchmen, who secretly went up to Michilimakinak two years ago, after consuming the wares of the merchants who had equipped them, went to the Thamarois on the Mississippi river, where 47 were already established. He 332 reports that they are living there at their ease; as grain thrives in that region they have built a mill, and have a great many cattle.1 They get as many savage slaves as they wish, on the River of the Missouris, whom they use to cultivate their land; and they sell these to the English of Carolina, with whom they trade. This settlement is a dangerous one, serving as a retreat for the lawless men both of this Colony and of Louisiana. But as we see no possibility of preventing it, we believe, Monseigneur, that we might render it useful for the service of the King and of the Colony by sending there a dozen Soldiers, Commanded by an officer, who could build a fort there, and gradually establish order among those Frenchmen. With them he would be able to oppose the building of forts by the English,

and all the enterprises carried on by them in that territory, which has been considered as French since the founding of the Colony. As it is only about sixty Leagues from the Thamarois post to that of ouabache, the French in either could, in ease of need, come to the help of the other. It would also be very useful to establish a post at Chicagou, to facilitate access to the Ilinois and the miamis, and to keep those nations in our interests.

1 The Jesuit missionary Marest states, in 1712 (*Jes. Relations*, lxvi, p. 291), that cows had just been brought to Kaskaskia. It would appear, from our text, that cattle had been introduced at Cahokia (the Tamarois village) somewhat earlier.— Ed.

The orders which is His Majesty has given to Monsieur de la Mothe Cadillac, to Establish a post among the Nakés2 and another at Ouabache, will have a very beneficial Effect, and were absolutely necessary to arrest the enterprises of the English.

2 The Natches (Nakés) Indians were living, when the Louisiana colony was founded, at the place where now stands the city of Natchez, Miss. A French trading-post was established among them in the spring of 1713, and in the following year Fort Rosalie was erected. Incensed by the tyranny of a French commandant, the Natches in 1729 massacred the white colonists; but, in retaliation for this, they were soon afterward almost destroyed by French troops, and the remnant of their tribe took refuge among the Creeks.

The name Ouabache here refers to the mouth of the Ohio river, where Miami and Mascouten bands had been settled since about 1698.— Ed.

333 The reëstablishment of the Old fort of the Islinois is no less necessary. Sieur de Ramezay will send thither Sieur Desliettes, who came down to Montreal at the same time as Sieur de la Perriere; and he will give him a Sergeant and eight soldiers, according to your orders, since he knows of no officer better fitted for this than Sieur Desliettes, who understands and speaks the language of the Islinois, with whom he has lived a long time.

It is of the greatest importance that His Majesty should have these posts established without delay, because if we do not hasten to oppose the enterprises of the English, and

if they succeed in making settlements there with the consent of the Savage nations, it will no longer be possible to drive them out, as we are assured by the missionaries and the voyageurs who have come from that country. Sieur Begon has the honor of transmitting to you a copy of a letter of Father Mermet, missionary to the Islinois, dated February 25, 1715, in regard to this matter. Sieur do Ramezay also adds an Extract from a letter on the same subject written by Father Marest, missionary at Michilimakinak, under date of Aug. 30 last. He has given orders to Sieur de Maunoir, his son, as he had the honor of informing you by his letter of September 16 last, to plunder the English whom he may encounter on his way, in ease he has the necessary force for doing so, and can induce the savage nations with whom he is to join him in this.

We have as yet received no news, Monseigneur, from Sieur de Maunoir since the report of his arrival at the Miamis de la Ouabeche, on the third of last July; and we are very anxious to ascertain what decision he came to, concerning which Sieur de Lignery writes to Sieur de Ramezay that he is not informed. If he has undertaken nothing, or has suffered any Cheek through failure to join forces with Sieur de Lignery, there would be reason to fear that the nations of the south might be ill-disposed toward us in consequence. That would be especially true of the hurons, who have long been on bad terms with the Outaois, and who, being annoyed at detroit by the Renards, might take the resolution of retiring among the Iroquois, who have Invited[them to do so, according to the report that Monsieur de Longueuil 334 has made to Sieur do Ramezay. This is what obliged him a few days ago to write to Sieur de Longueuil to give orders to Monsieur de Sabrevois to tell them that, if this matter has fallen through this Year, we will take certain measures. with them next Year so as to succeed; and Sieur de Ramesay, on his return to Montreal, will Consider with Sieur de Longueuil what is to be done in the case.

Sieur Quemet set out last spring with 12 men, instead of 20 whom he had permission to take with him to Ouabache, which he has probably not reached on account of the Renard war; we have not yet learned whether he is at Michilimakinak or at Detroit.

We have nothing to add, Monseigneur, to what we have had the honor of writing you in our private letters regarding the abenaki Savages of the mission of St. John's River, of Nanrantsouak River, and of Pentagouet River.1 They are greatly tempted by the offers made to them by the English. We can only keep them in our interests by making them presents, and by rebuilding the two Churches on the St. John and Nanrantsouak Rivers. These favors would give great weight to the words of their missionaries, who neglect nothing in their power to keep them in the true religion and distrustful of the English.

1 The St. John's river, of New Brunswick; the Kennebec, on which stood the Abenaki village of Nanrantsouak (Norridgewock); and the Penobscot, commonly known to the French as Pentagouet.— Ed.

It is no less necessary that His Majesty should establish a fund for the presents to the Savages of the upper country, to whom they will be distributed by the officers commanding in the different posts. The Savages attach themselves to those who give them the most, and it is necessary to make them presents to counterbalance somewhat, at least, the advantages offered them by the English.

Monsieur de Longueuil, on his return from the Iroquois. Villages, informed us that it would be necessary to have a little Establishment North of Niagara on lake Ontario, about 100 leagues from fort frontenac, and accessible from that place in 7 or 8 days by canoe. This post would divert the Mississagues. 335 and Amikoés Savages from going to trade with the Iroquois on their way, when returning from their hunting around Lake Erié; but if His Majesty approves of this Establishment, it is necessary that the trade carried on there should be in the King's name, and that this new post should be exploited like fort frontenac, whence will be sent the provisions and merchandise needed there. He proposes also to build a bark to facilitate transportation between the posts; and he believes that this would be a sure means of conciliating the Iroquois, and of getting the

greater part of the peltries that go to the English, which would result in great profit to his Majesty.

If this post should be established, we would be able to prevent the coureurs de bois from going to trade along Lake Ontario, by plundering them and putting a stop to the trade which they carry on to the great prejudice of that at fort frontenac.

The utility of these various posts is shown also by the attention paid by the English to establishing them in all the places where they wish to extend their commerce—which they are now engaged in doing on the lower part of the Nanrantsouak River near Baston, among the Nontaés, and on the Mississipi and Ouabache Rivers, placing there strong garrisons. But we are quite unable to do the same, owing to the lack of soldiers, which it seems to us so essential to remedy, for the security of the country, try, that we dare not leave you in ignorance of the bad condition of the Companies kept in this country.

This has obliged Sieur Begon to make an Exact review of them; we have the honor of sending you the enclosed Extract therefrom, in which are enumerated those who are not in condition to serve the King. There are very few in condition for service, and even of those there are not 50, including the Sergeants, Corporals, and Lance-corporals, who are capable of going in Canoes to the upper country. The rest are only old men and boys, or physically incompetent. The weakness of these Companies is due to various causes: Soldiers have been allowed to marry; two detachments of 40 men each have been sent to isle Royalle;1 some 20 men constitute the garrison of Michilimakinak;

1 Another name for Cape Breton island.— Ed.

336 10 men will be sent to Detroit; and 10 more to the Ilinois; a very large number have died; and recruits are lacking, as only thirty Soldiers have come here during three years.

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The difficulties in the way of forbidding the trade in brandy with the savages of the upper country are explained in the letter of September 20 of last year, and remain this year the same as in the past—especially at fort frontenac, where Teganisorens and Nagoga arrived from orange with several Canoes laden with brandy de Rôme [rum]. This they traded for the greater part of the peltries that had been brought there by the Savages who are accustomed to trade at that post, where nothing has been done this Year.

Three Canoes of the Misssissagés Savages who are Established at the end of Lake Ontario, about 100 Leagues from fort frontenac and 20 Leagues from Niagara, came down last May to Montreal, on the invitation of Sieur de St. Pierre, who passed the winter among them. None of the people of that nation had come down there for eight years. They told Sieur de Ramesay that what had prevented them from coming was the high price of the merchandise, and the refusal to trade in Brandy. They gave him a large and curiously wrought Calumet, which they promised to come and smoke every year; and they assured him that Onontio was still their father. They said that they preferred to trade with the French, to the Exclusion of the English, if the price of the merchandise fairly Corresponded to that of the English, and if they could also get Brandy, which they said they could not do without. They said that if they could not get it at fort frontenac, which they can reach in 4 or 5 days, they would go to Orange, although they would have to travel 70 Leagues by land.

It is all the more necessary to grant what these Savages ask, as it is in their Village that the English of Orange had planned to establish themselves, so as to be able to introduce themselves among the Outaois nations. This they would have done but for the complaints which Sieur de Ramesay made to Mr. Hunter, governor of new York (as he has had the honor of informing you, Monseigneur, by the [ship] “la providence”). The 337 latter answered Sieur de Ramesay that he would make known to the Merchants of orange his resolution to oppose this enterprise; and that he would write to them that he had good grounds for confiscating the wares of those who should go to that village, because, as it is North of the Lake, they ought not to go there until the boundaries shall

have been adjusted. It is for this reason that Sieur de Ramesay has given orders to Sieur do Sabrevois and to. Sieur de Maunoir, his son, to plunder the English whom they might find in the upper country.

We have the honor to Send you, Monseigneur, a memoir, according to your orders, which contains only these; same reasons for annulling the prohibition of the Brandy trade. The reasons for not annulling this prohibition were furnished last Year to Sieur Begon by Father Aubry,1 whose letter was enclosed with the one that he had the honor to write to you by the [ship] “St. Jerôme.”

1 Joseph Aubery (Aubry) was a missionary among the Abenakis from 1701 until 1755—after 1708, at the mission colony of St. François, Que. He was an able linguist, and wrote numerous MSS. in the Abenaki tongue; these were unfortunately destroyed by fire. Aubery died In 1755.— Ed.

He has the honor to send you a Duplicate.

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The ship “la princesse” has brought hither, Monseigneur, 35,000 pounds of powder, with which we were Entirely unprovided. It is an indispensable necessity that as much more be brought here next year. The other munitions brought in this ship, for the Account of the King, will avail us but little, in view of the present State of the country and of the indispensable outlays we have been obliged to make this year for our operations in the upper country; and for the presents which have been taken to the Iroquois by Monsieur do Longueil and Sieur de Joncaire, as well as for all those that have been made to the missions of this country, of acadia, to the Abenakis, and to others. We can not as yet dispense with keeping these up next year, both for Michilimakinak, according to the memorial which will be presented by Monsieur do Louvigny, and for all the other savages—whom we cannot altogether abandon, 23 338 and who must be considerately treated, so

as to prevent them from attaching themselves to the English, who give them to understand that we are no longer in a condition to give them anything.

* * * * * * * *

We Had the honor of Informing you, Monseigneur, by our joint letter of August 16, that Sieur Dupuy, at the Beginning of this year, had visited the Ouatanons, and had rendered very useful service to His Majesty in that nation, which was somewhat alienated from us. He also aided in cementing the peace newly made between them and the Ilinois; and brought to detroit with him two of the principal miami and Ouatanon chiefs and three of the miamis of the Ouabeche, to interview Monsieur de Louvigny—whom they hoped to find there, in accordance with the plans formed last Year for taking the necessary measures for the expedition against the Renards.

We had the honor of informing you, in the same letter that we had despatched Sieurs de Maunoir Ramesay and Dadencour Longeuil to act with the nations of the south, in accordance with the decisions of a Council held at Detroit, of which the result has been made known to Monsieur de Lignery at Michilimakinak, who was to act in conformity thereto. One of the principal chiefs of the Ouatanons died of the measles at detroit. We performed for him all the military ceremonies in use on such occasions, which flatters the Savages.

1716: PLANS FOR SETTLING DIFFICULTIES WITH FOX INDIANS; LAWLESSNESS OF COUREURS DE BOIS.

[Proceedings in French Council of Marine, March 28, 1716. Translated from a copy of document in Paris archives, made for archives of the Province of Quebec.]

The Renard savages live about 60 leagues from Michilimakinac, a post where dwell the Outauois savages, and situated between the lake of the Illinois and lake huron. They are located on a river which empties into the Bay des Puants, and 339 number about

300 warriors. They have committed many acts of hostility against the French. They were punished once by a detachment which set out from Detroit. to which the Miamis, the Oatauois, and the hurons joined their forces. But as the Renards resumed their hostile attitude, orders were given, in accordance with letters from Canada, to wage war on those savages, or to make peace with them, but to prefer peace to war, as the continuation of their hostile acts toward us brought upon us the contempt of the other nations. Their subsequent attack upon a French canoe in 1714, led us to believe that we could not make such a peace, and it was resolved to send a numerous force against them. For this reason some habitants,1 who were allowed to carry with them some merchandise, were sent to serve in this war, as were some soldiers of the colony, who were to form the garrison of Michilimakinac. The coureurs de bois were assembled at Michilimakinac, and all together were to march with a troop of the Outauois, Illinois, and Miami savages; but, as the detachment which went up from Montreal with the presents for the savages and the military supplies did not arrive by the end of August, it was impossible to undertake anything.

1 A term applied to the French colonists actually settled in Canada, as distinguished from the official and military class, who still considered themselves as belonging to the mother-country.—ED.

Monsieur de Louvigny had orders to go up to Michilimakinac to make war, or, if possible, peace; but the sickness he contracted last year prevented him from going. That officer writes that he will go up in the spring, and will labor to bring about either peace or war, according to circumstances. He says that peace is to be preferred to all else, but that he will make it only with honor to the nation. He adds that the lawlessness of the coureurs de bois is so great that it is absolutely necessary to make an example of some of them, in order to restrain them and to enforce upon them obedience to the officers in the upper posts. He says that this is not done at Montreal, and that there are even merchants of

that city who have warehouses at Michilimakinac; that maintains the coureurs de bois in disobedience, 340 which can not be checked when men of character themselves do thus.

He says that the French, who went up for this war, set out laden with merchandise, although none is needed for carrying on the war;1 and that they have carried thither more than 40 casks of brandy. The result is, that wherever French and savages come together there is an open hell; and Monsieur de Louvigny states that some Frenchmen have gone to trade with the Renard savages, of which all our allies complain.

1 Marginal note on the MS.: “If they had not been allowed to carry merchandise, it would have cost large sums to equip them.”

They2 consider that, to make peace, it is necessary to begin by restoring to the Renards all the slaves of their nation3 whom the French hold; and that it is not in nature to think that peace can be made with people whose children we are withholding. That, in order to carry on war, it is necessary to begin by arranging for peace between the Sakis, the Puants and the Sauteurs,4 because we can not undertake any war unless these savages remain at peace; and to send 500 or 600 Frenchmen, equipped for war only, and without any merchandise.5

2 Probably a reference to advice or suggestions given to the Council by the Canadian governor and intendant.— Ed.

3 Marginal note: “These slaves are the captives taken in the attack made upon those savages by the French of Detroit.” [See p. 295, *ante*.— Ed.]

4 Marginal note: “These two nations dwell near the Renards. The Sauteurs live 30 leagues from Michilimakinac, on Lake Superior.”

5 Marginal note: “The council approves in full the observations in this memoir.”

Louis Alexandre de Bourbon. count de Toulouse, was the third legitimate son of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan.— Ed.

Done and decreed by the Council of Marine held at the Louvre on March 28, 1716.

(Signed) L. A. de Bourbon , Maréchal d'Estrées.6

By the Council:

(Signed) La Chapelle .

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1716: THE FOX WAR: LOUVIGNY'S EXPEDITION; PROCEEDINGS OF COUNCIL THEREON.

[Letter of Governor de Vaudreuil to Council of Marine; dated Oct. 14, 1716. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 36, c. 11, fol. 279.”]

The detachment of Savages1 from the Sault St Louis sent by Monsieur do Ramezay, The hurons of detroit, and a detachment of the Poutoatomis, in despair at the failure of the measures taken for attacking the Renards in 1715, and for having a rendezvous of the Northern nations at Chikagou, went to le Rocher, one of the villages of the Islinois, expecting to find there the two sons of Messieurs de Ramezay and de Longueuil. Both were extremely sick at Caskacias; accordingly the Son of Monsieur de Ramezay, being unable to march or to write, ordered a certain Bizaillon, who was at the Islinois, to induce as many Savages of that Nation as he could to join the other party so that all together might go to attack 70 Cabins of Mascoutins and Quikapous, allies of the Renards, who were hunting along a certain river. They did join them, in fact, on the 20th of November, 1715; and after a very obstinate battle they forced the Mascoutin position On a steep rock

where they were entrenched, killed more than 100 of them, and carried away 47 prisoners, Without counting the women and children.

1 Marginal note on the MS. (signed “L. A. B.”): “To be brought before the Regency Council.”

After this defeat, our Savages, to cover their march, went nearly 95 leagues down the same river by Canoe; but, in spite of this precaution, they were overtaken on the eleventh day by 400 men, the elite of the Renards; and, although our people amounted to only 80 men, 30 of them being occupied in guarding a redoubt which they made every Evening for the wounded and the prisoners, they defended Themselves with such Vigor, from dawn until three o'clock in the afternoon, that they forced the enemies to retire after a very considerable loss. Our people secured 7 of their heads, and saw traces of great carnage during the pursuit, which they kept up for several hours. Our people 342 in these various actions lost, from all the tribes, 26 killed and 18 wounded.

These two different defeats have produced very beneficial effects on the minds of our savages, and have restored their spirits and cast down those of the renards.

Monsieur de Ramezay has been informed that the chief of the Quikapous came to declare to the first Frenchmen whom he encountered that both His nation and that of the Mascoutins threw themselves into the arms of Monsieur de Vandreuil, their Father, declaring themselves his slaves, to be dispersed among whatever Nation he judged proper; and that Moreover, if the Renards refused to share in these Sentiments, they would deliver them up to the Kettle.

Sieur Pachot, a Canadian (a cadet in the troops, formerly Interpreter of the Huron language at Detroit, and a son of Dame de la Forest), and one Bizaillon, Are the only Frenchmen who were present in these actions. They did their whole duty, and Sieur

Pachot especially distinguished himself, his conduct meriting the attention of the Council and the bestowal on him of an ensign's commission.1

1 Marginal note: “Decision of H. R. H.: His Royal Highness grants to Sieur pachot an ensigncy in the troops of His Majesty in Canada. L. A. B., president.”

Monsieur de Louvigny left Montreal on the first of May, 1716, with 225 Frenchmen, 200 others being expected to join him at detroit and at Michilimakinac. The munitions of war, the presents, and the necessary provisions were carried by the French at their own expense, and without any cost to the king.

Sieur de Louvigny returned to Quebec on October 12, after having forced the haughty nation of the Renards to sue for Peace. He reduced them to this necessity after having opened a trench 35 toises2 from their fort, which he pushed forward 10 toises on the first night, and 16 the Second. Finally, the enemies, seeing that he was devoting Himself to the main part of the place, to undermine it and Blow it up, while two Cannons and a Grenade-Mortar kept up a heavy fire night and day,

2 The toise is a French linear measure, of six French feet, equivalent to 6.395 English feet. — Ed.

343 resolved to implore the Clemency of the French. They were not listened to until the opinion and the sentiments of all the nations that accompanied us had been ascertained by Sieur de Louvigny, who proposed to them conditions So severe that all those tribes believed that they would never consent to them.

These articles Are:

That they shall make peace with all the' nations dependent on the king with whom the French trade.

That they shall by forcible or friendly means bring the Kikapous and Mascoutins, their allies and our enemies, to make Peace, as they do, with all the nations in general.

That they shall restore or cause to be restored all the prisoners, of every Nation, whom they hold, which they have done.

That they shall go to war in distant regions to get slaves, to replace all the dead who had been slain during the course of the war.

That they shall hunt to pay the Expenses of the military preparations made for this war; And, as an assurance of the fulfilment of all these articles, they shall give to Monsieur de Louvigny six chiefs, or children of chiefs, to be taken to the Marquis de Vaudreuil in order to be guarantees for the conditions of the treaty. This has been done, Sieur de Louvigny having brought these hostages with him to Quebec.

That haughty nation, which terrified and ravaged all the upper country, has been reduced to submit to all these conditions, although they had 500 warriors and 8,000 women (who on these occasions fight desperately); and although their fort was Fortified by three rows of palisades, with a ditch a foot and a half or two feet wide behind it to Sustain the assault.

This enterprise was carried through with great vigor, and the officers who were present gave evidence of their vigilance and activity by working at the trenches like the meanest Soldier. They did so in order to set an example, and to animate the small number of those who accompanied Sieur de Louvigny (who amounted to only 800 men) to press an action which was important and whose delay might have caused its loss, owing to the proximity of the allies of the Renards, whom the latter had notified and called to their help.

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Sieur de Louvigny, although his eyes have suffered a little after so long a Voyage, hopes before the departure of the last Vessels to be able to make a report of what occurred on this expedition, which is the first warlike movement that Has taken place during the Reign

of the king; it has proved glorious for the arms of His Majesty, and very useful for the Colony.1 Represents that this voyage has been very long and arduous, that he has borne the King's arms victoriously more than 500 leagues, which has not been done without much fatigue and expense, to which he begs leave to call the attention of the Council so that it may grant him such recompense as it shall judge proper.2

1 Marginal note on MS.: “M. de Louvigny makes a communication to the same effect, and adds that he has besides reconciled the other nations, who were divided, and has left all the country entirely at peace.”

2 Marginal note: “Decision of H. R. H.: His royal Highness grants to Sieur de Louvigny a gratuity of three thousand livres. L. A. B., president.”

He has carried on no Trade; but he has, on the contrary, given to the tribes who accompanied him the small amount of beaver that the Renards had brought to him, in order to show them that it was not self-interest which led the French to take this warlike step.3

3 Louvigny's report, and a letter of Vaudreuil praising his military services, are given in Wis. Hist. Colls., v, pp. 78–81.— Ed.

Done and decreed by the Council of Marine, Dec. 28, 1716.

L. A. De Bourbon , Maréchal d'estrées.

By the Council:

La Chapelle .

[Proceedings of Council of Marine, Jan. 6, 1717; based on letter of Governor Vaudreuil, dated Oct. 14, 1716.1 Translated from MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 37, c. 11, fol. 4.”]

1 Marginal note: “To be kept as a minute. L.A.B., pres.”

He has learned from Monsieur de Ramezay that the Outauois savages and other Nations of the upper country who are allies of the French, Have since last year been very peaceably disposed, that their relations with each other have been amicable, and that they have the sentiments which they ought to have toward the Renards.

Sieur de Vincennes, the officer stationed among the Miamis and Ouyatanons, has reported that the Iroquois have sent those Nations Collars Underground,—that is to say, Secret messages,—by which they invited them to come and get what they need at a post established on *the Oyo River* ,2 which is a new settlement of the English of Carolina. They said that there they would find merchandise at half the prices asked by the French, who were tyrannizing over them.

2 Marginal note: “This is the Ouabache river.”

Sieur de Vincennes Had the Miamis make the reply that from father to son they had been the Children of Onontio (this is the name which the Savages give to the Governor-general of Canada), and that they would not depart from their obedience to him.

The Ouyatanons have sent a young Slave to Sieur de Ramezay to reiterate the request they made to him last year to be present at their Councils, and to furnish a Missionary to teach them, and a blacksmith to repair their weapons.

Monsieur do Vaudreuil will provide what they ask, and will pay special attention to garrisoning all the posts. It is of the Utmost importance to establish those On the Southern frontier, where the English of Pensilvania, Carolina, and Virginia are anxious to introduce

themselves, which would ruin the Commerce not only of Canada, but even of Louisiana, on account 346 of the easy communication furnished by the Rivers that empty into the great river Mississipy.

Done and decreed by the Council of Marine, January 6, 1717.

L. A. De Bourbon ,

Maréchal d'estrées.

By the Council:

La Chapelle .

1717: LOUVIGNY PACIFIES WESTERN TRIBES, AND RECALLS COUREURS DE BOIS: POSTS ESTABLISHED.

[Extract from letter of Louvigny to Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, count de Toulouse; dated Oct. 1, 1717. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 36, c. 11, fol. 324.]

I take the liberty, Menseigneur, of giving an account to Your Serene Highness of the voyage which I have Just made, by order of Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, as a result of the one which I made last year, and in order to secure the Execution of the articles upon which we Had agreed with the Renards and their allies, in the presence of many different nations, in order to assure and confirm the peace between Them and us. They had put into my hands six persons, chiefs or Children of chiefs, by way of security for the treaty they had made—of which I left them a copy on a sheet of paper, to Serve as an authentic testimony of our agreements, and of the taking possession by us of a Territory conquered by the Arms of the King, which might subsequently be disputed by the English, always Jealous of the success of the French Arms.

The Death from small-pox of three of the principal hostages, who Had come down, of course caused some delay in the coming down of those Peoples to Carry out the Articles of the Treaty which they had made; and Monsieur our General, who is always well Informed as to the customs of the savages, took me with him early in March over the ice to Montreal, where I embarked in May to go to Missilimakinac, to learn the sentiments meats of the Renards. He gave me one of the three remaining 347 hostages to take back to his Village, so that this man, by an authentic mark of the disease (which had cost him aa eye), could Explain to them in what manner the others had died, the care that Monsieur the General had given Them during their illness, and what Ceremonies had been performed for them after their deaths; and, finally, that this malady had prevailed likewise among all the nations Near the French, and among the French themselves. This Envoy had a message from Monsieur the General; and I also was charged to ascertain, on arriving at Missilimakinac, what would be best to do.

I sent this hostage home with ten Frenchmen, including two Interpreters, who were to be Witnesses, night and day, of all that was said in the Councils; for there was ground for fearing, on account of the death at Montreal of the most notable of all their war-Chiefs, that they might espouse Sentiments directly opposed to their previous promises.

They received our Frenchmen, with the Envoy, by celebrating a Calumet-Hunt, and with all their customary marks of Ceremony; they gave to my Envoys a Cabin arranged and furnished according to their Custom; and, after having dried the tears which it is their wont to shed on the receipt of such news, they Listened to the hostage whom Monsieur de Vaudreuil had Sent to theta. He spoke very favorably for us, conforming to what had been told him and to the truth. The old men replied that they had already Indirectly Heard this news about their people, but that they had refused to believe it Until they should have received reliable information Through their Father. They said that they could not come down this year to see their father; and that, inasmuch as the master of life had taken away the lives of their kinsmen and their Chiefs, they would be consoled for this, since

they Were sleeping in the same bed with the Children of their father. But they added that they were obliged by their Custom to give to their dead the tears which they owe to them; that moreover, their Young men had been carried away by the sight of the merchandise which several French Canoes had brought to them, and consequently were destitute of peltries, having traded all the furs that they had set aside for paying the expenses of the Expedition; and that, 348 during several years while they had been engaged in War, they had lacked every kind of merchandise. (I had however, fearing that this accident might happen, on my return, forbidden all the French to go and trade with the Renards; but prohibitions of this sort have not been very well Enforced.)

The Renards continued their speeches, and had the interpreters Write what theft wished to say to the Governor. They begged him not to be Concerned, as they would, the following year, Keep their words and their promises satisfactorily—and added that they not only promised with words, but, as words might change, they promised by this Writing which does not change.

They said that it would be too much to lie twice to their father; that the Extremity in which they had found themselves the year before, and the fear inspired in them by Monsieur de Louvigny were not yet Effaced from their Minds; and that they had not yet forgotten the favor that I had shown them in enabling them and their families to enjoy the light. All the old men applauded the Orator, and promised to keep their word satisfactorily next year. This is what they have given in Writing and what I have from the Interpreters.

I made known the death of our great King to them, as well as to all the nations of the Lakes, who are to come down next year to cover the death of the King and to ask the protection of His August Successor.1

1 Louis XIV of France died on Sept. 1, 1715, and was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV. To “cover” a death is a metaphor of Indian speech for expressing their regret and sympathy to the relatives of the deceased.— Ed.

This, Monseigneur, was the chief object of the Voyage which I made this year by order of Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil. The second object was to declare the Amnesty, and to try to Induce all the disaffected Voyageurs to come down. I have likewise succeeded in this affair, since there remain only Twenty of them, who Were at a Distance and will come down next spring.

The Result of these two Voyages has been the establishment of peace among all the Nations with whom the French trade; 349 the descent of the disaffected French from the upper country, or rather their abandonment of it; and an Extraordinary abundance of rich and valuable peltries, of which we have never Seen so great a quantity in Canada, with a great deal of fat Beaver. Thanks to my care arid pains last year to make known our wishes to the nations, and to Induce them to make Robes, there is every reason to believe that there will be still more peltries next year.

And in order carefully to preserve this Trade with the savage nations, Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil has Established posts related to one another, in conformity with A plan which I took the liberty to present to him; and I believe, Monseigneur, that this will be the surest means of Keeping all these nations loyal to the King, and of diverting them from the Foreign Ideas which they have.

I believe that it would be expedient that Our Lords of the Council should name a person of authority to go, at least every two years, to Examine all the posts and to make a Tour of them, to see what is occurring there, and to remedy any disorders arising, so as to inform our Lords of the Council and Monsieur the governor-general on his Return.

My proposition is not without foundation, and it would have good results; but I believe it would be necessary to honor this officer with a brevet of Commandant-general in the countries where the French trade, so as to Avoid all Altercation with the Commandants of those posts.

If Our Lords of the council judge me capable of this Employment, I will undertake it with pleasure, since I seek no other glory than: that of sacrificing my life in the service of His Majesty, and of making known to Your Serene Highness the profound respect with which I have the honor to Be, etc.

[Endorsed: “Canada. Monsieur de Louvigny, at Quebec, Oct. 1, 1717. The original has been returned to H. R. H.”]

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1718: DESCRIPTION OF MICHILLIMACKINAC; INDIAN TRIBES OF THAT REGION.

[“Relation of Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, Captain on full pay commanding a company of the Marine troops in Canada; formerly Commandant of Missilimakinak and other posts in distant countries, where he remained three years.” This document is published by Margry in *Déecouv. et établ* ., v, pp. 75–132; from it we select and translate sections i and v.]

I. *Missilimakinak* .

Missilimakinak means in our language *Isle de la Tortue* [Turtle Island]. This name may be due either to its shape or to the fact that a turtle was found in the vicinity. It is situated on lake Huron, and is about two leagues in circumference; it is a league and a half from the inhabited mainland; it is occupied only during the fishing season, when an abundance of fish is caught all around it.

Opposite this island is a large sandy cove in the lake-shore, in the middle of which is the French fort, where there is a garrison. There the commandant-in-chief of the country resides, having under him sundry commandants in various posts; but one and all of them are chosen by the governor-general of New France. This post is called Fort de Buade. The Jesuits' convent, the French village, and those of the Hurons and Outaouas, are contiguous to one another; and all together border on, fill and complete the head of the

cove. It should be observed that in that country the word “town” is unknown; so that, if one wished to speak of Paris, he would have to designate it by the expression “great village.”

The site of this pest is most advantageous, because it is very near to Lake Huron, by which all the nations of the South are obliged to pass when they go to or return from Montreal, as well as the French who wish to trade in distant regions. Neither the one nor the other cart pass without being seen, because cause the horizon is so wide that canoes can be distinguished from the fort as far as the strongest eyes can see. In a word, it may be said that this place is the centre, as it were, for all the rest of the colony, whence everything is distributed; and 351 it is almost equally distant from the other posts that have been established, and is in the midst of all the nations having relations with us.

I know not why the name “lakes” should have been given to abysses of water of so great and vast extent. Thus the first lake is called Lake Superior, the second Lake Huron, the third Lake Michigan or Illinois, the fourth Lake Erie, the fifth Lake Ontario. I think it is important and even necessary for the satisfaction of the curious to explain the reasons that may have led to the division of this single lake into five parts. I say one and a single lake, because it is incontestable that the waters are the same, communicating with and joining one another.

It is nevertheless true that there is a rapid at the village of the. Santeurs of Ste. Marie, so that navigation by barks or ships is impracticable, either ascending or descending. Consequently, a portage must be made—that is to say, goods must be carried by land around the rapids; they can, nevertheless, be run in a canoe or shallop. This is the chief mason why lake Superior, whose circumference is 500 leagues, has been separated from lake Huron, whose circumference is 600. Now the latter is not separated from lake Michigan, but it is claimed that it is not the same, on account of a strait two leagues in width, through which barks and ships can pass without danger. Once this strait is passed, the lake widens suddenly; and its circumference may be 800 leagues.

Lake Erié is also separated from lake Huron by a strait, through which ships can easily pass. It is 200 leagues in circumference. The latter lake is separated from the first one, lake Ontario, which is also 200 leagues in circumference, by an insurmountable waterfall, which nothing can pass. Accordingly, there is nothing more easy to conceive than that one can in a ship coast along 1,800 leagues of country in the interior, without difficulty, and on fresh water, not only in canoes, but also in barks and large ships—with this exception, that vessels on lakes Huron and Michigan and on lake Erié cannot pass into lake Superior or lake Ontario, on which barks or ships would have to be built.

At a distance from the shores of these lakes, the bottom cannot be found any more than on the high seas; and close to land 352 there is almost everywhere 90, 25, 30, 40, or 50 brasses of water. The currents, especially near Missilimakinak, are as swift as in the sea itself. This might perhaps be attributed to the winds that frequently blow there. But experience proves the contrary, for the currents are always, without exception, contrary to the wind—so that, for instance, if the north wind blows the current runs northward; and, if the south wind blows, it runs southward; and so on for the other winds. And, what is still more peculiar, during calm weather the current runs in the direction whence the wind should come. This observation is infallible. I leave philosophers to reason out this question, assuring them that the testimony I bear is true, as true as it is to say that it is daylight at noon.

As for lake Michigan, there is a tide—that is, an ebb and flow—in the twenty-four hours, as in the Southern seas; and the tides increase or diminish according to the moon's course.

In the interior, ten leagues from the last-mentioned lake, is a small lake remarkable for its perpetual motion. It is about two leagues in length, and at each end are various channels, dividing in various places, which might be taken for ditches dug by human hands. now it happens that at times one end of this small lake is dry, and at others the opposite end; and the streams or ditches lying contiguous to one another are sometimes empty and sometimes full to overflowing, so that its waters are constantly agitated—galloping from

one end to the other, and, to use a common expression, playing at prisoner's base; one would say that some sprite tosses them about in that manner.

Having shown the situation of the French fort and village, and of those of the Savages, I will describe how they are fortified and built. These forts are made of stakes. Those of the Outer row are as thick as one's thigh, and about 30 feet high; the second row inside is a full foot from the first, and leans over at the top to support and prop it; the third row is four feet from the second one, and consists of stakes 3½ feet in diameter, standing 15 or 16 feet out of the ground. Now in this row no space is left between the stakes; on the contrary, they are driven as closely together as possible, and loop-holes are cut at intervals. In the first two rows there is a space 353 of about 6 pouces1 between the stakes, and by this means the first and second rows do not prevent the enemy from being discovered; but there are neither curtains nor bastions, and, properly speaking, it is a mere fence.

1 The pouce is one-twelfth of the French linear foot, and slightly exceeds the inch of English measure.— Ed.

As for their cabins, they are semi-circular at the top. They plant in the ground poles that are as thick as one's leg, and very long, which they join together, by bending the tops; then they tie and fasten them with the bark of the basswood tree, which they use as we do our twine and rope. They afterward interlace cross-pieces, of the thickness of one's arm, between these large poles, which they cover from end to end with the bark of the fir or cedar trees, fastening it to the poles and cross-pieces; at the top they leave an open space, from one end to the other, about two feet wide. It is certain that their cabins are water-tight, and no rain gets in. They are generally from 100 to 130 feet in length, 24 in width, and 20 in height. There is a raised platform on each side, and each family has its own little apartment; there is also a door at each end. Their streets are laid out as in our villages.

The houses of the French are built of wood, the pieces being laid one on the other; but they are roofed with cedar bark. The only houses with board roofs are those of the Jesuits.

It must be borne in mind that four different nations are included under the name of Outaouas. The first is that of the Kiskakons, which means “Cut tails,” and it is the most numerous; the second is the Sable nation, so called because it formerly dwelt in a sandy country, its village being situated in a sandy cove, but the Iroquois drove that nation from its lands. The third is the Sinago; and the fourth the Nassauakuetoun, that is, “Nation of the Fork,” which derives its etymology from the name of the Chief2 —or more probably, from the river whence they came, which forms a sort of fork, dividing into three branches. These four nations are allied and friendly to one another, living together in amicable relations; and at present they speak but one language. 24

2 See the name Nassawakwet, p. 165, ante.— Ed.

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The Huron nation forms a different body from the four last mentioned; it has, therefore, its own village, separated from the other by a palisade. The Hurons speak a different language from the other nations, so that they can understand one another only through an interpreter. This was formerly the most powerful, the strongest, and also the most populous nation; but the Iroquois destroyed it, and drove it from its lands, so that it is now reduced to a very small number. And it is well for us that this is the case, for they are malicious, intriguing, and evil-intentioned men, capable of great undertakings; but fortunately their sword is too short. Nevertheless, as they cannot play the part of lions, they act like foxes, and spare no effort to embroil matters between us and our allies.

As regards the land, each nation selects its own district, and each family marks out its ground and its fields. It is the women's duty to till and sow the land; and really it is a pleasure to see them, with an implement of hard wood, shaped like a scraper at one end,

and flat at the other, subduing the soil with incredible vigor and diligence. Their crops consist of Indian corn, peas, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons.

The great abundance of fish, and the convenience with which they can be obtained, have led the Savages to form a permanent settlement at this place. It is a daily manna which never fails; there is not a family that cannot catch enough fish for its sustenance throughout the year. Moreover, it is impossible to eat better fish, for it swims and is fed in the finest, clearest, and most crystalline waters that were ever seen.

I consider it unnecessary to describe the method of fishing, for every country has its own customs. But what I think I should mention is the pleasure of seeing as many as a hundred whitefish caught in a single haul of a net. This is the most delicate fish of the lakes; and it is as large as shad in France. Quantities of trout are also caught, which weigh as much as 50 pounds; they are certainly excellent food. Finally sturgeon, pike, carp, herring, poisson doré,1 and a hundred different kinds of fish abound in that part of the lake.

1 A name (meaning “gilded fish”) applied by the French to the yellow perch; some writers also give it to the pickerel.— Ed.

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It will probably be interesting also to know what the French and Savages eat, and how they prepare their food. This is what is done: A large tree is sawn, and a log about 3 feet long is cut, and hollowed out about 2 feet, somewhat like a mortar. Then a pestle 5 feet long is made, of hard wood; then Indian corn is put in the mortar, and crushed with the pestle. When sufficiently crushed, it is winnowed, and the bran separated from it until nothing remains but the meal [guru], which is sifted to remove the fine flour; this leaves the meal pure, clean, and as white as rice. It is boiled with water in a pot or kettle, and at the same time whitefish is boiled in another kettle; when the meal is half boiled, the fish is taken out and mixed with the gruel [bouilion de gru], which is reduced to a liquid as white as milk. Afterward it is thrown into the pot and stirred with a ladle, as is done with rice, until

completely cooked; and, as it is the custom of the country for every person to have his own plate, each one fills his with this porridge, called by the Savages *Sagamité* , which means “a variety of things mixed together to be eaten.”1

1 Cf. the description of this food given by the missionary Poisson (*Jes. Relations*, lxvii, pp. 291, 293, 315), as used in Louisiana.— Ed.

This food is not dainty, but it is certainly very wholesome: for it always keeps the body open, and is very aperient, for one urinates as often as fifty times a day. And, if one never ate anything else, one would never be thirsty, as has happened to many persons who heedlessly pass entire months without drinking. I can attest that I have passed twenty days without feeling the slightest thirst, which leads me to think that it would be good food for those who suffer from gravel. In the evening, fish is eaten cooked in a variety of ways: fried, broiled, boiled, smoked, or stewed; there is neither oil nor butter, but there is the fat or marrow of moose, elk, or buffalo, which is brought to Missilimakinak from the Illinois or Chicagou; and in truth I consider this sauce as good as that of the Carthusians or the Minims.2

2 Two religious orders: the Carthusians, founded in the year 1080, at Chartreux, France, by St. Bruno; and the Minims, founded in 1453, by St. Francis de Paula, of Calabria. Both were remarkable for their austerities; hence the sarcasm of Cadillac—who, moreover, had no love for monks.— Ed.

Bread is made of the flour of Indian corn, baked under the ashes or in heated sand. It is good when one has a good appetite, and wonderfully increases one's flesh.

Every one enjoys good health at Missilimakinak; this may be ascribed to the healthfulness of the air, or of the food, but it is still better to ascribe it to both. A sure proof of the excellence of the climate is the sight of old men whose grand-sons are becoming gray; and one might say that death has not the strength to knock down these spectres, whose

hearing and sight are nevertheless good. But their memory is often at fault, for they sometimes maintain that they are a hundred and fifty or two hundred years old, and they relate stories and anecdotes of things which they assert to have happened at that time; this is incredible, but they have the advantage of meeting no one who can contradict them, or give them the lie, otherwise than by induction.

Beavers are very scarce in the neighborhood of Missilimakinak, and the Savages of that post go 200 leagues to hunt them. A good hunter generally kills only fifty or sixty,—sometimes more, sometimes less,—from the month of October to the month of May. They exchange and barter their beaver-skins for our goods; this is called “trading” or “carrying on the trade.” We supply them with powder, bullets, weapons, cloth, tobacco, and all things in use among us.

If people could realize the fatigues that have to be undergone to find beaver, they would not so despise that merchandise; for it must be known that the French convoy generally leaves Mont-Real at the beginning of spring, or else about the 15th of September. In that country both seasons are unpleasant: one, owing to the melting of the ice and snow, which makes the water rapid and very cold; the other, because the cold weather is beginning, and there are many rapids on the way. Nearly always invincible in fishing, the Canadians (who are usually in their shirt-sleeves, with bare legs and feet), when their canoes cannot overcome the swiftness of the water, boldly jump into it, by sheer strength assisting one another; they succeed, but not without often getting the skin of their feet and legs torn, the rocks being so cold that they strongly adhere to the skin, and cannot 357 be detached without taking off a piece of it. If this happened but once a day it would be a trifle; but, on the contrary, they perform this manoeuvre throughout the whole journey.

This is not all; it very frequently happens that on the way waterfalls or cascades are encountered, up or down which one cannot go; then one has to disembark at the foot of the cascades, and carry his canoe on his shoulders, with all the goods or beaver-skins

through the woods, until he is above the falls, and then re-embark. This is called a portage. Some of them are 200 leagues in length.1

1 There is obviously some error here, probably in the transcription from the original document; but, as historical students are generally aware, there are many such inaccuracies in Margry's publication.— Ed.

The Canadians are thus obliged to perform this constant and arduous work for 300 leagues before reaching Missilimakinak. This shows how strong, vigorous, and hardened to fatigue they are; and it seems incredible that the human body should be able to resist such extraordinary cold.

When they arrive there, instead of thinking to rest a little after their fatigue, they hasten as fast as possible to divide into parties and go farther. They generally re-equip themselves with canoes and provisions; after which some proceed to the north of lake Superior, and others to the south, and penetrate by means of rivers 200 or 300 leagues into the interior of the country. Others, following lake Michigan, go southward to the most distant nations. The only object they have in view is to get beaver-skins.

When the voyageurs have sold their goods, they return to Missilimakinak, and usually reach that place at the beginning of July; there they once more equip themselves to go down in a convoy, if the commandant of the country deems it advisable. It is therefore clear and very easy to understand that those who trade and traffic in beaver-skins are obliged to go at least 1,000 leagues before getting back to Montreal; but, in addition, it is impossible to conceive the dangers to which they expose themselves in running and passing through boiling rapids, waterfalls, and cascades, the thought of which makes one's hair stand on end.

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This is not all; one must run the rise of losing his life at the hands of the Iroquois, who lie in ambush in the defiles; and if one be taken alive, he must make up his mind to be

roasted at a slow fire. It is true that the necessary precautions are taken to avoid such a misfortune, and it has rarely happened that our convoys have been defeated.

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V. *Nations inhabiting the country governed by de Lamothe Cadillac* .

As I have described Missilimakinak in the first chapter, it is needless to say more about it. I would merely state that the word Outaouas means in our language “the Nation of the Nez Percez” [pierced noses], because they pierce their noses, to which they attach a small stone well ornamented, which hangs down in the middle of the mouth between the lips. This is a custom among them, and they would not consider themselves properly adorned without this ornament. Some of the elders maintain, however, that it is a preventive against “medicine”—that is to say, the spells that their enemies and other evil-intentioned persons might east upon them, to poison them or cause their death. This is a further proof that it is an idea of the ancient Jews; for we read in history that one Eleazar delivered people possessed of the devil, in the presence of the Emperor Vespasian, of his son, and of several princes and noblemen of his court. He proceeded as follows: he pierced the nose of the possessed one, and passed through it a ring hollow inside, wherein he placed an herb; and as soon as the devil smelled it, he threw the body of the possessed one upon the ground, and fled, without daring to return to it. The same Eleazer also did this frequently in the name of Solomon; so that these savage nations may well have retained this custom of piercing their noses, and have forgotten the purpose for which it. was introduced.

There is a place near Missilimakinak, called Essolon. When I passed there my attention was called to the name, and I inquired of some Savages the reason it had been given to the place; they replied that their Ancestors had given it that name, 359 but they could not tell why. Thereupon we may recall that Reuben had four sons: Henoch, Phallu, Hesron, and Chormi. How could the Savages have given the river the name of Essolon, if they had

never heard of it? It is not likely that this was done by accident, but rather because it was the custom of the Jews to bear the names of their estates, or to give their own names to property of which they were in possession.

The Outaouois and Hurons wear their hair very short, because they say that thereby it gives a slighter hold to their enemies. They leave a lock at the top of the head, as do the Mahometans. In all important matters the Hurons speak almost only in the name of Sataresky, as if he were their true King. The Outaouas are not jealous of their wives; the Hurons are still less so, and they are absolute mistresses, so that the men do hardly anything without their consent.

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The Hurons are friends of the Outaouois solely through necessity, since they are the weaker, to such an extent have the others killed and ill-treated them. They usually war against the Iroquois, the Sioux, and the Southern nations beyond the Illinois.

Now we shall see what nations are around lake Michigan, which lies contiguous to and joins lake Huron. As I have drawn the map of all these lakes, which in truth form but one, and have indicated the distances from one point to another, I consider that it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

I will merely begin at the Beaver Islands [*Isles du Castor*], where some families have their cabins and fields of Indian corn.

The island of the Pouës1 is still inhabited by the Pouteatamis; we call them the Pouës, because the first syllable of their name is so pronounced. This is a very warlike nation, very hostile to the Iroquois, and frequently inflicts severe blows on them. They have no regard for any one, although they are less numerous than many other nations. Their island abounds in grain, and the climate is very temperate.

1 Washington Island, near the entrance to Green Bay. The Beaver Islands are in the northern part of Lake Michigan. south of Mackinac county, Michigan, of which they form part.— Ed.

The nation of the Noquets is now degraded; so few remain that it cannot bear a distinctive name, because it is incorporated with many others.1

1 See p. 117, *note* 2, *ante*.— Ed.

The Malhominy, or Folles Avoines, are so called on account of the river on which their village is situated,2 which produces a prodigious quantity of wild oats, which they gather and harvest as we do our wheat. They boil it with game or with fat; this food is wholesome. There is no nation in which the men are so well built or have so good figures as in this one. They are not so swarthy as the others, and if they did not grease themselves they would surpass the French in whiteness. The women also are rather pretty, and more gentle than those of the neighboring tribes.

2 The Menominee river, which forms part of the boundary-line between Wisconsin and Michigan.— Ed.

The nation of the Sakis is so called because Saky means “the entrance of the river.” This nation is warlike, and harasses the Iroquois; it was formerly numerous, but the Illinois, with whom they had some quarrels of old, partly destroyed them, when they least expected it.

The Puans derive this name from their river, which is very muddy. It is so full of fish of all kinds that it is difficult to understand how it can hold so many. Consequently, during the heat of summer, on account of either the quality of the water or the too great quantity of fish, the water is entirely covered with them; and, as it immediately becomes foul and putrid, it is hardly possible to approach the bank on account of the stench, and the water is consequently very disgusting. It is for this reason that the nation is called that of the

Puans, for both in their persons and their habits they are the cleanest among the Savages; and their women are the least dirty, and are exceedingly careful to keep their cabins very clean and tidy—not a very common quality among other Savage women.

The Outagamis (that is, the nation of the Renards) are so called because they are a wily and mischievous nation. They dwell on a very fine river, and in a country that is excellent for 361 all purposes. This nation is growing powerful, and for that reason is daily becoming insolent. I think that if we had not had the war with the Iroquois on our hands, steps would have been taken to humble the Outagamis; for they have on several occasions insulted and pillaged the French, and otherwise treated them shamefully. They do not war against the Iroquois. On the contrary there is some sort of alliance between them; and it is the policy of that common enemy of all the nations of the New World to keep as a neutral, in the midst of all the other tribes, one that would have caused them much trouble had it declared war against them. This is of great use to the Iroquois, because by means of the fox (Renard) he often eats the hen. When matters are going badly, the Renard intervenes for the purpose of negotiation, and frequently succeeds so well tint the Iroquois takes breath in the interval; because there is not a nation that does not consider itself fortunate, and deem it a great honor, to be sought after by an enemy who makes all tremble, so that peace is never refused him when he asks for it. But, during these negotiations, he always bides his time to destroy the nations who, through some untoward fate, are ever stupid enough to remain indolent when their enemy proposes a truce or peace to them; and not even experience can awaken them or arouse them from their supineness. The Renards are very dirty, and great thieves; one even has to watch their feet more than their hands, for they use them very cleverly in stealing. They carry on war against the Sioux and Saulteux, and inflict severe blows upon their enemies. They are so little jealous of their daughters that they do not refuse them to any who ask for them and give them trifling presents.

The post of Chicagou comes next. The name means *Riviére de l'ail* [“Garlic river”], because it produces that plant in very great quantities, wild and without cultivation.1 The

village of the Miamis is there; these are well built people, good warriors, and very active. They are real and true greyhounds. They harass the Iroquois greatly, and always utterly defeat them.

1 This may refer to the wild garlic, or onion (*Alliuum*); but some writers think that the skunk-cabbage (*Symplocarpus fœtidus*) is meant.— Ed.

362 This is a numerous nation, but it is divided up into several villages, on account of the jealousy of the men of greater consequence among them, who cannot agree together; and, as they are proud and warlike, they carry on war against nearly all the others. But, inasmuch as they are divided, their enemies destroy them so often that, unless they unite, they run the risk of being completely exterminated. It would be a great pity, for they are worthy people, fairly mild and civil, and more inclined, I think, to listen to the voice of the Gospel. They do not mind the profligacy of their daughters, but are very jealous of their wives; and, when one of the latter is convicted of unfaithfulness or adultery, her husband has her head shaved, cuts off her nose and ears, and thrusts her out of his cabin. After that she goes whither she wills, and her kindred have nothing to say, for such is the law of the nation.

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Then comes the river St. Joseph. There was a fort there with a French garrison; and there is a village of Miamis of the same nation. This post is the key to all the nations bordering on the north shore of Lake Michigan, for there is no village on the south, owing to the incursions of the Iroquois; but in the interior on the North side there are several in a Westerly direction, such as the Mascoutens, * * * Peanguiseins, Peaouarias, Kikapoux, Ayouez, Sioux, and Tintons.

The Sioux axe a proud and haughty nation, who war against all the others; they surpass the Iroquois in bravery and courage; they are vigorous, vigilant, watchful men, and real warriors.

They may be said to sleep with one foot in the air [i. e., are always in motion], having a dagger hanging continually from the wrist. Their bows and quivers serve them as pillows. When not surprised, they are almost invincible; but when they are, they fight unto death. Indeed, it seldom happens that a Sioux is taken alive; because, as soon as they see that they can no longer resist, they kill themselves, considering that they are not worthy to live, when once bound, vanquished, and made slaves. It is rather surprising that people so brave and so war-like as these should nevertheless be able to shed tears at will, 363 and so abundantly that it can hardly be imagined. I think that it could not be believed without being seen; for they are sometimes observed to laugh, sing, and amuse themselves when, at the same time, one would say that their eyes are like gutters filled by a heavy shower; and, as soon as they have wept, they again become as joyful as before, whether their joy be real or false. The chief occasion of their tears is when their enemies have killed some of their people; thereupon, they address themselves to their allies or to the French commandant. Bending their heads they utter horrible yells, and shed a deluge of tears, after which they cease to weep and yell, and their eyes are as dry as if they had not wept. They afterward represent the state of their affairs, so that one might say that they are the same Jews who dwelt on Mount Gerisim, who were called “Mourners,” because they had the gift of tears. There are several very rich lead mines in their country.

1718: MEMOIR ON THE SAVAGES OF CANADA AS FAR AS THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, DESCRIBING THEIR CUSTOMS AND TRADE.

[Translated from a MS, in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gen., vol. 39, c. 11, fol. 354.”]

From The portage of Niagara, which is from two and a half to three Leagues Long, but offering a fine road, over which The carts roll two or three times every year; very fine forests and clear enough to allow one to see a person more than Six hundred paces away—all the trees are oaks, and very large. Along this entire road the land is not very good; there are four hills to climb from The place where one lands, which is three Leagues

along the river. Above the first hilt is a village of the Senontouans, consisting of about ten Cabins. They raise indian corn and beans, peas, Watermelons, and squashes; everything grows very finely there. The Senontouans are of service to the French, and thus earn Money—that is to say, they transport the effects of the French who go into the upper country; some do this for 364 mitasses,1 others for shirts, others for powder and shot, while some of them steal; and, when the French come down, the Savages carry Their packages of peltries for some pelts. This portage is made to Avoid the niagara Cataract, which Is the grandest sheet of water in the world, falling perpendicularly from a height of more than two or three hundred feet. This fall discharges the waters of Lakes Erié, huron, Michignan, and Superior, and consequently of all the rivers that flow into those Lakes, which Are numberless; and also of other Lakes, of which I do not know the names, and which are in the direction of the Syou [Sioux]. After passing The portage of Niagara, one ascends a river more than a quarter of a league wide, for Six Leagues, to enter into lake Erie, Which has not a very wide entrance. The road Is much more attractive on the Southern than on the Northern side; the reason why few people follow It is because it Is thirty Leagues Longer than that on the North. On either side of that Lake one is not obliged to fast, on account of The abundance of game to be found there. On the Southern side are seen buffalo, which are Not found on the Northern side. Nearly 100 leagues South of Niagara is a river which is called the Sandosquet [Sandusky], which The Savages Settled at detroit and along Lake huron follow when they go to fight The testes plattes and other nations in the direction of Carolinna—as The cheraquis, The Savages who live on the casquinanpo River and The Chauanons.2 They ascend this river Sandosquet for two or three days, then they make a short portage of about a quarter of a League over a fine road; some of them make canoes of elm bark; and they then embark on a little River [the Scioto] which flows into the River Auyo [Ohio], which means “beautiful river.” It Is beautiful indeed, for it is nearly a quarter of a League wide, and has a fine current without rapids, except a Single cascade which is only half an arpent long. This river falls into the ouabache, and thence into the missysypy, forty

1 See p. 124, *note, ante*.—ED.

2 That is, “the Cherokees, the tribes on the Tennessee river, and the Shawnese.”— Ed.

365 Leagues below the Village of rouinsac,1 where The fathers Are Settled, and where there are some Frenchmen. This Oyo or beautiful River has its source about thirty Leagues back of [i. e., south from] the Senontouann nation. There is a river above fort des Sables on Lake Ontariau, and near the Riviere aux beufs, which flows into that beautiful river.2 Any one wishing easily to reach the misysypy would only need to follow this River or the Sandosquet, and would run no risk of going hungry, for all those who have traveled over this route have often assured me that there was all Along that beautiful River so vast a number of buffalo and all other wild animals that they Were Often obliged to discharge their guns in order to clear a passage. They say that 9,000 men could easily subsist there.

1 Among early writers and explorers, the name Wabash was applied not only to that river but to that part of the Ohio which lies below the Junction of the two streams. The “village of Rouinsac” means Kaskaskia, Ill.; the Jesuits had a mission there. Cf. p. 315, *note* 2, *ante*. —ED.

2 Fort des Sables was on Irondequoit Bay, a little east of the Genesee river. That stream does not flow into the Ohio, but Its headwaters are very near those of the Alleghany, to which a short portage would lead the traveler. The Rivière aux Boeufs (Buffalo river) is probably Oak Orchard Creek, in Orleans county, N. Y.— Ed.

From this Sandosquet River, to go to destroit, they cross lake Esrie from island to island, and reach a place called Point plée,3 where there is a very great abundance of all sorts of fish, and especially of enormous sturgeon, three, four, or five feet in Length. In one of these islands there is such abundance of cats4 that some Savages have in a very short time killed as many as 900. The reason why the savages cross is because it greatly

shortens Their route; for, If they did not do so, it would be necessary to go by the River which flows from the territory of the miamis at the end of Lake Erie.

3 Point Pelée, a long, narrow cape or point extending southward from the north shore of Lake Erie. Between it and Sandusky Bay lie numerous islands, partially bridging the waters of the lake.— Ed.

4 The wildcat (*chat sauvage*) of the early travelers meant the animal now called “raccoon” (*Procyon lotor*). See also, p. 237, *note, ante*.— Ed.

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At the entrance of the River destroit, which Is very Wide, there are four islands which are thus named: one, L'ile au bois blanc (Whitewood Island); The next, L'île aux poux (Louse Island); Another, L'île aux Eselaves (Slave Island); and The fourth, Grande Isle. The last Is very beautiful, fertile, and large—having, it is said, a circumference of six or seven Leagues. This island has an extraordinary number of apple-trees; those who have seen The apples on the ground say that they lie more than a half a foot thick, and the apple-trees are planted as if it had been done on purpose. The apples are as large as small sweet apples [*pommes d'api* , “bee-apples”]. In this island is found an abundance of very fine mill-stone. The whole circumference of the island abounds in very fine meadowland, and for a Long time there Was much hesitation in choosing between it and destroit for the settlement; the island Was not taken, for fear that the timber would some day give out. The two sides of the river of destroit are bordered by the most beautiful meadows and the best soil ever seen. The climate is very mild. It is six Leagues from Ile au bois blanc to the fort of destroit, where the French are. Two Leagues from the fort of destroit is an island called ile aux dindes (Turkey Island); it is so called because it is always full of turkeys. The island has very little wood, as it contains only meadows. Four or five years ago Le tonnerre [Thunder], a great chief of the renards, was killed there, with two of his tribesmen, by the hurons Established at destroit. The two Renards who Were with le tonnerre were devoured by the crows or other animals; but the body of the chief, a year after, Was still entire and

Had not been touched by any of the animals. The fort of destroit Is South of the River. The poutouatamis have their village near the fort. This nation makes its cabins of *apaquois* [mats]; these are made of reeds. All this work is done by the women. This nation is well clothed, like our savages resident at Montreal. The only occupation of the men is to hunt and to adorn themselves. They Use a great deal of Vermillion. They use many buffalo-Robes, highly ornamented, to cover themselves in winter; and in summer they wear Red or blue cloth. In summer they Play a great deal at 367 la crosse, twenty or more on each side. Their bat [crosse] is a sort of small racket, and The ball with which they Play Is of very Heavy wood, a little larger than the balls we use in Tennis.1 When they Play, they Are entirely naked; they have only a breeeh-clout, and Shoes of deer-skin. Their bodies are painted all over with all Kinds of colors. There are some who paint their bodies with white clay, applying it to resemble silver lace sewed on all the seams of a coat; and, at a distance, one would take it for silver lace.

1 The game here described, called by French writers *crosse*, was a favorite one among most of the American tribes. For full description of it, see *Jes. Relations*, x, pp. 185–187, 231, 326–328; xv, 179. The American and Canadian game of lacrosse is adapted from the Indian game.— Ed.

They play for large Stuns, and often The prize Amounts to more than 800 Livres. They set up two goals and begin Their game midway between; one party drives The ball one way, and the other in the opposite direction, and those who can drive It to the goal are the winners. All this is very diverting and interesting to behold. Often one Village Plays against another, the poux against the outaouacs or the hurons, for very considerable prizes. The French frequently take part in these games. The women work in the fields, raising very fine indian corn, beans, peas, squashes, and melons. In the evening The women and The girls dance. They adorn themselves liberally, grease their hair, put on white chemises, and paint their Faces with vermillion, also putting on all the porcelain beads they possess, so that after their fashion they look very well dressed. They dance to the Sound of the drum and of the *sisyquoy* [rattle], which Is a sort of gourd with pellets of lead inside. There are

four or five Young men who sing, and keep time by beating the drum and the *sysyquoy* , while the women dance to the rhythm and do not miss a step. This Is a very pretty sight, And it lasts almost all night. Often the old men dance The *medelinne* ;2 they look like a band of sorcerers. All this is

2 Medicine dance; practiced by the medicine-men (*midé*). See W. J. Hoffman's description of the dances and other rites of the Mitä' wit, or “Grand Medicine Society” among the Menomonee Indians, in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol*. Report, 1892–93, pp. 66–161.— Ed.

368 done at Night. The Young men often dance in the daytime, and strike at the posts; it is in this dance that they recount Their exploits;on such occasions they also dance the scout dance.1 They are always well-adorned when they do this. All this Is very interesting to see. They often engage in hunts of this sort in order to get tobacco. When this nation goes hunting, which is in autumn, they carry their *apaquois* with them, in order to make their cabins every evening. All the People go—men, women, and children; and they pass the winter in the woods and return in spring.

1 Charlevoix describes these dances in his Journal historique, pp. 296, 297. The first of these he calls the “calumet dance;” each warrior strikes the post with his hatchet, and relates his warlike deeds. Of the scout dance, Charlevoix says: “It is a lifelike representation of all that is done in a Hostile Expedition; and, since, as I have already stated, the Savages usually aim mainly to take their enemies by surprise, it is doubtless for that reason that they have given to this exercise the name of *Scouting*.”— Ed.

The hurons also live in the Same direction from the French fort, perhaps an eighth of a league; they are an exceedingly industrious nation. They hardly dance at all, and work continually raising a very large amount of indian corn, peas, beans, and sometimes French wheat. They build Their cabins all of bark and make them very substantial, High and rounded like arbors, and very long. Their fort Is well enclosed with a double row of palisades, and bastions, well strengthened everywhere, and has good gates. They are the Nation most loyal to the French, and are the best hunters that we have. In Their Cabins

they have a sort of chamber in whch they sleep, and which is dosed. Their *misiraques* are very neat. They are the bravest of all the Nations and have a great deal of intelligence. They are very clever. Many of them wear jerkins and cloaks. The men Are always hunting, Summer and winter, and the women work. When they go hunting in autumn, a great many always remain in their fort to guard it. These are old women, and all Winter those who remain gather wood in great quantity. Their soil is very good; indian corn grows from ten to twelve feet high; and their fields are kept very neat, 369 so that one cannot find a single Weed in them, although they Are very extensive.

The Outaouacs live on the other side of the River, opposite the French fort. They have also a palisaded fort. Their cabins are almost like those of the hurons. They use *apaquois* only when they go hunting. Their cabins in Their fort are all of bark, but not so neat or so well made as those of the hurons. They are also very clever and very industrious, both in hunting and agriculture. They have the same customs as The poux, as regards Their dances and Their juggleries, and their games of la crosse and dish.

This dish game is as follows. Eight little balls, red or black on one side, and yellow or white on the other, are tossed on a dish. When he who has the dish tosses them so that seven of the same color turn up, or all eight, he wins, and continues to play as long as he throws in this way; but when he throws otherwise, he or she with whom be Plays takes The dish and Plays in turn. In all these games they Play for large sums. They, and all the other nations likewise, have also the Game of straws.1

1 For further Information about these games, see *Jes. Relations*, x, pp. 187, 321, 322; xiv, 285; xv, 246; xvii, 201–205, 242.— Ed.

In all those countries the forests are very fine, and yield every kind of timber and of fruit. There are walnut trees, bearing walnuts like those of France; very fine plum-trees; and blackberry bushes, bearing berries that are very sweet, large and Long. There are a great

many chestnut trees yielding abundance of nuts. Lake herié, which is fully three hundred Leagues in circumference, Is bordered with them.

A League from the fort of destroit is an island called ile aux cochons (Hog Island), which is a League in length.2 It has the finest timber in the World, and prairies without end. It is one of the most beautiful islands to be seen, and has very fertile soil. Five Leagues from destroit is a small Lake called 25

2 This island, now called Belle Isle, is a handsome public park for the city of Detroit. Regarding its location, cf. p. 283, *ante*.— Ed.

370 Ste. elene,1 which is seven leagues in length and not very Wide, as one sees the land on either side. This lake Is well filled with Fish, especially with Whitefish, but these are not as good as those at michelimaquinac. Before reaching this lake, you come to the peninsula where the renards were defeated by treachery.

1 Apparently a copyist's error for Ste. Claire. The peninsula mentioned at the end of this paragraph is identified on p. 283, *note* 2, *ante*.—Ed.

I have forgotten to report the Numbers of the nations at destroit, The hurons count one hundred men; The poux 180 men; The outaouacs about one hundred men and a great many women. Twelve Leagues from the fort of destroit, always ascending The River, you will find the misisaguez Savages, who dwell on a beautiful island where they have cleared some land. They number about 60 or 80 men. Their Language is like The outaouac, with but little difference. Their customs are The Same, and they are very industrious. All these nations make a great many bark canoes, which Are very profitable for Them. They do this Sort of work in the summer. The women sew these canoes with Roots; The men cut and shape the bark and make the gunwales, cross-pieces, and ribs; the women gum Then. It is no small labor to make a canoe, in which there is much symmetry and measurement; and it is a curious sight.2 Eight Leagues farther is The entrance of lake huron which is fully as large as lake heriée. Thirty leagues into lake huron, in a westerly direction on the

route toward Michelimaquinac, you find the Saguinan, where are Settled some outaouacs, amounting to fully 60 men. They are on the islands at the entrance to the hay of Saguinan, where they have their villages and cultivate their lands, on which they raise grain. When they are not at war with the other nations they raise crops on the mainland, but they always till the land in, both places for fear that their supply of food may fail. Their land is very fertile. Game of all sorts Is abundant, and fish

2 See Hoffman's description (with illustrations) of the process of canoe-making among the Menomonee Indians, in *U.S. Bur. Ethnol Rep*., 1892–93, pp. 291–295.—Ed.

371 also. This nation Is the most Unruly and unmanageable in this whole region. They have the same customs in every respect as the outaouacs. On the other side of lake huron,—that Is, to the North,—is matchitache, settled by misisaguez savages, who have the same customs as the outaouacs. You have here The portage of toronto, which takes you from lake ontariau to lake huron, a distance of fifteen Leagues.

From Saguinan you go to Michelimaquinac, where the Jesuit fathers and some French have Settled. It would be possible, if one desired, to dispense with going to Michelimaquinac in order to reach The St. Josephe River and chicagou. La bay Is on the same side as Michelimaquinac. It is Settled by the puants and the folles-avoinnes; there are some French also. The Saquis, who Are another savage nation, also dwell near these nations, I have been told, being fifteen to eighteen Leagues distant. The puants and the folles-avoinnes are not numerous; each tribe Numbers possibly 80 or 100 men. The Saquis number 100 or 120 men. The two former nations, as far as I have learned, have the same customs as the outaouacs and the poux. As for their language, it is not quite the same; but whoever understands the outaouac tongue easily makes himself understood by these two Nations. The Saquis are like the poux because they are closely allied and have the same customs. The Saquis are settled On the Same river as the Renards, and that River leads to the portages of the ouisconsin, which flows into the misissypy. This is quite near to the Sioux.

All these Nations Are very industrious and have tour women to one man. The Renards Are 18 Leagues from the Saquis. They number five hundred men, and have a great number of women and children. They are as industrious as they can Be, and raise extraordinary crops of indian corn. They have a different language from that of the Outaouacs; an interpreter of the latter could not serve the renards. They are well fortified. They have the same customs as the poutouatamis, as regards dancing and games, but not as regards dress; for the men wear scarcely any garments made of cloth, and the majority wear no waist-cloths. As for the women, also the girls, they all wear these. They are made of deer-skin, black or 372 brown, and are adorned around the edge, in some cases, with little bells, and in others with ornaments of iron or copper or tin; over these are also worn blankets. Their women are quite pretty, and not at all black. They hunt a great deal in this region, and live in great comfort, as they have abundance of meat and fish, for that river of the renards abounds in fish.

About fifty Leagues from the renards in the Direction of chicagou, are the mascoutins and the quicapoux, who live together on the bank of a river whose name I have forgotten. These two tribes together do not amount to two hundred men, but are brave and warlike. Their Language and customs are nearly The same as those of The Renards, and they have as good Legs; for these nations run down the stag afoot, and even at the present day they use the bow and arrow. The quicapoux and the mascoutins are not Far from chicagou, it may be fifty Leagues distant. When they wish to go to destroit or the St. Josephe River they have to pass by way of chicagou.

The River St. Josephe Is to the South of lake Michignan, otherwise called Lake of the ilinois. Many follow this river to go to le roché, because it Is a fine river, and they thus Avoid The portage des chesnne and that of des perche. It is a river at The end of Lake Michignan, and goes to le roché, which Is an jlinois village.1

1 The St. Joseph river formed, with the Kankakee (which was reached by a portage of three to five miles in length, at the present South Bend, Ind.), a convenient route from

Detroit to the Illinois settlements. Of the portage here mentioned, that of des Chesnes (“the oak-trees”) was the one from the Chicago river to the Des Plaines-the earliest and best known route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi; the other, des Perches (“the poles”), was probably that from the Calumet river to the Des Plaines, at the present South Chicago. — Ed.

The St. Josephe Is a river on which Lived formerly The miamis and the poutouatamis, who had missionaries among them; and it is not so very Long since they Were there. It is the best place that could be found for getting a living and cultivating the soil. There are in this place pheasants, as in France; quails and paroquets;2 the finest vines in the World,

2 The Carolina paroquet, formerly found throughout the Mississippi and Ohio river valleys, and often mentioned by early travelers. A.W. Butler says (“Birds of Indiana,” in *Indiana Geological Report*, 1897, p. 819): “This beautiful little parrot was formerly found throughout Indiana. It was last reported from Knox county in 1859. It is now almost extinct in the United States, being at present only found In small numbers in Florida, and in a few favorable locations in northeast Texas and Indian Territory.”— Ed.

373 which yield a great abundance of excellent grapes both white and black. The grapes are very large and solid, and The bunches very Long. It is The best region in all that country. I believe they [the Miamis] have departed from it only on account of the wars waged by the Renards, the Saquis, the outaouacs, and all the other nations in that country. The River St. Joseph Is thirty Leagues from chicagou, and chicagou is thirty Leagues from le Roché. The ouyatanons Were also at chicagou, but they feared the canoe people,1 and consequently left the place. It would not be difficult to make them return, and it would be of importance to have them there for various Reasons. The principal one Is that they are near the English and the Sonontouans, on account of the easy road between them; while at chicagou it would be very different, when they would have to travel nearly a hundred Leagues overland.

1 Meaning the northern tribes, both Iroquois and Algonkin, who used canoes; this conveyance was unknown to most tribes south of Lake Michigan.—Ed.

Le Roché. The jlinois live here on the bank of the River, and the French live on the Rock, which Is very High and impregnable. Prairies extend farther than the eye can reach; and from the Top of the. Rock you can see herds of jlinois cattle roaming over the prairies. This nation has always been At war with the Renards and the ouyatanons. The jlinois of le Roché number 400 men, and are eighty Leagues from the ouyatanons, and more than one hundred and fifty Leagues from the Renards. This nation Has a different Language from that of our people at destroit; however, our potouatamis understand it in part. This nation use the bow and arrow a great deal. They Are all dressed in deer-skin, or in Robes of buffalo, wild-cat, wolf, pole-cat, beaver, or otter skins. All the abovementioned 374 mentioned Nations tattoo their bodies with all sorts of figures and designs. Nations of this Sort do not kill much beaver. As regards games, they have the same customs as all the other nations. They live on the bank of the jlinois River. These Nations fasten exceedingly well everything that they make—garters, Belts, and cords for powder-horns. They make these to perfection and with great ingenuity, and work figures on them. Their women are comely, and not at all black. They spin the Wool of the buffalo, and make with it all these articles. These jlinois people also make cabins with *apaquois* , with which they also shelter themselves from rain and snow. They are very clever.

On this same jlinois River is a village called pimytesoay, occupied by jlinois, and about fifty leagues or more from le Roche. At about the same distance on this same River are the caokias, who are jlinois. They have as missionary a priest named Monsieur Varlet,1 who is to return there next spring, 1718. He Has gone to find a priest to go thither with Him. This nation Is thirty Leagues from the Village of Roinsac, where The fathers are, which is called cascaskias; they all are jlinois, and all have The same customs. The French who are settled at this Village say that it is The most prosperous mission among all The Savages; its people are very devout and an example to the French. This nation Is quite populous.

They have all The same customs; they are very Industrious, and do a great deal of work. In those regions they raise a great many French Melons, which have green flesh inside, and are very excellent. The climate Is delightful. The Savages, besides raising a great deal of indian corn, also produce a great deal of French wheat. There are three flour-mills; one a windmill, one a horse-mill, and one a hand-mill. They have oxen, cows, pigs, horses, chickens—in fact, everything necessary for their subsistence. The French wheat thrives very well here; it is Sown in autumn, and The climate is milder than in France.

1 Dominique Marie Varlet was sent to the Illinois by the Seminaire des Missions Étrangères of Quebec; he labored with them from 1712 to 1718, when he was recalled to France.— Ed.

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Between this village of the jlinois and the other on the ouabache it is 40 leagues. Going down the Misisipy from ouabache to natches the distance is 260 leagues. This is the only village to be found along the Misisipy in going to the sea. It is 500 leagues from the sea to the village of Rouainsae, where The fathers Are; and there is always a strong current in coming up the Missisipy from the sea.

I Return to the River of the miamis. Its entrance from Lake Esrié Is very Wide, and on both sides, for a distance of ten Leagues in Ascending, there is nothing but continuous marshes. In these there is at all seasons game without end, especially in autumn and in spring; so that one can not sleep on account of tim noise made by the cries of the swans, bustards, geese, ducks, cranes, and other birds. This river is sixty leagues in length, and is very difficult in summer on account of the shallowness of its waters. Thirty leagues up is a place called la glaise [the place of clay],1 where one always finds wild cattle [buffalo], who eat, the clay and roll in it. The miamis are Sixty leagues from Lake Esrié. They number 400 men, all shapely and well tattooed. They have abundance of women. They are very industrious, and raise a Kind of indian corn which is unlike that of our tribes at Destroit. Their corn Is white, of the Same size as the other, with much finer

husks and much whiter flour. These people dress in deer-skins; and when a girl Is married, and associates with another man than Her husband, the latter cuts off Her nose and has no more intercourse with her. This is the only nation that has this custom. They are fond of gaming and dancing, and are mainly occupied with these. The women are well covered, but the men wear very little covering, and have their bodies tattooed all over. From this Village of the miamis2 there is a portage of three Leagues to a very Narrow little River; and that river, after following it 20 Leagues, falls into the eye River, or beautiful River; the latter empties into the ouabache, another fine river, which fails into the Misisypy

1 [Now] Defiance, in the N. W. of Ohio.— E. B. O'Callaghan.

2 On the site of the present Fort Wayne, Ind.— Ed.

376 40 Leagues from cascaskias. Into this ouabache river empties also the casquinampo [Tennessee], by which one goes to carolinna; but it is a long distance, and always against the current.

It is on this ouabache River that the ouyatanons are Settled. They have five villages, all built close together. One is called ouyatanons, another peangnichias, another peticotias, and another Les gros; as for the last, I do not remember its name. But they are all ouyatanons. They speak like The miamis, and are their brothers; and indeed all the miamis have the same customs and style of dress. They number fully one thousand or twelve hundred men. They have one custom which is not found among any other nations they keep Their fort very clean. They do not allow any grass to grow there, and the whole fort is strewn with Sand, like the Thyleris [Tuileries]; and, if a dog drops any excrements about the fort, The women pick Them up and carry Them outside. Their village is Situated on a high Elevation. They have more than two Leagues of fields, where they raise Their indian corn, pumpkins, and melons; and from that Elevation one sees nothing but prairies, stretching farther than the eye can reach, and abounding in buffalo. Games and dances without end take Place among them. All these nations use a great deal of vermilion. The women cover themselves, but The men wear very few clothes. It is by the oio or beautiful

River that the yroquois come; and, as they Are very dangerous, it would be important to prevent them from having intercourse with the ouyatanons. This warning has Long been repeated, but no attention has been paid to it.

The Misisypy rises in a Lake in the syou country. This river passes near the jlinois. This is about all that I Know about those places, for there are also many other rivers coming from the direction of the testes plates, which also empty into the Misisypy; but I have forgotten the names of those rivers. There is one called chaouenons.

[Endorsed: “Furnished by Monsieur de Sabrevois in 1718. 6 Canada.”]

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1718: CONFERENCE OF WESTERN INDIANS WITH GOVERNOR VAUDREUIL, AT MONTREAL.

[Part of a letter from Vaudreuil to Council; dated Oct. 30, 1718. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 143.]

There is no warlike movement among the nations of the upper country; and everything has been quiet there since the expedition Made in 1716 against the Renards—except among the Kikapous and the Maskoutins, who have continued the war against the Ilinois, against whom they have made incursions, as the Ilinois have against them.

The Renards, although they are allies of the Kikapous and Maskoutins, far from taking any part in this war, have shown that they Are disposed to maintain peace with all the nations who Are allied with us. For, in spite of their fear of being ill received on coining here, Because they were not able to fulfil all the conditions of the treaty made with them by Monsieur de Louvigny, they nevertheless sent Five of their principal chiefs, accompanied by some others of their people, who arrived at Montreal on July 20th last, under the conduct of Maurice Mesnard and Pierre Reaume, Interpreters. Three Saki chiefs arrived at the same time; and next day those of the sauteurs of Chagouamigon and of Keouéouenan

on lake Superior arrived also, with Sieur de St. Pierre, who conducted them. Sieur de Vincennes had arrived on the 19th, with the principal chief of the Miamis and three of the Ouyatanons.

A few days afterward, having assembled the chiefs of the nations of the upper country who were at Montreal, And Those of the savages at Sank St. Louis, at Sault aux Récolets, and at bout de l'Isle, I gave audience to the Renard Chiefs, who said that they were sent in behalf of Onechala of Kiuetonan and of all the other chiefs of their Village, by the Road which Pemoussa had made for them, to Beg me to take pity on Them. They confessed that it was owing to Monsieur de Louvigny that they still saw the light of day, and that they had not yet recovered from the fear which he had caused them when he had come among them. They added that they hoped I would be touched with compassion for their misery, and would not 378 treat them with severity; and would dissipate the fear which still Possessed them, by restoring to them some of their Children—that is, some of their people who were Slaves among the French.

As all the Chiefs of the nations who were to come to the general assembly had not yet arrived, I put off my reply to the Renards until the 4th of August. I spoke to them that day in the presence of our resident savages, and of the Chiefs of all the nations of the upper country who had come to Montreal, except those of the nations at Detroit, who, having set out to come to this assembly, had stopped short on hearing that there was sickness at Montreal. After addressing to them the reproaches which they deserved for not having done everything in their power for the Fulfilment of the treaty, I declared to them that, since they had come to prove their submission to me and to conclude peace with me and all my children, I was ready to receive them as a good Father, but on condition That they immediately restore the prisoners whom they may still have among them, and especially a huron woman from Detroit and two Sauteur women; and that they oblige the Kikapous and Maskoutins also to restore the people of our allies who may be prisoners among them. I told them that they must next year bring some Slaves to replace among our allies Those of their number who have been killed during the war; and that they must employ every

means to prevent The Kikapou and the Mascoutin from continuing to make war against the Ilinois, as I have sent Sieur Deliette among the Ilinois expressly to put an end to this war, and to prevent them from making any movement against, the Kikapou and the Maskoutin. I added also that, as they had asked me to restore to them some of their children, and as I had sent back last year one of the three whom I held as hostages, while one had died last spring, I would restore to them the one who still remained alive. I said that I was willing to let them take with them, also, some of those who were prisoners, and that I would not hinder those who remained here front returning next year; but that I desired that they should come to get them with some Chiefs of the Kikapous and Maskoutins, and particularly the one named 379 la Robe blanche [White robe], whom I summoned by a Collar which I gave them. After this Okinaouassent, brother of Vechala and of the hostage whom I sent back last year, spoke thus: “My Father, The Kikapou and the Maskoutin have not dared to set out on the road hither for fear of being harshly received. But when they learn how You have received the Outagami” (that is the Renard), “they will make no difficulty about coming to submit to a Father who is so good. Onechala himself, who has not been willing to keep his promise, fearing to expose himself to a harsh reception in coming here, will Doubtless be eager to come when we tell him what goodness you have shown us, and what good treatment You have given us.”

As it was Extremely important to dismiss the Renards well satisfied, I believed that out of the seventeen prisoners of their nation whom they had asked for—among whom were the wife and son of one of the chiefs, the others being their relatives—I ought to grant them twelve. For this I had all the more reason, as the Miami Chief who was at Montreal had given back to them a Young woman, who was His slave, and as our Savages from the Sault had restored a man to them. I considered, in granting this favor to them, that it might induce Onechala, their principal chief, to come down next year to get the Renards who still remain in the Colony; and that it will stir up the chiefs of the Kikapous and the Maskoutins to come with him, in the hope of getting back the people of their nation who are slaves among the French. That favor I propose to grant, With the assent. of His Majesty, after

they shall have restored to our allies the people whom they have taken From them, so as to confirm by this means a peace between all the nations of this continent with whom the French have any dealings.

[Endorsed: “Canada, No. 3. Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Oct. 80, 1718. In Council. Regarding the Savages of the upper country.” “Carry it to Monseigneur the Duc D'orleans,1 with the Map of the Country on which are indicated the habitations of all those savages. Discussed on Jan. 31, 1719: La Chapelle. Colonies: Monsieur de Vaudreuil.”]

1 Philippe, duc d'Orléans, who was regent during the minority of Louis XV (1715–23).—Ed.

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1719: FRENCH GARRISON SENT TO CHEQUAMEGON; WAR BETWEEN ILLINOIS AND WISCONSIN TRIBES; ENGLISH INTRIGUES WITH MIAMIS.

[Part of a letter from Vaudreuil to Council; dated Oct. 28, 1719. Source, same as that of preceding documents, but vol. 40, c. 11, fol. 179.]

I have received the letter which the Council did me the honor of writing May 24th last.

I continue to devote all my attention to maintaining peace among the Nations of the upper country. I sent out in September, last year, Sieur de St. Pierre, captain, and Sieur do Linctot,1 ensign, with some Soldiers, to establish a post at point Chagouamigon on Lake Superior, because the Savages of the sauteur Nation who live there, and those of the same nation who live at Kiwewenan were loudly threatening to avenge on the nations of la Baye the death of their chiefs who were killed in the Renard war; so that it became necessary to have among them sonic people who could divert them from this enterprise, whose execution might have caused war among all the nations. Sieur de St. Pierre, who has great influence among the Sauteurs, was so successful in pacifying them that they think now only of maintaining the peace.

Three chiefs, sent by the Renard nation, coming down to Montreal this year, accompanied by a Kikapou chief, sent by his own nation and by that of the Mascoutins, assured me that they were all disposed to maintain peace with all the Nations; and said that they had returned all the prisoners taken from them during the last war. In fact, all the Nations present at Montreal at the time when these Chiefs conferred with me, assured me that they no longer had any more prisoners among those nations. Thus all would be peaceful on this continent

1 Godefroy de Linctot, an officer in the Canadian army, was commandant at La Pointe from 1720 to 1726; in the latter year he was at Detroit; and from 1731 to 1733 was in charge of the fort on Lake Pepin, opposite Maiden Rock. He died in March, 1748. Regarding the Chequamegon post, see Thwaites's “Story of Chequamegon,” in *Wis. Hist. Colls*., xiii, pp. 410, 411.— Ed.

LA POINTE VILLAGE MADELAINE ISLAND, CHEQUAMEGON BAY From a recent photograph. The large building in the foreground is an old American Fur Co.'s warehouse. The mainland town of Bayfield rests in a hollow of the opposite hills, which appear to merge into the island. This La Pointe, early established as A French military and trading post, must not be confounded with the still earlier mission of La Pointe, served by Allouez and Marquette, which is on the mainland on the southwest shore of Chequamegon Bay, between Washburn and Ashland

381 but for the war which still continues between the Ilinois, and the Kikapous and Mascoutins, in which the Renards now find themselves involved, because the Ilinois have attacked them on various occasions since last year, killing and taking prisoners several of that nation. They did so without any Regard for the action of the Renards, who sent back on eight different occasions some prisoners whom the Kikapous had taken, and whom they had given to the Renards—who, in Liberating these prisoners, always charged them to say in the name of their Chiefs, that, if they desired peace, they had only to come to their Village, and there they would be in safety. As these excuses on the

part of that nation seemed reasonable to me, and the Kikapous also represented that it was not they who had begun the war, But that the Ilinois had attacked them at a time when they themselves were only desirous of living at peace with all the Nations, and as I was, moreover, informed of the truth of all these matters, I judged it expedient to treat them favorably. But I gave them to understand that this peace must be made; and that in order to succeed in this they must induce their allies, the Saskis Nation, to coöperate with them. I recommended to them to make no movement against the Illinois Nation while this negotiation was pending. They promised to inform those who had sent thorn of my wishes, and to do all in their power to persuade them to carry them out. But it is to be feared that their peaceful disposition may have changed; Sine, on returning home, they learned that a hand of forty Ilinois, who came to make an attack, had encountered on their way the Renards, Kikapous, and Mascoutins, in the place where they were carrying on their Summer hunting together; and had been so completely surrounded and attacked that not one had escaped—twenty being killed On the spot, and as many more being made prisoners. As this affair must have led those three Nations to form a large band to go to attack tack their enemy in his own country, it will prove impossible to arrange this peace, unless The officer in command among the Ilinois is able to induce that Nation to make overtures to obtain it.

I have much less difficulty in keeping the five Iroquois 382 Nations favorably disposed toward the French than in dealing with all the other Nations of the upper country, and in maintaining peace among them. I would not have sent to the Council the Collar which the five Iroquois Nations presented to His Majesty, in 1717, if it had not been presented on The occasion of his auspicious succession to the Crown. Accordingly, I will conform with the order of the Council in sending no more such Collars.

* * * * * * * *

It seems to me very necessary that Sieur Dubuisson should continue to serve in that country, as he is more capable than any other officer of managing the Ouyatonons and the

Miamis, who Know and esteem him, and among whom he has had considerable reputation since the defeat of the Renards at Detroit, where he was in command during the absence of Sieur de la forest; and where the Miamis and the Ouyatanons used to come to trade, as their Village was not at that time very far distant from that post. Those two Nations have as yet made no movement to go, one to the St. Joseph River, and the other to the Tatiky.1 They promised me, in messages sent to me last Summer, that they would not fail to go there this autumn; But they have changed their minds since that time, For I learn from the last letters I have received from the Miamis that, Sieur de Vincennes having died in their Village, Those Savages had resolved not to go to the St. Joseph River, but to remain where they are.

1 Or Teatiky, more often written Theakiki; the early name of the Kankakee river in Illinois. — Ed.

As this resolution is fraught with danger on account of the ease with which they can communicate with the English,—who are incessantly sending them Collars underground, in order to gain them over by means of certain Iroquois Couriers and others who are in their hire,—I had intended that Sieur Dubuisson should command at the post among the Ouyatanons, and, on his way thither, should Use all his Influence among the Miamis to decide That Nation to go to the St. Joseph River; or that he should remain in the place where they are settled, if they did not wish to abandon it, so as to obviate the effect 383 of all these Collars which they receive only too frequently, and which have led eight or ten Canoes of Miamis to go to carry on their trade at Orange this year, and might lead that whole Nation to follow their example.

To prevent those Collars front producing such Results, much vigilance is necessary on the part of a Commandant, in order to discover them; and, when he has done so, much ability is needed to render them of no avail. Sieur Dubuisson has all the necessary qualities for this; and there is no officer as capable as he is of dealing with those Nations and inducing them to do everything that we wish.

It will certainly be easier for him than for any other to succeed, owing to his disinterestedness and Liberality, and his firmness in matters that require it. I Beg the Council to take this into consideration.

I asked for him, two years ago, the Cross of St. Louis; And, as it has not, been granted, I Beg The Council to please obtain from His Majesty this mark of distinction, which I think that he has merited by thirty-three years of service in this country, and by his Valor, his wounds, and his good conduct; while, moreover, it seems to me necessary in the post which I propose to confide to him, if the Council be pleased to excuse him from going to Isle Royale.

Approved: La Chapelle .

Discussed on March 11, 1720.

[Endorsed: “Colonies: Monsieur de Vaudreuil. Take this to Monseigneur the Regent.”]

1719: ACCOUNT OF DE LIGNERY FOR EXPENSES INCURRED BY HIM.

[Source, same as that of preceding documents, but vol. 44, e. 11, fol. 46.]

I humbly beg Monsieur the Governor-general to have the goodness, with Monsieur the Intendant, to attend to the reimbursement which I request for advances made, on the account of the King, at Missilimakinac, since 1715.

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Paid in 1715 to Sieur Guenet 100 livres in Beaver for 200 livres of grease.

paid to Sieur La Ferté 46 livres for 92 livres of grease.

paid to Sieur Gatineau 600 livres for 33 minots of wheat.

paid to Sieur Rose 200 livres for presents Made to the Savages.

946 livres in Beaver.

In addition, bought 800 livres of oil, for the subsistence of the garrison, from the month of September, 1715, to September, 1716; and, for the expedition against the Renards, furnished the Following:

Four red blankets.

4 blue blankets.

3 white blankets.

6 pairs of mitasses.

4 of my own shirts.

Moreover, given in 1715, when I dismissed the Savages who had come for the Renard war:

66 livres of powder

100 livres of lead

of my own, from a present given me by Monsieur The Intendant.

Besides that, I furnished

15 livres of black tobacco,

and 50 livres of white tobacco.

On this, I have received at the King's Warehouse, since that time:

3 medium-sized capes of smooth cloth

3 white blankets

6 pairs of sleeves

8 dozen Knives

50 livres of powder

230 livres of lead.

I Certify that I have furnished the articles contained in this statement, for the good of the Service.

Quebec , NOV. 15, 1719.

(Signed) De Lignery .

Collated with The original in the hands of the Secretary of Monseigneur the Governor-General.

Delenage .

Subscribed at Quebec , Feb. 17, 1720.

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1720: LOUVIGNY APPOINTED COMMANDANT-GENERAL IN THE NORTHWEST.

[Proceedings of Council of Marine, March 12, 1720. Source, same as that of preceding documents, but vol. 41, c. 11, fol. 177.]

Sieur de Louvigny, Lieutenant of the King at Quebec, having represented that it would be necessary for the King to designate some person authorized to make an inspection, at least every two years, of the Posts in the upper country, to ascertain what is going on there, and to remedy any disorders arising there, so that orders to that end might be given in accordance with the reports which would be made by the person entrusted with that Commission,—to whom it would be Necessary to give a Brevet as Commandant-General in the countries where the French trade, so as to avoid all discussion with the Commandants of the Posts,—he offered at the same time to undertake this Commission.1 Letters were written to Monsieur the Marquis of Vaudreuil, asking for his opinion of this proposition. He answers2 that, this inspection seems to him expedient, in order to maintain good order and peace among the Nations; he adds that, Sieur de Louvigny knows perfectly their character and their interests, and can, better than any one else, acquit himself of this Mission, for which he considers that he will need a brevet of Commandant-General in the country where the French trade. But he feels that he ought to state that, this Commission will prove useless If the Licenses are suppressed; for in that case, as it will be Impossible to Bring to those Posts the supplies necessary for their maintenance and for the Subsistence of their Garrisons, they will necessarily be abandoned. He adds that, If this Arrangement is carried out, a new expense will accrue to His Majesty—which Will be a considerable one on account of the presents which Sieur de Louvigny Will be obliged to Make to the Nations

1 Marginal note: “Approved. Opinion of the council: the title of commandant-general of the upper country should be given to Monsieur de louvigni by an order of the king; and this should give him no rank in the colony but that of lieutenant of the king.”

2 Marginal note: “Oct. 15, 1719.” 26

386 among whom he goes; and because of the two Canoes he will need for each visit, whose equipment, with provisions and pay for 4 men in each, will cost more than 3,000 livres. This does not include the provisions needed for Sieur de Louvigny, and a Gratuity

which he will be sure to ask for on his return from each trip. Finally, if his Majesty is unwilling to incur this expense, He can not refuse him a sufficient number of permits to defray it.

The Council considers it necessary to order these Visits, and holds that they ought to be Made at the King's expense, without granting any Permits. It deems that the Brevet of Commandant-General of the advanced Posts should be granted as requested.

[Endorsed: “To be taken to Monseigneur the due d'orleans: March 12, 1720.”]

1720: EXPENSES OF FOX WAR.

[Memorial of Captain de Lignery to the Council, asking for reimbursement of his expenses in the war. Source, same as preceding documents, but vol. 44, c. 11, fol. 47.]

To his Serene Highness, Monseigneur the Count de Toulouze :

Monseigneur —De Lignery, Captain in Canada, Very humbly Represents to Your serene highness that, while commandant at the post of Michilimakiac, he made some advances to the King for presents to the savages, and for the Expedition against the Renards. For these, Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil had told him to reimburse himself out of the Stores remaining at Michilimakiac, when he was relieved; but as there was not enough merchandise, without taking the munitions of war, he could not do so, as he did not wish to strip the post when there were Important affairs to be Settled. Monsieur Beaujeux,1 who Relieved him, had moreover begged him to seek

1 For sketch of Daniel Lienard de Beaujeu, see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., v. p. 115; at pp. 108–122 are also given biographical notices of Louvigny, Perrot, Lignery, La Perrière Marin, Dubuisson, Coulon and Neyon de Villiers, Noyelle, and St. Ange.— Ed.

387 reimbursement at Quebec. I enclose his certificate, and a copy of the statement which I have given to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had promised to speak of this to

Monsieur The intendant. The latter told me that he had no funds for this, and that I should lay my statement before the Council of Marine. Having, also, before departure, had a new Establishment created for the Outavois and the French, on the other Side of The River; a fort for the garrison, with two guardhouses; and a 40-foot house—all at his own expense, He very humbly begs Your serene Highness to take this into Consideration, And also the trouble and pains he has taken to ensure the success of this war, of which he has borne the whole Load. Monsieur de Louvigny having received for this campaign a gratuity of one thousand Écus, he Hopes, Monseigneur, that you will do him this justice, as he needs this Assistance. He will continue to wish and pray for the Preservation, Health And prosperity of Your serene highness.

1720: FUR TRADE IN NORTHWEST; RESTRICTIONS NEEDED; EVILS OF INTEMPERANCE AMONG SAVAGES; POLICY TO BE PURSUED BY FRENCH.

[Memorial of Louvigny to Council; dated Oct. 15, 1720. Source, same as that of preceding documents, but vol. 42, c. 11, fol. 238.]

My Lords —I have received the order of the King with which it, has pleased you to honor me, My Lords, in my capacity of Commandant-General of the upper country of this Colony. I venture to assure you that I will Conform with what is contained therein, and will employ all my efforts in laboring to satisfy His Majesty, In pursuance of the orders with which it has pleased you to charge me.

You order Me, My lords, to remedy the abuses that are Prevalent, to maintain peace and union among the Savage Nations, and absolutely to prevent the French from selling brandy. I shall not fail to follow your just and valued orders, as well as lies in my power; and on my return I will give to My Lords 388 a truthful picture of the condition of each settlement; of the abuses that exist there; of the means, according to my lights, for remedying them. This I would not have ventured to undertake, if the orders with which I am charged did not impose this duty on me.

Since I am honored with a Commission and charged with your orders, permit me, My Lords, to explain the difficulties in the way of executing them, and the remedies to be applied. I had foreseen them several years ago. Since that time affairs have come to such a pass that it is necessary to display as much Severity as we have employed indulgence, If we wish to avert the evils of a war which will not fail to arise between the Savages and the French.

When the posts were established in the upper country, through the wise foresight of Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, it was with the intention that a Certain number of Licenses, granted under Specified conditions for trading with the Savages of each place, should not be valid in other posts; so that the French who obtained these Licenses would ensure the safety of the posts to which they were assigned, Without Being allowed to Roam with the savages in the woods and to Infringe on the limits of the other posts.

These just regulations are transgressed by the greed of the Coureurs de Bois, a greed prejudicial to the state, to good order, and to Trade. The impunity with which they have violated the law seems to constitute an authority for these voyageurs, against whom it will be necessary to fix a severe and exemplary penalty, to be visited upon all offenders On valid accusation and report by the officers in command at the forts, and by the Missionaries.

The Trade in brandy, which My Lords absolutely prohibit, is the Cause of all the troubles among the Savages, among whom there are no laws, and no punishments beyond the will to do harm.

The Savages no longer Think of hunting in order to clothe Themselves but only to get drink. Brandy is making them poor and miserable; sickness is killing them off; and they slay one another on very slight provocation, and without any penalty 389 for the murderer except the risk of meeting The same fate. Through this fear they disband and quit their Villages to settle elsewhere in families, for fear of being killed by the relatives of those

whom they have slain. They no longer recognize any Chiefs, or any subordination; and they are all Furious and frantic in their intoxication, since when they can not stab one another, and when their weapons have been taken from them, they bite off one another's ears and noses. Such, My Lords, is a Picture of the effects of brandy among them, whence it is easy to judge how little order or reason there is among people who are in a state of Perpetual intoxication.

I am persuaded that there will be difficulty at first in this absolute prohibition; but great evils call for powerful remedies, and the Savages, If they can again taste the sweets of tranquillity, Know that they Will live in greater comfort, and will no longer have their minds filled with the ideas of revenge which torment them, and which they revive in their intoxication. They will Became more tractable, and more submissive to the French; and will devote themselves to procuring good furs, and will listen to the advice of the Commandants. This Conversion can not be brought about without threats on their part of going to the English to get brandy, for the drunkards will not easily be cured of the desire for drink.

The threats of the Savages to go among the English are often made to avoid paying their debts. The greed of the French Traders Leads them to lend easily, and more than the Savages can pay; that gives rise to quarrels, and leads the French to Run after their debts, and to pass the winter in the woods and to fix their abode in the upper country, which renders them undisciplined and like the Savages. Accordingly, to secure order, I think it ought to be forbidden to the French to lend Cloths; but that they should be allowed to lend powder and shot only, to enable the savages to hunt and subsist. They should also be forbidden to pass the winter stealthily in the woods, roaming about with the Savages; but should remain at the posts designated in their Licenses—since it is not for the Savages to keep the French in order; but it is for Us, who ought to be law-abiding, to bring the savages to be so by the persuasion 390 of our examples. Indeed, they would Conform with these,

if they were not led astray by the Coureurs de bets, who refuse to obey the orders given to them.

You order me, My Lords, to establish union among these Nations, and I will do my best; but that they can be restrained from pursuing their ideas of revenge, which are Often very Capricious, and from exercising their ferocity, is a thing which I believe impossible. It would be necessary to change their natures. It is more expedient for the repose of all the Europeans to let the Savages who have a war between themselves fight it out, rather than to undertake to concern ourselves with their quarrels. We should reserve to ourselves only the quality of Mediators, whenever they have recourse to the Mediation of the French; for, no matter what agreement the latter may secure between these Nations to reconcile them, they observe it only as long as they choose to, and the Caprice of an individual can break it off at a moment's notice. When they wish to end a war among themselves, they know better than We the means for Ending it; and if by chance we Are obliged to take a hand in the matter, How much merchandise, how much expense and activity are necessary! which are very often of no avail, on account of the little confidence that can be reposed in those peoples.

To succeed, it would be necessary that the French remain in the posts to which they are assigned, without Roaming in the woods. It may easily happen that a band of hostile savages, coming to attack those whom the French accompany in the woods, may fall upon and Kill the latter also, as they come and go. Those Savages will think it sufficient excuse to say that it was a mistake. That has happened this year; but it would not have happened save for the disobedience and Caprice of the Contents de bets, who violate repeated orders, which they openly mock.

The Savages to justify themselves, say: “Why do we find the Frenchman on our war-path? He carries powder and weapons to our enemies.” Now, to obviate these embarrassing occurrences, there would be necessary, I venture to suggest, My Lords, a prohibition issued by the Council and published through the whole country, which should inflict

Material punishment—either 391 confiscation to the Royal domain of the Property and Estates of those Violating the law, or some other Severe penalty which will reduce to submission the Coureurs de bois, who trust To the nearness of the English. For my part, I deem that it is better in a Colony to have fewer subjects and obedient ones, than to have a great number without law or order. A single example would render the others more Discreet in future.

If the Licenses are too numerous, you might, My Lords, allow a reduced number, instead of the 24 that were granted. Even if there were only twelve or sixteen, they would be worth more money; and it will amount to the same thing for the persons who get any profit from them, and the traders will do better business; for to Suppress them altogether would at once bewilder the Savages and give them a good reason for seeking their necessary supplies elsewhere. It would also furnish free entry for Strangers into the whole upper country, to which they are already inclined by the invitations that they get every year.

If Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Monsieur Begon furnish me the means for making this journey and all the necessary movements, I hope to inform you, My Lords, fully and truly concerning all the posts established among the Nations dependent, on this Colony, and to merit by the truthfulness of all my respectful observations the honor of your protection.

Louvigny .

Quebec , Oct. 15, 1720.

1720: EXPENSES FOR INSPECTING THE UPPER POSTS.

[Letter of Louvigny to the Council; dated Oct. 19, 1720. Source, same as preceding documents, but fol. 237.]

My Lords , Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil has told me of the order which he has transmitted to me as Commandant of the upper country, and has said that he had no funds to enable me to make this journey, as it should be made with Suitable 392 dignity, since I would appear there to restrain the French and to make an impression on the savages, and not as a trader.

He has ordered me to give him a statement of the expense absolutely necessary for this Journey, which will last eighteen months. I have done so with the closest economy possible, for at any rate I shall need provisions during 18 months of travel—bread, peas, and Bacon; and I shall have to confer with sixteen different Nations among whom I Shall be obliged to go. My estimate amounts to six thousand livres Canadian money.

He told me that he would inform you, My Lords, and ask you, in case you approved this expense, to send your orders by the first Vessels, as the King's Ship arrives too late to admit of my setting out for so distant regions after its arrival. I answered Monsieur de Vaudreuil that I was always ready to execute your orders, My Lords, and those which he may give me.

Louvigny .

Quebec , Oct. 19, 1720.

1720-–21: MORE JESUITS NEEDED IN UPPER COUNTRY; HOSTILITIES BETWEEN FOXES AND OTHER TRIBES; MIAMIS REFUSE TO MIGRATE.

[Letter of Governor Vaudreuil to Council, dated Oct. 22, 1720. Source, same as that of preceding documents, but fol. 164.]

I have received the Letter which the Council did me The honor of writing on June 7th, last.

I will carefully conform with the Intentions of His Majesty as regards the expenses for the Inspection of the posts, which Monsieur de Louvigny, lieutenant of the King at Quebec, is to make in the capacity of Commandant-general of the Posts; and no license will be given to meet this expense, Since His Majesty desires that it be charged to his account.

The Procurator of the Jesuits not. having sent to Canada this year the four Missionaries whom the Council had asked him to Send, I beg the Council to be pleased to oblige the Procurator to Send them next year, as we need that number.1

1 Marginal note: “Mention this to the Father Procurator of the Jesuits.”

393

The Renards, Kikapous, and Mascoutins still continue their war Against the Ilinois, and threaten all the other nations, without consideration for any except That of the Sious, whom they for a time induced to espouse their cause, but who have again withdrawn from them, according to The last news that I have received by Way of detroit.

The Renards have forgotten the sorry State to which they found Themselves reduced four years ago. The peace that was granted to them has served only to increase their pride and their Insolence. They have paid no attention to all that Ouachala, one of their principal chiefs, who came to Montreal last year, has been able to say in my name to induce them to make peace with The Ilinois. On the Contrary, They have despised this Chief, because he seemed too well-affected toward the French. He himself has sent me word that The Young men had lost their Senses, and that he would be Constrained to abandon it [the peace].

They have recently violated The law of nations in killing a Miami who had gone to see the Sakis, who Are their Neighbors and their allies; and the latter, foreseeing the grievous consequences of this murder and of the bad Conduct of the Renards, appear determined not only to concern themselves no longer with their affairs, but even to abandon them

absolutely, and go to settle on the St. Joseph River, for fear of being confounded with Them in the Vengeance which the other nations, our allies, wish to take for the Continual Insults which they have suffered from the Renards. This fear is not ill-founded, since Sieur do Tonty writes me (Aug. 27th) that the Principal Chief of the Ponteouatamis has Secretly declared to him that those nations are ready to make war on the Renards, if I will abandon that tribe to Them; and that he Counts on at least a thousand men, people from the lake and from the Miamis, Ouayatanons, and Ilinois; but he said that they would not undertake anything without first knowing my Wishes in the Matter. The Disposition of all those nations to attack The Renards, without concerning ourselves with the matter, seems to me favorable in that this proud nation, Finding all the others declaring against them, may finally decide to act with more 394 Moderation—especially as Ouacantapé, Chief of the Sious, has decided to abandon their Cause, which will greatly humiliate Them; And as they will be obliged, in case the League of nations should march against them, to make a firm peace with the latter, by yielding the Satisfaction they ask, or by going so far away that they can no longer Trouble those tribes. Accordingly I shall not hesitate to abandon the Renards to these nations, if I learn next year that they have not made suitable amends to the Miamis, and that they Continue to make War against the Ilinois.

According to advices received from St. Joseph River and the Ouyatanons post, some savages of That nation, to the number of forty or 50, have gone to settle at the Teatiky, And it was Hoped that the rest would Follow Them this autumn. It is, however, to be Feared that the Pianginchias, who are more numerous than all the rest, may decide to remain where they are; for they have been solicited by the Canadians who have fled to Caskakias, Who have told the Savages that they would take care to bring them merchandise, and that the officer who was in command in the country of the Ilinois, claiming that they were his dependents, was on the point of having their post occupied by an officer with a Garrison. This, according to my views, is wholly Prejudicial to the welfare of This Colony and to the union which ought to exist between the ouyatanons and the Miamis; for they are one and the same nation, having separated into two Bodies on

account of the Jealousy of the Chiefs who formerly governed them. Besides, that nation has never been Considered as belonging either to the Ilinois country or to Louisiana.

A part of the Miamis, numbering about one hundred men, have gone to Settle on the St. Joseph River, where still others were expected. However, The majority of the Savages of that nation continue to remain in their usual territory, and do not appear at all disposed to go to the St. Joseph River. Some of their Chiefs, who are very much under the influence of the English and the Iroquois, on seeing that I was causing all the French who were in their Village to withdraw, have taken advantage of this to insinuate that I wished to abandon the nation, 395 and that they ought, therefore, to make up their minds to go and Settle back of the Iroquois country, in a Place to which the English are trying to attract them. Having been informed of these intrigues of the Chiefs and of the perturbation which the Retreat of the French had produced among that nation, I sent from Montreal, in the month of August last, Sieur Dumont, half-pay Ensign, accompanied by Sieur simon Resume, a former Voyageur, who has a reputation among the Savage nations, with two Canoes to bring presents to the Miamis, in order to pacify that nation and prevent them from being deceived by the Intrigues of Those Chiefs who favor the English, and to induce them if it can be done to go as soon as possible to the St. Joseph River. These Frenchmen are to go thence Among the Ouayatanons, and to those on the Teatiky; in order to nullify the influence of the Collars Sent to that nation by the Miami Chiefs who are in the Interests of the English, with an Invitation to go with them to Orange. Every effort is to be made to persuade them to quit the place where they are living, and to go to the Teatiky. This precaution seemed to me all the more necessary as I have foreseen that Sieur Du Buisson, upon whom I have always Relied, and whom the Council has allowed me to name as commandant at the post of the Ouayatanons, could not arrive early enough to get there This year. He will go next spring, and I hope that his Influence will suffice to Persuade the Savages and the Miamis to do what it is expedient that they should do.

[Proceedings of Council regarding letter (dated Oct. 6, 1721) of Governor Vaudreuil; dated Dec. 2, 1721. Source, same as that of preceding documents, but fol. 320.]

The Procurator of the Jesuits of New France has sent this year only a single Missionary to Canada. He was first placed in the mission of the Sault St. Louis, in place of Father de Lauzon, who had been called to Quebec to take charge of the School of hydrography, as Father le Brun, who had kept it, had died.1

1 The missionary who arrived this year was Jacques Quintin de la Bretonnière; most of his life was spent in the Iroquois mission colonies. Pierre de Lauzon came to Canada in 1716; he was superior of the Canadian missions from 1732 to 1739. François le Brun came to Canada in 1707, and died in 1721. The royal school of hydrography maintained at Quebec was, after Joliet's death (1700), placed in charge of the Jesuit fathers.— Ed.

396 Thus the need for Jesuit Missionaries still exists, and is even becoming more urgent, as the one who is now at St. Joseph River is to return in the spring to Michilimackinac, to replace Father Merest,1 who is alone there, and who being no longer Able on account of his advanced age and his constant Infirmities to give his attention to the outavois missions, of which he is the Superior, is to return next year to live in Quebec. This constrains him to beg the Council to oblige the Jesuits to send over to Canada next year as many Missionaries as they can.2

1 A reference to Joseph J. Marest (p. 205. *note* 1, *ante*).— Ed.

2 Marginal note: “Communicate this article to the Procurator of the Jesuits. L.A.B.”

[His Royal Highness is satisfied with the report you have made on the War which the Renards, Kikapous, and mascoutins continue to carry on against the Islinois; and threats they make against the other nations; and the murder of a miami, in violation of the law of nations. The resentment of these nations is justified, and H. R. H. approves your

abandoning the Renards to these nations, as you have proposed, if they do not make proper amends to the Miamis, and if they continue to make War on the Islinois.]3

3 This document is apparently a resumé of: (a) instructions sent June 14, 1721, by the Council to Vaudreuil; (b) his answer thereto, dated Oct. 6 following; (e) action thereon by the Council. Extracts from “(a)” are here enclosed in brackets; those from “(c)”, mainly in the form of marginal notes, are given by us as foot-notes.— Ed.

He answers that the Renards, far from making amends to the Miamis, continue to do mischief. During the spring of last year they stabbed a Frenchman, one of three who were passing the winter among the Kikapous. They have even taken care to inform Sieur de la Morandiere of it by their own words, in an assembly of all the nations of la Baye, held in August of the same year, on account of some sauteurs who wished to confer with those nations and to dance the Calumet with Them.4

4 Marginal notes: “Take this article, with that of the Council's letter, to Monsieur the Regent The Council believes that the orders given by Monsieur de Vaudreuil should be approved.”

“By decision of H. R. H., the opinion of the Council is approved. L. A. B.”

397 In making this confession they asked Sieur de la Morandiere [in return] for a Calumet and a Collar, to tell them what to do in the matter. But that officer gave them to understand that he saw no other means of guaranteeing their village, and saying the lives of their wives and Children, than by giving up the murderer into his hands to have his Head broken, as it was just that an assassin should die. They withdrew without making any reply, contenting themselves, on leaving la Baye, with saying to the Sakis that what was asked from them was impossible. As the reason for this, they alleged that the murderer had a great number of kinsmen, all of high standing, and that half their village would have to perish if this Execution took place. This, according to Sieur de la morandiere, is only a poor excuse, which they have been pleased to allege in order to cover up their ill-will.

In that same assembly the Renards informed the sauteurs that their young men had killed a sauteur while hunting. They have also since that time, at the beginning of October, carried off two Poutouatamis from the St. Joseph River, who were hunting near Chicagou; but those two Prisoners were delivered by the Quicapous and the Mascoutins, who had jointly agreed to ransom them at the time when the Renards passed through their country in returning to their village. Having succeeded in ransoming only one, the son of Ouenamek, a Poutouatami chief of great repute, they untied his comrade and let him escape at night, so that the two Prisoners returned to St. Joseph River last December.

This act of hostility on the part of the Renards against the Pontouatamis, so stirred up the latter that they would already have avenged it, if Sieur de Montmidy, who is in command at the St. Joseph River, had not checked the different bands of this nation, who wished to set out on a Campaign against the Renards. He has had great difficulty in restraining them, but has nevertheless succeeded by means of presents, and by telling 398 them that they must not undertake anything until Informed of the Wishes of Monsieur de Vaudreuil in the Matter.

Hereupon, to put an end to the continual importunity of the savages in regard to this, he has given orders to the officers in command at the posts no longer to restrain those who wish to make War on the Renards; and to declare to them that he abandons the latter to them—advising them, however, not to attack in small bands, but rather to combine together and form one force capable of destroying them entirely; at the same time offering them the supplies needed for this.

[H. R. H. is also Satisfied with the report you have made regarding the number of Savages who have gone to settle on the Teatiky and on the St. Joseph river, and with the hopes you entertain of drawing the others into these two places. He has approved all the steps you have taken in this matter, and for rendering useless the measures taken by the English and the Iroquois to dissuade them. You will please report on the Results.]

He answers that Sieur de Montmedy, half-pay ensign, who has remained in command at the St. Joseph River, since Sieur Deschaillons, captain, left that post last year, has informed him that on Sept. 15th, 1720, there arrived at the St. Joseph River two mascoutin chiefs with ten other Savages, who, in the name of their nation, asked the Poutonatamis of that post for permission to settle near them, saying that they wish to get away from the Renards, who always continue in their Perversity, and commit hostilities incessantly. This officer has also informed him that a like number of Mascoutins, with one of their chiefs, had arrived at his post, on May 2nd, 1721, saying that they were abandoning the Renards and wished to approach the Poutouatamis. The latter deferred their answer as they were awaiting the return of their Chief Pilemou, who came to Montreal this year. He told them that they must bring the most notable chiefs of their nation, and also Robe Blanche, principal chief of the Kikapous, to go down to Montreal and confer with Monsieur de Vaudreuil.1

1 Marginal note: “Take this article also to the Regent; and add a Map of Canada on which all these nations are designated. L. A. B.”

399

As it is important to keep up this favorable disposition on the part of the Kikapous and mascoutins, in this matter of withdrawing to the St. Joseph River to Settle there, he has written to Sieur de Montmidy to send those two chiefs to him, and to raise no difficulties about receiving those two nations at his post, when they present themselves to settle there, provided that no objection is made by the Poutouatamis and Miamis who are Established there. The number of the latter has not increased at this post since last year, as none of those who had remained in the old village have left it.

Sieur Dumont, whom he sent. last year to persuade them to abandon it, has informed him that on his assembling them on the 11th of last February, they all unanimously declared that they were positively resolved to remain in their old village—alleging, as a reason for refusing to leave it, that they are in safety there, and that there is game in the

neighborhood; while, if they went to Settle at the St. Joseph River, they would be in danger of being killed by the Renards, and would have to travel a long distance to reach the place where they usually hunt. The Ouyatanons have also refused to go to the Teatiky, and the little band which had Settled there abandoned the place on finding that the rest of the nation would not come. Thus the Hopes which he had had of drawing the Miamis to the St. Joseph River, and the ouyatanons to the Teatiky, have come to nothing. But as it is of great importance not to abandon those two nations, he sent, in the month of August last, Sieur Du Buisson, Captain, to Occupy a post among the Miamis, and to assume command there as well as among the ouyatanons. He will reside among the Miamis, as it is necessary that he remain there in order to forestall the effect of the intrigues of the English, who continue them by means of certain Iroquois, who go among the Miamis almost every year, under pretext of visiting them as friends. Some of those Emissaries, who passed the winter this year in their village, chose the time when Sieur Dumont was among the ouyatanons, to Take along 8 or 10 Canoes of Miamis to Orange to do their trading there. He hopes that Sieur Du Buisson will find means of putting an end 400 to these intrigues by the influence which he has on the minds of these Savages.

* * * * * * * *

Done and decreed December 23, 1721.

L. A. de Bourbon.

By the Council: M. Lachapelle .

1721: EXPENSES INCURRED IN THE WAR WITH THE FOXES.

[List of expenditures in above war, sent by the Intendant Bégon to the Council, in his letter dated Nov. 10, 1721. Source, same as that of preceding documents, but vol. 38, c. 11, fol. 185.]

List of Expenses incurred on the occasion of the Renard War, and in 1715, 1716, and 1717, as follows, to Wit:

In the year 1715 .

l. s. d.

3 gross 5 dozen [name of article omitted] at 251. 4s.1

1 The prices here cited are given in French currency of livres (tournois), sols, and deniers. The livre was worth nearly the same as the modern franc (equivalent to about 20 cents of American currency); the sol was one-twentieth of a livre; and the denier one-twelfth (in earlier times, one-fifteenth to one-twentieth) of a sol.— Ed.

a gross 76. 9.6

26 paddles at 5s 6.10

30 powder Barrels at 30s. 45.

1 pair of Soldier's stockings 4.10

18 Waist-cloths at 121. 216.

2 gross of Fire-steels at 1081. a gross 216.

20 empty Barrels at 30s. 30.

25 portage-Collars at 40s. 50.

6 Bark Canoes, 8-seated, at 2251. 1350.

10 Blankets of 2 points2

2 Blankets marked with “points” were formerly manufactured in Europe especially for the northwestern American trade, and during the present century were distinguished as “Mackinac” blankets. They were made of good honest wool, half-inch thick, with two black stripes at each end. The size was marked by a black line four inches long and about half an inch wide, woven in the corner of the blanket. The sizes were 2½, 3, 3½, and 4 “points,” and indicated by these black lines.— Richard R. Elliott, in *Jes. Relations*, lxx, p. 308.

at 221 10s. 225.

401

10 large Cloaks at 75l. 750

8 medium-sized Cloaks at 60l. 480

24 Shirts for men at 10l. 240

12 Chemises for women at 9l. 108

12 Shirts for boys at 7l. 10s. 90

119 livres 14 oz. of kettles at 6l. 719

12 Hats at 4l. 48

15 ells of Kersey at 6l. 90

5 gross of Knives at 54l. a gross 270

2 gross of Flemish Knives at 127l. 10s. a gross 255

6 wooden Chests at 7l. 10s. 45

144 pots of brandy at 7l. 10s. 1080

30 ells of scarlet Cloth at 36l. an ell 1080

1 livre 6 oz. of Sponge at 16l. a livre 705

58¾l. Rennes thread at 12l. a livre 705

12 Tulle guns at 40l. 480

8 livres twine for Nets at 9l. 31.

84 livres of gum [pitch] at 5l. a livre 8.10

22545 porcelain beads at 10l. a 1000 225. 4.6

6 marcs of tinsel lace at 241. a marc 144.

55 small axes at 41. 10s. 247.

7 large axes at 9l. 63.

I Soldier's jerkin for 22.10

4 Doublets trimmed with gold-lace at 165l. 665.

32 livres of rope at 3l. 96.15

18 pairs of sleeves at 15l. 270.

18 pairs of mitasses [leggings] at 15l. 270.

1873 livres of fine powder at 30s. 2809.10

2820 gun-flints at 3l. 15s. a hundred 105. 7.6

2639 livres of lead at 15s. 1979. 5.

56 pouches at 6l. 15s. 378.

12 Deer-skins at 18l. 216. 27

5 tarpaulins at 40l. 10s. 202.10

12 packages of Balsam [?] at 5s. 3.

2 livres of Rassade [round beads] at 4l. 10s. 9.

1 pair of Shoes at 6l. 6.

30 ells of cloth for trading, at 45s. an ell 67.10

45 ells of canvas at 61. 15s. an ell 303.15

7½ ells of linen at 3l. 15s. 28. 2.6

1035¾ livres of native tobacco 22s. 6d. 1167. 4.4

100 livres of Black Tobacco at 3l 300.

1 gross of gun-worms 20.

5 Canoe-Sails at 40l. 10s. 202.10

17 livres of vermilion at 30l. 510.

Provisions.

13½ minots of peas at 6l. 81.

322 livres of bread at 2s. 3d. 36. 4.6

672½ livres of bacon at 15s. 504. 7.6

81 livres of Beef at 6s. 24. 6

2076¼ livres of Biscuit at 22l. 10s. 467. 3.2

20139. 9.6

In the year 1716.

Equipment of Monsieur de Louvigny for the Savages of the Saut and for those Sent from michilimakinac by Monsieur de Lignery.

4 paddles at 5s. 1.

2 dozen brass buttons at 3l. a doz. 6.

1 tobaccos-Box 7.10

14 Blankets of 2 points at 37l. 10s. 525.

20 Shirts at 12l. 240.

13¾ livres of kettles at 7l. 10s. 103. 2.6

2 Hats with borders at 15l. 30.

6½ dozen horn-handled clasp-Knives at 6l. 39.

10 ells of Cloth at 30l. 320.

2 guns at 40l. 80.

2 mares of tinsel lace at 30l. 60.

9 livres of gum for Canoes at 30s. 13.10

6 small axes at 3l. 18.

403

1 pair of garters at 45s. 2. 5

33 ells of mazamet1

1 Mazamet is the name of a town in France; and is also used as a general term for cloth of all kinds.— Crawford Lindsay.

for six Cloaks at 15l. 495.

3¾ ells of mazamet for 3 pairs of leggings 56. 5

1 mirror for 2. 5

81 livres of fine powder at 30s. 122.10

164 livres of lead at 15s. 123.

10 pouches at 6l. 60.

100 gun-flints at 3l. 15s. 3.15

6466 porcelain beads at 30l. a 1000 193.19.7

1 package of Fish-hook Guts at 30s. 1.10

1 canvas Bag for 3.

150 livres of native tobacco, at 18s. 9d. 140.12.6

10 ells of cloth for trading at 3l. 30.

1¾ livres of Vermilion for 65.12.6

Provisions.

2 pots of Cider at 37s. 6d. 3.15

14 pots of wine at 6l. 7s. 6d. 89. 5

2½ pots of brandy at 12l. 30.

420 livres of Biscuit at 22l. 10s. 94.10

112 livres of Beef at 6s. 9d. 37.16

276 livres of bacon at 18s. 9d. 258.15

3¼ minots of peas at 6l. 19.10

616 livres of fresh bread at 2s. 3d. 69. 6

11½ minors of Indian Corn at 6l. 69.

3418. 4.1

To Monsieur de Louvigny for his Equipment and that of the officers who accompanied him, for buying provisions and for making presents to the Savages:

1 Arquebuse with a Stand 60.

1 gross 1½ doz. lance-blades at 25l. 4s. a gross 30. 7.6

17 paddles at 5s. apiece 4. 5

1 gross of fire-steels for 108.

404

50 Bayonets at 3l. 15s. 187.10

103 one-livre lead Balls at 15s. a livre 77. 5

4 Spades at 6l. 24.

1 Bistoury 6.

64 Barrels at 30s. 96.

1000 Nails for Roofing at 6l. a hundred 60.

1 Chisel 3.

1000 Nails for flooring at 3l. a hundred 30.

16 blankets of 2 points at 37l. 10s. 600.

109 Shirts for men at 12l. 1309.

12 Chemises for women at 11l. 132.

19 Shirts for boys at 9l. 108.

29¼ livres of Kettles at 6l. 175.10

5 gross 6 doz. of horn-handled clasp-Knives at 54s. 297.

1 gross of Flemish Knives at 127l. 10s. a gross 127.10

12 Cloaks trimmed with lace at 120l. 1440.

2 livres of Cotton yarn at 12l. 24.

6 medium-sized Cloaks at 60l. 360.

6 small Cloaks at 50l. 300.

19 portage Collars at 40s. 38.

6 livres of candles at 30s. 9.

1 Bark Canoe 226.

Another, 8-seated 450.

Two others, 8-seated, at 340l. 680.

74 ells of Cloth at 30l. an ell 2220.

25 Sewing Needles at 3l. a hundred .15

500 Pins at 30s. a hundred 7.10

4 Sponges at 12l. each 48.

2 rolls of Bark for Cabins at 27l. each 54.

4: others at 25l. each 100.

1 roll of Bark for Canoe for 9.

12 guns at 30l. 360.

12 gun-sheaths at 31. 15s. 45.

4 oz. of thread at 16l. a livre 4.

56 livres of Rennes thread at 12l. 672.

37 [livres] of twine for Nets at 6l. 222.

405

150 grenade-fusees at 3s. 22.10

4 Bomb-fusees at 5s. 1.

4 match-tubs at 3l. 12.

8 pairs of hinges at 3l. 24.

24 livres of gum for Canoes at 30s. 36.

56 small axes at 3l. 168.

8 large axes at 13l. 10s. 108.

2 medium-sized axes at 9l. 18.

4 hoes at 10l. 10s. 42.

6 laced Doublets at 165l. 990.

52½ livres of heavy Fish-Lines at 3l. 157.10

10 Lancets at 8l. each 80.

18 pairs of mitasses at 15l. 270.

10 livres of slow-match at 7s. 6d. 3.15

18 pairs of laced Sleeves at 15l. 270.

2 Boxes of medicines at 37l. 10s. 75.

27 ells of Mazamet at 15l. 405.

3970 porcelain beads at 30l. a thousand 119. 2

2 quires of paper for cannon-cartridges at 10s. 1.

8 pairs of hinges at 8l. 64.

2 picks at 5l. 10.

1 quire of Wrapping paper .15

1542 livres of fine powder at 30s. a livre 2313.

2226 livres of lead at 15s. 1669.10

2180 gun-flints at 3l. 15s. 81.15

3 Deer-skins at 18l. 54.

52 canvas pouches at 6l. 312.

4 tin priming-horns at 4l. 16.

30 livres of Rice at 30s. 45.

2 livres of Sulphur at 10s. 1.

4 Locks at 22l. 10s. 90.

2 livres of Soap at 3l. 15s. 7.10

15 livres of Sugar at 3l. 45.

I minor of Salt for 18.15

10 packages of Fish-hook Guts at 30s. 15.

468 livres of native tobacco at 18s. 9 d. 438.15

406

120 livres of Black tobacco at 3l. 360.

1 gross of gun-worms 20.

3 augers at 7l. 10s. each 22.10

16 ells of cloth for trading at 3l. 49.10

2 ells of linen at 40s. 4.

97½ ells of canvas at 9l. 877.10

7 livres of Vermilion at 371. 10s. 252.10

1766 livres of fine flour at 26l. 5s. a 100 livres 463.11.6

510 livres of bacon at 18s. 9d. 478. 2.6

12 buffalo-Tongues at 37s. 6d. 22.10

138 pots of brandy at 12l. a pot 1656.

4 Hams at 16l. 17s. 6d. 67.10

3 quarters of veal at 6l. 18.

20 livres of Beef at 6s. 9d. 6.15

67¼ pots of wine at 61. 7. 6. 427. 2.6

30 livres of fresh bread at 2s. 3d. 3. 7.6

1587 livres of biscuit at 22l. 10s. 357. 1.6

9½ minots of peas at 6l. 57.

23832.10

Sent from the port of Rochefort the supplies enumerated below to the store-house at Quebec, the price of which has been deducted From the funds remitted to Sieur Petit, clerk in this country, of Messieurs the treasurers general of the marine; which effects have been delivered to said Sieur de Louvigny, who left them at Michimakinac.

1 brass mortar and 100 grenades for 1651.10s.

4 small brass Cannon weighing 348 livres 730.16

4 match Tubs

4 rammer-heads, complete

4 bullet-Ladles with handles

2 wad-hooks

2 Shot-gauges

1 steelyard for 18.

914. 6

407

Remitted to Sieur de Louvigny for His traveling Expenses 1125l.

To Six Canoemen at Michilimakinac and return to that village, at the rate of 375l. each for the Voyage 2250

To Sieur Pachot 450.

To Nicholas Perrot 60.

To Joannes for provisions furnished by him 126.

To Corbin for making 2 canoes with equipment 1656.11

To Maurice Menard 300.

To Moraut Guillet for the following provisions furnished by him to said Sieur de Louvigny When at Detroit, To wit:

10 minots of Indian corn at 20l. 200l.

15 minots ditto at 24l. 360.

60 livres grease at 20s. 60.

93/4 ells of Cloth at 24l. 234. 854.

6821.11

Recapitulation.

The expenses for 1750 amount to 20139. 9.6

Those for 1716 amount, to wit:

To the Savages of the upper country and others 3418.14.1

Equipment for Monsieur de Louvigny the Sum of 23832.10

Effects sent from the port of Rochefort the sum of 914. 6

Expenses incurred by Monsieur de Louvigny and others 6821.11

34986.11.1

Total in card money 55126l. 7d.

Half of which amounts to 275631. 3d.

In addition, paid to Sieur de Louvigny in Cash for his expedition in 1717 1250

Total 288131. 3.

Begon .

Done at Quebec , Nov. 10th, 1721.

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1721: CHARLEVOIX VISITS WISCONSIN; HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE TRIBES.

[From Charlevoix;s1 Journal historique (Paris, 1744), pp. 187–189, 290–296, 299–301.]

1 Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, a noted Jesuit writer, was sent to America in 1720, commissioned by the French government to seek a route to the Western Sea; his MS. report of this journey, dated Jan. 20, 1723, is kept in the colonial archives at Paris. He wrote numerous historical works. of which the *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, and the *Journal historique* (both issued in 1744), are the most interesting to American students.—Ed.

Between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, in the Strait itself (by which the latter lake discharges its waters into the former), there is a rapid, which we have called the *Sault Sainte Marie* . The adjoining region was formerly peopled by Savages, who came thither, it is said, from the North Shore of Lake Superior, and who are called Saulteurs—which means “Dwellers at the Sault.” This name has apparently been given to them to escape the difficulty of pronouncing the name which they bore; for it is impossible to reach the end of it without taking fresh breath two or three times.2 There is no Tribe settled, as far as I know, upon the Shores of Lake Superior; but in the Posts that we occupy there Trade is carried on with the Cristinaux [Crees], who come thither from the North-East, and belong to the Algonquin Tongue; and with the Assiniboils, who are at the North-West.

2 In a foot-note by Charlevoix, this name is given as Pauoirigoueiouhak.— Ed.

Lake *Michigan* , which is almost parallel to Lake Huron, into which it flows,—and is separated from it only by a Peninsula a hundred leagues long, which grows continually narrower toward the North,—has few Inhabitants upon its Shores; I do not even know whether any Tribe has ever permanently resided there; and it is without good reason that, on many Maps, it has been named *Lake of the Illinois* . In ascending the *River of Saint Joseph* , the waters of which empty into this Lake, there are encountered two Villages of different Tribes, who came 409 there not long ago from other places. There is on the West side of this Lake. a large Bay, which extends twenty-eight leagues to the South, and is called *Bay des Puans* , or simply *la Baye* . Its entrance is very wide, and strewn with islands, some of which are as much as fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference. They

were formerly inhabited by the Pouteouatamis (whose name they bear), except some of them which lie on the right hand, in which there are still some Savages called *Noquets* . The Pouteouatamis occupy at the present time one of the smallest of their Islands; and they have besides two other Villages, one on the River Saint Joseph, and the other at Detroit. At the end of the Baye there are *Sakis* and *Otchagras* .1 It is this latter tribe who are called Puans, for what reason I do not know; but before reaching that people, one passes on the right another small Tribe, who are called *Malomines* [Menomonees], or *Folles Avoines* .

1 The Siouan name of the Winnebago tribe; regarding their French name, see p. 3, *note* 2, *ante*.— Ed.

A small River, much obstructed by Rapids, empties into the lower end of the Bay; it is known under the name of *River of the Renards* , on account of the neighborhood of the *Outagamis* , commonly called *the Renards* [Foxes]. All that region is very beautiful, and still more so is that which extends Southward to the River of the Illinois; but its only inhabitants are two Tribes, of very few people, the *Kicapous* and the *Mascoutins* . Some of our Geographers have been pleased to call the latter Tribe the *Nation of Fire* , and their country the *Land of Fire;* but it was a word of double meaning which gave rise to this appellation.

Fifty years ago, the Miamis were established at the Southern extremity of Lake Michigan, at a place called Chicagou, from the name of a small River which flows into the Lake; its Source is not far from that of the Illinois. The Miamis are now separated into three Villages: one of these is on the River Saint Joseph; the second upon another river, which bears their name, and flows into Lake Erié; and the third upon the Ouabache River, which discharges its waters into the Micissipi; these last are better known under the name of *Ouyatanons* . It can hardly 410 be doubted that this Tribe and that of the Illinois were, not very long ago, one and the same People, in view of the close affinity which is observed between their two Languages. I can tell you of them with more certainty when I go directly

among them. As for the rest of the Algonquin Tribes, most of them (if we except those who dwell farthest toward the South) pay very little attention to the Cultivation of the Land, and live almost solely by Hunting and Fishing; they also are seldom settled in one place. Among some of them it is the custom to have a plurality of Wives; but the population, far from increasing, is continually diminishing. There is not even one of these Tribes which counts six thousand souls, and some of them do not number two thousand.

* * * * * * * *

We embarked in the afternoon of the second of July [1721; from Michillimackinac]; for thirty leagues we coasted along a Strip of land which separates Lake Michigan from Lake Superior. There are several places where it is only a few leagues wide, and it is hardly possible to find a more wretched-looking Country; but it ends at a pretty River named *la Manistie* [Manistique], which abounds in fish, especially in Sturgeon. A little farther, bending our course to the South-West, we enter a large Gulf, the entrance to which is bordered with Islands, which is called the *Gulf* or *Bay of the Noquets* . Those Savages form a very small Tribe, who came from the Shores of Lake Superior; of their number there remain only a few Families dispersed here and there, without having any fixed abode.

The Bay of the Noquets is separated from the Great Bay only by the *Islands of the Pouteouatamis* —which, as I have already remarked, are the old-time abode of those Savages. Most of these Islands are heavily wooded; but the only one which is still inhabited is neither the largest nor the finest; there remains on it only a comparatively small Village, where we were compelled, although unwillingly, to pass the night; but we never could refuse this, as the people were so urgent. There is not, moreover, a Tribe in Canada who have been more sincerely attached to the French than they always have been.

On the sixth, we were held back nearly all day by contrary 411 winds; but at evening it again grew calm, and we embarked a little after Sunset, by most beautiful Moonlight; we

then proceeded on our journey during twenty-four consecutive hours, making only a short halt to say Mass and to eat dinner. The Sun was so hot, and the Water of the Bay so warm, that the Pitch of our Canoe melted in several places. To crown our misfortunes, the place where we halted for our encampment proved to be so infested with Mosquitoes and Gnats that it was impossible for us to close our eyes, although we had not slept for two days; and as the weather was fine, and the Moon gave us light, we resumed our journey as early as three o'clock in the morning.

After having voyaged five or six leagues, we found ourselves abreast of a small Island, which is not far from the West Shore of the Bay, and which concealed from us the entrance to a River on which is the Village of the *Malhomines* —whom our French have named *Folles Avoines* [wild rice men], apparently because they use that vegetable as their ordinary food. The entire Tribe is comprised of this Village, which is not very populous. That is a pity, for they are fine-looking Men, and among the most shapely in Canada. They are even taller than the Pouteouatamis. I have been assured that they have the same origin, and almost the same language, as the Noquets and the Saulteurs; but it is also added that they have, besides, a private Language, which they communicate to no one. Certain tales have also been related to me about them—for instance, of a Serpent that every year goes into their Village, and is there received with impressive Ceremonies; this leads me to believe that they meddle somewhat with sorceries.

At a little distance beyond the Island which I have just mentioned, the aspect of the country is all at once changed; and from being almost a wilderness, as it is up to that point, it becomes the most charming region in the World. It is even more agreeable to the sight than is the Detroit Country; but although it is everywhere covered with the finest trees, it is much more sandy and less fertile. The *Otchagras* , who are commonly called *Puans* , formerly lived on the Shores of the Bay, in a most delightful location; but they were there attacked 412 by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the River of the Outagamis [Fox River], which empties into the end of the Bay.

They settled upon the Shores of a sort of Lake; and perhaps it was there that, as they lived on Fish, which the Lake furnished them in great abundance, the name Puans [“foul-smelling”] was given to them; for along the entire length of the Shore, where their Cabins were built, one saw only rotten Fish, with which the air was tainted. At least, it seems probable that such was the origin of that name, which the other Savages had given them before we did, and which has been transferred to the Bay, from which they have never strayed far. Some time after they had abandoned their former Location, they undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois; but that Enterprise caused them a new loss, from which they have not recovered. Six hundred of their best Men had embarked to seek their Enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish.

We have at the Bay a Fort, which is situated on the West bank of the Outagami River, half a league from its mouth; and before reaching it we pass, on the right hand, a Village of *Sakis* . The Otchagras have recently come to settle near and have built their Cabins all around the Fort. The Missionary (whose lodging is quite near the Commandant's) hopes to find them, when he shall have learned their Language, more docile than the Sakis, among whom he is laboring with very little result. Both tribes appear to be very well disposed People, especially the Former, whose greatest fault is to be somewhat Thievish. Their Language is very different from all the others, which leads me to believe that it is not related to any of those in Canada. Moreover, they have always had more intercourse with the Western Peoples than with those whom we know in this Country.

The Sakis, although few in number, are divided into two factions, one of which is attached to the Outagamis, and the other to the Pouteouatamis. Those who are settled at this Post are mostly of the latter party, and consequently in our interest. 413 They received the new Commandant1 with loud demonstrations of joy; as soon as they learned that he was near at hand, they ranged themselves along the Shore, carrying their weapons; and as soon as he came in sight they saluted him with a volley from their Guns, accompanied

with loud eries of delight. Then four of their Principal men waded into the River, in which they soon stood up to their waists, boarded his Canoe, and placed him upon a large Robe, composed of several Deer-Skins neatly sewed together, each of them holding a corner of it. They carried him thus to his Lodging, where they paid him compliments and said many very flattering things to him.

1 Captain de Montigny, whom Charlevoix accompanied to Green Bay.— Ed.

On the next day, the Chiefs of the two Nations paid me a visit, and an 0tchagra showed me a Catalan Pistol, a pair of Spanish shoes, and some kind of Drug, which seemed to me like a sort of Ointment. All these he had obtained from an *Aiouez* [Iowa]; and now I will tell you by what opportunity these articles fell into the hands of the latter.

About two years ago, some Spaniards—who had come, it was said, from New Mexico, intending to penetrate as far as the Illinois, and drive out thence the French, whom they saw with extreme jealousy advancing so far on the Missouri—descended that River, and attacked two Villages of *Octotatas* , People who are Allies of the Aiouez, from whom, it is even claimed, they take their origin. As those Savages had no firearms, and were taken by surprise, the Spaniards had easily the advantage over them, and made great carnage there. A third Village of the same Tribe, not very far from the other two, learned what was occurring; and, not doubting that these Conquerors would proceed to them, prepared for the enemy an Ambuscade, into which the Spaniards rashly fell. Others say that the Savages, having learned that their Enemies were nearly all intoxicated, and sleeping heavily, fell upon them during the night. But it is certain that nearly all of the Spaniards were slain.

There were in that Troop two Chaplains; one of them was killed at the outset, and the other escaped among the 414 *Missourites* ,1 who kept him a prisoner; but he very adroitly escaped from them. He had a remarkably fine Horse, and the Missourites enjoyed seeing him perform feats of Horsemanship, in which he was very skilful; he profited by their

curiosity to free himself from their hands. One day when he was caracoling before. them, he gradually increased his distance from them; then suddenly using both spurs, he quickly vanished from their sight. As no other Prisoner was taken, we have no definite knowledge, either from what part of New Mexico those Spaniards had come, or what their intentions were; for what I told you at the beginning of this account was founded only upon the reports of Savages, who perhaps desired to court our favor by making known that they had, through this defeat, rendered us a great service. All the articles brought to me were from the spoils of the Chaplain who had been slain; and there was also found on him a Book of Prayers, which I have not seen; it was probably his Breviary. I bought the Pistol; the Shoes were worth nothing; and the Savage was never willing to part with the Ointment, having taken into his head that this was a sovereign remedy against all kinds of ills. I was curious to know how he intended to use it, and he answered me that it was sufficient to swallow a little of the medicine, and whatever Malady attacked a person would be immediately healed; he did not assert, however, that he had yet proved this by experience, and I advised him not to do so. We begin here to find the Savages exceedingly stupid; they are far from being as intelligent, or at least as open-minded, as those who have had more intercourse with us.

1 A Siouan tribe, formerly located on the Missouri river.— Ed.

On the following day, a great many of the Sakis came to the house of the Missionary, with whom I was lodged, and entreated me to be present at a sort of council, which they desired to hold. I consented to do so; and when all the people had taken their places, the Chief placed a Collar on the ground before me; then the Orator began to speak, begging me in the name of all to induce the King2 to take them under his protection, and to purify

2 Those Savages always pronounce the name of the King in French.— Charlevoix.

415 the air,—which for some time past, they said, had been corrupted; as appeared by the great number of Sick persons whom they had in their Villages,—and to defend them against their Enemies.

I replied to them that the King was very powerful, and perhaps even more so than they realized, but that his power did not extend over the Elements; and that when Sickness, or any other like disasters, desolated his Provinces, he applied, in order to make them cease, to the great Spirit who made Heaven and Earth, and who alone is the Sovereign Master of Nature. I told them that they must do the same, and that they would derive benefit therefrom; but that, in order to merit a hearing for their request, they must begin by recognizing that Spirit, and rendering to him the Worship and homage which he had a right to expect front all reasonable Creatures. I told them that they could do nothing better, or more pleasing to the King, than to listen to the Father1 whom his Majesty had sent to them, and to become docile to his instructions; that he was a man dear to Heaven; that his manner of life among them must surely have made them conceive great esteem for him; and that his charity toward the Sick and all those who had need of his aid must have convinced them of the tender and sincere affection that he bore them. At the end, I told them that I would not accept their Collar unless they would promise me to behave toward the Missionary very differently from the way in which they had acted during the past; and that they must hereafter refrain from giving him. any reason to complain of their intractableness. I said: “As for the protection of the King, for which you ask, and your entreaty that I shall induce him to undertake your defense against your Enemies, that great prince has forestalled your desires; he has given, on that point, strict orders to *Ononthio* , who himself was already inclined to execute them with the zeal and affection of a Father.2 You will have no cause to doubt that, if you pay attention to the Commandant whom he sends you. You cannot possibly be

1 Father Pierre Chardon, a Jesuit.— Charlevoix.

2 They always call the Governors and the Commandants their “Fathers.”— Charlevoix.

416 ignorant (and indeed you seem to me to be very well informed) that among the French Captains there are few who equal him in valor; and you will soon love him even more than you already esteem him.” This reply seemed to satisfy them; and they promised me much

more than they are likely to fulfil. while I accepted their Collar, and the Missionary flattered himself that this conference would produce good effects.

In the afternoon of the same day, the two Tribes furnished us the diversion of the Calumet Dance, one after the other, in a large Esplanade, on which the Commandant's Dwelling faces. There was some difference, but a slight one, in the manner in which the two Tribes executed this Dance. Their performance only showed me that these Festivals vary greatly; accordingly it is not possible to give a description of them which will agree in all cases. The Otchagras diversified their Play somewhat more, and exhibited an extraordinary agility; they are also better built and more agile than the Sakis.

[Here follows (pp. 296–299) a description of the various dances witnessed by Charlevoix in this visit to Green Bay; chief among these are the calumet dance, the scout dance, and the buffalo dance. See p. 368, *note, ante* .]

As the Tribes who dwell near the Bay are, if we except the Pouteouatamis, much more uncouth than the others, they are also much more inclined to all sorts of superstitions. The Sun and the Thunder are their principal Divinities; and they seem to believe more thoroughly than do those Tribes with whom we hold more intercourse that every kind of Animal has a Spirit, which watches over its preservation. A Frenchman having one day thrown away a Mouse which he had just caught, a little Girl picked it up to eat it.; the Father of the Child, who saw this, snatched it from her, and began to lavish caresses on Animal, which was dead. The Frenchman asked the reason for this conduct. “I do so,” he replied, “to appease the Spirit of the Mice, so that he will not torment my Daughter when she shall have eaten it.” After that, he restored the Animal to the Child, who ate it.

They have especial veneration for the Bear; as soon as they slay one of these animals, they make a Feast, accompanied by 417 very singular ceremonies. The Bear's head, painted with all sorts of colors, is placed during the repast upon a raised place, and there receives the homage of all the Guests, who celebrate in song the praises of the Animal,

meanwhile cutting its body into pieces and regaling themselves thereon. Not only do these Savages have, like all the others, the Custom of preparing themselves for their grand Hunts by fasting, which the Outagamis extend even to ten consecutive days; but besides, while the Hunters are in the field, the Boys are often compelled to fast; the dreams which they have during this abstinence are noted, and good or evil auguries for the success of the Hunt are drawn from them. The object of these fasts is to appease the tutelary Spirits of the Animals whom they are to hunt; and it is claimed that they make known, through dreams, whether they oppose or are favorable to the Hunters.

The Tribe which, for the last twenty years, has been more talked about than any other in these Western Lands is that of the *Outagamis* . The natural ferocity of these Savages, increased by the bad treatment often inflicted on them (sometimes very unreasonably), and their alliance with the Iroquois, who are always disposed to excite fresh enemies against us, have rendered them formidable. Moreover, they have since become closely united with the Sioux, a populous Tribe, which has also become gradually inured to war; and that union now renders the navigation of all the upper Micissipi almost impracticable for us. There is not entire safety even in voyaging upon the Illinois River, unless one is sufficiently equipped not to fear a surprise; this inflicts great damage upon the mutual Commerce between the two Colonies.

I met at la Baye some Sioux, whom I closely questioned about the Regions which are West and North-West of Canada; and, although I know that one cannot always accept to the letter all that the Savages say, I have every reason to believe, in comparing what they have related to me with what I have heard from several other sources, that there are on this Continent Spanish or other European Colonies—far more to the North than those of which we have knowledge in New Mexico or California; and that by ascending the Missouri, as far as it is possible to navigate, 28 418 there may be found a great River which flows to the West, and discharges its waters into the South Sea. Independently of even that discovery (which I believe to be easier by that route than by the North),1 I cannot doubt, in view of the statements which I have obtained from many quarters, and

which agree very well, that in the effort to penetrate as far as the source of the Missouri will be found goods wherewith to compensate the expenses and hardships which such an Enterprise demands.

1 A reference to the then frequent attempts to reach the Pacific Ocean by Hudson Bay and a supposed “Northwest Passage.”— Ed.

1722: SPEECHES OF THE FOXES AT A COUNCIL HELD AT THE HOUSE OF MONSIEUR DE MONTIGNY, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MISSIONARY, SEPT. 6, 1722.

[Translated from a document in archives of Province of Quebec, copied from Paris archives.]

Ouashala speaks: “I enter your house, my father, in great alarm, suspecting that the war I am making against the Ilinois has greatly displeased you, since you were entirely opposed to it. But, my father, I was so angry with them for their cruelty in burning my nephew Minchilay,—whose alliance to the principal chiefs of the Sakis has led that tribe to side with us,—that I could think of nothing except going to avenge this Minchilay. I had resolved, on setting out, to destroy their village completely and to spare no lives whatever. I pressed them very hard, and it depended only upon myself to carry out my project fully; for, finding themselves on the verge of destruction, reduced by hunger, and deprived of all means of getting water, so that they were beginning to die of thirst, they asked for a parley. I assembled all my people to try to persuade them to listen; I had great difficulty in obtaining this from them, but I finally prevailed. Several Ilinois chiefs, after being told that they could come, 419 brought with them three slaves through whom they asked for their lives, and requested us to withdraw, as they were reduced to the last extremity. All our young men had great difficulty in consenting to this, as they had no other desire than to profit by their advantage. I represented to them at once that their father Onontio was a good model, and that they ought to imitate him in following the example he had set us,

when, in a similar case, our lives were spared by Monsieur de Louvigny—although it would have been easy for us to escape by making a sortie at night, as we had resolved to do on the morrow of the Day on which our lives were granted, a thing which the Ilinois could not do. Navangounik, my brother, who was with us and who is now present before you, said to me: ‘Ouashalas, my brother, you think rightly, and you should grant their lives. This action will be agreeable to your father Onontio, and I do not know of any way in which you can better show him your gratitude.’ Accordingly, their lives were spared; and, after granting them this favor, we withdrew at once.

“I beg you, my father, to inform our father Onontio of this. He will think, perhaps, that I do not deserve that he should deliver me up to all the nations to devour. I have absolutely no fear of them, for I fear him alone. I beg you also, my Father, to tell him that I had taken the Greatest precautions to protect the French whom we might have met on our way, and to prevent their suffering any insult. I would rather have died than have this occur, and I would not have quitted them before they were out of all danger. I had even taken the same precautions in regard to the Pouteuatamis, in case we had met any of them. I had recommended that they be brought to the camp without being bound, because it sufficed that they were the friends of Onontio. Moreover, you are well aware, my Father, that they are our most cruel enemies and that they have gone to Montreal to ask that we be destroyed. They owe their lives to Onontio, as well as to you, my Father, for otherwise they would themselves have been devoured by this time.

“I must tell you, my Father, that I have not come here on 420 my own authority, since the principal men of the village tell you, as well as myself, that the wars are all ended today; and promise you, in the name of the whole nation, that we will not go to war with any nation, unless we are first attacked. It is our intention not to thwart the good understanding which you are laboring every Day to bring about, so as to ensure the repose and tranquillity of all the children of Onontio. We confess that we must all be Great dogs, and even worse than devils, if we do not listen to you as we ought, since you ask nothing but what is Just. But, my Father, have pity on us. You know well that chiefs like

us, although they may be well-disposed, are scarcely listened to. The greater part of our Young men are absolutely worthless. I do not dare, my Father, to ask you for the slightest succor; I fear you too much; but as you send a canoe early in spring, we pray our father Onontio to make known to us his final intentions."

Elécavas, the Young brother of the first chief speaks: "My Father, my brother Elécavas, who, being very sick, has been unable to come to speak to you himself, sends me in his place to tell you to say to our father Onontio that it is now two years since he abandoned us, continuing always to cherish the purpose of destroying us; and that we shall await impatiently the return of your canoe to learn if he still persists in this purpose. For, if that is the case, we shall die with him; if he wishes absolutely to kill us he will find us in our fort, which we positively will not leave, as we have no place of retreat. If we had wished to get merchandise costing us nothing, we could easily have found the means of doing so secretly, but we wait to be absolutely obliged to do so. Then we can say that our Father has forced us to wait. This, my Father, is what I am charged to say."

Reply of Monsieur de Montigny to Ouashalas: "[have listened attentively, Ouashalas, to your words, which are those of your whole village, since you speak for them as well as for yourself. You will allow me to say that the war which you, with all those who have accompanied you, have just waged against the Ilinois is very unjust, having no other pretext than to avenge the death of Minchilay—who brought 421 about his own death very foolishly, having attacked people with whom he was not at war. Those who engaged him in this war were more to blame than the Ilinois; if the latter had killed him on the spot, or held him as a prisoner, they would have had the right wholly on their side; but in burning him as cruelly as they did they were wrong, because they showed by this unworthy action that they wished for no reconciliation with his nation.

"I do not at all doubt that, when you set out to make this war, you really wished to kill them all, and to grant quarter to no one, in order to avenge this Minchilay, whom you call your nephew. I approve your conduct, Ouashalas, in that, after having reduced your

enemies to such extremity that they were obliged to pray you to spare their lives, you did so without making any difficulties, remembering that your life had in similar circumstances been spared by Monsieur de Louvigny. This action you request me to make known to your father Onontio. I shall not fail to do so, and shall also inform him of the precautions which you had taken so that no harm might come to the French, in case you should have met any, nor to any of all our allies, whom you wished merely to be brought before you unbound, so as to prove to them by this consideration that you did not wish to insult them. I hope that you may continue to act with the same prudence as in this affair.

“You assure me in the name of your whole nation that wars in general are ended, and that you will not go to attack any nation, unless you are first attacked; that you will not trouble the good understanding which I am laboring to bring about between the children of Onontio; and that you will no longer molest the French when you meet them. You guarantee absolutely that this shall not occur, and you promise, moreover, in future to follow all my counsels; and you add that since your sentiments are such, and since your father can ask nothing further of you, you hope to obtain from me the same succor as all the other children of Onontio receive. As to this, I will say to you that it is to be desired for your nation that you be faithful in all your promises, since you 422 will by this means obtain from us in future the pity that you desire.”

Reply of Monsieur de Montigny to the Renards; “I shall not fail to inform Your Father Onontio of all that you have said in the name of your brother Elécavas; and, in waiting to receive news from him, I answer you that whenever he wishes it you shall indeed die, and perish without resource. Your father may be a little ill, but only slightly; and he will soon be better, as he has remedies in abundance, and, if in need of more, he has ships in which to get them. Tell your brother that if his whole village comports itself as well as Ouashalas has said just now, your father will perhaps have other sentiments toward you. Beware of seeking to deceive him; you would deceive yourselves. This is all that I have to tell you; it is for you to profit by it.”

1723: DETROIT INDIANS THREATEN THE FOXES; ILLICIT SALE OF BRANDY AT THAT POST.

[Part of a letter to Claude de Ramezay; dated Jan. 10, 1723. Translated from a document in Quebec Provincial archives, copied from a MS. in Paris archives.]

I have received the letter which you did me the honor of writing to me on the 28th of last August.

Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil has notified me of his intentions in regard to the project formed by the Savages of this place of making war on the renards when they return from their winter quarters. I shall have no difficulty in persuading our Savages to abandon the idea of going in a body among the Renards; for I have been informed that the latter, after besieging the Illinois at Le Rocher, have gone away toward the scioux, so that it would not be possible to go against them at such a distance with a body of warriors. This reason will be more than sufficient to dissipate their projects—especially as they are preparing to attack the têtes plates, 423 in order to avenge some of their people who were killed by that tribe last year, while on an expedition among them.

It was the wife of La Janvrie, Monsieur, who boasted that you had written to them by pilot1 and had told them that you promised to have restored W them the brandy which has been seized; and her husband has loudly asserted, in the presence of my wife, that he had nothing to fear because they were protected by a big head. This is what I learned from various persons on my arrival. He said many other things during the trip up here, which I shall find opportune place for reporting to you. They have been unable to keep the secret that their mother had written them to proclaim that they had sent her the *procàs-verbal* of seizure, made by Monsieur l'Ivetot,2 so that it might not be suspected from what source she had seen it at Montreal.

1 For Pilote (Pilotte), the name of a French-Canadian family; it probably a trader or voyageur who is mentioned tn the text.— Ed.

2 So in our copy of MS., but probably an error for Linctot (René Godfroy de). See p. 380, *note, ante*.— Ed.

It is true, Monsieur, that you have written me (after port of the seizure of the brandy of Antaya3 and Janvrie) that I ought not to have permitted the sale of brandy, on account of the prohibition of the King against trading in it with the Savages. I had the honor of replying to you that I had reported Messieurs the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Bégon, who had not expressed any disapproval. This prohibition applies only to the Savages and not to the French, who number at this post more than twenty habitants, nearly twenty men in the garrison, and often more than twenty-five volunteers or engagés, to whom we can not refuse the privilege of drinking from time to time, as they do in the cities, provided the King's orders be executed. What could I do better than to put all the brandy into one person's hands, so that he alone might responsible for any infractions that might occur. The precautions Which I had taken in this matter for securing obedience to the King's will sauced to secure me, in case of any emergencies

3 A nickname in the Canadian family of Pelletier, arising from the marriage of their ancestor with an Indian woman.— Ed.

424 arising, so I could condemn those who supplied brandy to the French. This you will see, Monsieur, from the enclosed permit given to peletier Antaya1 and la Janvrie; but the former did not report the Truth to you, when he told you that I had sold him brandy and obliged [him] to take it back when it was brought to the house. All the suppressions of truth are only for the purpose of securing themselves in the matter of trading in brandy, which they have undoubtedly done, since their wives have both confessed it to me, alleging reasons which I will state in proper time and place. I am going to inform you of this affair, Monsieur, in order to give you full enlightenment.

1 François Pelletier (Peltier) *dit* Antaya (see preceding note), married in 1689 Madeleine Thunàs. Nine years later, his widow married Pierre Maillet (Mallet), a Montreal merchant. It is she who is mentioned in this document as La Mallet.— Ed.

When the official store [*bureau*] was reëstablished to prevent the Savages from resorting to the English, it was Lamallet who was put in charge, receiving not only the brandy which my clerk remitted to her, but also that of private individuals and travellers. In this she was guilty of several frauds which did not come to my knowledge, and of certain others that she could not hide from me. This I discovered only in the year when she went down [to Montreal], and the amount was about two thousand pots;2 for if there had been no brandy but mine, it would have sufficed only for the French, at most. Thus, seeing that the trading in brandy did not keep the savages from resorting to the English, I had the honor of writing to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil in 1720 that, as it did not serve as a preventive, it was expedient to abolish official store. I requested him to speak to the chiefs who came down and to inform them that, if we no longer sold them any brandy in future, it was to avoid the troubles that might arise between them, and to enable them to Protect their wives and children. This Monsieur the general did, and he wrote me

2 The pot is a measure containing two French pints, equivalent to 3.29 English pints.— Ed.

425 that it would be only Just to allow the sale of the brandy remaining at the store, before abolishing that traffic.

The next winter, La Mallet, having formed the design of going down with her family, begged me urgently to allow her to give the brandy which remained to her children, desiring, as she said, to give them a start. I opposed this formally, doing my best to induce her to remain—going So far as to tell her, as well as her husband, that whoever leaves his Country loses it. But as they had quite decided to abandon the business, she begged me so many times that I granted her request As she had owed me some money since the preceding year, she paid me in the spring, through this transfer of brandy to her children, and redeemed her note. Therefore it is not I who have sold the brandy to Antaya, as he

has the effrontery to tell you, Monsieur; but it is rather his mother, whose debt he has paid. Nevertheless, this imposter, as well as she, has had the audacity to deceive you. Moreover, this brandy was not mine; it belonged to some private individuals, as is shown by the Enclosed certificate of Monsieur de l'Ivetot who made the seizure,

Pelotte and la Janvrie had already been in possession of the official store for some time, when the order for suppressing the sale of brandy arrived. To make this abolition known to the Savages, it was prudent to take the brandy away Until the orders of the King were communicated in a council held for that purpose. It is true that some difficulties were raised as to taking it back; for they claimed that, now that it could no longer be sold to the Savages, it would remain a long time on their hands. I took this under consideration and made a reduction of an écu a pot on what remained, with which they were very well satisfied. This agreement made with them ought to have restrained them, and hindered them from selling brandy to the Savages—as they have done, in order to get rid of it more quickly.

Antaya has had no reason for going to Law in this matter, nor has the merchant who supplied him any reason for blaming me, since I have sold nothing to him—he has merely paid for his mother what she owed me; and if I have reduced the 426 price an écu a pot, it is to her that I have allowed this rebate, deducting it from what she owed me. Besides, the seizure made by Monsieur de l'Ivetot amounts only to one hundred and thirty pots. What have they done with the product of more than three hundred pots of brandy, of which very little has been sold to the French, and which brought them 7000 livres? Are they not more than reimbursed for the sale made to them by their mother? Is it not true that their false statement has no other foundation than their belief that they could impose upon you and find protection in you, Monsieur? For Janvrie in coming up kept reiterating that you had assured them that they should be allowed to sell brandy, and had promised that you would “plunge into it Up to the neck” in order to accomplish this. He also said that on leaving lachine you had had him go to Marsac,1 and had said to them: “Go, my friends, and be assured that I will protect you in all your enterprises;” and that you had told Antaya that, if

he could come up again in two Weeks, he had only to go down to Quebec, and you would furnish him the means. It is foustier who was a witness to all these conversations, and who reported them to me. Monsieur de l'Ivetot, whom I have questioned, has told me that he did not hear these things from foustier, but from the voyageurs, to whom he had repeated them.

1 A reference to Jacob de Marsac, who had been an officer in the French troops, but came with Cadillac to Detroit (1701); he died there in 1747.— Ed.

The wife of la Janvrie, who had confessed to me that her brother had sold brandy to the Savages (as I have previously stated), in telling me the reason which had led him to do so (which she has made public, although I am persuaded it is a false one), has told me, since the return of her husband, that when Antaya, with tears in his eyes, told you of his intention not to go up again, you could not help shedding tears, and promised him that you would send him back, and told him that you were very much surprised that I, being, like himself, almost at death's door, should seek to cause so much trou- 427 ble to all the habitants of this place. If they had so much reason for complaining of me, why did they not do so when I went down to Montreal, where they were in the majority; and as I have been away from here since that time, what can they allege? The lies with which they have filled their petition against me, which they presented to Messieurs the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Bégon, ought to stamp them as arrant imposters. However, it is my misfortune, Monsieur, that you condemn me unheard, and I have to hear these calumniators assert that they have nothing to fear because they are under your protection. If I am at fault in regard to them, I should be punished after you have heard my defense; but suffer me to take the liberty of representing to you, Monsieur, that I have Never done anything that should lead you to declare yourself against me in this manner; I have Never neglected to give you proofs of my attachment.1

1 This letter was probably written by Alphonse de Tonty (see p. 201, *note, ante*). After regaining his superiors' favor, he was commandant at Detroit from 1720 until his death, Nov. 10, 1727.— Ed.

1723: JESUIT MISSIONARIES NEEDED AMONG THE SIOUX.

[Synopsis of a letter written by the Jesuit Louis d'Avaugour; dated Apr. 15, 1723. Source, same as that of preceding document.]

It has been arranged by his Royal Highness that two missionaries should be established among the Sioux and, in conformity therewith, a letter has been written to the Reverend Father Davaugour.

He requests that the State allow for each missionary a sum of 600 livres annually, beginning with the first day of this year.

These missionaries will go to La Rochelle in May, and their payment for the months of January, February, March, and April will serve to furnish a chapel for them, and to pay part of the expense of their voyage.

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He requests, also, that a canoe be granted independently of the one granted annually for the other missions, to carry whatever is necessary for this mission; and, in case others are established in the direction of lake Superior, the same canoe will serve for them.

Father Davaugour represents that, in order to make an establishment of this sort, there must be a commandant who knows the Savages, and who at the same time can persuade them to receive the missionaries. He believes that there is no officer better adapted for this than Sieur Pachot, and none more able to ensure the success of such an establishment. He might be designated to serve there during three or four years.

1723: HOSTILITIES BETWEEN FOXES AND OTHER TRIBES; POLICY OF FRENCH TOWARD THEM.

[Letter of Vaudreuil to French Minister; dated Oct. 2, 1723. Original MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 45, c. 11, fol. 136.”]

Monseigneur , I have received the letter which you did me The honor of writing to me on May 22nd last, and have seen with great pleasure that you approved what I did in regard to the demands of the nations at Detroit for The execution of the project of war which they had proposed to make against The Renards.

Those Nations, since the Reply which I made last year granting them the 40 Frenchmen and 2 officers who were to serve them as a Nucleus for the war, have given no further thought to the execution of This project; But, on the Contrary, they assured the Renards last July that they were thinking only of remaining at peace upon their mats, and that they had no part in the Attack which a party of Savages from saghinan had made upon the Renards. They took this precaution for Fear that the Renards might Impute to them this Blow, and might come suddenly upon them at Detroit to avenge the loss they had just suffered. Thus, Monseigneur, I do not see 429 that we can Count assuredly upon all the Nations of Canada to oblige That of the Renards to live in peace.

That nation has not made any Attack on The French since The peace concluded with Monsieur de Louvigny in 1716; and it engaged in the war of the Quiquapous and Mascoutins against the Ilinois only after having been attacked by the latter, who in various encounters had killed or taken prisoners many Renard savages from 1718 Up to 1719—while that nation was laboring to Persuade the Kicapous and Mascoutins to cease making Attacks Upon the Illinois; and notwithstanding the fact that on eight different occasions the Renards had Sent back to them several Slaves of their nation, whom the Quiquapous had presented to them, and they had charged These Slaves to tell the Ilinois chiefs that, if

they desired to make peace, they had only to Crone to the village of the Renards, where they could negotiate it in all safety. If these advances on the part, of the Renards had been favorably received, and if Monsieur De Boisbriant1 who must have been Informed by Sieur De Liette, had urged the Ilinois to respond by some Concession on their side, I am convinced that the War between Those Nations would long since have been ended.

1 Pierre Dugué, sieur de Boisbriant, was born in 1675, and died in 1740. His name is prominent in the early history of Canada and Illinois, and he was commandant in the latter region during 1718–24. In 1720, he built Fort Chartres, at a spot about sixteen miles northwest of Kaskaskia, and a mile from the Mississippi.— Ed.

The Renards last year besieged The Ilinois of Le Rocher. They reduced them to such extremities that they were Obliged to Sue for their lives, which the Renards granted; and, raising the siege, retired to their village. As soon as they had returned, they sent Deputies to Sieur de Montigny, Commandant at the post of la Baye, to excuse themselves for having engaged in That enterprise against his wishes; and to assure him at the same time, in the name of all the chiefs, that the War was entirely at an end, and that they no longer wanted to go to war with any nation unless they were first attacked. I thought, Monseigneur, that you would not be averse to seeing their speeches On this occasion which I therefore enclose.

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Those savages, after their declaration that they did not wish to engage in any further warfare, were attacked by the sauteurs four times Before the 12th of last July; and, having on each occasion addressed themselves to Sieur De Montigny to inform him that they were going to avenge these attacks, the Influence of This officer sufficed to deter them, and to induce them to sacrifice, out of consideration for me, the Resentment they cherished on account of These Attacks. But, after That made by The saghinan party, on July 15th last, resulting in the killing of 22 savages, men, women and Children—who were fishing on the Shore of a Lake between the village of the Renards and the post of La Baye,

among Whom were Five sakis and 2 puants—it was Impossible for Ouachalas to restrain his Warriors. Four detachments went Against the sauteurs, and one, consisting of 100 men, went in the Direction of St. Joseph's River. Ouachalas informed Sieur de Montigny of this and reported that he was accompanying the last named hand, in order to prevent the savages of That River from being captured and the French from being Insulted.

I hope, Monseigneur, that the details I have the honor of communicating to you will not displease you—and, As these facts are absolutely Certain, they may Serve to show that the Renards were less in the wrong than the Ilinois for the war they have had together; that the Renards are far from being as intractable as they have been represented; and That it is not Impossible to make them listen to reason, when one knows how to deal with them Properly. Besides, it is not Surprising that, after having been attacked four successive times without making any reprisals, they Should have been aroused tho Fifth time they were attacked. It is of the utmost Importance to prevent The first movements of That nation from going too far, and to guarantee the upper country from a War which would result in a general Conflagration.

In order to succeed in this I will send Monsieur De Louvigny early next Spring to la Baye. He has a great reputation and much Influence among all the Nations of the upper country, and no one is better informed than he regarding all necessary details in order to treat with them. Moreover, his 431 sparing The lives of the Renards, after besieging and reducing them to extremities in 1716, gives Him still greater influence with That nation. All These advantages persuade me that when he speaks to all Those Nations they will refuse him Nothing, and that the Renards will be the first to Submit. Accordingly, I Count on his being able to Persuade them to be Reconciled and to Live in peace.

As Regards the orders, Monseigneur, which you give me to come to an agreement with Monsieur De Boisbriant, Commandant among the Ilinois, regarding the measures which it will be Proper to take against the Renards in the affair of the Ilinois, I will Communicate them to the Commandant, in order to learn from him how I can aid him, and what

measures he can take on his Part. I shall not fail, Monseigneur, to give orders not only to the Commandant at Detroit, and also to the One Stationed among the Miamis and ouyatanons, who is much nearer the Ouabache River, to watch the Conduct of the English in order to prevent them from creating any Establishments On that River.

I know, indeed, of what Importance it is to prevent That people from penetrating among the Nations that are attached to our interests; and I shall therefore Continue to give, As I have given hitherto, all the attention which such a matter requires.

I am very respectfully, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Vaudreuil .

Quebec , Oct. 2nd, 1723.

1723: FOXES INTRIGUE WITH THE ABENAKIS.

[Letter to Governor Vaudreuil from Father Aubrey, Jesuit Missionary. From *Jes. Relations* , lvii, pp. 129–131.]

At St. François , October 3, 1723.

Monseigneur , The chief of our mission, Nanoudohout, has doubtless recently explained to you the message that Neskambeoui has brought from the Renards; and how all the Savages, 432 even the young men, of my mission have been horrified that the Renards should thus invite them to declare themselves for that tribe against the upper nations—because that would be, they say, to declare themselves Against your children and their brothers. This will not prevent me, however, from giving myself the honor of writing to you something on this subject. “We have,” they say, “another war to Sustain, a just and necessary one, against the english, without consenting to enter upon another, which is both unjust and pernicious. We did very well to obey Monsieur de Vaudreuil, our father, 4 years ago, when Nenangounikou came to invite us on the part of those Renards to go

in great numbers to their country, to eat the beaver's tail there”—that means “to pursue our Hunting and make our abode there.” “Their fine message must amount to just this: we would there be engaged in their war, against all Nations.”

That, Monsieur, is what our young men, our old men, and I have understood. I can only testify to you anew my gratitude that you did actually stop them then, and that you made them descend from Montréal and return to our mission; for, if they had Followed the invitations of this Nenangousikou, the mission would have been greatly injured, and the greater part of our young men Would be now Like this Nenangousikou—both without Christianity and without affection for the french, in that country of the Renards. Allow me, accordingly, now to offer you anew my thanks, and to have the honor of assuring you that I am with profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Joseph Aubry , of the Society of Jesus, Missionary.

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1723: INTERTRIBAL AFFAIRS; LICENSES FOR FUR TRADE; THEIR SUPPRESSION.

[Letter from Governor Vaudreuil to the Minister; dated Oct. 11, 1723. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark. “Canada, Corres. gén., vol. 45, c. 11, fol. 146.”]

I have received the letter which You did me The honor of writing May 25th last, regarding The Information you had received concerning various affairs, in which you state that it may be inferred that I do not regard matters concerning the government of Louisianna As having any claim on my help and aid; that I do nothing to prevent The wars that may arise among the nations dependent on me; and that I grant permits to the coureurs do bois.
I confess, Monseigneur, that it is very disagreeable for me to see that everything that is written About me is believed, even when the statements advanced are Far from being true.

I shall try to Explain these facts so that it will appear that the author of the letter in which they were reported was very badly informed. I Begin therefore with the statement in regard to the nations, who, it is pretended, desired to assemble, but were prevented by Sieur de Linctot, the Commandant at Detroit, during the absence of Monsieur De Tonty. I assure yon that they expressed no other wish than that which I reported in my letter of Oct. 22nd of last year, and which induced them to make no hostile movement, as I reported in the statement which I had the honor of sending you on the 2nd of this month. It is true that in the absence of Sieur De tonty, in the month of May, last year, a Poutouatami savage from the St. Joseph River brought to Detroit 24 Calumets from Pennetacoton, a Saki Chief, to induce the 4 nations of Detroit to go instantly to attack the Renards. But Sieur Linctot having assembled Them to learn What they wished to do in regard to these Calumets, they replied: “We have always told you, my father, that we would not march against the Renards unless we Saw our father Onontio at our head. We still hold this same opinion, and we do not trust to what Pennetacoton announces to us.” They added that they would 29 434 Send back those Calumets the very next day; and, in fact, they despatched 36 men, on The 23rd of the same month, to Carry them back to The St. Joseph river.

The Renards, in their last fight Against the Ilinois, had with them some scioux, Mascoutins, Kicapous, puants, and Sakis; but there were no Sauteurs or folles-avoines. It is not surprising that they should have the Mascoutins and Kicapous, since the former Are at present incorporated with them, while the Kicapous have always been their allies. As for the Puans and the sakis, it was easy to get them, because the puans are Settled near them; and the village of the Sakis is only 20 Leagues from That of the renards, with whom they are closely connected by the marriages of the sakis with the daughters of the Renards, and of Renards with those of the Sakis. But it is not to be Believed that there were any sauteurs among them, since those tribes are Continually at. war with each other.

As Regards the 4 Abenakis, who They say were there also, and whom I am accused of having sent in order to get Slaves for me, I have Learned that they were there in fact, But

that Nanangoussi had influenced the Renards to decide on sparing the Lives of the Ilinois. Those 4 savages Never went with my consent into the upper country, and It is only their own roving spirit that carried them thither. Nessegambewuit—that Abenaki Chief to whom the late King gave an enameled medal, when Sieur de Montigny presented him to His Majesty—having remained among the Renards after peace was concluded with them in 1716, did not leave them until this year, when he Returned to Quebec. This savage did nothing in that country which could be prejudicial to the Colony. On the contrary, According to the Report made to me by Sieur de Montigny, The reports he has made to that nation about What he saw in France, during the time while he was there, have only Served to give Those savages an exalted idea of the power of the King, and have inspired them with Fear.

Nenangoussik was formerly chief at St. françois. His Roving spirit led him to abandon that mission, and to remove to That of sault St. Louis, where he Expected to Live in greater liberty. As He was very Restless, he took it into his head 435 to make a trip to the Renards, where he remained some time; he Returned to Montreal in 1719, bringing a message from that nation for the Abenakis, inviting them to go and hunt in their country, where they would not lack Game. He brought this message to St. françois, whence he returned to Montreal with 40 Young men, who wished to follow him. As I saw that These 40 men were so many warriors whom the Abenaki nation would lose, at a time when they might need them to oppose the designs of the English, and as the Renards would not fail to employ them against the Ilinois, I opposed their departure, and so well represented to them The Objections to their making That expedition, that I succeeded in persuading them to return to their village. As for Nenangoussik, it was impossible for me to dissuade him from This journey, as he said in excuse that, being a bearer of a message from the Renards, he was obliged to carry back an answer. As I could not stop him, he returned to that nation, where he has remained Up to the present time. He came Very near being killed Last Spring by the Sauteurs, the enemies of the Renards, who killed his brother. It was he and another chief of the Abenakis, named Babamouet,—who

was formerly one of the most influential and esteemed warriors of that nation,—who sent Nesgambewuit here This year to report the words of the Renards to the Abenakis, inviting all the young men of st. françois to go among them to avenge The death of the brother of Nenangoussik. At first I received this Envoy very harshly, making him Feel how odious he was Rendered by the Commission with which he was charged; but he excused himself by saying that he had Undertaken This Commission only because it was impossible to refuse, and that it was better he, rather than some one else, should be the bearer of this message, since he had no intention of supporting it, as he had resolved not to return again among the Renards, but to retire among his brothers. I decided to treat him with more indulgence, and I promised to cause the elders of st. françois to Receive him among them. In fact, those elders having come a few days later to give me an Account of What This message Contained, I persuaded them not to make any Reply to it, and 436 to consent to Receive and keep Nesgambewuit in their village, since he was willing to abandon his Lawless ways, and to Marry, with the sanction of the Church, the woman whom he had brought with him. Accordingly, no other Abenakis remain among the Renards except Nenangoussik.

After What I did in 1719, as well as in the present year, to prevent the Abenakis from going among the Renards—for which I have, moreover, been warmly Thanked by father Aubry, their missionary, who wrote me a letter (of which I enclose a Copy) on The 3rd of this month—I leave you to judge, Monseigneur, whether it can justly be said that I do not regard matters pertaining to the government of Louisianna As things in which I ought to give any help or aid; and that I do nothing to prevent The wars that may arise among the nations dependent on me. It is not on these two occasions alone that I have devoted my attention to Such matters; But I have done so in several other cases, when the ouyatanons would have waged war with the Ilinois, if Sieur de Vincennes, in accordance with the orders which I have always given him to maintain peace between These 2 nations, had not stopped the movements of the Ouyatanons—among whom he has a very great Reputation, and with whom he made several journeys among the Ilinois.

It has never been Reported to me that The Abenakis, who without my consent, went Among the Renards, had said that I had sent them to make war Against the Ilinois, to get Slaves. Accordingly, I have reason to Believe that they have never told such a falsehood; and also that the remark is quite uncalled for, that it is difficult to persuade the savages that the French of Canada and those of Louisianna are of the same nation. The savages are so well aware of this that, a party of Poutouatamis from st. Joseph River having, in 1720, attacked a Canoe in which there were some French and some Cansas savages, going up the Mississipi, and having Killed one Frenchman and one savage and wounded another Frenchman and another savage with the first volley that was fired, the chief of That band (although he pleaded in excuse that This Attack had all been a mistake, as far as the French were concerned) 437 did not fail, as soon as Sieur De Montmidy, who was in Command of That post [words omitted in MS.] to go and surrender Himself to Monsieur de boisbriant; And the principal Chief of that nation came to Montreal the following year to give me the same satisfaction.

In Regard to what the author of the Louisianna letter says therein; that, if the voyageurs who leave Montreal on trading expeditions had the Liberty of going wherever they please, there would be less Disorder among The savages; Whereas, Since they have Licenses for trading in certain posts only, it happens that, doing no business there, they go to others, and The French who find them there Confiscate their merchandise, calling in the aid of the savages if they are not themselves strong enough, Which has a very bad influence among The Nations—I do not know, Monseigneur, where This writer has ascertained that voyageurs, who had Licenses for one post, have Confiscated the wares of those whom they found there having licenses for another post, and that they have obtained aid from the savages in order to effect such Confiscations, since I am assured that far from any thing of this sort having taken place, no such action has even been taken by the French in any post of the upper country since those posts were established in 1717. They were Established only in order to Keep the savages attached to us; to maintain peace and union among the Nations; to keep in order the French traders who should go there with Licenses

to trade; and to prevent The disorders that had occurred when it was permitted to the voyageurs by their Licenses to carry on trade in any place of the upper country to which they might choose to go.

By the King's declaration of April 28th, 1716, for the reëstablishment of the 25 Licenses, His majesty ordered that 25 should be granted every year by the Governor-General of New France, to carry on trade with the Savages in the posts designated in those permits. I have Conformed with this order in forbidding Those who obtain these Licenses to go to trade elsewhere than in the posts appointed as their destination. The voyageurs who went to the upper country readily submitted to this prohibition, since each one found it to his 438 own advantage. There have, however, been a few who have Disobeyed, but they were people who had filled on account of their own Misconduct, and who had acted thus because they intended to pass over into the government of Louisianna. They have even gone there without Repaying the merchants who had Equipped them, in order to have more liberty to Continue their Careers as coureurs de bois—which was very easy, as they found Merchandise among the Ilinois for a new Equipment, and, as Monsieur De boisbriant did not refuse to give them licenses to continue their Expeditions. As soon as I was informed of These Enterprises, I wrote to That Commandant that I was greatly Surprised; and I represented to him at the same time that, Since I did not issue any permits to trade in the Ilinois country, he ought not to issue any, especially to fugitives from Canada, to come and trade with the savages dependant on my Government; and I added that if those traders were met in Any of those posts dependent upon my government, their property would be seized, in accordance with The orders I had given in Regard to people of that sort. This statement, made to Monsieur De boisbriant, is doubtless the source of the assertion made in the Louisianna letter to the effect that The voyageurs were hampered by not being allowed to trade in any other posts than those designated by their licenses; For, since 1720, I have not issued any Permits for trading; but there were some of those which I had granted previously which could not be used until 1721 and 1722. This was because the families that had obtained them, being themselves unable to use them, and being

allowed to sell them, had at first been unable to dispose of them; or, if they had sold them, The voyageurs who bought them found themselves unable to obtain among the merchants the assortment of merchandise necessary for their Equipment and had been unable to set out earlier. It may be also the delay in the Departure of these Licensed Traders that has given ground for Believing that I have Continued to issue licenses after his Majesty has Suppressed them.

There are no longer any other permits than those (which have always been granted) for the Canoes that go to carry supplies 439 to the officers and to the Jesuit Missionaries at the posts. This includes also the Missionaries of the same Company who are at Kascaskias, and Those of the Missions Etrangères [Foreign Missions] who Are at Kaoukias in the Ilinois country. These latter have had three Canoes This year, on account of a habitant of their Seigniory of Beaupré whom they sent to that mission with his family.1 I add hereto Those given to the voyageurs who engage to carry the effects of the King to the posts, for The payment and clothing of the soldiers, and for presents to the savages. I believe there is nothing in this Contrary to the Wishes of the King, since I have taken Care to report my Proceedings to the Council of marine, which has not disapproved This custom.

1 For the support of their missions, various landed estates were conferred upon the Jesuits. The seigniory of Beaupré was owned by the Seminary of Quebec. The Séminaire des Missions Etrangères of Quebec (founded in 1663) maintained, from 1698 until about 1712, various missions among the tribes on the lower Mississippi; most of these were then abandoned, save that among the Illinois. In the final decade of the French régime, the Illinois mission decayed; and the Seminary priests there ministered to the French habitants.— Ed.

I have not Hitherto noticed that love of gain has given rise to any bad conduct among the officers in the posts. They cannot give me bad Counsels, because I do not ask them for any whatever; and they restrict themselves to Reporting on matters relating to the savages

of their posts, or any occurrence which seems to demand attention, and, finally, on the execution of the orders that I give them. Thus, Monseigneur, you may rest assured that if there were any one who did not keep in view above all else the good of the service of the King and The execution of his orders, I should not fail to Recall him.

I Hope, Monseigneur, that These Explanations, in regard to the Calumnious complaints that have been made Against me, will prevent any others, should such be made in future, from making any Impression.

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[Across the outer sheet of this letter is written the following, apparently the Minister's directions to his secretary:]

Answer him:

1st.—That he must prevent the Abenakis from going into the upper country; that this is altogether opposed to our interests, and that he ought to have taken every possible Measure to prevent it from the start.

That he must take measures to end the affair of the renards, and that he ought for this purpose to send to la Baye, to take command there, an officer of experience, who is absolutely Trustworthy; that Sieur de la Noue1 would seem a proper person for that post. That the continuation of that war gives ground for judging that there is little effort made to finish it; that His Majesty will recompense The officer who shall Reduce the Renards to submissions—or rather, who will destroy them,—as His Majesty expressly desires this. The company of the indies2 has 30 picked soldiers in Ilinois, who will march

1 The identity of this officer cannot be satisfactorily established. Tanguay mentions one Zacharie Robutel, sieur de la Noüe; he was born in 1665, and died after 1705. He had several sons, only one of whom is mentioned by Tanguay as having military position; this was Thomas, born in 1702, an ensign, who died in 1754. Apparently it is Zacharie who in

1692 was at Michillimackinac, and in 1717 was sent to establish a post at the western end of Lake Superior, and to explore the lakes beyond it. Having built a fort at Kaministiquoia (near the present Port Arthur, Ont.), he remained in command there until 1721, when he was relieved. In 1727 one Sieur de la Noüe (who was probably a son of the preceding) was appointed to command at Green Bay; but Governor Beauharnais did not send him thither, as the Jesuits assured him that La Noüe, “although very capable and deserving, had the misfortune to be not acceptable to the Tribes at that post; and to be regarded with suspicion by the Renards, their allies.” It is probably this man who is mentioned in *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, 1042, as dead in 1734; and Thomas, son of Zacharie, as approving an expedition against the Foxes in 1742 (p. 1086).— Ed.

2 This was a commercial company, formed in France in 1717—at first, under the title of Compagnie d'Occident (Company of the West)—by the well-known adventurer John Law. Its objects were, to exploit the Louisiana colony, and to form colonies on the Mississippi river; but the scheme proved burdensome and unmanageable, and the company surrendered its charter to the crown in 1731, Louisiana thus becoming a royal province.— Ed.

441 whenever necessary, and measures should be taken and plans formed for bringing this War to an end.

When the King suppressed the licenses, he intended to prevent every one from going to the upper country; and persons who had not made use of their licenses when the order came, should not have been allowed to use those whose term had expired. To allow them to continue is to allow the continuance of a traffic which the King wished to stop.

It is right to give permits for carrying supplies to the troops at the posts; but this should be done only in conjunction with the intendant. It is necessary to avoid even a suspicion, and it is publicly asserted that for 100 livres one can get permits in Canada.

A greed for gain led formerly to the supplying of powder to the Renards, in the first War that we had with them. It is to be hoped that this abuse is now corrected, and that the officers of the posts no longer show such greed, and do not suffer it in others.

1724: WAR BETWEEN FOXES AND CHIPPEWAS; FORT TO BE ESTABLISHED AMONG SIOUX.

[Part of a letter written by Vaudreuil to the commandant Boisbriant; dated May 20, 1724. Source, same as that of preceding document, but vol. 56, c. 11, fol. 255.]

You are not ignorant of the fact that The Establishment in the syoux country, which the Court has greatly at Heart, will be as useful for the discovery of the western sea, as it is advantageous to all the settlements along the Mississipy; for it will protect the French who dwell there from The incursions of that nation. But, as one cannot conveniently go there except through the country of the renards, and as that way is closed by the war now raging between the renards and the Sauteurs, it is necessary to Begin at once to reconcile these two nations, who by being in perfect Accord, will Leave The roads open for the journey to the syoux. I flatter myself that Sieur Lignery will work Efficaciously to reunite them.

I have Been Informed that the illinois had not yet given any 442 satisfaction to the renards with regard to their prisoners, although the latter had sent theirs back to the Illinois. I think you feel with me that it is Important to induce that tribe to send back in good faith the prisoners of the others.

You have no less interest than we in keeping those nations At peace; and you should desire this all the more since the Consequences of their quarrels might fall upon our French.

There is no other way to restore Calm and tranquillity to the country than by working Efficaciously for peace and I urge you to do so; on my part I shall omit nothing that may tend to its attainment.

I am ordered by the Court to inform the syoux of its intention to succor them in their needs. For that purpose I shall employ father charndon, a Jesuit who is at La baye. He is greatly esteemed by the renards, who are friends of the syoux. He will urge the latter to go and meet the Commandant and the missionaries whom we are to give them. It is to be presumed that this project will place those people, who are more than 800 Leagues from the lower Mississipy, whither they cannot go to procure what they need. They are only two hundred Leagues from la baye. That Establishment, and the friendly relations between those tribes, will also be very useful in regard to Commerce and to the Intercourse that this Colony will hate with the mississipy.

1724: INTERTRIBAL WARS; IMPORTANCE OF POST OUIATANON.

[Letter from Vaudreuil to Boisbriant; dated Aug. 17, 1724. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 256.]

I have received, Monsieur, The letter that you did me the honor of Writing to me on the 19th of last October.

I am not surprised that the quikapoux, sakis, Mascoutins, and other nations should go on Forays against the Illinois; the consequences of that strife sometimes react upon our French. Those tribes are allies of the renards, who claim to have Grievances against the Illinois, because the latter detain their prisoners. I am convinced that, if they were to give satisfaction 443 to the renards on this point, it would not be difficult to induce The latter to make peace. I employ every means to attain this end, by ordering all the Commandants of the posts to work Efficaciously for that object; and if, after trying gentle means, they cannot

succeed in doing so, to urge all the nations to assemble Together to Exterminate the renards. Such, Monsieur, are my sentiments to which I shall devote particular attention.

I am very glad of The arrival of the sieurs St. ange, father And son;1 but I am surprised that you should think of removing Sieur de Vincennes from my Government, and that you should have Undertaken to make him leave a post where his presence is most necessary, on account of the Esteem in which he is held by the savage nations at that post—which, as you know, is not at all within the jurisdiction of the Mississipy Government.2 I would be very sorry to be compelled to lay

1 Jean de (originally Grosson *dit*) St. Ange de Bellerive was a veteran officer in the French troops, having served since at least 1685. It is probably he who escorted Charlevoix through the West in 1721; and in the following year, when commandant at Fort Chartres, cut to pieces a large body of Fox Indians. In 1724, he was major at New Orleans; and in 1733 was again in command of Fort Chartres. His second son, Louis, was at New Orleans in 1724, and at Kaskaskia in 1727; later, he was in charge of a French post on the Missouri river, but in 1736 was sent as commandant to Post Vincennes, which office he held until 1764. In that year he took command of Fort Chartres, which he delivered up to the English on Oct. 14, 1765; he then removed to St. Louis (which had been founded in the preceding year by Pierre Laclede), and was commandant there until 1770 (in the Spanish service, after 1766). He died there, Dec. 26, 1774.— Ed.

2 A reference to Post Ouiatanon (near the present city of Lafayette, Ind.), founded about 1719 (see Vaudreuil's orders to Dubuisson, p. 382, *ante*). The Vincennes here referred to was François Morgane, a nephew of J. B. Bissot (p. 228, *note* 2, *ante*), and successor to the latter's title; it is François who later founded Post Vincennes. See J. P. Dunn's *Indiana*, pp. 49–55; and Oscar J. Craig's “Ouiatanon,” in Indiana Historical Society's *Publications*, it, ii, pp. 317–348.

The district of Illinois was separated from the jurisdiction of Canada, and added to that of Louisiana, in 1717; but there was frequent wrangling among the respective colonial

authorities, in regard to the more distant posts situated on tributaries of the Mississippi. See Vaudreuil's statement of the boundaries between the two governments, in Margry's *Découv. et établ*., vi, p. 511.— Ed.

444 my compliments before the Court; but I shall nevertheless do so if the attempt to remove Him Continues. I trust, monsieur, that you will pay attention to this, and that you will reflect upon the Inconveniences that might result from it.

I Wrote last year respecting The promotion of Sieur de Vincennes; I hope that the Court has heeded my representations, and that he will have employment this year.

I thank you for your attention in sending back The two soldiers who had deserted from detroit.

You may rely upon the four soldiers, of whom you write to me, not leaving this Colony if I learn that all four are in it; and you may be sure that I shall Incorporate them in the troops. I shall make every effort to procure for the Company the repayment of the advances made by it to those People.

* * * * * * * *

There is nothing new here, excepting the death of Monsieur de Ramezay.

1724: DE LIGNERY GOES TO GREEN BAY; PACIFIES THE WARRING TRIBES, EXCEPT THE FOXES AND ILLINOIS.

[Letter of De Lignery to Boisbriant; dated Aug. 23, 1724. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 257.]

Monsieur —I take The opportunity afforded by the departure of a poutéatamy, who is going to the river St. Joseph, to have the Honor of Writing to You These few words, by Which You will learn that I proceeded to la baye by order of Monsieur The marquis de Veaudreuil

to try to smooth The troubles between The Soteux and other tribes of the Lakes, our allies, and the reynarts. To that end, in Concert with Monsieur damariton, the Commandant of This post, and The reverend fathers St. pé and Chardon, I assembled The Sakis, renards, and puants in This fort, and addressed them in forcible terms to make them lay down Their War-clubs lifted Against The said Soteurs, by giving Them back two of Their Slaves whom The ytayés [Ottawas] of Saginan had taken from them last 445 year. This they granted me, and they also gave me three Soteur slaves whom they had Among them. This was my first word; and Here is The Second, which I have set down on this sheet at Length, in The same terms as those in which I spoke to Them, Wishing to Bind both Their arms, and to establish A general peace among all the nations.

“I ask you also, on behalf of our father, to stay The War-club lifted Against his children, The jllinois, upon whom You are waging a bitter war. He has also sent word to them to lay down Their war-club lifted Against You; and I Shall endeavor to have The slaves on both sides sent back, so as to put an End to This unjust war, which makes our father very angry. It is greatly to Your interest to Please Him. I cannot sufficiently impress upon You The obedience that You owe Him If You Wish to be His True children; and The misfortunes that You will draw down upon Yourselves If you do not obey His Will.”

Such, Monsieur, are The very terms which I Used to induce the Savages to Cease their attacks Upon the illinois; but Their answer was not favorable, for they replied: “my father, The jllinois has attacked us too often to allow of our staying our War-clubs, and of breaking our word. I Hide It not from thee, but we shall still have An arm Lifted on That Side.” Such, monsieur, was Their answer, and they Are indignant because, when peace was made in 1718, they sent the jllinois back Their prisoner's while The jllinois did not return Theirs, As had been Agreed upon in The treaty. Thus, monsieur, I Consider that it is necessary, If We Wish to secure This peace Between them, to Commence by accomplishing That. If You deem It advisable, will you have The kindness to send me word via The river St Joseph? If You do me The Honor of writing to me, Monsieur de Villedonné who Commands there, will send The Letter to me at Michilimakinac. which is my post; I returned hither This year,

two months ago, when I learned that the regnards had Killed Five Frenchmen. This led me to resolve to write to monsieur The marquis do Vaudreuil that, If This Were True, I Thought we Would be compelled to wage war on Them Jointly with all our nations; and I also wrote the same to the minister.

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Thus, monsieur, I Believe that, in order to decide upon peace or upon war, we require to have news from You, As we have no positive Information respecting What Passes Among You, for we have received none this year.

The Journey that I have made to la baye will do no harm in either ease. On The Contrary It has removed all distrust from Their minds. I am very glad to inform You of this so that Your people may be On Their guard. I earnestly request Monsieur de Villedonné to send You This Letter as soon as possible.

I have The Honor to be with respect, Monsieur, Your very humble and very obdient Servant,

De Lignery .

AT LA BAYE, this 23rd of August, 1724.

1724: FOXES DEMAND THE RESTORATION OF THEIR CAPTIVES AMONG THE ILLINOIS; LACK OF CO-OPERATION AMONG FRENCH COMMANDANTS.

[Letters to commandant at Kaskaskia, written by Villedonné (Oct. 4), and Father Mesaiger1 (Oct. 2 and 15). Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 261, 262, 268.]

1 Charles Michel Mesaiger (Messager) came to Canada in 1722, where he remained twenty-seven years, returning to France in 1749. Little is known of his labors, save that in 1731 he was at Michillimackinac, and then went with La Vérendrye on his explorations

in the wilderness west of Lake Superior; having spent two years thus, he returned to Montreal on account of poor health.— Ed.

Monsieur —Having succeeded in inducing ouábessébau, the brother of the Chief of the Sakis at la baye, who is Settled in this Village—having succeeded, I Say, in concert with Monsieur de Villedonné, in inducing Him (in Accordance with The wishes of Messieurs The Commandants of michilimakina and of the post of la baye) to carry You These Letters, and to work Under Your orders, in Concert with Monsieur de Villedonné, at securing peace between the regnarts and the illinois, I have the honor to write to you begging You to treat him well, even 447 if The Errand Should not be as agreeable to You as it appears necessary to Those Gentlemen. The Savage manifests no less His good Will toward the French and deserves that some Regard be shown Him, because, as he is illinois by birth and in his Heart, His Coming should cause only pleasure in That country, As nothing Certain is Known here Concerning What passes among the illinois. In Accordance with the intentions of monsieur The marquis de Vaudreuil and of Messieurs de Lignery and amariton, we send Him to gain On the Spot, Light on Certain facts (both Personally and still more through The Letters that those Gentlemen hope to receive from You), and that we may Afterward act in accordance with The Truth of Those facts. The facts in question Are: Whether there Are any regnart Slaves among The ilinois; Whether it is True that, when the peace was made in 1716, the regnart Slaves Were not given up According to Agreement; Whether any slaves have been captured in the last war; Whether those who were made Slaves at either time Are still Alive, or are dead; finally, Whether the French have burned The Slaves whom the jlinois captured on the last occasion—for The Regnart clamors loudly On These points. If there should be any renard Slaves among The illinois, those Gentlemen beg You to take steps to recover Them, and at once to hand them over to ouábessébau, who will deliver them into The hands of Monsieur de Villedonné, and after that to Monsieur de Lignery. Should there be none, and the renards have lied On all these Points, we beg You to let us Know Whether there have been any who Are now dead, or who have been burned. In the Latter Case, You will find some arrangement

to be proposed to Them by Those Gentlemen, If You wish for peace; or You will inform Them of our motives and of Your Opinions Respecting The war, should You Deem it more advisable to Resort to it. Such, Monsieur, is The explanation of our sending ouabessebau, Respecting Which you will act As Your usual Wisdom and prudence, and The honor of the French name, which is so Dear to You, may suggest. I have only to Represent an not to dictate to persons who have more experience and more Wisdom than I. Moreover. I know that affairs of 448 This Kind are not within my province, but solely within Yours; and I am delighted to be concerned in this affair merely that I may inform You that I remain with great respect, Monsieur, Your very Humble and very obedient Servant

C. M. Messager , Jesuit Missionary.

At the Post of the River St Joseph , this 2nd of October, 1724.

Monsieur —Having learned (by one Oulameque, who met some of Your French) that It was You, Monsieur, who were appointed to take The place of Monsieur de boisbriant,1 I unite with Those gentlemen who Write to You in Telling You that no effort is being made to put an end to The war which The regnarts are waging, not only on us but also against The illinois, where Your French Are at all times surrounded. It is necessary, Monsieur, to work in Concert with us for The success of This undertaking Without, however, The Consent of the regnarts. Steps must be taken to withdraw The Slaves from the hands of the illinois If they have any. The regnarts complain that they were deceived by Your Savages in 1716, and that the latter kept some of Their people when they had Agreed mutually to deliver Them up to one another. Le Chat blan [White Cat], who has Undertaken to carry These Letters and to hand Them to You, is commendable for his Ability. We (all The missionaries, and Those gentlemen who Write to you) beg You to Entrust Le Chat blan with the Slashes whom You will withdraw from the hands of the illinois, to Be handed over to us, in order that we may strive to effect peace between Those two nations, who are greatly excited Against each other. Father messager, who Writes to You from here, informs You of everything. I unite with Him in commending to you Le Chat blan, who

assures us that he will bring back directly to this place Whatever You may Entrust him with. It is The Surest and

1 This letter was written to the new commandant at Kaskaskia, Claude Charles du Tisné. He was at Mobile in 1714, and served with distinction for many years in Louisiana and Illinois. He died probably in 1730.— Ed.

449 promptest Way. By so doing You would oblige Him who has The honor of being most sincerely,

Monsieur, Your very Humble and very obedient Servant,

De Villedonne .

at the fort of the river St. Joseph this 4th October, 1724.

Monsieur —In Concert with Monsieur De Villedonné, and in Accordance with the intention of Monsieur De Vaudreuil and Monsieur de Lignery and amariton, I had the honor of Writing to you by oubessebau who will reach you this winter, with reference to the peace which those Gentlemen wish to make between the Renard and the illinois. It is for the purpose of giving you notice of it that I send you this letter By way of the [post.] Ouiatanon, with the Consent of Monsieur De Villedonné; and, at the same time, to give you a summary of the Contents of the letters of those Gentlemen and of our fathers [the Jesuits]. Monsieur Delignery, after obtaining from the Renard a peace with the sauteurs and the Lake tribes, Undertook to have one Concluded also with The illinois, promising Them to have Their Slaves Restored to them—who, they complained, had been Kept back from them at the peace of 1716. The Renards would not Consent in spite of his threats in the name of Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil; and added That The illinois had Treated Them too badly, and had broken their word to them too often, to permit them to lay down the War-club they had lifted Against that tribe. Those Gentlemen see no prospect of securing the peace that they would like to make universal, Unless you help them to get back those Slaves who are so much regretted, in the event of their Being Alive; or

Unless you give them information to enable them to Convict the Renard of falsehood. That Information they cannot obtain because they are not On the spot, and have only the Frenchman there who takes part in the negotiation Without the participation or Consent of the Renard. Should you Deem it advisable to act in Accordance with the Intentions of these Gentlemen, Ouabessebau will undertake, on his return, to Place the Slaves in the hands of Monsieur Devilledonné, who will send them to Monsieur Delign[er]ly, 30 450 Independently of the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Renard. If Monsieur Is of opinion that War should be waged against that Cruel nation, he Informs you that he is Writing to France to the minister on the subject, for he cannot Allow the Killing of the French to go Unpunished. All the other tribes will be disposed to take part in the war with more ardor when they see the Renard placed entirely in the Wrong through the Restitution of His Slaves, with which he will Probably not be Content; and they will act Jointly with us to destroy him. Such, Monsieur, are the Contents of the Letters which should Reach you this winter. In case of accident, I take advantage of the present opportunity to Inform you of those Gentlemen's Intentions. If Ouabessebau, contrary to our expectations, should Retrace his steps Owing to some panic Dread, please have the kindness to act as if the letters of those gentlemen had Reached you; and, through Monsieur de Vincennes, Inform them, If it can be done, of the truth, and of the state of affairs in your country. I Commend myself to your Good Prayers and I Beg you to Believe me, with great respect,

[C.] M. Mesaiger .

At St. Joseph . This October 15th, 1724.

1725: FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN ILLINOIS ARE MENACED BY THE FOXES; AID FROM FRANCE REQUESTED.

[Letters from Du Tisné, dated Jan. 14, 1725. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 259, 268.]

Monsieur —I have informed Messieurs De Lignery, Amariton, and Villedonné of the ill-treatment we receive from the Renards; and I am writing to them to Send you The Answer of Our savages. I was Surprised that those Gentlemen at la Baye should have concluded-peace So soon; for Monsieur De Lignery writes me that he has Heard that five of our French have been killed. This report is only too true. He should or Can Suspend the peace. You Know, Monsieur, that, on account of that peace So hastily concluded, the chiefs are not masters of 451 their young men; and, as allies of the Renards, they will join them to come and Continue Their Cruelties Upon us. Had those Gentlemen let the tribes alone, we would have had to Fight against fewer Enemies who cover themselves with the name of Renard. They cannot deny that Ouayalameque came to attack us, for The son of le chat blanc was there, and I had previously broken His five canoes below the Ouabache; and they ought not to be Ignorant of the fact that the Renards dance around our scalps with Their allies. Our Illinois have no Slaves belonging to the Renards, and have Never acted Treacherously toward them. They [merely] defended themselves. The last Attack at le Rocher proves It, and they establish it by Monsieur deliette and by the missionaries. We Are not Spared; The Traders from your Quarter give them to understand that we Are other White men. People of that Kind Sacrifice Their country to obtain Beaver-skins. All these Representations, Messieurs, call-for your orders, so that a Remedy may be applied to this. Meanwhile, until we take our departure, I shall stop our Illinois from going to that country; but they shall Remain with us at their Head, to defend us On our lands. Give orders also to the miamis; they came to Invite two of our chiefs, of whom We have no news; We fear that. they have killed them. They are named Mamantoinsa and le Chevreuil blanc; they Are highly Esteemed among the Kaskasias. Five of our French have just been killed on the Ouabache; We suspect The Kikapoux. Finally, If the ruin of this colony is desired, that is the way to Succeed. Pardon, Monsieur, If I Importune you by my lengthy discourses; but a sick person is permitted to Allege His Ailments, in order that the proper Remedies Be given him. There is no time to Lose. I have the honor to beg you to Continue your protection, And to permit me to tell you [that I am], with very profound respect,

Dutisne .

[Endorsed: “Copy of a Letter Written to Monsieur de Vaudreuil at Quebec, on the 14th of January, 1725, from fort de Chartres in the Illinois country.”]

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Monsieur —You will find annexed to this all the copies, showing The manner in which we are treated in Canada. I send them also to Monseigneur de Maurepas, whose commands I ask. You cannot importune Him too much to that effect and to withdraw us from the sorry positions in which our French and the Savages are placed here. We are Killed everywhere by the renards, to whom Canada supplies weapons and powder. These letters with my answers, and those of our savages, will inform you of our grievances. The Beaver in Their district cause this Great carnage among us; and we shall Obtain no relief unless you give orders in regard to this affair.

I had the honor, messieurs, to tell you in my last letter that this post does not suit me. If you can grant me what I ask,1 I shall be Greatly obliged to you. I am deprived of everything, without arms or ammunition. If no more succor be Sent to us from The sea, we shall be Compelled to abandon this post. I shall endeavor to maintain it To the end; but one cannot do what is impossible, and I shall yield only at the last Extremity. When we Write to Them they do not disturb themselves. If you absolutely wish me to remain here, have the kindness to give orders that a secretary be granted me, for I have no person here who is Capable of being one. Without the assistance of sieur perillau, who is very well qualified, and who has been good enough to take the trouble, I would not have been equal to the task. He well deserves that the Company should have some consideration for him, as he has already Been in its service.

1 On the margin of MS. is here written “The Company of Paris”—probably an intimation that this letter is addressed to the directors of the Company of the Indies, in whose hands was then the management of the Louisiana and Illinois colonies.— Ed.

I admit, Messieurs, that I was surprised, After I had certified Monsieur de Bourmont's accounts, and had passed seven horses for him, to find afterward that the man named pichard had brought only four, and that the others were not delivered. And as the clerk is dead, Monsieur de Bourmont has appointed in his stead one named St. roe, who was expelled from your stores in the time of sieur Roger whom, it is asserted, he caused to do whatever he wished. This will help you to procure 453 my reports. That is what le Taillandier assures me, who came down with him; and when navigation opens, I shall learn the exact truth through Monsieur de St. Ange. I shall have the honor of Writing to you more at length by Lamér.

The savages press me very hard. We have no paper here, which prevents my making Copies. Mamentouenta and his band have just arrived, and here are Copies of the letters that I have received. My son has arrived from the Missouris, and has brought His Convoy safely and without accident to its destination.

Allow me to call myself with very profound respect, after asking the honor of your protection and seeking the same on all occasions, and to remain, Messieurs, Your very humble, obedient, And very submissive servant,

C. C. Dutisne .

At fort de Chartre this 14th January, 1725.

1725: OPINIONS OF ILLINOIS MISSIONARIES REGARDING FOX WAR

[Letters to Du Tisné from missionaries at Kaskaskia; dated Jan. 10, 1725. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 267.]

Monsieur —I have the honor to Send you Herewith the Reply of the small number of savages who are here. He who Carries you the message is a chief of the Kaskacias named assakipité, who is highly Esteemed. He accompanies his message with a calumet,

which he will present to le chat blanc to Thank him for his visit. The Message is Full of Respect and submission to your orders; and when all The other chiefs come, they will not disavow it. You ask us in particular, Monsieur, what are our Opinions. They will not be very different from the message of The illinois. I add to what he will say my private Opinion, which is also that of Monsieur Thomur, the Superior of the Kaskacias Missions. He will sign it with me, as you Deem it advisable, for neither of us fears having it made public, If you consider that expedient for the public weal; for we have no other views, and it Is perfectly in accord with That which we hold respecting The establishment of Religion trod the Safety of the Country.

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First: We Certify that in our illinois villages there are no renard slaves, except one girl, who is with the Chief of the metchicamias;1 and the latter has promised to surrender her as soon as they give up to him His son Vensa, a prisoner among the Renards, who was given by them to Their allies. As our illinois are absent from their homes, we do not Know whether there are any other slaves among Them.

1 A tribe who were living near the mouth of Arkansas river when Marquette visited them in 1673; by 1700, they had wandered northward to the vicinity of Cahokia, and were living in the same village as the Tamaroas, with whom they probably were later incorporated.— Ed.

Secondly: Monsieur Delignery cannot have had The slightest doubt, when he made the peace, that The 5 Frenchmen mentioned in His letter Were Killed last spring, since Their Scalps were carried through the villages of the Renards, and the Poux and other Lake tribes were Informed of the affair. Moreover, even if he had not been aware of It, he, at least, knew certainly that in 1719 one St. hive2 was killed, and de ruisseaux wounded; that in 1721, a Soldier was killed at the Gate of the village of the Kaskacias; that in the Following years Monsieur Nepveu and His family Were massacred; that in 1723, lesueur and Lafond were slain while hunting; that in The Following year, Monsieur de St ange was attacked and one of his Soldiers killed; and that last spring Monsieur de Boisbriant's

Canoe, manned by 4 Frenchmen and His Slaves,3 Was attacked, and The 4 [Frenchmen Killed.

2 Another transcript gives this name as St. Yves, probably thus modernized by the copyist.— Ed.

3 As we have already seen throughout these documents, captives taken in war were held as slaves, among all tribes. When the French settled among the savages, they too adopted the custom of slaveholding; and in both Illinois and Louisiana slavery prevailed—at first of Indians, and afterward of negroes (who were first brought to Louisiana in 1719). See *Jes. Relations*, index, *art*. Slavery.— Ed.

Neither can Monsieur de Lignery have been ignorant of the fact that since The peace, The illinois have not left Their Lands; that If the Renards went thither, it was because they wished to attack The illinois. The destruction of Le Rocher and of Pimithony Are proofs of this.

Hence we may conclude that the Renards in all their representations 455 have Imposed upon the French chiefs; we have therefore Decided that the peace with the Renards does not suit us. If it is a question of asking for peace, it is not Proper that the French should seek it. If the renard should ask for It, it might be granted to him, by compelling him to pay for the death of the French. It should be Represented to Monsieur Delignery that the peace he has made between the renards and the Lake tribes is hurtful to this province, and will undoubtedly break up its Trade with three or four nations against whom the renards had to defend Themselves. They will have only the illinois to Contend with, and the French, Their allies, will support Them.

Thirdly: If Monsieur Delignery, after Hearing these reasons, does not consider it his duty or that he has the power at once to break the peace that he has made Without awaiting a Response from Monsieur De Vaudreuil or from the Court, it will be necessary, at least pending the arrival of those answers, to compel the renard to Suspend hostilities against

the Illinois during the entire spring and the following summer, in order that he may not make an attack On the Lands of the Illinois: And Monsieur Dutisné, on his side, could assure the Renard that The illinois will not Leave His own Territory to go to the other's lands; but will nevertheless be thoroughly on his guard In case the renard should enter Upon the Lands of the Illinois, During this truce there will be time to ascertain the facts, and to speak to all the Illinois chiefs. Some of these may be Sent, with certain Frenchmen, to parley and Agree upon the Terms of a firm and lasting peace—one of whose Principal articles should be, that whichever nation of the two might attempt to take up arms should at once be attacked by all the others who had Been witnesses to the Treaty.

Such, Monsieur, is the Opinion of both of us. We remain with profound respect,

Boulanger and Kereben , Jesuits.

Thomur , priest.

From the Caskakias , the 10th of January, 1725.1

1 Jean le Boullenger (who evidently wrote this letter) labored in the Illinois mission (most of the time at Kaskaskia), from 1703 until at least 1729. Joseph François de Kereben came to Canada in 1716, and labored among the Illinois until his death in 1728; he was superior of the Louisiana missions from 1723 to 1725. Thaumur de la Source was one of the priests sent to Illinois by the Missions Etrangères.— Ed.

[Continuation of the Letter:]

Monsieur, A few words More to add to our Letter, As it Would be Desirable that Mamantouensa and his band should arrive, for The suspicions and Uneasiness of the Savages are perhaps only too well founded, and I fear that le Chat blanc is afraid that he will hear of Their defeat, because he Knows that the renards went there this winter, and

letters also inform us of It; but., If we should delay, he might perhaps think that we have some evil design against Him. If Father Kerebin is of my Opinion, as Monsieur Thomur is, he may Sign this, as we have done, and with us. I Send you, Monsieur, enclosed herewith, Letters For the Fathers. There are some in the packet for Father Beaubois, who will go to [France, and Inform Him of that peace made by Monsieur De Lignery. He will Inform the Court of it and you might also write a few words to Monsieur Raudot; for Monsieur de Vaudreuil will amuse the Court by Writing that it is our fault If we have not peace. He seems to have no other desire than to allow the vein of Beaver skins to flow; and, by Letting The Renard attack us, to prevent this Country from being settled, and thereby to shut off trade between His Government and Ours. I say nothing further. I send you the packet of spectacles that you request.

1725: SPEECH OF THE ILLINOIS INDIANS, DEFENDING THEMSELVES, AND ACCUSING THE FOXES.

[Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 263.]

Copy of the answer given to le chapt blanc by the Illinois, to the renards, regarding the letters of Messieurs Lignery, amariton, and vildonné, officers of Canada, commanding the posts of Missinimaquenak, la baye, and the river St. Joseph.

Answer of Anakipita [and] Massauga: “Who are we, chapt blanc, that we should decide anything? We listen only to the 457 French chief. It is for him to decide on peace or war. Our chiefs are all absent. When they return this spring the French chief, Monsieur du tisné, will assemble us from all His villages. We shall Listen to his word, and we shall do what he commands us. We thank thee for thy visit. We thank thy French chief for having spoken of us. Thou sayest that the renard does not wish for peace. He says that his Slaves have not been given back to him. Where are they? Is there a single one in our villages? Does the renard speak the truth? Is it we who have broken the peace? Is it not he who in 1716, shortly after peace was concluded, was The first to attack Lesueur and malbouroug and

to carry off his wife and his Children and an Illinois nephew? Is it not he who was first The traitor in The affair of la Gruë? Is it not he who has Continued to destroy our villages? Do we go to their country? We have always remained on our lands to defend ourselves. Why do they persist in attacking us and in attacking the French? We beg thee, chat blanc, thou who art our ally, not to give any help to the renard. But we decide nothing; we weep and grieve for our chiefs, mamenthoüinsa and Aoutgamona, who are thy kindred. They are among the miamis. Remain some days Longer with us, and thou shalt Hear news. If they return not in a few days, they are dead, and thou shalt bear the news of it. If they return alive, They will speak, and will perhaps Accompany thee, if the French chief so orders. Such is our opinion, and to that end here is a feathered Calumet that I give thee."

Here follows the answer of the Metchicamia, given by the chief named Jouachin and the other chiefs, in our presence and in that of Reverend father Kerebin and of our officers, to le chapt blanc; which is similar to that of Anakipita. Massauga also gave Them a Calumet, which they accepted, to remain seven nights to await the return of Mamentouensa, who delays; and afterward to return Home to induce the nations whom they should find with hearts well disposed—specially the Renards, quicapous, mascoutins, syoux and others—to smoke with these Calumets. Below are The representations made by the said chiefs concerning the bad treatment that they have received from the renards. Here are the names of those whom we recollect, 458 the other illinois who might Know them being away on an inland hunting expedition.

The Renards cannot Ignore or dispute what is stated here, both that they have Been the aggressors, and even that they have Induced several nations to come and kill us and to kill the French, our allies. Nor could the French chiefs on the Canada Side have been Ignorant of this; for the scalp dance has Been performed around their scalps and ours among the Mascoutins, quikapous, Renards, syoux, and everywhere around La bay. Thus the peace that was concluded at la bay has no other object than to harass us still more; for when they were At war with the nations They could not come in so Large numbers to destroy us—who have always Listened to the words of Ononthyo, through Monsieur de

Boisbriant, forbidding us to go To War. Our heads have been Broken, and the French, our allies, have been killed on our lands. We defended ourselves, but we Never set out to seek them. Monsieur de Boisbriant has Left us Monsieur du Tisné; we Listen to his word; we deliberate only on what he tells us on ononthyo's behalf. Thou tellest us that the renards are to come within a moon; that the French chiefs cannot bind their two arms; that they have bound their Left arm, but that the right one is to strike us. If they were true Children of nonthyo, would They not Obey his word? They accuse us of having deceived them; they cannot prove it. The French chiefs and the reverend father, who have directed us, will prove that we merely defended ourselves, and that They were The aggressors; and that we, our wives and Children, and our brothers the French, have Been their victims; and by these details we shall show thee The truth. And thou, chat blanc, thou who hast always acted honorably, and whose heart is Illinois and French, thou thyself knowest the truth of This. Accordingly, these two Calumets show thee that we obey only the will of ononthyo, our father; that thou mayest prove to the French Commandants both of la bay and missilimaquinak, and of the river St. Joseph, that we attack only because we do what Monsieur tisné tells us; It is he who deliberates for us. But as regards the threats of the Renards, we shall be on our Guard When they come to Affront us on our lands, to kill us and the French—as is set forth in the following List:

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“Is it not true that in 1718, at la pierre a flèche, They killed one of our people named Nenchwiensicwa?

“In September of the same year, there was a Frenchman, Lesueur, whom they captured with Malbouroug, the wife of Lesueur, his two Children, two Illinois relatives of his wife, a female Slave, and his mother-in-law (whom they killed with The slave); and they pillaged all his effects. They killed these captives on The first day's march; and, when the French redeemed Lesueur and Malbouroug, The Renards promised to make repayment for The pillaged goods, which has not been done.

“In November of the same year, at Kigigwa, was he not killed by Them? Did they not pillage Lafleur and his convoy, without heeding the fact that it was a convoy? Did they not at that time pillage Monsieur de tonty with his detachment, who were bringing us The presents given to us by The chief of Canada on behalf of ononthyo?

“At the same time, at a place near the village of the Kaos [Kaokias], did they not kill St. yves, wound one des ruisseaux, who was Crippled thereby?

“Did they not at the same time lie in wait near the Missouris for Monsieur du tisné, whom Monsieur de boisbriant Sent to make peace with the yoais [Iowas]? although They did not dare to attack Him, because he had soldiers.

“In the spring of 1719, did they not above le rocher, slay an Illinois named Joucherinenga, and three women—of whom one was named Mounechecwa, one's name is not known, and the third was a Young girl, Mechecwenga, very much esteemed, whom they Took prisoner.

“At the same season, also above le rocher, They killed two illinois, and a woman, And Carried off three Children.

“In June of the same year, did not the renards come, to the number of thirty, to attack the village of pemetewoy, and kill a woman named Petechechenoucta; and scalp a girl named Kintuwa and leave her for dead, after giving her three stabs with a Knife, and as many blows with a War-club?

“Two days after that blow had been struck, a band of Pemetewoy, having found the track of the renards, Overtook and defeated them, taking a scalp and carrying off two renard prisoners 460 —one named Chinguouhensa, a son of the Great chief, and The other Wachateché. Monsieur de Liette and father Kereben, wishing to have peace made, redeemed Them; then they sent back Wachateché with a Collar and some other goods, a flag, some Letters for the commandant of la bay and for The father, and The message

of the illinois. He promised to return within twenty days with some renard chiefs, if he succeeded; and, if not, to return himself to pay with his Person and that of his comrade. He came back, but at the head of a band to attack the village once more. Notwithstanding that, we sent back the son of the Chief with presents which le brochet gave him. This one made a better use of them, and sent back an illinois whom they had detained as a prisoner among Them.

“The said renards should remember what they did in their own villages to the People of le rochér, whom they invited by a flag to enter their place, but of whom they burned eleven, and Broke the heads of four; and two when they thus saw themselves betrayed, stabbed themselves. Those whom they burned were: Ounensilechi, a chief greatly esteemed; mengilchiwa, and Waseganensa. Thou knowest that what we tell thee is true, chapt blanc, thou who art our ally. Is it not the truth? Did not the renards in their treachery cause the following to be burned also: atakereni and Ounsachachaiwa, chiefs held in high esteem; nepata; Wabecoupiseta; Wabecoukeasata; Ounelchinsa, a man of high standing; atchengwensa, a chief killed by a gunshot; perewé; Amawensa, his son, who killed himself among Them, out of chagrin; with cacacharounsa, chaowanounsa; and the son of owabechacanensa; besides thirty whom they killed while in flight? Is it we who in 1722 Treacherously killed two Metchy women—one named Keancewa, the other cakecowocowa—near the village? At the same time, they inflicted tortures at le rocher, And they carried off our Children. Did they not defeat Monsieur de St. Ange, *fils* , while coming from the Caos [Caokias], and wound and kill a soldier—taking his gun and Removing his scalp, and Sending him adrift in a canoe so that he might be seen from the French fort?

“In the same year, they killed lesueur, whom the French had ransomed, and slew Lafond, and Carried off their Heads; they 461 offered Base Insults to their corpses, and carried away the brother of a chief who was hunting with Them.

“In 1721, did they not kill a Frenchman named Langevin, who was working at the Caos, in Monsieur thaumur's house?

“In 1722, did they not Carry away near the village, eight illinois, named: Kitchia, a man held in esteem; the son of ouepacé; the son of Cassowakia; the son of arapaoumeta; the son of aragaia; and the son of macaturinia? The other two were brought back by the French, who redeemed them. They were all our Children and thy kindred, chat blanc. See how our bodies are treated by the renards.

“In the same year, at the gate of the Metchy village, they killed a woman named Ouroniowita, and took Her scalp; and they slew the son of mellebouensa, whose father was a chief of the caos.

“And in the same year, On this side of Ouabache, they killed neveu, his wife, a Boy, and two of his daughters, and Carried off their heads. Is The French chief of Missilimaquinak, or are the others, ignorant of this? These deeds ought to show them who are the traitors.

“In 1723, they killed a Young girl in the Great forest of le rocher, near the Kaskaskias.

“In 1724, they killed four Frenchmen, also a negro belonging to Monsieur de boisbriant; they Scalped the Frenchmen and heaped shameful Indignities upon the dead bodies. Can the French chief of la bay have been ignorant of this when the scalp-dance was performed around those scalps among the nations where the renards dwell?

“In the same year did they not come to kill our brothers near Marameck, who defended themselves and put the renards to flight?

“If they would Listen, chat blanc who are our ally, as thou and we do to the word of our father ononthyo, They would not, as they do, kill us and our brothers, the French. If the nations And the French of la bay did not supply powder and arms to our common Enemies, The earth would be level and our true father, the Great Ononthyo from the other

side of the great lake, would be Listened to. Harken, Chat blanc our ally, repeat faithfully what we say to thee in the presence of our 462 father, Monsieur du tisné, whose word we Heed, that we will not go to attack any one; but he and we, with all the chiefs, will keep on our Guard. We look upon thee as our ally. Therefore as thou lovest us and art a friend of the French, seek, by the right that thou knowest we possess, to smooth the road that thy Ancestors kept so well. I admit that we do not kill as many Beavers as the People of the lakes; but our traders here are not Interested, and do not supply our Enemies either with powder or with guns to kill us, or those of their own blood who are our allies.

“Let the renards remember their treacherous Attack on our ally la Grue and his party under the flag of our father Ononthyo in their own village.

“Are not our brothers, the French, killed daily at the Ouabache? This year again do not the allies of the renards dance the scalp-dance around their scalps before the traders from Canada, who are of the same blood, and who supply them with powder in exchange for their Beaver and marten skins? How can they be ignorant of it at present? Thou tellest us, chapt blanc, and sayest that these things were told at la bay. Seest thou not their deceit? Didst thou not see Monsieur tisné come today from Montreal, passing by Missilimaquinak on behalf of ononthyo? Is it not ononthyo who has sent him to us in the place of our father Monsieur de Boisbriant? Thou sayest that thou didst see him and all his brothers at Montreal. The commandants of La bay Know Him. Thou seest the bad faith of the renards and of those who seek their Beaver-skins. Didst thou not see the Canadians, who are thy allies as they are ours, pass by missilimaquinak, la bay, and river St. Joseph? Didst thou not give them food? Didst thou not see the two brothers separate, one remaining at thy village and the other coming to stay with us? Didst thou not see the black gowns and the white collars1 whom ononthyo Sends to Teach and to baptize us, pass through thy village? This proves to thee that the renards wish only to betray and to deceive our allies.

1 Apparently having reference to the ruffs worn by the French officers.— Ed.

“This is what we prove by Monsieur de Boisbriant, our father, and by Monsieur du tisné, the black gowns and the white 463 Collars who have always Governed us. That is the way, our ally, that we are treated. Ask thy allies, who are our kindred and the friends of ononthyo, not to strike us and our brothers, the French.”

C. C. du Tisne .

At Fort de Chartre this 14th January, 1725.

1726: DE LIGNERY MAKES A TEMPORARY PEACE WITH FOXES; POLICY OF THE FRENCH TOWARD THAT TRIBE.

[From a MS. in Quebec Provincial archives, copied from a MS. in Paris archives.1]

1 This is apparently a resumé (intended for the use of the Council of Marine, or of the Minister) of affairs in 1726 relating to the Fox-Illinos war. Documents giving detailed accounts of these events were published in *Wis. Hist. Colls*., iii, pp. 148–160.— Ed.

The nation of the Renards has been at all times the enemy of the other savage nations of the upper country; these savages have on different occasions killed Frenchmen. Upon the representations which were made on this subject, in 1711 [sic; probably 1714], by Monsieur de Vaudreuil, that it was absolutely necessary to take measures to destroy them, orders were issued from the court to maintain some kind of peace with them—without, meanwhile, compromising the honor of the nation—and at the same time to proceed as if preparing for war; and to reassemble for this purpose the coureurs de bois at Michilimackinak, granting them an amnesty on this account.

The following year, these savages having again committed several lawless acts, Sieur de Louvigny was detailed from Montreal on the 1st of May, 1716, with 429 Frenchmen, in order to proceed against them; He drove them into their strongholds, and constrained them to ask for peace—on conditions so onerous that he believed they would not accept

them. Among the principal articles were these—that they should keep peace with all the savage nations who were dependent upon the King; that they should bind their allies, the Kikapous and Mascoutins, 464 either by force or by friendship, to do the same thing; that they should surrender the prisoners of all the nations, etc.

According to the information which was given in 1722 by Monsieur de Vaudreuil and by the Commandant of Louisiana, that the Renards had begun war again, that they had made attacks on several Frenchmen, and that they were waging war against the Illinois, Monsieur de Vaudreuil was notified in writing to take suitable measures with Sieur de Boisbriant, commandant for the Company of the Indies among the Illinois, to oblige the Renard nation to give satisfaction for these insults, and to constrain them to live in peace; and that he ought, on his part, to incite the other Savages allied with France to make war upon the Renards, in order to destroy them; and at the same time to send some soldiers, and to choose an experienced officer, to go to la Baie to put a stop to their disturbances.

Monsieur de Vaudreuil sent Sieur de Lignery, captain. This officer, in accordance with his orders from Monsieur de Longueuil, Commandant in Canada after the death of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, caused the chiefs of the Renards, and those of the Sakis and Puans, their allies, to assemble at la Baie on June 7, 1726; and told them in the name of the King, that they ought to lower the war-club against the Illinois. To this they responded that they had given their promise to maintain peace, and that they knew that the King had compassion upon them beause he had stretched out his arms to them. The way in which they answered him assured him that they had spoken sincerely, and that there was reason to hope for a firm and lasting peace.

Sieur de Lignery proceeded to take measures to insure this peace, and promised to give them the reply of the King in a year. He wrote at the same time to Sieur desliette, commandant of the Company among the Illinois, to inform him of the measures that he had taken. This letter contained among other things the news that the chiefs of these three nations were well disposed, and that they saw clearly that there was no further Mercy to

be hoped for, if they were not obedient; that the question was to detach the Sioux from the alliance with the Renards, by leading them to expect some presents; and finally, to cut 465 off the Renards from the route by the St Joseph River and Detroit, in case they should wish to go to the Iroquois, who had offered them an asylum. He stated that these were the purposes he had in mind in proposing peace to them, in order to proceed to extreme measures more easily, if they should not keep their promise; since if they forfeited that, it would be necessary to take the most rigorous measures to destroy them by force of arms, assembling the troops of the two Colonies. He also declared that these savages are quite satisfied at present that tim peace will not be broken; and that, Ouachala, principal chief the Renards, and the other chiefs have made their compatriots fully understand this, saying, “We now hold the Frenchman by the hand; but if he escapes from us, we are lost.”

He notified Sieur Desliettes to send back the Renard prisoners, as he had told their chiefs that he would act toward them as they did toward the French; and he added that, if all went well, in a year he would agree to have an interview at Chicagou, at le Rocher, or at la, Baie between the Canadian tribes, those of Louisiana, the Illinois, and the tribes of la Baie. For this conference he would appoint a time, and a rendezvous where rile leaders should assemble; and would build a fort, and at the stone time fix the number of French and Savages who should be present.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnais confirms the news of this peace, and states that, it will be advantageous to strengthen it in order to avoid war, the success of which, however fortunate it might be, would be very expensive to the two Colonies. He says that his desire, and that of Sieurs de Longueil and de Lignery, is to terminate the war between the Renards and the Illinois, by making alliances between these two nations; and that it will not be at all necessary on this account to abandon the purpose of detaching, if possible, the Sioux from the interests of the Renards; also that he will take measures with Monsieur Dupuy1 to send missionaries to the Sioux. He has learned through Monsieur de Lignery that since the promise which the Renard, Saki, and Puan chiefs gave him at, la Baie 31

1 Claude Thomas Dupuy, intendant of Canada from August, 1726, to September, 1728.—Ed.

466 not to make war any longer against the Illinois, two parties of Renard Young men were formed, to go and avenge the death of one of their kinsmen; that the stronger of these two parties, composed of 10 men, was completely overthrown—4 of them killed, and 4 wounded and captured by the Illinois; that, however, this affair will have no evil consequence, if the latter nation agree to send back to the Renard village the prisoners whom they have taken, with presents to cover the dead, according to custom; and that by this means they will disarm the Renards, and prevent their forming new parties. This is what Sieur de Lignery has written to Sieur Desliettes it will be expedient to do.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnais sends a memorial on the most suitable methods for the strengthening of this peace. He proposes to grant to Ouachala, chief of the Renards, the request which he has especially made for a French chief to aid him in controlling the Young men of his village, and preventing them from going to seek asylum with the Iroquois, and other nations with whom they wish to take refuge. Sieur Desliettes, who commands among the Illinois for the Company of the Indies, wrote to Sieur de Lignery that the Renards are suspicious, and fearful of treason; that the surest method will be to destroy them; that he has made a proposition to that effect to the Superior Council at New Orleans, and has given advice regarding this to the Company of the Indies.

Monsieur de Beauharnais states that this would be the better expedient, but that there would be some danger, Because if it were not successful, we could no longer expect to surprise the Renards, and keep them confined in their fort, as we did in the last war; and that, if they should flee to the Sioux or to the Ayouets, they would harass the French in the upper country, and no one could go from one colony to the other without running the risk of losing his life, or of being plundered.

If, however, after the measures that have been taken to make a stable peace with them, they again break their promise, it will be necessary to take measures conjointly with the nations of the two Colonies, to subdue them by force of arms.

In the meantime, it is expedient that Sieur Desliettes should have surrendered to the Renards by the Illinois the prisoners 467 that they have with them; and that he should not follow the example of the preceding commandants, who have thought to intimidate the Renards by having their prisoners burned—which has served no other purpose than to irritate them, and kindle a more furious war. If, with these precautions on the part of the Illinois, the Renards can be kept tranquil henceforth for a year, an interview with Sieur Desliettes can be held at Chicagou, or at le Rocher, where rendezvous will be given to the chiefs of the Illinois and of la Baie; and where may be determined the number of French and of savages, both from the Illinois, and from Canada, who should be present in a fort constructed at the rendezvous. Then, after the treaty of peace made with the Renards and their allies has been renewed, we could, the following summer, have Ouachala, Principal chief of the Renards, come down to Montreal with the war chiefs of the Sakis, Puants, Kikapous, Mascoutins, and Sioux—one of each of these nations allied with the Renards, in order to interrogate them regarding the situation of affairs where they are, and at the same time to declare to them the intentions of the King.

It will be suitable at that time, for Ouachala, in the presence of these chiefs and of those of the Sauteurs, Poutouatamis, Outaouas, and other nations of the lakes to whom it may seem advisable to send down a chief apiece, and also a chief or two from the Illinois to be witnesses of what shall be determined upon with the Renards and their allies, to demand publicly a French chief; and there will be no difficulty in granting him one, although this is not the desire of the Commandants at the post, of la baie, who are without doubt opposed to this establishment for merely personal reasons, which should always be waived for the welfare of the service and of the Colony.

Messieurs de Beauharnais and Dupuy have learned from Sieur de Lignery, commandant at Michillimakinak, that the Renards ask for a commandant and a missionary—saying that they are the only ones neglected; and that a commandant and a missionary would give them the same disposition as that of the other nations, and would aid them in restraining their Young men.

Father Chardon, Superior of the missions of the upper country, states that in order to oblige the Renards to remain tranquil, 468 in awe of us, it will be advisable: first, to deprive them of the refuge which they have provided among the Sioux; and for this purpose, to prevent any one from giving them any merchandise for which they may apply at the posts at la baie des Puants and at the river St. Joseph; and to effectually prevent this sate, it will be necessary to abolish these two posts, where the trade in brandy, as well as in merchandise, is notorious, the commandants having purchased these posts. Secondly, to block their passage to the Iroquois. Thirdly, to give loose rein to all the savages who may undertake to make war upon them, which will so weaken them that, having' no means of defending themselves, they will be obliged to succumb entirely; and when we are established among the Sioux, the Renard will be forced, in spite of himself, to remain quiet. By these measures we may be spared the expense of a war, whose success is very doubtful, since the Renards have an assured refuge among the Sioux.1

1 Marginal note on MS.: “Approved, what they propose in order to secure peace, and to render it stable.”

1727: FOXES PROMISE TO KEEP THE PEACE.

[Letter from Governor Beauharnois to the Minister; dated May 18, 1727. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 49, c. 11, fol. 77.”]

Monseigneur —In October last I had the honor to render you an Account of what had happened at la Baye since the journey made there last year by Monsieur de Lignery for

the purpose of negotiating peace between the Renards and the Ilinois. As I have not lost sight of the instructions that you did me The honor to give me concerning this affair, I had resolved to send Monsieur de Lignery back to la Baye this Spring, to complete his work and to strengthen a peace that did not as yet appear to be very firm. The Account that Monsieur du Plessis (who has succeeded Monsieur Amariton in the command of the post of la Baye) has given me of the present state of the Renards' affairs—sending me a Copy of the words spoken in my name 469 to the Chiefs of the Nations who came to la Baye, with the spouses given by them to the Officer second in command, in presence of Reverend Father Chardon, the missionary at la Baye, and of the Interpreter, who have signed and certified the Copy as being correct—decided me to think no longer of sending Monsieur de Lignery to la Baye. This I was more Willing to do, since the Journey could have been taken only at great expense, which must be charged solely to the King's Account. That officer writes me, Monseigneur, that since his arrival at la Baye, all the tribes of the Renards and their allies, who desired naught but war, now seem animated by quite opposite sentiments; that they all promised him to go no longer on the war-path, and to Listen to no other words than those of the King their true father. The Courier despatched by the Sieur Duplessis to bring me this news, has also assured me that the chiefs of all those tribes will not, fail to come down to Montreal this Spring.

I could not Monseigneur, lose the opportunity of communicating this News to you by a vessel that sails from this town for Isle Royalle. I know how you have this matter at Heart, and I was very happy to be in a position on my arrival at Montreal to give you proofs of my attention to everything that you have done me the Honor of recommending to me, and of the profound respect with which

I have the honor to be, Monseigneur, Your very humble and obedient servant,

Beauharnois.

Montreal, this 18th of May , 1727

P.S. I must not forget, Monseigneur, that Messieurs The Baron de Longueuil and d'aigremont, to whom I have communicated this matter, are of the same opinion as myself. The latter has begged me not to mention him, lest it might pain Monsieur The Intendant; but in the absence of the latter I have deemed it my duty to do so—which leads me to beg You, Monseigneur, to be pleased to send the answer direct to me. Monsieur de Lignery, to whom I have communicated The news that I have received from la Baye, and who was with those Gentlemen, told me that he was ready to obey; but that he had already 470 incurred some expense, which he hoped I would cause to be placed to his Credit by the King. I shall have this looked into by Monsieur Daigremont, pending The arrival of Monsieur the Intendant. B.

1727: EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES INCURRED BY WESTERN COMMANDANTS.

[Letter of the Intendant Dupuy to the Minister; dated Oct. 20, 1727. Source, same as that of the preceding document, but fol. 391.]

Monseigneur — Sieur de Lignery has expressed to us all due Gratitude for what you have done Respecting the Expenses that he had incurred for the Savages. We had the honor of Writing to you about it and of supporting his request, solely because it appeared to us to be an Extraordinary expense, inasmuch as it did not form part of the expenditure that he was obliged to incur for the Exploitation of his post, and as being of a Nature which entitled him to Reimbursement. It was also upon that Consideration that Sieur Dupuy came to an agreement with him by paying him a portion of the sum, being Confident that you would not disapprove it.

And As Sieur Delignery is thereby paid 2,298 livres, which are taken from the funds of the Colony, We Beg you to grant that it be repaid to us.

There are at present two other Commandants—one at la Baye, the Sieur duplessis faber; and the other, the Sieur de Viliers, at the River of Saint Joseph—who have submitted

accounts for similar services, namely: The Sieur Duplessis faber, an Account amounting to Two thousand Six Hundred and one Livres, Certified by the Missionary; And the Sieur Deviliers, an Account for the Sum of Five Hundred and twenty three livres, also Certified by the Missionary.

Sieur Dupuy has paid a thousand livres of the former, and the Sum of Two Hundred and Fifty livres of the latter, both on account, pending your decision, Monseigneur, as to the Remainder.

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Those two Commandants, whose Posts have become more onerous in consequence of the present state of affairs, certainly seem to deserve the Amount mentioned in their Accounts. But we are compelled to call Your attention to this point: that if the Commandants advance presents for the Savages to accompany the Words that they say to them, they also receive some from the savages, which might well Compensate them.

We have the honor to Be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Dupuy .

[Beauharnois .]

Quebec , October 20, 1727.

1727: ANSWER TO COMPLAINTS OF DETROIT HABITANTS AGAINST THE COMMANDANT'S MONOPOLY OF FUR TRADE.

[Letter of the Intendant Dupuy to the Minister; dated Oct. 20, 1727. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 274.]

I had not then an exact idea of the Post of Detroit, when I had the honor of laying before you tim representations of Habitants of Detroit, That the Exclusive right to Trade granted to the Commandant was detrimental to the growth of that place. I thought that, since the Time when this Post was Established, a sufficient number of families had gone thither to allow of the habitants dividing into two Classes; and that some would remain to cultivate the Land, while the others by means of Trade—which really ought to be free in a Colony—would go to a distance to seek what the former required.

I have reconsidered that too General opinion, in consequence of the Explanation that has since been given me. That is, that in fact there are as Yet only twenty-eight or thirty Habitants; And that Corn that sells at forty sols a minor in the Colony has been worth at that Place as much as 25 livres A minot, and at present is worth 22 livres, and other articles in proportion. As Regards the Exclusive right to Trade, it must also be understood that this Privilege relates only to the goods for the fur 472 Trade; and in no wise concerns any of the other Goods handled in more general Commerce, for the needs of the Habitants. Accordingly, the Habitants are free to go and come, and to procure the same for themselves.1

1 Dupuy refers to a petition from the Detroit colonists, dated Oct. 21, 1726, protesting against their exclusion from the Indian trade. This document, with the answers made thereto by Alphonse de Tonty and some traders to whom he had sublet a part of his own monopoly, and Louis XIV's ordinance (dated June 19, 1722) regulating the privileges and duties of the Detroit commandant, are given in *Wis. Hist. Colls*., iii. pp. 167–177.— Ed.

One of the Complaints that I Found in memorials that had been Sent to me Was, Moreover, that the Sieur de Tonty had sublet His Exclusive privilege to several persons, and that he should Exploit it himself rather than allow it to be exercised by several, thus increasing the number of persons to obtain an advantage Over Them.

The three objects of those representations are, therefore: The Exclusive right to the Fur Trade; The subletting of the same by Monsieur de Tonty; And the Trade in other goods. With regard to the Exclusive Privilege, it would have been Impossible to Enact anything here respecting it, [because] First: It has been granted by the King and it must continue until the King be pleased to revoke it. The Sieur de Tonty holds it under an onerous Title, which consists in his Being charged with all the expense of the Post—not only for the Officers and Soldiers who may be in Garrison there (to whom the King will pay only their allowances and salary, and their Clothing Taken from His warehouses), but for the support of the chaplain and of the Surgeon, and for the presents to be given the savages. To all this the King Is not obliged to contribute in any manner—as is expressly set forth in the King's memorial to Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Begon, dated June 15, 1722.

Secondly: It affects only the goods for the fur trade, And This has nothing in Common with what will more or less facilitate the Establishment of the Habitants. The fact that these fur-Trade Goods are Solely in the hands of Monsieur de Tonty can Interest only the Merchants of Montreal, who thereby lose the sale of some Outfits; but it is Not from their Mouths that these 473 complaints come—we owe these attentions only to The personal Interests of the Detroit Habitants. But, as the Sieur de Tonty and his Sub-farmers1 must always obtain at Quebec or at Montreal their supply of merchandise suited to the fur Trade (and even other Kinds of merchandise), or have the same brought out from France, this does no Injury to either the Kingdom or the Colony.

1 The traders to whom he had let (“farmed”) the trade monopoly.— Ed.

Whether the Sieur de Tonty Exploits His privilege himself or causes it to be Exploited, the fact is Still of no interest—because, as it relates to fur-Trade Goods, it is a personal matter that concerns only the Savages, and not the Habitants of the Country, who are free to provide Themselves with everything needed for their subsistence. The question whether one should Exploit a privilege oneself, or allow it to be Exploited by several Sub-farmers, applies only in the case of taxes Imposed; since the sub-farmers of these frequently

disturb the administration by Harassing the people, through Coercive acts and costs, more than the farmers Themselves would have done.2 And there is here no question of a right whose Extension to several Agents might be prejudicial to the public. It is quite the Contrary. And it may be said that the number of sub-farmers for that Trade, constituting a greater number of Merchants, thus places the goods in more hands, and causes them to lower the price, for the reason that a larger number of Merchants are supplied with the goods.

2 See p. 177, *note* 2, *ante*.— Ed.

But, since Monsieur de Tonty and his sub-farmers are, through the opportunity afforded by the Fur-Trade, enabled to Trade in the other goods needed at Detroit, This is a point which must be considered, to see whether they do not take advantage of it. With regard to this the following reflection may be made. Either the people of Detroit are in a Position themselves to engage in Commerce and to go for their goods at a distance, or they are not. If They Are in such a Position they are at perfect liberty to do so—provided, nevertheless, that it be Solely with the produce of their Lands. Once more, the Exclusive 474 privilege granted to the Sieur de Tonty only applies to Goods for the Fur-Trade. Why do they not go and get the other goods with the Corn And other fruits that they harvest?

If that be impossible, owing to The Enormous distance between the Places and the Inadequacy of their number, Is it not an advantage to them that some one should supply Himself with these goods, in order that they may Find them when Necessary; That some one should incur the expense and Run the risks?

Accordingly, it would only remain to Consider the question of the prices at which the goods should be Held; and Whether Sieur de Tonty or his sub-farmers have not taken Too great an advantage of the Impossibility or of the few Opportunities that the Detroit Habitants would find for going themselves to a distance to obtain what they need. Now that the habitants should be able to do so is impossible, and would even tend to Defeat the object

of their establishment. In fact, how can it be possible that out of 28 or 30 Habitants, who are some two or Three hundred Leagues Distant from the towns of the Colony, a portion should detach themselves for the purpose of bringing provisions, Cloths, materials, and Implements to their Fellow-Habitants, and that they should purchase this merchandise with the mere products of their Farms—as they have been commanded to do, in order that they should not abandon Farming? How could they carry grain for the Distance of at least two Hundred leagues that separates Detroit from Montreal, and Across all the Portages, in order to provide themselves with Linens, Stuffs, and other Articles to bring back with Them? That is not possible. The Intention in this was, to allow them to Trade only between Themselves, in their own produce, in order to Encourage them to Settle at Detroit, where the Climate is the finest in Canada. This, nevertheless, they do not do. And we are Informed that those people carry on only the Commerce of the fur Trade, And will not be dependent on the Commandant.

The excessive Price of Corn in that Quarter shows how little progress has hitherto been made by that Settlement, and the little possibility that exists, on the Habitants' part, of procuring there for Themselves what they Need; we also see how Important it is that the few Habitants there should not be diverted from the Cultivation of the Soil.

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I have been shown invoices of Goods, as sold by Sieur de Tonty's People. They did not appear to me to be dear; and you will observe, Monseigneur, that the Detroit Habitants admit that the goods have been offered to them on fairly advantageous Terms; and that they merely say, in this respect, that the goods were offered to them at a Time when they could not take advantage of them.

I have not seen a person at Montreal who has corroborated their complaints; but since my departure from Montreal I have learned that Monsieur The Governor-General has relieved Sieur de Tonty of his Post, for reasons which he will most probably have given you.

Sieur de Tonty's farmers have since come to represent to me that they, as well as Sieur de Tonty, were Disturbed in the exercise of his privilege. They stated that they advanced supplies for the Post; and that, even if Sieur de Tonty had deserved to be relieved, owing to dereliction from duty, his Exclusive privilege should always remain Executory in the persons of his farmers—who have entered upon the undertaking on the faith of a privilege that was given by the King, and rests solely with the King. Notwithstanding this, permits have been given in virtue of this revocation, whereby as many as Five Canoes have been sent up, and their Trade has been Broken up. As Sieur de Tonty had been relieved, and this makes the case a more private one, I did not wish to take Cognizance of it.

I add to these notes a Duplicate of the answer that I have the honor to give to Your Despatch of July 23, 1726, a Copy of which Monsieur de Beauharnois sent me, but without informing me of the answer that he intended to give. The Distance that separated us from one another compelled me to Send you Separately the Information that I was able to Obtain in the Country respecting the Trade in Horses, which was mentioned in the despatch.

I shall conclude, Monseigneur, by asking from you the same Indulgence wherewith you have been pleased to encourage me. There Are an infinite number of eases in This Country, and they multiply daily. It is no easy task to Write them in so precise a manner as is Necessary for a Minister of Your penetration; 476 and Obstacles that I had not Expected have taken so much of my Time during the Course of the year that I Fear lest, in the short space left me by the Ships—And during which I was ill for nearly a fortnight—I have been unable to give all the Information that you may have desired from Me.

Your Enlightenment, Monseigneur, will supply my defects; and I trust that, in excusing my Work, you will consider solely the desire that I have Had to do better, the unique and Invisible attachment that I shall have throughout my Life for the King's service, and the profound Respect with which I can never Cease to Be,

Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Dupuy .

At Quebec , October 20th, 1727.

1727: ENGLISH INTRIGUES AMONG THE WESTERN TRIBES; FOXES DISAFFECTED; FRENCH WILL AGAIN WAGE WAR AGAINST THEM.

[Letter of Beauharnois and Dupuy to the Minister; dated Oct. 25, 1727. Source, same as that of preceding document, but fol. 48.]

Monseigneur —We have the honor to represent to you in our answer to the King's memorial that the English, who are jealous of the Trade carried on by the French with the savage tribes of the upper country, try in every possible way to Deprive the French of that trade, and to make them objects of suspicion to the Savages, a great number of whom they have won over by means of considerable presents, which they continually give them. We are also informed that they have sent Collars underground to all the savage tribes among whom the French have posts or Establishments, to urge them to get rid of the French, and to Slaughter the garrisons; And that the Renards, who have received such Collars, have said that they would no longer suffer any French among them. And we also have the honor to write to You, Monseigneur, that inasmuch as this information has determined us to wage war in earnest against the Renards to forestall 477 their evil designs, The Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois will next Spring take the proper measures for the Execution of that project, in connection with which he has already made arrangements of which he will have the honor of rendering you an Account. But, Monseigneur, we have not thought of asking you for the funds needed for defraying the expenses of that war—which, with every Economy on our part, cannot be less than 60,000 livres. We cannot help making this advance, but we Hope that you will have the goodness to have that sum repaid to us by a supplementary grant, and without curtailing any portion of what we take

the liberty of asking of you for other expenditure. The fresh Enterprises of the English, and the threats of the savages who wish to throw off the yoke, have reduced this Colony to An Extremity that sufficiently justifies the necessity of the war against the Renards, and the Importance of striking a Signal blow, that may lower the pride of the savages and overthrow the projects of our Enemies.

We have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Beauharnois. Dupuy.

At Quebec , this 25th of October, 1727.

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BY EMMA HELEN BLAIR

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